# Kenneth Bunker, PhD.

EMAIL	$e.\ \mathrm{kenneth.bunker@uss.cl}$
Links	<ul> <li>i. ORCID + ResearchGate</li> <li>Academia + Google Scholar</li> <li>LinkedIn + Web of Science</li> </ul>
ACADEMIC POSITIONS	Associate Professor, Department of Economics and Government, San Sebastian University
	Director, Democracy and Government Lab, San Sebastian University
	Researcher, Diego Portales University (Electoral Observatory/MEPOP)
Previous Positions	Visiting Professor, University of Bergamo, Department of Languages, Literature and Culture, Bergamo, Italy (2022)
	Visiting Professor, University of Milan, Department of Social and Political Sciences, Milan, Italy (2019)
	Visiting Professor, Sapienza University, Department of Political Sciences, Rome, Italy (2018-2019)
	Assistant Professor, Central University, Government Department, Santiago, Chile (2016-2018)
EDUCATION	Ph.D., Political Science, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, United Kingdom (2016)
	MRes., Political Science, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, United Kingdom (2011)
	M.A., Political Science, San Diego State University, San Diego, United States (2010)
	B.A., Political Science, Universidad Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile (2007)
Research Interests	Presidential Democracies, Political Institutions, Elections, Electoral Systems, Political Parties, Party Systems, Coalitions, Strategic Voting, Public Opinion, Electoral Forecasting
Publications	Click here to see list of publications on Google Scholar.
Prizes	2023 Maria Braun WAPOR Latin America prize for Best Paper.
Воокѕ	(Forthcoming, 2025). Chile's transformation amidst change: The Thesesus paradox. Palgrave Macmillan.
ARTICLES	Alenda, Stephanie, Miguel Ángel López, Kenneth Bunker and Nicolás Miranda. (Forthcoming, 2025). From Gattopardismo to Ideational Change within the Chilean right, in <i>The Reorganization of the Latin American Right</i> . Cambridge University Press.

- Bunker, Kenneth and John Polga-Hecimovich. (Forthcoming, 2025). Representation and Party Dynamics: The Interplay of Electoral Systems, Social Cleavages, and Political Ideas in Chile, in *La democracia y sus desafíos en el cambio de época*. Tirant Lo Blanch.
- Bunker, Kenneth and Gabriel Negretto. 2023. "The Party System Effects of Unstable Electoral Rules: Evidence from New Democracies in Latin America." *Party Politics* 0(0): forthcoming.
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2022. "Forecasting two-horse races in new democracies: Accuracy, precision and error." Revista Latinoamericana de Opinión Pública 11(1): 81-108.
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2021. "The two-stage model to forecast elections in new democracies." *International Journal of Forecasting* 36(4): 1407-1419.
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2021. "The age cleavage: Cultural backlash in Chile." *América Latina Hoy* 87: 1-26.
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2021. "Book review of Coalitional presidentialism in comparative perspective: Minority presidents in multiparty systems, by Paul Chaisty, Nic Cheeseman, and Timothy J. Power." *Party Politics*. 27(2): 385–386.
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2019. "Why do parties cooperate in presidentialism? Electoral and government coalition formation in Latin America." Revista de Estudios Políticos 186(4): 171-199.
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2019. "Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and authoritarian populism, by Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart." *Democratization* 26(7): 1323-1325.
- Bunker, Kenneth (with Daniel Brieba). 2019. "Voter Equalization and Turnout Bias After Electoral Reform: Evidence from Chile's Voluntary Voting Law." *Latin American Politics and Society* 61(4): 23-46.
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2019. "Richard Nadeau, Eric Bélanger, Michael S. Lewis-Beck, Mathieu Turgeon and François Gélinean, Latin American Elections: Choice and Change." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 51(3): 721-723.
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2019. "Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse, by Scott Mainwaring (Eds.)." *Democratization* 26(3): 554-555.
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2019. "Matthew S. Shugart and Rein Taagepera: Votes from seats: Logical models of electoral systems." *Public Choice* 178(1-2): 311-313.
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2018. "The 2017 Elections and the Fragmentation of the Party System in Chile." Revista Chilena de Derecho y Ciencia Política 9(2): 204-229.
- Bunker, Kenneth, and Stefan Bauchowitz. 2016. "Electoral Forecasting and Public Opinion Tracking in Latin America: An Application to Chile." *Revista Política* 54(2): 221-237.
- Bunker, Kenneth, and Patricio Navia. 2015. "Incumbency Advantage and Tenure Length in the Chilean Chamber of Deputies, 1989-2009." Revista de Ciencia Política 2(35): 251-271.
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2014. "The 2013 Presidential and Legislative Elections in Chile." *Electoral Studies* 34(2): 346-348.

