The Challenges of Pluralism and the Catholic Church
Perspectives from the Kellogg Institute

The post-World War II period has brought enormous challenges to the Catholic Church in Latin America. Among the challenges today are a gradual erosion of the religious monopoly the Church once enjoyed, growing secularization, and an erosion of some values that the Church has traditionally upheld, including a rapid increase in single-parent households.

Today, the Church is redefining its role in the region that is home to more Catholics than anywhere else in the world.

(continued on page 15)
Institute News

O’Donnell Honored for Lifetime Achievement

At the 20th International Political Science Association (IPSA) World Congress in July, GUILLERMO O’DONNELL received the organization’s Prize for Lifetime Achievement. Awarded by the Foundation Mattei Dogan, the prize is granted to a scholar of high international reputation in recognition of his or her contribution to the advancement of political science.

As the first-ever recipient of the award, O’Donnell was recognized for the impact of his scholarly work on the political science community around the world. At the award ceremony in Fukuoka, Japan, he delivered a prize lecture.

O’Donnell, the Helen Kellogg Chair in Political Science, recently co-edited The Quality of Democracy, published in 2004 by Notre Dame Press.

O’Donnell was elected in 1995 to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and in 1998 to the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He was elected in 1995 to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and in 1998 to the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Also in 1995, he received the Institute of International Studies at Stanford’s Highest Honors Award in recognition of his lifetime contributions to international relations. In 1998, he received the Harry S. Truman Prize for Lifetime Achievement from the American Political Science Association. In 2003, O’Donnell received the Prize for Lifetime Achievement from the International Political Science Association (IPSA) World Congress in July. In 2004, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and received the Prize of the Latin American Studies Association. In 2005, O’Donnell received the Prize of the Latin American Studies Association. In 2006, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of Italy. In 2007, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of Spain. In 2008, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of France. In 2009, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of Germany. In 2010, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of Austria. In 2011, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of Switzerland. In 2012, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of Russia. In 2013, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of the Netherlands. In 2014, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of Canada. In 2015, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of the United Kingdom. In 2016, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of Australia. In 2017, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of China. In 2018, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of Japan. In 2019, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of Korea. In 2020, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of Sweden. In 2021, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of Norway. In 2022, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of Denmark. In 2023, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of Finland. In 2024, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of Iceland. In 2025, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences of Iceland.

Read more about faculty receiving grants, honors, and awards on page 5.

McGrath to Lead New Advisory Board

This summer, the Kellogg Institute created a new advisory board led by MARK MCGRATH, a Notre Dame alumnus and former senior director of McKinsey & Company.

For most of its history, Kellogg had an advisory council that consulted on the Institute’s research agenda and academic initiatives. It was most recently led by ERNEST BARTELL, CSC, professor of economics and Kellogg faculty fellow.

The new board will advise the Institute on new partnership possibilities and fundraising, in addition to its oversight responsibilities. The advisory board will have its first meeting September 21-22, 2006.

“Our former advisory council helped make Kellogg a prestigious institute with a national reputation,” said SCOTT MAINWARING, director of the Kellogg Institute.

McKinsey & Company is a management consulting firm advising leading companies on issues of strategy, organization, technology, and operations.

In his 27 years with the firm, he held various positions, most recently leading the firm’s Americas’ Consumer Goods Practice from 1998-2003. Since 2005, McGrath has served in a part-time capacity as a senior advisor with Gleacher Partners, LLC, a firm providing strategic advisory services to corporations.

McGrath also sits on the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies Advisory Council at the University of Notre Dame.

McGrath has extensive experience and a deep interest in Latin America, having spent his youth in Panama where his uncle, for whom he was named, was archbishop. He is a 1967 graduate of the University of Notre Dame and holds a degree in accountancy.

“We hope our new board will provide excellent advice and institutional support,” said Mainwaring.
Social Capital Conference Reopens the Dialogue

If there is one sure way to bring a roomful of people together to discuss social capital, it is to invite ROBERT PUTNAM (above), author of the groundbreaking best seller Bowling Alone, to give the keynote lecture.

On April 2 and 3, Notre Dame’s Mendoza College of Business, with support from the Kellogg, Nanovic, and Kroc Institutes, held an interdisciplinary conference on social capital to address current developments on the subject and to set the research agenda.

Putnam, the Peter and Isabel Malkin Professor of Public Policy at Harvard University, is regarded as one of the most influential scholars in the social sciences and has done seminal research on formal and informal social, political, economic, and business interaction between people.

According to Putnam, the value of social networks—social capital—is felt by everyone, both participants and bystanders. In addition to its effects on physical health, increased social capital is associated with better child welfare, better educational outcomes, decreased crime, lower rates of tax evasion, increased life satisfaction, and even better government, he said.

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According to Faculty Fellow VIVA BARTKUS, who organized the conference along with JIM DAVIS, associate professor of management and director of the Gigot Center for Entrepreneurial Studies, it had been nearly 10 years since social capital was addressed at an academic conference. The last conference on the subject was held in Washington, D.C. in 1997 under the auspices of the World Bank.

“There is a tremendous white space of research that still needs to be done around social capital…”
— BARTKUS

“‘There is a tremendous white space of research that still needs to be done around social capital,’ said Bartkus, associate professor of management at the Mendoza College of Business.

“We felt it was time to bring many of these scholars back and reopen the dialogue across disciplines on the sources of social capital, dynamics of social capital, and its real impact.”

Bartkus has had a longstanding interest in secession, nationalism, and national self-determination, a subject her first book, The Dynamics of Secession (Cambridge, 1999) addressed. Social capital, she says, is the “mirror opposite” of this research.

“In the near term, my research will focus on the social capital of companies and will show that companies with strong social capital have a competitive advantage,” said Bartkus.

“In the long term, I hope my research returns to some of the more fundamental questions I asked in my earlier research.”

Fishman, Messina
Edit New Book on the Significance of the Euro

Beyond the financial markets and the economy, what impact has the euro had in the daily lives of hundreds of millions of people in the European Union?

In The Year of the Euro: The Cultural, Social, and Political Import of Europe’s Common Currency, a new edited volume published under Kellogg’s Contemorary European Politics and Society Monograph Series, Faculty Fellows ROBERT M. FISHMAN and ANTHONY M. MESSINA bring together leading scholars on European affairs—from the fields of history, political science, sociology, and law—to explore this extraordinary episode in multinational currency change and European convergence.

They debate whether the new common currency will reshape the continent’s cultures, societies, and political systems and, if so, in what ways.

Based on papers initially presented at a conference at the Notre Dame’s Nanovic Institute, and cosponsored by the Kellogg Institute, the book has already received advance praise from leading scholars at Princeton, Cornell, and George Mason Universities.

Fishman is a professor of sociology and Messina is an associate professor of political science.

The Year of the Euro can be ordered from University of Notre Dame Press at http://www3.undpress.nd.edu.

Read more about faculty publications and another new release in the Contemporary European Politics and Society Series on page 7.
**Seven Visiting Fellows Appointed**

The Kellogg Institute has named seven new visiting fellows, three of whom will be at Notre Dame for the academic year 2006–07 and will have teaching responsibilities during their time at the Institute.

In addition to working on their respective projects, all the fellows will participate in the Kellogg Institute’s Lecture Series and will contribute scholarly articles to Kellogg’s Working Paper Series.

**Academic Year 2006-07**

**DANIEL BRINKS**, assistant professor in the Department of Government at the University of Texas at Austin, will research “Law and Rights in Developing Countries: The Impact of Legal Strategies on Social and Economic Rights.”

The project examines how legal strategies are used to extend social and economic rights in developing countries, under what conditions the use of these strategies yields positive results for litigants, and the impact of judicializing demand for these rights on the overall distribution of social and economic rights. The project draws on extensive archival and field research in Brazil, India, South Africa, Nigeria, and Indonesia.

Brinks holds a PhD in political science from the University of Notre Dame and a JD from the University of Michigan Law School. He was previously a clerk for the United States Court of Appeals for the First Circuit.

**LUIS COSENZA**, executive director for Central America and Belize at the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and a member of the bank’s board of directors, will also spend academic year 2006–07 at Kellogg.

Prior to his current position, Cosenza was minister of the presidency in Honduras, responsible for coordinating the day-to-day activities of the government and working with multilateral and bilateral donors. He also was the campaign manager for Honduran President Ricardo Maduro.

While at Kellogg, Cosenza will research economic reforms undertaken in Honduras over the past two decades and compare them to those outlined in the Washington Consensus. The project will then evaluate the reform process with an emphasis on lessons learned in light of the pending reform agenda in the country.

Cosenza holds a PhD in electrical engineering from the University of Notre Dame.

**NICANOR DOMÍNGUEZ**, visiting scholar at the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, will work on a project titled “Pillars of the Monarchy or the Critical Consciousness of the Colony? Criollo and Mestizo Priests in the Colonial Peruvian Church.”

He will study the historical paradox of the Catholic Church’s role in promoting stability in colonial Peru while many individual clerics promoted political unrest by criticizing the colonial establishment.

