

## MARIA VICTORIA MURILLO

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### EDUCATION

- *Harvard University*: PhD, November 1997; M.A., May 1994
- *Universidad de Buenos Aires*, Licenciada en Ciencia Política, June 1991

### ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

- *Columbia University*, Professor, Department of Political Science/ School of International and Public Affairs, 2003-present (Associate Professor, 2003-2010, Director of Graduate Studies, 2010-14).
- *Yale University*, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, July 2002-December 2002 . Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, January 1998-July 2002.
- *Universidad Torcuato Di Tella*, Visiting Professor, 2009-present.

### AWARDS & FELLOWSHIPS

- *Midwest Political Science Association*, Best Paper in International Relations presented in the MPSA 2015 conference (with Pablo Pinto).
- *Comparative Political Studies*; Editorial Board Best Paper Award, 2014 (with Ernesto Calvo).
- *American Political Science Association*, Luebbert Award for the Best Comparative Politics Article published in 2004-05 (with Ernesto Calvo).
- *Russell Sage Visiting Fellowship*, 2011-12.
- *Fulbright Foundation*, William Fulbright Foreign Scholar 2008-09.
- *Harvard University*, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies Post-Doctoral Fellowship, 1996-1997.
- *Harvard University*, Peggy Rockefeller Research Fellowship, July 2002-December 2002.

### PUBLICATIONS IN ENGLISH

#### Books:

- Understanding Institutional Weakness: Power and Design in Latin American Institutions (with Daniel Brinks and Steven Levitsky), Cambridge University Press, Elements in Latin American Politics and Society Series, forthcoming 2019.
- Non-Policy Politics: Richer Voter, Poorer Voter, and the Diversification of Parties' Electoral Strategies (with Ernesto Calvo)- Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Political Competition, Partisanship, and Policymaking in Latin America, Cambridge University Press, Comparative Politics Series, 2009.
- Labor Unions, Partisan Coalitions, and Market Reforms in Latin America, Cambridge University Press, Comparative Politics Series, 2001. *Selected for Choice's Outstanding Academic Titles 2003 in the Social and Behavioral Sciences.*
- Argentine Democracy: the Politics of Institutional Weakness (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005). Co-edited with Steven Levitsky.

#### Articles:

- "Local Economic Voting and the Agricultural Boom in Argentina, 2007-2015" (with Jorge Mangonnet and Julia Rubio) Latin American Politics and Society (2018).
- "Economic Performance and Incumbents' Support in Latin America" (with Giancarlo Visconti) Electoral Studies Volume 45, (February 2017), Pages 180–190
- "How Investor Portfolio Shape Regulatory Outcomes: Privatized Infrastructure After Crisis" (with Alison Post) World Development 77 (January 2016).
- Latin American Democracies: Breaking the Left-Wing Tide or Electoral Alternation with a Plebiscitarian Flavor, Columbia University Journal of Politics and Society 26/2 (Spring 2016), 2-6.
- "The Fading Kirchner Era" Current History vol.114, No.769 (February 2015).

- "Latin American Political Economy: Making Sense of a New Reality" (with Juan Pablo Luna and Andrew Schrank), Latin American Politics and Society 56/1 (2014).
- "Building Institutions on Weak Foundations: Lessons from Latin America" (with Steven Levitsky) Journal of Democracy 24/2 (April 2013).
- "Sensitivity to Issue Framing on Trade Policy Preferences: Evidence from a Survey Experiment" (with Pablo Pinto and Martin Ardanaz) International Organization 67/2 (March 2013).
- "When Parties Meet Voters: Partisan Networks and Distributive Expectations in Argentina and Chile" (with Ernesto Calvo), Comparative Political Studies 46/7 (July 2013). *Winner of the CPS Editorial Board Best Paper Award in 2014.*
- "The Persistence of Peronism" (with Ernesto Calvo) Journal of Democracy 23/2 (2012), 148-161.
- "Teachers' Unions and Public Education," Review Symposium on Terry Moe Special Interest, Perspectives on Politics vol. 10, issue 1 (2012), 134-136.
- "Agency Under Constraint: Ideological preferences and the politics of electricity regulation in Latin America" (with Cecilia Martinez-Gallardo) Regulation and Governance, Vol. 5, No.3 (2011).
- "Electoral Revolution or Democratic Alternation?" (with Virginia Oliveros and Milan Vaishnav) Latin American Research Review Vol.45, No.3 (2010).
- "The Causes and Implications of Variation in Institutional Strength" (with Steven Levitsky) Annual Review of Political Science vol. 12 (2009), 115-133.
- "From Kirchner to Kirchner" Journal of Democracy Vol 19. No.2 (April 2008), 16-30, reprinted in Larry Diamond, Marc Plattner and Diego Abente Brun (eds) Latin American Struggles for Democracy (National Endowment for Democracy- Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).
- "The Political Economy of Productivity: Actors, Arenas and Policies A Framework of Analysis" (with Carlos Scartascini and Mariano Tommasi), Working Paper #640, Research Department, Inter-American Development Bank, Washington, DC, June 2008.
- "Political Competition and Policy Adoption: Market Reforms in Latin American Public Utilities" (with Cecilia Martínez Gallardo) American Journal of Political Science Vol. 51, No. 1 (January 2007), 120-139.
- "Crisis and Policymaking in Latin America: the Case of Chile's 1998-99 Electricity Crisis" (with Carmen Le Foulon), World Development, Vol. 34, No. 9 (September 2006), 1580-1596.
- "Partisanship Amidst Convergence: Labor Market Reforms in Latin America," Comparative Politics Vol. 37, No. 4 (July 2005), 441-458.
- "With a Little Help from my Friends: External and Domestic Allies and Labor Rights in Latin America" (with Andrew Schrank), Comparative Political Studies Vol. 38, No. 8 (October 2005), 971-999.
- "Who Delivers? Partisan Clients in the Argentine Electoral Market" (with Ernesto Calvo) American Journal of Political Science Vol. 48, No. 4 (October 2004), 742-757. *Winner of the Luebbert Award (CP-APSA).*
- "Teachers' Strikes in Argentina: Partisan Alignments and Public Sector Labor Relations" (with Lucas Ronconi), Studies in Comparative International Development, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Spring 2004), 77-98.
- "Argentina Weathers the Storm" (with Steven Levitsky), Journal of Democracy, Vol. 14, No. 4, (October 2003), 152-166.
- "Decentralization in Argentina" (with Nadir Habibi, Cindy Huang, Diego Miranda, Gustav Ranis, Mainak Sarkar and Frances Steward), Journal of Human Development Vol. 4, No. 1 (March 2003), 73-101.
- "Political Bias in Policy Convergence. Privatization Choices in Latin America," World Politics Vol. 54, No.4 (July 2002), 462-493.
- "From Populism to Neoliberalism: Labor Unions and Market Reforms in Latin America," World Politics Vol .52, No. 2 (January 2000), 135-174.
- "Recovering Political Dynamics: Teachers' Unions and the Decentralization of Education in Argentina and Mexico", Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 41, No. 1, (Spring 1999), 31-57.
- "The 1993 Argentine Elections" (with Ernesto Cabrera) in Electoral Studies, Vol. 13, No. 2, (1994), 150-156.

