The political culture of the Chilean Socialist Party and its influence on the nomination of Michelle Bachelet as presidential candidate in 2005

Maria-Loreto Urbina Montana

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Abstract

This study develops a conceptualisation of the political cultures of the Chilean Socialist Party (PSCh) in order to understand and develop an explanation of the nomination of Michelle Bachelet as presidential candidate in 2005 which avoids the oversimplifications of existing approaches. At the theoretical level, political culture is defined from the collective action perspective conceptualising it as a framework for action (Elkin, 1993: 123). This political culture is formed by patterns for political participation which drive internal power relations between members and leaders. The formation of these patterns is influenced by their social context which is mediated by groups of members and leaders in relation to their histories, experiences of critical historical junctures and ideological heritages. The conceptualisation developed thus links structure and agency in a way that enables a nuanced analysis of inter-party power relationships and agency. This fosters a deeper explanation of Bachelet's nomination and enables evaluation of its meaning for the party as an institution. It also help us to understand internal dynamics and contradictions than could be found in her nomination.

I argue that the PSCh has historically had two political cultures whose relative balance of power within the party has shifted over time. The first which I name the institutional pattern is a normative pattern which frames political participation as libertarian, democratic and pluralistic. Currently it is the non-dominant political culture to be found in the party bases. The second is the dominant party political culture which I name the practice pattern. This frames relationships between members and leaders from the perspective of co-optation, authoritarianism and hegemony over decision-making. The formation of these political cultures has been influenced by the Chilean social context during three stages of party institutional development: Foundational (1933-1956), the New Left (1956-1979), and Socialist Renewal (1979-2005). The first political culture represented in the institutional pattern is formed during the Foundational stage, where political participation is based on Pizzorno's system of solidarity and collective identification. The second political culture,

represented by the practice pattern integrated ideas about discipline and obedience presented in the New Left stage but is reinforced during the Socialist Renewal stage, when participation shifted to Pizzorno's system of interest and individual goals. These two political cultures define and delimit participation within the party, which is highly individualised. Membership and leadership participation is settled between factions, but also results in the presence of informal types of membership and leadership within the party. Factional membership and leadership is the attribute which legitimises a subject as party member.

In Bachelet's case, her persona brings together these two cultures, despite increasing tensions between excluded sectors in the base and leadership of the party and the hegemonic leadership. The first institutional pattern played to an idea that her candidacy and nomination represented the inclusion of historical members as part of pluralism and democracy. The discontented base membership linked her persona with this pattern and supported her. However, as a faction leader and mandatario she also reinforced the elitist and hegemonic 'practice pattern' of participation, which resulted in strong disciplinary relationships coming from the faction's elite in order to secure her nomination. As a result, the elitist practice pattern was deepened due to the strengthening of authoritarianism, co-optation and hegemony within the party. This then helps us understand the fragility of party unity in support of her candidacy and the subsequent division of the party in 2010 when a coalition of the right was elected to power.

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Introduction

The Election of President Michelle Bachelet and the Political Culture of the Chilean Socialist Party

In 2005 Michelle Bachelet, a female, a divorcee, single mother, agnostic and Marxist, was nominated as the presidential candidate of the Chilean Socialist Party-PSCh [Partido Socialista de Chile]. This was an unprecedented event in the history of the PSCh due to its tradition of male leadership which dates back to its emergence as an important political actor in Chilean politics in 1933. It was also significant in that it brought together a party that was on the verge of disintegration due to schisms between leaderships, groupings and discontent from the party bases. This thesis investigates the influence of the political cultures of the Chilean Socialist Party (PSCh) on the nomination of Bachelet in 2005, which led in 2006 to her election as the first female president of Chile. I break down the concept of political culture by tracing the meanings given to patterns of political participation amongst members and leaders of the PSCh. Each pattern is made up of understandings regarding legitimate leadership, roles of members, ethics and practices of party organisation which are then articulated in differing ways and result in two clearly identifiable political cultures within the party. These political cultures frame the practices of political participation of leaders and members in the formal and informal institutions of the party. Thus this research looks at how political cultures frames actions which legitimise party members as well as how these political

cultures influence power relations of membership and leadership, including women at both the base and leadership levels. This then helps to explain the coming together of the party to support Bachelet's candidature for the presidency and also enables an evaluation of her election on the dynamics of political participation and power within the party.

This study uses a qualitative approach to investigate how the PSCh's political cultures impacted on Bachelet's nomination. It seeks to identify those political cultures and their influence on Bachelet's nomination as Socialist candidate in spite of the fact she was not one of the prominent leaders of the party or a prominent member of its national committee. This research takes an organisational approach to analyse the way in which political culture shapes political participation and power relations within the party. It looks at the members and leaders and the relationship between the two, with the assumption that understandings about legitimate power relations between members and leaders motivate the party's conduct. Therefore, political culture is embedded in the form that political participation takes within the party. It will thus be suggested that, taken together, the institutional theories of political culture and political parties can help identify and conceptualise the political culture within a political party. In particular, an institutional theory of political parties and political culture will help to operationalise and research the concept of political culture within the PSCh, and to link the party's political cultures with Bachelet's nomination.

The PSCh is a complex institution in which the membership shares common

values and beliefs but at the same time experiences both divisions among internal political tendencies and political conflicts. Party leaders and members share these political cultures which shape and frames power relations and internal political participation. This study hypothesizes that political cultures had an influence on the nomination of Bachelet. It seeks to trace and map the political cultures in the party by identifying patterns of meanings about political participation found in a representative sample of members and leaders. It conceptualises how political cultures are formed through the party's institutional development and how these then shape collective internal agency but are also shaped by that agency.

Most research until now has been focused on the former military dictatorship (1973-1990) and its consequences within political parties and social movements, and the influence of the new political party system since democratisation on political party behaviour. Conversely, this thesis approaches the organisational study of a party by focusing on intraparty relations. This research contributes to the area of intra-party relations and the analysis of membership-leadership relations. It takes into account how membership and leadership frames their political action by meanings and ideas about power and participation. Those ideas and meanings come from life-experiences, ideological heritage and solidarity ties shared by the party's members. These elements interact with the broader socio-economic and political context within which the party has evolved and is particularly pertinent at key historical junctures such as the election to power of Allende in 1970 and the coup d-Etat of 1973. This context influence is found in the

party's narratives and meanings and ideas embedded about power which shape political cultures. However, the relationship between context and internal political culture is not one-way in that class, experience and histories of solidarity shape how context is mediated by different groups of members and leaders. A focus on political culture in this way thus permits a complex understanding of the dynamics which explain party continuity and change as well as the dynamics of internal behaviour and internal party decisions. It provides new information about how socialist members and leaders frame their internal agency; how those meanings where developed, considering the Chilean context; how those patterns influence party's decisions and outcomes; and how those patterns could explain contradictions and tensions found within the party, particularly the division of the party after Bachelet's failed attempt at re-election in 2010.

The Chilean Socialist Party

Political parties have had a decisive role in Chilean politics since Independence (1818); the liberal-conservative struggles that dominated politics in the 19th century were substituted by a 3-pole political schema in the 20th century constituted by Left, Centrist and Right wings (Salazar and Pinto, 1999: 249; Valenzuela, 1995). These struggles influenced the establishment of left-wing parties in Chile, which emerged in relation to the appearance of the working class as a significant actor in the Chilean political system at the beginning of the twentieth century (Salazar and Pinto, 1999: 220). The Chilean Communist Party (PCCh) was established in 1912 and the PSCh in 1933. Chilean political

parties were banned after the 1973 military coup, but they remained important actors either clandestinely or in exile during this period. Both left parties de facto re-emerged in 1983, stimulating social mobilizations which led to the restoration of democracy in 1990. Since 1990 the party system was re-organized into two main coalitions: a right-wing alliance that includes Pinochet's supporters[1] and a centre and left-wing alliance formed by Pinochet's opponents, the Coalition of Political Parties for Democracy[2] [Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia] (Angell, 2007; Collier and Sater, 1999). The Communist Party was excluded from these coalitions and lacked significant influence in the political system until 2008[3].

The PSCh has performed an active role in gaining access for the middle and lower classes to elected posts (city mayors, deputies and senators) since 1933. Its emergence came out of a particular socio-economic and political configuration similar to that which marked the emergence of many labour-based parties in the 20th century. The socio-economic bases of the Chilean context which impacted on the foundation of PSCh were defined by the

[1] Chilena right-wing parties are organised in the Alliance for Chile. This coalition is formed by National Renewal (Renovacion Nacional) and Independent Democratic Union (Union Democrata Independiente). The former was the former Conservative Party. The latter was formed by student leaders organised in Unionism (Gremialismo) during Salvador Allende administration. See Picazo Verdejo, 2003, pp330.

[2] The Concert of Parties for Democracy is a four-party centre- and left-wing coalition integrated by the Christian Democracy Party, Party for Democracy, Radical Party and Chilean Socialist Party.

[3]In 2008, the Chilean Communist Party established an agreement with the Concertación for 2008 City Council elections and 2009 General elections. As a result, the PCCh elected 4 city mayors and 3 deputies.

development of the middle and urban lower classes as political actors[4]. Both these classes grew as a consequence of the export- oriented economic model developed in Chile until the beginning of the century[5]. For example the rise of the mining sector aided the development of a strong union movement which became key elements of the social base of left wing-political parties in the country. Miners and urban workers became a relevant actor in terms of mass mobilization prior to the 1930s. An emerging middle class increased its political influence in opposition to the upper class. It was constituted by teachers, white-collar workers, bureaucrats, and small merchants (Oppenheim 2007, 5). Political parties were able to institutionally channel such social organisation. The middle class was politically represented by the Radical Party[6]. Urban workers and miners were initially represented by the Socialist Workers Party, formed in 1912, which was the forerunner of the PCCh. Since its foundation in 1922, the PCCh established strong linkages between factory workers and miners through the development of trade unions. However, it was strongly criticised due to its links to the Soviet Union and the Third International (Collier and Sater 1998; Arrate 2003a; Jobet 1987). As a

[4] By contrast, the agriculture was less developed than urban and miner sectors. The Chilean countryside was based on latifundios structured and peasant -landlord relationships (peon-patron) dominate the social structure where peasants represented the bottom of the Chilean Society (Oppenheim 2007).

[5] This model was inspired by the liberal ideas of laissez faire, and was based on the growth of the mining sector. Until the First World War, nitrate mines were predominant within the mining sector. After 1929 Depression, nitrate exploitation was replaced by the exportation of copper from mines owned by US investments.

[6] The Radical party (PR) was formed in 1863 by former Liberal party members. The party represented anti-metropolis and anti-clerical ideas presented on Chilean society so it was linked with upper classes members who shared those ideas. It political support also was among middle class sectors, landowners and workers from nitrate mines. Over the 20th Century the party committed to industrialization and state interventionism so it became representative of middle and working class (Drake 1993,91).

consequence of the social conflicts coming from these two emerging classes, a new political system developed, characterised by a new constitution in 1925 which established a strong presidency and two houses of the legislature. This constitution reinforced a multi-party system characterized as tripartite (right, centre and left) without a dominant force. These characteristics influenced the foundation of the PSCh. During its foundation stage, the PSCh differentiated itself from the PCCh, particularly in its membership which was multi-class, distinct from the more working-class social base of the PCCh.

The PSCh came from different socialist groups: New Public Action; the Marxist Socialist Party; the Socialist Order; the Socialist Independent Party; and Socialist Revolutionary Action. The original groups had a strong middle-class composition that would remain the main source of PSCh membership until 1956. During the period of 1939-1956 (the Popular Front period), the composition changed: middle-class membership accounted for 45%, while working class membership accounted for 55% (Pollack and Rosenkranz 1986, 10-48). These figures changed from 1957 to 1973, by which time 70% of members were working-class, and 30% middle-class (Pollack and Rosenkranz 1986, 10-48). During Pinochet's dictatorship, the PSCh split into several groups from 1979 to 1989 such as PSCh- Unitario; PSCh-Historico; PSCh-Mandujano. However, two main factions grouped Chilean socialism during those years, Convergencia Socialista (named PSCh-Nuñez), and PSCh-Almeyda. The PSCh-Almeyda remained closer to the Chilean Communists while the PSCh –Nunez moved closer to the Christian Democracy Party and the Radical Party. The first group took part in the MDP (Democratic Popular

Movement) while the second one took part in the AD (Democratic Alliance). When democracy was restored in Chile in 1990, the PSCh was one of the pillars, along with the centrist Christian Democratic Party, of the Concertación which ruled from 1990 to 2010.

Currently, the PSCh is a branch-organised party with 245 local branches across Chile. The internal committees are a more relevant structure of the PSCh. These committees are the basic structure of the party at its local level (Communal Committee), its regional level (Regional Committee), and its national level (Central Committee). The PSCh has 15 regional branches (1 per region) and these branches are composed of communal committees, the current basic unit of the party. In total the PSCh has 245 communal committees within its branches, which means that the PSCh has one main office per region and a local office in 70% of the Chilean cities (See Appendix 2). This data gives us information about how the party organises itself. It provides data which highlights what are the relevant structures where members carried on their political activity. This data suggest that the PSCh has an active participation within the country that could be explained by the type of solidarities found among party members.

Electorally, the party has not received more than 12% of the vote since democratisation. The following table shows the electoral performance of the party since 1990 in parliamentary elections. Despite these figures, two of its members were elected as President in this period. In 2000 Ricardo Lagos, a former member of the Radical party and one of the leaders of the Socialist

Renovation became the first centre-left president since Salvador Allende. In 2005, Michelle Bachelet succeeded him, becoming the third socialist president of the country [7].

Elections-Year	Senators	Deputies
1993	11.65%	10.88%
1997	12.11%	9.09%
2001	12.91%	8.73%
2005	11.12%	9.21%
2009	8.52%	9%

Figure 1 Electoral Results for the Chilean Socialist Party since 1990 in Parliamentary elections. The data shows the percentage of votes gained by the party in the Chambers of Deputy's election and the Senates' election. Source, Chilean National Electoral Service, October 2012.

This data provides evidence about the party's structure as well as its electoral performance. This evidence can be used to situate our research questions. Those questions are related to the frames that shape intra-party relations, particularly membership and leadership relations, and the role of those frameworks in the nomination of Michelle Bachelet in 2005. Particularly I will look to the role of political culture in enabling the unity of the party around her nomination at a time of deepening internal political conflict and despite a historic tradition of male leadership and conservative masculinised forms of politics.

[7] The Christian Democracy has been the dominant party in the coalition. It usually receive the 15-20% of votes in Deputies' elections, and 25 -29% of votes in Senators' elections.

The nomination of Michelle Bachelet

During the 20th Century Chile was described as a conservative country with a highly hierarchical society in which the elite of all political groups tried to exclude the middle and lower classes from the political arena (Correa, 2005). In the 1990s, after the end of the dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990), and even by the 2000s, Chile was still considered one of the most conservative countries in Latin America[8]. Additionally, a Roman Catholic religious identity remains prevalent in Chile (70% according to the 2002 National Census[9]), and divorce was only legalised in 2004, making Chile one of the last countries to legalise divorce.

Political parties are often thought of as conservative structures and the PSCh has not been an exception. The party is frequently described as conservative and patriarchal with masculinised forms of politics and male subjects dominant. However, it nominated Michelle Bachelet as its presidential candidate in 2005 – a non-traditional subject being a woman, agnostic, single mother and from a Marxist tradition. Michelle Bachelet Jeria has been a PSCh member since her youth. She was the daughter of one of the constitutionalist generals of the Air Force, Alberto Bachelet, who took part in Allende's administration as chief of the Food Administration Office. After the 1973 coup, he was detained and tortured, resulting in his death. Bachelet and her

[8] Oakeshott (1983) says it is comprehensible that conservative people are opposed to innovation in government; conservatism is not a doctrine, but an attitude.

[9] The data about population and other demographic characteristics of Chile is based on the 2002 National Census information. It was not considered the data coming from 2012 National Census due to the fact that the validity of their results was still under evaluation when this thesis was finished.

mother, Angela Jeria, were detained in the torture centres of Cuatro Alamos and Villa Grimaldi before going into exile, first to Australia and then East Germany. She returned to Chile in 1983, working in the Programme for the Protection of Children Damaged by the States of Emergency [Programa de Proteccion a la Infancia Danada por los Estados de Emergencia –PIDEE] which was supported by the Swedish government. She also contributed to the Vicariate of Solidarity [Vicaria de la Solidaridad], a human rights organisation created in 1976 by the Chilean Catholic Church. During the 1990s, Bachelet worked in the public health field. Her first attempt to pursue a political career was in 1996 when she ran against Joaquín Lavín for the mayorship of Las Condes, a wealthy Santiago suburb and a right-wing stronghold, without success. In 2000 she was appointed as Health Minister by Ricardo Lagos and then appointed as Minister of Defence in 2002. The latter position strengthened her popularity in public opinion. Since 2002, she became one of the most popular politicians, along with Soledad Alvear, a Christian democrat politician who was the Foreign Minister at that time. The popularity of both women led the former president Eduardo Frei to point out that it was difficult for Chileans to elect a woman as president because Chileans are too machistas (i.e. a male-dominated culture)[10]. In spite of Frei's statement, in 2005 both the Chilean Socialist Party and Christian Democracy were prepared to run female candidates for the presidency of Chile, Michelle Bachelet and Soledad Alvear. Due to the lack of internal support that Alvear faced during the first quarter of 2005, she declined her candidacy and supported Bachelet.

[10] "Mujer Presidenciable, Dirigentes DC y PS difieren con Frei"(Female presidential, DC and PS leaders differ from Frei); La Nacion Newspaper, 1st February 2004.

Despite the fact that Chilean political elites and political parties have been described as conservative and patriarchal structures in forms of enacting power, two women were running for the presidency, and one of them gained the final nomination. This event present questions about the factors that permitted Bachelet to run and gain the nomination despite being a women belonging to male dominated elites. The PSCh was always led by male politicians and its presidential candidates were male politicians with great leadership influence in the party: Salvador Allende was presidential candidate four times (1952, 1958, 1964 and 1970) and Ricardo Lagos once (1999)[11]. Nevertheless, the supposedly conservative Socialist leaders nominated Bachelet as their presidential candidate for the 2005 elections, a decision that seems inexplicable, considering the party tradition, and the male-dominated Chilean national political tradition. The process by which Bachelet was nominated as presidential candidate highlights interesting questions about why these conservative elites supported a women candidate in a party described as a conservative and patriarchal by its own members (See Chapter 5: 262-268).

Scholars have looked for answers about women`s inclusion in political parties from different perspectives. Some of them have focused on electoral game that women have to face inside a new or a resurrected electoral system during the phases of transition and consolidation of democracy in Latin America. One of those scholars, Georgina Waylen (1998) focuses on the opportunities that women have in the political field in relation to party structures. They describe

[11] Ricardo Lagos was nominated by PSCh in 1993, but eventually the ruling coalition, including the party, supported the Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei as presidential candidate.

how gendered roles and expectations create barriers to increasing women's political participation inside parties' boards and public offices. From an intra-party perspective, Htun (2002) describes the importance of the role of the party organization as a determinant of women's representation. Her work explores the claim that parties with clear and stable rules and procedures might be advantageous for women but systems with less formal procedures also creates opportunities for increased women representation. She centres on the role of quota laws. She argues that similarly to social democratic parties, the Latin American left is more likely to adopt internal quota laws.

Other scholars centre on forms of power and conservative ideas embedded in discourses of citizenship to explain the barriers facing women in politics. For Latin American cases, women's citizenship is defined through their role as mothers (motherhood idea) and by socially determined care-taking responsibilities (Franceschet, 2001; Piper Mooney, 2007). These gender roles are observed inside different political parties and these roles have a major impact on women's selection for political positions. This motherhood idea influences the decisions of political parties related to the electoral spaces where women run as candidates or the role that they would be taken in offices. Most of those roles are related to the family caretaking activities; consequently women usually assume responsibilities on areas such as education or public health. Macaulay (2006) considers that political parties in Chile maintain conservative gender policies, characterised by a traditional division of roles between the genders: the public sphere for men and the private sphere for women. Thus, gender issues are seen in relation to motherhood and topics such

as reproductive rights are not considered by political parties and state public agencies, such as the National Women's Service (Servicio Nacional de la Mujer) and PRODEMU (Promotion and Development for Women Programme). Both agencies focus on the caretaking role of women in the Chilean family, reinforcing traditional gender roles.

Both types of analysis do not help us to understand the changes which occurred within the PSCh that enable them to unify around their support for a female non-traditional candidate. Gender literatures explain mainly elite roles in gender issues and mechanism for increasing women's representation, which in the case of the PSCh have a negative impact on women's representation (Chapter 5:266). Although the literature about conservative gender roles could help us to understand ideas regarding power, it does not explain how women could overcome those gender roles or patriarchal ideas about power and become a party's candidate in the way Bachelet's did. Political culture is not exclusively linked to motherhood ideas and gendered roles. The described literature presents a narrow view of political culture. Gender could be one of those elements, but gender by its self does not explain why the PSCh, both leaders and members, supported Bachelet`s nomination in 2005. Ideas about gender are part of political cultures but are not the only elements of those cultures. Ideas about power relations and meanings for conceptualising political activity and participation are part of those cultures as well. Additionally party agency is not merely the result of elite agency, institutions and practices but rather interactions between members and elites. Thus I suggest that suggests the importance of developing an analysis that takes into

account intra-party realities. The concept of political culture situates elements such as gender and power relations in a broader perspective and enables analysis of inter-party relationships and patterns of power. From this it becomes clear that Michelle Bachelet's nomination is not necessarily a victor for women and gender equity but rather the outcome of a confluence of the political cultures in the party that enable a fragile unity over her candidature but could not prevent the continual de-institutional of party institutionality. It rather created the conditions for the deepening of these processes which resulted in party division in 2010.

Political parties and political culture

Structure and agency have been major themes of the analysis of political parties as organisations and institutions. For this particular research, I adopted an organisational perspective to understand the political culture which frames internal power relations within the party membership and leadership. Thus, I combined literatures about political culture and political parties to analyse the PSCh political culture. I frame this research with those theorists that specifically allow a focus on intra-party relations from an organisational perspective, centring on membership and leadership. These types of studies move beyond analysis of the role of formal institutions in party organisation (Siavelis, 2005; Levitzky and Freidenberg, 2005). They thus move beyond the structural analysis of political transition (Linz and Stepan, 1996; Aguero and Stark, 1998) or party system performance in Latin America (Kistchelt, Hawkins, Luna, Rosas and Zechmeister, 2010. These studies consider that informal rules and informal frames within parties have a role to play in the way

in which political parties behave and, therefore, the impact of their conduct on the quality of democracy (Freidenberg, 2005). This research shows the relevance of analysing intra party realities for understanding political outcomes. But they have not taken into account how political participation and power relations are framed by meanings and ideas in those formal and informal organisations. They have stated that there are informal institutions and they have described the mechanism used by those institutions to keep their influence within political parties. However, they have not considered the role that meanings and ideas coming from party narratives, solidarity ties, life-experiences and ideological heritage play in those institutions to reinforce them or to weaken them. I claim the analysis of intra-party realities needs to go beyond the formal and informal institutions, and focus on those elements that frame power relations and participation within those types of organisation. I consider that patterns of political cultures allow us to understand how power relations are framed and the role played by informal and formal organisations to maintain those cultures. This helps to develop more complex understandings of party reproduction and change whilst also providing tools to conceptualise points of crisis.

Research on the PSCh has been centred on the institutional development of the party after the restoration of democracy in 1990, focusing particularly on its performance as a member of the Concertación. In addition, ideological transformations experienced by the party as a consequence of the neoliberal revolution in the 1980s have been analysed. From the perspective of its institutional development, the PSCh has been analysed in terms of the

performance of its political elite in electoral campaigns and political alliances since 1990 (Angell, 2007; Valenzuela and Scully, 1993). There are, however, few studies of the impact of the changing social context on the party's internal structure and from an institutional perspective there is no study of PSCh's political cultures[12]. Additionally, most of the studies have analysed the Concertación as a whole, and its performance during 20 years in power (Hagopian, 1993, 1998; Valenzuela and Scully, 1993; Cavarozzi, 2001). In these studies the focus was on the behaviour of the Concertación's political elites, rather than on an analysis of their political bases or the intra-party dynamics and institutional development of the PSCh[13].

As I stated in page 11, scholars have analysed the internal barriers to the inclusion of women in the leadership of parties. Scholars have written about the electoral game that women face in a new or resurrected electoral system during the phases of the transition to and consolidation of democracy, and the opportunities for women inside party structures and political systems (Waylen,

[12] Frances Hagopian (1993) considers the impact of social changes in her analysis of political parties belonging to the Concertación. Hagopian's approach to the Chilean political process analyses political parties by considering social and economic changes. She deviates from the classical institutionalist view in linking her analysis of political culture with civil society and political parties. Hagopian suggests that before the 1973 military coup, the competition between Chilean parties led to the organization and representation of both political and social actors (civil society). However, parties were displaced and banned during Pinochet's 17-years regime. The military regime changed the bases for political association, participation and the institutional framework for political competition. Pinochet's regime introduced new political and economic strategies that affected the political culture. As a result, parties were pushed in new representational directions, with social actors learning to act without support from political parties for a long time. Although political parties re-emerged de facto in 1983, social movements continued acting independently of political structures.

[13] Research about Concertación has focused on the behaviour of the political elite and on the *Concertación's* ideology. In particular, researchers have analysed the maintenance of Pinochet's neoliberal model after the transition process. The most important analyses of this transformation are Manuel Antonio Garreton (1994); Tomas Moulian (2002); Manuel Salazar and Julio Pinto (1999) and Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt (1998).

1998; Maculay, 2006). In such studies, scholars have analysed Chilean parties in general terms, but not the PSCh in particular. The literature has claimed that a woman's citizenship is defined through her socially determined role as a mother (Franchested, 2001; Waylen, 2000, 1994, 1993; Pieper Mooney, 2007; Macaulay 1999, 2006). This explanation is used to reinforce the idea that institutional structure is influenced by gender role divisions, due to the fact that Chilean political parties have developed "cultural practices and dynamics in a traditionally male-dominated environment" (Franceschet, 2005; 83). As I previously stated, I suggest the concept of political culture to frame gender and patriarchal ideas of power in a broader perspective as on its own a focus on gender cannot explain sufficiently Bachelet's selection or evaluate its impact on the PSCh (Pp12-13).

Another important perspective is influenced by a neo-Marxist approach to the role of political parties in the transition process in Chile. Concertación's parties are seen as key actors in the institutionalization of neoliberalism as a dominant social and economic model (Fernandez Jilberto, 2001; Moulian, 2002; Olavarria, 2003; Taylor, 2004; 2006). The PSCh has been analysed from a Gramscian perspective as an agent that reinforced the hegemony of the neoliberal revolution in Chile. Roberts (1998) and Motta (2008) analyse internal relations using a base membership approach, considering the impact of the neoliberal revolution on the party, and defining the PSCh elite as technocratic. The majority of these scholars explain that political parties from the Concertación agreed, for the most part, to support the economic strategy adopted by the Pinochet regime as a requirement to ensure that the transition

took place (Garreton, 1994; Gomez, 2009; Moulian, 2006). Thus, most parties adopted a neoliberal ideology as part of their political projects, particularly the parties of the Concertación. Scholars suggest that the PSCh was not an exception to this process. They perceive neoliberalism as a socioeconomic model which transformed social relations in Chile (Kurtz, 2004). These transformations affected the relationship between political parties and civil society due to their impact on social organizations and trade unions, but also in my case how the internal political struggles create the conditions for neoliberal hegemony in practices, subjectivities and political relationships, particularly with the subaltern in society and party, and also the critical base. For example scholars influenced by neo-Marxism have concluded that neoliberal policies are not just political and economic strategies, but also claim that Chilean the entire social fabric was re-organised. Neo-Marxist scholars analysed neoliberalism in depth because they consider it to be a key factor in understanding current Chilean society. However, these scholars miss the role of party narratives as well as how particular subjectivities and solidarity ties were re-framed by those transformations and tend to homogenise an understanding of the party's culture as neoliberal. The influence that these transformations could have within ideas and meanings for political participation are not taking into account and the potential tensions this could cause in the PSCh are not brought into the analysis. This doesn't enable a complex reading of intern-party dynamics nor an understanding and evaluation of the causes or role of Bachelet's candidature within these internal party dynamics.

The literature described above demonstrates how contextual transformations

have had an influence on the party's internal organisations, changing leadership and membership relations as well as the party's relations with social movements. Also, the literature on political parties conceptualises how parties are complex institutions which are affected by contextual changes, as is shown for instance by research on the relation between the Justicialista party and the labour movement in Argentina (Levistky and Wolfson, 2004). However, this particular research does not take into account how this impacts differentially on intra-party realities. As I stated above, it is necessary to look at how those contextual changes altered intra party realities but were mediated by the differences in class, generation and experience of groups of member and how these interact to produce two distinct political cultures in the party.

The PSCh overall has been analysed considering changes in their political strategies and elite behaviour (Garreton 1994; Salazar and Pinto, 1999; Navia, 2006), but its internal culture has not been included. Furthermore, these analyses do not take into account whether internal culture influences political outcomes such as Bachelet's nomination. They consider the ideological differences coming from a series of different groups which have been integrated in the party: Marxist-Leninists, social-democrats and progressive Christians. However micro-foundational aspects of party's internal behaviour have not been taken into account. Those analyses have centred the ideological contributions of these approaches rather than to look at the formation of patterns for internal participation (Jobet 1984a; Rojas 2008; Elgueta 2008; Furci 1984; Faundez 1992). They have narrowed the concept of political culture to ideologies and their development in the party. As I previously

suggested, the concept of political culture considers the ideological heritage but it is not exclusively formed by this heritage. It also takes into account party narratives, life- experiences and solidarity ties amongst members and leaders.

The aim of this research is thus to understand what frames and brings meaning to internal agency so as to develop a complex analysis and evaluation of party agency. In this case, I am researching the PSCh political cultures and their influence on Bachelet's nomination as presidential candidate in 2005 because I am interested to look at how intra-party realities and relations frame their behaviours in the way that produce unexpected outcomes such as candidate nominations which an analysis solely of party formal structures or gendered political culture would find difficult to explain. This research suggests that internal political participation is driven by the party's political culture and that the culture therefore influences party outcomes.

Analysing Bachelet's nomination and election

Thus far books and biographies have been written about Bachelet. However, her election has not been researched in depth to explain the causes and conditions in the PSCh that helped her to become the first woman president of Chile and the first Latin American woman who became president on her own merits, rather than following in the footsteps of a politically prominent husband. It is assumed that the influence of the political culture of a party is found in the way in which political participation is carried on by members and leaders. Analyses of Bachelet's election have centred on the impact of her

victory for the Concertación and on the inclusion of women in politics (Gamboa and Segovia 2005; Fernandez, 2008, 2009). Her election as Chilean president has been explained by the relevance of her personal characteristics to the electorate and the positive evaluation of her predecessor as President, Ricardo Lagos (Morales, 2006; Velasco, 2006). Bachelet's campaign was helped by the investigation of human rights abuses committed by the Pinochet regime, which was ordered by president Lagos[14], and the decrease in Pinochet's reputation as a consequence of the evidence and charges of fraud against him. Bachelet's campaign centred on women and youth, and her personal characteristics, such as charm and empathy, were important because the electorate saw Bachelet as an unconventional party politician (Angell, 2007). This image may have helped her to gain the majority of the votes that she received. The success of Bachelet's image could also be explained by the disalignment between partisan politics and Chilean society due to the performance of political parties since 1990, and the changes experienced by Chilean society (Morales, 2006). Chilean voters may have preferred to support a candidate who appeared to be different from the dominant elite (Angell, 2007; Velasco, 2006; Navia, 2007). These analyses are not considering intra-party relations which led the party to support a woman who was not one of its main leaders and the processes which united the party for supporting her persona. Intra-party relations are not present in those explanations. These scholars have centre on the role of elites on this event without considering the role of base membership. Base membership role was of central importance in

[14] The Valech Commission gathered new information about torture during the Pinochet period. This commission contributed to the previous Rettig Commission, organized by Patricio Aylwin's administration in 1991.

Bachelet's nomination as chapter 6 will demonstrate. Her persona united both members and leaders despite the division described by scholars such as Motta and Roberts (Pp16**).** There is more depth for analysing this gap than institutional analysis; context analysis of dictatorship; ideological change or gendered culture. The gap between members and leaders could be explained because of two different patterns of meanings for understanding power relations interacting in the party (See chapter 5). The political culture analysis of the party brings these elements into the analysis of intra-party realities. This research contributes to uncover those elements within the PSCh and evaluate its levels of institutionalisation (formal and informal).

With regard to Bachelet's election, scholars have highlighted that her election represents both continuity and significant change in Chile. It is a change because Bachelet was not only a new leader, but also advanced a new type of leadership inside the Concertación (Navia, 2007b; Lee, 2007; Fernandez, 2008, 2009; Garreton 2010; Contreras, 2006; Alvarez and Fuentes 2009). It was a case of continuity because the election of Bachelet signified the maintenance of the Concertación in power, and the maintenance of neoliberal policies (Sehnbrunch, 2006, Izquierdo and Navia, 2007; Alvarez and Fuentes, 2009; Navia 2007a; Altman, 2006; Motta, 2008). In addition, her victory can be defined as continuity because her election was a sign of approval for the Concertación and its sixteen years of government (Navia, 2007; Izquierdo and Navia 2007; Izquierdo, Morales and Navia, 2008). Bachelet's victory can also be conceptualised as representing change because it introduced a bottom-up mechanism to elect presidential candidates (Navia and Izquierdo, 2007), and

because her election invigorated the emphasis on gender issues on the political agenda (Tobar, 2007). She had the image of an outsider from the political establishment in the Concertación and the Socialist Party, and of a break with earlier Socialist practice within Concertación administration (Funk, 2010; Rojas, 2008). These explanations consider the strategic aspects of political parties as well as external conditions which created favourable conditions for Bachelet's nomination such as new type of leadership or changes in the electoral mechanism. However, what led the PSCh to support her nomination is missing. It does not take into account what elements permitted Bachelet to unite her party and gain the candidacy. As I previously stated, Soledad Alvear was not able to unite her party to support her candidacy (Pp10). Thus, there were some elements that influenced Bachelet's nomination which were missing in the Christian Democrat candidate. I claim that political culture connects this event with elements such as party's narratives that help to explain it. The concept of political culture integrates those elements in a broader frame for explaining this particular outcome.

Similarly to the studies quoted above, the following centre on the external changes operating in Chilean society or the general conditions presented within the Concertacion, missing the opportunity to analyse the internal aspects within the PSCh which led it to support a woman candidate for the presidency for the first time in their history, particularly in a time of increasing tensions between the base of the party and the leadership. Those studies suggest that this election was an example of the *Concertación'*s capacity to re-invent itself (Navia and Izquierdo, 2007) and to adapt itself to social demands for a style of

leadership which differs from the traditional image of politicians (Alvarez and Fuentes, 2009; Contreras, 2006; Garreton, 2010; Fernandez, 2008, 2009; Garate, 2007; Gamboa and Segovia, 2006). Bachelet's nomination and election as president of Chile have been studied as consequences of the social changes experienced in Chile, and the changes in the political context since 1990 (Oppenheim, 2007). Other scholars explained her election as a continuation of the "neoliberal left" (Moulian, 2006; Franceschet, 2006), because of her role as a minister in the Lagos' administration, and her role as a member of one of PSCh internal political groupings, the New Left or Nueva Izquierda[15] (Motta, 2008). Her election reflects the hegemony of democratic neoliberal capitalism supported by the PSCh following the period of authoritarian neoliberal capitalism under Pinochet's rule (Gómez, 2009). The Bachelet administration has been researched from the perspective of consensus and conflict building. She symbolises the revitalization of the Concertación but her administration focused on deepening the consensus strategy to solve conflicts present in Chile due to the neoliberal model. Therefore, her administration was a mixture of a changed image with a continuous political strategy (Borzutzky and Weeks, 2010). Although this research includes the nomination of Michelle Bachelet by the PSCh, the influence of her persona within the PSCh is missing for most of the analysis about her administration. Similarly to the literature about her election, it centres on her impact on the political strategy of the Concertacion, rather than the influence of her persona at the intra party level, which is

[15] By 2005, the PSCh had 4 internal factions, as a consequence of internal divisions occurring during the Pinochet regime and the re-unification process. The factions were: the Renovación, the most liberal group on economic issues; Tercerismo, liberals and social-democrats; Nueva Izquierda, Marxists and Progressive Christians; and Colectivo de Identidad Socialista, the most traditional Marxist-Leninist group in the party.

relevant to understand why five years later the party split between 3 candidates for 2010 presidential election (See Chapter 7). Mapping and analysing patterns of political culture can help us to explain these internal clashes and behaviour, and this type of events could be framed as the result of intra-party power relations at its micro-foundational level.

Thus it becomes clear that general analyses of political parties in democratic Chile, more specific analyses of the parties of the Concertación or evaluations of Bachelet's presidency have not considered in a meaningful way the role of political culture. Most of the scholars previously referred do not take into account the political culture of political parties in their analyses, and as a result, political parties are viewed as homogeneous structures when their behaviour is analysed. Internal realities are missed and the impact of those within party organisation and outcomes are not considered when party conduct is analysed. So the micro-foundational analysis of the party is missed, which could give us a better understanding of how party activities are framed and why party adopt certain decisions and with what consequences for party institutionality.

There have, however, been wider discussions of cultural transformations. Scholars affirm that a cultural change has occurred in Chile in the recent years, resulting in the abandonment of Chilean traditional conservatism (Franceschet, 2006; Morales, 2006). These cultural transformations were characterised by gender solidarity, by women's support for Bachelet (Morales, 2006), and by the rise of left-wing parties, the PSCh and PPD, inside the Concertación (Moulian, 2006; Franceschet, 2006). There is evidence in the literature of cultural

transformations in Chilean society, but scholars do not link this to the PSCh political culture. It is claimed by Panebianco that political parties adapt to their context. But it seems that those changes are missing when the literature analyses Bachelet's nomination and her linkages with the PSCh. Are those changes influencing the PSCh power relations and internal organisation? Or is it the case that whilst society is changing, the internal dynamics of the PSCh are not and this explains stagnation as a party? These questions seem unanswered by the current literature about Bachelet's nomination and the PSCh. I claim that a concept such as political culture which looks at intra party realities at the micro-foundation level can help us to answer those types of questions because it describes the way in which power relations are framed within a party's organisation. It allows us to look at the influence of those frames in party decision making. It also permits us to context how broader contextual changes become integrated inside the meanings and practices of parties.

Also I would suggest that the concept of political culture allows me to frame gender barriers embedded in contexts, such as meanings regarding women's inclusion in politics, in order to understand how such barriers impact on the party's performance. In terms of gender, the patterns of political culture allows me to describe how barriers to gender inclusion are taking place within political parties as well as the role of women who collectively reinforce some of those barriers by adopting the dominant political culture for framing their own power relations and political participation. To analyse political culture gives me a deeper understanding about women`s collective agency. This

perspective goes beyond the explanation that patriarchal power is the main barrier because those explanations would lead me to conclude that Michelle Bachelet would not be elected. My research looks at who are framing those ideas and how those ideas influence and shape women's agency. As I previously state, I am considering a broader concept of political culture, which includes gender as well as other elements such as party's narratives, class, generation and experience.

Theory and Research Design

Political parties are usually described as vital political institutions, as a "sine qua non condition for the organization of the modern democratic polity" and for the "expression and manifestation of political pluralism" (Van Biezen, 2000; 1). Political parties form a crucial link in the political system in terms of social mobilisation and political integration (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967). Duverger defines political parties as a "collection of communities, a union of small groups dispersed throughout the country (branches, caucuses, locals associations) and linked by coordinating institutions" (1967: 37).

This understanding of parties is connected to the concept of political culture. This study takes the political culture of political parties as a framework for understanding political action (Elkins, 199: 123), which is formed by patterns diachronically developed by political parties and influenced by social context (Genzdel, 1997; Hitchner, 1968). The definition of political culture is linked to the collective agency perspective, in which it is suggested that political culture

is collectively constructed in communities or organizations such as political parties (Elkins and Simeon, 1979). Political culture is shared by party members, and gives them a framework of common orientations (Chilton, 1988). I claim that the formation of patterns of political cultures helps us understand the forms that political participation which the party has developed since its foundation. Those political cultures have been influenced by members' narratives, ideological heritages, life- experiences of key historical junctures and have shaped their ideas and understandings about legitimate forms of power and participation

In this study, the institutionalist literature on political parties is used to operationalise the concept of the political culture of political parties. Thus, I research the political culture of a political party, in particular a mass party, focusing on two levels of analysis present in the literature on parties: institutional development and membership-leadership relations. It is suggested that these levels enable us to identify and describe the political culture within a party. The two-level approach brings the context and the subject into the analysis of political culture. Therefore, this approach allows us to examine how the political culture has developed through the party's institutional development and how the patterns of political culture frame and shape internal power relations between membership and leadership. Finally, institutional development and membership-leadership relations connect the political culture with the party's outcomes such as candidate nomination. I claim that Bachelet's nomination was backed by the PSCh because the patterns of political cultures motivated leadership and membership support for her persona. The

operationalisation of political culture at these two levels allows us to observe the connections between the conduct of the party and Bachelet's nomination, and thus to understand how political culture frames internal collective agency within a party.

Duverger´s perspective on party structures and membership-leadership relations is used in this research because his approach links the evolution of political parties' structures to the development of memberships and leaderships. He presents a diachronic perspective on political parties, in which institutional development impacts on the construction of membership-leadership relations. Duverger's approach explains that different types of solidarities are found in memberships of political parties. Therefore, he accounts for the presence of political cultures inside parties, which are linked to the institutional evolution of parties, and to the development of different membership and leadership groups within them.

In addition, Pizzorno and Panebianco's conceptualizations of internal participation are used to explain the relationship between members and leaders within the PSCh. Pizzorno's concepts of systems of solidarity and systems of interest are used to link political participation with the patterns of meanings found within the PSCh political culture. Panebianco and Michels' definition of leadership and membership relations helps in analysing how such patterns influence the way in which this relation is carried out within the party's membership. Parties undergo transformations in their internal organisation and political participation. Thus, the analysis of intra-party realities is relevant in

understanding the way in which collective agency is carried on. Party outcomes may reflect how these transformations impact on a party. Similarly, a party's institutional development, and membership and leadership changes, could indicate how patterns of political culture frame internal relations, influencing the party's behaviour and outcomes. These levels of analysis allow us to research the political culture of a party and its influence on political outcomes such as the nomination of presidential candidates.

The objective of this research is thus to identify the PSCh's political culture and its impact on the nomination of Michelle Bachelet as presidential candidate in 2005. The project centres on three research questions:

1. Are there one or more political cultures in the Chilean Socialist Party?

2. How do the PSCh political cultures help us to understand and explain the election of Michelle Bachelet as the first female President of Chile?

3. What did the election of Michelle Bachelet mean for these political cultures?

The first chapter develops the theoretical framework required for this research. The definition of political culture used in the research is deepened and connected with the existing literature on political parties in order to operationalise the concept of political culture in political parties. The following chapter develops the methodological framework used in this study. I describe the research methods used for gathering the data, archival review and in-depth interviews, and the selected method for its analysis, qualitative content analysis (CA) with a thematic approach. The objective of these methods is to identify

the patterns which are part of the political culture. Content analysis is defined as a technique that permits making inferences from the texts by considering the context of those texts (Krippendorff, 2004: 18). Content analysis is sensitive to the context in which texts originate. In this study, textual patterns are interpreted according to the theoretical framework on the political culture of political parties previously described, and connected to the nomination of Michelle Bachelet as presidential candidate.

Chapters Three and Four address the first research question. They centre on the first level of analysis, the institutional development of the PSCh. In particular, these chapters look at the ways in which the context shapes participation within the party. These chapters argue that the institutional development of the party shapes the patterns of political cultures which frame the relationship between members and leaders. As I previously state, those patterns were formed based on a party's participation in systems of interest and systems of solidarity. Three stages in the institutional development of the PSCh are identified which impacted on its political culture. The first one is the Foundation stage (1933-1956), covering the early period of the party, characterised by political participation as democratic and pluralist, factionalised but with strong male leadership. The second stage, termed the New Left (1956-1979), covers the period where democratic centralism was introduced, which tried to homogenise the political behaviour of party members in order to drive political participation and party tasks through the strict control of members. The third stage, named Socialist Renewal (1979-2005), is the period in which the PSCh`s institutional development was determined largely by the State of Exception, exile and the

neoliberal policies implemented by Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1990). The Socialist Renewal stage was the introduction of neoliberalism inside the party as the theoretical mainstream; this manifested itself particularly in the individualization of power relations between party members. This weakened the structures of party membership and fostered the individualization of militancy, and displaced decision-making onto gentrified factional elites. I shall argue that the influence of these three stages of the party's institutional development can be found in the patterns of political culture. The first stage showed clearly the dominance of the system of solidarity within political participation shaped by pluralism, democracy and libertarianism. The New Left stage added a new set of meanings (authoritarianism and elites' hegemony) which were framed by the system of solidarity and collective identification. This system still dominated the political participation in spite of the presence of system of interest among the party's elite since the PSCh's foundation. During this period political participation is shaped by ideas about discipline and obedience introduced by democratic centralism. These ideas will remain in the party as part of their participation within Socialist Renewal period in which the system of interest and individual goals are reinforced due to contextual changes operating in Chile as a result of Neoliberal reforms. The presence of both systems despite the increasing dominance of a pattern framed around individual goals and interest occurs because of the differential impact of the historical juncture of the dictatorship and democratisation upon different groupings in the party. This is linked to their ideological heritages, generation, class and experiences of these critical junctures. These two patterns of political participation result in the existence of two political cultures represented by the

institutional pattern and the practice pattern at the time of Bachelet's nomination in 2005. The first of these patterns is still related to the system of solidarity found in the base membership. The second one was re-framed by the system of interest and characterises elite behaviour. Both cultures were developed through the party division in 1979 when the contextual influenced allowed membership and leadership to develop two patterns of meanings which gave rise to two distinctive political cultures. Therefore, these three stages formed and modified and were mediated by the political cultures of the party because those stages showed changes in political participation which defined the way in which the political cultures of the party have been shaped.

Chapter Five centres on the second level of analysis, membership-leadership relations, to answer the first research question. It is suggested that the two levels, institutional development and membership-leadership relations, enable us to identify and describe the current political cultures of the PSCh. This chapter will look at the patterns of these cultures with the subjects who are involved in political participation, namely members and leaders. This study suggests that legitimate subjects in the party use these patterns of meanings. Membership legitimacy is given by factional membership. Leadership legitimacy is given by the role of mandatarios, which identify party members with positions in the State bureaucracy and National Congress (Chapter 5: 269). This study looks at the patterns of meanings of political participation which drive the relationship between members and party leaders. This research suggests that the political cultures of the PSCh are formed by two patterns which drive internal participation. The study observes how these patterns

influence membership conduct, and impacted on Bachelet's nomination. The first pattern is linked to the Foundational Stage and can be named the institutional pattern. It is described as the formal pattern for political participation and it is linked to system of solidarity found among the base membership. This pattern characterises the PSCh political participation as democratic, libertarian and pluralistic. The second pattern can be called the practice pattern. It is described as the informal pattern which is linked to the system of interest and individual goals found among party's leadership. It was influenced by New Left and Socialist Renewal stages and it describes the relationship between members and leaders as authoritarian, co-opted and marked by elite hegemony over decision-making.

The second research question, related to the influence of the PSCh political culture on Michelle Bachelet's nomination, is answered in Chapter Six. This chapter argues that Bachelet's nomination was influenced by the political cultures of the party through the influence of both patterns on her nomination. Similarly to other members and leaders of the party, her membership and leadership were legitimised by three factors: (1) her factional membership; (2) her recognition as an "historica" member within the party; and (3) her role as a "mandataria" during Ricardo Lagos` administration due to her duties as Minister of Health (2000-2002), and as Minister of Defence (2002-2004). These factors were recognised by party members, across tendencies, and strengthened her support inside the party. The institutional pattern was connected to her persona by base members in a period in which the role of the PSCh within the Concertación was highly criticised (Chapter 6: 208-209). The

base membership connected her to elements of the institutional pattern such as democracy and pluralism, on the grounds that her nomination represented the inclusion of neglected sectors within the PSCh over Concertación period. These sectors were identified with Almeydismo, part of the party which was excluded from the transitional democracy and party decision-making. In addition, Bachelet`s gender appealed to the ideal of pluralism due to the fact that her nomination was seen as expressing the inclusion of women, traditionally excluded from the male-dominated PSCh elite. Therefore, Bachelet's candidacy symbolically returned to the institutional pattern of political participation and the system of solidarity through the inclusion of these neglected sectors of the party. The base membership saw in Bachelet an outsider from decision-making and party elites. However, she was simultaneously seen as an insider because she was recognised as a member of the party.

On the other hand, the factional elites reinforced the practice pattern inside the party in order to assure full support for her candidacy. Authoritarianism and co-optation were strengthened in order to homogenise party support for Bachelet's candidacy. Therefore, dissent was not allowed by the party elite. Although Bachelet's candidacy was linked to institutional patterns of political participation because of her membership as an "historica", political elite discipline was maintained through the deepening of the practice pattern so as to ensure that she was supported as presidential candidate. Additionally, the party elite sought to avoid any negative impact of internal criticism on the party's performance in the Concertación or on Bachelet's candidacy. The coexistence

of both political cultures connected to her nomination put the party under strain. Internal practices were in the opposite direction to what her candidacy represented symbolically. While party members saw in her nomination the opportunity to reintroduce the formal institutional pattern and the system of solidarity for political participation within the party, the internal practices of the party reinforced the informal practice pattern and the system of interest among elites once her candidacy was decided.

The final research question, the influence of Bachelet's nomination on the PSCh political culture, is addressed in Chapter Seven. It is suggested that the nomination deepened tensions over political participation because the base membership and factional elites differed in their identified themselves with different systems of participation. Evidence of this tension between these political cultures is found after her election. While her administration took into account the institutional pattern, particularly the pluralist aspect, through attempts at gender inclusion in her cabinet and inclusion policies for citizen participation in social ministries, the practice patterns were strengthened inside the PSCh. The evidence suggests that authoritarianism, co-optation and hegemony over decision-making were strengthened by factional elites during the Bachelet administration in order to ensure membership loyalty to her Presidency. Discipline was reinforced over these years in order to ensure the complete obedience of the party. The presence of these patterns of political cultures within the PSCh seems contradictory to the expectations of the base membership, which linked Bachelet's persona to the institutional pattern. Consequently, the tension present between these patterns deepened the distance

between membership and elite, and ultimately undermined Bachelet's legitimacy within the party. Therefore, it will be demonstrated that the influence of her nomination on the PSCh political cultures deepened membership disillusionment with the party elite due to their actions being connected to the two quite different system of political participation. One consequence of this tension was the crisis and the deepening of the internal divisions in the party at the end of the Bachelet administration in 2010, resulting in the formation of two political groups (Movimiento Amplio de Izquierda and Movimiento Amplio Social) for supporting the presidential candidacy of the socialist leader Jorge Arrate; and a new party formed by socialist member, the Progressive Party, which supported the presidential candidacy of the former socialist deputy Marcos Enriquez-Ominami.

This research suggests that the patterns of political cultures of the PSCh frame and shape internal relations between members and leaders. The two identified patterns, the institutional pattern and the practice pattern, are the result of two systems of political participation presented in the PSCh, the system of solidarity and the system of interest. Both patterns influenced Bachelet's nomination. The formal institutional pattern strengthened base membership support for her persona and allowed the party to unify internal support for her nomination. The informal practice pattern was found in her nomination. It was used and deepened by party elite because of her nomination and election. This pattern was used to ensure internal support, and to avoid internal criticism of the elite. Thus, the PSCh political cultures, articulated in these two patterns, influenced Bachelet's nomination and also impacted on the party during her

administration.

The study of political cultures of party allows us to research intra party realities, focusing on how agency is developed at the micro-foundation level. Thus the research of political culture contributes to understanding the party's internal agency in the same way that research about informal institutions are contributing to understanding how political parties perform within political system. Therefore, this type of research deepens understandings of internal power dynamics and institutional realities of parties, enables complex accounts of party agency and develops ways to evaluate levels of institutionality, change and crisis within parties.

Chapter 1

Parties and Political Culture in Political Analysis: A Theoretical Approach

In this study I seek to develop an analysis of the political cultures of the Chilean Socialist Party (PSCh) as a means to explain how this political culture influenced Michelle Bachelet's nomination and how her nomination impacted upon the political cultures of the party. In order to carry out this research, it is necessary to develop a theoretical framework. The first stage in tackling this problem involves defining the concept of political culture in theoretical terms, linking political culture to the literature on political parties. Using the institutional literature as a starting point, there are two important elements one must bear in mind when conceptualising and then analysing political culture within a political party. These elements are the institutional development of the party structure and the question of how the membership and leadership are motivated within a party. The first element brings into the analysis the wider relationship between political culture and social context, and the second takes into account the subjects who participate within the party, and their collective agency. I use the institutional literature because my study analyses the PSCh as a political institution, and researches how the political cultures frame internal agency. Hence, the study applies the concept of political culture to a political institution. Additionally, the PSCh and Chilean politics have thus far been largely analysed by Western scholars, comparing their conduct and behaviour with European cases, particularly the transition process in Eastern Europe

(Munck and Left, 1997; Linz and Stepan 1996). As I stated in the introduction, this study focuses on intra-party relations, particularly political culture and the way in which it frames power relations at micro-foundation level, focusing in the subjects which take part on those power relations rather than solely party structure. This research does not centre exclusively on party elites or the gender elements of party culture as these are unable to explain Michelle Bachelet's nomination because they do not take into account complexities within the membership and leadership power relation.

The analysis of political culture has a long history. Initially, political culture was used to bring behaviour closer to structure, with the aim of analysing the impact of behaviours on institutions. Almond and Verba's comparative work about civic culture in many nations aimed to fill the methodological gap between the micro- and macro-perspective and hence to permit the operationalisation of the question of how agency impacts on institutions. Methodologically, therefore political culture connects micro-foundations to macro-foundations, through the formation of patterns of political culture which influence individual behaviour. Nevertheless, their understanding of political culture did not involve collective agency as the object of analysis. Their definition was based on an individual dimension of politics, with political culture composed of individuals' ideas about social traditions and public institutions. Their definition of political culture focused on how individuals understood citizenship and the influence of these understandings on politics in different countries. Their operationalisation of the concept of political culture

focused on individual agency and the presence of patterns of ideas regarding democracy and political institutions. These authors understood political culture as patterns of attitudes, feelings, and knowledge which are part of, and govern, political behaviour in a particular society. Almond and Verba (1965) defined political culture as coherent patterns that fit together and are expressed in citizens' behaviour. Therefore, the concept of political culture they advanced focuses on how citizens' attitudes determine the political development of a country. They argued that the development of the countries they studied was determined by the attitudes of citizens to politics on three levels: system (the legitimacy of the government in citizens' perspective); process (expectations about government); and policy (views about government). This conceptualisation established that every individual adds these patterns to his/her own personality according to a particular historical context and according to the community's feelings about politics. Although Verba and Almond contributes with the development of the idea of political culture, I will use a collective perspective to address the development of the patterns of political culture which is not found in this classic work about the topic. I consider it necessary to bring into focus the collective dimension of politics in terms of the relationship between the membership and leadership for describing the formation of political cultures within a party, and the relevance of collective ties on its formation. These political cultures are diachronically developed, and are influenced by the social context (Hitchner, 1968). Diachronic development of a political culture takes into account the impact of the social context over a period of time. It involves the development of a political culture as part of a process. Therefore, the political cultures of

political parties are formed and modifiable in relation to historical contexts and conjunctures. The following section conceptualise the concept of political culture used for this research.

Political culture as theoretical concept

The existing literature on political culture demonstrates considerable theoretical and methodological debate around the use of this concept. The theoretical debate is focused on differences in conceptions of agency within political culture, with different perspectives emphasising individual or collective agency. The methodological debate focuses on problems in operationalising the concept of political culture. This study defines political culture from the collective agency perspective presented in the work of Elkins and Simeon (1974; 1979). The collective agency perspective on political culture defines political culture as a framework for action (Elkins, 1993: 123). This framework for action is shared by the membership and leadership within parties, and it shapes internal political participation. This study takes into account the subjects who are considered legitimate members of the party and the patterns of ideas about political participation within the party which are shared by these subjects. I state that these patterns are the core elements which build political culture within parties. This collective sense of political culture enables us to use Elkins' approach to parties. He considers the presence of patterns within the political culture, but suggests that these patterns are collectively constructed and shared within a community. Therefore, I take into account his conceptualisation for operationalising the concept of political culture in political parties. This study understands the political culture of a

party as a framework for action which is formed by patterns which influence political participation among the party's membership.

From the perspective of Almond and Verba, political culture is seen as a subjective dimension of political systems and "it must be a divisible set of orientations toward the various structures and aspects of the political system" (Almond, 2000: 153). The content of political culture is formed by childhood experience, socialisation, education, media exposure, and adult experience with social, economic and governmental performance. The political culture affects the political and governmental structure and performance, by individual attitudes to institutions. This perspective emphasises that all members of the political system know about parties and structures, and influence them through the attitudes that they have as individuals. They have feelings related to them, and they evaluate or judge parties and political structures using subjective norms (Almond, Powell, Strom and Dalton, 2003). Inglehart expands on this perspective by analysing post-industrial societies, values, and identities and their potential influence on individual choice in political elections in different types of societies (Inglehart, 1988: 1997).

This view about political culture emphasises the role of social traditions, the meaning of public institutions, the understanding of citizenship, and the styles and codes of performance which are used by leaders. All of these factors are interpreted as a web of relations between individuals, resulting from their

collective history, from the political system, and from their unique lives as individuals. Political culture is associated with certain long-standing concepts, such as rational ethos and spirit, political ideology, social values and national political psychology. As a result, political culture gives a structure and significance to the political sphere which is similar to the role of culture in social life (Pye and Verba, 1965). This classical perspective is nation-centric in its analytic focus. It uses American democracy as the paradigmatic image of a well-developed political culture. As I previously state, the perspective developed by Almond and Verba assumes an individual perspective, focusing on isolated individuals to explain both the construction of political culture and its impact on institutions. What is missing from this understanding is the role of collective agency in political culture, as a phenomenon built and shared by a community. Firstly, this conception reduces society or communities to a set of individual rational actors, ignoring questions of race, class and gender. Secondly, it also reduces power as a concept individually and unevenly structured, reducing democracy and institutions to a set of individuals as the model of democratic political culture. Thus individuals have similar attitudes which are conceptualised as political cultures.

By contrast, authors who define political culture as collective agency[16] argue that political culture is a collective property, expressed by nations, regions,

[16] Collective agency is a framework of action by different groups of people, such as the general public and elites, which affects political outcomes (Reisenger, 1995), or power relations established by individuals (Nesbit-Larking, 1992). Also this concept links to symbolic interactionism in the view of Dittmer (1977), who defines political culture as a symbolic system.

classes, ethnic communities, and formal organisations, such as political parties. They emphasise that individuals have beliefs, values, and attitudes, yet as they belong to a particular culture they do not have an individual choice of culture. Unlike Verba and Almond, this perspective emphasises political culture as a framework for action rather than a set of specific actions or beliefs (Elkins, 1993: 123). It integrates the influence of structure at the collective agency, and brings into our analytic lens questions of class, institutional structure, race and gender which gives a deeper way of thinking about how political cultures could either reinforces, disrupts ,challenges or transforms extant power inequalities within societies and communities.