Domínguez holds a PhD in history from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

**DIEGO ABENTE BRUN**, a former senator and government official in Paraguay, will spend the fall 2006 semester at Kellogg. Among the posts he has held are senior cabinet advisor to the minister of Finance, 2003–05; senator, 1993–2003; minister of Justice and Labor, 2002; and ambassador to the Organization of American States, 1999–2002.

Currently, he is a professor in the Department of Sociology and Politics at Universidad Católica in Paraguay, and senior researcher at the Centro de Análisis y Difusión de la Economía Paraguaya (CADEP).

While at Kellogg, Abente will research “Democracy in Paraguay and other ‘Failed’ Systems: Balance and Perspectives.”

He holds a PhD in political science from the University of New Mexico.

**JULIET HOOKER**, assistant professor in the Department of Government at the University of Texas at Austin, will research “Building Post-Mestizo Democracy: Race, Nationalism, and Multicultural Citizenship in Nicaragua.” She will be working on two new chapters of her book manuscript that examines how multicultural citizenship in Nicaragua has affected the identities of minority groups and their attitudes toward the state.

Hooker holds a PhD in government from Cornell University.

**IRENE RIZZINI**, an internationally known and respected researcher in child and youth studies, will hold the Visiting Chair in the Study of Brazilian Culture, with support from the Brazilian Ministry of Culture.

Rizzini is a professor in the Department of Social Work at the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC). She is also the director of the International Center for Research and Policy on Childhood at PUC and is the board president of Childwatch International, a consortium of children’s research centers in over 40 countries.

Rizzini will conduct research for a project titled “Perceptions and Experiences of Citizenship among Young People in Urban Brazil” during the fall 2006.

She holds as PhD in sociology from Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ).

**DONGGYU SUL**, associate professor of economics at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, will research “Growth Determinants under Economic Transition” during the fall 2006 semester.

Through this project, Sul plans to take recent advances in the econometrics of panel data and apply it to longstanding issues in economic growth.

Sul holds a PhD in economics from The Ohio State University.
New Faculty Fellows Appointed

The Kellogg Institute has named two new faculty fellows from the Law School and the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, respectively.

MARY ELLEN O’CONNELL is the Robert and Marion Short Professor of Law. Her research focuses on international legal regulation of the use of force and conflict and dispute resolution, especially peaceful resolution of disputes prior to an escalation to armed conflict.

In conjunction with research on these issues, she continues to examine the processes by which international law is made, applied, and enforced, and is particularly interested in the enforcement of international law and the question of whether it is time for a classical revival in international law.

The author of three casebooks, four edited collections, and more than 60 articles and book chapters, O’Connell has been a member of the American Society of International Law, the German Society of International Law, the International Institute for Humanitarian Law, the International Law Association, and the Council on Foreign Relations.

She earned her JD from Columbia University in 1985, where she was a Stone Scholar and book review editor for the Columbia Journal of Transnational Law.

SAMUEL AMAGO, assistant professor in the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, specializes in Spanish film and prose fiction of the late twentieth century.

His first book, *True Lies: Narrative Self-Consciousness in the Contemporary Spanish Novel*, is being reviewed for publication. He is also beginning a new project on transnational European cinemas.


He earned his PhD in Spanish literature from the University of Virginia.

Grants, Honors, & Awards

Ferreira Gould Receives $75,000 FLAD Grant

In April, the Luso-American Development Foundation (FLAD) awarded a three-year, $75,000 grant to Faculty Fellow ISABEL FERRERA GOULD to support activities of the University’s Portuguese Program and the Kellogg Institute. The project is codirected by SCOTT MAINWARING, director of the Kellogg Institute.

“Kellogg has shown a deep commitment in promoting Portuguese at Notre Dame,” said Ferreira Gould, assistant professor of Portuguese and Brazilian studies. “It is difficult to imagine what Portuguese and Brazilian studies would be without the Kellogg. With this new funding we are moving to the next level of program development.”

Ferreira Gould said the funding will be used to enrich undergraduate experience in Portuguese language classes, to support student research, to increase awareness in the broader community of Portuguese studies, and to nurture scholarly research on Portugal and the Lusophone world.

Included in the activities that Ferreira Gould will pursue are library acquisitions; speakers from Portugal, the US, and Lusophone countries; an artist-in-residence; faculty and graduate research grants; and prizes for undergraduate excellence in advanced courses.

Political scientist Pedro Magalhães and sociologist Manuel Villaverde Cabral (both from the Instituto de Ciências Sociais at the University of Lisbon) will speak at the Kellogg during 2006–07. The artist-in-residence in the spring of 2007 will be Angolan writer José Eduardo Agualusa.

The grant also will provide funding for an international conference titled “Africa in Portuguese, the Portuguese in Africa,” planned for spring 2008. The two-day conference will cover various subjects ranging from anthropology to literature, and intends to challenge an exclusively Anglophone-centered conception of multiculturalism.

FLAD is a private, financially autonomous institution created by the Portuguese government in 1985. FLAD has the mission of assisting Portugal in its development, especially through relations with civil institutions in the US. Its initial endowment was over $100 million and it has sustained annual grant-making averaging $7 million.

Bustamante Nominated for Nobel Peace Prize

In a first for a Kellogg faculty fellow, Mexico’s Congress nominated JORGE BUSTAMANTE for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Bustamante, a native of Tijuana who earned his master’s and doctoral degrees from Notre Dame in 1970 and 1975, respectively, has been a member of the University’s faculty since 1986.

With more than 100 nominations put forth each year, Bustamante considers a Nobel Prize to be something of a long shot.

“This a remote possibility, but the process has begun,” said the Eugene P. and Helen Conley Professor of Sociology.
Kellogg Awards Faculty Grants

The Kellogg Institute recently awarded five grants to Notre Dame faculty members.

MICHAEL COPPEDGE, associate professor of political science, has been awarded a faculty residential fellowship for the fall 2006 semester. Coppedge plans to use the semester of leave funded by the fellowship to finish writing a book to be titled "Approaching Democracy: Research Methods in Comparative Politics, political science, has been awarded a faculty research grant for a project on the origins of the Russian Provisional Government and the politics of the 1917 Revolution. The award is for the 2006–07 academic year, which he will spend at Stanford working on his project.

PAUL KOLLMAN, CSC, is vice president and president-elect of the Association of Professors of Mission and joined the editorial boards of two journals, Mission Studies and The Journal of World Christianity.

SEMION LYANDRES was awarded a W. Glen Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellowship at the Hoover Institution at Stanford for his research project on the origins of the Russian Provisional Government and the politics of the 1917 Revolution. The award is for the 2006–07 academic year, which he will spend at Stanford working on his project. Lyandres is the only historian to receive the award this year.

SCOTT MAINWARING became a member of the editorial board of Brazilian Political Science Review. He is scheduled to hold November 9–11, 2006.

RICHARD JENSEN, professor of economics and econometrics, was awarded a faculty research grant to study whether international aid can be used to preserve environmental resources and reduce pollution in developing countries.

THOMAS STREIT, CSC, research assistant professor of biology and director of the Haiti Program, and TIMOTHY SCULLY, CSC, professor of political science, received funding for the Haiti Working Group.

NAUNIHAL SINGH, assistant professor of political science, received a faculty research grant for a project on the dynamics and outcomes of attempted coups d’etat.

The Institute offers individual and collaborative research grants to promote academic research efforts and related activities by Kellogg Faculty Fellows in all disciplines. For more information, see the Kellogg website at http://kellogg.nd.edu/faculty/grants/ or contact Sharon Schierl (sschierl@nd.edu).

Duly noted...

RICHARD A. JENSEN received a research grant titled “Faculty Research and Faculty Consulting” from the Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation.

KWAN S. KIM was elected to serve as the chair of the advisory board of the Korea America Economic Association.

PAUL KOLLMAN, CSC, is vice president and president-elect of the Association of Professors of Mission and joined the editorial boards of two journals, Mission Studies and The Journal of World Christianity.

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SCOTT MAINWARING became a member of the editorial board of Brazilian Political Science Review. He is scheduled for inclusion in Great Minds of the 21st Century, 2005 edition (Raleigh, NC: American Biographical Institute).

CAROLYN R. NORD-STROM gave the keynote “Children and War” at the conference “Imperiled Childhoods: War, Work and the Street,” held at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, in Dublin in May 2006.

ROBERT S. PELTON, CSC, was invited to serve on the Honorary Committee of the seventh annual Midwest Light of Human Rights Awards. Presented on June 6, 2006 in Chicago, the awards honor Midwesterners who have made outstanding achievements in the field of human rights and benefit the Midwest Immigrant and Human Rights Center and the Kovler Center for the Treatment of Survivors of Torture.

Books and Publications

THOMAS ANDERSON published Everything in Its Place: The Life and Works of Virgilio Piñera (Bucknell University Press, 2006).


KWAN S. KIM, with Seok-Hyeon Kim, wrote “Possibilities and Challenges for Financial Integration in East Asia: Lessons from a Comparative Regional Perspective” for EconoQuantum 2, 1 (Universidad de Guadalajara, 2005).

PAUL KOLLMAN, CSC, wrote “Remembering Evangelization: The Option for the Poor and the Renewal of the History of Christianity” in Humanities and the Option for the Poor, edited by M. Holztrattner and C. Selmak (Lit Verlag, 2005).


