

# Noam Lupu

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Vanderbilt University  
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## Academic Appointments

### Vanderbilt University

*Associate Professor of Political Science, 2016–present*

*Associate Director, Latin American Public Opinion Project, 2016–present*

*Faculty Affiliate, Center for Latin American Studies*

*Faculty Affiliate, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions*

University of Wisconsin-Madison, *Assistant Professor of Political Science, 2013–2016*

Torcuato Di Tella University (Argentina), *Visiting Professor, 2015*

Juan March Institute (Spain), *Junior Research Fellow, 2012–2013*

University of Notre Dame, *Visiting Fellow, Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, Fall 2011*

## Education

Ph.D. Politics, Princeton University, 2011

M.A. Politics, Princeton University, 2008

M.A. Social Science, University of Chicago, 2005

B.A. Political Science and History (Honors), Columbia University, 2002

## Publications

### Books

*Party Brands in Crisis: Partisanship, Brand Dilution, and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Reviewed in *Government and Opposition*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, and *Perspectives on Politics*

### Edited Volumes

*Campaigns and Voters in Developing Democracies: Argentina in Comparative Perspective* (with Virginia Oliveros and Luis Schiumerini). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (forthcoming in 2019).

*Political Parties and Uncertainty in Developing Democracies* (with Rachel Beatty Riedl), special issue of *Comparative Political Studies* 46(11), 2013.

## Articles

“Maximizing Benefits from Survey-Based Research” (with Elizabeth J. Zechmeister), *PS: Political Science & Politics* 51(3): 563–565 (2018).

“Advances in Survey Methods for the Developing World” (with Kristin Michelitch), *Annual Review of Political Science* 21: 195–214 (2018).

“The Legacy of Political Violence across Generations” (with Leonid Peisakhin), *American Journal of Political Science* 61(4): 836–851 (2017).

Winner of the 2018 Gregory Leubbert Article Award, Comparative Politics section of the American Political Science Association

“A New Measure of Congruence: The Earth Mover’s Distance” (with Lucía Selios and Zach Warner), *Political Analysis* 25(1): 95–113 (2017).

“Do Voters Dislike Working-Class Candidates? Voter Biases and the Descriptive Underrepresentation of the Working Class” (with Nicholas Carnes), *American Political Science Review* 110(4): 832–844 (2016).

“The End of the Kirchner Era,” *Journal of Democracy* 27(2): 35–49 (2016).

“What Good is a College Degree? Education and Leader Quality Reconsidered” (with Nicholas Carnes), *Journal of Politics* 78(1): 35–49 (2016).

“Party Polarization and Mass Partisanship: A Comparative Perspective,” *Political Behavior* 37(2): 331–356 (2015).

Winner of the 2015 GESIS Klingemann Prize, Comparative Study of Electoral Systems

“Rethinking the Comparative Perspective on Class and Representation: Evidence from Latin America” (with Nicholas Carnes), *American Journal of Political Science* 59(1): 1–18 (2015).

Winner of the 2013 Sage Paper Award, Comparative Politics section of the American Political Science Association

“Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America,” *World Politics* 66(4): 561–602 (2014).

Reprinted in Spanish as “La dilución de marca y el colapso de los partidos políticos en América Latina,” in *Representación política en América Latina: Partidos políticos, elecciones y reglas*, ed. Fernando Tuesta Soldevilla, Lima: Jurado Nacional Electoral, pp. 33–71 (2016).

Winner of the 2016 Jack Walker Award, Political Organizations and Parties section of the American Political Science Association

Winner of the 2015 Alexander L. George Article Award, Qualitative and Multi-Method Research section of the American Political Science Association

“Political Parties and Uncertainty in Developing Democracies” (with Rachel Beatty Riedl), *Comparative Political Studies* 46(11): 1339–1365 (2013).

“Party Brands and Partisanship: Theory with Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Argentina,” *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1): 49–64 (2013).

