List of Publications
Papers

Books and Monographs


7. *Intellectuals and the State in 20th Century Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 271 pp. Paperback and hardback. *Choice Outstanding Academic Book for 1986*; “…an important study,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*; “… unique study of the relationship between Mexican intellectuals and the state,” *Choice*; “This superb study is a major contribution to scholarship on Mexican political culture,” *Library Journal*; “Rarely does one get the opportunity to review a book of such quality and importance….,” *Comparative Education Review*; “Pathbreaking study of the role Mexican intellectuals have played vis-a-vis the State which has broad theoretical implications for the study of social change in other developing countries,” *Handbook of Latin American Studies*. 


Política en México (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1995).

15. Biografías de políticos Mexicanos (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993.)


Research.


must read for anyone who hopes to know Mexico.” **Handbook of Latin American Studies;** “without question a book every Mexicanist should read.” **American Review of Politics;** “Provides excellent portrait of Mexico’s political and military elite,” **Handbook of Latin American Studies.**


Refereed Scholarly Articles and Chapters


8. "Education and Political Recruitment in Mexico: The Alemán Generation," *Journal of Inter-


"Tecnocracia a la mexicana, antecedent a la democracia," *Pensamiento Iberoamericano, Revista*


100. Editor, “Forum, Three Views of Mexican Democracy,” Mexican Studies, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Winter, 2003), pp. 1-106. Special issue including a CD-ROM of data from the Hewlett project. **Two of the essays in this special issue are among the most frequently cited in the journal.**


103. Cover essay of Este País, one of Mexico’s leading intellectual magazines, “Paseando le linea democrática en México, quien es democrático?,” Este País, November, 2003, 4-10.


120. “Mexico’s Democratic Revolution, Where is it Leading?,” *Mexican Studies* 24, No. 2 (Summer, 2009), 365-74.


Non-Refereed Essays and Articles


30."Mexico's Armed Forces, Marching to a Democratic Tune?;" *Enfoque* (Fall/Winter, 2000), Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, UCSD, 4, 14.


**Non-Mexican Essays**


**Photographs**


**Papers and Presentations**


3. Paper presented at the Rocky Mountain States Council of Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, Phoenix, 1975, on "Political Change and the Role of UNAM."

4. Paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association, 6th National Convention, Atlanta, 1976, on "The Vasconcelos Campaign and Future Political Leadership in Mexico."


6. Paper presented at the North Central Council of Latin Americanists, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, 1976, on "The Educational Background of the Political Elite in Mexico."


9. Paper presented at the Western Illinois University League of Latin Americanists, Macomb, 1977, on "Women in Mexican Politics, New Frontiers or Old Traditions?"


13. Paper presented at the Mid-West Association of Latin Americanists, Washington University, St. Louis, 1977, on "The Values and Ideological Beliefs of Mexican Political Leaders Since 1946."


15. Paper presented at the Western Illinois University League of Latin Americanists, Macomb, 1979, on "Intellectuals: Agents of Change in Mexico?"


22. Guest speaker on "1982 Presidential Elections in Mexico, Who, How, and What Does it Mean?," Latin American Studies Institute, University of Texas, Austin, 1981.

23. Guest speaker on "Mexican Intellectuals and the State," Center for Latin American Studies, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1981.


29. Guest speaker on "Mexico, the Contemporary Scene," Mexico Seminar, Colegio de México, Mexico City, 1982.


33. Guest speaker on "Mexico, Revolution from Within or Without?," The Houston Seminar, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 1983.

34. Guest speaker on "Mexican Politics from a North American Perspective," Seminar of Mexico, Colegio de México, Mexico City, 1983.


36. Guest speaker on "Intellectuals and the State," Institute of Social Research, National Autonomous University of Mexico, Mexico City, 1983.


44. Paper presented at the Research Workshop on The Role of The Military in Mexican Politics and Society, U.S.-Mexican Studies Center, UCSD, La Jolla, California, 1984, on "Generals and Politicians in Mexico."


47. Guest speaker on "Recent Trends in Political Leadership," Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico City, 1984.


49. Paper presented at the American Historical Association, Chicago, Illinois, 1984, on "Mexican Political Generations, the Last One Hundred Years."


