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Education **Cornell University**

Ph.D., Government, 2017

Dissertation: "States Divided: History, Conflict, and State Formation in Mexico and Colombia." 2018 William Anderson Award, American Political Science Association

M.A., Government, 2014

Centro de Investigación y Docencias Económicas (CIDE)

B.A. (Licenciatura), Political Science and International Relations, 2009

Academic Appoint- ments

Assistant Professor, Center for International Studies, El Colegio de México

Spring 2021 - present

Candidate to National Researcher, Mexico National System of Researchers (SNI-CONAHCYT). Since January 2020.

Editor-in-Chief, *Foro Internacional* (academic journal published by Colmex)
January 2023-present

Academy Scholar, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies

Harvard University

Fall 2017 - Spring 2018, Spring 2021 - Fall 2021

Assistant Professor of Politics, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE, Mexico City)

Fall 2018 - Fall 2020

Articles

In political science:

"Constitutional Origins and Liberal Democracy: A Global Analysis." 2021. *American Political Science Review* 115, n.2. (With Gabriel Negretto)

"Is Mexico Falling into the Authoritarian Trap?" 2021. *Journal of Democracy*. (With Kenneth F. Greene)

"One-Eyed State: The Politics of Legibility and Property Taxation." 2020. *Latin American Politics and Society* 62, n.3.

"Building the Modern State in Developing Countries: Perceptions of Public Safety and (Un)willingness to Pay Taxes in Mexico." 2020. *Politics & Society* 48, n.3. (With Gustavo Flores-Macías).

"Mexico 2019: Personalistic Politics and Neoliberalism from the Left." 2020. *Revista de Ciencia Política* 40, n.2.

"Mexico's Party System Under Stress." 2018. *Journal of Democracy* 29, n.4. (With Kenneth F. Greene)

In public policy & health:

"Non-Pharmaceutical Interventions to Combat COVID-19 in the Americas: Subnational, Daily Data." Forthcoming. *Nature*. (With Michael Touchton, Felicia Knaul, et al.)

"Strengthening Health Systems To Face Pandemics: Subnational Policy Responses To COVID-19 In Latin America." 2022. *Health Affairs* 41, n.3. (With Felicia Knaul, Michael Touchton, et al.)

"Punt Politics as Failure of Health System Stewardship: Evidence from the COVID-19 Pandemic Response in Brazil and Mexico." 2021. *The Lancet Regional Health-Americas* 4, 100086. (With Felicia Knaul, Michael Touchton, et al.).

"A Partisan Pandemic: State Public Health Policies to Combat Covid-19 in Brazil." 2021. *BMJ Global Health* 6, n.6. (With Michael Touchton, Felicia Knaul, et al.).

"Not Far Enough: Mexican States' Performance in Applying Public Health Policies to combat COVID-19." 2021. *PLOS One* 16, n.6 (With Felicia Knaul, Michael Touchton, Thalia Porteny, and Héctor Arreola-Ornelas).

Policy Reports "Mexico's Response to COVID-19: A Case Study." 2021. *Institute for Global Health Sciences, UCSF*. Peer-reviewed report prepared for the World Health Organization's Independent Panel for Pandemic Preparedness and Response. (Lead Author. With Jaime Sepúlveda, Eduardo González-Pier, Lucía Abascal-Miguel, Jane Fieldhouse, Carlos del Río, and Sarah Gallalee).

Edited volumes *Izquierda, democracia y cambio social: PRD, 1989-2019*. 2020. Ciudad de México: Cal y Arena, CIDE. (With Ricardo Becerra).

Las caras de Jano: 90 años del PRI. 2019. Ciudad de México: CIDE. (With Ricardo Becerra)

"¿La venganza del 'pueblo'? La democracia frente a sí misma." *Configuraciones* 48-49 (January-August 2019). Guest editor, special issue.

- Book chapters
- “El ejército paralelo: las defensas rurales y el orden político en México, 1920-2020.” In Ariel Rodríguez Kuri (ed.), *Violencias mexicanas, 1920-2020*. Forthcoming with El Colegio de México.
- “Exclusión social, fragmentación del sistema de salud y Covid-19: Evidencia desagregada de México.” In Martha Schteingart (ed.), *Desigualdades territoriales y Covid-19*. Forthcoming with El Colegio de México in 2024.
- “La recesión democrática como un problema de estatalidad.” 2021. In Rolando Cordera and Enrique Provencio (eds.), *Informe del desarrollo en México*. Ciudad de México: UNAM.
- “1989-2019. La política en una época de desgarramiento social.” 2020. In Ricardo Becerra and Mariano Sánchez-Talanquer (eds.), *Izquierda, democracia y cambio social: PRD, 1989-2019*. Ciudad de México: Cal y Arena, CIDE.
- “The Political Economy of NAFTA/USMCA.” 2019. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press. (With Gustavo Flores-Macías)
- “Las huellas del pasado. Legados representativos de la era del PRI.” 2019. In Mariano Sánchez-Talanquer and Ricardo Becerra (eds.), *Las caras de Jano: 90 años del PRI*. Ciudad de México: CIDE.
- “Authoritarian Legacies and Party System Stability in Mexico.” 2018. In Scott Mainwaring (ed.), *Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (With Kenneth F. Greene)
- Non-Peer Reviewed Chapters, Articles, & Reviews
- “El ‘Plan B’ o el caballo de Troya.” 2023. In Javier Martín Reyes and María Marván (eds.), *Radiografía del Plan B: La Reforma Electoral de 2023 a examen*. Ciudad de México: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas.
- “Crisis y pensamiento después del fin de la historia.” *Configuraciones* 50. (September 2019-March 2020).
- “La desfiguración de la representación política: populismo y bonapartismo en el siglo XXI.” *Configuraciones* 48-49 (January-August 2019).
- “¿Democracia clientelar? La representación política frente a la debilidad estatal.” July 2019. Ciudad de México: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- “NAFTA’s Overhaul: From Stability to Uncertainty.” September 2018. *Foreign Policy Research Institute*. (With Gustavo Flores-Macías)
- Review of “Violence and Crime in Latin America: Representations and Politics,” David Carey Jr. and Gema Santamaría (eds.). 2018. *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 37, n.5 (November).

