# Gustavo A. Flores-Macías, PhD

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#### ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

Professor of Government, College of Arts and Sciences, Cornell University 2022-present Professor of Public Policy, Brooks School of Public Policy, Cornell University, 2022-present Visiting Professor, Johnson Graduate School of Management, 2016-present

Associate Professor of Government, Cornell University, 2016-2022

Faculty Fellow, Democracy and Development Program, Princeton University (2017-2018)

Assistant Professor, Government Department, Cornell University (2010-2016)

Post-Doctoral Fellow, Polson Institute for Global Development, Cornell University (2008-2010)

Pre-Doctoral Teaching and Research Fellow, Government Dept., Harvard University (2007-2008)

#### ACADEMIC LEADERSHIP / AFFILIATIONS

# Sr Associate Dean for Academic Affairs, Brooks School of Public Policy (interim), 2023-present

Associate Vice Provost for International Affairs, Cornell University, 2019-2023

Faculty Advisory Board Member, Atkinson Center for a Sustainable Future, 2018-present

Faculty Advisory Board Member, Cornell Institute for Public Affairs (CIPA), 2017-2021

Director, F-M Development Lab, 2020-present

Director, Einaudi Center's Latin American and Caribbean Studies Program (interim) (2015 - 2016) and (2022)

Member of the graduate fields of: Government; Public Affairs; Latin American and Caribbean Studies

#### Affiliated with:

- Atkinson Center for a Sustainable Future
- Center for the Study of Inequality
- Cornell Institute for Public Affairs
- Latin American Studies Program
- Latino Studies Program

### **EDUCATION**

# Georgetown University, Department of Government

PhD, Comparative Government (Aug. 2004-May 2008, Distinction)

# **Duke University, Sanford School of Public Policy**

Master of Public Policy, 2003

# Tecnológico de Monterrey (Mexico City, Mexico)

B.A. in International Relations, 2000 (summa cum laude)

### **PUBLICATIONS**

### **Books**

- 2022. Contemporary State Building: Elite Taxation and Public Safety in Latin America, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 2019. *The Political Economy of Taxation in Latin America*, edited by G. Flores-Macías, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 2012. After Neoliberalism? The Left and Economic Reforms in Latin America, New York: Oxford University Press. (Paperback and hardcover editions)
  - Winner of the 2014 Latin American Studies Association's Luciano Tomassini Book Award

### Articles

- Forthcoming. "The Consequences of Militarized Policing for Human Rights: Evidence from Mexico," Comparative Political Studies (with Jessica Zarkin)
- 2023. "Violent Crime and the Expansion of Executive Power in Latin America," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 53: 2 (June)
- 2022. "Militarization and Perceptions of Law Enforcement in the Developing World: Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment in Mexico," *British Journal of Political Science* 52: 3 (with Jessica Zarkin)
- 2021. "The Militarization of Law Enforcement in Latin America," *Perspectives on Politics* 19: 2 (with Jessica Zarkin).
- 2020. "Building the Modern State in Developing Countries: Perceptions of Public Safety and (Un)willingness to Pay Taxes in Mexico," *Politics & Society* 48: 3 (with Mariano Sánchez-Talanquer).
- 2018. "The Consequences of Militarizing Anti-Drug Efforts for State Capacity in Latin America: Evidence from Mexico," *Comparative Politics* 51:1 (October).
- 2018. "Building Support for Fiscal Reform in Developing Countries: Experimental Evidence from Mexico," *World Development* 105 (May).
- 2017. "Borrowing Support for War: The Effect of War Finance on Public Attitudes toward Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61: 5 (with Sarah Kreps)
- 2016. "Latin America's New Turbulence: Mexico's Stalled Reforms," *Journal of Democracy* 27: 2 (April).
- 2014. "Financing Security through Elite Taxation: The Case of Colombia's Democratic Security Taxes," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 49: 4 (December).
- 2013. "Political Parties at War: A Study of American War Finance 1789-2010," *American Political Science Review* 107: 4 (November) (with Sarah Kreps)

- 2013. "The Foreign Policy Consequences of China's Economic Rise: A Study of China's Commercial Relations with Africa and Latin America, 1992-2006," *Journal of Politics* 75: 2 (April) (with Sarah Kreps).
- 2013. "Mexico's 2012 Presidential Election: The Return of the PRI," *Journal of Democracy* 24:1 (January).
- 2012. "Making Migrant-Government Partnerships Work: Insights from the Logic of Collective Action," *Political Science Quarterly* 127: 3 (Fall)
- 2010. "Statist vs. Pro-Market: Explaining Leftist Governments' Economic Policies in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 42: 4 (July)
- 2009. "NAFTA's Migration Record: Unfulfilled Expectations?" Peace Review 20: 4 (Winter).

