

ANEXO

RESÚMENES DE LAS TESIS DOCTORALES DE
ESTUDIANTES LATINOAMERICANOS O SOBRE
AMÉRICA LATINA DIRIGIDAS POR ANDREW ARATO

Social movements and transition to democracy in Peru

Author: Lynch, Nicolas

New School for Social Research ProQuest

Dissertations Publishing, 1992

The purpose of this dissertation is the analysis of the relationship between social movements and the transition to democracy in Peru during the 1970s. It seeks to understand the mutual influences existing between these movements, the military government, and the political organizations during the transition, giving special emphasis to the role of the social movements and to their problems in integrating into the national political process. To this end, the dissertation formulates a theoretical framework which discusses the concepts of transition, democracy, and social movements. Following this theoretical discussion is a presentation of the transition period as a contradictory process in which economic and social counter-reform accompanied a political opening, a process during which the military leadership sought a pact with the traditional rightist and centrist parties while drastically repressing popular demands. After the presentation of this process is a closely related study of three individual social movements which occurred in different parts of Peru. Each shared a rejection of the military authoritarianism of the period, but each presents a set of differences in its social base and the agenda of its struggles. The analysis of these movements centers on their forms of collective action and

on the new social identity to which they gave birth as a result, in an effort to explain the kind of democratic perspective they developed and their influence on the transition.

The dissertation methodology utilizes both primary and secondary source material, but relies principally on primary oral sources obtained through open interviews, a method which permits, especially in the individual case studies, a lively reconstruction of events.

The dissertation concludes that the traditional distance between Peruvian society and state was not bridged during the transition, that instead a double, or parallel, dynamic occurred. On the one hand, there was the dynamic of the social movements, on the other, that of the democratic transition process; the points of contact between the two eventually became points of confrontation. This situation was aggravated both by the military government and the traditional parties, which did not want to integrate the demands of the social movements into the political system, and by the social movements themselves, which, influenced by Marxist-Leninist parties, gave little weight to the transition process. In this way, Peru found itself with a new democratic regime based on the pact between the military government and the traditional parties, a pact which subordinated both the social movements that had developed during the period and the leftist parties which influenced them.

*Modernity and democracy in Brazil:
An interpretation of the Brazilian path of modernization*

Author: Avritzer, Leonardo

New School for Social Research ProQuest

Dissertations & Theses, 1994

This dissertation is both about democratic theory and the prospects of democratization in Brazil. Its main argument is that democratization cannot be reduced to the withdrawal of authoritarian power holders from the political arena. By contrast to this supposition, upheld by the theory of transition to democracy, I maintain that democratization is a self-conscious process of building forms of free action and institutions for political negotiation. This theoretical argument is developed throughout an historical analysis of the post-1930 process of modernization of Brazil. Two assumptions play a central role in this discussion: the supposition that non-democratic actors might be central players in democratic periods and create alternative forms of constraining free action; the supposition that political and economic modernization is associated with a process of learning a democratic repertoire of social action. The historical analysis of modernization and democratization in Brazil points out a conflict between new and democratic social actors, on the one hand, and traditional and non-democratic political players, on the other. It is in relation to this conflict that the prospects for democracy in the country are evaluated. It is the author's position that only the strengthening of procedures for negotiation at the economic and political level can guarantee the consolidation of the democratic process in Brazil. These procedures are associated with external constitution at the economic level, institutional innovation at the political level and complex enforcement at the level of civil society. They can play the role of filling the gap between the pleas of democratic actors and the lack of forms of institutionalization of the demands of civil society in the post-democratization period.

Regime transition, democratization, and civil society in Mexico

Author: Olvera Rivera, Alberto

New School for Social Research ProQuest

Dissertations Publishing, 1996

In this dissertation I analyze two main issues. On the one hand, I investigate the relationship between the forms of modernization and the paths of social rationalization in Mexico, understanding this relation as the macrosociological framework within which civil society emerges in Mexico and in which the political regime is anchored. On the other hand, I study internal problems in the development of civil society, the hindrances to its autonomization, stabilization, and institutionalization, and the specific nature of those processes under conditions of extreme social and cultural inequality. This way of looking at society allows me to understand democratization as a long-term process of increasing influence of society over the systemic components of the polity.

