

**MATTHEW R. CLEARY**

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**PROFESSIONAL APPOINTMENTS**

**Syracuse University, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs**, Syracuse, NY  
Chair, International Relations Program, Fall 2017 – Spring 2021  
Associate Professor of Political Science, from 2010  
Assistant Professor of Political Science, 2004-2010

**Princeton University**, Princeton, NJ  
Post-Doctoral Fellow, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Woodrow Wilson  
School of Public and International Affairs, 2004-2005

**EDUCATION**

Ph.D., Political Science, University of Chicago, 2004  
M.A., Political Science, University of Chicago, 1998  
B.A., Government and Japanese, University of Notre Dame, 1991

**PUBLICATIONS**

**Books:**

*The Sources of Democratic Responsiveness in Mexico*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010.

*Democracy and the Culture of Skepticism: Political Trust in Argentina and Mexico*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006 (with Susan C. Stokes).

**Articles:**

“When Does Backsliding Lead to Breakdown? Uncertainty and Opposition Strategies in Democracies at Risk,” *Perspectives on Politics* 20:1 (2022), pp. 205-221. (with Aykut Ozturk). doi: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592720003667>.

“Subordinated Autonomy and the Political Inclusion of Women in Indigenous Mexico,” *Latin American Politics & Society* 62:3 (2020), pp.44-64.

“Confronting Coup Risk in the Latin American Left,” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48:4 (2013), pp.403-431. (with Eric Rittinger).

“Electoral Competition, Participation, and Government Responsiveness in Mexico,” *American Journal of Political Science* 51:2 (April 2007), pp.283-299.

“A ‘Left Turn’ in Latin America? Explaining the Left’s Resurgence.” *Journal of Democracy* 17:4 (October 2006), pp.35-49.

Reprinted as “Explaining the Left’s Resurgence,” in *Latin America’s Struggle for Democracy*, Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, and Diego Abente Brun, eds. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008, pp.62-76.

“Competencia electoral, influencia ciudadana y desempeño del gobierno en los municipios mexicanos.” *Política y Gobierno* 10:1 (January 2003), pp.183-217.

“Democracy and Indigenous Rebellion in Latin America,” *Comparative Political Studies* 33:9 (November 2000), pp.1123-1153.

#### **Book Chapter:**

“Trust and Democracy in Comparative Perspective,” in *Whom Can We Trust? How Groups, Networks, and Institutions Make Trust Possible*, Karen Cook, Russell Hardin, and Margaret Levi, eds. Russell Sage Foundation, 2009 (with Susan C. Stokes), pp.308-338.

#### **Book Reviews:**

*Patronage at Work: Public Jobs and Political Services in Argentina*, by Virginia Oliveros. *Perspectives on Politics* 20:3 (Sept. 2022), pp.1139-40.

*Democracy in “Two Mexicos”: Political Institutions in Oaxaca and Nuevo Leon*, by Guadalupe Correa-Cabrera. *The Americas Quarterly* 70:4 (April 2014), pp.761-2.

*Decentralization, Democratization, and Informal Power in Mexico*, by Andrew Selee. *Política y Gobierno* 19:2 (Fall 2012), pp.380-384.

*Judicial Power and Strategic Communication in Mexico*, by Jeffrey K. Staton. *Comparative Political Studies* 44:10 (October 2011), pp.1439-1442.

*Religious Pluralism, Democracy, and the Catholic Church in Latin America*, by Frances Hagopian, ed. *Perspectives on Politics* 9:1 (March 2011), pp.203-4.

*Leftovers: Tales of the Latin American Left*, by Jorge G. Castañeda and Marco A. Morales, eds. *Latin American Politics and Society* 51:3 (Fall 2009), pp.161-164.

*Democracy*, by Charles Tilly. *Political Psychology* 29:2 (April 2008), pp.303-307.

*Transición a la Democracia en México: Competencia partidista y reformas electorales 1977-2003*, by Irma Méndez de Hoyos. *Política y Gobierno* 14:2 (Fall 2007), pp.577-579.

*Elections as Instruments of Democracy*, by G. Bingham Powell, Jr., *Política y Gobierno* 9:1 (March 2002), pp.252-257.

### **Other Publications:**

“Left Turns in Latin America.” *World Scholar: Latin America & the Caribbean*. Gale, Cengage Learning, 2011. (on-line encyclopedia entry, 11,000 words).

“What Ails Mexican Democracy.” *Foreign Affairs*. March 22, 2018. (on-line op-ed, co-authored with Gladys I. McCormick, 2,000 words).

