

## 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:

- 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:

- 2016 "Competition, Decentralization, and Candidate Selection in Mexico." with Steven Wuhs. *American Behavioral Scientist*. Vol. 60, No. 7: 819-836.
- 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:**

- Forthcoming 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 transition 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.

#### **Book Reviews (last five years only):**

- 2015 “Defining the Left in Latin America.” Book review essay (including review and comparisons of *Latin America’s Left Turns: Politics, Policies, and Trajectories of Change; Latin American Populism in the Twenty-First Century; After Neoliberalism? The Left and Economic Reforms in Latin America; The Resurgence of the Latin American Left; and The Success of the Left in Latin America: Untainted Parties, Market Reforms, and Voting Behavior*) in *Latin American Research Review*.
- 2015 Paul Gootenberg and Luis Reygadas, editors. *Indelible Inequalities in Latin America: Insights from History, Politics, and Culture*. In *Enterprise and Society*.
- 2014 Raul L. Madrid. *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*. In *The Americas*.
- 2014 Daniela di Piramo. *Political Leadership in Zapatista Mexico*. In *Perspectives on Politics*.
- 2013 Douglas A. Chalmers. *Reforming Democracies: Six Facts about Politics that Demand a New Agenda*. In e-International Relations, an online journal.  
<http://www.e-ir.info/2013/05/20/review-reforming-democracies/>
- 2011 Leonardo Avritzer. *Participatory Institutions in Democratic Brazil*. In *Political Science Quarterly*.
- 2011 Claudio Holzner. *Poverty of Democracy: The Institutional Roots of Political Participation in Mexico*. In *The Americas*.
- 2010 Michelle L. Dion. *Workers and welfare : comparative institutional change in twentieth-century Mexico*. In *Governance*.

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

- 2017 “Call out the Riot Police: Protest Policing in Four Latin American Countries.” Presented at Latin American Studies Association Congress, April 29-May 1, 2017.
- 2017 “The Right Left for the Job: Economic Reform and Protest in Four Left-governed Countries.” Presented at Midwest Political Science Association, April 6-April 9, 2017.
- 2014 “Money for Nothing?: Public Financing and Party Building in Latin America.” Presented at Latin American Studies Association Congress, May 21-24, 2014.
- 2013 Invited participant and lecturer, Road Scholar Program, “The Decline and Fall (and Rise Again?) of the Perfect Dictatorship” UC Berkeley, June 17-18, 2013.
- 2013 “Chronicle of a Victory Foretold: Candidates, Parties, and Campaign Strategies in the Mexico 2012 Presidential Election.” Conference on The 2012 Mexico Public Opinion Panel Project. Harvard University, January 24-26, 2013.
- 2012 “Money for Nothing? Public Financing and Party Building in Latin America.” Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America. Harvard University, November 16-17, 2012.
- 2012 “Democratic Primaries, Democratic Outcomes? How Holding Primaries affects the Ideological Positions of Candidates.” Prepared for APSA, August 29-September 2, 2012. Available

- through the Social Science Research Network.
- 2012 “Democratic Consolidation or Democratic Regression? Mexico on the Eve of the 2012 Presidential Election.” Organizer and chair, Latin American Studies Association Congress, May 23-26, 2012.
- 2012 “From Democratic Primaries to Unholy Alliances: The Causes and Implications of Candidate Selection Procedures in Mexican Gubernatorial Races.” Latin American Studies Association Congress, May 23-26, 2012

### **TEACHING EXPERIENCE:**

International Politics and Policy  
Comparative Methods  
Democratization in Comparative Perspective (at graduate and undergraduate level)  
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 (last ten years only):**

- 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:**

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