

Index

- Aceval, Eduardo, 297–298
- Acevedo, Eduardo, 149–151
- actor-based theories, for democratization, 44
- Aguirre, Martín, 161
- Além, Leandro, 185–186
- Alessandri, Arturo, 145, 146
- Alfaro, Eloy, 279–282, 283, 286–287
- Alfaro, Flavio, 287
- Altamirano, Eulogio, 140
- Arce, Aniceto, 270–271
- Argentina
 - Battle of Pavón, 177, 181
 - democracy in, 69
 - after 1912, 195–198
 - transformation of, 1
 - elections in
 - free and fair, 66
 - incomplete lists and, 190, 192, 193–194
 - legislative, 194
 - after 1912, 195–198
 - obligatory voting in, 191–192
 - presidential, 196
 - geographic fragmentation of, 35
 - military coups in, 6
 - military missions in, 181
 - military professionalization in, 27, 40–41, 176–182
 - government expenditures for, 176
 - military schools and training, 181–182
 - militias in, 84–85
 - National Autonomist Party, 183–186, 188–195
 - opposition revolts in, 22
 - political parties in
 - personalistic, 183, 197
 - splits in ruling parties, 188–195
 - strong, 103
 - Radical Civic Union party, 36, 69, 92, 182–187, 195–197, 198
 - manifesto for, 185
 - split within, 188–195
 - revolts in, 77, 176–182
 - suffrage rights in, 59
 - unification of, 177
 - war of independence for, 176
 - War of the Triple Alliance and, 25, 26, 85, 86, 89, 179
 - weak democracies in, 175–176
 - weak military in, 19–20
- Arias, José Inocencio, 192–193
- armies. *See* mass armies; militias
- Army of the Andes, 124
- Arteaga Conspiracy, 126–127
- Aspillaga, Antero, 245, 246–248
- authoritarian regimes, authoritarianism and
 - armed revolts and, 20
 - in Bolivia, 5
 - as unstable, 262–263
 - in Brazil, 225–226, 254–260
 - in Colombia, 203, 217–218
 - in Ecuador, 5, 283–288
 - as unstable, 262–263
 - electoral, 9, 23
 - in Paraguay, 5
 - as unstable, 262–263

- authoritarian regimes (cont.)
 in Peru, 241–248
 stable authoritarian regimes, 5, 42
 transitional, 39
 unstable, 38–39, 262–263
 in Uruguay, 151–152
 in Venezuela, 231–235
 revolts as influence on, 227
- Avellaneda, Nicolás, 177, 183
- Ayala, Eligio, 294
- Ayala, Eusebio, 299
- balanced cleavages, 37–38, 115
- ballots. *See* secret ballots
- Balmaceda, José Manuel, 132, 136, 137–141, 143–144
- Barbosa, Rui, 259
- Barros Luco, Ramón, 145
- Batlle y Ordóñez, José, 153–155, 163–172
- Battle of Loncomilla, 127
- Battle of Pavón, 177, 181
- Bautista Egusquiza, Juan, 297–298
- Belaunde, Víctor Andrés, 241
- bellicist approach, to state building, 24–25
- Beltrán, Washington, 169
- Belzú, Manuel, 74
- Benavides, Oscar, 245
- Berro, Bernardo, 148, 149, 159
- Berro, Carlos, 161
- Billinghurst, Guillermo, 42, 245
- Blanco Party (Uruguay), 41, 84–85, 147, 148, 155–163, 171, 173
 membership requirements for, 158
 National Club, 157–158
- Bolívar, Simón, 208
- Bolivia
 authoritarian regimes in, 5, 270–277
 Chaco War, 269–270
 democracy
 obstacles to, 277
 electoral fraud in, 69–70
 export boom in, 267–268
 geography of, 34
 military in, 263–270
 foreign involvement in, 268–269
 professionalization of, 267–269
 strength of, 94
 training of, 263–264, 268
 mutinies in, 275
 political parties in
 Conservative Party, 270–274
 Liberal Party, 270–274
 opposition parties, 274–275
 personalistic, 270
 weak, 103–104, 270–277
 revolts in, 263–270
 opposition, 1
 War of the Confederation, 263
 War of the Pacific and, 25, 85, 86, 129, 239
 origins of, 87
- Bonifaz, Neptalí, 287–288
- booms. *See* export booms
- Borgoño, Justiniano, 242–243
- Brazil
 authoritarianism in, 254–260
 stable regimes in, 5, 42, 225–226
 Catholic Church in, 37
 coercive capacity in, 254
 colonial history of, 248
 democratic reforms in, 256–257
 elections in, 23
 electoral reforms, 257
 presidential, 258, 259–260
 Federalist Riograndense Rebellion, 253–254
 First Republic in, 258, 259
 military in, 248–254
 German role in, 252–253
 professionalization of, 249–253
 weak, 248–249
 militias in, 84–85
 Minas Gerais state, 258–259
 political parties in
 Conservative, 254–260
 Liberal, 254–260
 Mineiro Republican Party, 258–259
 Paulista Republican Party, 258–259
 personalistic, 255
 weak, 104–105, 254–260
 revolts, 248–254
 outsider, 1, 253–254
 São Paulo state, 258–259
 War of the Canudos, 253–254
 War of the Contestado, 253–254
 War of the Triple Alliance and, 25, 26, 85, 86, 89, 179, 251
- Buero, Juan, 170
- Bulnes, Manuel, 126, 127
- Caamaño, José María, 285
- Cáceres, Andrés Avelino, 239, 241, 242–243
- Cádiz Constitution. *See* 1812 Constitution (Cádiz Constitution)
- Camacho, Eliodoro, 271–272
- Campisteguy, Juan, 171