# **Policy Briefs**

- 2018. "La elección de López Obrador: cómo llegamos y hacia dónde vamos," Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica 18:4 (October-December)
- 2018. "NAFTA's Overhaul: From Stability to Uncertainty," *Foreign Policy Research Institute e-Notes*, Sept. 25 (with Mariano Sánchez-Talanquer).
- 2018. "The Growth of Sino-Cuban Commercial and Political Ties," *China Policy Institute: Analysis Online*, March 1.
- 2018. "El panorama electoral en América Latina en 2018," Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica 18: 1 (Jan-March) (with Mariano Sánchez-Talanquer)
- 2015. "Fortalecimiento del Estado en Latinoamérica: seguridad pública e impuestos," *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica* 15: 4 (Oct-Dec).

# **Book Chapters**

- 2019. "The Political Economy of NAFTA/USMCA," in Harry Vanden and Gary Prevost (eds.) Oxford Encyclopedia of Latin American Politics, New York: Oxford University Press.
- 2018. "Mexico's Authoritarian Successor Party: Explaining the Resilience of the PRI," in Scott Mainwaring and James Loxton (eds.) *Life after Dictatorship: Authoritarian Successor Parties Worldwide*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 2018. "The Macroeconomic Consequences of Party System Institutionalization," in Scott Mainwaring (ed.) *Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 2015. "The Political Economy of Tax Reform in Colombia," in James Mahon, Jr., Marcelo Bergman,

- and Cynthia Arnson (eds.) *Progressive Tax Reforms and Equality in Latin America*, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center.
- 2013. "Collective Remittances in Comparative Perspective: The Cases of El Salvador and Mexico," in Satvinder Juss (ed.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Migration Theory and Policy* (London: Ashgate)
- 2011. "Sector privado y desarrollo a través de remesas colectivas: El Programa 4x1" in Andrés Malamud and Fernando Carrillo, eds. *Migrações, Coesão Social e Governação: Perspectivas Euro-Latino-Americanas* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais)
- 2007. "Migration and Free Trade Agreements: Lessons from NAFTA and Perspectives for CAFTA-DR" in Richard Perruchoud and Ryszard Cholewinski (eds.) *International Migration Law: Developing Paradigms and Key Challenges* (New York: Cambridge University Press)

### **Book Reviews**

- 2019. "Review of *Challenges of Party Building in Latin America*, by Steven Levitsky et al," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 51, 3 (August).
- 2016. "Review of State Building in Boom Times: Commodities and Coalitions in Latin America and Africa, by Ryan Saylor," Perspectives on Politics 14, 2 (June).
- 2013. "Review of Party System Collapse: The Roots of Crisis in Peru and Venezuela, by Jason Seawright," Latin American Politics and Society 55:3 (Fall).
- 2013. "Review of *The Triumph of Politics: The Return of the Left in Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador*, by George Philip and Francisco Panizza," *Perspectives on Politics* 11:1 (March).
- 2012. "Review of *Voice and Vote: Decentralization and Participation in Post-Fujimori Peru*, by Stephanie McNulty," *Comparative Political Studies* 45: 7 (July).
- 2011. "Review of *Latin American Party Systems*, by Herbert Kitschelt, Kirk Hawkins, Juan Pablo Luna, Guillermo Rosas, and Elizabeth Zechmeister," *Perspectives on Politics* 9, 4 (December).
- 2009. "Review of *The Voter's Dilemma and Democratic Accountability: Latin America and Beyond*, by Mona M. Lyne," *Political Science Quarterly* 124: 3 (Fall).

### **Op-eds**

- 2023 "Should the US Send Troops to Fight Mexican Drug Cartels? It's Not a Good Idea," *USA Today*, March 21.
- 2021 "Don't Let Them Tell You that Inflation Is Good for the Poor: It's Not," *Fortune*, November 16.

