

(updated September 2019)

Curriculum Vitae

**FRANCES HAGOPIAN**

Department of Government  
Center for Government and International Studies K-402  
Harvard University  
1737 Cambridge Street  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138  
Telephone: (617) 496-1467  
Electronic mail: fhagopian@gov.harvard.edu

**CURRENT APPOINTMENT**

Jorge Paulo Lemann Senior Lecturer on Government, Department of Government; Faculty Co-Chair, Brazil Studies Program, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, 2016-

**PREVIOUS APPOINTMENTS**

- Jorge Paulo Lemann Visiting Associate Professor for Brazil Studies, Department of Government; Faculty Chair, Brazil Studies Program, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, 2010-2016
- University of Notre Dame, Associate Professor of Political Science, 1999-2011 (Michael P. Grace II Associate Professor of Latin American Studies, 2002-2008); Director, Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, 2002-03 (Acting Director 2000)
- Oxford University, Associate Member Nuffield College, 2008-2010
- London School of Economics and Political Science, Visiting Professor, Department of Government, Fall 2008
- Tufts University. Associate Professor of Political Science, 1992-1999; Assistant Professor, 1991-1992
- Harvard University. Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Government, Spring 1997, 1999
- Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Visiting Associate Professor, Spring 1993
- Harvard University. Assistant Professor of Government and of Social Studies, 1987-1991
- University of Notre Dame. Assistant Professor Adjunct, 1985-1986

**EDUCATION**

Ph.D. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, September, 1986. Dissertation: "The Politics of Oligarchy: The Persistence of Traditional Elites in Contemporary Brazil" (Thesis Supervisor: Suzanne Berger)

B.A. Brandeis University, *magna cum laude*, with High Honors in Politics, May, 1975

## HONORS

- Recipient of Kaneb Teaching Award, University of Notre Dame, for excellence in undergraduate teaching, 2006
- Recipient of *Choice* Outstanding Book Award for *Traditional Politics and Regime Change in Brazil*, 1997
- Harvard University, named John Loeb Associate Professor of the Social Sciences, 1991 (declined)
- American Political Science Association, Gabriel Almond Award for best doctoral dissertation in the field of comparative politics, 1987
- Phi Beta Kappa, 1975

## FELLOWSHIPS

- Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, Visiting Residential Fellow, 2007-2008
- U.S. Department of Education, Fulbright-Hays Faculty Research Abroad Grant, 1991-1992
- University of Pittsburgh, Center for Latin American Studies and the Howard Heinz Endowment, Research Grant on Current Latin American Issues, 1991-1992
- Social Science Research Council, Advanced Research Grant, 1991-1992
- Council for the International Exchange of Scholars, Fulbright Scholar Award, awarded 1991 (declined)
- University of Notre Dame, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, Residential Fellowship, 1985-1986
- Social Science Research Council, International Doctoral Research Fellowship, 1981-1982
- Fulbright-Hays, Dissertation Grant, 1980-1981 (administered through the Institute of International Education)
- Doherty Foundation, Dissertation Grant, awarded 1980 (declined)
- MIT, Ida M. Green Fellowship, 1977-1978

## PUBLICATIONS

### *Books*

*Reorganizing Political Representation in Latin America: Parties, Program, and Patronage in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.)

*Religious Pluralism, Democracy, and the Catholic Church in Latin America* (ed.) (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009, 527p).

*The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks* (co-edited with Scott Mainwaring) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 413p).

*Traditional Politics and Regime Change in Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 317p).

### *Journal Articles*

“Horizontal Accountability, Social Inclusion, and Political Crisis in Brazil?” *Journal of Democracy*, 27, 3 (July 2016): 119-128.

“Paradoxes of Democracy and Citizenship in Brazil,” *Latin American Research Review*, 46, 3 (2011): 216-227.

“From Patronage to Program: The Emergence of Party-Oriented Legislators in Brazil” (with Carlos Gervasoni and Juan Andres Moraes), *Comparative Political Studies*, 42, 3 (March 2009): 360-391.

“Latin American Catholicism in an Age of Religious and Political Pluralism: A Framework for Analysis,” *Comparative Politics*, 40, 2 (January 2008): 149-168.

“Democratización: Avances y Retrocesos en América Latina,” *Revista de Ciencia Política*, 26, 2 (2006): 231-239.

“Derechos, representación, y la creciente calidad de la democracia en Brasil y Chile” (“Rights, Representation, and the Rising Quality of Democracy in Brazil and Chile”), *Política y Gobierno*, 12, 1 (2005): 41-90.

“Political Development, Revisited,” *Comparative Political Studies* (Special Double Issue: Comparative Politics in the Year 2000: Unity within Diversity), 33, 6-7 (2000): 880-911.

Translated into Chinese, and published in *Open Times*, 184, 90-109 (2006), Singapore.

“After Regime Change: Authoritarian Legacies, Political Representation, and the Democratic Future of South America,” *World Politics* 45, 3 (1993): 464-500.

“Democracy by Undemocratic Means? Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil,” *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 23, 2 (1990): 147-170.