54. Organizer and guest speaker on "Issues in Mexico, the Next Five Years," U.S. Department of


57. Paper presented at the 7th International Conference of U.S.-Mexican Historians, Oaxaca, Mexico, 1985, on "Consequences of Rural and Urban Origins for Mexico's Post-Revolutionary Leadership."


59. Guest speaker on "Opposition in Mexico, A Comparison of Leaders," Institute of Juridical Research, National Autonomous University of Mexico, Mexico City, 1986.

60. Keynote speaker on "Mexico, the Path Ahead," Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, Austin, 1986.

61. Paper presented at Workshop on the Government and Private Sector in Contemporary Mexico, UCSD, La Jolla, California, 1986, on "Political Consequences of Self-Image among Mexican Entrepreneurs."


68. Paper presented at the North Central Council of Latin Americanists, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota, 1987, on "Entrepreneurs, the State, and Decision-making in Mexico."

Award for the best paper from NCCLA, 1987.

70. Guest speaker on "The View of North American Academics on Mexican Politics, the Last Decade," School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Mexico City, 1988.


83. Keynote speaker on "Elites, Domestic Politics, and Mexico-United States Relations," Series of Fulbright Conferences for Faculty, Department of Social and Political Sciences, Ibero American University, Mexico City, 1989.
84. Guest speaker on "Political and Economic Modernization in Mexico, Roots and Consequences," Latin American Center, Tulane University, 1989.


90. Guest speaker on "Liberalization in Mexico," Seminar on Mexican Politics, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, 1990.


94. Paper presented at the 8th International Meeting of United States-Mexican Historians, San Diego, 1990, on "Political Generations in Mexico, the Last One Hundred Years."

95. Guest speaker on "World Values Survey, the Case of Mexico," Autonomous Technological Institute of Mexico, Mexico City, 1991.


99. Paper presented at the Bildner Graduate Center, City University of New York, New York City, 1991 on "Political Generations in Mexico."
100. Guest speaker on "Mexican Political Transition," Binational Colloquium on Mexican Electoral Reform, University of Texas, Austin, 1991.

101. Paper presented at School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C., 1991, on "Political Liberalization, the Last Key to Economic Modernization in Mexico?"

102. Paper presented at the Rocky Mountain States Council of Latin Americanists, University of Texas, El Paso, 1992, on "Age as a Variable in Political Analysis, the Case of Mexico."


104. Paper presented at the 17th National Latin American Studies Association, Los Angeles, 1992, on "Age as a Variable in Political Analysis, the Case of Mexico."


110. Guest speaker on "Democratization, Elections, and Economic Liberalization," Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, 1993.


118. Paper presented at the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, Baltimore, 1993, on "Mexico's Generals Marching to Political Tunes, A Change from the Past?"

119. Guest speaker on "Political Elites in Mexico," Graduate Seminar, Department of Political and Social Sciences, University of Guadalajara, Guadalajara, Mexico, 1993.

120. Paper presented at Tinker Conference on Changing Political Traditions in Mexico; Intergovernmental Relations and the Opposition, Tulane University, New Orleans, 1993, on "Province Versus the Center, Democratizing Mexico's Political Culture."


130. Paper presented at the Conference on Higher Education, University of California, Los Angeles, Mexico City, 1994, on "Educating Mexico's Political Leadership, Patterns from the Past?"


132. Paper presented at the Ibero-American University, Mexico City, 1994, on "Politics and Religion in Mexico, the Role of Laity and Parties."

133. Paper presented at the 9th United States-Mexico Conference of Historians, Mexico City, 1994, on "Schooling Mexico's Politicians, the Changing Role of Higher Education in a Century of Leadership."


136. Guest speaker on "Political Liberalization in Mexico, Mexico's Path for Change?," Mexican Studies Center, University of Texas, Austin, 1994.


140. Guest speaker on "Women and Men, Men and Women, Gender Patterns in Mexican Politics," Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, Austin, 1995.


142. Paper presented at the Southwestern Social Science Association and Borderlands Studies Association, Oakland, California, 1995, on "The Role of Violence in the Formation of Mexican Politicians."


