

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson. 2005. "Institutions as a Fundamental Cause of Long-Run Growth." In *Handbook of Economic Growth*, vol. 1A, edited by Philippe Aghion and Steven N. Durlauf, 385–472. Amsterdam: Elseviers.
- Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. 2000. "Political Losers as a Barrier to Economic Development." *American Economic Review* 90: 126–130.
- Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ackerman, Bruce. 1997. "The Rise of World Constitutionalism." *Virginia Law Review* 83 (4): 771–797.
- Acosta, Alberto. 2008. "El buen vivir, una oportunidad por construir." *Ecuador Debate* 75: 33–47.
- Acosta, Alberto. 2013. *El País que queríamos*. Quito: Arcoiris.
- Acuña, Carlos H. 1995. "Algunas notas sobre los juegos, las gallinas y la lógica política de los pactos constitucionales." In *La Nueva matriz política argentina*, Carlos H. Acuña, 115–150. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nueva Visión.
- Alberts, Susan. 2006. "Subjecting Power to Rules: Constitutionalism and Democratic Survival in Latin America." Paper presented at the American Political Science Association. Philadelphia, PA.
- Alberts, Susan. 2009. "How Constitutions Constrain." *Comparative Politics* 41 (2): 127–143.
- Albertus, Michael, and Victor Menaldo. 2012. "Dictators as Founding Fouthers? The Role of Constitutions under Autocracy." *Economics and Politics* 25 (3): 279–306.
- Albro, Robert. 2005. "The Indigenous in the Plural in Bolivian Oppositional Politics." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 24 (4): 433–453.
- Alianza PAIS. 2006. *Plan de Gobierno Alianza PAIS 2007–2011*. https://www.ucm.es/data/cont/media/www/17360/Texto%201%20-%20Plan_de_Gobierno_Alianza_PAIS.pdf.
- Álvarez, Ángel E. 2003. "State Reform before and after Chávez's Election." In *Venezuelan Politics in the Chávez Era: Class, Polarization, and Conflict*, edited by Steve Ellner and Daniel Hellinger, 147–160. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Álvarez, Ángel E. 2008. "Venezuela: ¿La Revolución pierde su encanto?" *Revista de Ciencia Política* 28 (1): 405–432.
- Álvarez, Bernardo. 2007. "Venezuela's Global Agenda: Six More Years." <http://venezuela-us.org/live/wp-content/uploads/2007/04/VENEZUELA%C2%B4S-GLOBAL-AGENDA-BY-AMBASSADOR-ALVAREZ.pdf>.
- Álvarez, Irma. 1999. "Informe especial: Renuncia consumada." *El Universal*. August 25.
- Álvarez, Tulio A. 1998. *La constituyente: Todo lo que usted necesita saber*. Caracas: Editorial CEC, Libros de El Nacional.

- Álvarez Díaz, Ángel. 1999. "La constitución: realismo político e ilusión democratizadora." *Revista SIC* 620: 465–467.
- Amorim Neto, Octavio. 2002. "Presidential Cabinets, Electoral Cycles, and Coalition Discipline in Brazil." In *Legislative Politics in Latin America*, edited by Scott Morgenstern and Benito Nacif, 48–78. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Anria, Santiago. 2010. "Bolivia's MAS: Between Party and Movement." In *Latin America's Left Turns: Politics, Policies and Trajectories of Change*, edited by Maxwell A. Cameron and Eric Hershberg, 101–126. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Appe, Susan. 2011. "Interview: Civil Society Organizations Respond to Government Regulations in Ecuador." *The International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law* 13 (3). http://www.icnl.org/research/journal/vol13iss3/special_4.htm.
- Arato, Andrew. 1995. "Forms of Constitution-Making and Theories of Democracy." *Cardozo Law Review* 17 (2): 191–231.
- Arato, Andrew. 2005. "Constitutional Learning." *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 106: 1–36.
- Armony, Ariel C., and Héctor E. Schamis. 2005. "Babel in Democratization Studies." *Journal of Democracy* 16 (4): 116–117.
- Ávila Santamaría, Ramiro. 2013. "De la utopía de Montecristi a la distopía de la revolución ciudadana." In *El correísmo al desnudo*, 2nd ed., edited by Juan Cuvi, Decio Machado, Atawallpa Oviedo, Natalia Sierra, et al., 70–81. Quito: Arcoiris.
- Avritzer, Leonardo. 2002. *Democracy and the Public Space*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Baptista, Asdrúbal. 1997. *Bases cuantitativas de la economía venezolana, 1830–1995*. Caracas: Fundación Polar.
- Baptista, Asdrúbal. 2003. "Las crisis económicas del siglo XX venezolano." In *En esta Venezuela: Realidades y nuevos caminos*, edited by Patricia Márquez and Ramón Piñango, 47–68. Caracas: Ediciones IESA.
- Barreiro, Belén. 2008. "Explaining the Electoral Performance of Incumbents in Democracies." In *Controlling Governments: Voters, Institutions, and Accountability*, edited by José María Maravall and Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca, 17–44. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Basabe-Serrano, Santiago Basabe-Serrano, Simón Pachano, and Andrés Mejía Acosta. 2010. "La democracia inconclusa: derechos fundamentales, instituciones políticas y rendimientos gubernamentales en Ecuador (1979–2008)." *Revista de Ciencia Política* 30 (1): 65–85.
- Basedau, Matthias, and Alexander Stroh. 2008. "Measuring Party Institutionalization in Developing Countries: A New Research Instrument Applied to 28 African Political Parties." GIGA Research Programme: Legitimacy and Efficiency of Political Systems. Report No. 69. Hamburg, Germany: GIGA.
- Beasley-Murray, John. 2010. "Constituent Power and the Caracazo: The Exemplary Case of Venezuela." In *Latin America's Left Turns: Politics, Policies and Trajectories of Change*, edited by Maxwell A. Cameron and Eric Hershberg, 1–20. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Becker, Marc. 2009. "Ecuador, Popular and Indigenous Uprisings under the Correa Government." In *International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest*, edited by Immanuel Ness, 1058–1060. Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell Publishing.
- Becker, Marc. 2011a. "Correa, Indigenous Movements, and the Writing of a New Constitution in Ecuador." *Latin American Perspectives* 38 (176): 47–62.
- Becker, Marc. 2011b. *Pachakutik: Indigenous Movements, and the Writing of a New Constitution in Ecuador*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Becker, Marc. 2013. "The Stormy Relations between Rafael Correa and Social Movements in Ecuador." *Latin American Perspectives* 40 (3): 43–62.
- Bejarano, Ana María. 2006. "Placing the Constitution of 1991 in Time: Colombia's Long Road to Democratization." Paper presented at the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA.
- Bejarano, Ana María, and Renata Segura. 2013. "Asambleas constituyentes y democracia: Una lectura crítica del nuevo constitucionalismo en la región andina." *Colombia Internacional* 79: 19–48.

