

Gonzalo Contreras Aguirre

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Appointments

Postdoctoral Fellow (2024-2025).
Center for Inter-American Policy & Research.
Tulane University, USA.

Education

University of Oxford
DPhil in Politics, 2019-2024
Advisors: Ezequiel González-Ocantos and Timothy Power.
Committee: David Doyle and Mathias Poertner.

University of Oxford
MSc in Politics Research, 2018-2019

Universidad Diego Portales
B.A. in Political Science, 2012

Peer-Reviewed Articles

- [11] Contreras, G. 2024. "Outsourcing Machines. How programmatic parties include clientelistic strategies." *Comparative Political Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00104140241271310>
- [10] Contreras, G. and M. Morales. 2024. "Masking turnout inequality. Invalid voting and class bias when compulsory voting is reinstated." *Electoral Studies*, Volume 92 (2024), 102878. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2024.102878>
- [9] Belmar, F., G. Contreras, M. Morales, C. Troncoso. 2024. "Demanding Non-Programmatic Distribution: Evidence From Local Governments in Chile". *Policy Studies*, 45(1), 65–88. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01442872.2023.2172718>
- [8] Contreras, G., and Morales, M. 2018. "Ethnic solidarity and the vote: Mapuche candidates and voters in Chile." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(11), 1954–1975. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1371582>
- [7] Contreras, G., Joignant, A. and Morales, M. 2015. "The return of censitary suffrage? The effects of automatic voter registration and voluntary voting in Chile". *Democratization*, vol. 22(1): pp. 1-25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2014.986720>
- [6] Cantillana C., Contreras, G., Morales, M., Oliva, D. and Perelló, L. 2017. "The Malaise with Democratic Representation in Latin America". *Política y Gobierno*, vol. 24(2): 245-274. https://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1665-20372017000200245
- [5] Cantillana, C., Contreras, G., and Morales, M. 2015. "Primary Elections and Personalization of Politics: The Case of Local Elections in Chile 2012". *Revista de Ciencia Política*, vol. 35(2), pp: 273-298. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-090X2015000200002>
- [4] Contreras, G., and Navia, P. 2013. "Generational Differences in Electoral Participation in Chile, 1988-2010". *Revista de Ciencia Política*, vol. 33(2): pp. 419-441. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-090X2013000200001>

[3] Contreras, G. and Morales, M. 2017. "Why was the voluntary vote approved in Chile? Reasons and arguments that drove the reform". *Revista Chilena de Derecho y Ciencia Política*, vol 8(2), pp: 1-37

[2] Contreras, G., and Morales, M. 2014. "Young people and electoral participation in Chile 1989-2013. Analyzing the effect of the voluntary vote". *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud* 12(2): pp. 597-615.

[1] Contreras, G. and Varas, A. 2015. "Inconsistencia de estatus y conducta electoral en Chile". *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 34: pp. 22-46.

Under Review

Contreras, G. "Clientelism Without Machines. The Use of Party Substitutes for Electoral Mobilization.". *Under review*.

Contreras, G., M. Morales, and F. Belmar. "Variations in Claim-Making: *Mediated, un-mediated* demands and clientelism" *Under review*.

Book Project

Contreras, G. "Clientelism Without Party Machines: The Logic of Clientelism for Programmatic Parties.". *Book manuscript in preparation*.

Working Papers

Contreras, G. "Placebo reasoning in Process Tracing". Working paper to be presented at MPSA, April 2025.

Contreras, G. "Mixing the qualitative toolkit: the integration of interviews and participant observation in Process Tracing."

Contreras, G., J. Lechartre, & J. Perez Sandoval. "Challenges and Practicalities of Research Designs in Subnational Research." Working paper to be presented at MPSA, April 2025.

Contreras, G. & De La Cerda, N. "The Short-term Dimension of Clientelism." Working paper.

Contreras, G. & Morales, M. "Reversing Turnout Inequality: How Fines Reduce Class Bias and the Urban-Rural Gap in Chile" Working paper.

Teaching 2021 - 2024

University College London

Seminar Instructor. Introduction to Quantitative Methods. Social Research Institute, Faculty of Education and Society (IOE). *Fall 2023*.

Seminar Instructor. Impact Evaluation Methods. Social Research Institute, Faculty of Education and Society (IOE). *Spring 2021 & 2022*.

