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Professional Experience

Assistant Professor, August 2018–present
Director of Undergraduate Studies, 07/2010-01/2011 & 01/2019–present
Instructor and Researcher, July 2009-June 2011
Department of Political Studies, Universidad Icesi, Cali, Colombia

Education

PhD, Political Science, 2018
University of Notre Dame, USA.
Fields: Comparative Politics (first field), American Politics (second field).
Dissertation: “Criminalized Electoral Politics. The Socio-Political Foundations of Electoral Coercion in Democratic Brazil.”
Committee: Scott Mainwaring & Guillermo Trejo (co-chairs), Sarah Z. Daly, & Ann Mische.
Honorable Mention for the Best Dissertation, Urban and Local Politics Section, American Political Science Association (APSA).
Honorable Mention for the Best Dissertation in Social Sciences - Melhor Tese em Ciências Sociais (Sérgio Buarque de Holanda Prize), Brazil Section, Latin American Studies Association (LASA).

M.A., Political Science, 2013
University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN

M.A., Comparative Politics (Concentration: Latin American Politics), 2009
Eberhard-Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany

B.A., Political Science (major) and Economics (minor), 2006
Eberhard-Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany

Publications

Articles:

- 2018 “Breaking State Impunity in Post-Authoritarian Regimes. Why Transitional Justice Mechanisms Deter Criminal Violence in New Democracies.” *Journal of Peace Research*, 55(6): 787-809. With G. Trejo and L. Tiscornia.
- 2018 “Criminalized Electoral Politics in Brazilian Urban Peripheries.” *Crime, Law, and Social Change*, 69(4): 553–575.

Book chapters in English:

- 2019 “Determinants of State Strength and Capacity: Understanding Citizen Allegiance.” In James Meernik, Jacqueline H.R. DeMeritt, & Mauricio Uribe-López (Eds.), *As War Ends. What Colombia Can Tell Us About the Sustainability of Peace and Transitional Justice*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 91–111. With Sarah Zukerman Daly.
- 2018 De-Institutionalization without Collapse: Colombia’s Party System. In Scott Mainwaring (Ed.), *Latin American Party Systems: Institutionalization, Decay and Collapse*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 227–254. With L. Gamboa and S. Mainwaring.

- 2016 Political Parties and the Party System. In D. de la Fontaine & T. Stehnen (Eds.), *The Political System of Brazil*, Berlin: Springer, pp. 143–162. (Completely revised from the 2012 German version).
- 2013 Integration Parliaments in Latin America: The Cases of Parlandino and Parlacen. In O. Costa, S. Stavridis & C. Dri (Eds.), *The Parliamentary Dimensions of Regionalization and Globalization. The Role of Interparliamentary Institutions*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.109–125.

Book chapters in other languages:

- 2020 Cali Distrito: Re-organización Territorial y Retos de Seguridad. In Enrique Rodríguez Caporalli & Pedro Pablo Sanabria Pulido (eds.) *Cali Distrito Especial. Políticas públicas, ordenamiento territorial y descentralización*. Bogotá/Cali: Ediciones Uniandes. (With Angie Calambás).
- 2020 Explorando las bases. Opinión pública y los sentidos de la derecha en Brasil y Colombia. In Bravo, Omar (ed.) *Las nuevas derechas como un desafío para las democracias actuales*, Cali: Editorial Universidad Icesi, pp. 13–42.
- 2020 Cambios y continuidades en las elecciones subnacionales de la región Pacífico (1997-2019). In Barrero F. & Eugénie Richard (eds.) *Elecciones subnacionales 2019: una redefinición de los partidos y de sus campañas electorales*, Bogotá: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, pp. 479–509.
- 2012 Politische Parteien und Parteiensystem. In: D. de la Fontaine & T. Stehnen, *Das politische System Brasiliens*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, pp. 157–174.
- 2011 Buscando el liderazgo en la región. La política exterior brasilera hacia Sudamérica. In: H. J. Godoy, R. González A. & G. Orozco R. (Eds.), *Construyendo lo global: aportes al debate de relaciones internacionales*, Barranquilla: Editorial Universidad del Norte, pp. 401–422.
- 2010 Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Brasilien und Deutschland. In S. Costa et al. (Eds.): *Brasilien heute. Geographischer Raum, Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur*, Frankfurt a/M: Vervuert, pp. 643 – 654. (with T. Stehnen)

