

# Nicolás de la Cerdá

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## CONTACT INFORMATION

Center for Inter-American Policy and Research  
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Updated: December 18, 2025

## APPOINTMENTS

**Tulane University**, New Orleans, Louisiana  
Post-doctoral Fellow, Center for Inter-American Policy and Research (CIPR),  
*2024-present*

## EDUCATION

**The University of North Carolina**, Chapel Hill, North Carolina USA  
Ph.D., Political Science, 2024  
M.A., Political Science, 2020

**Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile**, Santiago, Chile  
M.A., Sociology, 2016  
B.A., Sociology, 2016

## PUBLICATIONS

de la Cerdá, Nicolás, Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo, and Jonathan Hartlyn. *Forthcoming*. “Explaining Programmatic Party Appeals in Contemporary Latin America: The Differing Roles of Ideology, Particularism and Populism”. *Party Politics*.

de la Cerdá, Nicolás. 2025. “Cueing without Parties: Experimental Evidence from Peru”. *Political Behavior*. DOI: [10.1007/s11109-025-10059-x](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-025-10059-x).

de la Cerdá, Nicolás, Ryan Bakker, Seth Jolly, Jonathan Polk, Ruth Dassonneville, Jelle Koedam, Patrick Leslie, Jill Sheppard, and Roi Zur. 2025. “A Global Scale of Economic Left-Right Party Positions: Exploring the Cross-National and Cross-Expert Perceptions of Party Placements”. *The Journal of Politics*. DOI: [10.1086/736578](https://doi.org/10.1086/736578).

Fuller, Sam, Nicolás de la Cerdá, and Jack T. Rametta. 2025. “Affect, Not Ideology: The Heterogeneous Effects of Partisan Cues on Policy Support”. *Political Behavior*. DOI: [10.1007/s11109-025-10030-w](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-025-10030-w).

de la Cerdá, Nicolás, Jonathan Hartlyn, and Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo. 2024. “Ideological and Populist Bases of Partisan Responses to the COVID-19 Pandemic in Latin America”. *The Journal of Politics in Latin America*. 16(2), 252-271. DOI: [10.1177/1866802X241262326](https://doi.org/10.1177/1866802X241262326).

de la Cerdá, Nicolás and Jacob Gunderson. 2024. “Are Party Families in Europe Ideologically Coherent Today?”. *European Journal of Political Research*. 63(3), 1208–1226. DOI: [10.1111/1475-6765.12638](https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12638).

Martínez-Gallardo, Cecilia, Nicolás de la Cerdá, Jonathan Hartlyn, Ryan Bakker, Liesbet Hooghe, and Gary Marks. 2023. “Revisiting Party System Structuration in Latin America and Europe: Economic and Socio-Cultural Dimensions”. *Party Politics*. 29(4), 780-792. DOI: 10.1177/13540688221090604.

de la Cerdá, Nicolás. 2022. “Unstable Identities: The Decline of Partisanship in Contemporary Chile”. *The Journal of Politics in Latin America*. 14(1), 3-30. DOI: 10.1177/1866802X211069378.

Bargsted, Matías and Nicolás de la Cerdá. 2019. “Ideological Preferences and Evolution of the Religious Cleavage in Chile, 1998–2014”. *Latin American Research Review*. 54(2), 348–365. DOI: 10.25222/larr.309.

BOOK  
CHAPTERS

de la Cerdá, Nicolás and Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo. 2022. “Mexico: A Politically Effective Populist Pandemic Response”. Book chapter in *Populists and the Pandemic: How Populists Around the World Respond to COVID-19*. Lucio Renno and Nils Ringe, eds. Routledge. Chapter 3, pages 29-43. DOI: 10.4324/9781003197614-3.

Bargsted, Matías, Sebastián Valenzuela, Nicolás de la Cerdá and Bernardo Mackenna. 2013. “Participación ciudadana en las elecciones municipales 2012: diagnóstico y propuestas en torno al sistema de voto voluntario”. In Ignacio Irarrázaval, María de los Ángeles Morandé, and Magdalena Letelier (eds), *Propuestas para Chile*, chapter 1, pages 23–50.

WORK IN  
PROGRESS

de la Cerdá, Nicolás and Rodrigo Castro Cornejo. “Why do Voters Comply During Clientelist Exchanges? Affective Clientelism, the Commitment Problem, and Expressive Partisanship in Mexico”.

– *Invited to revise and resubmit at Perspectives on Politics*.

de la Cerdá, Nicolás and Jacob Gunderson. “To Blur or not to Blur: Disentangling Populist Ideology and Electoral Strategy in Europe and Latin America”.