### **WORK IN PROGRESS**

“Electoral Integrity, Democracy Promotion, and the Folk Theory of Democracy,” article manuscript in preparation.

“The Institutional Origins of Gender Quotas in Europe and Latin America,” article manuscript in preparation.

“Multiculturalism and the State: Subordinated Autonomy in Indigenous Mexico,” Book project, targeted completion date July 2023.

### **CONFERENCE PAPERS**

“Multiculturalism and Democracy in Indigenous Mexico: the case of Female Participation,” paper presented to the International Workshop on the Subnational State in Latin America, University of Amsterdam, March 14, 2017, and the Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Lima, Peru, April 30, 2017. Revised version presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 2017.

“Service Delivery and Ethnic Conflict in Southern Mexico,” Paper presented to the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, May 2015.

“The effect of customary law on trust and reciprocity in southern Mexico,” Paper presented to the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Chicago, IL, and the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 2014.

“Indigenous Governance in Puebla and Oaxaca,” Paper presented to the XXX International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, San Francisco, CA, 2012.

“The Surprising Durability of New Left Governments,” Paper presented to the XXIX International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Toronto, Ontario, 2010.  
“Gender Quotas in Europe and Latin America,” paper presented to the American Political Science Association, Washington DC, September 4, 2010.

“A Two-Stage Explanation of the New Latin American Left,” paper presented to the XXVIII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, June 2009.

“Indigenous Autonomy and Insulation from Electoral Competition in Oaxaca, Mexico,” paper presented to the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28, 2008, and at the conference on “Native Peoples in Mexico and the U.S.: Approaches to Exclusion,” Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, UC-San Diego, June 5, 2009.

“Indigenous Rights and Democracy in Southern Mexico: Liberalism Laughs Last?,” paper presented to the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 13, 2007.

“Indigenous Autonomy in Southern Mexico,” paper presented to the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 7, 2005, and the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, September 1, 2006.

“Electoral Competition, Participation, and the Quality of Government in Mexico,” paper presented to the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 15-18, 2004, and to the American Political Science Association, September 2-5, 2004.

“Trust and the Consolidation of Democracy,” paper presented to the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, April 23, 2004, and to the Latin American Studies Association, Las Vegas, Nevada, October 8, 2004 (with Susan Stokes).

“Do Parties Enforce Electoral Accountability in Mexico?” paper presented to the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 25-28, 2002, and to the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 29 – September 1, 2002.

“Electoral Competition and Government Performance in Mexico”, paper presented to the American Political Science Association, September 1, 2001, and to the Latin American Studies Association, September 7, 2001.

“Testing Endogenous and Exogenous Modernization Theory”, paper presented to the Midwest Political Science Association, April 1999, and to the American Political Science Association, September 1999.

## **INVITED TALKS**

2022 “Democratic Backsliding and Authoritarian Resurgence in Latin America.” Panel discussion sponsored by USAID, April 28, 2022.

- “Opening Democratic Spaces.” Panel discussion sponsored by USAID, July 20, 2022.  
“Roundtable on the events of January 6<sup>th</sup>.” Panel discussion sponsored by POLITICO, August 10, 2022.
- 2018 “The 2018 Elections in Brazil: the Future of Democracy after Bolsonaro.” Panel discussion sponsored by the Program on Latin American and the Caribbean, Maxwell School, November 30.
- “Changing Course? The 2018 Presidential Election in Mexico,” invited panelist for major public event at Colgate University, April 26.
- 2017 “The Theory and the Damage Done: Some Negative Consequences of the Folk Theory, in Comparative Perspective,” presentation to the Rethinking Democracy Conference, Princeton University, May 12.
- “Is Democracy Under Threat in Latin America?” presentation to the Conversations in IR speaker series, Maxwell School of Syracuse University, March 6.
- “How *sistemas normativos internos* are undermined by their own legalization in Oaxaca: Formalization and Female Participation,” paper presented at the V-Dem Institute, University of Gothenburg, Sweden, January 18. Previously presented at the *Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas*, Mexico City, December 7, 2016.
- 2016 “Mexico: Challenges for U.S. Relations,” lecture given at the Syracuse Century Club, February 3.
- “Local Governance and Ethnic Conflict in southern Mexico,” Program for the Advancement of Research on Conflict and Collaboration, Syracuse University, February 11.
- 2015 Four Lectures on Democratization, Leaders for Democracy Fellowship Program, Maxwell School of Syracuse University, March 24 through April 3 (also delivered in March-April 2013 and 2014).
- 2013 “Indigenous Autonomy in Southern Mexico,” Program for the Advancement of Research on Conflict and Collaboration, Syracuse University, March 21.
- “Confronting Coup Risk in the Latin American Left,” Duke/UNC Latin American Studies Workshop, October 21.
- 2012 “Explaining Democratization,” and “Latin America and the Study of Democratization,” Leaders for Democracy Fellowship Program, Maxwell School of Syracuse University, April 5 and 12 (also delivered in April 2011 and March 2010).
- 2011 “Gender Quotas in Europe and Latin America,” Center for Latin American and Caribbean