- Caro, Miguel Antonio, 215
- Castilla, Ramón, 242–243
- Castro, Cipriano, 42, 105, 225, 230–231, 232, 234–235
- Catherine the Great, 29
- Catholic Church
- in Brazil, 37
 - in Chile, 4, 37
 - in Colombia, 4, 37, 209
 - in Latin America, 37
 - in Paraguay, 37, 295
 - regional strength of, 37
 - strong political parties influenced by, 113–114
 - in Uruguay, 37, 166, 171
 - in Venezuela, 37
- Chaco War, 269–270, 294
- Chile
- Arteaga Conspiracy, 126–127
 - Battle of Loncomilla, 127
 - Catholic Church in, 4, 37
 - Chincha Islands War and, 129
 - civil wars in, 124, 126–127, 144
 - coercive capacity in, 85
 - Conservative Party in, 131–134, 136, 144–145
 - Conspiracy of the Daggers, 126–127
 - democratic reforms in, 33, 146
 - opposition parties and, 136–139
 - democratization in, 68, 130–144
 - breakdown of, 68
 - elections as part of (after 1891), 144–147
 - geographic factors for, 19
 - military professionalization as influence on, 146
 - strong political parties' role in, 146–147
 - transformation of, 1, 10
 - elections in, 134–136
 - campaign costs, 145
 - competition in, 145
 - democratization and (after 1891), 144–147
 - electoral reform, 142
 - government intervention in, 137–139
 - legislative, 138
 - opposition parties' role in, 135–137
 - presidential, 138
 - voter participation, 134–135, 137
 - voting secrecy in, 142
 - geographic fragmentation of, 35
 - Liberal Democratic Party in, 144–145
 - Liberal Party in Chile, 31, 131–134, 136, 144–145
 - Mapuche indigenous population in, 124, 134
 - military professionalization in, 25, 27, 40–41, 124–130
 - Army of the Andes and, 124
 - export boom and, 129
 - international assistance for, 129
 - international conflicts as influence on, 129
 - militias in, 84
 - mutinies in, 124
 - National Party in, 131–134, 144–145
 - political parties in, 130–144
 - democratization influenced by, 146–147
 - opposition parties, 32, 40, 136–139
 - personalistic, 130–131, 133
 - religious conflict and, 130–131
 - Radical Party in, 36, 131–134, 144–145
 - revolts in, 77, 124–130
 - opposition, 126, 130
 - Society of Equality and, 127
 - state repression as response to, 128
 - weak military and, 126
 - strong political parties in, 102
 - democratization influenced by, 146–147
 - suffrage restrictions in, 146
 - territorial cleavages in, 112
 - War of the Pacific and, 25, 85, 86, 129, 239
 - origins of, 87
 - weak military in, 19–20, 124
- Chincha Islands War, 129
- Cifuentes, Abdón, 135–136
- Civil Party (Partido Civil) (Peru), 42, 236–237, 241, 243, 244–245, 247
- civil wars. *See also specific wars*
- in Chile, 124, 126–127, 144
 - in Colombia, 202
 - strong political parties and, 109–110
 - in Uruguay, 149–151
 - Guerra Grande, 151–152, 156
- class pressure model, 46–47
- cleavages. *See also regional/territorial cleavages; religious cleavages*
- balanced, 37–38, 115
 - religious, 98–99, 111, 113–114
 - strong political parties influenced by, 35–36, 37–38
 - strong political parties influenced by, 35–38, 110–117
 - balanced cleavages, 115
 - class cleavages, 36, 110, 111–112
 - ethnic cleavages, 36, 110

- coercive capacity
 - in Brazil, 254
 - in Chile, 85
 - in Colombia, 206
 - military strength and, 21–22
 - opposition revolts and, 20–21
 - in Paraguay, 85
 - in Uruguay, 152, 155
 - in Venezuela, 227
- Colombia, 202, 203
 - authoritarianism in, 203, 217–218
 - Catholic Church in, 4, 37, 209
 - civil wars in, 202
 - coercive capacity in, 206
 - Conservative Party, 207–215, 221–222
 - split within, 215–219
 - constitutions in, 203, 212
 - reforms of, 218–219
 - democracy in, 69
 - analysis of, 223
 - breakdown of, 68
 - historical development of, 219–222
 - origins of, 198–199
 - democratic reforms in, 1, 41–42, 215
 - Ecuadorian-Colombian War, 93
 - 1853 constitution, 108
 - elections in, 211–212
 - competition in, 212
 - complete-lists and, 217
 - electoral reforms and, 219
 - fraud in, 202, 212, 220–221
 - incomplete lists and, 217, 219
 - legislative, 211–212
 - presidential, 211–212, 213
 - electoral participation in, 61
 - geography of, 34
 - Liberal Party, 207–215, 220–221
 - split within, 215–219
 - military professionalization in, 41–42, 204–205, 206–207, 222
 - under Law 17 of 1907, 205
 - limits of, 207
 - military training as part of, 200, 205
 - after War of a Thousand Days, 204–205
 - political parties in
 - Conservative Party, 207–219, 221–222
 - Liberal Party, 207–219, 221–222
 - opposition parties, 32, 38, 220, 221–222
 - Republican Union in Colombia, 198, 211, 218, 221
 - strong, 103, 207–215
 - revolts in, 199–207
 - authoritarianism as result of, 203
 - costs of, 203–204
 - opposition, 1, 22
 - suffrage rights in, 59
 - territorial cleavages in, 112
 - uprisings in, 220
 - La Violencia* period, 222
 - War of a Thousand Days, 1, 22, 41, 44, 89, 202, 203
 - military professionalization after, 204–205
 - opposition parties and, 222
 - War of the Parish Priests, 203
 - War of the Supremes, 202, 203
 - weak military in, 19–20, 82–83, 199–207
- colonial rule, colonialism and
 - in Brazil, 248
 - in Latin America, elections in, 23
 - in Paraguay, 289
- Colorado Party (Paraguay), 295–300
- Colorado Party (Uruguay), 147, 148, 155–163, 171, 172, 173
 - democratic reform under, 163–172
 - opposition within, 164
 - Riveristas faction in, 167–168, 170–171
 - split in, 163–172
- commodity booms, military professionalization
 - influenced by, 26
- complete-list, 63
 - in Argentine elections, 192, 194
 - in Chilean elections, 143
 - in Colombian elections, 217
 - in Uruguayan elections, 161–162
- compulsory military service, 130, 239
- Concha, José Vicente, 219–220
- Concha Torres, Carlos, 287
- conflict-settlement path, to democratization, 310
- conservative parties, geography as factor for, 117
- Conservative Party (Bolivia), 270–274
- Conservative Party (Brazil), 254–260
- Conservative Party (Chile), 131–134, 136, 144–145
- Conservative Party (Colombia), 207–219, 221–222
- Conservative Party (Ecuador), 284–286
- Conservative Party (Venezuela), 231–233
- conservative political parties, 116
 - democratic reforms and, 27–28
- Conspiracy of the Daggers, 126–127
- constitutions. *See specific countries*
- Cordero, Luis, 285
- Costa Rica
 - democracy in, 315
 - weak military in, 199

