

## GABRIEL L. NEGRETTO

Instituto de Ciencia Política  
Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile  
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Webpage: gabrielnegretto.com

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### EDUCATION

March 2000 **Columbia University, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences**, New York.  
Ph.D. in Political Science.

May 1993 **Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs**, New York.  
Master of International Affairs.  
Certificate in Latin American Studies.

October 1990 **Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences**, Buenos Aires.  
Graduate Diploma in Social Sciences.

March 1987 **University of Buenos Aires, School of Law**, Buenos Aires.  
Attorney at Law.  
Graduated with honors (*magna cum laude*).

### APPOINTMENTS

Jan 2019-present **Pontificia Universidad Católica  
Instituto de Ciencia Política**, Santiago de Chile.  
*Full Professor*

Oct 2019-present **Pontificia Universidad Católica  
Instituto de Ciencia Política**, Santiago de Chile.  
*Director of Doctoral Program in Political Science*

Dec 2012-2018 **Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (C.I.D.E.)  
División de Estudios Políticos**, Mexico City.  
*Full Professor*

Sep 2015-Dec 2018 **Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (C.I.D.E.)  
División de Estudios Políticos**, Mexico City.  
*Director of Graduate Program in Political Science*

Aug 2018-Jan 2019 **Instituto Juan March, Universidad Carlos III**, Madrid.  
*Visiting Professor*

March 2015 **Universidade de São Paulo, Department of Political Science**, Sao Pablo.  
*Visiting Professor*

Aug-Dec 2012 **Columbia University, Department of Political Science**, New York.  
*Edward Larocque Tinker Professor*

Jan-Jun 2011 **New School for Social Research, Department of Politics**, New York.  
*Visiting Professor*

2007-2012 **Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (C.I.D.E.),  
División de Estudios Políticos**, Mexico City.  
*Associate Professor*

Jun 2011-present **Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, Department of Politics**, Buenos Aires.  
*Visiting Professor*

Jan-Jul 2008 **Princeton University, Department of Politics**, Princeton.  
*Visiting Professor/Research Fellow*

Aug-Dec 2007 **University of Notre Dame, Kellogg Institute**, Notre Dame.  
*Research Fellow*

Apr 2000-Dec 2006 **Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (C.I.D.E.),  
División de Estudios Políticos**, Mexico City.  
*Assistant Professor*

**PUBLICATIONS****Books**

- 2020 *Redrafting Constitutions in Democratic Regimes: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives* (Editor). Cambridge University Press.
- 2018 *Constitution Building Processes in Latin America*. The Hague: IDEA.
- 2015 *La Política del Cambio Constitucional en América Latina*. México City and Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- 2013 *Making Constitutions. Presidents, Parties, and Institutional Choice in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 2010 *Debatiendo la Reforma Política. Claves del Cambio Institucional en México* (Editor). Ciudad de Mexico: CIDE-Contextos.
- 1994 *El Problema de la Emergencia en el Sistema Constitucional*. Buenos Aires: Rodolfo Depalma.

**Book in progress**

*Democratization and Autocratization by Law: How Constitutional Change Affects Democratic Progress*

**Peer-reviewed research articles**

- 2023 (With Guillermo Larrain and Stefan Voigt) “How Not to Write a Constitution: Lessons From Chile,” *Public Choice*, forthcoming.
- 2022 “Tinkering with Executive Term Limits: Partisan Imbalances and Institutional Legacies in Latin America,” *Democratization* 29 (1): 38-56.
- 2021 “Deepening Democracy? Promises and Challenges of Chile’s Road to a New Constitution,” *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law* 13: 335-358.
- 2021 (with Mariano Sánchez-Talanquer) “Constitutional Origins and Liberal Democracy: A Global Analysis 1900-2015,” *American Political Science Review* 115 (2): 522-536.
- 2020 “Constitution Making and Liberal Democracy: The Role of Citizens and Representative Elites,” *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 18 (1): 206-232.
- 2018 (with Giancarlo Visconti) “Electoral Reform Under Limited Party Competition: The Adoption of Proportional Representation in Latin America,” *Latin American Politics and Society* 60 (1): 27-51.
- 2018 “Democratic Constitution-Making Bodies: The Perils of a Partisan Convention,” *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 16 (1): 254-279.
- 2017 “Constitution Making in Comparative Perspective,” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.66>
- 2017 “La reforma del presidencialismo en América Latina: Hacia un modelo híbrido,” *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política* 26 (2): 131-151.