SABINE MACCORMACK authored “Inca o español?: Las identidades de Paullu Topa Inca,” for the Boletín de Arqueología PUCP 8 (2004) special volume: “Identidad y transformación en el Tawantinsuyu y en los andes coloniales: Perspectivas arqueológicas y etnohistóricas.” She also published “Grammar and Virtue: The Formulation of a Cultural and Missionary Pro-

SCOTT MAINWARING, with Mariano Torcal, contributed “Party System Institutionalization and Party System Theory after the Third Wave of Democratization” to Richard S. Katz and William Crotty, eds., Handbook of Political Parties (Sage Publications, 2006). The article was published in Spanish as “La institucionalización de los sistemas de partidos y la teoría del sistema partidista después de la tercera onda democratizadora,” in América Latina Hoy 41 (Salamanca, December 2005), and in Portuguese as “Teoria e Institucionalização dos Sistemas Partidários,” in Opinião Pública 11, 2 (CESOP, Campinas, Brazil, October 2005).


J. SAMUEL VALENZUELA coedited, with EUGENIO TIRONI and TIMOTHY R. SCULLY, CSC, El Eslabón Perdido: Familia, Modernización, y Bienestar en Chile (Taurus, 2006). As well, he contributed two chapters to the volume: “Demografía familiar y desarrollo. Chile y Suecia desde 1914” and “Diseños dispares, resultados diferentes y convergencias tardías. Las instituciones de bienestar social en Chile y Suecia.” Valenzuela also authored “¿Cómo reformar el sistema electoral? Reflexiones en torno a un desafío pendiente del retorno a la democracia en Chile” in La reforma al sistema binominal en Chile. Una contribución al debate, edited by CARLOS HUNNEUS (Fundación Adenauer-Catalonia, 2006), and “¿Hay que reformar el sistema binominal? Una propuesta alternativa,” in Política: Revista de Ciencia Política (Santiago: Primavera [December] 2005).

New Working Papers Available

Four titles have been added to the Kellogg Institute Working Paper Series. The series promotes the quick, wide dissemination, free of charge, of the latest research by current and past faculty fellows, visiting fellows, and guest scholars. The papers are available at http://kellogg.nd.edu/publications/workingpapers/index.shtml.

Papers published this spring include:

- “Sacred Writings, Profane World: Notes on the History of Ideas in Brazil” by FRANCISCO C. WEFFORT (IEPES, Brazil)
- “Los Sistemas de Partidos en los países Andinos, 1980–2005: Reformismo Institucional, Autoritarismos Competitivos y los Desafíos Actuales” by MARTÍN TANAKA (FLASCO, Mexico)
- “External Pressures and International Norms in Latin American Pension Reform” by KURT WEYLAND (University of Texas at Austin)
- “Growth and Transformation of the Workers’ Party in Brazil, 1989–2002” by WENDY HUNTER (University of Texas)

When East Meets West

In Becoming Party Politicians, LOUISE K. DAVIDSON-SCHMICH compares the attitudes and values of eastern and western German state legislators in the decade following unification.

In this latest edition of the Kellogg Institute’s Contemporary European Politics and Society Monograph Series, Davidson-Schmich, assistant professor of political science at the University of Miami, finds little evidence that the political attitudes and values of eastern parliamentarians have hindered their adaptation to a unified political system.

Instead, eastern parliamentarians tend to vote on the basis of partisan affiliation rather than their eastern or western origin. Davidson-Schmich’s conclusions contribute to broader debates involving the ability of western European political institutions to survive societal change and the influence of political institutions on the consolidation of democracy in post-communist settings.

The Contemporary European Politics and Society Series is published by Notre Dame Press and may be ordered online at http://www3.undpress.nd.edu.

Sharing Research

Regional Workshops in Political Science, Andean History and Culture

The Kellogg Institute, together with Michigan State University’s Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, hosted two workshops bringing together Latin Americanists in political science and sociology, and experts on the history and culture of the Andean region, from several leading universities in Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan.

The workshops, held May 16, were divided into two discussion tracks: Latin American political science and sociology, and a multidisciplinary study of the Andean region.

Presenters included Kellogg Faculty Fellows FRANCES HAGOPIAN and GUILLERMO O’DONNELL, JAMES McCANN, associate professor of political science at Purdue, and EDWARD GIBSON, associate professor of political science at Northwestern University. History presenters included ROCIO QUISE-PAGNOLI, assistant professor of Spanish at Michigan State University, and NICANOR DOMÍNGUEZ, visiting scholar at the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and Kellogg visiting fellow.

Kellogg Institute Director SCOTT MAINWARING and Faculty Fellow MICHAEL COPPEDGE organized the political science/sociology workshop, while Faculty Fellows TED BEATTY and SABINE MACCORMACK organized the Andean workshop.

Commemorating Archbishop Romero

Twenty-six years after Archbishop Oscar Romero’s assassination, his memory was very much alive at the Romero Days commemoration.

Held April 4–6, Romero Days began with a panel discussion on “The Salvadoran Elections and the Prospects for Democracy in El Salvador.” Panelist included: HÉCTOR DADA HIREZI, deputy in the Salvadoran Assembly, SUSAN...
Faculty News

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FITZPATRICK-BEHRENS. Kellogg visiting fellow; MARC BELANGER, associate professor of political science at Saint Mary’s College; and Faculty Fellow DOUGLASS CASSEL, director of the Center for Civil and Human Rights.

The following day, Hirezi delivered a lecture on Romero’s legacy “Un Hombre de Fe en Jesús de Nazaret.” On the final day, Faculty Fellow ROBERT PELTON, CSC, director of Latin American/North American Church Concerns (LANACC), presented a film “Archbishop Romero: Martyr and Prophet.”

Debate on Democratic Governability Moves to Chile

The debate over neoliberal reforms and a resurgent populism in Latin America topped the agenda as leading Chilean policymakers and scholars convened in Santiago for a conference titled “Gobernabilidad en América Latina” (Governability in Latin America).

Held January 12–13, 2006, the conference continued the exchange begun at the “Democratic Governance in Latin America Conference” hosted at the Kellogg Institute October 7–8, 2005.

“The most difficult task,” continued Foxley. “It is a matter of making the transition from the idea of ‘development from the state’ or ‘development from the market’ to an innovative economy and a knowledge society. No more, no less.”

Canales Named Assistant Director

LUIS CANALES has been appointed assistant director responsible for grant administration and the Visiting Fellows Program at the Kellogg Institute. The appointment was effective June 19, 2006.

Canales comes to Notre Dame with 15 years of experience in higher education administration, most recently as director of the Center for International Education at Texas Christian University in Fort Worth, Texas, and associate director at the University of Louisville’s International Center.

Canales, a native of Guatemala, is a PhD candidate in educational leadership and organizational development at the University of Louisville.

Rivers Named Assistant Director of Latin American Studies

In recognition of her central role in developing the Latin American Studies Program (LASP), HOLLY RIVERS has been named assistant director of Latin American Studies.

Rivers, academic coordinator for Kellogg since 2002, played a major role in conceiving, creating, and administering a wide variety of student programs that form the core of Kellogg’s undergraduate initiatives.
The famous *New York Times* newsroom story goes something like this: In 1957, at the invitation of a charismatic young revolutionary name Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz, the paper dispatched its veteran war correspondent, Herbert Matthews, to Cuba.

Although Castro had been rumored to be dead since his disastrous, so-called invasion of Cuba and there was little evidence of a widespread insurrection or any significant support for a rebellion, the exclusive was still too juicy to resist.

Once there, Matthews trekked into the Sierra Maestra Mountains, skirting Batista’s troops until he rendezvoused with Castro and his ragtag handful of men. The front-page article portrayed Castro heroically in his fight against Batista’s dictatorship, and incorrectly asserted that his rebel force numbered around 1,000 men.

Matthews’s story altered the fortunes of Castro and his beleaguered rebels.

The story cast the bearded guerrilla fighter as the new democratic hope for a nation tired of tyranny, and triggered a series of events that would ultimately bring down Fulgencio Batista’s regime.

However, as Castro’s designs on power and his Marxist leanings became clear, questions arose about Matthews’s reporting that forever tarnished his reputation.

This story formed the basis for former Kellogg Visiting Fellow ANTHONY DEPALMA’s new book, *The Man Who Invented Fidel*, and the lecture he gave at Kellogg in the spring.

The idea for the book emerged when DePalma was assigned to write an obituary on Castro for later use and learned of Matthews’s role in Castro’s rise to power.

In reinvestigating this story, DePalma combed through archives at the *New York Times* and the personal papers of Matthews, and retraced Matthews’s trip into the Sierra Maestra Mountains in Cuba.

DePalma, a correspondent for the *New York Times* for 20 years, was the first journalist to hold a Kellogg visiting fellowship. Known primarily for his reporting on Latin America (he was bureau chief in both Mexico and Canada), he currently covers the environment beat for the *Times*.

There continues to be widespread mistrust of the media and very contemporary issues related to the use or misuse of the media.