I follow both a historical and a theoretical method in this dissertation. On the one hand, I analyze the historical origins of civil society, taking as a point of departure the development of autonomous social movements, especially in the last three decades. On the other hand, I discuss these movements' specific forms of self-understanding, the nature of the processes of collective learning the movements went through and the problems of their institutionalization within the framework of the Mexican authoritarian regime. I take these insights as a point of departure to criticize the dominant forms of understanding of the Mexican process of transition to democracy. I do this not only in an immanent way, that is, as an exercise within theory itself, but also in empirical terms. In this sense, my dissertation is both a study of civil society in Mexico and of the process of regime change and democratic transition.

*Civil society and constitutionalism in Latin America:
The Argentine experience*

Author: Peruzzotti, Enrique
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Dissertations Publishing, 1996

The dissertation addresses the problem of political underinstitutionalization in Latin America by analyzing the interaction of Argentine populist democratizing movements with rights and constitutionalism. The work combines a historical description of how populist forms of self-understanding shaped the process of citizenship extension in Argentina with an analysis of the contribution of recent social movements and civic associations to cultural innovation and institutional reconstruction.

The first part of the dissertation shows how the process of citizenship extension in Argentina, far from advancing the progressive constitutionalization of social and political life as it did in the classical Western model described by T. H. Marshall, resulted in a dramatic dynamic of political polarization and institutional breakdown. Guided by fundamentalist conceptions of democratic majoritarianism, populist movements sought to abolish rather than preserve preexisting institutional frameworks. Whereas the end result of the processes of self-constitution of Western civil societies was the establishment of a dense institutional structure composed by autonomous, though interdependent, liberal, democratic, and welfare institutional clusters, in Argentina it inaugurated a pernicious deinstitutionalizing dynamic that greatly affected the reproduction of both state and civil society.

The second part of the dissertation focuses on the role played by the human rights movement in cultural innovation. The hypothesis of this section is that the human rights movement represented a cultural turning point in societies with a strong populist heritage like Argentina, triggering a profound

transformation of the latter's democratic traditions. The discourse on human rights reunites two elements that the populist tradition had kept separate: democracy and the rule of law. The most distinctive development of the last democratizing wave—to which the diagnosis of about delegative democracy turns a blind eye—is the emergence of a new form of rights-oriented politics that openly challenges the principles of the populist system of state corporatism.

A Double Transition to Democracy in Nicaragua: Class, Gender and Ethnicity in the Reconstruction of Political Mediations (1979–1995)

Author: Olivares, Sheila

New School for Social Research ProQuest

Dissertations Publishing, 1997

This dissertation challenges the assumption that revolutionary transitions never produce democratic outcomes while electoral transitions always do. To that effect, the dissertation examines Nicaragua's *double transition* to democracy—the Sandinista revolution of 1979 and the general elections of 1990—as it explains why both transitions resulted in limited democratization rather than in totalitarianism and democracy respectively. The dissertation focuses on the reconstruction of political mediations— *citizenship*, *nation* and *Lo popular* (the people). The interaction between previous regime type, the type of transition and its effects upon democratization are examined with respect to the reconstruction of political mediations. A central component of the Nicaraguan transitions was the management of “uneasy alliances.” While the Sandinistas pursued strong alliances with peasants, women, and ethnic groups, the Chamorro regime lacked interest in alliance with the peasantry, the urban workers and residents, and the ethnic groups. The resistance of these nonelite actors was fundamental to the shaping of the political legacies of both political regimes in terms of democratization.

Based on primary and secondary sources, the dissertation examines the differences between the FSLN's and UNO's conceptions about democracy and the political mediations as well as the ways in which such conceptions carried a limited understanding of democracy. This helps us to understand how these limitations permeated and framed not only the constitutional and legal framework but also the design and implementation of state policies, and the establishment of political/social alliances. The dissertation shows how the patterns of

organization and mobilization of urban residents and workers, women, peasants and ethnic groups changed overtime and contributed to the limited democratic outcome in both regimes. Finally, the dissertation concludes that both regimes failed in making the rules of citizenship the guiding principle of politics. The predominance of the *nation* and *the people* as the main political mediations during the Sandinista regime ended with the Chamorro regime. Both elite and nonelite actors under the Chamorro regime continued to lack the political culture that would allow them to subject their interests to the rules and procedures of citizenship.

