

# BEATRIZ MAGALONI

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## EDUCATION

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Duke University

- Political Science, Ph.D. May, 1998

- Political Science, M.A. (with distinction) May 1993

Institution Tecnologico Autonomo de Mexico

1985 - 1989

- Law Degree, with High Honors

## APPOINTMENTS

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Professor of Political Science, Stanford University

2018 -present

Associate Professor of Political Science, Stanford University

2009 -2017

Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies

2009 -present

Director of the Poverty, Violence and Governance Lab

2011 - present

Affiliated Faculty at the Stanford Center on Global Poverty and Development

W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow

and the Susan Louis Dyer Peace Fellowship Hoover Institution

2006 - 2007

Assistant Professor of Political Science

1999 - 2008

Adjunct Professor of Political Science, UCLA

2000 - 2001

Professor of Political Science, Instituto Tecnologico Autonomo de Mexico

1996 - 1999

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

1996 - 1999

## PUBLICATIONS

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### Books

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

Winner of the 2007 Leon Epstein Award for the Best Book published in the previous two years in the area of political parties and organizations and winner of the Best Book Award from the Comparative Democratization Section of the *American Political Science Association*.

*The Politics of Poverty Relief: Strategies of Vote Buying and Social Policies in Mexico* (2016) Cambridge University Press (with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Federico Estevez).

*Determinantes do Uso da Fora Policial no Rio de Janeiro* (2016) Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ (with Ignacio Cano).

### Journal Articles

· "Institutionalized Police Brutality: Torture, the Militarization of Security and the Reform of Inquisitorial Justice in Mexico" (2020) *American Political Science Review* Vol 114, No.4, (with Luis Rodriguez)

Was featured in the APSR's monthly blog December 15, 2020:

"Conversations with Authors" <https://www.Cambridge.org/core/blog/2020/12/15/conversations-with-authors-institutionalized-police-brutality/>

"Killing in the Slums: The Problems of Social Order, Criminal Governance and Police Violence in Rio de Janeiro" (2020) *American Political Science Review* May: 114(2):552-72. (with Edgar Franco and Vanessa Melo)

Winner of the the 2021 Heinz I. Eulau Award for the best article published in *American Political Science Review*.

"Legislatures and Policy Making in Authoritarian Regimes" (2020) *Comparative Political Studies* (with Scott Williamson)

"Living in Fear: The Dynamics of Extortion in Mexico's Drug War" (2020) *Comparative Political Studies* Comparative Political Studies. 2020 Jun;53(7):1124-74 (with Gustavo Robles, Aila Matanock, Vidal Romero and Alberto Diaz-Cayeros)

"Public Good Provision and Traditional Governance in Indigenous Communities in Oaxaca, Mexico" (2019) in *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 52(12) pp. 1841-1880 (with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Alex Ruiz.)

"Torture as a Method of Criminal Investigation: the case of Mexico," (2018) *Politica y Gobierno* vol.25 no.2 (with Ana Laura Magaloni and Zaira Razu)

"Authoritarian Survival and Poverty Traps: Land reform in Mexico" (2016) *World Development* 77, pp.154-170 (with Michael Albertus, Alberto Diaz-Cayeros, and Barry Weingast).

"The Beheading of Criminal Organizations and the Dynamics of Violence in Mexico." (2015) *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59. No.8: 1455-1485 (with Gabriela Caldern, Gustavo Robles and Alberto Diaz-Cayeros).

"Presidential Approval and Public Security in Mexico's War on Crime." (2016) *Latin American Politics and Society* 58.2: 100-123 (with Vidal Romero and Alberto Diaz-Cayeros).

"The Mexican War on Drugs: Crime and the Limits of Government Persuasion." (2015) *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* Vol. 27 No. 1. (with Vidal Romero and Alberto Diaz-Cayeros)

"Traditional governance, citizen engagement, and local public goods: evidence from Mexico. (2014) *World Development*, 53: 80-93.

"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 (with Ruth Kricheli)

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

"Aiding Latin Americas Poor." (2009) *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 20 (4) (with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros)

"Partisan Cleavages, State Retrenchment and Free Trade: Latin America in the 1990s." (2008) *Latin American Research Review* (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 (with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros.)

