

# DAVID JULIAN SAMUELS

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## Academic Employment and Experience

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|-----------|--|
| 2003-     | Benjamin E. Lippincott Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota |
| 2001-02   | Visiting Scholar, Fundação Getúlio Vargas - Escola de Administração de Empresas de São Paulo, Brazil |
| 1998-2003 | Benjamin E. Lippincott Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota |
| 1996-97   | Visiting Scholar, Centro de Estudos da Cultura Contemporânea (CEDEC), São Paulo, Brazil              |

## Education

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| 1993-98 | University of California at San Diego, Ph.D. in Political Science |
| 1985-89 | Swarthmore College, B.A. with High Honors in Political Science    |

## Publications

### Books

4. *Presidents, Prime Ministers and Political Parties: A Framework for Analysis* (with Matthew Shugart, UCSD). Forthcoming, Cambridge University Press.
3. *Comparative Politics: Institutions, Identities and Interests*. Forthcoming textbook (2011), Pearson/Longman & Co.
2. *Decentralization and Democracy in Latin America*. Co-edited with Alfred Montero. University of Notre Dame Press, 2004.
1. *Ambition, Federalism, and Legislative Politics in Brazil*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## Refereed Journal Articles

21. "The Evolution of *Petismo*." *Opinião Pública* (São Paulo) 14(2): 302-18 (November 2008).
20. "Electoral Accountability and the Variety of Democratic Regimes" (with Timothy Hellwig). *British Journal of Political Science* 38(1): 65-90 (January 2008).
19. "Voting in Open Economies: The Electoral Consequences of Globalization" (with Timothy Hellwig). *Comparative Political Studies* 40(7): 283-306 (March 2007).
18. "Sources of Mass Partisanship in Brazil." *Latin American Politics and Society* 48(2): 1-27 (Summer 2006). Alternative versions published as "Bases do Petismo" [Sources of PT Support] in *Opinião Pública* (São Paulo) 10(2): 221-241 (Fall, 2004) and in *América Latina Hoy* (Salamanca) 37(4): 63-80 (August 2004). To be republished in *New Perspectives on Democracy in Latin America: Actors, Institutions and Practices*, William C. Smith (ed.) (forthcoming, 2009).
17. "From Socialism to Social Democracy? The Evolution of the Workers' Party in Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies* 37(9): 999-1024 (November 2004).
16. "Presidentialism and Accountability for the Economy in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 98(3): 425-436 (August 2004).
15. "Fiscal Straitjacket: The Political Economy of Macroeconomic Reform in Brazil, 1995-2002." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 35:1-25 (2003).
14. "Presidentialism, Elections and Representation" (with Matthew Shugart). *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 15(1): 33-60 (2003).
13. "Pork-Barreling is Not Credit-Claiming or Advertising: Campaign Finance and the Sources of the Personal Vote in Brazil." *The Journal of Politics* 64(3): 845-863 (August 2002).
12. "Presidentialized Parties: The Separation of Powers and Party Organization and Behavior." *Comparative Political Studies* 35(4): 461-483 (May 2002).
11. "Does Money Matter? Campaign Finance in Newly Democratic Countries: Theory and Evidence from Brazil." *Comparative Politics* 34: 23-42 (2001).
10. "The Value of a Vote: Malapportionment in Comparative Perspective" (with Richard Snyder). *British Journal of Political Science* 31(3): 651-671 (Fall 2001). Republished (in Spanish) in Ernesto Calvo and Juan Manuel Abal Medina (eds.), *El Federalismo Electoral Argentino: Sobre-representación, Reforma Política y Gobierno Dividido en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: EDUBA (2000), pp. 25-53.
9. "Money, Elections and Democracy in Brazil." *Latin American Politics and Society* 43(2): 27-48 (Summer 2001).
8. "Incumbents and Challengers on a Level Playing Field: Assessing the Impact of Campaign Finance in Brazil." *The Journal of Politics* 63(2): 569-584 (May 2001).
7. "The 'New' Politics of the Governors: Federalism and the Brazilian Transition to Democracy" (with Fernando Abrucio). *Publius: the Journal of Federalism* 30(2):43-61 (Spring 2001). Portuguese version published as "Política Subnacional e Transição Democrática no Brasil," *Lua Nova* 40/41: 137-66 (1997).
6. "When Does Every Penny Count? Intra-party Competition and Campaign Finance in Brazil." *Party Politics* 7(1): 89-102 (February 2001).
5. "Concurrent Elections, Discordant Results: Presidentialism, Federalism, and Governance in Brazil." *Comparative Politics* 33(1): 1-20 (October 2000).

