

# ANDY BAKER

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DOB: 11/24/1972

## Academic Positions

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### Current

University of Colorado Boulder

Professor, Department of Political Science, Fall 2017 to present.  
Chair, Department of Political Science, Summer 2021 to present.  
Fellow, Institute of Behavioral Science, Fall 2008 to present.

### Previous

University of Colorado Boulder

Director, Program on International Development, Institute of Behavioral Science, Summer 2016 to Summer 2021  
Associate Chair (Director of Graduate Studies), Department of Political Science, Summer 2010 to Summer 2013.  
Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Fall 2009 to Spring 2017.  
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Fall 2007 to Spring 2009.

Sciences Po Bordeaux, France

Visiting Professor, March 2019

Northeastern University

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Fall 2004 to Spring 2007.

University of Houston

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Fall 2001 to Spring 2004.

## Education

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Ph.D., University of Wisconsin–Madison, Political Science, May 2001.

M.A., University of Wisconsin–Madison, Political Science, May 1995.

B.A. with Honors in Political Science, Valparaiso University, May 1994.

## Publications

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### Books

Andy Baker (2022). *Shaping the Developing World: The South, the West, and the Natural World: Second Edition*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press. [First Edition, 2014]

Andy Baker, Barry Ames, and Lúcio Rennó (2020). *Persuasive Peers: Social Communication and Voting in Latin America*. (Princeton Studies in Global and Comparative Sociology). Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

- Winner of the 2021 Political Networks Section Best Book Award, awarded every other year for the best book on political networks published in the past two years.

Andy Baker (2009). *The Market and the Masses in Latin America: Policy Reform and Consumption in Liberalizing Economies*. (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics). New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Reviewed in *Perspectives on Politics, Comparative Political Studies, International Journal of Public Opinion Research, Latin American Research Review, Latin American Politics and Society, Bulletin of Latin American Research, and Choice Reviews Online*.

### *Refereed Journal Articles*

Andy Baker and Dalton Dorr (2022). "Labor Informality and the Vote in Latin America: A Meta-Analysis." *Latin American Politics and Society* 64(2).

Andy Baker and Lucio Renno (2019). "Nonpartisans as False Negatives: The Mismeasurement of Party Identification in Public Opinion Surveys." *Journal of Politics* 81(3): 906-922.

Andy Baker and Stefan J. Wojcik (2019). "Does Democratization Lower Consumer Prices? Regime Type, Prices, and the Consumer–Producer Tradeoff." *International Political Science Review* 40(2): 145-160.

Andy Baker and Vania Ximena Velasco-Guachalla (2018). "Is the Informal Sector Politically Different? (Null) Answers from Latin America." *World Development* 102: 170-182.

Andy Baker, Barry Ames, Anand E. Sokhey, and Lucio R. Renno (2016). "The Dynamics of Partisan Identification when Party Brands Change: The Case of the Workers Party in Brazil." *Journal of Politics* 78(1): 197-213.

Andy Baker, James R. Scarritt, and Shaheen Mozaffar (2016). "Ethnopolitical Demography and Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Democratization* 23(5): 838-861.

Andy Baker (2015). "Race, Paternalism, and Foreign Aid: Evidence from U.S. Public Opinion." *American Political Science Review* 109(1): 93-109.

Joby Schaffer and Andy Baker (2015). "Clientelism as Persuasion-Buying: Evidence from Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 48(9): 1093-1126.

- Winner of the 2017 Mitchell Seligson Prize for the best scholarship using LAPOP's AmericasBarometer data that was published in the prior two calendar years.

Anand E. Sokhey, Andy Baker, and Paul Djupe (2015). "The Dynamics of Socially Supplied Information: Examining Discussion Network Stability over Time." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 27(4): 565-587.

Andy Baker and David Cupery (2013). "Anti-Americanism in Latin America: Economic Exchange, Foreign Policy Legacies, and Mass Attitudes toward the Colossus of the North." *Latin American Research Review* 48(2): 106-130.

- Mentioned in the following mass media outlets: *The New York Times*, Huffington Post, *Efecto Naím* (TV appearance), *Americas Quarterly*, *El Tiempo*, *Americas Society: Council of the Americas* (videotaped interview), *La Vuelta* (podcast interview), *Understanding Latin American Politics: The Podcast* (podcast interview of Cupery)

Andy Baker and Kenneth F. Greene (2011). "The Latin American Left's Mandate: Free-Market Policies and Issue Voting in New Democracies." *World Politics* 63(1): 43-77.

