

# 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  
 Villanueva, 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