146. Presented paper at the New England Council of Latin Americanists, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, 1995, on "Mexican Democracy on the Run, the Zedillo Heritage."

147. Guest speaker on "Catholicism, Religion and Politics in Mexico," History Department, Texas Christian University, Ft. Worth, Texas, 1996.

148. Guest speaker on "Political Transition and Turmoil in the Greater Caribbean, the Mexican Case," Annual Journalists and Editors Workshop on Latin America and the Caribbean, Miami Herald, Miami, Florida, 1996.


150. Guest speaker on "Is Zedillo on the Path to Democracy, the First Year in Review?, Mexican Students Association, Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts, 1996.

151. Paper presented at the Rocky Mountain States Council of Latin Americanists, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1996, on "Bishops and Politicians, Two Visions of Mexico's Political and Social Future."


157. Keynote speaker on "Where is Zedillo Taking Mexico?," Southern Conference of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 1997.

158. Presented paper at the 20th National Latin American Studies Association, Guadalajara, Mexico, April, 1997, on "The Political Role of the Catholic Church, An Elite Perspective."


160. Presented paper at the Rocky Mountain States and the Pacific Coast Council of Latin Americanists, San Diego, California, 1997, on "Political Activists and Catholic Social Activists in Mexico."

161. Presented paper at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington,
D.C., 1997, on "Bishops and Politicians' Views on Religion and Political Activism in Mexico."

162. Guest speaker on "Mexico's Search for a Democratic Path," Department of Government, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, 1997.


172. Guest speaker on "Democracy and Social Justice in Mexico, Bildner Center, Graduate School of the City University of New York, New York, 1998.


180. Guest speaker on "Democracy and Values in Mexico," United States-Mexico Studies Center, University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, California, 1999.


182. Presented paper on "The Mexican Military, Marching to a Democratic Tune?," United States-Mexico Studies Center, University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, California, 1999.

183. Organized joint conference on "Democracy Through Latin American Lenses, Citizen Views from Costa Rica, Chile and Mexico," United States-Mexico Studies Center, University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, California, 1999.


189. Guest speaker on "Bi-national Democracy, A Comparison of Mexico and the United States," History Department, University of California, Irvine, Irvine, California, 2000.

190. Guest speaker on "Democracy in Mexico, Fact or Fiction?," Department of Political Science, University of California, Riverside, 2000.


194. Guest speaker at "Mexico's Political Transition and the Prospects for the 2000 Elections," LBJ School of Public Affairs and the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, Austin, April, 2000.


207. Guest Speaker, Department of Political Science, Pomona College, on “Winning the Election, Why Fox Won and What Does it Mean?,” April, 2002.


217. Guest Speaker, Graduate Seminar in Politics, on “Mentoring Elites in Mexican Politics, the Role of Networking,” Ibero-American University, Mexico City, November 2003.

218. Guest Speaker, Faculty and Graduate Students in Social Anthropology and Politics, on “Civil Military Relations in Mexico,” Ibero-American University, Mexico City, November 2003.


221. Guest Speaker, on "Winding Through the Democratic Forest, Where are Mexican Voters Going? Seminar on Mexico’s 2003 Mid-Term Elections: The Implications for the 59th Legislature
and for Future Consolidation of the Parties, Mexican Studies, University of Texas, Austin, September, 2003.


226. Keynote Speaker, 60th Celebration of the Founding of Ibero-American University, Department of Social Sciences and Anthropology, on “Political Recruitment, Governance and Leadership, Fox at Mid-point,” Ibero-American University, Mexico City, November, 2003.


232. Guest Speaker, Joint Course on Politics and Culture in Mexico via television with the University of Texas, Austin and the University of Dallas, Dallas, April, 2004.


234. Paper presented at the Conference on (Dis)Assembling the Present: Interdisciplinary
Symposium in Latin American Studies, University of California, Irvine, on “Governance and Leadership, Has Democracy Made Difference in Mexico?,” April, 2004.


244. Paper presented on “Democracy and Mexican Voters, the Mexico Panel Survey and Voter Preferences from 2000,” Institute of Latin American Studies and the Mexico Institute, University of Texas, Austin, February, 2006.


256. Speaker on “Political Leadership and Recruitment in Mexico, Does Democracy Make a Difference,” Latin American Studies Center, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, September, 2006.