- 2016 “El Poder Constituyente en la Tradición Constitucional Americana. El Legado Contradictorio de los Escritos Federalistas,” *Revista Chilena de Derecho* 43 (3): 787-812.
- 2015 “Los Procesos Constituyentes en América Latina: Una Visión Comparada,” *Revista Argentina de Teoría Jurídica* 16 (2): 1-23.
- 2015 “Participación Popular y Refundación Democrática: El Caso de Chile en Perspectiva Comparada,” *Revista de Ciencia Política* 35 (1): 201-215.
- 2014 “Origen y Efectos de la Reforma de 1994. Una Reflexión en Torno a la Atenuación del Presidencialismo,” *Revista Argentina de Teoría Jurídica* 15 (2): 1-7.
- 2013 “El Papel de la Constitución en la Nueva Democracia Argentina,” *Revista de la Sociedad Argentina de Análisis Político* 7 (2): 297-305.
- 2013 “Los Orígenes del Presidencialismo en América Latina: Un Estudio Sobre el Proceso Constituyente Argentino (1853-1860),” *Revista Latinoamericana de Política Comparada* 7: 127-168.
- 2012 “Replacing and Amending Constitutions. The Logic of Constitutional Change in Latin America,” *Law & Society Review* 46 (4): 749-779.
- 2011 “Shifting Constitutional Designs in Latin America. A Two-Level Explanation,” *Texas Law Review* 89 (7): 1777-1805.
- 2010 “La Reforma Política en América Latina. Dimensiones y Tendencias,” *Desarrollo Económico* 50 (198): 197-221.
- 2009 “Political Parties and Institutional Design: Explaining Constitutional Choice in Latin America,” *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (1):117–139.
- 2009 “Paradojas de la Reforma Constitucional en América Latina,” *Journal of Democracy en Español* (1): 38-54.
- 2007 “Propuesta para una Reforma Electoral en México,” *Política y Gobierno* 14 (1): 215-27.
- 2006 “Choosing How to Choose Presidents: Parties, Military Rulers, and Presidential Elections in Latin America,” *The Journal of Politics* 68 (2): 421-33.
- 2006 “Minority Presidents and Democratic Performance in Latin America,” *Latin American Politics and Society* 48 (3): 63-92.
- 2006 “La Reforma Constitucional en México: Apuntes para un Debate Futuro,” *Política y Gobierno* 13 (2): 361-92.
- 2005 (with Josep Colomer) “Can Presidentialism Work Like Parliamentarism?” *Government and Opposition* 40 (1): 60-89.
- 2005 “En Repensant le Republicanisme Liberal en Amerique Latine. Alberdi et la Constitution Argentine de 1853,” *Les Cahiers ALHIM, Université Paris 8, No. 11*.

- 2004 "Government Capacities and Policy Making by Decree in Latin America: The Cases of Brazil and Argentina," *Comparative Political Studies* 37 (5): 531-62.
- 2003 "Diseño Constitucional y Separación de Poderes en América Latina," *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 65 (1): 41-76.
- 2003 (with Josep Colomer) "Gobernanza con Poderes Divididos en América Latina," *Política y Gobierno* 10 (1): 13-61.
- 2002 "¿Gobierna sólo el Presidente? Poderes de Decreto y Diseño Institucional en Brasil y Argentina," *Desarrollo Económico* 42 (167): 377-404.
- 2002 "La Política Como Teología Secularizada. Una Interpretación del Leviatán de Hobbes," *Revista Internacional de Filosofía* 20: 113-125.
- 2001 "El Constitucionalismo Puesto a Prueba: Decretos Legislativos y Emergencia Económica en América Latina," *Isonomía* 14: 79-106.
- 2001 "Hobbes' Leviathan: The Irresistible Power of a Mortal God," *Analisi e Diritto. Ricerche di Giurisprudenza*, pp. 179-192.
- 2001 "Negociando los Poderes del Presidente: Reforma y Cambio Constitucional en Argentina," *Desarrollo Económico* 41 (163): 411-444.
- 2001 (with the collaboration of José Antonio Aguilar) "Liberalism and Emergency Powers in Latin America," *Cardozo Law Review* 21:1797-1824.
- 2000 (with the collaboration of José Antonio Aguilar) "Rethinking the Legacy of the Liberal State in Latin America: The Cases of Argentina (1853-1912) and Mexico (1857-1910)," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 32 (2): 361-97.
- 1999 "Constitution-Making and Institutional Design: The Transformations of Presidentialism in Argentina," *European Journal of Sociology* 40 (2): 193-233.
- 1997 (with Mark Ungar) "Estado de Derecho e Independencia del Poder Judicial en América Latina: Los Casos de Argentina y Venezuela," *Política y Gobierno* 4 (1): 81-114.
- 1995 "Qué es el Decisionismo?," *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas* 161: 49-74.
- 1994 "El Concepto de Decisionismo en Carl Schmitt: El Poder Negativo de la Excepción," *Sociedad* 4: 66-89.
- 1993 "Emergencia y Crisis Constitucional en la Argentina," *El Derecho* 8341: 8341-60.
- 1993 "Kant and the Illusion of Collective Security," *Journal of International Affairs* 46 (2): 501-24.
- 1992 "Un Criterio Muy Particular: La Doctrina de la Corte Suprema sobre Golpes de Estado," *Nuevo Proyecto* 8: 77-87.
- 1989 "Legitimidad Democrática de la Concertación Social," *Revista de Derecho Público y Teoría del Estado* 3: 63-75