- Studies, Brown University, April 21.
- 2010 “The Mexican Revolution at 100,” Program on Latin America and the Caribbean, Maxwell School, Syracuse University, November 15.
- “Gender Quotas in Europe and Latin America,” Department of Government, Cornell University, October 29.
- “The Consequences of Indigenous Autonomy in Oaxaca, Mexico,” Latin American Studies Program, Cornell University, October 4.
- “How Mexico’s Political Institutions Limit the Quality of its Government,” School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, October 4.
- 2009 “Latin America, the New Left, and the Study of Democratization,” Leaders for Democracy Fellowship Program, Maxwell School of Syracuse University, April 1 (also delivered in March 2008 and February 2007).
- 2008 “The New Left and the State of Democracy in Latin America,” SUNY-Geneseo, Feb.27.
- 2007 “Indigenous Rights and Democracy in Southern Mexico: Liberalism Laughs Last?” Institute for the Study of the Judiciary, Politics, and the Media, Syracuse University, November 15.
- 2006 “Indigenous Autonomy in Southern Mexico,” Latin American Studies Program, Cornell University, October 31, and at the *Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas* (CIDE), June 20.
- “Elections in Latin America,” Program on Latin America and the Caribbean, Maxwell School of Syracuse University, March 22.
- 2005 “Indigenous Autonomy and Liberal Democracy in Southern Mexico,” Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton University, April 28.
- 2004 “Mechanisms of Voter Control in Mexican Elections,” Comparative Politics Faculty Workshop, Princeton University, November 10.
- “Electoral Competition, Participation, and Democratic Responsiveness in Mexico,” Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton University, October 14.
- “Electoral Competition, Participation, and the Quality of Government in Mexico,” Political Science Regional Workshop, University of Notre Dame, May 12.

## **ACADEMIC HONORS AND GRANTS**

### **External Grants**

- 2012-2014 “Indigenous Autonomy in Southern Mexico,” National Science Foundation, Political Science Program (\$230,000).
- 2000-2002 Russell Sage Foundation Grant for an original research project, “Trust and the Consolidation of Democracy in Latin America,” 2000-2002 (with Susan Stokes; \$121,000).

### **Syracuse University Internal Grants**

- 2023 Appleby-Mosher Research Grant, Maxwell School (\$1,500).  
(Also received in 2022, 2010, 2007, and 2006)
- 2012 PARCC, Maxwell School (\$2,500)
- 2008 Faculty Research Grant, Program on Latin America and the Caribbean (PLACA), Moynihan Institute (\$1,000).
- 2007 Dean’s Discretionary Faculty Research Grant, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs (\$3,000).
- Research Fellowship, Institute for the Study of Judiciary, Politics, and the Media, Syracuse University (\$1,250).

### **University of Chicago Internal Grants**

- 2000 Travel Grant, Center for Latin American Studies, University of Chicago, Summer.
- 1997- Junior Fellow, John M. Olin Center for Inquiry into the Theory and Practice of  
2001 Democracy.

### **Awards**

- 2013 Excellence in Graduate Education Faculty Recognition Award, Syracuse University.
- 2016 Named a Robert D. McClure Professor of Teaching Excellence, 2016-17.