– *Invited to revise and resubmit at Perspectives on Politics*.

de la Cerdá, Nicolás, Isabel Laterzo, and Ayelén Vanegas. “Institutional Accountability and Support for Democracy: Evidence from a Natural Experiment”.

– *Under Review*.

– Covered in *Lawfare* (May 2025).

Argote, Pablo, Nicolás de la Cerdá, and Giancarlo Visconti. “Thick and Thin Ideological Dimensions of Party Competition in Latin America”.

– *Under Review*.

de la Cerdá, Nicolás. “Beyond Partisanship: Theory and Methods”.

de la Cerdá, Nicolás. “Political Identities and Belief Networks in Comparative Perspective”.

Contreras Aguirre, Gonzalo and Nicolás de la Cerdá. “A Model of Clientelistic Propensity: How Short-Term Economic Shocks Shape Voters’ Receptivity to Clientelism”.

de la Cerdá, Nicolás and Michael Greenberger. “The Institutions in our Heads: Prototypes and Trust in Political Institutions”.

DATA  
COLLECTION

Chapel Hill Expert Survey-Latin America (CHES-LA)  
Principal Investigator (with Jonathan Hartlyn and Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo).  
Expert Survey measuring party positions on ideological and non-ideological dimensions in Latin America.  
– 2020-2021: Administered in 12 Latin American countries.  
– 2024-2025: Administered in 18 Latin American countries.

Chapel Hill Expert Survey-United States (CHES-US)  
Principal Investigator (with Ryan Bakker, Royce Carroll, Alexa Federice, and Christopher Hare).  
Expert Survey measuring party positions on ideological and non-ideological dimensions in the United States.  
– 2025: Data Collection in progress.

EXTERNAL  
AFFILIATIONS

**Universidad Diego Portales**, Santiago, Chile  
Investigador Adjunto. Núcleo Milenio para el Estudio de la Política, Opinión Pública y Medios en Chile (MEPOP), *2025-present*

**Instituto de Estudios Peruanos**, Lima, Perú  
Investigador Afiliado. *Summer 2022*

AWARDS AND  
SCHOLARSHIPS

2025 – Expense Support Grant. Institute for Humane Studies, George Mason University. (\$3,500)  
2025 – Supporting Impactful Publications (SIP) Program. University Office of Academic Affairs and Provost, Tulane University. (\$2,500).  
2025 – Stone Center Faculty/Staff Professional Travel Award. Stone Center for Latin American Studies, Tulane University. (\$800)  
2025 – Postdoctoral Fellow Travel Fund. Office of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies, Tulane University. (\$1,000)  
2024 – Stone Center Faculty/Staff Professional Travel Award. Stone Center for Latin American Studies, Tulane University. (\$600)  
2024 – Stone Center Faculty/Staff Professional Travel Award. Stone Center for Latin American Studies, Tulane University. (\$650)  
2024 – Postdoctoral Fellow Travel Fund. Office of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies, Tulane University. (\$500)  
2024 – Mellon Conference Travel Award. Institute for the Study of the Americas, UNC-Chapel Hill. (\$500)  
2023 – Uhlman Fellow. Department of Political Science, UNC-Chapel Hill. (\$3,275)  
2023 – APSA First Generation Scholar Travel and Accessibility Grant. (\$145)

- 2023 – MPSA Graduate Student Travel Scholarship (\$500).
- 2022 – James W. Prothro Award for Outstanding Research, Best Graduate Student Paper. Department of Political Science, UNC-Chapel Hill. (\$675)
- 2022 – Carolina Latinx Center Innovation Award. Carolina Latinx Center, UNC-Chapel Hill.
- 2022 – Mellon Dissertation Award. Institute for the Study of the Americas, UNC-Chapel Hill. (\$3,000)
- 2022 – Summer Research Fellowship. Department of Political Science, UNC-Chapel Hill. (\$3,000)
- 2022 – Thomas F. Ferdinand Summer Research Fellowship. Graduate School, UNC-Chapel Hill. (\$5,000)
- 2021 – Summer Research Collaboratory Program. Department of Political Science, UNC-Chapel Hill. (\$5,000)
- 2020 – Graduate Research Award. Institute for the Study of the Americas, UNC-Chapel Hill. (\$1,500)
- 2020 – Uhlman Fellow. Department of Political Science, UNC-Chapel Hill. (\$2,250)
- 2020 – Pre-dissertation Field Research Grant. Institute for the Study of the Americas, UNC-Chapel Hill. (\$1,500) [Cancelled due to the COVID-19 pandemic].
- 2020 – John Frechione award support for lodging. Latin American Social and Public Policy Conference (LASPP) [Cancelled due to the COVID-19 pandemic].

