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CURRICULUM VITAE

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EDUCATION AND DEGREES:

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, Ph.D. in Sociology, 1979.

UNIVERSIDAD DE CONCEPCION, Chile, *Sociólogo*, 1973.

FIELDS:

Political Sociology, Historical and Comparative Sociology, Labor Relations, Sociology of Development, International Studies, and Sociological Theory. Minor fields: Economic Development and History.

RESEARCH INTERESTS:

Historical origins of democratic institutions since the Middle Ages, recent democratizations, the creation and transformation of political parties, electoral systems, labor movement formation, industrial relations, welfare institutions, socio-economic development, human rights, religion and politics, and comparative analysis methodology.

AREA SPECIALTIES:

Latin America and Western Europe.

TEACHING POSITIONS:

PROFESSOR of Sociology and Political Science (Concurrent), University of Notre Dame. Present position.

VISITING PROFESSOR, Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Fondation Nationale de Sciences Politiques, Paris. Course in ten sessions on transitions to democracy in the Southern Cone of Latin America, March and May 1997.

ASSISTANT to ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, Harvard University, Department of Sociology, 1980-86.

INSTRUCTOR to ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, Yale University, Department of Sociology, 1977-80.

ADJUNCT LECTURER, in Brooklyn College, CUNY, Department of Sociology, Fall 1976; Columbia University, Department of Sociology, Summer 1975; Baruch College, CUNY, Department of Sociology, Summer 1974.

RESEARCH POSITIONS:

FELLOW, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame. Since August 1986.

FELLOW, CIEPLAN (Corporación de Investigaciones Económicas para América Latina), Santiago, Chile, 2005-2011.

VISITING FELLOW AND SENIOR ASSOCIATE FELLOW, St. Antony's College, Oxford University, October 1992 to July 1993; May to July 1994; January to December 1996.

POSITIONS IN ACADEMIC ADMINISTRATION:

MEMBER OF THE FACULTY COMMITTEE, Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, 1986-1992; September 1993-December 1995; August 2003 to July 2013. Member of the Kellogg Institute fellows selection committees, and occasionally graduate student research committees, 2011-15 (and various years prior).

MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE OF APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS, Sociology Department, University of Notre Dame, on numerous occasions over the years. Most recently, 2003-2005, and as adjunct member 2005-06.

DIRECTOR, University of Notre Dame International Studies Program in France (S.U.N.D.E.F.), at Angers, France, August 1997 to August 1999. ORGANIZER of an academic exchange program between the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris and the University of Notre Dame, 1998.

CHAIRPERSON, Department of Sociology, University of Notre Dame, 1989-92.

ACTING DIRECTOR, Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, Spring 1988.

FOUNDER of the Committee for West European Studies, 1987-1992, and

ORGANIZER of its academic program, 1987-1990, University of Notre Dame. Now Nanovic Center for European Studies.

MEMBER of the Committee on Latin American and Iberian Studies, Harvard University, 1980-86, and ORGANIZER of its weekly lecture series, 1983-86.

MEMBER of the Council on Latin American Studies and ORGANIZER OF ITS WEEKLY LECTURES, Yale University, 1977-80.

DIRECTOR of Undergraduate Studies, Latin American Studies Major, Yale University, 1978-80.

OTHER ACADEMIC POSITIONS:

MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, published by Cambridge University Press, 1998-2001. Renewed membership: 2010-2013; 2013-17.

ACADEMIC EDITOR, Kellogg Institute *Working Papers*, 1987-88.

EXTERNAL EXAMINER of D. Phil. thesis for St. Antony's College, Oxford University. Thesis examinations of Sofía Correa (June 1994) and of Louise Haagh (June 1996).

CONSULTANSHIPS:

EXPERT EVALUATOR, National Accreditation Agency of Chile, to assess the Ph.D. program of the Institute of Sociology of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, September 2014.

EXPERT EVALUATOR, National Accreditation Agency of Chile, to evaluate the quality of the undergraduate program (up to the degree of *Licenciatura*) of the Institute of Sociology at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile in Santiago, June 2012.

ADVISOR, to the Chilean Presidential Commissions on electoral reform (led by Edgardo Boeninger) and pension reform (led by Mario Marcel), 2006.

CAMPAIGN ADVISING, and speech and radio spot writing for Soledad Alvear and Michelle Bachelet, December 2003 to December 2005, with Eugenio Tironi. Consultant and editor for a biography of Soledad Alvear (*Alvear: Revelaciones de una mujer de Estado*, Santiago: Catalonia, 2005), although this is not revealed in the book.

ANALYSIS OF THE 2001 CHILEAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, written for President Ricardo Lagos at the request of his political advisory team (Guillermo

Campero and Ernesto Ottonne), December 2001.

RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS ON LABOR RELATIONS. Consultant for the Chilean National Labor Directorate on how to improve research and data collection on labor relations and labor markets in Chile, June-August 2001.

LABOR LAW, LABOR RELATIONS, AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE REFORM. Consultant on these issues to the Chilean government, March-June 2000. I wrote six policy papers on labor relations and unemployment insurance (a total of about 50 double-spaced pages). Some of my suggestions were incorporated in two new laws.

ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN ADVISOR for the second round of Ricardo Lagos' presidential campaign in Chile, December 1999, with Eugenio Tironi. We redesigned the campaign from top to bottom, and prepared its televised presentations.

ADVISOR TO MERCOSUR PRESIDENTIAL SUMMIT MEETING, Fortaleza, Brazil, 13-14 December 1996. I was invited by the Brazilian Presidency to participate in a group of MERCOSUR "intellectuals" from the different member and associate member countries to propose measures to strengthen cultural ties in the area.

PARLIAMENTARY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM FOR THE UKRAINE, of Indiana University at Bloomington, financed by the Agency for International Development. I made a presentation before members of the Ukrainian parliament on the Pinochet regime as a means to extricate Chile from its 1973 crisis, and spent a weekend in informal discussions on the subject with interested Ukrainian congressmen, June 1995.

Offer by AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT to write a report on labor and civil society in Chile, July 1994, declined.

ORGANIZATION OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (OECD), to write and present a paper on labor in Latin America for the organization's Development Centre in Paris, November 1993.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES, to participate in the selection committee for the Fellowships for Independent Study and Research, May 1985.

GINN PUBLISHERS (a subsidiary of XEROX CORP.), to review a book on Latin American history for 7th and 8th graders, August-September 1982.

FORD FOUNDATION, to write a summary report of all grant making activity in Latin America since the Foundation began its activities in the area, summer 1971.

PRESS INTERVIEWS:

Interview by e-mail, *El Mercurio* (Santiago), by journalist Matías Batik, January 4, 2010, for an article published on January 12, 2011, in Section D, *Reportajes*, p. 25. Follow up interview May 2012. (On U. S. elections).

Interview by e-mail, *Revista Cosas* (Santiago), by journalist Bernardita Cruz on December 7, 2010. (I do not know what became of my comments.)

CNN International, October 14, 2010 (taped at 3:00pm for broadcast at 4:00pm Eastern Standard Time that same day.)

CNN in Spanish, December 12, 2006 (carried live at 6:00pm Eastern Standard Time in the main evening news program).

CNN in Spanish, July 25, 2006 (taped).

Public Radio, Chicago (91.5 FM), June 21, 2005 (taped).

Interviews in Chile on presidential election results, December 11-12, 1999, in La Red TV, *Las Ultimas Noticias* (daily newspaper), and “Radio Chilena” (a national radio news network).

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS:

2013: Notre Dame International Studies Andrónico Luksic grant for research collaboration with a faculty member at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. Topic: the party system in Chile.

2008: Conference grant from the Kellogg Institute for an international conference on “Social Cohesion in Latin America,” to be held on 15-16 April 2009. With Timothy R. Scully, C. S. C, and Eugenio Tironi.

2008: Travel grant from the Kellogg Institute to do research on the earliest Chilean elections.