Chilton (1988) also develops a collective agency perspective about political culture. He develops nine categories to define the concept of political culture. Two fundamental categories are supramembership and sharedness. Supramembership theorises collective meanings in the conceptualization of a culture because it is focused on common elements that are shared by a group of people, a framework for common orientations. Sharedness refers to a "unique cultural life in its role as a common framework of mutual orientation" (Chilton 1988: 422). These categories emphasise the collective dimension of the concept. Additionally, both categories are linked to the micro- and macro-perspective included in this concept. Supramembership connects individuals to a certain context. Sharedness enables people to share a particular political culture, and legitimises them as members of certain groups. Thus, the concepts of supramembership and sharedness are important because they help us to understand the behaviour of political organisations, such as political parties,

and to consider how their members share a framework for action belonging to their organisations. The fact that a party's membership shares a common frame also identifies and legitimises individuals as members of this organisation. A party's political culture as a framework for action embeds the sharedness and supramembership of its members. Base members and leaders use this frame to motivate their actions. Additionally, Chilton´s criteria bring subjectivity into the analysis of political culture because sharedness and supramembership define the subjects as legitimate actors within a particular political organization. Both concepts allow a deeper analysis of the formation and performance of political culture within collective entities such as communities or parties, linking structure and agency. The inclusion of both also bring into the analysis a collective dimension for looking at key concepts within a particular political institutions, and therefore define more clearly the impact of political culture on behaviours and political outcomes.

Following this collective understanding, Hitchner (1968) and Gendzel (1997) argue that political culture is influenced by broad historical, social, philosophical and psychological forces. Also, Elkins and Simeon (1974) in their work on political culture in Canada consider the impact of the context when they seek to operationalise political culture. They analyse regional influences on the development of Canadian political culture, concluding that regional differences determine the development of political culture through the presence of subcultures. Those subcultures represent different patterns due to the difference presented on every Canadian region. Thus, different patterns

represent different cultures under this approach. The above definition of political cultures through this patterns difference permit me to look at the presence of patterns as a key element for identify political cultures within collective organisation. Different from Canada, Chile[17] does not show regional difference in the way in which it would be found in countries which have strong regionalism such as Brazil, Argentina or Mexico. Hence, the study did not look at regional differences inside the party, but at the presence of patterns which could be identified within the membership and leadership. It traces ideas and meanings about legitimate forms of political participation, leadership and membership and identifies whether there is one unified political culture or more than one culture along the lines of tendencies or types of membership. This research will be looking at meanings and ideas that are shared by members and leaders because they are part of the same community or political party. They share similar narratives about participation, ideological heritage and solidarity ties that connect them to party.

Depending on whether the individual or collective agency perspective is used there will be methodological differences in the operationalization of political culture as a framework of analysis. Almond and Verba's focus on individual agency, which uses a synchronic perspective to analyse political culture, centres on individuals' direct impact on institutions. In contrast, collective

[17] Chile does not have strong regionalism in the same way that Canada has Chile is a unitary state and its capital city has hegemonised most political decision-making. There are some differences between the north, the centre and the south of the country but Santiago, the capital city, has a strong influence on the country's economic and political activities.

agency as defined by Elkins and Simeon, and Chilton, involves a diachronic use of political culture as the object of study, because it considers aspects related to the context that impact on political culture. From this perspective, political culture is defined as a framework for action rather than a set of ideas or beliefs. This framework for action is identified with factors such as gender, language, and age. For this research, this framework for action will be identified by ideas and meanings that socialist members have about political participation and power relations within the party, taking into account gender and age difference among them and type of membership[18] . Therefore, from a methodological point of view, defining the concept of political culture as a patterns used as framework for internal participation and power relations is central to identifying how it will be understood and applied. So I look at meanings and ideas about authority; types of participation; types of leadership and membership; and loyalty among those members and leaders.

The two perspectives previously described have different methodological designs, one focused on a synchronic interpretation of political culture, and the other focused on a diachronic view. Both perspectives have particular relations with the context in which political culture is developed. In the first, the analysis is focused on individuals and their sets of beliefs and values. In the second, the analysis takes account of aspects of the social context in which political cultures are developed, and the influence of the context on political culture. I state that context influences political culture but contexts do not determine

[18] This research also looked at different factions within the party without finding any difference between those groups that evidence subcultures.

political cultures.

Context includes the socioeconomic bases and the political bases including the institutional structures which impact on the development of political parties, such as the Chilean constitution, the electoral law and the political party system. The influence of the context is found in the formation of the patterns of political cultures. Context could reinforce the patterns of political culture by strengthening a particular type of political participation. The context does not determine the internal agency of the party because agency also is formed by roles within membership and leadership as well as formal and informal organisation of the party. It is also important to take into account historical evolution; different party's generations and their experience linked to those context such as dictatorships or military coups.

This study defines political culture using a collective agency perspective, conceptualising the patterns as frameworks for action. The political cultures of parties are influenced by their social, economic and political context and their political culture that frame internal participation. The patterns of political cultures help to shape and drive power relations between members and leaders. These patterns are shared by party members, and influence ideas and meanings related and political participation. In this way, the framework builds on Almond and Verba´s objective of connecting the micro- and macro-foundations. This study centres on how the macro-foundation influences the micro- foundation. It also considers how collective agency frames and drives

the actions of PSCh members using the patterns of political culture. These authors develop their methodological standpoint in a synchronic way because they focus on the direct impact of individuals on institutions. However, I wish to analyse the impact of the social context across different historical periods on the process of institutional political culture formation and the impact of political culture on internal power relations between leaders and members, and how these relations have an influence on political outcomes. Therefore, this study adopts a diachronic perspective.

Parties are not individual actors, but they are composed of different "faces" depending on their environments and contexts (Van Biezen, 2000: 6). The presence of these patterns of political cultures represents those different faces. Applying the concept of political culture to a party, it is possible to consider the central idea of Almond and Verba, using their concept to bring the micro-perspective, marked by individual agency, closer to the macro-perspective, emphasising structures and institutions. In this understanding of political culture, I examine how the collective agency of party members is influenced by transformations that occur within a given context, reinforcing types of participation and the characteristics embedded on them. Those characteristics, mainly ideas and meanings about political participation and power relations take form in the patterns of political cultures. As a result, the context helps with the formation of those patterns through forms of internal participation. The context mediated in relation to political culture through ideological and class formation; historical evolution; party's narratives; and context experiences that

members and leaders have.

This study links the concept of political culture to the institutional literature on political parties in order to operationalise this concept in relation to intra-party relations. Due to the fact that the study centres on parties as political institutions, I consider that the institutional literature on parties permits me to research political culture as a framework for political participation. I take into account two levels of analysis present in the literature on parties: institutional development, and membership-leadership relations. Institutional development links the social context to the development of political culture, and it provides a diachronic perspective on this development. Membership-leadership relations give a collective perspective because they focus on patterns of meanings shared by party members and leaders, and how those patterns shape power relations between these groups. This study follows Duverger`s focus on parties' institutional development and membership-leadership relations, because this approach presents a diachronic perspective on political parties in which their institutional development impacts on the construction of membership and leadership. Also, Duverger's approach suggests that different types of solidarity are present in parties' membership. He suggests the importance of political culture inside parties for explaining political participation. I consider that this concept of multiple solidarities is similar to an understanding of political culture as a framework for action used by members and leaders to motivate their conduct. Duverger's view about membership-leadership relations is complemented by Panebianco and Pizzorno's analyses of political participation in order to explain first types of political participation that it is possible to

found within political parties (Pizzorno) as well as the relevance of internal formal and informal organisation for establishing power relations (Panebianco). Pizzorno explains the tensions between individual and collective goals in political participation embedded in two particular systems of political participation, system of solidarity and system of interest, which are important part of the characterisation of the patterns of political culture. Pizzorno's approach is complemented by Panebianco's ideas about members' and leaders' relations based on incentives for understanding the nature of power relations and the way in which organisations influence the establishment of those power relations. His understanding is useful in order to comprehend the ways in which connections between members and leaders are developed within PSCh factions.

The two levels of analysis, institutional development and membership-leadership relations, both emphasise the political culture of the party, particularly its impact on political outcomes. The following pages centre on the conceptualisation of these levels developed within the institutional literature on political parties as a means to conceptualise more clearly how to operationalise the concept of political culture in the PSCh and its impact on Bachelet's election as presidential candidate. The following section explains how the concept of political culture will be operationalised.

Political culture and party's literature

The previous section defined the concept of political culture which is going to drive this research. The patterns of political culture of a party were defined as a

framework for action collectively constructed and shared by the party membership. These patterns represent the political culture of the party, frame its power relations to, and have an influence on, political outcomes such as a candidate's nomination. The political culture of a party is influenced but not determined by a party's social context because other aspect such as types of membership and leadership are involved in the party agency. Thus, the development of political culture must be considered from a diachronic perspective. Two levels of analysis to operationalise the concept of political culture were suggested above. The first one is the institutional development of the party which embedded the diachronic perspective and connected the concept to the party's social context. The second level is membership-leadership relations which brings agency into the analysis, and gives a collective dimension to the political culture in a party. The institutional development corresponds to the party's historical transformations as a political institution, which involves shifts in their strategies, organisational changes and historical evolution. For the PSCh case I will look at its development as an organisation influenced by transformations in Chilean history (Allende's administration, Pinochet's dictatorship); the responses to these contextual shifts in internal transformations (introduction of democratic centralism) as well as differences in the experiences of contextual shifts, particularly generational history, the experience of the dictatorship, questions of class and ideological history. Membership-leadership relations bring in the subject and the way in which the subject carried on internal agency using political culture. I will look at members who experience those transformation and have reinforced the patterns of the political culture because they experience the party's historical

transformations and they have conducted their power relations using the concepts, ideas and meanings about power and participation presented in the party while they have been members or leaders. I will be looking at how those ideas are reproduced by legitimised members and leaders, and how those ideas and meanings influenced contradictions and tensions found between the membership and leadership. I state that both levels help in the conceptualisation of patterns of political culture. The first level contributes with the characteristic and meanings which later form institutionalised patterns of power. Those patterns are institutionalised by subjects that reproduce them (members and leaders of the party). The second level contributes with the way in which the patterns frame and shape the internal agency of members and leaders of the party.

Contexts have been part of the analysis of political parties, particularly to understand the way in which structural changes influence political decision and strategies. The classic work of Lipset and Rokkan (1967) on political cleavage expresses the relevance of societal contexts to political parties' development. This perspective adopts a structural approach to analyse the formation of left-wing parties as well as to understand electoral swings in support for such parties, which is useful to consider the relevance of context but not for the formation of patterns of political culture. Political cleavages help to explain the relationship between voters and political parties, particularly parties' functions but not for framing and conceptualising power relations between member and leaders within party organisation. The expressive function explains demands

and pressures for political parties' actions; the instrumental and representative functions are to deal with political demands and bargains. Those functions are developed in a scenario marked by structural cleavages which impact on forms of electoral representation which are engaged in by parties. But this classic work does not go inside the party organisation at a micro-foundation level. It is important to consider that classic literature highlights the influence of context but this literature is not useful for this research which conceptualise the patterns of political culture for analysing the agency at the micro-foundation level.

An author such as Frances Hagopian (2007) analyses the relationship between context and internal agency of the party through institutional impacts on political behaviour. She explains that the relationship between voters and parties is established by parties' decisions as agents of political representation in modern democracies (582). She focuses on emerging democracies, where she suggests that structural and regime changes, as well as institutional incentives, could impact on the strategies and decisions of parties. Her work shows key linkages between party's behaviour and contextual changes but it does not go in depth for conceptualising the influence of historical transformation of the party within that internal agency and how these might also continue to influence and shape a party's internal power relationships, identity and decisions. It focused on the behaviour of elites without taking into account that political parties are more complex institutions which include the presence of different types of members, with different understandings,

expectations and feelings about politics and political strategy. These frameworks notably exclude the influence of political culture on a party's internal participation.

Kitschelt's work (1993a; 1988) goes into more depth and connects the practice of politics to social identities, particularly the redefinition of individual and collective identities, which affects linkages between individuals and their understandings about markets, political institutions and cultural conceptualizations. His work differs from Pzreworski and Sprague (1986), analysis about socialist parties' evolution which centres on electoral behaviour and decision-making within socialist parties. While Pzrewoski and Sprague look at choices and behaviour of political elites in the relationship between parties and their supporters in un-historicist and deterministic form, Kitschelt explores the idea of the formation of political consciousness, focuses on institutional explanations in order to comprehend linkages between citizens and political parties, using a phenomenological framework to understand the interaction between institutional structures such as market and work organizations and symbols used to process experiences on a cognitive level. Although Kistchelt understanding links context and parties, his focus does not include the agency within parties at the level of conceptualisation and formation of power relations among membership. It considers structural changes to understand changes in party's identities and strategies. It does not look at changes within meanings and ideas of power used for framing collective action.

Typologies of political parties attempt to consider changes within context that pressure on party organisations making changes mainly in strategies. This point of view is implicit in the typologies proposed by Van Biezen (2000) and Gunther and Diamond (2003), in which the action of political parties is combined with changes experienced by post- industrial societies to understand different types of political parties. These authors claim that parties are developed as a consequence of foundational contexts (technological and social contexts) and the characteristics of those contexts imprint on the parties (Diamond and Gunter, 2003). Two concepts that reflect how changes in context impact on parties' strategies are catch-all parties and cartel parties. The first type, catch-all party is based in the adoption of new strategies due to changes in the environment, affecting the behaviour of electors and political strategies. Kirchheimer (1966) defines catch-all parties as the next evolutionary stage of mass-parties where all mass-parties and denominational mass-parties are forced to become. He defines catch-all parties as a competitive phenomenon because this type is centred on the competitor's hopes for the benefits on Election Day. The author suggests that catch-all parties appeared with the de-ideologisation of political parties as a process in which ideology becomes vague and ceases to influence party structures, with political structures and political goals "not necessary motivational forces" (187) which operate in voters' choices. Structural changes within parties' context motivates Kirchheimer to state that parties expressive function as channels to integrate individuals and group into the political order turns more ambiguous because this type of party tries to include a wide range of voters for electoral competition. A catch-all party can become more superficial in its internal organization because of the weak

attachment of the individual party members. Additionally, these parties are based on the electoral resources of their candidate, and have a marked electoral orientation because they need to attract the maximum of voters or interest-groups. Thus the party as organization adds to its functions a new one as the collector of interest-groups' claims, limiting members' participation in action because the general nature of their political goals. His analysis represents a synchronic view of party behaviour in certain European countries, and opens new questions about the impact of party identities and meanings of power which in his definition of catch all parties remains unanswered. The type of party described by Kirchheimer undergoes structural changes which are linked to transformations occurring in Europe, analysing their strategic choices rather membership and leadership power relations. Panebianco (1988) integrates this criticism when he assess that in the case of a catch-all party in Kirchheimer's sense, a new definition of party organization involves a new organizational identity because the conflictual nature of interest groups is lesser strong when other social groups are integrated under this model of the party. Thus, there is a new “hunting ground” but not a wide open social representation, which has a clear impact on the form that parties’ collective identities take in this type of party. Kirchheimer's definition of catch-all party helps to identify changes in the strategic dimension of political parties and their impact on voters’ alignments in the electoral competition, but it is not sufficient for explaining what Panebianco’s define conflictual nature of internal interest groups (formal and informal leaderships) and the nature of the relations of those interest groups with base membership still present in the party, which in Latin American countries still remain strong in comparison to Europe. In addition,

there are other societal changes that could explain those behaviours such as the appearance of new social identities and socio-economic changes (Kistchtel 1993a, Wren and Mcelwain, 2007) which could influence changes introduced by parties in their organization and strategies. Thus, parties are not just agents of political action, but also structures which are influenced by societal contexts and changes in certain periods of time. Those changes might not just influence parties as organization, but their collective action and their internal agency and power relations and they might impact differently in terms of the histories, experiences, commitments and identities of different groupings within a single political party.

Cartel parties are another conceptualisation in which political parties' typologies explain contextual influence in parties conduct. It represents a way to link parties with the State, which involves changes in internal dynamics because the political organization is fused with the State. While catch all party suggest changes within organisation for explaining internal dynamic, cartel parties underline those changes for explaining party's fusion with State. The model of the cartel party, as described by Katz and Mair (1995), is the next stage in parties' evolution and expresses changes in the relationship between State and parties, particularly the symbiosis between parties and State. This party model understands that parties are the agencies of political groups which experience politics as spheres of competition, conflict and cooperation. Therefore, parties are agencies for political participation, for political demands to the State, and for capturing control of the state. Key differentiations between

cartel parties and mass parties are that mass parties represent civil society in order to modify public policy in the long-term and they are built based on social identities. Cartel parties represent semi-state agencies where the interpenetration between the state and parties can be observed, particularly patterns of inter-party collusion. Similar to catch-all parties, cartel party members are professional politicians but the structure is still important due to the relevance of local organizations to support party activity. Similarly to previous political party types, cartel parties present an evolutionistic perspective about their development, centred on the changes in their internal behaviours, particularly elite's behaviours, since the emergence of mass-parties. Similarly to catch all parties, it does not explain enough what occur with power relations between leadership and membership. Thus the micro-foundation level is missed. This criticism is considering by Kitschelt (2000) who states that the cartel party model lacks accuracy in the micro- foundation of political action but in the linkages between voters and party politicians. He suggests that new political and economic challenges imposed by market economies, present in institutional systems of representation, pressure politicians to seek new political strategies because they become more vulnerable to voters' demands. Cartel parties' model only responds to the relevance of the state in the relationship between voters and political parties (Van Biezen 2000) but it does not respond to the fighting nature describing by Michels that characterise political parties. The conflictual dimensions of internal power as well as the organisation aspects of membership and leadership disappear in the described typologies of parties because those descriptions mainly imply elite's behaviour rather than party as an organisation

with members and leaders and so in many ways an analysis of change, continuity, adaptability and crisis remain unexplained. Class background and gender are missing from those analyses as well as the role of formal and informal leaders within party decision making. Those understanding do not explore changes within intra-party relations or any type of collective agency in sufficient depth. Although both types of parties show the relevance of context within strategic and organisations changes, both types of parties have evidenced that the analysis of party's agency needs to consider not only macro-foundational level represented by context but also the micro-foundational aspect of agency. Thus, those types of party analysis are not useful for our research. As I stated before, the patterns of political culture could join both level for analysing party's agency but its research needs to include both levels at the same time. It needs to take into account context as well as intra party relations, particularly how power relations are framed within political parties.

Institutional development of political parties

Thus far I have discussed the concept of political culture and the way in which I am attempting to use if for this research. I have defined the political culture as patterns used as frameworks for action collectively developed within the political party, which is used for framing and shaping power relations and political participation. Those patterns are influenced by class, gender, ideological heritage, historical evolutions and life-experiences. I have stated that to operationalise this concept one needs to develop a two levelled analysis which brings in the context (macro-foundational level of the concept) with the agency. The way in which this research brings the context is through the

institutional development of the party, which exhibits how external changes have influenced the meanings that frame political participation within the party as institution and at the levels of members and leaders. Previous studies that have explored the role of political culture in political parties have missed this point. For example, the work of Jo Freeman (1986), who uses it in a comparative study on the US Democratic and Republican parties in order to determine the differences between both parties in terms of their structures and power relations, and the leaders' role in the party structure. Her work centres on the interaction between groups and the party structure, but it does not include the type of patterns that drive those power relations or the way in which those relations have been formed. She uses a synchronic analysis for describing internal behaviours rather than define the norms embedded in these behaviours. In particular she looks at the relationship between the political elite and the party structure for describing the dynamics that party bosses use for carrying on their political activities and maintaining power. There are also studies of political culture and political parties as part of analyses of electoral changes and continuities (Moises, 1993) and on activism in relation to electoral results (Fielding, 2001). However, these also do not take into account the dynamics of the internal membership and how these impact electoral changes and results. Political culture analysis could be limited to elite ideologies as Putnam (1971) states in his study about political culture. Although these studies are helpful examples for researching political culture within parties, this study aims to conceptualise the patterns of political culture and the way in which those patterns frame internal relations as we are faced with a puzzle with Bachelet's election because the complexities that this event presents. Therefore,

these studies are not useful for the operationalisation of the concept of political culture in the PSCh. In this study, the concept of political culture is applied to mass parties, a typology that has characterised the development of socialist parties in modern democracies. The PSCh has been characterized as a mass party due to its historical development and type of membership, and it has not changed into a cartel party type because its structure did not merge with the State while it was part of the Concertacion. Party's structure remained independently from State apparatus. This structure has been weakened because to the role of factions as informal structures that I explain in Chapter 5 (Pp247). It additionally has not become in a catch-all party type in the selection of leaders and candidates as Chapter 5 describes. Also the party has not de-ideologised itself. It has introduced liberal ideas in its background, abandoning the traditional Marxist definition.

The classical literature on political parties addresses the impact of social contexts on the development of political parties in modern democracies. The emergence of democratic ideologies and the expansion of the electorate are two aspects highlighted in the development of electoral committees and political groups that led to the establishment of parties in Western democracies. The expansion of suffrage permitted the emergence of ideologies linked to nationalistic, religious or secular movements (LaPalombara and Weiner, 1966). In other words, transformations in political and the social contexts impacted on the development of parties. But also context influences the way in which political participation is carried on within the party considering the type of members that party includes in its organisation, their gender, social class

background, ages and race. The same suffrage expansion allowed not only the introduction of working class members within political parties but also women , for the case of the PSCh was from 1933 (Chapter 3:135). This diversity of membership influenced the definition of political participation, which was understood and framed as diverse, plural or democratic. Thus, socioeconomic and political context do not only refer to the introduction of ideological frameworks within political parties, such as liberal ideas within the PSCh since 1990s. It also contributes with the nature of membership. Duverger indirectly considers the influence of context in the development of parties, linking the development of mass parties with the inclusion of new political actors as was described above. Following his analysis, those new political actors (which are mostly working classes) influences mass parties' development through both the internal solidarities and the type of membership. Duverger's understanding of solidarities is connected to types of membership within those organisations. Thus, the idea of particular linkages based on party's members is relevant for considering that the development of the party and the forms that political participation take throughout party's history. It is important to take into account class, ideological affiliations, generations and their experiences of context. Those elements are expressed in solidarity ties within membership, which frame those experiences within meanings and ideas about political action.

A second aspect present within institutional development is that structural transformations influence the historical development of political parties, not only in the way in which their theoretical and ideological background is

defined, but also in the subjects who enact internal agency. This is also part of institutional development, which is to say, the way in which parties were created and developed. Also historical contexts are considered as factors in the development of political parties through the existence of social cleavages impacting on the development of both cultural and territorial identities prior to party formation. This particular aspect links party's institutional development with the historical transformations found within those contexts. It connects parties with critical events and transformations and their influence on parties' development. For example a main event which marked the PSCh history was the election of Salvador Allende's as president in 1970. This event was the result of internal transformation in the Chilean social and economic context which impacted the PSCh political cultures (Chapter 3:158-167). This particular event shaped ideas and meanings about participations and power of generations of socialist members who defined this event as the triumph of pluralism and democracy. Therefore, I will focus on critical historical transformations and trace their impact on the internal patterns of meaning about political participation in relation to members taking into consideration their experience of this historical junctures, their solidarities, generation and class.

Participation, membership and leadership in parties

As I previously stated, membership and participation are key elements within political parties, and are necessary to take into account to conceptualise the

patterns of meaning about political participation -political culture – of a party. Studies about these issues in Latin America have centred on how political parties developed their internal membership rather than internal membership agency itself. As I stated in the Introduction (Pp15-17), the analysis of parties' internal realities brings together research about membership, leadership, candidacy selection, and informal institutions. This study is closest to those which centre on intra party relations, using the frame of political culture to bring together a party's macro-foundation with its internal agency.

It was previously suggested that gender, race and class are factors which need to be consider when membership is introduced within the analysis of political culture. For example, literature about political parties and gender address cultural factors to explain women inclusion within political participation and parties' agency (Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Moore and Shackman 1996; and Norris and Ingelhart 2001). An interesting perspective is presented by Ballington and Matland (2004) which addressed how internal practices and forms of political participation are relevant in explaining women's participation. Informal roles such as gatekeepers and informal rules have an impact on women's promotion within political parties. Also they suggest that women's entry into the "all boys club" do not promote a shift in gender dynamics and the exercise of power. This literature suggests that practices and meanings about power and political participation impact on the way in which informal rules and practices influence and shape women's participation. Taking that case as an example, patterns of political culture could explain how

Bachelet's or other women overcome these types of internal barrier or if women are reinforcing those barriers. Gender is not the main focus on the thesis. It integrates gender but it is put in broader perspective along with ideological heritages and experiences of context.

To apply the concept of political culture to a party involves tracing a party's political culture through the different levels of party membership and leadership, focusing on the way in which it frames intra-party relations, particularly understandings of participation. It focuses on patterns of meaning which frame daily agency within party organisation; the actors that are using those patterns; the type of members and the type of leaders that are applying this framework for action; and the spaces where those patterns are used, formal organisation or other type of informal organisation. Exploring membership-leadership relations as levels of analysis in this way helps to map a party's political culture at the micro-foundation level.

Party literature implicitly presents the content of a party's political culture, through its conception of structures and interactions inside the party. Duverger refers to types of social connections based on the impact that these connections had on the evolution of a party´s internal structures. He considers the nature of participation in political parties as a "collection of communities, a union of small groups dispersed throughout the country (branches, caucuses, local associations) and linked by co-ordinating institutions" (1967: 37). He divides party members into three categories: supporters, members and militants. In his

analysis, each category represents one distinctive type of political participation defined by its nature, because each category represents one type of solidarity. These types of solidarity express how members understand participation. Duverger`s idea of participation is embedded in his conceptualisation of communities. The community is defined as a social group founded on proximity, neighbourhood, and "solidarity through similarities" (1967: 124). An association is based on interest, while an order is based on voluntary membership and is the base for political participation within parties. The idea of types of social connections and the presence of communities underline the importance of frames among membership, which can help to conceptualise patterns of political culture. Those are not necessary common ideas and meanings presented within party's membership, but the result of particular solidarities and social connections presented among members who shared similar experiences. Thus exiles, clandestine activity as well as 1973 coup turn important events which could strengthen linkages among people within organisations, resulting in common understandings about participation and power relations coming from for example the bases' experiences. Following this understanding, gender, age and class background could be an important factor for characterising a particular pattern of political culture. For the case of political parties, internal factions and particular groups inside of it could reflect some difference that might turn into subcultures. As a result, membership-leadership relations is a key level to bring into the analysis the differential impact of contexts on agent and bring into view the complex levels of political culture in a party. Duverger does not mention the presence of particular cultures or identities in each category, but he concludes that in every political

party, these three types of social links coexist. This conclusion could lead us to consider that the composition of a political culture in a party is not constructed from a unitary point of view, but from the diverse standpoints of its members and their positions in the party organisation. Hence, Duverger implies that particular identities coexist at the same time in a party. These identities could also define the party's particular political cultures and also the presence of subcultures within them. These political cultures and subcultures could be connected to identities and types of membership and the way in which these types of membership are part of conceptualisations of patterns used within the party. The theory of types of membership enables us to understand how political participation is conducted by a party's membership and how the political culture drives power relations but is not of necessity unitary or homogenous.

This study looks at base members and leaders, and political cultures used by them to drive their political participation within the party, and to develop their internal power relationships. This study looks at the pattern of political culture between legitimate members and leaders, which are used by them to drive their power relations. Legitimate membership and leaders are those who actively participate within the party, and whose activities are recognised and accepted by the whole membership. At the base membership level, I look to identify how membership is legitimised, and how the pattern of meanings of political participation motivates members' conduct. Leadership type centres on how leadership is legitimised among party members and how the political culture

motivates leadership relations with base members. The relationship between members and leaders is driven by the patterns of political culture. The way in which these patterns are used could be linked to the position of members within the party organisation, particularly if members are base members or party leaders.

Merely focusing on leaders and members is not enough for conceptualise political culture within parties. It is needed to take into account informal relationships within membership and leadership and the way in which those are driven by patterns of power rather than to focus just on formal relations so it is necessary to go further in the conceptualisation and centre on those relations. Duverger's analysis enables us to observe the political culture of parties as a framework for action which motivates party members' political participation. Inside the internal organisation, there are types of membership and leadership. In the case of the leadership, Duverger establishes differences between formal and informal leaders centred on the way in which political participation is conducted by a party's leaders. He establishes a differentiation between party officers and bosses. The party officers are the titular leaders who are democratically elected but who do not have real power. The real power is based on party bosses who are the real leaders. The informal organisation is termed a machine and is organised through co-optation. Therefore, the membership and leadership within parties are connected to how both categories are practised as roles by subjects inside the party. So this particular conceptualisation is useful for me because it bring together the different faces that political culture could

have within party organisation, in particular the presence of different cultures as well as subcultures and how these can be articulated both formally and informally.

Pizzorno (1981) goes into more depth about types of membership and internal participation through the principle of identification, defining political organisations as structures of confidence and solidarity, with a common culture and goals. This definition is relevant for my conceptualisation of political culture because types of participation could represent different political cultures that membership and leadership could have due to generational differences as well as in types of solidarities and linkages. He suggests that political participation is determined by a set of individual interests that impact on parties at three levels of political action: social bases of interest (the class); active party members of a social movement that reinforces collective solidarity; and leaders, or professional politicians who reinforce individual utilities. Pizzorno perceives political activity as a sort of political professionalization. He divides the bases of motivation for political participation into a system of solidarity and a system of interests. The former is based on the concept of a community of equals, with a system of action based on the solidarity of actors in which cooperation prevails through the achievement of common goals. This system could be identified as being the participants' motivation which is "the gratification of belongings, sociability, mutual support, and the sense of identity that is derived from these" (1967: 254). The latter, the system of interest, the next stage in the development of Western parties, is where the sense of society based on the interests of the actors and competition prevails. Here the motivation for participation is individualistic, focused on individual

advantages in terms of political power. This conceptualisation of systems of participation could be linked with the idea of communities and solidarities presented in Duverger's work which gives to the conceptualisation of political culture enough depth for considering the presence of cultures and subcultures within parties by enabling conceptualisation and analysis of diversity within and between membership and leadership. Both cultures and subcultures could coexist and also provoke clashes among them. Pizzorno explains there is a tension between the goals of the individual and collective action in Pizzorno's work, because individual goals motivate political participation, but the basis for political choice is "some kind of collective identification" (1981: 255) with parties' goals. This identification defines political organisations as structures of trust and solidarity which share common goals and a common cultural background. The tension between individual goals and collective identification prevails in Pizzorno's work, and he explains political participation through this tension. The tension between these two sets of goals is related to the two types of systems of participation which could be used to understand the relationship between members and leaders within the Chilean Socialist Party, and conceptualise the patterns of political cultures. Pizzorno's concepts of collective identification and individual goals help to explain the differentiation that exists between the base membership and leadership in the PSCh, and how their relationship is driven within the party by a set of common frameworks for action. This is how leaders or base members identify themselves in the party, and how this differentiation links membership and leadership to collective goals and individual goals respectively. Thus, Pizzorno's understanding also could allow us to explain contradictions within party's agency as a result of

political cultures. Both, Pizzorno and Duverger contribute to give a great depth to the concept of political culture within a party because their ideas about membership and participation bring the diversity within membership and leadership relations as well as characterisation of participation linked to those relations.

Another contribution to this theoretical framework comes from Panebianco (1988), who analyses the bonds between leaders and followers in relation to the types of incentive present within the party and how these incentives could affect this relationship when parties become unequal organisation without a clear ideology. His understanding complements Pizzorno`s ideas about political participation because Panebianco centres political participation in the presence of incentives given by leaders to members. He describes the relationship between members and leaders through the unequal distribution of incentives which characterise power relations. These incentives could be collective or selective. The distribution of incentives allows leaders to assure members' obedience. Thus, Panebianco's analysis of incentives is important in understanding how individualization within the PSCh introduces clientelism in the relationship between members and leaders. Clientelism can be understood following Panebianco's idea of incentives and is here defined as the exclusive distribution of selective incentives from leaders to members.

Michels' work (1968) helps us to conceptualise power relations. This classic definition of political parties centres the internal relations of an unequal distribution of power between leaders and members. He defines the political party (the modern democratic party) as a "fighting organisation" (1968: 78) dominated by militarist ideas and methods. In his definition, it is implicit that the conceptualisation of democracy is that it is ruled by dominant elite, a political elite (even if a mass-based elite) who ultimate aim is to replace the power of a minority with themselves, another minority. Thus power involves an unequal relation based on the dominance and co-optation of political elites, which could be used for understanding how power relations are established between members and leaders. Michels´ theory of party oligarchies is based on a claim that the presence of leaders is necessary for the masses because of the masses' inability to govern their organisation. Thus, Michels' theory has its roots in the elitist theory of democracy, with the presence of elites and followers being due to the impossibility of the masses being able to practice direct democracy (defined as the self-government of the masses). Michels' framework presents a system of parties controlled by elites and ruled by charismatic leaders, underpinned by a deterministic perspective on the development of democracy and party activity, resulting in a decline in party membership because of the professionalization of leadership. The unequal relation and co-optation presented in Michel's work could be integrated in the way in which power relations within parties are analysed. Particularly it is considered if the dominant nature in the linkages between members and leaders could reinforce or underline a particular type of participation and power

relationship which is shaped and legitimised by political cultures and/or sub-cultures within the party.

Duverger's definition of political elite is similar to that of Michels but Duverger links the type of leadership to the development of each party. From Michels' perspective, the type of leadership defines the party because his definition of leadership incorporates the idea that political parties are fighting organizations. Political parties are the arena for the struggles of leaders. By contrast, Duverger links the type of party to the nature of political participation and leadership found within political organizations. Both authors define elites from a hegemonic and oligarchic perspective in the way that dominate parties' internal agency. Duverger establishes this characterisation in its conceptualisation of bosses, machines and titular leaders. He points out that while the formal organisation is controlled by titular leaders, the real power rest on the informal structure of machines and their bosses, who exercise the real power of the party. As I stated above, this hegemonic and oligarchic views contributes to characterise the nature of power relations between members and leaders within the PSCh. The nature of this relationship could be reflected by parties' political outcomes or in the nature of internal clashes and tensions as a result of those outcomes; thus, it is important to integrate both authors to my analysis. I take into account Michels' ideas about co-optation and authoritarianism, as well as his understanding about elites conduct, as this helps to conceptualise meanings of political participation coming from leadership.

The authors discussed in this section (Duverger, Pizzorno, Panebianco and Michels) suggest, directly and indirectly, the presence of a political culture of political parties as a framework for action. This framework for action is expressed through political participation, the membership in parties, and the leadership. This framework for action or political culture can be found in the relations between members and leaders, which shape political participation. Michels conceptualises a type of political leadership, an elitist style that moves towards non-democratic practices and its impact on the development of a political party. Duverger considers the coexistence of different types of social relations based on types of membership, called solidarities, which are different from one another. These solidarities express the relationship between members and leaders in political parties, and could be the base for different political cultures and subcultures. I would suggest that this relationship between members and leaders characterises political participation inside a party. This relationship is defined by the position of members within the party organisation. It shapes political participation because power relations are established between the base membership and the party elite. Thus, to look at membership-leadership relations is to look at common solidarities that framing types of participation as well as the way in which political culture could strengthen or weaken power relations within a party.

Duverger explains political participation through the existence of different types of solidarities, in a collective sense. These solidarities are part of Duverger's definition of parties because they define each type of community

present inside the party. For Pizzorno, political parties are consequences of a system of representation. In this system, parties play the role of organised interest groups, in a context where individual and collective utilities coexist. Following this understanding, the system of interest prevails over time, in opposition to the system of solidarity. In addition, the process of identification with political activity involves a process of definition based on particular goals, in which the prevalence of collective identification becomes difficult due to the maximisation of individual interest as a consequence of changes in the system of representation. Both perspectives are included in the conceptualisation of political culture for this research. The presence of different goals are linked to type of participation, system of solidarity and system of interest (Pizzorno) which might involve difference communities' solidarities and linkages within membership and leadership. Pizzorno presents an evolution within the systems of representation. However, the presence of different faces within the parties could be linked to the presence of both systems rather than an evolution of them. This issue could help us to explain the nature of political cultures and subcultures within parties because the type of solidarities presented in both systems.

Duverger and Pizzorno agree on the presence of different types of solidarities and particular types of membership inside political parties. Duverger identifies these issues in his typology of membership and leadership, which suggests that base and leadership would have different solidarities and political cultures than base membership. Pizzorno identifies the presence of these solidarities and

types of membership through his theory of the relationship between collective agency and individual agency, which is reflected by the incentives to participate in political parties by individuals: individual participation (individual agency) and collective identification (collective agency). Both authors offer a complex perspective on political parties which reflects the parties' internal actions. Both interpretations suggest that political parties are not compact groups when they are taking decisions. Rather, they exhibit internal contradictions due to the diversity of solidarities in their support-base which could be seen as political cultures and subcultures as they practice and adhere to different patterns of participation. Their decisions are linked to the position that the membership has within the party and its connections to the leadership. The positions inside the party influence how power relations are developed by members. I focus on how the patterns of meanings for political participation are used to establish power relations between members and leaders. Therefore, the internal political culture of political parties, and the framework for action, must present different elements, suggesting that parties, as political institutions, have internal forces which interact with one another and among which one can identify a political culture or subcultures which can influence political outcomes.

Pizzorno develops a complex understanding of political parties based on the existence of interest groups and the ways in which these groups respond to different types of unequal relations. These unequal relations are represented by the three categories of membership and the political relation that Pizzorno

identifies. Panebianco contributes to understanding the relationship between members and leaders based on the distribution of incentives, focusing on the relationship between leaders and members. All four authors show the presence of particular forms of political participation in parties, which are analysed from the perspective of membership-leadership relations. These elements provide a framework for action because they determine the political participation within parties, and hence, their internal development. Therefore, the analyses provided by these authors could be linked to the political culture of a party. Duverger analyses the institutional evolution of political parties and the ways in which this evolution impacts on party structure and membership-leadership relations. Michels focuses on the power relations between the leaders and the masses to define the development of political parties. Pizzorno and Panebianco identify alternative methods of participation, and power relations in political organisations and hence the potential for alternative forms of political culture. Indirectly, the literature on political parties described in this section shows the existence of a political culture of political parties, influenced by their institutional development (Duverger) and by their social context (Panebianco), and by their internal power relations (Pizzorno, Panebianco and Michels). This political culture motivates relationships between members and leaders due to the fact that it shapes political participation within a party. The concept of political culture helps us to analyse parties' complexities, and how these complexities impact on political outcomes. From a methodological perspective, an analysis of membership-leadership relations allows us to comprehend the form that a political culture could take in parties, which could be expressed through parties' political outcomes. It allows exploration of political culture-

whether it is there, if there are more than one, and then what impact they have on outcomes. Additionally it centres on communalities among membership and leadership that could be used as a basis from which emerged these patterns. These communalities come from common experiences within participation; roles exercised within the party; experiences of context from different subjects (e.g.. exiled elites and base members in Chile during Augusto Pinochet regime). As a result, those differences among those communalities are not necessary found inside formal or informal organisations such as factions, but on relations established among members.

The authors discussed here emphasise the relevance of membership-leadership relations to a party's outcomes. Pizzorno and Panebianco in particular describe tensions in the relationship between members and leaders which must be considered in order to explain the way in which patterns of political participation drive their actions. The three authors analysed in this section highlight that membership has different levels, and that these levels have certain types of solidarities (Duverger). These solidarities are also expressed at the individual level and at the collective level (Pizzorno), and are linked to a party's context (Panebianco). Thus, the study of the political culture of political parties has to consider the different levels of participation and to observe the impact of these levels of participation on the conduct of parties and on the relationship between members and leaders.

This study adopts Duverger's definition of the types of membership and leadership within parties so as to theorise the political culture of a political party. Duverger's definition takes into account the presence of different types of solidarities among the membership in a political party. These types of solidarities define the political participation of party members. Duverger's model of political parties posits the existence of a collective sense which underlies political participation based on types of membership and leadership. This study uses Duverger´s conceptualization at this level to identify the types of membership and leadership within the PSCh. It also draws upon Pizzorno and Panebianco´s explanation of political participation to describe the relationship between members and leaders of the party. This relationship is portrayed in terms of the tension between individual goals (practice pattern) and collective identification (institutional pattern) to analyse political participation. Although this interpretation is distinct from the collective agency perspective of political culture, it is useful so as to understand the relationship between members and leaders. Both Pizzorno's and Panebianco's understandings of political participation are complemented with Michels' idea of elites behaviour, which defines the relationship between members and leaders in terms of co-optation and authoritarianism. These three authors' definitions of participation and power relations help us to analyse how the patterns of meanings of political participation are used by members and leaders inside the PSCh.

The concept of political culture in a party combines Duverger's definition of membership-leadership relations with Pizzorno´s understanding of how internal participation takes shape between members' and leaders' perspectives, and the tensions resulting from these perspectives. Panebianco`s perspective contributes the idea of the system of incentives because it allows us to research political participation within the party in depth. Regarding leadership, I shall deploy Duverger's perspective because it allows us to analyse types of membership and their influence upon the political leadership. I also include Michels' focus on political elites and their moves towards authoritarianism and the co-optation of base members.

Comments about political culture and political outcomes

I have conceptualised political culture, linked to the institutional literature on political parties, as a means to operationalise my research questions. It has been suggested that institutional development and membership-leadership relations must be taken into account when researching the political culture of political parties. The model of institutional development links the party with its social context in order to identify the influence of this context on a party's conduct. The analysis of membership-leadership relations centres on how political participation is driven by party members and understood within the party. Both elements could explain party outcomes through the presence of more than one political culture.

In this chapter I have suggested that most of the literature on political parties explains the transformations experienced by parties from the theoretical perspective of conduct (agency) or context (structure). As I explained in the introduction to this chapter, the analysis of the political culture of political parties gives a broader frame for understanding the linkages between context and parties, through the formation of the patterns of meaning for political participation. It also gives the opportunity to explore how power relations are framed by those patterns embedded within political culture. In order to develop the concept of political culture in political parties, it was necessary to define the concept in relation to parties and to determine what aspects of parties help us to observe and understand their internal political culture. It was also necessary to operationalise the impact of political culture on political outcomes within political parties.

I understand the political culture of parties as framework for action (Elkins, 1993), formed by patterns diachronically developed and influenced by the social context (Genzdel, 1997; Hitchner, 1968). This conceptualization of political culture is linked to the collective agency perspective, in which it is suggested that political culture is collectively constructed in communities or organizations such as parties (Elkins and Simeon, 1979), representing different types of participation and power relations which could embed more than one political culture within political parties as well as subcultures. In particular, this study will focus on the patterns of political culture which conceptualise ideas and meanings related to the political participation of members and

leaders of the PSCh; how these patterns shape internal participation; and how these patterns influenced Bachelet's nomination.

In this study, I take into account the connections between a macro-foundational perspective, particularly on the Chilean social context, and a micro-foundational perspective, particularly in relation to the conduct of the Socialist Party (PSCh). Those connections are represented by two levels of analysis, institutional development and membership-leadership relations. Those levels are used for conceptualising political cultures within the party taking into account the influence of historical evolutions among internal agency, and the diverse types of participation and their communalities in base membership and leadership which mediate these key historical transformations. These patterns help us to understand how context has an influence, particularly in the way in which power relations are driven by them. These patterns also help to explain how internal power relations are conducted between members and leaders. To conceptualise these patterns are taken into account elements such a gender, experiences of context; ideological heritages as well as solidarity ties. Those elements will help us to map meanings amongst leaders and members, considering faction participation, role in party or class background. Those elements will help us to identify the presence of one of more political culture within the contemporary party. The next chapter looks at the methodology developed for this research.

Chapter 2

Political Culture in Political Parties

A Methodological Perspective

The previous chapter operationalised the concept of political culture for researching within parties, particularly in the Chilean Socialist party (PSCh). Thus far, the political culture in a political party is conceptualised as framework for action (Elkins, 1993: 123) formed by diachronically developed by political parties and influenced by the social context (Genzdel, 1997; Hitchner, 1968). This framework for action is shared by party members, and it shapes power relations between members and leaders. This project links this definition of political culture to the collective agency perspective, in which it is argued that political culture is collectively constructed in communities or organisations such as political parties (Elkins and Simeon, 1979). This collective agency perspective is visible in the way in which the patterns of meaning for political participation take form and influence political participation. This understanding of political culture helps to explain the impact of the social context on the conduct of political parties because the concept of political culture links micro-foundation (conduct) with macro-foundation (context) (Almond and Verba, 1964). Political parties are institutions which are linked to their context (Van Biezen, 2000). The influence of this context can be observed in the conduct of parties (micro-foundations). The concept of political culture is the required umbrella to unite how institutional development fosters the formation of the political culture, and how the meanings embedded in these patterns are exercised by members within

the party. Political culture, through its patterns, shapes a party's internal agency. Thus the concept of political culture allows research into the impact of the context (macro-foundations) on parties, and how conduct (micro-foundations) takes form inside a party's processes of political participation. Political culture brings together context and agency for a deeper understanding of political participation inside parties. This definition of political culture is linked to the institutionalism literature on political parties to operationalise the concept of the political culture of political parties. In the PSCh political cultures, I look at patterns used for framing internal political participation and power relations, which are fostered by the party's institutional development and shape power relations between members and leaders.

Additionally, these patterns are researched at two levels of analysis in the political culture. The first is institutional development, which focuses on the influence of the context on a party's development. The second is membership-leadership relations, and it centres on how political participation is shaped by the patterns, how power relations between members and leaders take form inside the party. I argue that both levels permit research into these patterns in order to specify their influence on political outcomes, such as Bachelet's nomination. Therefore, these two levels enable us to research the influence of the PSCh political cultures in the nomination of Michelle Bachelet as presidential candidate in 2005.

This chapter outlines the methodology for identifying the Socialist Party's political cultures, and the way in which this culture influenced Michelle Bachelet´s nomination. Firstly, it is explained how each level of analysis is used for answering each research question, which provides a methodological justification for the approach taken. Secondly, the methods used in this study are described, particularly the qualitative nature of this study and the selected methods.

Answering the research questions

This study helps to uncover the complex nature of political parties, taking into account the influence of political culture on a party. This analysis goes into considerable depth regarding the existence of a particular political culture, and its influence on political outcomes, such as the nomination of candidates. It is important to research the political culture of a party on these two levels because each level expresses the relationship that a party has with its social context, and how political participation is conducted. According to Elkins, political culture does not determine political options inside a human group. There is diversity in each group and this diversity could cause conflict inside a party. Finally, these general orientations, mixed with personal experiences, are expressed in a complex way. The concept of political culture expresses the idea that individuals collectively share common ideas and patterns. These common ideas and patterns link them to a particular community or group. I suggest that life-stories and common life experiences among party members allow them to share common understandings about political practice and

political participation. The relationship between context and agency does not produce one unitary response to the contextual influence. It produces different answers coming from the variety of communities which are interacting with this context. It could produce different political cultures based on life experiences and solidarities built by those experiences. Also it is necessary to take into account the differences of gender, age, race, and class background for understanding the influences coming from socioeconomic and political contexts. These differences could be found in the patterns of political cultures and subcultures present within those communities or organisations such as political parties. Parties share a common ideas and meanings about participation and power. Hence it is necessary to explore and identified if there is indeed one political culture or many political cultures. Those cultures or subcultures have Chilton's characteristics of supramembership and sharedness. An approach deploying both levels of analysis, institutional development and membership-leadership relations, brings together the contextual influence with subjectivity within a party's conduct. Contextual influence is found within the patterns embedded in the PSCh political culture which motivate members' political participation. The first level of analysis, party institutional development, takes into account the influence of the context on a party's culture. The linkages between the levels of analysis and the research questions are explained as it follows:

- Are there one or more Political Cultures in the Chilean Socialist Party?

This first question is formulated in order to identify the political culture of the party, and it is answered by the two levels of analysis. Both levels are used for

conceptualise the patterns of political culture within the PSCh and for identify other possible subcultures. The first level shows the influence of the social context on the party's institutional development. Duverger's institutional understanding of parties deploys a diachronic model of party's development. The second level of analysis, membership-leadership relations, is used to respond to the first research question from the subject/agent perspective, and shows how these patterns shape power relations. Research on the level of membership-leadership relations identifies the patterns of ideas about political participation among members and leaders.

The methods that I use to conceptualise the patterns of political culture within the PSCh are as follows (1) to gather data about political culture coming from PSCh documents; (2) in depth interviews (3) qualitative Content Analysis with thematic approach for conceptualising the patterns of political culture within the party so as to identify political cultures (4) to apply process tracking in order to connect the data with the theoretical framework for answering the research questions. The first group of methods, gathering PSCh documents takes into account the diachronic perspective of the concept due to the fact that those documents shows the historical evolution of the party as well as its institutional development. In-depth contributes with the historic perspective, but they give us the possibility to find differences in those patterns based on the membership and leadership diversity of gender, age and class background[19].

[19] Chile has not been characterized as a country with strong race difference. The 4.6% of the population is classified as indigenous, where Mapuches are the largest group (604,349). Source: Chilean National Census 2002, available at [http://www.ine.cl/canales/menu/indice_tematico.php]

Thus the interviews with members and leaders of the PSCh bring the differences among subjects and their ideas and meanings used by those subjects for framing their power relations. Both data coming from the interviews and from the documents are analysed by a qualitative Content Analysis with thematic approach to conceptualise the patterns. Finally, the data coming from those methods is connecting to the theoretical framework using process-tracing to complete the first part of the analysis.

- *How does the PSCh political culture help us to understand and explain the election of Michelle Bachelet as the first female President of Chile? & What did the election of Michelle Bachelet mean for this political culture?*

In order to answer the second and third research question, it is necessary to take into account the patterns of political culture previously conceptualised. The second question focuses on how these patterns explain the political outcome analysed. The third research question centres on identified possible changes within political cultures in the party as a result of Bachelet's nomination and later her election. The method used for answering questions 2 and 3 is the process tracing which allows connecting the data to the patterns of political culture for characterising their influence on Bachelet's nomination. It also permits to find possible changes or influences that her nomination could bring into these political cultures.

The second research question looks at how this outcome was influenced by the patterns of meanings held by members. I centre on these patterns and the way in which are used by members and leaders for establishing their power relations. Those relations changed during the period of Bachelet's presidency.

Possible influences and impacts of a particular outcome on party's political cultures are sought in its patterns. This is because party members show how these patterns have interacted together and therefore, how any changes could be found in political participation. The third research question takes into account the two-way influences between members and leaders' relations and party outcomes in order to identify the influence of the outcome on the patterns of political cultures. Bachelet's nomination could show how these patterns drive internal participation, and also how this political outcome could influence these patterns at the same time.

Four key methods are used for conceptualising the patterns of political culture as well as for characterising their influence on Bachelet's nomination and possible changes coming from her persona. The first method is to gather documents of the PSCh where it is possible to find its political culture. The second method is to conduct in depth interview with PSCh members to bring in the subject in the analysis. The third method is to analyse both documents and interviews by a qualitative Content Analysis with thematic approach. The final method is to connect data with the theoretical framework using a process-tracking analysis for conceptualise the patterns and characterise their influence on Bachelet's nomination. The following sections explain in depth all the suggested methods for this research.

Political culture and the methodological perspective

This study looks to identify one or many political cultures of the Chilean Socialist Party, and to analyse the relationship between those political cultures and the nomination of Bachelet as presidential candidate. It was decided to frame this study as a qualitative study because the study "refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and descriptions of things" (Berg, 2004: 3). A qualitative study of political culture of the Chilean Socialist Party and the nomination of Bachelet as presidential candidate identifies and interprets the political culture as a framework for action whose characteristics are influenced by the social context. These characteristics impact on the conduct of members and, thus, political outcomes. In addition, a qualitative study establishes the influence that the political culture had on Bachelet's nomination, and the meaning of this political outcome for the party's political culture.

Previously it was introduced the methods that this research uses. This study requires qualitative methods of analysis due to the fact that this study identifies and analyses the patterns of meaning within the PSCh political culture. Sensitive and flexible methods are needed which take account of the social context in which the data is produced (Snape and Spencer, 2003), in order to identify this political culture and to make the necessary connections with Bachelet's nomination. Thus, it is appropriate to use qualitative methods to search for, gather and analyse data on political culture because the study is not measuring the impact of political culture on this event, but analysing the

connections between Bachelet's nomination and the PSCh political culture. The two levels of research and analysis of a party's political cultures define the methods needed in this study because the methods must trace, identify and analyse the political culture of the PSCh within them. The methods must be able to trace the political culture within the influence of the social context in the institutional development of a party, and identify this culture among the party's membership and leadership. These methods also allow research into how the patterns of in political cultures shape power relations inside the party and influenced Bachelet's nomination.

The first method is to gather archival material from the PSCh and Bachelet's election, internal documents of the party published between 2000 and 2005, and articles written by the PSCh leaders, relating to Bachelet's nomination, published between 2000 and 2005. In-depth interviews with female and male members of the PSCh are the second method. These interviews are conducted to gather information from participants "in their own words" (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984). These materials are analysed by qualitative Content Analysis (CA) with a thematic analysis approach to identify patterns of meanings of political participation within the PSCh. Identification of these patterns enables us to profile the PSCh political culture, and to link the political culture of the party with Bachelet's nomination. Data coming from archive materials and interviews are analysed by a qualitative CA in order to identify the common patterns about political participation, so as to link those patterns with political culture and Bachelet's nomination. This data demonstrates the linkages between context and agency. The documents show the internal discussion

about participation inspired by the events that marked Chilean history. Most of these documents show the membership collectively re-signified these events into themes such as democracy, pluralism, authority. The interviews show how members conceptualise participation and power as well as how those conceptualisations were influenced collectively by events and histories.

The qualitative CA considers the necessary connections between the levels in order to answer the research questions. The qualitative data analysis also considers the thematic analysis approach, which uses the same type of code as a qualitative CA for identifying common themes within texts. All the methods used for this study are described below.

Archive materials

The first method is to gather documents from the PSCh (primary source[20]). This method has three objectives: (1) to gather data about the party's institutional development; (2) to collect evidence about party membership and leadership participation; (3) to obtain data coming from Bachelet's campaign documents[21]. The first objective, to gather data about the party's institutional development, allows us to look at the ways in which the party characterised power and participation through its historical evolution. Official documents of the party contain ideas and meanings that the party collectively has developed through

[20] The fieldwork was carried out from July to September 2010, after the earthquake which impacted on the province where this research was conducted. Therefore, some of the documentary materials were not available. In particular, PSCh documents between 2000 until 2005 were not found due to the fact that party's library was being repaired.

[21] I was able to do this after finishing the first round of content analysis.

its history, so I focus on those ideas to uncover the patterns of political culture which they represent. The second objective, to collect evidence about party membership and leadership participation, brings the formal side of power relations within the party, the side which is found in the formal statutes and their amendments made in party Congresses. The third objective, to gather data from Bachelet's campaign documents, help us to find the patterns of political culture in these documents made during the period of her nomination by the PSCh, and to contrast this date with the evidence coming from interviews to see the influence of the patterns of political culture in her nomination as well as possible impact of her persona within those patterns.

The PSCh documents (primary sources) that this study searches for and analyse are:

a. PSCh General Congress resolutions[22] (1933[23]-1973[24] and 1990- 2005[25]).

b. PSCh Central Committee[26] documents (published from1933-1973 and

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22 The General Congress is defined as "the superior body" of the party ["el organismo superior del partido"] (art. 19). It takes place every three years and its delegates are elected proportionally to represent the members of the party. See Picazo Verdejo, Ines, "El Partido Socialista de Chile". In Alcantara and Freidenberg ed Partidos Politicos de America Latina. Cono Sur. Instituto Federal Electoral. Fondo de Cultura Economica. Mexico, 2003. Pp311-329.

23 Most of the formal statements and official documents of the PSCh since its foundation to 1973 are gathering in Jobet (1987a,1987b) The Chilean Socialist Party.

24 There are not formal Congress of the PSCh between 1973 to1990.

25 There are no resolutions from the 2005 General Congress.

26 The central committee is defined as "the collective, superior and permanent supreme decisional body" of the party ["órgano colectivo, superior, permanente"] (art. 17 y 18). Their members are forty-five delegates elected in the different regions; forty-five delegates elected at the national level and five delegates elected by the youth of the party.

from 1990 to 2005[27]) and PSCh women`s affairs department documents (published from 1990 to 2005).

c. Official Documents from the PSCh0, internal factions and speeches from leaders regarding the presidential candidate's selection and Bachelet's nomination from 2000 to 2005.

d. Historical official documents about Socialist Party history.

e. Michelle Bachelet's campaign programme and speeches.

The mix between historical documents and documents from the PSCh collective bodies allows us to identify the PSCh political culture on the first level of analysis, institutional development, and the second level of analysis, membership-leadership relations. The data contributes with shared ideas and meanings about participation developed by the party since its foundation, as well as the way in which power relations were normalised through that evolution. Thus, the institutional development contributes here with its diachronic characterisation of political culture. Membership-leadership relations consider this diachronic vision for uncover these relations in formal historical documents. Therefore, the documentary evidence provides data for partially answering the three research questions, considering both levels of analysis. Documents from internal committees were also selected. I expect to find among these documents evidence of the existence of a political culture (s) in the party, particularly how the political culture shapes internal relations

[27] There are few documents about Bachelet's nomination due to the fact that most of the documents focused on the National Congress elections 2001 and 2005, and 2004 Municipal election.

between members and leaders. As I previously stated, the evidence about political culture that I am expecting to find in these documents are ideas and meaning related to participation and formally normalised power relations. Thus, in researching the patterns of meanings about the PSCh political culture, the internal committee documents are one of the relevant sources.

In addition to these committees, documents coming from the PSCh women`s affairs department are selected because this department is focused on gender issues. Although this study is not centred on gender issues, it is necessary to take into account the documents from this office as part of the Socialist political culture. Finally, Bachelet's campaign programme and speeches provides evidence for identifying the political culture in her campaign. The research looks at the form in which the patterns conceptualise political participation. This study does not have a gender perspective but gender might be linked to ideas about democracy, pluralism or diversity which characterise PSCh's participation. These ideas are found among formal documents, including those coming from the women's affairs department.

These documentary materials gather information about Bachelet's nomination in particular. I expect to find among these documents the patterns of meanings that could be conceptualised as PSCh's political culture (s), and to link these patterns with the final outcome. I look at the way in which these documents frame ideas about power and participation, considering that these documentary materials gather information about the political culture at the two levels of

analysis. In addition, these documents are linked to the research questions, due to the fact that the analysis identifies the political culture and its influence on Bachelet´s nomination.

In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews permit us to gather information in the interviewee's own words (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984; Bauer and Gaskell, 2000). In addition, they provide in-depth responses and permit interviewees to explain their reasons, feelings, opinions and beliefs (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). In-depth interviews permit the interviewer to obtain clarifications and further details on topics of interest (Bauer and Gaskell, 2000). In-depth interviews gather data regarding the PSCh political culture from different party members. Political parties have different types of membership with different types of solidarities (Duverger, 1954). Thus, in-depth interviews focus on the PSCh members to identify their responses to the pattern of meanings of political participation, to explain their impact on Bachelet's nomination, and to examine the influence of Bachelet's nomination on the PSCh political culture (s). This method brings the subject, the membership, into the analysis, through their own ideas and reflexions about power, participation, membership and leadership. Interviews integrate the perspective of the subjects who build the internal agency of the party as members and leaders, who are involved in its political activity as well as its internal decisions. These subjects have integrated the patterns into their conceptualisation about the party as a space of power and political action. As a result, interviews with members and leaders of the party bring into the analysis

how the patterns are used and their role as frameworks for action. This method contributes to the analysis of membership-leadership relations because it includes the way in which members and leaders established their daily interactions.

I used semi-structured interviews (Guillham, 2005: 70) because they allow me to ask the same questions to all the interviewees (and to compare their answers), while also examining their own patterns of meanings. This method permits me to conduct interviews with a greater degree of flexibility. I followed Gillham (2005: 76), and Bauer and Gaskell's (2000) recommendations regarding the construction of the interviews, particularly as far as the preparation of the interview schedule and the selection of interviewees is concerned. As I previously stated, interviews evidence the ideas and meanings of members about power and participation. Those ideas reflect the patterns of political culture that distinguish the PSCh from other political parties. Thus, to use in-depth interviews is consistent with the form wtih which the concept of political culture has been described. They look at the ways in which the patterns are used to drive power relations. Consequently, interviews with the subjects who are part of the PSCh contribute to observing how these patterns actually frame power relationns; using the member's own words and narratives to uncover the topic.

