Integral Human Development
Catholic Social Teaching and the Capability Approach
Séverine Deneulin, Clemens Sedmak

Summary
This volume brings into conversation two major moral traditions in the social sciences and humanities that offer common areas for understanding, interpreting, and transforming the world.

Over the last decade, moral theologians who work on issues of poverty, social justice, human rights, and political institutions have been finding inspiration in the capability approach (CA). Conversely, social scientists who have been working on issues of poverty and social justice from a CA perspective have been finding elements in the Catholic social tradition (CST) to overcome some of the limitations of the CA, such as its vagueness regarding what counts as a valuable human life and its strong individual focus. Integral Human Development brings together for the first time social scientists and theologians in dialogue over their respective uses of CST and CA. The contributors discuss what their mutual grounds are, where they diverge, and where common areas of collaboration and transformative action can be found. The contributors offer a critical analysis of CA from the perspective of theology. They also provide an original account of CST. The book offers a broader historical, biblical, social, economic, political, and ecological understanding of CST than that which is currently available in the CST literature. The book will interest students and practitioners in global affairs, development studies, or the social sciences who seek to better understand the Catholic tradition and its social teachings and what they can offer to address current socio-environmental challenges.


Contributor Bio
Séverine Deneulin is the director of International Development at the Laudato Si’ Research Institute, Campion Hall, University of Oxford, and an associate fellow at the Oxford Department of International Development. She is the author of Human Development and the Catholic Social Tradition: Towards an Integral Ecology.

Making a Modern Political Order
The Problem of the Nation State
James J. Sheehan

Summary
Sheehan’s thoughtful book makes a convincing case that the modern political order arises out of people’s shared expectations and hopes, without which the nation state could not exist.

Every political order depends on a set of shared expectations about how the order does and should work. In Making a Modern Political Order, James Sheehan provides a sophisticated analysis of these expectations and shows how they are a source of both cohesion and conflict in the modern society of nation states. The author divides these expectations into three groups: first, expectations about the definition and character of political space, which in the modern era are connected to the emergence of a new kind of state; second, expectations about the nature of political communities (that is, about how people relate to one another and to their governments); and finally, expectations about the international system (namely, how states interact in a society of nation states). Although Sheehan treats these three dimensions of the political order separately, they are closely bound together, each dependent on—and reinforcing—the others. Ultimately, he claims, the modern nation state must balance all three organizing principles if it is to succeed.

Sheehan’s project begins with an examination of people’s expectations about political space, community, and international society in the premodern European world that came to be called the "ancien régime." He then, in chapters on states, nations, and the society of nation states, proceeds to trace the development of a modern political order that slowly and unevenly replaced the ancien régime in Europe and eventually spread throughout the world. To close, he offers some speculations about the horizon ahead of us, beyond which lies a future order that may someday replace our own.

Contributor Bio
James J. Sheehan is the Dickason Professor in the Humanities, Emeritus, at Stanford University. He was president of the American Historical Association in 2005 and is the author and editor of numerous books, including Where Have All the Soldiers Gone?
**From Revolution to Power in Brazil**

How Radical Leftists Embraced Capitalism and Struggled with Leadership

Kenneth P. Serbin

**Summary**

*From Revolution to Power in Brazil: How Radical Leftists Embraced Capitalism and Struggled with Leadership* examines terrorism from a new angle. Kenneth Serbin portrays a generation of Brazilian resistance fighters and militants struggling to rebuild their lives after suffering torture and military defeat by the harsh dictatorship that took control with the support of the United States in 1964, exiting in 1985.

Based on two decades of research and more than three hundred hours of interviews with former members of the revolutionary organization National Liberating Action, Serbin’s is the first book to bring the story of Brazil’s long night of dictatorship into the present. It explores Brazil’s status as an emerging global capitalist giant and its unique contributions and challenges in the social arena.

The book concludes with the rise of ex-militants to positions of power in a capitalist democracy—and how they confronted both old and new challenges posed by Brazilian society. Ultimately, Serbin explores the profound human questions of how to oppose dictatorship, revive politics in the wake of brutal repression, nurture democracy as a value, and command a capitalist system. This book will be of keen interest to business people, journalists, policy analysts, and readers with a general interest in Latin America and international affairs.

**Contributor Bio**

Kenneth P. Serbin is professor of history at the University of San Diego and author of *Needs of the Heart: A Social and Cultural History of Brazil’s Clergy and Seminaries* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2006) and *Secret Dialogues: Church-State Relations, Torture, and Social Justice in Authoritarian Brazil*.

---

**Nostalgia after Apartheid**

Disillusionment, Youth, and Democracy in South Africa

Amber R. Reed

**Summary**

In this engaging book, Amber Reed provides a new perspective on South Africa’s democracy by exploring Black residents’ nostalgia for life during apartheid in the rural Eastern Cape. Reed looks at a surprising phenomenon encountered in the post-apartheid nation: despite the Department of Education mandating curricula meant to teach values of civic responsibility and liberal democracy, those who are actually responsible for teaching this material (and the students taking it) often resist what they see as the imposition of “white” values. These teachers and students do not see South African democracy as a type of freedom, but rather as destructive of their own “African culture”—whereas apartheid, at least ostensibly, allowed for cultural expression in the former rural homelands. In the Eastern Cape, Reed observes, resistance to democracy occurs alongside nostalgia for apartheid among the very citizens who were most disenfranchised by the late racist, authoritarian regime.

Examining a rural town in the former Transkei homeland and the urban offices of the Sonke Gender Justice Network in Cape Town, Reed argues that nostalgic memories of a time when African culture was not under attack, combined with the socioeconomic failures of the post-apartheid state, set the stage for the current political ambivalence in South Africa. Beyond simply being a case study, however, *Nostalgia after Apartheid* shows how, in a global context in which nationalism and authoritarianism continue to rise, the threat posed to democracy in South Africa has far wider implications for thinking about enactments of democracy.

*Nostalgia after Apartheid* offers a unique approach to understanding how the attempted post-apartheid reforms have failed rural Black South Africans, and how this failure has led to a nostalgia for the very conditions that once oppressed them. It will interest scholars of African studies, postcolonial studies, anthropology, and education, as well as general readers interested in South African history and politics.

**Contributor Bio**

Amber R. Reed is assistant professor of international studies at Spelman College.
The Practice of Human Development and Dignity
Paolo G. Carozza, Clemens Sedmak

Summary
Although deeply contested in many ways, the concept of human dignity has emerged as a key idea in fields such as bioethics and human rights. It has been largely absent, however, from literature on development studies. The essays contained in The Practice of Human Development and Dignity fill this gap by showing the implications of human dignity for international development theory, policy, and practice. Pushing against ideas of development that privilege the efficiency of systems that accelerate economic growth at the expense of human persons and their agency, the essays in this volume show how development work that lacks sensitivity to human dignity is blind. Instead, genuine development must advance human flourishing and not merely promote economic betterment. At the same time, the essays in this book also demonstrate that human dignity must be assessed in the context of real human experiences and practices. This volume therefore considers the meaning of human dignity inductively in light of development practice, rather than simply providing a theory or philosophy of human dignity in the abstract. It asks not only "what is dignity" but also "how can dignity be done?"

Contributors: Paolo G. Carozza, Clemens Sedmak, Séverine Deneulin, Simona Beretta, Dominic Burbidge, Matt Bloom, Deirdre Guthrie, Robert A. Dowd, Bruce Wydick, Travis J. Lybbert, Paul Perrin, Martin Schlag, Luigino Bruni, Lorenzo Violini, Giada Ragone, Steve Reifenberg, Elizabeth Habse, Catherine E. Bolten, Ilaria Schnyder von Wartensee, Tania Groppi, Maria Sophia Aguirre, and Martha Cruz-Zuniga

Contributor Bio
Paolo G. Carozza is professor of law at the University of Notre Dame and co-author of Italian Constitutional Justice in Global Context.

Clemens Sedmak is professor of social ethics at the University of Notre Dame and author of The Capacity to Be Displaced.

Abortion in Latin America and the Caribbean
The Legal Impact of the American Convention on Human Rights
Ligia De Jesús Castaldi

Summary
Abortion in Latin America and the Caribbean is the first major book to analyze the abortion laws of the Latin American and Caribbean nations that are parties to the American Convention on Human Rights. Making use of a broad range of materials relating to human rights and abortion law not yet available in English, the first part of this book analyzes how Inter-American human rights bodies have interpreted the American Convention’s prenatal right to life. The second part examines Article 4(1) of the American Convention, comparing and analyzing the laws regarding prenatal rights and abortion in all twenty-three nations that are parties to this treaty. Castaldi questions how Inter-American human rights bodies currently interpret Article 4(1). Against the predominant view, she argues that the purpose of this treaty is to grant legal protection of the unborn child from elective abortion that is broad and general, not merely exceptional.

Abortion in Latin America and the Caribbean offers an objective analysis of national and international laws on abortion, proposing a new interpretation of the American Convention’s right-to-life provision that is nonrestrictive and provides general protection for the unborn. The book will appeal not only to students and scholars in the field of international human rights but also to human rights advocates more generally.

Contributor Bio
Ligia De Jesús Castaldi is professor of law at Ave Maria School of Law. She has worked for several international governmental human rights agencies, including UNICEF’s regional office for Latin America and the Caribbean and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.
**Legacies of the Left Turn in Latin America**
The Promise of Inclusive Citizenship
Manuel Balán, Françoise Montambeault

**Summary**
*Legacies of the Left Turn in Latin America: The Promise of Inclusive Citizenship* contains original essays by a diverse group of leading and emerging scholars from North America, Europe, and Latin America. The book speaks to wide-ranging debates on democracy, the left, and citizenship in Latin America. What were the effects of a decade and a half of left and center-left governments? The central purpose of this book is to evaluate both the positive and negative effects of the Left turn on state-society relations and inclusion.

Promises of social inclusion and the expansion of citizenship rights were paramount to the center-left discourses upon the factions’ arrival to power in the late 1990s and early 2000s. This book is a first step in understanding to what extent these initial promises were or were not fulfilled, and why. In analyzing these issues, the authors demonstrate that these years yield both signs of progress in some areas and the deepening of historical problems in others. The contributors to this book reveal variation among and within countries, and across policy and issue areas such as democratic institution reforms, human rights, minorities’ rights, environmental questions, and violence. This focus on issues rather than countries distinguishes the book from other recent volumes on the left in Latin America, and the book will speak to a broad and multi-dimensional audience, both inside and outside the academic world.

Contributors: Manuel Balán, Françoise Montambeault, Philip Oxhorn, Maxwell A. Cameron, Kenneth M. Roberts, Nathalia Sandoval-Rojas, Daniel M. Brinks, Benjamin Goldfrank, Roberta rice, Elizabeth Jelin, Celina Van Dembroucke, Nora Nagels, Merike Blofield, Jordi Diez, Eve Bratman, Gabriel Kessler, Olivier Dabène, Jared Abbott, Steve Levitsky

**Contributor Bio**
Manuel Balán is an associate professor of political science at McGill University.
Françoise Montambeault is an associate professor of political science at the University of Montreal.