### Book Chapters

- "Crisis, Boom, and the Restructuring of the Argentine Party System (1999-2015)" (with Steven Levitsky) in Noam Lupu, Virginia Oliveros, and Luis Schiumerini (eds.) Campaigns and Voters in Developing Democracies: Argentina in Comparative Perspective (Michigan University Press, 2019).
- "Building Institutions on Weak Foundations: Lessons from Latin America" (with Steven Levitsky) in Daniel Brinks, Marcelo Leiras, and Scott Mainwaring (eds.) Reflections on Uneven Democracies. The Legacy of Guillermo O'Donnell, Johns Hopkins University Press 2014)

- "From What to Get to How to Get It: Partisan Linkages and Social Policy Delivery in Argentina and Chile" (with Ernesto Calvo) in D. Abente Brun and L. Diamond (eds.) Political Clientelism, Social Policy, and the Quality of Democracy (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).
- "The Regulatory State Under Stress: Economic Shocks and Regulatory Bargaining in the Argentine Electricity and Water Sectors" (with Alison Post) in Brownen Morgan and Navroz Dubash (eds) The Regulatory State in the Global South Oxford University Press (2013).
- "Argentina after the Storm: Democratic consolidation, partisan dealignment, and institutional weakness" (with Ernesto Calvo) in J.I. Dominguez and M. Shifter (eds) Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America (4<sup>th</sup> edition) (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).
- "Latin American Labor Reforms: Evaluating Risk and Security." (with Lucas Ronconi and Andrew Schrank) in José Antonio Ocampo and Jaime Ros, eds., The Oxford Handbook of Latin American Economics. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). Originally prepared for the United Nations Development Program.
- "Voting for the Left or Governing on the Left?" (with Virginia Oliveros and Milan Vaishnav) in Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts (eds) Latin American Left Turn (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).
- "Labor Organizations and Their Role in the Era of Political and Economic Reform" (with Andrew Schrank) in Carlos Scartascini, Ernesto Stein and Mariano Tommasi (eds.) How Democracy Works. Political Institutions, Actors, and Arenas in Latin American Policymaking (Inter-American Development Bank & David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University, 2010). Originally prepared for the Inter-American Development Bank.
- "A New Law of Argentine Politics" (with Ernesto Calvo) in Steven Levitsky and Maria Victoria Murillo (eds) Argentine Democracy: the Politics of Institutional Weakness (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).
- "Introduction" (with Steven Levitsky) in Steven Levitsky and Maria Victoria Murillo (eds.) Argentine Democracy: the Politics of Institutional Weakness, (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).
- "Building Castles in the Sand? The Politics of Institutional Weakness in Argentina" " (with Steven Levitsky) in Steven Levitsky and Maria Victoria Murillo (eds.) Argentine Democracy: the Politics of Institutional Weakness, (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).
- "Theory Building in a Context of Institutional Instability" (with Steve Levitsky) in Steven Levitsky and Maria Victoria Murillo (eds.) Argentine Democracy: the Politics of Institutional Weakness, (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).
- "The Economic Effects of Unions in Latin America: Teachers' Unions and Education in Argentina" (with Mariano Tommasi, Lucas Ronconi, and Juan Sanguinetti) in Peter Kuhn and Gustavo Márquez (eds.) What Difference Do Unions Make?, (Washington DC: Inter-American Development Bank, 2005.) Originally prepared for the Inter-American Development Bank.
- "Latin American Labor at the Cross-Roads" in Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter (eds) Democratic Governance in Latin America and the Caribbean (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).
- "Industrial Competition and Union Responses to Macro-Economic and Sector-Specific Adjustment in Mexico" in Christopher Candland and Rudra Sil (eds). Industrial Relations in the Age of Globalization, (Oxford University Press, 2001).
- "Union Politics, Market-Oriented Reforms and the Reshaping of Argentine Corporatism" in Douglas Chalmers et al. (eds.), The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America: Rethinking Participation and Representation, (Oxford University Press, 1997).
- "A Strained Alliance: Continuity and Change in Mexican Labor Politics," in Monica Serrano ed. Mexico: Assessing Neo-Liberal Reform (Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1997).