This research took into account the following ethical issues: (1) quality of research design; (2) Disclosure of full information (3) Confidentiality and/or

anonymity (4) Consent and (5) Avoidance of harm (6) Independence. Regarding quality of research design, I avoided leading or directing interviewees towards a particular position. The interview schedule was designed to ensure that questions remained open, allowing participants to express their own views about the topic. In relation to disclosure of full information, the interviewees were fully informed of the nature and purposes of this research, as well as its final outcome of this research. They were informed that their words would be integrated into the final report and they agreed on this issue. Regarding confidentiality and/or anonymity, the interviews were recorded previous agreement with the interviewees. Consent forms were provided which gave participants the opportunity to opt for anonymity. Due to the fact that Chilean culture considers the verbal consent more important than the writing consent, all my interviewees did not consider important to fill the form that I prepared. I also consider UK regulations about data protection (UK Data Protection Act 1998). So I ensured that the data I collected was adequate, relevant, and not excessive, excluding personal information unless it is directly relevant to the discursive or political position taken by the subject. A full list of participants is available on Appendix section. In relation to consent, all my interviewees consent to participate in the research, identified by their names and roles within the party. Regarding to avoidance of harm, this research is not an investigation that requires particular official procedures or regulations. Regarding independence, my independence as a researcher was not compromise during this research. The selection of the sample follows the snow sampling technique in order to identify relevant people for my research.

I selected two of the most populated regions in Chile in which to conduct my research, Santiago and Valparaiso both regions comprise fifty per cent of Chilean voters, and the 47% of the total membership of the party (51,384 members). The party has 109,588 members; 55% of them are male members (60,024) and 45% are female members (49,574). The region of Valparaiso, has 9,487 members. Of these, 42% are women (4,018) and 58% are men (5,469). The region of Santiago has 38% of the total membership of the party (41,897). 53% of these are men and 47% are women. This data provided by the National Electoral Service (Servicio Electoral de Chile) is not representative of the active members of the party. During the 2010 elections, just 38,000 members voted nationwide[28].

Sample description

Interviews were conducted in the cities of Santiago (capital city) and Valparaiso (the location of the National Congress). I interviewed Socialist Party members and leaders (male and female) who had an active role in the party from 2000 to 2005. I considered in my sampling of the active membership the 30% of the total PSCh total membership which fully participated in all party activities. I conducted thirty-five interviews. 27% (9) of the interviewees were women and the other 72% (25) men. The sample included women actively involved in politics by 2010 who in the party formal organisation do not represent more than 30% of the active population of the party. This issue was confirmed by the number of women who take part in the collective boards of

[28] The data was provided by an email interview with a member of the PSCh who took part in 2010 elections. The interview was conducted during the revision period, November 2012.

the party[29] as well as the access that as researcher had to find women willing to speak to me. The interviews were conducted face-to-face in Spanish, and then transcribed and translated into English.

I used the snowball sampling technique for selecting the sample for this research. Snowball sampling is described by Bryman (2008) as an approach where the "researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contact with others" (2008, 184). This type of approach is frequently used within qualitative studies and it is part of the purpose sampling approach, which looking to identify and to interview people who are relevant for answering the researcher's questions. Snowball sampling also allows reflection on the relationship between the subjects selected for the research (2008; 185). I decided to use this approach to establish a relationship between me and my interviewees in order to gather the necessary data for answering my research questions. The main objective was to develop a linkage of trust between them and myself in order to establish a close rapport within the interview, and to get the required depth in the answers to my questions. Due to the fact that establishing a rapport was a necessary condition for the quality of my interviews, gatekeepers in Valparaiso and Santiago were contacted to fulfil these objectives and to gather the required data. Finally, I considered that the snowball approach also allowed me to select exclusively from the active membership in a better way than other sampling techniques.

[29] From the total members of the central committee elected in 2010, 33% were women. This issue means that the number of women elected to this collective body of the party was barely greater than the minimum required by the internal quota law of the party (30%).

Before my trip to Chile, I contacted 3 members of the PSCh who I knew while I was working as a journalist in Valparaiso. Those members, two men and a woman were my main gatekeepers for my interviews in Santiago and Valparaiso, and they put me in contact with members in both cities. During the fieldwork, the socialist women were not enthusiastic in recommending or naming another woman to be interviewed. Most of my female interviewees did not name another female member of the party when I asked for other possible participants for this research. Most of the names suggested by them were male members with many years of membership within the party. Using the snowball approach, I contacted more women for this research referred by other male members than by female members, but the number of them was not close to the 45% that the official membership shows. Two women from nine within my sample referred me to other women. In contrast, most of the male members of the party recommended or named another man to be interviewed for this research. This fact made me to conclude that the percentage of women actively involved in politics is lower than the official data provide by the Electoral Service.

I selected my sampling according to age, gender and role inside the party. Three factors were considered when the list of interviews was made. First, the four original internal factions within the party were grouped into two blocs by 2010. One bloc was Bachelet´s supporters while the other bloc was critical of her influence on the party. Therefore, I grouped the interviews among these two blocs in Santiago and Valparaiso, considering that the interviewees were member of each faction before 2010. Second, I took into account Duverger's

differentiation among officers (formal leaders) and bosses (informal leaders) within the party. This differentiation is based on the roles that party officers have and the role of bosses within the party. Thus, I included in my list party officers and former party officers, as well as bosses from the two blocs at local and national levels. One senator, one former senator, deputies, members of the Central Committee, members of regional committees in Santiago and former members of the regional committee and communal committee in Valparaiso were interviewed over two months of fieldwork in Chile. These interviewees were grouped into party officers and bosses. Due to the fact that the fieldwork was conducted in the period immediately after the PSCh internal elections, it was decided to include as interviewees former members of Bachelet's campaign team in both cities, and PSCh members who were ministers of Bachelet's cabinet. I also interviewed former PSCh members who were involved in Bachelet's campaign. One was a former Chilean presidential candidate and former member of the Socialist Party, and six were members of the Chilean National Congress. Members of the four initial internal factions were included in the list of the interviewees, both male and female leaders and base members. This initial differentiation was maintained to compare any difference that might exist among members regarding political culture. When the interviews were conducted in 2010, two blocks were formed. Both blocks clearly grouped factions inside them, as supporters or opponents to the current board. Despite these differences, I reached members of all the factions found inside the party to explore if those factions could be considered as subcultures.

Appendix 1 gives the name of the interviewees selected. From the 35 names on the list, all of the members are or were part of an internal faction. Thirty-one of them identified themselves with one of the two blocs into which the party was divided in 2010. Four of them were not part of any block or faction when they were interviewed[30]. From the 35 interviewees, 11 were bosses, 9 formal leaders and 15 members of the party. Three of these members were part of the Michelle Bachelet administration and when the fieldwork was conducted; they described themselves as former mandatarios (Chapter 5: 279).

The third factor was the age of the members and the generations that those ages represented. I assumed that the members of these generations have common understandings about political participation and life experiences. They share the same patterns of meanings that I considered part of the PSCh political culture. Thus, I decided to select my sample considering the ages and generations to which members belong. These generations are linked with the 3 stages into which I have divided the party's institutional development (See Chapter 3 and Chapter 4). These stages helped me to identify the patterns of meaning that I was looking for in the PSCh political culture. According to the data provided by the Electoral Service, most of the PSCh members are between the ages of 35 and 69 years old. This distribution is similar for women and men as the following two graphs show.

[30] Between 2010 and 2012, 5 of my interviewees resigned their membership of the PSCh. Two of them were socialist deputies when they took the decision to leave the party.

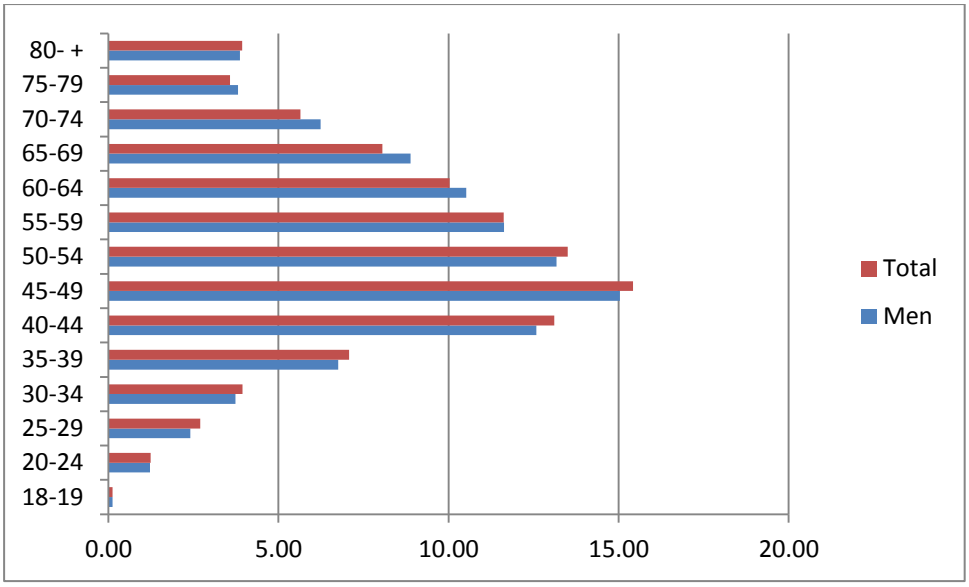

Figure 2 Men's age distribution within the PSCh, where the Y axis represent the age ranks and the X axis the percentage of those ages compared with the total population of the PSCh

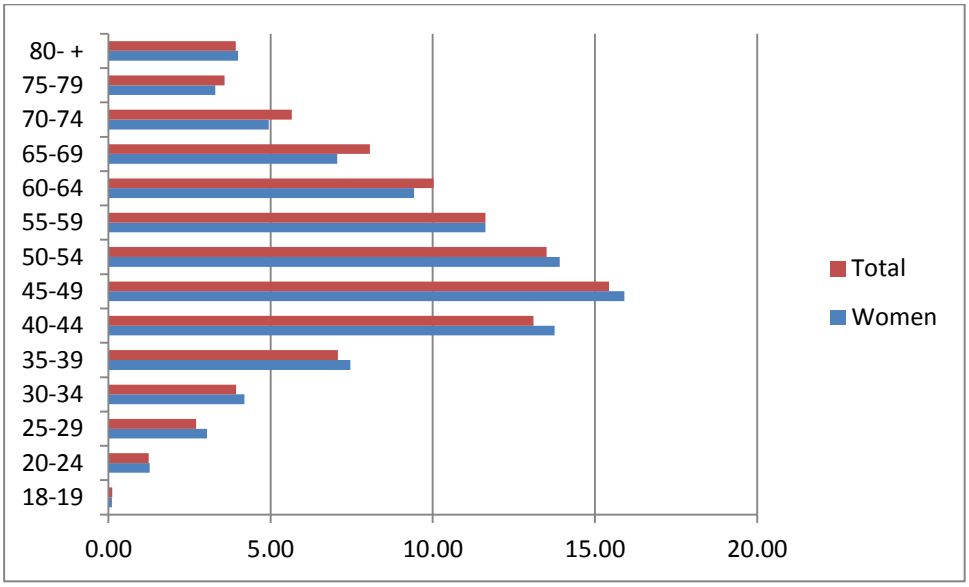

Figure 3 Women's age distribution within the PSCh where the Y axis represent the age ranks and the X axis the percentage of those ages compared with the total population of the PSCh.

These groups represent three generations within the PSCh membership, which are linked to the stages of PSCh institutional development suggested in Chapters 3 and 4, the Foundation stage, the New Left stage and the Socialist Renewal stage. Most of these age groups are members who became part of the PSCh during the stages of the New Left and Socialist Renewal (See Chapters

3: 158-178; Chapter 4: 179-229). For organised groups, it was considered that members who were actively involved in politics during the fieldwork and able to provide information about their experience as members of the party. Due to the fact that not many current members of the party could take part of the Foundation stage, I decided to integrate more interviewees from the New Left period because they were in contact with members who founded the party and were particularly influenced by them. As a result, those members would be able to give more details and information about previous stages. The sampling was consistent with my conceptualisation of political culture in order to look into internal solidarities that are part of political parties. These solidarities are found among people who experience the same events and those are linked with the generations that party members belongs. Those generations are related to the stages that I have identified in the party.

The first generation covers the members who are aged 55 to 69 years old. This generation is named G-70, and the members who are part of it experienced the New Left stage due to the fact that they joined the PSCh between 1956 and 1973. They were in contact with people who experienced the Foundation stage of the party and they learned the institutional pattern of political participation. This generation experienced Allende and the Popular Unity administration; they faced the 1973 coup, torture, political repression, death and exile.

The second generation[31] consists of the PSCh members who became part of the

[31] Due to the fact that the data coming from the Electoral Service did not divide the age

party during the Pinochet dictatorship. This generation is named G-80 and it covers party members who are 40 to 54 years old. They became party members during the Socialist Renewal stage and experienced clandestine membership of the party in Chile, the national demonstrations against Pinochet in 1983 to 1986 and the referendum of 1988. The last generation covers members who are between 25 and 39[32] years old, and they became part of the party during the Concertación period. Similarly to the previous generation, they also experience the Socialist Renewal stage but only since 1990. This generation is named G-90 and they were members of the PSCh youth branch who experience the new political party system determined by the 1980s Constitution and the democracy based on consensus policies between the Concertación and the right wing.

These three generations represent groups of members who established solidarity linkages and friendship due to their have similar life experiences as members of the PSCh. These generations link the context to internal agency because they are related to the PSCh stages due to the fact that the members experienced the institutional development of the party and the influence of the context while they were participating in political activity. These generations also experienced different forms of power relations during the stages of PSCh

group data between 40 and 44 years old, I have included members who are 40 to 42 years old in this generation. However, this generation covers members who are aged 43 to 54 years old.

[32] For similar reasons to the previous generation, G80, the G90 includes people who are between 25 to 39 years old. However, this generation covers people who are between their 28 to 42 years old. But it was not possible to subdivide the age group data coming from the electoral service in Chile.

development, leading to different patterns of meaning which are reflecting within internal agency. Thus the patterns of political participation that they developed were affected by the experiences of their generations within the party, the influence of the context, as well as their understandings about political participation. Those differences could lead us to different political cultures.

The following charts show the group age distribution among the membership in Valparaiso and Santiago. Similarly to the national data, Valparaiso and Santiago memberships cover the 3 generations that I have described above.

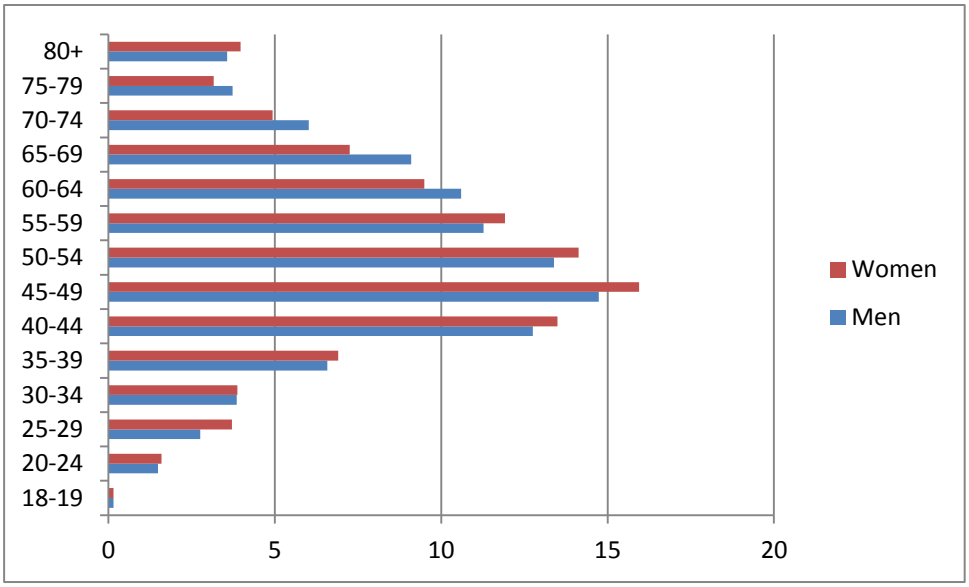

Figure 4 Age distribution within PSCh membership in Santiago where the Y axis represent the age ranks and the X axis the percentage of those ages compared with the total population of the PSCh.

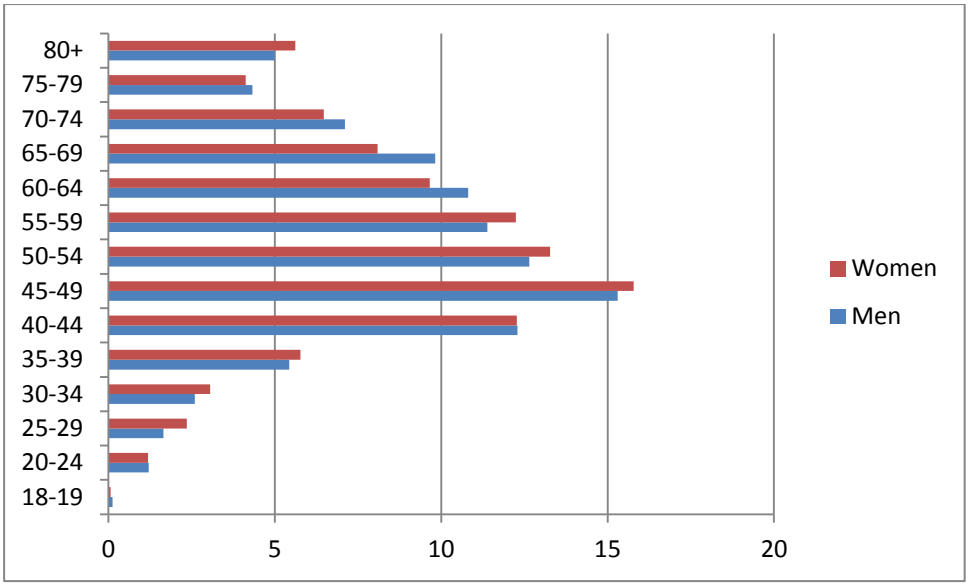

Figure 5 Age distribution within PSCh membership in Valparaiso where the Y axis represent the age ranks and the X axis the percentage of those ages compared with the total population of the PSCh.

The selected sample for this research considered the three factors described above, and it takes into account elements that could help us to conceptualise patterns of political culture. It considers factions' memberships because these factions exist in mass parties as informal structures, representing spaces of power relations as well as structures with certain type of solidarities. They might formed subcultures or contribute to differentiate the political the patterns of political culture. It takes into account membership and leadership roles because both are axes of power and relationship to the institutional structure as well as in the informal structure. It is considering age/generation because together they could contribute with particular solidarities and types of participation that might differentiate one generation from other. Finally gender is included in order to involve all the members and leaders within this research and to contrast difference among those patterns between them.

The following table showed the group age and gender distribution within the total of the sample. Similarly to the general data from the party, my interviewees represent the 3 generations that I described before. All of the party members were actively participating within the party at the moment of the interview.

	G70	%	G80	%	G90	%	Total	%
M	14	74	9	75	3	75	26	74
W	5	26	3	25	1	25	9	26
Total	19	100	12	100	4	100	35	100

Figure 6 Age distribution within the research sample divided by gender and generations.

Due to the fact that the PSCh was no longer in power when the fieldwork was conducted, members and leaders of the party were willing to do interviews and to discuss critical issues related to the PSCh during Bachelet's nomination and administration. Leaders of the party gave critical views about PSCh conduct during Bachelet's administration, and members were extremely open in their views about the party leadership during Bachelet's administration. Additionally, the fieldwork was conducted a week after the 2010 party elections. Therefore, members and leaders openly showed their views and thoughts about the party and its conduct due to fact that the PSCh was in a process of reorganising itself. Most of these views showed considerable criticism of the previous party executive and of the persona of Bachelet within the party. Thus, they were more willing to reveal their true thoughts and reflections. As a result, this particular momentum made it possible to obtain a more accurate data than if it were gathered when the party was in the administration. Additionally, I was able to reach base members of the party

without any problems, improving the representativity of the sample.

The analysis of both documents and the interviewees' answers identify common patterns for describing political participation and power relations which show the presence of a political culture inside the PSCh. These common patterns show an understanding about political culture shared by party members according to their age, gender or life histories. To identify the framework for action or political culture in the interviewees' answers and documents, it is necessary to identify those patterns within the two levels of analysis for political culture. The final method, qualitative Content Analysis with a thematic analysis approach, describes how particular patterns of political culture are conceptualised. Particularly, I look at the concepts used by members and leaders to characterise participation and power relations and how they describe each of those themes.

Analysis of the data

The final method is Content Analysis with a thematic analysis approach (CA) of the data previously collected. A Content Analysis is applied to documents and interview responses. The objective is to identify the PSCh political culture and its influence on Bachelet's nomination. The approach taken in the Content Analysis (CA) is a qualitative approach to identifying and describing the PSCh political culture. A qualitative content analysis allows me to examine the connections between the party's political culture and Bachelet's nomination. CA is described as a "most prevalent approach to the qualitative analysis of

documents" (Bryman 2008; 529). It is a useful tool to make valid and replicable inferences in texts (Krippendorf, 2004: 18) and it can be used to analyse cultural patterns in groups and institutions (Weber, 1985: 9). In addition, CA permits inferences of non-observed phenomena or events, because it is sensitive to context. It allows the researcher to process "significant, meaningful, informative, and representational" data (Krippendorf, 2004: 42). The qualitative nature of the CA of documents and interview transcripts in this study permits me to identify substantive statements regarding the PSCh political cultures. Particularly I look at concept for defining certain themes such as participation and power relations inside factions, and how those themes are characterised both in documents and interviews. The qualitative CA identifies the presence or absence of political culture in this case (Kirppendorf, 2004:145). Based on the results obtained from the analysis, inferences are made and are linked to the theoretical framework with respect to the PSCh's political culture (s) and its influence on Bachelet's nomination. Another important aspect of the qualitative CA is that it is a flexible procedure for making descriptive observations of content (George, 2009:144), which permit me to identify the presence of the party's political culture or cultures.

Therefore, the CA of both documentary material and interview responses has four objectives: (1) to identify the PSCh´s political culture or cultures through conceptualising it in relation to political participation and power relations; (2) to characterise these patterns and how they frame political activity within the party; (3) to analyse the ways in which PSCh political culture or cultures explains Bachelet's nomination; and (4) to analyse the meaning of this event in

PSCh political culture or cultures.

This research uses Berg's model of qualitative CA (2004: 286) to analyse documents and interviews. However, it also incorporates aspects of a thematic analysis approach to reveal the patterns within documents and interviews transcripts. Thematic analysis is an approach which focuses on searching for themes within documents and texts, in the same way as qualitative content analysis. It does not have one exclusive and distinctive cluster of techniques, and "it can be discerned in many of the approaches to qualitative data analysis" (Bryman 2008; 554). The core of this analysis is to break down texts into themes and subthemes and to look into the repetitions, categories, similarities, theory related material, etc. For this research, I will be looking at the repetitions of certain concepts to describe both political participation and power relations within the party. Those concepts are democracy, pluralism, authoritarianism and co-optation.

The procedure can be described as it follows:

1. To analyse documents and interview transcripts, searching for the common occurrence of conceptual clusters of ideas related to political participation and power relations where are found certain concepts such as democracy, authoritarianism, pluralism and co-optation. I look at ideas which describe party participation, particularly the relationship between members and leaders. These ideas are linked to ways in which political participation is constructed in the party. The objective of this first step is to identify those ideas

and meanings which represent the political culture of the party in the way that we have defined in this study.

1. I broke up the texts (documents and interviews) into themes. These themes were:

a. Party as institution

- PSCh described by its members as a political institution and to differentiate the party from others.
- PSCh political participation described by its members to conceptualise the political participation from a formal perspective and to identify possible changes through its institutional development.

b. Membership and leadership relations

- Power relations for characterising those relations within formal structures of the party.
- Factional activity for conceptualising how relations are established within factions, and for contrasting these relations with those carried on in formal party' structure.
- Women's position in factions for characterising how women establish power relations within factions and how they establish those outside the factions.

Due to the fact that I organised my interview schedule following my research questions, I applied these themes to break up my data related

to each research question. Thus, I repeated this procedure three times in order to identify the common ideas used by the members to describe the themes, and to link these ideas with Bachelet's nomination.

I looked for clusters of ideas for describing the political participation within all these themes. The final outcome was to define the common cluster of ideas about political participation found in those analytical themes. One cluster described the way in which political participation has been characterised within the party from a diachronic perspective. The second cluster focused on the description of the relationship between members and leaders, including gender relations.

2. I grouped these ideas into two final patterns for political participation. At this stage, I identified those patterns of meanings about political participation which shape the relationship between members and leaders. These patterns group the previous clusters so as to describe political participation within the party.

3. I analysed patterns in the data and linked these patterns to the relevant literature and theory, showing possible links to theory and to other research. This analysis focuses on describing the political culture (s) of the party using the theoretical framework developed for this study. At this stage I use the two levels of analysis, institutional development and membership-leadership relations, in order to identify and describe these patterns of political participation. In particular, the study centres on how the context influenced institutional development; how this influence is found in the patterns; and how

these patterns influence party members' conduct.

4. Finally, the patterns of political culture were connected to Bachelet´s nomination, and vice versa. The objective was to answer each research question using the data coming from the CA thematic approach. As was suggested previously, each research question is linked to a level of analysis for the political culture. Therefore, the data is organised so as to answer each research question:

a. The first research question focuses on the influence of the PSCh's context on aspects of political culture involving institutional development. This influence is found in the patterns about political participation identified in the party which are embedded in the political culture or cultures. These patterns influence the relationship between members and leaders.

b. The second research question takes into account the pattern of meanings of political participation identified, and the links between these and Bachelet´s nomination.

c. The third research question considers both patterns and outcomes in order to find possible influences of Bachelet’s nomination on the political culture.

In the response to each research question, I use process-tracing to link the results from the qualitative data analysis with the theoretical framework. This is a procedure to identify the stages in a causal process leading to an outcome

of a particular case in a particular context (Vennesson, 2008). An interpretative process-tracing is used to link political culture with Bachelet's nomination. This understanding of process-tracing focuses on what happened, how it happened, if it is possible to use it to observe the reasons given by actors for their actions and behaviours, and to investigate the relationships between behaviour and beliefs (Jervis, 2006 quoted by Vennesson, 2008: 233). This procedure helps to identify empirically how political culture takes shape and how it might be linked to this particular political outcome (Bachelet's nomination). Process-tracing is used to examine and interpret the findings regarding the influence of political culture on Bachelet's nomination. This procedure makes inferences about the PSCh political cultures using the two levels of analysis previously described. Party institutional development and membership-leadership relations are used to examine the influence of the political culture on the described political outcome. This understanding of political culture through its conceptualisation as patterns of meaning about political participation is linked to Bachelet's nomination in order to explain this event.

A methodology has been developed in this chapter to locate and identify the PSCh political cultures and its influence on Bachelet's nomination as presidential candidate. The political culture of a party has been defined as a framework for action for political participation which motivates the relationship between members and leaders. This framework for action is formed by patterns of meanings found among party members. To research

political culture, methods have to focus on two levels of analysis: party institutional development and membership-leadership relations. This study uses research methods that gather information about political culture on the two levels of analysis. The analysis of documentary material and interview transcripts is conducted using qualitative Content Analysis (CA), a methodologically appropriate tool for interpreting the context in which documents are produced (Krippendorf, 2004: 18). This qualitative analysis involves a thematic analysis approach in order to identify the basic understandings of political participation within the party. These common concepts were grouped into patterns of meaning for political participation. The selection of these methods is connected to the qualitative nature of the research.

The following two chapters centre on the first level of analysis, the institutional development of the party, in order to identify the influence of the social context on the PSCh political culture and its on-going effects on the party. Particularly both focus on how the historical evolution of the party has influenced its development as an institution and influenced members and leaders experiences about power and participation from a diachronic perspective. Those experiences have framed ideas and meanings about power and participation, bringing them into particular patterns of political cultures with certain differences defined by PSCh institutional development.

Chapter 3

The influences of the Party's foundation and the New Left Period on its political culture

Previously, the concept of political culture was defined as a framework for action for political participation. This framework is formed by patterns of meanings which are held by party members; there can be ahomogenous political culture in a party or two political cultures. These patterns shape agency, behaviour and choice, and therefore impact upon power relationships between leaders and members. Those political cultures are affected by the economic and social context, and allow the party to integrate and develop meanings of political participation during its institutional development. These contextual factors do not determine political cultures but rather are mediated by the historical experiences, struggles and orientations of members thus resulting in different articulations of internal political culture. Thus, the political culture of a party connects the party's context with its conduct, framing and shaping its power relations through patterns of meanings of political participation. This study uses a collective perspective of political culture, treating this culture as part of a frame constructed collectively which impacts upon a given institution. In particular, the political culture of a party concerns the ways in which the patterns embedded in this framework for action impact upon the understanding of political participation, and power relations, forming internal relations and influencing certain outcomes such as candidate nominations.

The concept of political culture in a party is operationalised on two levels in this analysis. The first level focuses on the institutional development of a political party. The second, membership-leadership relations, centres on the way in which the political culture shapes political participation and power relations between members and leaders. This study focuses on how the political culture of the PSCh influenced the nomination of Michelle Bachelet as presidential candidate.

This chapter centres on the first level of analysis, the institutional development of the party. In particular, it focuses on the ways in which the context shapes the political culture or cultures of the party. I argue that the institutional development of the party shaped political culture in the way in which it has been defined. It has shaped internal patterns through different historical experiences that the three generations of members described in the methodology**.** These generations exhibited linkages among party members due to common historical experiences inside the party. As a result, three stages were identified taking into account how political cultures has been conceptualised by members and leaders. These stages are linked to Duverger's perspective about internal solidarities shows particular meanings and ideas linked to those political cultures. The diachronic development of parties evidences those meanings in particular stages where context stressed the internal characteristics of participation. This influence is found in the two patterns for political cultures concerning political participation. The first pattern of political culture is named the institutional pattern. It defines participation as democratic, pluralistic and libertarian. The formation of this

pattern can be traced to the foundation of the party and it is found mainly among base membership. The second pattern is named the practice pattern and is dominant political culture held by the elite across factions. It describes power relations through authoritarianism, co-optation and the elite's hegemony over decision making. The formation of this pattern is traced to democratic centralism and to the changes introduced in the Socialist Renewal stage. These two patterns represents two clear political cultures developed thought the historical evolution of the party. This evolution defined the framework for action through ideas and political experiences of party's members which characterise types of participation and power relations. This chapter describes how these patterns were influenced by the party's institutional development and mediated by differing groups of members within the party and their experiences and struggles in these three distinct periods.

These two cultures are connected to two types of participation which shape internal collective agency. I used Pizzorno's systems of solidarity and system of interest to connect both patterns to the types of participation found in the party. The system of solidarity is found during the Foundation stage and the New Left stage. During these periods the collective identification and collective solidarity is found in both base membership and leadership. During both periods there are found strong leadership or personalismos, which are connected to system of interest, but the presence of a system of solidarity integrated them into a more plural and democratic political participation. Hence, both systems were balanced by collective ideas of participation in those stages. The first pattern of political culture, the institutional pattern, is found

during both stages, and it is connected to a period where the Chilean socioeconomic and political context seeks the political and economic inclusion of new actors (women and working classes). The system of interest, found amongst leaders in the previous two stages, s reinforced during Socialist Renewal stage, period characterised by individualised power relations and the presence of individual goals. The second pattern of political culture, the practice pattern, is connected to this period, resulting in power relations characterised by authoritarianism, co-optation and hegemony in decision-making. As a result, the PSCh institutional development showed the shift of the party from Pizzorno's idea of community of equals and system of solidarity presented in PSCh participation to a system of interest, which in the case of the PSCh favours elite hegemony in decision making and an unequal distribution of incentives, as Panebianco described leadership-membership power relations. Thus, the institutional development of the party not only gives evidence of the way in which political participation has been fostered inside the party. It also gives evidence about how agency is shaped by political culture. The prevalence of one of the patterns in relation to the other shifts the PSCh through power relations marked by authoritarianism and co-optation, moving internal agency away from more democratic and pluralistic meanings of participation. As a result, the practice pattern turned into the dominant political culture while the institutional pattern persists inside the party as a secondary political culture. A clear outcome coming from this shift is that the party turned into a "fighting organisation" as Michels describes political parties, dominated by elites through co-optation and authoritarianism.

As I stated above, this study identifies three stages in the institutional development of the PSCh in which the context impacted upon its political culture. The first stage, the Foundation stage (1933-1956), covers the foundational period of the party. These years are characterised by the rise of the middle and working classes as political actors. An emerging middle class increased its political influence in opposition to the upper class. It was constituted by teachers, white collar workers, bureaucrats, and small merchants (Oppenheim, 2007: 5). Political parties were linked to these two classes to represent their political aspirations. The middle class was politically represented by the Radical Party[33]. Urban workers and miners were first represented by the Socialist Workers' Party, formed in 1912, which was the forerunner of the Chilean Communist party (PCCh)[34].

During its early years, two main characteristics shaped political participation within the PSCh. Firstly, political participation was characterised as democratic, pluralist and libertarian. Those characteristics conceptualised and defined one socialist political culture through the institutional pattern. The pattern did not include gender solidarity and integration as part of its definition of political participation due to the fact that the party remains a patriarchal

[33] The Radical Party (PR) was formed in 1863 by former Liberal Party members. The party represented anti-metropolitan and anti-clerical ideas present in Chilean society, so it was linked to upper-class members who shared these ideas. Its political support also extended to middle-class sectors, such as landowners, and workers from nitrate mines. During the 20th Century, the party committed to industrialization and state interventionism, and so it became representative of the middle and working classes (Drake 1993,91).

[34] Since its foundation in 1922, the PCCh has established strong connections between factory workers and miners through the development of trade unions. However, it was strongly criticised because of its links to the Soviet Union and the Third International (Collier and Sater 1998; Arrate 2003a; Jobet 1987).

organisation with internal dynamics resisting the inclusion of gender diversity in their hierarchies. Thus the community of equals described by Pizzorno is centred on class differences rather than gender integration. This first political culture had great importance for shaping internal agency during this stage and it remained the dominant culture during the following New Left.

The second stage, named New Left (1956-1979), covers the period in which democratic centralism was introduced. This period was marked by the radicalization of the Chilean and Latin American context. The party membership was mainly working-class, and the party developed mass-party-style political participation. The PSCh strategy shifted from middle-class party alliances to a working-class party alliance, particularly with the PCCh, and adopted revolutionary violence as an alternative to the electoral path. One characteristic emerging from this second stage was the way in which power relations between members and leaders took place. The party tried to homogenise the political behaviour of party members in order to increase political participation and fulfil party tasks. Authoritarianism and elite's hegemony over decision making are introduced as meanings for participation. Those meanings remained embedded in the party, conceptualising the practice pattern in the followed stage. The system of solidarity was kept as the main system but participation became more centralised through the party officers, and as a result, a trend of strict control of members was introduced in party behaviour. Party hierarchies continued to be characterised as male dominated without gender inclusion and, the relationship between the leadership and the

membership became one of obedience to party leaders. However, the community of equals and the collective identification with party goals strengthened the institutional pattern as the main political culture those years.

In the third stage, named Socialist Renewal (1979-2005), the PSCh's institutional development was determined by Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship. The State of Exception, exile and neoliberal policies characterized this period, which transformed the economic and social background of Chilean society. The Socialist Renewal was the result of the 1979 crisis, when the party divided into two factions. One, Almeydismo, was linked to Democratic Centralism while the other, Convergencia Socialista, revived ideas coming from the Foundation Stage with a neoliberal approach. The first group remained strong among base membership, keeping the system of solidarity and the collective identification with party goals. The secondo group, Convergencia, developed most of its activity abroad by former party leaders but at the leadership level it lacked a strong base. This could be seen as the starting point for the division within the PSCh membership and leadership, groups which had developed two patterns of political cultures for framing participation.

Socialist Renewal was one of the consequences of political exile, and took into account both the transformative approach of the 1947 programme as well as neoliberal ideas. But this framework was characterised by system of interest and individual goals for establishing power relations.While base membership in both groups preserved the system of solidarity, most of them supporting

Almeyda's factions, socialist leadership represented by Convergencia moved towards liberal ideas and promoted several liberal reforms such as the relevance of private entrepreneurship for economic development, and the role of the State as linked to public services and taxation (PSCh Nuñez, 1987). After the reunification of the PSCh in 1990, former Convergencia leaders were now part of the Socialist Renovation faction became in the hegemonic power inside the party, reinforcing the shift from the system of solidarity to the system of interest. During this stage, the system of interest became the hegemonic mainstream for power relations. Neoliberalism was added to the party as the theoretical mainstream, particularly as regards the individualization of power relations between party members. The introduction of neoliberalism weakened the party membership structure and allowed the individualization of militancy. As a consequence, the system of interest and the practise pattern turned into the dominant political culture, moved power relations into authoritarianism, co-optation and elite hegemony over decision-making. During this stage, the practice pattern turned into the dominant culture, conceptualising power relations by authoritarianism, co-optation and elites' hegemony on decision making.

These three stages have shaped the political culture of the Party, conceptualising two different patterns of political culture linked to system of solidarity participation(institutional pattern) and a system of interest (practice pattern). The first two stages are analysed in this chapter. The first party of the chapter conceptualise the Foundation stage and its influence on the PSCh's

political culture. The second one takes into account the New Left stage and its influence on the formation of a new political culture within the party.

Social and Economic Context during PSCh Foundation

The origins of the PSCh are linked to the changes experienced in the Chilean context at the beginning of the 20th century (Jobet 1987a; Ampuero 1969; Arrate and Rojas, 2003a; Drake 1993, Pollack and Rosenkranz 1986).The introduction of middle and working classes within the political system was reflected in the formation of let-wing parties which de-structured the Catholic – Conservative cleavage that characterised 19th century party system.

The 1929 Depression deepened social conflicts due to the impoverishment of the urban middle and working classes. Those years were characterised by riots and political crisis[35]. By the beginning of the 1930s, Chilean society comprised an upper class, representing ten per cent of the population, who owned the great estates, factories, mines and banks; a middle class of white-collar employees, small proprietors and merchants, intellectuals and professionals (15% of the total population); and growing urban lower classes (75%) (Drake, 1993: 89). These characteristics influenced the foundation of the PSCh. The relevance of the middle and lower classes within Chilean society was reflected

[35] An outcome of these political crises was the establishment of the Socialist Republic in 1932. It was headed by army officers and socialist groups to restructure Chilean society "to feed the people, to dress the people, give them accommodation, treating people as a whole regardless their class or party affiliation" (Cruz Salas, 2002; 33). This three-month political experience impacted upon the development of the PSCh due to the fact that political membership of the party was based on membership of groups involved in the revolt.

in the composition of the PSCh membership, which comprised both middle and working classes[36]. The socioeconomic context played an important role in left-wing parties' formation, particularly in the foundation of the PSCh. Social transformations as well as changes within the political system allowed the development of political projects represented by left-wing parties.

Firstly, the rise of urban middle and working classes as political actors was one of the key elements of the Chilean socio-economic context that impacted upon the PSCh. The social context was marked by the growth of urban middle and working classes as a consequence of the export-oriented economic model developed in Chile from the beginning of the century. This model was inspired by liberal ideas of laissez-faire, and was based on the growth of the mining sector. Until the First World War, nitrate mines predominated within the mining sector. After the 1929 Depression, nitrate exploitation was replaced by the exportation of copper from mines owned by US investors. By contrast, agriculture was less developed than urban and mining sectors. The Chilean countryside was based on latifundios, structured by peasant-landlord relationships (peon-patron) that dominated the social structure, with peasants located at the bottom of Chilean society (Oppenheim, 2007; 11-12). The rising Chilean working class gave rise to an organised social movement, based on organisaciones mutuales and trade unions in the mining sector (in the North of Chile) as well as craftsmen and workers in Valparaiso and Santiago. This

[36] The membership background changed since its foundation and those changes were reflected in its political strategy.

labour movement was influenced by an anarcho-syndicalist trend, and by the Russian Revolution and international communism. Moreover, an emerging middle-class consisting of teachers, white collar workers, bureaucrats, and small merchants (Oppenheim, 2007: 17) increased its political influence in opposition to the traditional upper class. Both social actors institutionalised their participation within the political system by the foundation of the Socialist Workers' Party (1912), a working class party with strong linkages with mining workers and unions; the Democratic Party (1887), a political party popular among craftsmen and urban workers; and the Radical Party, the main middle-class party until the mid-1950s[37]. Both middle and working classes built a relationship within labour organisations such as Federation of Chilean workers (FOCH), mostly supported by the named parties. Consequently, the Chilean labour movement, similarly to other Latin American labour movements, established strong linkages with political parties, which facilitated the institutionalisation of the Chilean labour movement during the 20th Century (Collier and Collier, 1991).

The rise of the middle and working classes replaced the liberal-conservative oligarchic party system by a multiparty system which multi-class representation (upper, middle and working classes). This new party system was consolidated by the 1925 Constitution which structured a new electoral regime using the D'hondt method of proportional representation with a revamped

[37] For more information about the development of the Chilean party system, see Valenzuela, Samuel (1995)The Origins and Transformations of the Chilean party system.Working paper#215,pp1-60.

multi-member electoral district (Valenzuela, 1995: 28). The modernised party system was highly competitive, but also with a high degree of voting concentration in the main political forces. From 1932 to 1957, 14 political parties were represented in the National Congress (both Senate and Deputy Chamber), reducing in number to an average of 6 parties from 1961 to 1973 (Valenzuela, 1991:3). These parties did not receive more than 30% of votes in municipal and parliamentary elections. Their average representation in the National Congress was 11.6% (Canas Kirby, 1997: 31). In the case of the PSCh, its best electoral result was in the parliamentary election of 1973, when the party obtained 18.4% of votes (See Pp 152). This party system had two major consequences. Firstly, a group of major political parties was developed which received most of the votes; secondly, those parties were forced to establish political alliances in order to gain State power.

The multi-class party system was organised around political parties which represented socially and ideologically the Chilean upper, middle and working classes. The class formation is connected to social cleavages coming from changes within the political actors. The 19th Century party system was defined by clerical/anticlerical cleavages which turned into social cleavages due to the inclusion of the middle and working classes as relevant political actors. Middle and working class parties tended to organise as mass parties during this historic period. Right-wing voters mainly supported the Conservative and Liberal Parties until 1966, when both forces merged into the National Party, the right-wing hegemonic force which represented the Chilean oligarchy and Catholic

conservatism.

The middle class was initially represented by the Radical Party which concentrated votes coming from the agnostic middle class formed mainly by civil servants and teachers. Since the 1950s, the Catholic middle-class voter supported mainly the Christian Democracy. This party merged two groups coming from the Conservative Party in 1957: the Falange Nacional and the Christian Conservative Party. Similarly to the parties formed in Italy and Spain, the Christian Democracy mainly supported the Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church.

Urban workers and miners, who were first represented by the Socialist Workers' Party, became the main political base of the Chilean Communist Party. The PCCh can be characterised as a Marxist and proletarian party formed by the labour movement. It had a working-class leadership since its foundation in 1922 and it established close linkages with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as the International Communist Movement (Daire, 2010). Another characteristic of the PCCh was its support for the electoral strategy or pacific road to socialism and for achieving State power. As a consequence, the PCCh become in one of the pillars of Allende's Chilean road to socialism, characterised by its support for the 1925 Constitution as well as its development within the Chilean institutional frame (Varas, 2010). Since its foundation in 1933, the PSCh challenged the PCCh's working class support as well as the Radical Party's middle-class base. The previously described social characteristics showed in the political cleavages that formed left wing parties

led to the formation of the PSCh.

The formation of the PSCh and the Foundation Stage (1933-1956)

The Foundation stage covers the period from the party's formation in 1933 until 1956 and the introduction of democratic centralism into the party statutes. The described factors and conditions within the socio-economic and political context impacted on the formation of the party. The described characteristics presented in the Chilean context influenced the PSCh political participation, which during this period stressed the system of solidarity and the collective identification within party goals and project. This type of participation supported the development of the institutional pattern, which resulted in the dominant political culture of the party. The pattern conceptualised participation as democratic, pluralistic and libertarian. This section focuses on the linkages between this stage and the political culture.

From an institutional perspective, the party's conduct was influenced by the highly institutionalised Chilean political system. This political system was marked by strong government institutions which played key roles in the public policy making process, and most importantly, "political actors accepted the validity of both codified rules and procedures and a host of informal practices which had evolved over generations to rationalise the political process" (Valenzuela, 1991:13). One of those institutions, the National Congress, was formed by a Deputy Chamber of 147 seats (150 seats since 1970) and a Senate of 45 seats. The National Congress had considerable independence from the

Executive, representing most of the political parties within the party system. As a result, the National Congress became the main space for structuring and developing political agreements until 1973 (Valenzuela, 1991: 14). As a result of this institutional frame, political parties developed a strong network with social movements, whether in the State bureaucracy, labour unions, student federations or professional associations. These networks drove social actors' demands within party structures and effectively impacted on the policy-making process (Valenzuela 1991:16-17). Consequently, political parties became critical actors in mediating the relationship between the State and social movements until 1973.

The PSCh was founded in 1933 by different socialist groups: New Public Action [Nueva Accion Publica –NAP], led by Eugenio Matte; the Marxist Socialist Party [Partido Socialista Marxista- PSM], led by Eleodoro Dominguez and Jorge Nuet Latour; the Socialist Order [Orden Socialista] led by Arturo Gundian and Luciano Kulczewki; the Independent Socialist Party [Partido Socialista Independiente] led by Armando Corbalan; and Socialist Revolutionary Action [Accion Revolucionaria Socialista –ARS] led by Oscar Schnake and Eugenio Gonzalez (See figure 7). These groups can be described as political middle- and working-class groups which supported economic reforms such as: agrarian reform, the nationalisation of primary resources (minerals), and the promotion of industrial development (Jobet, 1987a). From an ideological and theoretical perspective, these groups can be described as

anarchist, libertarian socialist, progressive nationalist and humanist[38]. Thus during the formation of the party, membership and leadership presented a clear anti-authoritarianism as a condition for political participation. This particular meaning frame participation as more plural, democratic and libertarian, and also differentiated the PSCh with the PCCh, which showed more vertical and disciplined forms of participation. Also, young military officers who were involved in the Socialist Republic period took part in it. This multi-class heritage was reflected in the conduct of the party and its political strategies until 1973. The PSCh showed its multi-class background since its foundation. By 1933, its members were both middle and working classes. Intellectuals and professionals (petit bourgeois) accounted for 75% of the Central Committee, while working-class members accounted for 25% (Pollack and Rosenkranz 1986, 10-48).

[38] In addition, the supporters of evangelical churches, and former Democrat and Radical Party members swelled the PSCh ranks.

Figure 7 Membership of the PSCh at its Foundation

This social diversity impacted upon how the PSCh defined itself as political organisation, which was mainly as a political project of revolutionary transformation. Due to the fact that these groups had a middle and urban working-class composition, the PSCh represented a unity of manual workers and intellectuals from its foundation. Hence, the party had a multi-class composition including manual workers, agricultural workers, white-collar employees, students, craftsmen, merchants, and small business owners (Jobet1987a; Arrate and Rojas 2003a).

The grounds of the institutional pattern are found in the characteristics PSCh's foundation. The PSCh was influenced by anarchist and communist cells. This influence was shown by the introduction of Marxism to drive political action, both as a doctrine and as a method for political analysis "enriched for every contribution" (Jobet 1987a, 39). The Socialist platform defined the party as anti-oligarchic; anti-capitalist; anti-fascist; and anti-militarist (Jobet 1987a), with a strong anti-imperialist character (PSCh, 1974)[39]. The presence of diverse groups with different mainstreams defined the PSCh identity as a diverse and unusually tolerant leftist party, able to integrate different political projects coming from the left within its organisation. These characteristics also led the party to include theoretical backgrounds coming from nationalist and Latin-Americanist perspectives. The PSCh was defined as a party with a socialist and revolutionary character, and a national party with a Latin–American perspective in its organization and political strategy. Nationalism was centred on the Chilean context through "an objective examination of our reality and possibilities" (PSCh, 1947: 12). It considered "the natural conditions of Chilean geography and the talent of its people" (PSCh, 1947: 12). The PSCh's nationalism was based on ideas coming from the Peruvian theorist Jose Carlos Mariategui, whose conceptualisation of Marxism emphasised the impact of each national context on the development of productive forces and subordinate classes (Arrate and Rojas, 2003a: 165). The Latin-Americanist perspective emerged from the political experiences of South America during the 1930s.

[39] It was defined as anti-capitalist because of the foreign investment in the Chilean mining sector, particularly by American investors. It was considered an anti-oligarchic party because of the economic and social relations between landlords and industrial owners and the working class. Also the anti-fascist characteristic was included because of the ongoing European situation.

The most influential group was the APRA, the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance [Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana], which was a major political force founded in Peru in 1924 as a consequence of the alliance between the radical student movement and the burgeoning working-class (Nugent, 2006: 205). Similar to the PSCh, the APRA represented the aspirations of the middle and working classes. The APRA argued that the economic wealth brought by foreign capital did not help to improve the economic position of most Peruvians[40]. Those characteristics influenced political participation, turning the party into a more diverse and plural organisation. Those meanings were conceptualised within the institutional pattern, which frame those concepts into a pattern representing the community of equals**.** This community of equals was represented by system of solidarity among base and leadership relations and participation.

The described characteristics were also influenced by the mutli-class membership which characterised the party. Data about the party membership showed that 55% were working-class and 45% middle-class in the period 1933-39. These figures changed between 1939 and 1953. Middle class membership decreased to 35% while working class membership rose to 65%. The authors' data for the period 1953-1970 showed that 70% working class membership and 30% middle class membership (Pollack and Rosencrantz,

[40] The party wanted to transform Peru into a more egalitarian republic, and to limit the influence of foreign capital and the local oligarchy (North 1970, 165). Therefore, the APRA was not a revolutionary party but a reformist one (North 1970, 212) with a strong emphasis on Latin American experiences. The APRA's leader, Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, also criticised the Peruvian Communists because they did not take into account local realities in developing revolutionary projects (Almeyda 1987, 23).

1986: 80). Nevertheless, the party's leadership from 1953 to 1970 was almost equal to both middle and working classes: 50% and 48% respectively (1986:80). Thus, PSCh leadership and membership had a multi-class background constantly between 1933 and 1973. This social diversity also influenced views about political participation inside the PSCh, which was defined as plural and democratic because of the diversity of its members in their class backgrounds and factional origins. Those meanings were integrated into the institutional pattern during this period but shaping strong male leaders for representing the community of equals without including gender differences. Despite this more inclusive pattern of political culture, democracy and pluralism were gendered. This characteristic still prevails within the party's political culture, crossing both institutional pattern and practice pattern as a jointed point of both cultures. Figures such as Juan Domingo Peron were admired among the party's political elites. Chilean socialists were not only impressed by Peron's struggles against Argentinean oligarchic political parties, but also by his encouragement of the labour movement (Halperin, 1965: 136). Thus charismatic leaders and intellectuals shaped a male dominated leadership which reinforced gendered participation within the community of equals and the system of solidarity.

At the time of its foundation, the PSCh took into account the relevance of the Chilean context for developing its theoretical approach. Both the Chilean and Latin American contexts defined the PSCh's foundational political approach, which centred on revolutionary transformations inside the Chilean context. The nationalist and regionalist perspectives of the PSCh were also reflected in

socialist criticism of the Communist dependence on the International. Socialist leaders criticised members of the Communist Party because of the impact of the Third International upon Communist Party (PCCh) behaviour. The PSCh tried to adopt a particular political identity as a left-wing party, distinct from the PCCh. This characteristic was linked by party members to the pluralistic and democratic methods of political participation used within the PSCh. Both characteristics are present in the first stage of the party's institutional development, which is described in the next section.

The characteristics described above impacted upon the PSCh mainstream. The party developed an independent interpretation of Marxism which was identified in its principles as the key element for understanding Chilean socialism. This definition was also influenced by Trotskyist groups included in the PSCh's foundation. These were former members of the Communist Party who disagreed with Comintern policies and abandoned the party. This influence was apparent in the PSCh's criticism of the PCCh's behaviour. Since its foundation, the party had criticised the Russian Revolution, due to the totalitarian conception of the State, which implied a coercive regulation of individuals (PSCh, 1947: 14). In addition, the PSCh defined revolutionary socialism as a different practice from Soviet communism, due to the fact that Soviet communism violated the historical objectives of the proletarian movement. According to PSCh documents, the Soviet State subordinated proletarian demands to its convenience (PSCh, 1947: 5). These meanings which differentiated the PSCh from the PCCh impacted on the institutional pattern, reinforcing pluralism, libertarianism and democracy.

Since the PSCh's foundation, the party has had a tense relationship with the PCCh. Both took part in the two most important political alliances in Chilean history: the Popular Front (1938-1946); the Frap-Popular Unity (1956-1973) and the Popular Unity in 1970 which successfully led Allende to La Moneda. This alliance was formed by the PCCh, PSCh, the Radical Party and other small political groups which had split from the PSCh (the Revolutionary Left Movement - MIR), and from the Christian Democracy (Popular Unity Action Movement - MAPU; Christian Left - IC). The PSCh and PCCh contended for leadership of the trade unions and labour movement development. . The linkages developed between the PSCh and PCCh permitted the introduction of democratic centralism during the second stage of institutional development, the New Left. However, the parties differed on political strategy during their alliance until 1973.

The contextual elements described include regional and international influences as well as socioeconomic and political changes. Regional and international influences came from other political projects and theoretical approaches for framing the PSCh alternative. The local context contributed with new actors and the diversity and pluralism that those actors integrated to the party through their different political mainstreams as well as multiclass backgrounds. Those characteristics reflected the system of solidarity and the community of equals found within the participation, and they embodied the institutional pattern of political culture. The Chilean context impacted upon the development of the PSCh's political structure and the PSCh showed its capacity to adapt to its context. Firstly, the socioeconomic base influenced the

party membership because it included urban middle and working classes. The idea a plural party was strengthened due to the multi-class background of its members. The PSCh opened its membership to a multi-class constituency because the party was considered to be a result of social transformations needed in Chile. Therefore, the PSCh included both social classes which rose at the beginning of the 20th Century as representatives of the class struggle in Chilean society (PSCh, 1933). Secondly, the political basis present in the Chilean context defined the PSCh as a political project for social transformation, influenced by nationalist and Latin-American perspectives. Both perspectives impacted upon the PSCh's strategy, which was focused on the Chilean context, and particularly on political alliances with middle and working classes parties. Therefore, the Chilean context influenced the party's political structure, and the political culture of its membership. The context also impacted upon its membership because the party's political culture was created by the different socialist groups present during the party's foundation. The inclusion of these groups shaped political participation through the meanings of pluralism in the social background of party members, and democracy in their theoretical background. Pluralism and democracy evidenced the system of solidarity during the PSCh's foundation, due to the fact that pluralism and democracy are closer to the idea of a community of equals described by Pizzorno, demonstrating that political participation during this stage was determined by collective identification with those meanings, democracy and pluralism. These characteristics are embedded in the pattern which I named the institutional pattern because it integrated meanings about democracy and pluralism as well as libertarian ideas about theoretical approaches coming from

international and national contexts. Documents dating from the PSCh's formation describe the party as democratic because it included both middle and working-class members. Democracy is understood as an inclusive form of participation, completely different from what is found in the PCCh. Chilean socialism was defined as democratic because it aimed to achieve complete social equality. In addition, it is critical of Soviet communism because of the latter's dogmatic position. This criticism is linked to the party's libertarianism, which reflected its capacity to include several groups with different mainstreams. Therefore, Chilean socialism defends public liberties and the respect of human beings (Jobet 1987a: 118-119). It incorporates a liberal view about individuals and participation. The party emphasised that socialism should take into account bourgeois achievements, but in an environment which respects liberty. This environment must take into account the freedom of the ownership of the means of production (PSCh, 1947: 7). Pluralism was related to the multi-class background of the party which founded the PSCh. These groups were characterised as heterogeneous in their social class basis. Some of them had been described as groups with a strong bourgeois basis (Jobet, 1987a: 90). These characteristics conceptualised the institutional pattern as the formal political culture of the party. This framework for action distinguished the PSCh political culture from the other mayor left wing party the PCCh. These ideas defined party political action and characterised the way in which political participation was defined inside the party. The same ideas also influenced the way that the party described its transformative ideas about democracy in Chile and social inclusion, finding the conceptualisation of this pattern in the main ideas coming out of Allende´s Chilean road to Socialism. The following

quotes evidence the influence of the institutional pattern in the way in which the Chilean road to socialism was defined.

"For my own part, I'm sure we'll have the energy and the capacity to pursue our efforts, modelling the first socialist society built as democratic, pluralist and libertarian"(Salvador Allende, Chilean Path to Socialism. State of the Nation, 21 May 1971)

From its formation, political participation in the PSCh was organised in factions with strong leadership groups. Factionalism resulted from the way in which the party was created, based on several socialist groups, through which leaders maintained their influence over the structure of the new party. The following quotations from interviews explain that factions have been one way in which the PSCh motivates its political participation.

"We have always had leaders who define or determine internal factions. In spite of the presence of factions, the party has stayed united". (Denisse Pascal Allende, Valparaiso).

"Factions are part of the party's idiosyncrasy because the party was founded by four different parties". (Marcelo Diaz, Valparaiso)

All these factions were characterised as gendered spaces of participation, headed by male leaderships. Socialist women have not become strong leaders, and they have not led a faction since the party's foundation. During this stage, few women took part in representative structures inside the party, and just two women were elected as deputies between 1933 and 1973. As with most Chilean political parties, the PSCh leadership had a strong male component. Most of the socialist women developed their political activity from the perspective of motherhood, focusing their participation within the Women's Department. The male leadership tradition has been maintained in the party since its creation.

As I stated in the Introduction (Pp. 12-15), women's participation in Chile until 1973 politicised motherhood as a way of mobilising women in public spaces. This was a form of politicised motherhood which motivated women's participation within political parties and other public spaces. Consequently, the party integrated female members framing their action from the motherhood perspective. The institutional pattern framed women´s activity taking into account this conservative role. It reproduced gendered participation within factions and leadership, because the community of equals inside the party did not consider gender. This fact has not changed over the institutional development of the party, and as I stated before, both the institutional pattern and practice pattern shared the same conservative background about women´s participation. Both political cultures have remained gendered culture regarding women´s internal action.

Strong leaderships deepened factionalism because internal factions were formed based on leaders inside the party, not on theoretical discussions or debates, Some of the PSCh's internal factions up to 1973 were developed and named according to their leader, for example, Chetistas (Aniceto Rodrigues faction) or Ampueristas (Raul Ampuero faction). The tendency to develop strong internal male leadership was maintained inside the party, and it was deepened by the development of local bosses[41]. These leaderships were named personalismos [strong personalities], due to leadership being settled by the

[41] The literature has characterized the PSCh as sensitive to political trends and strongly factionalised. See Furci (1984); Halperin (1965); Alexander (1978).

particular charisma of the leader rather than theoretical discussions. This tendency helped elites to develop a type of political conduct linked to Pizzorno's system of interest which stressed internal party relations. Political participation in the party was settled on the relationship between members and a strong leadership. Therefore, factionalism and strong leadership settled the basis for the development of the system of interest amongst leadership. The contextual characteristics presented within the Socialist Renewal reinforced this type of participation. This system permitted the formation of the second pattern of political culture, the practice pattern, which defined power relations between members and leaders through co-optation, authoritarianism and hegemony in decision making.