- Berkin, Carol. 2002. *A Brilliant Solution: Inventing the American Constitution*. New York: Harcourt Books.
- Berman, Sherri. 2007. "How Democracies Emerge: Lessons from Europe." *Journal of Democracy* 18 (1): 28–41.
- Bermeo, Nancy. 1997. "Myths of Moderation: Confrontation and Conflict during Democratic Transitions." *Comparative Politics* 29 (3): 305–322.
- Berntzen, Einar, and Tor-Einar Holvik Skinlo. 2010. "Peru and Fujimori Presidential Breakdown in 2000: *Continuismo* Gone Bad." In *Presidential Breakdowns in Latin America*, edited by Mariana Llanos and Leiv Marsteintredet, 197–211. Palgrave MacMillan.
- Betancourt, Rómulo. 1959. *Posición y doctrina*. Caracas: Editorial Cordillera.
- Blanco, Carlos. 2002. *Revolución y desilusión: La Venezuela de Hugo Chávez*. Madrid: Catarata.
- Blanco Muñoz, Agustín. 1991. *Venezuela 1958: Otra derrota popular*, tomo 1. Caracas: UCV/Centro de Estudios de Historia Actual.
- Boin, Arjen, Paul 't Hart, Eric Stern, and Bengt Sundelius. 2005. *The Politics of Crisis Management*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bolaños, Enrique. n.d. "Cómo se evitó la dictadura de la A.N." Enrique Bolaños Biblioteca. http://www.enriquebolanos.org/context.php?item=auge_caida_plc_evitar_dictadura_asamblea_nacional.
- Bonilla, Adrián. 2008. "Two Perspectives on Ecuador: Rafael Correa's Political Project, Part 2." Andean Working Paper, Inter-American Dialogue, Washington, DC.
- Botero, Felipe. 1998. "El Senado que nunca fue: la circunscripción nacional después de tres elecciones." In *Elecciones y democracia en Colombia 1997–1998*, edited by Ana María Bejarano and Andrés Dávila, 285–335. Bogotá: Fundación Social, Departamento de Ciencia Política, Universidad de los Andes.
- Brea Franco, Julio. 2005. "Dominican Republic." In *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook*, vol. 1, *North America*, edited by Dieter Nohlen, 239–268. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Breuer, Anita. 2007. "Institutions of Direct Democracy and Accountability in Latin America's Presidential Democracies." *Democratization* 14 (4): 554–579.
- Brewer-Carías, Allan R. 2010. *Dismantling Democracy in Venezuela: The Chávez Authoritarian Experiment*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Brinks, Daniel, and Michael Coppedge. 2006. "Diffusion Is No Illusion: Neighbor Emulation in the Third Wave of Democracy." *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (4): 463–489.
- Britez, Edwin, and José Nicolás Morínigo. 1993. *Democracia transparente*. Asunción: RP Ediciones y Comité de Iglesias.
- Burbano, Felipe. 2012. "Rafael Correa y los pajaritos preñados." *Vaderetro* (blog), July 31. <http://vaderetref.blogspot.nl/2012/10/20120731-rafael-correa-y-los-pajaritos.html>.
- Burton, Guy. 2011. "The South American Right after 'the End of History.'" In *Right-Wing Politics in the New Latin America: Reaction and Revolt*, edited by Francisco Dominguez, Geraldine Lievesley, and Steve Ludlam, 11–25. London: Zed Books.
- Caballero, Manuel. 1977. *Rómulo Betancourt*. Caracas: Ediciones Centauro.
- Calvert, Peter. 2002. "Argentina: The Crisis of Confidence." Unpublished paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association of the UK, University of Aberdeen, April 5–7, 2002.
- Camejo Ron, Yrayma. 1999. "El proceso constituyente de 1946–47 en Venezuela." *Revista Venezolana de economía y ciencias sociales* 5 (1): 142–143, 150, 153.
- Cameron, Maxwell A. 2010. "The State of Democracy in the Andes: Introduction to a Thematic Issue of Revista de Ciencia Política." *Revista de Ciencia Política* 30 (1): 5–20.
- Cameron, Maxwell A. 2011. "Peru: The Left Turn That Wasn't." In *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, edited by Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts, 375–398. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Cameron, Maxwell A. 2013. *Strong Constitutions: Social-Cognitive Origins of the Separation of Powers*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cannabrava Filho, Paulo. 1988. "Brasil: Salida al fondo, a la derecha." *Nueva Sociedad* 95: 17–22.
- Cárdenas, Rodolfo José. 1987. *COPEI en la Constituyente: La tentación totalitaria de Acción Democrática*. Madrid: Hijos de E. Minuesa S.L.

- Carey, John M. 2003a. "Presidentialism and Representative Institutions." In *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, edited by Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, 11–42. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Carey, John M. 2003b. "The Re-election Debate in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 45 (1): 119–133.
- Carey, John M. 2009. "Does It Matter How a Constitution Is Created?" In *Is Democracy Exportable?*, edited by Zoltan Barany and Robert G. Moser, 155–177. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Carothers, Thomas. 2002. "The End of the Transition Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy* 13 (1): 5–21.
- The Carter Center. 2008. *Report on the National Constituent Assembly of the Republic of Ecuador*. Quito: The Carter Center. https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/americas/english_the_carter_center_report2_ecuador_constituent_assembly_january08.pdf.
- Center on Democratic Performance (CDP). 2007a. Argentina 1993 Legislative Elections. Center on Democratic Performance, Electoral Results Archive. <https://www.binghamton.edu/cdp/era/elections/arg93par.html>.
- Center on Democratic Performance (CDP). 2007b. Nicaragua 1990 Legislative Elections. Center on Democratic Performance, Elections Results Archive. <https://www.binghamton.edu/cdp/era/elections/nic90par.html>.
- Center on Democratic Performance (CDP). 2007c. Venezuela 1998 Legislative Elections. Center on Democratic Performance, Election Results Archive. <https://www.binghamton.edu/cdp/era/elections/ven98par.html>.
- Centellas, Miguel. 2009. "Electoral Reform, Regional Cleavages, and Party System Stability in Bolivia." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 1 (2): 115–131.
- Cepeda Ulloa, Fernando. 2003. "Colombia: The Governability Crisis." In *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, edited by Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, 193–219. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Cerrud, Deivis. 2014. "Varela anunció que en 2015 se inicia reforma constitucional." *La Estrella de Panamá*, May 7. <http://laestrella.com.pa/panama/politica/varela-anuncio-2015-inicia-reforma-constitucional/23454797>.
- Chávez, Hugo. 1998. *Jorge Ramos Interviews Hugo Chávez Frías*. Jorge Ramos, Univisión/Noticias24. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8zp647hF4QY>.
- Chávez, Hugo, Martha Harnecker, Chesa Boudin. 2005. *Understanding the Venezuelan Revolution: Hugo Chavez Talks to Marta Harnecker*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Clark, Tom, and Jennifer Gandhi. 2015. "Studying Institutions." In *Routledge Handbook of Comparative Political Institutions*, edited by Jennifer Gandhi and Rubén Ruiz-Rufino, 31–42. New York: Routledge.
- CNN. 2007. "Ecuador (National Assembly)." <http://us.cnn.com/world/election.watch/americas/ecuador2.html>.
- Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56 (4): 563–595.
- Collier, Ruth Berins. 1999. *Paths toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Collins, Jennifer N. 2008. "Rafael Correa and the Struggle for a New Ecuador." *Global Dialogue* 10: 37–47.
- Colomer, Josep Maria. 1995. "Strategies and Outcomes in Eastern Europe." *Journal of Democracy* 6: 74–85.
- Combellas, Ricardo. 1993. *Venezuela: Crisis política y reforma constitucional*. Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela.
- Combellas, Ricardo. 1994. *Una constitución para el futuro*. Caracas: Fundación Konrad Adenauer.
- Combellas, Ricardo. 1998. "Introducción." In *Constituyente: Aportes al debate*, edited by Ricardo Combellas, i–xi. Caracas: Fundación Konrad Adenauer, COPRE.
- Combellas, Ricardo. 2003. "El proceso constituyente y la constitución de 1999." *Revista Politeia* 30: 183–208.