### Book Reviews

- "Teachers Unions and Public Education. Review on Special Interest by Terry Moe, Perspectives on Politics, Vol. 10. No.1, (March 2012)
- "Tax Evasion and the Rule of the Law In Latin America" by Marcelo Bergman in Political Science Quarterly Vol. 126/1 (Spring 2011).
- "The Politics of Freeing Markets in Latin America. Chile, Argentina, and Mexico" by Judith Teichman in Journal of Latin America Studies Vol. 35, No.1 (February 2003).
- "Mandates and Democracy" by Susan Stokes, Studies in Comparative International Development Vol 37, No.3 (Fall 2002).
- "Privatization South American Style" by Luigi Manzetti, APSR, Vol. 95, No.1 (March 2001.)
- "Organizing Dissent: Unions, the State, and the Democratic Teachers' Movement in Mexico" by Maria Lorena Cook, Journal of Latin American Studies, Vol. 51 (1999.)

- "Heroic Defeats: The Politics of Job Loss" by Miriam Golden, APSA-Comparative Politics, Newsletter of the APSA organized section in Comparative Politics, Vol. 9, No.1 (Winter 1998).

## PUBLICATIONS IN SPANISH

### Books:

- Discutir Alfonsín, volumen edited with Roberto Gargarella and Mario Pecheny (Siglo XXI-Editores, Buenos Aires, 2010).
- Sindicatos, Coaliciones Partidarias y Reformas de Mercado en América Latina (Siglo XXI Editores, Madrid, 2005) (Spanish translation of Labor Unions, Partisan Coalitions and Market Reforms in Latin America).
- Carreras Magisteriales, Desempeño Educativo y Sindicatos de Maestros en América Latina, edited volume. (FLACSO-Argentina, 2003).

### Articles and Book Chapters:

- "La historicidad del pueblo y los límites del populismo" Nueva Sociedad 274 (March-April 2018), 165-175.
- "La democracia argentina, entre vaivenes e incrementalismo" Revista SAAP vol.11, No.2 (November 2017).
- "El boom sojero y la protesta fiscal de los productores rurales", Desarrollo Económico vol. 57, No.221, (May-August 2017).
- "Argentina: el protagonismo de los votantes y la alternancia electoral," Revista Chilena de Ciencia Política vol 36/1, April 2016:3-26.
- "La contextualización de la ciencia política: una perspectiva Latinoamericana," Foro Internacional Vol. 55, No.2 (April-June 2015), 576-594.
- "La economía política de la Argentina exportadora en el nuevo milenio: Proponiendo una nueva agenda de investigación" (co-authored with Jorge Mangonnet), Desarrollo Económico (December 2013).
- "Cambio y continuidad del sindicalismo en democracia", Revista SAAP, special issue on 30 years of democracy, October 2013.
- "La fortaleza institucional argentina en 2003-11" in A. Malamud and M.De Luca (eds.) La política en tiempo de los Kirchner (Buenos Aires, Eudeba, 2011).
- "Variación en la fortaleza institucional" (with Steven Levitsky) Revista de Sociología 24, 2010 (Santiago de Chile).
- "¿Las corporaciones o los votos?" in R.Gargarella, M.V.Murillo and M.Pecheny (eds.) Discutir Alfonsín (Siglo XXI-Editores, Buenos Aires, 2010).
- "¿Quién reparte? Clientes partidarios en el mercado electoral argentino" (with Ernesto Calvo), Desarrollo Económico, vol.47, No. 188 (January-March 2008).
- "Teorías sobre instituciones débiles. Lecciones del caso argentino" in Sergio Emiliozzi, Mario Pecheny and Martín Unzué (eds.) La dinámica de la democracia: representación, instituciones y ciudadanía en Argentina (Prometeo, Buenos Aires 2007).
- "Los trabajadores en América Latina" in Jorge Domínguez and Michael Shifter (eds.) Construcción gobernabilidad democrática en América Latina, Bogotá: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005 (Spanish translation of "Latin American Labor at the Cross-Roads").
- "Privatización y Poder de Mercado: el caso de la generación de energía eléctrica en Argentina. Nota de investigación" (with Diego Finchelstein), Desarrollo Económico, Vol 44, N° 173 (April-June 2004).
- Respuesta a "Crisis del sindicalismo en América Latina" de Francisco Zapata in Labour Again, International Study of Social History (<http://www.iisg.nl/labouragain/debate.html>).
- "Profesión Docente, Sindicalismo Magisterial y Concertación Educativa" in María Victoria Murillo (ed) Carreras Magisteriales, Desempeño Educativo y Sindicatos de Maestros en América Latina (FLACSO-Argentina, 2003).
- "Tango de un desencanto anunciado," Foreign Affairs en Español, vol.2, No.2 (Summer 2002).
- "El sindicalismo latinoamericano en la encrucijada", Política y Gobierno, volume VIII, number 2, (June-December 2001).
- "Una aproximación al estudio del sindicalismo docente en América Latina", Estudios Sociológicos, Vol. XIX, No. 55, January-April 2001 and Guillermina Tiramonti and Daniel Filmus (eds) Sindicalismo Docente y Reforma Educativa en América Latina, Flacso-Temas, 2001.
- "El fin de la dictadura perfecta", Escenarios Alternativos, No.11, Fall 2001.
- "Del populismo al neoliberalismo: sindicatos y reforma de mercado en América Latina". Desarrollo Económico, No.158, July-September 2000 (Spanish translation of "From Populism to Neoliberalism").
- "Sindicalismo docente y reforma educativa en América Latina", Propuesta Educativa, No.21, December 1999.

- "La adaptación del sindicalismo argentino a las reformas de mercado durante la primera presidencia de Menem", Desarrollo Económico, No.147, vol. 37, October-December, 1997.
- "Los sindicatos latinoamericanos y las reformas del sector social: restricciones institucionales y políticas alternativas", Revista Argentina de Ciencia Política, No.1, November 1997.
- "Los sindicatos frente a la reforma del estado en Argentina y México," Sociedad, No 8, April 1996.

## UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS

- Understanding Weak Institutions: Lessons from Latin America (volume edited with Steven Levitsky and Daniel Brinks) Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- "Protests of Abundance: Agricultural Rents and Rural Lockouts in Argentina during the Commodities Boom (with Jorge Mangonnet), R&R.
- "Heeding to the Losers from Trade: Evidence from Legislators Policy Trade Preferences and Legislative Behavior" (with Pablo Pinto). *Best Paper in International Relations presented in the MPSA 2015 conference*. Submitted for publication.
- "Poverty, Vulnerability and Clientelism: Lesson from an Argentina Shanty Town" (with Virginia Oliveros and Rodrigo Zarazaga), submitted for publication.
- "Investigando las influencias internacionales en las ciencias sociales argentinas" (with Gabriel Kessler, Ernesto Calvo, and Ana Sofia Elverdin), submitted for publication.
- "Land conflict in Paraguay: externalities of the commodities boom" (with Rocio Duarte, German Feinhart, and Jorge Mangonnet).
- "Communities of Training or Interest in the Argentine Social Sciences (with Gabriel Kessler, Ernesto Calvo, and Ana Sofia Elverdin)

## GRANTS

### Columbia University

- Center for the Study of Social Difference & Institute for Religion Culture and Public Life, "Environmental Justice, Belief Systems and Aesthetic Experiences in Latin America and the Caribbean" (with Ana Maria Ochoa), Award: \$17,500 per year (2019-2021) with a possible one-year extension.
- Faculty Research Grant, School of International and Public Affairs, 2014, 2016.
- ILAS faculty grant 2016, 2017, 2018.
- *National Science Foundation*, Political Science Program, 2006 (Project: "Collaborative Research: Patronage, Democracy, and the Public Sector: Estimating the Size and Structure of Patronage Networks", award: \$290,000)
- NSF Award # 1022234. PI in Doctoral Dissertation Research in Political Science: The Merits of Money and "Muscle", How Serious Criminality Impacts Democracy in India (with Milan Vaishnav)(\$11,790), 2010.
- PSGSC Advising Award, 2008 (for mentoring PhD students).
- ILAS, Political Economy Faculty Group (joint with Pablo Pinto, 2007-14 (\$5000 yearly).
- ILAS Faculty Research Grant, 2008, 2009 (\$4,000, \$4900).
- ILAS Faculty Research Grant, 2007 (\$4,000).
- ILAS, Summer Faculty Grant, 2006 (\$1,500)
- ISERP Seed Grant, 2004 (\$5,000).
- CIBER Faculty Summer Award, 2004 (\$4,000)
- Co-PI in collective IGERP Award granted by the National Science Foundation for a New International Development and Globalization Program at Columbia University, 2003 (\$ 3,707,857).

### Yale University

- Yale Center for International and Area Studies, Faculty Research Grant, 2002 (\$4,000).
- Carnegie Program for the Study of Globalization, Collective Grant on "Global Institutions, Local Practices," 2002 (\$6,000 for each member).
- Leitner Program in Political Economy Faculty Research Grants, 2001 (\$2,500).
- Leitner Program in Political Economy Faculty Research Grants, 2000 (\$2,000).
- Yale Center for International and Area Studies, Faculty Research Grant, 2001 (\$3,000)
- Yale Center for International and Area Studies, Faculty Research Grant, 2000 (\$6,000)

- Yale Council on Latin American Studies, Faculty Research Grants, 2000 (\$1,500)
- Junior Faculty Fellowship in the Social Sciences, 1999 (one year paid leave).
- Committee for the Social Science Review Fund, Yale University, 1999 (\$2,500).
- Griswold Committee Fund, Whitney Humanities Center, Yale University, 1999 (\$2,500).
- Yale Center for International and Area Studies, Faculty Research Grant, 1999 (\$5,000).
- Yale Council on Latin American Studies, Faculty Research Grants, 1999 (\$1,500).

#### Harvard University

- Center for International Affairs, Graduate Research Fellow, 1993-94
- Mellon Foundation Dissertation Completion Fellowship, 1994-95
- David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies Summer Grant 1996.
- CFIA Nomos Program Fellowship, 1996.
- Fundación Harvard en México 1995.
- CLAS Nomos Program Field Research Grant, 1994.
- Tinker Foundation Summer Grant 1992
- Harvard University Graduate Fellowship 1991-1993.

Institute for the Study of World Politics, International Peace Fund Grant, 1995.

Ministry of Culture and Education, Argentine Republic, Graduate Studies Grant, 1994-95.

American Political Science Association, Foreign Students' Grant, 1994

Organization of American States, Graduate Studies Fellowship, 1993-94.

Ford Foundation, Graduate Studies Fellowship, declined.