Book Review Essay:

- 2020 “Criminal Violence in Latin America,” *Latin American Research Review*, 55(2): 397–406. With Nicholas Barnes.

Book Reviews:

- 2017 “A Baixada Fluminense e a Ditadura Militar. Movimentos Sociais, Repressão e Poder Local.” *The Latin Americanist*, 61 (4): 611–612.

Working documents

Under review:

“Mall Cop or Robocop? The Political Determinants of Police Militarization in Brazil.” With L. Tiscornia (CIDE, Mexico City).

“Local Competitive Authoritarianism and Post-Conflict Violence. Analysis of the Assassination of Social Leaders in Colombia.” With J. Milanese, I. Valencia (U. Icesi), and J. Wolff (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, Germany).

“Cuando lo local no es función de lo nacional. Efectos diferenciales del cambio institucional en Colombia (1997-2015) [When Local Politics Does not Follow National Trends. Differential Effects of Institutional Change in Colombia (1997-2015)].” With J. Milanese. R&R at the *Revista de Ciencia Política*.

In Progress:

Book projects

Criminalized Electoral Politics. Politicians and Criminals Subverting Democracy in Contemporary Brazil.

Why Transitional Justice Deters Criminal Violence in New Democracies. Truth, Justice, and the Construction of Peaceful Societies. With Guillermo Trejo (U. of Notre Dame) & Lucía Tiscornia (CIDE, Mexico City).

Papers:

“Parties, Electoral Competition, and Criminal Political Violence in Brazil.”

“Criminalized Democracy: The Electoral Impact of Rio de Janeiro’s Gangs” With Nicholas Barnes (St. Andrews University, Scotland).

“Public Opinion and Support for Transitional Justice in Colombia. Evidence from a Survey Experiment.” With Laura Gamboa (Utah State University).

“The Social Basis of Punitive Policing: Public Opinion and Perceptions of Deservingness” With Lucía Tiscornia (CIDE, Mexico), Verónica Pérez (UdelaR, Uruguay), and Leslie MacColman (Ohio State).

“Unprotected Status: Citizenship Status and Divergent Subnational Immigration Outcomes.” With A. Peña-Vasquez, R. Ramirez, and J. Valdez Jr (University of Notre Dame).

Awards, Fellowships, and Grants

External

- Honorable Mention for the Best Dissertation 2019, Urban and Local Politics Section, American Political Science Association (APSA).
- Honorable Mention for the Best Dissertation in Social Sciences - Melhor Tese em Ciências Sociais (Sérgio Buarque de Holanda Prize) 2019, Brazil Section, Latin American Studies Association (LASA).
- Prize for Best Academic Paper by REDESDAL (Network of Studies on Drugs in Latin America) and the International Drug Policy Unit at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), 2019.
- Grant from the Colombian-German Institute for Peace (CAPAZ) for the project “Violence and Local Political Orders in Post-Conflict Colombia: Analysis of the Assassination of Civic and Social Leaders, Principal Investigator. Co-PI’s: Jonas Wolff (PRIF-Frankfurt), Juan P. Milanese (Icesi) & Inge Valencia (Icesi), 2019-2020.
- Grant from the Uruguayan Agency for Research and Innovation (ANII) for the research project “Police Capacity, Practices and Citizen Perceptions: An Analysis of the PADO in Montevideo,” 2019, co-investigator (PIs: Veronica Pérez and Lucía Tiscornia).