Chappell Lawson, Gabriel S. Lenz, Andy Baker, and Michael Myers (2010). "Looking Like a Winner: Candidate Appearance and Electoral Success in New Democracies." *World Politics* 62(4): 561-93.

- Mentioned in the following mass media outlets: *My Science*, *National Affairs*, *The New Republic*, *New York Magazine*, *Morning Edition* (WBUR), *Politico*, Reuters, *Wall Street Journal: Week in Ideas*.

Barry Ames, Andy Baker, and Lucio R. Renno (2009). "Split-Ticket Voting as the Rule: Voters and Permanent Divided Government in Brazil." *Electoral Studies* 28: 8-20.

- Andy Baker and Ethan Scheiner (2007). "Electoral System Effects and Ruling Party Dominance in Japan: A Counterfactual Simulation Based on Adaptive Parties." *Electoral Studies* 26: 447-91.
- Andy Baker, Barry Ames, and Lucio R. Renno (2006). "Social Context and Campaign Volatility in New Democracies: Networks and Neighborhoods in Brazil's 2002 Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 382-99.
- Andy Baker (2005). "Who Wants to Globalize? Consumer Tastes and Labor Markets in a Theory of Trade Policy Beliefs." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(4): 924-38.
- Reprinted in Jeffrey A. Frieden, David A. Lake, and J. Lawrence Broz (eds.) (2017). *International Trade and the New Global Economy: Sixth Edition*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Andy Baker and Corey Cook (2005). "Representing Black Interests and Promoting Black Culture: The Importance of African-American Descriptive Representation in the U.S. House." *DuBois Review* 2(2): 227-46.
- Andy Baker and Ethan Scheiner (2004). "Adaptive Parties: Party Strategic Capacity under Japanese SNTV." *Electoral Studies* 23(2): 251-78.
- Andy Baker (2003). "Why is Trade Reform so Popular in Latin America? A Consumption-Based Theory of Trade Policy Preferences." *World Politics* 55(3): 423-55.
- Reprinted in Edward D. Mansfield (ed.) (2015). *International Trade and the New Global Economy*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Lila Rosenthal, Deborah P. Scott, Zeman Kellela, Astatkie Zikarge, Matthew Momoh, Judith Lahai-Momoh, Michael W. Ross, and Andy Baker (2003). "Assessing the HIV/AIDS Health Services of African Immigrants to Houston." *AIDS Education and Prevention* 15(6): 570-580.
- Andy Baker (2002). "*Reformas liberalizantes e aprovação presidencial: a politização dos debates da política econômica no Brasil* [Free-Market Reform and Presidential Approval: The Politicization of Economic Policy Debates in Brazil]." *Dados* 45(1): 77-98.
- Andrew B. Baker (1997). "Identifying Political Subcultures in Mexico." *Operant Subjectivity* 20(3/4): 73-96.

### *Chapters in Edited Volumes*

- Andy Baker and Dalton Dorr (2019). "Mass Partisanship in Three Latin American Democracies." In Noam Lupu, Virginia Oliveros, and Luis Schiumerini (eds.), *Campaigns and Voters in Developing Democracies: Argentina in Comparative Perspective*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, pp. 89-113.
- Barry Ames, Andy Baker, and Amy Erica Smith (2018). "Social Networks in the Brazilian Electorate." In Jennifer Nicoll Victor, Alexander H. Montgomery, and Mark Lubell (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Networks*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 855-874.
- Andy Baker and Kenneth F. Greene (2015). "Positional Issue Voting in Latin America." In Ryan Carlin, Matthew Singer, and Elizabeth Zechmeister (eds.), *The Latin American Voter: Pursuing Representation and Accountability in Challenging Contexts*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, pp. 173-194.
- Andy Baker (2015). "Public Mood and Presidential Election Outcomes in Mexico." In Jorge I Domínguez, Kenneth F. Greene, Chappell Lawson, and Alejandro Moreno (eds.), *Mexico's Evolving Democracy: A Comparative Study of the 2012 Elections*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 107-127.
- Andy Baker (2010). "La Viabilidad Política y la Popularidad Masiva de los TLC." In José Raúl Perales y Eduardo Moron (eds.), *La Economía Política del Tratado de Libre Comercio entre Perú y Estados Unidos*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, pp. 43-49.
- Andy Baker (2009). "Regionalized Voting Behavior and Political Discussion in Mexico." In Jorge I. Domínguez, Chappell Lawson, and Alejandro Moreno (eds.), *Consolidating Mexico's Democracy*:

*The 2006 Presidential Campaign in Comparative Perspective*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 71-88.