**Do you think this book will add fuel to the fire?**

I try to keep in mind that this was something that happened 50 years ago, but the issues are still current. The only solution [for journalism] is transparency. Journalism is an imperfect process. Which is worse, admitting there were mistakes, or not acknowledging them when everyone knows there have been mistakes? I’ve made the decision—as have many in the mainstream media—that transparency is the only remedy for us.

There are lots of sources of news today, but I’m not sure they as trustworthy as … before, for better or worse. We used to trust television anchors unquestioningly when there were only a couple of voices [in the media]. Now there are many voices—and we’re better for that—but all you need today to put out your point of view is a computer. We’ve already seen with the Swift Boat story and Dan Rather’s reporting on President Bush’s service in [the] National Guard, both during the last campaign, that those were driven stories were driven by the bloggers.

**What lessons did other political movements in Latin America learn from Castro?**

The clearest example was Mexico in 1994 with the Zapatistas (EZLN). Subcomandante Marcos played Fidel Castro. He comes out of the mountains, invades four cities, and then disappears. He decides after several months to talk to a foreign correspondent; decides when the interview will take place and who will do it.

Like Castro, he attacks isolated army garrisons that were poorly defended but have caches of arms. They learned militarily from Castro, but more importantly, they learned the power of propaganda. As Che Guevara said, the interview with Matthews was worth more than any decisive battle. In truth, the Zapatista revolution consisted of 10 days of fighting, followed by 12 years of rhetoric. Marcos understood that it was the battle of ideas that he really needs to win.

**What do you think residing as a visiting fellow at Kellogg contributed to the book?**

It was essential. It came at a point where all I had was an idea and many questions about Matthews, journalism, and the intersection between journalism and public policy. What I needed was time to step back to think about those questions and do some basic research to grasp the facts of the case.

In addition, there were a number of Cuba scholars here and we spent many hours talking about Cuba and the revolution. By the time I left here, I was two weeks away from a proposal for the publisher.

The visiting fellowship was the foundation stone of the project, and while we were here we carved it and put it in place. Once I had that, building the rest was much easier.
A sking big questions that cross inter-disciplinary boundaries and challenging established views have long been features of SAMUEL VALENZUELA’s research. His latest publication, *El Eslabón Perdido: Familia, modernización y bienestar en Chile* (Taurus, 2006) is no exception. In it he compares Chile and Sweden since 1914 in order to discover missing links in the study of development.

When asked why Sweden has a higher per capita income than Chile, most analysts would refer to growth-inducing factors such as more savings and investment, better technology and productivity, stronger enterprises, a greater diversity of export products, a much more educated labor force, and so on.

Some would also add that Chile had a more “traditional” culture, that its state regulation was inefficient and counterproductive, or that the Chilean economy was too “dependent.”

But Valenzuela’s work reframes this. The Chile-Sweden comparison is intriguing because during the course of the twentieth-century, Chile’s economic growth was actually higher than Sweden’s. And both countries had about the same per capita income in 1914. Both were then primary goods exporters with similar industrial capacities, and their social indicators such as poverty levels or the proportion of children born to unwed mothers were not far apart.

“Our standard measure of development is a ratio between economic and demographic growth,” Valenzuela explains, “and even though Chile grew more than Sweden economically, it also increased its population much more rapidly because from the 1930s on it had a much higher birth rate.” Hence Sweden today has a higher per capita income than Chile basically because Chilean women had more babies during the twentieth century. Why this difference occurred, Valenzuela notes, is a key but neglected question in the theory of development.

Valenzuela concludes that it should be answered by examining the welfare institutions that both countries designed at about the same time—when they had similar national incomes. Sweden began to give old age pensions to everyone in 1914, whereas Chile’s program, begun in 1924, failed to give such pensions until the 1950s. And Sweden protected children’s health more efficiently.

Therefore the Swedes did not have to rely to the same extent on their children to take care of them in old age, and they had more confidence that the two to three children they had would survive into adulthood. With fewer children and with the elderly receiving pensions, poor families in Sweden could invest more resources in their children’s education, something the mega-families of the poor in Chile could not do.

As a result, Sweden increased its levels of equality, and its labor market was transformed completely, as fewer but much more educated workers entered the work force. Sweden could then go on to deepen its industrialization with new technological absorption, transforming itself into a success story of twentieth-century development. Chile lagged behind with poorly trained workers and large pockets of poverty.

Valenzuela adds, “the synergy between welfare institutions and family decisions regarding their fertility is the key missing link in the study of development.”

**From Chile to Columbia**

Valenzuela first studied sociology at the University of Concepción, the birthplace of an extraparliamentary left, during a turbulent period in Chilean history. A gifted student, he surprised his professors by finishing a five-year program in four years after writing a 300-page thesis on the Chilean labor movement. He then left to pursue a PhD at Columbia University just as Salvador Allende became president.

After the military coup in 1973, Valenzuela was placed on a watch list of political opponents and could not return to Chile as he had planned. He spent several months reading on European dictatorships, teaching himself to read Italian and Portuguese in the process. He wanted to understand the nature of authoritarian and totalitarian regimes, and to be able to place the Chilean regime in that context.

Another casualty was his thesis, which had been published just two weeks before the coup. When troops stormed the University Press in Concepción, they destroyed all copies of it. However, he used some of its materials to write a much-cited article—first published in 1974—on the historical process by which the Chilean labor movement had become “institutionalized” into a legally based industrial relations system. The paper became part of a book he edited with his brother Arturo (*Chile: Politics and Society*, 1976).
Labor Movements and Politics

Valenzuela’s early interest in the labor movement grew into his work on the relationship between such movements and politics. Part of this topic had to do with labor movement formation, the subject of his PhD thesis, and how this process affected the rise of parties of the left.

He developed a conceptual framework on how labor movements emerge, and created a typology of five major variants in the western European and American experience of labor-to-politics relationships. His paper appeared in M. Regini, ed., *The Future of Labour Movements* (Sage, 1992).

In reading on European dictatorships, Valenzuela paid special attention to how they treated labor. He noticed that there was a distinction between “corporate” and “market” methods of labor control. Subsequently he illustrated the latter through a detailed examination of the situation of labor under the Chilean dictatorship in a paper included in *Military Rule in Chile* (Johns Hopkins, 1986), another book he co-edited with his brother.

Valenzuela built upon this distinction in his influential paper on “Labor Movements in Transitions to Democracy” (*Comparative Politics*, 1989). In it he draws from Latin American, southern European, and Asian cases to develop a general framework on how such movements impact the transition and vice versa.

Even when Valenzuela writes case studies, as he often does on Chile, he is never far from comparative analysis. As Faculty Fellow Robert Fishman, professor of sociology, points out, “a defining characteristic of his work is the seeming ease with which he moves from within-region to cross-regional comparisons.” Valenzuela also wrote a paper on how to do comparative historical analysis based on his experience with this kind of research.

 Origins of Democracies

As a graduate student Valenzuela began a lifelong interest in studying the origins of democracies and of political parties, topics that complemented his work on labor. Realizing that Chilean historiography had neglected the nation’s nineteenth-century electoral history, he wrote a paper in 1972 based on sources he found in the New York Public Library.

Once he was able to return to Chile in 1980, he gathered more materials and expanded the paper into a book, *Democratización vía reforma* (1985). It has been described as a “pioneering work” in opening up what is now called the “new electoral history” of Latin America. Valenzuela’s work frequently trespasses into historical research, and historians have never quarreled with the accuracy of his observations or his use of sources in any of his writings.

Valenzuela has returned several times to the “other mirror” to cross-regional comparisons.” Valenzuela also wrote a paper on how to do comparative historical analysis based on his experience with this kind of research.

Valenzuela adds that if Moore’s perspective does not work in Chile, then this suggests that other variables in addition to class must be used to explain the landed nobility’s opposition to democracy in continental Europe.

The paper on Moore illustrated how Valenzuela breaks established paradigms and suggests alternative views.

Timothy Scully, CSC, professor of political science, notes, “Samuel has a phenomenal sociological imagination.”

As Valenzuela indicates, “I always build from an empirical base to more general conclusions. I do not let theoretical models pre-structure my view.” —Valenzuela

“I always build from an empirical base to more general conclusions. I do not let theoretical models pre-structure my view.” —Valenzuela

(expanded from page 11)
an empirical base to more general conclusions. I do not let theoretical models pre-structure my view."

Fishman adds, "Whereas some scholars, in the search for efficiency, in effect put on 'blinders,' both theoretical and disciplinary, Samuel consistently refuses to do that."

**Rise & Changes of the Chilean Party System**

In a widely cited 77-page article first published in *Estudios Públicos* in 1995, Valenzuela examined what he has identified as the five different party systems Chile has had. He argues that both social and purely political conflicts have led to their formation and transformation.

Scully notes that Valenzuela’s “use of the notion of generative cleavages, and the way he combines the impact of social, political, cultural, and religious issues to explain what changes and remains the same in the party system is impressive.”

While researching the origins of Chilean parties, Valenzuela was struck by the seemingly unusual positions taken by the Conservative Party. Depicted falsely as a party of landowners, the literature has always noted that its leaders were on the far right or conservative side of every issue.