Reprinted in Jorge I. Domínguez, ed. *Essays on Mexico, Central and South America: Scholarly Debates from the 1950s to the 1990s*, Vol. 2, *Authoritarian and Democratic Regimes in Latin America* (Hamden, CT: Garland Publishing, 1994).

“Democracy in Brazil: Problems and Prospects” (co-authored with Scott Mainwaring), *World Policy Journal*, 4, 3 (1987): 485-514.

“The Limits of Industrialization in the Less Developed World: Bolivia” (co-authored with Susan Eckstein), *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 32, 1 (1983): 63-95.

### **Book Chapters**

“The Political Economy of Inequality in Brazil,” pp. 375-390 in Barry Ames, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Brazilian Politics* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2018)

“Politics in Brazil” (with Timothy J. Power), Chapter 14 in G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Kaare Strom, and Melanie Manion, eds., *Comparative Politics Today: A World View*, Twelfth Edition (New York: Pearson Longman, 2018), pp. 422-465.

(previous editions of "Politics in Brazil" appeared as Chapter 15 in G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Kaare Strom, and Russell Dalton, eds., *Comparative Politics Today: A World View*, Eleventh Edition (New York: Pearson Longman, 2015), pp. 482-531; in Gabriel A. Almond, Russell Dalton, G. Bingham Powell, Jr., and Kaare Strom, eds., *Comparative Politics Today: A World View*, Tenth Edition (New York: Pearson Longman, 2012, pp. 470-519); Ninth Edition (New York: Pearson Longman, 2008, pp. 506-561), Eighth Edition (New York: Pearson Longman, 2004), pp. 520-579; Seventh Edition (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 2000), pp. 514-568; and Chapter 16 in Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., eds., *Comparative Politics Today: A World View*, Sixth Edition (New York: Harper Collins, 1996), pp. 556-607)

"The Weight of the Past, the Politics of the Present, and the Future of Democracy in Brazil and the Southern Cone," pp. 157-182 in Merilee Grindle and Erin Goodman, eds., *Reflections on Memory and Democracy in Latin America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).

"¿Qué son estas democracias que hoy tenemos?" ("What Are These Democracies that We Have Today?)," pp. 207-222 in Gabriela Ippolito-O'Donnell and Martin D'Alessandro, eds. *La ciencia política de Guillermo O'Donnell* (Buenos Aires: Edeuba, 2015).

"Brazil's Transition: From Constrained Liberalization to Vibrant Democracy," pp. 5-11 in Sergio Bitar and Abraham F. Lowenthal, eds., *Democratic Transitions: Conversations with World Leaders* (Baltimore, MD and Stockholm: Johns Hopkins University Press and International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2015).

"Reorganizing Interests in Latin America in the Neoliberal Age," pp. 126-151 in Peter Hall, Wade Jacoby, Jonah Levy, and Sophie Meunier, eds., *Constructed Interests: The Process of Political Representation in the Global Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

"Accountability and Representation in Latin America," in Peter Kingstone and Deborah J. Yashar, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 101-113.

Chapter 1, "Introduction. The New Landscape: Religious Pluralism, Democracy, and the Catholic Church in Latin America in the Twenty-first Century" (pp. 1-64); Chapter 7, "Social Justice, Moral Values, or Institutional Interests? Church Responses to the Democratic Challenge in Latin America" (pp. 257-331); and Chapter 11, "The Catholic Church in a Plural Latin America: Toward a New Research Agenda" (429-466), in Frances Hagopian, ed., *Religious Pluralism, Democracy, and the Catholic Church in Latin America* (ed.) (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009).

"Parties and Voters in Emerging Democracies," pp. 582-603 in Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, eds., *Comparative Politics*, Oxford Handbooks of Political Science, General Editor, Robert E. Goodin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

"Latin American Citizenship and Democratic Theory," pp. 11-56 in Joseph Tulchin and Margaret Ruthenburg, eds., *Analyzing Citizenship in Latin American Democracies*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner/Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2006).

"Introduction: The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America (co-authored with Scott Mainwaring, (pp. 1-13) and "Conclusions: Government Performance, Political Representation, and Public Perceptions of the Quality of Democracy in Latin America in the 1990s and Beyond" (single-authored, pp. 319-362), in

Frances Hagopian and Scott Mainwaring, eds., *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

“The Rising Quality of Democracy in Brazil and Chile” pp. 123-162 in Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino, eds., *The Quality of Democracy: Improvement or Subversion?* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

“Authoritarian Legacies, Political Institutions, and Market Reforms in Latin America,” pp. 85-158 in Katherine Hite and Paola Cesarini, eds., *Authoritarian Legacies and Good Democracy: Latin America and Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004).

“Democracy and Political Representation in Latin America in the 1990s: Pause, Reorganization, or Decline,” pp. 99-143 in Felipe Agüero and Jeffrey Stark, eds., *Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America* (Miami: University of Miami, North-South Center and Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998).

