

## Cleavage Formation in South American Party Systems

This project used comparative history to analyze two critical junctures that have shaped South American party systems. It then develops a quantitative measurement of party system responsiveness to test the historical predictions and to chart diverging party system trajectories during Latin America's "Left Turn".

In terms of their responsiveness to voter preferences, South American party systems that experienced prolonged periods of ideological conflict in the first half of the 20th Century continue to differ starkly from those in which elites avoided or where military coups ended polarization. The duration in historical polarization constitutes a critical juncture that sets Uruguay, Chile, and Argentina apart from the rest of South America. While not fully determining the paths party systems have taken at later critical junctures, this basic distinction between two types of party systems has survived the authoritarian regimes of the 1960s and 1970s, the "neoliberal critical juncture" of the 1980s, and for the most part also the subsequent "left turn". In a first step, the project studies critical junctures and historical legacies that set countries apart by adopting a comparative historical cleavage. It then uses data on party positions and voter preferences to show how autocratic-democratic regime divides in the aftermath of authoritarianism have nurtured new programmatic alignments in Brazil, Bolivia, and Mexico. Levels of responsiveness prior to the "left turn" then predict quite well which type of left party succeeded. Furthermore, I show that the nature of the populist left is radically different in Bolivia and Venezuela, in that it helped to realign the party system in the first case, but failed to do so in the second.

Project publications:

Bornschieer, S. (2019). Historical Polarization and Representation in South American Party Systems, 1900–1990. *British Journal of Political Science*, 49(1), 153–179. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123416000387>

Bornschieer, S. (2020). Combining deductive and inductive elements to measure party system responsiveness in challenging contexts: An approach with evidence from Latin America. *European Political Science*, 19(4), 540–549. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41304-020-00272-z>

Bornschieer, S. (2013). Trayectorias históricas y responsiveness del sistema de partidos en siete países de América Latina. *América Latina Hoy*, 65(diciembre), 45–77. <https://doi.org/10.14201/alh2013654577>