

**Scott Mainwaring**  
Department of Political Science  
University of Notre Dame  
Notre Dame, IN 46556  
smainwar@nd.edu

### **Professional Positions**

2019-. Eugene and Helen Conley Professor of Political Science, University of Notre Dame

2016-19. Jorge Paulo Lemann Professor for Brazil Studies, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. Faculty co-director of the Brazil Studies program

1996-2016. Eugene and Helen Conley Professor of Political Science, University of Notre Dame

1997-2002, 2003-2008, 2009-12. Director, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame

1996-97. Chair, Department of Government and International Studies (renamed Political Science in 2002), University of Notre Dame

1993-96. Professor of Government and International Studies and Fellow of the Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame

1988-93. Associate Professor of Government and International Studies and Fellow of the Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame

1983-88. Assistant Professor of Government and International Studies and Fellow of the Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame

### **Education**

1978-1983 Ph.D., Political Science, Stanford University

1972-1976 B.A. and M.A., Political Science, Yale University

### **Books**

*Democracies and Dictatorship in Latin America: Emergence, Survival, and Fall*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013 (With Aníbal Pérez-Liñán). xiv+ 353 pp.

Donna Lee Van Cott prize, Latin American Political Institutions section of the Latin American Studies Association, for the best book published in 2013.

Co-winner, Comparative Democratization section of the American Political Science Association for the best book published in 2013.

Spanish language translation: *Democracias y dictaduras en América Latina: Surgimiento, supervivencia y caída*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica/Instituto Federal Electoral, 2020. xxii + 408 pp.

*Partidos Conservadores no Brasil Contemporâneo*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 2000. (With Rachel Meneguello and Timothy J. Power). 107 pp.

*Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Case of Brazil*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999. xix + 390 pp.

Brazilian translation: *Sistemas Partidários em Novas Democracias: O Caso do Brasil*. Porto Alegre and Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Mercado Aberto/Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2001. 420 pp.

*The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil, 1916-1985*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986. xv + 328 pp.

Brazilian translation: *A Igreja Católica e a Política no Brasil 1916-1985*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1989. 300 pp.

### **Edited Books**

*Democracy in Hard Places*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022. (With Tarek Masoud)

*Life After Dictatorship: Authoritarian Successor Parties Worldwide*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018. (With James Loxton)

*Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

*Reflections on Uneven Democracies: The Legacy of Guillermo O'Donnell*. Johns Hopkins University Press. 2014. (With Daniel Brinks and Marcelo Leiras)

*Challenges to Contemporary Democracies: Essays in Honor of Alfred Stepan*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012. (With Douglas Chalmers).

*Democratic Governance in Latin America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009. (With Timothy R. Scully).

*The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006. (With Ana María Bejarano and Eduardo Pizarro). xv + 359 pp.

Spanish translation: *La crisis de la representación democrática en los países andinos*. Bogotá: Editorial Norma, 2008.

*The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. (With Frances Hagopian). Xviii + 413 pp.

*Democratic Accountability in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. (With Christopher Welna). xv + 343 pp.

*Christian Democracy in Latin America: Electoral Competition and Regime Conflicts*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003. (With Timothy R. Scully). xviii + 404 pp.

Spanish translation: *La democracia cristiana en América Latina: Conflictos y competencia electoral*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010.

*Democracia: Discusiones y nuevas aproximaciones*. Quilmes, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2000. (With Ernesto López). 436 pp.

*Politics, Society, and Democracy: Latin America*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1998. (With Arturo Valenzuela). xiii + 266 pp.

*Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997. viii + 493 pp. (With Matthew S. Shugart)

Spanish translation of part of this book: *Presidencialismo y democracia en América Latina*. Buenos Aires, Paidós Editores, 2002. 316 pp.

*Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995. xix + 578 pp. (With Timothy Scully)

Spanish translation: *La Construcción de Instituciones Democráticas: Sistemas de Partidos en América Latina*. Santiago, Chile: CIEPLAN, 1996. xviii + 457 pp.

*Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press/Kellogg Institute, 1992. vii + 357 pp. (With Guillermo O'Donnell and J. Samuel Valenzuela)

*The Progressive Church in Latin America*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press/Kellogg Institute, 1989. xii + 340 pp. (With Alexander Wilde)

*A Igreja nas Bases em Tempo de Transição*. Porto Alegre: L&PM/CEDEC, 1986. 207 pp. (With Paulo Krischke)

### **Articles and Book Chapters**

\*denotes a refereed journal or refereed book.

“Democratic Breakdown in Argentina, 1976.” In David Moss, Archon Fong, and Arne Westad, eds., *When Democracy Breaks*. New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming.\*

“Why Democracy Survives Presidential Encroachments: Argentina since 1983.” *Comparative Politics*, forthcoming. With Benjamín García Holgado.\*

“Democracy in Brazil: Change, Continuity, and Crisis.” *Latin American Research Review*, forthcoming.

“Democracy in Latin America: Stagnations and Erosions.” *The Journal of Democracy*, forthcoming, January 2023. With Aníbal Pérez-Liñán.

“Introduction.” In Scott Mainwaring and Tarek Masoud, eds., *Democracy in Hard Places*, pp. 1-33. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022. With Tarek Masoud.\*

“Economic Crises, Military Rebellions, and Democratic Survival: Argentina, 1983-2020.” In Scott Mainwaring and Tarek Masoud, eds., *Democracy in Hard Places*, pp. 188-227. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022. With Emilia Simison.\*

“How Democracies Survive in Hard Places.” In Scott Mainwaring and Tarek Masoud, eds., *Democracy in Hard Places*, pp. 228-267. New York: Oxford University Press, 2022.\*

“Las influencias internacionales y los regímenes políticos.” In Salvador Sánchez González, ed., *La democracia en el momento actual*, pp. 91-128. Panama City: IDEA Internacional, Instituto de Estudios Democráticos, and Konrad-Adenauer Stiftung, 2022. With Aníbal Pérez Liñán.

“Electoral Volatility in Latin America, 1932-2018.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 56 No.3 (2021): 271-296. DOI 10.1007/s12116-021-09340-x. With Yen-Pin Su.\*

“Outcomes after Transitions in Third Wave Democracies.” In Leonardo Morlino, Dirk Berg-Schlosser, and Bertrand Badie, eds., *Handbook of Political Science: A Global Perspective*. London: Sage, 2020, pp. 1540-1557. With Fernando Bizzarro.

“US Hegemony and Regime Change in Latin America.” *Democratization* 26 No. 2 (2019): 269-287. With Luis Schenoni.\*

Spanish translation: “Hegemonía estadounidense y cambio de régimen an América Latina.” *América Latina hoy* 81 (April 2019): 119-145.\*

“The Fates of Third-Wave Democracies.” *The Journal of Democracy* 30 No. 1 (January 2019): 99-113. With Fernando Bizzarro.