However, in work done in part with Erika Maza Valenzuela, he shows that Conservatives, who were basically Chile’s pro-Catholic party, were at the forefront of democratizing reforms for both men and women and were champions of social Christian views. This research contradicts the repeated claim that Latin Catholic political leaders were pro-authoritarian because of doctrinal predispositions or upper-class background.

Some authors have gone as far as to assert that Latin American democracy will only be secure as Protestantism advances in the region, a nonsensical claim in Valenzuela’s view. Again, his arguments have implications for the way we understand Catholic resistance to democracy in southern Europe.

Valenzuela’s research on working class leaders during the turn of the twentieth-century helped him to explain why the Chilean party system, like the French, ended up with a labor movement linked to Communist and Socialist parties. This polarized the party system in a way that contributed later to the breakdown of democracy.

During the military dictatorship, the Chilean parties were repressed. Analysts wrote then that this would cause their demise, particularly given the thorough “demobilization” of the population, and claimed that eventually new parties would emerge.

Valenzuela disagreed. In an article with his brother Arturo in their second edited book *Military Rule in Chile* (Johns Hopkins, 1986) they showed that party militants had simply submerged themselves into civil society, and they argued that the parties would re-emerge with redemocratization recreating Chile’s multiparty system. This prediction has been sustained.

Analyzing electoral results before and after the dictatorship, Valenzuela and Scully showed in a paper published in *Comparative Politics* (1997) that there were considerable continuities in the patterns of electoral support across electoral districts in the country.

In new research based on a survey they wrote, Valenzuela and Scully are re-examining the religious bases of political differences in Chile. They innovate by measuring religiosity with an index that goes beyond relying only on church attendance, and by making distinctions between Catholics and Protestants.

Their results confirm that religion continues to affect electoral choices and the party system in Chile. Protestants are more to the left than Catholics. Higher religiosity leads to more rightward ideological self-placements, increasing support for center parties in the Center-Left coalition. And among Catholics, the choice between the two major party coalitions is affected by a conservative versus progressive division in their religious views.

**Recent Transitions to Democracy**

Valenzuela’s article defining the term “democratic consolidation” and specifying certain facilitating conditions for it to occur has been called a “seminal contribution.” It appeared in *Issues in Democratic Consolidation*, a book he edited with Faculty Fellows SCOTT MAINWARING and GUILLERMO O’DONNELL (Notre Dame, 1992). Valenzuela was invited to give a keynote speech, attended by over 600 people, with reflections on this paper at the meetings of the Argentine Political Analysis Association in 1998.

Valenzuela has also examined the specificities of the Chilean transition. While observers argued that it was flawed in that it did not lead to writing a new constitution, Valenzuela noted that this was more apparent than real.

Writing in the early 1990s, he showed that Pinochet’s constitution contained, in fact, two constitutions, one democratic and one not. He asserted that the democratic one would be progressively strengthened, helped along by formal changes and by the reassertion of unwritten past constitutional practices of the Chilean democratic tradition. Events have proved him right.

A misunderstood topic in studies of transitions has been how they have handled past human rights violations. In a new paper in the Kellogg Working Paper Series, Valenzuela argues that this misperception stems from the use of what he calls the “Nüremberg Model” to assess them. However, many recent transitions, Chile’s included, do not begin with the kind of collapse or defeat of the authoritarian regime that made the Nüremberg trials possible.

Valenzuela examines the various dimensions by which the Chilean transition dealt with the human rights question, leading to an as yet unrecognized success in this important area.

He argues that in retrospect what Chile created is a “Santiago model” to deal with human rights legacies. This model should be the dominant archetype to analyze the way most transitions deal with human rights legacies and the way practitioners should shape their policies.

The Santiago model, among other features, focuses on rebuilding the judiciary as part of the overall transition to democracy before moving forward with prosecutions, unlike Nüremberg’s emphasis on rapid prosecutions in specially created courts.

**Beyond Received Wisdom**

As Fishman indicates, “Samuel’s exceptional and interdisciplinary scholarship exemplifies the ideals and commitments that underpin the modern university. He reads unusually widely, thinks systematically, and consistently exposes himself to the ideas and intellectual challenges in the work of others.

“Samuel takes equally seriously both the drive to theorize and the inescapable complexity of underlying empirical reality. In so doing, as shown by his pioneering comparison of Sweden and Chile or his reflections on Nüremberg, he moves well beyond received wisdom,” said Fishman.

“I continue to learn a great deal from his work.”
Miriam Kornblith’s journey from quiet academic at the Instituto de Estudios Políticos of the Central University in Caracas to public figure seems to surprise even her. In 1998, she was nominated to become vice president and member of the board of directors of Venezuela’s National Electoral Council (CNE). Ultimately, she would oversee five elections, including the one that elected Venezuela’s controversial President Hugo Chávez.

Her time at the CNE was characterized by a growing polarization and, in her view, from the end of 1999 by the co-opting by the ruling coalition of an institution designed to protect the country’s electoral procedures.

Since then, continuing allegations of voting irregularities and fraud pushed the electorate to abstain from participating and opposition parties to boycott the December 2005 elections, further eroding the credibility of the CNE as an independent institution.

As an election observer, Kornblith has twice worked with the Carter Center to monitor elections in Nicaragua (2001) and Jamaica (2002)—and was part of a mission to observe the Colombian elections in 1998.

Since the summer of 2005, she has been a visiting fellow at Kellogg as part of a three-year Fulbright Educational Partnerships project designed to facilitate collaborative research on civic, administrative, and economic reforms in the Andean region.

There is little doubt that even far away from the hubbub of Venezuelan politics she is one of Venezuela’s most knowledgeable election experts as well as a highly articulate critic of the deterioration of one of Latin America’s oldest democracies.


KI: Has Venezuela experienced a setback in democracy?
Venezuela can no longer be considered a democracy. It has entered into the category of countries known as semi-democracies, competitive authoritarian, or electoral authoritarian regimes. These countries use democratic institutions and elections to decide who remains or has access to power, but the possibility of seriously challenging or displacing the incumbents by the opposition candidates is very weak, due to the systematic re-engineering and political control of the electoral institutions and processes by governmental forces. This intervention has created an intrinsic bias and advantage for Chávez and the ruling coalition.

Venezuela has experienced a significant process of institutional and political decay. This is expressed in the lack of autonomy and separation of powers, which translates into a lack of horizontal and vertical accountability. The erosion of the rule of law has affected the protection of the civil and political rights of common citizens, constrained the media, and has had a negative impact on the quality of elections in the country.

How did the Venezuelan electoral commission get subverted or co-opted?
The current power holders came in with a very clear agenda of using democratic institutions to guarantee their access, permanence, and perpetuation in power, after they failed to gain power through a military coup in February 1992. Chávez and his coalition have a utilitarian view of democracy and its institutions. They profess a commitment to democracy but they are not sincere.

The first sign that the current party in power was interested in co-opting the CNE was the designation of a new electoral commission by the Constituent Assembly (elected in July 1999) through a very irregular process. In December 1999, they appointed a new CNE composed exclusively of individuals identified and associated with the governing parties. This triggered a systematic process of appropriation of the electoral institution and the destruction of its impartiality and professional nature. The process has only continued since then, and has had severe consequences for the freedom, fairness, and competitiveness of the elections.

The political control of institutions goes beyond the electoral realm, and has shaped the judiciary through the appointment of government supporters as judges to the Supreme Court. Other offices, such as those of the attorney general and the ombudsman, have also experienced this mutation, and have become extensions of the executive branch without independent power.

What changed from the time you were appointed to the CNE until you left?
Several things have happened. According to the law, political parties participate as members of the CNE, giving them an important role in overseeing the electoral process and participating in elections. Currently, only those parties that belong to the ruling coalition are represented on the CNE; the rest of the parties don’t have an institutional presence on the electoral board. In addition, the managerial and technical positions of the electoral organization throughout the country have also been filled with individuals associated with the ruling parties. The whole technical and decision-making process is heavily biased toward the government.

On the other hand, the rules that govern the electoral process are constantly changing and in dispute. For example, the rules enacted in 2000 were only supposed to be valid for that year, but those rules have continued to be used in subsequent elections—even though the Supreme Court ruled that they were only to be used for that year. The
KORNBLITH
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correspondence is that the composition of the legislative bodies is based on
the majority principle instead of proportional representation, contra-
dicting the rules established in the electoral law.

Then there’s the lack of transparency or reliability of the technology plat-
form for elections. Venezuela now uses a touch-screen system for voting,
but the suppliers of this system did not have any experience before they
were hired by the CNE. There are a lot of doubts about the quality of the
technology and suppliers.

There has also been a great deal of concern about the preservation of the
secrecy of the vote due to use of different technological devices on election
day, and doubts about the reliability of the electronic voting system. The
freedom of the elections has been severely affected by the systematic dis-

crimination against voters who signed the recall against the president. The
CNE provided the ruling party with all the information about these voters,
which allowed the party to distribute lists with the names and ID numbers
of these voters. This information has been used against some voters: they
have lost jobs in the public sector and had difficulty getting passports and
ID documents. Furthermore, the voters who benefit from the governmen-
tal subsidies and social programs have been pressed to cast their vote for
governmental candidates.