- Bunker, Kenneth, and Patricio Navia. 2013. "Latin American Political Outsiders, Revisited: The Case of Marco Enríquez-Ominami in Chile, 2009." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 5(2): 3-35.
- Bunker, Kenneth, and Patricio Navia. 2010. "Explicando la Desproporcionalidad en Latino America: Magnitud de Distrito, Malapportionment y Fragmentación del Sistema de Partidos." Revista Española de Ciencia Política 23(1): 83-112.
- Bunker, Kenneth, and Patricio Navia. 2010. "Democracia Comunal en Chile, 1992-2008." *Política y Gobierno* 17(2): 243-278.

# SHORT STUDIES REPORTS

Bunker, Kenneth. 2024. "Inestabilidad gubernamental: rotación ministerial, duración de gabinetes y equilibrio partidario." *Ideas: Laboratorio Democracia y Gobierno* 1(17): 1-5.

doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.35819.35363

Bunker, Kenneth, Galdames, Lorena, and Fernanda Arrieta. 2024. "Patrones de reelección en las elecciones de alcalde de 2024." *Ideas: Laboratorio Democracia y Gobierno* 1(16): 1-5.

doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.29108.46727

Bunker, Kenneth, and Fernanda Arrieta. 2024. "Coordinación de coaliciones y partidos en las elecciones regionales y locales de 2024." *Ideas: Laboratorio Democracia y Gobierno* 1(15): 1-3. doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.32995.98083

Bunker, Kenneth, and Fernanda Arrieta. 2024. "El avance de los candidatos independientes en las elecciones locales de 2024." *Ideas: Laboratorio Democracia y Gobierno* 1(14): 1-3.

doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.25734.59209

- Bunker, Kenneth. 2024. "Una propuesta de reforma política simple que le puede dar gobernabilidad a Chile." *Ideas: Laboratorio Democracia y Gobierno* 1(13): 1-3. doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.36783.34723
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2024. "¿Cómo se compara el "primer tiempo" de Gabriel Boric con presidentes anteriores?." *Ideas: Laboratorio Democracia y Gobierno* 1(12): 1-3. doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.26726.43844
- Bunker, Kenneth, and Hugo Jofré. 2024. "¿A qué hora y con qué precisión se conocen los resultados electorales en Chile?" *Ideas: Laboratorio Democracia y Gobierno* 1(10): 1-3.

doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.29193.01128

- Bunker, Kenneth, and Tito Olavarría. 2024. "¿A qué velocidad se escrutan los votos en Chile?" *Ideas: Laboratorio Democracia y Gobierno* 1(9): 1-3. doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.15771.23848
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2023. "¿Cuál fue el nivel de acuerdo en las comisiones del consejo constitucional de 2023?" *Ideas: Laboratorio Democracia y Gobierno* 1(8): 1-3. doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.26767.76960
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2024. "¿Cuál fue el nivel de acuerdo en el pleno del consejo constitucional de 2023?" *Ideas: Laboratorio Democracia y Gobierno* 1(7): 1-3. doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.27627.11046

- Bunker, Kenneth. 2023. "¿Cuál fue el nivel de acuerdo en el pleno de la convención constitucional de 2021-2022?" *Ideas: Laboratorio Democracia y Gobierno* 1(6): 1-3. doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.26767.76960
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2024. "¿Cuál fue el nivel de acuerdo en las comisiones de la convención constitucional de 2021-2022?" *Ideas: Laboratorio Democracia y Gobierno* 1(5): 1-3. doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.13345.99688
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2024. "¿Cuáles son los efectos del sistema electoral propuesto por el consejo constitucional de 2023?" *Ideas: Laboratorio Democracia y Gobierno* 1(4): 1-3. doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.36681.11361
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2024. "¿Cuáles son los determinantes de la fragmentación partidaria?" Ideas: Laboratorio Democracia y Gobierno 1(3): 1-3. doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.30461.74722
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2024. "¿Chile tiene demasiados o muy pocos legisladores?" *Ideas:* Laboratorio Democracia y Gobierno 1(2): 1-3. doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.23750.86087
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2024. "¿Ha aumentado la fragmentación en el sistema de partidos a través de los años?" *Ideas: Laboratorio Democracia y Gobierno* 1(1): 1-3. doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.32995.98083
- Bunker, Kenneth, Camila González Piucol, Sofía Contreras Ubal and Emilio Espinosa. 2022. Resumen y análisis de las elecciones presidenciales y legislativas de Chile 2021. 157 pages. Tresquintos: Santiago.
- Bunker, Kenneth, Sofía Contreras Ubal, Camila González Piucol and Mario Orellana. Breve historia de la elección presidencial y legislativa de Chile 2021. 529 pages. Tresquintos: Santiago.

