

Democracy in Latin America

Fourth Session

Definitions 1

- **Political party:** organized group of people with at least roughly similar political beliefs that seeks to influence policy by getting its candidates elected to office.
- **Party system:** a set of parties that interact in minimally patterned ways.
 - It is a set of parties, that is, must have at least two meaningful parties.
 - They interact in minimally patterned ways (that is, regular, stable and predictable ways).

Definitions 2

- **Institutionalization:** political actors behave in stable ways and have clear and stable expectations about other actors.
- **Institutionalized party system:** one in which a stable set of parties interacts regularly in stable ways.
 - If the same parties repeatedly remain the main contenders (system)
 - If they get roughly similar shares of votes (system)
 - If they stand in similar ideological positions (individual)

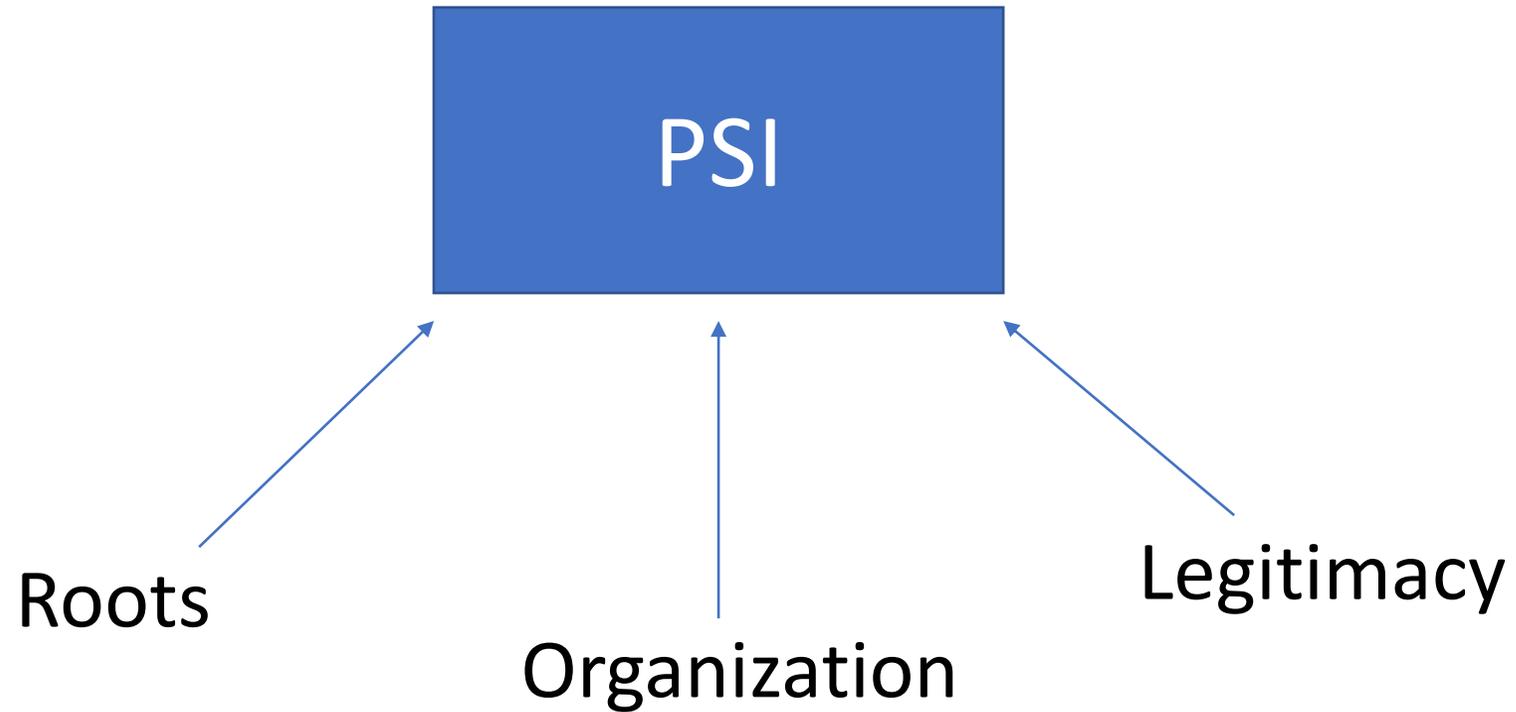
Definitions 3

- Types of party linkages
 - **Programmatic/ideological:** parties that organize electorally and present an ideological platform.
 - **Clientelistic:** parties that organize and exchange electoral support (votes and money) for policy favors, but do not present ideological platforms.
 - **Personalistic:** only the party leader's charisma holds the party together.

Notes on Institutionalization

- Institutionalization has a temporal component – it requires predictability and stability, which are measured over time.
- A system cannot be highly institutionalized on the basis of one data point.
- Weak institutionalization tends to be self-perpetuating, but some events, exogenous influences, and processes can significantly change the level of institutionalization.