- Conaghan, Catherine M. 2011. "Ecuador: Rafael Correa and the Citizens' Revolution." In *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, edited by Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts, 260–282. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Conaghan, Catherine, and Carlos de la Torre. 2008. "The Permanent Campaign of Rafael Correa: Making Ecuador's Plebiscitary Presidency." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 13 (3): 267–284.
- CONAIE. 2007. "Constitución del estado plurinacional de la República del Ecuador: propuesta de la confederación de nacionalidades indígenas del Ecuador." https://www.yachana.org/earchivo/conaie/propuesta_constitucion_conaie.pdf.
- Congleton, Roger D., and Brigitta Swedenborg. 2006. "Introduction: Rational Choice Politics and Political Institutions." In *Democratic Constitutional Design and Public Policy*, edited by Roger D. Congleton and Brigitta Swedenborg, 1–36. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Consalvi, Simón Alberto. 1991. *Auge y caída de Rómulo Gallegos*. Caracas: Monte Ávila Editores.
- Consejo Nacional Electoral (CNE). 2007. *Elecciones, República Bolivariana de Venezuela*. Consejo Nacional Electoral.
- Consejo Nacional Electoral (CNE). 2007. *Resultados de Elecciones Presidenciales Anteriores*.
- Consultores 21. 2003. *Venezuela responde a sus retos: ¿Cómo piensan los venezolanos?*, PowerPoint presentation. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- Coppedge, Michael. 1994. *Strong Parties and Lame Ducks: Presidential Patriarchy and Factionalism in Venezuela*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Coppedge, Michael. 1997. "A Classification of Latin American Political Parties." Kellogg Institute Working Papers 244, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN.
- Coppedge, Michael. 2001. "Latin American Parties: Political Darwinism in the Lost Decade." In *Political Parties and Democracy*, edited by Larry Diamond, Richard Gunther, and Marc F. Plattner, 173–205. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Coppedge, Michael. 2003. "Venezuela: Popular Sovereignty versus Liberal Democracy." In *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, edited by Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, 165–192. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Cordero Carraffa, Carlos H. 2005. "El nacimiento de las agrupaciones ciudadanas: ¿grandes éxitos y muchos fracasos?" *Opiniones y análisis* 72: 53–95.
- Corrales, Javier. 2000. "Reform-Lagging States and the Question of Devaluation: Venezuela's Response to the Exogenous Shocks of 1997–98." In *Exchange Rate Politics in Latin America*, edited by Carol Wise and Riordan Roett, 123–158. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Corrales, Javier. 2001. "Strong Societies, Weak Parties: Regime Change in Cuba and Venezuela in the 1950s and Today." *Latin American Politics and Society* 43 (2): 81–113.
- Corrales, Javier. 2002. *Presidents without Parties: The Politics of Economic Reform in Argentina and Venezuela in the 1990s*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press.
- Corrales, Javier. 2003. "Market Reforms." In *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, 2nd ed., edited by Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, 74–99. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Corrales, Javier. 2004. "Multiple Preferences, Variable Strengths: The Politics of Education Reform in Argentina." In *Crucial Needs, Weak Incentives: Social Sector Reform, Democratization, and Globalization in Latin America*, edited by Joan Nelson and Robert R. Kaufman, 315–349. Washington, DC and Baltimore, MD: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Corrales, Javier. 2005. "In Search of a Theory of Polarization." *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 79: 105–118.
- Corrales, Javier. 2008. "The Backlash against Market Reforms in Latin America." In *Constructing Democratic Governance*, 3rd ed., edited by Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, 39–71. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Corrales, Javier. 2013. "Constitutional Rewrites in Latin America, 1987–2009." In *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, 4th ed., edited by Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, 13–47. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Corrales, Javier. 2016a. "Can Anyone Stop the President? Power Asymmetries and Term Limits in Latin America, 1984–2016." *Latin American Politics and Society* 2: 3.
- Corrales, Javier. 2016b. "Radical Claims to Accountability." In *Democracy and Its Discontents in Latin America*, edited by Joe Foweraker and Dolores Trevizo, 115–131. Boulder, CO: Lynn Rienner Publishers.
- Corrales, Javier, and Richard E. Feinberg. 1999. "Regimes of Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere: Power, Interests and Intellectual Traditions." *International Studies Quarterly* 43: 1–36.
- Corrales, Javier, and Michael Penfold. 2015. *Dragon in the Tropics: Venezuela and the Legacy of Hugo Chávez*. 2nd ed. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Correa, Rafael. 2008. "Discurso de posesión del presidente Rafael Correa." Quito, August 10. <http://www.voltairenet.org/article161992.html>.
- Crisis Group. 2007. Bolivia's New Constitution: Avoiding Violent Confrontation. Report No. 23, Bogotá/Brussels, Crisis Group. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/latin-america-caribbean/andes/bolivia/bolivia-s-new-constitution-avoiding-violent-confrontation>.
- Crisis Group. 2008. Bolivia: Rescuing the New Constitution and Democratic Stability. Policy Briefing, Latin America Briefing No. 18. Bogotá: International Crisis Group.
- Crisp, Brian. 2000. *Democratic Institutional Design: The Powers and Incentives of Venezuelan Politicians and Interest Groups*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Crisp, Brian, and Gregg Johnson. 2001. "De instituciones que restringen a instituciones ausentes." In *Venezuela en transición: elecciones y democracia, 1998–2000*, edited by José Vicente Carrasquero, Thais Maingón, and Friedrich Welsch, 267–276. Caracas: Red Universitaria de Estudios Políticos de Venezuela, CDB Publicaciones.
- Cuzán, Alfred G. 2015. "Five Laws of Politics." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 48 (3): 415–419.
- Datanálisis. 2003. ¿Cómo evalúa usted la labor del Presidente HChF por el bienestar del país? Results of Public Opinion Polls, PowerPoint presentation. Caracas.
- Dávila Ladrón de Guevara, Andrés. 2002. *Democracia pactada: El Frente Nacional y el proceso constituyente de 1991 en Colombia*. Lima, Institut français d'études andines, Alfaomega Grupo Editor Colección: Travaux de l'IFEA.
- De la Torre, Carlos. 2013. "El tecnopopulismo de Rafael Correa: ¿Es compatible el carisma con la tecnocracia?" *Latin American Research Review* 48 (1): 22–43.
- De Mesa, José, Teresa Gisbert, and Carlos D. Mesa Gisbert. 1997. *Historia de Bolivia*. La Paz: Editorial Gisbert y Cia., S.A.
- Denir, Daniel. 2008. "Whither Ecuador? An Interview with Indigenous Activist and Politician Monica Chuji." *Upside Down World*, November 6, 2008. <http://upside-downworld.org/archives/ecuador/whither-ecuador-an-interview-with-indigenous-activist-and-politician-monica-chuji/>.
- Denir, Daniel. 2016. "Wayward Allies: President Rafael Correa and the Ecuadorian Left." *Upside Down World*, July 25. <http://upside-downworld.org/archives/ecuador/wayward-allies-president-rafael-correa-and-the-ecuadorian-left/>.
- DeShazo, Peter. 2007. "Bolivia." In *Energy Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere: Benefits and Impediments*, edited by Sidney Weintraub, 336–365. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- DeShazo, Peter, Tanya Primiani, and Phillip McLean. 2007. Back from the Brink: Evaluating Progress in Colombia, 1999–2007. Report of the Americas Program. Washington, DC, Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- Díaz Echenique, Leonardo, Javier Ozollo, and Ernesto Vivares. 2011. "The New Argentine Right and the Cristina Fernández Administration." In *Right-Wing Politics in the New Latin America: Reaction and Revolt*, edited by Francisco Dominguez, Geraldine Lievesley, and Steve Ludlam, 194–209. London: Zed Books.
- Di John, Jonathan. 2009. *From Windfall to Curse? Oil and Industrialization in Venezuela, 1920–2005*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press.
- Di Palma, Giuseppe. 1990. *To Craft Democracies: An Essay on Democratic Transitions*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Domínguez, Jorge I. 2003. "Constructing Democratic Governance: Taking Stock of the 1990s." In *Constructing Democratic Governance*, edited by Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, 358–363. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dosh, Paul, and Nicole Kligerman. 2009a. "Correa vs. Social Movements: Showdown in Ecuador." *NACLA Report on the Americas* 42 (5): 21–24.
- Dosh, Paul, and Nicole Kligerman. 2009b. "Women's Rights, Natural Resources, and Ecuador's New Constitution." (Mimeo), Macalester College, April.
- DR1.com. 2003. "Mejía's Popularity Slides." February 24. <http://dr1.com/news/2003/dnews022403.shtml>.
- Dunning, Thad. 2008. *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Durán-Martínez, Angélica. 2012. "Presidents, Parties, and Referenda in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 45: 1159–1187.
- Durand, Francisco. 2011. "A Right for All Seasons? Right-Wing Politics in Contemporary Peru." In *Right-Wing Politics in the New Latin America: Reaction and Revolt*, edited by Francisco Dominguez, Geraldine Lievesley, and Steve Ludlam, 96–109. London: Zed Books.
- Eaton, Kent. 2007. "Backlash in Bolivia: Regional Autonomy as a Reaction against Indigenous Mobilization." *Politics and Society* 35 (1): 71–102.
- ECLAC (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean). Various years. *Social Panorama of Latin America*. Santiago, Chile: ECLAC/United Nations.
- Eckstein, Susan, and Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, eds. 2003. *Struggles for Social Rights in Latin America*. New York: Routledge.
- EIA (Energy Information Agency). 2006. "Bolivia: Natural Gas." October. <http://www.eia.doe.gov/cabs/Bolivia/NaturalGas.html>.
- Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU). 2007. *Bolivia: Country Report 2007*. London: Economist Intelligence Unit.
- Ellner, Steve. 1999. "The Heyday of Radical Populism in Venezuela and Its Aftermath." In *Populism in Latin America*, edited by Michael L. Conniff, 117–137. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Ellner, Steve. 2001. "The Radical Potential of Chavismo in Venezuela." *Latin American Perspectives* 28 (5): 5–32.
- Ellner, Steve. 2003. "Introduction: The Search for Explanations." In *Venezuelan Politics in the Chávez Era: Class, Polarization, and Conflict*, edited by Steve Ellner and Daniel Hellinger, 7–25. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Ellner, Steve. 2008. *Rethinking Venezuelan Politics: Class, Conflict and the Chávez Phenomenon*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Elster, Jon. 1998. Introduction to *Deliberative Democracy*, edited by Jon Elster, 1–17. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Elwood, Sarah, Patrick Bond, Carmen Martínez Novo, and Sarah Radcliffe. 2016. "Learning from Postneoliberalisms." *Progress in Human Geography* 41 (5): 676–695.
- Encarnación, Omar. 2005. "Do Political Pacts Freeze Democracy? Spanish and South American Lessons." *West European Politics* 28 (1): 182–203.
- Esgueva Gómez, Antonio. 2003. *Historia constitucional de Nicaragua*. Managua: Lea Grupo Editorial.
- Etchemendy, Sebastián, and Candelaria Garay. 2011. "Argentina: Left Populism in Comparative Perspective, 2003–2009." In *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, edited by Steve Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts, 283–305. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Europa World Year Book. 2006. *Bolivia*. London: Europa Publications Limited.
- European Union Election Observation. 2007. Ecuador 2007: Final Report. European Union Election Observation. http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/eueom/pdf/missions/final_report-ecuador-2007_en.pdf.
- Espinal, Rosario. 2000. "Observing Elections in the Dominican Republic." *Peacemaking and Democratization in the Western Hemisphere*, edited by Tommie Sue Montgomery, 183–201. Miami: North-South Center Press at the University of Miami.