The party organisation tried to fight the tendency to factionalism. It tried to reinforce free discussion and the inclusion of its members in grassroots organisations and cells following the ideas presented in the institutional pattern (See figure 8). As a result, the PSCh was established as a nationwide organization with branches in urban areas in order to include all party´s members. These branches were organised according to the territorial divisions which grouped the party members. This type of organisation tried to integrate all members inside the structure, as a community of equals in Pizzorno's understanding. It was designed to incorporate all party members in the decision making and daily activities of the party. The basic structure was the cell [nucleos], which was defined as a small group of members which held regular meetings in order to study, and to express their opinions about the party. Cells' participation maintained a pluralistic understanding of political participation

because they were created to include the diversity of the PSCh membership and the institutional pattern was used as the dominant political culture during those years by base membership and leadership. During the Socialist Renewal period, just the base membership kept this pattern of political culture within formal structure because leadership moved into the practice pattern for driving power relations.

The objective of these cells was to ensure the effective participation of all the members in the party, to get them involved in political activity and decision making, in "their lives, their conduct and their activity" (Jobet, 1987a: 42). The next step up in the socialist organization was the section committee, which grouped cell representatives within a certain territory. The regional committee grouped several section committee representatives. At each of those levels a congress[42] was held for defining party activity.

[42] In the cell congress, all the members of a cell were included. In the case of the section congress, cell representatives elected to be involved in these congresses participated. It was the same for the regional congress with grouping representatives elected for this activity.

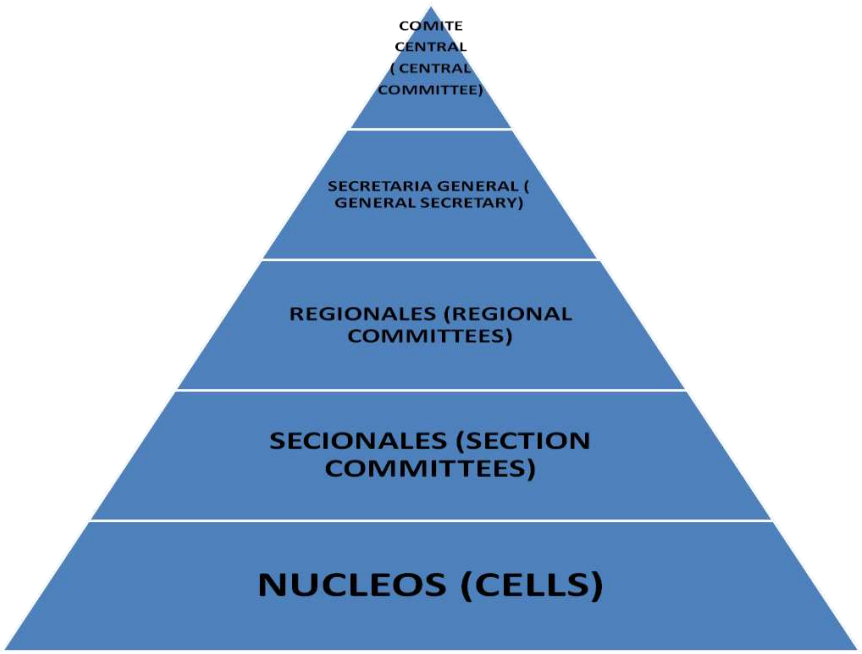

Figure 8 PSCh Structure for Political Participation. Source: Pollack and Rosenkranz 1986: 101.

The main decision-making structure inside the party was the General Congress (See figure 9). However, the central committee, headed by a secretary-general, and a political commission of five members, were the permanent structures which guided the party most of the time. The internal relations between the base structures, cells, sections and regional committees, and the top of the party were centralised by the Department of Organisation and Control, and therefore the power of the central committee and the political commission was small (Pollack and Rosenkranz, 1986: 20). As a result, the party tried to create a structure in which political participation was not driven by a main organisation but settled in the base of the party, among the party members. This structure evidenced the way in which pluralism and democracy were integrating in the party structure, developing a structure set for a community of equals. This

community of equals was consistent with the ideas of pluralism, democracy and libertarianism embedded within the institutional pattern.

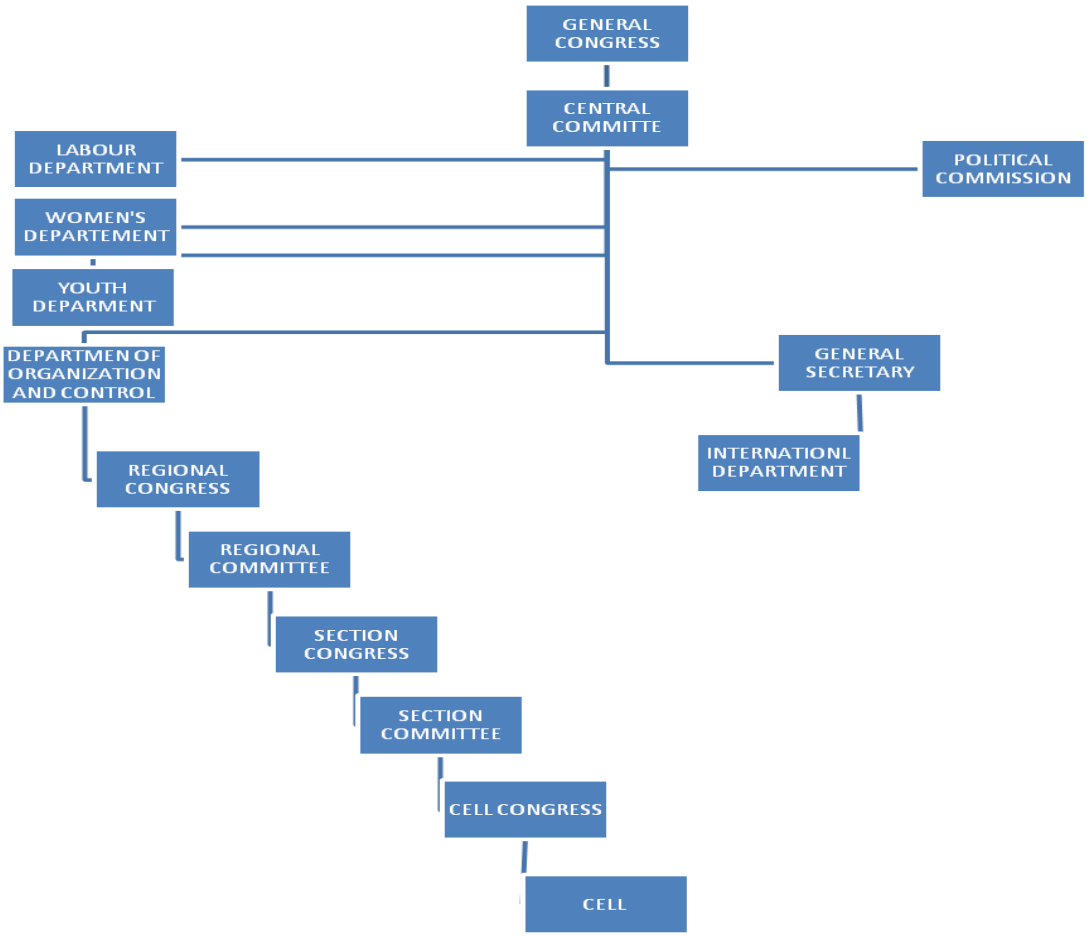

Figure 9 The PSCh´s structure 1940-1953. Source: Pollack and Rosenkranz 1986:Pp 21

The internal formal organisation promoted a nationwide branch network at communal and provincial levels since 1933. These branches enabled the party to keep a constant representative network of councillors, mayors, deputies and senators in most of the 28 electoral constituencies. Consequently, the PSCh

maintained an electoral representation no greater than 30%. The following tables show the electoral performance of the PSCh in Parliamentary Elections between 1937 and 1973. The best electoral performance of the PSCh was in the 1973 parliamentary election (18.4%), and for the Senate was in the 1965 and 1973 parliamentary elections (15.5%).

	Conservative Party/National Party 1969-1973	Liberal Party	Christian Democracy Party	Radical Party	Chilean Socialist Party	Chilean Communist Party
1937	21.3	20.7	-	18.6	11.2	4.2
1941	17.1	14	3.4	21.7	16.7	11.8
1945	23.6	17.9	2.6	20	12.8	10.3
1949	22.7	18	3.9	21.7	9.3*	-
1953	10.1	11	2.9	13.3	14.1*	-
1957	13.8	15.3	9.4	21.4	10.7	-
1961	14.8	16.6	15.9	22.5	11.1	11.8
1965	5.3	7.5	43.6	13.7	10.6	12.7
1969	20.8-NP**	-	31.1	13.6	12.8	16.6
1973	21.1-NP**	-	28.5	3.6	18.4	16.2

Figure 10 Parliamentary Elections since 1937 to 1973. Electoral Performance of the Major Political Parties in Chile, including PSCh. Source Canas Kirby, Enrique (1997),El Proceso Politico en Chile 1973-1990,Pp 31* The table includes together data from PSP and PS. Since 1969-1973 the Chilean right wing was represented by the National Party, where came together the Conservative party and the Liberal party.**

This type of organisation tried to avoid strong leadership groups making decisions on committees or exercising hegemony. Although the internal organisation tried to avoid factionalism, this practice remained one of the ways in which the PSCh organised internal participation. During this period, political participation was dominated by the institutional pattern of political culture, conceptualising participation as pluralistic, democratic and libertarian. However, a strong leadership conflicted with this form of participation because personalismos or strong leadership were closer to the system of interest in Pizzorno's understandings of political participation. The resultant discontinuity

might have created tensions in decision making during this stage. Foundation stage decision making mostly evidenced a system of solidarity rather than a system of interest. However, strong leadership or personalismos affected the party during its first division in 1948 which was the result of internal fights among the leadership. In this conflict, the PSCh decision making structure led the party to its first major division. I would argue that the presence of the system of solidarity established the institutional pattern as the dominant pattern used for political participation during this stage. This pattern highlighted the community of equals and the collective without a gendered perspective.

When the party united in 1956, it introduced democratic centralism. This theoretical approach integrated two new meanings to political culture. Obedience and discipline to the party structure led to the inclusion of authoritarianism and elites' hegemony on decision making as part of this pattern. The party structure tended to dominate and control members´ actions through the inclusion of more centralised spaces of participation led by party officers. Those meanings about participation and power led to the development of the practice pattern when the factions replaced the formal structure and elite hegemony in decision making in the third stage. While there was a balance of power between base membership and elites, the institutional pattern remained as dominant political culture. Also this balance allowed the system of solidarity overpowered leadership's system of interest. This balance was broken during the Socialist Renewal stage. Pinochet´s dictatorship and the changes introduced by neoliberal reforms targeted economically middle and working classes, and political context excluded both from the decision making. Additionally the

underground activity and the new political system favoured the formation of elites which dominated the decision making during these years. The party was not able to integrate all its members within the decision making because political activity was banned and it needed to carry on into small cells. This scenario favoured factions as spaces for political participation when democracy was restored. Those characteristics broke the power balance between base membership and leadership, reinforcing the system of interest to establish their power relations and permitted the practice pattern became the PSCh dominant culture.

When the first division of the party happened, the PSCh was part of the Popular Front which came into government in 1938[43]. But it was not a result of changes among the described balance, but tensions among the political elite which at that time exhibited behaviours closer to the system of interest. These charismatic leaders rendered the party's participation in the Front controversial because they reinforced favouritism inside the party "in opposition to the party's revolutionary values" (Jobet, 1987a: 90). As a result, tensions arose regarding the role of the party within the administration. While some of the leaders supported the alliance, other saw this alliance as a barrier to the PSCh

[43] The Popular Front was a left- wing coalition which gathered together the Radical Party, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Democratic Party and the Radical Socialist Party until 1948, the year in which the Communist Party was banned and the Socialist Party suffered its first division. After the Concertación, it was the second most successful electoral alliance due to the fact that it allowed the Radical Party to hold the presidency of Chile until 1952. The coalition focused on state intervention and the industrialization of Chile through the development of economic and political policies such as the foundation of CORFO. CORFO or Corporacion para el Fomento de la Produccion [Corporation to Promote Development] is a state agency created to expand Chilean industrialization through the allocation of state credits to different economic sectors, in particular industry and construction.

becoming a truly revolutionary party (Jobet, 1987a: 197). These clashes were deepened by the new administration of Gabriel Gonzalez Videla which passed the "Law in Defence of Democracy" or "Cursed Law" that year. The law was one of the outcomes of the Cold War in South America and it banned the PCCh. Some leaders of the PSCh supported this law in order to keep the party within the administration. As a result, the PSCh experienced its first division due to the fact that the vast majority of the party opposed the law. Therefore, between 1948 and 1956, Chilean socialism was represented by a right-wing faction, called the Socialist Party (PS), and a left-wing faction represented by the Popular Socialist Party (PSP). The PS supported the Cursed Law, while the Popular Socialist Party (PSP) grouped together socialist members who were opposed to the law.

The PSCh's division showed the pressure of internal party decision making and tensioned the system of solidarity and the institutional pattern with conducts reinforced individual goals. While the system of solidarity supported collective identification for revolutionary values by the party's base membership, personalismos moved elite behaviour to the system of interest and some party leaders supported the act which banned the PCCh. During this division and the period of unification, the system of solidarity and the institutional pattern remained the dominant political culture. The tension between the two systems will reappear during the Socialist Renewal stage, when the system of interest is reinforced within political participation. This tendency to stress one of the systems allowed to the PSCh to develop and integrate two political cultures to its intra-party power relations. Consequently, one of the PSCh patterns was

mainly stressed and turned in to the dominant political culture at any time. The institutional pattern was the dominant political culture during the Foundation stage and the New Left stage. Contextual changes during the third stage, Socialist Renewal, shifted the system to solidarity to a system of interest, developing another political culture, the practice pattern, which became the relevant culture during this period. These two political cultures patterns were linked to two forms of participation, defined by Pizzorno as system of solidarity and system of interest. Both patterns were formed during the period in which the party used these systems for political participation. The institutional pattern, as I described, is linked to the system of solidarity, and the practice pattern to the system of interest.

The PSP tried to fight the personalismos [strong leadership] and developed a radical vision of party political participation. It linked with the trade unions and the PCCh, and introduced democratic centralism as a tool to discipline the party. The PS lost influence inside the administration and among socialist supporters and party members. When the PSCh reunified in 1956, the radical vision presented by the PSP became important for party administration. This perspective led to the introduction of democratic centralism as a means to homogenise internal political participation. It altered the PSCh political culture and it reinforced radical visions of the PSCh as a leftist party, even a revolutionary party. Democratic centralism reconstructed the theoretical mainstream of the party and unified it under Marxism-Leninism. Furthermore, it impacted upon political participation because it reinforced the role of the party organisation in driving the membership's role in all aspects of political

life. Finally, democratic centralism impacted upon pluralism due to the fact that the party focused on working-class membership and abandoned its initial self-definition as a multi-class party. It shifted the party into a more vertical approach to political participation and power relations, closer to Michels' idea of fighting organisation, and distanced the party from the its self-definition as a pluralist, multi-class party, instead stressing the idea of a community of equals in class terms. The described characteristics set the stage for the dominance of the practise pattern in internal party logics from the next historical stage, Socialist Renewal.

In summary, the Foundation stage shaped the patterns of political participation in the party. It established the dominant pattern as democratic, libertarian and pluralist but gendered participation. Those concepts conceptualise the institutional pattern which framed the relationship between members and leaders. However, this relationship was also marked by the presence of strong leadership and factionalism. Those elites exhibited conduct closer to the system of interest but the system of solidarity and the institutional pattern dominated participation during this first stage. During the three historical stages of the party the relative power of the two cultures has shifted with the institutional pattern being dominant in the foundation stage, but becoming a secondary culture dominated by the practice pattern on the Socialist Renewal. Both characteristics shaped political participation, particularly power relations between members and leaders. The patterns of political cultures were helped by switch from one type of system to the other. Pluralism and democracy defined and characterised political participation within the party due to the fact that the

party was described as more tolerant towards its membership and more inclusive in its theoretical approaches than other left parties. As a result, the system of solidarity was reinforced across different factions.

The New Left (1956-1979)

The New Left stage (1956 -1979) covers the introduction of democratic centralism from 1956 until the second division of the party in 1979 as a consequence of the 1973 coup d'état which overthrew Salvador Allende. Democratic centralism attempted to homogenise political participation through discipline over members in order to avoid factionalism. Discipline and control of members was used to try to shape the party into an organisation able to advance a military-style strategy. During this stage the practice pattern became formally entrenched by characteristics of discipline and obedience introduced by democratic centralism. Both goals are summarised in the name of this stage, New Left, which centred on the formation of a new revolutionary left (Jobet, 1987b: 156). This characteristic impacted upon the political culture in which the practice pattern become the dominant political culture and the institutional pattern turned into a secondary political culture as a result of the attempts to shape political participation by regulating members' conduct.

Chilean Context in the New Left Period

The New Left period was marked by rising mobilization or hyper-mobilization led by unions and grassroots organizations. Two factors impacted on this

scenario. First, the expansion of the Chilean electorate resulted in more of the population taking part in political activities. Second, a high degree of unionisation characterised popular participation inside the Chilean institutional framework as a result of this electoral expansion. This was a consequence of political strategies driven by centre-left parties, particularly the PSCh and PCCh, as well as the Christian Democracy. These parties were described as highly ideological parties, which focused on organising the urban working class as well as the rural working class (Valenzuela, 1991).

As noted above, the increase in the mass of voters in the general election was a key factor in the increase of unionisation and social mobilization. A first instance of this trend was the introduction of women's suffrage for municipal elections in 1935, and for presidential and parliamentary elections in 1949. Between 1958 and 1964, there was the largest increase in female participation, as a result of the legal reform that expanded the electorate already mentioned. However, until 1970 the percentage of women enrolled was far below men enrolled: 69.4% and 83.8% respectively. In the 1989 elections, women achieved the highest historical level of participation, with enrolment of 91.9% of those who were old enough to vote, and since then, women's vote has remained constant at around 52% of electoral registration[44]. In comparison to male voting behaviour, women did not vote overwhelmingly for leftist candidates in general and parliamentary elections from 1949 to 1973. In the

[44] Information available at http://www.eurosur.org/FLACSO/mujeres/chile/part-1.htm[14 April 2013]

parliamentary elections of 1965, 1969 and 1973, the average of women who voted for left candidates was 34.3% while women who supported candidates from the Christian democracy was 37.2% and from the right wing was 19.6% (Salazar and Pinto, 2002b:186). In presidential elections, women's electoral behaviour was similar. Mostly, men supported Salvador Allende's candidacy in 1964 and 1970, while women divided their votes among the candidates supported by the right wing and by the Christian Democracy respectively. Thus, women`s voting behaviour was more conservative. This issue was reflected within party relations where the community of equals was rather gendered. Contextual factors supported gendered behaviour within the political culture of the party.

During this period, sometimes termed the first wave of Chilean feminism, women's struggles focused on gaining electoral rights, in the same way the international feminist movement did. It was formed mainly by middle-class women and women's political participation could be linked to their conservative background (Mooney, 2007). The second wave of the feminist movement in Chile started during Pinochet's dictatorship, focused on gender rights and involved both middle and working class women. During both periods, feminist strategies were divided between feminists inside political parties (named políticas) and outside political parties (named autónomas). Autonomas and politicas succeed in winning the right to vote for women. However, they did not develop a feminist discourse during this period, and as I showed in previous pages, Chilean women were more willing to vote for conservative policies and men rather that to support a more liberal agenda.

They reproduced conservative ideas presented in Chilean society. Internally, socialist politicas stated that the community of equals did not include gender demands. Participation within the PSCh was gendered and reinforced strong male leadership. Socialist politicas were not focused on gender goals but on working-class goals but stressed the gendered participation among the community of equals. Gender was not integrated into the institutional pattern, and it was not integrated into the practice pattern during the Socialist Renewal stage. Feminism and gender were not part of the politicas goals during these years as the followed quotation illustrates.

> "In the 70s I did not have conceptual categories for understanding gender issues. Our world views were much more imbued with class categories rather than gender. When I was 15 years old, a group from Socialist Youth went to my house to invite my brother to become a member of the party. They came to our home because we were children of socialist parents. I just wanted to be invited. They never saw me, because I think I was invisible for being a woman. I did not see gender issues, because I did not have those categories of analysis at that time". (Carmen Andrade, Santiago)

Socialist politicas reproduced the institutional pattern for political participation as well as the "fighting organisation" meaning of power introduced by democratic centralism, which was coherent with patriarchal forms of power. Thus, they also reproduced the gendered political participation found in the institutional pattern during the Foundation and New Left stages. Women identified with the institutional pattern reproduced in the same way that men did during those stages. This is found among narratives within women inside the party. Socialist politicas and narratives about exiled Chileans in the UK showed that the gender division was maintained by party members (Kay, 1987). Politicas did not challenge this gender division but adapted to these ideas of political participation during both stages. Autonomas were not able to develop a feminist party while politicas did not integrate feminist demands

inside political parties. The second wave of feminism incorporated a feminist framework in Chile, which challenged the patriarchal mainstream about gender relations and roles. (Chapter 4:182-195; Chapter 5:262) During the Socialist Renewal stage, women were more aware of gendered participation within the party, but they did not successfully challenge it and they tended to reproduce gendered type of participation presented in the practice pattern.

The second factor that impacted on the expansion of electoral participation was the electoral law reform between 1958 and 1962 which enabled most Chileans to take part of political decisions. These reforms introduced during the presidency of Carlos Ibanez del Campo (1958 -1964) expanded electoral participation and unified the voting system. Until 1925, the vote in Chile was restricted to the literate population and made it necessary for voters to register periodically to avoid disenfranchisement. The reforms rescinded periodic registration, introduced compulsory voting and permanent records of voters, and created a unique ballot distributed by the State, which decreased the possibility of buying votes by political parties. By 1960, the Chilean electorate was 1.25 million (16% of the population), and by 1971 it was 2.84 million (28.3% of the population) (Valenzuela, 1991: 27).

These changes in the Chilean electorate made it possible to increase unionisation among urban and rural working class as well as started a hyper-mobilisation period. This hyper-mobilization was led by outcomes from both regional and international contexts. The cold war period and the outcomes

coming from the Cuban Revolution influenced the Chilean left, which turned towards more radical ideas for achieving State power. PSCh was willing to integrate the army strategy and revolutionary violence to achieve State power. To shift to a working class membership party and to mobilise workers became a key factor to succeed using both electoral and military strategy. Thus, the party was willing to shift from its electoral path and to stress Lennist' tactics about political struggles rather than solely Marxist transformation within the system. A first outcome from this party shift was the new alliance with the PCCh. Similarly to other leftist parties in Latin America, the PSCh developed internal factions more willing to stress urban guerrilla alternatives. Those factions, particularly one led by Carlos Altarmirano, radicalised the party's discourse from 1970 to 1973, resulting in mayor controversies between Salvador Allende's administration and his own party. The PSCh membership did not forget this conjuncture, and during Bachelet's nomination, the party stressed its internal discipline to avoid repeating those events. Political elites reinforced the practice pattern as political culture to secure the internal support for Bachelet and to avoid repeating Allende's experience. This is an outcome coming from this period which is still presented in the party.

From 1911 to 1953, the labour movement was divided between the anarchist Workers' Federation of Chile (Federacion Obrera de Chile- FOCH, 1911), and the Confederation of Workers of Chile (Confederacion de Trabajadores de Chile, 1932), linked to PCCh, PSCh and Radical Party. In 1953 several unions support the creation of the Central Unica de Trabajadores (CUT), with the aim of organizing "all workers in the city and country, regardless of political or

religious views, nationality, gender and age" (Arrate and Rojas, 290). This union was the space where Socialists and Communists first realised their project for building a working class alliance. Unlike the experience of the Popular Front, the new alliance was defined as an exclusively working-class militancy, excluding the middle class constituency represented by the Radical Party, which wanted to maintain the exploitation of the proletariat (Casanueva and Fernandez 1973).

While PCCh and PSCh were focused on building a working class alliance, the Christian Democracy initiated a mobilization process in order to unite the Catholic middle and working class, Catholic white collar and blue collar employees. This party set up the Popular Promotion Plan during 1964 to 1970, focusing on contesting the social base of the left parties. The strategy of Christian Democracy disputed spaces of working class representation in unions where there was representation from left wing parties (mainly PCCh and PSCh) as well as through the organization of neighbourhood associations for both women (Mother Centres) and men (Neighbouring Juntas) during the government of Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964 - 1970).

The law on peasant unionization in 1967 massively promoted countryside unionisation. It was one of the measures of agrarian reform promoted by the Christian Democratic Party, and its aim was to reform the Chilean large estates and initiate an incipient process of land redistribution. While the Christian Democrats disputed popular representation with the socialists and communists

in the unions, both parties were unionising Chilean farmers, and disputing the representation of the Christian Democrats in the countryside.

At the beginning of the Christian Democrat government in 1964, there were 632 industrial unions with 142,951 members, and 1,207 craft unions with 125,926 members. By 1970 this number had increased to 1,440 industrial unions with 197,651 members and 2,569 craft unions with 239,323 members (Valenzuela, 1991: 28). In the countryside, the total number of agricultural unions was 211 (42,474 members) in 1967. By November 1970 this number doubled to 476 and its members were 136,984 peasants (Valenzuela, 1991: 30).

These changes in the Chilean political context promoted a process that not only increased union membership, but began to cause strains in the Chilean party system, radicalizing the positions of the actors as well as creating new political groups inclined to generate more radical changes. Similar to other political parties such as the Justicialista party and the Montoneros experience, radicalised socialist factions left the party and turned into the MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement). Other factions, Elenos and Organa, stressed the military strategy and radical discourses within the party. Elenos were named because the internal support that those socialist members gave to the Bolivian ELN. The Organa, was an armed faction inside the PSCh with an underground organisation inside regional committees. This faction showed how internal agency was influenced by regional guerrilla experiences because this faction stressed the discipline on membership in order to achieve revolutionary

party objectives. Thus regional discourses about urban guerrilla fighting as well as experiences in other Latin American countries influenced party's participation, turning its internal activity into a Marxist-Leninist party.

Democratic centralism is the result of this shift stressed by Chilean context as well as regional and international experiences. It introduced a vertical approach in power relations closer to Michels' idea of parties as fighting organisations with militarist ideas and methods. As a result ideas about discipline and obedience were integrated into internal participation, and authoritarianism and elites' hegemony in the way that Michel's describe internal power relations between members and leaders. The meaning of authoritarianism and elite hegemony are connected to party goals, which are to achieve State power for radicalising the social and economic transformations needed in Chile. Authoritarianism and elites' hegemony are introduced because the strategic necessity to turn the party into a Marxist-Leninist structure. The presence of system of solidarity and the idea of the community of equals within the party moderated both meanings and shaped them for supporting membership obedience not to elites, but to party goals. The system of solidarity in political participation was found during the New Left stage, but in terms of class solidarity rather than the pluralistic multi-class background. The institutional pattern remained as the dominant culture, but a new culture started its formation, the practice pattern, which will become in the dominant political culture in the following years. It is important to say that the idea of class solidarity did not include gender solidarity. Political participation continued gendered during these years.

The New Left and Democratic Centralism

It is during the process of changes described above that democratic centralism was introduced in the PSCh**.** Democratic centralism was observed in the PCCh before the PSCh. Democratic centralism introduced a hegemonic idea about party membership (class membership) and about political strategy (revolutionary violence). It was defined as an ideological and theoretical proposition which had its roots in hierarchical centralism and internal democracy. Both concepts tried to transform the party into a class unity party able to carry on a proletarian dictatorship. In order to achieve this goal it was necessary to fight internal factionalism and to transform the party into an organised vanguard for guiding political changes. Hierarchical centralism would centralise internal party decisions. It focused on centralising political authority within the central structures of a party in order to guide internal and external decision-making. The objective was to drive all the meanings of political participation through the formal party organisation. In addition, internal democracy would reinforce the role of the party organisation because it would prevent the development of an internal bureaucracy in which leaders remained in internal positions for long periods of time. Therefore, it would prevent a strong leadership from staying in charge of the party organisation for long periods of time. Internal democracy was introduced in order to channel the internal participation of all party members through their representatives, rather than through the presence of factions (PSCh, 1967). Democratic centralism established the election of all party officers, and introduced strict

disciplining of party members[45]. Internal elections would avoid the PSCh becoming just a political apparatus. It was created to fight anarchist tendencies, and to combat strong leadership, both of which were said to debilitate party activity. It tried to homogenise the spaces of political participation and to drive all party life according to the structure of formal political organisation. It introduced a vertical approach to political participation connected to a militarist approach that would enable the winning of state power.

Democratic centralism focused on the political education of cadres, and the development of their political conscience. This doctrine implies the selection and education of party cadres, membership for the people who show their characteristics as campaigners for social justice, and permanent education for all party members[46]. This political approach established the PSCh as an organisation of disciplined cadres similar to the PCCh. It tried to define the PSCh as a scientific organisation with clear rules for day to day political practices (Jobet, 1987b). Therefore, democratic centralism defined the type of membership, the rights and duties of party members, and guided the behaviour of party members in private and in public[47]. In addition, the political approach

[45]Discipline was defined as "the conscious disposition to obey the will of the majority" (Jobet, 1987b; 224).

[46] Democratic centralism also defined members' attitudes as follows: to be critical and self-critical about party activity, and to develop a collective awareness through collective activity and political education.

[47] For example, 1967 party statutes define punishments for alcoholism of party members.

determined the way in which daily political activity developed within cells, sectional committees, and regional committees. Democratic centralism ensured the role of the central committee as the main decision-making body of the PSCh over a period of two national congresses (PSCh, 1967). The central committee was the organisation which would determine the party's internal activity and external conduct. This structural position reinforced the central committee as the main body inside the party administration for ensuring internal democracy (See figure 11). The central committee became the main body for fighting personalismos and factions, and for encouraging collective participation in the party's decision-making. But it did not prevent party factions from developing. In contrast, factions introduced their members onto the central committee as a way in which to represent themselves in the most important internal structure of the party. Authoritarianism and elite hegemony were integrating as meanings for assuring membership obedience to party goals. Those meanings were not part of the dominant political culture and its ideas of pluralism, democracy and libertarianism. Authoritarianism and elites' hegemony were new meanings for political participation, shaping the party's agency into a militaristic type of participation that the party disagreed during the Foundation stage. These meanings were the base for the formation of a new political culture, the practice pattern.

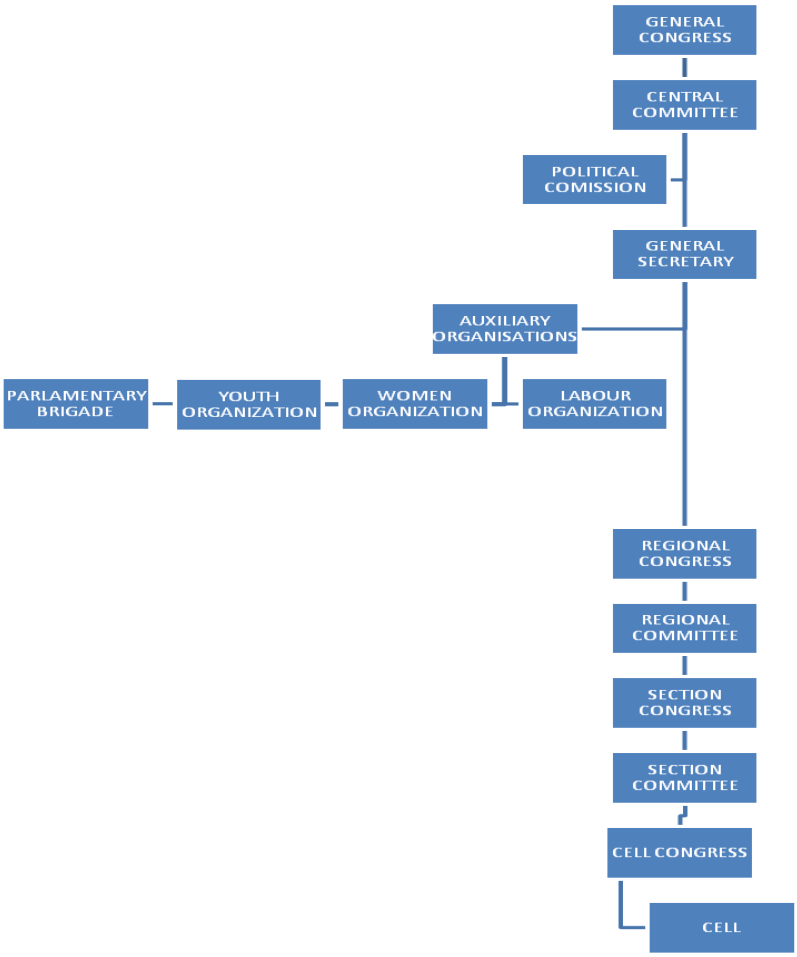

Figure 11 PSCh structure between 1967 and 1973. Source: Pollack and Rosenkranz 1986:Pp 31

The introduction of democratic centralism was linked to the radicalization of the left in Latin America because of the Cuban Revolution. This radicalization was also present in the Chilean social movement through the development of radical groups which supported a military seizure of power (e.g. MIR), and it impacted upon the PSCh's institutional development. The introduction of democratic centralism affected membership-leadership relations. In terms of the composition of the membership, the PSCh kept part of its multi-class composition as a reflection of the composition of the Chilean left in the 1960s, but it strengthened its working-class component. Since its unification in 1956, and especially after the 1967 statute reformation, the PSCh focused on

expanding its working-class membership[48]. As a result, democratic centralism challenged the PSCh's pluralism of political participation due to the fact that it tried to homogenise the social background of its membership. The PSCh defined itself as a working-class party and it promoted membership-leadership relations based on the Leninist idea of revolutionary leadership (PSCh, 1967: 68). Therefore, it swung towards a more leftist political stance. The inclusion of democratic centralism inside the PSCh was relevant to its move towards revolutionary violence. It helped to define the party as the political vanguard able to guide radical changes. These changes would be achieved by military strategy. This strategy stressed that an elite was required to drive those changes as well as discipline among members. The role of party's elite as the required vanguard added elites' hegemony on decision making. During this stage, elites' hegemony was conceptualised as the required political vanguard, which was coherent with the presence of system of solidarity and collective identification with party's goals. The role of this vanguard was to achieve those collective goals rather than individual ones. This particular meaning shifted into more individualised goals when the system of interest was reinforced in the followed stage.

The described new meanings challenged the PSCh's libertarian theoretical perspective, due to the fact that it homogenised its political approach under democratic centralism. Therefore, it impacted upon the party's definition of

[48] Membership figures were completely different compared to those from party's foundation: 70% of the members were, by this stage, working-class members, whereas 30% were middle-class (Pollack and Rosenkranz, 1986,10-48).

participation as democratic, pluralistic and libertarian because the party moved into a one model of the party, the revolutionary party, where the transformative goals were changed by the revolutionary transformations changes made by working class membership. Thus the community of equals which integrated different theoretical background and social classes was radically changed, and participation moved into obedience and discipline guided by the party's vanguard. Obedience and discipline shaped authoritarianism as meaning for participation, and political vanguard integrated elites hegemony on decision making in the party.

The introduction of democratic centralism in the PSCh occurred at the same time that the PSCh established connections with the PCCh inside the national unified trade union, the Workers' United Centre [Central Nacional de Trabajadores]. The connections developed between the two parties allowed the foundation of the FRAP (Front for Popular Action)[49] in 1957 to contest the presidential elections. The FRAP was defined as the social basis of a new political and economic regime inspired by the aspirations of the working class, and focused on the country's emancipation; industrial development; the elimination of pre-capitalist forms of agrarian exploitation; the improvement of democratic institutions; and the planning of a productive system based on collective interests (Jobet, 1987b). The FRAP alliance joined together white-collar and blue-collar Marxists in a political strategy dominated by urban and

[49] The basis for FRAP was established in 1956 by the PSP, through the "Front for Popular Action" [Frente de Accion Popular] to pursue the strategy of the Workers' Front. The presidential candidate was Salvador Allende, one of the PSCh leaders. He became president of Chile in 1970, the fourth time he ran for the presidency.

rural workers, which excluded the upper and middle classes (Drake, 1993). In contrast to the Popular Front, this political alliance was a class-based alliance, without a multi-class background.

The PSCh took into account Mao's strategy for revolution (electoral or military strategies), whereas the PCCh focused on the electoral strategy. The support of the PSCh for military and electoral strategies came from its vision of the working class as a guide to revolutionary changes, and it aimed for the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship. The PSCh did not choose openly between the electoral strategy and the military strategy due to the fact that the PCCh was more willing to accept the electoral strategy. However, implicitly, the party suggested the military strategy when it validated "all methods and means required by revolutionary struggles" (Casanueva and Fernandez, 1973: 219). This position became explicit at the Chillan Congress of 1967. The Congress established that revolutionary violence was inevitable and legitimate due to the repressive character of the state; thus, revolutionary violence was the only way for the proletarian class to achieve political power. This Congress was pivotal as a new generation of revolutionary leaders; young men took control of the central committee and the older generation and those associated with the democratic route to socialism were displaced. Both generations shared same system of solidarity and collective identification with party goals, but the strategies used for achieving these goals differed completely each other. Additionally, both generations stressed meanings of participation. While the generation of the Foundation stage represented the institutional pattern, the generation of the New Left identified itself with new meanings about

authoritarianism and elites' hegemony on decision making which formed practice pattern later on.

These generational clashes were found during Salvador Allende's administration when the party considered both strategies to achieve power. Although revolutionary violence was accepted by the PSCh, the party supported Popular Unity [UP][50] and the Chilean Path to Socialism during Salvador Allende's candidacy in 1970. This strategy was electoral rather than military. However, the PSCh kept and deepened the concept of revolutionary violence due to the fact that it believed that the Chilean left must confront the bourgeois reaction to Allende's triumph. During Allende's administration, the doctrine of democratic centralism governed party conduct. The objective was to turn the PSCh into a political vanguard. This perspective was supported by Carlos Altamirano, the general secretary of the Party elected in 1971, who represented the new generation which stressed new meanings of power coming from democratic centralism. Altamirano led a faction that increased its influence inside the party, in spite of members and leaders who supported Allende's moderate vision who represented the traditional institutional pattern. This faction expressed New Left ideals based on the use of revolutionary violence to achieve radical changes in Chile. New Left ideals dominated the PSCh from 1972, and so tensions between Allende's administration and the

[50] The UP succeeded the FRAP coalition and it was based on the same political parties (PSCh, PCCh, Radical Party), and on new left-wing parties formed during the 1960s: MAPU [Movimiento de Accion Popular Unitario], a political group splintered from the Christian Democracy Party, and the Christian Left (since 1971). Another member of the UP was the Social Democratic Party.

PCCh, supporters of the electoral alternative, increased. These tensions continued during the Allende administration until 11th September 1973. Those tensions originated in two sets of meanings about power and participation integrated to the party. One was the dominant political culture, the institutional pattern and it was found in Allende's vision. The other set off meanings represented the authoritarianism and elites' hegemony on decision making and it was found in Altamirano's discourse. Both meanings conceptualised the practice pattern during the Socialist Renewal stage. One outcome of this tension was the party's division in 1979. This division evidenced that the institutional pattern was not the dominant culture at this point, but it was stressed because the other set of meanings about power was introduced during the New Left stage. When the party broke up in two groups, the new set of meanings originates another political culture, the practice pattern, which characterise elites' behaviour.

The new meanings integrated during this stage impacted upon the relationship between members and leaders because it was defined by discipline of the membership in obedience to the party officers' decisions, and it impacted negatively upon the ideas of democratic and tolerant political participation. Discipline and obedience to the party became the two main aspects of political participation, turning the party into a more militaristic organisation. These trends could be linked to authoritarianism and elites' hegemony on decision making due to the fact that party officers focused on ensuring obedience to party decisions. The described characteristics impacted upon political

participation in the party. Democratic centralism introduced a new collective meaning in the discourse on membership, in which the main issue was the obedience of the party member to the party organisation rather than the individual liberties of members. Those meanings become part of the PSCh political culture, contributing to the formation of the practice pattern. As I previously stated, the system of solidarity was still found during the New Left stage, and the collective identification with party goals remained strong. It was during the Socialist Renewal stage where the previous system is replaced by the system of interest, and collective identification was replaced by individual goals. Both system of political participation showed gendered power relations, what is found through the historical evolution of the party.

In sum, the New Left period was the result of the introduction of democratic centralism within the PSCh's institutional model. This perspective impacted upon political participation because it introduced discipline and control in order to homogenize the conduct of the party. It introduced discipline as meaning for political participation and control over members' activities, redefined political participation from a militarist point of view, and replaced the party's multi-class background and related pluralism with a working-class approach. However, the system of solidarity remained the dominant system during the New Left period, based on collective identification from a class background perspective. The system of interest was not stressed during the described period. The practice pattern with its authoritarian, hegemonic and individualised logics is embedded in the party at this point but democratic centralism presented collective

solidarities that counteracted those meanings. Additionally, the balance between the system of solidarity and the system of interest within elites prevented that those meaning re-framed the dominant political culture. As a result, the institutional pattern still was the dominant political culture during those years. When contextual changes broke this balance, the embedded meanings turned into a clear political culture which became the dominant culture during the Socialist Renewal stage.

Two stages were discussed over this chapter. First, the Foundation stage characterised participation and power as libertarian, pluralistic and democratic because the presence of system of solidarity and collective identification with party goals, defining participation through the idea of community of equals. Those meanings conceptualised the institutional pattern of the political culture, which was the dominant culture of the party. The contextual changes in the Chilean society which introduced new actors (working and middle classes) supported the development of this pattern which was found among base membership. The following stage, the New Left, introduced authoritarianism and elites hegemony as meaning for power relations, which conceptualised a new political culture during the last stage, Socialist Renewal. The chapter showed that those patterns were formed because the influence of context within party's historical evolution. Also the chapter showed that the presence of a system of interest among leadership but in balance with the system of solidarity allowed the formation of a new political culture, the practice pattern, which it has been embedded in the PSCh since the New Left. Changes within the context turned into the dominant culture of the party during the recent years.

Thus, this chapter have Duvergers' diachronic evolution of political parties identified the way in which participation and power relations are conducted, but how historical momentums have shaped those power relations and stressed the systems of participation, creating and reinforcing new political cultures. Those cultures are found among members and leaders, and the generations that they belong. This two stages showed how those political cultures were conceptualised because party's institutional development. The following chapter analyses the last of the three stages, Socialist Renewal.

Chapter 4

The influence of the Socialist Renewal period on the PSCh's political culture

This chapter completes the first level of analysis of the PSCh's political cultures, institutional development. It centres on the final stage, the Socialist Renewal, and its influence on the PSCh's political culture. This stage takes into account both meanings of power relations introduced by democratic centralism, authoritarianism and elites' hegemony in decision making for conceptualising the new political culture, the practice pattern. During this stage, the system of solidarity is replaced by the system of interest because of contextual changes. Particularly its base membership was weakened by labour reforms and the political elite detached itself from their bases during the dictatorship and the transition process. As a result, the balance between the two systems, the system of solidarity and the system of interest was broken, moving the party's participation completely towards individual goals and the system of interest. This new system of participation redefines authoritarianism and elite hegemony under individual goals rather than to achieve the party`s revolutionary transformations. Those individual goals were found among party elites, focusing on the concentration of power. As a result, co-optation was added to this new political culture. Since the 1990s, the practice pattern became the dominant culture, replacing the institutional pattern which became a secondary political culture. This secondary political culture frame base membership participation within formal structures.

The Socialist Renewal is the most recent stage identified in the institutional

development of the PSCh. This stage began with the second party division in 1979 and lasted until the 2005 National Congress. In this Congress, factions reorganised internally in order to support Michelle Bachelet's nomination. The result was a new majority which has homogenised party conduct since 2005. Three main aspects marked the development of the PSCh political culture during these years due to changes in the Chilean context. The socioeconomic bases of the party was reorganised in conformity with the neoliberal project that had altered social and economic relations within Chilean society. This reorganisation disarticulated collective labour relations and reinforced individual spaces for negotiation within labour relations. Collective negotiation within labour relations was replaced by individual labour relations within the market (Taylor, 2006). The community of equals was de-structured because the base membership was targeted and weakened by new labour reforms. Thus the system of solidarity presented among the base membership and its meaning of pluralism in class background were deconstructed as well as the ideas of class solidarity and collective goals presented in that system. Those changes broke the balance between the system of solidarity and the system of interest, replacing the system of solidarity and its institutional pattern by the system of interest and the practice pattern.

This issue was reinforced by the institutional framework inaugurated by the Pinochet dictatorship. The previous institutional framework was changed by the 1980 Constitution which concentrated power in the Executive branch, and replaced the D'Hondt proportional electoral system with a binomial electoral system. This system favoured strong leadership for Congress candidacies.

Additionally, the transition process favoured elite negotiation, and deepened the gentrification on decision-making inside the Chilean political elite. This issue reinforced the system of interest found among leadership deepening the division between leaders and members due to the fact that the membership identified with the institutional patter while the leadership identified with the new political culture, the practice pattern. However, the weakened base membership was not able to strengthen the institutional pattern as dominant culture, allowing leadership to stress the practice pattern for establishing power relations. Finally, political activity was suppressed during the dictatorship, and activists of trade unions and political parties as well as militant left parties were persecuted and killed. Most of the political parties' activity during Pinochet's regimen was carried on underground by small cells. I claim that this scenario deepened factionalism in the long term. As a result, the system of interest was reinforced by these changes, due to the structural weakening of collective identification with unions and parties as a consequence of economic reforms and political persecution. Power relations became an unequal distribution of incentive setting by the market rather than the Chilean State, which allowed political elite hegemony as Michels described, through authoritarianism and co-optation. As a result, the practice pattern was stressed in PSCh internal agency, turning into the dominant political culture while the institutional pattern became a secondary culture. Solidarities and the community of equals presented during Foundation and New Left stages were replaced by the individual goals embedded in the liberal ideas that Socialist Renewal introduced to the PSCh, in the same way that other leftist parties shifted towards the Third Way due to Neoliberal reforms in the 1980s and 1990s. Thus

more individualised power relations were formed within the new practice pattern, which was deepened by leadership within factions.

The Pinochet's dictatorship and its influence on the PSCh

As was previously suggested, three main elements from the Chilean context impacted on the PSCh's institutional development. Firstly, neoliberal reforms introduced by the Pinochet dictatorship de-structured collective labour relations; secondly, a new institutional framework shaped by 1980 Constitution and the transition process deepened gentrification in decision making; and thirdly, suppressed political activity in political parties and trade unions impacted on the forms that political participation was conducted. These changes influenced the membership and leadership in different ways. While the membership which mainly remained in Chile were the main target of the new labour reforms and political persecution, the leadership in exile centred on developing political strategies for fighting the dictatorship abroad. This issue influenced also the way in which the political cultures were stressed. While the base membership kept the institutional pattern for uniting themselves during the political persecution, leadership formed during the New Left period conceptualised their relations within the base in Chile using the set of meanings introduced by democratic centralism. As a result, base membership and leadership were separated by two political cultures. Socialist base members were connected to the institutional pattern and socialist elites were linked to set of meanings coming from democratic centralism. During this stage, those meanings turned into the second political culture identified in this research,

practice pattern.

The social, economic and political reforms under the Augusto Pinochet dictatorship (1973-1990) could be defined as a part of the re-foundation project carried out by the military and their right-wing supporters. From an economic point of view, the project introduced neoliberal reforms driven by the Chicago Boys, a group of Chilean economists who studied at the University of Chicago in the 1960s. This economic plan implemented free-market reforms for national development which included privatising part of the economy, and redefined the role of the State as the "agent of the common benefit" (De Castro 1992, 60)[51]. Over the dictatorship period, neoliberal policies reorganized Chilean society due to the fact that Pinochet's political project impacted upon organised labour, restructuring labour's relations with Chilean capital (Roberts, 1998; Motta, 2008). The reforms meant that the role of the state was redefined by the establishment of the market as the central mechanism of social representation and the main promoter of the organization of economic resources within society (Lechner, 1998; Porter, 2007). Part of the Neoliberal reforms was the Plan Laboral introduced in 1979. These reforms altered the forms of collective association, deconstructing unions and associations, which traditionally had been the basis of leftist parties in Chile and the support for developing Pizzorno's idea of community of equals and system of solidarity. The Plan focused on disciplining the working class within the new economic

[51] The changes implemented through the neoliberal revolution in the 1980s impacted upon the ways in which social and political relations were organized. A plan was developed to introduce an economic model based on a decentralised economy in order to make good use of the advantages offered by a market system. Therefore, it was also necessary "to extend bases and mechanisms for participation not just in relation to the process of production, but in other areas such as those linked with social, cultural and welfare development" (De Castro 1992, 62)

and social model that was introduced by the military dictatorship (Win, 2004). In particular, the neoliberal project involved a profound transformation in the relationship between state and society, given the limited individual and collective action frameworks established by rational market forces (Taylor, 2006: 41). The market replaced the State in social and political integration, and individuals organised their economic life centred on the market. This context encouraged the de-linking of the identification of citizens from the political system and from the construction of collective identities, stressing instead a system of interest based on individual incentives. Therefore, individuals did not develop connections to identify themselves with democratic institutions because these institutions did not have a clear political content, resulting in it being impossible to develop political identities linked to such institutions (Lechner, 1998). The Concertación administration deepened the rupture between democratic institutions and social movements due to the fact that it did not re-politicize them but it kept the main neoliberal frame embedded in those institutions, and promoted social de-mobilisation to ensure political stability during the transition process. The community of equals was replaced by individualised power relations, reinforcing the individual goals found in the system of interest. These power relations were not connected to ideas of democracy, pluralism or libertarianism found in the institutional pattern. They represented more individualised ideas about political participation which turned the meanings of authoritarianism and elites' hegemony in decision making into meanings used by elites for assuring their power positions. Thus those meanings were not directed towards party's revolutionary goals, but to assuring elite power within factions and the party organisation.

All the changes introduced by Plan Laboral, and their effects of depoliticizing and weakening Chilean social organizations, affected the action of the social base in the PSCh. Thus, collective bargaining spaces were limited to individual relationships arising in the market, which restricted the power of the working class to negotiate improvements in their relations with their employers (Taylor, 2006: 67). These transformations redefined the role of the State and political space, which reconstituted itself as apolitical and technocratic, focusing on the participation of experts in decision making, who would respond to economic events and institutionalize markets as spaces for social interaction instead of the State (Taylor, 2006; Harvey, 2005). These changes affected frameworks for internal participation inside the PSCh, particularly how power relations are defined inside it. The deconstructed base membership was not able to strengthen the institutional pattern, keeping these meanings to preserve their internal identity against the dictatorship rather than to reinforce them as a dominant political culture. Party leaders articulated themselves using the ideas of expert elites and stressing their relations with base membership based on their position as professional politicians rather than based on their position as representatives of the party membership in the way that party' officers did before 1973. Therefore, elites gradually abandoned the institutional pattern and conceptualised the practice pattern to assure membership obedience to their strategies against the Pinochet dictatorship. Similarly to individualised market relations, individualised power relations are transferred to the ways in which political participation structure within the party through a system of interest. Moreover, since 1990s, party elites have increased their influence, with Concertación elites becoming experts inside its governments within the

framework established by the neoliberal state. As a result, elite hegemony was reinforced inside the party. These contextual elements impacted on power relations in the Socialist Party. The described breakdown of industrial relations within the political space weakened the PSCh membership, which became highly individualised. This relationship shifted from solidarity systems to systems of interest, with a predominance of individual goals as argued by Pizzorno, and selective incentives between members and leaders. The weakening of the PSCh membership and the prominence of elites and their leaders in the decision-making process strengthened the role of factions, making them legitimate spaces for both membership and leadership. These elements weakened the party structure and caused gentrification in internal decisions, which generated hegemony of the elites of the party factions in internal decisions. These characteristics allowed the practice pattern to become the dominant pattern because there was not a community of equals able to support the system of solidarity and the institutional pattern. Thus the practice pattern was reinforced and turned into the dominant political culture.

Secondly, a new institutional framework was introduced by the military regime, marked by the displacement and banning of political parties until 1983. Before the 1973 military coup, the competition between Chilean parties was central to the organization and representation of political and social actors (Hagopian, 1993). However, the Pinochet dictatorship changed the bases for political association, participation and the institutional framework for political competition because it removed the influence of political parties in political life (Angell, 2007). Pinochet´s regime introduced a new Political Constitution with

a strong presidency (the 1980 Constitution) and replaced the old electoral system with a new binomial system which forced the reorganization of Chilean political party alliances into two main political alliances in order to gain electoral support for electing their candidates[52].This new electoral framework reinforced strong leaderships inside parties because it tends to favour charismatic leaders who could be elected. This condition inside the electoral system acts as a barrier for new candidates and other actors such as women to be elected, and reinforces strong leadership inside the political parties able to win electoral support, consolidating the leadership as a political elite within their parties. Inside the PSCh, the new electoral framework reinforced the role of the socialist elite inside the decision making of the party, and hegemonised and centralised its decision-making. These characteristics contributed to a strengthened practice pattern.

The political transition also reinforces the role of political elites inside political parties, deepening the power of personalismos and the system of interest inside the party. The pacted transition between the Pinochet dictatorship and the political elite of the Concertación reinforced the role of the political elite and their leadership as key to achieving political consensus. This consensus assured

[52] This electoral system had various effects. For the presidency, it is easy to understand it: the candidate who has more than 50% of votes is elected; in contrast, if all candidates obtain lesser this percentage, the election must be decided through a run-off ballot. Nevertheless, in the case of Parliament elections, two members must be elected per constituency and each voter can vote for only one. This system encouraged parties to form alliances and to present lists with two candidates per electoral district. If a party alliance obtains more than twice the support of the second most voted list in this district, it wins both seats; in contrast, if this list gains less than twice the support of the second list, the second list takes one of the seats in this district. This system encourages a bipartisan system and the over-representation of the second most popular list.

that the broken balance between the system of solidarity of the base membership and the system of interest of the leadership were maintained and deepened, favouring elites' position as the dominant group within the party and the practice pattern as dominant culture. The so-called "Democracy of Agreements", during the government of Patricio Aylwin, inaugurated a period in which political elites dominated decision-making inside the administration as well as inside political parties in the same way that the transition was organised previously. This type of political conduct had an impact inside the PSCh. This reinforced the changes in the base of the party as a result of neoliberal reform, due to which the forms of collective participation turned into a more individualised type of political identification and incentives, as Pizzorno and Panebianco suggested. This scenario facilitated a process through which political elites hegemonised decision-making inside the PSCh, consolidating their position as technocratic elite inside the party and in other political spaces such as the National Congress and the public administration. Consequently, these technocratic elites were able to assure their hegemony in the main spaces in which decision making is taking place in the new Chilean democracy. Thus, political decisions became hegemonised by the political elite, and there is marked gentrification in decision-making. Therefore, political activity changed from being a type of collective, organised participation to a style of participation which is more factionalised and centred on strong leadership, strengthening the role of political elites inside the party. This issue marked a gentrification in decision-making as a result of the weakening of the party membership and the development of an oligarchy tendency in decision-making. The previous stages were based on collective meanings of political

participation expressed by the membership within power relations connected to the institutional pattern. The Socialist Renewal period altered this situation due to the fact that power relations were no longer understood through collective goals but from the perspective of individual goals. This idea was reinforced by changes in the relationship between members and leaders, focused on the selective incentives which members could get from leaders. Thus the practice pattern is reinforced and turned into dominant political culture. The collective meaning of membership as a community of equals present in the previous stages was replaced by individual meanings of political participation. Participation lost its collective meaning to settle on individual connections between members within the party organisation, based on the type of incentives that members could get from leaders.

The neoliberal socio-economic model introduced by the Pinochet dictatorship was implemented by the use of State terrorism as state policy, as well as by banning all political activity. This is the third element which impacted on the institutional development of the party. This policy of terror focused on the elimination of any type of opposition to the regime and its policies, which impacted upon political parties as organizations. As I previously described, neoliberal transformations affected parties' internal political identities through labour reorganisation, affecting the social bases of the leftist parties. In addition to these changes, the institutional development of the party was also affecting by the new institutional framework inaugurated by Pinochet dictatorship and deepened by the political transition. I claimed that both aspect impacted

membership and leadership of the PSCh, weakened and individualised the membership, and strengthened the leadership through the formation of a hegemonic political elite. This third aspect contributed to the weakening of the party organisation due to the fact that most of the PSCh's political activity was highly fragmented by the individualisation of party members inside and outside its political space.

PSCh members were affected by political persecution and experienced neoliberal transformations, particularly the base membership that remained in Chile. Political repression and exile affected the PSCh over the course of Pinochet's dictatorship. The PSCh and the PCCh were persecuted by the military junta, and their leaders were murdered, tortured and exiled. The PCCh was able to conduct clandestine activity much more effectively than the PSCh due to its experiences of clandestine organisation between 1948 and 1958. In contrast, the PSCh faced political persecution for the first time. It did not have previous experience from which to develop clandestine activity or to face political persecution in the same way as the PCCh. Therefore, party members were more heavily affected by the political repression than were PCCh members[53]. The PSCh's national structure was destroyed by the regime's repression. Most of the socialist leaders on different committees were imprisoned or murdered. Several of them went to exile after spending months in concentrations camps or torture centres. Exile and political repression

[53] Data gathered by the National Commission for Human Rights in Chile (1991) determined that 2,279 people died during Pinochet dictatorship. 17.8% of them were members of the PSCh, while 15.5% were members of the Chilean Communist Party.

affected political participation inside the party. The grassroots of the PSCh faced a state policy implemented to politically repress opposition to the regime. These events shaped the division between the base membership which remained in Chile and the leadership that had to go into exile. The base membership in Chile stressed their solidarities for fighting the dictatorship through the institutional pattern. They kept this pattern to preserve their identity as political group when the party was banned. They framed their ideas about participation and democracy using the institutional pattern. Thus, their struggles for democracy, pluralism and freedom were framed by the institutional pattern of political culture because it highlighted the community of equals and the system of solidarity.

The elites in exile developed the practice pattern for establishing their power relations with base membership in Chile. Their position as dominant elites did not come from internal electoral processes where party's officers were elected, but from non-official congress where socialist leaders in exile congregated for defining strategies to face the dictatorship. Most of the leaders remained as leaders because their previous status within the party's organisation and their personal linkages with middle rank leaders who remained in Chile. Some exiled middle rank leaders or members turned into designated leaders when they were allowed to return to Chile in 1980s. Other main leaders clandestinely returned to Chile for leading those struggles during periods of time. In both cases, these were designated leaders rather than elected ones. As a result, they conceptualise their relations with bases through authoritarianism and hegemony on decision making. This pattern characterised turned into the

political culture used by leadership for securing their position as non-elected elites.

Political repression divided the membership and leadership's political cultures because it deepened the division between both leadership and membership patterns of political cultures. Socialist members in Chile took part in professional unions, religious organisations, student unions, human rights groups, and shanty-town cells, stressing their activities through the institutional pattern. Socialists abroad worked in solidarity groups and research institutions such as the Instituto Chile America. Socialist elites characterise their relations with bases in Chile by auhoritarianism and hegemony on decision making. Thus, the practice pattern was conceptualised by elites.