Proximate causes of PSI



Definitions 4

- **Desinstitutionalization or decay:** the erosion of previously stable patterns. It is a movement to a less institutionalized system.
- **Replacement:** a process of slow desinstitutionalization of an old system, succeeded by the institutionalization of a new one.
- **Collapse:** cases in which one system breaks down quickly and a new one emerges. This involves the rapid disappearance of the old system, including all major parties.

Measuring PSI

- **Stability of the membership of the party system:** vote share of new parties in presidential and lower chamber elections, the stability of main contenders from one election to the next, and the medium-term stability of main contenders in presidential and lower chamber elections.
- **Stability in aggregate patterns of inter-party competition:** electoral volatility (change of each party's vote share from one election to the next as an absolute value, summing these changes for all parties and dividing by two).
- **Change in parties' ideological positions:** change at legislators' perception about the ideology of their parties (survey data).

PSI in Latin America 1 (1990-2015)

Country	Stability of members of the party system	Stability of inter-party electoral competition	Stability of parties' ideological positions	Overall PSI score
United States	1.10	1.50	-	1.27
Uruguay	1.34	1.10	0.07	1.16
Mexico	1.21	0.81	1.63	1.09
Chile	0.88	0.73	1.95	0.90
Dominican Republic	1.07	0.54	-0.90	0.72
Honduras	0.46	0.68	0.50	0.55
Brazil	0.45	0.41	1.04	0.48

PSI in Latin America 2 (1990-2015)

Country	Stability of members of the party system	Stability of inter-party electoral competition	Stability of parties' ideological positions	Overall PSI score
El Salvador	0.14	0.76	0.75	0.42
Costa Rica	0.18	0.15	-0.80	0.09
Nicaragua	0.21	-0.14	0.21	0.08
Panama	-0.23	-0.13	0.61	-0.13
Paraguay	-0.38	0.31	-1.42	-0.19
Colombia	-0.72	-0.56	-1.11	-0.69
Ecuador	-0.71	-0.89	-0.73	-0.78

PSI in Latin America 3 (1990-2015)

Country	Stability of members of the party system	Stability of inter-party electoral competition	Stability of parties' ideological positions	Overall PSI score
Argentina	-0.99	-0.72	-0.30	-0.81
Bolivia	-0.67	-1.24	-0.25	-0.85
Venezuela	-1.34	-1.24	0.59	-1.15
Peru	-1.18	-1.05	-1.54	-1.16
Guatemala	-1.34	-1.39	-0.32	-1.28

PSI in Latin America over time

- Three systems became dramatically less institutionalized: Argentina, Colombia and Venezuela
- Three systems became more institutionalized: Brazil, El Salvador and Panama.
- But Brazil? El Salvador?

Consequences of Weak PSI 1

- They increase electoral uncertainty and make it easier for political outsiders to win the presidency, often with deleterious consequences for democracy.
 - Outsider presidents have no incentive to prioritize party building, at least initially. Exceptions: Evo Morales and Hugo Chavez (mass-based parties).
- They are associated with more political amateurs.
 - Seasoned politicians are an important asset.
- They increase policy instability and instability of the rules of the game.

Consequences of Weak PSI 2

- They shorten actors' time horizons and are associated with political systems more permeated by corruption.
- They make electoral accountability more challenging.
- They are associated with lower quality democracies (on average).

Political Parties in Brazil

- The authors focus on parties in the electorate, that is, the extent to which there is partisanship in Brazil's electorate.

Table 15.1 The Four Possible Voter Types

		<i>Strong Identification with In-Group</i>	
		Yes	No
Strong antipathy for out-group	Yes	Hard-core partisans	Negative partisans (pure anti-partisans)
	No	Positive partisans	Nonpartisans