*Looking at the scars on Mexico's face: A study of United States
mainstream print media coverage of Mexico, 1982–1995*

Author: Capetillo-Ponce, Jorge Antonio
New School for Social Research ProQuest
Dissertations Publishing, 2002

This dissertation focuses on the changing patterns in U.S. news media coverage of Mexico from 1982 to 1995, and its repercussions to U.S.-Mexico relations. More specifically, it examines, through the analysis of articles in *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Christian Science Monitor*, the gradual shift in the coverage from the traditional focus on subjects identified as cultural aspects of Mexico (poverty, corruption, authoritarianism) to a new focus, during the Salinas administration, on subjects identified as structural (political and economic reforms). The results of this first level of analysis are then inserted into a wider analytical framework that examines the correlation between changes in U.S. news media coverage of Mexico, and changes in the ways Mexican and American academic, journalistic, and governmental elites see the U.S.-Mexico relationship.

My choice of textual analysis as chief methodological tool was made because its core assumption is central to my work: that *meaning is a social production*. This method treats print media texts as literary and visual constructs that are shaped by rules, symbols, and conventions intrinsic to the use of language. My methodological approach includes the extensive use of academic studies, and of interviews and transcripts of conferences by scholars, journalists, government officials and media experts. They provide a parallel view that allows a close analysis of such central aspects of the journalists' work as how editorial decisions are made, what is "objective reporting," the relation between both governments and American foreign correspondents, and the fostering of their social networks inside and outside Mexico.

Through the analysis of the articles in the selected newspapers, this dissertation has unearthed several elements that are central to the understanding of the U.S. news media coverage of Mexico: cultural asymmetry, socio-cultural prejudice, ethnocentrism, and historical shifts in the coverage. My conclusions are that the changes in the U.S. news media reporting on Mexico are a clear sign of the growing importance of Mexico to the United States, and that these changes in the reporting did have a direct influence in changes in the perceptions of elites on both sides of the border regarding the nature of the U.S.-Mexico relationship and its future course.

*Fantasy and Violence The Symbolic Constuction of Enemies: Chile
1970–1973*

Author: Palacios, Margarita
New School University ProQuest
Dissertations Publishing, 2004

This dissertation analyzes how relations of enmity, which are the condition for collective violence, are constituted. More specifically, it focuses on how particular definitions of the Self and the Enemy/Other foster the emergence of violence in non-violent moral orders: this is, in societies where the rule of law has been accepted as the legitimate means to deal with conflicts. The theoretical argument is backed by the case of Chile, which in 1973 after decades of democracy experienced the breakdown of the democratic order.

The dissertation proceeds on three different conceptual levels: On the analytical level, it aims to understand the nature of collective violence. It shows why existing theories of violence fall short in their explanations. Analyzing the process of identity formation, I formulate a theoretical perspective which offers both: a structural account of the rupture between the Self and the Other (i.e. which theorizes the Other as a constitutive outsider) and the conceptual tools necessary to understand the wild, non-strategic character of violence.

On the historical level, the dissertation opens a new perspective on the origins of the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile. Key to the understanding of that period is the relation of enmity between the political Left and Right, in particular, the way the Right constructed the Left as an enemy of the country. I analyze this relationship through a discourse analysis of newspaper articles.

Finally, on the political level, the dissertation looks for alternatives to the traditional definitions of the Self and the Other—alternatives that would minimize the risk of vio-

lence. I develop a three-fold typology of identity structures (representing three different relations between the Self and the Other), and I sketch how the least antagonistic structure could be translated into a democratic institutional arrangement.