University of Buenos Aires, Junior Research Fellowship, 1988-1990

#### SELECTED PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

- Latin American Studies Association: Member of the Executive Committee.
- Cambridge University Press: Co-Editor of the Latin American Politics and Society Elements Series
- REPAL (Latin American Political Economy Network): organizing committee, program chair for the 2016 annual meeting.
- American Political Science Association: Member of the Executive Council, Comparative Politics Section of APSA 2002-14, Co-Chair of Program Section on Comparative Politics of Developing Countries for the 2010 APSA Meeting, Member of the Executive Council 2008-10, Chair of the Sage Award Committee for the best paper in comparative politics 2009, Chair of the Gregory Luebbert Award Committee for the best article in comparative politics in 2006, member of the Gregory Luebbert Award Committee for the best book on comparative politics in 2004.
- Grant Reviewer: National Science Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, the Canada Council for the Arts, National Science Agency (Argentina), National Commission of Scientific and Technologic Research (Argentina).
- Editorial Board Member: *Foreign Affairs en Español* (2002-2006), *Secuencia* (Mexican Social Science Journal), *Res Publica* (Argentinean Social Science Journal), *Journal of Politics* (2009-11), *International Political Science Review* (2010-2018), *Brazilian Political Science Review* (since 2011), *Americas Quarterly* (since 2011), *Comparative Political Studies* (since 2013), *Latin American Research Review* (since 2013), *Política y Gobierno* (since 2014), *Revista Colombia Internacional* (since 2014), *Revista de SAAP* (since 2016), *Foro Internacional* (since 2018), *American Journal of Political Science* (since 2018).
- Consultancies: the State Department, the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank, and the Inter-American Dialogue, United Nations Development Program, the Freedom House, RAP (Political Action Network) (pro-bono).
- Latin American Academic Community: Board Member of the External Advisory Committee of Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica (Mexico), 2003-05, Coordinator, Network of Researchers on Teachers' Unions and Education Reform in Latin America, FLACSO-Argentina and PREAL.

- Diffusion: TV Publica Argentina, 60 Minutes (NBC), MSNBC, Telemundo, O Globo TV (Brazil), CNN-International, CNN en Español, BBC, National Public Radio of Spain, NY-1 TV, Buenos Aires LS1 Radio Municipal, Pacifica Radio ("Our Americas"), Radio America (Argentina), the Council of the Americas, the Argentine Consulate in New York City, the Latin-American Advisor (Inter-American Dialogue, Washington, DC).

## PHD DISSERTATION ADVISING AT COLUMBIA

- Cecilia Martinez Gallardo, "Designing Cabinets: Presidents, Politics and Policymaking in Latin America" (defended 2005)- currently Associate Professor at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Ozge Kemahlioglu, "When the Agent Becomes the Boss: The Politics of Public Employment in Argentina and Turkey" (defended 2006), currently Assistant Professor at Sabanci University in Istanbul, Turkey.
- James He Keon Kim, "'Constrained Unilateralism: Comparing Institutional Foundations of Executive Decrees.'" (defended April 2007), currently Associate Professor at California State Polytechnic University at Pomona.
- Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro, "Choosing clientelism: political competition, poverty, and social welfare policy in Argentina" (defended April 2008), currently Associate Professor at Brown University.
- Katherine Baldwin, "What Good is Patronage? Local Public Goods and Private Goods as Alternative Types of Patronage"(defended 2009), currently Assistant Professor at Yale University.
- Milan Vaishav, "Three Essays on Voter-Politician Linkage in India" (defended 2012), currently Researcher at Carnegie Endowment for Democracy.
- Virginia Oliveros, "Explaining Variation in Democratic Electoral Competition: Patronage, Poverty, and Electoral Competition in Argentina and Chile" (defended in 2013), currently Assistant Professor at Tulane University.
- Martin Ardanaz, "Business Cycles, Procyclical Public Spending and Social Protection of the Poor in Latin America" (defended 2012), currently Researcher at Inter-American Development Bank.
- Carmen Le Foulon, "The Impact of Transparency on Legislative Behavior Taking Position Avoidance into Account: the Case of Chile." (defended 2013), currently Assistant Professor at the Universidad Catolica de Chile.
- Pavithra Suryanarayan, "Voter Mobilization, Elite-Strategies and State Capacity Development in the Indian States" (defended May 2016), currently Assistant Professor at Johns Hopkins University School for Advanced International Studies.
- Maria Paula Saffon, "Theft or inequality? Identifying the causes of conflict over land in Latin America." (defended 2015), currently Assistant Professor, UNAM- Instituto de Estudios Juridicos (Mexico).
- Bret Meyer "Hollowed Out and Turned About: New Social Cleavages and Institutional Change in Advanced Democracies" (second reader, defended 2015), currently Post-Doctoral Fellow at the London School of Economics.
- Xian Huang, "Social Protection under Authoritarianism: Politics and Policy of Social Health Insurance in China" (defended September 2014, Chair of defense committee), currently Assistant Professor at Rutgers University.
- Ryan Luby "Policies adopted under duress: A model of fiscal-policy responses to financial crises With application to Eurozone politics and policies following the 2008 financial crisis " (second reader, defended 2015), McKinsey&Company Consultant.
- Magdalena Gil Ureta, "Catastrophe and State Building: Lessons from Chile's Seismic History" (committee member), defended September 2016).
- Florence Larrocque, "Policy Diffusion and Drinking Water: Water Services in Latin America, 1980-2014" (defended October 2017, approved with revisions), Postdoctoral fellowship, *Centre for Research on Ethics*, University of Montreal.
- Giancarlo Visconti, "Political Preferences in Adverse Conditions" (defended February 2018), Assistant Professor, Purdue University.
- Alicia Cooperman, "Collective Action or Clientelism: Community Strategies for Access to Public Services." (defense March 29, 2019), Post-Doctoral Fellowship, Princeton University.
- Jacob Kopas, "Legitimizing the State or a Grievance? The Effects of Right Recognition on Political Engagement" (defense April 16, 2019), Post-Doctoral Fellowship SAIS, Johns Hopkins.
- Jorge Mangonnet, "Property Formation in Weak States"
- Julia Rubio, "Mind the Gap: Gender Inequality in Latin America".
- Oscar Pocasangre, "Voting for Security".

## COURSES TAUGHT

### Columbia University:

- Democratic Responsiveness (Political Science PhD seminar)
- Latin American Politics (undergrad/grad Political Science lecture)
- Issues in Comparative Politics (Political Science PhD seminar)
- State and Society in the Developing World (SIPA lecture).
- Labor in a Global Economy (SIPA advanced seminar).
- Comparative Public Policy (Political Science PhD seminar).
- Latin American Political Economy (Political Science senior seminar).