- Inter-American Foundation (IAF) Grassroots Development Fellowship 2015–2016 to conduct doctoral fieldwork in Brazil.
- Fulbright Scholarship for PhD Studies in the United States, 2011-2013
- Scholarship from the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service) to finance field research expenses in Brazil (February–April 2008).

Internal

- Faculty Research Grant to support additional fieldwork in Brazil, Universidad Icesi, October 2018.
- Kellogg Institute Award for Outstanding Doctoral Student Contributions, University of Notre Dame, May 2017.
- Kellogg Institute Dissertation Year Fellowship, University of Notre Dame, academic year 2017–2018.
- Kellogg Institute Professionalization Grant, University of Notre Dame, Summer 2017.
- Kellogg Institute Graduate Research Grant, University of Notre Dame, November 2016, to support survey research for the project: “Transitional Justice and Public Opinion in Colombia”.
- Mellon Summer Stipend from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation’s Mellon Grant for Religion Across the Disciplines, University of Notre Dame, Summer 2016.
- Dissertation Year Fellowship (Spring 2015, Fall 2016), Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame.
- Kellogg Institute Graduate Research Grant, University of Notre Dame, April 2015.
- Kellogg Institute PhD Fellowship, University of Notre Dame, 2011-2016
- Graduate Student Research Award from the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts of the University of Notre Dame to conduct preliminary field work, summer 2014.
- Kellogg Institute Professionalization Grant, Summer 2013.
- Professional Development Award from the Graduate School of the University of Notre Dame to attend the ICPSR Summer Program 2012
- Graduate Student Professional Development Award from the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts of the University of Notre Dame to attend the ICPSR Summer Program 2012

Conference Papers (recent)

- 2020** “Local Competitive Authoritarianism and Post-Conflict Violence. Analysis of the Assassination of Social and Civic Leaders in Colombia.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), with Juan Pablo Milanese, Inge Valencia (Universidad Icesi), and Jonas Wolff (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, Germany).
- 2019** “Supporting Mano Dura: Police Practices & Citizens’ Perceptions of Deservingness.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), with Lucía Tiscornia, Veronica Pérez & Leslie MacColman.

- “Electoral Competition, Local Political Orders, and Criminal Violence. Analysis of the Assassination of Social and Civic Leaders in Colombia.” Annual Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), with J. Milanese and I.H. Valencia.
- 2018** “Criminalized Democracy: The Electoral Impact of Rio de Janeiro’s Gangs.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), with N. Barnes.
- “Mall Cop or Robocop? The Political Determinants of Police Militarization in Brazil.” Annual Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) and the Western Political Science Association, with L. Tiscornia.
- 2017** “Electoral Competition and Criminal-Political Violence in Brazil.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA).
- “Public Opinion and Support for Transitional Justice in Colombia. Evidence from a Survey Experiment.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), with L. Gamboa.
- 2016** “Criminalized Electoral Politics in Brazilian Urban Peripheries.” Annual Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA).
- “Exploring Intra-Party Competition and the Effects of Electoral Reform.” Annual Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), with J. Milanese.
- 2015** “Control in the Favela. Civic Organizations, Crime and Democratic Politics in Brazils Slums.” Annual Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA).
- 2014** “Transitional Justice and Criminal Violence in New Democracies: Evidence from the Third Wave of Democratization.” Annual Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), with G. Trejo and L. Tiscornia.
- “Patrones de competencia intrapartidaria en los partidos colombianos. Análisis del caso de la región suroccidental.” Annual Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), with J. Milanese and L. Jaramillo.
- 2013** “Ideological self-placement and issue attitudes in Colombian public opinion. Biennial Conference of the Latin American Political Science Association (ALACIP).
- “Latino population dynamics and immigrant policies in American states, 2005-2010.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), with R. Ramirez.
- 2012** “The impact of electoral reform in Colombian Congressional and sub-national elections. Annual Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), wit J. Milanese.