- coups
 - in Argentina, 6
 - during Aristocratic Republic, 245
 - definition of, 78
 - in Paraguay, 291
 - regime outcomes and, 39
- Crespo, Joaquín, 233
- Cruz, José María de la, 127
- Cuestas, Juan Lindolfo, 161–162
- cumulative voting, 137, 143
- Dahl, Robert A., 19
- democratic laggards, 70–72
- democratic pioneers, 70–71
- democratic reforms. *See* reforms, democratic
- democratization, democracy and. *See also*
 - weak democracies; *specific countries*;
 - specific topics*
- actor-based theories, 44
- alternative explanations for, 43–47
- class pressure model and, 46–47
- conceptual approach to, 2–7, 9–12, 308–309
 - analysis of, 73, 302–304
- conflict-settlement path to, 310
- in early twentieth century, 68–73
 - presidential elections and, 70
- empirical approaches to, 308–309
- ephemeral, 50, 66–67
- European-origin populations as influence
 - on, 45
- first wave of, 6, 7
- future implications
 - for post-1929 politics, 304–307
 - for research, 314–316
- geographic diffusion and, 46
- ideational diffusion and, 46
- Index of Democratization, 53, 72
- indigenous populations as influence on, 45
- measurement of, 9–12
- in Mesoamerica, 314–315
- methodological approach to, 12–16
- modernization theory and, 2, 44
- origins of, 1–2
- past experience with democratic institutions
 - as factor in, 45–46
- political parties' role in, 3–4
- Polyarchy Index and, 72
- regime formation and, 7
- research methodology for, 7–9
 - databases in, 8–9
 - qualitative evidence, 7–8
 - quantitative evidence, 7–8
- state-building and, 7
- temporal diffusion and, 46
- theoretical approaches to, 309–314
- direct elections
 - electoral competition in, 63–64
 - presidential elections, 6
 - in Uruguay, 157
- Dom Pedro I (Emperor), 248
- Dom Pedro II (Emperor), 248
- Durand, Augusto, 240, 241, 245
- Echagüe, Pedro A., 192–193
- Ecuador
 - authoritarian rule in, 5, 283–288
 - elections in
 - fraud in, 69–70
 - free and fair, 66
 - geographic fragmentation of, 118
 - geography of, 34
 - independence movement in, 278
 - Julian Revolution in, 287–288
 - Liberal Revolution in, 279–282, 286
 - military in, 277–283
 - professionalization of, 43, 278–283
 - weak, 93–94, 199
 - political parties
 - Conservative Party, 284–286
 - historical development of, 284–285
 - Liberal Party, 284–286
 - personalistic, 284
 - weak, 104, 283–288
 - revolts in, 77, 277–283
 - opposition, 1
 - suffrage rights for women in, 55–56
- Ecuadorian-Colombian War, 93
- 1812 Constitution (Cádiz Constitution), 23, 55
- election fraud. *See* fraud, election
- elections, electoral systems and. *See also*
 - free and fair elections; presidential elections; *specific countries*; *specific elections*
- abuses of, 62–63
 - electoral fraud, 28, 29, 49, 62, 69–70
 - intimidation, 28, 29, 49
- under colonial rule, 23
- data sources on, 49
- independent electoral authorities, 28, 29–31
- indirect
 - electoral competition in, 63–64
 - in LAHED, 53
- Latin American Historical Elections
 - Database, 49–50, 51–54, 60, 63
 - data sources for, 52, 53–54