257. Speaker on “Mexico’s Presidential Race, Voters in a Consolidating Democracy,” Political Science Department and Latin American Studies, University of Redlands, Redlands, California, September, 2006.


262. Speaker on “Demographic Variables in Mexico’s Presidential Election, Did the Campaign Make a Difference?” North Central Council of Latin Americanists, University of Minnesota,
Mankato, Minnesota, November, 2006.

263. Speaker on “Mexico’s Voters and Democracy, 2006 Panel Survey,” Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, December, 2006.


276. Keynote Address, “Mexican Democracy, Mexican Leadership, Has Democracy Made a Difference?,” Missouri River Valley Historical Conference, University of Nebraska, Omaha,
Nebraska, March, 2008.

277. Speaker on “Democratic Leadership in Mexico, Has it Changed,?” Latin American Studies and Sociology, Occidental College, Eagle Rock, California, April, 2008.


280. Speaker on “Mexico’s Leadership, A Product of Democracy,?” Department of Political Science, University of California, Riverside, May, 2008.


283. Speaker on “All Politics is Local, Party Politics and Democracy in Mexico,” Political Science Department, University of Vermont, Burlington, September, 2008.

284. Speaker on “Partisanship and Democratic Leadership in Mexico,” Political Science Department, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts, October, 2008.


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294. Speaker on, “Governors, the New Leadership in Democratic Mexico,?” US-Mexico Studies Center, UCSD, La Jolla, California, May, 2009.


302. Speaker on, “Leadership in Mexico, Has Democracy Made a Difference?,,” Presentation at St Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, October, 2009.

303. Speaker on “Latin American Studies and the Liberal Arts, Reflections of a Mexicanist,” Presentation, St Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, October, 2009.


305. Speaker on “Violence and Democracy, Which Produces Elite Changes in Mexico,?” Center for


313. Presentation of “The Metamorphosis of Leadership in a Democratic Mexico, LBJ School, University of Texas, Austin, October, 2010.


318. Speaker on “National Security, Violence, and Drugs in Mexico,” Rocky Mountain States Conference of Latin Americanists, Santa Fe, New Mexico, April, 2011.


320. Speaker on “Four Decades of Interviewing Elites in Mexico,” Honors Program, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont, October, 2011.


327. Speaker on “Mexico’s Presidential Election, Will PRI Return to Power?,” Athenaeum, Claremont McKenna College, April, 2012.


331. Speaker on “Political Leadership with the Return of PRI; Who Are the New Politicians,” Latin American Studies Center, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, September, 2012.


336. Presentation of paper on “Mexico’s 2012 Presidential Election, the Future of Democratic Consolidation,” Rocky Mountain States Conference of Latin Americanists, Santa Fe, New Mexico, April, 2013.


342. Guest Speaker, on “From Authoritarianism to Democracy, How Did Leaders and Citizens Achieve Mexico’s Transformation?,” Global Citizenship Series, Central College, Pella, Iowa, September, 2014.

343. Guest Speaker, on “Pragmatism in Mexican Politics, Something New or Something Old,” North Central Council of Latin Americanists, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, September, 2014.


345. Guest Speaker, on “Violence, Trust, and Change, Mexico’s Difficult Path to a Consolidated Democracy,” Rocky Mountain States Conference of Latin Americanists, Tucson, April, 2015.


347. Guest Speaker, Mexico Consul General, Los Angeles, California, on “The Role of Democracy in Mexico’s Development Strategy, Where Will it Lead?,” September, 2015.


350. Presentation of paper on “The Democratic Paradox in Mexico: Increasing Governability and


352. Guest Speaker, on “Mexico, Declining Confidence and Consequences for Democratic Consolidation,” Resident Fellows, Center for U.S.-Mexican-Studies, University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, May, 2016.


Book, Film, Cassette and Bibliographic Reviews


34. Enrique Baloyra and John D. Martz, *Political Attitudes in Venezuela: Societal Cleavages and


50. E. Bradford Burns, *The Poverty of Progress, Latin America in the Nineteenth Century*


(January, 1995), p. 117.


Mexico Historical Review (July, 1998), 281-282.