- Facts on File World News Digest. 1991. "Constitutional Assembly Elected: Paraguay." Facts on File.
- Falleti, Tulia. 2006. "Review of Kathleenn O'Neill, 'Decentralizing the State: Elections, Parties and Local Power in the Andes.'" *Latin American Politics and Society* 48 (3): 208–211.
- Figueiredo, Argelina Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 2000. "Presidential Power, Legislative Organization, and Party Behavior in Brazil." *Comparative Politics* 32 (2): 151–170.
- Finer, S. E., Vernon Bogdanor, and Bernard Rugden. 1995. *Comparing Constitutions*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Flecha, Víctor Jacinto, Carlos Martini, and Jorge Silvero Salgueiro. 1993. *Autoritarismo, transición y constitución en el Paraguay: Hacia una sociología del poder*. Asunción: BASE ECTA.
- Flores-Macías, Gustavo A. 2012. *After Neoliberalism? The Left and Economic Reforms in Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Freedom House. 2009. "Ecuador Country Report." <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2009/ecuador>.
- Freidenberg, Flavia. 2008. "¿Renovación o continuismo? Actitudes, valores y trayectoria de la clase política ecuatoriana." *Ecuador Debate* 75. http://works.bepress.com/flavia_freidenberg/46/.
- Fuentes, Claudio. 2012. "No quiero permanecer en el poder: Explicando la reducción del período presidencial en Chile." Paper presented at the Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association. San Francisco, CA.
- Fuentes, Claudio. 2015. "Shifting the Status Quo: Constitutional Reforms in Chile." *Latin American Politics and Society* 57 (1): 99–122.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2006. "History's against Him." *Washington Post*, August 6, B01.
- Gamarra, Eduardo A., and James M. Malloy. 1995. "The Patrimonial Dynamics of Party Politics in Bolivia." In *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*, edited by Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, 399–433. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Gamarra, Eduardo A. 2007. *Bolivia on the Brink*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, Center for Prevention Action.
- García Linera, Álvaro. 2004. *Sociología de los movimientos sociales en Bolivia*. La Paz: Plural Press.
- Gargarella, Roberto. 2013. *Latin American Constitutionalism, 1810–2010: The Engine Room of the Constitution*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gargarella, Roberto. 1998. "Full Representation, Deliberation, and Impartiality." In *Deliberative Democracy*, edited by Jon Elster, 260–280. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Geddes, Barbara. 1994. *Politicians' Dilemma*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Ginsburg, Tom. 2015. "Constitutions as Political Institutions." In *Routledge Handbook of Comparative Political Institutions*, edited by Jennifer Gandhi and Rubén Ruiz-Rufino, 101–112. New York: Routledge.
- Ginsburg, Tom, Zachary Elkins, and James Melton. 2007. "The Lifespan of Written Constitutions." American Law and Economics Association Annual Meetings. The Berkeley Electronic Press. <http://law.bepress.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1934&context=alea>.
- Ginsburg, Tom, Zachary Elkins, and Justin Blount. 2009. "Does the Process of Constitution-Making Matter?" *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 5: 201–223.
- González de Pacheco, Rosa Amelia. 2004. Encuestas, cacerolazos y marchas. In *En esta Venezuela*, edited by Patricia Márquez and Ramón Piñango, 337–356. Caracas: Ediciones IESA.
- Gordon, Gretchen. 2006. "The United States, Bolivia, and the Political Economy of Coca." *Multinational Monitor* 27 (January–February): 15.
- Gray-Molina, George. 2008. "The Post-Neoliberal Challenge in Bolivia: Any Room for the Left in the Global Economy?" Paper presented at the Conference "What Does the Left Do Right?" University of Texas, Austin, March.
- Griner, Steven. 2009. "Term Limits Can Check Corruption and Promote Political Accountability." *Americas Quarterly* 3 (2): 19, 21.
- Guerrero, Alexander. 2003. "Las reglas del juego." In *Diez autores y siete propuestas para rehacer a Venezuela*, edited by Hugo Farías, 29–62. Caracas: Editorial Panapo.

- Gustafson, Bret. 2006. "Spectacles of Autonomy and Crisis: Or, What Bulls and Beauty Queens Have to Do with Regionalism in Eastern Bolivia." *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 11 (2): 351–379.
- Haarstad, Havard, and Vibeke Andersson. 2009. "Backlash Reconsidered: Neoliberalism and Popular Mobilization in Bolivia." *Latin American Politics and Society* 51 (4): 1–28.
- Haggard, Stephen, and Matthew D. McCubbins. 2001. *Presidents, Parliaments and Policy*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Hagopian, Frances. 1990. "Democracy by Undemocratic Means? Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies* 23: 147–166.
- Hardin, Russell. 1989. "Why a Constitution?" In *'The Federalist Papers' and the New Institutionalism*, edited by Bernard Grofman and Donald Wittman, 100–120. New York: Agathon Press.
- Hartlyn, Jonathan. 1988. *The Politics of Coalition Rule in Colombia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hartlyn, Jonathan, and Juan Pablo Luna. 2007. "Constitutional Reform in Latin America: Intentions and Outcomes." Paper presented at the meeting of the Latin American Studies Association. Montréal, PQ, Canada, September 5–8.
- Heiss, Claudia, and Patricio Navia. 2007. "You Win Some, You Lose Some: Constitutional Reforms in Chile's Transition to Democracy." *Latin American Politics and Society* 49: 163–190.
- Hellinger, Daniel. 2003. "Political Overview: The Breakdown of Puntofijismo and the Rise of Chavismo." In *Venezuelan Politics in the Chávez Era: Class, Polarization, and Conflict*, edited by Steve Ellner and Daniel Hellinger, 27–54. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Helmke, Gretchen. 2004. *Courts under Constraint: Judges, Generals, and Presidents in Argentina*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Helmke, Gretchen. 2017. *Institutions on the Edge: The Origins and Consequences of Inter-Branch Crises in Latin America*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Helmke, Gretchen, and Julio Ríos-Figueroa. 2011. "Introduction: Courts in Latin America." In *Courts in Latin America*, edited by Gretchen Helmke and Julio Ríos-Figueroa, 1–26. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Heritage Foundation. 2017 and various years. "Index of Economic Freedom." <http://www.heritage.org/index/explore?view=by-region-country-year>.
- Higley, John, and Richard Gunther. 1992. *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Higley, John, and Michael Burton. 1998. "Elite Settlements and the Taming of Politics." *Government and Opposition* 33 (1): 98–115.
- Higley, John, and Michael Burton. 2006. *Elite Foundations of Liberal Democracy (Elite Transformations)*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Hochstetler, Kathryn, and Elisabeth Jay Friedman. 2008. "Can Civil Society Organizations Solve the Crisis of Partisan Representation in Latin America?" *Latin American Politics and Society* 50 (2): 1–26.
- Horowitz, Donald. 2002. "Constitutional Design: Proposals Versus Processes." In *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy*, edited by Andrew Reynolds, 15–36. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Huber, Evelyne, Jennifer Pribble, and John D. Stephens. 2010. "The Chilean Left in Power: Achievement, Failures, and Omissions." In *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings*, edited by Kurt Weyland, Raúl Madrid, and Wendy Hunter, 77–97. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Human Rights Watch. 2007. "Ecuador: Removal of Judges Undermines Judicial Independence." May 10. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2007/05/10/ecuador-removal-judges-undermines-judicial-independence>.
- Huntington, Samuel. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). 2007. *Voter Turnout: Nicaragua*. <https://www.idea.int/data-tools/country-view/232/40>.