- 2020. "Anxious about the Fate of American Democracy? Latin America Offers Lessons," *The Hill*, Nov. 2.
- 2020. "Una tormenta azotará las democracias latinoamericanas," New York Times (español), June 15.
- 2019. "Latin America's Generals Back in the Political Labyrinth," Washington Post, Nov. 14.
- 2019. "Trump's Hardball Tactics Could Implode Mexico's Immigration System," LA Times, June 12.
- 2018. "Mexico's New President Wants a New National Guard to Address Violent Crime. Will It Work?" *Washington Post*, Dec. 19.
- 2018. "Worse than NAFTA," New York Times, Oct. 1.
- 2018. "Mexico Hands Trump a Partial Victory in Proposed Trade Deal," Axios, Aug. 28.
- 2018. "What Should the US Expect from Mexico's New President?" Fox News Online, July 6.
- 2018. "Should the US Worry about Meddling in Mexico's July Presidential Race," *Washington Post*, May 29.
- 2018. "With Opposition in Disarray, Maduro's Win Spells Trouble for Venezuela," Axios, May 21.
- 2018. "End of Cuba's Castro Era Largely Symbolic, Yet Holds Promise of Change," Axios, April 23.
- 2017. "Mexico's Earthquake and Civil Society's Aftershock," Medium, October 13.
- 2017. "The Hidden Costs of Mass Deportations," CNBC Online, February 27.
- 2017. "Four Unintended (and Dangerous) Consequences of Trump's Plan to Kill Nafta," *CNBC Online*, February 22.
- 2017. "Trump's Fight with Mexico Will Backfire," CNBC Online, January 27.
- 2016. "Does Shielding the Public from the Costs of War Actually Affect Attitudes about the War?" *The Washington Post/Monkey Cage*, April 14 (with Sarah Kreps)
- 2015. "Turkey's Democratic Rollback," *The Hill*, April 2 (with Sarah Kreps)
- 2013. "How Today's Budget Woes Owe Their Debt to the Financing of Recent Wars," *The Washington Post/Monkey Cage*, December 4 (with Sarah Kreps)
- 2013. "Why the Rise of China Makes the US Even Lonelier at the United Nations," *The Washington Post/Monkey Cage*, October 9 (with Sarah Kreps)
- 2013. "No Strings Attached? Evaluating China's Trade Relationship Abroad," *The Diplomat*, May 17 (with Sarah Kreps).

- 2010. "Colombia Can Win Mexico's War," New York Times and International Herald Tribune, July 29.
- 2008. "Crisis in the Andes: Chávez Rattles His Saber," *New York Times* and *International Herald Tribune*, March 6 (with Sarah Kreps)
- 2008. "Flertando com o perigo," O Estado de São Paulo (Brazil, March 9)
- 2008. "Dimensiones y lecciones del conflicto de las FARC," Asuntos del Sur (Chile, May)

### **WORK UNDER REVIEW / IN PROGRESS**

#### **Books**

Punitive Populism in Latin America (book manuscript in progress)

### Articles

Economic Elites Public Opinion Project (with Vincent Mauro and Mariano Sánchez-Talanquer)

Spatial Inequality, Public Good Access, and Support for the Tax State in Mexico (with Mariano Sánchez-Talanquer)

How Far-Right Parties Are Born: Explaining the Rise of Spain's Vox (with Julius Lagodny and Jimena Valdez) (under review)

The Consequences of Violent Crime for Migration: Evidence from the Mexican Census (with Pablo Scuticchio)

Prison Recidivism and Market Conditions: Evidence from Uruguay (with Juan Bogliaccini and Emiliano Tealde)

Mind the Gap: Latin American Elites' Policy Priorities and Their Correspondence with Those of the General Public (with Vincent Mauro and Mariano Sánchez-Talanquer), part of the edited volume *Political Reactions to Changing Societies*, eds María Victoria Murillo and Gabriel Kessler.

### HONORS AND GRANTS

- Belonging at Cornell Innovation Grant, awarded by the Presidential Advisors on Diversity and Equity (PADE) for the development of Story Circles, a workshop for intercultural understanding (2021).
- "One Cornell" Presidential Award for Employee Excellence 2021 (Awarded to a team, department or group of employees that implements a project or solves a problem that positively impacts Cornell and the greater community.)