- elections, electoral systems (cont.)
 - historical scope of, 51
 - presidential elections in, 51, 52, 53
 - secret ballot, 3–4
 - theoretical approach to, 48–51
- electoral authoritarian regimes, 9, 23
- electoral competition, 62–68
 - compared to U.S. elections, 64–65
 - in direct elections, 63–64
 - electoral fraud and, 62
 - ephemeral democratization and, 66–67
 - free and fair elections and, 66
 - in indirect elections, 63–64
 - lack of competitiveness, 65
 - margin of victory and, 65–66
 - voter intimidation and, 28, 29, 49, 62
- electoral intimidation, 28, 29, 49, 62
- elite insurrections and revolts, 77
 - definition of, 78
- enslaved populations, suffrage restrictions for, 56
- ephemeral democratization, 50
 - electoral competition and, 66–67
- ephemeral political parties, 122
- Escalier, José María, 274–275
- Esguerra, Nicolás, 218
- Estrada, Emilio, 286–287
- ethnic cleavages, 36, 110
- executive dominance, 29–30
- export booms
 - in Bolivia, 267–268
 - in Chile, 129
 - military professionalization influenced by, 24, 26, 129
 - military strength and, 87
- Federalist Riograndense Rebellion, 253–254
- Federalist War, 227
- Fernández, Aristides, 216
- Fernández Alonso, Severo, 272
- Ferreira, Benigno, 298
- Fidel Suárez, Marco, 219–220
- Figueroa Alcorta, José, 188–189
- Flores, Antonio, 285
- Flores, Juan José, 284
- Flores, Venancio, 148, 159
- Fonseca, Hermes da, 252, 259–260
- Francia, José Gaspar Rodríguez da, 288–289
- Franco, Manuel, 299
- fraud, election, 28, 29, 49, 62
 - in Bolivia, 69–70
 - in Colombia, 202, 212, 220–221
 - in Peru, 69–70
 - in Venezuela, 69–70
- free and fair elections, 53, 66, 71
 - in Argentina, 66
 - in Paraguay, 66
 - in Peru, 66
 - in Uruguay, 162
- Freire, Ramón, 126
- Gallegos, Rómulo, 105
- Gallo, Pedro León, 127
- Gaona, Juan B., 298
- García, Lizardo, 286–287
- García Moreno, Gabriel, 278–279, 284
- geographic concentration, 14, 18, 38, 99, 123
- geographic diffusion approach, democratization and, 46
- geographic fragmentation
 - strong political parties and, 34–35, 99, 117–121
 - transportation infrastructure and, 119–120
- Gibbs, Antony, 140
- Giró, Juan Francisco, 149
- Gómez, Juan Vicente, 42, 105, 225, 230–231, 232, 234–235
- Gual, Pedro, 231–232
- Guggiari, José P., 300
- Guzmán, Antonio Leocadio, 232
- Guzmán Blanco, Antonio, 227, 231–232, 233, 234
- Haya de la Torre, Víctor Raúl, 247
- Herrera, Benjamín, 90–91, 206
- Herrera y Obes, Julio, 152
- Holguín, Carlos, 214
- Hutchinson, Norman, 230
- ideational diffusion approach, democratization and, 46
- incomplete list, 304–305, 312
 - in Argentine elections, 190, 192, 193–194
 - in Bolivian elections, 274
 - in Brazilian elections, 256–257
 - in Colombian elections, 217, 219
 - in Paraguayan elections, 299
 - in Uruguayan elections, 161–162
- independent electoral authorities, 28, 29–31
- Index of Democratization, 53, 72
- indigenous populations
 - democratization influenced by, 45
 - Mapuche, 124
- indirect elections
 - electoral competition in, 63–64
 - in LAHED, 53

- insider revolts, 79
 insurrections. *See* elite insurrections and revolts
 interstate disputes, interstate wars and. *See*
 also specific wars
 military professionalization after, 24, 25, 27
 war outcomes as influence on, 26
 Irarrázaval, Manuel José, 141
 Irigoyen, Bernardo de, 184, 185
 Irigoyen, Ignacio, 192–193
- Jara, Albino, 299
 Jiménez, Ricardo, 314–315
 Jiménez de Aréchaga, Justino, 161
 Juárez Celman, Miguel, 185–186, 188, 189
 Julian Revolution, 287–288
- König, Abraham, 182
 Körner, Emil, 87, 129, 130
 Kundt, Hans, 268, 269, 276
- laggards. *See* democratic laggards
 LAHED. *See* Latin American Historical
 Elections Database (LAHED)
 LARD. *See* Latin American Revolts Database
 (LARD)
 Latin America. *See also* Latin American
 Revolts Database (LARD); *specific*
 countries; specific topics
 Catholic Church in, 37
 international constitutions as influence in
 1812 Spanish Constitution, 23
 US Constitution, 23
 late twentieth century revolts in, 316
 representative institutions in, 23
 US Constitution as influence in, 23
 Latin American Historical Elections Database
 (LAHED), 49–50, 51–54, 60, 63
 data sources for, 52, 53–54
 historical scope of, 51
 indirect elections in, 53
 presidential elections in, 51, 52, 53
 Latin American Revolts Database (LARD),
 227, 264
 revolts in
 data sources for, 76–77
 decline of, 79–80
 Latorre, Lorenzo, 152, 156
 Leguía, Augusto, 42, 104, 240, 244, 246–248
 military support under, 248
 personalistic political party, 247–248
 Liberal Democratic Party (Chile), 144–145
 liberal movements, 116
 geography as factor for, 117
 Liberal Party (Bolivia), 270–274
 Liberal Party (Brazil), 254–260
 Liberal Party (Chile), 131–134, 136, 144–145
 Liberal Party (Colombia), 207–219, 220–221
 Liberal Party (Ecuador), 284–286
 Liberal Party (Paraguay), 295–300
 Liberal Party (Peru), 247
 Liberal Party (Venezuela), 231–233, 234
 liberal political parties, in Chile, 31
 Liberal Rebellion, in Paraguay, 298
 Liberal Revolution, in Ecuador, 279–282, 286
 Linares, Francisco, 233
 López, Carlos Antonio, 289
 López, José Hilario, 209–210
 López de Romaña, Eduardo, 244
 López Jordán, Ricardo, 180
- Manini, Pedro, 164
 Mapuche indigenous population, in Chile,
 124, 134
 Márquez, José Ignacio de, 202
 Marroquín, José Manuel, 216–217
 Martínez, Martín C., 165
 Martínez Thedy, Eugenio, 170
 mass armies, 22, 24, 75
 McGill, Samuel, 230
 Mendiondo, Rogelio, 169
 Mibelli, Celestino, 169, 170
 militaries, strong
 in Bolivia, 94
 coercive capacity and, 21–22
 decline in, 81
 democratization influenced by, 72–73
 in Ecuador, 93–94
 expansion of military and, 88
 export booms and, 87
 military modernization as influence
 on, 87–88
 military professionalization and, 85–94
 data sources on, 90
 international conflicts and, 86
 monopolies on use of force, 89
 through officer training, 88
 opposition revolts and, 21
 outsider revolts and, 92
 in Paraguay, 85, 93
 popular uprisings and, 91
 regime outcomes, 39
 regime stability and, 91
 revolts as influence on, 81
 state-building and, 87
 through use of foreign weaponry, 88–89
 war outcomes as influence on, 86–87