Reprinted as “Democracia y representación política en América Latina en los años noventa: pausa, reorganización o declinación?” pp. 265-330 in Ernesto López and Scott Mainwaring, eds., *Democracia: discusiones y nuevas aproximaciones* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2000).

“Traditional Power Structures and Democratic Governance in Latin America,” pp. 64-86 (n. 111-116) in Jorge I. Domínguez and Abraham F. Lowenthal, eds., *Constructing Democratic Governance: Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1990s* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

“Traditional Politics against State Transformation in Brazil,” pp. 37-64 in Joel S. Migdal, Atul Kohli, and Vivienne Shue, eds., *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

“The Compromised Consolidation: The Political Class in the Brazilian Transition,” pp. 243-293 in Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell, and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds., *Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992).

“Brazil,” in David Dent, ed., *Handbook of Political Science Research on Latin America: Major Trends, 1960s to 1980s* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990), pp. 229-263.

### **Book Reviews**

Review of Susan C. Stokes, Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco, BROKERS, VOTERS, AND CLIENTELISM: THE PUZZLE OF DISTRIBUTIVE POLITICS, *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 13 (June 2015) No 2: 576-577.

Review of James McGuire, WEALTH, HEALTH, AND DEMOCRACY IN EAST ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA and Eduardo Silva, CHALLENGING NEOLIBERALISM IN LATIN AMERICA, *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 10 (September 2012) No. 3: 853-855.

Review of Kurt Weyland, THE POLITICS OF MARKET REFORM IN FRAGILE DEMOCRACIES: ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, PERU, AND VENEZUELA, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 37 (February 2005) No. 1: 187-189.

Review of Nancy Bermeo, ORDINARY PEOPLE IN EXTRAORDINARY TIMES: THE CITIZENRY AND THE BREAKDOWN OF DEMOCRACY, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15 (July 2004), No. 3: 166-169.

Review of Susan C. Stokes, MANDATES AND DEMOCRACIES: NEOLIBERALISM BY SURPRISE IN LATIN AMERICA, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 117 (Fall 2002) Issue 3: 519-520.

Review of Mark Irving Lichbach and Alan S. Zuckerman, eds., COMPARATIVE POLITICS: RATIONALITY, CULTURE AND STRUCTURE, *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 31 (October 1998) No. 5: 662-666.

Review of Leigh Payne, BRAZILIAN INDUSTRIALISTS AND DEMOCRATIC CHANGE, *American Political Science Review* Vol. 90 (March 1996): 221-22.

Review of Ronald H. Chilcote, POWER AND THE RULING CLASSES IN NORTHEAST BRAZIL: JUAZEIRO AND PETROLINA IN TRANSITION, *American Political Science Review* Vol. 85 (Dec 1991) No. 4: 1484-1485.

Review of Thomas E. Skidmore, THE POLITICS OF MILITARY RULE IN BRAZIL, 1964-85, *Fletcher Forum*, Vol. 13 (Summer 1989) No. 1: 399-403.

### ***Published Working Papers***

“From Patronage to Program: The Emergence of Party-Oriented Legislators in Brazil” (with Carlos Gervasoni and Juan Andres Moraes), Kellogg Institute Working Paper #344, December 2007.

“Latin American Catholicism in an Age of Religious and Political Pluralism: A Framework for Analysis,” Kellogg Institute Working Paper #332, December 2006.

“Negotiating Economic Transitions in Liberalizing Polities: Political Representation and Economic Reform in Latin America,” Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Working Paper 98-5, May 1998, 113 pp.

“Does Sequence Matter? Simultaneous Transitions and Politics in Brazil,” in Leslie Elliott Armijo, ed., *Conversations about Democratization and Economic Reform: Working Papers of the Southern California Seminar, 1992-93* (Miami: University of Miami, North-South Center, 1995).

“Democracy in Brazil: Origins, Problems, Prospects,” (co-authored with Scott Mainwaring) Kellogg Institute Working Paper #100, September 1987.

“The Traditional Political Elite and the Transition to Democracy in Brazil,” Kellogg Institute Working Paper, Working Paper #91, February 1987.

“State Capitalism and Politics in Brazil,” Kellogg Institute Working Paper #63, February 1986.

### ***Op-Ed Writing***

“Strategic Errors the Church Could Repair,” *New York Times*, “Room for Debate,” March 14, 2013.

## FUNDING RECORD

### *Principal Investigator, Institutional Grants:*

U.S. Department of Education, Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships Program (FLAS), award to Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, and Latin American and Caribbean Studies Program, International Institute, University of Michigan, August 2003-August 2006 (\$522,000)

U.S. Department of State, Fulbright Educational Partners Program, Educational Partnerships for Social Science Research Program, awarded to Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (Lima, Peru), and Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Administración (Caracas, Venezuela), 2003-2006 (\$100,000)

U.S. Department of Education, Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Languages (UISFL) award to Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, for "Advancing International Studies: Promoting the International Relations Major, Area Studies Programs, and Language Instruction," 2003-2005 (\$151,000)

United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, Secretariat for the Church in Latin America, award to Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, for international conference on "Contemporary Catholicism, Religious Pluralism, and Democracy in Latin America: Challenges, Responses, and Impact," 2005 (\$21,275) and planning workshop, 2003 (\$15,000). [Project also received support from the University of Notre Dame, Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, College of Arts and Letters, Henkels Lecture Series Award (\$10,000); Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies (\$5,000); and the Erasmus Institute (\$5,000)]

U. S. Department of State, award to Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, for "Building Linkages, Promoting Social Service: US Students, International Students, and Community Organizations," 2003 - 2004 (\$1,997).