### Yale University, Department of Political Science:

- Analytic Comparative Politics (PhD seminar).
- Markets and States in Comparative Perspective (PhD seminar).
- Politics of Latin American Economic Development (senior seminar).
- Democratization and Political Representation in Latin America (lecture class).
- Labor Politics in a Globalized World (honors seminar for Economic and Political Development concentration).

### Universidad Torcuato Di Tella

- Comparative Politics (Political Science MA seminar, visiting professor, Summers 2009-2013)

### University of Bologna, Buenos Aires campus:

- Latin American Economic and Political Development (visiting professor, July 2001).

### CEMA (Center for the Study of Applied Mathematics) University, Buenos Aires

- Introduction to Rational Choice Theories (visiting professor, August 1999).

## CONFERENCES ORGANIZED

- "Understanding Institutional Weakness: Lessons from Latin America", (with Steven Levitsky and Daniel Brinks), September 29<sup>th</sup>, 2017, University of Texas, Austin (with joint funding from the Institute on Latin American Studies at Columbia University).
- "Inequality and the Rule of Law: Selective Enforcement, Uneven Compliance, and the Hollowing Out of Democracy in Mexico" (with Julio Rios Figueroa), Columbia University, September 30, 2016.
- Workshop on "Los conflictos políticos derivados del boom de la soja en Argentina" (with Carlos Freytes), Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, August 3, 2016.
- "Weak Institutions in Latin America: New Theoretical and Empirical Approaches" (with Steven Levitsky and Daniel Brinks), Weatherhead Center for International Studies, Harvard University, May 9-10, 2016.
- Conference to Celebrate the Trajectory of Jorge Domínguez (with Alisha Holland, Mala Htun, Javier Corrales, Alison Post, and Michael Shifter), Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, May 7-8, 2015.
- Conference "La nueva economía política de América Latina, Estado, política y sociedad durante el *commodity* boom" (co-sponsored by Columbia, MIT, Harvard, and Universidad Católica de Chile), Universidad Católica de Chile, August 14-15, 2013.
- Conference "La economía política de los recursos naturales en la Argentina reciente", (with Carlos Freytes, Carla Grass and Mariana Heredia), Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, August 20, 2013.
- REPAL Founding Meeting at Tulane University (with Juan Pablo Luna, Andrew Schrank Eduardo Silva and Ben Schneider), April 24-25, 2013.
- Conference "The Impact of Colonial and Post-Independence Institutions on Economic Development in Latin America" (Columbia-NYU Latin America consortium, organized with Jose A. Ocampo, Pablo Pinto and Adam Przeworski), Columbia University, March 3-4, 2011.
- Conference "Discutir Alfonsín: repensando el legado de los años ochenta en la democracia argentina" (with Roberto Gargarella and Mario Pecheny), Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, July 30, 2009.



- "Rethinking Dual Transitions: Argentine Politics in the 1990s in Comparative Perspective", Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, March 20-22, 2003.
- Latin American Public Policy Speaker Series, Council on Latin American Studies, Yale University 2002.
- Regional Seminar "Social Pacts and Education Reform in Latin America," PREAL-FLACSO, San Pedro Sula, Honduras, November 19-20, 2001
- Regional Workshop "Education Work and Teacher Incentives in Latin America", PREAL-FLACSO, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, May 30, 2001.
- Regional Workshop "School Autonomy and Teachers' Unions in Latin America", PREAL-FLACSO, Guayaquil, March 15-16, 2001.
- "Old Populism, New Populism in Latin America," (with Gilbert Joseph), Yale University April 7-8, 2000.
- Coloquia on Decentralization and Development, (with Arun Agrawal), Yale University 1999-2000.
- Conference on Institutional Reforms, Growth and Human Development in Latin America, (with Gustav Ranis)Yale Center for International Studies and Council of Latin American Studies, Yale University, April 16-17, 1999.
- Conference on Economic Reforms and Civil Society in Latin America, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, April 12, 1996.

#### Institutional Speaker Series and Conferences

- Columbia University, Department of Political Science, Graduate Student Group on the Political Economy of Latin America, 2013-present.
- Annual Graduate Student Conferences on the Political Economy of Latin America (joint with NYU, Princeton and Yale), November 2014 and 2015, April 2017, April 2018.
- Faculty Group on the Political Economy of Latin America, ILAS, 2006-2008.
- Comparative Politics Seminar Series, Dept. of Political Science 2005-present.
- Latin American Social Science Seminar Series, Institute for Latin American Studies, 2003-04.
- Co-Chair of the Latin American Seminar (with Jorge Dominguez), Center for International Affairs and David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, 1995-96 and 1997.
- Co-Chair of the Labor Studies Colloquia (with Miguel Glatzer), Center for European Studies, Harvard University, 1994-95.