### Encyclopedia Articles

- 2017 “Constitution Making in Comparative Perspective”, in William R. Thompson (editor), *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, Oxford University Press.
- 2007 “Constitutions,” in *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, 2nd edition, Gale, pp. 94-95.

### Book Chapters

- 2023 “Autocratization by Legal Means in Latin America.” In Aurel Croissant and Luca Tomini (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Autocratization*. Routledge, forthcoming.
- 2021 “Participatory Constitution Making in Latin America: Consequences for Institutional Design.” In Roberto Gargarella, Conrado Huber Mendes, and Sebastian Guidi (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Latin American Constitutional Law*. Oxford University Press, pp.324-339.
- 2020 “Introduction: New Constitutions in Democratic Regimes”. In Gabriel Negretto (ed.), *Redrafting Constitutions in Democratic Regimes: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-30.
- 2020 “Replacing Constitutions in Democratic Regimes: Elite Cooperation and Citizen Participation”. In Gabriel Negretto (ed.), *Redrafting Constitutions in Democratic Regimes: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 101-128.
- 2020 (with Solongo Wandan) *Procedural rules and Majoritarian Politics in Poland (1993–1997) and Hungary (2010–2011)*. In Gabriel Negretto (ed.), *Redrafting Constitutions in Democratic Regimes: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 155-174.
- 2020 (with Ernesto Calvo) “When (Electoral) Opportunity Knocks: Weak Institutions, Political Shocks, and Electoral Reforms in Latin America.” In Daniel Brinks, Steven Levitsky, and Maria Victoria Murillo (eds.), *The Politics of Institutional Weakness in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 41-60.
- 2019 “The Agenda-Setting Power of Presidents in Latin America: The Role of Economic Crises.” In Tom Ginsburg and Georg Vanberg (eds.), *Constitutions in Times of Financial Crisis*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 285-304.
- 2018 “Constituent Assemblies in Democratic Regimes: The Problem of a Legally Limited Convention.” In Jon Elster, Roberto Gargarella, Vatsal Naresh, and Bjørn E. Rasch (eds.), *Constituent Assemblies*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 31-56.
- 2017 “Constitution Making and Constitutionalism in Latin America: The Role of Procedural Rules.” In Rosalind Dixon and Tom Ginsburg (eds.), *Comparative Constitutional Law in Latin America*. Elgar, pp. 17-56.
- 2017 “Las Reformas Constitucionales en América Latina: ¿Fortalecimiento de la Democracia?” In Catherine Andrews (ed.), *Un Siglo de Constitucionalismo en América Latina (1917-2017)*. CIDE-Archivo General de la Nación, pp. 605-646.