2007: Conference grant from the Kellogg Institute, for a conference on “The Origins of Democracies in the Americas”, held at the Kellogg Institute on 18-19 September 2008. With Eduardo Posada-Carbó.

2003: Travel grant for research on Chilean families, Title VI competition, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, October.

1996: John Simon Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship (January to December).

1994: Astor Foundation, Senior Associate fees at St. Antony's College, Oxford University.

1992-93: Latin American Visiting Fellowship at St. Antony's College, Oxford University.

1989-1990: Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, University of Notre Dame, to organize a lecture series on changes in Europe in the post-Cold War era. With Lynne Wozniak.

1987: National Endowment for the Humanities, Conference Grant to organize a conference on labor movements in transitions to democracy. Funds supplemented with a matching grant from Mr. Arthur O'Neil of Chicago, and with a travel and research grant from the Canadian International Development and Research Centre.

1986: Harvard University sabbatical for junior faculty. Spent one semester at the Université de Paris VII, Groupe de Sociologie du Travail.

1983-84: National Endowment for the Humanities. Fellowship for Independent Study and Research.

1983: Committee on Latin American and Iberian Studies, Harvard University. Tinker Summer Grant.

1981: Committee on Latin American and Iberian Studies, and Center for European Studies, Harvard University. Funding to organize a colloquium on labor movements under authoritarian regimes.

1980-83: Inter American Foundation, To translate and publish papers on changes in Chile under military rule. With Arturo Valenzuela.

1979: Ford Foundation. To fund a conference preparation trip to Chile.

1973-77: The Danforth Foundation, Kent Graduate Fellowship.

PROFESSIONAL CITIZENSHIP:

VICE PRESIDENT (1990-94; 1994-98) of Research Committee 44 on Labor in State and Market Arenas, International Sociological Association.

PRESIDENT (1984-85) of the New England Council of Latin American Studies (NECLAS).

MEMBERSHIP IN:

Latin American Studies Association (LASA). Appointed to the Association's Nominating Committee, 1987-1988.

American Sociological Association (ASA). Field memberships: Historical and Comparative Sociology, and Political Sociology.

American Political Science Association (APSA). Field memberships: Comparative Politics; History and Politics.

Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics (until 2010).

COURSES TAUGHT:

Building Democratic Institutions; Responding to World Crisis; Political Sociology; Historical and Comparative Methods; Contemporary Sociological Theories; Classical Sociological Theories; Labor Movement Formation in Western Capitalism; Sociology of Development; Democratization in the Southern Cone of Latin America; State Building in England and France since the Middle Ages; Chile in Comparative Perspective; Social Protest and the State in Latin America; Self and Society; Introductory Sociology; etc. Co-teaching experiences with Gøsta Esping-Andersen, Alessandro Pizzorno, Orlando Patterson, Adam Przeworski, Guillermo O'Donnell, and Iván Jaksic.

LANGUAGES:

Fully fluent in ENGLISH, SPANISH, and FRENCH.

Working knowledge of ITALIAN and PORTUGUESE (excellent reading and understanding of the spoken language, fair speaking ability).

Basic GERMAN (reading with dictionary assistance, fair understanding of spoken language, beginner's speaking ability).

CITATION COUNT:

Google Scholar lists about 3,400 citations to my publications (about 820 since 2012, with 45 items registering more than ten citations).

PUBLICATIONS:

BOOKS:

J. Samuel Valenzuela, *La Construcción de la Democracia Electoral en Chile durante el Siglo XIX*. In preparation. Discussions with Universidad Diego Portales Editions (Santiago) for its publication.

Eduardo Posada and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds., *The Origins of Democracy in the Americas: Electoral Institutions in the 19th Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

Eduardo Valenzuela, Simón Swartzman, J. Samuel Valenzuela, Timothy R.

Scully, Nicolás Somma, and Andrés Biehl, *Vínculos, Creencias e Ilusiones: La Cohesión Social de los Latinoamericanos*. Santiago: Uqbar editores, 2008. (A team written book based on a survey of seven Latin American countries. My co-authors—Scully and Somma—and I wrote the two chapters on religion, pp. 105-66).

J. Samuel Valenzuela, Eugenio Tironi, and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *El Eslabón perdido: familia, bienestar y modernización en Chile*. Santiago: Editorial Taurus, 2006.

Paul Drake, J. Samuel Valenzuela, Sebastián Edwards and Alejandra Cox Edwards, Arturo Valenzuela, and Adrian J. English and Scott D. Tollefson, *Chile: A Country Study*. Washington: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1994. (A team written study of Chile coordinated by Rex Hudson of the Library of Congress. I authored pp.59-135; 343-353; and 389-393, contributed comments to the rest, and did extensive rewriting [declining an offer of co-authorship] to the chapter on national security by English and Tollefson).

Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds., *Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective*. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1992.

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *Military Rule in Chile: Dictatorship and Oppositions*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, *Democratización vía Reforma: La Expansión del Sufragio en Chile*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones del IDES, 1985. [Democratization through Reform: The Expansion of Suffrage in Chile.] This book has been reprinted in a digital edition by the National Library of Chile in a collection of significant works to celebrate the bicentenary of national independence.

Arturo Valenzuela and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds., *Chile: Politics and Society*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1976.

MONOGRAPHS:

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Jeffrey Goodwin, *Labor Movements under Authoritarian Regimes*, a colloquium report published as a Harvard University Center for European Studies *Monograph on Europe*, # 6, 1983. 50 pp.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, *Determinants of Suffrage Expansion in Chile: The 1874 Electoral Law*, seminar paper, Columbia University, 1972. Quoted extensively in Arturo Valenzuela, *Political Brokers in Chile: Local Government in a Centralized Polity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1977), pp. 185-192.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, *La Integración Social del Sindicalismo a través del Aparato Legal (Un Estudio Socio-Histórico del Movimiento Obrero Chileno)*.

Concepción: Universidad de Concepción, Instituto Central de Sociología, 1970. 200 pp. [The Social Integration of Unions through the Legal System (A Socio-Historical Study of the Chilean Labor Movement)]. Reproduced at the University of Concepción press shortly before the military coup of 1973, all copies in its stock were destroyed when the military took over the University.

ARTICLES

J. Samuel Valenzuela, Nicolás Somma, and Timothy R. Scully, "Resilience and Change: The Party System in Redemocratized Chile," in Scott Mainwaring, ed., *Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Erosion, and Collapse*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Forthcoming.

Also published as *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, no. 416 (December 2016), 40 pages.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Political Polarization, Institutional Failure, and Regime Breakdown: The Contentious 1829 Elections in Chile," in Andrew Robertson and Eduardo Posada-Carbó, eds. *Conflict, Elections and Democracy in the Americas in the 19th Century*. Forthcoming at Oxford University Press.

Eduardo Posada-Carbó and J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Introduction," in Eduardo Posada-Carbó and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds., *The Origins of Democracy in the Americas: Electoral Institutions in the 19th Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Eduardo Posada-Carbó, "Concluding Reflections: Electoral Institutions in the First Wave of Democratization in the Americas," in Eduardo Posada-Carbó and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds., *The Origins of Democracy in the Americas: Electoral Institutions in the 19th Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "The Pioneering Construction of Electoral Institutions in Early Republican Chile," in Eduardo Posada-Carbó and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds., *The Origins of Democracy in the Americas: Electoral Institutions in the 19th Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "¿Es Representativo el binominal?" *La Tercera*, 9 December 2013, op. ed. article. [Is the binominal electoral regime proportionally representative?]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "From Town Assemblies to Representative Democracy: The Building of Electoral Institutions in Nineteenth Century Chile." *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, no. 389, December 2012, 54 pp.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "El Frente Nacional colombiano y la redemocratización:

una reflexión teórica y comparativa,” in Carlos E. Caballero Argáez, Mónica Panchón Buitrago, and Eduardo Posada-Carbó, eds., *50 años de regreso a la democracia — Nuevas miradas a la relevancia histórica del Frente Nacional*. Bogotá: Ediciones Uniandes, 2012.