Spanish translation: “Los destinos de las democracias de la tercera ola.” *Revista Latinoamericana de Política Comparada* 15 (July 2019): 79-97.

“The Prospects for Cuban Democracy in the Post-Transition Era.” In Scott J. Morgenstern, ed., *Reforming Communism: Cuba in Comparative Perspective*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018, pp. 192-210. With Aníbal Pérez-Liñán\*

“Party System Institutionalization in Democracies.” In Sandy Maisel, ed., *Oxford Bibliographies in Political Science*. New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming. With Fernando Bizzarro, María Victoria De Negri, and Aaron Watanabe.\* On-line version published in 2018.

“Preface.” In James Loxton and Scott Mainwaring, eds., *Life After Dictatorship: Authoritarian Successor Parties Worldwide*, pp. xvii-xxi. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018. With James Loxton.\*

“Introduction.” In Scott Mainwaring, ed., *Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse*, pp. 1-13. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.\*

“Party System Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse.” In Scott Mainwaring, ed., *Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse*, pp. 17-33. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018. With Fernando Bizzarro Neto and Ana Petrova.\*

“Party System Institutionalization in Contemporary Latin America.” In Scott Mainwaring, ed., *Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse*, pp. 34-70. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.\*

“Party System Institutionalization, Predictability, and Democracy.” In Scott Mainwaring, ed., *Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse*, pp. 71-101. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.\*

“Democratization without Party System Institutionalization: Cross-National Correlates.” In Scott Mainwaring, ed., *Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse*, pp. 102-132. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.\* With Fernando Bizzarro Neto.\*

“The Uneven Institutionalization of a Party System: Brazil.” In Scott Mainwaring, ed., *Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse*, pp. 164-200. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018. With Fernando Bizzarro Neto and Timothy J. Power.\*

“Deinstitutionalization without Collapse: Colombia’s Party System.” In Scott Mainwaring, ed., *Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse*, pp. 227-254. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018. With Juan Albarracín and Laura Gamboa.\*

“Extra- and Within-System Electoral Volatility.” *Party Politics* 23 No. 6 (November 2017): 623-635. With Carlos Gervasoni and Annabella España Najera.\*

“Coding Historical Qualitative Cases and Explaining Outcomes: A Rejoinder.” *Government and Opposition* 52 No. 3 (2017): 549-557.

“Party System Institutionalization, Party Collapse, and Party Building.” *Government and Opposition* 51 No. 4 (October 2016): 691-716.

“The Left and the Mobilization of Class Voting in Latin America.” In Ryan Carlin, Matthew Singer, and Elizabeth Zechmeister, eds., *The Latin American Voter: Pursuing Representation and Accountability in Challenging Contexts*, pp. 69-98. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015. With Mariano Torcal and Nicolás Somma.\*

“Transiciones, continuidades y paradojas.” In Martín D’Alessandro and Gabriela Ippolito-O’Donnell, eds., *La ciencia política de Guillermo O’Donnell*, pp. 125-136. Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 2015.

“Cross-Currents in Latin America.” *The Journal of Democracy* 26 No. 1 (January 2015): 114-127. With Aníbal Pérez-Liñán.

Spanish translation: “La Democracia a la deriva en América Latina.” *PostData* 20 No. 2 (October 2015).

“Party System Institutionalization: Reflections Based on the Asian Cases.” In Allen Hicken and Erik Martinez Kuhonta, eds., *Party System Institutionalization in Asia: Democracies, Autocracies, and the Shadows of the Past*, pp. 328-347. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.\*

“Introduction: Guillermo O’Donnell and the Study of Politics.” In Daniel Brinks, Marcelo Leiras, and Scott Mainwaring, eds., *Reflections on Uneven Democracies: The Legacy of Guillermo O’Donnell*, pp. 1-18. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014. With Daniel Brinks and Marcelo Leiras.\*

“Democratic Breakdown and Survival in Latin America, 1945-2005.” In Daniel Brinks, Marcelo Leiras, and Scott Mainwaring, eds., *Reflections on Uneven Democracies: The Legacy of Guillermo O’Donnell*, pp. 21-43. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014. With Aníbal Pérez-Liñán.\*

Spanish version: “La supervivencia de la democracia en América Latina (1945-2005).” *América Latina hoy* No. 68 (December 2014): 139-168.\*

“Studying Big Political Issues.” In Daniel Brinks, Marcelo Leiras, and Scott Mainwaring, eds., *Reflections on Uneven Democracies: The Legacy of Guillermo O’Donnell*, pp. 353-366. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014. With Daniel Brinks and Marcelo Leiras.\*

“Regime Legacies and Levels of Democracy: Evidence from Latin America.” *Comparative Politics* 45 (July 2013): 379-397. With Aníbal Pérez-Liñán.\*

“Democratic Breakdown and Survival.” *The Journal of Democracy* 24 No. 2 (April 2013): 123-137. With Aníbal Pérez-Liñán.

“From Representative Democracy to Participatory Competitive Authoritarianism: Hugo Chávez and Venezuelan Politics.” *Perspectives on Politics* 10 No. 4 (December 2012): 955-967.

“Introduction: Alfred Stepan and the Study of Democratic Regimes.” In Douglas Chalmers and Scott Mainwaring, eds., *Challenges to Contemporary Democracies: Essays in Honor of Alfred Stepan*, pp. 1-22. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012. With Douglas Chalmers.\*

“Introduction.” In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *Democratic Governance in Latin America*, pp. 1-8. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009. With Timothy R. Scully.\*

“Measuring Success in Democratic Governance.” In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *Democratic Governance in Latin America*, pp. 11-51. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009. With Timothy R. Scully and Jorge Vargas Cullell.\*

Also published in the *Revista Latinoamericana de Política Comparada* 5 (July 2011): 31-66.

“Democratic Governance in Latin America: Eleven Lessons from Recent Experience.” In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *Democratic Governance in Latin America*, pp. 365-397. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009. With Timothy R. Scully.\*

“Latin America: Eight Lessons for Governance.” *The Journal of Democracy* 19 No. 3 (July 2008): 113-127. With Timothy R. Scully.

Spanish version: “América Latina: Ocho lecciones para la gobernabilidad,” in *Agora Internacional* 3 No. 7 (November 2008): 37-46. (Argentina).

“Classifying Political Regimes in Latin America, 1945-2004.” In Gerardo Munck, ed., *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*, pp. 123-160. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. With Daniel Brinks and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán.\*

“Why Regions of the World Are Important: Regional Specificities and Region-Wide Diffusion of Democracy.” In Gerardo Munck, ed., *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*, pp. 199-229. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. With Aníbal Pérez-Liñán.\*

Spanish version: "Por qué son importantes las regiones? Especificidades regionales y la difusión de la democracia regional." *Revista SAAP* 3 No. 3 (2009): 523-566. (Buenos Aires).