- 2017 "Transformaciones del Poder Presidencial en América Latina: Una Evaluación de las Reformas Recientes." In *Cien Años Cien Ensayos*. Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas de la UNAM e Instituto Belisario Domínguez, pp. 213-232.
- 2016 "Constitution Making in Democratic Constitutional Orders: The Challenge of Citizen Participation." In Saskia Ruth, Yanina Welp, and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Let The People Rule? Direct Democracy in the Twenty-First Century*. University of Essex: ECPR Press, pp. 21-40.
- 2016 "Poder Constituyente y Democracia Constitucional: Una Lectura Crítica del Federalista." In Juan Bertomeu, Andrea Pozas-Loyos, and Gabriel Negretto, *¿Porqué Leer a los Federalistas Hoy?* Mexico: Fontamara.
- 2015 "From Duverger to Rokkan and Back: Progress and Challenges in the Study of Electoral Systems." In Jennifer Gandhi and Ruben Rufino (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Comparative Political Institutions*. Routledge, pp. 113-127.
- 2015 "Estudios sobre el Régimen Presidencial en América Latina: Una Revisión Crítica." In Rossana Castiglioni and Claudio Fuentes, (eds.), *Política Comparada Sobre América Latina: Teorías, Métodos y Tópicos*. Santiago de Chile: Universidad Diego Portales.
- 2014 "Authoritarian Constitution Making: The Role of the Military in Latin America." In Tom Ginsburg and Alberto Simpser (eds.), *Constitutions in Authoritarian Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 83-110.
- 2013 "Sistemas Electorales." In Mikel Barreda (ed.) *Las Instituciones Políticas de las Democracias Latinoamericanas*. Madrid y La Paz: Huygens-Plural, pp. 2-63.
- 2012 "El Populismo Constitucional en América Latina. Reflexiones Sobre la Constitución Argentina de 1949." In Adriana Luna-Fabritius, Pablo Mijangos and Rafael Rojas (eds.), *De Cadiz al Siglo XXI. Doscientos Años de Constitucionalismo en América Latina*. Mexico, D.F.: Taurus, pp. 343-376.
- 2012 "Toward A Theory of Formal Constitutional Change. Mechanisms of Constitutional Adaptation in Latin America." In Detlef Nolte and Almut Schilling (eds.), *New Constitutionalism in Latin America*. London: Ashgate, pp. 51-72.
- 2011 "Sistemas Electorales." In Mikel Barreda (ed.), *Instituciones Políticas d'América Llatina*. Barcelona: Editorial UOC.
- 2009 "La Reforma Electoral en América Latina. Entre el Interés Partidario y las Demandas Ciudadanas." In Serio Toro and Ignacio Walker (eds.), *Reforma del Sistema Electoral Chileno*. Santiago de Chile: PNUD-CIEPLAN-CEP, pp. 63-103.
- 2008 (with Fabrice Lehoucq, J. Aparicio, B. Nacif, and A. Benton) "Policy-Making Under One-Party Hegemonic and Divided Government in Mexico." In Ernesto Stein and Mariano Tommasi (eds.), *Policy Making in Latin America: How Politics Shape Policies*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press/Inter-American Development Bank, pp. 287-328.
- 2004 "Compromising on a Qualified Plurality System." In Josep Colomer (ed.) *The Handbook of Electoral System Choice*. Palgrave, pp.110-20.

- 2002 “Los Dilemas del Republicanismo Liberal en América Latina: El Caso de la Constitución Argentina de 1853.” In José Antonio Aguilar Rivera and Rafael Rojas (eds), *Para Pensar el Republicanismo en Hispanoamérica*. Fondo de Cultura Económica, pp. 210-43.
- 2002 “Hacia una Nueva Visión de la Separación de Poderes en América Latina.” In Miguel Carbonell and Rodolfo Vazquez (eds.), *Estado de Derecho y Democracia*. Siglo XXI, pp. 299-328.

### Working Papers

- 2012 “Between Shared Understandings and Strategic Conflicts: The Making of a Presidential Republic in Argentina, 1853-1860,” School of Advanced Study, University of London, Working Paper # 3680.
- 2008 “The Durability of Constitutions in Changing Environments. Explaining Constitutional Replacements in Latin America,” Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame Working Paper #350.
- 2006 “Confronting Pluralism: Constitutional Reform in Mexico After Fox,” CIDE, División de Estudios Políticos, Documento de Trabajo No. 181.
- 2005 (co-authored with Fabrice Lehoucq, J. Aparicio, B. Nacif, and A. Benton) “Political Institutions, Policymaking Processes, and Policy Outcomes in Mexico,” 2005 CIDE, División de Estudios Políticos, Documento de Trabajo No. 176.

### Teaching Texts

- 2010 “Sistemas Electorales en América Latina”, Master Universitario de Análisis Político, Universidad Oberta de Catalunya.

### Book Reviews and Review Essays

- 2021 *Critical Debates*. Review of Rogers M. Smith and Richard R. Beeman (eds.), *Modern Constitutions; Perspectives on Politics* 19 (4): 1292-1294.
- 2019 “Democratization Through Constitutional Change”. Review Essay of Mike Albertus and Victor Menaldo: *Authoritarianism and the Elite Origins of Democracies*, and Todd Eisenstadt, Carl LeVan, and Tofigh Maboudi: *Constituents Before Assembly: Participation, Deliberation, and Representation in the Crafting of New Constitutions; Latin American Politics and Society* 61:3: 154-160.
- 2009 “Checks After the Fact.” Anibal Pérez-Liñan: *Presidential Impeachment and the New Political Instability in Latin America, Review of Politics* 71: 1–3.
- 2007 *The Politics of Institutional Weakness. Argentine Democracy*, Steven Levitsky and Maria Victoria Murillo, eds., *Latin American Politics and Society* 49 (2): 209-212.

- 2001 State Formation and Democracy in Latin America, Fernando López-Alves, *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34 (1): 165: 218.
- 2000 "Comments to Eduardo Zimmermann (ed.), *Judicial Institutions in Nineteenth Century Latin America*," *Política y Gobierno* 7 (2).
- 2000 *Executive Decree Authority*, John Carey and Matthew Shugart, *Política y Gobierno* 7 (1).
- 1987 "La Crisis del Voluntarismo Jurídico," *Revista de Derecho Público y Teoría del Estado* 1.