Winner of the 2012 Best Paper Award, Political Institutions section of the Latin American Studies Association

“The Structure of Inequality and the Politics of Redistribution” (with Jonas Pontusson), *American Political Science Review* 105(2): 316–336 (2011).

Honorable Mention, 2011 Sage Paper Award, Comparative Politics section of the American Political Science Association

“Who Votes for *chavismo*? Class Voting in Hugo Chávez’s Venezuela,” *Latin American Research Review* 45(1): 7–32 (2010).

“Democracy, Interrupted: Regime Change and Partisanship in Twentieth-Century Argentina” (with Susan C. Stokes), *Electoral Studies* 29(1): 91–104 (2010).

“The Social Bases of Political Parties in Argentina, 1912–2003” (with Susan C. Stokes), *Latin American Research Review* 44(1): 58–87 (2009).

Reprinted in Spanish as “Las bases sociales de los partidos políticos en Argentina, 1912–2003,” *Desarrollo Económico* 48(192): 515–542 (2009).

“Towards a New Articulation of Alternative Development: Lessons from Coca Supply Reduction in Bolivia,” *Development Policy Review* 22(4): 405–421 (2004).

“Memory Vanished, Absent, and Confined: The Countermemorial Project in 1980s and 1990s Germany,” *History & Memory* 15(2): 130–164 (2003).

### Book Chapters

“Toward a Theory of Campaigns and Voters in Developing Democracies” (with Virginia Oliveros and Luis Schiumerini), in *Campaigns and Voters in Developing Democracies: Argentina in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Noam Lupu, Virginia Oliveros, and Luis Schiumerini. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (forthcoming in 2019).

“Why Does Wealth Affect Vote Choice?” in *Campaigns and Voters in Developing Democracies: Argentina in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Noam Lupu, Virginia Oliveros, and Luis Schiumerini. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (forthcoming in 2019).

“Party Brands, Partisan Erosion, and Party Breakdown,” in *Latin American Party Systems: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse*, edited by Scott Mainwaring. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 359–379 (2018).

“Mass-Elite Congruence and Representation in Argentina” (with Zach Warner), in *Malaise in Representation in Latin American Countries: Chile, Argentina, Uruguay*, edited by Alfredo Joignant, Mauricio Morales, and Claudio Fuentes. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 281–302 (2017).

“Building Party Brands in Argentina and Brazil,” in *Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America*, edited by Jorge Domínguez, Steven Levitsky, James Loxton, and Brandon Van Dyck. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 76–99 (2016).

“Partisanship in Latin America,” in *The Latin American Voter: Pursuing Representation and Accountability in Challenging Contexts*, edited by Ryan E. Carlin, Matthew M. Singer, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 226–245 (2015).

“Political Parties and Party Systems,” in *Routledge Handbook of Comparative Political Institutions*, edited by Jennifer Gandhi and Rubén Ruiz-Rufino. London: Routledge, pp. 128–144 (2015).

### Publications in Spanish

“Nacionalización e institucionalización de partidos en la Argentina del siglo XX” [Nationalization and Party Institutionalization in Twentieth-Century Argentina], in *Sistemas de partidos en América Latina: Causas y consecuencias de su equilibrio inestable*, ed. Mariano Torcal, Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, pp. 183–202 (2015).

## Survey Studies

2015 *Argentine Panel Election Study* (with Carlos Gervasoni, Virginia Oliveros, and Luis Schiumerini).

## Notes

“Class and Representation in Latin America,” *Swiss Political Science Review* 21(2): 229–236 (2015).

“The 2011 general elections in Peru,” *Electoral Studies* 31(3): 621–624 (2012).

“The 2009 legislative elections in Argentina,” *Electoral Studies* 29(1): 174–177 (2010).

## Book Reviews

“Civil Wars and Their Aftermath,” *Latin American Research Review* (forthcoming).