"Historical Sequences and the Stabilization of Interparty Competition: Electoral Volatility in Old and New Democracies." *Party Politics* 13 No. 2 (March 2007): 155-178. With Edurne Zoco.\*

Spanish version: "Secuencias políticas y estabilización de la competencia partidista: Volatilidad electoral en viejas y nuevas democracias." *América Latina Hoy* 46 (August 2007): 147-171. (Salamanca, Spain).

"Repensando las teorías de sistemas de partidos." In Victor Alarcón, ed., *Metodologías para el análisis político: Enfoques, actores e instituciones*, pp. 309-364. Mexico City: UNAM/Miguel Angel Porrúa, 2006.

A slightly revised version appeared in Rossana Castiglioni and Claudio Fuentes S., eds., *Política Comparada sobre América Latina: Teorías, Métodos y Tópicos*, pp. 349-406. Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales, 2015.

"Organized Labor and Democracy in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 39 No. 1 (October 2006): 21-42. (With Steven Levitsky)\*

Spanish translation: "Movimiento obrero organizado y democracia en América Latina." *Postdata* 12 (August 2007): 107-138. (Buenos Aires)

"The Crisis of Representation in the Andes." *The Journal of Democracy* 7 No. 3 (July 2006): 13-27.

Also published in Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, and Diego Abente Brun, eds., *Latin America's Struggle for Democracy*, pp. 18-32. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.

"The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes: An Overview." In Scott Mainwaring, Ana María Bejarano, and Eduardo Pizarro, eds., *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006, pp. 1-44. (With Ana María Bejarano and Eduardo Pizarro).\*

Spanish version: "La crisis de la representación democrática en la región andina: un panorama general." In Scott Mainwaring, Ana María Bejarano, and Eduardo Pizarro, eds., *La crisis de la representación democrática en los países andinos*, pp. 23-86. Bogotá: Editorial Norma, 2008.

"State Deficiencies, Party Competition, and Confidence in Democratic Representation in the Andes." In Scott Mainwaring, Ana María Bejarano, and Eduardo Pizarro, eds., *The*



*Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006, pp. 295-345.\*

Spanish version: "Deficiencias estatales, competencia entre partidos y la confianza en la representación democrática en la región andina." In Scott Mainwaring, Ana María Bejarano, and Eduardo Pizarro, eds., *La crisis de la representación democrática en los países andinos*, pp. 441-515. Bogotá: Editorial Norma, 2008.

Also in Martín Tanaka, ed., *La nueva coyuntura crítica en los países andinos*, pp. 327-406. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos and IDEA Internacional, 2009.

"Party System Institutionalization and Party System Theory After the Third Wave of Democratization." In Richard S. Katz and William Crotty, eds., *Handbook of Political Parties*, pp. 204-227. London: Sage Publications, 2006. (With Mariano Torcal).

Spanish version: "La institucionalización de los sistemas de partidos y la teoría del sistema partidista después de la tercera ola democratizadora." *América Latina Hoy* 41: 141-173 (December 2005). (Salamanca, Spain).

Portuguese version: "Teoria e Institucionalização dos Sistemas Partidários." *Opinião Pública* 11 No. 2 (October 2005): 249-286. (CESOP, Campinas, Brazil).

"Introduction: The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America." In Frances Hagopian and Scott Mainwaring, eds., *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*, pp. 1-13. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. (With Frances Hagopian).\*

"Latin American Democratization since 1978: Democratic Transitions, Breakdowns, and Erosions." In Frances Hagopian and Scott Mainwaring, eds., *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*, pp. 14-59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. (With Aníbal Pérez-Liñán).\*

"Strong Federalism, Constraints on the Central Government, and Economic Reform in Brazil." In Edward L. Gibson, ed., *Federalism and Democracy in Latin America*, pp. 85-130. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004. (With David J. Samuels).\*

"Level of Development and Democracy: Latin American Exceptionalism, 1945-1996." *Comparative Political Studies* 36 No. 9 (October 2003): 1031-1067. (With Aníbal Pérez-Liñán).\*

Spanish version: "Nivel de desarrollo y democracia: el excepcionalismo latinoamericano (1945-1996). *América Latina Hoy* 36 (April 2004): 189-224. (Salamanca, Spain).

"The Nationalization of Parties and Party Systems: An Empirical Measure and an Application to the Americas." *Party Politics* 9 No. 2 (March 2003): 139-166. (With Mark P. Jones).\*

Spanish version : "La nacionalización de los partidos y los sistemas de partidos: *Política y gobierno* 10 No. 2 (September 2003): 63-101. CIDE, Mexico City.\*

Portuguese version: "A Nacionalização dos Partidos e dos Sistemas Partidários: Uma Medição Empírica e sua Aplicação Caso das Américas." In José Antonio Giusti Tavares, ed., *O sistema partidário na Consolidação da Democracia Brasileira*, pp.101-147. Porto Alegre: Universidade Luterana do Brasil (ULBRA) e Instituto Teotônio Vilela, 2003.

"Introduction: Democratic Accountability in Latin America." In Scott Mainwaring and Christopher Welna, eds., *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*, pp. 3-29. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.\*

"Party Objectives in Contexts of Authoritarianism or Fragile Democracy: A Dual Game." In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *Christian Democracy in Latin America*, pp. 3-29. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.\*

Spanish version: "Objetivos de los partidos bajo regímenes autoritarios con elecciones o democracias frágiles: Un juego dual." *Sociológica* 17 No. 48 (January-April 2002): 243-271. (Mexico City). Also published in Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *La democracia cristiana en América Latina: Conflictos y competencia electoral*, pp. 19-54. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010.

Portuguese version: "Os objetivos dos partidos sob regimes autoritários eleitorais ou democracias frágeis: Jogo em Duas frentes." *Revista Civitas* 2 No.2 (December 2002): 249-272. Porto Alegre.

"The Diversity of Christian Democracy in Latin America: An Overview." In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *Christian Democracy in Latin America*, pp. 30-63. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.\* (With Timothy R. Scully).

Spanish version: "La diversidad de la democracia cristiana en Latinoamérica." In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *La democracia cristiana en América Latina: Conflictos y competencia electoral*, pp. 55-100. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010.

"The Transformation and Decline of Christian Democracy?" In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *Christian Democracy in Latin America*, pp. 364-383. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.\*

Spanish version: "Transformación y decadencia da la democracia cristiana en Latinoamérica." In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *La democracia cristiana en América Latina: Conflictos y competencia electoral*, pp. 478-502. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010.

"The Political Recrafting of Social Bases of Party Competition: Chile, 1973-95." *British Journal of Political Science* 33 (February 2003): 55-84.\* (With Mariano Torcal).