Also published in a revised version as "Transición por Redemocratización: El Frente Nacional Colombiano en una Reflexión Teórica y Comparada," *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, no. 380 (November 2011), 43 pp. ["Transition through Redemocratization: The Colombian National Front in a Theoretical and Comparative Reflection."]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, “¿Por qué se casan menos los chilenos?,” *El Mercurio*, February 7, 2011, p. 7, op-ed article. ["Why do Fewer Chileans Get Married?"]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, “Families, Welfare Institutions and Economic Development: Chile and Sweden in Comparative Perspective,” *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, no. 374 (January 2011), 47 pp.

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Chile: The Development, Breakdown, and Recovery of Democracy," in Jan Knippers Black, ed., *Latin America, its Problems and its Promise: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 2011, pp. 488-523. This is a seventh and thoroughly revised version of the paper for the fifth edition of this book. Although it appears in co-authorship with Arturo Valenzuela, I did all the revisions.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, “El país pionero en derecho electoral,” *El Mercurio* (Santiago), December 17, 2010, p. A 2. (Op-ed article). ["Chile: The Country that Pioneered Electoral Legislation."]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, “¿Conviene el voto voluntario?,” *El Mercurio* (Santiago), November 9, 2010, p. A2. (Op-ed article). ["Is Voluntary Voting a Good Idea?"]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, “Por qué perdió Eduardo Frei?,” *La Tercera* (Santiago), January 24, 2010, p. 4. (Op-ed article.) ["Why did Eduardo Frei Loose?"]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, Timothy R. Scully, and Nicolás Somma, “Social and Political Effects of Religiosity and Religious Identities in Latin America,” *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, no. 362, (December 2009).

J. Samuel Valenzuela, “Los desafíos de Enríquez-Ominami,” *La Tercera*, 24 December 2009, p. 4. (Op-ed article.) ["The Challenges Enríquez-Ominami Faces."]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, “Las lecciones que deja la crisis hondureña,” *El Mercurio*, 13 December 2009, p. A5. (Op-ed article.) ["Lessons of the Honduran Crisis."]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, “Voto: su secreto y expansión en Chile,” in Torcuato di

Tella, ed., *Repertorio Político Latinoamericano*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XIX, 2008, vol. IV, pp. 747-752. ["The Vote: Its Secrecy and Expansion in Chile."]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, Timothy R. Scully, and Nicolás Somma, "The Enduring Presence of Religion in Chilean Ideological Positionings and Voter Options," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 40, no. 1 (October 2007), pp. 1-20. (Winner of the "Federico Gil Prize" of the Chilean Political Science Association for the best paper presented in the field of Comparative Politics at its Eighth Annual Meeting held in Santiago, Nov. 15-17, 2006).

Also published as a *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, # 336 (March 2007).

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Caudillismo, democracia, y la excepcionalidad chilena en América Hispana," in *Revista de Occidente* (Spain), no. 305 (October 2006), pp. 11-28. ["Caudillismo, Democracy, and Chilean Exceptionalism in Hispanic America."]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "¿Cómo reformar el sistema electoral? Reflexiones en torno a un desafío pendiente del retorno a la democracia en Chile," in Carlos Huneeus, ed., *La reforma al sistema binominal en Chile: una contribución al debate* (Santiago: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2006), pp. 185-213. ["How to Reform the Electoral System: Reflections on a Pending Challenge of the Return to Democracy in Chile."]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Los derechos humanos y la redemocratización en Chile," in Manuel Alcántara Sáez and Leticia M. Ruiz Rodríguez (eds.), *La política chilena: entre la rutina, el mito y el modelo*. Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2006, pp. 269-312. ["Human Rights and Redemocratization in Chile."]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Demografía familiar y Desarrollo: Chile y Suecia desde 1914." In J. Samuel Valenzuela, Eugenio Tironi and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *El Eslabón perdido: familia, bienestar y modernización en Chile*. Santiago: Editorial Taurus, 2006, pp. 97-134. ["Family Demography and Development: Chile and Sweden since 1914."]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Diseños dispares, resultados diferentes, y convergencias tardías: las instituciones de bienestar social en Chile y Suecia," in J. Samuel Valenzuela, Eugenio Tironi, and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *El Eslabón perdido: familia, bienestar y modernización en Chile*. Santiago: Editorial Taurus, 2006, pp. 359-430. ["Disparate Designs, Different Results, and Lat Convergences: The Social Welfare Institutions of Chile and Sweden."]

Eugenio Tironi, J. Samuel Valenzuela and Timothy R. Scully, "Introducción: Familia en Chile. Los impactos de la modernización," in J. Samuel Valenzuela, Eugenio Tironi and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *El Eslabón perdido: familia, bienestar y modernización en Chile*. Santiago: Editorial Taurus, 2006, pp.13-42. ["Introduction: The Family in Chile. The Impacts of Modernization."]

Eugenio Tironi, J. Samuel Valenzuela and Timothy R. Scully, "Palabras finales: Familia y políticas públicas," in J. Samuel Valenzuela, Eugenio Tironi and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *El Eslabón perdido: familia, bienestar y modernización en Chile*. Santiago: Editorial Taurus, 2006, pp. 431-448. ["Concluding Thoughts: Families and Public Policies."]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "¿Hay que eliminar el sistema binominal? Una propuesta alternativa," *Política: Revista de Ciencia Política* (Santiago), vol. 45 (Spring [December] 2005), pp. 45-66. (Political Science journal of the University of Chile.) ["Should the Binomial Electoral System be Eliminated?"]

Expanded and translated version of "The Politics of Religion in a Catholic Country: Republican Democracy, *Social Cristianismo*, and the Conservative Party in Chile, 1850-1925," in Austin Ivereigh, ed., *The Politics of Religion in an Age of Revival* (see below) to appear as "Religión y política en un país católico: democracia republicana, social cristianismo, y el Partido Conservador de Chile, 1850-1925," forthcoming in *Estudios Públicos*. With Erika Maza Valenzuela.

Revised and expanded version of "Chile: The Development, Breakdown, and Recovery of Democracy," in Jan Knippers Black, ed., *Latin America, its Problems and its Promise: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. Boulder, Co: Westview Press. Fourth edition, 2005. With Arturo Valenzuela.

Reprint of "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment," in a third edition of Mitchell A. Seligson and John T. Passé-Smith, eds., *Development and Underdevelopment: The Political Economy of Global Inequality* (Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, 2005?). With Arturo Valenzuela.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Making Sense of Suffrage Expansion and Electoral Institutions in Latin America. A Comment on Colomer's 'Tiger'," in *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 46, no. 2 (summer 2004), pp. 59-67.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "¿El voto voluntario fortalece o debilita la democracia?," in *Asuntos Públicos* (asuntospublicos.org), no. 399 (June 2004). *Asuntos Públicos* is a Chilean virtual magazine of public affairs. ["Does Voluntary Voting Strengthen or Weaken Democracy?"]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Cómo reformar el sistema electoral chileno," in *La Tercera*, Santiago (22 December 2003), p. 2. Op-ed article. ["How to Reform the Chilean Electoral System."]

Reprint of J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Labor Movements and Political Systems: Some Variations," in John E. Kelly, ed., *Industrial Relations: Critical Perspectives on Business and Management*. Vol 3: *Employers and the State*. London: Routledge, 2002, pp. 243-276.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Al fin la democracia," *Semana* (Bogotá), no. 1054 (15-22 July, 2002), pp. 252-256 (in a three columns per page format). ["Democracy, Finally."]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Class Relations and Democratization: A Reassessment of Barrington Moore's Model", in Miguel Angel Centeno and Fernando López-Alves, eds., *The Other Mirror: Comparative History and Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 240-286.

Also published as a *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, no. 265 (March 1999).