Socialist women played a key role in the struggle for democracy. Since women gained the right to vote in 1949, their political activity was divided by the strategic options that the women's movement adopted to achieve their goals. As I previously stated, women divided between politicas (members of political parties) and autonomas (feminists outside political structures), who challenged the institutional frame given by political parties for achieving their goals. During the first wave of feminism, women focused on the debate between autonomy and integration inside the traditional frame as well as double militancy in parties and gender movement as a strategy for improving women's participation in politics (Franceschet, 2004). The 1973 coup and the resultant

dictatorship changed this scenario, pushing women to adopt a more political role for defending both their identities as mothers, wives and sister of political prisoners as well as their own position as political party members experiencing political repression. Similarly to other social actors, women occupied the political spaces left by political parties in struggling for human rights and democracy as well as their material life conditions, which were impacted by the 1982 economic crisis[54]. The differences between autonomas and politicas were less evident, and women organised in groups such as Mench 83, Association of the Relatives of the Disappeared Prisoners [Agrupacion de Familiares Detenidos Desaparecidos]. However, class differences were present between middle class and working class women. Middle class women framed their struggles in terms of a feminist approach in order to challenge conservative structures reinforced by Pinochet dictatorship such as motherhood. However, working class women did not frame their struggles in terms of a feminist approach due to the fact that their demands were linked to economic inclusion and working conditions. During the transition process, these class identity divisions were maintained as well as the traditional strategic differences between autonomas and politicas which reappeared with political parties. Socialist women were among the politicas since the party's foundation. Similarly to the rest of the political parties, the PSCh was characterised as a male-dominated party with a strong male leadership. Socialist women developed leadership skills in public spaces which allowed

[54] Financial and economic crisis impacted Chile in 1982 caused by the automatic adjustment resulting for the first period of Neoliberal policies applied since 1973 to 1980. The main outcome was the increase of unemployment (30.40% by 1983). For more details see Eduardo Silva (1995) "The political economy of Chile's Regime Transition: From Radical To Pragmatic Neo liberal Policies"; Gabriel Salazar and Julio Pinto (1999), Historia Contemporanea de Chile, Volume 3, La Economia, Mercados, Empresarios y Trabajadores.

them to advance gender demands. They were among the leaders in shanty-town organisations, human rights and gender rights groups, and informal labour groups reorganised since 1983. The absence of formal organisations for political and social activities allowed socialist women to occupy informal spaces for political demonstrations and rights struggles. The National Demonstrations initiated in 1983 gave socialist women public space in which to claim human and gender rights[55]. When political parties reappeared, socialist women did not challenge institutional spaces and moved their struggles for political participation inside the party. Socialist women did not challenge the dominant PSCh meanings of political participation and practices. Politicas adopted these patterns in their own power relations. They did not challenge male-dominated power and its patriarchal meaning, sharing the same ideas as their male counterparts. Thus, they abandoned the opportunity to generate internal transformations from a feminist perspective. Women were not able to challenge the practice pattern of leadership and tried to reinforce the institutional pattern, which was more connected to feminist ideas of participation through pluralism and democracy. Similarly to socialist men, women frame their power relations with leaders through the dominant political culture established by them. Conservative gendered relations were reintroduced when formal party organisation reappeared and were reinforced by the practice patter which did not allow pluralism among leaders. It rather reinforced strong male leadership that took part in the transition process. Thus

[55] Pinochet's dictatorship reinforced women's caretaking roles through state agencies such as Cema-Chile. Socialist women and other female members of the opposition organized themselves in gender groups, which claimed gender demands, such as reproductive rights, from the State. Some of those groups were MENCH 83, Women for Life, and the Women's Movement for Socialism.

women`s representation in party organisation remained no more than the 30% minimum required (Chapter 5:268), making it difficult for women to be elected to the party's board and Central Commeette as well as to be selected as candidates to the National Congress and to run for mayorships. The women who have become leaders frame their political relations by practice pattern. They do not strengthened gender solidarity among women in the party base. Thus, conditions for nominated a woman as presidential candidate were extremely difficult inside the PSCh during this stage.

As I suggested above, changes in the Chilean context impacted on the PSCh's institutional development. Neoliberal reforms targeted and de-constructed leftist parties based in the Chilean working class. Their spaces for collective bargaining were replaced by individual linkages inside the rational market. The old political party system was replaced by the 1980 Constitution which strengthened the role of political elites in decision making. Finally, the political repression weakened the party's structure and fragmented political activity, which was conducted outside traditional spaces. I would argue that together, these changes helped to weaken the party membership, replacing collective identifications with individual goals in Pizzorno's understandings of system of solidarity and system of interest. In addition, the role of political elites was bolstered by the new political system and socio-economic conditions embedded in the neoliberal state, which reinforce the role of technocratic experts, hegemonising decision making. The influence of those factors is found in the last stage of institutional development of the party, the Socialist

Renewal. Also these conditions deepened the division between the membership's institutional pattern and the system of solidarity and the leadership's practice pattern and the system of interest. For understanding the devolvement of these political cultures, the next part of the chapter examines the division of the PSCh in 1979 and its influence among their political cultures.

The 1979 Division and the Socialist Renewal Stage

The absence of a national structure for clandestine activity provoked internal division within the party. As I previously stated, the internal balance within the system of solidarity and system of interest was broken, moving the party into its major division since 1949. Exile exacerbated the PSCh's internal divisions across several groups forced abroad. Particularly, it stressed the division between base membership which remained in Chile and leadership which went into exile. The base membership was mainly grouped in one major group under Clodomiro Almeyda, former Foreign Minister of Salvador Allende, while some party leaders formed followed Altamirano's leadership. Altamirano's group did not have a large membership base in Chile. These factors impacted upon membership and leadership relations. Firstly, Altamirano and the main exiled leaders who were in party's board by 1973 were challenged by the base membership who remained in Chile after the coup. Particularly the Socialist Youth and their leaders challenge the former party board due to the fact that they took over the party leadership in Chile after some leaders, such as

Altamirano left the country and others were imprisoned or murdered[56]. Thus, the division within PSCh groups was not only a division among different political strategies. It was a division between leadership and membership. This event facilitated that membership and leadership stressed their political cultures during this division. Also clandestine membership reinforced factional tendencies found in the PSCh prior to 1973. Although socialist members worked together in civil society organisations, they still kept their membership cleavages based on the socialist groups to which they belonged between 1973 and 1990.This characteristic deepened the division found among the system of interest and the system of solidarity previously described.

Two main socialist groups emerged from this division in 1979. Both groups developed strategies linked to its institutional development and took into account ideas coming from the 1947 Programme as well as the 1967 Statutes based on democratic centralism. The first group, headed by Carlos Altamirano, based on the 1947 Programme, characterised its political strategy as a multi-class one, and focused on social transformation through electoral competition, as well as a political strategy of alliance with the political centre (middle-class parties). Altamirano rejected democratic centralism and defined the revolutionary character of the party in terms of the possibility of changing

[56] Socialist members who remained in Chile were organized by the leaders of the Socialist Youth in Chile until 1975. The former deputy Carlos Lorca headed the party until he disappeared in 1975. This attempt was followed by local leaders organising through the National Coordination for Regional Committees [Coordinadora Nacional de Regionales]. They disobeyed political guidelines coming from abroad, and developed political connections with Clodomiro Almeyda's faction.

property relations[57]. This approach gathered several political groups with a strong middle-class background who experienced exile, mainly in Western Europe. Altamirano's approach was reinforced by the political exile experienced by the socialist leaders who developed Socialist Renewal. This group integrated ideas coming from liberalism into PSCh theoretical mainstream, which permitted that individualised power relations were strengthened by practice pattern when party was unified in 1990.

The second group was linked to the 1967 Chillan Congress resolution, based on democratic centralism as a theoretical approach, with a mainly working-class composition, and the definition of the PSCh party as a working-class party. This strategy promoted alliances with the left to confront military rule, and the faction's leaders experienced exile in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. This strategy was led by Clodomiro Almeyda, who was appointed as the new general secretary of the PSCh by half of the party in 1979.This group had strong base membership in Chile, which supported the institutional pattern and the system of solidarity. However, leader's relation with these members were closer to the practice pattern because the group framed these relations based on obedience to elites' decision making and discipline for fighting Pinochet's regime.

[57] Regarding democratic centralism, Altamirano reinforced the anti-dogmatic position supported by the PSCh at its foundation. It was the same argument which led to socialist criticisms of the PCCh due to its dogmatism in the development of political strategies. Altamirano aimed to reject "every attempt to turn the party into a political organization for assemblies or academia, as well as a certain type of sect subject to military disciplinary norms, and to unthinking obedience"(Altamirano 1980, 21).

Both groups developed strategies to fight the dictatorship. Almeyda's group developed the Perspective of Insurgency strategy (PI) while Altamirano's group adopted the Negotiated Rupture (NR) strategy. From 1979, these two main strategies adopted by Chilean socialism determined the conduct of socialist groups during the Pinochet dictatorship. These strategies found a space for political activity in the Chilean National Demonstrations[58] (1983-1986). The National Demonstrations allowed political parties to re-emerge in two main collations: the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP) and Democratic Alliance (AD). Activists from the PSCh took part in both organisations. Socialist groups organised around these strategies and conducted their activity with a great deal of autonomy from each other. Additionally, the leaders responsible for these strategies increased their influence on decision-making. Despite the base membership being closer to the system of solidarity and the community of equals**,** party's leadership stressed the practice pattern to secure the goals of their strategies. Decisions were mostly taken by the elite due to the absence of formal political organisations. Therefore, connections between members and leaders were fragmented because membership and leadership supported two different political cultures. Additionally, political activity in Chile and abroad was conducted by small cells and groups which deepened those divisions among members and leaders due to the fact that a formal organisation was absent during those years.

[58] National Demonstrations were carried out between May 1983 and July 1986. The demonstrations were organised after the 1982 Chilean financial crisis, with the objective of demonstrating against the economic living conditions experienced by most Chilean workers. The first demonstration was organised by copper mine workers, but included other members of civil society such as teachers, university students, shantytown-dwellers [pobladores] and professionals. The National Demonstrations became national spaces for rebellious acts in opposition to Pinochet's re-foundation project.

	Convergencia Socialista	Almeydismo
Theoretical Perspective	Neoliberalism+1947 Programme	Democratic Centralism
Political Strategy	Negotiated Rupture	Perspective of Insurgency
Name of the Group	Convergencia Socialista 1983-1986 PSCh Nuñez (1986-1989)	PSCh Almeyda (1983-1989)
Alliance	Democratic Alliance	Popular Democratic Movement (MDP)

Figure 12 Strategies and Divisions of Chilean Socialism since 1979The

Perspective of Insurgency and Almeydismo

Almeyda's faction developed the Perspective of Insurgency (PI) strategy as part of the Breaking–Off Strategy [Rupturismo], which was created by MDP[59] (Popular Democratic Movement), in order to support anti-Pinochet demonstrations. This strategy was defined as a popular-democratic alternative, focusing on the establishment of an advanced democratic regime (PSCh, 1986a&b). The objective of this strategy was the collapse of the political regime. The Perspective of Insurgency (PI) aimed for an uprising, rebellion or political armed revolt. The strategy of an uprising was adopted because it considered that the effective development of a political base was required. It

[59] MDP grouped PCCh, PSCh Almeyda and the Revolutionary Left Movement (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria -MIR)

was named a rebellion or political armed revolt because the strategy confronted the State. The armed dimension was seen as a valid alternative to ensure an effective offensive against Pinochet's dictatorship which would be able to defeat, to break or to negate its repressive capacity (PSCh-Almeyda, 1986). The strategy considered both armed and unarmed insurrection. Both alternatives shared motivations and ideas linked to a non-violent alternative, in order to give cohesion to socialism as a whole.

The PI reinforced obedience and discipline within party members, due to the fact that it defined the party as the political vanguard necessary for guiding and centralising a popular uprising [ofensivas populares] (Carvajal, 1981: 41). Following the ideas and meanings about power integrated into the party by democratic centralism, this strategy seek to create a vanguard that would lead base members in general strike characterised and popular demonstrations performed by the citizens. It was also suggested that there should be a guerrilla war, an armed fight between the vanguard and social base detachments (formed by workers) and forces loyal to the dictatorship (Carvajal, 1981:43). The PI was based on democratic centralist ideas about political participation, particularly with regard to membership-leadership relations, as described in the previous chapters. According to this view, the PSCh had to become a homogeneous structure with a proletarian ideology, which also had a clear Marxist-Leninist approach. Therefore, the obedience and discipline of clandestine members was necessary in order to develop an effective armed struggle. Both characteristics were important in the relationship between

members and leaders. This relationship was based on discipline and obedience in order to achieve the goals of the PI. Thus, PI stressed meanings about power relations found in the practice pattern rather to reinforce the institutional pattern found among its base membership. This was the result of leadership decision rather than a discussion among party bases. As a result, it did not reintroduce the institutional pattern as a dominant culture. On the contrary, it reinforced the practice pattern among leadership conduct.

In addition, the PI strategy considered a paramilitary form of organization among party members. Therefore, this strategy took into account military training as part of its requirements for some of its members. The PI reinforced this military strategy inside the PSCh through the political participation of PSCh Almeyda members in it. Thus, clandestine political participation among members was focused on the development of peaceful demonstrations and military action at the same time. In addition, the adoption of the PI showed clearly that the PSCh Almeyda opted for the military strategy for defeating Pinochet's dictatorship and strengthening the forms of political participation present in democratic centralism such as discipline and obedience to party decisions. Thus this political strategy did not break the gap between the system of solidarity and the institutional pattern found among base membership and the system of interest and the practice pattern among party' leaders. It rather reinforced that gap, securing the presence of two political cultures, one of them, the practice pattern turned into the dominant pattern imposed by elites.

Negotiated Rupture and the Convergencia-PSCh Nuñez

Negotiated Rupture was supported by the Democratic Alliance (AD)[60], and Altamirano's supporters, Convergencia Socialista[61]. This strategy was based on the use of electoral competition to defeat Pinochet's dictatorship. Its objective was to restore popular sovereignty and democracy, and to build an agreement with the armed forces. The positive outcome of this strategy was the development of the capacity for the convergence of the vast majority of social forces against the continuation of the political regime [62] (PSCh-Nuñez 1986a&b). To achieve this goal, it was necessary to establish political agreements which facilitated democracy and national reconciliation. In order to achieve this objective, Gandhi's strategy of non-violence was adopted, particularly in relation to civil disobedience[63]. This strategy revolved around the idea that tyrannical governments needed a certain type of authority to stay in power. If the government lost this type of power, it disintegrated. Therefore, the non-violent strategy focused on breaking up the basis of the authority of the political regime, including its opinions and beliefs. This strategy tried to increase popular mobilization until citizens explicitly showed they would no

[60] The Democratic Alliance was formed by members of the Christian Democrat Party, Radical Party, Social Democrats, Republican Right-wing group and Convergencia Socialista.

[61] This socialist group changed its name between 1983 and 1989. It was known as Socialist Bloc(1983-1986) under Carlos Briones's leadership, PSCh Nuñez (1986-1989) when Ricardo Nuñez headed the group, and PSCh-Arrate (1989-1990) when Jorge Arrate did the same.

[62] "Capacidad de hacer converger la potencialidad del conflicto institucional planteado al interior del régimen con la presión legítima de una gran mayoría social que estuviese en contra del continuismo".

[63] Civil disobedience was described as a method which would allow the development of necessary force to achieve the peaceful restoration of democracy (Lagos 1983, 52)

longer agree to continue to be ruled by the Pinochet regime (Chilean Socialist Manifesto, 1983). This strategy tried to reinforce popular mobilization and the political participation of civil society through public demonstrations against Pinochet's dictatorship. It tried to reinforce socialist connections with civil society through its connections with grass-roots organisations. It focused on the development of a militant network rather than a vast membership obedient to the political authority, similar to democratic centralist ideas. This network was based on informal organisations within civil society which drove the participation of its supporters. These organisations followed the guidelines coming from the Convergencia leaders. Like the socialist groups within Almeydismo, the leaders of Convergencia centralised decision-making regarding the struggles against the dictatorship. Thus, this socialist group also developed a type of leadership which centralised decision-making. Similarly to the previous strategy, Negotiated Rupture reinforcing the gap between leaders' political culture and base membership one, because it did not break the gap between the system of solidarity and the system of interest. As a result, the strategy secured the practice pattern as leadership's political culture used for framing power relations in order to secure that the main goals of this strategy would be fulfilled. Additionally, the negotiated nature of this strategy privileged elites' hegemony for driving decision making and power relations, deepening the system of interest presented among socialist leaders since party's foundation.

Political participation by Convergencia supporters was focused on public

demonstrations against the regime[64], headed by socialist supporters. However, the Convergencia group did not have a vast grassroots base due to the fact that it was developed outside Chile by political elite of exiles. It was not able to spread within civil society in the way that the PSCh Almeyda did. Almeyda's faction had a strong membership base inside Chile in comparison to the Convergencia. The PSCh Almeyda also showed more focused conduct as a political organisation, which allowed it to extend its political activities to universities and other social groups. By contrast, Convergencia was created by the socialist elite in exile so it did not have major links with grassroots organisations. Therefore, both strategies shaped two types of membership and political participation with the same objective: to defeat the Pinochet regime. PSCh Almeyda focused on the development of a mass party type of membership and participation with strong connections with the party's traditional grassroots and working class membership (students, shanty town dwellers or pobladores, and unions). Convergencia centred on the development of a network type of membership with connections to civil society organisations. It developed a network of militants who were active in middle-class and practitioner organisations, such as professional unions and universities. Both political groups kept these membership models until party unification in 1990. As a consequence, political participation in both factions was constructed through individual connections that members had with the party organisation. The idea of collectivity present in the previous stage was replaced by the network type of membership, which encouraged individual

[64] Some methods used by the non-violent strategy were: peaceful demonstrations; public meetings; non-cooperation alternatives like boycotts and strikes; sit-ins; stand-in actions; and disobedience of the laws (Lagos 1983, 46)

participation rather than collective connections with the party organisation. This new meaning of participation was linked to liberal ideas embedded in the neoliberal reforms explained at the beginning of the chapter.

Both strategies did not establish the institutional pattern and the system of solidarity was the dominant political culture. By contrast, they reinforced the practice pattern in two separate ways. The PSCh- Almeyda and the PI combined the ideas of solidarity and collectivity that democratic centralism tried to achieve within the party as Chapter 3 described. However, it framed these ideas through obedience and discipline to elites decision about party' strategy. As a result, the system of solidarity presented among membership was overridden by the elites' pattern of culture. When the party re-unified in 1990 the ideological cleavages coming from democratic centralism disintegrated, easily shifted to practice pattern. In the case of PSCh-Nunez and Negotiated Rupture, this strategy was based on elites' hegemony to negotiate the transition process towards democracy. The strategy was not focused on developing a vast membership or to reinforce the system of solidarity and the institutional pattern. As it was previously described, it stressed individual forms of membership and power relations, which reinforced the system of interest and the practice pattern when the party united in 1990. In sum, both strategies did not balance the system of solidarity and the system of interest in the way it was seem previously between base membership and strong leaders. On the contrary, it secured the presence of two political cultures. The institutional pattern linked to base membership was kept as secondary culture, while leadership's practice pattern became the dominant culture.

Both groups conducted their clandestine activity in small cells, which occupied the spaces created by National Demonstrations. However, differences between socialist groups were obvious during those demonstrations where socialists appeared separately. Also, PSCh Nuñez was involved in talks between centre-right and centre-left groups, which included Christian Democracy (DC) and Convergencia (later PSCh Nuñez), to promote a transition agreement based on the 1980 Constitution. Another aspect which impacted upon the distance between PSCh Nuñez and PSCh Almeyda was the connection between PSCh Almeyda and PCCh, who supported the military alternative as well. These connections weakened the coordination of work between socialist groups. Two events happened in 1986 that prevented socialists from working together. The first was the discovery of arsenals for the armed resistance against the dictatorship; the second was the attempt to assassinate Pinochet by the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front [Frente Patriotico Manuel Rodriguez- FPMR], the armed faction organised by the PCCh in 1983. Both events weakened the MDP strategy. PSCh Almeyda distanced itself from the PCCh, due to the fact that the socialist faction claimed that the military strategy was not viable in Chile. Despite the MDP parties having trained party militias, the military strategy could not be developed because the parties were too severely affected by the political repression carried out by Pinochet's regime. In addition, this strategy was distant from social mobilisation organised exclusively within civil society. A final problem was that the divisions within the Chilean left weakened both the strategies developed, increasing the chances for an agreed political transition with the dictatorship. The PSCh Nuñez agreed to this transition with the military regime, which facilitated the hegemony of Nuñez's group inside

the PSCh after 1990 (Arrate and Rojas, 2003b; Motta, 2008).

The unification of the PSCh secured the practice pattern as the dominant culture in 1990 when both groups came together. This political culture was the result of political strategies which reinforced the leadership`s dominant position because the total absence of political organisation and formal activity. Thus, the contextual characteristic that PSCh faced during Pinochet's regime stressed its political participation as well as the dominant practice pattern. Both socialist groups strengthened their elite's role in decision-making. The absence of a formal organisation and the clandestine nature of party activity allowed the socialist elite to control most socialist decision-making. This characteristic persisted in party decision-making and contributed to place the practice pattern as the primary political culture. Another consequence was deepened factionalism within the party. Political persecution and clandestine activity fragmented socialist political participation during the dictatorship. Most of the activity was conducted in small groups or cells, and this form of participation remained prevalent after the unification of the party factions. Factions replaced party's organisation as the space for political decision, reinforcing the system of interest within factions for establishing power relations.

The Chilean context during the Pinochet dictatorship impacted upon the PSCh. The system of interest was mostly used for establishing power relations within the party. Previous meanings of political participation, such as pluralism and

democracy, were kept as secondary political culture found in formal structures. Authoritarianism and elites' hegemony conceptualised dominant culture, altering power relations between members and leaders. Changes in the party´s base membership due to neoliberal reforms as well as political persecution and exile influenced the PSCh political cultures. Labour reforms targeted the base membership and de-constructed their class identification as well as their collective activity as political actors. Additionally, political persecution closed the spaces where base membership and leadership developed their political activities. The main spaces such as unions and parties were banned. As a result, leadership and membership continued their activities separately. The gap between the base membership´ system of solidarity and the leadership´ system of interest was deepened. Consequently, two different political cultures were developed during those years by membership in Chile and elites in exile. Base membership kept the system of solidarity and the institutional pattern for framing their struggles against Pinochet´s dictatorship. Leadership reinforced the practice pattern and system of interest for conducting their strategies against Pinochet´s regime. . Political elite deepened the dominance of the practice pattern within power relations. Particularly leaders who were part of the generation that introduced democratic centralism were the responsible for driving those strategies and securing their leadership by that pattern. Hence, political agency allowed the practice pattern to become the hegemonic internal pattern of power relations. These changes in the Chilean context shaped the PSCh's conduct over the transition period. This period was marked by the hegemony of Socialist Renewal as a political approach inside the party which became the mainstream in the PSCh from the 1990s onwards.

Socialist Reunification

The reunification was carried out at the foundation of the administration of the Coalition of Political Parties for Democracy [Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia], the centre-left coalition that ruled Chile between 1990 and 2010. During this period, the socio-economic context was marked by the maintenance of the neoliberal socioeconomic model. The political basis was defined by the political consensus established between political parties in order to assure a stable political transition, and social de-mobilization. The PSCh abandoned its mass party membership and shifted to a network membership, resulting in the reinforcement of individualised relations between members and leaders. Collective goals were replaced by individual goals, thus the collective meanings of political participation were replaced by highly individualised power relations which were connected to the network type of membership. Another outcome was the deepening of the gentrification[65] of decision-making. Political participation during the Pinochet dictatorship was fragmented, and was conducted by cells or small groups. This reinforced factionalism within the party, and also reinforced the role of the elite in decision-making due to the fact that, over sixteen years, decisions were made by the socialist elite divided between Almeydismo and Convergencia. This form of decision-making was deepened from 1990 onwards, when elite consensus was important for assuring political transition. This shift was also possible because of the de-construction of collective identities embedded in the system of solidarity as I previously

[65] Gentrification in decision-making is used as a translation of the Spanish concept of elitizacion en la toma de decisions. This concept means that elites centralize and monpolize internal decision-making.

stated. This de-construction of collective identification permitted elite hegemony over decision making. The role of the political elite during the transition process agreed with Pinochet's dictatorship was the first step in the extension of elite hegemony in Chilean politics. This defined the type of transition and the terms of the agreement with the right-wing. Thus, negotiations with the right-wing regarding the economic and political system became the main mechanism for building political stability and defined most of State's policies. This was the basis for the so-called Democracia de los Acuerdos, Democracy of Agreements, led by the Concertación during its first years of administration.

The transition process was built on agreements with the Pinochet government. These agreements were made between parties' political elites and the Pinochet regime. The political elite hegemonised the process, shifting the party's internal agency from the institutional pattern to the practice pattern. The Concertación stimulated demobilization in Chilean society to assure a peaceful transition process and political stability. Therefore the de-mobilization of civil society implicit within neoliberal ideology was reinforced. Political parties across the political spectrum (except the Chilean Communist Party-PCCh) mostly agreed to support the economic strategy adopted by the Pinochet regime as a requirement to ensure the transition process. Also, these parties adopted neoliberal ideology as part of their political projects, particularly when in power (Fernandez Jilberto, 2001; Moulian, 2002; Olavarria, 2003; Motta 2008).

The Chilean democracy inaugurated in 1990, referred to by scholars as a re-founded democracy (Cavarozzi, 2001), maintained neoliberal reforms and included new rules in the electoral system which altered the patterns of alliance between parties. Neoliberal policies implemented by the Pinochet dictatorship changed the political culture inside Chile (Hagopian, 1998). These reforms changed the social matrix on which left parties based their membership (Robert, 1998: 11). One of the key aspects which changed was the relationship between civil society and political parties, and the ways in which both sought political representation in Chilean democratic institutions. It was difficult for political parties to re-establish their connection with Chilean society because these relations had also changed as a consequence of Pinochet's neoliberal reforms implemented in the 1980s (Hagopian, 1993). These reforms pushed party representatives in new directions due to the fact that they had to rebuild the party membership among a population that showed signs of effective de-politicisation (Hagopian, 1993: 497). As a result, the role of parties during the transition process affected the link between parties and society, and weakened this relationship compared to the past. The labour reorganisation affected parties' grassroots and the traditional forms of mass mobilization. Thus, parties were not able to re-link to their traditional bases. Additionally, the conduct of Concertación´s elite during the transition was criticised by their former and current social bases, particularly due to the agreements with Pinochet during the political transition. Thus, social bases de-linked from party leaderships because they did not identify with the core of their decisions. Secondly, from an electoral perspective, the political bases were marked by the formation of new alliances. Parties were pushed to maintain particular alliances for more

than twenty years to retain their levels of political representation. When these alliances were founded in 1988, they reflected the political division during the military dictatorship (in favour of, or against, Pinochet). This division was converted into a centre-right and centre-left division, which maintained the status quo between the political forces inside the Chilean political system.

The Chilean context described above affected the PSCh and its process of reunification. Firstly, PSCh Nuñez led the socialist reunification and gained influence inside the party due to its role in the transition process. Therefore, the theoretical approach of PSCh Nuñez characterised Chilean socialism in the 1990s. Secondly, the PSCh distanced itself from the PCCh and established a political alliance with middle-class parties for the second time. This made it possible for the PSCh to develop technocratic elite which dominated intellectual discourse inside the party (Roberts, 1998: 196; Motta, 2008), and accepted the neoliberal consensus. Thus, it abandoned its self-definition as a working-class party. These agreements reinforced the distance between the political elite and its social base. In addition, tendencies towards strong leadership were reinforced because party political activity maintained its fragmentation. It was not the small cells which kept political activity fragmented, but the factions whose leaders became the political elite of the party. Therefore, party members had less influence on party decisions.

The 1990 Unification Congress took into account the elements described

above. The PSCh was defined as a revolutionary party, critical of capitalist society. This definition was based on three elements: (1) Marxism enriched by contributions from the social sciences; (2) Humanist thought; and (3) Solidarity values from Christianity. Due to the fact that the neoliberal economic model disarticulated the social base of the PSCh, its membership was no longer focused on the proletarian sectors of Chilean society. It focused both on manual and intellectual workers, as had been the case in the 1930s and 1940s. Therefore, it became a multi-class party with middle- and working-class grassroots as it had been at the time of its formation. It became a party which represented white-collar and blue-collar workers once more. This change allowed the party to establish a new alliance with middle-class parties.

The party was dominated by the former Convergencia, now named Mega-Tendencia, which linked the 1947 Socialist Programme with neoliberal concepts. This theoretical approach is the basis of the Socialist Renewal. The 1947 Socialist Programme was taken as a key element of party definition. The PSCh was characterised as a party of majorities, and this definition was adopted by the PSCh's political base in 1990. In addition, the unified PSCh committed itself to the democratization of political institutions, to the strengthening of popular organisations and to the defence of human rights. However, the ideal of social transformation was replaced by ideals of justice and liberty[66]. Neoliberal ideas centred on the development of the market as

[66] These definitions provoked criticisms from the socialists who supported the deepening of socialist theoretical renewal for creating a political force able to develop inside the neoliberal society (Arrate and Rojas, 2003b: 429).

opposed to the reinforcement of the State were introduced. Socialist Renewal defined the State's role as social solidarity, and focused on improving the country's infrastructure. From an economic perspective, the State's role was linked to the idea of an assured minimum income, and intervention in labour and capital markets. In order to achieve these tasks, the PSCh incorporated the modernization of State as part of its political objectives. Therefore, the State's role was linked to the sustainable development of Chile, and the reduction of economic inequalities. This definition of the State's role impacted upon ideas about socialism. Socialism now focused on "changes which lead towards a full democracy, participation, expansion of liberties based on popular sovereignty which decrease inequalities, and assure the subordination of economic power to a caring and democratic state" (PSCh, 1990: 14). The PSCh took into account liberal ideas present in the 1947 programme, but it adapted them to the new context brought about by neoliberal reforms. Thus, it continued to hold ideas about individual liberties but focused on capital market inclusion. It maintained continuity in its mainstream plus a rupture at the same time.

The Socialist Renewal highlighted the relationship between economic power and the State to promote the common good (bien social). The party sought a solidarity economy for the satisfaction of human beings and subordinate to the State. Therefore, the party focused on the construction of a fairer and more united country rather than on achieving social and political transformation. The party explicitly accepted the current economic model as a basis for party objectives and focused on its improvement. It aimed to develop a fairer economy which would help make the country more hospitable to the neglected

and the poor. The PSCh focused on the modernisation of the State and on creating new labour relations. It aimed for the democratic construction of competitive markets rather than the transformation of the capitalist system. The democratic construction of competitive markets was to be achieved by more efficient competition within the markets. Therefore, the democratic development of civil society was linked to the democratization of the market and the modernization of the State. The democratization of the market was related to new labour relations based on social participation by workers in the economy. This idea replaced the ideal of labour relations based on workers' management. Christian concepts shaped this new understanding of labour relations. Therefore, labour relations were no longer understood on the basis of the relations between social classes. The PSCh stressed the need to define a model of enterprise as part of its understanding of social and economic participation. The socialist model of enterprise was defined as participative, non–polluting and committed to the development of new labour relations.

These social-Christian ideas were used to define this model of public and private enterprise, which was described as based on the social–Christian model. The enterprise was defined as the space in which the new model of labour relations would be developed in Chile. The enterprise must respect the minimum wage and establish the conditions for collective negotiation. The new labour agreement allowed the establishment of a flexible productive system. The Socialist Renewal replaced the ideals of transformation of the capitalist system with ideas for its administration. These ideas impacted upon the Latin

American perspective which centred on international cooperation rather than transformative projects.

Socialist Renewal as a political model meant that the PSCh moved from social revolution to the deepening of democracy. The alliance strategy between the DC and PSCh membership in the Concertación was maintained, with both groups rejecting any alliance or links to the PCCh. The Socialist Renewal's internal supremacy allowed the party to develop this alliance, and also impacted upon its conduct. As a result, the PSCh adopted the strategy "Democracy as far as possible" [Democracia en la medida de lo possible]. This conceptualisation of democracy was far from the definition used by the institutional pattern. Democracy represented inclusion of different actors into political participation in the institutional pattern; "democracy as far as possible" referred to a restricted idea of democracy limited by the constraints established by the transition process. This concept of democracy was the result of political agreements between Concertacion´s elites and Pinochet´s regime, which turned into a restrictive democracy during the first years of transition. Thus, the concept was settled in an elites´ agreement.

One of the main influences of the Socialist Renewal on the PSCh's political cultures was to reinforce individual goals in political participation and to transform the relationship between members and leaders based on a model of selective incentives. Socialist Renewal changed the type of membership,

moving from a mass party model to network model. The description of the party membership remained "the party of manual and intellectual workers"[67], who were also defined as the humble [humildes] and the vast middle-class (PSCh 1991: 19). However, the membership was developed through networked connections within civil society rather than the traditional membership model fully engaged with workers. Individual goals for political participation are found among the new types of membership, which reinforces the individualised power relations between members and the party. This form of political participation was not based on the collective idea of the party and its aim to achieve collective goals. It was focused on networked connections between individuals and the party, based on the exchange of selective incentives among them. The idea of mass party membership based on democratic centralism was abandoned and replaced by a new type of membership through individual connections inside networks.

The statutes categorised members in two groups: full member [afiliados], authorised to take part in party activities such as elections, and adherent/follower [adherente][68]. It included the new type of membership in order to organise a support network among people who would be willing to

[67] Documents of the PSCh also described party members as workers, creators, cultural practitioners, and people marginalized and discriminated against by Chilean society.

[68] The 1990 Statutes described adherents/followers [adherentes] as members who were under 18 years old, the legal age of majority in Chile; members who had been ruled as impaired by court, and due to exile, members who changed their nationality and lived abroad could be part of the party using this type of membership. However, the party also welcomed other types of membership: friends of the party and simpatizantes .

support the party, but not necessarily be a full member of it. This network would be useful over political campaign periods, and so a new type of membership was therefore organised, focusing on electoral supporters rather than mass party members. This new type of membership included different categories, such as friends of the party [amigos], party supporters [simpatizantes], and adherentes. Therefore, the relationship between the party and its members was not based on registration [ingreso] any more. It was based on an individual link and the degree of proximity of each person to the party and his/her electoral potential for the party. The idea of a network was based on the process of demobilisation and the weakening of the connections between parties and civil society since the 1990s. Therefore, a way to strengthen the connections between the party and civil society was by using another type of membership which fitted the neoliberal understanding of individual participation within the market. Individual goals replaced collective identities and the idea of community of equals for purposes of political participation. The PSCh was affected by neoliberal ideas in the ways in which its membership changed, and in the shift to power relations based on an unequal and selective exchange of incentives. Consequently, the State became an apparatus used for distributing incentives and improving electoral results. Thus, the State's relation to the party was based on individual meanings of political participation in which members look for a way to achieve selective incentives.

Democratic centralism was retained as part of the cultural background of the PSCh. The main points of this approach were also revised and criticised by Almeydismo. Democratic centralism was not taken into account inside the new

formal political structure of the party. Its ideas of authority and elites´ hegemony on decision making were maintained but they were shaped by the individual goals identified among party´s leadership.

The internal structure based on cells and sections was abandoned. Political life was centred on the Communal Committees which had the ability to organise the Communal Assembly, where all the party members could express opinions and ideas. The main objective of the assembly was to improve connections between the party and the masses, and to democratise internal relations (Almeyda, 1987) rather than to reinforce discipline. These types of structural reforms sought to adapt the PSCh to the neoliberal context, due to the fact that neoliberalism encouraged the decoupling of citizens' identity from the political system. The PSCh tried to reinforce its links with civil society by maintaining the social base created during the dictatorship. It tried to facilitate the inclusion of its members inside the political structure as previously was done through pluralism and democracy. Thus, middle-level structures such as brigades [brigades] were kept within the PSCh after 1990, but included in a structure of network membership and participation. However, the connections between the PSCh and social movements were weakened as a consequence of the neoliberal reforms and de- politicisation supported by the Concertación. Also, the PSCh was not looking for the development of a vast majority of militants. It focused on the development of a militant network similar to PSCh Nuñez example, among universities, professional associations and civil services, with a strong middle-class component. Due to the fact that trade unions lost their influence

because of neoliberal reforms, the working-class grassroots were no longer the main base of the party. Political participation inside the party centred on gaining positions in the national administration, legislature and city councils rather than seeking social transformation.

During the Socialist Renewal period, factionalism within the PSCh deepened due to the individualisation of power relations between members and leaders. This facilitated the development of hegemonic political elite. Political participation based on individual goals and selective incentives exacerbated the fragmentation of political participation. Collective understandings of participation were lost. This process strengthened factionalism. Most of the factions were headed by male leaders as they had been before 1973. Women did not gain space for political participation in the party due to the fact that the party structure raised barriers to women's political participation. Women did not challenge the practice pattern. As I previously stated, they adapted their agency to the meaning of power embedded in the practice pattern, and shaped their leadership to the internal requirements of becoming elites within factions (See Chapter 5: 247). Once the formal space for political participation was reorganised, barriers to women's participation were reinstated. Despite a quota law, which was introduced in the party by socialist women, it was impossible to promote female leadership inside the party.

The factions of the PSCh between 1990 and 2005 arose from the divisions which occurred during Pinochet's dictatorship (See figure 13). The main

division centred on the differences between political strategies among Chilean socialists, particularly the MDP and the AD. Almeyda's faction split into three different groups: Nueva Izquierda (New Left), Terceristas, and Colectivo de Identidad Socialista. Nuñez's group was known as Mega-Tendencia. After the 2005 Congress, groups from the Mega-Tendencia and NI came together as a fifth faction Grandes Alamedas. From the 1990s onwards, all the factions introduced neoliberal elements into the PSCh, particularly new meanings of political participation and the role of the party as a political institution. All the factions endorsed political relations based on the system of interest for establishing internal power relations. The main link between members and the leadership was based on selective incentives rather than collective incentives. This shift from a collective identification with ideas and party goals towards individual goals permitted that leadership introduced the practice pattern for driving power relations. Base members were no longer identified as a collective body based on class similarities. It was a network of individuals affiliated to a political organisation. Although base members kept the institutional pattern to identify themselves as socialist, their power relations with elites inside the party were framed by the practice pattern. Those changes among internal power relations permitted the introduction of co-optation in the way in which it is defined by Michels. Co-optation allowed elites to secure their internal position within the party 'structure and obtain obedience from party members. This shift also allowed the PSCh to introduce clientelistic tendencies into the relationship between members and leaders because individual goals replaced the collective goals of the party.

Individual forms of participation inside the party as well as individual bargaining turned into the form used by party members for integrating in political activity, which allowed stressing the practice pattern. Consequently, this pattern became linked to liberal ideas about political authority present in the neoliberal model rather than those which originated the pattern through democratic centralism. Authoritarianism, co-optation and elites' hegemony in decision making were linked to the neoliberal understanding of political authority, which replaced the State with the market. Therefore, the market was the new space in which individuals became political actors. Political relations between individuals were built based on market relations. One became a member of the party not as part of a struggle for social transformation, but so as to obtain a position inside the public administration. These ideas reinforced individual connections between members and leaders, based on selective incentives flowing from leaders to members. As a result of these changes, the practice pattern was strengthened in relation to the institutional pattern, and it turned into the dominant political culture for establishing power relations between members and leaders. Authoritarianism and elite hegemony were shaped by individual ideas about leadership, differently than those which integrated them to the political culture of the party during the New Left stage.

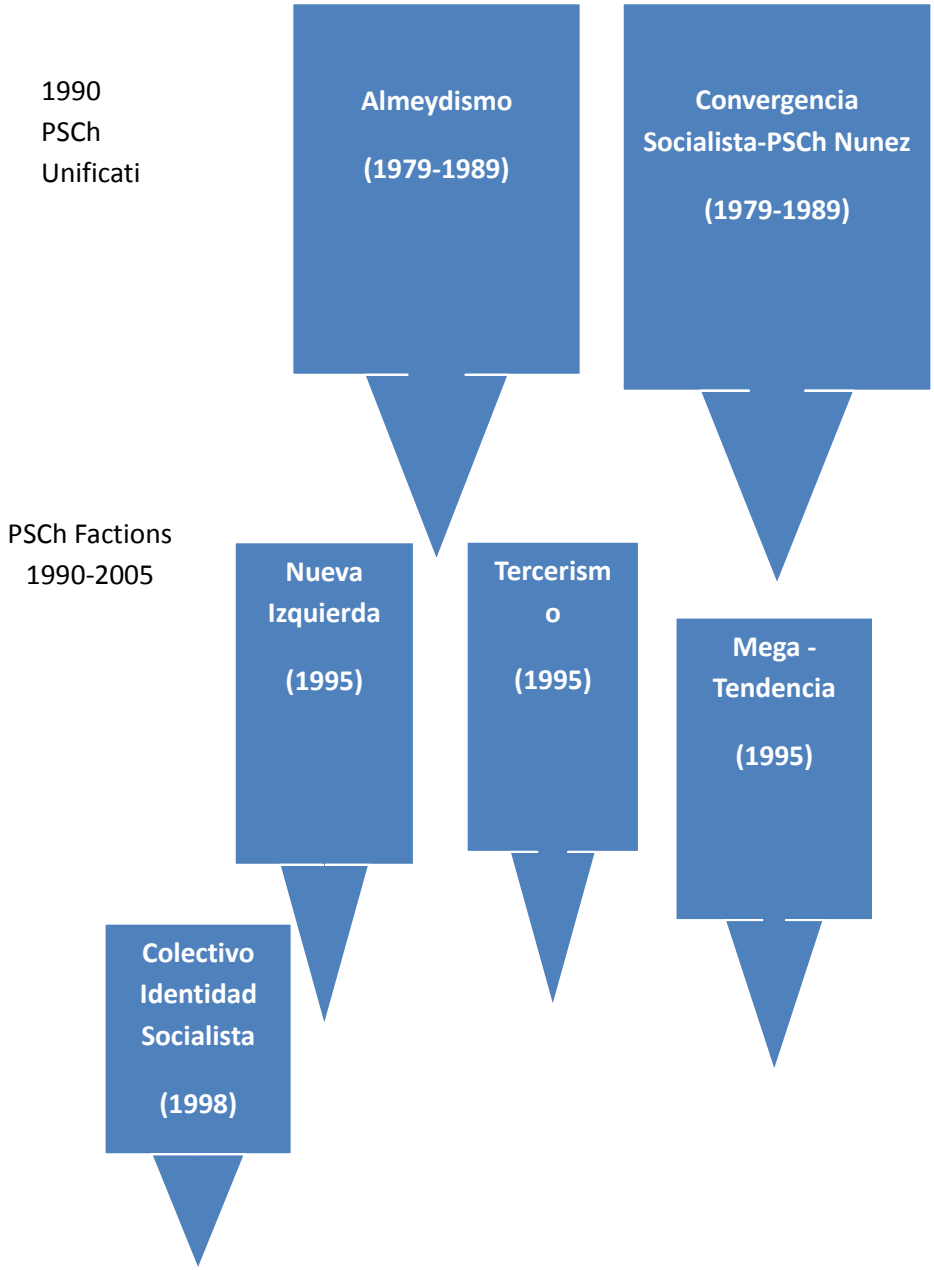

Figure 13 PSCh Factions 1990-2005

Faction members settled on individual connections and factions became power-groups headed by a strong leadership, turning their power relations into authoritarian linkages established through co-optation allowed by the practice pattern. Factionalism also deepened gentrification in decision-making. Socialist

members linked the influence of political groups such as the MAPU to this issue. The following quotations describe the influence of the MAPU on the gentrification process in decision-making. This quotation also suggested that the networking type of membership might be linked to the way in which this group used to behave within the party.

"The influence of MAPU has been strongly evident in the formation of this elitist culture of leadership and clientelism. Due to MAPU's social and intellectual origins it played a role in linking the Concertación's left wing with the centre and the business world". (Mario Mandiola, Valparaiso).

In summary, the Socialist Renewal shaped authoritarianism and elite hegemony in decision making by system of interest and individual goals that the leadership developed during this period. Those meanings shifted from securing obedience to collective goals to securing elite`s dominant position within the party organisation. Co-optation was integrated into this pattern for deepening obedience between members and leaders. Those three meanings shaped the idea of power by individual goals of elites. These type of power relations reinforced strong leadership and the importance of factions as spaces for political participation. Therefore, the membership was weakened due to the fact that membership structures were based on a network type of relationship rather than a collective corps of members. Individualisation of power relations also reinforced gentrification in decision-making. As a result, membership-leadership relations were constructed through clientelistic links because of the need to ensure support from party members in the absence of influence over policy. This last characteristic is particularly found in the patterns of meanings of political participation.

This chapter reviewed the most recent stage of the institutional development of the PSCh. The Socialist Renewal period (1979-2005) introduced neoliberal ideas into the PSCh. This stage was influenced by the 1979 division of the PSCh between two main groups, Convergencia and Almeydismo, which chose different strategies to fight Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1990). Convergencia Socialista, later Mega-Tendencia, centred its strategy on a Negotiated Rupture with the dictatorship while Almeydismo focused on a Perspective of Insurgency for defeating the dictatorship militarily. As I previously stated, exiled elites frame their power relations by practice pattern in order to achieve their goals. Thus, leadership used the practice pattern of political culture and reinforced this pattern during this period. By contrast, base membership in Chile still conceptualised their power relations and participation through the institutional pattern. This pattern allowed them to keep their identities as socialist when the party was banned. Also it framed membership understandings about the democracy for what they were struggling in Chile. When the transition process restricted this democracy to elites ´decisions led by party elites, the gap between those groups deepened. During the previous two stages the leadership and membership balance their system of interest and system of solidarity for establishing their relations. This balance was stressed and broken in 1979 when PSCh broke up in two main groups. The transition process deepened this gap because the system of interest was stressed by elites when those elites reinforced the practice pattern of political culture.

As a consequence of the political transition, the Mega-Tendencia became the hegemonic political group and deepened the influence of neoliberalism within

the party. This influence is apparent since 1990, the year of the party's unification. Two main characteristics impacted upon the PSCh's political culture. The first was the individualisation of power relation between members and leaders. This was a result of socioeconomic changes coming from the neoliberal experience in the 1980s, and the weakening of party membership as a result of the new Chilean context. The second was elite hegemony[69] in decision-making. Faction leaders hegemonised decision-making in the PSCh after its unification due to the individualised power-relations which then existed. The elements described above are found across the current political culture, particularly in the practice patterns identified as the dominant culture of the party. The Socialist Renewal stage reinforced the system of interest used within the PSCh but it did not replace the system of solidarity which is still found in the base membership. This system is used to define the traditional form of participation which has been lost. The presence of the system of solidarity permitted the institutional pattern to exist as a secondary culture among base membership. This patter is found in the formal structure of the party. The practice pattern frames power relations within faction, which has turned into the main spaces for decision making. Consequently, a tension is found among the patterns, because the practice pattern has been reinforced but the institutional pattern has not been entirely replaced by it. Both patterns are two political cultures that frame PSCh participation and power relations, stressed by the presence of two system of participation; one system of interest

[69] I used the concept of hegemony instead of domination because I am referring to a particular condition within the party which is connected to leadership. Hegemony refers to a leadership practice for centralizing and influencing decision-making within political organizations at different levels (the local, regional and national levels). The position of leadership within the party organization allows this conduct. This situation is different from the concept of domination which refers to political power by one group over another.

which has turned into the dominant system within factions; one system of solidarity, used within formal structures. Due to the fact that the practice pattern represents leadership hegemony and the institutional pattern represent membership aspirations for a change within the party, both systems and patterns have been tensed during the Socialist Renewal stage, and those tensions were important factors Bachelet´s nomination as chapter 6 explains.

The last two chapters have described how institutional development influenced the party's political culture. From the Foundation Stage, the party inherited the institutional pattern which defines political participation as democratic, pluralistic and libertarian. These meanings are linked to the presence of a system of solidarity and the idea of a community of equals among the base membership. The New Left introduced meanings about authoritarianism and elites' hegemony but framed by the presence of the system of solidarity and the community of equals. The main objective of these meanings was to move the PSCh into a more disciplined organisation for conducting revolutionary transformations. Socialist Renewal stage reframed these meanings under individual goals stressed by elite's system of interest, turning them into the current dominant political culture, the practice pattern. Also this stage added co-optation to this pattern. Both political cultures have remained gendered regarding political participation. Socialist politicas have not challenged those meanings but rather integrate them into their political activity.

Tensions among systems of solidarity and interest are found due to the fact that

both systems are part of the party's collective agency. Contextual changes deepened the influence of the practice pattern within the party's internal relations. The way in which internal agency is developed reinforced this pattern. However, the institutional pattern is still part of the political culture, and it has been part of the PSCh political culture since its foundation. Transformations in the Chilean context have moved the party towards Michels' model of authoritarianism and co-optation, which I used to define the practice pattern. This model was reinforced due to the neoliberal de-collectivization of membership and gentrification in decision-making during the transition process. The two patterns are two distinctive political cultures and internal actors have stressed one or the other. These two patterns are the faces that political cultures have inside the PSCh, and those faces frame the party´s internal agency. The next chapter focuses on the description of how those faces actually frame participation and power relation inside the PSCh. It addresses how political culture frame internal agency by shaping membership and leadership relations. It is important to understand how these faces framed participation and power relations in order to look at the way in which the political cultures could influence party internal outcomes.

Chapter 5

The Socialist culture during Michelle Bachelet's nomination

The previous chapter identified the impact of the first level of analysis, institutional development, on the PSCh's political cultures. It was concluded that the social context shaped the political cultures of the party through three stages in its institutional development. Two patterns of political culture emerged from these three stages, affected by changes within the socioeconomic and political context, which then influenced political activity. During this first stage, political participation was defined as democratic, libertarian and plural, taking into account the system of solidarity and the community of equals for collective identification of the party's goals. Those characteristics framed the first political culture found in the party, the institutional pattern. This political culture framed the relationship between members and leaders during this first part of the party's development. Although the party had a more inclusive culture over those years, its elites tended to develop strong leadership, founding the system of interest among those tendencies. Thus, the party was able to balance the presence of the system of solidarity in the base membership and the system of interest in its elites. For both groups, however, their participation was framed by the institutional pattern.

The next stage, New Left (1956-1979) was marked by the radicalization of the Chilean and Latin American context. Democratic centralism was introduced as

a theoretical approach and the party was defined as Marxist Leninist. Membership was therefore focused on the working-class, and the party developed a mass-party style of political participation. Political participation continued to be framed by the institutional pattern and the system of solidarity, but new meanings about power relations were introduced in the form of authoritarianism and elites' hegemony over decision making. These meanings were developed by the political elites which concluded that the party needed to move towards discipline and obedience in order to secure the party's revolutionary goals. Thus, power relations between members and leaders took a new shape. The party tried to homogenise the political behaviour of party members, in order to transform political participation and party tasks. As a result, a tendency towards strict control of members in regulating party behaviour developed. Authoritarianism emerged in this period in order to try to control internal activity, and the elite's hegemony on decision making in order to secure membership commitment to party goals. These new meanings were mostly developed by the generation of leaders that had radicalised the party since 1967, in opposition to most of the party's political culture. I have stressed that the two systems of participation continued to coexist. While the new generation introduced these new meanings of power relations, the older generation remained closer to the institutional pattern. This tension between generations and meanings about power are found during Allende's administration. Those tensions led a disruption in the balance between the two systems in 1979, resulting in party's division.

During the period known as Socialist Renewal (1979-2005), the PSCh's institutional development was influenced by Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship. The State of Exception, exile and neoliberal policies characterized this period, which transformed the economic and social background of Chilean society due to the de-collectivization of party membership. Party members suffered exile and political persecution, which had a fundamental impact on the party's political cultures. A new political culture, the practice pattern, was the result of division between membership in Chile and exiled elites which continued guiding the party abroad. While the base membership in Chile remained identified with the institutional pattern, the elites developed a pattern which took into account new meanings introduced by democratic centralism. Due to the adverse political conditions, the elites adopted authoritarian power relations in order to secure the goals of their strategies for fighting the dictatorship. Those strategies were the Perspective of Insurgency, supported by the PSCh-Almeyda, which emerged from the revolutionary violence strategy, and the influence of the New Left years, and the Negotiated Rupture supported by PSCh Nuñez, which established the party's middle-class alliance and electoral strategy, in the same way the PSCh operated in the Foundation stage. The unification process of the party and the inclusion of liberal ideas by exiled leaders re-framed elite hegemony and authoritarianism using an individualistic approach, turning the system of interest into the dominant system for political participation and replacing collective party goals with individual goals emerging from the party elite. This change saw the integration of co-optation and forms of clientelism into the new power relations, conceptualising the practice pattern in the way in which is found in the party nowadays. These

forms of clientelism are based on the benefits that may be obtained from membership via a relationship with the party leaders, through the distribution of private goods (selective incentives), constructing a system of interest which now dominates the relationship between members and leadership. Thus, the practice pattern has become the dominant political culture, while the institutional pattern persists, but relegated to the status of a secondary culture. Both the system of solidarity and the institutional pattern are found in base membership for framing political participation in formal spaces. The practice pattern and the system of interest characterise elite conduct and those are prevalent in the arenas where informal decision are made, the factions. Base membership can frame its actions by both patterns. It frames its behaviour with the institutional pattern in formal spaces, and it frames it conduct with the practice pattern within factions.

All these three stages shaped the political culture of the party, and it is possible to trace their influence among the patterns of meanings of political participation identified in the PSCh's political cultures. In particular, three stages presented gendered forms of participation and the socialist politicas did not occupy places of power within the formal or informal structure. Male leadership within the PSCh was reinforced, as women faced barriers to increased participation. Factionalism and highly individualised relations between leaders and members did not help women to improve their level of political participation within the party. Additionally, strong informal organisations such as factions undermined the possibility of women occupying

positions of power within the elites. Both patterns of meaning have framed these gender relations. The institutional pattern did not take into account women as the community of equals, and integrated conservative ideas about motherhood presented in the Chilean context. The practice pattern meanwhile has deepened those gender relations due to the fact that it has weakened linkages and solidarities among women inside the party in spaces such as factions. Most of the socialist politicas frame their participation using this pattern without challenging it.

This section explains how the current political cultures frame participation and power relations. It focuses on how both cultures coexist and shape power relations between legitimised members and leader. The objective is to understand how political culture frame internal agency for analysing the way in which it influence political outcomes. To understand the ways in which power relations and participation is framing by cultures allows comprehending the relationship between those cultures and the nomination of Michelle Bachelet. The first part of this chapter conceptualise the political cultures in the way in which are currently found in the party. The second part examines the way in which those political cultures frame participation and power relations between members and leaders of the party. It focuses on how these patterns of political culture s are connected to the legitimacy of membership-leadership relations. It also takes into account how the practice pattern has deepened gender divisions around participation within the party. As I previously stated, both patterns demonstrate gendered forms of participation. In this particular section, the influence of the practice pattern on women's participation is addressed.

The Patterns of PSCh political cultures

The first pattern of political culture that defines the party's model of political participation is the institutional pattern. This term was chosen because this pattern conceptualises participation in the party, differentiating its characteristics from other political parties. This pattern defines political participation as libertarian, democratic and pluralist. These concepts have been identified in political participation by the membership since the formation of the party, and this pattern is described as the formal form of socialist participation which differentiates the PSCh from other parties. Members relate this pattern of meaning to the characteristics that enabled the foundation of the PSCh, marked by the inclusion of four different socialist political groups with different theoretical approaches. This pattern of political culture is defined as the normatively correct structure according to membership and document descriptions. However, informal political practices contrast with this described pattern. Currently, it is possible to identify a pattern of political culture coming from way in which the relationship between members and leader is settled. It is conceptualised as hegemony over decision-making, authoritarianism, and co-optation. This pattern is named the practice pattern. It is based on evidence about the characteristics that shape power relations among members and leaders, and it is found among legitimised membership and leadership, which is gain within factions. The first pattern is found among base membership and the second one mainly among the leadership. While the base members use the institutional pattern to characterise the formal participation that the party uses for political participation, the practice pattern is used to describe the de facto

relationship between members and leaders. This research looked solidarities within factions in order to identify possible subcultures. However, it was found that membership and leadership share the same characteristics of both political cultures. As result, there were not found any subcultures within those factions. This section shows how these two patterns of political cultures coexist in the form of a dominant political culture, the practice pattern, and a secondary political culture, the institutional pattern.

Institutional Pattern

Political participation in the PSCh has been defined by an institutional pattern that contains three basic meanings: democracy, libertarianism and pluralism. This pattern is related to the party as a political institution. Democracy is defined in terms of the characteristics required for political participation, which, since the PSCh's foundation, are described as more tolerant than those observed in the Chilean Communist Party (PCCh). Therefore, the PSCh is defined as a "popular leftist party, autonomous, democratic and revolutionary (PSCh, 2003: 4). This definition considers the PSCh as a democratic party in terms of its methods (internal action), and transformative and revolutionary in terms of its results" (PSCh, 2001: 14). The idea of democratic political participation is identified as one of the tasks of the PSCh, defined by "the fight for a more equal society with social, political and economic democracy" (PSCh, 2005: 4). These objectives embed particular ideas regarding political participation: "equality, solidarity, and the struggle to construct a socialist order" (PSCh, 2001: 9). This pattern describes democracy as the path to assure

full political participation for the subject within the party and civil society. This type of democratic participation is linked to liberal-democratic theories of political participation, integrated to the PSCh during Socialist Renewal stage. These ideas were integrated by those elites who turned into the hegemonic forces of the party as a result of the transition process. Those ideas re-shaped meanings linked to collective goals as I stated in the previous chapter. Thus, the PSCh membership links internal democracy with the liberal idea of full participation for all the citizens rather than to reinforce collective identification with party goals, which is a subversive idea in the Chilean context.

Libertarianism is related to the ability of the party to include other ideological approaches within its structure which can coexist without problems. This characteristic has allowed the presence of different approaches since the party's foundation. The PSCh was "the product of the fusion of different parties which has remained over time"[70]. The party adapted to its context, and also included the approaches presented by the founding groups. This demonstrates that the PSCh was sensitive to its experiences in its social context, processes which influenced its development. The party's inclusion of these groups is described by its members as its being heterogeneous, tolerant, and diverse, because the available forms of political participation enabled the integration of militants from various political groups. This libertarian meaning embedded within the PSCh's political culture allowed the integration of different theoretical mainstreams at the same time. As a consequence, the PSCh is characterised as

[70] Interview with Eduardo Muñoz Inchausti, Valparaiso August 2010.

a flexible party which has integrated members from different groups and backgrounds, and incorporated these backgrounds into the sources of its political culture. This particular characteristic is summarised by party members as "the focal point of the left", which was indicated as being the party's main goal after the unification process in 1990:

"The Socialist Party would have been transformed into the focal point of the left with all its faults. It was the only party of the socialist left which had survived and had not fallen into complete obsolescence". (Ernesto Aguila, Santiago).

The PSCh's role is also described as "the construction of a country with more equality and solidarity, which was more welcoming to the neglected and the poor" (PSCh 1990:13).This pattern of meaning describes pluralism as related to the diverse characteristics in members' backgrounds. The PSCh is described as an urban middle- and working-class party, which nowadays should represent those social classes which struggle the most with the neoliberal model. Party members still considered that the party gathers together white-collar and blue-collar employees, but also focused on the economically and politically deprived middle-class. The following quotation describes the class background of the PSCh. It has been characterised as multi-class in its composition since its foundation, with strong connections to the middle-class.

"There is also a middle-class which has higher degrees of instability in the workforce. Even when the children of these classes have access to college, does not necessarily mean social mobility. But it is also a middle-class hard hit by the coup, and by 17 years of dictatorship. It was not only because of the persecution they suffered, but also because of human rights. These middle-classes lost very important areas of their personal lives and group development. They have little labour expertise; they experienced labour persecution and loss of position within the structure of the public system. PSCh members come from these middle classes which are not included in the neoliberal economic model in which ideologically important paradigms have disappeared".(Ricardo Nuñez, Santiago).

In sum the PSCh presents institutional patterns of meanings of political participation, which describes the type of political participation that the party should have. This pattern is related to the Foundation stage of the party, which highlights the flexibility to incorporate other political groups. As a result, political participation has been defined as libertarian, democratic and pluralistic. This pattern frames participation as embedded in more horizontal and egalitarian power relations, able to integrate a range of positions within the party's diverse membership. This includes a more egalitarian relationship between members and leaders, where members are able to address and raise their voices freely and without restriction. This strand of political culture is based on prioritizing the collective objectives of the party, and the use of democratic and pluralistic methods which are inclusive of the whole membership. These characteristics allow the inclusion of political groups which have adapted to party practices. This pattern is used by the base membership to refer to political participation, and it is characterised as the pattern which traditionally shapes participation since the party's foundation.