- militaries, weak
 - democratization influenced by
 - in Argentina, 19–20
 - in Bolivia, 19
 - in Brazil, 248–249
 - in Chile, 19–20, 124
 - revolts as result of, 126
 - in Colombia, 19–20, 82–83, 199–207
 - in Costa Rica, 199
 - in Ecuador, 19, 199
 - military expenditures as factor for, 82–83
 - during nineteenth century, 82–85
 - in Paraguay, 19
 - in Peru, 199, 237
 - regime outcomes and, 38–39
 - in Uruguay, 19–20, 149
 - in Venezuela, 199, 231–235
- militarized conflicts. *See* civil wars; wars
- military. *See also* mass armies; military
 - professionalization; military strength; *specific countries; specific topics*
 - in authoritarian regimes, 22–23
 - democratization and, 18–24
 - with dominant militaries, 20
 - legitimate use of force in, 18–19
 - literature on, 19
 - military stalemate as influence on, 20
 - state capacity and, 19
 - military professionalization, 3, 22
 - in Argentina, 27, 40–41, 176–182
 - government expenditures for, 176
 - military missions, 181
 - military schools and training, 180, 181–182
 - in Bolivia, 267–269
 - in Brazil, 249–253
 - in Chile, 25, 27, 40–41, 124–130
 - Army of the Andes and, 124
 - export boom and, 129
 - international assistance for, 129
 - international conflicts as influence on, 129
 - in Colombia, 41–42, 204–205, 206–207, 222
 - by geographic region, 207
 - under Law 17 of 1907, 205
 - military training as part of, 200, 205
 - after War of a Thousand Days, 204–205
 - commodity booms and, 26
 - costs of, 26
 - democratization influenced by, 44–45, 72–73
 - in Ecuador, 279–283
 - export booms and, 24, 26
 - interstate conflicts and, 24, 25, 27
 - war outcomes, 26
 - military strength and, 85–94
 - data sources on, 90
 - international conflicts and, 86
 - opposition rebellions and, 22
 - origins of, 24–27
 - in Paraguay, 43, 291–294
 - in Peru, 239–240
 - regime outcomes and, 38, 39–43
 - with strong military, 39
 - unstable authoritarianism and, 38–39
 - with weak military, 38–39
 - revolts and, 74–76, 81–82
 - state-building and, 24–25
 - bellicist approach to, 24–25
 - in Uruguay, 40–41, 148–155, 173–174
 - establishment of national army, 148
 - in Venezuela, 227–230
 - War of a Thousand Days and, 44
 - in wealthy nations, 27
- military schools, military training and
 - in Argentina, 180, 181–182
 - in Bolivia, 263–264, 268
 - in Colombia, 200, 205
 - in Paraguay, 294
 - in Peru, 236
 - in Venezuela, 226
- military service. *See* compulsory military service
- military strength. *See also* militaries, strong; militaries, weak
 - in Bolivia, 94
 - coercive capacity and, 21–22
 - export booms and, 87
 - military professionalization and, 85–94
 - data sources on, 90
 - international conflicts and, 86
 - opposition revolts and, 21
 - outsider revolts and, 92
 - in Paraguay, 85, 93
 - popular uprisings and, 91
 - revolts as influence on, 81
 - state-building and, 87
 - through weapons accumulation, 88–89
- military training. *See* military schools, military training and
- milicias, 84–85
 - in Peru, 236–237
 - in Uruguay, 148
 - in Venezuela, 227
- Mineiro Republican Party, 258–259
- Mitre, Bartolomé, 177–179, 185

- modernization theory, democratization and, 2, 44
- Monagas, José Gregorio, 231–232, 234
- Monagas, José Tadeo, 231–233, 234
- monopolies, on violence or use of force, 89
- Montero, Pedro, 287
- Montt, Manuel, 127, 130–131, 143, 145
- Morais, Prudente de, 257
- Morales Bermúdez, Remigio, 242–243
- Mosquera, Tomás Cipriano de, 200, 210
- Muñoz, Basilio, 90–91, 155
- mutinies
- in Bolivia, 275
 - in Chile, 124
 - definition of, 78
- National Autonomist Party (PAN) (Argentina), 183–186, 188–195
- National (civic) guard, 89, 136, 143, 249, 251, 278
- National Party (Chile), 131–134, 144–145
- National Union Party, 189, 193, 194
- New Zealand, democratic transformation in, geographic factors for, 19
- North, John, 140
- Norway, democratic transformation in, geographic factors for, 19
- Núñez, Rafael, 204, 210, 215
- obligatory voting and registration, 31, 168–169, 191–192, 194, 195
- O'Higgins, Bernardo, 124
- Olaya Herrera, Enrique, 219–220
- opposition parties
- in Bolivia, 274–275
 - in Chile, 32, 40, 135–139
 - in Colombia, 32, 38, 220, 221–222
 - democratic reforms and, 3–4, 29–32
 - democratization influenced by, 3–4, 72–73
 - in Peru, 243
 - in Uruguay, 32, 38, 164
 - use of past conflicts by, 21
- opposition revolts
- in Argentina, 22
 - in Bolivia, 1
 - in Chile, 126, 130
 - coercive state capacity and, 20–21
 - in Colombia, 22
 - military professionalization and, 22
 - state military strength and, 21
 - in Uruguay, 22
- Orbegoso, Luis Jose de, 242
- Oribe, Manuel, 149, 156
- Ospina, Mariano, 203
- Ospina, Pedro Nel, 220–221
- outsider revolts, 79
- in Brazil, 253–254
 - military strength and, 92
 - in Peru, 240
- Pacheco, Gregorio, 270–271
- Páez, José Antonio, 231–232
- PAN. *See* National Autonomist Party (PAN) (Argentina)
- Pando, José M., 272–273
- Paraguay
- authoritarian regimes in, 5
 - Catholic Church in, 37, 295
 - Chaco War, 269–270, 294
 - coercive capacity in, 85
 - coups in, 291
 - democracy in
 - development of, 288
 - political instability and, 300 - elections in
 - free and fair, 66
 - legislative, 297
 - presidential, 297–298 - geographic fragmentation of, 35
 - military in, 288–294
 - during colonial era, 289
 - military academies, 294
 - professionalization of, 43, 291–294
 - strength of, 85, 93 - militias in, 84
 - opposition revolts in, 1
 - political parties in, 294–300
 - Colorado Party, 295–300
 - Liberal Party, 295–300 - partisan identification with, 296
 - revolts in, 43, 77, 288–294
 - Liberal Rebellion, 298
 - state repression from, 291 - uprisings in, 291
 - War of the Triple Alliance (Paraguayan War), 25, 26, 85, 86, 89, 93, 179, 251
 - democratization influenced by, 288
- Pardo, José, 246, 247
- Pardo, Manuel, 236–237, 241, 242, 243
- Paredes, Manuel Rigoberto, 103–104
- Parra, Aquileo, 203–204
- Partido Civil (Civil Party) (Peru), 42, 236–237, 241, 243, 244–245, 247
- Paulista Republican Party, 258–259
- Pedro II (Emperor), 257
- Pellegrini, Carlos, 188–189