**Invited
Presentations**

- “Electoral Competition and Criminal Political Violence in Brazilian Municipalities,” at the Conference *Criminal Governance in the Americas*, University of Chicago, October 26, 2018.
- “El uso de la violencia por parte de grupos criminales,” CESED, Universidad de los Andes (Bogotá), October 1, 2018.

Teaching Experience

Instructor of Record:

Universidad Icesi, Cali, Colombia

Undergraduate courses taught (in Spanish):

Introduction to Political Science (2 times)

Latin American Politics (1 time)

Quantitative Analysis (7 times)

Parties and Party Systems (3 times)

Electoral Systems and Electoral Behavior (4 times)

Political Regimes (1 time)

Political Representation (1 time)

Transformations in Europe after the Cold War. (1 time)

Brazil: History, Politics and Society (1 time)

Graduate courses taught (in Spanish):

Comparative and Qualitative Methods (Research M.A. in Social and Political Research)

Quantitative Research Designs I (Research M.A. in Neuroscience)

Quantitative Research Designs II (Research M.A. in Neuroscience)

Decision-Making in Contemporary Democracies (M.A. in Government / Public Policy)

Universität Tübingen, Germany

Graduate course taught (in German):

Demokratische Regression (co-taught with Dr. R. Frankenberger)

Teaching Assistant:

University of Notre Dame, IN

Elections and Social Protest in Latin America, Prof. G. Trejo, Spring 2017.

Statistical Consultant, Supervisor: Prof. D. Nickerson, Academic year 2013-2014.

Introduction to Comparative Politics, Prof. R. Dowd, Fall 2013.

Universität Tübingen, Germany

Research Project, Dr Rolf Frankenberger, Fall/Winter 2007/2008

Introduction to Political Science, Dr. R. Frankenberger, Fall/Winter 2006/2007.

Advising and Mentoring

Undergraduate Thesis Advising, Universidad Icesi

- Melissa Triviño, 2011, "Electoral Reform in 2003: Effects on the Party System in Valle del Cauca."
- B. Andrea Santander, 2019, "Political participation and civic culture in high school seniors."

- Daniel Olmedo, 2019, “Socio-Economic Implications of the Presence of Organized Crime and their Criminal Monopolies in Buenaventura, Colombia.”
- Cristhian Giraldo, 2020, “Political Violence in the Northern Valle del Cauca Region (El Águila, 1960-1970).”
- Diana M. Pineda, 2020, “The Colombian Constitutional Court and the Selection of Female Justices.” (*Thesis nominated for college-wide honors*)
- Daniel Hidalgo, 2020, “Criminal Social Orders and Violence in Cali, Colombia.”
- Anthony Rivas, 2020, “The Catholic Church and Social Mobilization in Buenaventura, Colombia.”

Graduate Advising, Universidad Icesi

- Laura Moreno, “Trans Women’s Perceptions of Public Safety in Public Spaces of Cali, Colombia.” Research M.A. Program in Political and Social Studies (in progress).

Additional Training and Skills

- Evidence in Governance and Politics (EGAP) Learning Days - Experimental Design Sessions, Bogotá, April 8–12, 2019.
- ICPSR Short Workshop on Bayesian Multilevel Models, Berkeley, CA, July 31-August 4 2017.
- Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (IQMR) Summer Institute, Syracuse, NY, June 15-28 2014.
- Olympia Summer Academy, “Conflict and Political Violence.” Co-organized by the Navarino Network (Greece) and Yale University’s Program on Order, Conflict and Violence, July 2013.
- ICPSR Summer Program in Quantitative Methods of Social Research 2012: Courses in Regression II (Linear Models) and Maximum Likelihood Estimation.
- R, Stata, L^AT_EX, and ArcGIS.