"Dominancia de Partido y Dilemas Duvergerianos en las Elecciones Federales de 1994." (1996) *Politica y Gobierno* Vol. 3 (2).

"Elección Racional y Voto Estratégico: Algunas Aplicaciones al caso Mexicano." (1994) *Politica y Gobierno*, Vol. 1 (2)

### **Book Chapters**

- "Caught in the Crossfire: the Geography of Extortion and Police Corruption in Mexico" (2015) in Rose-Ackerman S, Lagunes P, editors. *Greed, Corruption, and the Modern State: Essays in Political Economy*. Edward Elgar Publishing. (with Vidal Romero and Alberto Diaz-Cayeros.)
- "The Impact of Violence in the Mexican 2012 Presidential Elections." (2014) in Jorge Domínguez et al *Mexico Evolving Democracy*. Johns Hopkins University Press. (with Edgar Franco and Jorge Olarte).
- "Legalist vs. Interpretivist: The Supreme Court and the Democratic Transition in Mexico." (2011) in Grechen Helmke and Julio Ríos-Figueroa *Courts in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press. (with Ariana Sanchez and Eric Magar).
- "Autocratic Political order and the Role of Courts: The Case of Mexico." (2008) In Tom Ginsburg and Tamir Moustaafa (eds) *Rule By Law: The Politics of Courts in Authoritarian Regimes*. Cambridge University Press.
- "Welfare Benefits, Canvassing and Campaign Handouts." (2006) in Jorge Domínguez, Chappell Lawson, and Alejandro Moreno *Consolidating Mexico's Democracy*. Johns Hopkins University Press. (with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Federico Estvez.)
- "A House Divided Against Itself: How the PRI survives after 2000." in Joseph Wong and Edward Friedman (eds) (2008) *Learning to Lose: Dominant Party Systems and their Transitions*. Routledge (with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Federico Estvez.)
- "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. (with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Federico Estvez).
- "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*. Cambridge University Press.
- "Designing Electoral Rules by a Dominant Party." (2004) in Josep Colomer *Handbook of Electoral System Choice*. Palgrave-Macmillan (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. (with Guillermo Zepeda.)
- "Strategic Coordination in the 2000 Mexican Presidential Race." (2004) in Jorge Domínguez and Chappell Lawson *Mexico's Pivotal Elections* Stanford: Stanford University Press (with Alejandro Poir)

- "Issues, the Vote and the Mandate for Change." (2004) in Jorge Domnguez and Chappell Lawson, *Mexicos Pivotal Elections*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. (with Alejandro Poir.)
- "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 Mexico Ilustrada Mexico*: Planeta, Tomo V
- "Is the PRI fading? Economic Performance, Electoral Accountability and Voting Behavior." (1999) in Jorge Domnguez and Alejandro Poir (eds.) *The New Mexican Party System*. New York: Routledge.
- "Autoridad Presupuestal del Poder Legislativo en Mxico." (1999) *Politica y Gobierno*, (with Alberto Diaz)

#### BOOKS IN PROGRESS

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*Gangs, Mafias and the State: Criminal Governance and Violence*

I am currently working on a book manuscript that explores the problems of lawlessness, policing and criminal rule prevalent at the sub-national level in many developing world settings.

#### JOURNAL ARTICLES UNDER REVIEW

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"Warriors and Vigilantes as Police Officers: Evidence from a field experiment with body-cameras in Rio de Janeiro" under review at the *American Journal of Political Science* (with Vanessa Melo and Gustavo Robles)

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

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"Can Non-Immigrant Guest Worker Programs Help Escape Violence and Poverty Traps? A Multiyear Project using a Randomized Control Trial Evaluation in the U.S. and Mexico" (with Luis Rodriguez and Alice Wang). Over the course of the next five years, we will be able to study approximately 20,000 temporary workers who will be granted visas to work in the U.S. Of those, we estimate that, conservatively, between two and three thousand will be newcomers for whom we will be able to randomize the allocation of their first visa. We plan to carry out this intervention by recruiting workers from poor, marginalized communities. Some of these communities are located within the most violent areas in Mexico where the state has been captured by criminal groups it is comparable to an intervention in insurgent-controlled territory during a civil war. We hope to use this project to set up a longitudinal study that can follow subjects across generations and serve as a resource for researchers from diverse disciplines. We plan to track outcomes concerning health, human capital, social mobility, and entrepreneurship as well as the durability of these outcomes.