4. "Ambition and Competition: Explaining Legislative Turnover in Brazil." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25(3): 481-497 (August 2000).
3. "The Gubernatorial Coattails Effect: Federalism and Congressional Elections in Brazil." *The Journal of Politics* 62(1): 240-253 (February 2000).
2. "Incentives to Cultivate a Party Vote in Candidate-Centric Electoral Systems: Evidence from Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies* 32(4): 487-518 (June 1999). Portuguese version published as "Determinantes do Voto Partidário em Sistemas Eleitorais Centrados no Candidato: Evidências sobre o Brasil." *Dados - Revista de Ciências Sociais* 40(3): 493-536 (1997).
1. "The Absence of Centripetal Incentives in Double-Member Districts: The Case of Chile" (with Marc Rosenblum and Eric Magar). *Comparative Political Studies* 31(6): 714-39 (December 1998).

### Chapters in Edited Volumes

14. "Brazilian Democracy under Lula and the PT." In *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition), edited by Jorge Domínguez and Michael Shifter. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press (2008), pp. 152-176.
13. "Political Ambition, Candidate Recruitment, and Legislative Politics in Brazil." In Scott Morgenstern and Peter Siavelis (eds.), *Pathways to Power in Latin America*. State College: Penn State University Press (2008), pp. 76-91.
12. "Separation of Powers." In Susan Stokes and Carles Boix, (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford, OUP (2007), pp. 703-726.
11. "O Alto Custo de Financiamento de Campanha e a Reforma Política." ["The High Cost of Campaign Finance and Political Reform."] In Marcos Mendes (ed.), *Gasto Público Eficiente: 91 Propostas para o Desenvolvimento do Brasil*. São Paulo: Instituto Fernand Braudel/Editora Topbooks (2006), pp. 445-475.
10. "Número e Distribuição de Cadeiras na Câmara dos Deputados." [Number and Distribution of Seats in the Chamber of Deputies.] In Fátima Anastasia and Leonardo Avritzer (eds.), *Reforma Política no Brasil*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG (2006), pp. 137-141.
9. "Financiamento de Campanhas e Propostas de Reforma." [Campaign Finance and Reform Proposals.] In Lúcio Rennó and Gláucio Ary Dillon Soares (eds.), *Reforma Política: Lições da História Recente*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV (2006), pp. 133-156. Reprinted in *Suffragium: Revista do Tribunal Regional Eleitoral do Ceará* 3(4): 11-28 (2007).
8. "Informal Institutions where Formal Contracts are Prohibited: Campaign Finance." In Steven Levitsky and Gretchen Helmke (eds.), *Informal Institutions and Politics in Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press (2006), pp. 87-105.
7. "The Politics of Decentralization in Latin America" (with Alfred Montero). In Montero and Samuels (eds.), *Decentralization and Democracy in Latin America*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press (2004).
6. "The Political Logic of Decentralization in Brazil." In Montero and Samuels (eds.).
5. "Federalism, Constraints on the Central Government, and Economic Reform in Brazil" (with Scott Mainwaring). In Edward Gibson (ed.), *Representing Regions: Federalism and Territorial Politics in Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins

- University Press (2004), 85-131.
4. "Legislative Malapportionment in Latin America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives" (with Richard Snyder). In Gibson (ed.), 131-172.
  3. "Financiamento de Campanhas e Eleições no Brasil: O Que Podemos Aprender do 'Caixa Um' e Propostas de Reforma." ["Campaign Finance and Elections in Brazil: What We Can Learn from the 'Caixa Um,' and Proposals for Reform."] In Maria Victoria Benevides, Paulo Vannochi and Fábio Kerche (eds.), *Reforma Política e Cidadania*. São Paulo: Instituto Cidadania/Editora Fundação Perseu Abramo (2003).
  2. "Political Ambition and Pork-Barrel Politics in Brazil." In Scott Morgenstern and Benito Nacif (eds.), *Legislatures and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press (2002), pp. 315-340.
  1. "Reinventing Local Government? The Evolution of Brazil's Municipalities." In Peter Kingstone and Timothy Power (eds.), *Democratic Brazil: Actors, Institutions and Processes*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press (2000), pp. 77-100.