Seminar Instructor. Regression Analysis. Social Research Institute, Faculty of Education and Society (IOE). *Fall 2021 & 2022*.

Post Graduate Teaching Assistant. Principles of Social Science Research. Department of Political Science. *Fall 2021*.

Post Graduate Teaching Assistant. Introduction to Quantitative Research Methods. Department of Political Science. *Fall 2022*.

Research Assistant for the Institute's Methodological Innovation. Social Research Institute, Faculty of Education and Society (IOE).

2016-2017 **Universidad Diego Portales**
Lecturer at the Department of Communication and Literature. Universidad Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile. Course: "Institutions and Political Process in Chile".

2011-2014 **Universidad Diego Portales**
Instructor in the Department of Political Science, teaching modules: "Qualitative methods," "Statistics," "Advanced Qualitative Methods in Political Science," "Advanced Quantitative Methods," "Discourse Analysis," "Comparative Politics," and "Research Design in Social Sciences."

Conferences

01/2025 (upcoming). SPSA Annual Conference. San Juan, Puerto Rico.
04/2025 (upcoming). 82nd Annual MPSA Conference. Chicago, USA.
05/2025 (upcoming). LASA 2025 Congress: Poner el cuerpo en Latinx América. San Francisco, USA.
09/2024. APSA Annual Meeting & Exhibition. "Democracy: Retrenchment, Renovation, & Reimagination." Philadelphia, USA.
08/2024. ECPR General Conference. University College Dublin. Dublin, Ireland.
06/2024. LASA Conference. "Reaction and Resistance: Imagining Possible Futures in the America." Bogota, Colombia.
08/2023. APSA Annual Meeting & Exhibition. "Rights and Responsibilities in an Age of Mis- and Disinformation." Los Angeles, USA.
05/2023. LASA Conference. "América Latina y el Caribe: Pensar, Representar y Luchar por los Derechos." Vancouver, Canada.
06/2022. The 10th CEISAL International Conference: Uncertain Trajectories: Latin America After Globalization. 13–15 June 2022, Helsinki, Finland.
06/2014. VI Congreso Latinoamericano de Opinión Pública WAPOR, Santiago, Chile.
09/2013. VII Congreso de la Asociación Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política, Bogotá, Colombia.
06/2012. VI Congreso de la Asociación Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política, Quito, Ecuador.
11/2011. IX Congreso Latinoamericano de Estudios del Discurso, Universidad Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, Brasil.
11/2011. 6tas Jornadas de jóvenes Investigadores, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina.
(11/2010) IX Congreso Chileno de Ciencia Política.

Past Appointments

2021 - 2024 **University College London**
Social Research Institute and Department of Political Science, Faculty of Education and Society (IOE). Seminar Instructor and PGTA for Quantitative Modules.

2020 - 2021 **University of Oxford**
Centre for Experimental Social Science (CESS), Nuffield College.
Research Assistant, administration of CESS events, and coordination of experiments agenda.

2011 - 2014 **Universidad Diego Portales**
Researcher and coordinator of research projects. Department of Political Science. Universidad Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile.
Administrative of academic research projects at the Centre of Politics and Elections (OBPE), Universidad Diego Portales. Santiago, Chile.

Awards and Fellowships

[1] Excellence in Student Feedback Award. University College London, Department of Political Science. 2024