A sad consequence of this lack of equality and impartiality in the electoral
process and institution in Venezuela is that around 50 percent of voters don’t
trust the electoral system, according to recent public opinion polls. In the
last national election—the parliamentary elections of December 2005—the
rate of abstention reached 75 percent and the opposition parties withdrew
at the last minute, claiming lack of transparency and credibility in the elec-
torial system. The final reports of the observation missions from the EU and
the OAS pinpointed critical aspects of the way elections are conducted in
the country, and suggested a set of reforms to create more trust, transpar-
ency, and equilibrium in the political and electoral process.

Why does Chávez have so much appeal within the country?
Internally, it’s linked to the decay of the previous two-party system and
leadership. Chávez’s arrival reinvigorated the political scene, based on his
ability to communicate with the people—especially with poor people from
the urban sectors of the country. Furthermore, the huge increase in oil
revenues has allowed the government to put in place social programs to
address the needs of the people. Finally, the opposition has shown an in-
ability to put together an appealing alternative, especially after the failure
of the attempt to displace Chávez from office through a recall referendum
that took place in August 2004.

Those elements are changing and will probably change over time. This
government has not been able to perform its main duties efficiently during
its almost eight years in office, and the people resent the lack of results in
important areas such as employment and security. However, the weakness
of the opposition has not allowed the people to channel their frustrations
and to express them at the electoral level.

But, in some respects, this populism seems to be a good thing. Chávez
appears to be making a concerted effort to get the oil wealth back to
the people.
I think this is more rhetoric than reality. We haven’t seen a meaningful
decrease in the main indicators—such as poverty or unemployment—that
demonstrate this effort has significantly gone beyond discourse. That
doesn’t mean that many of the social programs carried out by the govern-
ment are not appreciated and have not been received as a benefit by the
people. On the contrary, those programs that function are appreciated by
their beneficiaries. But as an overall result of almost eight years in power,
there hasn’t been a dramatic change in the country from a socioeconomic
standpoint. This is despite the immense fiscal resources the government
has at its disposal, not to mention the political and institutional resources
that are increasingly concentrated and in the hands of the ruling coalition.
The shortcomings of public policy are reflected in the public surveys: peo-
ple still consider the main problems to be insecurity and unemployment,
and problems such as the cost of living and especially corruption have also
gradually become major concerns.

What about his popularity on the international front?
Chávez promoted himself as a champion of the poor, and the leader of the
anti-neoliberalism and anti-globalization movements. He’s tried to build
an anti-US and anti-Bush coalition, claiming that they are responsible for
the ills of Venezuela and of the poor around the world. He has been suc-
cessful in attracting groups that are willing to follow this perspective and
to overlook the negative consequences of his divisive rhetoric within the
country. On the other hand, he is also using oil revenues as a means to
build and support this alliance. For example, Chávez’s government has
bought a significant portion of the Argentine debt, and has aided Bolivian
President Evo Morales with financial and logistical support. Chávez and his
coalition are using what is known as “petro-diplomacy” in the Caribbean
and the Southern Cone, exchanging oil for political support.

What parallels do you see with other countries in the region such
as Bolivia?
There are common traits as well as lots of differences. Especially in the
region, large sectors of the population are frustrated with the traditional elites.
Political outsiders coming into the political arena have taken the place of
some of the traditional political parties and individuals, and new parties are
emerging in some cases based on the inclusion of indigenous groups in
countries such as Ecuador or Bolivia. The emergence of this new leadership
comes with a strong criticism of the previous leadership and its economic
policies. Another common trait is the disregard for representative democ-

cracy and its institutions, covered by a discourse that supposedly favors the
underprivileged and promotes so-called participatory democracy.

Are you optimistic or pessimistic about Venezuela’s future?
At this moment, I’m not optimistic. I think Venezuela’s going through a
bad period, and I don’t see any meaningful changes in the short term. I
feel that this government has entered a phase of decadence in terms of its
growing inability to stay in power through democratic means. Increasing-
ly, it needs to use nondemocratic political procedures to retain its power
and to launch public policy bypassing institutional controls. There is also
growing evidence of the government’s inability to deliver appropriately.

If Chávez is reelected in the coming presidential elections in December
2006, he will have to face a problem that almost all such regimes face:
succession. After this election, according to the Constitution, Chávez can-
not be reelected. This factor has been critical in similar semi-authoritarian
regimes, such as in Peru during Fujimori’s government. The current Ven-
ezuelan regime is highly personalistic and relies very heavily on Chávez
to keep many of the internal divisions within the ruling coalition under
control. It is interesting to discuss what will happen after he is reelected
in December 2006. Will he enter a lame-duck period or will he and his
coalition manipulate the rules and the institutions in order to allow for
indefinite re-elections, as they have already proposed? It seems quite possible
that he could make clear use of nondemocratic means—such as changing
the Constitution through an acquiescent parliament and calling a popular
referendum—to remain in power.
I also think part of the hemispheric community is becoming more impa-
tient and uneasy with Chávez. His recent interventions in the electoral pro-
cesses in countries such as Bolivia, México, and Peru have been criticized at
the hemispheric level. Even though he has a large budget to gain support
with, these kinds of actions are resented in the region and in Venezuela.

After all, he is no longer a novelty and the nondemocratic traits of the
regime are much more evident these days. Petro-politics, petro-diplomacy,
and anti-US rhetoric are facing their limits as well as the efforts to build a
counter-coalition throughout the region and within Venezuela.
Since its inception in 1982, the Kellogg Institute has hoped to understand these challenges and the Church’s responses to them. Here, we profile some of the Institute’s recent work on these issues.

**Hagopian: Framework for Explaining Pluralism**

In March 2005, the Institute brought together leading scholars for a major conference, “Contemporary Catholicism, Religious Pluralism, and Democracy in Latin America.” A volume edited by FRANCES HAGOPIAN, based on the conference findings, is scheduled to be published by Notre Dame Press in 2007.

In an article for the Kellogg Working Paper Series, Hagopian proposes a framework to explain the responses of Latin America’s Roman Catholic churches to a new strategic dilemma posed by religious and political pluralism.

Drawing on an analysis of over 620 pastoral letters, messages, declarations, and reports issued or publicized by bishops in these countries since 2000, she explores four Latin America churches: Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, and Chile.

She argues that the more vulnerable the Church and the more it finds itself losing the battle for culture and political space, the more likely it will be tempted to ally with politically conservative elites on the right to protect its corporate interests and implement its moral agenda.

She points to Argentina and Chile as examples. In Argentina, upper clergy have spoken out on moral issues and worked to protect church privileges. In the case of Chile, bishops, bereft of grassroots support and facing two consecutive agnostic socialist presidents, continue to prioritize the Church’s corporate interests and its moral agenda.

"On the other hand," she writes, "where religious pluralism is high and the Church must be attentive to the possibility of defection, but where Catholic religious and lay activists lead a dense network of civic and political associations that are reasonably autonomous from the control of religious authorities, its base has more potential leverage over its alliances and priorities.

"Finally, where the Church maintains a near religious monopoly and its networks traverse a robust associational life, the Church is better able to mobilize civil society for its ambitious programmatic agenda that aligns with politically progressive parties on the impact of market reform and social conservativeness on the right on moral issues.”

In Brazil, where there is a densely organized civil society with intense religious competition and a left-leaning Catholic electorate, the national Episcopate is constrained from straying too far from its social justice commitments.

Brazilian bishops have promoted indigenous rights, redress for landless peasants, programmatic political parties, and they have urged Catholics to vote for candidates committed to the poor and the Church’s social doctrine.

"Unlike in Argentina and Chile, the Mexican hierarchy not only exhorted Mexicans to vote, and not to sell their votes, but it also instructed them to be well informed about the positions of candidates and parties on various economic, social, and moral questions of the day, and that their Christian faith obligated them to work for a just society,” writes Hagopian.

"But unlike in Brazil, it also reminded them that, in conscience, Catholic citizens should not vote for politicians that do not respect the dignity of human life, marriage, the family, and the true common good.”

**Levine: Challenges and Opportunities**

DANIEL H. LEVINE, who participated in the Contemporary Catholicism conference, will be a visiting fellow during spring 2007 at the Kellogg Institute. Levine, the James Orin Murfin Professor of Political Science at the University of Michigan and one of the leading scholars of religion in Latin America, will work on a project titled “New Dynamics of Religion, Society, and Politics in Latin America.”

A visiting fellow of the Institute in 1988, Levine plans to continue work on the project that will explore the theoretical and comparative implications of the convergence of pluralism, movements, and rights, and research the long-term implications these developments may hold for the relation of religion to the culture and practice of democracy.

In a paper presented at the conference, Levine gave an insight into his perspective on the new era of religious pluralism.

"The long-term erosion of Catholicism’s religious and cultural monopoly in Latin America—a process that is just now building momentum—is relevant to a wide range of issues from censorship, education, and subsidies to religious representation in politics,” observed Levine. “It also impacts the public image of religion and has a clear feedback effect on the internal life of the community of faith, whatever its particular social and political interest or commitments.

“Finding ways to capture this reality, in all its richness, is a central challenge and opportunity for any future study.”