Spanish version: "El conflicto democracia/autoritarismo y sus bases sociales en Chile, 1973-1995: Un ejemplo de redefinición política de un cleavage." *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas* No. 103 (July-September 2003): 51-82. Madrid, Spain.

"Prefacio." In Francisco Gutiérrez, ed., *Degradación o cambio: Evolución del sistema político colombiano*, pp. 11-23. Bogotá: Grupo Editorial Norma, 2002.

"Introduction: Institutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy in Divided Societies." In Andrew Reynolds, ed., *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management and Democracy*, pp. 1-11. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. (With Katharine Belmont and Andrew Reynolds).\*

"Classifying Political Regimes in Latin America, 1945-1999." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36 No.1 (Spring 2001): 37-65. (With Daniel Brinks and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán).\*

Spanish version. "Hacia una clasificación de los regímenes políticos en Latinoamérica. 1945-1999." *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 14 (August 2003): 31-66. (Argentina).

Portuguese version: "Classificando Regimes Políticos na América Latina." *Dados* 44 No. 4 (2001): 645-686. (Rio de Janeiro).

"Rethinking the Chilean Party System." *The Journal of Latin American Studies* 32, Part 2 (October 2000): 795-824. (With Juan Esteban Montes and Eugenio Ortega).\*

Spanish version: "Repensando los sistemas de partidos chilenos." *PostData* 7 (May 2001): 155-188. (Buenos Aires).

"Conservative Parties, Democracy, and Economic Reform in Contemporary Brazil." In Kevin Middlebrook, ed., *Conservative Parties, the Right, and Democracy in Latin America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. 164-222, 355-360. (with Rachel Meneguello and Timothy J. Power)\*

"Democratic Survivability in Latin America." In Howard Handelman and Mark A. Tessler, eds., *Democracy and Its Limits: Lessons from Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East*, pp. 11-68. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999.\*

Spanish version: "La capacidad de supervivencia democrática en América Latina." In Ernesto López and Scott Mainwaring, eds., *Democracia: Discusiones y nuevas aproximaciones* (Quilmes, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2000), pp. 137-209. Also in the *Revista de Estudios Públicos* (Santiago, Chile) 20 No. 2: 18-67.

Abbreviated Spanish version: "La durabilidad de la democracia en América Latina, 1940-1998." *Política y Gobierno* (Mexico City) 6 No. 2 (1999): 315-363.\*

"The Surprising Resilience of Latin America's Elected Governments." *The Journal of Democracy* 10 No. 3 (July 1999): 101-114.

Reprinted in Jorge Domínguez, ed., *Mexico, Central, and South America: New Perspectives*. Routledge, 5 volumes, 2001-2002.

"Electoral Volatility in Brazil." *Party Politics* 4 No. 4 (October 1998): 523-545.\*

"Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization." *The Journal of Democracy* 9 No. 3 (July 1998): 67-81.

Reprinted in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Divergence of Democracy*, pp. 185-199. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

"Juan Linz and the Study of Latin American Politics." In Scott Mainwaring and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *Politics, Society, and Democracy: Latin America*, pp. 1-26. Boulder: Westview Press, 1998.

"Party Discipline in the Brazilian Constitutional Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 22 No. 4 (November 1997): 453-483. (With Aníbal Pérez Liñan)\*

Brazilian version: "Disciplina Partidária: O Caso da Constituinte." *Lua Nova* 44 (1998): 107-136.

"Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy: A Critical Appraisal." *Comparative Politics* 29 No. 4 (July 1997): 449-471. (With Matthew Shugart)\*

Also in Scott Mainwaring and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *Politics, Society, and Democracy: Latin America*, pp. 141-169. Boulder: Westview Press, 1998.

Earlier Brazilian version: "Juan Linz, Presidencialismo e Democracia." *Novos Estudos CEBRAP* 37 (November 1993): 191-213.

Earlier Spanish version: "Juan J. Linz, presidencialismo y democracia: Una revisión crítica." *Foro Internacional* 33 No. 4 (October-December 1993): 653-683. Also in *Desarrollo Económico* 34 No. 135 (October-December 1994): 397-418. Also in *Revista Latinoamericana de Política Comparada* 7 (July 2013): 33-60.

"Multipartyism, Robust Federalism, and Presidentialism: The Case of Brazil." In Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Shugart, eds., *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*, pp. 55-109. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.\*

Spanish version: "Multipartidismo, federalismo robusto y presidencialismo en Brasil." *Araucaria*, Vol. 1 No. 2 (1999): 58-120. Seville, Spain. Also in Scott Mainwaring and Matthew S. Shugart, eds., *Presidencialismo y democracia en América Latina*, pp. 65-120. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2002.

Earlier Portuguese version: "A Democracia Presidencialista Multipartidária: O Caso do Brasil." *Lua Nova* No. 28/29 (1993): 21-74. São Paulo, Brazil.

"Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America: Rethinking the Terms of the Debate." In Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Shugart, eds., Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America, pp. 12-54. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. (With Matthew Shugart).\*

Spanish version: "Presidencialismo y democracia en América Latina: Revisión de los términos del debate." In Scott Mainwaring and Matthew S. Shugart, eds., *Presidencialismo y democracia en América Latina*, pp. 19-64. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2002.

"Presidentialism and the Party System." In Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Shugart, eds., *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*, pp. 394-439. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. (With Matthew Shugart).\*

Also printed in Eli Diniz, ed., *O Desafio da Democracia na América Latina* (Rio de Janeiro: IUPERJ, 1996), pp. 52-92.

Spanish version: "Presidencialismo y sistemas de partidos en América Latina." *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política* 9 (1996): 9-40. Also in *PostData* No. 3-4 (August 1998): 133-181. In Scott Mainwaring and Matthew S. Shugart, eds., *Presidencialismo y democracia en América Latina*, pp. 255-294. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2002.

"Introduction." In Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Shugart, eds., *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*, pp. 1-11. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. (With Matthew Shugart).\*

Spanish version: "Introducción." In Scott Mainwaring and Matthew S. Shugart, eds., *Presidencialismo y democracia en América Latina*, pp. 11-18. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2002.

"Political Parties and Democratization in Brazil." *Latin American Research Review* 30, No. 3 (Fall 1995): 177-187.\*

"Democracy in Brazil and the Southern Cone: Achievements and Problems." *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs* 37 No. 1 (Spring 1995): 113-179.\* Also published as Kellogg Institute Project Latin America 2000 Working Paper #2, 1994.

Spanish version: "Democracia en Brasil y en el Cono Sur: éxitos y fracasos." *Agora* 3 No. 5 (Winter 1996): 135-180. (Buenos Aires).

"Preface." In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully, eds., *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*, pp. 7-10, 477. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995. (With Timothy Scully)\*

Spanish version: "Prefacio." In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully, eds., *La Construcción de Instituciones Democráticas: Sistemas de Partidos en América Latina*, pp. vii-ix, 389. Santiago, Chile: CIEPLAN, 1996.