Review of Garay, Candelaria, *Social Policy Expansion in Latin America*, Cambridge University Press, *Perspectives on Politics* (forthcoming).

Review of Masket, Seth E., *The Inevitable Party: Why Attempts to Kill the Party System Fail and How they Weaken Democracy*, Oxford University Press, *Perspectives on Politics* 15(3): 836–837 (2017).

Review of Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca, *Curbing Clientelism in Argentina: Politics, Poverty, and Social Policy*, Cambridge University Press, *Latin American Politics and Society* 57(3): 163–166 (2015).

Review of Moser, Robert G. and Ethan Scheiner, *Electoral Systems and Political Context: How the Effects of Rules Vary Across New and Established Democracies*, Cambridge University Press, *Political Science Quarterly* 128(4): 794–795 (2013).

Review of Kitschelt, Herbert, Kirk Hawkins, Juan Pablo Luna, Guillermo Rosas, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, *Latin American Party Systems*, Cambridge University Press, *Comparative Political Studies* 44(12): 1700–1703 (2011).

## Research Reports

*The Effect of Corruption on Political Behavior in the Peruvian Amazon: Impact Evaluation of Informational Campaigns to Increase Awareness of Corruption in Politics*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Agency for International Development, 2018.

*The Political Culture of Democracy in the Americas, 2016/17: A Comparative Study of Governance and Democracy* (co-edited with Mollie J. Cohen and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister). Latin American Public Opinion Project, Vanderbilt University, 2017.

“Corruption in the Americas,” in *The Political Culture of Democracy in the Americas, 2016/17: A Comparative Study of Governance and Democracy*, edited by Mollie J. Cohen, Noam Lupu, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Latin American Public Opinion Project, Vanderbilt University, 2017.

“European Political Parties in the Wake of Crisis: Lessons from Latin America,” *APSA-CP Newsletter*, Fall 2013, pp. 7–8.

“How Government by the Privileged Distorts Democracies” (with Nicholas Carnes), *Key Findings*, Scholars Strategy Network, July 2013.

### Popular Press

“A significant minority of Americans say they could support a military takeover of the U.S. government.” (with Germán Feierherd and Susan Stokes), The Monkey Cage blog at *Washington Post*, February 16, 2018.

“Did Maduro’s party really dominate Sunday’s election in Venezuela? These polls should make you skeptical.” (with Elizabeth J. Zechmeister), The Monkey Cage blog at *Washington Post*, October 20, 2017.

“Why are Crimean Tatars so hostile to Russia?” (with Leonid Peisakhin), The Monkey Cage blog at *Washington Post*, September 5, 2017.

“It’s time to bust the myth: Most Trump voters were not working class” (with Nicholas Carnes), The Monkey Cage blog at *Washington Post*, June 5, 2017.

“The rich get elected – but it’s not because voters necessarily prefer them” (with Nicholas Carnes), *Democratic Audit UK*, February 22, 2016.

“Voters actually don’t prefer wealthy politicians” (with Nicholas Carnes), The Monkey Cage blog at *Washington Post*, December 6, 2016.

“Why We Fell Behind,” *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*, May 16, 2016.

“Why Trump’s appeal is wider than you might think” (with Nicholas Carnes), MSNBC.com, April 8, 2016.

“No matter what happens in Sunday’s election, Argentina will be governed by the rich. Here’s why that matters,” The Monkey Cage blog at *Washington Post*, November 20, 2015.

“Scott Walker didn’t finish college. Would that make him a bad president?” (with Nicholas Carnes), *Politico*, July 8, 2015.

“The rich are running Latin America – and why that matters” (with Nicholas Carnes), The Monkey Cage blog at *Washington Post*, April 8, 2014.

“Cómo afecta el gobierno de los privilegiados a la democracia?” (with Nicholas Carnes), *Condistintosacentos*, September 15, 2013.

### Research in Progress

“What Do Voters Think About the Descriptive Underrepresentation of the Working Class?” (with Nicholas Carnes). Under review.