Practice Pattern

Party members point out that the pattern described above contradicts the dominant political culture. This dominant political culture is found inside the factions and is used by leaders for framing power relations within them. These meanings conceptualise a culture connected to hegemony over decision-making, authoritarianism and co-optation. It conceptualises power relations as based on hierarchical and authoritarian meanings of power, framed through authoritarianism, co-optation and elites' hegemony over decision making. This

pattern, the practice pattern, is in direct contradiction to the model of political participation that the PSCh defined at its foundation. This second pattern is part of the PSCh political cultures but internal agency has reinforced it as driving power relations between members and leaders. This pattern comes from meanings observed in the way in which elites conceptualise power and try to secure their position within the party's formal and informal structures. It is used to describe the relationship between members and leaders during the Concertación period. It is suggested that this pattern was conceptualised during the New Left and Socialist Renewal stages. The New Left introduced authoritarianism and elite hegemony over decision making in order to shape party conduct, but those meanings were framed by the collective identification and system of solidarity presented in the party. Socialist Renewal introduced co-optation and re-framed the previous meanings following the strengthening of the system of interest and individual goals. The highly individualised relations between members and leaders enabled these characteristics to appear within the PSCh as a dominant political culture, leaving the institutional pattern as a secondary culture. This pattern also reinforced gendered relations within factions, shaping power by a masculine approach to authority, related to the male strong leadership tradition of the PSCh. Relationships among the membership changed due to the neoliberal context which has been part of the political landscape of Chile since the 1980s. This situation weakened or destroyed collective organisation as a result of labour reforms, and impacted upon the ideological mainstream of the party. Neoliberalism introduced individual meanings into political participation. Therefore, political participation was not based on the perspective of collective identities but on an

individual perspective. This individual perspective led to the commoditization of political participation within political parties. This context allowed the development of authoritarianism and co-optation in a similar way to that theorised by Michels for establishing elite control over a party (Chapter7 341:352).

Co-optation and authoritarianism as practised patterns of meanings within the party's structure of political participation are related to the inclusion of the party in the Concertación. The transition process reinforced the role of the political elite in decision-making. The context in which the PSCh has taken part since 1990 has been marked by the composition of two alliances in the party system (centre-right and centre-left). Therefore, the party seeks to build majorities to support its role as a Concertación member. These new majorities were built through elite agreements in order to control party support for the coalition. Such control allowed the elite to redefine party strategy and focus on the administration of the State. The political tasks centred on the development of State policies rather than social and economic transformation. Therefore, political policies became the central axis of party strategy, and the administration of the State became the main objective. As a consequence, internal relations within the party involved stronger co-optation of members due to the fact that there was intensified internal pressure to avoid criticism of leadership policies. Co-optation is linked to the attempted homogenisation of political participation within the party so as to support party alliances. However, as I noted, authoritarianism and hegemony over decision-making were introduced by the party during the previous stages of its political culture,

shaped by a collective approach to participation and power relations. During the Socialist Renewal those meanings were re-framed according to a more individualistic perspective, which considered unequal relations of power inside informal organisations (factions) necessary to ensure elites' position. Co-optation was included in the pattern, becoming a key element of the party's contemporary political cultures. These changes in political culture in impacted on internal agency, reinforcing the hegemonic role of elites within formal and informal structures. .

Co-optation is found in elite conduct, which tried to maintain the party's membership in the Concertación through a consensus among leaders. As a result, decision-making was centred on the political elites which are formed by party leaders who played an important role in the PSCh's political participation structure. The political elite focused on the construction of majorities based on agreements between the different party factions. This process of negotiation was dominated by leaders in order to assure party support and obedience to the Concertación. Party behaviour reflected these changes due to the fact that political participation was affected by the elite negotiations. This process was established using authoritarianism in the relationship between members and leaders. Therefore, authoritarianism is identified in this practice. The following quotations describe how this practise pattern frames power relations inside the party. These quotations show how authoritarianism, co-optation and hegemony exist within the political participation structure:

"The Socialist Party had a certain ability to, it had a core leadership who manage to

make an alliance to contain (the party), and to organise (the party) in terms of power" (Carlos Montes, Santiago).

"I think that the parties during those 20 years of Coalition governments were preventing people from participating (within parties), because they were misunderstanding their political direction. Politics driven solely by the state suggested an enormous amount of clientelism on the part of the State, and that decision-making bodies necessary for guiding the party, were not permitting the participation of their base membership. It just supported the participation of those who were directly involved in the government".(Ana Bells Jara, Santiago).

"In view of the shape and mechanisms which explain the workings within the Coalition, the party has strengthened its authoritarianism. In other words, anyone who disagrees, simply does not have the opportunity to participate and (s)he is excluded". (Paddy Ahumanda, Valparaiso).

These quotations demonstrate how the practice pattern shapes internal agency, using an authoritarian meaning of power designed to co-opt political participation. This culture tend to centralise and to control authority among the main leadership, establishing an unequal relationship between members and leaders where leaders exercise control over members' decision making. This political culture is also a gendered culture because it is based on male authority and strong male leadership within those informal organisations.

The existence of two patterns of political cultures is due mainly to the relationship established between the subjects that shape political participation within the party, the way in which subjects' agency reinforced and weakened one of the patterns respectively. The institutional pattern is used by members to define and conceptualise political participation between them in formal structures of the party, such as communal or regional committees, assemblies or congresses. Those spaces allow base member to reproduced their ideological

heritage as well as to share different ideas and meaning to those embedded in the practice pattern. As a result, the pattern has been maintained and reproduced in the party as a secondary political culture. These structures bring together socialist members in common political activity. They allow members to address and express their opinions without influencing the main decision making processes. These spaces also bring together different generations of membership, from the youth branch to those who have been part of the party since 1960. Thus, they help to reproduce and maintain the institutional pattern within a new socialist generation, because it is transmitted to new members during these formal meetings, which are framed by democratic and pluralistic power relations.

The practice pattern is used to refer to the actual relationship between members and leaders as it is conducted within informal structures (factions). This pattern is found among leaders who belong Altamirano's generation and middle rank leaders. Those are party's leaders at the different levels of the party (communal, regional, and national levels). Authority and power are exercised within those informal spaces using the practice pattern to secure internal agreements, as well as to resolve faction disagreements over key internal issues such as candidate nomination.

I argue that both patterns refer to a collective identification and to Pizzorno's system of solidarity and system of interest. The system of solidarity is related

to the institutional pattern and the system of interest to the practice pattern. This identification is connected to the subjects who take part in political participation: members and leaders. Those who still identified themselves with the system of solidarity highlight the institutional pattern. Those who identified with the system of interest stress the practice pattern. I claim that the system of solidarity is found among base membership while the system of interest is found among the political elite, reinforcing the practice pattern. Therefore, to understand the interaction of these patterns of political cultures, it is necessary to focus on the relationship between members and leaders within the party. This relationship expresses the way in which the political culture takes shape. The following pages focus on how these patterns of meanings are connected to the legitimacy of membership-leadership relations. The ways in which these patterns are used within factions, the role of the factions in legitimacy, and the significance of the leadership's gender are also examined. The described patterns are used by members and leaders who are recognised as legitimate subjects within the party. For members, legitimacy is determined by factional membership. For leaders, legitimacy is settled on their histórica-no histórica [historic-non historic] membership and their role as mandatarios.

The subjects and the PSCh's political culture, members and leaders

The first part of this chapter described the presence of two patterns of political cultures in the PSCh. The first one, the institutional pattern, established during the Foundation stage of the party, characterizes political participation as democratic, libertarian, and pluralistic. As I explained in the previous section,

this pattern has characterised political participation among base membership and has been reproduced in the formal structures of the party. The second one, the practice pattern, describes the relationship between members and leaders. It is found mainly among the leadership and frames power relations in informal structures (factions). It was integrated and conceptualised by the New Left and Socialist Renewal stages, and it constructs this relationship as authoritarian and co-opting, with elite hegemony over decision-making. This pattern has been intensified by leaders who are used this pattern to control and secure obedience of members within those informal structures.

The most important of these structures is the faction, an informal space where the political activity is conducted within the party. Factions, organised hierarchically, have become the real spaces of power and decision making, replacing the pluralistic formal structures of the party. Membership and leadership both gain legitimacy by belonging to a particular faction. The factions replaced the cells in these functions and weakened the party structure, allowing a gentrification (elitización) in internal relations which led to elites' hegemony over decision-making. The weakening of the membership reinforced the identification of the membership with individual goals in Pizzorno's terms, linked to selective incentives, which are mainly found within factions. Therefore, membership within a faction is based on individual relationships with leaders, strengthening the influence of the leadership on party organisation. Members and leaders address the practice pattern inside those factions.

These patterns are used by the legitimate membership and leadership, namely members who are part of factions, and leaders who are recognised as históricos-non históricos leaders with the role of mandatarios. This section centres on members and leaders, and the influence of the patterns on their political participation. It describes the relevance that factions have to political participation and their role in the exercise of membership and leadership. Factional membership legitimises base membership, and factional leadership legitimises party leadership. The relations between members and leaders inside a faction are conducted in terms of the practice pattern. It is these patterns that impact on political participation within the faction because they shape membership-leadership relations.

Membership and factions

The PSCh membership is focused on developing a network of members and people associated with the party in a flexible way, "according to the reality of the sector in which it is embedded" (PSCh, 2003: 14). For this reason, the statutes accept different categories of members, who may participate in the party organization with different duties: friends, sympathizers and supporters. The party statute indicates that only affiliates are accredited to take part in party election processes or decision-making meetings. The other types of members can take part in the rest of party activities such as celebrations and general meetings. Similarly to Duverger's approach, there is not one type of membership in the party, but different types. Some memberships are formal; others are linked to the types of relationships within factions. All these types of membership are based on the proximity of subjects to the party organisation. This proximity depends also on the individual goals of the subjects. These

goals are pursued within factions.

Although the legitimacy of party membership is conferred by the PSCh statutes, militancy itself is not practised until a party member becomes a faction member. It is at this moment that the membership is fully practised because party members start to play a specific role within the party organisation. This is a change from earlier periods, when cells were the core spaces for political participation. Due to the fact that the forms of membership have been weakened by the introduction of a network type of membership, it is the position within a party organisation that defines who is a member and who is not. The exercise of membership within factions entitles a person to be a fully participating party member. Cells focused on the collective activity of members, while factions focus on individual connections between members and leaders. Thus, political participation is individualised within factions, which allows the practice pattern to develop. As a result, the political culture within a faction is based on the practice pattern rather than the institutional pattern. The institutional pattern remains as a secondary culture used in formal spaces for guiding the participation of the base membership, and interaction between militants.

The current factions were the result of party division in 1979, and they show the two patterns of political cultures as part of their structures of political participation. The first pattern, institutional pattern, was used by base membership who remained in Chile for framing their ideal of democracy and pluralism during Pinochet's dictatorship. The second pattern, the practice

pattern, was used by the exiled leadership for securing strategic goals against Pinochet's regime (Perspective of Insurgency and Negotiated Rupture). Factions reorganised themselves based on leadership decisions within the internal balance of power rather than political discussion coming from those strategies. Factions' members and leaders share both patterns without any difference among the factions. The institutional pattern is used for defining political participation in terms of the way it should be. It is stressed by the base membership in formal structures, including those members who are part of the factions' bases. Thus it is thought by the party membership that this pattern represents the system of solidarity and the idea of a community of equals inside the party. This idea of a community of equals is reproduced within the formal spaces of meeting such as assemblies or congresses by the socialist base membership. The practice pattern is used by contrast by communal, regional and national leaders when meet to decide issues regarding faction behaviour or inter-faction agreements. These are closed and limited spaces, in which the base membership adopts the dominant pattern. Meanings about power and authority embedded in the practice pattern are openly criticised by the base membership in the party's documentation and in public meetings such as congress. However, when it is used in closes spaces of decision making, the base membership does not use the institutional pattern to counteract the dominant culture, and within factions, the practice pattern is mostly accepted

Socialist Renewal weakened the party membership because it de-structured collective association and turned collective bargaining into individual

bargaining. As a result, the system of solidarity weakened in relation to the system of interest. Membership norms became more lax, with the result that factions strengthened their role within the party. This enhanced the role of the faction as the main space for political participation. Factions are the places in which the membership and leadership determine how relationships are shaped inside the party. Factions express how party members understand political relations and political practices. Most of the interviewees were, or are, part of factions (almost all of them are still part of their factions). They agreed that it was complicated for members who are not part of a faction to be part of any election or to develop a political career as party leaders.

"Was it important for your candidacy to be a faction member?
Absolutely.
For your counsellor candidacy?
I had support... look, how can I explain it to you? It was important perhaps at that time that I had very important support from Camilo (Camilo Escalona, the faction leader*)". (Carol*ina Rey, Valparaiso).

"From my point of view, factions are not ideological. They are like a house or an umbrella. Factions are the place of belonging. If you do not have this type of house, you're nobody inside the PSCh. You're a recruitment form. If you do not have this umbrella, you're nobody. Nobody recognizes you, you are not contacted for anything. That is to say, this umbrella (the faction) is the home where you come from". (Carolina Carrera, Santiago)

"You find a member, who can be party member but (s)he is basically a faction member. First you are a faction member because the meetings which you attend are faction meetings. These meetings are not party meetings. When someone says to you "No, I was in a faction meeting" it is because there are not generally party meetings. There is no space for the party to work as a party".(Cecilia Suarez, Santiago).

There are not theoretical or ideological differences between the factions. Rather, they are hierarchical spaces of power where political relations between the membership and leadership are played out. These relations are shaped by the practice pattern. This pattern reinforces the compartmentalization and

individualization of relations between members and leaders, sidelining the establishment of forms of collectivity and solidarity in favour of a system of interest.

There is therefore a deep division between members and leaders in the PSCh, based on the different systems used by membership and elites for political participation, one linked to democracy and pluralism, and the second group linked to hierarchical and authoritarian power which is able to co-opt participation. The following quotation highlights the division between members and leaders.

> "The separation between the bases and the structure for decision-making is very large (...) It is not the same in the PSCh because it is not applied to the structure. (Bachelet) has not made an impact on the PSCh structure. The great division between members and leaders continues". (Paula Quintana, Valparaiso)

Roberts (1998) and Motta (2008) have researched the deepening of divisions between the PSCh has been divided into an elite and grassroots members since the 1990s. These divisions are maintained by factions due to the impact of socio-economic changes in Chile (the neoliberal model) which disarticulated political relations based on collective actors such as trade unions. As a result, political relations became more individualised. The party took into account these changes when it introduced the network type of membership. Consequently, individualised political relations between party members were enhanced. This issue reinforced factions as the main space for political participation because their organisations facilitated and strengthened the individual connections between members and leaders. Consequently, the system of interest predominates over the system of solidarity in those spaces.

The importance of factional membership means that the life-stories of party members play a significant role when members decide to become a party member and to integrate into a faction. This is because faction members do not have ideological connections between them. Members do not become faction members for ideological reasons. But they share the socialist political cultures and consequently, the meanings embedded in them. Most of the base membership shares the ideas of pluralism and democracy of the institutional pattern, and accept the authoritarianism and elite hegemony over decision making coming from the practice pattern. Their decisions to belong a faction are the result of shared life experiences and family background (e.g. parents, siblings). For example, a faction's members may have been members of the same clandestine cell during the Pinochet dictatorship, or they were integrated to a particular faction by socialist friends. The two political cultures are understood by faction members because of these particular linkages, both when they interact together in formal spaces, and when they experience the more authoritarian power embedded in the practice pattern inside their factions. Consequently, social linkages reinforce the way in which participation is framed, maintaining the division between the two political cultures. Also, context and personal circumstances play a role in that decision. Therefore, individual and personal experience is the basis for both factional membership and party membership. These issues are reflected in the following quotations, which describe why PSCh members are both faction and party members.

"There is power management inside factions, but there are also real networks generated among people who have been together for years in their lives. They have done things together, suffered together because in some way we are all human, what you were saying, people". (Carmen Andrade, Santiago,)

"My father was a union leader of El Teniente mine, even though he was not a socialist.

He had strong linkages with union or labour issues". (Ricardo Nuñez, Santiago).

"The day I was born I became a socialist. They were operating on my mother in the operating theatre, and in the hall of the hospital, my father, who was a regional secretary of the Party in Osorno, was having a meeting with the regional committee. In other words I was born socialist". (Cecilia Suarez, Santiago).

"If I am honest, I became a socialist because of social networks. Some friends at that time were closer to and worked closely with the Christian Left, but my cell had stronger linkages with the Socialist Youth Federation (FJS). I became a member because ideologically I was a leftist woman or I defined myself as a leftist woman". (Carolina Carrera, Santiago)

Social class is another factor which has an impact on faction formation. Members of the party note that there is a clear distinction between the social background of the members and leaders of factions. Some of the factions have a mainly middle-class composition while others have a strong working-class membership, as is shown in the following quotations.

"It is the plebeian PSCh, my PSCh, it is the PSCh of Michelle Bachelet, Carlos Lorca. The MAPU world was a world with more links to the elite. This is not a mechanical division. The coup hit them less because they had social networks that protected them. It was very difficult to think that a leader of MAPU did not have at least one priest uncle, or a relative in the right wing that (s)he could go to for aid. Generally they (MAPUs) came from private schools. In other words, their (MAPU) exile was an exile where they arrived at the airport in Amsterdam and they could ask in English where the exit is". (Osvaldo Puccio, Santiago).

"The New Left was the left wing of the party until it took power (2005), and this is very traditional in the Socialist Party. This is a faction which arises from below and named themselves as the Negritos, the mob people". (Sergio Aguilo, Santiago).

Similarly to Chilean society, membership and leadership maintained class divisions within factions. Some of the factions have mainly middle class backgrounds (Socialist Renovation), while others have more members coming from working classes (former Almeydista's groups). This type of class characterisation was the result of 1979 division, when most of the working

class party remained in Chile and middle classes elites left the country to live in exile. Consequently, the two socialist groups seen during 1979 to 1990 were also identified with certain social backgrounds. The inclusion of MAPU particularly reinforced some of the class differences, as most of the MAPU's members were middle class. This particular group reinforced differentiations between the political elite and the base membership, creating the idea that there are class elites within the political elite. These factors have reinforced the practice pattern, basing political participation not in a community of equals, but on a hierarchy rooted in social background which exists even within the factions.

According to Gamboa and Salcedo (2009), PSCh factions are closer to factions for interest rather than factions for principles as defined by Giovanni Sartori. Members meet periodically, and they organise together to work towards achievements and keep channels of communication open. In addition, factions are recognised by the rest of the members of the party. Both authors conclude that factions are relevant to understanding internal and external decisions. Although I agree about the relevance of factions when it comes to understanding party conduct, this study also argues that factions are the basic structure of political participation inside the party. Factions behave as strongly organised groups. They are organised in accordance with the committee structure of the party (communal, regional and national committees), in order to facilitate the full integration of all members within the party. Each level has factional leaders who lead faction committees, and represent their members

among national leaders of the factions. Taking this description into consideration, it is argued that factions behave like machines in Duverger's understanding, and they control political participation inside the party. The PSCh statutes prohibit factions, allowing only the existence of discussion groups [Corrientes de opinion]. However, factions keep their relevance with respect to participation inside the party due to the fact that they are traditional and are formed as networks and mechanisms to maintain political power. Consequently, factions are defined as spaces of power and negotiation rather than spaces for theoretical discussion. Members of the party describe them as spaces of negotiation in a negative sense, because they try to homogenise the party's conduct. Co-optation is used by faction leaders in order to discipline party members. These characteristics reinforce the practice pattern, isolating base members inside these informal organisations, and preventing them from re-constructing a collective sense of party membership. Factions effectively prevent the establishment of a new community of equals, by creating distinctions between socialist members. They are no longer equal members with the same rights, but depend for advancement on hierarchically organised factions, which might push them into a position in a public administration or nominate them for electoral competition either within or outside the party. That is the reason of faction's membership among members. Faction's objective is to achieve control and manage political power within the party, as these quotations demonstrate.

"The phenomenon which has occurred is that factions are structured around leaders who hold certain amounts of power. These leaders are surrounded by people without anything to contribute. These people have a lot of economic needs. Therefore, factions are groups for sharing power".(Paddy Ahumada, Valparaiso).

"I think that factions today do not have an ideological connotation, rather they groups for sharing power. This is not in the negative sense, but factions do not have a cleavage marked by ideological positions. I do not see that". (Ricardo Solari, Santiago).

"Gradually, the tolerance for difference was decreasing. The tolerance for thinking differently was reduced. Then a unique monolithic structure was increasingly developing". (Paula Quintana, Valparaiso).

"The factions have shaped a majority which is ruling the party. This majority is excluding the minorities without taking into account their numerical significance or the disruptive effects of this behaviour. Most of the time (the party) has exercised undemocratic procedures to impose its preferred candidates". (Roberto Irribarra, Valparaiso).

The above quotations underline how the practice pattern present within the factions frames participation, restricting spaces for participation and opinion and replacing them by monolithic structures. The practice pattern remains the dominant political culture because the presence of factions facilitates its reproduction by leaders. Authoritarian and hierarchical meanings of power are reinforced, largely unchallenged by the base membership, because their participation within the party is already fragmented by the system of interest present in the factions. Base members cling to the institutional pattern in formal spaces as offering the hope of a return to a community of equals. However, within the factions, power relations are framed by the practice pattern.

Factions organise parallel bureaucracies for electoral reasons. Therefore, there is a tension between formal and factional organisation, due to factions having established oligarchic bureaucracies (Duverger, 1967), using informal types of organisation within the party. Factions have created informal organisations at each level, parallel to the formal organisation of the party. The following

diagram shows the way in which the organisation of factions has developed. Each faction has an organisation at national, regional and local levels. These levels of organisation are connected to the party organisation in order to represent factions within the committees. All the factions have a national organisation which is in charge of leading each faction. This organisation is usually based in Santiago.

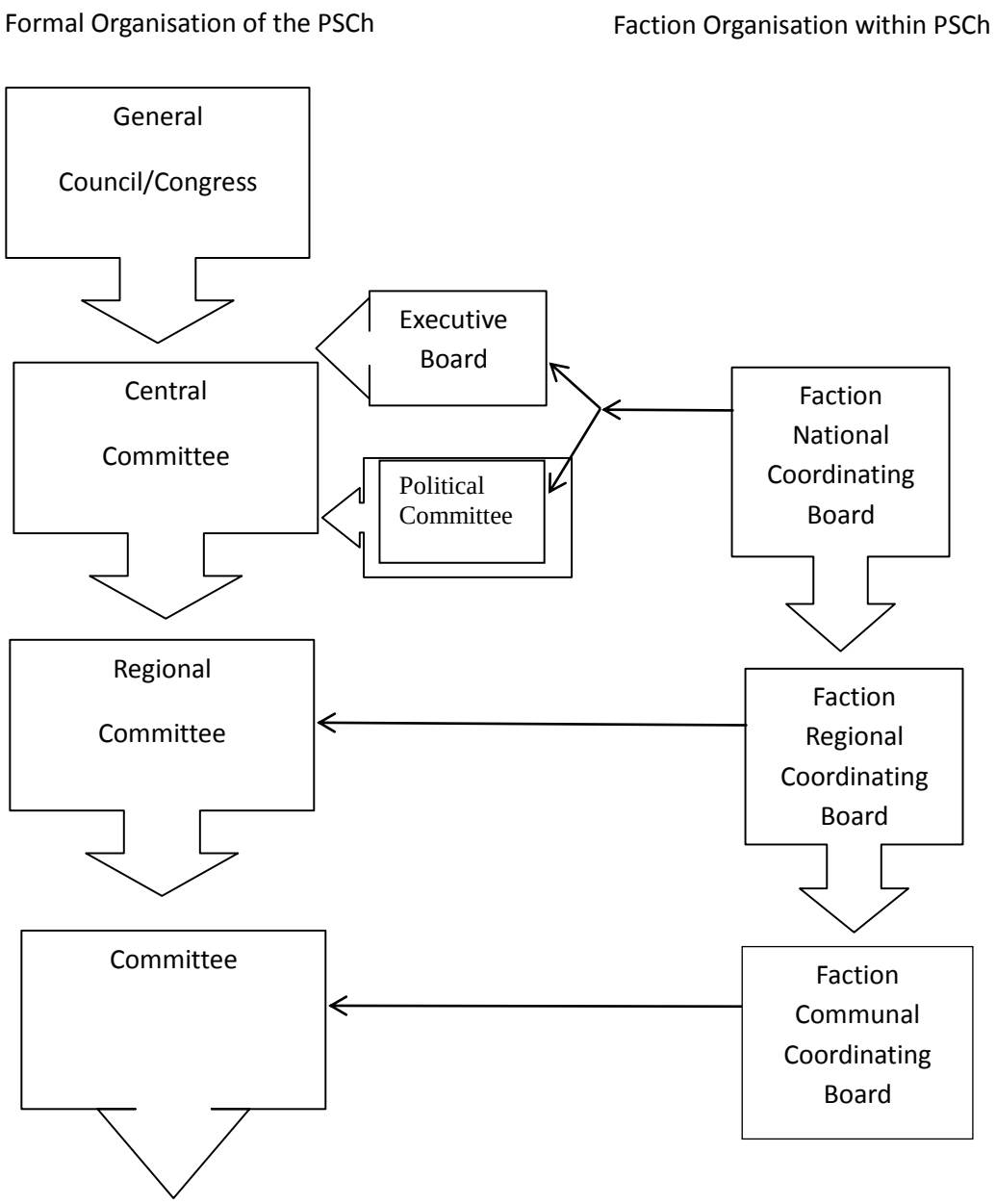

Figure 14 The Parallel bureaucracies of PSCh factions within Party Organisation

As I previously stated factional participation is driven by the practice pattern. Factions demonstrate co-optation and authoritarianism as patterns of political participation. The relationship between members and leaders is characterised by individual goals, which permits the use of the practice pattern. The presence of individual goals allows the introduction of clientelism. Clientelism in this study is defined according to Panebianco's understanding of selective and collective incentives. Clientelism is defined as the exclusive distribution of selective incentives from leaders to members in order to assure leaders' positions. These selective incentives took the form of positions in the State administration, as well as candidacies for city council elections (as mayors or councillors). Collective incentives are replaced by selective incentives between leaders and members for internal electoral purposes. Therefore, an individual link between leaders and members has replaced collective connections between party members. Clientelism is a consequence of highly individualised power relations introduced due to neoliberal trends within the party, mixed with authoritarian practices. Clientelism is found in the relationship between members and leaders, and it centres on the distribution of public posts from leaders to members. The following quotations support this argument:

"Today the Socialist Party has a culture of clientelism, and I do not exclude myself from being partly responsible for that. It is a centralized structure of clientelism, a mixture of authoritarianism with clientelism, which prevails today in the PSCh. I name this conceptualization authoritarian clientelism. This characteristic of authoritarian clientelism has undermined the libertarian culture, and it has distorted factions so that they have become leaders. (Factions comprise) the leader and the followers and are not groups for internal discussion". (Gonzalo Martner, Santiago).

"Clientelism has been present in the formation of factions. Factions are not discussion groups, but they are groups for getting close to a large trunk that can be powerful for negotiating the prevalence of a particular sector. Opinion does not prevail inside factions, but power in its different dimensions, including the possibility of finding a job (does prevail)". (Paula Quintana, Valparaíso).

"Today, being out of power, the Socialist Party has to work out what it is going to do. I think it generated a strong clientelistic force". (Carlos Ominami, Santiago)

Clientelism within the factions has permitted the development of informal types of membership, which are based on individual relationships between leaders and members. This type of membership centres on electoral tasks and the main target is to improve electoral effectiveness and keep factional influence inside the party. This is the case of operador [Vote Collectors]. This is an informal type of membership not found in the party statutes. The interviewees describe it as a type of membership which is part of the traditional power relationship inside the factions. This informal type of membership is carried on by specific members who are committed to this post for most of their partisan life. The presence of this informal role demonstrates the nature of the practice pattern, which has deepening hierarchical relations between members and leaders. This role shows the dependency between members and leaders in a hierarchical position inside the faction; a position which is secured by the use of the practice pattern. Additionally, this role is needed because the faction and leaders need to keep their power in order to participate in the party. Thus, the institution of informal roles preserves the factions as structures for decision making. The operador focuses on maintaining positive electoral results for factions, and maintaining their political influence, as the following quotations state.

"Now we have the operadores. The concept of operador is something absolutely new in socialist culture. (S)He is calculating the percentages of how many people are (inside the faction). (S)He is the calculator. Therefore, why are you going to vote because a priori you know how many people your faction has? That issue gives you a percentage and that percentage is equivalent to the members which your faction is going to have on the Political Committee". (Cecilia Suarez, Santiago)

"These practices are only replicated locally. Operdores or vote collectors serve to

collect for strong leaderships". (Mario Mandiola, Viña del Mar).

"The socialist leaders dedicate themselves either to parliament or to a minister and the base is in the hands of Operadores. There is no party life and when I say to you party life I mean the party life within cells or within the local community". (Carolina Carrera, Santiago).

The operador expresses a clientelistic political relation between militants and members which is built into the factions. These political relations are understood as being an unequal exchange between leaders and members, in which the distribution of individual incentives is for the benefit of leaders rather than for the group. The operador represents one way in which political relations are organised according to the benefits that members gain from leaders inside and outside the party. The operador is described as part of the electoral machine of the factions, who is responsible for ensuring electoral results. The acarreo [bussing of voters] is the common duty of the operador during the elections. This duty involves the mass transportation of voters to the party headquarters or to wherever elections take place. Therefore, political participation is determined by the benefits that members could get from factional leaders. This could be used as a reason for members to support leaders in elections. These benefits depend on the electoral result that the faction could achieve. This demonstrates that the hierarchical nature of power relations supported by the practice pattern tends to foster clientelistic linkages between members and leaders within factions, focussed on gaining individual goals such as positions in public offices. This particular characteristic has deepened the dependency between a faction's leaders and members. The following quotations support this argument.

"Those operadores work here purchasing votes during election times. The acarreo works. You knew that. I can name them one by one. I can say this guy was political operador, who sold votes and now he is a board member of the party. I have seen the bad practices and know them. I am not going to say that it does not happen. Vote buying occurs. The acarreo on buses on Sundays happens even now. In other words, I am sorry because this is not a real party. For me a real party is not a party where someone gives you 5 quid because someone registered you as a party member" (Carolina Carrera, Santiago)

"And for whom did the members vote? For those who they saw on TV?
I believe that the members do not even go ... There is a lot of acarreo nowadays" (Carolina Rey, Valparaiso)

"Well, if we have to define the types of membership: first you have the acarreado, who registered and will always be available just for voting. This member is responding to someone and you're going to go look for him during elections. This is the acarreado, (s)he is the member to whom you give the name's list (plantilla[71]) with the name of whom (s)he has to vote for". (Cecilia Suarez, Santiago)

Factions have therefore embedded the practice pattern of political participation within the PSCh, fostering hierarchical power relations between members and leader, and strengthening the position of leaders within factions. The hierarchical nature of these relations, and the need to maintain a faction's influence, have made it necessary to develop informal types of membership other than those listed in the statutes in order to secure the elites' position within the faction, and the influence of the faction itself. As one of the previous quotations states, faction and leader are now merged together. Factions are not structures for political discussion, but structures where leaders secure their position within the party. The practice pattern shapes participation within factions and allows leaders to reinforce their dominant position inside these structures. As I previously state, the institutional pattern is not found in this informal structures, but in the formal one where members are able to maintain

[71] The names list (in Spanish Plantilla) refers to the practice where Operadores give a paper with the name of candidates whom party members have to vote for.

this pattern and to use it when they have to take part in this structures. However, both patterns present highly gendered forms of participation, as I previously highlighted. The following section considers how both the practice and institutional patterns impact on the participation of women.

Gender and Power Relations

As I previously stated, both patterns of political cultures maintain gendered relations within factions and the formal organisation. Socialist politicas reproduced both patterns within political factions and formal structures, with the result that barriers to women's participation were strengthened. This section centres on the way in which both patterns frame those genders relations.

Gender divisions among members were apparent before 1973 in most of the left of the party. Female participation mainly occurred on separate committees focused on the traditional caretaking role of women, which was replicated in female participation inside political parties. Female members of the party claimed that the gender issue was introduced by party members in 1990. However, women were absent from most spaces of electoral competition such as city councils, the national congress and internal elections, due to the patriarchal background of the party. This gendered background is still apparent, and it is linked to male understandings of power relations, particularly authoritarianism. These ideas are identified through patterns of practice that reinforce authoritarian models of political participation. The following quotation refers to the gendered background of the party:

"I was saying to you that I told you that there is a little movement in the analysis. Actually the Socialist Party had a patriarchal culture in its forms, beyond speeches.

> The party's speeches may be the same, but its practices, the structuring of power around a leadership which is very masculine, in practice, a symbol. There was a very poor reception around gender issues. Social reality was understood from a social class matrix" (Carmen Andrade, Santiago)

The highly individualised form of political participation based on factional membership works. Women did not challenge the practice pattern. Socialist politicas are unlikely to establish solidarity linkages amongst them in order to challenge the male leadership within factions and formal structure. They frame their participation with the institutional pattern in formal structures while they use the practice pattern within factions. Most of the women leaders are members of factions, although they do not lead them. They are part of their structure and thus they behave similarly to their male counterparts, framing their power relations by the practice pattern. They do not effectively challenge ideas of male authoritarian power, but reproduce them when in positions of power themselves. Ideas about authority, and power embedded in the practice pattern is used as a framework for action by politicas in the same way for all members of the party, conducted by means of authoritarianism, co-optation and elite hegemony over decision making.

Susan Franceschet (2001; 2004; 2005) has written about the division inside the feminist movement between políticas and autónomas. This division affects the goals that Chilean women defined after the democracy was recovered. As I previously stated, Chilean women played an important role in the struggle against the Pinochet's regime. Part of this struggle had a direct link with the traditional idea of motherhood, as mothers and daughters of political prisoners who disappeared in the same way that Argentine women did. The women's

movement had a cross-class development which integrated mainly working class and middle class organisations. This characteristic created tensions among woman's goals due to the fact gender issues were not perceived through a one single frame. The different identities embedded within the movement did not approach struggles to democracy and gender equality using a single feminist frame, and this eventually weakened movement cohesion (Baldez, 2003; Chuchryk 1994). In the same way, politicas did not challenge the dominant political meaning about power and participation inside political institutions, and they do not collectivise their actions, creating effective feminist solidarities inside political parties for changing narratives and practices about power and membership. This was the case inside the PSCh and Bachelet's candidacy reflected how politicas adopted conventional forms for membership and leadership inside their parties. Bachelet followed the informal mode of political participation inside the party (member of a political faction, New Left- Nueva Izquierda) and the usual path to internal leadership. Autonomas suggested that politicas had to negotiate their feminist goals inside the party, and abandoned some of them because PSCh became part of the Concertación[72]. In addition to downplaying feminist goals, politicas did not change or challenge the dominant political structures inside the party and instead adapted to them, abandoning opportunities for introducing feminist meanings inside political practices. Thus they do not represent a rupture inside the political practices and patterns of political participation inside the party. Bachelet did not represent a gender victory in a more radical sense. The

[72] For an analysis about feminist policies making, see Haas, Liesl (2010) Feminist Policy Making in Chile. The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, Pennsylvania.

institutional pattern did not integrate feminist goals within their meanings of political participation. Although pluralism and democracy were related to gender during Bachelet's nomination, the pattern has not been used to integrate more radical gendered meanings. Bachelet's nomination can therefore be seen to represent the continuity of male power relations, framed by the practice pattern and male strong leadership.

Meanings about authority and power used by politicas came from the patterns of political cultures used by the members of the party. Those patterns are conducted in individualised spaces of negotiation which undermined collective ideas about negotiation and power. Thus, social and moral conservatism are among those internal practices of the party which women socialists describe in the interviews. Thus the framework used by socialist women in membership and leadership is the informal practice pattern in the same way as male members, using it also for getting nominations as mandatarias and candidates (See Pp269). While base membership politicas may frame their activity by the institutional pattern in formal spaces of participation such as assemblies and congresses, similar to their male counterparts, they have adopted the practice pattern to frame relations between them, rather than attempting to develop a feminist community of equals.

Politicas did not develop collective solidarities between women socialists for changes from the informal practice pattern for collective participation and to replace it with the institutional pattern. Women did not strengthen the links among themselves, since few of them integrated into the party elite. Therefore,

it is difficult for women to advance within the decision-making organisation, and consequently there is a lack of connections between female members of the party. Researchers found that women do not exhibit gender solidarity in order to increase the political participation of female members. In contrast to their male counterparts, women do not create more spaces for other women (Freis, 2010: 122). According to Corporacion Humanas (2010), the weak position of female members within Chilean parties means that there are no strong solidarity connections between female members, due to the fact that an alliance of female members would be in a weak position to counter male strategies. In the PSCh, there is neither the presence of a female faction nor a set of strong connections between socialist politicas to develop a faction as part of their political participation. Women are not incorporated into party decision-making because factional membership depends on private incentives to advance within the political elite. Therefore, socialist politicas do not act collectively in order to improve their position among the political elite. In contrast, factional membership weakens women's gender position, and reinforces the male gendering of faction leadership; women did not challenge this scenario. Socialist politicas have not organised a women's faction to confront patriarchal ideas about power and the "all boys club". Politicas continued to pursue feminist goals, particularly reproductive rights and electoral quotas, without success, and without challenging the institutional framework from a gender perspective. Women who were successful in achieving a leadership position (mainly mandatarias) did not therefore change the meanings of gendered power present in the party, but reproduced and integrated those meanings in their internal behaviour. They have therefore been unable to establish effective

feminist solidarities to strength their position within the informal structures (factions), or to support each other in internal competitions within formal structure such as central committees or communal committees. Gendered meanings of power which are present in the practice pattern have framed the relations of socialist politicas when they are acting inside the factions.

In order to confront internal discrimination against internal competition, socialist women pushed for the creation of the Women's Vice-Presidency inside the central executive. It was established as a national department focused on gender rights, the Women's Affairs Department. It was also established at the regional and communal levels of the party. In addition, a quota law was introduced in order to ensure the election of women to the committees. The statutes state that no more than 70% of the committees must be formed by one gender. Also, on the candidates list, no more than 60% must be represented by one gender. Female members of the party felt that the quota law was an important achievement. However, the establishment of a quota law could not prevent gender discrimination in electoral positions inside the party as well as administrative positions in government. The quota law subsequently became an agreed ceiling established by factions, which actually prevent more women being incorporated into key formal structures such as central committee. Data from the 2010 elections demonstrates that out of 95 elected members to the central committee, only 32 were women. Socialist politicas agreed that the party had a male-dominated culture, and the following quotes show how quota law has been ineffective for improving their participation in formal spaces.

"The quota in the electoral process, which was a struggle for women, mainly for women who came from the Renovación (PSCh Nuñez), Nany Muñoz, Sole Larrain. So it took years to achieve this. First we had 20 (per cent) and then to reach 30 was a disaster. And it was a real stretch for male subjects in elections. And those quotas are not fulfilled for local elections or for nominations for deputies and senators." (Carolina Carrera, Santiago)

"I would like to have changed more, because the truth is that if I look at the board today, it is entirely male. We have a woman who is vice president of women affairs. It would be too much to nominate a man as vice president of women affairs". (Denisse Pascal Allende, Valparaiso).

The PSCh's women's programme suggests that the unity process in 1990 continued the re-composition of patriarchal models of political participation inside the party (PSCh, 1994: 18). Parties are viewed as organisations which were re-constructed in 1990 based on a re-distribution of power agreed by male politicians (Freis, 2010: 114). Additionally, clientelistic conduct and membership weakened the position of women in internal competition due to the fact that women have to face these practices outside the factions' inner circles. As I stated in Chapter 1, informal rules and clientelism wakened the position of women within parties. Party gatekeepers and rules and norms within the party affect the nomination process in ways detrimental to women. Bureaucratically-based systems that have rules guaranteeing women's representation are a significant advantage. In contrast "when the rules are unwritten it becomes much harder to devise a strategy to break into the inner circle of power" (Ballington and Matland, 2004: 3). The absence of an institutionalised party system with a dominance of elites allows patronage and clientelism "where candidate recruitment tends to be hierarchical and dominated by party or faction leaders, reinforced by patriarchy, ethnic ties and loyalty" (Ballington and Matland, 2004:6). Patronage systems are not favourable to women. Therefore, clientelistic characteristics impact negatively

on women's representation due to the fact that women are usually excluded from the male informal networks. If there are some women among this "all boy's club", they are unlikely to see the promotion of gender representation as a party goal. Socialist politicas do not occupy leadership position which allows them to establish informal networks. They might integrate those informal networks like other male socialist, securing their positions as mandatarias in some opportunities. As I have argued, women in the PSCh did not challenge meanings about authority. But they integrated those gendered meanings to their political activity within factions. Women are not part of the decisions made by factional leaders to support certain candidates for election. This situation reinforces male leadership within the party due to the fact that male politician select more male politicians. Women in similar position do not support other women, as I was previously state. They rather reinforce male strong leadership within factions before to foster women leaderships within factions' elites. Socialist politicas used the patriarchal meanings of power present in the party and link practice pattern to those ideas without challenge or establish any solidarity. The following section explains more in depth how leadership is formed within the party, considering challenge for women within socialist leadership.

Mandatarios or new leaders

The process of the individualization of power relations has also been expressed in the legitimacy of leadership since the 1990s. Since its founding, the PSCh has been characterized as having strong leadership, which also gave life to factions. As I previously stated, leaders use the system of interest to frame their

participation. This system has been present among the leadership since the party's foundation. However, it was balanced by a system of solidarity when the collective identification of party goals was a stronger feature of political activity. The disruption of this balance facilitated the formation of two separate political cultures since 1979. The base membership continued to identify themselves with the institutional pattern, while the elites conceptualise their power relations through the practice pattern. Both patterns are used to legitimise members and leaders, both within factions as well as in more formal organisations. In this section I centre particular on the leadership.

Common life experiences and a political career inside the party characterise the current faction leaders. These are members who are recognised as traditional leaders of the party, members of the party who started their participation in the socialist youth membership, and are recognised as historicos [historical members] by the rest of the members. Members who came from other political groups are named as no-historicos [non-historical members], and the members make a distinction between them. This difference impacts on factions' leadership due to the fact that factions' leaders tend to be mainly historicos. In addition, historico members have an advantage during electoral campaigns because it is easier for them to gain support from party members. The division between historicos and no-historicos refers beck to the nature of the PSCh before 1973, distinguishing between those members who were socialists before the coup, and those members from other parties who were integrated after 1973. The base membership tends to see in historicos the possibility of a return to system of solidarity and the community of equals. They tend to think that

no-historicos have changed the party's meanings about participation, introducing the practice pattern. Thus, the base membership that remained in Chile during Pinochet's dictatorship tends to support those members who are historicos. The following quotations highlight these issues:

"The factions are led by historical leaders of the Party. The Mega-Tendencia is led by Nuñez or by me because I can consider myself as part of the socialist heritage. Well, we went together with Nuñez. Escalona leads the Nueva Izquierda with Andrade who also comes from the historical branch of the party. The Terceristas are led by Solari, a socialist who has been a socialist since he was a child, like other leaders such as Jaime Pérez de Arce, Raul Diaz, Luciano" (Marcelo Schilling, Valparaiso)

"There has always been this tension, these things are not said and they are strongly embedded in the party's culture. Those things are not said openly in meetings It's like the históricos theme. Anyone who is not an historical member has not had the same. (S)he does not follow the rules of the game or he or she will not have the same opportunities to have his or her views heard".(Paula Quintana, Valparaiso).

"I have only ever being a member of the Socialist Party, which in the internal jargon is known as historical socialists. By family tradition, my grandfather was also a socialist and my father too". (Ernesto Aguila, Santiago)

Socialist Renewal increased the individualization of power relations, which resulted in the concentration of power in the hands of strong personalities (Rehren, 1999). Therefore, strong leadership groupings are enhanced inside the party due to the relevance of factions in the exercise and practice of membership. As a result, a growing process of gentrification is identifiable in PSCh political activity. The gentrification of decision-making is found in the different committees (communal, regional and national). Elites dominate decision-making inside the party at each level. This gentrification in decision-making takes shape in the figure of the mandatario, a role within the leadership introduced to the party during the 1990s. It represents the way in which leaders are legitimised within the party. The party leaders are not only legitimate

within the organization, but become more legitimate when they become mandatarios. This role ensures that leaders play an important function for the party, but outside its organization.

The figure of the Mandatario is related to the role of party members in the State bureaucracy over the 20 years of Concertación administration. Several members of the party became bureaucratic officers, empowered to represent the party in the State administration. However, this new type of leadership was also a consequence of the political relations found in the party from 1990 to 2010. Individualised political practices became central to party integration as a consequence of the impact of neoliberalism on the membership, particularly on the gentrification process in power relations. The name Mandatario identifies individuals who have an influential position inside factional power relations. This leadership status allows party members to have more influence over factional activity from a local, regional or national position.

Party statutes describe mandatarios as party members who have a role outside the party. They are defined as "party members who have public roles with political relevance for the party such as members of the National Congress, mayors, city councillors, regional councillors, trade union leaders, student union leaders and neighbourhood leaders" (PSCh, 2003: Art 42). However, PSCh members usually confer the status of mandatario on those who represent the party in the State apparatus or are party representatives in the National Congress and city councils.

Another characteristic of the mandatarios is that the party influenced their nomination for that role. Mandatarios reproduce the system of interest. This type of membership conflicts with the community of equals because it intensified hierarchy within the PSCh. Members are no longer held as equals, so the support for strengthening the system of solidarity diminishes. Consequently, these types of members are not identified with a system of solidarity. Mandatarios need to be part of a faction in order to be nominated within it. When they achieve this position, they tend to reproduce the practice patterns exercised by the existing leadership within their factions. They entered the political elite at communal, regional and national level, and are supported by the main faction leaders. Thus, mandatarios adopt the practice pattern because they identify themselves as part of the elite. In addition, mandatario leadership is not practised inside the party organisation, but inside factions and in other spaces where they fulfil their role, such as State offices, National Congress or city councils. Therefore, this establishes a clear distinction between members named mandatarios and other members who have political roles in each level of party organisation. This distinction is based on the development of a parallel structure, which is linked to factional power relations when a political decision is made. Therefore, the party has leaders elected by party elections, and mandatarios. It is possible to observe a tension in this differentiation of leaders, due to the fact that only some of these leaders have real power inside the party. The statutes define the party organisation as the space for practising membership. Elections are the established mechanism to select internal officers. However, the mandatarios could be likened to Duverger's inner circle. As a result, party officers do not drive the party in

practice. Duverger's argument about the selection of leaders and officers describes an autocratic tendency inside parties in which there is a mixture of election and co-optation. It is possible to find this tendency in the relationship between members and mandatarios because mandatarios are also faction leaders. This tension was found between the two bureaucracies because the mandatarios might co-opt political decisions coming from party officers. In this sense, mandatarios could be perceived as being members of Duverger's "inner circles" (1967: 156-168). These inner circles reproduce the practice pattern within factions. New members who have been named mandatarios frame their power relations with other members using this pattern. Thus the practice pattern is reinforced, diminishing the influence of the institutional pattern, which it is not used by the new leaders.

One consequence of the presence of mandatarios and their position within a hierarchy is a tension between titular leaders and real leaders, as outlined by Duverger. The PSCh is an example of such a situation of tension between real leaders and formal leaders. This tension is a consequence of power relations established between the political elite and party members. It is based on the tension between the system of interest and the system of solidarity. While the formal leaders (party officers) represent the community of equals and the meanings of the system of solidarity, the real leaders are embedded in the system of interest and the practice pattern. Real leaders represent hierarchical relations and authoritarian power. Titular leaders represent the community of equals and participation based on pluralism and democracy.

As was suggested in Chapter One, Duverger (1967) identifies two categories of leaders inside parties: titular leaders, who are democratically elected (e.g. Members of the National Congress), and real leaders, referred to as bosses by the author, who hold political power. Both types of leadership have different spaces of practice. Titular leaders act within formal structures, while the bosses act within informal structures (factions). Titular leaders enjoy power in theory, while bosses hold power in real terms. In the case of the PSCh, bosses are in a position to reinforce and reproduce the dominant practice pattern. The titular leaders (party officials) are not able to challenge this or to reassert the dominance of the institutional pattern. Bosses are in charge of machines which are not democratically organised and are appointed through co-optation. It is possible to identify a tension inside the PSCh using Duverger's understanding of leadership, due to the fact that mandatarios are identified as bosses, and party officers as titular leaders. In addition, inside factions it is possible to see that faction leaders behave as titular leaders and bosses. Therefore, faction leaders become bosses inside the party due to the fact that they hold most of the political power. PSCh factions are machines which integrate titular and real leaders to drive their political relations. Due to the fact that factions integrate both types of leadership, factions are reinforced as machines because they are the main spaces in which decisions are made, and party policy-making is conducted by informal party leaders. The following quotations support this argument:

"During this period the machine has been dedicated to building a parallel space where decisions are made, a parallel space where the cake is divided. Due to the fact that for 20 years (PSCh) was in the government, it fulfils this role. It was not in terms of building its own force, building your structure, your position. The flags were abandoned, Latin Americanism was abandoned. The essence of PSCh was abandoned

and it was abandoned for pragmatism". (Cecilia Suarez, Santiago).

"I also believe that (political differences between factions) went missing and they were transformed into power management mechanisms". (Carmen Andrade, Santiago).

The mandatarios and the party officer shared positions on each of those committees. Although mandaratios have fewer rights than party officers, they could attend all meetings. Normal members do not have this right. The presence of mandatarios at each level of party organisation shows how Michels' concept of co-optation is instantiated in the PSCh. Co-optation could be centred particularly on the party organisation in order to ensure that party decisions adopted by officers follow mandatarios' agreements. In addition, this type of co-optation could be linked to the need to assure party obedience. Therefore, the presence of mandatarios within the party organisation could be linked to the inner circle's supervision of officers' conduct. Practice patterns, particularly co-optation and authoritarianism, are integrated by mandatarios in power relations with factional members and titular leaders. Thus, the practice pattern is reproduced at all levels of the party by mandatarios, who lead factions at communal and regional levels. This allows the pattern to remain the dominant culture in the structures where decisions are made. The institutional pattern is relegated to a secondary position, used in formal spaces by the membership and party officers, who do not take part in key political decision-making. The base membership is not in a position to challenge the practice pattern as the dominant culture because it is not able to apply pressure for a change inside the spaces where decisions are made.

Therefore, political participation is practised according to individual relationships between leaders and members, and governed by elitist power relations. This type of membership can be linked with the inner circle practices among mandatarios and their role inside party factions. Leadership is, therefore, legitimate within the faction, but not necessarily within the Party, because the mandatario has a role outside party organizations. Leadership is developed outside the party, where members developed their political activity in sites such as city councils, the National Congress or the civil service. Mandatarios are a good example of the way in which power relations are developed in a highly factionalised party. This practice modifies membership structures and deepens clientelistic connections between members and leaders, due to the fact that this relationship is based on the distribution of benefits between the two groups for electoral purposes, with the objective of maintaining the influence of leaders within the party. This issue is highlighted by the following quotations:

"Currently the domestic political culture has that bad habit of putting people in the same box for domestic electoral contests, and from here they jump to elected office. What I have frequently noticed is the fact that people who have been working in the government turn the party into party of State officials". Francisco Diaz, Santiago).

"Inside the party, disputes resulted in quarrels for control of power within the party to gain control of government posts, when the party was in power". (Roberto Irribarra, Valparaiso).

"I think so, I think bureaucracy and clientelism are associated with the long period of participation in the government". (Ricardo Solari, Santiago).

"The management of internal power gives you the ability to control the administration of power within the state, and within the city council. We refer to it as the public sector. It does not matter whether it is government, regional government or municipal government; it is ultimately in the public sector. This allows you to place your people, and these people are those who collect votes for you in internal elections. These people bring people for you". (German Correa, Santiago).

The role of mandatarios within the factions shows how the practice pattern shapes political participation. They adopt the ideas of authoritarian and hierarchical power embedded in the practice pattern, reproducing those meanings within their factions by old leaders and new leaders. These ideas of power move away from those framed by democracy and pluralism, as found in the institutional pattern. Authoritarianism and co-optation are used in the power relations between mandatarios, titular leaders and members. Hegemony centres on the decision-making process. The hegemony of leaders within the factions also causes internal co-optation, which is based on how individual incentives are distributed. Inside factions, leaders determine the selection of candidates who become titular leaders within the party organisation on each committee. The proximity of members to leaders is a key factor in this process. These forms of behaviour could be linked to the authoritarian influence present within the party, because leaders try to assert their hegemony inside the faction. The following quotations support this argument:

> "I feel that the PSCh is living a process of political and oligarchic elitism and feudalism. The factions have truly become fiefdoms. The feudal lord solves everything for his subjects". (Marcelo Diaz, Valparaiso).

> "In everyday life it has also become a clientelistic party where the majority of active members respond to those leaders who co-opted them through the use of direct or indirect material rewards". (Mario Mandionla, Valparaiso)

This attempt at hegemony may be related to Socialist Renewal, which involved the process of individualization in political participation. Moreover, in terms of the legitimacy of the membership and leadership practice pattern of defining performance as a framework for action through the growth of hegemony, co-optation, and authoritarianism, the practice pattern is linked to the development of individualised political relations. As a result, the practice pattern is in

contradiction with the institutional pattern. The process of gentrification of political participation is underpinned by clientelistic relationships between members and leaders. These forms of political participation and power relations display a lot of authoritarian hegemony and co-optation.

This practice pattern of political culture of the PSCh is also present in the role of gender in the legitimacy of leadership. Factions again play a key role in a political party which is described as having masculine forms of leadership and participation. Factional leadership is male-dominated. This has impacted upon the political participation of women inside factions, because women have less opportunity to be involved in party leadership as the following quotations state:

"Today the party does not have female leaders. That is the only saving grace of my election to the Central Committee. In other words, the only saving grace of my election to the Central Committee is that I was the first majority on a minority list. I defeated an old historical member of the party, a really long standing member". (Cecilia Suarez, Santiago)

"The Socialist Party is still a party which is extremely machista (sexist/macho) in its practices". (Ana Bells Jara, Santiago)

The PSCh's power relations exclude some groups within the party, such as youth and women. Base membership politicas hold to the institutional pattern and its ideas of participation and power based on democracy, pluralism and libertarianism. They reproduce those ideas within formal spaces where key decision making does not take place. Feminist politicas links those meanings to feminist ideas about political inclusion. However, the institutional pattern has not been fully transformed by them. These linkages are found exclusively among feminist groups in the base membership. When feminist politicas

become mandatarias, they do not frame power from a feminist approach. Rather, they adopt the male authoritarian idea of power presented in the practice pattern. The institutional pattern remains a secondary culture for them, framing their participation only in formal spaces of discussions, away from the real spaces of power.

Male hegemony still dominates most of the spaces of political participation and political negotiation, both formal and informal spaces. Factions are not exceptions in this respect, and gender is still a barrier to obtaining legitimacy in the party leadership. The practice pattern reinforces gender exclusion because it strengthens male hegemony over decision-making, particularly within factions. The following quotations support this argument:

"Women, none of us, participate in any negotiations. That I can say for sure". (Ana Bells Jara, Santiago).

"In fact, there were more male candidates in the municipal election. There were more male candidates. The same happened with quotas for deputies and senators. There were more men. So, we say that we want more representation but in practice it is different". (Carolina Rey, Valparaíso)

"I have to say that this is a deeply machista (sexist/macho) party. Why? It is not only because of its statutes. It goes beyond the party statutes saying men and women. Despite all of the party statutes and all the changes made during this time, the language is completely masculine". (Carolina Carrera, Santiago).

An important barrier to female leadership is that political participation and decision-making are conducted in informal meetings outside working hours, and women face conflicts due to their family responsibilities (Corporacion Humanas 2010, 13). As described previously, factions also develop political activity in parallel spaces to traditional organisations which could not be accessed by women because of their family duties. Politicas-mandatarias are

not able to commit to this type of activity. As a result, most of them remain as secondary leaders within factions. Within these spaces, political decisions are mostly made by male leaders, with politicas unable to challenge this. They become part of the party elite without having control of factions communally, regionally or nationally. Therefore, the individualised membership and the pre-eminence of factions within the PSCh did not help to promote female leadership. Politicas-mandatarias did not challenge leadership within the PSCh. Politicas turned into mandatarias following factional relations, adopting the pattern used by the leadership and behaving in the same way that male members do. When politicas act within factions, they frame their ideas of power with hierarchical authoritarian male meanings, which leads to co-optation and elite hegemony over decision making. Socialist politicas may frame their relations within the institutional pattern, but only the feminist politicas continue to link ideas of democratic and pluralistic power with feminist goals. The institutional pattern this remains gendered in its forms of participation, failing to include gender in its definitions of pluralism and democracy. Bachelet's nomination however shows the possibility of shape this pattern in less gendered ways. However, feminist politicas at base levels were the only group in the party which attempted this transformation.

This chapter has reviewed the patterns of meanings that shape political participation within the Socialist Party. These patterns represent two separate political cultures, one dominant culture and a secondary culture. No evidence was found to support the existence of other subcultures within the different

internal groups. Both patterns were found among the base membership and leadership as two distinctive cultures. The first pattern is named the institutional pattern. It is linked to the Foundation stage of the party which defined political participation as libertarian, democratic and pluralistic. This pattern of meaning is used by the membership base to describe the political participation inside the PSCh, which is differentiated from other leftist parties. The second one is the practice pattern. It is linked to the stages of the New Left and Socialist Renewal, and it is used to define the relationship between members and leaders. It describes political participation as co-optation, authoritarianism and hegemony over decision-making. This pattern has become the dominant political culture since 1990, when factions became the space of membership and leadership legitimacy, replacing the party organization in the process. Moreover, the weakening of membership power experienced during the Socialist Renewal stage allowed this pattern to be reinforced within the factions. The main pattern is characterized by a hierarchical and authoritarian idea of power supported by individual relationships between leaders and members, focusing on individual goals. This type of relationship determines the distribution of private incentives. This has resulted in the emergence of forms of clientelism in the relations of power, due to the identification of militancy. The individualization of membership allows the gentrification of decision-making at local, regional and national levels. Elite hegemonies constitute the bodies in which decisions are made. This hegemony is reflected in the emergence of leaders such as mandatarios who indicate the extent to which the power relations between members and leaders are individualised, particularly in relation to the transmission of selective incentives to members

who aspire to become part of the political elite. One outcome of factionalised political participation is that groups such as women find it difficult to improve their position within the party.

Both political cultures have remained gendered in terms of women's inclusion in politics. Furthermore, socialist politicas have not challenged or changed the male ideas of power present in both patterns. The institutional pattern fails to include gender in its meanings of democracy and pluralism, and the practice pattern is based on male ideas about authoritarian power. Politicas mainly adopt those patterns in formal and informal spaces, reproducing their core meanings. The next question to be answered is how these two patterns of meanings within the political culture of the PSCh influenced the nomination of Bachelet.

Chapter 6

The PSCh political culture and Bachelet's nomination

This chapter focuses on how the PSCh political culture influenced the nomination of Michelle Bachelet as presidential candidate. In particular, it looks at the influence of the two political cultures identified earlier, the institutional pattern and the practice pattern, on Bachelet's candidacy. I have stated that the PSCh has a political culture formed by two patterns which represented a dominant political culture and a secondary political culture. I have demonstrated how the institutional development of the party influenced on its political culture through three stages. Those stages help me to identify conceptually and empirically two political cultures held by two patterns. In the following pages, I am going to look at how both cultures shaped Bachelet's selection as candidate despite being single mother, Marxist, non-religious and woman.