"Brazil: Weak Parties, Feckless Democracy." In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully, eds., *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*, pp. 354-398, 537-542. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995.\*

Spanish version: "Brasil: Partidos débiles, democracia indolente." In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully, eds., *La Construcción de Instituciones Democráticas: Sistemas de Partidos en América Latina*, pp. 289-326, 436-440. Santiago, Chile: CIEPLAN, 1996.

"Party Systems in Latin America." In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully, eds., *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*, pp. 1-34, 477-482. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995. (With Timothy Scully)\*

Spanish version: "Sistemas de Partidos en América Latina." In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully, eds., *La Construcción de Instituciones Democráticas: Sistemas de Partidos en América Latina*, pp. 1-28, 389-393. Santiago, Chile: CIEPLAN, 1996.

Portuguese version: "A Institucionalização dos Sistemas Partidários na América Latina," *Dados* 37 No. 1 (1994): 43-79 (Brazil).

"Parties and Democracy in Latin America: Different Patterns, Common Challenges." In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully, eds., *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*, pp. 459-474, 550-552. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995. (With Timothy Scully)\*

Spanish version: "Partidos y democracia en América Latina: Perfiles diferentes, desafíos comunes." In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully, eds., *La Construcción de Instituciones Democráticas: Sistemas de Partidos en América Latina*, pp. 375-386, 446-447. Santiago, Chile: CIEPLAN, 1996.

"Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination." *Comparative Political Studies* 26, No. 2 (July 1993): 198-228.\*

Preliminary version printed in Gyorgy Szoboszlai, ed., *Flying Blind: Emerging Democracies in East-Central Europe* (Budapest: Hungarian Political Science Association, 1992), pp. 59-85.

Revised and updated Spanish version: "Presidencialismo, multipartidismo y democracia: La difícil combinación," *Revista de Estudios Políticos* No. 88 (April-June 1995): 115-144 (Spain). Also printed in *Sociología y Política* 3 No. 7 (1995): 28-66 (Mexico). Also printed in *Propuesta* 4 No. 7 (August 1998): 15-83 (Mexico City).

Excerpted in Robert A. Dahl, Ian Shapiro, and José Antonio Cheibub, eds., *The Democracy Sourcebook*, pp. 266-271. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

"Brazilian Party Underdevelopment in Comparative Perspective." *Political Science Quarterly* 107 No. 4 (Winter 1992-93): 677-707.\*

"Transitions to Democracy and Democratic Consolidation: Theoretical and Comparative Issues." In Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell, and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds., *Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective*, pp. 294-341. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press/Kellogg Institute, 1992.\*

"Introduction." In Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell, and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds., *Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective*, pp. 1-16. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press/Kellogg Institute, 1992. (With Guillermo O'Donnell and J. Samuel Valenzuela)\*

"Politicians, Electoral Systems, and Parties: Brazil in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 24, No. 1 (October 1991): 21-43.\*

Portuguese version: "Políticos, Partidos e Sistemas Eleitorais." *Novos Estudos CEBRAP* 29 (March 1991): 34-58.

Reprinted in *Estudos Eleitorais* No. 2 (May/August 1997): 335-381.

"Presidentialism in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* XXV, No. 1 (1990): 157-179.\*

An abridged version was printed in Arend Lijphart, ed., *Parliamentary Versus Presidential Government*, pp. 111-117. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

"Democratization, Socio-Economic Disintegration, and the Latin American Churches After Puebla." In Edward Cleary, ed., *Born of the Poor: The Latin American Church Since Medellín*, pp. 143-167. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press/Kellogg Institute, 1990.\*

Spanish version: "Las iglesias latinoamericanas después de Puebla," Umbral XXI #3 (1990) (Mexico City): 40-49.

"The Progressive Church in Latin America: An Interpretation." In Scott Mainwaring and Alexander Wilde, eds., The Progressive Church in Latin America, pp. 1-37. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989. (With Alexander Wilde)\*

"Grass Roots Catholic Groups and Politics in Brazil." In Scott Mainwaring and Alexander Wilde, eds., The Progressive Church in Latin America, pp. 151-192. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989.\*

Abbreviated Portuguese version: "O Sectarismo Político da Igreja Popular." In Vanilda Paiva, ed., Catolicismo, Educação e Ciência, pp. 252-264. São Paulo: Loyola, 1991.

"Grass Roots Popular Movements and the Struggle for Democracy: Nova Iguaçu, 1974-1985." In Alfred Stepan, ed., Democratizing Brazil, pp. 168-204. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.\*

Portuguese version: "Os Movimentos Populares de Base e a Luta pela Democracia." In Alfred Stepan, ed., Democratizando o Brasil, pp. 275-314. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1988.

"Religion and Popular Protest in Latin America: Contrasting Experiences." In Susan Eckstein, ed., Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements, pp. 203-240. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. (With Daniel H. Levine)\*

Spanish translation: "Religión y protesta popular en América Latina." Susan Eckstein, ed., Poder y protesta popular: Movimientos sociales latinoamericanos, pp. 237-273. Mexico City: Siglo XXI, 2001.

"Political Parties and Democratization in Brazil and the Southern Cone." Comparative Politics 21 (October 1988): 91-120.\*

Reprinted in Jorge I. Domínguez, ed., Parties, Elections, and Political Participation in Latin America, pp. 299-328. Hamden, CT: Garland Publishing, 1994.

A Spanish version was printed by CLACSO, Buenos Aires.

"Democracy in Brazil: Origins, Problems, Prospects." World Policy Journal IV, Summer 1987: 485-514. (With Frances Hagopian)

"Urban Popular Movements, Identity, and Democracy: Brazil." Comparative Political Studies 20, July 1987: 131-159.\*



"The State and the Industrial Bourgeoisie in Perón's Argentina, 1945-1955," Studies in Comparative International Development 21 (Fall 1986): 3-31.\*

"The Transition to Democracy in Brazil," Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs 28 (May 1986): 149-179.\*

A version of this article appeared in Julian Chacel, Pamela Falk, and David Fleischer, eds., Brazil's Economic and Political Future, pp. 168-187. Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1988.

A somewhat different version appeared in Tom Davies and Brian Loveman, eds., The Politics of Anti-Politics: The Military in Latin America, pp. 407-425. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

"Apresentação." In Paulo Krischke and Scott Mainwaring, eds., A Igreja nas Bases em Tempo de Transição, pp. 7-11. Porto Alegre: L&PM/CEDEC, 1986. (With Paulo Krischke)

"The Catholic Church and the Popular Movement in Brazil: Nova Iguaçu, 1974-1985." In Daniel Levine, ed., Religion and Political Conflict in Latin America, pp. 124-155. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.\*

Portuguese version: "A Igreja e o Movimento Popular: Nova Iguaçu, 1974-1985," in Paulo Krischke and Scott Mainwaring, eds., A Igreja nas Bases em Tempo de Transição, pp. 73-100. Porto Alegre: L &PM, 1986.