---

**Beyond High Courts**
The Justice Complex in Latin America
Matthew C. Ingram, Diana Kapiszewski

**Summary**
*Beyond High Courts: The Justice Complex in Latin America* is a much-needed volume that will make a significant contribution to the growing fields of comparative law and politics and Latin American legal institutions. The book moves these research agendas beyond the study of high courts by offering theoretically and conceptually rich empirical analyses of a set of critical supranational, national, and subnational justice sector institutions that are generally neglected in the literature. The chapters examine the region’s large federal systems (Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico), courts in Chile and Venezuela, and the main supranational tribunal in the region, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Aimed at students of comparative legal institutions while simultaneously offering lessons for practitioners charged with designing such institutions, the volume advances our understanding of the design of justice institutions, how their form and function change over time, what causes those changes, and what consequences they have. The volume also pays close attention to how justice institutions function as a system, exploring institutional interactions across branches and among levels of government (subnational, national, supranational) and analyzing how they help to shape, and are shaped by, politics and law.

Contributors: Matthew C. Ingram, Diana Kapiszewski, Azul A. Aguiar-Aguilar, Ernani Carvalho, Natália Leitão, Catalina Smulovitz, John Seth Alexander, Robert Nyenhuis, Sidia Maria Porto Lima, José María Wanderley Gomes Neto, Danilo Pacheco Fernandes, Louis Dantas de Andreade, Mary L. Volcansek, and Martin Shapiro.

**Contributor Bio**
Matthew C. Ingram is associate professor of political science at the University at Albany, State University of New York. He is the author of *Crafting Courts in New Democracies: The Politics of Subnational Judicial Reform in Brazil and Mexico*.

Diana Kapiszewski is associate professor of government at Georgetown University. She is author, co-editor, and co-author of a number of books, including *High Courts and Economic Governance in Argentina and Brazil*.
Migrant Integration in a Changing Europe
Immigrants, European Citizens, and Co-ethnics in Italy and Spain
Roxana Barbulescu

Summary
In this rich study, Roxana Barbulescu examines the transformation of state-led immigrant integration in two relatively new immigration countries in Western Europe: Italy and Spain. The book is comparative in approach and seeks to explain states’ immigrant integration strategies across national, regional, and city-level decision and policy making. Barbulescu argues that states pursue no one-size-fits-all strategy for the integration of migrants, but rather simultaneously pursue multiple strategies that vary greatly for different groups. Two main integration strategies stand out. The first one targets non-European citizens and is assimilationist in character and based on interventionist principles according to which the government actively pursues the inclusion of migrants. The second strategy targets EU citizens and is a laissez-faire scenario where foreigners enjoy rights and live their entire lives in the host country without the state or the local authorities seeking their integration.

The empirical material in the book, dating from 1985 to 2015, includes systematic analyses of immigration laws, integration policies and guidelines, historical documents, original interviews with policy makers, and statistical analysis based on data from the European Labor Force Survey. While the book draws on evidence from Italy and Spain in an effort to bring these case studies to the core of fundamental debates on immigration and citizenship studies, its broader aim is to contribute to a better understanding of state interventionism in immigrant integration in contemporary Europe. The book will be a useful text for students and scholars of global immigration, integration, citizenship, European integration, and European society and culture.

Contributor Bio
Roxana Barbulescu is University Academic Fellow and 250 Great Minds Scholar in the School of Sociology and Social Policy at the University of Leeds.

Dreams for Lesotho
Independence, Foreign Assistance, and Development
John Aerni-Flessner

Summary
In Dreams for Lesotho: Independence, Foreign Assistance, and Development, John Aerni-Flessner studies the post-independence emergence of Lesotho as an example of the uneven ways in which people experienced development at the end of colonialism in Africa. The book posits that development became the language through which Basotho (the people of Lesotho) conceived of the dream of independence, both before and after the 1966 transfer of power.

While many studies of development have focused on the perspectives of funding governments and agencies, Aerni-Flessner approaches development as an African-driven process in Lesotho. The book examines why both political leaders and ordinary people put their faith in development, even when projects regularly failed to alleviate poverty. He argues that the potential promise of development helped make independence real for Africans.

The book utilizes government archives in four countries, but also relies heavily on newspapers, oral histories, and the archives of multinational organizations like the World Bank. It will interest scholars of decolonization, development, empire, and African and South African history.

Contributor Bio
John Aerni-Flessner is an assistant professor in the Residential College in the Arts and Humanities at Michigan State University.
The Other Roots

Wandering Origins in Roots of Brazil and the Impasses of Modernity in Ibero-America

Pedro Meira Monteiro, Flora Thomson-DeVeaux

Summary
First published in 1936, the classic work Roots of Brazil by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda presented an analysis of why and how a European culture flourished in a large tropical environment that was totally foreign to its traditions, and the manner and consequences of this development. In The Other Roots, Pedro Meira Monteiro contends that Roots of Brazil is an essential work for understanding Brazil and the current impasses of politics in Latin America. Meira Monteiro demonstrates that the ideas expressed in Roots of Brazil have taken on new forms and helped to construct some of the most lasting images of the country, such as the "cordial man," a central concept that expresses the Ibero-American cultural and political experience and constantly wavers between liberalism's claims to impersonality and deeply ingrained forms of personalism. Meira Monteiro examines in particular how "cordiality" reveals the everlasting conflation of the public and the private spheres in Brazil. Despite its ambivalent relationship to liberal democracy, Roots of Brazil may be seen as part of a Latin Americanist assertion of a shared continental experience, which today might extend to the idea of solidarity across the so-called Global South. Taking its cue from Buarque de Holanda, The Other Roots investigates the reasons why national discourses invariably come up short, and shows identity to be a poetic and political tool, revealing that any collectivity ultimately remains intact thanks to the multiple discourses that sustain it in fragile, problematic, and fascinating equilibrium.

Contributor Bio

Pedro Meira Monteiro is the Arthur W. Marks '19 Professor of Spanish and Portuguese at Princeton University. He is the author, editor, and co-editor of numerous books, including a critical edition of Raízes do Brasil.

Flora Thomson-DeVeaux is a writer, researcher, and translator, most recently of The Posthumous Memoirs of Brás Cubas. She studied Spanish and Portuguese at Princeton University and earned a PhD in Portuguese and Brazilian studies from Brown University. She lives in Rio de Janeiro.

Needs of the Heart

A Social and Cultural History of Brazil's Clergy and Seminaries

Kenneth P. Serbin

Summary
Needs of the Heart traces five centuries of conflict and change in the life of the clergy in Brazil, home to the world's largest and arguably the most dynamic branch of the Roman Catholic Church. Serbin examines how priests participated in the colonization of Brazil, educated the elite and poor in the faith, propped up the socioeconomic status quo, and reinforced the institution of slavery, all the while living in relative freedom from church authority. Earthy men, many flouted the rule of celibacy and became embroiled in politics. Serbin also describes the conservative modernization of the clergy, effected through seminary education, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Emphasizing discipline, the seminaries aimed to mold a new kind of priest—moral, isolated from politics and social entanglements, and, above all, obedient and celibate. However, the social, cultural, and religious upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s led students to reject the seminary. Seminarians worked to form a national union, and many left seminaries to establish greater contact with the people. The seminarians' movement sparked the practice of liberation theology; it also reflected the quest for professional and individual development, including optional celibacy. The Church responded to its seminarians' demands for personalized education by attempting to build an ambitious program in liberation psychology, a phenomenon as important as liberation theology.

Seminaries necessarily dealt in the psychology of sexuality, friendship, and other basic human tendencies—what historian Marc Bloch has called the "secret needs of the heart." Serbin argues that the "needs of the heart" were a cause of the political transformation of the Brazilian Church, a transformation catalyzed by the profound identity crisis experienced by clergymen and seminarians in the 1960s and 1970s. The story of this generation of seminarians and priests is intermingled with the challenges and fears present during the repressive military dictatorship (1964 to 1985) and its aftermath.

Contributor Bio

Kenneth P. Serbin is professor of history at the University of San Diego.
Religious Responses to Violence
Human Rights in Latin America Past and Present
Alexander Wilde

Summary
During the past half century, Latin America has evolved from a region of political instability and frequent dictatorships into one of elected governments. Although its societies and economies have undergone sweeping changes, high levels of violence have remained a persistent problem. Religious Responses to Violence: Human Rights in Latin America Past and Present offers rich resources to understand how religion has perceived and addressed different forms of violence, from the political and state violence of the 1970s and 1980s to the drug traffickers and youth gangs of today. The contributors offer many fresh insights into contemporary criminal violence and reconsider past interpretations of political violence, liberation theology, and human rights in light of new questions and evidence.

In contrast to many other studies of violence, this book explores its moral dimensions—up close in lived experience—and the real consequences of human agency. Alexander Wilde provides a thoughtful substantive introduction, followed by thematic chapters on "rights," "violence," and case studies of ten countries throughout the region. The book breaks new ground examining common responses as well as differences between Catholic and Evangelical pastoral accompaniment. These new studies focus on the specifically religious character of their responses—how they relate their mission and faith to violence in different contexts—to better understand how and why they have taken action.

Contributor Bio
Alexander Wilde is a senior research scholar in residence at the Center for Latin American and Latino Studies, American University. He is co-editor (with Scott Mainwaring) of The Progressive Church in Latin America (University of Notre Dame Press, 1989).

Avoiding Governors
Federalism, Democracy, and Poverty Alleviation in Brazil and Argentina
Tracy Beck Fenwick

Summary
With the goal of showing the effect of domestic factors on the performance of poverty alleviation strategies in Latin America, Tracy Beck Fenwick explores the origins and rise of conditional cash transfer programs (CCTs) in the region, and then traces the politics and evolution of specific programs in Brazil and Argentina. Utilizing extensive field research and empirical analysis, Fenwick analyzes how federalism affects the ability of a national government to deliver CCTs.

One of Fenwick’s key findings is that broad institutional, structural, and political variables are more important in the success or failure of CCTs than the technical design of programs. Contrary to the mainstream interpretations of Brazilian federalism, her analysis shows that municipalities have contributed to the relative success of Bolsa Familia and its ability to be implemented territory-wide. Avoiding Governors probes the contrast with Argentina, where the structural, political, and fiscal incentives for national-local policy cooperation have not been adequate, at least this far, to sustain a CCT program that is conditional on human capital investments. She thus challenges the virtue of what is considered to be a mainly majoritarian democratic system.

By laying out the key factors that condition whether mayors either promote or undermine national policy objectives, Fenwick concludes that municipalities can either facilitate or block a national government’s ability to deliver targeted social policy goods and to pursue a poverty alleviation strategy. By distinguishing municipalities as separate actors, she presents a dynamic intergovernmental relationship; indeed, she identifies a power struggle between multiple levels of government and their electorates, not just a dichotomously framed two-level game of national versus subnational.

Contributor Bio
Tracy Beck Fenwick is director of the Australian Centre for Federalism and lecturer in political science at the School of Politics and International Relations, Australian National University.
Participatory Democracy in Brazil
Socioeconomic and Political Origins
J. Ricardo Tranjan

Summary
The largely successful trajectory of participatory democracy in post-1988 Brazil is well documented, but much less is known about its origins in the 1970s and early 1980s. In *Participatory Democracy in Brazil: Socioeconomic and Political Origins*, J. Ricardo Tranjan recounts the creation of participatory democracy in Brazil. He positions the well-known Porto Alegre participatory budgeting at the end of three interrelated and partially overlapping processes: a series of incremental steps toward broader political participation taking place throughout the twentieth century; short-lived and only partially successful attempts to promote citizen participation in municipal administration in the 1970s; and setbacks restricting direct citizen participation in the 1980s. What emerges is a clearly delineated history of how socioeconomic contexts shaped Brazil’s first participatory administrations.