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Aux origines de la démocratie chilienne: la création d'institutions électorales au 19^{ème} siècle", in Christophe Jaffrelot, ed., *Démocraties d'allieurs - Démocraties et démocratisations hors occident* (Paris: Khartala, 2000), pp. 161-206. ["At the Origins of Chilean Democracy: The Creation of Chilean Electoral Institutions in the 19th Century."]

Reprint of J. Samuel Valenzuela, "La ley electoral de 1890 y la democratización del régimen político chileno", in Carlos Malamud, ed., *Legitimidad, representación y alternancia en España y América Latina: Las reformas electorales (1880-1930)* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000, pp. 130-161. (From *Estudios Públicos* 1998). ["The Democratization of the Chilean Political Regime: The Effects of the Electoral Law of 1890"].

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Erika Maza Valenzuela, "The Politics of Religion in a Catholic Country: Republican Democracy, *Social Cristianismo*, and the Conservative Party in Chile, 1850-1925," in Austin Ivereigh, ed., *The Politics of Religion in an Age of Revival* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 2000), pp. 188-223.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Los escollos de la redemocratización chilena," in *Boletín del SAAP*, 5, 9 (Spring [December] 1999, pp. 111-25. This is the official journal of the Argentinian Political Science Association (Sociedad Argentina de Análisis Político). ["The Stumbling Blocks of Chilean Redemocratization."]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Respuesta a Eugenio Tironi y Felipe Agüero: Reflexiones sobre el presente y futuro del paisaje político chileno a la luz de su pasado", *Estudios Públicos*, no. 75 (Winter 1999), pp. 273-290. ["Response to Eugenio Tironi and Felipe Agüero: Reflections on the Present and Future of the Chilean Political Landscape in Light of its Past."]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "La ley electoral de 1890 y la democratización del régimen político chileno", in *Estudios Públicos* (Santiago), no. 71 (Winter 1998), pp. 265-296. ["The Democratization of the Chilean Political Regime: The Effects of the Electoral Law of 1890"].

Also published as a *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, no. 265 (January 1998)

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Macro Comparisons without the Pitfalls: A Protocol for Comparative Research," in Scott Mainwaring and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *Politics, Culture and Society: Essays in Honor of Juan Linz. Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998, pp. 237-266.

Also published as a *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, no. 239 (April 1997).

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "La Constitución de 1980 y los inicios de la redemocratización en Chile," in Torcuato Di Tella, ed., *Crisis de representatividad y sistemas de partidos políticos*. Buenos Aires: Nuevohacer, Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1998, pp. 149-195. ["The Constitution of 1980 and the Beginning of Redemocratization in Chile."]

Also published as a *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, no. 242 (September 1997).

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Chile: The Development, Breakdown, and Recovery of Democracy," in Jan Knippers Black, ed., *Latin America, its Problems and its Promise: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 1998, pp. 497-535. This is an updated version of the paper with the same title published in a previous edition of this book, Westview Press, 1991.

Reprint of J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment," (from *Comparative Politics*, 1978), in Mitchell Seligson, ed., *The Gap between the Rich and the Poor: Contending Perspectives on the Political Economy of Development*. Boulder: Westview Press (I never received a copy of this book and I am therefore unsure of its publication date).

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Timothy R. Scully, "Electoral Choices and the Party System in Chile: Continuities and Changes at the Recovery of Democracy," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 29, no. 4 (July 1997), pp. 511-27.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Hacia la formación de instituciones democráticas: Prácticas electorales en Chile durante el siglo diecinueve", *Estudios Públicos* (Santiago), no. 65 (Summer 1997), pp. 215-257. A revised and translated version of a paper published in English in the book edited by Eduardo Posada (1996).

Reprint from *Estudios Públicos* (1995) of J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Orígenes y transformaciones del sistema de partidos en Chile," in Torcuato Di Tella, ed., *Argentina-Chile: ¿Desarrollos paralelos?* Buenos Aires: Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1997, pp. 73-145. This version contains some slight revisions.

Reprint of an English version of the same *Estudios Públicos* paper as "The Origins and Transformations of the Chilean Party System," in Fernando J. Devoto and Torcuato S. Di Tella, eds., *Political Culture, Social Movements, and Democratic Transitions in South America in the Twentieth Century*. Milano: Feltrinelli Foundation, 1997, pp. 47-99.

Also published as a *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, no. 215 (December 1995).

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Economic Reforms and Democratization in Chile," in *The Distribution of Power between Branches of Government in Conditions of Economic and Social Crisis* (Kiev: Parliamentary Development Committee, 1997), pp. 29-62. This book was sponsored by the Parliamentary Development Project of Indiana University's School of Public and Environmental Affairs. My paper was a lecture I gave at a colloquium attended by members of the Ukrainian Parliament, 8 April 1995. The publication includes a question and answer segment that records my answers to the questions I received. (In Ukrainian).

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Formal-Political and Societal Democracy: A Commentary on Alain Touraine's 'Democracy versus History'," in *Political Science Series*, Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, no. 34 (May 1996), pp. 17-23. The commentary is appended to Touraine's essay.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Building Aspects of Democracy before Democracy: Electoral Practices in Nineteenth Century Chile," in Eduardo Posada, ed., *Elections Before Democracy: The History of Elections in Europe and Latin America*. London: Macmillan, and N. Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1996, pp. 223-257.

Also published as a *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, no. 223 (April 1996).

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Orígenes y transformaciones del sistema de partidos en Chile," *Estudios Públicos*, no. 58 (Fall 1995), pp. 5-77. ["Origins and Transformations of the Chilean Party System."]

Reprint from *Comparative Politics* (1989) of J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Labor Movements in Transitions to Democracy: A Framework for Analysis," in Jorge I. Domínguez, ed., *Essays on Mexico, Central and South America*. Westport, CT: Garland Press, 1994. [Special edition on paper guaranteed to last 250 years.]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Recasting State Union Relations in Latin America," in Colin Bradford Jr., ed., *Redefining the Role of the State in Latin America*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 1994, pp. 133-149.

Timothy Scully and J. Samuel Valenzuela, "De la democracia a la democracia: Continuidades y cambios en las opciones electorales y el sistema de partidos en

Chile," in *Estudios Públicos* (Santiago), #51 (Winter 1993), pp. 195-228.

An English version of this article, "From Democracy to Democracy: Continuities and Changes of Electoral Choices and the Party System in Chile," was also published as a *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, no. 199 (July 1993).

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Sindicalismo, desarrollo económico y democracia: Hacia un nuevo modelo de organización laboral en Chile," in *Economía y Trabajo* (Santiago), vol. 1, #2 (1993), pp. 65-97. ["Unions, Economic Development and Democracy. Towards a New Model of Labor Organization in Chile."]

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Volker Frank, "The Labor Movement and the Return to Democratic Government in Chile," *Latin American Labor News*, #5 (1992), pp 9-11 (4 column folio size).

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Labor Movements and Political Systems: Some Variations," in Marino Regini, ed., *The Future of Labor Movements*. London: Sage Publications, 1992, pp. 53-101.

Also published in a slightly different version, "Labor Movements and Political Systems: a Conceptual and Typological Analysis," as a *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, no. 167 (December 1991).

Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell, and J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Introduction," in Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell, and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds, *Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective*. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1992, pp. 1-16. [I am the main author of this introduction, to which O'Donnell in fact did not contribute].

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Democratic Consolidation in Post-Transitional Settings: Notion, Process, and Facilitating Conditions," in Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell and Samuel Valenzuela, eds., *Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective*. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1992, pp. 57-104.

Also published as a *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, no. 150 (December 1990).

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "¿Qué brujas esconden las micro-escenas?" commentary on Guillermo O'Donnell's "Situaciones: Micro-escenas de la privatización de lo público en São Paulo," in *Nariz del Diablo* [Quito, Ecuador], vol. 2, # 17 (April 1991), pp. 94-102. ["What do the Micro-Scenes Hide?"]