U.S. Department of Education, award to Consortium of Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame; David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University; Department of Political Science, the Universidade de São Paulo; and the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro - (PUC-Rio) to establish faculty and student exchanges, 2000 (\$100,000); at the University of Notre Dame, this grant seeded a regular faculty position in Portuguese and established a small study abroad program in Brazil

### *Individual Grants*

- National Science Foundation, Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant with Jonathan Phillips (co-PI), "Doctoral Dissertation Research: The Political Effects of Rule-Based Social Policies." July 2016, \$18,497
- Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, Faculty Research Grant for experimental evaluation of anti-vote buying campaigns in Mexico (\$10,000)
- National Science Foundation, Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant with Saika Uno (co-PI) "Public Support and Democracy: Identifying Causal Mechanisms for Erosion of Democracy in Latin America," July 2004-August 2005, \$13,000
- University of Notre Dame, Graduate School, Summer Joint Faculty-Graduate Student Research Award (with Juan Andres Moraes), 2002; Kellogg Institute Seed Money/Small Grant, 2001
- Tufts University, Summer Faculty Fellowship, 1993

- Harvard University, Committee on Latin American and Iberian Studies, Tinker Summer Field Research Grant, awarded 1991 (declined); William F. Milton Fund Award, 1990; Monadnock Fund Travel Grant, 1988
- Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, Seed Money grant, 1985
- Brandeis University, Saval-Sachar Thesis Travel Grant, 1974

## UNIVERSITY AND PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

### *Harvard University*

- Faculty Co-Chair, Harvard Brazil Studies Program, 2016-
- Faculty Chair, Harvard Brazil Studies Program, 2010-2016

### *University Leadership, University of Notre Dame*

- Director, Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, 2002-03 (Acting Director 2000)
- Member, Strategic Planning Coordinating Committee, 2000-2002
- Member, Strategic Planning Subcommittee for Advancing Internationalization, 2001-2002

### *Professional Leadership*

#### *American Political Science Association:*

- Annual Meeting Program Co-Chair, 2011; Member, Executive Council, 2010-2011
- Member, Presidential Task Force on Political Science for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, 2008-2010
- Member Nominations Committee, 2005-07  
Chair, 2005-06; Member, 2006-07
- Member, Executive Council, 2002-04  
Chair, Council Subcommittee, Workplace and Family Issues, 2002-04, primary author, *Report on Workplace and Family Issues* (available at [www.apsanet.org](http://www.apsanet.org))

#### *Latin American Studies Association:*

- Member, Guillermo O'Donnell Democracy Award and Lectureship Selection Committee, 2017-2018
- Member, Nominations Committee, 2009
- Chair, Nominations Committee, 1999

### *Service to Peer Institutions*

- Member, Advisory Board, Latin American Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (since 2011)
- Presidential Member, Visiting Committee, Department of Political Science, MIT (2002-2006)



## INVITED LECTURES AND COLLOQUIA

### *Keynote Addresses*

“Crises: Raízes, Formas e Futuro no Brasil e no Mundo,” Opening Keynote Address, XI Congress of the Brazilian Political Science Association, Curitiba, Brazil, July 31-August 3, 2018.

“La Tercera Ola Democratizadora en América Latina: Avances y Retrocesos,” Eighth Congress of the Chilean Political Science Association, Catholic University. Santiago, Chile, November 15-17, 2006 (commentary provided by former President of Chile, Ricardo Lagos)

“Government Performance, Public Perceptions, and Contemporary Democracy in Latin America,” Conference on Latin American Social and Public Policy, Center for Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, February 20-21, 2003

### *Lectures in Endowed and Distinguished Series*

“Partidos programáticos, democracia participativa e mudança de política social no Brasil,” Centro Ruth Cardoso (São Paulo, Brazil), September 29, 2011 (commentary provided by former President of Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso)

“Neoliberalism and Democracy in Latin America: A Look Back, the Challenges Ahead,” Robert G. Mead Distinguished Lecture, University of Connecticut, Storrs, November 12, 2009

“Voters, Politicians, and Parties: Interests, Influence, and Impact of Electoral Forces on the Process of Neo-Liberal Reform,” Mellon Foundation Sawyer Seminar, “Crises, Choices, and Change: The Micro-Foundations of the Neo-liberal Turn in Latin America,” Tulane University, December 2, 2002

“Economic Liberalization and Political Representation in Latin America: How to Make Big Questions Researchable?” Ford Methodology Series, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, December 2, 1998

“Post-Authoritarian Latin America: State Retreat and Political Reorganization,” invited lecture, DAAD Lecture Series, Department of Sociology, McGill University, November 22, 1991

### *Other Invited Lectures and Colloquia (past ten years)*

“Can Competitive Authoritarianism Happen Here? Lessons from Latin America,” Amherst College, November 29, 2018.