[“The Future of Mexico under AMLO.”](#) July 2018. *Foreign Policy Research Institute*.

[“El Panorama Electoral en América Latina en 2018.”](#) *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica* 18, n.1. (With Gustavo-Macías)

[“Voto y Ciclo Económico” and “Clientelismo y Coacción.”](#) 2017. In Ricardo Becerra (ed.), *Informe sobre la democracia mexicana en una época de expectativas rotas*. Ciudad de México: Siglo XXI Editores.

[“La economía política del salario mínimo: Estados Unidos y América Latina en perspectiva comparada.”](#) 2016. In *Del Salario Mínimo al Salario Digno*. Ciudad de México: Cal y Arena.

[“El cambio constitucional necesario.”](#) 2012. In Ricardo Becerra (ed.), *Equidad Social y Parlamentarismo*. Ciudad de México: Siglo XXI Editores.

Op-Eds & Essays [“La contrarreforma definitiva: prejuicios y peligros de la reforma electoral.”](#) *Letras Libres*, November 2022.

[“Qué significa la defensa del CIDE.”](#) *Letras Libres*, December 2021.

[“Orden y desorden político de México.”](#) *Nexos* 518. Febrero 2021.

[“Las Defensas Rurales del Ejército y las raíces históricas de la militarización.”](#) Programa para el Estudio de la Violencia, CIDE. October 2020.

[“La letalidad hospitalaria por Covid-19 en México: desigualdades institucionales.”](#) *Nexos*, August 2020.

[“Errada y errática: la respuesta gubernamental a la pandemia.”](#) *Nexos*, August 2020. (With Felicia Knaul, Julio Frenk, Salomón Chertorivski y Héctor Arreola-Ornelas).

[“Los derechos cuestan: debilidad fiscal y límites de la ‘Cuarta Transformación’.”](#) January 2019. In Primer Saque, blog *Política y Gobierno*.

[“Lo que está en juego en las elecciones de México.”](#) 2018. Misión de Observación Electoral, Colombia.

[“A Trade Deal Worse than NAFTA.”](#) October 1, 2018. *The New York Times*. (With Gustavo Flores-Macías)

Work Under Review & Advanced Drafts	<i>Partisan States: Domestic Conflict and State-Building in Colombia and Mexico.</i> (Book manuscript).
	“Suffrage Restrictions and the Reach of the Nation-State.”
	2019 award for best paper presented in the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), Democracy & Autocracy Section
	“ ‘Indians’ into Mexicans: Land Reform and Linguistic Standardization in Postrevolutionary Mexico.”
	“Legacies of Revolution: Popular Militias and the Rule of Law.”
	“Why does patrimonialism persist? Authoritarian Legacies and Judicial Selection in Mexico, 1917-2017.” (With Julio Ríos-Figueroa).
Teaching	“The Genealogy of Liberal-Democratic Constitutions.” (With Gabriel Negretto)
	“Crime, Social Distance, and Elite Support for Redistribution in Unequal Societies.” (With Gustavo Flores-Macías and Vincent Mauro)
	“Spatial Inequality, (In)security, and Support for the Tax State: Evidence from Mexico.” (With Gustavo Flores-Macías)
	“Social Dissent, Coercive Capacity, and Redistribution: Evidence from Authoritarian Mexico.” (With Horacio Larreguy and Juan Felipe Riaño)
	<i>Comparative Political Regimes.</i> Fall 2023. Colegio de México. PhD seminar.
	<i>Quantitative Research Methods I.</i> Fall 2021. El Colegio de México. Graduate.
	<i>Comparative Politics.</i> Spring 2021. El Colegio de México. Undergraduate.
Grants & Awards	<i>Political Institutions I: The State, Constitutionalism, and Democracy.</i> Fall 2018, Fall 2019, Fall 2020. CIDE. Undergraduate.
	<i>Third-year graduate research colloquium.</i> Spring 2020. CIDE. PhD program.
	<i>Political Economy.</i> Spring 2019. CIDE. PhD seminar.
	American Political Science Association. Democracy & Autocracy Section. 2019. Best paper presented in the 2018 Annual Meeting.
	American Political Science Association. 2018. William Anderson Award to the best dissertation in the general field of federalism or intergovernmental relations, state, and local politics.