**CONFERENCE  
AND INVITED  
PRESENTATIONS**

- 2025 American Political Science Association Meeting. Vancouver, Canada.
- A Model of Clientelistic Propensity: How Short-Term Economic Shocks Shape Voters' Receptivity to Clientelism (with Gonzalo Contreras).
  - The Institutions in our Heads: Prototypes and Trust in Political Institutions (with Michael Greenberger).
- International Party Organizations and Party Positions: An Application of Model-Based Clustering at Global Scale (with Eugenia C. Aguirre and Jacob Gunderson).
- Thick and Thin Ideological Dimensions of Electoral Competition in Latin America (with Pablo Argote and Giancarlo Visconti).

Annual Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior 2025 Conference. Stony Brook University (NY), United States.

- Political Identities and Belief Networks in Developing Democracies.

Latin American Studies Association (LASA) 2025 Meeting. San Francisco, United States.

- Political Identities and Belief Networks in Developing Democracies.

Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. Virtual. July, 2025.

- Beyond Partisanship: How Citizens Make Sense of Politics When Parties are Weak.

Seminario Interdisciplinario en Comportamiento Político y Opinión Pública (Virtual. May, 2025).

- Thick and Thin Ideological Dimensions of Electoral Competition in Latin America (with Pablo Argote and Giancarlo Visconti).

2025 Nineteenth Biennial EUSA Conference. Philadelphia (PA), United States.

- Introducing the Chapel Hill Expert Survey-Latin America (CHES-LA).
- Introducing the Chapel Hill Expert Survey-United States (CHES-US).

2025 Southern Political Science Association Annual Conference. San Juan, Puerto Rico.

- Political Identities and Belief Networks in Developing Democracies.

2024 American Political Science Association Meeting. Philadelphia (PA), United States.

- Why do Voters Comply During Clientelist Exchanges? Affective Clientelism, the Commitment Problem, and Expressive Partisanship in Mexico (with Rodrigo Castro Cornejo).
- The Political Legacy of Violence: Evidence from Peru.

Seminario Interdisciplinario en Comportamiento Político y Opinión Pública (Virtual. June, 2024).

- Politics without Parties: Experimental Evidence from Peru.

Latin American Studies Association (LASA) 2024 Meeting. Bogotá, Colombia.

- Explaining Programmatic Party Appeals in Contemporary Latin America: The Differing Roles of Ideology, Particularism and Populism (with Jonathan Hartlyn and Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo).

Duke/UNC Political Behavior Group (April, 2024). University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (NC), United States.

- Politics without Parties: Experimental Evidence from Peru.

2024 Midwest Political Science Association Meeting. Chicago (IL), United States.

- Politics without Parties: Experimental Evidence from Peru.
- Why do Voters Comply During Clientelist Exchanges? Affective Clientelism, the Commitment Problem, and Expressive Partisanship in Mexico. (With Rodrigo Castro Cornejo).

Current Perspectives on Party Competition Workshop, MZES. University of Mannheim, Germany.

- To Blur or not to Blur: Disentangling Populist Ideology and Electoral Strategy in Europe and Latin America (with Jacob Gunderson).

Congreso Chileno de Ciencia Política 2023. Universidad de Santiago, Chile.

- Politics without Parties: Experimental Evidence from Peru.

Universidad Católica del Uruguay. Montevideo, Uruguay (Virtual. December, 2023).

- Beyond Partisanship: Theory and Methods.

Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE). México D.F., México (Virtual. November, 2023).

- Beyond Partisanship: Theory and Methods.

2023 American Political Science Association Meeting. Los Angeles (CA), United States.

- Explaining Programmatic Party Appeals in Contemporary Latin America: The Differing Roles of Ideology, Particularism and Populism (with Jonathan Hartlyn and Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo).
- Political Identities and Belief Networks in Developing Democracies.

Latin American Studies Association (LASA) 2023 Meeting. Vancouver, Canada.

- Politics without Parties: Experimental Evidence from Peru.
- Explaining Programmatic Party Appeals in Contemporary Latin America: The Differing Roles of Ideology, Particularism and Populism (with Jonathan Hartlyn and Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo).

2023 Midwest Political Science Association Meeting. Chicago (IL), United States.

- Are party families in Europe ideologically coherent today? (with Jacob Gunderson).
- A Global Scale of Economic Left-Right Party Positions: Exploring the cross-national and cross-expert perceptions of party placements. (with Ryan Bakker, Ruth Dassonneville, Seth Jolly, Jelle Koedam, Patrick Leslie, Jonathan Polk, Jill Sheppard, and Roi Zur).

2021 Southern Political Science Association Meeting (Virtual).

- Identifying Identities: Uncovering Partisanship in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes (With Courtney Blackington).

