

**Beatriz Magaloni**  
Department of Political Science  
Encina Hall West, Stanford, CA 94305-6044  
Phone: 650-330-1995 e-mail: magaloni@stanford.edu

## **Education**

Ph.D. in Political Science, Duke University, December 1997  
M. A. in Political Science, Duke University, March 1993  
Licenciatura in Law, Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM), May 1989

## **Professional Experience**

### *Stanford University*

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, 2009-present  
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 2001-2009

Coordinator of the [Program on Poverty and Governance](#) at the Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law (CDDRL), Stanford University, 2009-present

Senior fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI), Stanford University

Affiliated Faculty Member of the Woods Institute for the Environment at Stanford University for the two-year period beginning September 1, 2011 and ending August 31, 2013

Director of Undergraduate Studies, Political Science 2009-present

W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow and the Susan Louis Dyer Peace Fellowship at the Hoover Institution, 2006-2007

Faculty Fellow, The Stanford Center for International Development

Visiting Adjunct Professor, Department of Political Science, UCLA September 2000-June 2001

Director of Political Science and Professor in Political Science at ITAM, Mexico (1995-1999. Director 1997-1999)

Professional Associate at the Center for Research and Development (CIDAC) 1889-1995

## **Awards**

Leon Epstein Award in 2007 for the best book published in the previous two years in the area of political parties and organizations

Best book award in 2007 given by the Comparative Democratization section, American Political Science Association

Gabriel Almond 1998 Award for the Best Dissertation in Comparative Politics by the American Political Science Association

Winner with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Barry Weingast of the 2001 prize for the best paper in comparative politics presented at the 96<sup>th</sup> American Political Science Association Meeting

## **Books**

*Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico* (2006) New York: Cambridge University Press

## **Journal Articles**

["The Game of Electoral Fraud and the Ousting of Authoritarian Rule"](#) (2010) *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 54 (3).

["Political Order and One-Party Rule"](#) (2010) *Annual Review Of Political Science* Vol. 13, published with Ruth Kricheli

["Credible Power-Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule"](#) ( 2008) *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 41 (4-5)

["Aiding Latin America's Poor"](#) (2009) *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 20 (4), published with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros

["Partisan Cleavages, State Retrenchment and Free Trade: Latin America in the 1990s"](#) (2008) *Latin American Research Review* published with Vidal Romero

["Party Dominance and the Logic of Electoral Design in Mexico's Transition to Democracy"](#) (2001) *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 13 (3):271-293, published with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros

["Dominancia de Partido y Dilemas Duvergerianos en las Elecciones Federales de 1994"](#) (Party Dominance and Duvergerian Dilemmas in the 1994 Federal Elections) *Política y Gobierno*, 1996, Vol. 3 (2).

["Elección Racional y Voto Estratégico: Algunas Aplicaciones al caso Mexicano"](#) (Rational Choice and Strategic Voting: Some Applications to the Mexican Case) *Política y Gobierno*, 1994 Vol. 1 (2)

## **Current Projects**

"Strategies of Vote Buying: Social Transfers, Democracy, and Poverty Reduction in Mexico" with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Federico Estevez.

This book analyses the political economy of anti-poverty policies, focusing on the Mexican experience from the late 1980s to the present. We conceive the various antipoverty policies as different strategies of vote buying. Using a wide variety of data and methods, the book simultaneously deals with what we see as the three key facets of social programs – whom parties target with benefits, with what menu of policy instruments, and how voters respond to them. A further element of our study is to identify the welfare consequences of the variety of strategies of vote buying, including clientelism. The book sheds light on the logic of classic political machines, how more programmatic forms of electoral exchange displace these, and how both forms of political exchange impact the poor’s welfare.

“Direct Democracy, Governance and Public Goods Provision in Indigenous Mexico” with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Alex Ruiz Euler.