- [2] APSA First Generation Scholars in the Profession Annual Meeting Travel and Accessibility Grant. Awarded by the Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Programs of the American Political Science Association.
- [3] Virginia Gray Graduate Student Research Award for the APSA Annual Conference 2023, Los Angeles, United States, in the Political Organizations and Parties section. 2023.
- [4] APSA Organized Section Support Grant for the APSA Annual Conference 2023, Los Angeles, United States, in the Comparative Politics section. 2023.
- [5] APSA Graduate Student Member Support Grant. APSA Committee on the Status of Graduate Students in the Profession.
- [6] Grant to attend ECPR General Conference 2024, provided by the Center for Inter-American Policy and Research (CIPR), Tulane University.
- [7] Grant to attend APSA Annual Meeting & Exhibition “Democracy: Retrenchment, Renovation, & Reimagination.” Philadelphia, USA. Provided by the Center for Inter-American Policy and Research (CIPR), Tulane University.
- [8] Postdoctoral Fellow Travel Fund, Fall 2024. Office of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies (OGPS), Tulane University.
- [9] Travel Grant funded by Ms Julia Poschinger-Bray, St. Hugh’s College alumna. University of Oxford. Grant to attend APSA Annual Meeting 2023.
- [10] Vacation Course and Travel Grant. St. Hugh’s College, University of Oxford. Grant to conduct fieldwork in Santiago, Chile. 2021.
- [11] Barbinder Watson Travel Fund. St. Hugh’s College, University of Oxford. Grant to conduct fieldwork in Santiago, Chile. 2021.
- [12] Marco Villani Graduate Research Grant Fund. St. Hugh’s College, University of Oxford. Travel grant to participate at CEISAL conference, Helsinki, Finland. 2022.
- [13] Academic Expenses Grant. Worcester College, University of Oxford. Grant to conduct fieldwork in Santiago, Chile. 2018.
- [14] Becas Chile. Fully funded doctoral scholarship, 2019-2023.
- [15] Becas Chile. Fully-funded postgraduate scholarship, 2018-2019.
- [16] First Class. B.A Political Science. Awarded as the best student, cohort 2008. Department of Political Science, Universidad Diego Portales, 2009.
- [17] Merit Scholarship Department of Political Science, Universidad Diego Portales, Chile. 2009.

Book Chapters

Contreras, G. and Morales, M. 2017. "Elecciones presidenciales en Chile 2013. Voto voluntario y sesgo de clase", en *El Tsunami Electoral de 2013 en Chile*, eds. Garrido, C., Morales, M. and Navia, P. 41-62. Santiago: RIL Editores.

Contreras, G., Morales, M. and Navia, P. 2017. "Primarias presidenciales de 2013 en Chile: participación y resultados electorales", en *El Tsunami Electoral de 2013 en Chile*, eds. Garrido, C., Morales, M. and Navia, P. 63-84. Santiago: Ril Editores.

Contreras, G. and Morales, M. 2015. "El sesgo de clase existió y existe. Análisis de la participación electoral en Chile (Municipales 2012 y Presidenciales 2013)", en *Condicionantes de la Participación Electoral en Chile*, 79-114. Santiago: PNUD.

Contreras, G., Espinoza, A. and Perelló, L. 2012. "El Partido Comunista de Chile en las elecciones municipales: 1992-2008", en *Democracia Municipal en Chile 1992-2012*, eds. M. Morales and P. Navia, 219-240. Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales.

Contreras, G., F. González, M. Morales and D. Oliva. 2012. "Nuevo régimen electoral en Chile. Inscripción automática y voto voluntario", en *Democracia Municipal en Chile 1992-2012*, eds. M. Morales and P. Navia, 65-94. Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales.

Contreras, G., Madera, A. and Torres, J. 2012. "La coordinación partidaria en Chile: análisis de los subpactos de la Concertación en las elecciones municipales 1992-2008", en *Democracia Municipal en Chile 1992-2012*, eds. M. Morales and P. Navia, 285-306. Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales.

Contreras, G. 2010. "La Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia en Chile. Razones de su éxito y factores de su derrota", en *El sismo electoral de 2009: Cambio y continuidad en las preferencias políticas de los chilenos*, eds. M. Morales and P. Navia, 145-164. Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales.

Languages and Skills

English (advanced), Spanish (native)
R, Stata, L^AT_EX, Markdown, NVivo, ATLAS.ti

Professional Experience 2014 - 2018

Ministry of Interior, Government of Chile
Senior Adviser. Home Office. Santiago, Chile.
Professional adviser on institutional reforms and political analysis for the Chilean Government.

Professional Activities

Reviewer: *Comparative Political Studies*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Democratization*, *Latin American Research Review*, *Revista de Ciencia Política*, *Latin American Journal of Social Sciences*; *IETE Journal of Education*.

Member of APSA, the APSA Section Political Organizations and Parties; Latin American Studies Association (LASA); European Consortium of Political Science (ECPS) and the Southern Political Science Association (SPSA).

Invited Talks

Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford. Roundtable talk: 'Application for Postdoctoral Fellowships.'

Department of Political Science, Tulane University. Talk on 'The Politics of Representation and Party Politics.'

References

Ezequiel González-Ocantos
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University of Oxford
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David Doyle
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Patricio Navia
Professor of Liberal Studies
New York University
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