2015 World Association for Public Opinion Research Meeting. Buenos Aires, Argentina.

- Ideological Preferences and Evolution of the Religious Cleavage in Chile, 1998–2014 (With Matías Bargsted).

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

### The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

#### *Instructor*

- POLI 209: Analyzing Public Opinion (F2021)
- POLI 209: Analyzing Public Opinion (Summer I)
- POLI 130: Comparative Politics (S2021)

#### *Teaching Assistant*

- IDST 128L: Data Literacy Lab, Caitlin Smith (S2024)
- IDST 123L: Data Literacy Lab, Caitlin Smith (F2023)
- IDST 113L: Data Literacy Lab, Caitlin Smith (S2023)
- IDST 123L: Data Literacy Lab, Caitlin Smith (F2022)

- POLI 203: Race, Innocence, and the Decline of the Death Penalty, Frank R. Baumgartner (S2022)
- POLI 130: Comparative Politics, Rahsaan Maxwell (F2020)
- POLI 130: Comparative Politics, Ashley Anderson (S2020)
- POLI 130: Comparative Politics, Andrew Reynolds (F2019)

### **Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile**

#### *Instructor*

- SOL 107: Social Ethics (March-July, 2018)
- SOL 107: Social Ethics (March-July, 2017)
- SOL 100: Sociological Paradigms (March-July, 2016)
- SOL 107: Social Ethics (March-July, 2016)
- SOL 107: Social Ethics (March-July, 2015)

#### *Teaching Assistant*

- SOL (3070) Data Analysis (August-December, 2015)
- SOL (3000) Design and Analysis of Social Research (March-July, 2013)

### **Universidad Alberto Hurtado**

#### *Instructor*

- Statistics II (March-July, 2016)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE	<b>Ekhos Consulting Firm (Chile)</b> <i>Research Associate</i>	March 2016 – June 2018
PROFESSIONAL SERVICE AND ACTIVITY	<p><b>Discipline:</b>            Referee: <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> · <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> · <i>Political Behavior</i> · <i>European Journal of Political Research</i> · <i>Party Politics</i> · <i>Journal of Elections, Public Opinion &amp; Parties</i> · <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> · <i>Latin American Research Review</i> · <i>Latin American Politics &amp; Society</i> · <i>Journal of Politics in Latin America</i> · <i>Bulletin of Latin American Research</i> · <i>Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies</i> · <i>Colombia Internacional</i> · <i>Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy</i></p> <p>Latin American Studies Association (LASA): Latin American Political Institutions Section Board Council Member (2024-2026).</p>	

**Department:**  
 Speaker Series Coordinator, Center for Inter-American Policy and Research (2024 — 2026).  
 Student Representative, Political Behavior Tenure Track Assistant Professor Search Committee (2023).  
 Program Coordinator, Latin American Working Group, UNC (2019 — 2023).  
 Comparative Politics Subfield Representative and Comparative Working Group Organizer, UNC-Political Science Department (2022 — 2023).

METHODS TRAINING	Ordinary Least Squares Regression · Generalized Linear Models · Hierarchical Models · Causal Inference · Measurement Models · Machine Learning · Bayesian Models				
TECHNICAL SKILLS	Statistical computing in R, Stan, Python, and Stata; L <sup>A</sup> T <sub>E</sub> X; Qualtrics				
LANGUAGES	Spanish: Native English: Fluent				
REFERENCES	<table> <tr> <td>Jonathan Hartlyn K. J. Reckford Dist. Professor of Poli. Sc. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill <a href="mailto:hartlyn@email.unc.edu">hartlyn@email.unc.edu</a></td> <td>Liesbet Hooghe W.R. Kenan Dist. Professor of Poli. Sc. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill <a href="mailto:hooghe@email.unc.edu">hooghe@email.unc.edu</a></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo Associate Professor of Political Science University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill <a href="mailto:cmg@email.unc.edu">cmg@email.unc.edu</a></td> <td>Ryan Bakker Associate Professor University of Sharjah <a href="mailto:rbakker@sharjah.ac.ae">rbakker@sharjah.ac.ae</a></td> </tr> </table>	Jonathan Hartlyn K. J. Reckford Dist. Professor of Poli. Sc. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill <a href="mailto:hartlyn@email.unc.edu">hartlyn@email.unc.edu</a>	Liesbet Hooghe W.R. Kenan Dist. Professor of Poli. Sc. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill <a href="mailto:hooghe@email.unc.edu">hooghe@email.unc.edu</a>	Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo Associate Professor of Political Science University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill <a href="mailto:cmg@email.unc.edu">cmg@email.unc.edu</a>	Ryan Bakker Associate Professor University of Sharjah <a href="mailto:rbakker@sharjah.ac.ae">rbakker@sharjah.ac.ae</a>
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