The struggle for municipal autonomy in Eldorado, México

Author: Solís-Gadea, Hector Raul

New School University ProQuest

Dissertations Publishing, 2004

This dissertation seeks to present, explain, and discuss the context, history, sociological/political dynamics, and ethical/political implications of a conflict/controversy around the proposed municipalization of an area (which includes Eldorado and other small towns) within the territory of Culiacán, the capital city of the state of Sinaloa, Mexico. The dissertation is constructed under the hypothesis that there are historical/structural and cognitive/sociological conditionings inherent to the controversy making it politically intractable so far. As a result, the advocates of municipalization (members of Eldorado's civil society) have become increasingly frustrated with and resentful toward members of Sinaloa's state government and Culiacán's city government, who oppose the creation of the new municipality. For its part, the government has thus far been incapable of resolving the conflict and offering a viable alternative to the proposal for municipalization. This dissertation diagnoses the controversy as being characterized by distorted communication and a structure of damaged recognition. My study explains that the situation is the accumulation of factors including historical determinations, capitalistic dynamics, political dysfunction, legal rigidities, and the interaction among the stakeholders. My study aims to offer an alternative treatment to the problem, addressing its ethical implications and the need to generate mutual understanding, mutual respect, and recognition among the stakeholders.

Throughout the dissertation I apply methodological tools and approaches from a variety of areas, including history, economic history, general sociological theory, historical and political sociology, the methodology of frame analysis and reflection, political theory, as well as the analysis of literary

texts, interviews, and press articles. I am thereby able to uncover the multi-dimensional facets of a controversy that is rooted in the functioning of the Mexican political system in general, and the process of state formation in northwestern Mexico in particular. In addition I reveal the internal/moral structure of the local level relations that are marked by a pattern of domination and submission.

*The enigma of democracy: Outline of a concept of
democratic political action*

Author: Plot, Martin

New School University ProQuest

Dissertations Publishing, 2004

The goal of this dissertation is to generate a theoretical perspective and a political vocabulary capable of giving an account of political action proper in the context of modern democracy. The first step is that of tracing back to the origins of the theory and practice of modern democracy the appearance of the features that gave shape to the institutional constellation we now understand as democratic politics. This looking back from the perspective of the main institutions of contemporary democracy is structured along the lines of the process that Lefort describes as a split of the theological and the political in early modern times. In Weber, this split takes the form of a multiplication and secularization of prophets, creating the need for a domesticated and democratized version of charismatic leadership that assumes normative standards in his idea of parliamentary democracy. Weber's solution is, of course, the opposite to that of Hobbes': the plurality of gods and demons manifested in the multiplication of prophets should be institutionalized, not eradicated. This dissertation shows that the breakdown of theological regimes and the birth of modern democracy is simply another way to describe the embracement of the fact of plurality.

With Merleau-Ponty I thus give theoretical consistency to the emergence of modern democratic practices and institutions. In Habermas, on the other hand, I find the difficulties that a model that dismembers the strategic and communicative dimensions of human agency confronts when the task at hand is not that of a moral theory concerned with universal agreement but that of a political theory concerned with the socially enabled fact of plurality. Specifically, I show in

my dissertation that Habermas's contempt for Austin's perlocutionary dimension of speech acts and his suggestion that Arendt's notions of action and speech are somehow parallel to his model spring from a still operating uneasiness with political speech and modern democracy in their phenomenal appearance. This dissertation concludes by showing that the theoretical consistency acquired with Merleau-Ponty does indeed provide a theoretical perspective and political vocabulary that puts in relief political action as a fundamental aspect of contemporary democratic politics.

*The Making of the Presidency in Revolutionary Spanish America.
Executive Power and State Formation in Argentina,
Mexico and Venezuela, 1810-1826*

Author: Crespo, Maria Victoria
New School University ProQuest
Dissertations Publishing, 2011

This dissertation examines the making of the presidency in nineteenth century Latin America by linking it to the processes of early national state formation. The aim is to offer a systematic and historical analysis that can explain the creation of presidential government in revolutionary Spanish America. It has a comparative historical focus with three cases: Mexico, Venezuela and Argentina. The period under analysis spans from independence from the Spanish Empire in 1810 to the mid 1820s, when all these countries had adopted presidentialism for the first time. The thesis that I propose is that the creation of presidentialism can be explained by the early nineteenth century constitution makers' intention to create legitimate centralized political authority, namely an authority compatible with popular sovereignty, constitutionalism and liberalism in the context of post-revolutionary and post-colonial state formation. I argue that presidentialism was adopted against other choices because constitution makers regarded it as the most suitable institution for the *needs of national state formation and liberal legitimation*. I use an analytical framework that involves three contexts that facilitate the presidential outcome: revolutionary politics, state building and the fear of federalism and international relations.