## **PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

### **Referee (past 5 years)**

*American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Comparative Political Studies,*

*Constellations, International Political Science Review, Journal of Politics, Latin American Politics and Society, Latin American Research Review, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Political Behavior, Revista de Ciencia Política, Studies in Comparative International Development, World Politics*

**Reviewer** (past 5 years)

German Research Foundation, Oxford University Press, National Science Foundation

**Conferences**

- 2022 Chair/Discussant, “Political Mobilization in Latin America,” APSA.
- 2019 Workshop Organizer and Presenter, *The Second Annual Workshop on Emerging Trends in Latin American Politics*, Maxwell School, June 26, 2019.
- 2018 Workshop Organizer and Presenter, *Workshop on Emerging Trends in Latin American Politics*, Maxwell School, April 21, 2018.
- 2016 Panel Moderator, “The Future of Democratic Governance in the Developing World,” Third International Conference on Democratic Governance in the Developing World, CSIS, Washington DC, July.
- Discussant, Democracy in Crisis Workshop, Montclair State University, October.
- Discussant, “Democracy for Realists,” State of Democracy Lecture Series, Maxwell School, Syracuse University, April.
- 2014 Discussant, “Primary Elections in Latin America: New Laws and New Insights,” LASA.
- 2012 Discussant, “Experiments for Export? Assessing the Suitability of Behavioral Experiments in Latin America,” LASA.
- 2010 Discussant, “Indigenous Political Participation in Latin America: Consequences for Democratic Governance, Institutions, and Representation,” APSA.
- Discussant, “Theorizing Transnationalism,” PLACA/PLAS conference on “Re-Imagining the Americas,” Syracuse, NY, April 10.
- 2009 Chair/Discussant, “Local Politics in New Democracies: Patterns of Democratization in the Mexican States,” APSA.
- 2005 Chair/Discussant, “Impact of Colonialism: Comparative Perspectives,” MWPSA.
- 2004 Chair/Discussant, “Elections in Hybrid Regimes,” MWPSA.



Discussant, "Electoral Authoritarianism in Mexico and Taiwan," MWPSA.

2003 Chair/Discussant, "The Quality of Democracy in Latin America," MWPSA.

2002 Chair/Discussant, "Democratization and Democracy in Mexico," MWPSA.

Participant/Discussant, "Local Democracy: Poverty, Social Capital, and Clientelism in Argentina," faculty conference at the University of Chicago, March 8-9.

## **Committees**

### External

Executive Committee, Latin American Political Institutions Section, LASA, 2010-12

Editorial Board, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 2011-15

Member, Best Dissertation Committee, LASA Mexico Section, 2016-17

Treasurer, Democracy and Autocracy Section, APSA, 2023-2025

### Internal

Chair, International Relations Program (undergraduate), 2017-

University Senate Committee on Academic Freedom, Tenure, and Professional Ethics (AFTPE),  
2017-2020 (Chair, 2019-2020)

Executive Committee, MA-International Relations, 2017-

Executive Committee, Citizenship and Civic Engagement, 2017-  
University Senate, 2017-2018

Promotion and Tenure Committee, Political Science Department, 2014-15, 2016-17, 2020-21

Fulbright Evaluation Committee, 2013-present

Faculty Search Committee, Moskowitz Chair, Maxwell School, 2012-13

Interim Director, Program on Latin American and the Caribbean, Moynihan Institute, 2011-2012

Director, Political Science Research Workshop, Political Science Department, 2008-2011

Executive Committee, Program on Latin America and the Caribbean, 2009-2012

Faculty Search Committee, Dept. of Languages Literatures and Linguistics, 2010-11

Graduate Studies Committee, Political Science Department, 2009-11

Omnibus Faculty Search Committee, Political Science Department, 2006-07, 2007-08, 2010-11,  
2012-13

Coordinator, PLACA Seminar Series, Moynihan Institute, Spring 2007

Comparative Politics Faculty Search Committee, Political Science Department, 2006

Koff Award Committee, Political Science Department, 2006

Committee on Instruction, Political Science Department, 2006

American Politics Faculty Search Committee, Political Science Department, 2005

Faculty Associate, Sawyer Law and Politics Program, 2005-2008

Faculty Steering Committee, Program on Latin America and the Caribbean, 2005-2012

### **Other**

Electoral Observer with the Organization of American States, Ayacucho, Peru, April 2016

## **COURSES TAUGHT**

Department of Political Science, Syracuse University

Undergraduate:

- Ethnicity and Politics (PSC 300)
- Politics of Latin America (PSC 333/LAS 333)
- Mexico and the United States (PSC 334/LAS 335)
- Global Community (MAX 132)
- International Relations Capstone Seminar & Distinction Seminar (IRP 400/495)
- International Democracy Promotion (IRP 410/495)

Graduate:

- Comparative Political Analysis (PSC 671)
- Logic of Political Inquiry (PSC 691)
- Latin American Politics (PSC 780)
- Democracy and Democratization (PSC 787)

Department of International Studies, University of Chicago

- Comparative Democratization (Winter 2004)

Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame

- Latin American Politics (Fall 2003)