

When Movements Become Parties

Why do some parties formed by social movements develop top-down structures, while others stay more open and responsive to their social bases? The first rigorous comparative study of movement-based parties, this book shows not only how movements can form parties but also how movements contribute to parties' internal politics and shape organizational party models over the long term. Although the existing literature argues that movement-based parties will succumb to professionalization and specialization, Anria shows that this is not inevitable or preordained through an in-depth examination of the unusual and counterintuitive development of Bolivia's Movement Toward Socialism (MAS). Anria then compares the evolution of the MAS with that of other parties formed by social movements, including Brazil's Workers' Party (PT) and Uruguay's Broad Front (FA). In a region where successful new parties of any type have been rare in the past three decades, these three parties are remarkable for their success. Yet, despite their similar origins, they differ sharply in their organizational models and relationships with their social bases.

SANTIAGO ANRIA is Assistant Professor of Political Science and Latin American Studies at Dickinson College. His research focuses on social movements, political parties, and democracy in Latin America and has appeared in journals including *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, the *Journal of Democracy*, and *Latin American Politics and Society*. He received his PhD in Political Science from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

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When Movements Become Parties

The Bolivian MAS in Comparative Perspective

SANTIAGO ANRIA

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To Anne and Carmelo

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AD	Democratic Action (Acción Democrática – Venezuela)
ADN	Nationalist Democratic Action (Acción Democrática Nacionalista)
ALAS	Legal Advisory Branch of the Workers’ Union in Santa Cruz
ANC	African National Congress – South Africa
AP	Popular Action (Acción Popular – Bolivia)
ASIP	Popular and Solidarity Alliance (Alianza Popular Solidaria)
ASP	Assembly for the Sovereignty of the People (Asamblea por la Soberanía de los Pueblos)
AU	Uruguay Assembly (Asamblea Uruguay)
BCB	Bolivian Central Bank (Banco Central Boliviano)
CEDIB	Bolivia’s Center for Documentation and Information (Centro de Documentación e Información Bolivia)
CEJIS	Center for Juridical, Institutional, and Social Studies (Centro de Estudios Jurídicos e Investigación Social)
CIDOB	Confederation of Bolivian Indigenous Peoples (Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia)
CIPCA	Center for Research and Promotion of the Peasantry (Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado)
CNMCIQB-BS	“Bartolina Sisa” National Confederation of Campesino, Indigenous, and Native Women of Bolivia (Confederación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas Indígenas Originarias de Bolivia “Bartolina Sisa”)
COB	Bolivian Workers’ Central (Central Obrera Boliviana)
COMIBOL	Mining Corporation of Bolivia (Corporación Minera de Bolivia)

CON	Regular National Congress (Congreso Nacional Ordinario)
CONALCAM	National Coordinator for Change (Coordinadora Nacional para el Cambio)
CONAMAQ	National Council of Ayllus and Marcas of Qullasuyu (Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyu)
CONDEPA	Conscience of the Fatherland (Conciencia de Patria)
COR	Regional Labor Federation (Central Obrera Regional)
CPO	Causal Process Observation
CSCIB	Syndicalist Confederation of Intercultural Communities of Bolivia (Confederación Sindical de Comunidades Interculturales de Bolivia)
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CSUTCB	Unique Confederation of Rural Laborers of Bolivia (Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia)
CUT	Unified Workers' Central (Central Única dos Trabalhadores)
DALP	Democratic Accountability and Linkages Project
EP	Progressive Encounter (Encuentro Progresista – Uruguay)
FA	Broad Front (Frente Amplio – Uruguay)
FEJUVE	Federation of Neighborhood Boards (Federación de Juntas Vecinales)
FENCOMIN	National Federation of Mining Cooperatives (Federación Nacional de Cooperativas Mineras de Bolivia)
FESUCARUSO	Unique Federation of Peasant Communities in the Urban and Semi-Urban Radius of El Alto (Federación Única de Comunidades Campesinas del Radio Urbano y Sub Urbano de El Alto)
FETCT	Special Federation of Peasant Workers of the Tropics of Cochabamba (Federación Especial de Trabajadores Campesinos del Trópico de Cochabamba)
FEYCH	Special Federation of the Yungas of the Chapare (Federación Especial Yungas del Chapare)
FMLN	Salvadorian Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional)
FSNL	Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional)
FSTMB	Union Federation of Bolivian Mineworkers (Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia)
INE	National Institute of Statistics of Bolivia
IPSP	Political Instrument of the Sovereignty of the Peoples (Instrumento Político por la Soberanía de los Pueblos)
ISI	Import Substitution Industrialization