“Challenges to Democracy in Big Middle-Income Countries: Brazil, India, South Africa,” Weatherhead Research Cluster on Global Populism/Challenges to Democracy, October 4, 2018

“Parties, Program, and Patronage and Neoliberal Reform in Latin America: A Theoretical Frame,” Arizona State University, Workshop on Political Parties, January 12, 2018.

“Brazil in Crisis, *A Crise no Brasil*,” Harvard University, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies Seminar on Latin America, March 3, 2016

“The Political System in Crisis, the Crisis in Representative Democracy,” Symposium on “Brazil 2016: The Politics of an Olympian Crisis,” University of Chicago, February 19, 2016

“Programmatic Parties and Social Policy Change in Brazil,” Brazil Initiative at the Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, February 24, 2015

(with Timothy Power), “Dilma’s Year of Living Dangerously: The 2014 Elections in Brazil,” Harvard University, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies Seminar on Latin America, October 21, 2014

Distinguished alumnus address, Brandeis University, celebration of 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Latin American Studies, March 13, 2013

“Escapando da armadilha da patronagem: o caso brasileiro na perspectiva teórica e comparada,” University of São Paulo, Department of Political Science, March 15, 2012

Reorganizing Representation in Latin America: Neoliberal Reforms and Strategic Party Behavior, Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies, Princeton University, February 9 2011

“Os Políticos, a Política, e a Política Social no Brasil,” Fundação Estudar (São Paulo, Brazil), December 8, 2010

“Reorganizing Representation in Brazil: Neoliberal Reforms and Strategic Party Behavior,” David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies Seminar on Latin America, Harvard University, October 5, 2010

Brazil, 2010: Why the Future is No Longer What It Used to Be,” David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies Seminar on Latin America, Harvard University, February 2, 2010

“Framing Programmatic Competition in Latin America: Neoliberal Reform and Strategic Party Behavior,” Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, December 1, 2009

From Patronage to Program: The Emergence of Party-Oriented Legislators in Brazil.” Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies, The Graduate Center/City University of New York, February 20, 2009.

“Parties, Program, and Patronage in Latin America,” Oxford Centre for the Study of Inequality and Democracy and Department of Politics, Nuffield College, Oxford University, November 14, 2008.

“Reorganizing Political Representation in Latin America: Parties, Program, and Patronage in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico.” American University, March 24, 2008.

“From Patronage to Program: The Emergence of Party-Oriented Legislators in Brazil.” Duke University - University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Working Group on Latin America, November 5, 2007

## **CONFERENCES ORGANIZED**

Co-organizer (with Scott Mainwaring), “Beyond the Crisis,” Sixth Annual Lemann Dialogue in the United States (with Columbia University, the University of Illinois, and Stanford University Graduate School of Education), Harvard University, November 17-18, 2016

Co-organizer (with Elisa Reis), “Overcoming Inequality in Diverse Societies” (Desigualdades e Diferenças: Diálogos entre Pesquisadores das Américas do Sul e do Norte”), a joint Harvard-Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro Symposium, Hotel Marina Palace, Leblon, Rio de Janeiro, March 18-March 20, 2014

“Brazil and the Future of the Global City,” Second Annual Lemann Dialogue in the United States (with Columbia University, the University of Illinois, and Stanford University Graduate School of Education), Harvard University, October 25-26, 2012

A “second edition” of the conference, “Administrando uma Megacidade: São Paulo no Século XXI,” was held in São Paulo at Insper in April 2013.

“Contemporary Catholicism, Religious Pluralism, and Democracy in Latin America: Challenges, Responses, and Impact,” international conference, Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, March 31-April 1, 2005

Co-organizer (with Scott Mainwaring), “Advances and Setbacks in the Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America,” a conference held at the Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, April 23-24, 2001

### **CONFERENCE PAPERS (past ten years)**

“Escaping the Patronage Trap: Comparative Party Advantage and the Transition to Programmatic Politics in Latin America,” paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, September 1-4, 2016

“Escaping the Inequality Trap, but How? (co-authored with Elisa Reis), paper prepared for the Twenty-Fourth Meeting of the International Political Science Association, Poznan, Poland, July 23-28, 2016

“Programmatic Parties and Social Policy Change in Brazil,” paper presented at the Meeting of the Brazilian Studies Association, Brown University, March 31-April 2, 2016

“Reorganizing Representation in Latin America in the Neo-Liberal Age,” presented on the Panel on “Democracy: Economic and Political Consequences,” at the conference on Assessing Democracies and Developments in Latin America,” RedGob Annual International Conference, LUISS, Rome, December 13-14, 2013