Also published in Religião e Sociedade (Brazil) 12/3 (December 1985): 74-101.

Spanish version: "La Iglesia y el Movimiento Popular en Nueva Iguaçu." Sociedad y Religión (Argentina) 5 (December 1987): 2-25.

"Transitions through Transaction: Democratization in Brazil and Spain." In Wayne Selcher, ed., Political Liberalization in Brazil: Dynamics, Dilemmas, and Future, pp. 175-215. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986. (With Donald Share)\*

Spanish version: "Transiciones vía transacción: La democratización en Brasil y en España," Revista de Estudios Políticos (Spain) 49 (January-February 1986): 87-135.

Portuguese version: "Transição pela Transação: A Democratização no Brasil e na Espanha," Dados (Brazil) 29, No. 2 (1986): 207-236.

Also printed in Wayne Selcher, ed., A Abertura Política no Brasil: Dinâmica, Dilemas e Perspectivas, pp. 233-283. São Paulo: Convívio, 1988.

"New Social Movements, Political Culture, and Democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980s." Telos 61 (Fall 1984): 17-52. (With Eduardo Viola)

Spanish version: "Los nuevos movimientos sociales, las culturas políticas y la democracia: Brasil y Argentina." Revista Mexicana de Sociología 47 (October-December 1985): 35-84.

Expanded Portuguese version: "Novos Movimentos Sociais, Cultura Política e Democracia: Brasil e Argentina," in Ilse Scherer-Warren and Paulo Krischke, eds., Uma Revolução no Cotidiano? Os Novos Movimentos Sociais na América Latina, pp. 102-188. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1987.

"Authoritarianism and Democracy in Argentina: A Review Article." Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs 26 (August 1984): 415-431.\*

Spanish translation: "Autoritarismo y democracia en la Argentina: Una revisión crítica," Desarrollo Económico (Argentina) 24 (October-December 1984): 447-457.

"Transitions to Democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980s." Journal of International Affairs 38 (Winter 1985): 193-219. (With Eduardo Viola)

"The Catholic Church, Popular Education, and Political Change in Brazil." Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs 26 (February 1984): 97-143. With comments by Daniel Levine, Michael Dodson, and Phillip Berryman.\*.

Portuguese version: "A Igreja Católica, Educação Popular e Política," in Vanilda Paiva, ed., Perspectivas e Dilemas da Educação Popular, pp. 203-225. Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 1984.

"A Juventude Operária Católica e o Surgimento da Igreja na Base." Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira 43 (March 1983): 29-92.

Reprinted in Teologia Orgânica 9 (1983): 29-92.

"Igreja e Política: Anotações Teóricas." Síntese (Brazil) 27 (January-April 1983): 35-56.

"El movimiento obrero y el peronismo, 1952-1955." Desarrollo Económico (Argentina) 21 (January-March 1982): 515-530.

### **Encyclopedia and Handbook Entries and Commentary**

"Comentarios sobre 'Falta de Formación Conceptual en la Política Comparada' de Giovanni Sartori," Revista Latinoamericana de Política Comparada 1 (July 2008): 73-76. (Quito, Ecuador)

Entries for Ação Popular (1: 459), Paulo Evaristo Arns (1: 187), Leonardo Boff (1: 355), Hélder Câmara (1: 521-522), Comissão Pastoral da Terra (1: 450-451), Jarbas Gonçalves Passarinho (4: 317), National Conference of Brazilian Bishops (1: 448), and Eugênio

Sales (5: 16). Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1996.

"Government and Politics: Brazil." Handbook of Latin American Studies No. 49, pp. 574-580. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989.

### **Non-Academic Publications and Working Papers**

Preface to Ana María Bejarano, Precarious Democracies: Explaining Divergent Regime Trajectories in Colombia and Venezuela. (Spanish language edition. Uniandes Ediciones, Bogotá).

Preface to Fernando Luiz Abrúcio, Os Barões da Federação: Os Governadores e a Remocratização Brasileira. (São Paulo: Hucitec/Departamento de Ciência Política, USP, 1998).

Principal Contributor to "Consolidação da Democracia: A Reforma Política e a Organização da Sociedade Civil," in Um Projeto para o Brasil: A Proposta da Força Sindical (São Paulo: Geração Editorial, 1993), pp. 75-104.

"Democratic Governance and Political Institutions in Brazil," Brazil in a New World, Report of the Inter-American Dialogue Workshop on Brazil (Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Dialogue, June 1993), pp. 13-20.

"The Consolidation of Democracy in Latin America: A Rapporteur's Report." Kellogg Institute Working Paper #73, July 1986.

"EUA: A Guinada à Direita." Lua Nova 3, No. 1 (April-June 1986): 58-65.

"The Catholic Church and Politics in Latin America: A Conference Report." Kellogg Institute Working Paper #8 (December 1983).

### **Short Commentary**

"Democracy is in crisis in Latin America. Brazil may be the next trouble spot."

Washington Post/Monkey Cage, October 22, 2018.

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/10/22/democracy-is-in-crisis-in-latin-america-brazil-may-be-the-next-trouble-spot/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.de6c16f97f64](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/10/22/democracy-is-in-crisis-in-latin-america-brazil-may-be-the-next-trouble-spot/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.de6c16f97f64)

### **Datasets**

#### **Extra and Within-System Volatility Dataset**

#### **Latin American Electoral Volatility Dataset**

<https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/KVUKBF>

### **External Grants and Fellowships – Personal Research**

2012. Ford Foundation grant in support of a conference on “Guillermo O’Donnell and the Study of Authoritarianism and Democracy.” \$20,000.

2000. John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellow. \$34,000.

1999. Ford Foundation grant in support of a conference on “Constitutional Design 2000: Institutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy in the Late Twentieth Century.” (With Andrew Reynolds). \$60,000.

1999. United States Institute for Peace, in support of a conference on “Constitutional Design 2000: Institutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy in the Late Twentieth Century.” With Andrew Reynolds. \$38,000.

1995-96. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars fellowship, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C. \$59,000.

1993. Ford Foundation follow-up grant for translation of "Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America." (With Timothy Scully).

1990-91. National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, "Brazilian Party Development in Comparative Perspective." \$38,000.

1990. Ford Foundation grant, "Building Democratic Institutions: Parties and Party Systems in Latin America." (With Timothy Scully). \$15,000.

1990. Offered Woodrow Wilson Center fellowship, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.

1988. Institute for the Study of World Politics grant, "The Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement (PMDB) and Democratization in Brazil." \$15,000.