### Newspapers and Magazines (selected)

- 2022 "El papel del Senado en una democracia", *La Tercera*, February 10.
- 2021 "¿Hacia donde reformar el régimen presidencial", *La Tercera*, November 11.
- 2021 "La Erosión Democrática en México", *Nexos*, September 1.
- 2021 "¿Por qué Dos Tercios?", *La Tercera*, August 25.
- 2021 "Un Mapa de Ruta para la Convención", *La Tercera*, May 27.
- 2021 "Los Múltiples Desafíos del Reglamento para la Convención", *La Tercera*, March 24.
- 2020 "Es posible caer en una idealización de los independentistas", *La Segunda*, November 11.
- 2019 (with F. Soto) "¿Cómo se regula un proceso constituyente democrático?", *Ciper*, November 25.
- 2019 "Desigualdad, ciudadanía sin voz y disidencia social en América Latina", *Nexos*, October 28.
- 2017 "¿Para qué crear un Senado?", *El Comercio*, February 7.
- 2016 "Destitución: ¿castigo penal o político?", *La Nación*, September 18.
- 2015 "A las urnas para evitar al peor", *La Nación*, October 27.
- 2014 "¿Hay que reducir el tamaño del congreso?", *El Universal* September 2.
- 2014 "La reforma del '94 sigue vigente y pendiente", *Clarín*, August 11.
- 2014 "Repensando la Reforma Constitucional de 1994", *El Estadista*, Buenos Aires, June 7.
- 2013 "La Reforma sin Fin", *Nexos*, México, July.
- 2013 "El Dilema Constituyente en Chile," *El Mostrador*, Santiago, June 18.
- 2012 "La Reelección ilimitada no es democrática," *Clarín*, October 1.
- 2010 "Reforma Política y Representación," *Diario El Universal*, April 6 and 8.
- 2010 "Cómo Reformar la Elección de Presidente," *Enfoque*, *Diario Reforma*, February 14.
- 2006 "Cambiar la Formula Electoral," *Diario Reforma*, June 10.
- 2006 "Las Presidencias Interrumpidas en América Latina," *Nexos*, April issue.
- 2002 "Argentina en su Laberinto," *Contextos*, *Diario Milenio*, January 27.
- 2002 "La reforma Institucional en México," *Nexos*, January issue.
- 2001 "Mito y Realidad de la Alternancia," *Contextos*, *Diario Milenio*, December 2.
- 2001 (with Guillermo Trejo) "Digna Ochoa y el Rostro Oculto de la Reforma del Estado," *Contextos*, *Diario Milenio*, November 4.)
- 2001 (with Guillermo Trejo) "Los Derechos Humanos como Show," *Suplemento Contextos*, *Diario Milenio*, November 18.
- 2001 "Una Constitución para Gobernar," *Enfoque*, *Diario Reforma*, March 18.
- 2000 "Sin Recetas Fáciles: Transición a la Democracia y Reforma del Poder Judicial en América Latina," *Enfoque*, *Diario Reforma*, August 13.
- 1991 "La Paz de los Cementerios," *Criterio*, No. 2076, Buenos Aires, August 22.
- 1989 "Reducir el Estado no es Suficiente," *El Cronista Comercial*, Buenos Aires, March 24.



**ADVISORY WORK**

- Oct 2021-Dec 2022 **Inter-American Development Bank**, Washington D.C.  
*Consultant.* Report on the election of the Chilean Constitutional Convention and the drafting process of the new constitution.
- Oct-Nov 2021 **United Nations Development Programme**, El Salvador Regional Office.  
*Consultant.* Report on the government's proposal of constitutional reform in El Salvador.
- Dec 2020 **International IDEA**, Santiago de Chile, Chile Office.  
*Consultant.* Report on the binding nature of international treaties in new constitutions.
- Dec 2019 **International IDEA**, Santiago de Chile, Chile Office.  
*Consultant.* Report on constitutional reform in Chile.
- Oct-Nov 2019 **International IDEA, Constitution-Building Processes**, The Hague.  
*Consultant.* Report on proposal of constitutional reform in Panama.
- Jan-Apr 2017 **International IDEA**, Lima, Peru Office.  
*Advisor/Consultant.* Advisor on electoral systems for the congressional committee on electoral reform in Peru. Report on bicameralism, electoral system, and electoral districts in Peru.
- Jan-Dec 2016 **Mexican Congress, Senate**, Mexico.  
*Advisor.* Advisor on reforms for the new constitution of Mexico City. Wrote several reports on citizen rights, distribution of powers between executive and legislature, electoral system, and mechanisms of popular participation.
- Jan-Mar 2015 **United Nations Development Programme**, Panama Regional Office.  
*Consultant.* Report on constitutional reforms and governability in Latin America and Panama.
- Mar-Dec 2015 **International IDEA, Constitution-Building Processes**, The Hague.  
*Consultant.* Coordinated international conference "Lessons of Constitution Building in Latin America" (IDEA-Office of the Secretary-General of the Presidency of Chile), held in Santiago de Chile, October 21-22, 2015. Wrote 4 working papers used as basis for discussion during the conference.
- Jun-Aug 2014 **United Nations**, Department of Political Affairs, New York.  
*Consultant.* Report on constitution making processes in Latin America and on toolkit on constitution making prepared by the Constitutional Focal Point Unit.
- Mar-Nov 1997 **UNICEF**, New York.  
*Consultant.* Wrote a report on capacity-building strategies and monitoring and evaluation techniques for an international workshop on institution building in developing countries.