The Holy Jester: Martyrdom, Social Cohesion and Meaning in Mexico
The story of Miguel Agustín Pro SJ, 1927–1988

Author: Lopez-Menendez, Marisol

New School University ProQuest

Dissertations Publishing, 2012

This dissertation examines the problem of martyrdom from a sociological perspective, by linking it to social cohesion, social mobilization and social meaning. To do this, I have analyzed the case of Miguel A. Pro, a Catholic Jesuit priest executed in 1927 Mexico, in the context of the Cristero war. The time frame I have used goes from the moment of his death to the year of his beatification by the Vatican.

My work studies several versions of Miguel Pro's life and death and makes connections with the political climate and the overall changes transnational Catholicism was experiencing at the time. In doing so, I have discussed the linkages between religious and political spheres.

My main argument is threefold. Firstly, that martyrdom provides a fertile terrain for sociological inquiry due to the storytelling process involved, as well as the complex relationship between memory and factual truth present in modern-day martyrdom.

Secondly, that martyrial accounts are deeply embedded in social and political contexts, so they must change over time in order to update and maintain their ability to mobilize the faithful. Thirdly, that institutional affiliation and support are paramount to the successful creation of a martyrial account.

The highly contextual and specifically historical method used aims to contribute to the intersections between political sociology and sociology of religion by studying a phenomenon where Church, state, faith and social mobilization are entwined.

Presidents unleashed: Emergency powers and the case of Chile

Author: Heiss, Claudia

New School University ProQuest

Dissertations Publishing, 2012

When confronted by severe emergencies, constitutional regimes face the dilemma of effectively dealing with the crisis without at the same time surrendering the protection of their members' rights. This dissertation explores the tension between security and freedom inherent to states of exception and offers a case study where these rules have been abused by powerful heads of the executive branch.

From a theoretical perspective, responses by modern political thinkers show that while republican authors favor institutionalized mechanisms, liberals tend to reject them, which often leads them to an extra-legal notion of executive prerogative that may result in the expansion of executive power. I argue that codification seems a better way of constraining the executive than the absence of emergency rules.

Drawing on these responses, I discuss the relationship between states of exception and political stability, particularly as expressed in debates about the role of presidentialism in the failure of Latin American democracies. I analyze the normative standards required for preservationist and rights-oriented emergency rule, and argue that accounts of these standards have failed to consider the effects of the overall institutional framework on the functioning of specific emergency provisions.

The case of Chile offers an historical and institutional framework for the discussion of the implications of the design and use of states of exception. The case shows that when Congress and the judiciary have gained independence from the executive branch, the use of emergency norms for the suppression of political opposition and for social repression has decreased. In contrast, when presidents have acted without

institutional checks, they have transformed states of exception into tools of oppression. In these cases, however, abuse of power has often occurred through illegality. Presidents unleashed have been able to violate even broad power-granting states of exception. The Chilean case provides interesting grounds to discuss the complex interaction between constitutional and legal provisions, and the dangers of normalizing the exception through special laws.

*The citizen's constitution A Study of the Constitution Making Process
in the Transition to Democracy in Brazil*

Author: Sa, Antonio

The New School ProQuest
Dissertations Publishing, 2014

The dissertation addresses the problem of the Rule of Law in Brazil. It combines a theoretical discussion about constitution making and democracy with an analysis of the process of constitution making in 1987–1988 during the transition from Authoritarian Rule to democracy in Brazil. The dissertation shows the importance of the new Constitution to democracy in Brazil, for the rights it established and the stability of the political system it enabled in the country after 1988.