- personalistic political parties, 101, 104, 122
 in Argentina, 183, 198
 in Bolivia, 270
 in Brazil, 255
 in Chile, 130–131, 133
 in Ecuador, 284
 Leguía and, 247–248
 in Peru, 101, 104, 241
 in Venezuela, 231–232, 234–235
- Peru
 Aristocratic Republic in, 243
 coups during, 245
 authoritarianism in, 241–248
 constitutions in, 239
 democratic reforms in, 243
 elections in
 electoral reforms, 243–244
 fraud in, 69–70
 free and fair, 66
 legislative, 244–245
 presidential, 244–245
 military in, 235–240
 compulsory service for, 239
 international assistance for, 240
 professionalization of, 239–240
 training for, 236
 weak, 199, 237
 militias in, 236–237
 political parties
 Civil Party, 42, 236–237, 241, 243,
 244–245, 247
 Liberal Party, 247
 opposition parties, 243
 personalistic, 101, 104, 241
 weakness of, 104, 241–248
 revolts in, 235–240
 opposition revolts, 1
 outsider, 240
 suffrage rights for males in, 59, 243–244
 War of the Pacific and, 25, 85, 86, 129, 239
- Pessoa, João, 260
- Piérola, Nicolás, 237, 239, 240, 241, 244–245
- Plaza, Leonidas, 282, 286, 287
- political parties. *See also* opposition parties;
specific countries; specific topics
 attachment to electorate, 210–211, 224,
 225, 255–256
 conservative, democratic reforms and, 27–28
 democratic reforms and, 27–34
 conservative parties, 27–28
 opposition parties, 3–4, 29–32
 ruling parties, 28–29, 32–34
 democratization and, 3–4
 ephemeral, 122
 institutionalization of, 100, 102
 linkages, 37, 98, 174, 284
 ruling, 28–29, 32–34
 weak, 122
 political parties, weak, 122
 in Bolivia, 270–277
 in Brazil, 254–260
 in Ecuador, 283–288
 in Peru, 241–248
 political party strength, 34–38
 analysis of, 121–122
 in Argentina, 103
 in Bolivia, 103–104
 in Brazil, 104–105
 Catholic Church and, 113–114
 in Chile, 102
 democratization influenced by, 146–147
 in Colombia, 103, 207–215
 conservative parties, 116
 geography as factor for, 117
 data sources on, 101
 definition of, 100
 democratization influenced by, 72–73,
 107–108
 in Ecuador, 104
 from 1870–1930, 100–105, 106–107
 factors for, 106–110
 geographic fragmentation in countries and,
 34–35, 99, 119, 117–121
 transportation infrastructure and, 119–120
 inter-party civil wars and, 109–110
 liberal movements, 116
 geography as factor for, 117
 origins of, 34
 in Paraguay, 103
 in Peru, 104
 social cleavages as influence on, 35–38,
 110–117
 balanced, 115
 economic class cleavages, 36, 110,
 111–112
 ethnic cleavages, 36, 110
 religious cleavages, 35–36, 37–38, 98–99,
 111, 113–114
 territorial cleavages, 36–37, 98–99,
 112–113
 socioeconomic modernization as influence
 on, 109
 theoretical approach to, 98–100
 in Uruguay, 102, 147
 in Venezuela, 105
 violent conflict and, 109