- Cornell Center for the Study of Inequality Grant, "Understanding Economic Elites' Attitudes in Latin America," \$61,500.
- NSF Grant 2019, "Understanding Public Attitudes about Citizen Security" (with Jessica Zarkin), \$18,900.
- Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies, Democracy and Development Fellowship for sabbatical in residence, 2017-2018
- Cornell University, Latin American Studies Program, Book Manuscript Workshop Award, Spring 2017
- Consortium of Advanced Studies Abroad (CASA), Faculty in Residence for the Seville Program, 2016-2017
- Cornell University, Atkinson Center for Sustainable Development, Faculty in Residence, Fall 2015
- Stanford University, Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Visiting Scholar, July 2015
- Cornell University, Institute for the Social Sciences, Small Grant (\$5,000), Spring 2015
- Latin American Studies Association, Luciano Tomassini Book Award 2014 (best book on the region's international relations in English, French, Portuguese or Spanish in the previous three years)
- Cornell University, Mario Einaudi Seed Grant, Fall 2014 (\$10,000)
- International Center for Taxation and Development (UK), Research Grant (\$20,000), 2013
- Columbia University, Institute for Latin American Studies, Visiting Scholar, Fall 2013
- Cornell University, Stephen and Margery Russell Distinguished Teaching Award, Spring 2013
- Cornell University, Houston Flournoy Award (\$3,000 for research assistance), Spring 2013
- Cornell University, Hull Memorial Publication Fund Grant, 2011
- Cornell University, Institute for the Social Sciences, Small Grant (\$9,000), 2011
- International Center for Taxation and Development (UK), Research Grant (\$10,000), 2011
- Cornell University, Post-Doctoral Fellowship (2008-2010)
- Harvard University, Derek Bok Excellence in Teaching Award (Spring 2008)
- Georgetown University, Center for Latin American Studies, Dissertation Research Grant (2007)
- Georgetown University Mexico Council of Science (CONACYT), Doctoral Fellow (2004-2008)
- Fulbright-García Robles Scholar Duke University (2001-2003)
- Duke University Université de Genève Fellow (summer 2002)
- Mexico's Education Ministry (SEP), Merit Based Fellowship for Graduate Study, 2001-2003

- Tecnológico de Monterrey – Undergraduate Merit Fellow (1996-2000)

# TEACHING EXPERIENCE

**Cornell University,** Government Department and Brooks School of Public Policy

GOVT 6053 Comparative Methods in International and Comparative Politics

GOVT 4403 War and the State in Comparative Perspective

GOVT 4274 Politics of Energy and Natural Resources

GOVT 3992, DSOC 3290, LATA 3290 Comparative Politics of Latin America

GOVT 3553 Issues Behind the News: An Interdisciplinary Analysis of Current Events

GOVT 2012 Crime and Policing

2<sup>nd</sup> Year Graduate Colloquium

Johnson College of Business

NBA 6370 Current Global Issues for Business

NBA 5290 Experiential Learning in Cuba

Harvard University, Teaching Fellow, Government Department (Sept. 2007-May 2008)

Gov20 Introduction to Comparative Politics

Gov1295 Comparative Politics of Latin America (winner of Harvard's Derek Bok Teaching Award)

Georgetown University, Instructor, Liberal Studies Program (Sept. 2005-June 2007)

XINA 080 Globalization and Governance

**Duke University,** *Teaching Assistant, Dept of Statistics and Decision Sciences* (Aug. 2001-May 2003) STAT 101 Introduction to Statistics and Data Analysis

# PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

# **Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)**

Consultant, Local Economic and Employment Development Program (LEED) (2006-2007)

### **Change Navigators Consulting**

Political and economic consultant in projects for the US Departments of State and Homeland Security (2005-2006)

### **Ministry of the Economy - Consumer Protection Agency (Mexico)**

Director of Public Affairs (2000-2001 and 2003-2004)

### **APCO Worldwide (Switzerland)**

Associate, Trade and Development Practice (Summer 2002)

# CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS AND INVITED LECTURES

Sept. 2023 Author-meets-critics roundtable on *Contemporary State Building: Elite Taxation and Public Safety in Latin America*, (virtual) annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, CA.