### Other Publications

7. "On 'American' Methods, 'Comparative' Theories." In *APSA-CP*, the Newsletter of the Comparative Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, 16(1): 5-6 (2005).
6. Review of Andrew Reynolds (ed.), *The Architecture of Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. *Perspectives on Politics* 1(3): 629 (2003).
5. "Financiamento de Campanhas e Democracia no Brasil" [Campaign Finance and Democracy in Brazil]. *Conjuntura Política* #33, April 2002.
4. "Dirty Politics in Latin America." In *APSA-CP*, the Newsletter of the Comparative Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, 13 (2002).
3. "Devaluing the Vote in Latin America" (with Richard Snyder). *The Journal of Democracy* 12(1): 146-159 (January 2001). Republished in *Electoral Systems and Democracy* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).
2. "To Paraphrase Riker, 'Six Articles in Search of a Subject.' On the Political Economy of Decentralization and Federalism." In *APSA-CP*, the Newsletter of the Comparative Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, 11 (2000).
1. "Federalism, Constraints on the Central Government, and Economic Reform in Democratic Brazil" (with Scott Mainwaring). Working Paper #271, The Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, November 1999.

### Current Projects and Ongoing Research

- "Crisis and Rapid Reequilibration: The Consequences of Presidential Challenges and Falls in Latin America" (With Kathryn Hochstetler). Revise and resubmit, *Comparative Politics*.
- "Inequality and Democratization" (with Ben Ansell). Article manuscript, under review.
- "Electoral Accountability and the Clarity of Responsibility: A Conceptual and Empirical Reassessment" (With Timothy Hellwig). Article manuscript, under review.
- "Inequality and Democratization: Fear of the State, not the Masses" (with Ben Ansell). To be presented at APSA 2009, Toronto.

- “*Lulismo* and *Petismo*: Origins and Transformation, 1989-2006.” To be presented at LASA 2009, Rio de Janeiro.
- “Latin America’s ‘Left Turn?’ Evidence from Public Opinion.” (With Jason Arnold.) For inclusion in a volume on leftism in contemporary Latin America, edited by Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts. Entire volume currently under review.
- “Campaign Finance, Corruption, and Reelection in Brazil.” (With Lúcio Rennó and Carlos Pereira.) Presented at the conference “Corruption and Accountability Institutions in Brazil,” Oxford University May 23, 2008, for inclusion in an edited volume.
- “The Meaning of ‘Leftism’ among Brazilian Legislators, 1989-2009” (with Kevin Lucas). To be presented at the Conference on Legislative Politics in Brazil, Oxford University, September 24-25, 2009.
- “Presidents and Parties in Latin America” (with Matthew Shugart). To be presented at the conference on “The Legislative Branch in Latin America: A Comparative Perspective,” Universidad de Salamanca, December 10-12, 2009.
- “Mapping the Evolution of Policy Space through Party Manifestos: Latin America, 1945-85.” Archival research (microfilm scanning) ongoing.

## **Fellowships and Grants**

17. University of Minnesota College of Liberal Arts Single Semester Leave Award (2008)
16. University of Minnesota Graduate Research Partnership Program grant (approximately \$5,000), 2007 (with Jason Arnold)
15. J. William Fulbright Scholar to Brazil, 2004-05 (Declined).
14. University of Minnesota Graduate Research Partnership Program grant (approximately \$8,000), 2004 (with Timothy T. Hellwig)
13. University of Minnesota McKnight Land-Grant Professorship (\$50,000 and one year’s paid sabbatical leave), 2000-2
12. National Science Foundation Grant for “Presidential Coattails in Comparative Perspective” (with Mark Jones) (SES 99-11136, \$155,000), 2000
11. University of Minnesota College of Liberal Arts Special Events Award (\$1,500) - conference support for “Decentralization and Democracy in Latin America,” 2000
10. University of Minnesota Grant-in-Aid of Research (\$26,408), 1999
9. University of Minnesota Bush Diversity Grant for Course Enhancement (\$3,000), 1999
8. Ford Foundation Course Development Grant, through the University of Minnesota Center for Democracy and Citizenship (\$4,000), 1999
7. University of Minnesota Faculty Summer Research Fellowship (\$5,000), 1999
6. National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Fellowship (\$8,000) (SBER 96-31784), 1996
5. UCSD Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies Dissertation Fellowship (\$1,500), 1996
4. UCSD Friends of the International Center Field Research Fellowship (\$1,000), 1996
3. UCSD Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies Pre-Dissertation Fellowship (\$2,000), 1995
2. Title X Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship for Portuguese (\$15,000), 1995
1. University of California Tuition Scholarship, 1994

