

Nicolás de la Cerda

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

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*

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

de la Cerda, 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 Cerda, 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](https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688221090604).

de la Cerda, 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](https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003197614-3).

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

Bargsted, Matías and Nicolás de la Cerda. 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](https://doi.org/10.25222/larr.309)

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

WORK IN
PROGRESS

POLITICAL
PSYCHOLOGY AND
BEHAVIOR

de la Cerda, Nicolás. “The Case for Non-Partisan Political Cueing: Experimental Evidence from Peru”. *Invited to revise and resubmit at Political Behavior*.

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

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

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

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

Contreras Aguirre, Gonzalo and Nicolás de la Cerda. “The Short-term Dimension of Clientelism.”

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

PARTY POLITICS

de la Cerda, Nicolás, Ryan Bakker, Ruth Dassonneville, Seth Jolly, Jelle Koedam, Patrick Leslie, Jonathan Polk, Jill Sheppard, and Roi Zur. “A Global Scale of Economic Left-Right Party Positions: Exploring the Cross-National and Cross-Expert Perceptions of Party Placements”. *Invited to revise and resubmit at the Journal of Politics*.

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

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

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, Christopher Hare, and Alexa Federice).
Expert Survey measuring party positions on ideological and non-ideological dimensions in the United States.
2025: Data Collection in progress.

AWARDS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

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

The Case for Non-Partisan Political Cueing: Experimental Evidence from Peru
– Seminario Interdisciplinario en Comportamiento Político y Opinión Pública (Spring 2024).
– Duke/UNC Political Behavior Group (Spring 2024).
– 2024 Midwest Political Science Association Meeting.
– 2023 Latin American Studies Association Meeting.

Why do Voters Comply During Clientelist Exchanges? Affective Clientelism, the Commitment Problem, and Expressive Partisanship in Mexico.
(With Rodrigo Castro Cornejo)
– 2024 American Political Science Association Meeting.
– 2024 Midwest Political Science Association Meeting.

To Blur or not to Blur: Disentangling Populist Ideology and Electoral Strategy in Europe and Latin America.
(with Jacob Gunderson)
– Current Perspectives on Party Competition Workshop, MZES, University of Mannheim. February 2024.

Beyond Partisanship: Political Identities in Comparative Perspective.
– Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, México (Fall 2023).
– Universidad Católica del Uruguay (Fall 2023).

Political Identities and Belief Networks in Comparative Perspective.
– 2025 Southern Political Science Association Meeting.
– 2023 American Political Science Association Meeting.

Explaining Programmatic Party Appeals in Contemporary Latin America: The Differing Roles of Ideology, Particularism and Populism.
(with with Jonathan Hartlyn and Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo)
– 2024 Latin American Studies Association Meeting.
– 2023 American Political Science Association Meeting.
– 2023 Latin American Studies Association Meeting.

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)

- 2023 Midwest Political Science Association Meeting.

Are party families in Europe ideologically coherent today?
(with Jacob Gunderson)

- 2023 Midwest Political Science Association Meeting.

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

- 2021 Southern Political Science Association Meeting.

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

- 2015 World Association for Public Opinion Research Meeting.

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

- Statistic II (March-July, 2016)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE	Ekhos Consulting Firm (Chile) <i>Research Associate</i> March 2016 – June 2018 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Survey polling for political campaigns and private firms. • Political campaign consultant. 	
PROFESSIONAL SERVICE AND ACTIVITY	Discipline: Referee: <i>Bulletin of Latin American Research · Latin American Research Review · Political Research Quarterly · Journal of Politics in Latin America · Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties · Party Politics · European Journal of Political Research · British Journal of Political Science · Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies · Colombia Internacional · Latin American Politics & Society</i> Department: Speaker Series Coordinator, Center for Inter-American Policy and Research (2024 — 2025). 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 · Multilevel Models · Causal Inference · Psychometry · Machine Learning · Bayesian Models	
TECHNICAL SKILLS	Statistical computing in R, Stan, Python, and Stata; L ^A T _E X; Qualtrics	
LANGUAGES	Spanish: Native English: Fluent	
REFERENCES	<div> Jonathan Hartlyn K. J. Reckford Dist. Professor of Poli. Sc. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill hartlyn@unc.edu </div> <div> Liesbet Hooghe W.R. Kenan Dist. Professor of Poli. Sc. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill hooghe@email.unc.edu </div> <div> Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo Associate Professor of Political Science University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill cmg@email.unc.edu </div> <div> Ryan Bakker Associate Professor University of Sharjah rbakker@sharjah.ac.ae </div>	