Tranjan first examines Brazil’s long history of institutional exclusion of certain segments of the population and controlled inclusion of others, actions that fueled nationwide movements calling for direct citizen participation in the 1960s. He then presents three case studies of municipal administrations in the late 1970s and early 1980s that foreground the impact of socioeconomic factors in the emergence, design, and outcome of participatory initiatives. The contrast of these precursory experiences with the internationally known 1990s participatory models shows how participatory ideals and practices responded to the changing institutional context of the 1980s. The final part of his analysis places developments in participatory discourses and practices in the 1980s within the context of national-level political-institutional changes; in doing so, he helps bridge the gap between the local-level participatory democracy and democratization literatures.

Contributor Bio
J. Ricardo Tranjan is a public policy consultant and independent scholar.

Activating Democracy in Brazil
Popular Participation, Social Justice, and Interlocking Institutions
Brian Wampler

Summary
In 1988, Brazil’s Constitution marked the formal establishment of a new democratic regime. In the ensuing two and a half decades, Brazilian citizens, civil society organizations, and public officials have undertaken the slow, arduous task of building new institutions to ensure that Brazilian citizens have access to rights that improve their quality of life, expand their voice and vote, change the distribution of public goods, and deepen the quality of democracy. Civil society activists and ordinary citizens now participate in a multitude of state-sanctioned institutions, including public policy management councils, public policy conferences, participatory budgeting programs, and legislative hearings. *Activating Democracy in Brazil* examines how the proliferation of democratic institutions in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, has transformed the way in which citizens, CSOs, and political parties work together to change the existing state.

According to Wampler, the 1988 Constitution marks the formal start of the participatory citizenship regime, but there has been tremendous variation in how citizens and public officials have carried it out. This book demonstrates that the variation results from the interplay of five factors: state formation, the development of civil society, government support for citizens’ use of their voice and vote, the degree of public resources available for spending on services and public goods, and the rules that regulate forms of participation, representation, and deliberation within participatory venues. By focusing on multiple democratic institutions over a twenty-year period, this book illustrates how the participatory citizenship regime generates political and social change.

Contributor Bio
Brian Wampler is professor of political science at Boise State University. He is the author of *Participatory Budgeting in Brazil: Contestation, Cooperation, and Accountability*. 
Authoritarian El Salvador
Politics and the Origins of the Military Regimes, 1880-1940
Erik Ching

Summary
In December 1931, El Salvador’s civilian president, Arturo Araujo, was overthrown in a military coup. Such an event was hardly unique in Salvadoran history, but the 1931 coup proved to be a watershed. Araujo had been the nation’s first democratically elected president, and although no one could have foreseen the result, the coup led to five decades of uninterrupted military rule, the longest run in modern Latin American history. Furthermore, six weeks after coming to power, the new military regime oversaw the crackdown on a peasant rebellion in western El Salvador that is one of the worst episodes of state-sponsored repression in modern Latin American history. Democracy would not return to El Salvador until the 1990s, and only then after a brutal twelve-year civil war.

In Authoritarian El Salvador: Politics and the Origins of the Military Regimes, 1880-1940, Erik Ching seeks to explain the origins of the military regime that came to power in 1931. Based on his comprehensive survey of the extant documentary record in El Salvador’s national archive, Ching argues that El Salvador was typified by a longstanding tradition of authoritarianism dating back to the early- to mid-nineteenth century. The basic structures of that system were based on patron-client relationships that wove local, regional, and national political actors into complex webs of rival patronage networks. Decidedly nondemocratic in practice, the system nevertheless exhibited highly paradoxical traits: it remained steadfastly loyal to elections as the mechanism by which political aspirants acquired office, and it employed a political discourse laden with appeals to liberty and free suffrage. That blending of nondemocratic authoritarianism with populist reformism and rhetoric set the precedent for military rule for the next fifty years.

Contributor Bio
Erik Ching is professor of history at Furman University. He is coauthor with Héctor Lindo Fuentes of Modernizing Minds in El Salvador: Education Reform and the Cold War, 1960–1980.

Success of the Left in Latin America
Untainted Parties, Market Reforms, and Voting Behavior
Rosario Queirolo

Summary
Why, since the beginning of the twenty-first century, have so many Latin American countries elected governments identifying themselves with the ideological Left? In The Success of the Left in Latin America: Untainted Parties, Market Reforms, and Voting Behavior, Rosario Queirolo argues that the “pink tide” that swept across Latin America beginning in the late 1990s—with the election of a growing number of leftist political candidates to public office—was caused by the intent of voters to punish political parties unable to improve the economic well-being of their electorates. She argues that Latin Americans vote based on performance, ousting those whom they perceive as responsible for economic downturns, and ushering into power those in the “untainted opposition,” which has been the Left in most Latin American countries.

Queirolo argues that the effects of neoliberal economic reforms did not produce more votes for political parties on the Left. Rather, the key variable is unemployment. Left-leaning parties in Latin America increase their electoral chances when unemployment is high. In addition to explaining recent electoral successes of leftist parties, The Success of the Left in Latin America also undermines a dominant scholarly view of Latin Americans as random and unpredictable voters by showing how the electorate at the polls holds politicians accountable.

Contributor Bio
Rosario Queirolo is associate professor in the department of social and political science at Universidad Católica del Uruguay.
**Democracy in Latin America**  
*Between Hope and Despair*  
Ignacio Walker

**Summary**  
In 2009, Ignacio Walker—scholar, politician, and one of Latin America’s leading public intellectuals—published *La Democracia en América Latina*. Now available in English, with a new prologue, and significantly revised and updated for an English-speaking audience, *Democracy in Latin America: Between Hope and Despair* contributes to the necessary and urgent task of exploring both the possibilities and difficulties of establishing a stable democracy in Latin America.

Walker argues that, throughout the past century, Latin American history has been marked by the search for responses or alternatives to the crisis of oligarchic rule and the struggle to replace the oligarchic order with a democratic one. After reviewing some of the principal theories of democracy based on an analysis of the interactions of political, economic, and social factors, Walker maintains that it is primarily the actors, institutions, and public policies—not structural determinants—that create progress or regression in Latin American democracy.

**Contributor Bio**  
Ignacio Walker is a Chilean senior scholar of political science and a practicing politician. He is currently serving as a senator of the Republic of Chile and as president of the Christian Democratic Party.

---

**Diffusion of Good Government**  
*Social Sector Reforms in Brazil*  
Natasha Borges Sugiyama

**Summary**  
One of the most fundamental questions for social scientists involves diffusion events; simply put, how do ideas spread and why do people embrace them? In *Diffusion of Good Government: Social Sector Reforms in Brazil*, Natasha Borges Sugiyama examines why innovations spread across political territories and what motivates politicians to adopt them.

Sugiyama does so from the vantage point of Brazilian politics, a home to innovative social sector reforms intended to provide the poor with access to state resources. Since the late 1980s, the country has undergone major policy transformations as local governments have gained political, fiscal, and administrative autonomy. For the poor and other vulnerable groups, local politics holds special importance: municipal authorities provide essential basic services necessary for their survival, including social assistance, education, and health care. Brazil, with over 5,000 municipalities with a wide variety of political cultures and degrees of poverty, thus provides ample opportunities to examine the spread of innovative programs to assist such groups.

Sugiyama delves into the politics of social sector reforms by examining the motivations for emulating well-regarded programs. To uncover the mechanisms of diffusion, her analysis contrasts three paradigmatic models for how individuals choose to allocate resources: by advancing political self-interest to gain electoral victories; by pursuing their ideological commitments for social justice; or by seeking to demonstrate adherence to the professional norms of their fields. Drawing on a mixed-method approach that includes extensive field research and statistical analysis on the spread of model programs in education (especially Bolsa Escola, a school grant program) and health (Programa Saúde da Família, a family health program), she concludes that ideological convictions and professional norms were the main reasons why mayors adopted these programs, with electoral incentives playing a negligible role.

**Contributor Bio**  
Natasha Borges Sugiyama is associate professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.
Metropolitan Governance in the Federalist Americas
Strategies for Equitable and Integrated Development
Peter K. Spink, Peter M. Ward, Robert H. Wilson

Summary
Despite rapid metropolitanization throughout the Americas and widespread interest in “megacities,” few studies have examined the new governance structures needed to address issues of citizen representation and participation and the public service challenges of population expansion and increasing urban inequalities. To fill that void, Peter K. Spink, Peter M. Ward, Robert H. Wilson, and the other contributors to this volume provide original research and analysis of the principal metropolitan areas in six federalist countries of the Americas—Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Mexico, the United States, and Venezuela. They find that a common feature of metropolitan expansion is the lack of a unified governmental structure. Using a comparative research framework, they examine the forms, functions, legitimacy, and performance of emerging governmental structures.

Their cross-national study shows that existing institutional structures and political systems impede collaboration among governments in metropolitan areas. Given both the relatively few successful models at the local level and the disinterest on the part of federal governments, regional governments seem to provide the most pragmatic bases for constructing metropolitan governments that are capable of efficiently delivering services. Because there is no direct path to achieve such new structures, the authors urge reform at the state and local levels to address the need to work out the politics and management structures that will function best.

Contributor Bio
Peter K. Spink is professor of public administration and government in the São Paulo School of Business Administration, Getulio Vargas Foundation.

Peter M. Ward is the C. B. Smith Sr. Centennial Chair in U.S.-Mexico Relations in the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Texas at Austin.

Robert H. Wilson is Mike Hogg Professor of Urban Policy and associate dean and professor at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin.

Problems Confronting Contemporary Democracies
Essays in Honor of Alfred Stepan
Douglas Chalmers, Scott Mainwaring

Summary
What are the consequences of different paths toward democracy? How can religion support democratic diversity? And what ongoing dilemmas do democratic governments face in reining in the armed forces that once ruled? The original essays in Problems Confronting Contemporary Democracies investigate these and other questions, which Alfred Stepan addressed in his pioneering work as one of the most prominent comparative political scientists of the past four decades. The contributors, who came together at a conference in Stepan’s honor at Columbia University in 2007, pay tribute to his work and illuminate some of the debates he launched, while advancing understanding of problems facing democracies around the world.

The essays in Problems Confronting Contemporary Democracies demonstrate the substantive, geographic, and methodological range of Stepan’s work by building on many of his major scholarly contributions. Principal themes include authoritarianism, the breakdown of democratic regimes, transitions from authoritarianism to democracy, democratic consolidation, the role of the military in politics, and ways—including the varieties of federalism—to manage conflict democratically in societies that are divided by religious, ethnic, and national cleavages. The contributions range from Latin America to the post-Soviet regions, Iran, China, Turkey, Israel, Spain and Portugal, and the United States.


Contributor Bio
Douglas Chalmers is professor emeritus of political science, Columbia University.

Scott Mainwaring is the Eugene and Helen Conley Professor of Political Science and the Director of the Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame.
Formation of Souls
Imagery of the Republic in Brazil
José Murilo de Carvalho

Summary
In *The Formation of Souls: Imagery of the Republic in Brazil*, José Murilo de Carvalho examines the birth of the Brazilian Republic in 1889. Given that the majority of the population of Brazil participated very little in the change from an empire to a republic, what allowed the new government to consolidate its power? As a part of the answer to this question, Carvalho analyzes a collection of republican symbols, images, allegories, and myths of the period as attempts by various republican political elites to shape the collective social imagination. As Carvalho explains, the expansion of popular participation in republican ideals would have been nearly impossible through a purely theoretical, ideological discourse, so it had to be achieved by more universal, accessible means, appealing to collective sentiment through stories and images of heroes and founding fathers, images of women, and national flags and anthems.