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Chile: The Development, Breakdown, and Recovery of Democracy," in Jan Knippers Black, ed., *Latin*

America, its Problems and its Promise: A Multidisciplinary Introduction. Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 1991., pp. 471-508. An updated version of the paper published in Howard Wiarda and Harvey Kline, eds., 2nd ed., 1985.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "El movimiento obrero en la transición hacia la democracia: Un marco conceptual para su análisis", in *Desarrollo Económico—Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, vol. 30, # 119 (October-December 1990:), pp. 299-332. Revised and translated version of the article in *Comparative Politics* (1989).

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Labor Movements in Transitions to Democracy: A Framework for Analysis," in *Comparative Politics*, vol. 21, # 4 (July 1989), pp. 445-472.

Also published as a *Kellogg Institute Working Paper*, no. 104 (June 1988).

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Corporativismo e neocorporativismo nell' analisi della politica latino-americana," in Gaetano Vardaro, *Diritto del Lavoro e Corporativismi in Europa: Iere e Oggi.* Milano: Franco Angeli, 1988, pp. 397-409. ["Corporatism and Neo-Corporatism in the Analysis of Latin American Politics."]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "El Movimiento Obrero bajo el Régimen Militar," in Francisco Zapata, ed., *Clases Sociales y Acción Obrera en Chile.* Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1986, pp. 121-188. ["The Labor Movement under the Military Regime."]

Reprint in Spanish translation of J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Un marco conceptual para el análisis de la formación del movimiento obrero," in CLACSO, Comisión de Movimientos Laborales, *El Sindicalismo Latinoamericano en los Ochenta.* Santiago: ILET-Talleres "El Gráfico," 1986, pp. 39-55, of "Uno Schema Teorico per l'Analisi della Formazione del Movimento Operario" from *Stato e Mercato* (1981).

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Introduction," in J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *Military Rule in Chile: Dictatorship and oppositions.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986, pp. 1-12.

Manuel Barrera and J. Samuel Valenzuela, "The Development of the labor Movement Opposition to the Chilean Military Regime," in J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *Military Rule in Chile: Dictatorship and oppositions.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 230-269.

Arturo Valenzuela and J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Party Oppositions under the Chilean Authoritarian Regime," in J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *Military Rule in Chile: Dictatorship and oppositions.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986, pp. 184-229. Revised and expanded English version of a paper first published in *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* (1982).

Reprint of J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment," (from *Comparative Politics*, 1978), in Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kaupi, eds., *International Relations Theory*. New York: John Wiley, 1986.

Reprint of J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment," (from *Comparative Politics*, 1978), in Roy Macridis and Bernard Brown, eds., *Comparative Politics: Notes and Readings*. Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1986, pp. 491-511.

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Chile and the Breakdown of Democracy," in Howard Wiarda and Harvey Kline, eds., *Latin American Politics and Development*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1985, 2nd edition, pp. 212-248. Updated version of the article in the book with the same title published originally by Houghton Mifflin (1979).

Reprint of J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment," (from *Comparative Politics*, 1978), in Mitchell Seligson, ed., *The Gap between the Rich and the Poor: Contending Perspectives on the Political Economy of Development*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1984. Selection.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Movimientos Obreros y Sistemas Políticos: un Análisis Conceptual y Tipológico," in *Desarrollo Económico*, vol. 23, # 91 (October-December 1983), pp. 339-368. ["Labor Movements and Political Systems: A Conceptual and Typological Analysis."]

Arturo Valenzuela and J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Los Orígenes de la Democracia. Reflexiones Teóricas sobre el Caso Chileno," in *Estudios Públicos* (Santiago), # 12 (Spring 1983), pp. 5-40. ["The Origins of Democracy: Theoretical Reflections on the Chilean Case."]

Arturo Valenzuela and J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Party Oppositions under the Chilean Authoritarian Regime," in *Working Papers* of the Wilson Center's Latin America Program, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., # 125, 1983. Revised and translated version of the article published in *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* (1982).

Reprint of Arturo Valenzuela and J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Partidos de Oposición bajo el Régimen Autoritario Chileno," in Manuel Antonio Garretón, et. al., *Chile 1973--198?*. Santiago: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), 1983, pp. 251-300. Taken from *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* (1982).

Arturo Valenzuela and J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Partidos de Oposición bajo el Régimen Autoritario Chileno," in *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, vol. 44, # 2 (April-June 1982), pp. 599-648. ["Party Oppositions under the Chilean Authoritarian Regime."]

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Uno Schema teórico per l'analisi della formazione del movimento operaio," in *Stato e Mercato*, vol. 1, # 3 (December 1981), pp. 447-481. ["A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of Labor Movement Formation."]

Reprint of J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment," (from *Comparative Politics*, 1978), in Heraldo Muñoz, ed., *From Dependency to Development: Strategies to Overcome Underdevelopment and Inequality*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1981, pp. 15-41.

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Chile and the Breakdown of Democracy," in Howard Wiarda and Harvey Kline, eds., *Latin American Politics and Development*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979, pp. 233-261.

Exchange of letters with Gabriel Almond on J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment," (from *Comparative Politics*, 1978), in *Comparative Politics*, vol. 11, # 4 (July 1979), pp. 497-498.

Reprint of J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment," (from *Comparative Politics*, 1978), in José J. Villamil, ed., *Transnational Capitalism and National Development: New Perspectives on Dependence* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1979), pp. 31-65. This is a slightly different version from the one appearing in the journal.

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment," in *Comparative Politics*, vol. 10, # 4 (July 1978), pp. 535-557.

Jacques Zylberberg and J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Idéologies et Pratiques du Mouvement Ouvrier Chilien," in *Le Progrès en Question (Actes du IXème Colloque de l'AISLF)*. Paris: Anthropos, 1978. ["Ideologies and Practices of the Chilean Labor Movement."]

Arturo Valenzuela and J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Introduction," in Arturo Valenzuela and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds., *Chile: Politics and Society*, New Brunswick, N.J., Transaction Books, 1976, pp. vii-xv.

Reprint of J. Samuel Valenzuela, "The Chilean Labor Movement: The Institutionalization of Conflict," (from *The Human Factor*, 1974), in Arturo

Valenzuela and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds., *Chile: Politics and Society*, New Brunswick, N.J., 1976, pp. 135-171.

Arturo Valenzuela and J. Samuel Valenzuela , "Visions of Chile," in *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 10, # 3 (Fall 1975), pp. 155-175.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "The Chilean Labor Movement: the Institutionalization of Conflict," in *The Human Factor*, vol 12, # 2 & 3 (Summer-Fall 1974), pp. 31-67.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Enfoque Crítico del Valor Explicativo del Cuerpo Teórico Tradicional en Psicología Social," in *Ciencia Social*, vol. 1, # 1 (1970), pp. 27-37. ["A Critical Analysis of the Explanatory Power of Mainstream Theories in Social Psychology."]

BOOK REVIEWS:

Review of: Carlos Huneeus, *El Régimen de Pinochet* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana Chilena, 2000), in *Journal of Latin American Studies*. (This has already appeared because the author wrote to me about it).

Review of: John Peeler, *Building Democracy in Latin America* (Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, 1998), in *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 36 (2004), pp. 190-191.

Review of: Paul W. Drake, *Labor Movements and Dictatorships. The Southern Cone in Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). In *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. (This must have been published, but I never received a copy.)

Review of: Alan Angell and Benny Pollack (eds.), *The Legacy of Dictatorship: Political, Economic and Social Change in Pinochet's Chile* (Liverpool: I.L.A.S., University of Liverpool), in *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 1994.

Review of: Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier, *Shaping the Political Arena. Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), in *Contemporary Sociology*, vol. 22, # 2 (March 1993), pp. 191-192.

Review of: Maurice Zeitlin and Richard Earl Ratcliff, *Landlords & Capitalists: The Dominant Class of Chile* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), in *Contemporary Sociology*, vol 19, # 2 (March 1990), pp. 198-202.

