The Transformation of the Workers’ Party in Brazil, 1989–2009

Drawing on historical institutionalism and strategic frameworks, this book analyzes the evolution of the Workers’ Party between 1989, the year of Lula’s first presidential bid, and 2009, when his second presidential term entered its final stretch. The book’s primary purpose is to understand why and how the once-radical Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) moderated the programmatic positions it endorsed and adopted other aspects of a more catchall electoral strategy, thereby increasing its electoral appeal. At the same time, the book seeks to shed light on why some of the PT’s distinctive normative commitments and organizational practices have endured in the face of adaptations aimed at expanding the party’s vote share. The conclusion asks whether, in the face of these changes and continuities, the PT can still be considered a mass organized party of the left.

Wendy Hunter is Associate Professor of Government at the University of Texas, Austin. Her early work focused on Latin American militaries during the transition from authoritarian rule. A second phase of her research career was devoted to social policy decision making and human capital formation in Latin America. Recently, she has been engaged in understanding the growth and transformation of the Workers’ Party in Brazil from 1989 until the present. She is the author of Eroding Military Influence in Brazil, and her articles have appeared in Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Political Science Quarterly, American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Democracy, and World Politics. She earned her doctorate from the University of California at Berkeley.
The Transformation of the Workers’ Party in Brazil, 1989–2009

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Acronyms

ABC region: A = Santo André, B = São Bernardo do Campo, C = São Caetano do Sul
AD: Acción Democrática, Democratic Action (Venezuela)
APRA: Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana, American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (Peru)
ARENA: Aliança de Renovação Nacional, National Renovating Alliance
BF: Bolsa Família, Family Stipend
BNDES: Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social, Brazilian Social and Economic Development Bank
CDES: Conselho de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social, Council of Economic and Social Development
CNI: Confederação Nacional da Indústria, National Confederation of Industry
CNT: Confederação Nacional do Transporte, National Confederation of Transportation
COPEI: Comité de Organización Política Electoral Independiente, Social Christian Party of Venezuela
CPI: Comissão Parlamentar de Inquérito, Parliamentary Investigatory Committee
CUT: Central Única dos Trabalhadores, Unified Workers’ Confederation
CVRD: Companhia Vale do Rio Doce
DF: Distrito Federal, Federal District (Brasília)
DIAP: Departamento Intersindical de Assessoria Parlamentar, Inter-Union Department of Parliamentary Assistance
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronyms</th>
<th>Full form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EMBRAPA</td>
<td>Empresa Brasileira de Pesquisa Agropecuária, Brazilian Company of Agribusiness Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FA</td>
<td>Frente Amplio, Broad Front (Uruguay)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FARC</td>
<td>Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FHC</td>
<td>Fernando Henrique Cardoso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIESP</td>
<td>Federação das Indústrias do Estado de São Paulo, Federation of Industries of the State of São Paulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPA</td>
<td>Fundação Perseu Abramo, Perseu Abramo Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FREPASO</td>
<td>Frente por un País Solidario, Front for a Country in Solidarity (Argentina)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FTAA</td>
<td>Free Trade Area of the Americas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBAMA</td>
<td>Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e dos Recursos Naturais Renováveis, Brazilian Institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBGE</td>
<td>Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBOPE</td>
<td>Instituto Brasileiro de Opinião Pública e Estatística, Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IC</td>
<td>Instituto Cidadania, Citizenship Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDB</td>
<td>Inter-American Development Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDESP</td>
<td>Instituto de Estudos Econômicos, Sociais, e Políticos de São Paulo, São Paulo Institute for Economic, Social, and Political Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCRA</td>
<td>Instituto Nacional de Colonização e Reforma Agrária, National Institute of Colonization and Land Reform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPTU</td>
<td>Imposto Predial e Territorial Urbano, Urban Property and Building Tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISI</td>
<td>Import Substitution Industrialization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IU</td>
<td>Izquierda Unida, United Left (Peru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LCR</td>
<td>La Causa R, The Radical Cause (Venezuela)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MERCOSUL</td>
<td>Mercado Comum do Sul, Southern Common Market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDS</td>
<td>Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social, Ministry of Social Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MST</td>
<td>Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra, Movement of Landless Rural Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAN</td>
<td>Partido Acción Nacional, National Action Party (Mexico)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCB</td>
<td>Partido Comunista Brasileiro, Brazilian Communist Party</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PCdoB: Partido Comunista do Brasil, Communist Party of Brazil
PDS: Partido Democrático Social, Democratic Social Party
PDT: Partido Democrático Trabalhista, Democratic Labor Party
PDVSA: Petróleos de Venezuela, S.A.
PED: Processo de Eleições Diretas, Process of Direct Elections
PFL: Partido da Frente Liberal, Party of the Liberal Front
PJ: Partido Justicialista, Justicialist Party (Argentina)
PL: Partido Liberal, Liberal Party
PMDB: Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro, Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement
PMN: Partido da Mobilização Nacional, Party of National Mobilization
PPA: Plano Plurianual, Multiyear Plan
PPB: Partido Progressista Brasileiro, Brazilian Progressive Party
PPR: Partido Progressista Renovador, Reformist Progressive Party
PPS: Partido Popular Socialista, Popular Socialist Party
PRD: Partido de la Revolución Democrática, Party of the Democratic Revolution (Mexico)
PRI: Partido Revolucionario Institucional, Institutional Revolutionary Party (Mexico)
PRN: Partido da Reconstrução Nacional, Party of National Reconstruction
PRONA: Partido da Reedificação da Ordem Nacional, National Order Reconstruction Party
PRP: Partido Republicano Progressista, Progressive Republican Party
PSB: Partido Socialista Brasileiro, Brazilian Socialist Party
PSDB: Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira, Party of Brazilian Social Democracy
PSOE: Partido Socialista Obrero Español, Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party
PSOL: Partido Socialismo e Liberdade, Party for Socialism and Liberty
PST: Partido Social Trabalhista, Social Labor Party
PSTU: Partido Socialista dos Trabalhadores Unificado, Unified Socialist Workers’ Party
PT: Partido dos Trabalhadores, Workers’ Party
PTB: Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, Brazilian Labor Party
PUM Partido Unificado Mariateguista, Unified Mariateguista Party (Peru)
PV: Partido Verde, Green Party
SMs: salários mínimos, minimum wage levels
Acronyms

STF: *Supremo Tribunal Federal*, Supreme Court
TSE: *Tribunal Superior Eleitoral*, Supreme Electoral Court
UAMPA: *União das Associações de Moradores de Porto Alegre*, Union of Neighborhood Associations of Porto Alegre
WTO: World Trade Organization
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