Barry Ames, Andy Baker and Lucio R. Renno (2008). "The Quality of Elections in Brazil: Policy, Performance, Pageantry, or Pork?" In Peter R. Kingstone and Timothy J. Power (eds.), *Democratic Brazil Revisited*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, pp. 107-133.

- Reprinted as "A Qualidade das Eleições no Brasil: Como Decidem os Eleitores?" In Débora Messenberg, Júlio Roberto de Souza Pinto, Leone Campos de Sousa, and Cristiano Ferri Soares de Faria (eds.) (2010), *Estudos Legislativos: 20 anos da Constituição Brasileira*. Brasília: Senado Federal, Câmara dos Deputados, Tribunal de Contas da União, University of Brasília, pp. 131-163.

### Other Publications

Andy Baker, Sarah Berens, Germán Feierherd, and Irene Menéndez González (2020). "Labor Informality and its Political Consequences in Latin America." *LAPOP Insights Series*, #144.

<https://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/insights/IO944en.pdf>

- Spanish version: "Informalidad laboral y sus consecuencias políticas en América Latina." <https://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/insights/IO944es.pdf>

Andy Baker (2019). "Review of J.P. Singh. *Sweet Talk: Paternalism and Collective Action in North–South Trade Relations*." *Perspectives on Politics* 17(2): 628-629.

Andy Baker (2018). "Review of Richard Nadeau, Éric Bélanger, Michael S. Lewis-Beck, Mathieu Turgeon, and François Gélinau. *Latin American Elections: Choice and Change*." *Latin American Politics and Society* 60(2): 118-121.

Andy Baker, Carew Boulding, Shawna Mullenax, Galen Murton, Meagan Todd, Ximena Velasco-Guachalla, and Drew Zackary (2017). "Maintaining Civic Space in Backsliding Regimes." *Research and Innovation Grants Working Papers Series*. Washington, D.C.: USAID and IIE.

Andy Baker (2015). "White Americans are Supportive of Redistribution to Foreigners of African Descent, but for Prejudicial and Paternalistic Reasons." *USAPP: The LSE's Daily Blog on American Politics and Policy*. March 13. <http://bit.ly/1GJEiam>

Andy Baker (2015). "Media Portrayals of Africa Promote Paternalism." *Monkey Cage: Washington Post*. March 5. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/03/05/media-portrayals-of-africa-promote-paternalism/>

Andy Baker (2014). "Latin Americans are Embracing Globalization and their Former Colonial Masters." *Monkey Cage: Washington Post*. June 2. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/06/02/latin-americans-are-embracing-globalization-and-their-former-colonial-masters/?utm\\_term=.dcb24bea0586](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/06/02/latin-americans-are-embracing-globalization-and-their-former-colonial-masters/?utm_term=.dcb24bea0586)

Andy Baker and David Cupery (2013). "Gringo Stay Here!" *Americas Quarterly* 7(2): 45-51. [30 tweets]

Andy Baker (2010-11). "Review of Jude Hays, *Globalization and the New Politics of Embedded Liberalism*." *Political Science Quarterly* 125(4): 717-719.

Andy Baker (2009). "Review of Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, and Diego Abente Brun, eds., *Latin America's Struggle for Democracy*." *Latin American Politics and Society* 51(3):164-167.

Andy Baker (2006). "Government and Politics: Brazil." *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, No. 61. 61:425-38.

Andy Baker (2004). "Review of Kurt Weyland, *The Politics of Market Reform in Fragile Democracies: Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Venezuela*." *Journal of Politics* 66(2):643-45.

Andy Baker (2002). "Marketing Spectator Sports with Violence: The National Football League." *GSC Quarterly* 4(Spring).

Andy Baker (2001). "Review of Peter R. Kingstone and Timothy J. Power, eds., *Democratic Brazil: Actors, Institutions and Processes*." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 38(1):130-31.