This research studies the role of governance and local public good provision in Southern Mexico. Indigenous Southern Mexico provides a social laboratory regarding variation in local governance. Some municipalities are ruled by traditional participatory democracy practices while others are ruled by political parties or a combination of the two. The project combines surveys, qualitative fieldwork in Oaxaca and Chiapas, and observational statistical data to assess the effect of traditional institutions for collective choice on civic engagement, information flows, decision-making processes, female empowerment, public goods provision and citizen satisfaction.

Works in progress: [“Traditional Governance, Citizen Engagement and Local Public Goods: Evidence from Mexico”](#)

[“Information, Female Empowerment and Governance in Oaxaca, Mexico”](#)

“Taking to the Streets: Theory and Evidence on Protests under Authoritarianism with Ruth Kricheli and Yair Livne.

In recent decades, citizens all over the world took to the streets to oppose predatory autocracies. In this paper, we examine both theoretically and empirically the conditions that facilitate civil uprisings against autocratic regimes and the determinants of their success. We ask why citizens opt to risk their lives and protest; what the resulting dynamics of civil protest is; and what are the conditions under which protest successfully leads to regime breakdown. To answer these questions, we first develop a game theoretic signaling model identifying when protests are likely to escalate into mass civil disobedience. We then generate two testable hypotheses from our theory: more repressive autocratic regimes are in principle more stable, in part because they are better able to deter civil opposition. However, protest that takes place in a more repressive autocratic regime reaches its maximum information revealing potential and hence is more likely to cascade into a successful uprising. We provide evidence in support of these two conclusions using data from contemporary regimes from 1950-2000.

Work in progress: [“Taking to the Streets: Theory and Evidence on Protests under Authoritarianism”](#)

“Drug Related Violence and Human Security in Mexico” with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros, Aila Matanock, and Vidal Romero.

This project aims to gain a better understanding of the current state and future trajectory of Mexico's drug violence. The research entails a series of papers that analyze existing and new field survey data concerning the escalation of violence, public opinion, penetration of drug cartels in civil society, extortion and state capture.

“Political Incentives for Health Improvements: Governance, the GOBI initiative, and the Child Survival Revolution” with Ayesha Ali, Alberto Diaz-Cayeros, Grant Miller and Paul Wise.

In partnership with the Center for Health Policy (CHPPCOR) at Stanford, this research initiative brings together medical doctors, health economists, and political scientists seeking to understand infant mortality declines in the post-War Era. The research initiative develops new measures of political incentives for population health improvement embedded in finely grained political institutions. The aim is to quantitatively assess the political incentives motivating governments (both democratic and non-democratic) to embrace UNICEF's GOBI (Growth Monitoring, Oral Re-hydration, Breastfeeding and Immunization) initiative and the child survival revolution. The team has built an extensive data set from Demographic and Health Surveys covering more than 60 countries, which they will analyze to identify the political incentives that motivate governments – both democratic and authoritarian-to improve maternal and infant health outcomes.

### **Other Current Projects**

Core member of the “Rule of Law Index Scholars Program”

The World Justice Project (WJP) <http://www.worldjusticeproject.org/> has as its mission the creation of a global, multidisciplinary effort to strengthen the Rule of Law to advance “the development of communities of opportunity and equity”. The WJP also encompasses the Rule of Law Index and a Scholars Program. Robert Nelson, Professor of Sociology, Northwestern, and Director of the American Bar Foundation, and Margaret Levi, Professor of Political Science, University of Washington and the US Studies Centre, Sydney University, co-chair the Scholars Program. The core research group now also includes Tom Ginsburg, Professor of Law, University of Chicago; Jack Knight, Professor of Political Science and Law, Duke; and Beatriz Magaloni, Professor of Political Science, Stanford.