- Polyarchy* (Dahl), 19
 Polyarchy Index, 72
 popular uprisings, 78
 in Colombia, 220
 military strength and, 91
 in Paraguay, 291
 Portales, Diego, 126–127
 Prado, Jorge, 245
 Prado, Manuel, 245
 Prado, Mariano, 242
 presidential elections
 in Argentina, 196
 in Brazil, 258, 259–260
 in Chile, 138
 in Colombia, 211–212, 213
 as democratic reform, 6
 democratization and, 70
 free and fair, 71
 in Latin American Historical Elections Database, 51, 52, 53
 in Paraguay, 297–298
 in Peru, 244–245
 in Uruguay, 159–160
 Prestes, Luis Carlos, 260
 Prieto, José Joaquín, 126
principista parties, in Uruguay, 158–159
 proportional representation
 democratic reforms and, 28
 in Uruguay, 172
 Quintana, Manuel, 188–189
 Radical Civic Union party (UCR), in Argentina,
 36, 69, 92, 182–187, 195–197, 198
 manifesto for, 185
 split within, 188–195
 Radical Party (Chile), 36, 131–134, 144–145
 rebellions. *See* revolts, rebellions and
 Recabarren, Manuel, 141–142
 reforms, democratic
 in Brazil, 256–257
 in Chile, 33, 146
 opposition parties and, 136–139
 in Colombia, 1, 41–42, 215
 direct presidential elections, 6
 expansion of suffrage, 28–29
 incentives for, 312
 packages of complementary measures, 31
 in Peru, 243
 political parties and, 27–34
 conservative parties, 27–28
 opposition parties, 3–4, 29–32
 ruling parties, 28–29, 32–34
 proportional representation and, 28
 ruling parties and, 28–29
 political splits within, 32–34
 secret ballots and, 28
 term limits, 6
 in third wave of democratization, 31
 in Uruguay, 33, 161–162, 173
 under Batlle y Ordóñez, 163–172
 Colorado Party role in, 163–172
 regime outcomes
 coups and, 39
 determinants of, 38
 exogenous factors, 38
 military professionalization and, 38, 39–43
 with strong military, 39
 unstable authoritarianism and, 38–39
 with weak military, 38–39
 opposition parties and, 38
 scoring of, 40
 regional/territorial cleavages
 strong political parties and, 36–37, 98–99,
 112–113
 in Uruguay, 112–113, 156
 religious cleavages, 35–36, 37–38, 98–99
 representation. *See* proportional
 representation
 representative institutions, in Latin America, 23
 Republican Union (Colombia), 198, 211,
 218, 221
 Restrepo, Carlos, 206, 218, 219–220
 revolts, rebellions and. *See also* elite
 insurrections and revolts; mutinies;
 opposition revolts; popular uprisings
 in Argentina, 77, 176–182
 in Bolivia, 263–270
 in Latin American Revolts Database, 264
 opposition revolts, 1
 in Brazil, 248–254
 opposition revolts, 1
 outsider revolts, 253–254
 in Chile, 77, 124–130
 opposition revolts, 126, 130
 Society of Equality and, 127
 state repression as response to, 128
 weak military and, 126
 in Colombia, 199–207
 authoritarianism as result of, 203
 costs of, 203–204
 opposition revolts, 1, 22
 conceptual approach to, 74–76
 decline in, 76–82
 from 1830–1929, 77
 factors for, 80–82

- revolts, rebellions (cont.)
 - in Latin American Revolts Database, 79–80
 - military strength as factor in, 81
 - state capacity as factor for, 80–81
- democratization as result of, 1
- in Ecuador, 77, 277–283
 - opposition revolts, 1
- insider, 79
- in late twentieth century Latin America, 316
- Latin American Revolts Database
 - data sources for, 76–77
 - decline of revolts in, 79–80
- leadership of, 78–79
 - typology of revolts and, 77, 78
- methodological approach to, 75–76
 - temporal range in, 76
- military professionalization and,
 - 74–76, 81–82
- military strength influenced by, 81
- negative impacts of, 74–75
- outsider, 79
- in Paraguay, 43, 77, 288–294
 - Liberal Rebellion, 298
 - state repression from, 291
- in Peru, 235–240
 - opposition revolts, 1
 - outsider revolts, 240
- statistical analysis of, 94–97
 - determinants in, 96
- Tocqueville on, 74
- typology of, 77–78
 - by leader types, 77, 78
- in Uruguay, 148–155
- in Venezuela, 226–231
 - authoritarianism as result of, 227
 - in Latin American Revolts Database, 227
 - opposition revolts, 1
- Revolution of the Spears, 162
- Reyes, Rafael, 204–206, 216–218
- Riccheri, Pablo, 181
- Riesco, Germán, 145
- Rivera, Fructuoso, 156
- Roca, Julio A., 177, 179, 180, 183
- Roca, Julio A., Jr., 192
- Rocafuerte, Vicente, 279
- Rodríguez Laretta, Aureliano, 165, 168, 169
- Roldán, Salvador Camacho, 214
- Rosas, Juan Manuel de, 176–177, 182–183
- Rossi, César, 172
- Rothlisberger, Ernst, 210–211
- ruling political parties, democratic reforms
 - and, 28–29, 32–34
- Saavedra, Bautista, 273, 274–275, 276
- Sáenz Peña, Luis, 188
- Sáenz Peña, Roque, 41, 188–195
- La Sagrada* police force, in Venezuela, 230
- Salamanca, Daniel, 273, 274–275
- Salom, Bartolomé, 232–233
- Samper, José Miguel, 215–216
- Sánchez Cerro, Luis M., 248
- Sanclemente, Manuel Antonio, 215–216
- Sanfuentes, Enrique Salvador, 140
- Sanfuentes, Juan Luis, 145
- Santa María, Domingo, 129, 136, 137–139
- Santander, Francisco de Paula, 208
- Santos, Enrique, 4
- Santos, Máximo, 156, 162
- Saravia, Aparicio, 155
- Sarmiento, Domingo, 177–179, 180
- secret ballots, 3–4
 - in Chile, 142
 - democratic reforms and, 28
 - in Uruguay elections, 172
- Segundo, Juan José, 169
- Sever, Jacques, 268
- Siles, Hernando, 275–277
- social cleavages. *See* cleavages
- Society of Equality, 127
- Solano López, Francisco, 290, 295
- South America. *See also specific countries; specific topics*
 - democracy in
 - conceptual approach to, 17–18
 - methodological approach to, 17–18
 - origins of, 1–2, 17–18
- Spain, 1812 Constitution, 23, 55
- stable authoritarian regimes, 5, 42, 224–226, 235. *See also* Brazil; Peru; Venezuela
- state capacity. *See also* coercive capacity
 - revolts influenced by, 80–81
- state repression
 - in Chile, 128
 - in Paraguay, 291
- state-building
 - costs of, 26
 - military professionalization and, 24–25
 - bellicist approach to, 24–25
 - military strength and, 87
- Stroessner, Alfredo, 294
- suffrage rights
 - in Argentina, 59
 - in Chile, 146
 - in Colombia, 59
 - in democratic reforms, 28–29