# DATASETS

Bunker, Kenneth, Camila González Piucol, Sofía Contreras Ubal and Pablo Toro. 2022. Votaciones Individuales de la Convención Constitucional de Chile. Tresquintos: Santiago.

# BOOK CHAPTERS

- Alenda, Stephanie, Miguel Ángel López, Kenneth Bunker and Nicolás Miranda. (Forthcoming, 2025). From Gattopardismo to Ideational Change within the Chilean right, in *The Reorganization of the Latin American Right*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bunker, Kenneth and John Polga-Hecimovich. (Forthcoming, 2025). Representation and Party Dynamics: The Interplay of Electoral Systems, Social Cleavages, and Political Ideas in Chile, in *La democracia y sus desafíos en el cambio de época*. Tirant Lo Blanch.
- Bunker, Kenneth, and Rocío Cancino. (Forthcoming). Efecto del sistema electoral en la distorsión entre el porcentaje de votos y el porcentaje de escaños en el Congreso, in El Imperio contraataca. El retorno de la derecha al poder en Chile en las elecciones de 2017.
- Acevedo, Sergio, and Kenneth Bunker. 2017. "Reelección y Carreras Legislativas en la Cámara de Diputados, 1990-2014." in *El Tsunami Electoral de 2013 en Chile*, edited by Mauricio Morales, Patricio Navia, and Carolina Garrido. Universidad Diego Portales: Santiago, pp. 271-290.
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2012. "Modificaciones y Reformas al Sistema Electoral Municipal en Chile, 1992–2008." in *Democracia Municipal en Chile, 1992–2012*, edited by Mauricio Morales and Patricio Navia. Universidad Diego Portales: Santiago, pp. 39-48.

- Bunker, Kenneth, and Patricio Navia. 2012. "La Incumbencia y Reelección de Alcaldes en Chile, 1992–2004," in *Democracia Municipal en Chile, 1992-2012*, edited by Mauricio Morales and Patricio Navia. Universidad Diego Portales: Santiago, pp. 49-64.
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2010. "Cambio y Continuidad en la Cámara de Diputados, 1989—2014," in *El Sismo Electoral de 2009*, edited by Mauricio Morales and Patricio Navia. Universidad Diego Portales: Santiago, pp. 185-201.
- Bunker, Kenneth, and Patricio Navia. 2010. "El Votante Díscolo," Chile 2009: Percepciones y Actitudes Sociales, 5to Informe de Encuesta Nacional ICSO-UDP. ICSO-UDP: Santiago, pp. 121-132.
- Bunker, Kenneth, and Patricio Navia. 2009. "Duración de las Carreras de Alcaldes 1992—2008," in *Genoma Electoral Chileno: Dibujando el Mapa Genético de las Preferencias Políticas en Chile*, edited by Patricio Navia, Mauricio Morales and Renato Briceño. Universidad Diego Portales: Santiago, pp. 261-274.
- Bunker, Kenneth, and Patricio Navia. 2007. "Índice de Complejidad en las 52 Comunas de la Región Metropolitana," in *La Reforma Municipal en la Mira*. Expansiva: Santiago, pp. 31-41.

# SELECTED SEMINARS AND TALKS

- University of Texas at Austin. 2021. Presidential election of Chile. (December 2).
- Columbia University. 2021. The Impact of the 2021 Presidential Election on Chile's Future. (November 22). Host: María Victoria Murillo.
- Sabanci University: Brown Bag Seminars. 2021. Revisiting Duverger: Party System Origins in New Democracies. (October 13).
- Universidad Andrés Bello: Research Committee on Political Sociology. 2021. Book Presentation: Preferential Voting Systems. (February 25). Host: Stéphanie Alenda.