1987-88. Fulbright-Hays Grant, Department of Education, "The Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement (PMDB) and Democratization in Brazil." \$43,755.

1987. Offered Institute for International Exchange of Scholars Fulbright Grant, "The Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement (PMDB) and Democratization in Brazil."

1983. Soroptimist International of the Americas Fellowship

1982-1983. Whiting Fellowship

1982-1983. Offered Mabelle McLeod Lewis Fellowship

1980-1982. Social Science Research Council Fellowship

1980-1981. Fulbright-Hays Fellowship

1980-1981. Offered Fulbright Fellowship

1980-1981. Offered Doherty Fellowship

1978-1980. Stanford University Fellowship

**Institutional Grants - Principal or Coprincipal Investigator**

2010. The Coca-Cola Foundation, \$210,000 in support of Kellogg Institute programs.

2006. The Coca-Cola Foundation, \$290,000 in support of Kellogg Institute programs.

2006. Fundação Luso-Americana para o Desenvolvimento. \$75,000. (Co-PI)

2002-04. The Ford Foundation (Chile) for a project on "Crisis in the Andes." \$47,500.

2001. The Coca-Cola Foundation, \$1,000,000 in support of Kellogg Institute programs.

2001. The Brazilian Ministry of Culture for a Chair in Brazilian Studies. \$50,000 for 2002.

2000. The Brazilian Ministry of Culture for a Chair in Brazilian Studies. \$50,000 for 2001.

2000-03. U.S. Department of Education. Title VI Latin American Area Studies funding, \$554,463 for the University of Notre Dame and Indiana University. Coprincipal author with Jeffrey Gould, Indiana University. (IU was formally the lead institution.)

2000-03. U.S. Department of Education. Foreign Language and Area Studies fellowships, \$288,000 for the University of Notre Dame and Indiana University. Coprincipal author with Jeffrey Gould, Indiana University. (IU was formally the lead institution.)

2000-03. Ford Foundation (Chile) for a project on "Democracy, Human Rights, and Peace in Colombia." \$400,000.

2000. Agency for International Development. \$5000 travel grants in support of a conference on "Institutions, Accountability, and Democratic Governance in Latin America."

1999-2000. Offered Inter-American Foundation grant in support of graduate studies of Jorge Redhead. \$22,880.

1998-99. Inter-American Foundation, in support of graduate studies of Vivian Dutari. \$22,880.

1997-99. Inter-American Foundation, in support of graduate studies of Rossana Castiglioni.

1994-95. Grant from NAFSA: Association of International Educators, in support of graduate studies of Stalbek Mishakov. \$9964.

1993-94. Grant from NAFSA: Association of International Educators, in support of graduate studies of Stalbek Mishakov. \$10,000.

1993-94. Grant from NAFSA: Association of International Educators, in support of graduate studies of Ivelin Sardamov and Nikolai Valkov. \$10,000 each.

1992-93. Grant from NAFSA: Association of International Educators, in support of graduate studies of Ivelin Sardamov and Nikolai Valkov. \$9960 each.

### **Honors**

2020. Listed as the most cited scholar in political science journals about Latin America and the most cited scholar on political institutions in political science journals from Latin America, based on a survey of 5880 articles in 23 journals indexed in the Scopus database. In Adriano Codato, Rafael Madeira, and Maiane Bittencourt, "Political Science in Latin America: A Scientometric Analysis." *Brazilian Political Science Review* 14 No. 3 (2020).

2019. Listed as among the 50 most-cited political scientists in the world in Hannah June Kim and Bernard Grofman, "The Political Science 400: With Citation Counts by Gender, Cohort, and Subfield," *PS: Political Science and Politics* (April 2019).

2016. Undergraduate Mentoring Award, conferred annually by the Kellogg Institute for International Studies to a faculty member for excellence in mentoring undergraduate research.

2013. Research Achievement Award, conferred annually to a Notre Dame faculty member for contributions to research.

2010. Elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

2009. Listed in Marquis *Who's Who in American Politics*, 2009-10 edition; 2011 edition; 2012 edition, etc.

2009. Listed in the 2009 edition of *Biltmore's Who's Who Executive and Professional Registry*.

2007. Included in the 11<sup>th</sup> edition of Marquis *Who's Who Among American Teachers and Educators*, 2006-2007, etc.

2007. Listed in *PS: Political Science and Politics* 40 No. 1 (January 2007) as one of the 400 most cited scholars teaching political science in the United States.

2006. Included in *Great Minds of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, 2005 edition. Raleigh, NC: American Biographical Institute. Also in the third edition, published in 2008.

2005. In Marquis *Who's Who in American Education*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition, 2005-06; also in 2007-08 edition, etc.

2005. James C. Burns, CSC Graduate School Award, given annually to a Notre Dame faculty member for distinguished teaching of graduate students.

2005. Included in the *Dictionary of International Biography*, 32<sup>nd</sup> edition. Cambridge, England: International Biographical Centre. Included in 33rd edition, 2006; 34th edition, 2007; 35th edition, 2009. Scheduled for inclusion in the 36<sup>th</sup> edition, late 2011.

2004. Award for the best article published in a professional journal in 2003, awarded by the Asociación Española de Ciencia Política y de la Administración, for the article “El conflicto democracia/autoritarismo y sus bases sociales en Chile, 1973-1995: Un ejemplo de redefinición política de un cleavage.” Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas No. 103 (July-September 2003): 51-82. (Coauthored with Mariano Torcal).

2004. Selected for inclusion in the AcademicKeys *Who's Who in Social Sciences Higher Education*.

2002. Selected for inclusion in Marquis *Who's Who in America*, 56<sup>th</sup> edition, 2002; 57<sup>th</sup> edition, 2003, 58<sup>th</sup> edition, 2004; 59<sup>th</sup> edition, 2005, etc.

2001. Selected for inclusion in *Contemporary Authors New Revision*, Volume 93 (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale Research Co.). Previously in *Contemporary Authors*, Volume 145 (Detroit, MI: Gale Research Co: 1995).

2001. Selected for inclusion in Marquis *Who's Who in the World*, 18<sup>th</sup> edition, 2001 (New Providence, NJ); 21<sup>st</sup> edition, 2004, etc.

2000. Selected for inclusion in *2000 Outstanding Intellectuals of the 20th Century*, edition published in 2000. Cambridge, England: International Biographical Centre. Also in *2000 Outstanding Intellectuals of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, edition published in 2003. *2000 Outstanding Intellectuals of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, 3rd edition. Cambridge, England: International Biographical Centre.

1988. Subject of public-meets-author session, annual association of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Chicago, for *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil 1916-1985*.