July 2023 "The Militarization of Law Enforcement in Latin America," Keynote Address for the presentation of the policy brief, Las Funciones de las Fuerzas Armadas en el Orden Público, Universidad de Chile. July 2023 "Mind the Gap: Latin American Elites' Policy Priorities and Their Correspondence with Those of the General Public," Annual Meeting of the Latin American Network for Political Economy (REPAL), Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Quito, Ecuador. April 2023 "Violent Crime and the Expansion of Executive Power in Latin America," Kellogg Institute 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration, Notre Dame University March 2023 "The Political Economy of Latin American Elites: Attitudes and Political Consequences," Columbia University. March 2023 "Contemporary State Building: Elite Taxation and Public Safety in Latin America," Center for Inter-American Policy and Research, Tulane University. Oct. 2022 "The Militarization of Law Enforcement and Human Rights," Workshop on Illicit Economies and Extra-Legal Actors at the US-Mexico Center, UCSD. Sept. 2022 "The Consequences of Violent Crime for Migration: Evidence from the Mexican Census," Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), Mexico City. May 2022 "The Militarization of Law Enforcement and Human Rights," Annual Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Virtual Meeting. Nov. 2021 "The Racialization and Minoritization of International Students," Keynote speaker, Graduate School's Allyship Series. Sept. 2021 "Mexico's Midterm Elections and New Balances of Power," David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University. July 2021 "The Militarization of Law Enforcement and Human Rights," Annual Meeting of the Latin American Network for Political Economy (REPAL), Cornell University. "Militarización y COVID en Latinoamérica," Round table by Le Grand Continent, April 2021 Groupe d'études géopolitiques, France. "The Militarization of Law Enforcement and Human Rights," Annual Meeting of the April 2021 International Studies Association, Virtual meeting. March 2021 Fridays with Faculty Seminar Series, Latina/o Studies Program, Cornell University. March 2021 "The Militarization of Law Enforcement and Human Rights," Committee of Law Enforcement Workshop, Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, United States Department of State. March 2021 "Police Militarization in Comparative Perspective: Round Table," School of

	Government and Public Policy, University Arizona.
Dec. 2020	"The Role of Mexico's Armed Forces in Law Enforcement," Program for the Study of Violence, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), Mexico.
Dec. 2020	"Economic Perspectives for Latin America," Swiss-Dominican Chamber of Commerce, Dominican Republic.
Nov. 2020	"The Consequences of Militarized Policing for Human Rights: Evidence from Mexico," Comparative Politics Seminar Series, Columbia University.
Oct. 2020	"US and Mexico Relations: What's Next after USMCA?" e-Cornell, College of Arts and Sciences, and Johnson College of Business.
Sept. 2020	"High Stakes: Implications of the US Election for Latin America," Latin American Studies Program, Cornell University.
Sept. 2020	"How COVID Has Changed Latin American Politics," David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University.
Sept. 2020	"Spatial Inequality, Public Good Access, and Support for the Tax State in Mexico," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Virtual meeting.
Sept. 2020	"Commentary on Trejo and Ley's <i>Votes, Drugs, and Violence</i> ," Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame.
Aug. 2019	"Explaining Public Support for Militarizing Law Enforcement: Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment in Mexico," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.
Aug. 2019	"Explaining Public Support for Militarizing Law Enforcement: Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment in Mexico," SPIR, Australia National University.
May 2019	"Financing Leviathan: Rule of Law, Elite Taxation, and State Building in Latin America," Annual Meeting of the Latin American Network for Political Economy (REPAL), New Orleans.
April 2019	"Explaining Public Support for Militarizing Law Enforcement: Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment in Mexico," State Capacity and Public Goods Conference,

University.

Oct. 2018 "Changing Course? Understanding Mexico's 2018 Election," David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University.

"Societies under Stress: Welfare and Penal Policies Amid Rising Insecurities,"

Workshop at the Mershon Center for International Security Studies, Ohio State

Princeton University.