# Conference Papers

- Bunker, Kenneth. 2024. "Institutional Theory, Social Structures, and Equilibrium Cycles: Electoral Engineering and Party System Fragmentation in Chile." Paper prepared for delivery at the CESRAN International Conference, Venice, Italy October 01–04.
- Bunker, Kenneth and Gabriel Negretto. 2023. "The Party System Effects of Unstable Electoral Rules: Evidence from New Democracies in Latin America." Paper prepared for delivery at the Latin American Studies Association Conference, Vancouver, Canda May 24–27.
- Bunker, Kenneth and Gabriel Negretto. 2022. "The Impact of Electoral System Reform in New Democracies." Paper prepared for delivery at the American Political Science Association Conference, Quebec, Canda September 15–18.
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2020. "A two-stage model to forecast elections in new democracies." Paper prepared for delivery at the 73 Annual Conference of the World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR), held online, October 6–10.
- Bunker, Kenneth and Cristóbal Bellolio. 2019. "The fourth wave of populism in Latin America: Preaching to the Electorate." Paper prepared for delivery at the Latin American Studies Association Conference, Boston, United States, May 24–27.
- Bunker, Kenneth and Cristóbal Bellolio. 2019. "Unequal participation: The age gap in transitional democracies." Preparing for submission at Democratization. Paper prepared for delivery at the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, United States, April 4–7.

- Brieba, Daniel, and Kenneth Bunker. 2018. "Voter equalization and turnout bias after electoral reform: Evidence from Chiles voluntary voting law." Paper prepared for delivery at the XIII Congreso Chileno de Ciencia Política, Santiago, Chile, October 24–26.
- Bunker, Kenneth, and Daniel Brieba. 2018. "Consequences of switching from compulsory voting to voluntary voting." Paper prepared for delivery at the Latin American Studies Association Conference, Barcelona, Spain, May 17–27.
- Bunker, Kenneth, and Patricio Navia. 2012. "Re-election Rates and Incumbency Advantage in the Chilean Congress, 1990–2010." Paper prepared for delivery at the American Political Science Association Conference, New Orleans, United States, August 30–September 2.
- Bunker, Kenneth, and Patricio Navia. 2011. "The Presidential Bid of Congressman Enríquez-Ominami in Chile in 2009: A Populist Turn to the Left or Evidence of Democratic Consolidation." Paper prepared for delivery at the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, United States, March 31–April 3.
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2010. "The 2009 Presidential Election in Chile: Why did Piñera Win?" Paper prepared for delivery at the Student Research Symposium of San Diego State University, San Diego, United States, March 5–6.
- Bunker, Kenneth. 2009. "Explaining Disproportionality in Latin America: District Magnitude, Malapportionment and Party Fragmentation." Paper prepared for delivery at the International Political Science Association, XXI World Congress, Santiago, Chile, July 12–16.

# OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- Bunker, Kenneth. "Mujeres en el Poder Legislativo de Chile: 1990–2018" Documentos de Trabajo Universidad Central, 2018.
- Bunker, Kenneth. "Reelección en el Poder Legislativo de Chile: 1993–2017" Documentos de Trabajo Universidad Central, 2018.
- Bunker, Kenneth. "Retiros, Remociones y Renuncias en el Poder Legislativo de Chile: 1990–2018" Documentos de Trabajo Universidad Central, 2018.
- Bunker, Kenneth. "Modificaciones y Reformas al Sistema Electoral Municipal en Chile, 1992–2008." *Documentos de Trabajo ICSO*, 1(3), 2008.
- Bunker, Kenneth. "El Desempeño Electoral de las Mujeres en las Elecciones Municipales." Documentos de Trabajo ICSO, 1(2), 2008.
- Bunker, Kenneth. "La Incumbencia y Reelección de Alcaldes en Chile, 1992–2004." Documentos de Trabajo ICSO, 1(1), 2008.
- Bunker, Kenneth, and Patricio Navia. "Elecciones Municipales y Reelección de Alcaldes en Chile: 1992–2004." En Foco (Expansiva), Num. 125, 2007.
- Bunker, Kenneth. "Revisión de Experiencias Internacionales sobre Participación Ciudadana en Políticas Sociales." En Foco (Expansiva), Num. 87, 2006.

# Working Projects

Bunker, Kenneth and Cristobal Bellolio. "Unequal participation: The age gap in transitional democracies."

Bunker, Kenneth and Patricio Navia. "The Legislative Behavior of Party Switchers in Institutionalized Party Systems."

Bunker, Kenneth and Gabriel Negretto. "Electoral reforms in Latin America: Interactions between party systems and electoral systems."

Bunker, Kenneth and John Polga-Hecimovich. "Changing Party Landscapes: Electoral Reform and Sociological Shifts in Chile."

# Grants & Scholarships

#### London School of Economics

- Student Support Fund Final Year PhD.
- Student Support Fund Final Year PhD.
- Research Studentship Government.
- Research Studentship Government.
- Tesearch Studentship dovernment.
- Research Studentship Government.
- Research Studentship Government.
- Postgraduate Travel Fund.
- Research Studentship Government.