“Affluence and Congruence: Unequal Representation Around the World” (with Zach Warner). Under review.

“When Do Voters Sanction Corrupt Politicians?” (with Marko Klašnja and Joshua Tucker). Under review.

“Oil Windfalls and a Conditional Political Resource Curse: Evidence from a Natural Experiment in Brazil” (with Rikhil Bhavnani).

“The Structure of Inequality and Preferences for Redistribution” (with Jonas Pontusson).

“Party Stability and Vote Choice in Hard Times: Evidence from Post-Crisis Elections in Latin America.”

“Campaigns, Learning, and Political Knowledge” (with Luis Schiumerini).

*Why the Rich Govern: Elections and Biased Representation in the World’s Democracies* (with Nicholas Carnes).

*Memory and Identity: Legacies of Political Violence Across Generations* (with Leonid Peisakhin).

“Did Public Opinion Turn Against the Welfare State?” (with Maayan Mor).

“The Political Consequences of Crime in Latin America: Applying MRP to Latin American Survey Data” (with Joshua D. Clinton and Claire Q. Evans).

### *Dormant*

“Development, Democratization, and Democratic Deepening” (with Kanta Murali).

“Electoral Rules, Income Inequality, and the Politics of Redistribution” (with Jonas Pontusson).

## Conference Presentations and Invited Talks

2019: Rice

2018: AMECIP, APSA, Carlos III–Juan March Institute, Geneva, Harvard, Hebrew, International Conference on Governance, Crime, and Justice Statistics, M-WEPS, Montreal, NYU Abu Dhabi, Reed, Stanford, Wash U

2017: Aarhus, APSA, Costa Rica, EPSA, FIU, Hebrew, LASA, NYU Abu Dhabi, OECD, Institute for Advanced Study in Toulouse, Yale

2016: APSA, Di Tella, Illinois, MIT, MPSA, SUNY-Buffalo, University of the Republic of Uruguay, WAPOR Latin America, Yale

2015: APSA, Catholic University of Chile, CIDE, Di Tella, Diego Portales, ETH–Zurich, Geneva, ITAM, Oxford, Princeton, Vanderbilt

2014: APSA, Carlos III–Juan March Institute, Chicago, Di Tella, Duke–UNC, EPSA, FLACSO-ISA Joint Conference, Harvard, LASA, Lund, MPSA, Notre Dame, Peruvian Congress of Electoral Studies, UT-Austin, Vanderbilt

2013: APSA, EPSA, Hebrew, Hertie, MPSA, Princeton, Salamanca, Vanderbilt

2012: Autonomous University of Barcelona, Catholic University of Chile, Columbia, Di Tella, Harvard, LASA, MPSA, Oxford, Salamanca, UCSD, University of the Republic of Uruguay, Vanderbilt, Yale

2011: APSA, Chicago, Getúlio Vargas, Juan March, Notre Dame, Northwestern, NYU, Oxford, SPSA, Tulane

2010: APSA, CGU, Graduate Institute of Geneva, LASA, MPSA, Rochester, Wisconsin

2009: APSA, Catholic University of Córdoba, MPSA, Oxford, SAAP, San Andrés

2008: CES, CIDOB Foundation, MPSA, Yale

2007: LASA, MPSA, Yale

2006: Di Tella

## Fellowships and Awards

Gregory Leubbert Article Award (with Leonid Peisakhin), Comparative Politics section of the American Political Science Association (2018) – *for best article in comparative politics published in the previous two years*

Lijphart/Przeworski/Verba Dataset Award (with Mitchell Seligson and Elizabeth Zechmeister), Comparative Politics section of the American Political Science Association (2018) – *awarded to LAPOP's AmericasBarometer for the best dataset in comparative politics*

Jack Walker Award, Political Organizations and Parties section of the American Political Science Association (2016) – *awarded to the best article published in the previous two years on political organizations and parties*