**FUNDED RESEARCH**

- 2020-2023 **Agencia Nacional de Investigación y Desarrollo**, Santiago de Chile, Chile.  
*Researcher.* Responsible for developing the Fondecyt project N°1200060, "Constitutional Change and Liberal Democracy in Comparative Perspective."
- 2018-2019 **Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología**, Mexico City, Mexico.  
*Researcher.* Responsible for developing the project "Constitutional Change and Democratization in Comparative Perspective" at Universidad Carlos III, Madrid.
- 2002-2004 **Inter-American Development Bank**, Washington D.C., USA.  
*Researcher.* Report on the Supreme Court and the judiciary in Mexico.

- 2002-2003 **The William & Flora Hewlett Foundation**, Menlo Park, California, USA.  
*Research Fellow*. Developed the project “Divided Government and Constitutional Design in Latin America”.
- 2000-2001 **The William & Flora Hewlett Foundation**, Menlo Park, California, USA.  
*Research Fellow*. Developed a two-year project called “Decree Powers and Rule of Law in Latin America: The Cases of Brazil, Argentina, and Colombia”.
- Summer 1996 **Universidad Torcuato Di Tella**, Buenos Aires, Argentina.  
*Visiting Researcher*. Conducted fieldwork on the constitutional reform of 1994.
- 1991-1993 **Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas**, Buenos Aires, Argentina.  
*Junior Researcher*. Developed a two-year project on emergency powers and political instability in Argentina.
- 1988-1989 **Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas**, Buenos Aires, Argentina.  
*Junior Researcher*. Developed a two-year project on the constitutional role of the Military in Argentina.

## HONORS

- 2023 María Zambrano Fellowship, Carlos III University, Madrid.
- 2018 Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología, Mexico (CONACYT). Research Fellowship.
- 2013-2018 Researcher Level III at Sistema Nacional de Investigadores, CONACYT, Mexico.
- 2012 Edward Larocque Tinker Professor, Columbia University.
- 2008 Program of Latin American Studies, Princeton University, Research Fellowship
- 2007 Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, Research Fellowship
- 2002-2003 The William & Flora Hewlett Foundation, Research Fellowship
- 2000-2002 The William & Flora Hewlett Foundation, Research Fellowship
- 1994-1998 Columbia University, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, President’s Fellow.
- 1997 Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies, C.U., Travel Fellowship.
- 1995-1996 Organization of American States, P.R.A. Fellowship.
- 1993-1994 Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas, Argentina.Fellowship.
- 1992-1993 Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs, Scholarship.
- 1992 Andrew Wellington Cordier Essay Prize, *Journal of International Affairs*.
- 1991-1993 Fulbright Scholarship.

## COURSES TAUGHT (SELECTED)

- Fall 2020-2021 **Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Bachelor Program ICP**, Santiago, Chile.  
Course “Temas de Política Latinoamericana: Democracia, Constitucionalismo y Estado de Derecho.”
- Fall 2020-2021 **Universidad Torcuato Di Tella**, Buenos Aires, Argentina.  
Master and PhD Program in Political Science  
Seminar “La erosión democrática por vías legales: El uso partidista del derecho en América Latina.”
- Spring 2019-2021 **Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, PhD Program ICP**, Santiago, Chile.  
Seminar “Genealogía de la Democracia Representativa”.
- Fall 2018 **Universidad Carlos III, Instituto Juan March**, Madrid, Spain.  
Seminar “The Political Economy of Democracy”.