# San Diego State University

- State University Grant.
- State University Grant.
- Terhune Grant.
- Graduate Scholarship from the Department of Political Science.

### Government of Chile

- FONDECYT Project #1140072, "Patterns of Economic Voting in Latin America." Co-Researcher. (2014 2016).
- FONDECYT Project #1120638, "How have Electoral Preferences, Institutional Incentives and Internal Party/Coalition Politics determined who Wins and who Loses in Legislative and Municipal Elections in Chile, 1989-2009." Co-Researcher. (2012 2014).
- FONDECYT Project #1085243, "Los Determinantes de la Aprobación Presidencial en América Latina. Argentina, Chile, México y Perú en Perspectiva Comparada." Research Assistant. (2008 2010).
- Beca Presidente de la República de Chile. Award: Full Fees, Tuition and Stipend at San Diego State University. (2008 - 2010).
- FONDECYT Project #1060479, "Evolución Histórica y Determinantes Sociales, Económicos, Culturales y Coyunturales del Comportamiento Electoral de los Chilenos, 1989 2005." Research Assistant. (2006 2008).

# AWARDS AND RECOGNITIONS

# La Segunda

• Most influential Twitter users of Chile (politics)

2016

### El Mercurio

• 100 young leaders of Chile (under 35 years of age)

2012

# TEACHING EXPERIENCE

#### Universidad Central, Santiago, Chile

Assistant Professor, Department of Government

2016 - 2018

	<ul><li> Methods</li><li> Latin American Politics</li><li> Electoral Systems</li></ul>		
	London School of Economics and Political Science, London, United Kingdom		
	Teaching Assistant, Methodology Institute • Introduction to Quantitative Analysis	2011 - 2014	
	Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Chile		
	Adjunct Professor, Instituto de Asuntos Públicos  • Comparative Politics	2012 - 2012	
	Universidad Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile		
	Adjunct Professor, Escuela de Ciencia Política  • Práctica Electiva: Sistemas Electorales"	2012 - 2012	
	San Diego State University, San Diego, United States		
	Teaching Assistant	2008 - 2009	
	<ul> <li>Statistics for Political Science</li> <li>Elementary Statistics for Political Science</li> <li>Political Behavior</li> <li>Mexican Politics</li> <li>Environmental Politics</li> </ul>		
Professional Experience	Observatorio Electoral, UDP, Santiago, Chile		
EAFERIENCE	Researcher	2005 - Present	
	Universidad Central de Chile, Santiago, Chile		
	Researcher	2016 - 2018	
	Democratic Audit, LSE, London, United Kingdom		
	Researcher	2015 - 2016	
	Corporación Expansiva, Santiago, Chile		
	Researcher	2005 - 2007	
OTHERS	Politico Tech Global, Risk Firm		
	Founder and CEO	2022 - Present	
	Tresquintos.cl, Political Analysis blog		
	Founder and Director	2010 - Present	
	ElectoralDeathMatch, Online Election Game		
	Co-Founder and Partner	2015 - Present	
	Programa Electoral, Electoral Analysis Institute		
	Founder and Director	2017 - 2018	

Media

Las Últimas Noticias, Chilean daily newspaper

Columnist 2018 - Present

Ex-Ante, Chilean daily newsletter

Columnist 2021 - Present

Televisión Nacional de Chile, Chilean public TV station

Commentator 2020 - 2021

La Tercera, Chilean daily newspaper

Columnist 2008 - 2017

External Reviewer Election Law Journal; Journal of Politics; International Journal of Public Opinion Research; International Journal of Sociology; Electoral Studies; Latin American Politics and Society; Journal of Comparative Politics; Journal of Politics in Latin America; Política y Gobierno; Political Research Quarterly; Revista de Ciencia Política; Revista Latinoamericana de Opinión Pública; Revista Chilena de Derecho y Ciencia Política; Estudios Públicos (CEP), ANID (Chile).

Membership Lasa, Ap

LASA, APSA, WAPOR, WAPOR-LATAM.

Coder

Chapel Hill Expert Survey-América Latina (CHES-LA); Varieties of Democracy (V-DEM); Electoral Integrity; Political Representation, Parties, and Presidents Survey - PREPPS.

Relevant Skills Stata, SPSS, R, LATEX

Language Skills

English (Fluent), Spanish (Fluent), Italian (Intermediate), Greek (Student)

References

Upon request.