Review of: Charles Davis, *Working Class Mobilization and Political Control; Case Studies of Venezuela and Mexico* (Lexington, KY: Kentucky University Press) in *Contemporary Sociology*, vol. 19, # 4 (July 1990), pp.573-574.

Review of: Diana Kay, *Chileans in Exile: Private Struggles, Public Lives*

(Wolfeboro New Hampshire: Longwood Academic), pp. 225, in *Contemporary Sociology*, vol. 18, # 2 (March 1989), pp.187-88.

Review of: Nicos P. Mouzelis, *Politics in the Semi-Periphery: Early Parliamentarism and Late Industrialization in the Balkans and Latin America* (London: Macmillan Publishers, in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 82, # 3 (September 1988), pp. 1058-1059.

Review Essay of: Alejandro Foxley, *Chile y su Futuro: Un País Posible* (Santiago: CIEPLAN), pp. 230, in *InterAmerican Review of Bibliography*, vol. 38, # 4 (1988), pp. 528-530 (in Spanish).

Review of: Louise A. Tilly and Charles Tilly, eds., *Class Conflict and Collective Action* (Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications), in the *American Political Science Review*, vol. 76, # 4 (December 1982).

Review of: Jürgen Habermas, *Toward a Rational Society* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), in *The Human Factor*, vol. 12, # 1 (Summer 1973).

MANUSCRIPT REVIEWS (Many repeatedly):

Book manuscripts:

For Cambridge University Press, Princeton University Press, Johns Hopkins University Press, Pittsburgh University Press, Pennsylvania State University Press, North Carolina University Press, and Notre Dame University Press.

Articles:

For *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Political Science Review*, *Comparative Politics*, *World Politics*, *Latin American Research Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *Political Quarterly*, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *Bulletin of Latin American Studies*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *European Journal of Latin American Studies*, *Journal of Policy History*, *Revista de Ciencia Política*, and *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*.

Research Proposals:

For the National Science Foundation's Sociology and Political Science Programs, for Conycit and Fondecyt (the Chilean equivalents to the NSF), for the Austrian Wissenschaftsfonds (Austrian Science Fund) Humanities and Social Science Program, (the Austrian equivalent to the NSF), and the Volkswagenstiftung (Volkswagen Foundation).

CONFERENCES, WORKSHOPS, AND PANELS:

ORGANIZER OF:

An international conference entitled "Social Cohesion in Latin America: Assembling the Pieces," with Timothy R. Scully, CSC, and Eugenio Tironi, April 16-17, 2009.

An international conference entitled "The Origins of Democracy in the Americas, 1770s-1870s," at the Kellogg Institute, September 19-20 2008, with Eduardo Posada-Carbó.

Five workshops on family life and its crisis, welfare state institutions, and markets in Chile, with Eugenio Tironi, and Timothy Scully, at the Alberto Hurtado University, Santiago, 14-15 October and 18-19 December 2003, at CIEPLAN, Santiago, on 16 March 2004, at the Kellogg Institute, Notre Dame IN, on 11-13 August 2004, and at CIEPLAN, Santiago, on 26 October 2004.

Session on the History of Sociology for the American Sociological Association Meetings in Chicago, 14-18 August 2002.

Panel on "Labor Movements in Precarious Democracies," for the International Sociological Association's 13th World Congress at Bielefeld, Germany, July 1994.

Panel on "The Political Construction of Consensual Class Relations, " for the International Political Science Association, 21-25 July 1991 in Buenos Aires, with Marino Regini.

Panel on the Sociology of Development and Women in Development for the American Sociological Association Meetings in Cincinnati, 1990.

Panel on "Labor Movements in Fragile Democracies" for the International Sociological Association's 12th World Congress at Madrid, 1990.

Conference on "Labor Movements in Transitions to Democracy" held in April 1988 at the University of Notre Dame.

Panel on "Labor Movements in Transitions to Democracy" for the 11th World Congress of the International Sociological Association in New Delhi, August 18-24, 1986.

Annual Meeting, 1984, of The New England Council of Latin American Studies held October 13 at Harvard University.

The Latin American Luncheon Seminar, held weekly, at Harvard University, 1981-1983. With Jorge Domínguez and Terry Karl.

Panel on "Labor Movements, Politics and the State," for the International Sociological Association's 10th World Congress in Mexico City, August 1982.

With Marino Regini.

Colloquium on "Labor Movements under Authoritarian Regimes," held at Harvard University's Center for European Studies, 13-14 April 1981.

Workshop on "Six Years of Military Rule in Chile" held at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 15-17 May 1980. With Arturo Valenzuela and the Wilson Center Latin America Program staff.

The Latin American Luncheon series of lectures, held weekly during the 1977-1978 academic year, and bi-weekly during the 1978-1979 academic year; at Yale University. And weekly at Harvard University, 1983-1985.

PARTICIPANT IN:

Liberty Fund colloquium on "The Work of Andrés Bello," December 2-4, 2011, Santa Rita estate, Buin, Chile.

Liberty Fund colloquium on "Liberty, Democracy, and Independence in Gran Colombia," 3-6 February, 2011, in Cartagena, Colombia.

Liberty Fund colloquium on French Liberal Thinkers of the 18th and 19th Centuries (Montesquieu, Constant, and Tocqueville), 17-18 October, 2003, in Miami, Florida.

"Mesa de diálogo social", a series of meetings between top labor and business leaders in Santiago to discuss labor law reforms, May-July 2001.

FORMAL LECTURES AND PRESENTATIONS AT PROFESSIONAL CONFERENCES, WORKSHOPS (ONLY SINCE 1995)

"The Challenges of Social and Economic Policies in Present Day Chile," presentation at the opening panel of the "Third Chilean Public Policy Summit in the USA," at the Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University, April 8, 2016.

Presentation at a Kellogg Institute forum on "What's Next for Cuba," November 3, 2015.

"The Three Worlds of First Wave Democratization," paper presented at the 22nd International Conference of Europeanists organized by the Council for European Studies held at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris, France, July 8-10, 2015.

"Current Political, Economic and Social Trends in Latin America," a keynote speech at a conference on Latin America organized by Danish NGOs that work in development assistance. The conference took place on October 24, 2014, in a hall

of the Danish parliament building in Copenhagen.

"The Chilean Plebiscite of October 1988: Comments on the Campaign that Defeated Pinochet," School of Communications, De Paul University, Chicago, February 24, 2014.

"¿El malestar con la democracia en Chile?, a presentation at an international seminar with the same title at Universidad Diego Portales, Santiago, organized by Alfresco Joignant, 10 January 2014.

"Political Polarization, Institutional Failure, and Regime Breakdown: The Contentious 1829 Elections in Chile," paper presented at a conference on "Contentious Elections and Democratization in the Americas during the Nineteenth Century," organized by Andrew Robertson and Eduardo Posada-Carbó at the Rothemere American Institute, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK, 15-17 March 2012.

"Las instituciones electorales en Chile: un caso pionero en la democratización decimonónica," paper presented at a conference on "El Problema de la Ciudadanía," organized by Ana María Stiven at the Faculty of Social Sciences and History of the Universidad Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile, 26-27 September 2012.

Discussant, Workshop on "Measuring Democracy," organized by Michael Coppedge, Kellogg Institute, January 10, 2011.

"Las elecciones y los orígenes de la democracia en América Latina," conference at the Educational Foundation of the Banco de la República, Cartagena, Colombia, October 2, 2009.

"El Frente Nacional desde la perspectiva teórica de las transiciones a la democracia," paper presented at a seminar on the "Origins and Development of the Colombian National Front (1958-1974)," held on September 29-30, 2009, at the Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia.

"El modelo chileno", talk before Colombian opinion makers (journalists, business men, academicians) at the Carlos Lleras Restrepo Library, Bogotá, Colombia, September 29, 2009.