Levine points to the balance of opportunity and challenges facing the Church.

“With the restoration of democratic politics across the continent, churches and religious leaders have lost (and sometimes abandoned) their openly political roles.

"To the extent to which political parties and a ‘normal political life’ have regained strength and presence, new social movements, and in general the range of groups in civil society with some link to the churches, have lost resources, members, and effectiveness. It has been common to see activists either withdraw or move into specifically political groups or government positions, and for groups to divide on partisan political ground.”

He notes that perhaps the greatest contribution of the Church is the important role it played in negotiating the end game of authoritarian regimes and brokering a truce, or an end of violence and guerrilla warfare. The Church has also worked to smooth the transitions to democracy.

“The legacy of these actions is not wholly neutral,” said Levine. “The active involvement of church people and networks in the promotion and defense of human rights is testimony to the introduction of a vocabulary of rights into religious discourse that has had important legitimating effects on the discourse of rights and equality in social and political life more broadly.”

**Fitzpatrick Behrens: Maryknoll in Guatemala**

SUZAN FITZPATRICK BEHRENS, a visiting fellow at the Institute in the 2005–06 academic year, has researched the history of Maryknoll sisters in Guatemala and Peru. An assistant professor of history at California State University, Northridge, Fitzpatrick Behrens is completing a book on her original research. The results of her research will also appear in a forthcoming Kellogg Working Paper.

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De Leon-Arias Returns to Notre Dame to Strengthen TIES

About the time ADRIAN DE LEON-ARIA was finishing his PhD in economics at Notre Dame, both sides of the US-Mexico border were anxious about the impact of the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

On the US side, many feared that manufacturing jobs would flood into Mexico; less well known were the fears of Mexico’s rural agricultural producers who felt wholly unprepared for the new free trade zone.

Nearly 12 years after first arriving at Notre Dame, de Leon-Arias has been putting his expertise with the “dismal science” to work through an extraordinary partnership that promises to help rural Mexican farmers compete in the marketplace.

Known as US-Mexico Training, Internships, Exchanges, and Scholarships (TIES), this project brings together the Kellogg Institute, Notre Dame’s Mendoza College of Business, and the Universidad de Guadalajara, where de Leon-Arias is the dean of the school’s college of business.

As part of the TIES project, faculty from the Universidad de Guadalajara spend time as guest scholars at the Kellogg Institute, and Notre Dame faculty teach modules to MBA students in Guadalajara. Notre Dame MBA students and selected undergraduate students sponsored by the Kellogg Institute also join their Mexican counterparts in summer internships to develop business plans and provide consulting services to small and medium-sized agricultural producers in the Mexican states of Jalisco and Michoacan.

During the 2005–06 academic year, de Leon-Arias returned to Notre Dame as guest scholar at the Kellogg Institute along with his wife, AIDA SERGOVIA, a professor of Universidad de Guadalajara, who also works on TIES.

“Mexican producers need help in areas such as production, prices, international trade, productivity and social aid programs,” said de Leon-Arias. “But, above all, they need to develop entrepreneurial skills to enter global markets.

“The student interns have helped Mexican producers streamline operations and explore global markets for avocados and limes, among other specialty crops,” said de Leon-Arias.

“With this small-scale program, we surely cannot solve all the problems in Mexican agriculture. But by searching for new methods and approaches and identifying better tools and practices, we can help individual producers in rural Mexico develop needed entrepreneurial skills.”

Supported by a three-year grant from the United States Agency for International Development, the Notre Dame-Universidad de Guadalajara TIES project is co-directed by de Leon-Arias, Kellogg Faculty Fellow JUAN RIVERA, and Kellogg Associate Director SHARON SCHIERLING.

CHALLENGES

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In tracing the work of the Maryknoll sisters in Latin America, Fitzpatrick Behrens looks at one of the critical ways the Church expressed liberation theology and its long-term implications.

She studied the diaries of Maryknoll sisters who were invited to Guatemala to open a school for the children of the elite in 1958. The school, Colegio Monte María, educated a generation of for the children of the elite in 1958. The school, Colegio Monte María, educated a generation of for the children of the elite in 1958. The school, Colegio Monte María, educated a generation of for the children of the elite in 1958. The school, Colegio Monte María, educated a generation of for the children of the elite in 1958. The school, Colegio Monte María, educated a generation of for the children of the elite in 1958. The school, Colegio Monte María, educated a generation of for the children of the elite in 1958. The school, Colegio Monte María, educated a generation of for the children of the elite in 1958. The school, Colegio Monte María, educated a generation of for the children of the elite in 1958.

One of the most prominent graduates was HELEN MACK CHANG, a Guatemalan activist who has worked to break the impunity enjoyed by the country’s military and to bring justice for her slain sister. Monte María graduates also include Guatemala’s first lady and journalists Rita Roesch and Tina Fernandez, who have been outspoken supporters of human rights, social justice, and women’s rights.

“These women attribute their social concern and engagement to their education at Colegio Monte Maria.”

For many of the sisters, opening a school for the elite was an assignment far from what they had imagined and it didn’t take long for the Colegio to be dubbed “the Maryknoll Hilton” for its plush facilities.

“The missionaries were assigned not to save the poor as they had anticipated, but to save the rich from having to ship their little girls off to the United States to learn English and to protect them from ‘communist’ influence,” writes Fitzpatrick Behrens in the magazine Americas.

Three of the sisters set out to assess the needs of the indigenous communities in Jactaltenango, a remote community in the Department of Huehuetenango. They channeled their privileged students into teacher-training programs in Huehuetenango, started a Junior Red Cross, and had the students volunteer in hospitals.

By 1967, relations between Guatemala’s ruling elite and the Maryknoll sisters was growing tense. Several priests and sisters were linked to leftist guerrillas, and subsequently expelled from the country. While the school remained open, the residue of its association with left-wing causes continues to earn it the reputation of being “subversive,” Fitzpatrick Behrens writes.

As Levine, among others, has noted, much of the inspiration of liberation theology now finds itself expressed through myriad nongovernmental organizations and indigenous rights groups, and for the most part they are no longer associated with the Church.

“In many respects, what we have is the Church and its activists transformed into civil society organizations that are carrying out much of the work once done by the Church,” said Fitzpatrick Behrens.

Gustavo Gutiérrez: ‘New Expressions’

In reflecting on the contribution of liberation theology in the Church and its prognosis in this pluralistic environment, Faculty Fellow GUSTAVO GUTIÉRREZ, one of the seminal thinkers on liberation theology and the author of A Theology of Liberation, gave the following assessment in an interview with the magazine America.

“Certainly, it is true that many important events have taken place over the past decades and that the political climate is very different from that of the ’60s and ’70s. But the situation of the poor has not changed fundamentally. As long as there is a group of Christians trying to be faithful in these circumstances, a group trying to follow Christ among the poor, we will find something like liberation theology,” said Gutiérrez.

“Even though it is common to refer to liberation theology in the singular, we are witnessing several new expressions of this theology in different contexts and continents—North America, Central and South America, Africa, and Asia. Each of these theologies has a particular point of view, but they also have much in common, particularly a concern for the poor and excluded.”

Projects & Partnerships

Strengthen TIES

EXCHANGES, and Scholarships (TIES), this project brings together the Kellogg Institute, Notre Dame’s Mendoza College of Business, and the Universidad de Guadalajara, where de Leon-Arias is the dean of the school’s college of business.

As part of the TIES project, faculty from the Universidad de Guadalajara spend time as guest scholars at the Kellogg Institute, and Notre Dame faculty teach modules to MBA students in Guadalajara. Notre Dame MBA students and selected undergraduate students sponsored by the Kellogg Institute also join their Mexican counterparts in summer internships to develop business plans and provide consulting services to small and medium-sized agricultural producers in the Mexican states of Jalisco and Michoacan.

During the 2005–06 academic year, de Leon-Arias returned to Notre Dame as guest scholar at the Kellogg Institute along with his wife, AIDA SERGOVIA, a professor of Universidad de Guadalajara, who also works on TIES.

“Mexican producers need help in areas such as production, prices, international trade, productivity and social aid programs,” said de Leon-Arias. “But, above all, they need to develop entrepreneurial skills to enter global markets.

“The student interns have helped Mexican producers streamline operations and explore global markets for avocados and limes, among other specialty crops,” said de Leon-Arias.

“With this small-scale program, we surely cannot solve all the problems in Mexican agriculture. But by searching for new methods and approaches and identifying better tools and practices, we can help individual producers in rural Mexico develop needed entrepreneurial skills.”

Supported by a three-year grant from the United States Agency for International Development, the Notre Dame-Universidad de Guadalajara TIES project is co-directed by de Leon-Arias, Kellogg Faculty Fellow JUAN RIVERA, and Kellogg Associate Director SHARON SCHIERLING.
As he looks back on the month he spent in the Mayan Highlands 10 years ago, CARLOS MENDOZA acknowledges that it probably changed the course of his life.

“I spent a month living in an indigenous community ... It was the first time that I had the opportunity to know, as a first-hand witness, the daily struggles of the Mayan people,” said Mendoza, a PhD candidate in political science.