(with Mariana Magaldi de Sousa) “Framing Programmatic Competition in Latin America: Strategic Party Behavior and Neoliberal Reforms,” Paper prepared for the Workshop on Political Parties in the Developing World, Princeton University, April 30-May 1, 2010

“Reorganizing Representation in Latin America in the Neoliberal Age,” Paper prepared for delivery to the Council of European Studies Conference, Montreal, Canada, April 15-17, 2010

“Reorganizing Representation in Latin America,” Paper prepared for “Globalization and Politics: A Conference in Honor of Suzanne Berger,” Massachusetts Institute of Technology, May 7-9, 2009

“Parties and Politicians in Latin America: Polarization, Program, and Patronage in the Post-reform Era,” paper presented to the Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, April 2, 2009

### **OTHER CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION (past ten years)**

Panel Moderator, “Democracia: Crise ou Amadurecimento?”, Harvard-MIT Brazil Conference, April 5-7, 2019

Panel Organizer and Chair, “Corruption and Justice,” Lemann Dialogue, Stanford University, November 15-16, 2018

Participant, Roundtable on “What is the Role of Participatory Institutions Within Representative Democracy?” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, August 30-September 2, 2018

Chair, Panel on “Party-Building in Post-Conflict Latin America,” Latin American Studies Association Congress, Barcelona, Spain, May 23-26

Panel Chair, “Próximos passos da reforma política brasileira,” Harvard-MIT Brazil Conference, April 6-7, 2018.

Presenter, Panel on “Turning Points in Brazilian Politics,” and “Concluding Panel: Turning Points,” Lemann Dialogue, University of Illinois, November 16-17, 2017

Discussant, Panel on “Poverty, Vulnerability, and Political Participation,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, August 31-September 3, 2017

Interviewer, former President of Brazil Dilma Rousseff, (Harvard-MIT student) Brazil Conference, April 8, 2017

Discussant, Panel on “Waves of Democratization and Authoritarianism in Latin America,” and Panel on “Party System Institutionalization, Erosion, and Collapse,” Latin American Studies Association Congress, New York, May 27-30, 2016

Presenter, “As Ações Afirmativas no Ensino Superior no Brasil: Os antecedentes da política,” Harvard-MIT Brazil Conference, April 22, 2016

Presenter, Panel on “The Current Political and Economic Landscape,” Lemann Dialogue, Columbia University, November 19-20, 2015

Discussant, Panel on “Religion and Regimes in Developing Countries,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, September 2-6, 2015

Participant, Roundtable on “Cross-disciplinary Perspectives on Latin American Democratization: Enhanced Citizen Participation or Managed Inclusion?” and Discussant, Panel on “Authoritarian Successor Parties in Latin America,” Latin American Studies Association Congress, San Juan, Puerto Rico, May 28-30, 2015

Presenter, “Brazil,” at conference “Liberal Institutions and Social Incorporation: Is there a Trade-Off (Or Can We All Be Uruguay?” Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, May 6, 2015

Presenter, World Bank Roundtable, “Political Economy and Challenges of Policy Reform in Brazil,” April 24, 2015

Presenter, “Education and Democracy in Brazil: A Broken Link of Accountability?” on Panel on “Democracy and Accountability,” Lemann Dialogue, Stanford University Graduate School of Education, November 20, 2014

Discussant, paper on “The Persistence of Political Power in Brazilian Legislative Elections, 1945-2010,” at Workshop on “New Order and Progress in Brazil?” MIT, March 14-15, 2014

Discussant, Panel on “Religion and Politics in Africa and Latin America,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, August 29-September 1, 2013

Discussant, Panels on “Rethinking Catholic Responses to Human Rights” and “The Politics of Conditional Cash Transfers,” Latin American Studies Association International Congress, Washington, May 29-June 1, 2013

Participant, Roundtable on “Democracy in Latin America: Analysis and Policy Implications”/Comments on “*The Emergence, Survival, and Fall of Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America since 1900*,” Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and the Kellogg Institute for International Studies, Washington, March 22, 2013

Discussant, Panel on “Waves of Change in Latin American History and Politics,” and Chair, Panel on “New Perspectives on Redistribution, Linkages, and the Left in Latin America,” Latin American Studies Association International Congress, San Francisco, May 23-26, 2012

Participant, Panel on “Problemas del trabajo científico y la cooperación internacional desde el Sur,” Seminar Series “Último Jueves @ Harvard,” David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, October 27, 2011

Discussant, Panel on Corruption, Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, April 22-25, 2010

Panelist, Roundtable on “Authors Meet Readers: *Beyond Pathways to Power: Political Recruitment and Candidate Selection in Latin America*,” Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, April 4, 2009

Discussant, Panel on Clientelism, Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, April 12-14, 2007

## RECENT COURSES

Graduate (at Harvard):

- *Research Design in Political Science: Qualitative and Mixed Methods* (Spring 2019)
- *Comparative Politics of Latin America* (Fall 2018)

Undergraduate (at Harvard):

- *The Politics and Political Economy of Inequality in Latin America* (Spring 2017, 2015);