### **Other Publications**

[“Legalist vs. Interpretivist: The Supreme Court and the Democratic Transition in Mexico”](#) (forthcoming) with Arianna Sanchez and Eric Magar in Grechen Helmke and Julio Rios-Figueroa *Courts in Latin America*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

“Autocratic Political order and the Role of Courts: The Case of Mexico” (2008) In Tom Ginsburg and Tamir Moustafa (eds) *Rule By Law: The Politics of Courts in Authoritarian Regimes*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

[“Welfare Benefits, Canvassing and Campaign Handouts”](#) (2009), in Jorge Domínguez, Chappell Lawson, and Alejandro Moreno *Consolidating Mexico’s Democracy Baltimore*: Johns Hopkins University Press, published with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Federico Estévez

“A House Divided Against Itself: How the PRI survives after 2000” (2008) Joseph Wong and Edward Friedman (eds) *Learning to Lose: Dominant Party Systems and their Transitions* Routledge, published With Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Federico Estévez

[“Clientelism and Portfolio Diversification: A model of Electoral Investment with Applications to Mexico”](#) (2006) In Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson *Patrons of Policies London*: Cambridge University Press, published with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Federico Estévez

“The Demise of Mexico’s One-Party Dominant Regime: Elite Choices and the Masses in the establishment of Democracy” (2005) in Scott Mainwaring and Frances Hagopian (eds) *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks* in Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

“Designing Electoral Rules by a Dominant Party” (2004) in Josep Colomer *Handbook of Electoral System Choice* Palgrave-Macmillan, published with Alberto Diaz Cayeros

[“Democratization, Judicial and Law Enforcement Institutions, and the Rule of Law in Mexico”](#) (2004) in Kevin Middlebrook *Dilemmas of Political Change in Mexico* joint publication of the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, UCSD and the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, published with Guillermo Zepeda (2004)

[“Strategic Coordination in the 2000 Mexican Presidential Race”](#) in (2004) Jorge Domínguez and Chappell Lawson *Mexico’s Pivotal Elections* Stanford: Stanford University Press, published with Alejandro Poiré

[“Issues, the Vote and the Mandate for Change”](#) (2004) in Jorge Domínguez and Chappell Lawson, *Mexico’s Pivotal Elections* Stanford: Stanford University Press, published with Alejandro Poiré

[“Authoritarianism, Democracy and the Supreme Court: Horizontal Exchange and the Rule of Law in Mexico”](#) (2003) in Scott Mainwaring and Christopher Welna (eds) *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*. Oxford University Press

[“Catching-All-Souls: The PAN and the Politics of Catholicism in Mexico”](#) (2003) in Timothy Scully and Scott Mainwaring (eds) *Christian Democracy in Latin America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, published with Alejandro Moreno

“El Poder Judicial en el Siglo XX” (2002) in Soledad Loaeza (coordinadora) *Gran Historia de México Ilustrada* México: Planeta, Tomo V (Textbook on political history of Mexico in the XXth century)

“Is the PRI fading? Economic Performance, Electoral Accountability and Voting Behavior” (1999) in Jorge Domínguez and Alejandro Poiré (eds.) *The New Mexican Party System*. New York: Routledge

“Autoridad Presupuestal del Poder Legislativo en México: una Primera Aproximación” (1999) *Política y Gobierno*, published with Alberto Diaz

### **Research Grants**

Freeman Spolgi Institute for International Studies Global Underdevelopment Action Fund, 2011-2012

President’s Fund for Initiatives in International Studies (PFIIS), 2009

Rockefeller Foundation Grant for a conference organized with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros at the Bellagio Center, December 2005 “Poverty, Democracy and Vote-buying”

World Bank. Research Grant on The Political Economy of Decentralized Poverty Relief in Mexico, Summer 2000

#### *Graduate Dissertation Grants*

Social Science Research Council for Latin America and The Caribbean (SSRC), September 1993 - March 1994

Institute for the Study of World Politics (ISWP) Dissertation Grant, March - August 1994  
Tinker Foundation, Field Research Grant in Mexico, through the Center of Latin American Studies at Duke University, August 1992.