- International Monetary Fund (IMF). 2005. "Bolivia: Ex Post Assessment of Longer-Term Program Engagement—Staff Report and Public Information Notice on the Executive Board Decision." Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund.
- Jameson, Ken. 2008. "The Indigenous Movement and the Economic Trajectory of Ecuador." Working Paper Series, Department of Economics, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.
- Jonas, Susanne, and Nancy Stein. 1990. "The Construction of Democracy in Nicaragua." *Latin American Perspectives* 17 (3): 10–37.
- Jones, Mark P. 1997. "Evaluating Argentina's Presidential Democracy." In *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*, edited by Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Soberg Shugart, 290–298. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kantor, Harry. 1977. "Efforts Made by Various Latin American Countries to Limit the Power of the President." In *Presidential Power in Latin American Politics*, edited by Thomas V. DiBacco, 21–32. New York: Praeger.
- Karl, Terry Lynn. 1987. "Petroleum and Political Pacts: The Transition to Democracy in Venezuela." *Latin American Research Review* 22 (1): 61–94.
- Karl, Terry Lynn. 1990. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 23 (1): 1–21.
- Karl, Terry Lynn. 1997. *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro States*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Karl, Terry Lynn, and Phillipe Schmitter. 1991. "Modes of Transition in Latin America, Southern and Eastern Europe." *International Social Science Journal* 128: 269–284.
- Kay, Bruce H. 1996. "'Fujipopulism' and the Liberal State in Peru, 1990–1995." *Journal of InterAmerican Studies and World Affairs* 38(4): 55–98.
- Kelly, Janet. 2004. Agarrando aunque sea fallo: el oportunismo como motor y freno en la política. In *En esta Venezuela*, edited by Patricia Márquez and Ramón Piñango, 311–335. Caracas: Ediciones IESA.
- Kingstone, Peter R. 2011. *The Political Economy of Latin America: Reflections on Neoliberalism and Development*. New York: Routledge.
- Kingstone, Peter R., and Aldo F. Ponce. 2011. "From Cardoso to Lula." In *Leftist Governments in Latin America*, edited by Kurt Weyland, Raúl L. Madrid, and Wendy Hunter, 98–123. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Klein, Herbert. 1992. *Bolivia: The Evolution of a Multi-Ethnic Society*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kohl, Benjamin, and Linda Farthing. 2008. "Be Careful What You Wish For: Challenges Facing a Progressive Administration in Bolivia." Paper prepared for the Conference "What Does the Left Do Right?" University of Texas, Austin, TX.
- Kornblith, Miriam. 1991. "The Politics of Constitution-Making: Constitutions and Democracy in Venezuela." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 23: 67–69, 73.
- Kornblith, Miriam. 1995. "La reforma constitucional en Venezuela: El debate actual." Paper presented at the Conference Nuevas tendencias político-constitucionales en Latinoamérica, Oñati, Spain.
- Kornblith, Miriam. 1997. *Las crisis de la democracia*. Caracas: Ediciones IESA.
- Kornblith, Miriam. 2005. "The Referendum in Venezuela: Elections versus Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 16 (1): 124–137.
- Kornblith, Miriam. 2006. "La revocatoria de mandato en Venezuela: Contexto, contenidos y balance de su aplicación." Paper presented at the Annual Congress of the Latin American Studies Association. San Juan, PR.
- Kornblith, Miriam, and Thaís Maingón. 1984. "Contenidos y formas de la acción estatal en el período 1936–1980." *Cuadernos del Cendes* 4: 76–78.
- Krispin, Karl. 1994. *Golpe de estado en Venezuela 1945–1948*. Caracas: Editorial Panapo.
- Lambert, Peter. 2011. "Undermining the New Dawn: Opposition to Lugo in Paraguay." In *Right-Wing Politics in the New Latin America: Reaction and Revolt*, edited by Francisco Dominguez, Geraldine Lievesley, and Steve Ludlam, 177–193. London: Zed Books.

- Lanchimba Velasteguí, Lidia Sofía. 2014. "Movimiento indígena y proceso constituyente: tensiones entre la contrahegemonía y modernización capitalista." Thesis presented at the Facultad de Jurisprudencia, Ciencias Políticas y Sociales, Carreras de sociología y política, Universidad Central del Ecuador, Quito.
- Lander, Edgardo. 2000. "La República Bolivariana de Venezuela: reflexiones iniciales a partir del debate constituyente." *Memoria* 132 (February).
- Latinobarómetro. 2007. *Informe Latinobarómetro 2007*. Santiago, Chile: Latinobarómetro.
- Lehoucq, Fabrice. 2008. "Bolivia's Constitutional Breakdown." *Journal of Democracy* 19 (4).
- Levine, Daniel. 1973. *Conflict and Political Change in Venezuela*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Levine, Daniel. 1978. "Venezuela since 1958: The Consolidation of Democratic Politics." In *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Latin America*, vol. 3, edited by Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, 82–109. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Levistky, Steven, and Kenneth M. Roberts. 2011. "Introduction: Latin America's Left Turn: A Framework for Analysis." In *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, edited by Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts, 1–29. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lezcano Claude, Luis. 2012. "Historia constitucional del Paraguay (Período 1870–2012)." <http://luislezcanoclaude.wordpress.com/2012/08/15/169/>.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1991. "Constitutional Choices for New Democracies." *Journal of Democracy* 2 (1): 72–84.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1992. "Introduction." In *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government*, edited by Arend Lijphart, 1–27. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lind, Amy. 2005. *Gendered Paradoxes: Women's Movements, State Restructuring, and Global Development in Ecuador*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press.
- Livius, Titus. 1905. *The History of Rome, Books 1 and 2*. Edited by Ernest Rhys. London: J.M. Dent and Sons.
- Llanos, Mariana. 2003. *Privatization and Democracy in Argentina: An Analysis of President-Congress Relations*. Hampshire, UK and New York: Palgrave.
- Llanos, Mariana, and Leiv Marsteintredet. 2010. "Introduction: Presidentialism and Presidential Breakdowns in Latin America." In *Presidential Breakdowns in Latin America*, edited by Mariana Llanos and Leiv Marsteintredet, 1–16. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- López A., Adrián, and Paula Cubillos Celis. 2008. "Análisis del referéndum constitucional 2008 en Ecuador." *Íconos. Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 33: 13–20.
- López Maya, Margarita, Luis Gómez Calcaño, and Thaís Maingón. 1989. *De punto fijo al pacto social: desarrollo y hegemonía en Venezuela, 1958–1985*. Caracas: Fondo Editorial Acta Científica Venezolana.
- Lorenzo, Celso Ramón. 1999. *Manual de Historia Constitucional Argentina* 3. Rosario, Argentina: Juris.
- Luebbert, Gregory M. 1991. *Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy: Social Classes and the Political Origins of Regimes*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lutz, Donald S. 2006. *Principles of Constitutional Design*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Madrid, Raúl L. 2005. "Indigenous Voters and Party System Fragmentation in Latin America." *Electoral Studies* 24 (4): 689–707.
- Madrid, Raúl L., Wendy Hunter, and Kurt Weyland. 2011. "The Policies and Performance of the Contestatory and Moderate Left." In *Leftist Governments in Latin America*, edited by Kurt Weyland, Raúl L. Madrid, and Wendy Hunter, 140–180. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Magallanes, Manuel Vicente. 1977. *Los partidos políticos en la evolución histórica venezolana*. Caracas: Monte Avila.
- Maingón, Thaís, Carmen Pérez Baralt, Heinz R. Sonntag. 2000. "La batalla por una nueva Constitución para Venezuela." *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 62: 91–124.
- Mainwaring, Scott P. 2006. "State Deficiencies, Party Competition, and Confidence in Democratic Representation in the Andes." In *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*, edited

- by Scott P. Mainwaring, Ana María Bejarano, and Eduardo Pizarro Leongómez, 295–345. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott P., and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. 2007. "Why Regions of the World Are Important: Regional Specificities and Region-Wide Diffusion of Democracy." In *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*, edited by Gerardo L. Munck, 199–230. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Maltz, Gideon. 2007. "The Case for Presidential Term Limits." *Journal of Democracy* 18 (1): 128–142.
- Márquez, Patricia and Ramón Piñango, eds. 2004. *En esta Venezuela*. Caracas: IESA.
- Márquez Ferrer, Victorino. 1998. "Verdades y mentiras de la constituyente." In *Constituyente: Aportes al debate*, edited by Ricardo Combellas. Caracas: Fundación Konrad Adenauer, COPRE.
- Marsteintredet, Leiv. 2015. "The Honduran Supreme Court Renders Inapplicable Unamendable Constitutional Provisions." *I-CONnect* (blog). Retrieved August 29, 2016. Int'l J. Const. L. Blog, May 2, 2015, at: <http://www.iconnectblog.com/2015/05/Marsteintredet-on-Honduras>.
- Marti-i-Puig, Salvador. 2010. "The Adaptation of the FSLN: Daniel Ortega's Leadership and Democracy in Nicaragua." *Latin American Politics and Society* 52 (4): 79–106.
- Marti-i-Puig, Salvador. 2016. "Nicaragua: Desdemocratización y caudillismo." *Revista de Ciencia Política* 36 (1): 239–258.
- Martínez-Barahona, Elena. 2012. "Constitutional Courts and Constitutional Change: Analysing the Cases of Presidential Re-election in Latin America." In *New Constitutionalism in Latin America: Promises and Practices*, edited by Detlef Nolte and Almut Schilling-Vacaflor, 289–309. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Co.
- Martínez Novo, Carmen. 2014. "Managing Diversity in Post Neoliberal Ecuador." *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 19 (1): 103–125.
- MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo). 2007. *Visión de País: Propuesta para la constituyente*. La Paz. <http://www.constituyente.bo/exposiciones01.php?idv=6>.
- Mayorga, René Antonio. 2005. "Bolivia's Democracy at the Crossroads." In *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*, edited by Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring, 149–178. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mayorga, René Antonio. 2006. "Outsiders and Neopopulism: The Road to Plebiscitary Democracy." In *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*, edited by Scott P. Mainwaring, Ana María Bejarano, and Eduardo Pizarro Leongómez, 132–168. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Mazzuca, Sebastián. 2013. "Natural Resources Boom and Institutional Curses in the New Political Economy of South America." In *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, 4th ed., edited by Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, 102–126. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- McConnell, Shelley. 1997. "Institutional Development." In *Nicaragua without Illusions: Regime Transition and Structural Adjustment in the 1990s*, edited by Thomas W. Walker, 45–63. Wilmington, DE: SR Books.
- Medina, Medófilo, and Margarita López Maya. 2003. *Venezuela, confrontación social y polarización política*. Bogotá: Ediciones Aurora.
- Mejía Acosta, Andrés, et al. 2008. "Veto Players, Fickle Institutions, and Low-Quality Policies: The Policymaking Process in Ecuador." In *Policymaking in Latin America: How Politics Shapes Policies*, edited by Ernesto Stein, Mariano Tommasi, Carlos Scartascini, and Pablo Spiller, 243–285. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Melton, James, and Tom Ginsburg. 2012. "Does De Jure Judicial Independence Really Matter? A Reevaluation of Explanations for Judicial Independence." Institute for Law and Economics Working Paper No. 612, 2nd Series, The University of Chicago Law School, Chicago.
- Moe, Terry M. 1997. "Politics and the Theory of Organization." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 7: 106–129.
- Molina, José E., and Carmen Pérez. 1998. "Evolution of the Party System in Venezuela, 1946–1993." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 40 (2): 1–26.