Nov. 2018

Sept. 2018 "Mexico's Authoritarian Successor Party: Explaining the Resilience of the PRI," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA. May 2018 "The Militarization of Law Enforcement in Latin America," Annual meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Barcelona, Spain. April 2018 "Changing Course? The 2018 Presidential Election in Mexico," Colgate University. March 2018 "Building the Modern State: Understanding the Relationship between Order and Taxes," Comparative Politics Speaker Series, Princeton University. Oct. 2017 "Mexico's PRI: The Resilience of an Authoritarian Successor Party and Its Consequences for Democracy," Texas State University. Sept. 2017 "Building the Modern State: Understanding the Relationship between Order and Taxes," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA. "Financing Leviathan: Rule of Law, Elite Taxation, and State Building in Latin May 2017 America," Conference on Development in the Face of Global Inequalities, Institut Barcelona de Estudis Internacionals, Spain. March 2017 "Building the Modern State: Understanding the Relationship between Order and Taxes with Evidence from Mexico," Institut Barcelona de Estudis Internacionals, Spain. March 2017 "Building the Modern State: Understanding the Relationship between Order and Taxes with Evidence from Mexico," Institute of the Americas, University College London. June 2016 "Building the Modern State: Understanding the Relationship between Order and Taxes with Evidence from Mexico," Annual Meeting of the Latin American Network for Political Economy (REPAL), Boston, MA. May 2016 "The Macroeconomic Consequences of Party System Institutionalization," Annual meeting of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), New York, NY. "Building Support for Taxation in Developing Countries: Experimental Evidence from April 2016 Mexico," John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. March 2016 "Mexico's PRI: Explaining the Resilience of an Authoritarian Successor Party," David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University. Nov. 2015 "Building Support for Taxation in Developing Countries: Experimental Evidence from Mexico," Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM), Mexico. Oct. 2015 "Building Support for Taxation in Developing Countries: Experimental Evidence from Mexico," Conference on The Political Economy of Government Revenues, Princeton University.

- Oct. 2015 (Organizer) "The Political Economy of Taxation in Latin America," Cornell University.
- Sept. 2015 "The Militarization of Anti-Drug Efforts and State Capacity in Latin America: Evidence from Mexico," Comparative Politics Seminar Series, Dartmouth College.
- May 2015 "The Political Economy of Colombia's 2012 and 2014 Fiscal Reforms," Annual Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico.
- March 2015 "Building Support for Taxation in Developing Countries: Experimental Evidence from Mexico," Koc University, Istanbul, Turkey.
- March 2015 Commentator on the OECD's "2015 Report on Colombia's Economy," Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, DC.
- Feb. 2015 "The Political Economy of Colombia's 2012 and 2014 Fiscal Reforms," Latin American Studies Program, Cornell University.
- Oct. 2014 "The Militarization of Anti-Drug Efforts and State Capacity in Latin America: Evidence from Mexico," Juan March Institute, Madrid, Spain.
- Aug. 2014 "Building Support for Taxation in Developing Countries: Experimental Evidence from Mexico," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.
- June 2014 "Building Support for Taxation in Developing Countries: Experimental Evidence from Mexico," Annual Meeting of the European Political Science Association, Edinburgh, Scotland; Also presented at the Mexican Embassy in Paris, France.
- June 2014 "Building Support for Taxation in Developing Countries: Experimental Evidence from Mexico," First Annual Meeting of the Latin American Network for Political Economy (REPAL), Santiago, Chile.
- May 2014 "The Macroeconomic Consequences of Party System Institutionalization," Conference on Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse, University of Notre Dame.
- May 2014 "Building Support for Taxation in Developing Countries: Experimental Evidence from Mexico," Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL.
- May 2014 "Wars on Drugs and State Capacity in Latin America: Evidence from Mexico," Workshop on Violence and Security in Latin America, Cornell University
- Jan. 2014 "Mexico's Structural Reforms," Society for the Americas Round Table, New York, NY
- Dec. 2013 "Wars on Drugs and State Capacity: Evidence from Mexico," Comparative Politics Seminar Series, Columbia University.
- Oct. 2013 "Wars on Drugs and State Capacity: Evidence from Mexico," UT Austin.