In this concise but heavily illustrated study, Carvalho demonstrates how the foundational symbols created for the new republic reflected important ideological battles over the nature of the new Brazilian regime. He evaluates the acceptance or rejection of these symbols by the public, that is, their efficacy or failure in promoting the legitimization of the new political system and redefining the collective identity of Brazilians.

Available for the first time in an English translation, *The Formation of Souls: Imagery of the Republic in Brazil* will appeal to all students and scholars of history, political science, and Latin American studies who are interested in one of the key moments of Brazilian political history.

Contributor Bio
José Murilo de Carvalho is emeritus professor of history at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. He has published twelve books, including *Cidadania ano Brasil: O longo caminho* (2001), and the biography *D. Pedro II: Ser ou não ser* (2007).

Power in the Balance
Presidents, Parties, and Legislatures in Peru and Beyond
Barry S. Levitt

Summary
In *Power in the Balance: Presidents, Parties, and Legislatures in Peru and Beyond*, Barry S. Levitt answers urgent questions about executive power in "new" democracies. He examines in rich detail the case of Peru, from President Alan García’s first term (1985–1990), to the erosion of democracy under President Alberto Fujimori (1990–2000), through the interim government of Valentín Paniagua (2000–2001) and the remarkable, if rocky, renewal of democracy culminating in Alejandro Toledo’s 2001–2006 presidency. This turbulent experience with democracy brings into clear focus the functioning of formal political institutions—constitutions and electoral laws, presidents and legislatures, political parties and leaders—while also exposing the informal side of Peru’s national politics over the course of two decades.

Levitt’s study of politics in Peru also provides a test case for his regional analysis of cross-national differences and change over time in presidential power across eighteen Latin American countries. In Peru and throughout Latin America, Levitt shows, the rule of law itself and the organizational forms of political parties have a stronger impact on legislative-executive relations than do most of the institutional traits and constitutional powers that configure the formal “rules of the game” for high politics. His findings, and their implications for improving the quality of new democracies everywhere, will surprise promoters, practitioners, and scholars of democratic politics alike.

Contributor Bio
Barry S. Levitt is assistant professor of politics and international relations at Florida International University.
Maryknoll Catholic Mission in Peru, 1943-1989
Transnational Faith and Transformations
Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens

Summary
Maryknoll Catholic missionaries from the United States settled in Peru in 1943 believing they could save a "backward" Catholic Church from poverty, a scarcity of clergy, and the threat of communism. Instead, the missionaries found themselves transformed: within twenty-five years, they had become vocal critics of United States foreign policy and key supporters of liberation theology, the preferential option for the poor, and intercultural Catholicism.

In *The Maryknoll Catholic Mission in Peru, 1943-1989*, Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens explains this transformation and Maryknoll's influence in Peru and the United States by placing it in the context of a transnational encounter Catholics with shared faith but distinct practices and beliefs. Peru received among the greatest number of foreign Catholic missionaries who settled in Latin America during the Cold War. It was at the heart of liberation theology and progressive Catholicism, the center of a radical reformist experiment initiated by a progressive military dictatorship, and the site of a devastating civil war promoted by the Maoist Shining Path. Maryknoll participated in all these developments, making Peru a perfect site for understanding Catholic missions, the role of religion in the modern world, and relations between Latin America and the United States.

This book is based on two years of research conducted in Peru, where Fitzpatrick-Behrens examined national and regional archives, conducted extensive interviews with Maryknoll clergy who continued to work in the country, and engaged in participant observation in the Aymara indigenous community of Cutini Capilla. Her findings contest assumptions about secularization and the decline of public religion by demonstrating that religion continues to play a key role in social, political, and economic development.

Contributor Bio
Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens is an associate professor of history at California State University, Northridge.

Right to the City
Popular Contention in Contemporary Buenos Aires
Gabriela Ippolito-O'Donnell

Summary
Based on extensive, original fieldwork, as well as new survey data, *The Right to the City* contributes to the study of democratization by focusing on the dilemmas and opportunities of popular contention in the city of Buenos Aires. It also offers an excellent overview of the history of social mobilization in Argentina. Gabriela Ippolito-O'Donnell's main assertion in this study is that through various channels of collective action and associational activities, as well as by voting, the urban popular sector is a fundamental actor in the pursuit of the expansion and consolidation of citizenship rights. Using both qualitative analysis and quantitative data, Ippolito-O'Donnell explores what factors—economic, politico-institutional, organizational, and subjective—account for the emergence in the 1980s, and collapse in the 1990s, of a wave of grassroots popular organizations in Villa Lugano, a poor neighborhood located in the south of Buenos Aires. She identifies factors crucial for explaining the organizational weakness and concomitant cyclical patterns of collective action by the urban poor, as well as the consequences for alleviating poverty and inequality in this newly democratized nation.

Contributor Bio
Gabriela Ippolito-O'Donnell is professor in the School of Politics and Government at the Universidad Nacional de San Martin in Argentina.
Political Careers, Corruption, and Impunity
Panama's Assembly, 1984–2009
Carlos Guevara Mann

Summary
In Political Careers, Corruption, and Impunity: Panama’s Assembly, 1984–2009, Carlos Guevara Mann systematically examines the behavior of the members of Panama’s Legislative Assembly between 1984 and 2009, an arena previously unexplored in studies of Panamanian politics. He challenges fundamental aspects of scholarly literature on democratic legislatures, with important consequences for understanding democratic politics in Latin America and other parts of the world. The current literature on legislatures assumes that legislators single-mindedly seek reelection or the advancement of their political careers, and that they pursue these goals through acceptable democratic means. Guevara Mann shows, however, that in Panama many legislators also pursue less laudable goals such as personal enrichment and freedom from prosecution, often reaching their goals through means—widespread clientelism, party switching, and electoral manipulation—that undermine the quality of democracy.

On one level, Political Careers, Corruption, and Impunity contrasts the political behavior of individual legislators; on another, it compares the actions of legislators under various regimes—military and constitutional. Lastly, it engages in cross-national comparisons that contrast the behavior of Panamanian legislators with actions of representatives elsewhere. Guevara Mann’s sophisticated analysis of the military period and the transition to democracy, with an emphasis on the history and functioning of legislative bodies, contains a wealth of new information about a neglected but intrinsically fascinating case.

Contributor Bio
Carlos Guevara Mann is an international consultant and teaches at Florida State University, Panama.

Precarious Democracies
Understanding Regime Stability and Change in Colombia and Venezuela
Ana María Bejarano

Summary
Why has democracy in Colombia and Venezuela evolved in very different directions? In Precarious Democracies, Ana Maria Bejarano provides a comparative historical analysis of how the democratic regimes in these two countries have diverged, following similar transitions from authoritarian rule to democracy in the late 1950s. Rather than focusing on resource-driven explanations, such as the role of oil in Venezuela and coffee in Colombia, or on short-term elite choices and calculations, Bejarano argues that democratic development in Colombia and Venezuela is best understood from a vantage point that privileges political history, especially the history of institutional evolution. The book makes the case that a comparative historical institutional framework—focused both on institutional legacies from the distant past (such as the state and political parties) and on those from more recent critical junctures (the foundational pacts)—provides the best lens to account for the divergent trajectories followed by democratic regimes in Colombia and Venezuela in the second half of the twentieth century.

Contributor Bio
Ana María Bejarano is associate professor of political science at the University of Toronto.
**Corruption and Democracy in Brazil**

**The Struggle for Accountability**

Timothy J. Power, Matthew M. Taylor

**Summary**

Brazil, the world's fourth largest democracy, has been plagued in recent years by corruption scandals. *Corruption and Democracy in Brazil: The Struggle for Accountability* considers the performance of the Brazilian federal accountability system with a view to diagnosing the system's strengths, weaknesses, and areas of potential improvement; taking stock of recent micro- and macro-level reforms; and pointing out the implications of the various dimensions of the accountability process for Brazil's democratic regime.

The book's essays take a multidimensional approach to the accountability matrix in Brazil. The first section of the book investigates the complex interrelationships among representative institutions, electoral dynamics, and public opinion. In the second section, authors address nonelectoral dimensions of accountability, such as the role of the media, accounting institutions, police, prosecutors, and courts. In the final chapter, the editors reflect upon the policy implications of the essays, considering recommendations that may contribute to an effective fight against political corruption and support ongoing accountability, as well as articulating analytical lessons for social scientists interested in the functioning of accountability networks.

**Contributor Bio**

Timothy J. Power is director of the Latin American Centre at the University of Oxford. Matthew M. Taylor is assistant professor of political science at the University of São Paulo, Brazil.

---

**Violent Democratization**

Social Movements, Elites, and Politics in Colombia's Rural War Zones, 1984-2008

Leah Carroll

**Summary**

In *Violent Democratization*, Leah Anne Carroll analyzes peasant and rural worker mobilization, as well as elite reaction, in Colombia's war zones over a period of twenty-five years and across three regions. Due to Colombia's long history of electoral democracy coinciding with weak state institutions, armed insurgencies, strong social movements, and violent responses from elites and the state, Carroll presents Colombia as a clear-cut national case of "violent democratization." Relying primarily on her interviews with leftist and social movement activists, elected officials, and some elites, as well as on electoral data and archival sources, Carroll reconstructs the political history of key county governments, providing a detailed account of the struggles for local power between elites, on the one hand, and rural agriculturalists and workers, on the other.

Carroll analyzes the ways in which the tactics of social movements and elites shifted as national political trends moved from greater political freedom, rapid decentralization, and peace overtures toward guerrilla groups characteristic of the 1980s and early 1990s, to the reversal of these trends and the major escalation of armed conflict and U.S. military aid thereafter. In all three regions, peasant, worker, and neighborhood movements, aided by leftist elected officials, initially gained significant victories. Their successes provoked a violent elite counteroffensive against activists, involving both military and elite-supported paramilitary forces. In response, however, a second wave of activism promoted human rights demands and sought international support to confront the violence of both the Right and the Left.

**Contributor Bio**

Leah Carroll is an independent scholar who works with the Office of Undergraduate Research at University of California, Berkeley.
The Sources of Democratic Responsiveness in Mexico
Matthew R. Cleary

Summary
Matthew Cleary investigates the political sources of improved government responsiveness in contemporary Mexico. He draws on existing theoretical frameworks that explain responsiveness (the degree to which government output matches public preferences) as a function of electoral accountability mechanisms, direct participatory pressure, or a combination of the two. Cleary demonstrates that electoral competition is not the cause of improved responsiveness among Mexican municipal governments. Instead, he attributes responsiveness in the 1980s and 1990s to a prior qualitative shift in participatory politics that began in the 1970s and continues to this day. The inability of electoral competition to improve responsiveness is, Cleary argues, a function of Mexico's political institutions. The book demonstrates the implications of thinking broadly about the variety of strategies that citizens use, on a daily basis, to influence the behavior of politicians.

Criminality, Public Security, and the Challenge to Democracy in Latin America
Marcelo Bergman, Laurence Whitehead

Summary
As new democratic regimes take root in Latin America, two of the most striking developments have been a dramatic rise in crime rates and increased perception of insecurity among its citizens. The contributors to this book offer a collective assessment of some of the causes for the alarming rise in criminal activity in the region. They also explore the institutional obstacles that states confront in the effort to curb criminality and build a fairer and more efficient criminal justice system; the connections between those obstacles and larger sociopolitical patterns; and the challenges that those patterns present for the consolidation of democracy in the region. The chapters offer both close studies of restricted regions in Latin America and broader examinations of the region as a whole.