- *Politics in Brazil* (Fall 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018)
- *The Politics of Social Policy in Brazil* (Fall 2012, 2011, 2010)
- *Research Practice in Qualitative Method; Religion and Politics in Latin America* (Spring 2018, 2016, 2014, 2013);
- *Politics at the Grassroots: Rights, Resources, and Democratic Quality in Brazil* (Spring 2012, 2011)

Graduate (at Notre Dame):

- *Theoretical Approaches to Comparative Politics* (field seminar);
- *Latin American Political Economy and Institutions*

Undergraduate (at Notre Dame)

- *U.S. –Latin American Relations*
- *Introduction to Globalization: Economic, Political, and Cultural Perspectives*
- *Democracy in Latin America*
- *Political Economy of Latin America*
- *Turning Points in Latin American Politics*

## GRADUATE ADVISING

Dissertation Committees (at Harvard)

### *In Progress:*

Jared Abbott, Department of Government  
 Fernando Bizzarro Neto, Department of Government  
 Jessie Bullock, Department of Government  
 Kaitlyn Chriswell, Department of Government  
 Julia Smith Coyoli, Department of Government  
 Seth Soderborg, Department of Government  
 Aaron Watanabe, Department of Government  
 Alice Xu, Department of Government

### *Defended:*

Maria Belén Fernández, Department of Government (2019)  
 Leslie Finger, Department of Government (2017)  
 Jonathan Phillips, Department of Government (2017)  
 Alisha Holland, Department of Government (2014)  
 Alecia McGregor, Department of Health Policy (2014)  
 Andrei Roman, Department of Government (2017)  
 Brandon Van Dyck, Department of Government (2013)

(at other institutions)

### *Defended*

Danilo Rocha Limoeiro, Department of Political Science, MIT, 2019

**Matias López**, Department of Political Science, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 2019  
**Graziella Guiotti Testa**, Department of Political Science, University of São Paulo (Member of Examining Committee, 2017)

(at Notre Dame)

**Dissertations Supervised**

**Cora Fernández-Anderson** (2011), “The Impact of Social Movements on State Policy: Argentinean Movements in Comparative Perspective” (Lecturer, Mt. Holyoke College)

**Michael Driessen** (2011) (Post-Doctoral Fellow, Georgetown University, Qatar, and John Cabot University, Rome), “Religion and Democratization in the Mediterranean”

**Maria Alejandra Armesto** (2010), “Subnational particularism: Political competition and the provision of local public goods in Mexico and Argentina,” winner of the Best Fieldwork Award prize, Comparative Democratization Section, American Political Science Association

**Juan Andres Moraes** (2010) (Universidad de la República [Uruguay]), “Political Competition and Political Representation in Latin America: The Case of Uruguay”

**Mariana Sousa** (2009) (Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas [CIDE], Mexico), “The Political Economy of Banking Regulation and Supervision in Latin America”

**Robert Portada** (2009) (Kutztown University), “The Dissident Cross: The Catholic Church and Political Confrontation in Cuba”

**Kate Nicholls** (2007) (National University of Singapore), “Regimes and Policy-making on the European Periphery: New Spaces, Actors, and Ideas in the Forging of Responses to Labor Market Challenges in Greece, Ireland, and Portugal, 1975-2005”

**Michele Waslin** (2002) (National Council of La Raza, Washington, D.C.), “Human Rights Networks in Mexico”

**Dissertation Committee Member**

**Krystin Krause** (2013)

**Claudia Maldonado** (2012)

**Carlos Gervasoni** (2011)

**Shannon Walsh** (2011)

**Sergio Bejar** (2010)

**Lucas González** (2010)

**Annabella España-Najera**, Political Science (2009)

**Patricia Rodríguez**, Political Science (2009)

**Vilma Balmaceda**, Political Science (2008)

**Peter Baker**, Political Science (2008)

**Andres Mejia-Acosta**, Political Science (2004)

**Rossana Castiglioni**, Political Science (2003)

**Thomas Lundberg**, Political Science (2002)

**Viviana Bompadre**, Sociology (2004)

## **UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS SUPERVISED**

### **(At Harvard)**

#### *Senior Honors Theses*

**Victoria Bolanos** (Government 2019)

**Elizabeth Morin** (Social Studies 2019)

**Tábata Amaral de Pontes** (Government, 2016)

**Vanessa González** (Government, 2016)

**Matthew Disler** (Social Studies, 2016)

**William Horton** (Social Studies, 2015)

**Carolyn Killea** (Government, 2015), Winner, Philo Sherman Bennett Prize, Department of Government

**Alejandra Ramírez** (Government, 2015)

**Yolanda Bourque** (Sociology and Government, 2014)

**Sinha Mahung** (Social Studies, 2014)

**Ananda Martin-Caughey** (Government, 2013), Winner, Philo Sherman Bennett Prize, Department of Government

**Nicole Paulet Piedra** (Social Studies, 2013), Winner, Hoopes Prize

### **(at University of Notre Dame)**

#### *Senior Honors Theses*

**Kristina Leszczak** (2007), co-winner of the John J. Kennedy Prize for the Best Thesis on Latin America

**Jonathan Bischof** (2006), co-winner of the John J. Kennedy Prize for the Best Thesis on Latin America and co-winner of the Kellogg Prize for the Best Thesis in Comparative Politics