Center for International Studies at Duke, Field Research Grant in Hungary, June - July 1992

Mellon-Latin American Fellowship, 1990 – 1994

Fulbright Fellowship, 1990 – 1992

Ford-McArthur Fellowship, 1990 – 1992

### **Conferences Organized**

*Violence, Drugs, and Governance: Mexican Security in Comparative Perspective*, Stanford University, October 3 and 4, 2011 (co-organized with CISAC and the Center for Latin American Studies)

*Governance and Development in Mexico* (co-organized with ITAM in Mexico, November 2010)

*Better Governance for Better Health* (co-organized with CDDRL and Center for Health Policy, Primary Care and Outcomes Research), Stanford University, April 26-27, 2010

*Distributive Politics and Democracy* (co-organized with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros), Stanford University September 22-23 2006

*Poverty, Democracy and Vote-Buying* (co-organized with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros), Bellagio, Italy, December 2005

*Rule of Law and Democratic Accountability in Mexico* (conference co-organized with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros), Stanford University, October 2004

## **Working Groups**

### **International Working Group on Distributive Politics**

December 2005 planning meeting (organized by Miram Golden and Yusaku Horiuchi and held at UCLA)

September 2006 meeting of the Political Economy of Public Expenditure (PEPE) and the Distributive Politics Working Groups (organized by Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Beatriz Magaloni and held at Stanford University)

October 2007 meeting (organized by Frances Rosenbluth held at Yale University)

April 2008 meeting (organized by Gary Cox and held at UCSD)

November 2009 meeting (organized by Frances Rosenbluth and Jun Saito held at Yale University)

### **Books in Spanish**

*A la Puerta de la Ley: El Estado de Derecho en México* (1993) (At the Threshold of the Law: Rule of Law in Mexico) México: CIDAC-Cal y Arena, published with Luis Rubio and Edna Jaime.

### **Chapters in Spanish**

Norma Alvarez (ed) (1990) La Reforma del Sistema Político Mexicano México: CIDAC-DIANA

(1990) "La Desobediencia Civil en la Democracia Constitucional" Estudios 22 México: ITAM.

### **Teaching Experience**

*Undergraduate Courses:*  
Latin American Politics

Democracies and Dictatorships  
Mexican Politics  
Honors Thesis Seminar  
Honors Thesis Advisor, Stanford University

*Graduate Courses:*

Core Graduate Seminar in Comparative Politics  
Comparative Party Politics  
Comparative Political Institutions  
Speaker Series in Comparative Politics

*Course Taught at other Institutions:*

Democratic Transitions. UCLA  
Comparative Party Politics. UCLA  
Advanced Seminar on Political Parties (co-taught with Federico Estévez). ITAM Mexico.  
Rational Choice II. ITAM-México  
Social Choice and Political Institutions  
PS200 Latin American Economic and Political Reforms. Duke University.  
Rational Choice I. ITAM-México  
Collective Action (co-taught). Humboldt-Berlin  
The Political Economy of Development (co-taught). Humboldt-Berlin

**Service in Journals**

Serve as referee for the American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Latin American Studies, Journal of Theoretical Politics, Comparative Political Studies, World Politics, Journal of Politics, Economics and Politics, and Political Research Quarterly.

**Other Service**

Review for Cambridge University Press  
Organizer of the Comparative Politics of Developing Countries Section, American Political Science Association Meeting, 2011  
Gabriel Almond Award Committee 2010, Comparative Politics Division, APSA  
Lubbert Award for Best Paper, Comparative Politics Division, 2005

**University Service**

Director of Undergraduate Studies, Political Science and coordinator of the Honors Undergraduate Program 2009-present  
FSI Undergraduate Summer Research Internship in 2011, Faculty co-PI in Guatemala Research Trip with Paul Wise  
Comparative Politics Field Convener, 2011-2012  
Faculty Search Committee, 2008  
Graduate Admissions Committee, 2001 and 2010