Contributor Bio
Marcelo Bergman is associate professor at the law school of the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas in México City.

Laurence Whitehead is an Official Fellow in Politics at Nuffield College, Oxford University, and Senior Fellow of the college, and director of the Centre for Mexican Studies at Oxford University.
Rise and Fall of Repression in Chile
Pablo Policzer

Summary
In *The Rise and Fall of Repression in Chile*, Pablo Policzer tackles the difficult task of analyzing how authoritarian regimes utilize coercion. Even in relatively open societies, coercive institutions such as the police and military tend to be secretive and mistrustful of efforts by outsiders to oversee their operations. In more closed societies, secrecy is the norm, making coercion that much more difficult to observe and understand.

Drawing on organization theory to develop a comparative typology of coercive regimes, Policzer analyzes the structures and mechanisms of coercion in general and then shifts his focus to the early part of the military dictatorship in Chile, which lasted from 1973 to 1990. Policzer’s book sheds new light on a fundamental, yet little-examined, period during the Chilean dictatorship. Between 1977 and 1978, the governing junta in Chile quietly replaced the secret police organization known as the Dirección de Informaciones Nacional (DINA) with a different institution, the Central Nacional de Informaciones (CNI). Policzer provides the first systematic account of why the DINA was created in the first place, how it became the most powerful repressive institution in the country, and why it was suddenly replaced with a different organization, one that carried out repression in a markedly more restrained manner.

Policzer shows how the dictatorship’s reorganization of its security forces intersected in surprising ways with efforts by human rights watchdogs to monitor and resist the regime’s coercive practices. He concludes by comparing these struggles with how dictatorships in Argentina, East Germany, and South Africa organized coercion.

Contributor Bio
Pablo Policzer is assistant professor in political science and Canada Research Chair in Latin American Politics at the University of Calgary.

Judicial Reform as Political Insurance
Argentina, Peru, and Mexico in the 1990s
Jodi S. Finkel

Summary
During the 1990s, judicial reform swept Latin America. While some of the region’s supreme courts have been able to exercise increased power as a result of these reforms, others have not. Why do some instances of judicial reform appear to be leading to the development of a powerful judiciary while others have failed to do so? In this careful analysis, Jodi S. Finkel investigates judicial reform in Argentina, Mexico, and Peru. She suggests that while ruling parties can be induced to initiate judicial reforms by introducing constitutional revisions, they often prove unwilling to implement these constitutional changes by enacting required legislation.

To understand the outcomes of judicial reform, as well as to predict where reforms are likely to empower courts, it is necessary to examine the political incentives faced by politicians at the implementation phase. Finkel argues that the implementation of judicial reform may serve the ruling party as an insurance policy, in that a strong judicial branch reduces the risks faced by a ruling party once it loses power and becomes the opposition. Finkel suggests that as the ruling party’s probability of reelection declines, the likelihood of the enactment of reforms resulting in an empowered judiciary increases.

Contributor Bio
Jodi S. Finkel is associate professor of political science at Loyola Marymount University.
Dictatorship and Politics
Intrigue, Betrayal, and Survival in Venezuela, 1908-1935
Brian S. McBeth

Summary
Dictatorship and Politics presents the first major study of General Juan Vicente Gómez’s regime in Venezuela from 1908 to 1935 and the efforts of Gómez’s enemies to overthrow him during his twenty-seven years in power. In this reappraisal of the Gómez regime, Brian S. McBeth demonstrates that Gómez’s success in withstanding opponents’ attacks was not only the result of his political acumen and ruthless methods of oppression. The political disagreements, personal rivalries, financial difficulties, occasional harassment by foreign powers, and at times plain bad luck of his opponents, usually in exile, were important contributing factors in the failure of their plots to overthrow him. In examining the opposition to the Gómez dictatorship, McBeth also intentionally removes the politics of oil from the center stage of the regime’s foreign relations and instead focuses on the tolerance and intolerance by foreign governments of the exiles’ activities.

This monumental work of scholarship encompasses political correspondence, personal memoirs, newspapers, British and U.S. sources, and various public and private archives in Venezuela. Historians, as well as political scientists working on themes related to dictatorships and opposition, will find the book of interest.

Contributor Bio
Brian S. McBeth is a Senior Common Room Member of St. Antony’s College, Oxford. He is the author of a number of books, including Gunboats, Corruption, and Claims: Foreign Intervention in Venezuela, 1899–1908.

Governance in the Americas
Decentralization, Democracy, and Subnational Government in Brazil, Mexico, and the USA
Robert H. Wilson, Peter M. Ward, Peter K. Spink, Victoria E. Rodriguez

Summary
Governance in the Americas, a multidisciplinary volume, offers important new insights about decentralization, federalism, and democratic change in the three largest federal nations in the Americas: Brazil, Mexico, and the United States. Originating in a major research project conducted by teams in each of the three countries, this study contributes significantly to our understanding of how representative and participatory democracy is being constructed at state and local levels in the recently emerged democracies of Brazil and Mexico, and is being recast and sustained in the United States. The contributors evaluate the performance of subnational governments, as these societies become more genuinely decentralized, and as new actors and managerial routines create and implement public policy. The authors challenge the criticism of “exceptionalism” in the United States, seeking instead to understand the points of convergence and divergence among the three countries as each seeks to improve the effectiveness and public accountability of its policy-making processes.

Collaborators include Marta Ferreira Santos Farah, Lawrence S. Graham, Pedro Jacobi, and Allison M. Rowland.

Contributor Bio
Robert H. Wilson is Mike Hogg Professor of Urban Policy and associate dean of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin.

Peter M. Ward is the C. B. Smith Sr. Centennial Chair in U.S.-Mexico Relations and professor of sociology at the University of Texas at Austin.

Peter K. Spink is professor of public administration and government in the School of Business Administration, Getulio Vargas Foundation, São Paulo.

Victoria E. Rodríguez is vice provost and dean of graduate studies at the University of Texas at Austin and the Ashbel Smith Professor of Public Affairs.
Looking Forward
Comparative Perspectives on Cuba's Transition
Marifeli Perez-Stable

Summary
In Looking Forward, Marifeli Perez-Stable and her colleagues imagine Cuba's future after the "poof moment"—Jorge I. Domínguez's vivid phrase—when the current regime will no longer exist. Written in an accessible style that will appeal to all interested readers, this volume does not try to predict how and when the Castro regime will end, but instead considers the possible consequences of change. Each chapter—prepared by an expert in the field—takes up a basic issue: politics, the military, the legal system, civil society, gender, race, economic transition strategies, social policy and social welfare, corruption, the diaspora, memory, ideology and culture, and U.S.-Cuba relations.

The author of each chapter considers three questions: How have other new democracies handled the basic issue in question? How might Cuba's unique conditions affect this area in transition? What are the likely outcomes and alternatives for a Cuba in transition? Designed with students, policy-makers, and journalists in mind, this lively and accessible volume is an essential resource.

Contributor Bio
Marifeli Pérez-Stable is vice president for democratic governance at Inter-American Dialogue and professor of sociology at Florida International University. She is author and editor of a number of books, including The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Course, and Legacy.

Dissonances
Democratic Critiques of Democracy
Guillermo O'Donnell

Summary
Guillermo O'Donnell here brings together a collection of significant recent essays in which he considers both the method for and substance of critiques of democracies. While progress has been made in democratization, the authoritarian legacy hangs as a shadow over that advancement. O'Donnell engages in his analysis while keeping a firm gaze on that dangerous past.

O'Donnell's work has influenced a generation of political scientists. The essays in this volume bring forward and develop many of the ideas presented in his earlier collection, Counterpoints: Selected Essays on Authoritarianism and Democracy

Contributor Bio
Guillermo O'Donnell is the Helen Kellogg Professor of Government and Fellow at the Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame. He received the IPSA Prize for Lifetime Achievement in Political Science and is the author, editor, and co-editor of a number of books, including The Quality of Democracy: Theory and Applications (University of Notre Dame Press, 2004).
Peace, Democracy, and Human Rights in Colombia
Christopher Welna, Gustavo Gallón

Summary
Colombia is home to the longest-running guerilla war in this hemisphere, a war that has evolved into a multisided conflict. Over forty years ago guerrilla leaders launched their campaign to overthrow the government in the wave of Latin American revolutionary movements. While such movements in other countries from that era have negotiated settlements or suffered defeat, in Colombia two major guerrilla groups soldier on, at times in competition with each other. In the intervening years, these groups have been joined by new antagonists who sometimes strike alliances, though rivalry generally prevails. Drug traffickers, right-wing paramilitary squads, government police units, Colombia’s armed forces, and U.S. advisors, among others, have all joined the fray.

Why has Colombia’s internal war become so entrenched? Why have peace efforts failed to produce durable agreements? Why has Colombia’s long-standing democracy experienced such glaring failures? Who should be held accountable for the violence suffered by the Colombian people? Peace, Democracy, and Human Rights in Colombia addresses these pressing questions and delves deeply into the underlying politics and bedrock human rights issues in Colombia. Authored by leading Colombian and U.S. scholars, the chapters examine Colombia’s attempts at negotiating peace, the weakening of political institutions, patterns of violence, and human-rights politics. Contributors also consider the influential role played by the United States and the impact of drugs on politics.

Contributor Bio
Christopher Welna, a political scientist, is president of the Associated Colleges of the Midwest.

Gustavo Gallón is the director of the Colombia Commission of Jurists.

Eagles, Donkeys, and Butterflies
An Anthropological Study of Brazil’s "Animal Game"
Roberto DaMatta, Elena Soárez

Summary
Roberto DaMatta, one of the foremost Brazilian anthropologists, and his colleague Elena Soárez approach the question of gambling in popular culture in general and its treatment in social anthropology in particular. They focus on the "animal game," a kind of popular gambling entertainment or lottery within Brazil in which locals bet on a list of twenty-five animals. They argue that the success of this game, which originated in 1882 with the founding of the first zoo in Rio de Janeiro, and the social release the game provides are significant aspects of Brazilian social history and of the Brazilian "identity." Within the animal game, players "totemize" and identify with various animals. DaMatta and Soárez use this identification as a lens through which to view Brazil’s modernity, society, the significance of gambling, and even the role of animal images in Brazilian and Western society.

Appearing for the first time in English, this well-written work moves smoothly between comprehensive analysis and field observations of specific behaviors and practices, such as the lucky tricks and devices invested with magical thinking by those who play the game. This book will be of interest to students and scholars in sociology, anthropology, Brazilian studies, and Latin American cultural studies.

Contributor Bio
Robert DaMatta is The Reverend Edmund P. Joyce, C.S.C. Professor of Anthropology at the University of Notre Dame and Senior Fellow at The Kellogg Institute at Notre Dame. He has published several books, including A Divided World: Apinaye Social Structure.

Elena Soárez is a scriptwriter.
Counterpoints
Selected Essays on Authoritarianism and Democratization
Guillermo O'Donnell

Summary
The central, driving theme of this volume is democracy, its vicissitudes and its possibilities in Latin America. Guillermo O'Donnell considers the pattern of political and social alliances that have shaped Argentina’s agitated history, and focuses on the tensions and intrinsic weaknesses of bureaucratic-authoritarianism, especially in its most repressive guises, at a time when it projected itself as an enduring, efficient, and potentially legitimate form of political authority. He includes detailed empirical analysis of daily life under extremely repressive regimes and argues throughout that the struggle for democracy is the most appropriate way, both morally and strategically, to take advantage of the fissures and tensions that close examination discovers behind the bureaucratic-authoritarianism facade. Counterpoints is a successful mix of personal experience and meticulous scholarship—a trajectory of O'Donnell's work that starts with the critique of authoritarianism and ends with a close examination of presently existing democracies in Latin America. His discussion of the flaws of the new democracies originating from defective institutionalism and extreme social inequalities is especially valuable for scholars of democracy and democratization, comparative politics, and Latin American politics.