**Kate Schlosser** (2004), winner of John J. Kennedy Prize for the Best Thesis on Latin America

**Laura Gunderson** (2002), winner of John J. Kennedy Prize for the Best Thesis on Latin America, and Stephen Kertesz Prize for Best Thesis in International Relations or Comparative Politics

#### *Other Undergraduate Student Research Supervised*

Area Studies Essays (3)

Undergraduate Research Opportunity (UROP) (1)

McNair Fellows (2)

Kellogg International Scholars Program (1)

Research Apprenticeship Program, Department of Political Science (2)

## **FOREIGN LANGUAGES**

Portuguese, Spanish (fluent); French (intermediate reading and speaking); Armenian (oral proficiency); German (rudimentary)



## SELECT PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

### *Professional Journals, Presses, Fellowship Agencies*

Editorial Board Member: *Latin American Politics and Society* (since 2003); *Politics and Religion* (since 2012); *Latin American Research Review* (terms: 2006-2012); *PS: Political Science and Politics* (term: 2002-04)

Referee for: *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*; *British Journal of Political Science*; *Comparative Political Studies*; *Comparative Politics*; *Governance*; *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *Journal of Politics*; *Latin American Politics and Society* (formerly *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*) *Latin American Research Review*; *Party Politics*; *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Research Quarterly*; *Politics and Gender*; *Politics and Religion*; *Sociology of Religion*; *Studies in Comparative International Development*; *World Politics*

Manuscript Reviewer for: Cambridge University Press; Harper Collins; Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press; Pennsylvania State University Press; University of Notre Dame Press; University of Pittsburgh Press; Westview Press

Proposal Reviewer for: Fonds FCAR (Fonds pour la Formation de Chercheurs et l'Aide à la Recherche, Québec), Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada; National Science Foundation; MacArthur Foundation (Program on Global Security and Sustainability); Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study

Fellowship Panels: American Council of Learned Societies-Social Science Research Council International Post-doctoral Fellowship Program (Member, Central Selection Committee, 1994); Social Science Research Council: International Predissertation Fellowship Program (Member, Screening Panel, 1992, 1993, 1994)

### *Service to National and Regional Associations*

#### American Political Science Association

Division Head, Annual Meeting Program Committee, Comparative Politics of Developing Areas, 2002  
Member, Pi Sigma Alpha Franklin Burdette Prize Committee 1995 (for the best paper delivered to the 1994 Annual Conference of the APSA)

*Comparative Politics Section:* Member, Editorial Board, Section Newsletter, 2002-2010

Chair, Sage Best Paper Committee, 2009; Chair, Section Nominations Committee, 2000

*Democratization Section:* Member, Juan J. Linz Dissertation Prize Committee, 2017; Chair, Best Book Selection Committee, 2007

Northeast Political Science Association: Section Chair, Comparative Politics, 1997 Annual Meeting Program Committee, Philadelphia, November 13-15, 1997

New England Political Science Association: Member, Executive Council, 1997-98

New England Council of Latin American Studies: Member, Executive Council, 1989-1991; Prize Committee, 1990; Dissertation Prize Committee, 1995

## SELECT UNIVERSITY SERVICE

### *(Harvard University)*

David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies

- Member, Executive Committee, 2010-2018
- Member, Summer Grants Committee, 2016, 2017; Term-Time Grants Committee, 2011-2015
- Chair, Brazil Seminar, 2011-2019
- Acting Chair, Tuesday Seminar, 2015-2016, Spring 2020

Co-Chair, Latin American Discussion Group, Department of Government, Harvard, and Department of Political Science, MIT, 2010-

Committee on Degrees in Social Studies, Member, Standing Committee, 2018-

Department of Government

- Committee on Graduate Admissions (2018, 2019)
- Field Coordinator, Comparative Politics (2017-2018)
- Director of Undergraduate Studies Search Committee (2018)

Leverett House, Senior Common Room, 2018 -

### *(University of Notre Dame)*

#### University:

Member, Committee on the Relationship between Departments, Centers, and Institutes, 2000

Member, Faculty Steering Committee, Institute for Latino Studies, 2000-04

Member, Search Committee, International Studies Programs Director, Spring 2002

Fellow, Kroc Institute

#### Kellogg Institute:

Member, Faculty Committee, 1999-2007

Founding Director, Kellogg International Scholars Program, 2003-2004

Department of Political Science: Field Chair, Comparative Politics, 2005-07, 2009

Member, Committee on Appointments and Promotions, 2005-06, 2003-04, 2000-01, 1999-2000

Member, and terms chairing and serving on diversity and mission, visibility and publicity, and various recruitment committees

### *(Tufts University)*

Member and Chair, Faculty Research Awards Committee (FRAC)