Alexander L. George Article Award, Qualitative and Multi-Method Research section of the American Political Science Association (2015) – *awarded to an article or chapter published in the previous year that demonstrates excellence in the development or application of qualitative methods*

GESIS Klingemann Prize, Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (2015) – *for best scholarship published or finalized in the prior calendar year that uses CSES data*

Emerging Scholar Award, Political Organizations and Parties section of the American Political Science Association (2014) – *awarded annually to a scholar within five years of receiving a Ph.D.*

Sage Paper Award (with Nicholas Carnes), Comparative Politics section of the American Political Science Association (2013) – *for best paper in comparative politics scheduled to be presented at the 2012 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*

Trice Faculty Scholar, University of Wisconsin-Madison (2013–2016)

Gabriel A. Almond Award, American Political Science Association (2012) – *for best dissertation in comparative politics completed in the previous two years*

Juan Linz Prize, Comparative Democratization section of the American Political Science Association (2012) – *for best dissertation in the study of democracy completed in the previous two years*

Best Paper Award, Political Institutions section of the Latin American Studies Association (2012) – *for best paper on Latin American politics presented at the 2010 International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association*

Sage Paper Award, Honorable Mention (with Jonas Pontusson), Comparative Politics section of the American Political Science Association (2011) – *for best paper in comparative politics presented at the 2010 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*

Porter Ogden Jacobus Honorific Fellowship, Princeton University (2010-2011) – *awarded annually to one graduate student in social sciences*

Patricia Lynn Baker Prize, University of Chicago (2005) – *for best graduate student paper addressing social inequality*

Honorable Mention, National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship (2004)

Charles Hayden Memorial Scholarship, Columbia University (1998-1999)

## Grants

Office of Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion Seed Grant, Vanderbilt University (2017)

Graduate School Fall Research Competition Grant, University of Wisconsin-Madison (2013: \$58,270, 2014: \$33,384, 2015: \$35,600)

LACIS Nave Faculty Publication Supplement, University of Wisconsin-Madison (2014)

Graduate Research Grant, Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice, Princeton University (Spring 2009, Fall 2009)

Graduate Research Grant, Princeton Laboratory for Experimental Social Science, Princeton University (2009)

Summer Research Grant, Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies, Princeton University (2007, 2009, 2010)

Summer Research Grant, Program in Latin American Studies, Princeton University (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010)

## Teaching

### *Vanderbilt University*

Comparative Political Parties (G)

Political Violence (G)

Public Opinion and Democracy in Latin America (U)

Survey Research Methods (G)

### *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Causal Inference and Experimental Methods (G)

Comparative Political Parties (G)

Comparative Political Parties (U)

Latin American Politics (U)

### *Additional teaching*

ECPR Summer School on Political Parties – 2018

Understanding and Analyzing Polls, APSA-AMECIP short course – 2018

Political Parties in Latin America, University of the Republic of Uruguay short course – 2016

Comparative Politics, Torcuato Di Tella University – 2015

Experimental Methods in Political Science, University of the Republic of Uruguay short course – 2014



## Professional Service

### *Vanderbilt University*

#### Department:

Co-Coordinator, Comparative Politics Speaker Series, 2016–17, 2017–18  
Hiring Committee, 2017–18  
Junior Faculty Review Committee, 2016–17 (x2)  
Nominations Committee, 2017–18  
Hiring Priorities Committee, 2016–17

#### College of Arts and Science:

Junior Advisory Review Committee, 2017–18

#### University:

Discovery Grant Review Subcommittee, 2016–17, 2017–18 (chair)  
Working Group on Research II, 2016–17, 2017–18

### *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Coordinator, Comparative Politics Colloquium, 2015–16  
Coordinator, Political Economy Colloquium, 2014–15, 2015–16  
Co-Coordinator, Experimental Politics Workshop, 2013–14, 2014–15, 2015–16