Contributor Bio
Guillermo O'Donnell (1936-2011) was the Hellen Kellogg Professor of Government and Fellow at the Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame.

Impact of Norms in International Society
The Latin American Experience, 1881–2001
Arie M. Kacowicz

Summary
This book addresses problems and puzzles associated with identifying international norms and the influence of these norms on the behavior of different states in international relations in a regional context. Arie M. Kacowicz's research traces several international norms of peace and security and examines their impact in Latin America between 1881 and 2001. He offers an original synthesis of positivist and constructivist approaches and links international relations, international law, international ethics, and Latin American diplomatic history.

Kacowicz's primary argument is that a body of international norms of peace and security can be considered an independent and dynamic factor that affects the quality of international society generally and also plays a significant role in regional contexts. In developing his argument, he analyzes the origin of international norms, the impact of norms on the domestic and foreign behavior of states, and the conditions under which regional norms affect the political behavior of states.

The book contains eleven empirical case-studies of the ways that international norms have affected the actions of Latin American states, ranging from the neutralization of the Magellan Straits in 1881, to the recent incorporation of Argentina, Chile, and Brazil into the Tlatelolco regime of a nuclear-weapons-free-zone in 1994, and the nuclear cooperation between Argentina and Brazil beginning in the late 1990s. These case-studies include stories of success through peaceful resolutions of conflict between states, of failure, and mixtures of both. Scholars and students of international relations and Latin America will find this book to be both a valuable analysis of international norms and a compelling diplomatic history.

Contributor Bio
Arie M. Kacowicz is senior lecturer in international relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
The Quality of Democracy
Theory and Applications
Guillermo O'Donnell, Jorge Vargas Cullell, Osvaldo M. Iazzetta

Summary
In 1996, Guillermo O'Donnell taught a seminar at the University of Notre Dame on democratic theory. One of the questions explored in this class was whether it is possible to define and determine the “quality” of democracy. Jorge Vargas Cullell, a student in this course, returned to his native country of Costa Rica, formed a small research team, and secured funding for undertaking a “citizen audit” of the quality of democracy in Costa Rica. This pathbreaking volume contains O'Donnell's qualitative theoretical study of the quality of democracy and Vargas Cullell's description and analysis of the empirical data he gathered on the quality of democracy in Costa Rica. It also includes twelve short, scholarly reflections on the O'Donnell and Cullell essays.

The primary goal of this collection is to present the rationale and methodology for implementing a citizen audit of democracy. This book is an expression of a growing concern among policy experts and academics that the recent emergence of numerous democratic regimes, particularly in Latin America, cannot conceal the sobering fact that the efficacy and impact of these new governments vary widely. These variations, which range from acceptable to dismal, have serious consequences for the people of Latin America, many of whom have received few if any benefits from democratization. Attempts to gauge the quality of particular democracies are therefore not only fascinating intellectual exercises but may also be useful practical guides for improving both old and new democracies.

Contributor Bio
Guillermo O'Donnell was the Helen Kellogg Professor of Government and International Studies at the University of Notre Dame.

Jorge Vargas Cullell is coordinator of the Citizen Audit on the Quality of Democracy in Costa Rica and assistant director of the annual report on the State of the Nation, Costa Rica.

Osvaldo M. Iazzetta is professor in the School of Political Science and a member of the Research Council at the National University of Rosario, Argentina.

Monsignor Romero
A Bishop For The Third Millennium
Robert S. Pelton C.S.C.

Summary
Monsignor Romero: A Bishop for the Third Millennium is a collection of a series of speeches given in honor of the late archbishop by distinguished visitors to Notre Dame. Shortly before his assassination, Archbishop Romero told an interviewer, “I have to say, as a Christian, that I don’t believe in death without resurrection. If they kill me, I will rise again in the Salvadoran people.” Using a wealth of detailed information about his life and work, the prelates, priests, human rights advocates, civic leaders, and Latin Americanists who have contributed to this volume show how Romero has fulfilled this prophecy.

As the title implies, this book examines Romero’s role as a model bishop for the new millennium. It places particular emphasis on his commitment to human rights, his innovative implementation of the option for the poor, his dedication to the Church, and his views of the role of the laity. It is also an inspirational account of Romero’s deep and abiding faith that seemingly insoluble problems can be resolved by following the Spirit. An introduction by Fr. Pelton and an afterword by Juan Méndez, Director of the Notre Dame Center for Civil and Human Rights, round out the collection.

This diverse and rich assortment of lectures substantially adds to our historical and theological understanding of one of the most important Christian figures of the twentieth century. It will be of significant value to anyone interested in the life of this remarkable man.

Contributor Bio
Robert S. Pelton, C.S.C., is on the faculty of Theology at the University of Notre Dame where he is also the Director of Latin American/North American Church Concerns and a fellow of the Kellogg Institute. He is the author of Small Christian Communities and From Power to Communion, both published by the University of Notre Dame Press.
Authoritarian Legacies and Democracy in Latin America and Southern Europe
Katherine Hite, Paola Cesarini

Summary
Authoritarian Legacies and Democracy in Latin America and Southern Europe brings together well-known comparative political scientists to define and explore the effects of authoritarian rule in post-authoritarian regimes in Southern Europe, the Southern Cone, and Brazil. Contributors to this volume use the research of historians, social psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists to formulate their conceptualizations of legacies. Their analysis is also sensitive to the experiences of those who live with the consequences of authoritarian regimes. Each chapter offers a multi-case comparison either from within Latin America or between Latin America and Southern Europe.

Among the challenges for democracies in Latin America and Southern Europe are weakened political parties, politicized militaries, compromised judiciaries, corrupt police forces, and widespread citizen distrust. Utilizing a historical-sociological methodology that incorporates both the formal-legal and cultural dimensions of legacies, these essayists offer a fruitful examination of the political structures and institutions bequeathed by authoritarian regimes. They look at such core institutions as political parties, executives, legislatures, constitutions, and interest groups as well as symbolic-discursive dimensions related to individual and collective memories, citizenship, public perception, and trust. They also suggest policy directions to eradicate authoritarian legacies from democratic institutions and praxis.

Contributor Bio
Katherine Hite is assistant professor of political science at Vassar College.
Paola Cesarini is a doctoral candidate in political science at Columbia University.

Decentralization and Democracy in Latin America
Alfred Montero

Summary
When the Spanish invaded the Inca empire in 1532, the cult of the ancestors was an essential feature of pre-Columbian religion throughout the Andes. The dead influenced politics, protected the living, symbolized the past, and legitimized claims over the land their descendants occupied, while the living honored the presence of the dead in numerous aspects of daily life. A central purpose of the Spanish missionary endeavor was to suppress the Andean cult of the ancestors and force the indigenous people to adopt their Catholic, legal, and cultural views concerning death. In her book, Gabriela Ramos reveals the extent to which Christianizing death was essential for the conversion of the indigenous population to Catholicism. Ramos argues that understanding the relation between death and conversion in the Andes involves not only considering the obvious attempts to destroy the cult of the dead, but also investigating a range of policies and strategies whose application demanded continuous negotiation between Spaniards and Andeans. Drawing from historical, archaeological, and anthropological research and a wealth of original archival materials, especially the last wills and testaments of indigenous Andeans, Ramos looks at the Christianization of death as it affected the lives of inhabitants of two principal cities of the Peruvian viceroyalty: Lima, the new capital founded on the Pacific coast by the Spanish, and Cuzco, the old capital of the Incas in the Andean highlands. Her study of the wills in particular demonstrates the strategies that Andeans devised to submit to Spanish law and Christian doctrine, preserve bonds of kinship, and cement their place in colonial society.


Contributor Bio
Alfred P. Montero is associate professor of political science at Carleton College.
David J. Samuels is associate professor of political science at the University of Minnesota.
**Fujimori’s Coup and the Breakdown of Democracy in Latin America**

Charles D. Kenney

**Summary**

Much as Augusto Pinochet’s 1973 coup in Chile stood as a symbol of the challenges of an earlier period, Alberto Fujimori’s 1992 presidential coup became a symbol of the present challenges of democratization in Latin America and the world. In this authoritative book, Charles D. Kenney explores why and how democracy broke down in Peru in 1992. His analysis of Peruvian politics sheds light on the problems of democratic stability in new democracies and points to strategies for preventing future failures in other countries. Kenney’s central argument is that institutional factors—especially the absence of a legislative majority—played a crucial role in the collapse of democracy in Peru in 1992 and throughout Latin America over the last forty years. This argument, which is theoretically and politically controversial in the case of Peru, is examined alongside alternative explanations of Fujimori’s coup. Kenney tests the Peruvian case study in a cross-national assessment of democratic breakdowns in Latin America since 1960. Containing a unique compilation of original quantitative data, *Fujimori’s Coup and the Breakdown of Democracy in Latin America* is the only book-length study to treat this subject. Kenney’s findings will be important for political scientists, scholars of Latin America, and policy makers.

**Contributor Bio**

Charles D. Kenney is assistant professor of comparative and Latin American politics at the University of Oklahoma.

---

**Electoral Competition and Institutional Change in Mexico**

Caroline C. Beer

**Summary**

Caroline Beer’s new book explores the consequences of democratic politics in Mexico. Focusing on struggles at the subnational level, she assesses how increased electoral competition alters the long-term distribution of power across political institutions in ways that shift power away from established elites and into the hands of ordinary citizens.

*Electoral Competition and Institutional Change in Mexico* includes compelling case study comparisons of three states with very different experiences with electoral democracy: Guanajuato, Hidalgo, and San Luis Potosí. These cases are then situated within a broader quantitative analysis of all thirty-one Mexican states. Beer’s research reverses the causal arrow of many standard studies by focusing on the causes of institutional change rather than the consequences of institutional design. Her analysis reveals that the process of increasing electoral competition has unleashed new forces that have slowly eroded the power of centralized, authoritarian elites in Mexico.

Utilizing a theoretical framework that draws on insights from classic democratic theory, new institutionalist literature, and current critiques of contemporary Latin American democracy, Beer’s important work represents the first comparative study of state legislatures and governors in Mexico and offers compelling insight into the bottom-up dynamics of Mexico’s transition to democracy.

**Contributor Bio**

Caroline C. Beer is assistant professor of political science at the University of Vermont.
Origins of Argentina’s Revolution of the Right
Alberto Spektorowski

Summary
The Origins of Argentina’s Revolution of the Right traces the ideological roots and political impact of Argentine right-wing nationalism as it developed in the 1930s and 1940s. In this spirited book, Alberto Spektorowski focuses on the attempt by a new brand of nonconformist intellectuals to shift the concept of Argentine nationalism from its liberal incarnation to an integralist-populist one and, simultaneously, to change Argentina’s path of development from liberalism to a “third road” of economic autarky. Spektorowski maintains that the “third road” developed in 1930s Argentina through the juxtaposition of two apparently opposing types of anti-liberal ideological currents: a right-wing authoritarian current reliant upon counterrevolutionary European sources, and an anti-imperialist, populist current. He shows that both of these wings rejected liberal institutions, bourgeois society, cosmopolitanism, and old-type conservatism, and became profoundly anti-imperialist. Both defended a “pro-Axis” neutrality during World War II, and both set the ideological stage for Argentina’s sociopolitical shift of the 1940s. Spektorowski concludes that both of these currents produced a single nationalist ideology that became the intellectual framework in which the “repertoire” of political values of the 1943 military regime and Peronism was subsequently elaborated.