- Spring 2015 **Universidade de Sao Paulo, Department of Political Science**, Sao Paulo, Brazil.  
Seminar “Constitutionalism and Democracy.”
- Fall 2014-2017 **Universidad Torcuato Di Tella**, Buenos Aires, Argentina.  
Master and PhD Program in Political Science  
Seminar “Transformaciones de la Democracia Representativa.”
- Fall 2012 **Columbia University, Department of Political Science**, New York, USA.  
Seminar “Democracy and Institutional Reform in Latin America.”
- Spring 2011 **New School for Social Research, Department of Politics**, New York, USA.  
Seminar “The Politics of Constitutional Change in Latin America.”
- Summer 2010-11 **Universidad Torcuato Di Tella**, Buenos Aires, Argentina.  
Master and PhD Program in Political Science  
Seminar “Partidos Políticos y Cambio Institucional en América Latina.”
- July 2010 **Facultad de la República**, Montevideo, Uruguay.  
Master and PhD program in Political Science  
Seminar “Political Reforms in Latin America.”
- Spring 2008 **Princeton University, Department of Politics**, Princeton, USA.  
Seminar “The Politics of Constitutional Change in Latin America”.
- Fall 1999-2018 **CIDE, Division of Political Studies**, Mexico City, Mexico.  
Latin American Politics, Comparative Political Institutions, Constitutional Design and  
Institutional Choice, Rational Choice Theory.
- Spring 1999 **Columbia University, ILAIS**, New York, USA.  
Seminar “Democratization and Institutional Reform in Latin America”.
- Fall 1998-Spring 1999 **Columbia College**, New York, USA.  
Introduction to Political Thought.
- Fall 1998 **New School for Social Research**, New York, USA.  
*Guest Lecturer*. Seminar on Carl Schmitt and Constitutional Theory.
- Fall 1997-Spring 1998 **Mercy College, Division of Civic and Cultural Studies**, New York, USA.  
Introduction to Latin American History.
- Summer 1997 **Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales**, Buenos Aires, Argentina.  
Seminar on Creation and Reform of Institutions of Government.
- 1995-1997 **Columbia University, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences**, New York, USA.  
*Graduate Student Instructor*. Introduction to Comparative Politics, Modern Political Theory.
- 1987-1991 **University of Buenos Aires, Facultad de Derecho**, Buenos Aires, Argentina.  
*Teaching Assistant*. Constitutional Law, Political Science.

**THESIS  
SUPERVISION  
(POSTGRADUATE)**

- 2019-(in progress) **Lourdes Jiménez Brito**  
PhD Thesis “Dinámicas de Oposición Política Bajo Regímenes Autoritarios”  
Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE)  
Mexico City, Mexico
- 2018 **Maria Cristina Escudero**  
PhD Thesis “Efectos del Proceso Constituyente en el Éxito del Reemplazo Constitucional”  
Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile  
Santiago de Chile, Chile

- 2018 **Nicolás Taccone**  
MA Thesis “Conflicto entre Elites y Expansión del Sufragio en la Buenos Aires Posrevolucionaria”  
Universidad Torcuato Di Tella  
Buenos Aires, Argentina
- 2014 **Solongo Wandan**  
PhD Thesis “Making New Rights: Constitutional Agenda-Setting in the Transitions of Poland (1989-1997) and South Africa (1990-1996)”  
New School for Social Research  
New York, USA
- 2013 **Guadalupe Correa**  
PhD Thesis “Democracy in the ‘Two Mexicos’: Political Exclusion, Economic Exclusion, and (Un) Civil Modes of Political Action in Oaxaca and Nuevo Leon”  
New School for Social Research  
New York, USA
- 2012 **Rodrigo Salazar Elena**  
PhD Thesis “Los Efectos de la Reelección Presidencial Inmediata en América Latina”  
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM)  
Mexico City, Mexico
- 2006 **Moisés Pérez Vega**  
PhD Thesis “El Control Parlamentario a Nivel Sub-nacional en México”  
Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO)  
Mexico City, Mexico

## CONFERENCES (SELECTED)

- 2021 “Democracy, Autocracy, and Constitutional Change in Latin America”, *Constitutional Processes in Latin America and Europe, Heidelberg University Summer School*, August 2.
- 2021 “Redrafting Constitutions in Democratic Regimes”, *Midwest Political Science Association Meeting*, Roundtable, April 16.
- 2020 “Constitutional Origins and Liberal Democracy: A Global Analysis, 1900-2015”, *American Political Science Association Annual Meeting*, September 9-13.
- 2019 “Lessons from Institutional Design in Latin America”, *Constitutions and Democratic Transitions in the Arab World Conference*, virtual conference organized by the Doha Institute, Qatar, 25-27 September.
- 2019 “Making Democracy Predictable: Early Electoral Reforms as Insurance Against Uncertain Outcomes”, *Latin American Studies Association*, Boston, USA, May 24-27.
- 2018 “Constitutional Replacements and Liberal Democracy,” Sabanci University, Istanbul, Turkey, December 12.
- 2018 “Constitutional Change and Democratization in Comparative Perspective,” Instituto Juan March, Universidad Carlos III, Madrid, Spain, November 30.
- 2017 “Electoral Reform and Institutional Instability in Latin America,” University of Texas, Law School, Texas, Austin, USA, September 29.
- 2016 “Democratic Constituent Assemblies,” Columbia University, Institute for Religion, Culture, and Public Life, New York, USA, April 1.
- 2015 “The Roads to Proportional Representation in Latin America,” Getulio Vargas Foundation, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, March 20.