- Monaldi, Francisco, Rosa Amelia González, Richard Obuchi, and Michael Penfold. 2008. "Political Institutions and Policymaking in Venezuela: The Rise and Collapse of Political Cooperation." In *Policymaking in Latin America: How Politics Shapes Policies*, edited by Ernesto Stein, Mariano Tommasi, Pablo T. Spiller and Carlos Scartascini, 371–417. Washington, DC and Cambridge, MA: Inter-American Development Bank and Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies.
- Montúfar, César. 2008. "Two Perspectives on Ecuador: Rafael Correa's Political Project, Part 1." Working Paper published by the Inter-American Dialogue, Washington, DC (August).
- Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Morales, José Antonio, and Jeffrey Sachs. 1989. "Bolivia's Economic Crisis." In *Developing Country Debt and the World Economy*, edited by Jeffrey Sachs, 57–79. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Morgan, Jana Kelly. 2011. *Bankrupt Representation and Party System Collapse*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press.
- Mudde, Cas. 2004. "The Populist Zeitgeist." *Government and Opposition* 39 (4): 541–563.
- Müller, Jan-Werner. 2012. "Towards a Political Theory of Populism." *Notizie di Politeia* 107.
- Müller, Jan-Werner. 2014. "'The People Must be Extracted from Within the People': Reflections on Populism." *Constellations* 21: 483–493.
- Munck, Gerardo L. 2007. "The Study of Politics and Democracy: Touchstones of a Research Agenda." In *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*, edited by Gerardo L. Munck, 25–37. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Murillo, María Victoria, Virginia Oliveros, and Milan Vaishnav. 2011. "Economic Constraints and Presidential Agency." In *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, edited by Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts, 52–70. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Myers, David D. 2004. "The Normalization of Punto Fijo Democracy." *The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela*, edited by Jennifer L. McCoy and David D. Myers, 11–32. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Nacional, Asamblea. 2016. "70 años del voto popular en Venezuela." Caracas: Folleto de divulgación, Asamblea Nacional, República Bolivariana de Venezuela, November. <https://www.scribd.com/document/336491708/Asamblea-Nacional-70-Anos-Del-Voto-Popular-en-Venezuela>.
- Navarro, Sandra. 2008. "Discurso del Presidente Rafael Correa después del Triunfo del Referéndum 2008." Sandra Navarro Weblog. <https://snavarro.wordpress.com/2008/09/28/discurso-del-presidente-rafael-correa-despues-del-triunfo-del-referendum-2008/>.
- Navia, Patricio. 2009. "Should Presidents Be Allowed Unlimited Terms in Office? Yes." *Americas Quarterly* 18: 20.
- Navia, Patricio. 2015. "El inviable proceso constituyente de Bachelet." *El Libero*, November 3. <http://ellibero.cl/opinion/el-inviable-proceso-constituyente-de-bachelet/>.
- Navia, Patricio. 2016. "Consultas ciudadanas disfrazadas de proceso constituyente." *El Libero*, April 15. <http://ellibero.cl/opinion/consultas-ciudadanas-disfrazadas-de-proceso-constituyente/>.
- Negretto, Gabriel L. 1999. "Constitution-Making and Institutional Design: The Transformation of Presidentialism in Argentina." *European Journal of Sociology* 40 (2): 193–233.
- Negretto, Gabriel L. 2001. "Negociando los poderes del presidente: reforma y cambio constitucional en la Argentina." *Desarrollo Económico* 41 (163): 411–444.
- Negretto, Gabriel L. 2002. "Gobierna solo el Presidente? Poderes de decreto y diseño institucional en Brasil y Argentina." *Desarrollo Económico* 42 (167): 377–404.
- Negretto, Gabriel L. 2006. "Choosing How to Choose Presidents: Parties, Military Rulers, and Presidential Elections in Latin America." *The Journal of Politics* 68: 421–463.
- Negretto, Gabriel L. 2008. "The Durability of Constitutions in Changing Environments: Explaining Constitutional Stability in Latin America." Kellogg Institute for International Studies Working Paper, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN.
- Negretto, Gabriel L. 2009. "Political Parties and Institutional Design: Explaining Constitutional Choice in Latin America." *British Journal of Political Science* 39: 117–139.