Cornell University, Department of Government. 2018. Janice N. and Milton J. Esman Prize. Awarded annually in recognition of distinguished scholarship and the best dissertation in the graduate program.

Fletcher Jones Foundation. 2016. Houston I. Flournoy Fellowship for the research project "Funding the Modern State: the Link between Public Safety and Taxation." (With Gustavo Flores-Macías)

Cornell University, Department of Government. 2015. The George Kahin Prize to the best beginning dissertation in the area of International Studies.

Cornell University, Graduate School. 2015. Research Travel Grant.

Social Science Research Council. 2014. Dissertation Proposal Development Fellowship.

Mexico National Council of Science and Technology (CONACYT). 2014. Doctoral Fellowship.

Fulbright U.S.-Mexico Commission for Educational and Cultural Exchange. 2011-2014. Fulbright Garcia-Robles Grant.

Cornell University – Fletcher Jones Foundation. 2013. Houston I. Flournoy Fellowship (with Gustavo Flores-Macías).

Tinker Foundation – Latin American Studies Program, Cornell University. 2012. Tinker Foundation Grant to conduct field research.

Select
Confer-
ences &
Invited
Talks

London School of Economics, Latin American Politics Seminar Series. Fall 2023.

American Political Science Association Annual Conference. 2023.

16th Annual Conference on Empirical Legal Studies. 2022. Society for Empirical Legal Studies and University of Virginia School of Law. Charlottesville, Virginia.

Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies, The City University of New York. 2022. "Mexican Democracy in Regional Context."

Centre d'Etude de la Vie Politique, Université Libre de Bruxelles. 2022. "Autocratization Today: Latin America."

German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA), European Union – Latin America and Caribbean Foundation (EU-LAC). 2022.

Dirección de Investigaciones Socioeconómicas, Banco de Desarrollo de América Latina, CAF. 2022.

Harvard University, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies. Fall 2021. "Partisan Statebuilding in Colombia and Mexico." Cambridge, MA.

Institute for Global Health Sciences, University of California, San Francisco. 2021.

Harvard University, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies. Spring 2021. "Mexico Under AMLO." Cambridge, MA.

El Colegio Nacional (The National College, Mexico). 2020. "Politics and policy for the sustainability of development."

American Political Science Association Annual Conference. 2020. Virtual edition.

Yale University. 2019. Old and New Challenges to Mexican Democracy workshop. New Haven, CT.

Universidad Torcuato di Tella, German Institute for Global Affairs, Nueva Sociedad. 2019. Los retos y dilemas de la democracia en América Latina. Buenos Aires, Argentina.

American Political Science Association Annual Conference. 2019. Washington, DC.

Princeton University. 2019. State Capacity and Public Goods Provision conference. Princeton, NJ.

Georgetown University. 2019. Historical Political Economy of Mexico workshop. Washington, DC.

Harvard University, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies. 2018. "Legacies of Revolution: Popular Militias and the Rule of Law in Mexico." Cambridge, MA.

American Political Science Association Annual Conference. 2018. Boston, MA.

American Political Science Association Annual Conference. 2017. San Francisco, CA.

American Political Science Association Annual Conference. 2016. Philadelphia, PA.

4th Annual Conference of the Sociology of Development Section of the American Sociological Association. 2015. Watson Institute, Brown University.

American Political Science Association Annual Conference. 2015. San Francisco, CA.

Other
Training Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (IQMR). Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York. 2014.

Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). 2013.

Languages & Skills	Spanish (native), English (fluent), French (reading) Archival research, Stata, R, L ^A T _E X, ArcGIS	
Non-Academic Employment	<p>Secretariat of Economic Development of Mexico City, Mexico. January-October 2016. Chief of Staff for the Secretary (in charge of policy design initiatives and policy reports).</p> <p>Federal Electoral Institute (IFE), Mexico. 2009-2011 and summer of 2012. Office of the Executive Secretary. Advisor to the Executive Secretary.</p> <p>Federal Electoral Institute (IFE), Mexico. 2009. Preliminary Electoral Results Program, 2009 federal elections. Deputy Director of Analysis and Communications.</p> <p>Federal Electoral Institute (IFE), Mexico. 2009. Preliminary Electoral Results Program, 2009 federal elections. Chief of Statistical Analysis.</p>	
References	<p>Dr. Kenneth M. Roberts Richard J. Schwarz Professor of Govt. Department of Government Cornell University kr99@cornell.edu</p> <p>Dr. Thomas Pepinsky Walter F. LaFeber Professor of Govt. Department of Government Cornell University pepinsky@cornell.edu</p>	<p>Dr. Gustavo Flores-Macías Professor of Govt. and Public Policy Department of Government Cornell University gaf44@cornell.edu</p> <p>Dr. Sidney Tarrow Emeritus Maxwell Upson Professor Department of Government Cornell University sgt2@cornell.edu</p>