Contributor Bio
Alberto Spektorowski is professor of political science at Tel Aviv University

From Martyrdom to Power
The Partido Acción Nacional in Mexico
Yemile Mizrahi

Summary
From Martyrdom to Power provides a comprehensive examination of the origins, development, and rising electoral prominence of Mexico’s Partido Acción Nacional (PAN). Yemile Mizrahi, widely recognized as a leading authority on this topic, has based this book on extensive research and original field work over the past ten years. Her personal interviews with government officials and party leaders and her surveys of public opinion in three Mexican states enrich this unique study. Mizrahi’s theoretical and empirical analysis of the electoral success of PAN is situated within a larger assessment of political parties and the changes they undergo. Her discussion of how and why political parties adjust to changes in the political landscape is particularly relevant to scholars of Latin America. Mizrahi contends that PAN party leaders have not acted quickly or decisively enough in making internal changes that will allow them to make a smooth transition from a survivalist minority party to Mexico’s ruling party. In contrast to the past, when the PAN’s main problems were associated with its inefficacy in the electoral arena, today the party confronts problems associated with its electoral success. Mizrahi argues that PAN’s relatively unchanged party structure presents serious obstacles to electoral expansion. Mizrahi’s account is analytically powerful and offers clear policy and political suggestions for her subject itself. This definitive work will be welcomed by political scientists, policy makers, and scholars of Latin America.

Contributor Bio
Yemile Mizrahi is an affiliate of the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars as a public policy scholar and works as a consultant in Washington, D.C.
Guardians of the Nation?
Economists, Generals, and Economic Reform in Latin America
Glen Biglaiser

Summary
Central to the question of how to promote economic growth in Latin America is the role different types of regimes play in determining economic performance. Guardians of the Nation? challenges conventional wisdom regarding the expected advantages of military rule for economic growth. Glen Biglaiser explains why many military regimes in Latin America have not performed noticeably better than their democratic counterparts. Biglaiser argues that economic policy-making under military regimes is essentially an unintended by-product of the military’s strategy to retain power. Using this premise, he examines the economic performance of regimes in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. Biglaiser shows that the appointment of neoliberal economists occurred not because military rulers possessed inherent interest in following market-oriented policies, but because they saw the appointments as a way to solidify their power. Biglaiser’s study also depicts Pinochet’s one-man rule as unique vis-à-vis the military regimes in Argentina and Uruguay. He concludes by demonstrating that his study is also applicable for understanding economic policy choice under democratic rule, and by comparing the similarities and differences between presidential and parliamentary governments.

Contributor Bio
Glen Biglaiser is an assistant professor of political science at Bowling Green State University.

Vital Connections
Politics, Social Security, and Inequality in Chile
Silvia Borzutzky

Summary
Vital Connections is the first book-length treatment in English of the evolution of social security in Chile and its privatization under the Pinochet regime. Borzutzky’s study contains a dynamic history of Chilean politics, a sophisticated discussion of social inequalities, and an in-depth analysis of social security policies in Chile from 1924 to the present. Her work focuses on three critical historical periods: the mid-1920s, the late 1960s, and the early to mid-1970s. In each of these key epochs, Chile experienced a crisis which prompted a reform of its socioeconomic organization and, consequently, of its social security system. Throughout this concise, readable book, Borzutzky argues that Chile’s social security system presented to the world a positive image, while hiding a political reality that was steeped in profound inequality. According to Borzutzky, Chile’s social security system helped to create a narrative that portrayed the country as a unified society with a legitimate political system. Efforts on the part of the Chilean people to make this narrative a reality threatened those in power and ultimately led the Pinochet regime to destroy the political system and create a new “narrative” that stressed individualism, but in actuality perpetuated rampant human rights abuses.

Borzutzky’s timely analysis is particularly relevant to current considerations of social security reforms. Chile’s social security system is often presented as a model for the rest of Latin America and other regions of the world, including the United States. Borzutzky’s book highlights the impact of privatization on various segments and aspects of society, including women and the fiscal budget.

With an impressive array of historical and current data to support her statements, Borzutzky offers a compelling counter-argument to privatization and to traditional interpretations of Chilean politics.

Contributor Bio
Silvia Borzutzky is a lecturer in the Social and Decision Sciences Department and the Heinz School at Carnegie Mellon University.
**Shaping the Political Arena**

**Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America**

Ruth Berins Collier, David Collier

**Summary**

Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier are political scientists who use comparative historical research to discover and evaluate patterns and sources of political change. Their work is an overall analysis of Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, Colombia, Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, and Mexico, plus case studies of four distinct pairs in that group: Chile/Brazil, Uruguay/Colombia, Argentina/Peru, and Venezuela/Mexico. In addition, the Colliers meticulously describe and discuss their methods for the study including the limitations of their approach. The authors specifically focus on why and how organized labor movements in the first half of the twentieth century were incorporated into the political process in the eight Latin American countries they study. They analyze the role played by political parties, central government control, worker mobilization, and conflict between radical vs. centrist political philosophies and activities.

**Contributor Bio**

Ruth Berins Collier is professor of political science at the University of California, Berkeley.

---

**The Child in Latin America**

**Health, Development, and Rights**

Ernest J. Bartell, C.S.C., Alejandro O'Donnell

**Summary**

Although most Latin American countries are considered middle-income nations, their child health and well-being statistics overall compare poorly with those of the United States. This volume, representing the fifth part of Project Latin America 2000 from the Helen Kellogg Institute, brings together contributors from the U.S., Latin America, and organizations such as UNICEF to consider the physical, educational, social, legal, and economic status and progress of children throughout Latin America, focusing especially on health and rights issues. In chapters concerning health, experts in biology and medicine address such topics as trends in malnutrition and undernutrition, iron deficiency, inadequate sanitation, and contaminated water. Other articles on children's rights by contributors from the social sciences and public policy consider a wide range of issues, including youth violence and homicide, child labor and education, adolescents and the penal system, and future prospects for children's rights. All of the articles contribute to a more complete understanding of the situation of children in contemporary Latin American development, creating a storehouse of information that will be useful to both scholars and policymakers. These contributors show that as long as children in Latin America remain victimized by poverty, malnutrition, injustice, and violations of human rights, the many challenges of development must be addressed in ways that will protect children as well as support growing economies. They bring into focus the interdependence of all aspects of change, which must be acknowledged if children are to be both rightful beneficiaries and effective participants in the continuing development of Latin America.

**Contributor Bio**

Ernest J. Bartell, C.S.C., is Professor of Economics and former Executive Director of the Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame.

Alejandro O'Donnell is Director of the Center for Studies on Infant Nutrition and Professor of Nutrition at the School of Medicine of the University of Salvador in Buenos Aires.
**Mexico's Political Awakening**

**Vikram Chand**

**Summary**

True democracy has been long in coming to Mexico, but citizen rebellion and the work of social leaders helped bring about dramatic changes at the end of the twentieth century. The traditional dominance of the one-party state has yielded to a more democratic structure marked by growing decentralization and the adoption of fairer election rules and procedures. Vikram Chand examines the role of major institutions in fostering democratization in Mexico during the 1980s and 1990s, offering an understanding of how these changes came about and why they are likely to last. He focuses on three important factors that fostered this transition: the growing participation of the Catholic Church and its lay organizations in politics, the proliferation of non-governmental civic associations dedicated to promoting clean elections, and the emergence of vibrant opposition parties. He particularly highlights the conservative National Action Party, about which little has been written in English. Chand tells how the rise of a more politically-aware citizenry and the growing power of non-state institutions pressured the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party into adopting electoral reforms, resulting in the first open primary for gubernatorial elections in 1998. Using the state of Chihuahua as a case study, he draws on primary research—including 250 interviews with key figures in the political process—to demonstrate how the mutual interaction of national and regional politics has helped bring about these democratic transitions. Mexico's Political Awakening is a "bottom-up" perspective on democratization, correcting analyses which view that process in Mexico as flowing down from the President. It challenges existing theories of democratization by emphasizing the importance of strong social institutions for the development of democracy, and it demonstrates that increases in political participation play a vital role in strengthening those institutions.

**Contributor Bio**

Vikram K. Chand is Public Sector Management Specialist at The World Bank, New Delhi.

---

**Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate**

**Multicultural Grassroots Development in the Andes and Amazon of Bolivia**

**Kevin Healy**

**Summary**

Bolivia, like most developing countries around the world, strove for decades to imitate Western and particularly U.S. methods of development, importing the latest technologies, institutions, crops, and livestock. Finally, beginning in the 1970s, faced with many striking instances of failure in the application of the North American modernization paradigm, diverse sectors of Bolivian civil society turned inward to rediscover their country's own multicultural identities and agrarian wisdom as sources of strength upon which to build their own socioeconomic development. The shift spawned a proliferation of development projects grounded in a new "indigenization" or revitalization of cultural traditions. **Llamas, Weavings, and Organic Chocolate: Multicultural Grassroots Development in the Andes and Amazon of Bolivia** is the story of Bolivian rural development and cultural change. Part I provides an overview of the history of rural development in Bolivia—the long history of anti-indigenous discrimination, the introduction of aid programs in the Western development paradigm, the rise of grassroots movements challenging this paradigm, and the array of initiatives now contributing to the revitalization of indigenous cultural resources. Part II consists of in-depth narratives of nine projects, giving an inside view of the processes that interweave cultural recuperation and developmental strategies. These stories illustrate the cultural barriers that must be overcome and the setbacks often faced by grassroots federations. The projects range from successful agro-exports such as organic chocolate and quinoa to the groundbreaking work of indigenous artists and artisans. In Part III, author Kevin Healy attempts to identify the numerous factors that helped engender successful outcomes in these projects and discusses the effects of globalization on Bolivian culture and development patterns. This inspirational story of social change led by idealism will be valuable for international policymakers, analysts, and aid officials, as well as native North and South Americans, and non-Native Americans who strongly identify with their struggles.

**Contributor Bio**

Kevin Healy has taught in the graduate schools of Georgetown, George Washington, American U. and Johns Hopkins (SAIS).
Chile's Political Culture and Parties
An Anthropological Explanation
Larissa Adler Lomnitz, Ana Melnick

Summary
The concept of political culture is young—born from the need to explain the dramatic sociological and political changes that occurred in Europe both during and after the Second World War. The practice of examining the culture of political parties in depth through an ethnographic field study of a country's social structure is, so far, a neglected one.

Larissa Adler Lomnitz and Ana Melnick rectify the lack of attention to this area with respect to Chile in Chile's Political Culture and Parties: An Anthropological Explanation. This volume examines Chile's political culture by considering its origin and the persistence of its "grammar," which the authors define as the ability of each member of society to function within social categories and rules. This "grammar," they believe, is what gives character to national culture.

Lomnitz and Melnick argue that political parties in Chile are a conglomeration of horizontal networks of friends. Class is perfectly established within Chile's social tissue and is defined by a mixture of variables, including an individual's position in the economy, social network, religious beliefs, and life-style choices. The existence of social class creates subcultural layers in society, and these subcultures create a horizontally organized, class-structured, hierarchical society. In a political system such as this, characterized by its ability to contain strong political subcultures, it is crucial to guarantee the coexistence of these subcultures through the acceptance of a common legal framework or constitution. Respect for this constitution legitimizes the system and, therefore, legitimizes presidential authority. This constitutional respect is especially present in Chilean culture and is perhaps one of Chile's best-known political characteristics.