”State Evading Solutions to Violence: Organized Crime and Indigenous Governance in Mexico (with Kristof Gosztonyi and Sarah Thomson).

The monopoly of violence in the hands of the state is associated with the creation of political order. This influential vision about the emergence of order misses the important problem that parts of the state and its law enforcement apparatus often become extensions of criminality rather than solutions to it. We argue that one solution to this dilemma is to “opt out from the state.” Using a multi-method strategy combining qualitative research, quasi-experimental statistical analysis, and survey data, the paper demonstrates that indigenous communities in Mexico are better able to escape predatory criminal rule and to live more secure where they are *legally* allowed to carve a space of autonomy from the state. We trace this outcome to higher social cohesion and control, the presence of a community police and a parallel system of justice, and direct participatory democracy practices that make communities and their authorities significantly more resilient to cartel takeover.

”Police Violence, Organizational Networks and the Killer State in Rio de Janeiro” (with Vanessa Melo). Despite renewed attention, police violence – what causes it, when it is legitimate or illegitimate and how best to control it – are not well understood. Part of the problem is lack of data on the conditions in which killings by the police take place. The paper uses thousands of records on ammunition consumption by individual police officers, a large N-survey collected among the Military Police of Rio de Janeiro (N=5,300) with a series of embedded experiments, and data on police trajectories to explore how police behavior is shaped by unit commanders and in-group socialization by which norms and values are internalized. The paper documents the drivers of police vigilantism in Rio de Janeiro.

”Mapping Criminal Governance: The case of Rio de Janeiro” (with Edgar Franco and Vanessa Melo). The entangled relationship between crime, governance and democracy is a recurrent concern among academics and policy makers. This paper offers a theory about criminal governance among five types of criminal regimes – Insurgent, Bandit, Symbiotic, Predatory, and Split. These differ according to whether criminal groups confront or collude with state actors; abuse or cooperate with the community; and hold a monopoly or contest territory with rival organized criminal groups. The paper characterizes these criminal regimes within a unified theoretical framework that explicates variation in how they shape residents’ experiences with everyday violence, including behaviors such as intimidation, extortion, assault, and murder. We provide evidence of this theory by using automated text analysis of thousands criminal reports received by an anonymous hot-line, *Disque Denuncia*, that allow us to map how Rio de Janeiro’s drug factions and the state-sponsored militias relate to the state and the population to impose various forms of local criminal rule.

”Strengthening Life Skills for Youth in Places of Violence” (with Veriene Melo) This paper presents an evaluation of a pedagogical tool, *Agencia de Redes para la Juventude*, a platform that promotes collective inquiry, reflection, and experimentation among youth in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro. The paper reveals the potential of this innovative pedagogical tool as an alternative to more conventional vocational training programs. We exploit an unanticipated budget shortage to select a control group among youth who were selected for participation but eventually were excluded. Through propensity score matching and a difference-in-difference design using panel data, we show that the program had powerful effects in helping young favela residents create social and business innovations, and it also increased income and formal employment in substantial ways.

”Torture in Criminal Prosecution: Authoritarianism, Democratization and Criminal Justice Reform in Mexico”. In this paper I explore the role of Mexico’s transition to democracy in the use of torture in criminal prosecution. I use innovative data streams to explore torture, a behavior that is extremely hard to measure: 1) a survey of the Mexican prison population (N= 58,000); 2) survey experiments

collected among 6,000 police officers in three cities: CDMX, Monterrey and Tijuana; and 3) three large N community surveys with embedded experiments.

## POLICY REPORTS AND WHITE PAPERS

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"What Works to Prevent Violence Among Youth" A white paper on youth violence, crime prevention and the Mexican context. Academic leadership: Thomas Abt, Christopher Blattman, Beatriz Magaloni and Santiago Tobn. Report Commissioned by USAID to J-PAL-LAC

"Violent Crime as a Development Challenge: Causes and Menu of Interventions." *World Bank*

"Evaluacion de Impacto de Jovenes con Porvenir", con Alberto Diaz-Cayeros y Brenda Jarillo, *Mexico Evalua*, 2017.