- Aug. 2013 "Financing Security through Elite Taxation: The Case of Colombia's Democratic Security Taxes," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL
- June 2013 "Mind the Accountability Gap? Debt, Taxes, and War," European Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Barcelona, Spain.
- June 2013 "The Militarization of Anti-Drug Efforts in Mexico," Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC.
- May 2013 "What Doesn't Kill You Makes You Stronger? Militarized Anti-Drug Efforts and State Capacity," Watson Institute, Brown University.
- April 2013 "Latin American Political Economy Scholarship: The State of the Art," Center for Inter-American Policy and Research, Tulane University.
- Nov. 2012 "The Militarization of Anti-Drug Efforts in Mexico," Northeast Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, MA.
- Sept. 2012 "Financing Security through Elite Taxation: The Case of Colombia," David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University.
- Aug. 2012 "What Doesn't Kill You Makes You Stronger? Militarized Anti-Drug Efforts and State Capacity," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA.
- May 2012 "Financing Security through Elite Taxation: The Case of Colombia's Democratic Security Taxes," Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA.
- July 2011 "The Political Economy of Elite Taxation in Colombia," Institute for Development Studies, University of Sussex, UK.
- Nov. 2010 "Mexico's Revolution at 100," Moynihan Institute, Syracuse University.
- Oct. 2010 "State Capacity and the War on Drugs," Kellogg Institute, Notre Dame University.
- April 2010 "The Rise of Indigenous Politics in Latin America," Bridges to Community Service Group (guest speaker), Cornell University.
- April 2010 "Trading Dragon, Aligning Tiger? The Effects of China's Bilateral Trade on Political Affinity," Institute for Social and Economic Research Policy, Columbia University.
- Dec. 2009 "State Capacity and the War on Drugs," Latin American Studies Program Seminar Series, Cornell University.
- Nov. 2009 "Transnational Implications of Drug Trafficking in Mexico," Cornell International Affairs Review (guest speaker), Cornell University.

Nov. 2009 "Implications of The Dream Act for Hispanics in the United States," MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán) (guest speaker), Cornell University. June 2009 "Explaining Venezuela's Neoliberal Reversal," Latin American Studies Association annual meeting, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. April 2009 "Immigrant Workers and Collective Remittances: Government-Migrant Partnerships for Home-Country Development," International Workshop Series, School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University. March 2009 "Migration, Collective Remittances, and Development," Spring Speaker Series, Dept. of Development Sociology, Cornell University. Feb. 2009 "Latin America's Many Lefts" International Studies Association Annual Meeting, New York, NY. Dec. 2008 "Migrant Networks and Private Sector Partnerships: Mexico's 4x1 Program," Inter-American Development Bank-European Union Redgob Conference, Lisbon, Portugal. Sept. 2008 "The Left and Neoliberalism in Latin America: Explaining Governments' Reactions to Market Reforms," Latin American Studies Program Speaker Series, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY. "Challenging the Notion of a Leftist Turn in Latin America," DC Metro Graduate May 2007 Conference, Washington, DC. "Diffuse Violent Crime and Democratic Transition in Latin America," MPSA annual April 2007 meeting, Chicago, IL. April 2007 "Challenging the Notion of a Leftist Turn in Latin America," MPSA annual meeting, Chicago, IL. Jan. 2007 "The US-Mexico Bilateral Agenda," Office of Naval Intelligence, Suitland, MD. May 2006 "Fiscal and Labor Market Effects of a Temporary Guest Worker Program in the US," US Department of Homeland Security, Washington, DC. Dec. 2005 "Projections for Non-immigrant Visa Demand 2007-2020," Briefing to the Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs, Washington, DC. Nov. 2005 "Migration and Free Trade Agreements: Lessons from NAFTA and Perspectives for CAFTA," International Organization for Migration (IOM), Geneva, Switzerland.

# **LANGUAGES**

Spanish (Native); English (Native fluency); Portuguese (fluent); French (fluent)

# PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

### **Discipline**

- Treasurer, American Political Science Association, Comparative Politics Section, 2022-present
- Steering Committee member, Latin American Political Economy Network (REPAL), 2021-present
- Program Co-Chair, annual meeting of the Latin American Political Economy Network (REPAL), 2021
- Track Chair, Latin American Studies Association 2017 meeting in Lima, Peru
- Track Chair, Latin American Studies Association, 2015 meeting in San Juan, Puerto Rico
- Member, Resource Allocation Group, International Center for Taxation and Development, UK 2011-2019
- Participant, book workshop for Rachel Schwartz, Tulane University, 2020
- Participant, book workshop for Juan Fernando Ibarra del Cueto, Colgate University, 2019
- Participant, book workshop for Riitta-Ilona Koivumaeki, Tulane University, 2015
- Founding member, Latin American Political Economy Network (REPAL)
- Reviewer for América Latina Hoy, American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Cambridge University Press, Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Conflict Management and Peace Science, International Interactions, International Organization, International Studies Quarterly, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Development Studies, Journal of Politics, Latin American Politics and Society, Latin American Research Review, National Science Foundation, Oxford University Press, Security Studies, Studies in Comparative International Development, University of Texas Press, World Politics.