## **Selected Participation in Seminars**

*Princeton University Comparative Politics Colloquium* 4/7/11  
*Columbia University Comparative Politics Seminar*, May, 2011  
*How Autocracies Work: Beyond the Electoral Paradigm*, April 2011, University of Michigan  
*Conference on Non-Democratic Regimes*. June 11th and 12th, 2010 Yale University  
*Dictatorships: Their Governance and Social Consequences*, Princeton University, April 2008  
(Jeremy Wallace presented co-authored work)  
*New Methodologies and Their Applications in Comparative Politics and International Relations*,  
Alberto Diaz-Cayeros presented co-authored paper, February 3 and 4, 2011  
*Judicial Politics in Latin America*, Centro de Investigacion y Doncenica Económica, March 4-8,  
2009  
Center for Latin American Studies, March 16, 2009, University of California, Berkeley  
Comparative Politics Workshop, University of California, Berkeley, 3/11/10  
*Comparative Constitutional Design*, University of Chicago Law School, October 16-17, 2009  
“The Electoral Pay-offs of Antipoverty Programs, Kellogg Institute For International Studies, 9/  
9/2008  
*The Dilemmas of Judicial Power: Courts, Politics and Society*, organized by the Center for  
the Study of Law and Society at the University of California, Berkeley February 14, 2008 and  
Plenary Meeting, November 7 and 8, 2008  
*Courts in Authoritarian Polities*, Philadelphia, August 30-31 2006  
*Learning to Lose: Adapting to Democracy in One- Party Dominant Systems*, March 31-April 1,  
2006, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada  
*Structure and Evolution of Institutions*, Stanford University November 2005  
*Institutions, Accountability, and Democratic Governance in Latin America*, Kellogg Institute For  
International Studies, May 8 and 9 2001  
*Advances and Setback in the Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America*, Kellogg Institute  
For International Studies April 23 and 24 2001  
*Citizen-Politician Linkages in Democratic Politics*, Duke University, 25 April 2001

## **Working Papers**

With Alberto Diaz-Cayeros (2004) “The Politics of Vote Buying” (Part I and Part II),  
Background papers for the World Development Report, 2004.

(2002) “Judging the Economy in Hard-times: Myopia, Approval Ratings and the Mexican  
Economy”, Working Papers in Political Science, ITAM, No 4.

(2000) with Federico Estevez “Legislative Parties and their Constituencies in the Budget Battle  
of 1997” Working Papers in Political Science, ITAM, No. 1.

(2000) “A Bayesian Retrospective Model of Electoral Choice in Dominant Party Systems”  
Working Papers in Political Science, ITAM, No. 5.

(2000) with Alejandro Moreno “Catching-All-Souls: The PAN and the Politics of Catholicism in

Mexico”, WP 06, in Working Papers in Political Science, ITAM.

(2000) “From Hegemony to Multipartyism: Issue Voting and the Emergence of Partisan Cleavages” WP 03, Working Papers in Political Science, ITAM.

(1995) "Party Dominance and Duvergerian Dilemmas in the Mexican 1994 Elections". Duke University Program in Political Economy. Papers in International Political Economy. Working Paper No. 195.

with Alberto Diaz (1993) "Coalition Building in an Unequal Society: Mexican Agrarian and Industrial Populism" Discussion Paper Series. Central European University. Budapest: CEU.

### **Non-academic Publications**

(1994) "El Voto Estratégico: el Dilema del Elector de Oposición" (Strategic Voting and the Dilemmas of Opposition Voters) Cuaderno de Nexos No. 73 (July).

(1994) "Pobreza y Desarrollo" (Poverty and Development) Cuaderno de Nexos No. 73 (April).

Has contributed articles to newspapers Reforma, El Financiero, Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune; and magazines Nexos and Voz y Voto.