- Negretto, Gabriel L. 2012. "Replacing and Amending Constitutions: The Logic of Constitutional Change." *Law and Society Review* 46 (4): 749–779.
- Negretto, Gabriel L. 2013. *Making Constitutions: Presidents, Parties, and Institutional Choice in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Nelson, Joan. 1993. "The Politics of Economic Transformation: Is Third World Experience Relevant in Eastern Europe?" *World Politics* 45: 433–464.
- Newman, Katja. 2011. "Constitutional Coups: Advancing Executive Power in Latin America." Paper presented at the Southern California Graduate Student Conference for the Study of Democracy. The University of California, Irvine.
- Nohlen, Dieter, ed. 2005a. *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook*, Vol. 1. *North America, Central America, and the Caribbean*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nohlen, Dieter, ed. 2005b. *Elections in the Americas: A Data Handbook*, Vol. 2. *South America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nolte, Detlef. 2009. "Constitutional Change in Latin America from a Comparative Perspective." Paper presented at the Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association. Rio de Janeiro, June 11–14.
- Nolte, Detlef, and Almut Schilling-Vacaflo, eds. 2012. *New Constitutionalism in Latin America: Promises and Practices*. New York and London: Ashgate.
- Norden, Deborah. 1998. "Party Relations and Democracy in Latin America." *Party Politics* 4 (3): 432–434.
- Norden, Deborah. 2003. "Democracy in Uniform: Chávez and the Venezuelan Armed Forces." In *Venezuelan Politics in the Chávez Era: Class, Polarization, and Conflict*, edited by Steve Ellner and Daniel Hellinger, 93–112. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- North, Douglas C., William Summerhill, Barry R. Weingast. 2000. "Order, Disorder and Economic Change: Latin America vs. North America." In *Governing for Prosperity*, edited by Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Hilton Root, 23–29. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1994. "Delegative Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 5 (1): 55–69.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Phillipe Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Ollier, María Matilde. 2014. "Presidencia dominante y oposición: Una construcción política. Néstor y Cristina Kirchner (2003–2011)." Documentos de trabajo de la escuela de política y gobierno, nueva serie. Vol. 5. San Martín: Universidad Nacional de General San Martín, Argentina.
- Olson, Mancur. 2000. *Power and Prosperity*. New York: Basic Books.
- Ospina Peralta, Pablo. 2008. "Ecuador: entresijos de una encrucijada." *Nueva Sociedad* 213 (January–February): 4–16.
- Pacari, Nina. 2002. "La participación política de la mujer en el Congreso ecuatoriano. Una tarea pendiente." In *Mujeres en el Parlamento. Más allá de los números*, edited by Myria Méndez-Montalvo and Julie Ballington, 45–60. Stockholm: International IDEA.
- Palma, Pedro A. 2002. "La política cambiaria en Venezuela." *Nueva Economía* 11 (18): 5–80.
- Payne, J. Mark, Daniel G. Zovatto, Fernando Carrillo Flórez, and Andrés Allamand Zavala. 2002. *Democracies in Development: Politics and Reform in Latin America*. Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank.
- Payne, J. Mark, and Juan Cruz Perusia. 2007. "Reforming the Rules of the Game: Political Reform." In *The State of State Reform in Latin America*, edited by Eduardo Lora, 67–86. Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank; Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Penfold, Michael. 1999. "Constituent Assembly in Venezuela: First Report." Atlanta: Carter Center.
- Penfold, Michael, Javier Corrales, and Gonzalo Hernández Jiménez. 2014. "Los Invencibles: La reelección presidencial y los cambios constitucionales en América Latina." *Revista de Ciencia Política* 34 (3): 537–559.
- Pérez-Liñán, Aníbal. 2007. *Presidential Impeachment and the New Political Instability in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Pérez-Liñán, Aníbal, and Néstor Castañeda Angarita. 2012. "Institutionalism." In *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*, edited by Peter Kingstone and Deborah J. Yashar, 395–406. New York: Routledge.
- Pérez Márquez, Raquel. 2012. "Reforma constitucional en Nicaragua (1987–2011): la paradoja del jinete y la cabalgadura." Ph.D. Thesis, Departamento de Derecho Público, Universidad de Salamanca, Spain.
- Philip, George, and Francisco Panizza. 2011. *The Triumph of Politics: The Return of the Left in Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador*. Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity.
- PODEMOS. 2007. "Visión de país, ¡Bolivia una nación! Una propuesta democrática para la asamblea constituyente." Powerpoint presentation. https://www.vicepresidencia.gob.bo/IMG/pdf/tomoi_v1.pdf.
- Political Database of the Americas. 2007. "Electoral Data." Georgetown University and Organization of the American States. <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>.
- Presidency of the Republic. 1999. *Gaceta Oficial de la República de Venezuela*, Año CXXVI, Mes IV, Caracas. N° 36.634 (question 2, decree no. 3).
- Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam. 2005. "Democracy as an Equilibrium." *Public Choice* 123: 253–273.
- Queirolo, Rosario. 2013. *The Success of the Left in Latin America: Untainted Parties, Market Reforms, and Voting Behavior*. South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Ragin, Charles C. 2004. "Turning the Tables: How Case-Oriented Research Challenges Variable-Oriented Research." In *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards*, edited by Henry E. Brady and David Collier, 123–138. Lanham, MD: Rowan Littlefield Publishers.
- Raszewski, Eliana. 2012. "Argentina's Fernandez's Popularity Dives since Election." *Bloomberg*, November 4. <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2012-11-04/argentina-fernandez-popularity-halves-in-year-since-re-election>.
- Reding, Andrew. 1987. "Nicaragua's New Constitution: A Close Reading." *World Policy Journal* 4 (2): 257–294.
- Restrepo Moreno, Luis Alberto. 1996. "El ejecutivo en la crisis: dimensiones, antecedentes y perspectivas." In *Tras las huellas de la crisis política*, edited by Francisco Leal Buitrago, 47–73. Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editores/Fescol/IEPRI.
- Reynolds, Andrew, ed. 2002. *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Reynolds, Andrew. 2007. "Constitutional Design: Promoting Multi-Ethnic Democracy." *Harvard International Review* (April 16): 50–55.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 1998. *Deepening Democracy? The Modern Left and Social Movements in Chile and Peru*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 2003. "Social Polarization and the Populist Resurgence in Venezuela." In *Venezuelan Politics in the Chávez Era: Class, Polarization, and Conflict*, edited by Steve Ellner and Daniel Hellinger, 55–72. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Robertson, David Brian. 2005. "Madison's Opponents and Constitutional Design." *American Political Science Review* 99 (2): 225–243.
- Robinson, Donald L. 1970. *Slavery in the Structure of American Politics, 1765–1820*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Rodríguez, Gina Paola. 2014. "Álvaro Uribe y Juan Manuel Santos: ¿Una misma derecha?" *Nueva Sociedad* 254: 84–99.
- Romero Ballivián, Salvador. 2003. *Geografía electoral de Bolivia*. La Paz: Fundemos.
- Romero Ballivián, Salvador. 2006. "Análisis de la elección presidencial de 2005 en Bolivia." *América Latina Hoy* 43: 31–61.
- Rospigliosi, Fernando. 1998. "Perú: elecciones entre 1992 y 1996." In *Elecciones y democracia en América Latina 1992–1996: Urnas y desencanto político*, edited by Juan Rial and Daniel Zovatto, 407–442. San José, Costa Rica: Instituto Inter-Americano de Derechos Humanos.

- Ross, Michael L. 1999. "The Political Economy of the Resource Curse." *World Politics* 51 (2): 297–322.
- Ross, Michael L. 2004. "What Do We Know about Natural Resources and Civil War?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (3): 337–356.
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyn Huber, John D. Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Sabatini, Christopher. 2003. "Decentralization and Political Parties." *Journal of Democracy* 14 (2): 138–150.
- Salamanca, Luis. 2004. "Civil Society: Late Bloomers." In *The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela*, edited by Jennifer L. McCoy and David Myers, 93–114. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Salazar Elena, Rodrigo. 2007. "El crédito de la política. El efecto y los usos de la confianza en la presidencia." Paper presented at the Conference "Liderazgo Político." Xalapa, Mexico.
- Salman, Ton. 2006. "The Jammed Democracy: Bolivia's Troubled Learning Process." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 25 (2): 163–182.
- Samuels, David J., and Matthew S. Shugart. 2010. *Presidents, Parties, and Prime Ministers: How the Separation of Powers Affects Party Organization and Behavior*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Samuels, Kirsti. 2006. "Post-Conflict Peace-Building and Constitution Making." *Chicago Journal of International Law* 6 (2): 663–682.
- Samuels, Kirsti, and Vanessa Hawkins Wyeth. 2006. *State-Building and Constitutional Design after Conflict*. New York: International Peace Academy.
- Sanoja Hernández, Jesús. 1998. *Historia electoral de Venezuela, 1810–1998*. Caracas: Libros de El Nacional, Editorial CEC.
- Schedler, Andreas. 1996. "Anti-Political-Establishment Parties." *Party Politics* 2 (3): 291–312.
- Schedler, Andreas, Mark F. Plattner, and Larry Diamond, eds. 1999. *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Schmidt, Gregory D. 2000. "Delegative democracy in Peru? Fujimori's 1995 Landslide and the Prospects for 2000." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 42 (1): 99–132.
- Schor, Miguel. 2005. "Constitutionalism through the Looking Glass of Latin America." Suffolk University Law School Faculty Publications Paper 19, Suffolk University Law School.
- Schwartzberg, Steven. 2003. *Democracy and U.S. Policy in Latin America during the Truman Years*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Seelke, Clare Ribando. 2008. "Ecuador: Political and Economic Situation and U.S. Relations." Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service. <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21687.pdf>.
- Segura, Renata, and Ana María Bejarano. 2004. "¡Ni una asamblea más sin nosotros! Exclusion, Inclusion, and the Politics of Constitution-Making in the Andes." *Constellations* 11(2): 217–234.
- Segura, Renata, and Ana María Bejarano. 2012. "The Politics of Rewriting Constitutions in the Andes: Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela Compared." Paper presented at the Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association. San Francisco, May 23–26.
- Seligson, Mitchell A., Daniel Moreno Morales, Vivian Schwarz Blum. 2005. "Auditoría de la democracia: Informe Bolivia 2004." La Paz: Universidad Católica Boliviana and USAID Bolivia. <https://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/bolivia/2004-auditoria.pdf>.
- Seligson, Mitchell A., Juan Carlos Donoso, Daniel Moreno, Diana Orcés, and Vivian Schwarz-Blum. 2006. "Auditoría de la democracia: Ecuador 2006." Washington, DC and St. Louis, MO: USAID and The Washington University. <http://www.cedatos.com.ec/PDF/2006-auditoria.pdf>.
- Siavelis, Peter M. 2008. "Chile: The End of the Unfinished Transition." In *Constructing Democratic Governance*, 3rd ed., edited by Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, 177–208. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Shafer, Michael. 1994. *Winners and Losers: How Sectors Shape the Developmental Prospects of States*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