A critique of populist jurisprudence: Courts, democracy, and constitutional change in Colombia and Venezuela

Author: Figueroa Garcia-Herreros, Nicolas

The New School ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2016

The purpose of this dissertation is to critically assess the use of the jurisprudential approach to the problem of constitutional change developed by the courts of Colombia and Venezuela during the last wave of Latin American constitutional reformism. I attach to this approach the label of Populist Jurisprudence. The courts of Colombia and Venezuela have recovered the distinction between constituent and constituted powers developed by E.J. Sieyès and Carl Schmitt and applied it, first, to the episodes of constitution making that led to the adoption of the current constitutions of these countries and, second, during processes of constitutional change set in motion by populist presidents seeking to extend the number of terms in office for which they could run. Through detailed analysis of these processes of constitutional change this

dissertation will show that despite the eventual capacity of populist jurisprudence to open the democratic regime to the participation of excluded political forces and to protect the democratic regime against attempts to usurp the constituent power of the people, its adoption by the courts is most likely to yield authoritarian results. Therefore, this critique of populist jurisprudence is an attempt to persuade Latin American constitutional judges of the need to put aside the conceptions of democratic legitimacy and constitutional change upon which they have been relying until now and move towards a new jurisprudential approach that is better suited to avoid the perils of authoritarianism.

*The Coloniality of Emergency The External-Sovereign, Differential
Regimes of Law, and the Racialization of
Muslims in the War on Terror*

Author: Guerisoli, Emmanuel

The New School ProQuest

Dissertations & Theses, 2023

The dissertation proposes a historical sociological approach to study the war on terror by tracing the origins of its legal modalities to the interrelationship between extra-constitutionality, extra and intra-territorial jurisdictions, and rule of colonial difference for racialized political criminals. Through the intersection of critical legal discourse analysis and a comparative historical methodology, it analyzes the war on terror legal modalities, such as the unlawful enemy combatant category, military commissions, the federal crimes for international terrorism, denationalization, the Foreign National Registry, and the travel ban, and shows how they developed an extraordinary law enforcement system that targets Muslims with unequal and discriminatory effects. The first process is the entry of the external sovereign into domestic politics for national security reasons. This extra-constitutional prerogative is legitimated by the so-called plenary powers doctrine that provides the government absolute and complete authority to regulate immigration, Indian Tribes, and unincorporated territories without judicial review, constitutionalizing stratified citizenship based on difference. Emergency regimes triggered by national security become operational by such internalization, legitimating the deployment of plenary power regulations over groups considered national security risk. The second process entails the expansion and retraction of jurisdictional borders due to the extra and intra territorial effects. The former extends legal jurisdiction, tending towards equality, while the latter restricts it, creating difference. These dynamics can be traced to settler colonial forms of sovereignty

criminalizing natives, outlaws, and bandits. The third process concerns racialization and the coloniality of emergency. The war on terror law enforcement limits the exercise of substantive rights and eliminates certain legal procedures to those considered jihadi terrorists. This discriminating restriction and suspension of rights mimics how colonial regimes of emergency curtailed the rule of law to colonized subjects engaging in political violence. Their racialized savagery legitimated curtailing access to an equal criminal justice system. The logic of rule of colonial difference manifests within the war on terror in the form of distinctive and unequal legal treatment targeting Muslims as political criminals. The framing of jihadi extremism as a foreign and uncivilized ideology racializes American and foreign Muslims under the same legal corpus that governs US citizens.

Imagining and Instituting the People: The Dilemmas of Popular Sovereignty During Cardenismo (1934-1940)

Author: Amezcua Yépiz, Melissa

2024

This dissertation examines the political legacy of Cardenismo (1934-1940) in the development of Mexican democracy by an analysis that considers the sociopolitical dilemmas of imagining and instituting the principle of popular sovereignty. Although it is frequently read as a paradoxical legacy, this work proposes that Cardenismo (as a movement, an ideology, and a set of policies and practices) opened up a political space characterized by diverse attempts at making the ‘sovereignty of the people’ a sociopolitical reality. The period under analysis spans from 1933, when Cárdenas is nominated as the PNR presidential candidate, to the end of his administration in 1940, focusing in three key moments: Cárdenas’ campaign journeys; the organization of regional indigenous congresses; and the discourse and actions that surrounded the Nationalization of Oil. Against the predominant view that has interpreted these moments as incontrovertible instances of top-down manipulation and co-optation, this dissertation points to the political dialectics among citizens, officials and the state, interpreting them as part of the complex, contested and necessary process of giving socio-political form and cultural meaning to popular sovereignty.