Contributor Bio
Larisa Adler Lomnitz is Professor at the National University of Mexico. Ana Melnick is former Director of the Radio of the University of Chile.

The Catholic Church and Democracy in Chile and Peru
Michael Fleet, Brian H. Smith

Summary
Recent changes imposed by the Vatican may redefine the Chilean and Peruvian Church's involvement in politics and social issues. Fleet and Smith argue that the Vatican has been moving to restrict the Chilean and Peruvian Church's social and political activities. Fleet and Smith have gathered documentary evidence, conducted interviews with Catholic elites, and compiled surveys of lay Catholics in the region. The result will help chart the future of the Church and Chile and Peru.

Contributor Bio
Michael Fleet is Associate Professor of Political Science at Marquette University and the author of The Rise and Fall of Chilean Christian Democracy (1985).

**The (Un)Rule of Law and the Underprivileged In Latin America**

Juan E. Mendez, Guillermo A. O'Donnell, Paulo Sergio Pinheiro

**Summary**

This thorough discussion of the idea of “democracies without citizenship” in Latin America considers overcoming political violence and discrimination and analyzes various avenues to institutional judicial reform. The (Un)Rule of Law and the Underprivileged in Latin America, as the fourth part of Project Latin America 2000 from the Helen Kellogg Institute, enlarges the understanding of significant political, economic, and social issues facing Latin America at the threshold of a new century. The contributors develop arguments around the Latin American system of law which only punishes the poor and marginalized. In addressing lawless violence, the contributors argue that it is no longer the democratic state that directly commits the abuses. Instead, it fails to control arbitrary practices of its own agents and to challenge those who flaunt disregard for the law. The collection demonstrates that it is impossible to separate judicial reform from human rights and argues that justice must be made accessible to the poor and that governments make a serious and comprehensive commitment to social reform.

**Contributor Bio**

Juan E. Mendez is Executive Director of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights.

The late Guillermo O’Donnell was the Helen Kellogg Professor of Government and International Studies at the University of Notre Dame.

Paulo Sergio Pinheiro is Professor at the University of Sao Paulo and Director of the University’s Center for the Study of Violence.

---

**Courage**

Barbara Darling-Smith

**Summary**

This timely book brings together ten scholars in the varied fields of philosophy, theology, history, anthropology, and literature to reflect on the theme of courage. Contributors to this volume agree that courage is not just for the few or the dramatically heroic. While some of the authors do invoke awe-inspiring instances of death-defying courage, all recognize that courage is required of every one of us. The first section of Courage, entitled "Courage in Philosophy and Literature," begins with William Desmond’s exploration of the transcendent dimension of courage, which comes to us not from within ourselves but from beyond ourselves. Leroy Rouner’s essay utilizes Paul Tillich’s interpretation of faith as courage in *The Courage to Be* and then goes on to suggest that original sin be understood in today’s terms as ontological loneliness. Remi Brague, following Nietzsche, finds that the virtue called for in modern times is intellectual honesty—the courage to face the truth. Geoffrey Hill’s essay looks at depictions of courage in the writings of Shakespeare and his immediate predecessors. Philip Ivanhoe suggests that Aristotle’s understanding of courage can be deepened by the writings of the Confucian thinker Mengzi (Mencius), who insisted that “great courage”—courage directed toward morally praiseworthy ends—is the result of a continuing process of self-cultivation. The second section, “Courage in War, Peace, and Nation Building,” includes John Taylor’s study of courage in wartime, which focuses particularly on Robert E. Lee and his courage. Daniel Berrigan’s piece, on the other hand, finds in the famous Isaiah text “And they will hammer their swords into plowshares” a summons to peace making. Lucius Outlaw calls for courage from each of us in constructing a multiracial, multietnic democracy with “justice for all.” “Courage Every Day” is the theme of the final section. Robert Neville illuminates the many varieties of courage called for each day of our lives, including the courage to dare, the courage of self-identity, the courage to love, and the courage to be alone. Katherine Platt concludes these explorations of courage with the hope-inspiring suggestion that courage is a habit we can practice.

**Contributor Bio**

Barbara Darling-Smith is assistant professor of religion at Wheaton College in Norton, Massachusetts and former assistant director of the Boston University Institute for Philosophy and Religion.
Religious Politics in Latin America, Pentecostal vs. Catholic
Brian H. Smith

Summary
Brian H. Smith’s book surveys recent religious and political developments in Latin American Christianity, especially in the rapidly growing Pentecostal churches and in Catholicism. He finds that despite efforts by the Vatican to make the Latin American Church less involved in politics (in the wake of liberation theology) by the papal appointment of a whole new generation of conservative bishops since 1980, Catholicism is still very much a political force throughout the region. Catholic bishops, in spite of their conservative religious ideology, have felt obligated to preach the social doctrine of the Church and have vigorously denounced new economic models for enriching a minority of the population at the cost of the majority who are poor. Bishops also have denounced corruption in governments that has grown to epidemic proportions in recent years, and have strongly opposed legislative proposals that are anti-Catholic. Regardless of these efforts by Catholic prelates to maintain government support for the Church’s institutions and its traditional moral concerns in law, Protestantism - especially in Pentecostal denominations among low-income sectors - has grown at a significant rate in the past twenty years. Although traditionally reluctant to involve themselves in politics, Pentecostalism in recent years have become more active either by forming new Christian parties or by joining or supporting existing political movements. Their political agenda overlaps in some areas with that of Catholics. These shared concerns could lead to a coalition between Catholic and Pentecostal leaders that could have a real impact on public policy, given that over ninety percent of the population is now affiliated with one of these two denominations. However, Pentecostal religious and political leaders are also pushing publicly for full separation of church and state (which exists now only in Cuba and Mexico) and for all religions to have equal status in law. Both these similarities and the differences in the political agenda of Catholics and Pentecostals could complicate public policy debate in the years ahead and certainly short-circuit any attempts to remove religion as a significant, and sometimes divisive, influence in politics in newly constituted liberal democracies in Latin America.

Contributor Bio
Brian H. Smith holds the Charles and Joan Van Zoeren Chair in Religion, Ethics, and Values at Ripon College, Wisconsin

Transitional Justice and the Rule of Law in New Democracies
A. James McAdams

Summary
This is the first focused study on the relationship between the use of national courts to pursue retrospective justice and the construction of viable democracies. Included in this interdisciplinary volume are fascinating, detailed essays on the experiences of eight countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Poland, and South Africa. According to the contributors, the most important lesson for leaders of new democracies, who are wrestling with the human rights abuses of past dictatorships, is that they have many options.

Democratizing regimes are well-advised to be attentive to the significant political, ethical, and legal constraints that may limit their ability to achieve retribution for past wrongs. On prudential ground alone, some fledgling regimes will have no choice but to restrain their desire for punishment in the interest of political survival. However, it would be incorrect to think that all new democracies are therefore bereft of the political and legal resources needed to bring the perpetrators of egregious human rights violations to justice. In many instances, governments have overcome the obstacles before them and, by appealing to both national and international legal standards, have brought their former dictators to trial. When these judicial proceedings have been properly conducted and insulated from partisan political pressures, they have provided tangible evidence of the guiding principles-equality, fairness, and the rule of law-that are essential to the post-authoritarian order.

This collection shows that the quest for transitional justice has amounted to something more than merely a break with the past—it constitutes a formative act which directly affects the quality and credibility of democratic institutions.

Contributor Bio
A. James McAdams is Associate Professor of Government and International Studies at the University of Notre Dame's Kellogg Institute.
Issues in Democratic Consolidation
The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective
Scott Mainwaring, J. Samuel Valenzuela, Guillermo O'Donnell

Summary
Since 1974 there has been an unprecedented wave of democratization in the world. This trend has been particularly extensive in South America. But the problems confronting these new democracies are staggering, and the prospects for building consolidated democratic regimes are far from uniformly good. Focusing primarily on recent South American cases, Issues in Democratic Consolidation examines some of the difficulties of constructing consolidated democracies and provides a critical examination of the major issues involved.

A prominent theme running through this collection is that the transitions from authoritative rule to civilian government may be arrested by political, economic, and social constraints. The articles contain analyses of the varied modalities and complex processes related to the transitions. The first transition begins with the initial stirrings of crisis under authoritarian rule that generate some form of political opening and greater respect for basic civil rights, and ends with the establishment of a government elected in an open, competitive contest. The volume's primary focus, however, is on the second transition, which begins with the inauguration of a democratic government and ends-if all goes well-with the establishment of a consolidated democratic regime.

Contributor Bio
Scott Mainwaring is a Senior Fellow of the Kellogg Institute and an Associate Professor of Government and International Studies at the University of Notre Dame.

Guillermo O'Donnell (d. 2011) was Academic Director of the Kellogg Institute and Helen Kellogg Professor of Government and International Studies and Sociology.

J. Samuel Valenzuela is Professor and Chair of Sociology and a Senior Fellow of the Kellogg Institute.

Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes
An Interpretation of the Brazilian Dilemma
Roberto DaMatta

Summary
Encompassing half the continent of South America, Brazil is one of the most modern, complex, and misunderstood nations. Renowned Brazilian anthropologist Roberto DaMatta takes the misconceptions and offers a fresh, provocative interpretation of the complexity of social structure in Brazil. Using the tools of comparative social anthropology, DaMatta seeks to understand his native country by examining the values, attitudes, and systems that shape the identity of Brazil and its people. He probes the dilemma between the highly authoritarian, hierarchical aspects of Brazilian society and the concurrent desire for equality, democracy, and harmony in that same society. DaMatta leads us on a fascinating exploration into the world of Brazilian carnivals, rogues, and heroes, and in so doing uncovers a deeper meaning of the rituals, symbols, and dramatizations unique to Brazil and its multifaceted society.

Contributor Bio
Robert DaMatta is The Reverend Edmund P. Joyce, C.S.C. Professor of Anthropology at the University of Notre Dame and Senior Fellow at The Kellogg Institute at Notre Dame. He has published several books, including A Divided World: Apinaye Social Structure.
HOW TO ORDER
You can order the books by:

PHONE
800-848-6224 or 919-966-7449

FAX
800-272-6817 or 919-962-2704

EMAIL
orders@longleafservices.org

WEBSITE
Visit our website at
undpress.nd.edu

MAIL INQUIRIES to: University of Notre Dame Press
c/o Longleaf Services, Inc.
116 S. Boundary St. Chapel
Hill, NC 27514-3808

EMAIL to: customerservice@longleafservices.org

Applicable sales tax will be charged for IN, PA, TN, DC, NY, WI, and NC residents.
Shipping and Handling: $6 for the first book and $1 for each additional book. Shipping by expedited means for shipments outside the US will be charged $10 for the first book, and $6 for each additional book.

EBOOKS
The University of Notre Dame Press is committed to making our scholarly materials available in a full range of digital formats to reach a worldwide community of readers. Our ebook partners include the following and more:

Our library partners include:

This catalog describes new and recently published books from the University of Notre Dame Press. Publication dates, page counts, prices, and discounts are based on information available at the time this catalog went to press and are subject to change without prior notice.

Books in this catalog may also be ordered through Edelweiss, the internet-based interactive service from Above the Treeline.
http://edelweiss.plus

Sign up for our e-newsletter at undpress.nd.edu for information about our publications and special offers.