## Grants and Honors

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### *External*

- Winner (with co-authors Barry Ames and Lúcio R. Rennó) of the Political Networks Section Best Book Award, awarded every other year for the best book on political networks published in the past two years, 2021.
- Winner (with co-author Joby Schaffer) of the Mitchell Seligson Prize for the best scholarship using LAPOP's AmericasBarometer data that was published in the prior two calendar years, 2017.
- Learning Agenda Questions (\$59,924), USAID Democracy Fellows and Grants Program, co-Principal Investigator with Carew Boulding, 2017.
- Norwegian Citizen Panel (in kind), "Mechanisms of Racial Paternalism: Mass Media, Intergroup Dynamics, and Public Opinion toward Foreign Aid," co-Principal Investigator with Lauren Prather, 2015.
- Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (in kind), "Racial Prejudice and Paternalism in Mass Support for Foreign Aid," co-Principal Investigator with Jennifer Fitzgerald, 2011.
- Alumni Scholarship (\$2,000), International Faculty Development Seminar, Council on International Education Exchange, 2011.
- National Science Foundation Grant (\$225,000), "Mexico 2006 Panel Study," Senior Project Member, (SES #0517971), 2005-2007.
- Institute for the Study of Citizens and Politics (\$6,000), Annenberg Public Policy Center, University of Pennsylvania, "So are Latin Americans Neoliberals or Not?", 2005.
- National Science Foundation Grant (\$220,000), "The Dynamics of Political Attitude Formation in a Milieu of Multiple Weak Parties," co-Principal Investigator with Barry Ames, (SES #0137088), 2002.
- International Dissertation Research Fellowship (\$15,000), Social Science Research Council, 1998-1999.
- Rio Branco Institute Scholarship (\$6,000), Foreign Ministry of Brazil, 1998.
- International Predissertation Fellowship (~\$40,000), Social Science Research Council, 1996-1997.
- Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship, 1995.

### *Internal*

- Arts and Sciences Fund for Excellence (~\$1000 each), University of Colorado Boulder, 2020, 2018, 2017, 2016 (2x), 2015, 2014.
- Faculty Research Grant (\$4,000), Center to Advance Research & Teaching in the Social Sciences, University of Colorado Boulder, "The Mass Political Economy of Labor Market Reform in Latin America," 2017.
- Research Development Awards (\$15,000), Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado Boulder, with Sarah Wilson Sokhey, 2017.
- Research grant (\$3,000), American Politics Research Lab, University of Colorado Boulder, 2017.
- Teacher of the Year, Department of Political Science, University of Colorado Boulder, 2014.
- Seed Grant (\$4,000), Center to Advance Research & Teaching in the Social Sciences, University of Colorado Boulder, "Human Welfare in the Informal Sector: Evidence from Developing Countries," co-Principal Investigator with Jennifer Bair, 2014.
- Leadership Education for Advancement and Promotion (\$5,300), Individual Growth Grant, University of Colorado Boulder, 2013.
- Dean's Fund for Excellence (~\$900 each), University of Colorado Boulder, 2012, 2010, 2009, 2007.

Faculty Research Grant (\$3,000), Colorado European Union Center of Excellence, University of Colorado Boulder, "The Puzzle of Foreign Aid," co-Principal Investigator with Jennifer Fitzgerald, 2009.

Scholar Funds (\$2,500), Center to Advance Research & Teaching in the Social Sciences, University of Colorado Boulder, "The Puzzle of Foreign Aid," 2009.

Faculty International Development Grant (\$2,000), University of Colorado Boulder, 2009.

Research and Scholarship Development Fund (\$13,000), Office of the Provost, Northeastern University, "So are Latin Americans Neoliberals or Not?", 2005.

New Faculty Research Grant (\$6,000), University of Houston, 2002.

Small Grants Program (\$3,000), University of Houston, 2002.

University of Wisconsin–Madison Global Studies Scholarship, MacArthur Program, 2000.

University of Wisconsin–Madison Advanced Graduate Student Fellowship, 1999–2000.

### **Invited Presentations**

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Global Research on International Political Economy, September 2020

Department of Political Science, Purdue University, November 2019.

Department of Political Science, University of the Andes (Bogotá, Colombia), August 2019.

University of Geneva, February 2019.

Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver, January 2019.

Asociación Latinoamericana Ciencia Política, University of São Paulo, November 2018.

Department of Political Science, Stanford University, May 2018.

Fulbright University (Danang, Vietnam), March 2018.

Department of Political Science, Duke University and University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill, February 2018.

Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin–Madison, October 2017.

Indian Institute of Management–Calcutta and Visva-Bharati University–Shantiniketan (Kolkata and Shantiniketan, India), December 2016.

Stone Center for Latin American Studies, Tulane University, May 2016.

Department of Social Science, Carlos III University (Madrid, Spain), October 2015.

Department of Political and Social Science, Pompeu Fabra University (Barcelona, Spain), October 2015.

Department of Political Science, University of Maryland, May 2015.

Department of Political Science, Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (Mexico City, Mexico), April 2015.

Institute of Political Science, University of Brasília (Brasília, Brazil), August 2014.

Leo T. McCarthy Center for Public Service and the Common Good, University of San Francisco, March 2014.

School of Engineering, University of Colorado Boulder, April 2014.