## **Invited Presentations**

- California Institute of Technology
- Centro de Investigaciones y Docências Económicas (CIDE), Mexico City
- Duke University
- Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo
- Fundação Getúlio Vargas/Escola de Administração de Empresas de São Paulo
- Graduate School of Economics, Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro
- Harvard University
- German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg
- Instituto de Ciência Política, Montevideo
- Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México, Mexico City
- Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro
- Legislative Research Service of the Brazilian Senate
- London School of Economics
- New York University
- Oxford University
- Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo
- Special Committee on Political Reform, Brazilian Chamber of Deputies
- Stanford University
- University College London - Institute for the Study of the Americas
- Universidade Estadual de São Paulo - Assis
- Universidade Nacional de Brasília, CEPPAC
- Universidade Nacional de Brasília, Department of Economics
- University of California at San Diego
- University of California at Davis
- University of Michigan
- University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill
- University of Notre Dame
- United States Department of State
- Wake Forest University

## **Conference Presentations**

- American Political Science Association: 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2008
- Latin American Studies Association: 1995, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2007
- Midwest Political Science Association: 2000, 2003, 2006, 2007, 2008

## Professional Affiliations

- American Political Science Association
- Latin American Studies Association
- Brazilian Studies Association

## Teaching

Undergraduate:

- Introduction to Comparative Politics
- Political Development
- Democracy and Democratization
- US-Latin American Relations
- Latin American Politics

Graduate:

- Comparative Politics Core Seminar
- Comparative Political Institutions
- Democracy and Democratization
- Parties and Party Systems
- Latin American Politics
- Professional Development

## Languages

- Portuguese (fluent)
- Spanish (excellent)

## Service

1) Discipline:

- Editorial Board, *Comparative Political Studies*, 2005-
- Member, Leubbert Prize Committee (best article), 2009.
- Chair, “Comparative Politics – Transitions to Democracy” Section, 2007 MPSA meeting
- Chair, Political Institutions Section of the Latin American Studies Association, 2003-04.
- Member, Jowell-Lowenberg prize committee to choose the best article in *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 2001.
- Manuscript reviews: *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *The Journal of Latin American Studies*, *The American Journal of Political Science*, *World Politics*, *The*

*American Political Science Review, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Journal of Peace Research, The Journal of Politics, Studies in Comparative International Development, Journal of Legislative Studies, Publius, Political Psychology, Latin American Research Review, Party Politics, International Political Science Review, Political Research Quarterly, Electoral Studies*, National Science Foundation, Israel Science Foundation, Princeton University Press, Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press

2) University:

- College of Liberal Arts Faculty Research Awards Committee (2006-09)
- University of Minnesota Faculty Grant-in-Aid of Research review committee (2005-06, 2009-10)
- University of Minnesota Graduate School, Minority Scholars Research Opportunity Program (mentoring potential minority graduate students) (2004)
- University of Minnesota Graduate School Fellowship review committee (2004)
- College of Liberal Arts Community of Scholars Program (mentoring potential minority graduate students) (2003)

3) Department:

- Placement Director (2007-2010)
- Search committee (1999-2000, 2003-04 (chair), 2004-05, 2005-06)
- Merit advisory committee (2000-01, 2002-03, 2004)
- Undergraduate work committee (2000-01)
- Graduate work committee (2002-03, 2008-09)
- Comparative Politics field chair (2002-03, 2006-07)

PhD theses advised:

- Wanjiru Kamau-Rautenberg (2008). Currently Assistant Professor, U. of San Francisco.
- Jason R. Arnold (2008). Currently Assistant Professor, Virginia Commonwealth University.

4) Community:

- Swarthmore College Alumni Council, 2006-2009 (Executive Committee, 2007-09)
- Interviews for Twin Cities' area television, radio and newspapers.
- Interviews for national and local newspapers and magazines in Brazil.

Last updated: 5/21/09