Acronyms and Abbreviations

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IU	United Left (Izquierda Unida)
LAPOP	Latin American Public Opinion Project
LCR	Radical Cause (La Causa R – Venezuela)
LJ	Liberty and Justice (Libertad y Justicia)
LPP	Law of Popular Participation (Ley de Participación Popular)
M-19	19th of April Movement (Movimiento 19 de Abril – Colombia)
MAS	Movement Toward Socialism (Movimiento al Socialismo)
MDB	Brazilian Democratic Movement
MIP	Pachakuti Indigenous Movement (Movimiento Indígena Pachakuti)
MIR	Revolutionary Left Movement (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria)
MMP	Mixed-Member Proportional Electoral Systems
MNR	Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario)
MPP	Popular Participation Movement (Movimiento por la Participación Popular)
MPS	Movement for Sovereignty (Movimiento por la Soberanía)
MRTKL	Revolutionary Liberation Movement Tupaq Katari (Movimiento de Liberación Revolucionaria Tupaq Katari)
MSM	Movement without Fear (Movimiento sin Miedo)
MST	Landless Movement (Movimento Sem Terra – Brazil)
MVR	Fifth Republic Movement (Movimiento Quinta República – Venezuela)
NC	National Council (Plenario Nacional – Uruguay)
NFR	New Republican Force (Nueva Fuerza Republicana)
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NM	New Majority (Nueva Mayoría – Uruguay)
OTB	Territorial Grass-roots Organizations (Organización Territorial de Base)
PACHAKUTIK	Ecuadorian Pachakutik Plurinational Unity Movement – New Country (Movimiento de Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik – Nuevo País)
PBC	Bolivian Communist Party (Partido Comunista Boliviano)
PC	Communist Party (Partido Comunista – Uruguay)
PED	Processo de Eleicoes Diretas (Direct Election Process)
PJ	Justicialist Party (Partido Justicialista – Argentina)
PL	Liberal Party – Brazil
PMDB	Brazilian Democratic Movement Party
PODEMOS	Social and Democratic Power (Poder Democrático Social)
PPB-CN	Plan Progress for Bolivia – National Convergence (Plan Progreso para Bolivia – Convergencia Nacional)

PRD	Party of the Democratic Revolution (Partido de la Revolución Democrática – Mexico)
PRI	Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional – Mexico)
PS	Socialist Party (Partido Socialista – Chile)
PSDB	Brazilian Social Democracy Party (Partido da Social Democracia)
PSUV	United Socialist Party of Venezuela (Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela)
PT	Workers' Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores – Brazil)
SMD	Single-member District
TIPNIS	Isiboro Sécore National Park and Indigenous Territory (Territorio Indígena y Parque Nacional Isiboro-Sécore)
UCS	Civic Solidarity Union (Unión Cívica Solidaridad)
UDI	Chilean Independent Democratic Union Party
UJC	Cruceñista Youth Union (Unión Juvenil Cruceñista)
UN	National Unity (Unidad Nacional)
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNIR	UNIR Foundation (Fundación UNIR)
UNITAS	Union of Institutions of Social Work and Action (Unión Nacional de Instituciones para el Trabajo de Acción Social)
V-DEM	Varieties of Democracy Project