- in Ecuador, 55–56
- electoral participation and, 54–62
 - by age, 60
 - expansion of, 56–58
 - for males, 55, 59
 - definition of, 59
 - in Peru, 59, 243–244
 - restrictions on
 - by country, 56–58
 - economic, 57–58, 59–60
 - for enslaved populations, 56
 - literacy, 57–58, 59–60
 - for women, 55–56, 146
 - universal, 55, 59
 - in Uruguay, 161
 - for women, 169–170
 - in Venezuela, 233
 - for women
 - in Chile, 146
 - in Ecuador, 55–56
 - in Uruguay, 169–170
- Switzerland, democratic transformation in,
 - geographic factors for, 19
- Tajes, Máximo, 156
- Tejedor, Carlos, 177
- temporal diffusion approach, democratization and, 46
- term limits, as democratic reforms, 6
- territorial cleavages. *See* regional/territorial cleavages
- third wave of democracy, democratic reforms in, 31
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 74
- Torero, Santos, 128
- Toro, David, 276
- Tovar, Manuel Felipe, 231–232
- training, of military. *See* military schools, military training and
- transitional authoritarianism, 39
- UCR. *See* Radical Civic Union party (UCR), in Argentina
- Udaondo, Guillermo, 189
- United States (US), electoral competition in South America compared to, 64–65
- universal suffrage, 55, 59
- unstable authoritarian regimes, 262–263
 - military professionalization in, 38–39
- Uribe Uribe, Rafael, 216, 217, 219–220
- Urquiza, Justo José, 177
- Urriola, Pedro, 127
- Uruguay, 4
 - authoritarianism in, 151–152
 - Blanco Party in, 41, 84–85, 147, 148, 155–163, 171, 173
 - membership requirements for, 158
 - National Club, 157–158
 - Catholic Church in, 37, 166, 171
 - civil wars in, 149–151
 - Guerra Grande, 151–152, 156
 - civilian government employees in, 161
 - coercive capacity in, 152, 155
 - Colorado Party in, 147, 148, 155–163, 171, 172, 173
 - democratic reform under, 163–172
 - opposition within, 164
 - Riveristas faction in, 167–168, 170–171
 - split in, 163–172
 - democracy in, 68–69, 155–163
 - breakdown of, 68
 - conceptual approach to, 147
 - constitutional support of, 172–174
 - proportional representation in, 172
 - strong, 172–174
 - transformation to, 1
 - democratic reforms in, 33, 161–162, 173
 - under Batlle y Ordóñez, 163–172
 - Colorado Party role in, 163–172
 - elections in
 - competition in, 157
 - direct, 157
 - free and fair, 162
 - legislative, 160
 - presidential, 160
 - secret ballots in, 172
 - voter participation in, 165–166
 - geographic fragmentation of, 35
 - military professionalization in, 40–41, 148–155, 173–174
 - establishment of national army, 148
 - militias in, 149
 - political parties in, 155–163
 - national organizations for, 157, 158
 - opposition parties in, 32, 38, 164
 - opposition revolts in, 22
 - power-sharing agreements between, 162–163
 - principista* parties, 158–159
 - split in, 163–172
 - state infrastructure in, 148
 - strong political parties in, 102, 147
 - territorial cleavages in, 112–113, 156

- Uruguay (cont.)
 War of the Triple Alliance and, 25, 26,
 85, 86, 89, 93, 179
 weak military in, 19–20, 149
 revolts in, 148–155
 Revolution of the Spears and, 162
 suffrage rights in, 161
 for women, 169–170
 US *See* United States (US), electoral
 competition in South America
 compared to
- Varela, José Pedro, 149
 Vargas, Getulio, 254, 260
 Vargas, José Antonio, 232–233
 Vásquez Acevedo, Alfredo, 171
 Veintemilla, Ignacio, 285–286
 Vélez, Joaquín F., 216–217
 Vélez, Marceliano, 215
 Venezuela
 authoritarian regimes in, 231–235
 revolts as influence on, 227
 stable, 5, 42, 225–226, 235
 Catholic Church in, 37
 coercive capacity in, 227
 elections in, 232–234
 electoral fraud, 69–70
 Federalist War, 227
 military in, 226–231
 professionalization of, 227–230
 training for, 226
 weak, 199, 231–235
 militias in, 227
 political parties in
 Conservative Party, 231–233
 Liberal Party, 231–233, 234
 personalistic, 231–232, 234–235
 strength of, 105
 revolts in, 226–231
 authoritarianism as result of, 227
 in Latin American Revolts Database, 227
 opposition revolts, 1
La Sagrada police force in, 230
 suffrage rights for males in, 233
 Vidaurre, José Antonio, 126–127
 Viera, Feliciano, 167
 Villaneuva, Benito, 192–193
 Villanueva, José Gabino, 275
La Violencia period, in Colombia, 222
 voting rights. *See* suffrage rights
 voting systems
 complete-list, 217
 cumulative, 137, 143
 incomplete list, 190, 192, 193–194, 217, 219
 obligatory voting, 31, 168–169, 191–192,
 194, 195
- War of a Thousand Days, 1, 22, 41, 89,
 202, 203
 military professionalization after, 44,
 204–205
 opposition parties and, 222
 War of the Canudos, 253–254
 War of the Confederation, 263
 War of the Contestado, 253–254
 War of the Pacific, 25, 85, 86, 129, 239
 origins of, 87
 War of the Parish Priests, 203
 War of the Supremes, 202, 203
 War of the Triple Alliance (Paraguayan War),
 25, 26, 85, 86, 89, 93, 179
 democratization in Paraguay influenced
 by, 288
 wars. *See* civil wars; *specific topics*
 Wars of Independence, 82–83
 weak democracies. *See also* Argentina;
 Colombia
 in Argentina, 175–176
 in Colombia, 175–176
- weapons
 imports of, 88–89
 military strength through, 88–89
- Williman, Claudio, 155, 163
 Wisner, Francisco, 85, 289
 women, suffrage rights for
 in Chile, 146
 in Ecuador, 55–56
 in Uruguay, 169–170
- Yrigoyen, Hipólito, 41, 184, 185–187, 190,
 191, 197–198
- Zavarce, Hermenegildo, 233
 Zegers, Julio, 140