In the previous chapters, I also showed that changes within the context have reinforced the shift from the system of solidarity to the system of interests, resulting in the weakening of the institutional pattern in relation to the practice pattern as a way of framing internal power relations. As I stated, political participation is today characterised by highly individualised power-relations between members and leaders. As a consequence, the party has weakened its membership requirements and favoured the use of the informal pattern of

political participation within the relationship between members and leaders. This practice pattern embedded meanings of authoritarian, co-optative and hierarchical power. These meanings are reproduced within factions, informal structures which deepen individualised relations between members and leaders. Factions allow the gentrification of decision-making which becomes hegemony by factional elites. The gentrification of decision-making was also consolidated by the development of new roles within the party leadership. A new type of leadership within the party organisation was consolidated. This new type was the Mandatarios whose influence was based on their role within the State bureaucracy. Mandatarios deepened the gentrification of decision-making due to the fact that they became the officers who made decisions on party policies. In Duverger's sense, mandatarios are the bosses of the party. The institutional pattern remains a secondary political culture characterised by democratic, libertarian and pluralistic meanings of power and participation. It frames base membership participation in formal spaces such as party congresses, regional and communal committees. Bases members do not articulate this political culture to challenge the dominant practice pattern. They rather use it for political participation in formal spaces while the practice pattern frames their power relations with leaders in informal spaces. Both patterns of cultures have gendered forms of participation and power. The institutional pattern does not integrate gender in its meanings of pluralism and democracy while the practice pattern reinforces a male authoritarian power which is exercised within factions.

These differences about patterns and spaces favoured factional behaviour due

to the fact that the elite consensus was organised through factional agreements. Hegemony defines how decision-making functions when controlled by the political elite. The practice pattern has intensified since 1990, due to the impact of the Socialist Renewal stage on political participation. In particular, this pattern has been strengthened because factions became the main spaces for legitimate leadership and membership, replacing the party structure. Thus, individual connections between leaders and members show the influence of the practice pattern, in particular the clientelistic nature of the relationship between members and leaders.

Both patterns coexist in the conduct of the PSCh. While the institutional pattern defines the ideals of political participation, the political practice of the party is marked by the practice pattern, particularly in flows of power from elite to base membership. While the institutional pattern is held by the base membership in formal structures, the practice pattern is reinforced by elites, particularly mandatarios, within factions. Thereby, the meanings about pluralistic, democratic and libertarian participation and power are held in spaces which are not involved in the party's decision making. Meanings about co-optative, authoritarian and hierarchical power are embedded in faction's power relations, core spaces for political agreements and decision making. Consequently, the party's agency is shaped by dominant meanings about authoritarian and hierarchical relations when political outcomes and agreements are required. The ideas about pluralistic, democratic and libertarian participation are hold by base membership to frame their agency while they are

in secondary formal spaces. When the base membership takes part in formal activities, their ideas are framed by the institutional pattern. When they are within factions, membership understandings and meanings about political action are framed by practice pattern underline by faction's leaders. This pattern defines and motivates the actual relationship between members and leaders. Political participation is driven by authoritarianism and co-optation between members and leaders, and hegemony over decision-making, which deepens the gentrification of participation. As a result, this pattern has increased the distance between members and leaders, as well as between mandatarios and party officers. This outcome has contributed to the internal fragmentation of the party.

This chapter analyses how the political cultures of the PSCh impacted upon Bachelet's nomination as presidential candidate. I argue that Bachelet's nomination was influenced by the political cultures of the party. She was legitimated as a member and a leader within the party. This fact allowed her persona to be linked to the institutional pattern of political culture and allowed the political elite to use the practice pattern to secure internal support for her candidacy. Firstly, I identify three factors which legitimised her as a member and a leader of the PSCh. These factors are (1) her factional membership; (2) her recognition as an historica within the party; and (3) her role as a mandataria during Ricardo Lagos' administration as Minister of Health, and as Minister of Defence. The conjunction of these three factors allowed her to be legitimised within the PSCh as a member and as a leader. Her recognition as a

historica member linked her persona with meanings of pluralism and democracy held by the base membership as part of the institutional pattern. Her factional membership and roles as a mandataria recognised her as a member of the socialist elites by faction's leaders, which allowed their support for her nomination. These factors were recognised by party members across tendencies, without differences, and strengthened her support inside the party. While the base membership saw in her persona meanings and ideas coming from democracy and pluralism embedded in the institutional pattern, socialist elites recognise her as one of her members, supporting her nomination but framing that support with the practice pattern This chapter highlights which elements helped Bachelet's candidacy to get internal support, how factors of legitimacy reinforced that support and how political cultures influenced this process.

Bachelet's candidacy and internal support

During Ricardo Lagos' administration, strong criticism was found within the PSCh and the Concertación base membership because the coalition supported Pinochet's institutional and economical model during the first 10 years of administration (1990-2000). While the political elite highlighted the main achievements of the Concertación (autocomplacientes), the base membership adopted a more critical approach because the Concertación was not able to challenge the main outcomes resulting from the dictatorship, such as the economic model. This debate showed the division among members and leaders within the PSCh and reinforced the idea that a change was needed. The

Socialist base saw in Bachelet's persona a possibility of change. Socialist bases identified the current party's elites a responsible for introducing liberal ideas among their ideological background, leaving collective meaning embedded in Marxism in a second place. Particularly those bases who remained in Chile during Pinochet's dictatorship found in Bachelet's persona the possibility to recover those collective ideas, the community of equals, lost because the economic changes in Chile and the introduction of liberal meanings by political elites. Base members connected Bachelet's nomination with the hope to challenge co-optative, authoritarian and hierarchical ideas of power by pluralism, democracy and libertarianism. Those meanings led them to support her nomination in 2005.

Bachelet's legitimacy as a member and leader linked her to the institutional pattern. The internal criticism experienced inside the party over Ricardo Lagos' administration reinforced these connections. This criticism centred on the party's performance, which was deemed by many members to be insufficiently critical of the Concertación administration and the neoliberal model. Bachelet was connected to the left wing of the party, due to the fact that she is a member of Nueva Izquierda (formerly the Almeydismo group). Therefore, she is not identified with the party-political establishment. She was not linked to the political elites who supported the Concertación administration and the neoliberal model. In contrast, her persona was identified with the formal pattern of meanings of political participation among members and leaders. Bachelet's candidacy was linked to the institutional pattern and to democracy and pluralism in particular. Democracy and pluralism were connected to her

candidacy, because her candidacy represented the inclusion of neglected sectors within the PSCh during the Concertación period. These sectors were identified as aspects of Almeydismo which were excluded from the party's decision-making. In addition, Bachelet's gender reinforced pluralism, due to the fact that her nomination was seen as marking the inclusion of women, traditionally excluded from a PSCh elite characterised as male–dominated. Therefore, Bachelet's candidacy symbolically represented the changes needed by the PSCh and the whole Concertación. Her figure reasserted the institutional pattern through the inclusion of these neglected sectors of the party. On the other hand, the factional leadership exercised strong discipline in order to assure internal support for her candidacy. This manifestation of the practice pattern strengthened authoritarianism and co-optation to homogenise party support for Bachelet's candidacy, and to avoid internal criticism of the elite's conduct that could affect her popularity. Therefore, dissent was not permitted by the party elite. Although Bachelet's candidacy was linked to the institutional pattern of political participation because of her membership as an historica, the political elite disciplined the membership via the practice pattern so as to ensure support for her presidential candidacy. As a result, she gained the support of the party because she was legitimised as leader by the internal elite. This support also relied on her status as a popular mandataria, a member of the PSCh political elite. Although her candidacy symbolically reflected democracy and pluralism, internal practices operated in the opposite way. While party members saw her nomination as an opportunity to reintroduce the institutional pattern within political participation in the party and shift internal policies, the internal practice of the party reinforced the practice pattern when

her candidacy was decided. As a consequence, a tension in the relationship between members and leaders is apparent in the process of Bachelet's nomination. The expectations of members and leaders were diametrically opposed. While the members seek the possibility to reinforce the meanings of participation embedded in the institutional pattern, factional elites deepen meanings of authoritarian and co-optative power to ensure the internal support of the whole party to her candidacy and later on her administration. As a result of this tension, the relationship between members and leaders was fragmented. The aspirations and the hope of the base members were not fulfilled after Bachelet's election. Elites deepened the practice pattern within party's structures, including formal spaces where the institutional pattern was used. Consequently those tensions were produced because authoritarian, hierarchical and co-optative power was extended to the whole party. An outcome from this issue was the weakened and fragmentation of the party in 2010 elections (Chapter7:351)

The next sections demonstrate the role of the political culture in Bachelet's nomination. First, the chapter analyses how Bachelet's membership and leadership was legitimised in the current political culture. Secondly, I identify the presence of both patterns of meanings in the support that she received.

Bachelet's legitimation as member and leader of the PSCh

This section focuses on three factors which legitimise Michelle Bachelet as a member and leader of the PSCh. These factors are: her membership in a

faction; her identification as an historica by party members; and her role as a mandataria. The conjunction of these factors legitimised her as a member and leader of the party. These elements created a conjuncture that resulted in her being supported.

Factors of legitimacy

Chapter Four showed the weakening of membership structures and the impact of highly individualised power relations, allowed factions to become the main spaces in which militancy is exercised and legitimised. Since the PSCh's reunification, factions have replaced cells in exercising these functions, and, as a result, the party structure has been weakened. The legitimacy of the membership and leadership is practised within the factions. The factions are the places in which membership and leadership express how their relations should and do take form inside the party. Factions also express how party members understand power relations and political practices.

Bachelet is identified as a member of the Nueva Izquierda faction, in which she has participated since the party's division. As I described in Chapter Four, the party's division led to a bifurcation of socialist membership into two major groups: Almeydismo and Convergencia Socialista (Chapter 4: 196-209). Bachelet is identified as a member of the Nueva Izquierda faction due to her personal ties with leaders of the faction. Her life experiences as a party member connected her with this faction, particularly her experiences of detention and exile. She was a political prisoner at the Villa Grimaldi concentration camp[73],

[73] Villa Grimaldi was one of the major torture camps in Chile between 1973 and 1978.

and she lived in exile in Eastern Germany like the leaders of Almeydismo, including Clodomiro Almeyda and Camilo Escalona. Bachelet was recognized as a party member historically linked to Almeydismo, where she carried out political activities during the Pinochet dictatorship. In addition, she was a member of the Central Committee of the Party and a city council candidate in 1993. In both cases she represented her faction. This is apparent in the following quotations, which show that party members always identified Bachelet with a faction. While she was not one of the main leaders of the faction, she represented her faction:

"Michelle comes from the Almeydismo branch. She comes from the group which largely remained in Chile (during the dictatorship)". (Paula Quintana, Valparaiso)

"She had several characteristics: (1) she was a friend of the NI, she was never Camilo's preferred candidate but she had a fairly close relationship (with him)". (Juan Azua, Santiago).

"She is first a member of a faction, and subsequently a socialist. She is Nueva Izquierda [New Left] and then socialist". (Cecilia Suarez, Santiago)

"The president came from a faction. She was not someone who did not belong to a faction. She belongs to Camilismo (the faction of Camilos Escalona, Nueva Izquierda leader)". (Carolina Carrera, Santiago)

"She belonged to a faction, the Nueva Izquierda, and we all know that this faction is managed by (Camilo) Escalona and (Osvaldo) Andrade". (Victor del Solar, Valparaiso)

Bachelet's membership of a faction could be understood from Duverger's perspective of political participation. Duverger considers political participation through the perspective of types of solidarities, which he describes as a "collection of communities, a union of small groups dispersed throughout the country (branches, caucuses, locals associations) and linked by co-ordinating

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More than 4,500 people were detained and tortured in the centre and 229 were killed or disappeared.

institutions" (1967: 37). These types of solidarity express how members understand political parties as organisations with social links, whose work is expressed in communities, associations or social orders. Bachelet's factional membership can be linked to Duverger's theory of types of solidarities. Socialist narratives that Bachelet shared with other faction members allowed the development of connections in a similar form to that suggested by Duverger. Those narratives strengthened the status of factions as small communities where members share the same narratives and life experiences, but also linked her persona with the system of solidarity among base membership and the possibility to strengthen it. I previously stated that the patterns of political culture are two separate cultures, and both patterns are linked to Pizzorno's system of solidarity and system of interest. Those systems coexist within the party. However contextual changes strengthened the system of interest over the system of solidarity, reinforcing the practice pattern over the institutional pattern. Bachelet's proximity to the party's narratives and her party membership since the Salvador Allende administration (1970-1973) are important aspects of Bachelet's legitimacy. I identified her definition as an historica as a factor which strengthened her internal appeal amongst party members. She is recognised as a member who has been exclusively socialist. Thus, her persona is linked to socialist narratives shared by the PSCh, such as common life experiences like youth membership during Salvador Allende's administration; detention and torture; and the experience of exile. Bachelet's success highlights the importance of being a party member from youth, with similar life experiences to most other party members, as part of the process of legitimisation in the party. She is linked to the system of solidarity due to these

narratives. The following quotations highlight the relevance of the similarity of life experience, as well as the experience of exile, as a factor. These quotations emphasise the relevance of Bachelet's proximity to the socialist narrative in legitimising her as an historica. Therefore, her nomination as presidential candidate was linked to the institutional patterns of meanings still held by base membership, legitimising her candidacy:

"She was a woman from the base membership. She was part of the PSCh, she was a local council candidate, and she lost". (Osvaldo Acosta, Santiago)

"Her historical membership is an example. She was trained within the Socialist Party. She is a woman and a doctor like Allende". (Eduardo Muñoz, Valparaiso)

"We saw Carlos Lorca[74], Ariel Mancilla, and all our detained and disappeared people reflected in Bachelet". (Camilo Escalona, Santiago)

"Michelle is a woman who has a socialist education. She suffered what many suffered during the dictatorship. And therefore I believe that she represents the socialist soul". (Paddy Ahumada, Valparaíso)

"Yes, she is a very socialist person. She was born into the Socialist Youth. All of the persecution that she suffered was not only for being the daughter of General (Alberto) Bachelet[75], but for been a member of the Socialist Youth. She was very close to Carlos Lorca, a victim of the stupidity of the dictatorship". (Ricardo Nuñez, Santiago).

Bachelet's candidacy can be read as part of the socialist narrative and factional solidarities that legitimise her as member of the party. She is a faction member, of Nueva Izquierda, and an historica among party members. This study argues

[74] The interviewee is referring to the former socialist deputy and leader of the Socialist Youth, Carlos Lorca Tobar. He was a medical doctor (psychiatrist) who led the youth group during Salvador Allende's administration. He was elected as a deputy representing the southern province of Valdivia in 1973. After the 1973 coup, he led the party's reorganization and clandestine activity until his detention and disappearance in 1975. Most of the interviewees agree that Michelle Bachelet had a close relationship with Lorca and other leaders of the youth movement who were killed by the dictatorship.

[75] The father of Michelle Bachelet, Alberto Bachelet, was a brigadier general in the Chilean Airforce who served in Salvador Allende's administration as secretary of the National Directorate of Supply and Commercial Pricing (Direccion Nacional de Abesticimiento y Comercializacion). He was one of the military leaders who opposed the coup in 1973. After the coup, he was detained and died as a consequence of being tortured in 1974.

that forms of participation which legitimised membership in the party contributed to the support of Bachelet by party members. Her nomination combined factional membership and personal life experiences shared with party members, two factors required for legitimate membership. The above quotes confirm the relevance of factional membership and personal history as factors of legitimisation. These factors were recognised, and connected her with Almeydismo and the Nueva Izquierda faction. Thus, historica membership strengthens the socialist narratives experienced by party members since 1973, marked by exile, torture and clandestine life. Also, Bachelet's gender distanced her from the male-dominated political elite within the PSCh. Hence, she is not seen as part of the political establishment who introduced and reinforced neoliberalism within the party. As a result, she is seen as an establishment outsider. This perception also linked her to the institutional pattern because she symbolised pluralism within the party. This issue is addressed at more length below (Pp. 304-310).

The above quotations emphasise the difference between historico and non-historico membership within the party. Bachelet's candidacy differentiated her campaign from that of her predecessor, Ricardo Lagos. Whilst Lagos was a member of the party, his membership in the PPD[76] and his former membership in the Radical Party prevented him from being recognized as a true socialist. By contrast, Bachelet is recognised as a true socialist due to the factors

[76] PPD or Party for Democracy [Partido por la Democraci] is a Chilean party founded in 1987 by former members of the Chilean Radical party, PSCh, MAPU, and Christian Left for facing the 1988 referendum. It was founded as strategic party for this referendum which defeated Augusto Pinochet but it consolidated as a political organization after 1988. Ricardo Lagos was one of its founders. Currently the PPD is member of the Concertación alongside the PSCh.

described above. The following quotations address the differences between Lagos and Bachelet as members of the PSCh:

"The party in the 90s just wanted a socialist president who was more linked to the party's organisation than was the case with Lagos, who was linked to PPD". (Francisco Diaz, Santiago)

"For many socialists she was the first Socialist candidate following the restoration of democracy. Lagos was distant from the party culture". (Mario Mandiola, Valparaiso)

"Firstly, Lagos is not historically a socialist" (Roberto Irribarra, Valparaíso)

"Many people in the party felt that Michelle Bachelet was more socialist than Lagos. They felt she was more ours, not just more socialist because of her actions. (She was a member of) the group, of the (socialist) families". (Marcelo Schilling, Valparaiso).

"We sold Lagos to the Chilean people as a socialist. He was never (a socialist)". (Juan Azua, Santiago)

The above quotations show the differences between Bachelet's and Lagos' membership. Her candidacy was able to connect with the pattern of meanings that differentiated between historicos and non-historicos. This fact legitimised her candidacy, as it strengthened the idea that an historical member of the party would be able to reintroduce pluralism and democracy in the political participation of the party. Due to the fact that she was an historica member of the party, she seemed a true socialist who knew and had lived through the history and tradition of the party. Those narratives support the institutional pattern within the PSCh. Thus she was connected to the institutional pattern because her persona was connected to narratives which strengthened the system of solidarity in the party. This issue kept the base membership behind her persona, uniting base memberships aspirations with elites' goals. During Bachelet's administration, elites deepened the practice pattern also in formal structures, provoking the fragmentation of the party as a result of the base

membership and leadership division. The broken balance between two systems was not solved by Bachelet's nomination. Therefore, that division was stressed during her administration by elites, triggering 2010 party's fragmentation.

The individualization of power relations between leaders and members is also reflected in the importance of these two factors in the nomination of Bachelet. Her life experiences and her factional membership become relevant because her PSCh membership highlights individual connections in political participation. The PSCh membership does not strengthen collective action. The third factor for internal legitimisation is her existing leadership status. Currently the PSCh leaders are identified among mandatarios, state officers who gain those positions because of their connections with faction leaders. For Bachelet, being a mandataria allowed her to be legitimised as a leader within the party. She is a mandataria and a politica. She did not challenge leadership and power relations, but rather, adapted to them as well as the rest of the political elites. She accepted those ideas of leadership and power. Similarly to other mandatarios, she also appealed to the dominant political culture and power elites with the practice pattern.

As noted in the previous chapter, the importance of mandatarios is a result of changes in political relations within the party since the 1990s. Mandatarios are members of the party who have a role of responsibility within the state apparatus or are elected to represent the party in a City Council or in the National Congress. This study has argued that mandatarios are a good example of how political relations function in a highly factionalised party. The

nomination of candidates to become mandatarios depends on the individual links that members have with factional leaders. Therefore, the designation of particular candidates depends on the position they have within the faction, and their proximity to the faction leader. Bachelet's proximity to the leaders of her faction made possible her nomination, firstly as Minister of Health, and secondly as Minister of Defence. Thus, Bachelet's legitimization as a mandataria and a party leader was determined by her relations with faction leaders. The following quotations describe the relationship between Bachelet and leaders of Nueva Izquierda as a relevant issue for her nomination as presidential candidate. These quotes demonstrate the relevance of factional connections in gaining support as a designated mandataria and as a presidential candidate:

"She had strong ties of friendship and trust with Camilo, with Andrade and with the people from the Nueva Izquierda". (Juan Azua, Santiago)

"I would say that from the beginning of her government there was an identification of her administration with the Nueva Izquierda. This was the result of the strong and disciplined support of Camilo Escalona". (Francisco Diaz, Santiago)

In this sense whilst symbolically Bachelet appeared as an outsider, she is actually an insider. She is a mandataria-politica that doesn't challenge dominant political culture or its gendered nature. She also adapts to male authoritarian and hierarchical power embedded in the practice pattern. Thus her victory is not a victory of feminist ideas within the party, but a victory of leadership forms of domination.

As is noted in the above quotations, Bachelet faction's membership explains the support that she gained internally. This study argues that the faction's

support was relevant to her becoming a mandataria and a presidential candidate. I previously suggested that similar life experiences are crucial in establishing membership within a faction. In addition, the relationships established within the factions are marked by the life experiences that leaders and members have in common. The relationship between Michelle Bachelet and the leaders of her faction is characterised by such connections. Bachelet's role as a mandataria gained her public support first as Minister of Health, then as Minister of Defence. This external support from the public enabled her to become a recognised figure in the PSCh. It also made her visible within the PSCh as a potential public leader. The combination of this element with three other factors (membership in a faction, recognition as an historica member, and being named as a mandataria) allowed her position to be legitimised within the party, by both elite and members. This legitimacy led to internal party support for her presidential candidacy. Consequently, this internal support allowed her to overcome gendered participation as well as strong and male personalismos. Her persona was able to unite the party despite tensions in systems of participation inside the party, and frame meanings of pluralism and democracy at the same time that elites were able to ensure authoritarian power.

The base membership associated Bachelet with Salvador Allende, the first member of the Socialist Party to be elected President of Chile in 1970, and overthrown by a military coup in 1973. Like Allende, Bachelet's leadership gained popular support early. In both cases, party support came later. This coincidence strengthened socialist narratives around Bachelet's persona, due to the fact that the membership saw similarities with Allende in her leadership

role. Both were medical doctors who served as Ministers of Health. Both first gained public, rather than party, support. In both cases, being popular leaders allowed them to become presidential candidates. Most importantly, both leaders were historico members. Therefore, socialist narratives linked both leaders. More specifically, Bachelet's persona was linked to socialist historical narratives by the membership. This allowed Bachelet to win internal support for her nomination. Additionally, the membership found in Bachelet an alternative persona to the people known for their factional leadership, connecting the current PSCh with its traditional narratives. Her persona filled the gap between base members and leaders because of the internal criticism previously described. Therefore, the institutional pattern of political participation was connected to her persona because these patterns were understood as the traditional form of political participation. Her persona had appeal due to the institutional pattern and the system of solidarity, the secondary culture of the socialist bases. Members recognised the links between Allende and Bachelet in the following quotations. These quotations explain how Allende-era figures were linked to Bachelet's candidacy:

"(She) made a strong impression on the base membership, and the figure of Allende was reflected in Bachelet". (Juan Azua, Santiago)

"I think the fact that she had completely experienced the process of UP (Popular Unity - Allende's administration). I think that's Allendism. It is a recycling of part of ideas like those from the language of Concertación. But I would say that the leitmotif of these ideas was significantly influenced by Allende". (Osvaldo Acosta, Santiago)

"I link her (Bachelet) to the figure of Allende, as an historic event". (Carolina Carrera, Santiago)

"Somehow it can be understood as a continuity of the government of Salvador Allende. The government of Salvador Allende was a revolutionary government. Our government was not a revolutionary government". (Paula Quintana, Valparaiso)

"Everything is about human rights; it is all linked to the fact that she was a person coming from the world of Allende, the world of the left, the socialism that people

carry in their hearts. Allende´s socialism that people carry in their hearts. I think Michelle meant a lot to this world and I think that it was present in her campaign". (Ana Bells Jara, Santiago)

The connections between Bachelet's persona and historical socialist narratives connected her to the institutional pattern because her persona was attached to the traditional forms of political participation found before 1973. I associate these traditional forms of political participation with the system of solidarity. Base membership that remained in Chile, who took part in Almeydismo and felt excluded and left behind by modernised elites, hold this system and the institutional pattern in formal structures. Therefore, Bachelet is related to a tradition of democratic and pluralistic political participation. In contrast, her role as a faction member and a mandataria shows the influence of the practice pattern because individualised power relations within factions allowed her nomination as a mandataria. Michelle Bachelet's relationship with faction leaders determined, firstly, her role as a mandataria, and secondly, her nomination as presidential candidate. This relationship was based on the proximity of life experiences. The three factors which legitimise Bachelet's membership and leadership are related to both patterns of meanings of political participation found in the PSCh. Bachelet's recognition as an historica creates connections between her persona and the institutional patterns for political participation, which legitimise her for the base membership. Her roles as a mandataria and faction member strengthen the practice pattern. She was recognised as part of this elite and the system of interest supported by them. Similarly to other politicas, Bachelet did not challenge power relations internally or contest the dominant meanings of power. Strong authoritarian

support for her candidature came from factional leaders in order to assure her candidacy. Thus, the political culture impacted on Bachelet's nomination because her legitimacy was established in terms of the patterns of meanings identified with political participation in the PSCh. While the base membership identified Bachelet's persona with the institutional pattern of political participation, the political elite strengthened the practice pattern. She was legitimised as a socialist leader by the base through her role as a mandataria and the popular support gained through her role as minister. As a result, the political elite deepened co-optation and authoritarianism in order to discipline the party to support her nomination. The political elite established hegemony over political decision-making in order to be able to control the party, taking advantage of what Bachelet's persona means for the base membership to deepen and extend authoritarian meanings of power within formal and informal structures. Bachelet's candidacy found internal support because the existence of both systems and the presence of both patterns. The institutional pattern and the system of solidarity strengthened Bachelet's support among the base membership. The practice pattern and the system of interest were used by the political elite to secure her nomination because she was and is part of these political elites.

The presence of these two political cultures can be seen as contradictory. However, the coexistence of both patterns is allowed by party flexibility because of the presence of both the system of solidarity and the system of interest inside the party. The coexistence of both patterns of meanings

produced a tension within political participation. While Bachelet's candidacy within the PSCh is related to the institutional pattern of meanings, disciplinary power was exercised by the faction leadership to protect her nomination, demonstrating the influence of the practice pattern. The next section describes the coexistence of these two patterns of political cultures, and the tension this contradiction caused within the party. Those cultures could coexist in same people but they frame their activity in different spaces; the institutional pattern frames participation within formal structures; the practice pattern shape power relations within factions.

Bachelet's nomination and the patterns of meanings of political participation

Previously I identified three important factors in the legitimacy of Michelle Bachelet as a member and a leader of the PSCh. The presence of both patterns of meanings of political participation reflects a tension over her nomination, because she simultaneously represented these two systems of political participation. Although her candidacy underscores the institutional pattern, the conduct of the party demonstrated the practice pattern of political participation. This section explains this tension between these patterns.

Bachelet and the Institutional Pattern

In Bachelet, the membership identified a symbol of the institutional pattern of participation. The institutional pattern was understood as part of the core set of socialist principles which were weakened due to neoliberalism. The

membership supported Bachelet's nomination due to her appearing to be an outsider in relation to the political establishment. The membership strongly criticised the elite's performance during the Concertación administration. As I stated, strong criticisms emerged during the Ricardo Lagos government (2000-2006), because of the effects of the introduction of neoliberal ideas on the party. This criticism centred on the role of the party in the Concertación (as a leftist party), the PSCh's support for a neoliberal definition of the State, and support for the market economy. Although this critical perspective was found in some documents before 2000, it became more common after Lagos' election. Lagos' election was the first election at which the Concertación had to face a run-off against the right-wing coalition instead of winning an outright victory in the first round[77]. This reduction of electoral support was understood as a punishment of the Concertación for its performance. Members of the party thought that system of interest and individualization of participation lowered the Concertación's support. This deepened criticisms of the Concertación and the PSCh's role within it. Some of the criticism focused on the reorganisation of the coalition (Ominami and Joignat, 2000). Other criticisms centred on the influence that the Concertación had on party policies. Critics focused on the idea of reorganising the party, and the idea that the PSCh might withdraw from the Concertación (PSCh, 1996). This criticism was identified with former PSCh-Almeyda members, grouped in the factions Tercerismo, Colectivo de Identidad Socialista and Nueva Izquierda. Bachelet's candidacy emerged in a

[77] The first election was in December 1999. Ricardo Lagos gained 47% of the vote while Joaquin Lavin, the right-wing candidate, gained 47.51%. In the run-off ballot, Lagos obtained 51.31% while Lavin got 48.69%. Information available at http://www.servel.cl/controls/neochannels/Neo_CH45/neochn45.aspx.

period when party members were critical of Concertación policies and were hoping to reintroduce the traditional ideals of the party regarding revolutionary social and economic transformation, and the role of the State. Members were aspiring to reinforce the system of solidarity. Party base members looked to redefine the party's role as a Marxist party, and to strengthen the party's organisation and membership. Bachelet's nomination was interpreted by party members as an opportunity to recover these socialist ideas, and to reintroduce the institutional pattern within the party. This pattern was in opposition to the real structure of current political participation in the party, which was "permeated by concepts and conduct coming from neoliberalism expressed via an extreme individualism" (PSCh, 2005: 95). Bachelet's identification as an historica member identified her with the institutional pattern, and hence the opportunity to recover socialist values, such as a national and Latin American perspective (Chapter 3: 135-157), and the popular meaning of the party (Cortez Tersi, 2010).

This pattern of meanings is apparent in Bachelet's candidacy, particularly as regards democracy and pluralism. Her initial Campaign Programme shows the presence of this pattern as part of the way in which political participation is described. She addressed the need to "create new spaces of liberty" within Chilean society and to build "a more democratic, more participatory, and less unequal society" (Bachelet Campaign Programme, 2005: 10). These types of ideas were identified with the institutional pattern by the membership, and her candidacy was linked to this pattern as a result. Similar ideas were found in Salvador Allende's candidacy, which might explain the party members' linking

of her with the institutional pattern. Allende focused on economic and political inclusion as part of his understanding of political participation. Pluralism and democracy were apparent in this narrative, which reinforced the connections that party members had with Bachelet's candidacy. Therefore, Bachelet's persona was related to these ideas in spite of her candidacy not supporting a socialist platform. Her nomination was understood as an alternative, as a way to tackle neoliberal ideas within the party and return the organisation to its original form of participation. These quotations identify the institutional pattern within Allende's programme, and how it was similarly found within Bachelet's programme:

"In terms of political structure, the popular government has the double task of preservation, making the democratic rights and the achievement of workers more effective and profound" (Popular Unity Basic Programme of Government 1969:12)

"The multi-party government will be popular. It will be composed of all parties, movements and revolutionaries. So an executive will be truly democratic, representative and cohesive".(Popular Unity Basic Programme of Government1969: 14).

Similar ideas were found in party documents regarding Bachelet´s candidacy. These documents connect Bachelet's candidacy to the institutional pattern. These connections construct the institutional pattern as a socialist method/form of political participation related to the narratives of the system of solidarity. Diversity within the party is related to pluralism in the way in which it was defined in the institutional pattern. Earlier, I linked pluralism to the diversity of social backgrounds of party members and the inclusion of different groups within the party. The following quotations drawn from socialist documents show how the party relates Bachelet's candidacy to this pattern of political

participation:

"Michelle (...) you have the support of your party in everything you need, including our clear conviction that your candidacy must preserve and multiply its appeal, its diversity, and its pluralism". (Gonzalo Martner, Informe al Pleno del Comité Central del PSCh, 2004)

"This theoretical knowledge recognizes the Socialist Party of today and the future that Bachelet represents as being superior to expert knowledge. A party of diversity and criticism, an innovative government for actively listening to people".(Eduardo Rojas, El PS: diversidad y critca, 6).

The above quotations show that Bachelet's candidacy represents the institutional pattern, particularly pluralism. Most of them see her membership of the party as a natural link to political participation as democratic, libertarian and pluralistic. As was noted above, Michelle Bachelet's campaign included these patterns of meanings, and their incorporation into her campaign is identified by members as indicated by the following quotations. Its historical background is what makes their identification easier:

"She has a little romanticism, a bit of the old ideals of PSCh embodied in her character. You can see them, and identify them. It does not correspond to the current leaders of PSCh". (Juan Azua, Santiago)

"Does Bachelet in that sense recover the traditional values of PSCh? Is she more connected to the world that has the liberal ideals of the PSCh...? Bachelet restores a socialist model" (Camilo Escalona, Santiago)

"Much of the hope that she inspired early on in people had to do with a push towards social justice and to freedom. This same idea of citizen´s government, that she coined was related to this". (Marcelo Schilling, Valparaiso)

"In some ways the party feels identified with her. The membership is told that there is no choice but to support her. However, the base membership sees many of Allende´s characteristics in her, as well as elements of PSCh history. There is a more direct identification [than previous candidates], and I link this identification to party political practices, its political culture". (Soledad Barria, Santiago)

The membership saw in Bachelet's nomination an opportunity to address criticisms. She seemed a different type of internal leader, outside the party establishment. Therefore, her candidacy represented an opportunity to shift party policies away from neoliberalism and to reintroduce a style of formal political participation which was plural, democratic and libertarian and to strengthen the system of solidarity. She represented changes in the way that the party was driven by the internal elite.

Pluralism and democracy take two different forms in the persona of Bachelet. Firstly, democracy and pluralism are shaped by the inclusion of neglected sectors of the party, excluded from the elite's hegemony over decision-making. Most of these sectors are connected to Almeydismo, neglected inside the party during the Concertación administration. Most of the members of this sector described themselves as historicos and this fact reinforced the idea that most of the historicos were neglected during the democratic transition. Therefore, Bachelet's candidacy represented democracy and pluralism in political participation, in particular the inclusion of previously neglected sectors in decision-making. Her persona represented for the grassroots membership a symbolic hope for returning to the traditional forms of political participation which had been abandoned since the party's unification and its inclusion in the Concertación. She represented an opportunity for bringing back ideas about pluralism and democracy displaced during the transition to democracy, a period marked by criticism of PSCh conduct. Thus, Bachelet's nomination represented the opportunity to return to a form of political participation that had been used

by the PSCh until 1973. The following quotations support this argument:

"Let me give you a metaphor. The Chilean transition has a very significant moment when it celebrated the triumph of Aylwin, rather than doing it in the Pan American Highway, where everyone could go, it was held at the National Stadium. Invitations were distributed to attend the National Stadium. So, in the Stadium there were 80,000 guests. In the mailing list for these invitations, I am sure there were a significant number of people from the PSCh who did not receive an invitation. That branch of the PSCh never felt fully invited to this party which was about the transition. And with Michelle, one way or another, those who were not invited came into the government".(Osvaldo Puccio, Santiago)

"For a sector of the party it represented the view that now it is our turn, and I think this is expressed in the formation of government from one exclusive perspective". (Cesar Barra, Valparaiso)

Secondly, the issue of gender strengthened the relationship between Bachelet's candidacy and the institutional pattern. The gender issue relates her to these patterns because her candidacy is seen as a way to incorporate women in decision-making. Women, as well as youths and indigenous people, do not have a prominent role in decision-making within the party. Therefore, Bachelet's nomination was seen as a triumph of gender inclusion, and an opportunity to strengthen women's position in the party despite elite male domination. The following quotations reflect the way in which her gender is said to express the inclusion of members excluded from a male-dominated decision–making process. They suggest that Bachelet's candidacy marked a change of gender perspective, and a change in internal leadership style. These quotations demonstrate how Bachelet's persona reflected the hope for gender inclusion within the party, and the possibility to re-frame meanings of power without considering male authoritarianism.

"A bonus was given by the topic of participation. It was given by the topic of closeness. A bonus was given by the fact of being female. Those like me who

experienced the presidential campaign remember that much of the discussion revolved around whether Chile was prepared to be led by a woman president (...) here in Chile that was particularly important. We do not forget that from the point of view of the Chilean cultural matrix, this is a macho, conservative country". (Eduaro Munoz, Valparaiso)

"It also represents a process of cultural change in Chile that a woman assumed the presidency and with her characteristics, divorced, with children outside marriage. There was obviously a cultural change taking place in Chile. To take on the reality of being the female head of household who took care of her family without a man. I think this revolutionized the political culture and established the dream that every woman could be president today in Chile". (Cesa Barra, Valparaiso)

"I think more than gender, Bachelet´s phenomenon permeated into the generation that felt neglected. Women were a sector that fell into this group. I think within this social model, youth is another neglected sector. In that sense, reading between the lines it is now the turn of the young people because women have had their turn (with Bachelet). I think she contributed a lot". (Osvaldo Acosta, Santiago)

Bachelet is interpreted as an outsider figure because she represents the inclusion of neglected sectors within the party, such as groups coming from Almeydismo, and women. Her persona represents a decentralisation in power relations because of the introduction at the centre of power of someone from a group traditionally barred from decision-making. Therefore, her persona was related to a perceived democratization of power and decision-making. Her persona represented a change in this regard and a shift from the system of interest. However, her legitimacy as a member and leader of the party means that Bachelet is also considered as an insider within the party. She fulfils the forms of legitimacy that exists for the practice of leadership and membership. Therefore, she also represents continuity. Her gender means that she can be seen as an outsider to the party elite. This fact is reinforced by her membership of a sector which historically was not involved in party decision-making. However, Bachelet is a PSCh insider in terms of membership and leadership, legitimised both by base members and the elite. Bachelet's candidacy can be seen simultaneously as the candidacy of an outsider and an insider. Thus, she

represents change and continuity at the same time. She emphasized her outsider status during her campaign, both in interviews and in speeches. The following quotations demonstrate that her outsider side was often used and highlighted by her, although she was a political insider:

"I do not belong to the traditional elite. My name is not the surname of the founders of Chile. I was educated in public high school and at the University of Chile". (Michelle Bachelet Campaign Programme, 2005: 1)

"You know, I never had an ambition for power. I only had a vocation to serve". (Michelle Bachelet Inauguration Speech, 11th March 2006)

This aspect is recognized by party members who identified both characteristics in Bachelet's candidacy. Gender and connections with neglected groups strengthen her appearance as an outsider. Also, the idea of the inclusion of the neglected is related to the historicos group because there is the idea that the transition to democracy neglected historicos in particular. However, most of the members, base and elite, recognised that she is part of the elite of the party due to her legitimacy as a member and leader. The recognition of Bachelet by base members and the political elite allowed her to be supported. She represented a bridge and the elites thought they could use her to bridge their crisis and maintain their power. The following quotations address the idea that Bachelet represents a change but also continuity due to her connections with the faction's elites:

"It's a completely different leadership. Michelle has a distinct leadership role within the elite, but still within the elite. She is part of the elite and builds, connects, coordinates and designs policies with the elite". (Eduardo Munoz, Valparaiso)

"She was marked by the feminine side because clearly Bachelet came from a branch not linked to the party elite, despite being a woman of the party. Therefore she was more charismatic than Lagos". (Cesar Barra, Valparaíso)

"Obviously being a member of the party also adds to her profile as a leader because she chooses to participate in politics from a party perspective, and that is her choice". (Ricardo Solari, Santiago)

"I think Bachelet like all the other Socialist Party leaders such as Camilo Escalona, are an expression of the elites. They are transformations of the elite; they are linked to the fundamental and structural phenomena of Chilean society, in my opinion". (Roberto Pizarro, Santiago)

I described above how the institutional pattern of meaning is found in the candidacy of Michelle Bachelet. This thesis argues that the institutional pattern can be identified in her candidacy. In addition, it is suggested that the appeal to the institutional pattern is due to the fact that party members recognize her as an insider. She is legitimised as a member and a leader of the party due to three factors previously described. Those factors were: (1) factional membership; (2) recognition as an historica; (3) her status as a mandataria. It was also argued that party members recognized Bachelet as an outsider because her links with Almeydismo, a group excluded from decision-making. This issue was particularly relevant for the base membership, who saw in her persona symbolic references to the democratization of power and decision-making within the party. In addition, her gender reinforced her appeal as an outsider from the political elite due to the PSCh's reputation as a male-dominated party. Bachelet's persona was also constructed as an insider role by both the elite and the base membership, because she was legitimised as a socialist leader. Therefore, Bachelet's candidacy is defined as simultaneously insider/outsider within the party, allowing the ideas of democracy and pluralism present in the institutional pattern is identified with her nomination. She appears to be an insider because she is a member of the party elite. Thus she represents continuity in the way in which the leadership is constructed internally in the

PSCh. Thus she represented the continuity of practice pattern and the predominance of the system of interest in front of the system of solidarity. However, Bachelet is also an outsider figure due to her gender and her connections to neglected sections of the party such as the Almeydistas. Most of the members of these groups are themselves recognised as historicos. Consequently, Bachelet's persona arises at a conjunction of change and continuity. Her persona represents the aspirations for change, but instead her persona was the continuity of the current culture and participation despite her connections with change. The following pages describe how the practice pattern was identified in Bachelet's candidacy.

Bachelet and the practice pattern

This section focuses on explaining how the practice pattern is also identifiable in Bachelet's candidacy. It is possible to identify homogeneous support for Bachelet's candidacy within the party. This study argues that Bachelet's support was the result of her legitimation as a member and leader of the PSCh. This legitimacy enabled the base membership to link her with the institutional pattern. However, it is also possible to identify the use of internal discipline by factions within the party, particularly coming from the factional elite. Factional elites considered that criticism from within the party could damage Bachelet's candidacy. Additionally, as suggested in chapter three, the PSCh had a tense relationship with Allende's administration because the party considered that the Allende government did not achieve socialist and revolutionary transformations fast enough. The factional elites avoided repeating history and reinforced discipline within the party. The objective was to assure that no-one

inside the party would criticise Bachelet's candidacy. From elites' perspective, it was necessary someone who could bring together the whole party without deepening the existent difference between base membership and leadership. Bachelet was able to bridge momentarily this gap during her nomination and candidacy. During her administration, leaders deepened their authoritarianism and co-optation in order to ensure that the support gained during her campaign did not disintegrate.

Additionally Bachelet was a mandataria and a politica who adapted to the ideas of power relations embedded within the party. Her nomination was a result of the selective incentives and the system of interest present in party participation. She became a mandataria because of her factional membership and her individual relationship with the elite. As a politica, she adopted to the practice pattern. Her nomination showed how the practice pattern works in securing a *mandatario's* nomination and also explains the lack of collective solidarity among politicas for achieving gender's goals. Thus her nomination did not base on feminist goals or gender achievement. It reflected hope and the possibility to re-frame meanings of power, linking those meanings with more pluralism and democracy. But it did not represent that feminist meanings about power were introduced within the institutional pattern. Moreover, her role as mandataria-politica means that she also adapts to male authoritarian and hierarchical power embedded in the practice pattern. Thus her victory was also a victory of leadership forms of domination, which were deepened during her administration.

I would suggest that discipline took the form of authoritarianism over members of the party, and as a result, deepened elite hegemony over decision-making. As a result, the party's conduct was homogenised, without any possibility to dissent against Bachelet's nomination. Leader involved loyalty to the party, framing this loyalty with similar ideas of discipline and obedience found during the New Left period. Thus hope was mixed with fear to repeat Allende's crisis. The legitimacy of Bachelet as a member and a leader of the party and the connection of her persona with the institutional pattern might facilitate the obedience and loyalty of the base membership. But the following quotations also show the existence of internal discipline regarding Bachelet's candidacy. Discipline focused on homogenising the conduct of the PSCh in order to support her nomination:

"An authoritarian tendency is reinforced in order to close ranks for the first two years of a citizen adhesion complex". (Cesar Barra, Valparaiso)

"Ultimately, the PSCh accepted Michelle Bachelet as the (presidential) candidate but according to the different factions, from the perspective of the leaders of the various factions. That issue was not discussed at the grassroots level. The base membership was subsequently informed that Michelle was our candidate". (Paddy Ahumada, Valparaiso)

"I was not very involved in her nomination as a candidate, but her nomination is the result of discipline". (Marcelo Diaz, Valparaiso).

Discipline resulted in a tension between the presences of two patterns of political cultures within the PSCh. Party members identified Bachelet with the institutional pattern, as I described previously. However, regarding her nomination as a candidate, there was a strong internal discipline exercised over members by factional elites. The conjuncture of change and continuity facilitated this tension. Due to Bachelet's persona representing change, the base

membership expected more pluralism and internal democracy for reinforcing the system of solidarity, as described in the previous section. This belief assured loyalty and obedience, strengthening the system of interest found in faction's power relations. However, Bachelet represented continuity to the extent that she was also a member of the elite. Factional elites acted to avoid any criticism that might impact upon an elite member or challenge power relations, partly to ensure that the party would not repeat its conduct during the Allende administration. The next two quotations reflect this tension, which identifies the process of disciplining by the elites, and its acceptance by party members because of loyalty to Bachelet:

"The PSCh worked hard for Bachelet to be elected president. So, I do not agree with the idea that this image has been reinforced as saying that Michelle Bachelet was a phenomenon who was even against the parties, and was imposed by people". (Carmen Andrade, Santiago)

"I think that there is a deterioration in the PSCh internal democracy. If the democratic institutions had worked, the same result would have been reached, and Michelle's election as the presidential candidate would have been supported. But it was the same result in a different way, by way of a very restricted political definition". (Paula Quintana, Valparaiso)

A tension can thus be observed between the support of members for Bachelet, and the factional elites' disciplining of party members in order to homogenise party support for Bachelet. This tension came from the gap between the system of solidarity and the system of interest, which remained linked to the base membership (first one) and the system of interest (elites). Additionally, Bachelet's nomination presented the opportunity to ensure the practice pattern within formal structures, spaces where the institutional pattern was reproduced by base membership. Both issues deepened the division between elites and

membership when Bachelet was nominated. Discipline related to internal authoritarianism within the party, was deepened because the factional elites and party members did not want to repeat the tensions between Salvador Allende and the PSCh. Some members interpret Bachelet's support as reflecting a common agreement within the party to avoid repeating this experience of Allende. Therefore, discipline and obedience reflected the loyalty of the party towards its candidate. The fear of repeating Allende's impasse with the party was a powerful narrative for strengthening the discipline and authoritarianism enforced by the elite. This behaviour was not discussed or challenged by party members during Bachelet's nomination. The criticism of this discipline started after Bachelet's inauguration. The following quotations show how this relationship between former President Allende was framed, and elite how the elite has used those narratives to reinforce internal discipline in order to guarantee support for Bachelet's candidacy. Neither the PSCh leadership nor the membership wanted to repeat the same historic moment with Bachelet, and so allowed internal discipline. As a consequence, authoritarianism was permitted by both members and leaders:

"The reason that causes this authoritarianism was a noble reason. But the way to solve this problem was wrong. This idea was to play a loyalty role if we have our president it is because she is our Michelle or it is because she is part of the alliance, (...) We were never going to do with another president what we did with Allende". (Sergio Aguilo, Santiago)

"A lack of dissent? It was not just a lack of dissent or our own opinion. Only the leaders had an opinion and these leaders had a single purpose, the trauma of Allende. This trauma was basically to not repeat what happened with Allende. But the most brutal authoritarianism was experienced by the Socialist Party thus far I remember". (Marcelo Diaz, Valparaiso)

"The PSCh has had a hyper-responsible behaviour throughout the transition. This behaviour is probably linked to the severe learning process (experienced by the party) as a result of its behaviour during the UP and its relationship with Allende". (Osvaldo Puccio, Santiago)

"I was a member of the executive board throughout her period of government and the PSCh was very loyal (to Bachelet) in its conduct and performance. It did not attempt to impose (its views on her), and it did not have the dramatic tension that characterised Allende's relationship with the Socialist Party in the 70s". (Ricardo Solari, Santiago)

Discipline was facilitated because the strength of practice pattern with the PSCh political culture. Factional leaders reached an agreement in order to gain Bachelet's candidacy and to obtain her nomination as the Concertación's official candidate[78]. A new party leadership was established when Bachelet was nominated as the socialist candidate. Among the new ruling group, there were members of Bachelet's faction and leaders who were historicos like Bachelet. Some of them were part of Almeydista group or experienced exile in East Germany as Bachelet did. This new factional agreement hegemonised decision-making in a new mega-faction called the "New Majority", and deepened authoritarianism and therefore the practice pattern for political participation. This New Majority was led by Ricardo Nuñez (Mega- Tendencia, former president of the PSCh Nuñez), and Camilo Escalona (Almeydismo), the leader of the Nueva Izquierda faction. Both faction leaders were identified as key actors in Bachelet's race to the presidential candidacy nomination. This study suggested that the New Left model of democratic centralism introduced authoritarianism and elite hegemony on decision making in the party. In addition, Socialist Renewal introduced co-optation and conceptualise the previous meanings under more individualized power-relations, deepened by

[78] The Christian Democratic Party nominated Soledad Alvear as its presidential candidate at the same time that Michelle Bachelet was nominated by the PPD and the PSCh. Both candidates had electoral support. It was agreed to organise primary elections in May 2005 for designating the Concertación candidate. However, Soledad Alvear declined to continue her race for the Concertación nomination because of a lack of internal support from her party.

neoliberalist ideas. Consequently, authoritarianism was strengthened by neoliberal ideas. Both groups, Almeydismo and Mega-Tendencia, were linked to the practice pattern. Both groups took part in the New Majority, particularly in the executive of the party. Political participation in Bachelet´s nomination was mainly determined by the practice pattern as exercised between the new ruling factions, reinforced by the elite which assumed the leadership of the party in 2005. Bachelet's candidacy was used to reinforce the practice pattern by the political elite, using the system of interest.

Party documents detailed the change within the party. These documents attempted to justify this change in terms of the necessity for a disciplined party so that Bachelet's candidacy could succeed. The following quotations suggest that factional agreements could make Bachelet's nomination successful within the Concertación. These quotations show how factions were strengthened and played a relevant role in Bachelet's nomination. One outcome arising from the strength of factions was that elite hegemony over decision-making was deepened during her nomination, despite the membership's interpretation of Bachelet's persona as strengthening the institutional pattern. The following quotations support this argument:

"Bachelet was not at risk because Nuñez and Escalona made an executive board which was suited to her"..(Article Como se resolvió la salida del ex presidente de los socialistas)

"(...) The Socialist Party chose Senator Ricardo Nuñez as its new president, from the socialist renovation. His name was proposed as a leader. He has the necessary experience and attributes to lead to the success of its presidential candidate, Michelle Bachelet, and to increase (party) representation in the Parliament". (Articulo Nueva directiva PS da garantías a precandidata Michelle Bachelet)

These quotations show the influence of the New Majority on Bachelet´s candidacy. As a result of this New Majority, hegemony over decision-making, authoritarianism and co-optation were deepened within socialist political participation. Thus the system of interest was strengthened. The New Majority was born as part of Bachelet's nomination, and according to some members, it allowed her nomination. This study argues that the relevance of factions to internal political participation allowed the emergence of this New Majority supporting Bachelet. This was the normal path to follow for a highly factionalised party within individualised power relations. Consequently, factionalism was reinforced, resulting in the strength of the practice pattern as a form of political participation within the Socialist Party because Bachelet's nomination. The practice pattern has shaped the relationship between members and leaders since 2005. The membership accepted the New Majority and supported Bachelet despite the faction leaders' agreements and conduct. In his first speech as President of the PSCh, Ricardo Nuñez made the need for the Party to unconditionally support the candidacy of Michelle Bachelet, with discipline and efficiency, clear:

"Comrades, I have a conviction: Michelle Bachelet will be the president of Chile. But for her to successfully fulfil the mandate of the people, she will require a very solid party and a much disciplined one. We will win, Michelle will be the President; governing will not be easy, because there are many demands made, because there is a tendency towards populism. There is a tendency towards demagoguery, because there are still structural weaknesses in the nation state. Because of all those factors it will not be easy, and therefore, the Socialists have a huge obligation to loyalty, not a blind following which the party did not have with any of the Coalition governments. It is not an uncritical capacity, but an enormous loyalty and discipline".(Informe Politico del Presidente del PSCh, Ricardo Nuñez, 12 de marzo de 2005).

Most of the militants interviewed agreed that her nomination coincided with a

period of authoritarianism, co-optation and hegemony over decision-making. Socialist narratives about Allende and the party were used to support her candidacy. While ideas presented in the institutional pattern were used in her discourses, elites reinforced the practice pattern using Allende's narratives. The practice pattern became the more exercised pattern within internal relations in the party, in both formal and informal structures. This issue deepened the gap between the leadership and membership due to the fact that the institutional pattern as political culture started to lose the spaces where it had remained. Base membership did not accept the new conditions of participation under the practice pattern, ending in the party's fragmentation in 2010. The following quotations illustrate this fact. These quotations identify a factional agreement as being responsible for the deepening of the pattern of practice. These quotations showed that there was homogeneous conduct among factions within the party:

"To say this is the first government of a socialist after Allende is first very unfair to (Ricardo) Lagos, and second is centred on the internal debate which has arisen during the period 2006 to 2008. This debate is characterised by whether you were a dissident to the executive board which was formed by this majority, or whether you were a dissident to the government (of Bachelet). The internal displacement begins here with a more aggressive internal discourse". (Cesar Barra, Valparaiso)

"No, Escalonismo came (into the administration). She basically was involved in... who cannot have asked her to carry out a coup when she was running for president of the Republic. She gave support to the ousting of the President of the Socialist Party (Gonzalo Martner) early in her campaign. Quite brutal". (Carlos Ominami, Santiago)

"So one of the explanations is the party was aligned with the policies of president Bachelet. Beyond her, people also differentiated between Michelle Bachelet and her government. What the Socialist Party did was to align itself with the government, without ever damaging the image of the president". (Paula Quintana, Valparaiso)

"The party tended to play a very authoritarian role because of its trauma, ending up betraying its own vocation, its own sense. (The Party) restricts, narrows, and it does not allow the expression of diversity in the party. This is because of its tremendous fear of being disloyal to a president coming from the party, who the party helped to elect". (Sergio Aguilo, Santiago)

"At that time yes. What happens is that until that time (Bachelet's nomination, 2005), the PSCh still had a plural conception of itself and its project. After this, the party´s vision was predominantly authoritarian and clientelist". (Gonzalo Martner, Santiago)

The above quotations strengthen our argument about the presence of strong discipline within the PSCh supporting Michelle Bachelet's candidacy. The institutional development of the party explains the acceptance of this discipline by members because of the presence of the system of solidarity and the system of interest at the same time, which is reflected in the two patterns of the political culture. Although Bachelet's persona was connected to the institutional pattern and the system of solidarity, the practice pattern and the system of interest were deepened and socialist narratives helped in this process. Therefore, membership loyalty to Bachelet enabled the reinforcement of the practice pattern because party members agreed to discipline their behaviour. This section also argues that the creation of a New Majority among the factional leaders deepened elite hegemony over decision-making. This fact is explained by the incorporation of former members of Almeydismo-NI and Mega-Tendencia in the factional agreement. I linked both groups with the practice pattern, associated with a strong authoritarianism and discipline. As a result, the practice pattern was deepened within political participation during the nomination of Bachelet.

In this chapter, the influence of political cultures on the nomination of Michelle Bachelet as presidential candidate was identified. I suggested that three factors legitimised Bachelet as a member and a leader within the PSCh. These factors are: her membership in a faction; her identity as an historica member; and her role as a mandataria. Bachelet's legitimacy as a member and leader of the

party strengthened the conjunction of both patterns of meanings of political participation in her nomination. Both institutional pattern and practice pattern were connected to her nomination. The first one, the institutional pattern, was found in the inclusion of sectors excluded from the decision-making of the party. Therefore, her candidacy and nomination represent the inclusion of marginal groups as part of the pluralism and democracy which is found within this pattern. The base membership linked her persona with this pattern and supported her on this basis. For them, Bachelet represented a change: a leader from outside the faction elites. However, she was also an insider due to her role as a mandataria and historical member. As a result, her nomination was a continuation of the way in which the internal leadership was already running the party. It did not shift participation from the system of interest to a system of solidarity, and it did not make the institutional pattern the dominant pattern for establishing power relations. Additionally, the practice pattern was visible in the use of strong discipline by factional elites to secure her nomination. Neither membership nor leadership wanted a repeat of the historical moment that the PSCh experienced during Allende's administration. The conjunction of both continuity and change linked her persona with the political cultures of the party. Also, party leaders avoided current criticism of the PSCh's conduct impacting negatively upon Bachelet's nomination. As a result of this conduct, the practice pattern was deepened due to the strengthening of authoritarianism, co-optation and hegemony within the party. A tension within political participation in the party arose over Bachelet's nomination. Members connected her candidacy with the institutional pattern, but the political elite deepened the practice pattern in order to ensure full support for her candidacy.

The next chapter shows the influence of Bachelet's nomination on the PSCh's political cultures.

Chapter 7

Bachelet's influence on the PSCh political culture and on the party as institution

The previous chapters have described the political cultures of the PSCh, and its influence on Michelle Bachelet's nomination. The political cultures of the PSCh were defined as frameworks for action expressed by two patterns of meaning of political participation and power relations. Previous chapters have explained linkages to their formative contexts over three periods which help to conceptualise meanings about power and participation for framing party agency. The first one is named institutional pattern; the second one is called practice pattern. The first pattern was the formal institutional pattern of meaning which defines political participation as democratic, libertarian, and pluralistic, mostly found among base membership. It was conceptualised during the Foundation stage of the party (1933-1956) when the system of solidarity and the idea of community of equals collectively identified with the party's goal was the dominant form of participation. It is a multi-concept pattern formed by meanings about democratic plural and libertarian power. It frames the base membership's agency within formal structures (congress, assemblies or committees). Democracy is conceived as a tolerant form of political participation which has differentiated the PSCh from other leftist parties. Libertarianism is related to the ability of the party to include different ideological approaches within its structure, which can coexist without problems. Pluralism is related to the diverse characteristics in members' backgrounds. The institutional pattern does not consider gender differences

within its community of equals. Rather it focuses on class background. Bachelet's nomination seems to integrate this idea to the pattern, particularly feminist ideas of the inclusion of women. However, this pattern has continued to remain conservative in this regard.

The second pattern is the informal practice pattern which defines political participation in terms of co-optation, authoritarianism and hegemony over decision-making. This pattern is found in the relationship establish between members and leaders in factions, informal type of structures. It was conceptualised by the New Left and Socialist Renewal stages. The first stage integrated authoritarianism and elite hegemony under the collective idea of participation presented in this stage. Those meanings turned into more individualistic ideas of power during the Socialist Renewal stage, which also added co-optation to this multi-conceptual pattern. The practice pattern conceptualised power by the ideas of authoritarianism and co-optation by elites who hegemonised decision making, reinforcing the system of interest within factions. Thus, this pattern embedded a hierarchical meaning of power and allowed the development of clientelistic linkages with faction' members. The meanings of power embedded in this pattern represented male authoritarian power reproduced by socialist politicas within factions who reinforce the gendered relations in those informal structures. . Both patterns were conceptualised during party's institutional development, and reframing by new meanings introduced to the party's agency. Context mediated in this process rather to force the development of those patterns.

I suggested three factors which legitimised Bachelet as a member and leader within PSCh. These factors are: her membership in a faction; her identity as an historica member; and her role as a mandataria. These factors are strengthened by the practice pattern of the PSCh political culture. Thus Bachelet's legitimacy as a member and leader of the PSCh connects her persona with both patterns of meanings. The base membership symbolically connected her persona to the institutional pattern. In particular, she was related to the neglected sectors of the party excluded from decision-making during the transition to democracy. Therefore, the base membership linked her candidacy and nomination to the inclusion of these sectors as part of the pluralism and democracy found in this pattern, meanings connected to the institutional pattern and the system of solidarity. By contrast, the political elite strengthened the practice pattern in the party due to her candidacy. This pattern was reinforced by the factional elites using an historical precedent presented in the socialist narratives. They tried to avoid internal criticism impacting upon Bachelet's candidacy, using the narrative of Allende's crisis to deepen the practice pattern. It is apparent that strong discipline came from the factional elite in order to ensure her nomination. Consequently, the practice pattern has been deepened through the strengthening of authoritarianism, co-optation and hegemony over decision-making within the party. This study suggests that loyalty, linked to the historical momentum among membership and leadership, facilitated the development of the practice pattern during her nomination.