#### **SELECTED PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS**

- Asociación Chilena de Ciencia Política, Keynote Address, "La debilidad institucional en América Latina", October 25th, 2019.
- Asociación Ecuatoriana de Ciencia Política, Keynote Address "La debilidad institucional en América Latina: lecciones para la política comparada", Quito, August 20, 2018.
- SAAP (Sociedad Argentina de Análisis Político) Buenos Aires August 1-5, 2017: "La historicidad del pueblo y los límites del populismo", "La democracia argentina, entre vaivenes e incrementalismo", "Actores económicos y lógica política".
- "The Political Economy of Latin America", roundtable at the 2017 ALACIP Meeting, Montevideo, July 26-28.
- Heeding to the Losers from Trade: Evidence from Legislators Policy Trade Preferences and Legislative Behavior" (with Pablo Pinto). *University of Vanderbilt, Department of Political Science, March 25, 2017.*
- Evaluating the New Argentine Administration, Council of the Americas, December 7, 2016, December 6 2017.*
- "Protests of Abundance: Agricultural Rents and Rural Lockouts in Argentina during the Commodities Boom (with Jorge Mangonnet), Oxford University, Nuffield College, May 20, 2016, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia August 2017; and 2016 Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, New York, May 2016, and University of Michigan, January 2017, and University of Notre Dame, October 2016.
- Discussant to Rebecca Grympson on the direction of Latin American Economy, SIPA, September 29, 2016.
- El boom sojero y la protesta fiscal de los productores rurales (with Jorge Mangonnet), Universidad Di Tella, Buenos Aires, August 2, 2016.
- Repal-DA-RT roundtable discussion, June 2016.
- The Argentine 2015 Election, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, February 2, 2016.
- Electoral Responsiveness and the Diversification of Political Offers, Duke University, Department of Political Science, March 9, 2016.
- Evaluation of 2015 Presidential Election, Council of the Americas, December 10, 2015.
- La contextualización de la ciencia política, El Colegio de Mexico, December 1, 2015, and Science Po, Paris, April 2016
- La ciencia política latinoamericana, Universidad Católica, Asuncion del Paraguay, April 15, 2016.

- Poor Voter, Rich Voter, Electoral Responsiveness, CIDE, December 2, 2015.
- When Parties Meet Voters: Partisan Networks and Distributive Expectations in Argentina and Chile (with Ernesto Calvo), World Bank, January 29, 2015.
- "Latin American Political Economy: Making Sense of a New Reality", Annual Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Chicago, May 21-24, 2014.
- "Trade Policy Preferences among Argentine Legislators: Evidence from Roll Call Votes and a Survey Experiment", Annual Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Chicago, May 21-24, 2014 and first Annual Meeting of REPAL (Latin American Political Economy Network), Santiago, June 9-11<sup>th</sup>, 2014.
- "Institutional Reform in Argentina", RAP, Buenos Aires, April 14<sup>th</sup>, 2014.
- "Soy, Populism and Political Representation: Argentina Under the Kirchners", David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University, April 8<sup>th</sup>, 2014.
- "Responsiveness and Responsibility", at the Latin American Graduate Seminar, Harvard University, April 7<sup>th</sup>, 2014, at the Comparative Politics Workshop, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2014, and at the Political Science Department Speaker Series of George Washington University, May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2014.
- "Populism and Democracy in Latin America", Lecture at Roxbury Latin High School, Boston, April 7<sup>th</sup>, 2014.
- "Democratic Consolidation, Partisan De-alignment and Institutional Weakness" presented at the Simposio RAP at Columbia University, May 3-5, 2012 and at the Annual Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, San Francisco, CA, May 23-26<sup>th</sup>, 2012.
- "Democratic Responsiveness in Latin America", presented at the Department of Political Science, Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Chile, May 13, 2012 and at the workshop on "New Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on the Choice of Political Institutions", Princeton University, May 11<sup>th</sup>, 2012.
- "Building Institutions on Weak Foundations: Lessons from Latin America (with Steven Levitsky) Paper to be presented at the conference "Guillermo O'Donnell and the Study of Democracy", in Buenos Aires, March 26-27, 2012.
- "Participation and Its Institutions" in the Conference: On Solidarity VII: The Character of the Public, March 9-11, Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna, Austria.
- "What changes policy opinion? Understanding framing effects in a volatile public opinion context", presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Meeting in March 31-April 3, 2011.
- "Institutional Change in a Weak Institutional Environment" (with Steven Levitsky), presented at the Workshop of the Working Group for Institutional Change, MIT, Cambridge, February 4-5, 2011.
- "The Post-Crisis Regulatory State: a sub national comparison of contract renegotiation in privatized public utilities" (with Alison Post), paper to be presented at the Conference on "Understanding the Rise of the Regulatory State in the Global South", Center for Policy Research, New Delhi, India, January 14-15, 2011
- "Análisis de instituciones en América Latina: Logros, limitaciones y perspectivas", presented a 2010 Latin American Studies Association Meeting, October 6-8, Toronto, Canada.
- "Political Competition, Partisanship and Policymaking in Latin American Public Utilities", book presentation at Columbia University on November 11<sup>th</sup>, 2009, at the Comparative Politics Workshop, University of Pennsylvania, December 3, 2009, and at the University of Texas, at Austin on February 26<sup>th</sup>, 2010, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University, March 9, 2010, at the Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, July 5, 2010 and at the Universidad de San Andres, July 12, 2010.
- "Ideology and Privatization: Casting a Partisan Light on Regulatory Choices "presented at the 2009 APSA Annual Meeting, Toronto, September 3-6, 2009.
- "Selecting Clients: Electoral Networks and the Electoral Benefits of Targeted Redistribution" presented at the 2009 APSA Annual Meeting, Toronto, September 3-6, 2009, at the Comparative Politics Seminar at University of Texas, at Austin on February 25<sup>th</sup>, 2010 and at the Latin American Workshop, Harvard University, March 9, 2010, at the 2010 APSA Annual Meeting, September 2-5, Washington, DC, and at the 2010 Latin American Studies Association Meeting, October 6-8, Toronto, Canada.
- "When Parties Meet Voters: Partisan Networks and Distributive Expectations in Argentina and Chile", presented in the Latin American Politics Workshop, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, January 29<sup>th</sup>, 2009 and the Comparative Politics Workshop at UCLA, February 11<sup>th</sup>, 2009, the Department of Political Science at the University of Chicago, March 10<sup>th</sup>, 2009 and the Political Science Department in the Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Chile, April 17<sup>th</sup>, 2009.
- "Latin America: Challenges to Democracy", Institute for Latin American Studies, Columbia University, November 21<sup>st</sup>, 2008.
- "Latin America's Struggle for Democracy", Council for the Americas, November 17, 2008.
- "When Parties Meet Voters: Partisan Networks and Distributive Expectations in Argentina and Chile" (with Ernesto Calvo), Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 28-31, 2008.