- 2012 “Constitutional Transformations and Democracy in Latin America,” conference at the University Seminar in Latin America, Columbia University, Institute of Latin American Studies, New York, USA, November 1.
- 2011 “Alternative Means of Constitutional Change in Unstable Political Environments,” presentation at the Conference Constitutional Revolutions and Counterrevolutions, New School for Social Research, New York, USA, May 5-7.
- 2011 “Shifting Constitutional Designs in Latin America. A Two-Level Explanation,” presentation at the International Seminar Constitutionalism in Latin America, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas, USA, March 1-3.
- 2010 “Cambios y Continuidades en el Constitucionalismo Latinoamericano. Los casos de Argentina y Colombia,” conference series at Seminario Garcia Maynez, ITAM, Mexico City, Mexico, Sept. 27-30.
- 2010 “El Cambio Institucional en América Latina,” Universidad Di Tella, Buenos Aires, Argentina, July 25.
- 2009 “Régimen Presidencial y Cambio Constitucional en América Latina,” presentation at the International Seminar Presidencialismo, Parlamentarismo y Semipresidencialismo: El Dilema entre la Eficacia y la Legitimidad, México City, Mexico, November 11-13.
- 2008 “La Reforma Electoral en América Latina: Entre el Interés Partidario y las Demandas Ciudadanas,” International Seminar on Electoral Reform, CIEPLAN, Santiago, Chile, June 18-20.
- 2005 “The Durability of Constitutions in Changing Environments: A Study on Constitutional Stability in Latin America,” Seminar on Constitutionalism, Universidad de San Andrés, Buenos Aires, October 15.

## **JOURNAL REVIEWER**

American Journal of Political Science  
 British Journal of Political Science  
 Comparative Politics  
 Comparative Political Studies  
 Constitutional Political Economy  
 Democratization  
 Journal of Politics  
 Latin American Politics and Society  
 Legislative Studies Quarterly  
 Law & Society Review  
 Political Research Quarterly  
 Political Studies  
 World Politics

## **BOOK REVIEWER**

Fondo de Cultura Económica  
 Cambridge University Press  
 Oxford University Press

**EDITORIAL WORK**

- 2014-present **Colombia Internacional**, Bogotá, Colombia.  
Member of the International Experts Board
- 2013-present **Comparative Political Studies**  
Member of the Editorial Board
- 2012-2018 **Fondo de Cultura Económica, México.**  
Member of the Editorial Board of Politics and Law Section
- 2010-present **Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudios Legislativos**, Getulio Vargas Foundation, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.  
Member of the International Editorial Board
- 2009-present **Revista de Ciencia Política**, Santiago de Chile, Universidad Católica de Chile.  
Member of the Editorial Board
- 2007-2018 **Contemporary Politics**, Routledge.  
Member of the Editorial Board
- 2001-2006 **Revista Política y Gobierno**, Mexico City.  
*Editor*

**RELATED EXPERIENCE**

- May-Sep 1993 **Global Business Education Institute**, Mexico City.  
*Associate Consultant*. Report on new models of organizational design in the private sector and program for the reorganization of the customer service of BANCOMER, Mexico City.
- Mar 1989- Dec1991 **Office of the Presidency, Ministry of Public Office**, Buenos Aires.  
*Director General*. Participated in the design of a project for the restructuring of public administration in Argentina. Coordinated the project between the Ministry of Economy and consultants of the World Bank.
- Mar 1988- Feb1989 **Office of the Governor, State of Buenos Aires**, La Plata.  
*Legal Advisor*. Worked on constitutional matters, particularly on executive-legislative relations and the drafting of laws related to federal issues.
- Mar 1986- Feb1988 **Borgonovo, Garcia Lema & Associates**, Buenos Aires.  
*Attorney*. Specialist in Administrative and Public Law. Worked as a lawyer and consultant on constitutional issues and administrative procedures.

**LANGUAGES**

- English**. Near native fluency.  
**French**. Reading knowledge and conversational fluency.  
**German**. Working knowledge.  
**Italian**. Reading knowledge and conversational fluency.  
**Portuguese**. Reading knowledge and conversational fluency

**PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS**

- American Political Science Association**, Washington D.C., USA.  
**Midwest Political Science Association**, Bloomington, Indiana, USA.  
**IDEA, Constitution Building Programme**, The Hague, Netherlands.  
**Latin American Studies Association**, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States.