1984 - Hubert Herring Prize of the Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies for the best dissertation on a Latin American subject, 1983-1984

### **Undergraduate Honors**

1976 - Completed B.A. and M.A. in 7 semesters

1976 - Phi Beta Kappa

1976 - magna cum laude

1976 - Distinction in Political Science major

1976 - Washburn Clark Prize for the best senior essay in Comparative Politics

1976 - Honorable mention for the best senior essay in the humanities

1975 - Patterson Prize for outstanding juniors in political science

### **Professional Service**

Advisory Council, *Brazilian Research and Studies Journal*, Würzburg, Germany.

Consultant, Freedom House, Brazil report, *Freedom in the World 2021*

Consultant, Freedom House, Brazil report, *Freedom in the World 2020*

External Expert for the Government Department, London School of Economics

Chair, Comparative Politics section, American Political Science Association, 2019-21.  
This is the largest section of the American Political Science Association.

Vice-Chair, Comparative Politics section, American Political Science Association, 2017-19.

Advisory Board, *Revista Colombia Internacional*, 2017-

Editorial Board, *Political Research Quarterly*, 2016-18.

Chair, Prize committee for the best book in democratization studies, Democratization Section, American Political Science Association, 2015.

Fulbright National Screening Committee for Brazil and Ecuador, 2014.

International Advisory Board, *Journal of Democracy and Development*, Albania, 2014-.

International Advisory Board, *Perfiles Latinoamericanos*, Mexico City, 2012-.



Advisory Board, *Comparative Politics*, 2011-.

Chair, Nominations Committee, Latin American Studies Association, 2011.

Editorial Board, *Journal of Ibero-American Studies* (Hradec Králové, Czech Republic), 2011-.

Chair, Best Paper Award of the Comparative Democratization Section, 2010. Given to the best paper presented on a panel organized by the Comparative Democratization Section at the 2009 convention of the American Political Science Association.

Bryce Wood Award Committee of the Latin American Studies Association, 2010, to award a prize for the best book in English published in 2008-09 on a Latin American subject.

International Advisory Board, AmericasBarometer, 2009-.

Editorial Board, *Party Politics*, 2008-.

International Editorial Board, *Journal of Politics in Latin America* (Hamburg, Germany), 2008-.

Advisory Board, *História Revista*, Universidade Federal de Goiás, 2008-2010.

International Advisory Board, *Revista Latinoamericana de Política Comparada* (Quito, Ecuador), 2008-

Editorial Board, *Contemporary Politics*, 2007-.

Executive Committee, Asociación Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política, 2006-09.

Member, Prize committee for the Jewell-Loewenberg Prize for the best article published in Volume XXX (2005) of *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2006.

Member, Editorial Board, *Brazilian Political Science Review*, 2006-

Member, Advisory Board, *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 2005 -

Member, Advisory Board, Program in Latin American Studies, Princeton University, 2005-2010. In 2008, I drafted the Advisory Board's report to the Provost on the Program in Latin American Studies.

Member, Editorial Board, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2004-06.

Member, Sage Prize committee, Comparative Politics Section, American Political Science Association, for the best paper in comparative politics presented at the 2003 APSA meetings.

Member, Editorial Board, *Latin American Politics and Society*, 2003 -

Member, Fenno Prize committee, Legislative Studies Section, American Political Science Association, for the best book on legislative studies in the preceding year, 2003.

Member, National Screening Committee, Institute for International Education, Fulbright grants for students for study in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay, 2003-04.

Member, International Advisory Panel, *European Journal of Political Research* (2001-)

Member, Editorial Board, *Política y gobierno* (Mexico City), 2001-2013.

Consultant, Commission on Political Reform, Costa Rica, August 2001.

Member, International Advisory Board, *Revista de Ciencia Política* (Pontificia Universidad Católica, Santiago, Chile), 2001-.

Member, Editorial Council, *Araucaria* (Seville, Spain), 1999-.

Member, Development Committee, Latin American Studies Association, 1998-2000.

Screening Committee, Social Science Research Council Dissertation Field Research Fellowships, 1998.

Treasurer and Member of the Executive and Investment Committees, Latin American Studies Association, 1997-2000.

Chair, Gregory Luebbert Prize for the best journal article, Comparative Politics section of the American Political Science Association, 1997-98.

Series Editor, Kellogg Institute for International Studies book series with the University of Notre Dame Press, 1997-.

Member, Advisory Board, *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* (Argentina), 1997-

Member, Academic Council, *POSTData*, Buenos Aires, 1997-.

Member, International Advisory Board, *Agora* (Buenos Aires), 1996-99.

Member, Bryce Wood Award Committee of the Latin American Studies Association, 1996-97, to award a prize for the best book in English on a Latin American subject.

Section Chair, Democratization section, and member of the Program Committee, Latin American Studies Association International Congress, 1997.

Chair, Gabriel A. Almond Award Committee of the American Political Science Association, which awards a prize for the best dissertation in comparative politics, 1996.

Member, Research Council, International Forum for Democratic Studies, National Endowment for Democracy, 1994-.

Member, Premio Iberoamericano Book Award Committee, Latin American Studies Association, 1994-95, to judge the best book published in Spanish or Portuguese on a Latin American subject, 1992-94.

Member, Editorial Board, *Sociología y Política* (Mexico City), 1994-9?.

Member, Editorial Board, *Latin American Research Review*, 1992-97.

Consultant, The Ford Foundation, The Inter American Dialogue, The MacArthur Foundation, The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and The Mellon Foundation, various occasions.

I served as a consultant to Brazil's second largest labor confederation, *Força Sindical*, in 1992-93, in its project to develop policy proposals. My work focused on political institutions that might enhance democratic governability.

Member, Council on Foreign Relations, 1986-91.

Policy Associate, Policy Alternative for the Caribbean and Central America, 1985-88.

Section organizer, Comparative Politics/Developing Nations, Midwest Political Science Association, 1990.

### **Dissertations Directed**

Lucia Manzi, "The Effective Judicial Prosecution of Systemic Political Corruption: Italy." 2018.

Juan Albarracín, "Criminalized Electoral Politics: The Socio-Political Foundations of Electoral Coercion in Democratic Brazil." 2018.

Rodrigo Castro Cornejo, "Do Campaigns Matter in New Democracies? Campaign Effects, Strategic Behavior, and Party System Institutionalization." 2017.

Laura Gamboa Gutiérrez, "Opposition at the Margins: The Erosion of Democracy in Latin America." 2016.

Victor Hernández Huerta, "Post-Election Disputes in Democracies: Challenging the Outcome of the Election as a Negotiation Strategy." 2015.

Carlos Meléndez, "Is There Life after Party System Collapse? Transitional Partisanship and Political Linkages under Post-Party System Collapse Scenarios: The Case of Peru." 2015.

Sandra Botero, "Courts that Matter: Judges, Litigants, and the Politics of Rights Enforcement in Latin America." 2015.

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