# **Cornell University**

- Member, e-Cornell's External Education Strategy Council, 2023-present
- Member, Cornell Law School, ad hoc tenure review committee, spring 2023.
- Member, Search Committee for the Dean of the School of Continuing Education, 2022.
- Chair, Committee on Diversity and Inclusion for International Students, 2020-2023
- Member, Anti-Racism Committee, Office of the Vice-Provost for International Affairs, 2020-2023
- Member, International Teaching Assistant Program (ITAP) Advisory Committee, 2021-2023
- Member, Search Committee for the Director of the Cornell Center for the Social Sciences, 2021
- Elected member, College of Arts and Sciences Dean's Advisory Committee on Appointments, 2019-2023
- Elected member, College of Arts and Sciences Academic Integrity Hearing Board, 2018-2021
- Steering Committee Member, Latin American and Caribbean Studies Program, Mario Einaudi Center, 2012-present
- Faculty Mentor, Laidlaw Scholars Program, Mario Einaudi Center, 2021-2022
- Faculty Advisory Board Member, Cornell Institute for Public Affairs (CIPA), 2017-2021
- Faculty Advisory Board Member, Atkinson Center for a Sustainable Future, 2018-2022
- Faculty Fellow, North Campus Townhouses/Mews Hall, Cornell University 2014-present
- College Scholars thesis adviser, 2011- 2012; 2020-2021
- Co-chair, College of Arts and Sciences Sustainability Senior Faculty Search Committee, 2018-19
- Member, Selection committee for Atkinson Center for a Sustainable Future, Academic Venture Fund, 2015, 2016, 2017
- Member, Selection committee for Atkinson Center for a Sustainable Future, Social Science, Humanities, and Arts Faculty Fellows, 2016
- Reviewer, Institute for the Social Sciences, Small Grant Applications, 2017

- Speaker Series Coordinator, Cornell's Latin American Studies Program, spring 2009, fall 2009, spring 2010
- Faculty Leader, Cornell Adult University, Cuba Trip 2012, 2013, 2014
- Member, Cornell Johnson School of Business Taskforce for Strategic Plan toward Latin America, 2013.
- Member, Selection committee for the College of Arts and Science's teaching and advising awards, 2015-2019
- Travel Grant Application Reviewer, Einaudi Center, 2015, 2019
- Application reviewer for Cornell's Fulbright internal competition, 2014
- Guest speaker, "US-Latin America Relations," Campus Club, Cornell University
- Keynote speaker, Cornell International Affairs Review, Gala Event, Spring 2013.
- Guest speaker, "America and the World," Cornell Reunion Round Table, Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies, June 2012
- Guest speaker in a number of lectures and seminars organized by Cornell student groups, including Cornell International Affairs Review, Bridges to Community, and Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA), Por Colombia, Cornell International Students Union.
- Research mentor, Hunter R. Rawlings III Cornell Presidential Research Scholars Program 2014
- Adviser of MicroChange, Cornell's microfinance student organization, 2010-11
- Adviser of Pi Sigma Alpha, Honors Society for Government majors at Cornell, 2011-2012
- Adviser of Por Colombia (Cornell's Colombian Student Association), Fall 2012-Spring 2013
- Adviser of Cornell's Mexican Student Association, 2014-2019
- College of Arts and Sciences Undergraduate Admissions Committee, Spring 2012

# **Government Department**

- Graduate Committee, 2018-2019, 2021-2022
- Diversity Committee, 2021-2022 (chair)
- Undergraduate student adviser, 2010-present
- Undergraduate honors thesis adviser, 2010-present
- Undergraduate Committee, 2011-2013, 2015, 2016
- Comparative A exam Committee, 2011, 2015, 2016, 2019, 2020 (chair), 2022 (chair)
- Member, committee for faculty search in comparative politics, 2015.

# **Brooks School of Public Policy**

- Chair, Brooks School of Public Policy Data Science Search Committee, 2022-2023
- Member, Brooks School of Public Policy, ad hoc tenure review committee, 2022
- Member, Brooks School of Public Policy Data Science Search Committee, 2021-2022
- Member, Cornell-in-Washington Director Search Committee, 2020-2021
- Cornell Institute for Public Affairs (CIPA) student adviser
- Member, Curriculum Subcommittee toward Cornell's new School of Public Policy, 2020-present
- Cornell Institute for Public Affairs (CIPA) master thesis committee, 2010-11 (chair), 2012-13 (chair), 2017-18 (member), 2019-2020 (chair)

Sept 2023