

## KATHLEEN BRUHN

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### EDUCATION:

- 1993 Ph.D., Stanford University, political science
- 1990 M.A., Stanford University, political science
- 1988 M.A., Stanford University, Latin American Studies
- 1986 B.A., Wittenberg University, summa cum laude

### PUBLICATIONS:

#### Books:

- 2024 *Politics and the Pink Tide*. University of Notre Dame Press.
- 2008 *Urban Protest in Mexico and Brazil*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 2006 *Mexico: The Struggle for Democratic Development*, with Daniel C. Levy. Second edition. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- 2001 *Mexico: The Struggle for Democratic Development*, with Daniel C. Levy. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- 1997 *Taking on Goliath: The Emergence of a New Left Party and the Struggle for Democracy in Mexico*. University Park, PA: Penn State Press.

#### Articles:

- 2022 "A Crisis of Representation? Protest and Parties in Latin America." *Revista Mexicana de Política Exterior*. With Jorge Moreno Plascencia. No. 122 (January-April): 9-28
- 2021 "AMLO y su Partido." *Política y Gobierno*..
- 2021 "When Opposites Attract: Electoral Coalitions and Alliance Politics in Mexico." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*.
- 2016 "Competition, Decentralization, and Candidate Selection in Mexico." with Steven Wuhs. *American Behavioral Scientist*. Vol. 60, No. 7: 819-836.
- 2015 "Defining the Left in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review*. Vol. 50, No. 1, 242-249.
- 2014 "Choosing how to Choose: From Democratic Primaries to Unholy Alliances in Mexico's Gubernatorial Elections." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* Winter 2014, Vol. 30, No. 1: 212-240.
- 2013 "Electing Extremists? Party Primaries and Legislative Candidates in Mexico." *Comparative Politics*. 45 (July): 398-417.
- 2010 "Too Much Democracy? Primaries and Candidate Success in Mexico's 2006 National Elections." *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol 52, no. 4 (Winter): 25-52..
- 2009 "Mexico: Democracy and the Future." *Insights on Law and Society*. Vol. 9, no. 3 (Spring): 4-6, 30. (a publication of the American Bar Association)
- 2007 "Elite Polarization Meets Mass Moderation in Mexico's 2006 Elections," with Kenneth F. Greene. *PS: Political Science and Politics*. Vol. 40, No. 1 (January), pp. 33-38
- 2007 "Optimismo Moderado," with Kenneth F. Greene. *Foreign Affairs en Español*. Vol. 7, No. 1 (January), pp. 132-143.

- 2006 “Is Latin America Turning Socialist?: The Region’s Electoral Trend.” *ReVista*. Vol. 5, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 2006), pp. 42-43.
- 2005 “With Friends Like These: Protest Strategies and the Left in Brazil and Mexico.” Kellogg Institute Working Paper No. 321. (October 2005)
- 2003 “Whores and Lesbians: Political Activism, Party Strategies, and Gender Quotas in Mexico.” *Electoral Studies*. No. 22 (2003): 101-119.
- 1999 “Antonio Gramsci and the *Palabra Verdadera*: The Political Discourse of Mexico’s Guerrilla Forces.” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*. Vol. 41, No. 2 (Summer 1999), pp. 29-55.
- 1996 “Social Spending and Political Support: The ‘Lessons’ of the National Solidarity Program in Mexico.” *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (January 1996), pp. 151-177.

### Book Chapters:

- 2023 “AMLO and Women.” In *Populism and Human Rights in a Turbulent Era*. Edited by Alison Brysk. New York: Edward Elgar.
- 2021 “Legados duraderos: cómo los años formativos del PRD marcaron su desarrollo subsecuente.” In *Izquierda, Democracia y Cambio Social: PRD 1989-2019*. Edited by Ricardo Becerra Laguna and Mariano Sánchez Talanquer. Mexico City: Ediciones Cal y Arena, CIDE.
- 2020 Editor, *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, politics section.
- 2019 “Party Finance in Latin America.” In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American Politics*. Available at <https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-1665>
- 2018 Editor, *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, politics section.
- 2018 “Party Primaries as a Strategic Choice: The Costs and Benefits of Democratic Candidate Selection.” In *Routledge Handbook of Primary Elections*. Edited by Robert Boatright. New York: Routledge Press.
- 2017 “Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas” In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*. Online.
- 2017 “Money for Nothing?: Public Financing and Party Building in Latin America.” In *Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America*. Edited by Steven Levitsky et. al. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 2015 “Chronicle of a Victory Foretold: Candidates, Parties, and Campaign Strategies in the 2012 Mexican Presidential Election.” In *Mexico’s Evolving Democracy: A Comparative Study of the 2012 Elections*. Edited by Jorge I. Domínguez, Kenneth F. Greene, Chappell H. Lawson, and Alejandro Moreno. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- 2013 “El PRD y los movimientos urbanos populares en el Distrito Federal.” In *El PRD: Orígenes, itinerario*. Editors Jorge Cadena – Roa and Miguel Armando López Leyva. México D.F.: IIS - UNAM / CEIICH - UNAM / Ficticia Editorial, Colección “Café de Altura. Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales.
- 2012 “To Hell with your Corrupt Institutions!": AMLO and Populism in Mexico.” In *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective to Democracy?* Edited by Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 2012 “The PRD and the Mexican Left.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Mexican Politics*. Edited by Roderic Ai Camp. Oxford University Press.
- 2011 “The Resilience of Latin American Democracy.” In *The Dynamics of Democratization*. Edited by Nathan J. Brown. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- 2010 Contributor of Brazil sections to each chapter in *Comparative Politics: Structures and Choices*. By Lowell Barrington (with contributions by Michael J. Bosia, Kathleen Bruhn, Susan Giaimo, and Dean McHenry). Boston, MA: Wadsworth/Cengage Learning.
- 2009 “The Absence of Common Ground between Candidates and Voters,” with Kenneth F. Greene. In *Consolidating Democracy: The 2006 Presidential Campaign in Comparative Perspective*. Edited by Jorge Domínguez, Chappell Lawson, and Alejandro Moreno. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- 2009 “López Obrador, Calderón, and the 2006 Presidential Campaign.” In *Consolidating*