### *Professional Associations*

Executive Council member, Political Organizations and Parties Section, American Political Science Association, 2017–19  
Best Paper Award Committee, Political Organizations and Parties Section, American Political Science Association, 2018  
Sage Paper Award Committee (Chair), Comparative Politics Section, American Political Science Association, 2014  
Juan Linz Dissertation Award Committee, Comparative Democratization Section, American Political Science Association, 2014  
Best Paper Award Committee, Political Institutions Section, Latin American Studies Association, 2013  
Section Chair, Latin American and Caribbean Politics, Midwest Political Science Association, 2013

### *Board Memberships*

International Advisory Board, Unequal Democracies, University of Geneva  
Argentina Coordinator, Comparative Study of Electoral Systems  
Co-Leader, Madison Chapter, Scholars Strategy Network, 2014–2016

## Editorial Boards

*American Journal of Political Science*, 2016–present

*Journal of Politics*, 2017–present

*Political Behavior*, 2017–present

Journal Referee: *América Latina Hoy*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *Brazilian Political Science Review*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, *Comparative European Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics, Economics and Politics*, *Electoral Studies*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *European Political Science Review*, *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *International Organization*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, *Kellogg Institute Working Paper Series*, *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Party Politics*, *Política y Gobierno*, *Political Analysis*, *Political Behavior*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Science Research and Methods*, *Political Studies*, *POSTData*, *Public Choice*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, *Research and Politics*, *Social Science Quarterly*, *Social Science Research*, *Socio-Economic Review*, *Space and Culture*, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, *West European Politics*, *World Politics*

Press Referee: Cambridge University Press, Routledge

Funding Referee: Israel Science Foundation, National Science Foundation, Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Swiss National Science Foundation

Member: American Political Science Association, European Political Science Association, Latin American Studies Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Scholars Strategy Network, World Association for Public Opinion Research

## Invited Discussant

American Political Science Association: 2013, 2014, 2015, 2017, 2018

European Political Science Association: 2014, 2017

Midwest Political Science Association: 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2016

Latin American Studies Association: 2012, 2014, 2015, 2016

Montreal Workshop on Voting Experiments: 2014

Southeast Latin American Behavior Conference: 2017

## Book Workshop Discussant

Luis Schiumerini, *Blessing and Curse: Incumbency and Democratic Accountability in Latin America*, University of Oxford, 2017

Scott Mainwaring, *Latin American Party Systems: Institutionalization, Erosion, and Collapse*, University of Notre Dame, 2015

### Conferences Organized

Campaigns and Voters in Developing Democracies: Argentina in Comparative Perspective (with Virginia Oliveros and Luis Schiumerini), Tulane University, 2016

Parties and Partisans: Explaining Continuity and Change in Party Systems, Juan March Institute, 2013

Political Parties and Uncertainty in New Democracies (with Rachel Beatty Riedl), Princeton University, 2011

Political Parties in the Developing World (with Rachel Beatty Riedl), Princeton University, 2010

### Media Interviews

Al-Jazeera English (2012); *America* (2013); Deutsche Welle (2017); *Estrategia*, Chile (2016); *Exame*, Brazil (2016); *Excelsior*, Mexico (2014); *Folha de S.Paulo*, Brazil (2017); KNRS (2015); *Los Angeles Times* (2012); *New York Times* (2018); *Wall Street Journal* (2018); WDEL (2015)

### Consulting

Expert witness in political asylum case (2015)

Freedom House (2017–2018)

Fundaungo, El Salvador (2018–2019)

USAID/NORC (2014–2018)

### Non-Academic Positions

*Consultant*, Inter-American Development Bank, Washington, D.C., 2003–2004

*Analyst*, Silver Oak Solutions, New York, 2002–2003

### Other

**Languages:** Native fluency in Spanish and Hebrew, intermediate Portuguese

**Field Research Experience:** Argentina, Brazil, Cambodia, Crimea, Guatemala, Peru, Venezuela