- Shapiro, Ian. 2011. *The Real World of Democratic Theory*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg, and John M. Carey. 1992. *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg, and Scott Mainwaring. 1997. "Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America: Rethinking the Terms of the Debate." In *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*, edited by Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Soberg Shugart, 12–54. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Silva Pérez, Ada Esperanza, Roberto Evertsz Moraces, Gustavo Adolfo Vega Vargas, and Bruno Cardenal Sevil. 1996. *Nicaragua 1995: Un nuevo intento constitucional (cronología de reforma constitucional)*. Sevilla, Spain: Centro de Derechos Constitucionales, Universidad de Sevilla.
- Singer, Matthew M. (forthcoming). "Delegating Away Democracy: How Good Representation and Policy Successes Can Undermine Democratic Legitimacy." *Comparative Political Studies*.
- Smith, William C., and Roberto Patricio Korzeniewicz. 2007. "Insiders, Outsiders, and the Transnational Politics of Civil Society." In *Governing the Americas: Assessing Multilateral Institutions*, edited by Gordon Mace, Jean-Philippe Thérien, and Paul Haslam, 151–172. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Smulovitz, Catalina. 1995. "Constitución y poder judicial en la nueva democracia argentina." In *La Nueva matriz política argentina*, edited by Carlos H. Acuña, 71–114. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nueva Visión.
- Snyder, Richard, and James Mahoney. 1999. "The Missing Variable: Institutions and the Study of Regime Change: Review Article." *Comparative Politics* 32 (1): 103–122.
- Soltan, Karol E. 2010. "The Project of Law, Moderation, and the Global Constitution." *Maryland Journal of International Law* 25 (1): 230–263. <http://digitalcommons.law.umaryland.edu/mjil/vol25/iss1/11>.
- Sondrol, Paul C. 1992. "The Emerging New Politics of Liberalizing Paraguay: Sustained Civil-Military Control without Democracy." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 34: 127–163.
- Sonntag, Heinz R. 1984. "Estado y desarrollo sociopolítico en Venezuela." *Cuadernos del Cendes* 4: 47–53.
- Stambouli, Andrés. 1980. *Crisis política: Venezuela 1945–1958*. Caracas: Editorial Ateneo de Caracas.
- Stefanoni, Pablo. 2007. "Siete preguntas y siete respuestas sobre la Bolivia de Evo Morales." *Nueva Sociedad* 209: 46–65.
- Stiglitz, Joseph. 2007. "Joseph Stiglitz, in Caracas, Praises Venezuela's Economic Policies. Interview by Kiraz Janicke." *Venezuelanalysis.com*. Retrieved March 24, 2009. <https://venezuelanalysis.com/news/2719?page=1>.
- Stokes, Susan. 2001. *Mandates and Democracy: Neoliberalism by Surprise*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Stradiotto, Gary A., and Sujian Guo. 2010. "Transitional Modes of Democratization and Democratic Outcomes." *International Journal of World Peace* 26 (4): 5–40.
- Thelen, Kathleen. 2003. "How Institutions Evolve: Insights from Comparative Historical Analysis." In *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, edited by James Mahoney and Dietrich Reuschmeyer, 208–240. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Tibocha, Ana María and Mauricio Jaramillo Jassir. 2008. "La revolución democrática de Rafael Correa." *Análisis político* (Bogotá): 64: 22–39.
- Tilly, Charles. 1992. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1992*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Tilly, Charles. 1998. "Where do Rights Come From." In *Democracy, Revolution and History*, edited by Theda Skocpol, 55–72. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Tilly, Charles. 2007. "Bolivarian Democracy." *APSA-CP Newsletter* 18 (2): 2–6.
- Toranzo Roca, Carlos. 2006. "Bolivia: Una revolución democrática." *Nueva Sociedad* (edición especial), March.

- Tow, Andy. 2007. "Atlas de elecciones en Argentina: Convencionales Constituyentes." (blog). <http://www.andytow.com/blog/>.
- United States Department of State. 1991 [1987]. "The Sandinista Constitution." In *The Nicaraguan Constitution of 1987*, edited by Kenneth J. Mijeski. Athens, OH: Ohio University Monographs in International Studies.
- Valenzuela, Arturo. 2004. "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted." *Journal of Democracy* 15: 5–19.
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2000. *The Friendly Liquidation of the Past*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2005. *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Vega, Fernando. 2013. "El carácter del Estado en la Revolución Ciudadana." In *El correísmo al desnudo*, 2nd ed., edited by Juan Cuví, Decio Machado, Atawallpa Oviedo, and Natalia Sierra, 102–119. Quito: Arcoiris.
- Viciano Pastor, Roberto, and Rubén Martínez Dalmau. 2001. *Cambio político y proceso constituyente en Venezuela, 1998–2000*. Caracas: Vadell Hermanos.
- Vila de Prado, Roberto. 2005. "El nacionalismo popular revolucionario en Bolivia." *Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales* 11 (1–2): 1–32.
- Villagómez Weir, Gayne. 2013. "La revolución ciudadana y las demandas de género." In *El correísmo al desnudo*, 2nd ed., edited by Juan Cuví, Decio Machado, Atawallpa Oviedo, and Natalia Sierra, 53–69. Quito: Arcoiris.
- Virtuoso, José. 1999. "Una oportunidad perdida." *Revista SIC* 620: 462–464.
- Weingast, Barry. 1997. "The Political Foundations of Democracy and the Rule of Law." *American Political Science Review* 91: 245–263.
- Weingast, Barry R. 2004. "Constructing Self-Enforcing Democracy in Spain." In *Politics from Anarchy to Democracy: Rational Choice in Political Science*, edited by Erwin L. Morris, Joe A. Oppenheimer, and Karol Edward Soltan, 161–195. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Weingast, Barry R. 2006. "Designing Constitutional Stability." In *Democratic Constitutional Design and Public Policy*, edited by Roger D. Congleton and Birgitta Swedenborg, 343–366. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Weinthal, Erika, and Pauline Jones. 2006. "Combatting the Resource Curse: An Alternative Solution to Managing Mineral Wealth." *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (1): 35–53.
- Weyland, Kurt. 2001. "Will Chávez Lose His Luster?" *Foreign Affairs* 80 (6) (November/December): 73–87.
- Weyland, Kurt. 2003. "Neopopulism and Neoliberalism in Latin America: How Much Affinity?" *Third World Quarterly* 24: 1095–1115.
- Weyland, Kurt, ed. 2004. *Learning from Foreign Models: Latin American Policy Reform*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Weyland, Kurt. 2009. "The Rise of Latin America's Two Lefts." *Comparative Politics* 41 (2): 145–164.
- Weyland, Kurt. 2010. "The Performance of Leftist Governments in Latin America." In *Leftist Governments in Latin America*, edited by Kurt Weyland, Raúl L. Madrid, and Wendy Hunter, 1–27. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weyland, Kurt. 2011. "The Left: Destroyer or Savior of the Market Model?" In *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, edited by Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts, 71–92. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Whitehead, Laurence. 2007. "The Challenge of Closely Fought Elections." *Journal of Democracy* 18 (2): 14–28.
- Wiarda, Howard J., and Harvey F. Kline. 1996. "Interest Groups and Political Parties." In *Latin American Politics and Development*, edited by Howard J. Wiarda and Harvey F. Kline. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Widner, Jennifer. 2005. "Constitution Writing and Conflict Resolution." Research Paper No. 2005/51, United Nations University (UNU)-WIDER, Helsinki.

- Widner, Jennifer. 2008. "Constitution Writing in Post-Conflict Settings." *William and Mary Law Review* 49 (4): 1513–1541.
- Wills-Otero, Laura. 2014. "Colombia." In *Resilience of the Latin American Right*, edited by Juan Pablo Luna and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, 194–215. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Wilpert, Gregory. 2003. "Venezuela's New Constitution," August 27. <https://venezuelanalysis.com/analysis/70>.
- Wilson, Bruce M. 2009. "Institutional Reform and Rights Revolutions in Latin America: The Cases of Costa Rica and Colombia." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 2: 59–85.
- Wise, Carol. 2003. "Mexico's Democratic Transition: The Search for New Reform Coalitions." In *Post-Stabilization Politics in Latin America: Competition, Transition, Collapse*, edited by Carol Wise and Riordan Roett with Guadalupe Paz, 159–198. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.
- World Bank, The. 2002. *Globalization, Growth and Poverty*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- World Bank, The. Various Years. World Bank Development Indicators.
- Yahsar, Deborah J. 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Zamosc, Leon. 2007. "The Indian Movement and Political Democracy in Ecuador." *Latin American Politics and Society* 49 (3): 1–34.
- Zegada, María Teresa, Yuri F. Tórrez, Patricia Salinas. 2006. "Intellectual Tendencies in the Debate for Autonomies." Translated by Robert Finestone Berkson. *T'inkazos* 21: 41–56.

PERIODICALS

- ABC Color (various years)
- BBC (various years)
- BBC Mundo (various years)
- BBC News (various years)
- Bloomberg Businessweek (various years)
- BolPress (various years)
- Boston Globe (various years)
- Central American Data (various years)
- Central American Politics (various years)
- Christian Science Journal (various years)
- Clarín (various years)
- Colombia Reports (various years)
- Daily Beast (various years)
- Diario las Américas (various years)
- Economist (various years)
- Economist Intelligence Unit (various years)
- El Caribe (various years)
- El Comercio (various years)
- El Correo del Sur (various years)
- El Deber (various years)
- El Día (various years)
- El Financiero (Nicaragua)
- El Nacional (Venezuela) (various years)
- El País (various years)
- El Universal (Venezuela)
- El Universo
- Hoy Digital (various years)
- Huffington Post (various years)
- Infolatam (various years)
- International Herald Tribune (various years)