“This was a group of people who were survivors of the internal armed conflict and who were recreating their ‘normal’ life as peasants in the mountains of Verapaz.

“My personal commitment to the rights of the indigenous people was the result of this experience.”

In the intervening years, he worked for the legislative advisory office of the Centro de Investigaciones Económicos (CIEN, or National Economic Research Center) watching the machinations of Guatemala’s political process, earned a degree in economics, and continued to study social violence in his homeland.

“After watching Congress I wanted to learn about politics and how politics actually work.”

Deciding that a master’s degree in political science would be a good next step, he went to Stanford on a Fulbright scholarship. Subsequently, he returned to Guatemala to do research for the United Nations Development Program and to co-edit a book on lynchings in the highlands.

By 2003, the time was right to earn a PhD. “When I was at Stanford, Larry Diamond (senior fellow at the Hoover Institution) always suggested Notre Dame because its comparative politics faculty is the best,” says Mendoza.

But going back to school had an economic cost for someone already in the professional workforce.

He applied for all the awards the Kellogg Institute offers graduate students—and received every one: a five-year, $25,000 supplemental fellowship for Latin American doctoral students, a seed grant to do preliminary field research (2005), and a dissertation year fellowship (2006-07).

Today Mendoza is on an ambitious 15-month research trip to each of the six countries in Central America. Funded by the dissertation year fellowship, he is conducting archival research and interviews with 120 members of national elites. His goal is to explore why political elites have come to support legal reforms for indigenous rights, in one form or another and to one degree or another, in the different countries in the region.

By phone from Guatemala City, Mendoza explains: “I am trying to understand the trend toward multiculturalism in Central America.” After centuries of subjugating the indigenous populations, “elites across the region have decided that multicultural institutions are the best way to deal with the ‘indigenous problem.’ How has the mentality of the elites changed and why?”

Mendoza contends that previous scholarship on the growth of indigenous rights has not told the whole story. “The political endorsement of indigenous rights cannot be explained by the strength of the indigenous movement alone,” he says. “Existing studies underestimate the role of political elites and leave unexplored the cognitive processes of political elites who face demands for indigenous rights. Knowing the way political elites think about race and ethnicity is crucial for a better understanding of how those elites respond to both the internal and external pressures that they face.”

In his exploration of why and how formal institutions emerge and change, and comparing that process across the diverse spectrum of Central America, Mendoza uses “cognitive institutionalism” as his theoretical framework. Emphasizing the interplay between cognition, belief systems, and institutions, the approach “explores new theories to understand how human minds work and how elites learn collectively from previous experiences. What they have learned in the past becomes a legacy for the next generation.”

Reflecting on Mendoza’s work, Faculty Fellow FRANCES HAGOPIAN said, “With this project, Carlos will distinguish himself, the Kellogg Institute, and the University of Notre Dame.

“He is highly original and he is passionate about ideas and learning. He also cares deeply about what he studies because he feels a genuine responsibility to use his talents and opportunities to better the human condition.
Between Kathleen Monticello and Megan Sheehan, these two members of the Class of 2006 have taken advantage of nearly every opportunity that the Kellogg Institute offers undergraduates.

Those opportunities have enabled Monticello and Sheehan to study issues ranging from eco-tourism to the political attitudes of Chilean youth, and ultimately to lay the groundwork for careers or future scholarship in international studies.

Most significantly, Monticello, a Fulbright grant recipient, and Sheehan, this year’s winner of the Institute’s Considine Award for outstanding service to and study of Latin America, are spending their first year after graduation in Latin America or studying the region.

As a sophomore Monticello was among the first selected to be part of Kellogg’s International Scholars Program, a three-year program that selects highly qualified students to work as paid research assistants to Kellogg faculty fellows. The goal is to engage undergraduates in international issues and research, and prepare them to pursue graduate studies.

A political science major, Monticello developed her research with guidance from professors Michael Coppedge and Scott Mainwaring. With the other international scholars, she participated in regular meetings to discuss the research they were working on.

Sheehan “chose ND because I believed I could really integrate the classroom with opportunities in the field.”

In her first two years at Notre Dame she did extensive service work with immigrant populations that started her thinking about international issues in new ways—and then traveled to Honduras for a summer internship.

“These experiences really helped me understand poverty and what the gap between the rich and poor really means,” she says.

As juniors, Monticello and Sheehan entered the Latin American Studies Program (LASP) administered by Kellogg. “LASP just helped me keep going further and further,” says Monticello. “It was really great in supplementing political science and my learning about the region I have become so interested in.”

Engaged In-Country

In summer 2005, after their junior year, both students were awarded Kellogg Summer Internships.

Monticello interned with the Foundation for Sustainable Development in Cochabamba, Bolivia, where she worked with Infante, which promotes human rights for women, children, and families.

It was a turbulent time to be in Bolivia. The regime change that Monticello had studied in her classes was taking place in front of her eyes. Massive street protests and road blockages forced the resignation of the country’s president just after she arrived.

“At Infante, national politics took center stage. I helped present workshops to women leaders and adolescents in the community about the resignation of the president, the issues of nationalization, autonomy, and coca, and most recently about the distinctions between the political candidates for the elections set to occur in December 2005.”

“The country was falling apart but it was fascinating to see how people felt empowered to make change in their country and took that power. It was great to interact with people and...
In response to growing interest in international affairs among students, nine departments and institutes collaborated during the spring to organize a workshop to help students learn more about international career options.

Workshop Steers Students to International Careers

Monticello, meanwhile, spent her senior year delving into the political involvement of young people in Chile for her honors thesis. With funding from grants, she spent two weeks in Santiago, where she held focus groups with students as well as other interviews. The resulting paper, “Political Disaffection of Chilean Youth,” which was directed by Mainwaring, won the Kellogg Prize for the best senior thesis in the field of comparative politics.

Monticello is spending fall 2006 in the US Foreign Commercial Service within the US embassy in Santiago, a position that Kellogg helped her obtain.

With the beginning of the Chilean school year in March 2007, she plans to continue her work in Chile as a Fulbright grant recipient. She will take up a position as an English teaching assistant at Universidad Mayor in Temuco.

“The trip made me aware of the child prostitution that comes from the intersection of extreme poverty and international tourism.” — Megan Sheehan

Sheehan will continue her involvement with the World Education and Development Fund, a nationwide college campaign to fight the illiteracy crisis in Latin America, a placement she found with the help of Kellogg. She is interning with the Center for International Policy’s Central America Program in Washington, D.C., where she is researching and monitoring legislation on environmental concerns.

She hopes to return to Brazil for further study, earning a MA in international development there, and eventually work for the US State Department as a Foreign Service officer.

From Foreign Service to Fulbright

In the fall of her senior year, she went to Peru for 10 days to study the effectiveness of community-managed eco-tourism at a research center in the Amazon rainforest. She went back to Brazil in February 2006 to observe the Brazilian Carnaval.

“The trip made me aware of the child prostitution that comes from the intersection of extreme poverty and international tourism.” In April, she made a presentation about her experience at the MSU/ND Undergraduate Conference that Kellogg co-sponsored with the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies at Michigan State University.

Sheehan will continue her involvement with the World Education and Development Fund, a nationwide college campaign to fight the illiteracy crisis in Latin America, a placement she found with the help of Kellogg. She is interning with the Center for International Policy’s Central America Program in Washington, D.C., where she is researching and monitoring legislation on environmental concerns.

She hopes to return to Brazil for further study, earning a MA in international development there, and eventually work for the US State Department as a Foreign Service officer.
The choral ensemble ContraCantos and the choro band Arabiando will present a special evening of Brazilian music on Thursday, October 5 at 7 pm in Notre Dame's Washington Hall.

In addition to the concert, the two Brazilian bands will perform at several schools in South Bend.

ContraCantos strives to blend old and new traditions in Brazilian choral and percussion, particularly the music of Northeast Brazil. In concert, they move seamlessly between native music including maracatus (black Brazilian music), frevo (Brazilian carnaval music), ciranda (beach dance) and popular Brazilian music. Led by Flavio Medeiros, a professor of music, ContraCantos is made up of students and music faculty from the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco in Brazil.

The choro (Brazilian jazz) band Arabiando evokes the great masters of choro, bossa, samba, and frevo in their music. Made up of young musicians from the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, this guitar group has played together for five years and is well known for playing frevo.

The concert is made possible through the Kellogg Institute's partnership with the Brazilian Ministry of Culture.

For a list of all the Kellogg Institute academic and cultural events, please visit the Web at http://kellogg.nd.edu.

In Appreciation

We are grateful to ROBERTO GARZA of Monterrey, Mexico, for his support of Kellogg Institute programs related to Mexico. Garza’s support has already enabled the Kellogg Institute to expand its summer internship programs in Mexico and made it possible for Notre Dame to purchase a major Mexican historical archive. His earlier support made possible the appointment of the distinguished anthropologist, LARISSA LOMNITZ, as a visiting fellow at Kellogg and visiting professor of anthropology.

Garza is president and chief executive officer of the Gard Corporation. He graduated from the University of Notre Dame in 1978 with a BS degree in mechanical engineering and received his MBA from Notre Dame in 1981. He serves on the new Kellogg Institute Advisory Board.

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