Service

- Reviewer for the American Journal of Political Science (AJPS), Journal of Politics, Journal of Peace Research, the Latin American Research Review (LARR), Journal of Latin American Studies, Social Science Quarterly, Current Anthropology, Stability, the *Revista de Estudios Políticos* (Colombia), and the *Friedensgutachten 2013* (Peace Report 2013, German Peace Studies Institutes).
- Commissioner (“Comisionado Externo”) of the Review Committee of the Module on Social Science Research of the National Collegiate Test (Saber-Pro) administered by Colombia’s National Testing Service (ICFES), August 2020.
- Faculty co-advisor of the Undergraduate and Graduate Research Group “Social Order, Violence, and Public Security.”
- Faculty co-advisor of the Committee on Campus Political Participation in Times of Polarization, Universidad Icesi.
- Member, Mission and Diversity Committee, Dept. of Political Science, University of Notre Dame (Academic year 2017-2018).

**Policy papers
and journalistic
contributions
(selection)**

- Comparative Politics Graduate Student Representative, Dept. of Political Science, University of Notre Dame (Academic year 2013-2014).
- President, Graduate Student Organization (PoGO), Dept. of Political Science, University of Notre Dame (Academic year 2012-2013).
- “La lógica política de los asesinatos de líderes sociales. Autoritarismo competitivo local y violencia en el posacuerdo,” Analysis for the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, November 2020 (With J. Milanese, I. Valencia, M. Navarro, and J. Wolff).
Translated summaries published by the Peace Research Institute of Frankfurt, Germany:
 - “The Political Logic of Violence. The assassination of social leaders in the context of authoritarian local orders in Colombia.”
<https://www.hsfk.de/publikationen/publikationssuche/publikation/the-political-logic-of-violence/>
 - “Die politische Logik der Gewalt. Zur Ermordung sozialer Aktivist*innen im Kontext autoritärer lokaler Ordnungen in Kolumbien.”
<https://www.hsfk.de/publikationen/publikationssuche/publikation/die-politische-logik-der-gewalt>
- Written expert opinion for the *Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz* (Transitional Justice Court) on post-conflict violence in Colombia, October 2020 (co-authored with I. Valencia).
- “Violencia y órdenes políticos y locales en el posacuerdo: Las Dinámicas territoriales en el Norte del Cauca, el Bajo Cauca Antioqueño y Tumaco,” Analysis for the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, September 2020 (With J. Milanese, I. Valencia, M. Navarro, and L. Sinisterra).
- Amicus briefs for the 45th Civil Court and the Superior Court of Bogotá supporting the *tutela* (lawsuit) of social movement leaders demanding greater protection from the government in the face of systematic violence. Co-authored with M.P. Saffon (UNAM, Mexico City), I. Guiza (U. of Notre Dame), I. Valencia and J. Milanese (Icesi).
- “Criminal governance in the time of COVID-19,” Urban Violence Research Network, June 2020, <https://urbanviolence.org/criminal-governance-in-the-time-of-covid-19/>. (With Nicholas Barnes).
- “Lineamiento para la administración pública del nuevo distrito especial de Santiago de Cali” (Public administration guidelines for the new special district of Santiago de Cali), technical report, July 2019. (multiple authors, lead authors: E. Rodriguez and P. Sanabria).

Languages

Spanish: Native speaker

English, German, Brazilian Portuguese: Fluent (written and spoken)

**Professional
Memberships**

American Political Science Association (APSA), Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Latin American Political Science Association (ALACIP), Brazilian Studies Association (BRASA), Colombian Political Science Association (ACCPOL).

References

Scott P. Mainwaring
Eugene and Helen Conley Professor of Political Science
University of Notre Dame
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Guillermo Trejo
Associate Professor of Political Science
University of Notre Dame
gtrejo [at] nd.edu

Sarah Zukerman Daly
Assistant Professor of Political Science
Columbia University
sd2623 [at] columbia.edu

Ann Mische
Associate Professor of Sociology and Peace Studies
University of Notre Dame
Ann.E.Mische.2 [at] nd.edu

Jerónimo Botero
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