"Religious Identities and the Social Impact of Religiosity in Latin America" at the Annual Meetings of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics, Paris, July 16-18, 2009. The paper is co-authored with Timothy R. Scully, and Nicolás Somma.

J. Samuel Valenzuela, "La precaria experimentación con la democracia representativa durante la primera ola de democratización en América Latina." paper presented at a conference at the Universidad de Jaén, on "History and

Politics of Andalucía,” on 12-14 November 2008, Jaén, Spain. [“The Precarious Experimentation with Representative Democracy during the First Wave of Democratization in Latin America.”]

“The Missing Links: Families, Welfare Institutions, and Economic Development,” paper presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics, Copenhagen, DK, June 30, 2007.

“Commentator and participant” at a workshop on a “New Agenda for Social Cohesion in Latin America” organized by CIEPLAN and the Fernando Henrique Cardoso Foundation in Santiago, June 18, 2007. The workshop focused on the preliminary results of a survey applied in 8 Latin American countries whose questions I co-wrote with Eugenio Tironi, Eduardo Valenzuela, and Simon Schwartzman.

“Presenter and discussant” at a workshop on “The Interaction of Political and Economic Systems” organized by Steven Webb at the World Bank in Washington. I was asked to make a presentation on Chilean development, and to participate in a broad ranging two-day discussion of the origins and obstacles to development. The framework papers were written by Douglas North, Barry Weingast, John J. Wallis, and Steven Webb. Other participants included Francis Fukuyama and senior World Bank staff. May 7-8, 2007.

“Discussant,” at the Oxford Conference of Civil Resistance and Power Politics, St. Antony’s College, Oxford University, March 15-18, 2007.

“Discussant,” at a Workshop to plan research on Social Cohesion in Latin America organized by CIEPLAN and the Fernando Henrique Cardoso Foundation of Brazil, in Santiago, Nov. 28-29, 2006.

“Discussant,” at a Conference on Electoral Laws in Latin America attended by academics and the heads of Latin American Electoral Tribunals, at CIEPLAN, Nov. 17, 2006.

“The Enduring Presence of Religion in Chilean Ideological Positionings and Voter Options”, presentation at the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Chilean Political Science Association, Nov. 16, 2006, in Santiago, of the award winning paper with the same title written in co-authorship with Timothy R. Scully and Nicolás Somma. (See article publications above).

Invited to make a presentation on Democracy in Latin America at an Episcopal Conference of Latin American Catholic Bishops in Santo Domingo, Nov. 12, 2006. Declined.

Invited to make a presentation on Electoral Laws and Democracy in Latin America at the “Houston Round” of meetings organized by the U. S. Embassy in Colombia, Oct. 14-16, in Santa Marta, Colombia. Declined.

“Discussant,” workshop on “Social Cohesion” in Latin America, at CIEPLAN, Santiago, August 24, 2006.

“Discussant,” conference entitled “Estado de bienestar y competitividad. La experiencia europea y lecciones para América Latina,” organized by Rosa Conde and Alvaro Espina of the Fundación Carolina, Madrid, May 5, 2006.

“The Enduring Political Salience of Religion in Chile: An Examination of Ideological Self Placement and Voter Alignments”, paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association meetings in San Juan, Puerto Rico, March 11-14, 2006, panel on “Religion, the State, and Democratization” chaired by Michael Fleet. With Timothy R. Scully and Nicolás Somma.

“Discussant”, at a panel on governance performance in Chile and Costa Rica at a conference on “Democratic Governance in Latin America” organized by Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully at the Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, on 7-8 October 2005.

“The Inadequate Development of Welfare Institutions in Chile”, paper presented at the 17th Annual Meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics, Budapest, Hungary, June 30 to July 2, 2005.

“Derechos humanos y transición a la democracia: el modelo de Nüremberg frente al modelo de Santiago”, paper presented at a conference entitled “Chile: balance de su consolidación democrática”, at the Instituto de Estudios de Iberoamérica y Portugal, University of Salamanca, Spain, 7-8 April 2005.

“Discussant”: As the main academic organizer of the family, welfare institutions, and markets workshops (see above under “Conferences, Workshops and Panels”, I acted as the principal “Discussant” for all the papers presented at each of the five workshops held in the above noted dates in late 2003 and in 2004.

"How to Reform the Chilean Electoral System," presentation at the Institute of Public Affairs of the Institute of Political Science, University of Chile, 28 November 2003.

"Labor Movement Formation in Europe," presentation at the European Studies Program of the University of Concepción, Chile, on 31 October 2003.

"From Nüremberg to Santiago: Human Rights in Transitions to Democracy," presented at the Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies at the University of New Mexico, 14 November 2003.

"From Nüremberg to Santiago: Human Rights in Transitions to Democracy," at the Institute for Latin American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin on 11 September 2003.

"A Model to Follow? Labor Relations, Labor Markets, and Neo Liberal Policies in Chile," paper presented at the 15th Annual Meetings of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics, Aix-en-Provence, France, 28 July 2003.

"Voting and the Religious and Programmatic Dimensions of the Chilean Party System," presentation before leaders of the Concertation coalition of parties (including a prospective presidential candidate) in Santiago, Chile, 30 January 2003.

"Futile or Effective? The Right's "Gifts" to Voters in the Second Round of the Chilean Presidential elections of January 2000", paper presented at a conference organized by Frederic C. Schaffer and Andreas Schedler on "Trading Political Rights: The Comparative Politics of Vote Buying." Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 26-28 August 2002.

"Human Rights in Transitions to Democracy: Reflections on Post-Pinochet Chile," presentation at the Bildner Center, Graduate Center, City University of New York, 6 May 2002.

"Human Rights and the Courts in Transitions to Democracy: Reflections on the Chilean Experience," paper presented at the August 18-21, 2001 Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Anaheim, California, at a panel in the Sociology of Law section presided by Mary Vogel.

"The Rule of Law, the Courts, and the Human Rights Question in Post-Pinochet Chile," lecture at Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota, April 19, 2001. Class presentation in Political Science Assistant Professor Montero's Latin American Politics introductory course on April 20, 2001, on the concept of democratic consolidation. My paper on the subject was required reading in the course.

"Current Chilean Politics, Economy, and Social Policy Problems," a presentation at a seminar for a group of U. S. state legislators who will be going on a study and observation trip to Chile. Organized by the Washington based Center for Policy Alternatives, April 22, 2001, at the Pocantico Hills Rockefeller estate, Tarrytown, New York.

"Labor, Democratic Transition, and Neo Liberal Policies: the Paradigmatic Open Economy Case of Chile", lecture and paper presented at the Center for Latin American Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 15 March 2001. Forthcoming in revised form as a Working Paper at the Center.

"Are New Inequalities and Weaker Labor Movements Inevitable in Open and Emerging Market Economies?", paper presented at the American Sociological Association Meetings in Washington, 14 August 2000, at a panel chaired by Carlos Waissman.

Presentation on labor law reform before an inter-ministerial committee (Economics, Labor, Finance, and Women's Affairs), including the Ministers themselves and their major advisors, 5 June 2000.

“Discussant”, at a panel on labor relations and labor law reforms in Latin America organized by Victoria Murillo, Latin American Studies Association meeting in Miami, 16 March 2000.

“Meeting the Challenge: Latin American Labor Movements in the Era of Fiscal Constraints and Global Markets,” paper presented at session 10 of Research Committee 44 at the 14th World Congress of Sociology, Montreal, 26 July to 1 August 1998.

“Rethinking the Impact of Catholicism on Party Politics and Social Institutions in Nineteenth Century Chile” at the “Sixth Nineteenth-Century History Workshop” on “The Politics of Religion” at the Institute for Latin American Studies of the University of London, 22 May 1998. With Erika Maza Valenzuela.

“Aux origines de la démocratie chilienne: les pratiques électorales au XIX^{ème} siècle” at a round table on “Démocraties d’ ailleurs” at the Centre de Recherches Internationales of the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques in Paris, 13-14 May 1998.