- "Political Linkages and Partisan Networks: Measuring the Size and Structure of Political Parties in Argentina and Chile" (with Ernesto Calvo) paper presented at the Conference on "Elections and Distribution," Yale University, October 26-27, 2007 and at the Politics Seminar, Department of Politics, New York University, May 1, 2008 and the Comparative Politics Workshop at New York University, May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2008.
- "Voice and Light: The Politics of Public Utility Reform in Latin America", paper presented at The Ohio State University (November 2006), University of Wisconsin (February 2007), Michigan University (October 2007), and Princeton University (December 2007).
- "Political Identity and Policy Implementation," paper presented at the conference Democracy, Governance and Identity, International Institute, University of Michigan, May 5-6, 2006.
- "Variation in Institutional Strength in Latin America: Causes and Implications," (with Steven Levitsky) paper presented at the 2006 Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, March 15-18, 2006, the University of Buenos Aires, June 20, 2006, and the University Di Tella, June 29, 2006.
- "Union Democracy in Latin America" in the roundtable on union democracy around the world at the conference "Union Democracy Reexamined", University of Washington, Seattle, February 24-25, 2006.
- "Policymaking Patterns: Privatization and Regulation of Latin American Public Utilities," presented at the comparative politics seminar, Stanford University, May 23, 2005, the Comparative Politics Workshop at the University of Chicago, November 9, 2005, and the Department of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley on December 2, 2005, and the Watson Institute Colloquium on Comparative Research on December 7, 2005.
- "Policymaking under Pressure from Globalization: Reforming Public Utilities in Latin America," presented at the comparative politics seminar, University of Pennsylvania, April 15, 2005.
- "Policymakers' Agency under Globalization Pressures: Liberalizing Public Utilities in Latin America," paper presented at the American Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, September 2004 and Latin American Studies Association, Las Vegas, October 2004.
- "Who Delivers?: Partisan Clients in the Argentina Electoral Market," presented at the conference on "Rethinking Dual Transitions: Argentine Politics in the 1990s in Comparative Perspective" March 27-29, 2003 and at the LASA 2003 Meeting, March 26-29, Dallas, TX and at the Leitner Conference on Globalization, Yale University, May 2004.
- "Partisanship Amidst Convergence: Labor Market Re-regulation in Latin America," Faculty Seminar, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, December 12, 2003 and Comparative Politics Seminar, Duke University, April 7, 2003, and Seminar on Labor and Class Struggle at Columbia University, December 15, 2003.
- "The Politicization of Public Sector Labor Relations: The Case of Argentine Education," presented at the Columbia University Seminar on Globalization, Labor and Popular Struggles, January 28, 2001, Seminar on Comparative Politics, Brown University, Watson Institute, April 19, 2002 and at the Latin America Seminar, Harvard University, September 24, 2002.
- "Partisan Bias in Policy Choice: Privatization Choices in Latin America," presented at the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, December 11, 2001, at the Institute for Latin American Studies, Columbia University, October 29, 2001, at the Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, February 14, 2002, at Johns Hopkins University, May 28, 2002, at ITAM, Mexico City, October 2, 2002, and at CIDE, Mexico City, October 11, 2002.
- "Conviction versus Necessity: Public Utility Privatization in Argentina, Chile and Mexico", American Political Science Association Meeting, San Francisco, August 30-September 2, 2001.
- "Labor Unions, Democracy, and Economic Liberalization in Latin America," Latin American Association Meeting, Washington, DC, September 5-8, 2001.
- "Utilities privatization in Latin America: A Comparative View from Argentina, Chile, and Mexico," conference on "Is there a future for Private Utilities in Latin America?", David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies and Kennedy School of Government, Cambridge, MA, May 4-5, 2001.
- "El sindicalismo latinoamericano en la encrucijada" Seminar on "Mercado de Trabajo e Intervención Sindical", IDES, Buenos Aires, October 4-5, 2000.
- "Latin American Labor at the Cross Roads," paper presented at the conference on Democratic Governance in Latin America, Inter-American Dialogue, Washington, DC, September 29-30, 2000.
- "Labor Parties and Partisan Labor," presented at the XXII Conference of the Latin American Studies Association, Miami, March 16-18, 2000.
- "From Public to Private: the Politics of Public Utility Privatization in Argentina," presented at the 95<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, September 2-5, 1999.
- "Labor Unions and Privatization in Post-populist Governments: a Comparative View of Argentina, Mexico, and Venezuela", conference "Labor and Privatization: a Global View at Comparative Consequences", Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, March 5-6, 1999.

- "Latin American Unions and the Reform of the State: Neocorporatism Revisited," paper presented at the Conference "Economic Reforms and Civil Society in Latin America," David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, April 12, 1996.
- "Institutional Legacies and Union Preferences Facing the Transformation of Labor-Based Parties: The Case of Mexico in Comparative Perspective," paper presented at the Conference "Coalitions Under Stress: Governing Labor-Based Parties in a Liberalizing World," Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, January 12-13, 1996.
- "Union Responses to Economic Reform in Argentina," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, September 1-4, 1994.
- "Organizational Autonomy and the Marketization of Corporatism," paper presented at the XVIII conference of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, DC, March 10-12, 1994.
- "Breaking the Praetorian Circle or the Hope for Democracy: Why was 1983's Transition to Democracy in Argentina More Successful than 1973's," paper presented at the XVII Latin American Studies Association International Congress, Los Angeles, September 24-27, 1992.