Positive Partisanship in Brazil

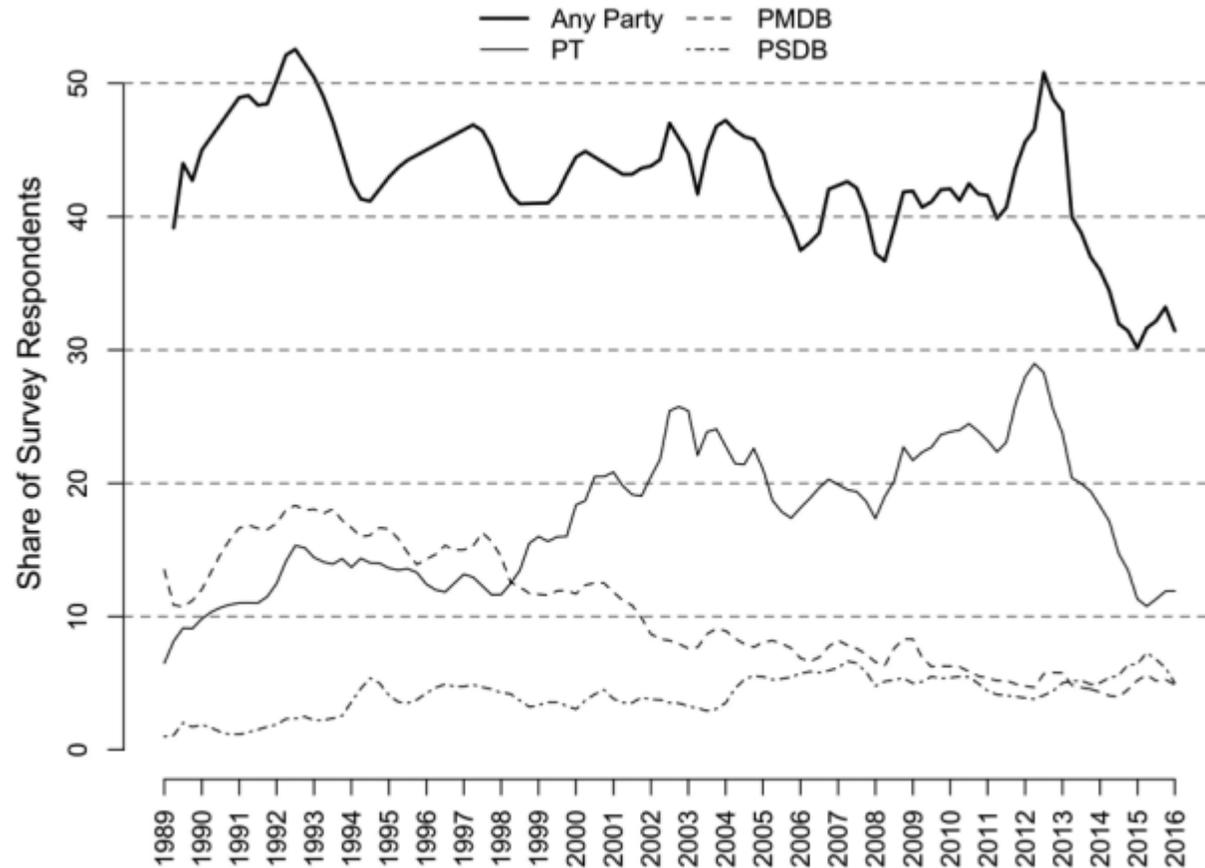


Figure 15.1 Party Identification (1989–2016).

Negative Partisanship in Brazil

Table 15.2 Partisans and Anti-Partisans (1989–2014)

	1989	1994	1997	2002	2006	2010	2014
Hard-Core Partisans	30.40	40.30	32.72	18.83	29.20	21.74	14.05
Positive Only Partisans	21.02	14.85	15.51	27.57	20.37	27.48	17.78
Negative Partisans	7.89	12.15	10.33	19.78	12.06	21.34	22.57
Nonpartisans	40.69	32.70	41.44	33.82	38.37	29.44	45.61

Note: Table shows estimates of the share of the electorate that fall in each of the four comprehensive and exclusive categories (that is, the columns all total 100%). Data sources are described in the Appendix.

Table 15.3 Petistas and Antipetistas (1989–2014)

	1989	1994	1997	2002	2006	2010	2014
Hard-Core Petistas	5.52	11.80	8.75	10.16	13.70	10.30	7.14
Positive Only Petistas	2.00	3.45	5.43	16.70	10.42	17.35	10.30
Pure Antipetistas	1.04	4.75	5.75	9.12	6.47	10.10	15.59
Other Partisan Antipetistas	4.21	10.30	10.94	4.15	8.99	5.30	5.01
Total	12.76	30.30	30.86	40.14	39.58	43.05	38.04

Note: Table shows estimates of the share of the electorate that falls in each of four exclusive categories. Data sources are described in the Appendix.

What is their argument?

- What is bounded partisanship? How is it related to the PT?
- How is the Brazilian electorate structured?
- What determines petismo and antipetismo?
- Why do the authors call petistas and antipetistas hypocrites?



Populism and Political Parties

- The author defines populism as “revolving around personalistic, usually charismatic leadership that is sustained by direct, uninstitutionalized connections to a heterogeneous, amorphous, and largely unorganized mass of followers”. Why do we need a new definition of populism?
- Do populist leaders engage in party-building? Why or why not?
- How do populists damage existing parties?

More populism and parties

- Why hasn't antipopulist polarization served as the kind of cleavage that prompted the formation of strong, long-lasting parties, as it happened in Europe?
- How does social structure change hinder party-building now ?
- How about the type of Latin American development?
- And corruption?

Summarizing

- We learned that institutionalized party systems are key for good democratic politics.
- However, most countries lack the types of parties needed for that to happen.
- Countries are also dealing with populism now, which destroys existing parties and hinders party-building efforts.

Is Latin America doomed to fail?

Imagine you work for NDI or International IDEA, two DC-based institutions that help promote democracy across the globe. What would be your policy recommendation to strengthen Latin American parties and party systems? And to change the structural conditions that affect them (such as the type of development)? For this last part, think about what we have discussed in terms of dependent development, ISI, the Asian experience, etc.