“Class Relations and Democratization: Another Look at Barrington Moore’s Model,” paper presented at a conference entitled “The Other Mirror: Comparative History and Latin America,” convened by Miguel Angel Centeno and Fernando López-Alves at Princeton University, February 20-21, 1998. This is a revised version of a paper first presented at LASA in Guadalajara (see below).

Discussant in a conference on “Political Representation in France and in Chile” organized by Guy Hermet and Oscar Godoy at the Centre de Recherches Internationales of the Fondation Nationales des Sciences Politiques in Paris, January 28-29, 1998.

“Civil Wars in Chile: Facts or Faults in the Work of Maurice Zeitlin and Luis Vitale,” at a workshop on “Nineteenth Century Civil Wars in Latin America” organized by Eduardo Posada-Carbó at the Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of London, London, 23 May 1997.

“Aux origines de la démocratie chilienne: les pratiques électorales au XIX^{ème} siècle,” at the Centre d’Etudes et Recherches Internationales, Fondation Nationale de Sciences Politiques, Paris, 20 May 1997, in a series on democratization organized by Christophe Jaffrelot.

"Landowners, Peasants and the Bourgeoisie: A Reassessment of Barrington Moore's Model in Chile," paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association's XXth Meetings at Guadalajara, Mexico, 20 April 1997, at a session

entitled "The Other Mirror: Comparative History and Latin America" organized by Miguel Angel Centeno and Fernando López-Alves.

"Why no Social Democracy in Chile, 1880-1940?" at St. Antony's College, Latin American Centre, Oxford University, 15 November 1996, in a series organized by Malcom Deas.

Discussant of papers on Argentina and Chile at a Conference organized by Eduardo Posada-Carbó on "Parliamentary Elites in Latin America: Composition, Values and Attitudes," Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 21 October 1996.

"Origen de los partidos políticos en Chile", at a conference organized by Torcuato Di Tella on "Argentina and Chile: Converging or Parallel Developments" organized at the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Buenos Aires, 28-30 August 1996.

"Labor Movements in Transitions to Democracy," presentation at a seminar on democratization at Nuffield College, Oxford University, directed by Laurence Whitehead, 5 June 1996.

"La democratización del régimen político chileno: Consideraciones sobre los efectos de la ley electoral de 1890" at a conference organized in Santander, Spain (May 3-4, 1996) by Carlos Malamud of the Fundación Ortega y Gasset on nineteenth and early twentieth century electoral reforms in Spain and Latin America.

"State-Economy Relations in Chile: Neoliberalism or State Involvement?" at the Political Science Department, University of Stockholm, 19 April 1996.

"Electoral Choices and the Party System in Chile: Continuities and Changes at the Recovery of Democracy," at the Institute of Latin American Studies, Stockholm University, 18 April 1996.

"A Research Protocol for Comparative Analysis," at the Sociology Department of the University of Stockholm, commented by Charles Tilly, 16 April 1996.

"Towards a Theory of Labor Movement Formation: Chile and France in Comparative Perspective," at Department of Political Science, Uppsala University, 15 April 1996.

Discussant at a session on French political parties, at a conference on the funding of political parties organized by Eduardo Posada-Carbó at the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of London, 26 March 1996.

"Toward a Theory of Labor Movement Formation," at the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 7 February 1996.

"Formal Political and Societal Democracy. A Commentary on Alain Touraine's 'Democracy versus History'," at the Second Vienna Dialogue on Democracy on "Democracy and Time," organized by Andreas Schedler, at the Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna, 30 November 1995.

"Is there a link between Democratization and Civil Societies," paper presented at a conference organized by Dennis MacNamara on Korean democratization at Georgetown University, 7-10 May 1995.

"From Crises to Market and Political Transitions in Chile," presentation at a conference attended by members of the Ukrainian parliament, Kiev, 8 April 1995, organized by the Parliamentary Development Project of Indiana University's School of Public and Environmental Affairs.

SELECTED PAST FORMAL PRESENTATIONS:

"Doing Comparative Sociology: Problems and Solutions," at the Sociology Department Colloquium Series organized by Elijah Anderson, University of Pennsylvania, 3 October 1994.

"Reforming State-Labor Movement Relations" at a conference on "Strengthening Democracy and Reform in Latin America: Redefining the Role of the State," at the OECD in Paris, 8 November 1993.

"The Return of Democracy in Chile: A Preliminary Assessment," at St. Antony's College, Oxford University, November 18, 1992. A different version of this talk presented at the University of London, 10 March 1993, and at CEDLA, in Amsterdam, 15 April 1993.

"Reflexiones sobre los sistemas de políticas sociales en el Cono Sur," paper presented at a workshop on Social Welfare and Social Policies in the Southern Cone, São Paulo, 4-6 July 1991. 15 pp. [Reflections on Social Policy Systems in the Southern Cone"].

-"Problems and Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in Chile," presentation at Northwestern University, February 5, 1990.

-"Reflections on the Challenges of the Chilean Transition to Democracy", presentation at the closing panel (with Arend Leijphart and Philippe Schmitter) of the Workshop on "Transformation and Transition in Chile," organized by Paul Drake and Iván Jaksic at the Institute of the Americas, University of California at San Diego, March 15-16, 1989.

-"Labor Movements, Economic Crisis, and Redemocratization," presentation at a panel chaired by Kevin Middlebrook at the Latin American Studies Association

Meetings in New Orleans, March 1988.

-Participation as "critic" in an "Author Meets Critics" panel chaired by Peter Evans at the American Sociological Association conference in Chicago, August 1987.

-"Will there be a Transition to Democracy in Chile?" conference given at Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Michigan, July 13, 1987.

-"A Comparison between European and Latin American Labor Movements," at a conference organized by the Center for Russian and East European Studies of the University of Pittsburgh, October 1986, as part of a scholarly exchange program with members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

-"Labor Movement Formation and Politics," lecture at Columbia University's Seminar on the State led by Allan Silver, November 13, 1984.

-"Commentary," at a conference on "Models of Political and Economic Change in Latin America," organized by Samuel Morley and Jonathan Hartlyn at Vanderbilt University, November 3-5, 1983.

-"Democratization of the Latin American Southern Cone States: Fact or Fancy," presentation at the Joint Seminar on Political Development of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, February 9, 1983. Summary transcript of the presentation and subsequent discussion is available.

-"Opposition to Authoritarian Rule in Chile," presentation at a panel organized by Kenneth Erickson at the October 1982 Meeting of the New England Council of Latin American Studies at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

-"The Formation of Leftist Labor Movements: Chile and France," paper presented at a seminar on Latin American Labor Movements organized by Torcuato di Tella, Columbia University, December 4, 1981.

-"Commentary" at a panel on the "Historiography of Chile's Parliamentary Republic" organized by William Culver at the October 1981 Meeting of the New England Council of Latin American Studies, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.

-"Strengths and Weaknesses of the Chilean Authoritarian Regime and its Oppositions," lecture as a Guest Speaker at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Association for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, McGill University, Montréal, May 9, 1981.

-"Modes of Political Integration of Unionism," presentation at the Sociology Department of the University of Massachusetts at Boston (Harbor Campus, Dorchester) April 24, 1981.

- "Commentary: Reflections on the Chilean Case," presentation at a panel on "Communist Parties and Bourgeois Majorities" at the 76th Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 28, 1980.

- "Assesing the Dependency Perspective: The Evolution of Chilean Labor, 1900-1970," paper presented at the October 17, 1977 Meeting of the New England Council of Latin American Studies, Boston University, at a panel organized by Kenneth Erickson.

- "A Regime in the Making? Post Coup Chile," paper presented at the VIIIth World Congress of Sociology, University of Toronto, August 19-24, 1974, at a panel chaired by Juan Linz.

- "The Multinational Corporations in Chilean Development," World Affairs Conference at Iowa State University, Ames, December 6, 1973. Recorded for local library use and subsequently reproduced by the American Association of University Women for distribution to its chapters.