- Democracy: The 2006 Presidential Campaign in Comparative Perspective*. Edited by Jorge Domínguez, Chappell Lawson, and Alejandro Moreno. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- 2008 “The Evolution of the Mexican Left.” In *Leftovers: Tales of the Latin American Left*. Edited by Jorge G. Castañeda and Marco A. Morales New York, NY: Routledge.
- 2004 “The Making of the Mexican President, 2000: Parties, Candidates, and Campaign Strategy.” In *Mexico’s Pivotal Democratic Election*. Edited by Jorge Domínguez and Chappell Lawson. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- 2000 “Cuauhtémoc Rey: el PRD en el poder.” In *Alternancia y transición política: Cómo gobierna la oposición en México*. Edited by Victor Alejandro Espinoza. Tijuana, Baja California: El Colegio de la Frontera Norte.
- 1999 “PRD Local Governments in Michoacán: Implications for Mexico’s Democratization Process,” in *Subnational Politics and Democratization in Mexico*. Edited by Wayne A. Cornelius, Todd Eisenstadt, and Jane Hindley. La Jolla, Calif.: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, UCSD.
- 1999 “Mexico: Sustained Civilian Rule and the Question of Democracy,” with Daniel C. Levy. In *Politics in Developing Countries: Latin America*. Second edition. Edited by Larry Diamond, Jonathan Hartlyn, Juan Linz, and S.M. Lipset. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- 1999 “The Resurrection of the Mexican Left in the 1997 Elections: Implications for the Party System.” In *The Transformation of Mexico’s Parties, Campaigns, Elections and Public Opinion*. Edited by Jorge Domínguez and Alejandro Poire. New York: Routledge Press.
- 1998 “The PRD: Diverging Approaches to Competition.” In *Governing Mexico: The Institutionalisation of Political Parties*. Edited by Monica Serrano. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- 1997 “The Seven Month Itch: Neoliberal Politics, Popular Movements, and the Left in Mexico.” In *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America: Rethinking Participation and Representation*. Edited by Douglas Chalmers et. al. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 1995 “Mexico: Sustained Civilian Rule Without Democracy.” with Daniel C. Levy. In *Politics in Developing Countries: Comparing Experiences with Democracy*. Second edition. Edited by Larry Diamond, Juan Linz, and S.M. Lipset. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- 1995 “Governing Under the Enemy: The PRD in Michoacán.” with Keith Yanner. In *Opposition Government in Mexico: Past Experiences and Future Opportunities*. Edited by Victoria Rodríguez and Peter Ward. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

### **PROFESSIONAL PAPERS AND TALKS (last three years only):**

- 2024 “Populism and Vertical Accountability.” Presented at the Latin American Studies Association, June 2024
- 2024 “Democratic Backsliding—and how to resist it.” League of Women Voters, Ventura County
- 2024 “Evaluation of the 2024 Mexican Presidential Election.” UCSD
- 2024 “Who Will be Mexico’s First Female President and What Will it Mean?” U.S.-Mexico Forum 2024
- 2024 “The Role of Mexico in the Fight for the White House.” UCSD and COMEXI
- 2024 “Politics and the Pink Tide: Book presentation.” UCSB
- 2023 “The State of U.S. Democracy and Vigilante Groups.” U.S.-Mexico Forum 2023
- 2023 “Populism and Democratic Backsliding in Mexico.” Presented at the Latin American Studies Association, May 2023.
- 2022 “AMLO and the Feminists” Presented at the American Political Science Association, September 2022.

### **TEACHING EXPERIENCE:**

International Politics and Policy  
 Comparative Methods  
 Democratization in Comparative Perspective (at graduate and undergraduate level)  
 Immigration and Identity

Introduction to Comparative Politics  
Mexican Politics (at graduate and undergraduate level)  
Third World Politics  
U.S.-Mexican Relations  
Social Movements and Collective Action  
Political Development  
Political Parties and Party Systems  
Revolutions and Political Violence  
Democratic Consolidation in Latin America

### **FELLOWSHIPS AND HONORS:**

2023 Alianza Research Grant  
2021 U.S.-Mexus Research Grant  
2018 UC Academic Senate research award  
2014 UC Academic Senate research award  
2008 Institute for Social and Behavioral Research, Research Grant  
2006 Institute for Social and Behavioral Research, Research Grant  
2006 UC Academic Senate research award  
2004 Kellogg Fellow, University of Notre Dame

### **ACADEMIC SERVICE:**

Chair, Political Science Department, 2018-2024  
Member, Gabriel Almond Award Committee of the American Political Science Association (awards a prize to the best dissertation in comparative politics), 2010.  
Director of Latin American and Iberian Studies, 2006-2009  
Graduate Committee, Dept. of Political Science, 2006-2007  
Graduate Advisor, Dept. of Political Science, 2000-2003  
Graduate Committee, Dept. of Political Science, 1999-2000.  
General Education Committee, 1997-1998  
Latin American and Iberian Studies Advisory Board, 1996-present

### **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS:**

American Political Science Association  
Latin American Studies Association