The current chapter focuses on the influence of Michelle Bachelet's candidacy on the PSCh's political cultures. Her nomination deepened the tension within

the PSCh's two political cultures because of the divergence between the base membership and elite understandings of the patterns of meanings. As was previously described, the base membership connected her persona with the institutional pattern, and the political elite reinforced the practice pattern within the party in order to assure her nomination. While the PSCh base membership seeks to strengthen internal participation in a pattern closer to the system of solidarity, the PSCh elite reinforced the system of interest and the practice pattern. Evidence of tensions between the patterns was apparent after her election because internal relation between members and leaders became tense after her election in 2006, and finally fragmented in 2010. While her administration took into account the institutional pattern, particularly through attempts at gender inclusion in her cabinet, the practice pattern were strengthened inside the PSCh. It is suggested that authoritarianism, co-optation and hegemony over decision-making were strengthened during the Bachelet administration in order to ensure membership loyalty to her administration. Discipline was reinforced during these years to ensure the complete obedience of the party and to avoid repeating the historic inertia experienced by the party in the Allende period. The presence of this pattern of political cultures within the PSCh contradicted the base membership's expectations because the practice pattern was reinforced and the system of interest deepened. While Bachelet's administration highlighted the institutional pattern, the PSCh's actual pattern of political participation was marked by authoritarianism, co-optation and hegemony over decision-making in order to ensure the party's loyalty to her administration. Elites reinforced the practice pattern including formal spaces in the party structure where the institutional pattern used to frame base

membership participation. This dynamic was resisted by socialist bases, which saw a threat to the traditional meanings of the party. Consequently a tension appears within party's internal relations. While the system of interest and the practice pattern was held inside factions, base members were able to frame their agency with the institutional pattern and the system of solidarity outside those factions. When socialist elites introduce this pattern within formal structures, the secondary political culture was threatened by elites' dominant culture. This fact deepened the existing division between leaders and members to the point of fragmenting the party in 2010.

This chapter explores in depth the tension resulting from the two patterns of political cultures, and the resulting contradictions. Firstly, it focuses on how Bachelet's persona impacted upon the institutional pattern. I suggest that pluralism was reinforced by her nomination. In particular, I identify gender issues highlighted by her nomination and her administration as being connected to her influence on the PSCh's political cultures. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that the institutional pattern is identifiable in the advancement of gender parity policies over the course of her administration. These policies impacted upon the PSCh. They deepened the tension between the two patterns at the same time that they reflected the two systems of participation. While Bachelet introduced parity policies in her administration, women did not increase their influence within it. This is a first contradiction found within the party, and it occurred because the institutional pattern was not strengthened during Bachelet's administration. On the contrary, politicas within factions and

politicas-mandatarias reproduced patriarchal power relations which deepened the practice pattern. Women remain largely excluded from the PSCh's decision-making process. Women in leadership positions reproduce this pattern to secure their role of mandatarias in the same way that their male counterparts do. The lack of gender solidarity described in Chapter 5 (Pp262-268) prevents politicas from collectively challenging masculine and authoritarian meanings of power. Bachelet's candidacy and election did not change this behaviour. Secondly, the chapter describes how Bachelet's nomination reinforced the practice pattern inside the party. Authoritarianism and co-optation were reinforced within factions as recurring characteristics of power relations. Internal discipline was strengthened by party leaders, who also strengthened their hegemony over decision-making in order to ensure party obedience to Bachelet's administration. This is a second contradiction that can be identified in the influence of Michelle Bachelet on the PSCh's political culture. While the Bachelet administration constructed a Citizens' Government (see below) based in ideas related to system of solidarity, the PSCh's political participation process was driven by authoritarianism, co-optation and hegemony over decision-making, reinforcing the practice pattern. The resultant contradictions deepened the divisions between the base membership and the leadership, and between the central leadership and those leaders excluded from the new factional majority. One consequence was seemed in the 2010 presidential election, when the party divided itself into support for three separate candidates. While the PSCh supported the Concertación´s candidate, two former socialist leaders ran for the presidency outside of the party organization. One, Sergio Arrate, a former Convergencia leader, was supported by the PCCh.

The other, Marcos Enriquez-Ominami, a former socialist deputy, resigned from the party and formed his own party (Progressive Party-Partido Progresista) in order to run in the presidential elections. Both candidates were excluded from the party elites which decided to support the Christian Democrat candidate and not to allow a socialist member to run for the presidency. These events suggest that the practice pattern deepened the fragmentation among the elite and in the party membership. The party split was a clear outcome of the influence of the practice pattern.

Bachelet's influence on the institutional pattern: the first contradiction

It was previously suggested that the institutional pattern was identified with the candidacy of Michelle Bachelet. She was legitimised as a member by the base membership because she was recognized as an historica member of the party and identified by the membership as someone who had been a member of the party all of her life. As I claim in Chapter 6, Bachelet was connected to the symbolic socialist narrative related in particular to the Salvador Allende administration. Bachelet's nomination symbolised the themes of democracy and pluralism because it represented the inclusion of neglected sectors of the PSCh in decision-making. Those meanings were connected to the system of solidarity found among the base membership. One of these sectors is women. Therefore, her candidacy was seen by the base membership as a way to include women in party decision-making and so to improve gendered power relationships and support inclusion in party politics. Focusing on the influence of Bachelet on the political cultures, it is possible to suggest that her

nomination helped to reinforce the importance of gender issues within the PSCh. An example of this influence is the set of parity policies introduced by Bachelet's administration. Michelle Bachelet introduced policies which aimed to strengthen women's political participation in her administration. She stated in her programme that "a parity cabinet between men and women in the Presidential appointees will be formed", and that "a Quota Law to correct the deficit in female political representation will be promoted" (Bachelet Campaign Programme, 2005: 89).

She introduced parity in her cabinet and in the most relevant positions in the public administration for first time in Chile. 50% of the members of her Cabinet were women. 48.3% of vice-ministers and 46.1% of regional governors were women (Freis, 2010: 120). Bachelet's administration created the Boeninger Commission in 2006 to introduce changes in the binominal electoral system. One of the recommendations coming from the commission was to incorporate a mechanism which would increase women's participation in politics. One outcome coming from this commission was the Quota Law Bill that Bachelet's administration passed to the National Congress in 2007. This bill stated that (1) each gender may not have more than 70% in executive boards and candidates list which were presented in popular elections; (2) a financial incentive would be introduced for parties to increase the numbers of women candidates in elections; (3) the law would encourage equal opportunities for membership and balanced participation within political

parties' organizations[79]. Similar to other attempts to introduce a Quota Law, it did not succeed, due to the lack of commitment from political parties. The Concertación parties did not support this bill in the National Congress. This event included the PSCh elites in gender issues which were outside their core narratives. For those narratives gender policies were invisible, and passing a quota law and gender equality were not a priority.

The feminist membership pressed for greater pluralism within the Socialist Party on gender issues as a result of the Bachelet administration's policies. They pressed for gender issues becoming part of the party agenda through seminars. Some of them suggested that this pressure led to positive results in elections. I would suggest that this was a result of Bachelet's election because the membership linked Bachelet's persona with the institutional pattern, particularly the aim of democratising the party leadership by the inclusion of previously excluded sectors, and women being one of them by the inclusion of gender questions and issues into party politics. The role of the outsider Bachelet led to an apparent change in the status of gender issues within the party. This was perceived by base members, who connected the election of Bachelet as president in 2006 to the growing incentives for the discussion of gender issues within the party. After her nomination and election as president, the base membership was more willing to address gender inclusion themes than before her nomination. The following quotations support this argument. These

[79] Quota Law: Women in Politics. Chilean National Congress Press. Accessed 08.03.2012 [http://www.bcn.cl/de-que-se-habla/femicidio-una-nueva-prioridad]

quotations address positive outcomes on gender issues due to Bachelet´s nomination, outcomes in relation to which it is possible to identify the impact of pluralism in the PSCh's membership. This outcome is confirmed by the base membership and leadership, who describe the positive impact of Bachelet's election on gender issues. This impact is highlighted as a way to democratise power within the political elite through the introduction of women into the party leadership. Therefore, pluralism is linked to the integration of women in the party bodies, and the democratization of power as a result of this inclusion.

"Talking about gender equality and quotas occurred more often, and this is an issue on which Michelle Bachelet sets the agenda, and it influences the PSCh. She also influenced other parties, but mainly the PSCh. More workshops, more women's meetings took place". (Carolina Rey, Valparaiso)

"I think the change that hit the party was the gender issue, and it generated a change in the feeling of the base membership". (Paula Quintana, Valparaiso)

"Today's election makes a difference from the previous years because 100% of the women who make up the central committee were themselves elected. And we have a system that needs to have 30% of women in the Central Committee. In all of the previous elections, the women have voted for men. Women had to replace the men who received the fewest votes. This is how they let a woman be elected. In this election it was the opposite. All of the women were elected by their own votes and with a very high percentage of votes". (Denisse Pascal Allende, Valparaiso)

"Michelle demanded parity in the party, and she still has not succeeded (in this) because machismo (sexism) is hard to overcome (…). We just set up an executive board with eight men and one woman, but the political committee comprised 40% of women." (Sergio Aguilo, Santiago)

"I'm seeing a change in practices that progresses to higher levels, but (this trend) has not yet come to the board. (This trend) is already found in the central committee, in the political commission. This approach is found even in the candidates list of the current president. I think this (issue) is a clear evidence of the president's influence in the party, and of cultural change". (Soledad Barría, Santiago)

Despite this positive view of the impact of Bachelet's nomination inside the party, gender issues in some fields were not modified at all. Bachelet's

nomination and elections was not a feminist victory and it did not integrate feminist goals into party political cultures. Although meanings about plural and democratic power were linked to her persona, the institutional pattern has not being re-framed by gender inclusion and feminist goals. Those themes still remain secondary themes within the party. Additionally the practice pattern continues being framed by a male authoritarian and hierarchical power within elites, which are not able to support feminist goals because those goals are invisible to their core narratives as I previously suggested. The following data support both statements. Female candidates for the last city council elections in 2008 were 28% of the total candidates. Of the total number of female candidates for mayors (19), only three were elected. The number of female members of the PSCh elected as communal councillors was higher, 291 from 742 candidates in total (Freis 2010, 129-129). But this was still only 39% of the total candidates, well short of parity. Female representation within the party organisation occurs at lower rates than those found in city council representation. In 2006, when Bachelet inaugurated her administration, just 16.6% of the elected positions inside parties were occupied by women. In the 2009 Congressional elections, women increased their participation in the Senate (12.5%) but suffered decreased participation in the Chamber of Deputies (14.2%). The PSCh increased by 6 percentage points the number of elected female candidates in the Congress, but the data shows that this trend was not reflected in the party organisation.

PSCh is still a male dominated party with elites that reproduce male authoritarian power in formal and informal structures. This data confirmed that

socialist politicas have not challenge collectively internal power relations, maintaining male dominated leadership. Socialist politicas have adapted to these male-dominated ideas of power and leadership in the same way that their male counterparts in the base membership and the leadership. While politicas are pressuring for more spaces for gender inclusion and linking those ideas with the institutional pattern, they are also reproducing the dominant political culture within informal structures. They have turned into traditional masculinised subjects who reproduce the masculine ideas of power despite their feminist discourses. They do not challenge those ideas collectively because they have not been able to strengthen gender solidarities within formal and informal structures. Therefore, Bachelet's nomination and election was not a feminist victory which is possible to understand under a gender approach. On the contrary, her victory has reinforced authoritarian and co-optative meanings of power within party's structures. This contradiction is explained by the role that the party's political cultures have played to support her nomination. Meanings and ideas about plural and democratic power were linked to her persona by base membership, hoping to strengthen institutional pattern and the system of solidarity. However, elites reinforced the practice pattern and the system of interest, particularly meanings and ideas of male authoritarian, co-optative and hierarchical power. This is the first contradiction found as a result of her nomination. While she represented the institutional pattern on gender issues, particularly pluralism due to gender inclusion, the party is not reproducing this pattern and is instead reinforcing the practice one. Bachelet's parity policies were not adopted by the party organization during her administration.

The data and the following quotations demonstrate that decision-making within the party can still be characterized as male-dominated. The institutional pattern was not reinforced, and the political elite remained male-dominated so reproducing the same lines of inclusion and exclusion and patronage (elitizacion). The democratization of the leadership through the inclusion of new actors such as women was prevented by the practice pattern which strengthened authoritarian relationships between members and leaders. This pattern acted as a barrier to women who were not able to act collectively to increase their representation in the party executive. On the contrary, politicas continue framing their ideas of power through the practice pattern. Additionally, politicas have not been able to re-frame the institutional pattern under their ideas of inclusive power. After her election and her administration, the described ideas about gender inclusion linked to meanings of democratic and pluralistic power were not found. Still the institutional pattern is linked to class background when pluralism and democracy are described by base members. Gender inclusion is not considered. Thus, Bachelet's influence on the PSCh political cultures involved a contradiction, because it reinforced the practice pattern and male authoritarian meanings of power rather than a pluralistic and democratic idea of participation from a gender perspective. In contrast, individualised political participation has fragmented women's participation within the party, and the practice pattern has prevented a re-collectivised political participation by women. The lack of solidarity among politicas has not changed. Authoritarianism and co-optation within factions have acted as barriers to strengthening women's participation from a collective perspective, as factional politics are highly masculinised. Politicas still did not

challenge and transform masculine power relations but adapted to them. Therefore, Bachelet's influence represents continuity despite symbolically she represents change and embody hope for the base. Politicas have continued to frame their participation with gendered approaches found in both political cultures and their lack of solidarity have prevent them to challenge those meanings collectively. The PSCh has kept its patriarchal model of power relations. This is suggested in the following quotes:

"I think her influence to seek gender equality is not reflected in the party. The balance between both genders in her cabinet and the sample that she gave during her entire premiership is not reflected in the party executive today. I would say that (she) allowed women to feel really able to face new challenges. I do not think (her) influence has been so strong in that sense". (Denisse Pascal Allende, Valparaiso).

"The public approves of (Bachelet's being) a woman. (The public) not only approves of her but it approves of her way of relating to people, her way of doing politics even though it is a way centred on the media. Perhaps there are other ways; maybe these ways are not so popular so they are not considered. I think the Socialist Party is the party that cares the least (about gender). I remember saying to Osvaldo (Andrade, president of the party) that you promote parity policies in your campaign and now you have not supported women, not one". (Ana Bells Jara, Santiago)

The above quotations demonstrate the tension identified between the patterns of political participation in Bachelet's candidacy. Her persona was linked to the inclusion of neglected sectors, in particular women, and the democratization of power relations. There is evidence that her administration did work to achieve this goal during its first years. However, the party did not alter the composition of political elites within the party. On the contrary, the PSCh retained its patriarchal model of power relations within decision-making, and the political elite remained male-dominated. Although mandatarias are found among the party elite during the Bachelet administration, a greater influence of female leaders on decision-making within the party was not apparent. Leadership in

factions remains male-dominated, as demonstrated by the last internal elections of the PSCh in 2010.

Bachelet's internal legitimacy was affected by the contradiction in relation to gender inclusion, because her persona was connected to the masculine models of power relations embedded in faction dynamics. Bachelet's legitimacy was affected by the strengthening of the practice pattern in the party's political participation. Her factional membership and mandataria role undermined her internal support, because her persona was connected with the factional agreement which dominated the party during her administration. This was the outcome of a second contradiction identified in the influence of Bachelet's candidacy on the PSCh political cultures. While her persona was symbolically linked to the institutional pattern by the base membership, the political elite reinforced the practice pattern in order to assure membership support and loyalty to her administration. This pattern did not remain exclusively as power relations within factions, but was used by elites for framing power relations within formal structures, spaces where the institutional pattern was still used by base membership. Therefore, the institutional pattern did not deeply influence the PSCh's conduct because the factional elite reinforced the practice pattern to discipline the conduct of party members. On the contrary, it was threatened by the inclusion of meanings of authoritarian and co-optative power in formal spaces of participation. The next section describes how the practice pattern was deepened as a result of Bachelet's nomination.

Bachelet's influence on the practice pattern: second contradiction

The previous section described the first contradiction within the institutional pattern. This contradiction was linked to gender issues within the PSCh. Although Michelle Bachelet's candidacy represented the inclusion of neglected sectors, such as women, the party did not alter the composition of its political elite. As a result, the political elite of the PSCh remained male-dominated elite. This scenario was not challenged by socialist politicas who adapted to the practice pattern, reproducing male and patriarchal ideas of power embedded in the practice pattern. Despite Bachelet's persona being linked to the possibility of gender inclusion within elites by socialist politicas, they were not able to re-frame the ideas of democracy and pluralism embedded in the institutional pattern after her election. Politicas have continued using both political cultures without integrating gender inclusion within the institutional pattern or transform authoritarian ideas of power embedded in the practice pattern. The lack of solidarities found among politicas has prevented any possibility to collectivise those meanings and challenge the current political cultures.

The second contradiction found in the interviews is related to the practice pattern. Bachelet's candidacy and nomination were connected to the institutional pattern, particularly pluralism, as previously discussed. The practice pattern was deepened and strengthened by the political elite, first in order to assure party support for her candidacy, and secondly to assure party support for her administration. Discipline was apparent in the relationship between members and leaders in the party, in order to secure internal support for her nomination. It can be suggested that the practice pattern was deepened

during her administration in order to ensure party loyalty and obedience. The membership did not challenge elite control during Bachelet's candidacy because the narratives of Allende's administration deterred them from challenging elite domination. The base membership initially accepted the control and discipline imposed by the elite in order to prevent a repetition of the Allende experience. When the elites framed their power relations using the practice patter within formal structures after her election as president, base membership resisted to reproduce this political culture in formal spaces. The system of solidarity and the institutional pattern were used within formal structures by the base membership, which allow this culture to be reproduced even in new generations. The changes in elite behaviour threatened the survival of this particular culture. Authoritarianism, co-optation and hegemony over decision-making were strengthened during the Bachelet period within formal structures of the party which was not seemed in the party before. The following quotations show that authoritarianism was a key factor in political participation within the party during Bachelet's administration. Also, the following quotations demonstrate that the deepening of the practice pattern by the factional elites was resisted amongst the base membership during Bachelet's administration. These quotations show that the initial deepening of the practice pattern by elites for assuring the complete support of the membership to her nomination turned into the complete control of the party by those elites during her administration. Factional elites used and deepened the practice pattern in their relationship with the base membership for controlling the party completely. The division between membership and leadership was consequently deepened to the point that the resistance from base membership

led to the fragmentation of the party.

"We have to remember that public support (for the Bachelet administration) fell to quite low levels in June 2008. This (issue) clearly reinforces the view that the logic of dissent here, the different opinions towards her government, must be silenced". (Cesar Barra, Valparaiso)

"No, Bachelet was not imposed on us by the elites, she was imposed on us by the impression of citizens yearning for change and identifying with her. The Party was subjected to this phenomenon and the Socialist Party was disciplined around this phenomenon. And (the party) brutally reinforced its political action. The Socialist Party was politically and mentally silenced during the Bachelet period". (Marcelo Diaz, Valparaiso)

"The Socialist Party supported her, but the party also supported her as an act of discipline because it was the decision. In fact it was the opinion that Camilo Escalona as president of the Socialist Party had always held (that decisions must be supported), even when such decisions may be contrary to the opinion of the majority (of the party) or be contrary to socialist ideas". (Paula Quintana, Valparaiso)

The above quotation describes how the practice pattern was strengthened within the PSCh so as to ensure internal support for Bachelet's administration. Discipline and obedience of members became key goals for the factional elites to control the party. These quotations also demonstrate the tension between the institutional pattern linking to her persona by the base membership, and the practice pattern reinforced by the factional elite. While the institutional pattern is identified with the government of Bachelet, the practice pattern is mostly observed within the PSCh. Furthermore, the contradiction between the two patterns was deepened by Bachelet's administration. Bachelet's administration focused on deepening citizen participation in decision-making, encouraging ideas that members identified with system of solidarity and the institutional pattern. Taking into account the disenchantment of civil society with political parties, Bachelet's administration introduced the model of citizen government

[Gobierno Ciudadano] to assure citizen participation in State institutions' decision-making. During her campaign, Bachelet conducted public meetings with local communities so as to develop her political programme. These meeting were named Citizens' Dialogues [Dialogos Ciudadanos] and they were described as a method for developing a more inclusive political programme, taking into account the opinion of civil society (Bachelet 2005, Introduction). Thus, after her election, the Citizens' Government was the continuity of the Citizens' Dialogues. The objectives of the Citizens' Government were to empower citizenship and to stimulate forms of citizens' participation which impact upon the development of State policies (Bachelet Campaign Programme 2005, 80). This programme was developed through the Citizenship Participation Agenda [Agenda Pro Participación Ciudadana 2006-2010]. This agenda centred on four areas: (1) citizens' rights to information; (2) participatory governance; (3) the strengthening of civil society; and (4) eliminating discrimination and promoting social diversity. The main outcome of this agenda was the establishment of frequent meetings between public authorities and local communities in order to strengthen civil society participation in public policies. In particular, town council meetings and dialogues were organized to discuss budget issues and the implementation of public policies. The membership understood those ideas as part of the institutional pattern and the system of solidarity, particularly democracy.

These public policies implemented by Bachelet's administration went in the opposite direction to the PSCh's internal developments in political participation. The reinforcement of the practice pattern by the political elite did not extend the inclusive form of political participation used in government.

While the base membership was seeing these policies enacted by Bachelet's government, the political elite was dominating the party using authoritarianism and co-optation, deepening the system of interest and the practice pattern. The practice pattern was not limited to informal spaces of factions, but used to frame the power relations of membership and leadership within formal structures where the institutional pattern remained a secondary political culture. This contradiction is depicted in the following quotation, which explains how both patterns are found in the party yet contradict the aims of the Bachelet campaign and administration. This contradiction led the party's bases to resist the imposition of the practice pattern within all spaces of participation. Bases membership was able to frame their power relations by the practice pattern within factions. Also it was able to frame membership relations in formal spaces by the institutional pattern. This core issue allowed the party to support two political cultures linked with two system of participation because they were articulated in two separated spaces. When elites reinforce the practice pattern outside factions, bases membership resisted to the point of fragmenting the party.

"By contrast, I think that this is the stage in the transition process where the Socialist Party is broken internally. An internal environment of persecution is created. I do not want to call it purging, but it is an internal environment of purging, a lack of tolerance for internal dissent. I think that during the premiership of Michelle Bachelet, the Socialist Party´s internal environment was different to that of Bachelet's administration. While Michelle Bachelet spoke of a government linked to citizenship, the Socialist Party was subject to internal forces based on dispute and disqualification". (Cesar Barra, Valparaiso)

The above quotation suggests that the practice pattern was the pattern which characterised political participation within the PSCh in both formal and

informal structures. The base membership recognised this contradiction, and resisted the imposition of the practice pattern in all party's spaces of participation. This issue impacted negatively on Bachelet's internal legitimacy within the PSCh. Her factional membership was understood as the factor which explains her faction's internal conduct, particularly the agreement settled on by the New Majority and its implementation of internal authoritarianism and co-optation. Due to the fact that the practice pattern was strengthened by the factional leadership to ensure membership loyalty to her administration, party members linked the faction's conduct to her role as leader. As a mandataria and politica, Bachelet adapted to the dominant meanings of power. As is the case with many leaders, she reproduced the practice pattern during her administration as the following quotation shows:

"She, basically, was involved in(…) They have to ask her (Bachelet) for making the coup when she was running for president of Chile. She agreed to the defenestration of President of the Socialist Party (Martner) at the start of her campaign. (The event was) extremely brutal". (Carlos Oninami, Santiago)

Additionally, Bachelet's membership of a faction reinforced the idea among the base membership that co-optation and authoritarianism were consequences of her personal connections with this faction. This perception undermined her internal legitimacy as a party leader. The power-relations based on the exercise of hegemony by factional leaders overstep to formal structures where the institutional pattern used to frame memberships relations. As I previously stated, factions were the spaces for major decision making and political agreement. Formal structures were left as secondary spaces where political decisions were not made. This characteristic permitted the institutional pattern

to be reproduced as a secondary political culture for framing membership relations within those spaces. Factions were the informal structures where obedience was built and authoritarian meanings of power were used. Formal structures such as congresses and assemblies were not dominated by those meanings because they were used by base membership to reproduce the system of solidarity and the institutional pattern without influencing elites' decision making. When authoritarian meanings of power were exercised in those spaces for controlling party members, base membership resisted elites. The following quotations support this argument. These quotations explain how the practice pattern and the system of interest were strengthened by elites because of the perceived need for obedience to the administration of Bachelet. Therefore, factions and formal structures practised the co-optation of party members so as to maintain their obedience. These quotations also reveal how Bachelet's legitimacy as a party leader was undermined because she was identified with the group of leaders who agreed to drive the party through authoritarianism and co-optation (the practice pattern):

"Her candidacy and government reinforced exclusionary conduct. To some extent it strengthened factions. Ones which did applaud her and some others were demanding changes. The leaders continued their co-decision-making policies". (Roberto Irribarra, Valparaiso)

"Bachelet's government committed a big mistake in my opinion. It did not govern with other parties, but with party factions and that is a very delicate situation".(Marco Enriquez-Ominami, San Jose- Costa Rica)

"I have the impression that the party has become increasingly undemocratic. I do not say that this is the result of a type of sector. I am not so closed-minded. (...) But I do believe that these things like factions have destroyed the internal democracy and that this means that no political decision is ultimately a sovereign decision. It's all factional agreements". (Ana Bells Jara, Santiago)

The above quotations show that factions also strengthened their role within the party to the point to be made unnecessary the presence of formal structures. As a result, the hegemony of the elite over decision-making was reinforced. Factional leaders, not party bodies, were responsible for leading the party. This change was observed in the composition of the New Majority from among the factions which supported the candidacy of Bachelet and achieved her victory in the elections of 2005-2006. Therefore, I would suggest that Michelle Bachelet´s administration reinforced the importance of factional leaders in deciding issues such as the selection of external candidates. The influence of formal party bodies over decision-making was reduced, because they lacked effective power. In contrast, the New Majority agreement strengthened the hegemony of factional elites over decision-making.

This issue impacted on the relationship between mandatarios and officials. I stated that both mandatarios and party officials had a strained relationship because of mandatarios hegemonising decision making (Chapter 5: 269-283). During Bachelet's administration, this tension increased, because the importance of a parallel bureaucracy inside the party was reinforced. Thus, party official were unnecessary positions during this period because they do not influence at all in the decision making at any level of the party. The following quotations demonstrate that, during her administration, elites hegemonised and centralised decision-making. Mandatarios centralized decision-making through factional agreements. As a result, party decisions were exclusively adopted by elites located at the local, regional, and national

levels. Therefore, party officials did not show significant influence in driving the party, because many decisions were taken out of the hands of party bodies. These decisions were taken in the National Congress or in the State apparatus where the mandatarios developed their daily activities. The following quotations identify the influence of Bachelet's persona on the reinforcement of the factions and their elites:

"If you analyse her behaviour in front of the PSCh, for her the PSCh was the party's leadership, Escalona and his boys". (Paddy Ahumana, Valparaiso)

"The intervention at the most recent Congress of the PSCh in Panimávida (2007) … It was something extremely shocking. The first issue was the tribute to the fallen people. For a party that has claimed to be the focal point of the Chilean left and its references are Allende, Almeyda and Lorca, it is an extremely narrow vision. And secondly she (Bachelet) intervened grossly in favour of Escalona in the Congress". (Carlos Ominami, Santiago)

"However, her influence on party life was dramatically felt during her administration. For the first time, a Chilean president did not respect the internal diversity of the party and she clearly supported her closest (people) for positions". (Mario Mandiola, Valparaiso)

The hegemony of factional elites over decision-making also deepened the co-optation of party members. Co-optation was intensified in power-relationships between members and leaders due to elite hegemony. Co-optation was applied among mandatarios who were looking to gain another term in office or to keep their positions inside the State apparatus. Due to the fact that nominations for external elections (Congress, city councils) or for State positions remained with the factional leadership, elites used their informal prerogative to ensure the obedience of mandatarios at regional and local levels. Consequently, mandatarios accepted co-optation to ensure the continuity of their careers in their constituencies or in public office. The conduct described above enabled co-optation to be commonly used by leaders to ensure obedience and loyalty

not just to Bachelet's administration but to the factional agreements and elite hegemony built as a result of her nomination. This elite hegemony was also accepted by those members who wanted access to positions of power within the factions and those who wanted to build civil service careers in the State apparatus. The following quotations support this argument:

"No, she did not democratise the political culture of the party. There was a deepening of clientelism and she indirectly and consistently intervened in party life through (mandatario) appointments. These appointments practically excluded or vetoed anyone who disagreed with the Escalona leadership. By her support of the party executive, authoritarianism within the party deepened". (Mario Mandiola, Valparaiso)

"Did her influence exacerbate factions? Of course. A couple of years ago Isabel Allende made public statements regarding Michelle Bachelet. She said in those statements that Bachelet gives positions to Escalona's friends. These things happened. It did not have any kind of impact on the PSCh. There was no reaction to this issue".(Paddy Ahumana, Valparaiso)

"There is clientelism, there is a relationship between the bases and elites, the masses vote for good leadership to the extent that it will mean some kind of benefit (for them). And the elites have a link to the dough, allowing them to maintain their power". (Roberto Pizarro, Santiago)

The above quotations explain the connections between hegemony over decision-making and co-optation. These quotations demonstrate that factional elites maintained hegemony over decision-making by co-optation and authoritarianism. Co-optation has clientelistic characteristics because it was the leaders who hegemonised decision-making, seeking to guarantee the factional agreements made because of Bachelet's nomination as presidential candidate. These agreements allowed them to control and drive the party using the practice pattern within factions but now extended them to the formal structure, deepening the system of interest in political participation. These behaviours were resisted by base membership who did not seek to turn into mandatarios as

they were looking to maintain the institutional pattern and the system of solidarity within formal structures. The bases resisted elites control and challenged elites' hegemony to the point of fragmenting the party in 2010. Three political groups came from this event.

Party' elites supported Christian Democratic candidate, former president Eduardo Frei, as Concertacion candidate. Unlike with Lagos or Bachelet where it was made or it was scheduled to conduct an election where Concertacion bases elect their candidates; Frei's nomination was agreed by Concertacion elites. Socialist leaders were banned from challenging this nomination and bases were not allowed to support other candidate rather than Frei. This event sealed the party's fragmentations as the base membership as well as some leaders did not tolerate elite imposition. The resistance to elite control turned into a new party fragmentation. Base members and some leaders created the Progressive party in 2010 to support the candidacy of Marcos Enriquez-Ominami. This party grouped socialist bases defined as historicos and no-historicos that resisted the elites' control. Other groups led by Jorge Arrate, a former Convergencia leader, left the party to support his presidential candidacy. In 2011 they created Movimiento Amplio de Izquierda (Wide Left Movement-MAIZ), which include non-historicos socialist bases. A third political organisation was created by historicos socialist basis that joined the party in 1980s. Those bases created Movimiento Amplio Social-MAS (Wide Social Movement) led by the deputy Alejandro Navaro. This group supported

Arrate's candidacy in 2010 but it did not integrate MAIZ. The bases that remained in the party supported Concertacion's candidate.

This event shows that elites had eroded the party institutionality and cohesion gained during Bachelet's nomination in 2005. The bridge that her persona represented between elites and base was not able to resist internal division based on two political cultures that were able to coexist within the structure. One culture, the institutional pattern, was found in base members who frame their participation by this pattern and the system of solidarity. The other culture, practice pattern, frames power relations within factions, informal spaces driving by system of interest. The institutional pattern was a secondary culture used in those spaces where decisions were not made. The practice pattern was the dominant culture because it was used by elites to control factions, informal spaces where all the main decision are made. When the practice pattern was reinforced in formal spaces, the existed division between members and leaders was taken to the point to fragment the party and weakened it as political institution.

This chapter focused on the influence of Michelle Bachelet's nomination as presidential candidate on the PSCh political cultures and the party as institution. I argued that the influence of her nomination is apparent in the tension between the two political cultures, which represented two system of political participation, system of solidarity and system of interest. Two

contradictions were found to result from this tension. First, the base membership linked her persona with the institutional pattern, through the identification with a position of pluralism in gender policies. In particular, I identified gender issues as being highlighted by her nomination and her subsequent administration. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that the institutional pattern can be identified through the inclusion of gender policies during her administration. However women still remain excluded from the PSCh's decision-making, and politicas were not able to frame the institutional pattern with gender meanings or to challenge male authority embedded in the practice pattern. This is the first contradiction identified because her election. The institutional pattern highlights gender inclusion in Bachelet's administration, but party conduct was in opposition to this goal; politicas did not challenge this scenario. They adopted and framed their participation using both patterns in the same way that their male counterparts did. The lack of solidarity among politicas has been a factor which has stopped them to collective challenge male authority and effectively re-frames pluralism and democracy by feminist goals.

Second, I argued that during her administration, the practice pattern was reinforced in the party, even shaping membership relations within formal structures. There is a contradiction coming from the presence of both two patterns within the party. While the institutional pattern was a secondary political culture framing participation in formal structures, the practice pattern was the dominant culture for power relations within the factions, spaces

controlled by party's elites for securing their decisions and positions. Elites' discipline and control within the party persisted after her election, in order to ensure party obedience during her administration. These control and discipline was framed by the practice pattern meanings of power. Thus, authoritarianism was deepened within the PSCh, and no internal dissent to Bachelet's administration was allowed inside the party. Factions became the primary spaces for the control of members, overlapping party's formal structures. In addition, hegemony over decision-making was deepened by the elite, and internal co-optation was intensified.

This contradiction led to base membership resisted elites' conduct to the point to erode party's insitutionality and to fragment it in three separate forces. This contradiction was based on the threat to the institutional pattern as secondary culture. The imposition of the practice pattern within formal and informal structures threatened the institutional pattern and the system of solidarity which had managed to survive within formal but weak structures. This threat led to base membership to resist elites' control and discipline and to homogenise party's political culture by the practice pattern.

This second contradiction undermines her legitimacy as party leader, due to the fact that base members connected the practice pattern to the negative impact that her factional membership and role as mandataria had on the party. The reinforcement of the practice pattern by the factional elite during her

administration was understood not just to assure party loyalty, but to strengthen factional hegemony and control over decision-making. As a result, the base membership constructed a cleavage between Bachelet as a socialist leader and Bachelet as president of Chile. The first persona lost support from the party membership. Her internal legitimacy was undermined because the base membership connected her persona with the strengthening of the practice pattern by the elites.

Conclusions

Political Culture in Comparative Perspective

This study has addressed the influence of the PSCh political culture on the nomination of Michelle Bachelet as presidential candidate in 2005. Particularly it has conceptualised the PSCh political cultures in order to understand how those cultures framed intra- party agency and influenced political outcomes. I have showed how the nomination of Michelle Bachelet, a Marxist single mother, as presidential candidate can be explained by the interaction and influence of these two political cultures of the party. This answers the research puzzle as it moves us beyond the limits of a purely institutional analysis, an analysis of elite behaviour or a focus on culture that only conceptualises gendered power relationships. Instead it suggests the need to break down the black box of political parties to understand the complex role that history, experience and solidarities have in the formation of patterns of differential meanings in dominant political cultures and sub-cultures, and how these explain adaptability, outcomes and tensions in party institutionality and power.

This final chapter examines the analytic use of political culture of a party in a more comparative perspective. It looks at how this study deepens our knowledge of a party´s agency and political cultures by refining and developing analytic tools that help us to analyse the complexities of internal power dynamics and agency within political parties. It helps to explain the

questions of continuity, adaptability but also crisis and processes which erode a party's institution. It also contributes to our understanding of changes in labour parties in contemporary societies, both within Latin America and abroad. It looks at the influence that contextual changes have within membership and leadership relations. Particularly it focuses on the way in which those changes allow political cultures to develop within a party. The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first one addresses the contributions of this research to the study of political parties and the role of political culture in understanding its internal agency. The second section takes into account the contributions of this research to the study of labour based parties and their counterparts in Latin America. The last section engages with the role of gender in political culture and party agency.

Party´ agency and the role of political culture

This project has focused on conceptualising the political cultures in the PSCh and how these political cultures influenced the nomination of Bachelet as Socialist candidate in 2005. This study suggests the party developed two political cultures which emerged from its historical institutional development. Those cultures are linked to the types of political participation that the party developed since its formation. I used Pizzorno´ system of solidarity and system of interest to understand how internal participation was conducted in the party. Those types of participation characterised the way in which membership and leadership conducted their political activity within the PSCh's formal and informal structures. Those political cultures were conceptualised through the

historical evolution of the party by three stages. Those stages showed that contextual changes influenced PSCh internal narratives, its ideological heritage as well as collective meanings and ideas about power and participation. Those elements shaped the development of two political cultures. The first political culture found is the institutional pattern, which conceptualises political participation as democratic, pluralistic and libertarian. This political culture is found amongst the socialist base membership and their activities within the formal structures of the party. Those members have been able to reproduce this particular culture in those spaces, integrating those meanings into the narratives of younger generations. This particular political culture was developed during the Foundation stage (1933-1956), which characterised its political participation by the system of solidarity and the presence of the community of equals within the party´s members, who collectively identified themselves with party goals. The institutional pattern was the dominant political culture during that stage. The second political culture is the practice pattern. This political culture characterises leadership behaviour within informal structures (factions) and it conceptualises power relations by authoritarianism, co-optation and elites´ hegemony in decision making. It embeds a meaning of power which is male, authoritarian, co-optative and hierarchical. It was formed by meanings introduced during the New Left stage (1956-1979), particularly authoritarianism and elite hegemony. The meanings associated with the Foundation stage were related to the ideas of the revolutionary party during the 1960s, and were framed by collective goals and systems of solidarity. When political elites moved further towards a system of interest and individual goals during the Socialist Renewal stage (1979-2005),

those meanings were re-framed by the practice pattern. The party shifted from a fighting organisation in Michels´ term, which had enabled this pattern to become the dominant political culture, but continued to reproduce the pattern during the time of democracy, and this provided the context in which Bachelet won the nomination to stand as presidential candidate in 2005.

The conceptualisation of these two cultures enable a deeper and more complex understanding of what motivates, explains and shapes party agency. As I previously stated, parties are complex institutions which have more than one face when agency takes place. Those faces are these political cultures for the case of the PSCh, which frame power relations within formal and informal spaces of the party. Both political cultures are also found within the membership, which frame its participation and power relations with both patterns, depending where those power relations take place. While they are interacting among themselves in formal structures of the party (assemblies, committees), they frame their activity by the institutional pattern. When they are acting as faction members, they shape their power relations by the practice pattern. This particular characteristic allowed the institutional pattern to survive as secondary culture reproduced in formal spaces.

Those political cultures have not been static sets of meanings but have been re-framed by experiences, narratives and new ideologies that the party has incorporated because of contextual changes. The literature on party politics has taken into account party formation through cleavages and context (Lipset and Rokkan, 1964), elite impact on strategies (Przeworsky and Sprague, 1986) and

the impact of contextual changes within identities (Kitschelt 1996; 1993a; 1993b). This research has suggested that political culture goes beyond those structural elements. It looks at the influence of historical evolution in the development of meanings and ideas about power and participation as well as the role of narratives, ideological heritages and solidarity ties to the formation of political cultures. This research considered the influence of events such as the formation of the party, and Salvador Allende´s government, on socialist narratives about democracy and pluralism. These are the elements that the conceptualisation of political culture has taken into account here.

Analysing a party´s agency through conceptualising political cultures also evidences contradictions and tensions coming from those political cultures which fostered its internal collective agency. In this research those contradictions came from Bachelet´s nomination and election, particularly concerning the influences of the political cultures on this particular outcome. The study demonstrates that Bachelet´s nomination was influenced by the political cultures of the party. Her persona bridged the institutional pattern of the membership and the practice pattern found amongst socialist elites. Bachelet´s nomination represented the hope and possibility of change for the base membership. Her persona represented the possibility of restoring the institutional pattern as the dominant culture, and a shift from the system of interest to the system of solidarity. For the base membership, her persona embedded the meanings of pluralism and democracy. Bachelet represented the inclusion of neglected sectors in the party's decision-making (women and Almeydismo). Therefore, the membership motivated its support for her persona

based on the ideas embedded in the institutional pattern of political participation in the party. An historical momentum helped the membership to connect Bachelet's persona with the institutional pattern. This historical momentum, characterised by criticism of the Concertación administration and the party's conduct (Chapter 6: 288-290), permitted them to see in Bachelet a figure of hope to return to traditional forms of participation.

Bachelet´s nomination was also influenced by the practice pattern. While she seemed distant from the political elites who were criticised by the party membership, she was at the same time a member of these political elites which reproduced the practice pattern. Factional elites found in her persona a bridge to the base membership. This historical momentum united the party to support her nomination, but it enabled them to deepen the practice pattern in both formal and informal structures of the party. Authoritarianism and co-optation were commonly used in order to ensure discipline and obedience from the membership regarding Bachelet's candidacy. Consequently, factional elite conduct deepened elite hegemony over decision-making; factions increased their control over membership so as to make Bachelet's candidacy succeed. This study found that members allowed this control by party leaders because of loyalty to Bachelet. Members agreed to avoid repeating the party's experience during the Allende administration. Leaders sought to avoid criticisms of PSCh conduct and the Concertación influencing Bachelet's persona. When the practice pattern gave factions dominance over formal structures of the party, the membership resisted framing their participation by the practice pattern. As a result, the elites' practice eroded the institutional coherence of the party, to

the point where it fragmented into three new political forces (Progressive party, MAIZ and MAS) (Chapter 7:351).

Those events underline the relevance that political culture has for internal agency. Agency is not only motivated by internal forces seeking power (factions, groups or bosses). Agency is also motivated by meanings and ideas which have framed those internal groups and those meanings and ideas could deepen internal divisions, as I demonstrated in Chapter 7. To research political cultures in a party can explain tensions and contradictions within them, as was found in the PSCh. During Bachelet's administration, socialist elites strengthened the practice pattern within the party, deepening the gap between members and leaders.

This research has contributed to the understandings of a political party´s agency from the perspective of the political culture. It has shown that political parties have a political culture, which consists of meanings and ideas about power and participation that frame internal agency and influence internal outcomes. It has shown the way in which those political cultures are deeply connected to internal agency and membership-leadership relations. Further studies of political culture within parties could provide new information about agency and membership-leadership relations like unlikely outcomes; patterns of power; why there is sudden crisis in parties, and processes of de-institutionalisation.

The following sections address the contributions of this study to the research of

labour based parties and to other political parties in Latin America.

Latin American Labour parties

The study of the PSCh political culture has brought forward the importance of socioeconomic context for understandings a party´s historical evolution. The three stages previously named show how political culture was shaped and transformed during the party´s institutional development, and how this historical evolution was connected to socioeconomic contexts. For example, the research considered how the radicalization of the Chilean context facilitated the integration of democratic centralism into the party (Chap3:167).

Similar to the analysis of how changes within the context influence party strategies and identities, this research has shown how socioeconomic and political context can influence the formation of internal patterns for framing power relations. Thus, contexts do not just influence the formation of mass leftist parties but they have also had an influence on the way that party organizations have been developed and the way in which intra party relations have been conducted. The case of the PSCh has shown the impact that liberal reforms have had on their internal membership as well as how those changes have impacted on the internal organization, reinforcing informal structures in relation to formal ones. This study has not argued from a deterministic perspective, as many of these other studies do, because party development is seen as mediated by history, solidarities, class, gender and experiences of crisis moments. This is a major contribution made by the research, because it brings these elements into the definition of political culture, and demonstrates

concretely their effects through empirical and historical analysis.

This research also gives us tools to deepen our analysis of other similar labour-based parties and their complexities, tensions, and divisions between base and leadership. Similar to the cases of other labour-based parties, the PSCh was severely affected by Neoliberal transformations and the push towards free-market policies. The Spanish PSOE, the Argentine Justicialista Party and the British Labour Party have experienced free-market policies which impacted on party base membership, affecting intra-party relations. Socio-economic changes because of Neoliberal reforms not only affected policy-making (Weyland, 1999), but also altered internal power-relations within political parties. Thus the research into the PSCh's political culture confirms how socioeconomic changes influence party institutional development, but also shows the influence those patterns have on intra-party relations and internal organisation. This research confirms other studies which have underlined how structural changes have influenced labour parties´ agency. Levizsky (2003) has focused on how structural changes in Argentina have influenced the relationship between labour bases and the Justicialista party. Kitschelt (1996) has conceptualised how free-market policies have influenced party´s identities in European social democracies. Those studies miss the influences that those reforms have at intra party level, of membership-leadership relations. Those types of studies suggest that we need to look at the relationship between Neoliberalism and political culture because political culture adds a deeper understanding of how those changes influenced membership and leadership meanings about power. New research into the political culture of labour parties

could explain issues such as the formation of patterns of power; changes in types of leadership and membership; and the survival of de-institutionalised political parties.

Additionally, the PSCh case showed that the political cultures explain the gap between base membership and leadership found among labour-based parties. This division is based in different cultures which were developed as a result of contextual changes. Neoliberal ideas deepened the system of interest within the leadership, and labour reforms in the 1980s facilitated the imposition of this system on internal agency by the elites. Thus, studies of political culture within parties allows us to frame and understand how those contextual changes influence party internal agency and relations; how those changes could deepen internal division within parties; and how those divisions influence internal outcomes. Further research and analysis about the influence of Neoliberalism within parties´ political culture could uncover the nature of the changes that neoliberal policies have imprinted on intra-party relations, particularly in the meanings used by base members and leaders for conducting internal agency. This kind of research can also explain tensions and power dynamics within political parties.

This research has also made a contribution by adding more information about intra-party relations, through the analysis of power relations based on these patterns of political cultures. It has given evidence about the role of legitimised members and leaders in reproducing these patterns; the influences of formal structures in maintaining a particular political culture; and which members are

legitimised when framed by those patterns. Latin American scholars have moved towards intra party analyses for understanding parties' behaviour, political party system performance and the quality of democracy in the recent years (Freidenberg and Levisky, 2005) or the role of informal institutions within a party´s organisation (Helmke and Levitsky's,2006) . These studies have considered the ways in which leadership is framed by party power relations (Bazoret and Aubry, 2005), the role of internal democratic procedures for selecting candidates (Freidenberg 2005; Sanchez, 2004; Siavelis 2005) or the relevance of levels of institutionalisation in party structures (O'Donnell, 1994; Alcantara, 2004) . This research has however omitted to explore the relationship between the subjects who are building those intra-party relations, and how members and leaders build their relationships based on ideas and meanings about power and participation. The current thesis contributes to the research by exploring the frameworks which establish how those relations are settled, and how the political cultures of parties shape those relations. Its aim was to explore in depth the question of how well-established political cultures can frame and structure the norms of internal power relations and forms of political participation. It also made it a central aim to explain tensions which arise when formally, a party may be democratic, but informally may be in a process of de-institutionalisation. This can then explain points relating to the legitimacy of the party, including a decline of membership, or a weakening and hollowing out of its political life.

This study has underlined how the party´s agency was influenced by patterns of political culture in both its formal and informal organisation. It has also

highlighted the role of informal spaces in reinforcing a political culture. These informal structures are factions, characterized by individual relationships between leaders and members. The party developed factionalism linked to a strong leadership from characteristics present during the party's institutional development. These characteristics were linked to the way in which the party was formed. However, factions have become the dominant spaces for decision making, overriding formal structures because of the gentrification of decision making which was experienced by the PSCh during the Socialist Renewal stage.

This study also evidences how internal power relations can highlight the importance of party leaders framed by types of political participation. In the PSCh the relevance of mandatarios is heightened due to the presence of systems of interest which stress individual goals among political elites. Thus power relations and meanings of political participation have an impact not only on internal procedure but also on the effectiveness of formal party organisation to drive intra-party relations and political decisions. This research also takes into account the inclusion of new types of membership such as operadores. Changes within internal competition have increased the role of operadores within factions. The analysis of membership-leadership relations allows us to describe characteristics that shape internal agency in the party, giving details about how political participation and power relations are framed as well as identifying the spaces in which these power relations are carried on. Those types of membership and leadership help us understand levels of democracy

and participation. They show us both the realities of power as constituted by complex systems of meaning and framings, and how those systems occur on a formal and an informal level. These types of membership and leadership also develop new concepts that may be useful for the analysis of similar contexts and parties where changes in membership and leadership relations are found.

Research into political culture indicates the diverse faces of Latin American political parties. Further research about the influence of political culture within Latin American parties could shed light on how particular political cultures have developed their linkages with particular historical contexts, and the impact of Neoliberal reforms on the way that political participation is framed. It could also underline how leaderships frame their political action within Latin American parties, for example the relevance of caudillos or other strong forms of leadership on those meanings, and the influence that these new types of pattern may have on political outcomes. In addition, further research is needed into the influence of political culture on membership-leadership relations. This type of analysis may explain the nature of certain outcomes in Latin American politics. The case of Bachelet's nomination, which appears unexpected, showed that a particular outcome can demonstrate complexities and contradictions arising from the fact that they are influenced by more than formal institutions and rules.

This research has contributed to a deeper understanding of the formation of power meanings and relations, the role of membership and leadership in reproducing those meanings; the influence of those meanings and ideas in

crisis and contractions within parties. These contributions show us that further analysis into parties' political culture needs to be done in order to deepen conceptual tools for understanding a party's agency. The following section explains the contribution of this research towards understanding gender within political culture and party agency.

Gender, political culture and party´s agency

This research contributes to our understanding of the role of those frames in shaping gender relations. The research has shown that party cultures have not been challenged by feminist goals; rather, women have adopted these existing patterns. Socialist politicas have not integrated feminist meanings into the institutional pattern or the practice pattern, but rather their political activity has been framed by them. A lack of solidarity linkages between women has prevented the re-framing of the institutional pattern according to feminist meanings of participation and power. Bachelet´s nomination allowed gender to be connected to this particular pattern because her persona symbolised the inclusion of neglected sectors such as women. Her nomination was deemed as a triumph of pluralism and the institutional pattern of meaning. However, her nomination was in fact a triumph of the practice pattern and its male authoritarian and hierarchical meaning of power. This empirical analysis suggests that to focus only on women's inclusion misses the point that women can become leaders while reproducing the dominant gendered political culture. So it proposes looking at women's participation with a broader lens, with an awareness of these complexities, contradictions and complicities. This broader

lens is provided by the analysis of political culture. As I have previously argued, while the study of political culture should take gender into account, it should not be the sole focus.

I stated that politicas have not challenged those dominant meanings; rather, similar to their male counterparts, they have had to adopt the practice pattern as faction members and mandatarias. This shows us the complicities that politicas and mandatarias have to undertake, which reproduce authoritarian and male power. Gender therefore plays a contradictory role within political culture. While it can symbolise meanings of pluralism and democracy, it can also embed a more masculine idea of power, coming from male authoritarian and patriarchal meanings. These realities help us to understand how feminist discourses can be in contradiction with women's performance within political parties. They also help us to understand how male gendered meanings about power and political relations are maintained and reproduced within political parties, and which subjects are maintaining those meanings.

Scholars suggest that under the influence of neoliberalism, politics has undergone a re-masculinisation process, due to the reinforcement of the caretaking and mothering roles of women within political contexts. As a result, feminist identities have not emerged (Craske, 1998; Maculay, 1999). Hence, traditional gender divisions and roles appear to have been reinforced by the neoliberal organisation of society (Maculay, 1999), because conservative ideas about gender, such as motherhood and caretaking roles, were reinforced by the

conservative elite when the neoliberal model was implemented. Socialist politicas seem to demonstrate a case where masculine ideas of power have been imprinted more deeply within both political cultures. Those ideas could be the result of the re-masculinisation process described by those scholars as occurring during Pinochet´s regime and found among socialist elites. Socialist mandatarias are part of those elites, which have deep rooted male authoritarian meanings in their behaviour.

The issues described suggest that when we look at gender, we take into consideration the broader political culture, and the subjects that are fostered and given legitimacy by those patterns. It is not merely a question of women shifting these broader patterns or even being motivated to do so. Researching political culture allows us to analyse the role that gender may have within those meanings, for example how female politicas are reproducing those very patterns that they challenge in their discourse and narratives. Further research on gender and political culture may allow us to conceptualise how those meanings are reproduced by female politician within their parties; and the role of informal structures and formal structures for challenging or reproducing masculine meanings of power by female politicians. These studies could contribute new ideas and information about why and how female politicians in labour parties have maintained conservative ideas of power. This is relevant for labour-based parties in Latin America and beyond as they tend to share laborist masculinist traditions of politics and therefore are comparable contexts. Thus it is possible to explore comparative questions about the role of women in supporting these meanings and traditions; and the influence of women's

leadership in challenging or reinforcing these patterns. These questions go beyond a gender perspective which only prescribes the participation of more women. It takes into account the core meanings and traditions which reproduce patterns of power relations.

In sum, this research has contributed with new information about a political party's agency and how it is influenced by political cultures. Particularly it has shown how political culture frames and shapes a party's agency. It has also contributed with a broader understanding of political culture, which includes gender and ideological heritage. It integrates the party's narratives, transformations through historical evolution, solidarity ties and life experiences. Those elements have helped us to uncover the formation of a political culture and its influence on party agency. This conceptualisation of political culture has contributed new information about labour parties in Latin America, as the case of the PSCh could be replicated in other labour-based parties in Latin America and beyond. Finally, it has contributed to an understanding of the role that gender can play in reinforcing or weakening conservative and patriarchal meanings about power and political relations.

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Appendix 1

List of Interviewees

1. Ana Bell (Trade Union Leader, Santiago)

2. Carlos Montes (Deputy, Santiago)

3. Carolina Rey (Member, Valparaiso)

4. Denisse Pascal (Deputy, Santaigo)

5. Francisco Diaz (Central Committee member , Santiago)

6. Gonzalo Martner (Former PSCh presidente 2003-2005, Santiago)

7. Marcelo Diaz (Deputy, Valparaiso)

8. Marcelo Schilling (Deputy, Valparaiso)

9. Marco Enriquez (Former Socialist Deputy, San Jose- Costa Rica)

10. Osvaldo Puccio (Member, Santiago)

11. Soledad Barria (President regional committee, Sanitago)

12. Victor del Solar (Socialist youth,member, Valparaiso)

13. Arturo Barrios (Central committee member, Santiago)

14. Camilo Escalona (Senator, Santiago)

15. Carlos Ominami (Former socialist Senator, Santiago)

16. Carmen Andrade (Member, Santiago)

17. Carolina Carrera (Member, Santiago)

18. Cecilia Suarez (Central Committee member, Santiago)

19. Cesar Barra (Central Committee member, Valparaiso)

20. Eduardo Muñoz (Member, Valparaiso)

21. Ernesto Aguila (Member, Santiago)

22. German Correa (Member, Santiago)

23. Juan Azua (Central Committe member, Santiago)

24. Osvaldo Acosta (Socialist Youth, Santiago)

25. Paddy Ahumada(Member, Valparaiso)

26. Paula Quintana (Central Committe member, Valparaiso)

27. Ricardo Solari (Member, Santiago)

28. Roberto Pizarro (Member, Santiago)

29. Sergio Aguilo (Deputy, Santiago)

30. Ricardo Núñez (Former party president 2005-2006, Santiago)

31. Mario Mandiola (Member, Valparaiso)

32. Roberto Iribarra (Member, Valparaiso)

33. Claudio Opazo (Member, Valparaiso)

34. Katrina Sanguinnetti (Member, Valparaiso).

35. Rafael Almarza (Member, Valparaiso).

Appendix 2

Regional and Communal Committees of the PSCh in 2010

Region	Number of Regional Committee per Region	Number of PSCh Communal Committees per Region	Number of Municipalities per Region
REGION OF ARICA AND PARINACOTA	1	1	4
REGION OF TARAPACA	1	3	7
REGION OF ANTOFAGASTA	1	7	9
REGION OF ATACAMA	1	9	9
REGION OF COQUIMBO	1	9	15
REGION OF VALPARAISO	1	25	38
REGION OF O'HIGGINS	1	26	33
REGION OF MAULE	1	18	30
REGIONOF BIO BIO	1	37	54
REGION OF ARAUCANIA	1	23	32
REGION OF LOS LAGOS	1	26	30
REGION OF LOS RIOS	1	11	12
REGION OF AISEN	1	3	10
REGION OF MAGALLANES AND CHILEAN ANTARTICA	1	3	11
METROPOLITAN REGION (GREATER SANTIAGO)	1	44	52
TOTAL	**15**	**245**	**346**

Appendix 3

Interviews Schedule

I. Personal details:

Name
Age
Years of membership on the party

How do you define yourself: member or leader of the party?

II. Is there a political culture in the Chilean Socialist Party?

1. What PS' political culture is?

2. How do you define the PS political culture?

3. Who share the PS political culture? Its members? Its leaders?

4. Where do you think the PS political culture is presented? In the PS' collective bodies? In the internal meetings? In the party' structure? In the PS history? At the members' daily experiences?

5. How the members of PS express its political culture?

6. Which type of role the leaders have in the development of this political culture? Is the PS political culture determined by socialist leaders? Do the leaders influence the PS political culture in the same way than common members?

7. How the PS political culture was formed?

8. Did party history influence/determine this cultura? Was the PS political culture influenced by Pinochet dictatorship? Was the PS' political culture influenced by party's crisis and division between 1973 and 1991? In which way?

9. What event influenced the PS political culture? Was influenced by 1988 referendum? Was the PS' political culture influenced by Concertación's rule? Was influenced by Lagos administration?

10. Is the current PS' political culture the same culture experienced in Allende government? If is not, which are the main differences? Is another culture?

11. How MAPU or Christian left people influenced the PS' political culture?

12. Did these political groups determine the presence of party factions?

13. How the internal factions were form? How these factions influence the PS' political culture? How is the political culture of the PS expressed by its deferent factions? Are the internal group expressions or consequences of PS' culture?

14. How do internal factions influence nominations of candidates? Are these nominations determined by internal factions?

III. How does the PSCh political culture help us to understand and explain the election of Michelle Bachelet as the first female President of Chile?

1. What are the characteristics of a good Socialist presidential candidate? Why are those good characteristics of a Socialist' candidate? Are there other characteristics?

2. Are those characteristics expressions of PS' political culture? Is the PS' political culture expressed by them? In which way? Are those characteristics expressed by the profile of socialist' presidential candidate?

3. Are the characteristics of socialist presidential candidates influenced by gender, linkages with an internal faction, age or the relationship with party's leaders? Are there other factors relevant to be nominated presidential candidate?

4. Which was the most important characteristic in Bachelet' selection? Was Bachelet nomination influenced by her charisma, life' history, her linkages with NI; her performance as Health Minister or the polls? Was the internal support from the members of the party relevant in her nomination?

5. Was important to belong to an internal faction in Bachelet's case? Was the support of her internal faction relevant for her nomination? In which ways they were relevant?

6. What was the difference between Bachelet and other Socialist presidential candidates?

7. Was Bachelet different to Lagos and Allende? In which way?

8. How do you define Bachelet's character comparing Allende and Lagos? Is Bachalet consequence of Allende and Lagos legacy? Is Bachelet heiress of those legacies? Did Bachelet mark a difference with Allende and Lagos? In which way?

9. How do you define Bachelet's character?

10. What was your opinion of Bachelet when she became minister of health? Did your opinion change later?

IV. What did the election of Michelle Bachelet mean for this political culture?

1. How did you define Bachelet's campaign? How do you define her campaign now?

2. Was Bachelet's candidacy a traditional socialist one? Did her candidacy change the profile of presidential candidates?

3. Was Bachelet a leader of PS in 2005? Is Bachelet a party leader now? Did her presidential nomination change her position inside the party? How and why?

4. What was the meaning of Bachelet's candidacy to the PS? Did her candidacy renew the participation inside the party? Did her candidacy change the party?

5. Did the PS become more democratic as a consequence of her nomination? Did her nomination deepen the difference between internal factions? Did her nomination change the relation between leaders and members?

6. How the Socialist political culture was reflected by her candidacy? How were the internal factions express in her candidacy and campaign?

7. How does the PS' political culture express on Bachelet's candidacy? Which aspects were expressed the most? Is her candidacy an expression of changes inside the political culture of the party?

8. What types of changes were introduced by Bachelet's candidacy? Are those changes still present on the political culture?