"Favela Residents' Perceptions About Public Security and Policing in Rio de Janeiro" with Observatorio de Favelas and Redes de Mare, 2017

## GRANTS

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State Department, International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Section  
- Police Professionalization and Citizen Trust in Mexico *450,259*

State Department, International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Section  
- Police Professionalization and Citizen Trust in Mexico *4,845,479*

Global Development and Poverty Initiative, Stanford SEED  
- Poverty, Violence and Security *925,000*

DoD Minerva Research Initiative Grant FA9550-09-0314  
- Crime, Violence and Governance in Mexico: Extracting, Analyzing and Interpreting Mexican Government Data on Criminal Activity and Effectiveness of State Responses *150,003*

IRiSS Faculty Seed Grant Award  
- Seed grant to apply for an NSF grant to conduct an RCT:  
"The role of police retraining and monitoring in controlling police violence in Rio de Janeiro" *7,000*

Global Underdevelopment Action Fund Grant, FSI, Stanford University  
- To conduct research on indigenous governance in Oaxaca, Mexico *38,100*

Inter-America Development Bank Award  
- The Economic Consequences of Drug Violence in Mexico *30,000*

Inter-America Development Bank Award  
- Police Violence in Rio de Janeiro *30,000*

## AWARDS

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Leon D. Epstein Outstanding Book Award for the best book written in the previous two years on parties and elections, APSA	2007
Best Book Award, Comparative Democratization Section, APSA	2007
Best paper in political economy presented at the APSA meeting "Tragic Brilliance and Federalism in Mexico" (with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Barry Weingast.)	2001
Gabriel Almond Award, Best Dissertation in Comparative Politics	1998

#### OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

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- Founder and Director of the Poverty, Violence, and Governance Lab (PoVgov). The Lab is dedicated to the study of lawlessness and violence.
- Member of the Empirical Studies of Conflict (ESCO). Country lead scholar for Mexico. In 2011-2012 I worked with the government of Mexico to have data released that enabled the construction of original datasets to assess the impact of government interventions to contain drug cartels in Mexico.
- Affiliate of the Center for Effective Global Action (CEGA), University of California
- Contracted by the World Bank to write a white paper on Urban Crime.
- Member of World Justice Project Rule of Law Research Consortium (RLRC), a community of researchers harnessing diverse approaches to produce research on the rule of law.
- Member of the editorial board of *World Development* from 2015 to 2017
- Member of the editorial board of *Politica y Gobierno* 2016 to the present
- I provide expert testimony in deportation and asylum cases that are heard in US immigration courts.

#### SERVICE FOR JOURNALS

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Referee for the American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Politics, Latin American Research Review, Perspectives on Politics, British Journal of Political Science, National Science Foundation, Cambridge University Press, World Development and World Politics.

#### UNIVERSITY SERVICE

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P&P Committee (elected), Department of Political Science, 2010-11 and 2011-12

Director of Undergraduate Studies, Department of Political Science, 2008-2012

Faculty Search Committee, Department of Political Science, 2015-16 (South Asia)

Chair of Committee to promote Lisa Blaydes for Tenure Committee, 2013-14.  
Also member of her reappointment committee, 2012-13

Faculty Search Committee, Department of Political Science, 2007-08 (IR/CP)

Part of the Faculty Committee to re-think the undergraduate program, 2010-11

Comparative Politics Workshop Co-coordinator, 2003-04 and 2004-05

Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Political Science, 2010-11, 2012-13 & 2016-17

#### ASSOCIATIONAL ACTIVITIES

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Chair of the Luebbert Article Committee for the best paper published in the field of comparative politics during the prior two calendar years, 2016-2017

Chair of the Michael Wallerstein Prize for Best Published Paper in Political Economy, APSA, 2012.

Nominating committee for the APSA Comparative Politics Section, 2011-12

Co-organizer of the Comparative Politics of Developing Countries Section, APSA, 2011

Gabriel Almond Award Committee, Comparative Politics Section, APSA, 2010.

#### OTHER ACTIVITIES

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Consultant to the Mexican Comisión on Nacional de Seguridad, 2017-2018

Consultant to the Mexican Secretariat of Government, 2011

Consultant to the Secretariat of Government, State of Nuevo León, 2019