International Studies Department, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (Mexico City, Mexico), February 2014.

Government Department and David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, January 2013, December 2006, May 2006 (2×), October 2004.

Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance and the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, May 2011, April 2008, September 2007.

Department of Political Science, Duke University, April 2011.

Department of Political Science, Washington University, February 2010

Department of Political Science, University of California San Diego, February 2010.

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, November 2009

Department of Politics, University of Virginia, March 2009.

Government Department, University of Texas–Austin, February 2006.

Department of Political Science, University of California–Davis, January 2005.

Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies, City University of New York, September 2003.

Brazilian Foreign Ministry (Brasília, Brazil), 1998.

### **Media and Other Public Appearances**

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CU Arts & Sciences magazine, February 2017.

*La Vuelta* (podcast interview), September 2013.

*Efecto Naím* (TV appearance), July 2013.

Annenberg-Dreier Commission and Council of the Americas (Los Angeles, CA), May 2013.

Academy of Lifelong Learning (Denver, CO), September 2011

History behind the Headlines, East Boulder Senior Center, July 2011.

History behind the Headlines, East Boulder Senior Center, April 2008.

*UCS TV* (TV appearance in Caxias do Sul, Brazil), September 2002

### **Conference Paper Presentations**

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Latin American Studies Association, 2017, 2016, 2014, 2011, 2006, 2004, 2003, 2001, 2000.

American Political Science Association, 2021, 2019, 2018, 2016 (2×), 2015, 2014, 2010 (2×), 2009, 2006, 2005, 2003, 2001, 2000 (2×).

Southern Political Science Association, 2013, 2000.

International Political Economy Society, 2021, 2018, 2011, 2010, 2008.

International Studies Association, 2020.

Midwest Political Science Association, 2010, 2009, 2008 (2×), 2005, 2003, 1996.

Political Networks Conference, 2018.

*Red para el Estudio de la Economía Política de América Latina* (REPAL), 2021.

Society for Political Methodology, 2000, 1999.

### **Teaching Experience**

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African Politics (undergraduate)

Comparative Political Behavior (graduate)

Comparative Political Economy (graduate)

Introduction to Comparative Politics (graduate and undergraduate)

Latin American Politics (undergraduate)  
Global Development (graduate, undergraduate, and short course)  
US–Latin American Relations (undergraduate)  
Introduction to Statistics (graduate and undergraduate)  
Advanced Statistics (graduate)  
Undergraduate Honors Thesis (undergraduate)

### **Service to the Discipline**

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Member, Philip E. Converse book award committee, 2022

Co-host (with David Bearce), International Political Economy Society Annual Meeting, 2021.

Associate Editor, *Research and Politics*, 2018 to 2021.

Chair, Mitchell Seligson Prize selection committee, 2018.

Manuscript reviewer for *American Journal of Political Science*, *América Latina Hoy*, *American Political Science Review*, *American Sociological Review*, *Asian Perspective*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Business and Politics*, *Columbia FDI Perspectives*, *Communication Studies*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative European Politics*, *Democratization*, *DuBois Review*, *Economics & Politics*, *Electoral Studies*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *European Political Science Review*, *European Societies*, *European Union Politics*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *Governance*, *Government and Opposition*, *International Interactions*, *International Journal of Communication*, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, *International Organization*, *International Political Science Review*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Comparative Politics*, *Journal of Development Studies*, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *Journal of Economic History*, *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties*, *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, *Journal of International Relations and Development*, *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, *The Latin Americanist*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Latin American Research Review*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Operant Subjectivity*, *Parliamentary Affairs*, *Party Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Analysis*, *Political Behavior*, *Política y Gobierno*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Science Research and Methods*, *Political Studies*, *Politics and Policy*, *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, *Polity Journal*, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, *Review of International Organizations*, *Review of International Political Economy*, *Revista Latinoamericana de Opinión Pública*, *St. Antony's International Review*, *Social Science Quarterly*, *Socio-Economic Review*, *Studies in Comparative and International Development*, *World Development*, and *World Politics*.

Book manuscript reviewer for Academic Press, Cambridge University Press (3×), Lexington Books, Oxford University Press (4×), Pearson Longman Press, Princeton University Press, Roxbury Press, University of Michigan Press, and Wadsworth.

Grant reviewer for US National Science Foundation (4×), Social Science Research Council International Dissertation Research Fellowship, and Israeli National Science Foundation.

Section head, Comparative Politics: Political Behavior, Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, 2009.

Contributing Editor, Brazil: Government and Politics, *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, 2006.