# **BEATRIZ MAGALONI**

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Personal Website: www.bmagaloni.com Lab's Website: www.povgov.com

#### **EDUCATION**

### 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**

Graham H. Stuart Professor of International Relations, Stanford University	2021 -present
Professor of Political Science, Stanford University	2018 -present
Non-resident fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Novem	aber 2021-present
Associate Professor of Political Science, Stanford University	2009 -2017
Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies	2009 -present
Affiliated faculty at the Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law	2009 -present
Affiliated faculty at the Center the Center for International Security and Cooperation	a 2015 -present
Founder and 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
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Professor of Political Science, Instituto Tecnologico Autonomo de Mexico	1996 - 1999
Professional Associate at the Center for Research and Development (CIDAC)	1996 - 1999

#### **PUBLICATIONS**

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).

"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.

"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/

"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 Mexicos 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) Poltica y Gobierno Vol. 3 (2).

"Eleccin Racional y Voto Estratgico: Algunas Aplicaciones al caso Mexicano." (1994) Poltica y Gobierno, Vol. 1 (2)

#### JOURNAL ARTICLES UNDER REVIEW

"Warriors and Vigilantes as Police Officers: Evidence from a field experiment with body-cameras in Rio de Janeiro" (with Vanessa Melo and Gustavo Robles) Under review at the *Cambridge Journal of Evidenced-Based Policing* 

"State-Evading Solutions to Violence: Organized Crime and Governance in Indigenous Mexico" (with Kristóf Gosztonyi and Sarah Thomson) soon to be submitted to World Politics

# 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 Dominguez et al Mexico Evolving Democracy. Johns Hopkins University Press. (with Edgar Franco and Jorge Olarte).

"Legalist vs. Interpretativist: The Supreme Court and the Democratic Transition in Mexico." (2011) in Grechen Helmke and Julio Rios-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 Moustaffa (eds) Rule By Law: The Politics of Courts in Authoritarian Regimes. Cambridge

University Press.

"Welfare Benefits, Canvassing and Campaign Handouts." (2006) in Jorge Domnguez, Chappell Lawson, and Alejandro Moreno *Consolidating Mexicos 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 Mexicos 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 Domnguez and Chappell Lawson *Mexicos 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 Mxico Ilustrada Mxico: 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) Poltica y Gobierno, (with Alberto Diaz)

#### BOOKS IN PROGRESS

Criminal Governance, Policing and Citizenship (with Edgar Franco)

Violence remains one of the most important social problems of our times. In the twenty first century the deadliest form of violence is related to organized crime and gang wars. Nine out of ten violent deaths in the world are intentional homicides occurring outside civil war settings. Latin America is the worlds deadliest, with 8% of the worlds population but over 38% of its homicides, and with 43 of the 50 most murderous cities. Brazil is the country with more cities in this list and where more people are killed every year (around 60,000). Although organized crime and illicit activities are at the heart of the violence epidemic, so are corrupt, ineffective, and abusive policing tactics.

Advancing knowledge about criminal violence and ways to control it requires an understanding of several interdependent causes: 1) the behavior of organized criminal groups; 2) police behavior and security polices; and 3) societal responses to violence and state actions. These themes criminal organizations, policing, and societal responses are the focus of this book. The book develops these themes in the context of Rio de Janeiro, where long-term patterns of urban segregation and racial injustice, the prevalence of drug trafficking, as well as its unique geography explain why drug gangs and paramilitary groups ended up controlling the citys more than 700 favelas.

#### WORK IN PROGRESS

"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 Melanie Morten). 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 poverty reduction, health, investments, human capital, social mobility, and entrepreneurship as well incidence of crime, violence and involvement in illicit activities as the durability of these outcomes. We will also measure changes in political attitudes, civic culture, community cohesion and conflict, and propensity to invest in public goods.

"Police Violence, Organizational Networks and the Killer State in Rio de Janeiro". 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.

"State-criminal alliances and community predation: Evidence from Rio de Janeiro militias" (with Edgar Franco and Stephanie Gimenez). This paper studies the collaboration between militia groups and the

state in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. We document the evolution of these groups from local protection rackets during the 1980s and 1990s to a parallel armed wing of the federal state under the Bolsonaro administration. The main argument of this paper is that when the state has a low capacity to provide basic security and public goods, there is an incentive to create an alliance with private enforcers. However, as this relation becomes more symbiotic and convoluted, these actors emerge as a predatory form of local governance. Ultimately, the integration between militias and the state harms the communities they control. As militias diversify their portfolio, they become operationally indistinguishable from drug trafficking organizations with an important qualitative characteristic: they are endorsed by the authorities. This paper empirically tests the evolution of the militias and their harmful impact on communities with a novel dataset of criminal governance based on more than 500,000 anonymous citizen reports.

"Strengthening Life Skills for Youth in Places of Violence" (with Stephanie Gimenez and 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" (with Kim Jurez). 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.

"Exploring the Drivers of Femicide in Mexico" (with Madison Dalton) 14 of the 25 countries with the highest femicide rates are in Latin America and the rates are significantly increasing in the last years. Our paper focuses on Mexico, where from 2015 to 2020, incidences of femicides (or the killing of girls and women because they are female) increased by approximately 137 percent. Using a multimethod approach employing qualitative interviews with women living in high violent municipalities, surveys and homicide data, this paper explores the drivers of femicide in Mexico. We focus on three explanations: 1) a dominant patriarchal machismo culture; 2) corrupt and ineffective judicial institutions and police; and 3) the dominance of drugs cartels and gangs fighting each other and the state.

## POLICY REPORTS AND WHITE PAPERS

"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." a white paper prepared for the  $World\ Bank$ 

"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 Observatortio de Favelas and Redes de Mare, 2017

# **GRANTS**

Stanford Center on Global Poverty and Development 1,400,000 -Guestworker Migration (with Melanie Morten) National Science Foundation Law and Society 460,000 "Immigration Law as Development Policy: Mexican Guestworkers and the H-2A Visa Program" (with Melanie Morten) Stanford Center on Global Poverty and Development 300,000 -Gender-based Violence in the Developing World (with Lisa Blaydes) Stanford Center on Global Poverty and Development 200,000 -Gender-based Violence in the Developing World (with Lisa Blaydes and James Fearon) State Department, International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Section - Police Profesionalization and Citizen Trust in Mexico 450,259 (with Alberto Diaz) State Department, International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Section - Police Profesionalization and Citizen Trust in Mexico 4,845,479 (with Alberto Diaz) 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

2021

"Killing in the Slums: The Problems of Social Order, Criminal Governance and Police Violence in Rio de Janeiro" (with Edgar Franco and Vanessa Melo)

Leon D. Epstein Outstanding Book Award for the best book written in the previous two years 2007 on parties and elections, American Political Science Association:

Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic party Survival and its Demise in Mexico

Best Book Award, Comparative Democratization Section, American Political Science Association: 2007

Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic party Survival and its Demise in Mexico

Best paper in political economy presented at the American Political Science Association: 2001

"Tragic Brilliance and Federalism in Mexico" (with Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Barry Weingast.)

Gabriel Almond Award, Best Dissertation in Comparative Politics:

1998

"The Dynamics of Dominant Party Decline: The Mexican Transition to Multipartysm"

#### OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

- Founder and Director of the Poverty, Violence, and Governance Lab (PoVgov). The Lab is dedicated to the study of lawlessness, violence and human rights abuses and ways to restrain these.
- 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

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

Chair of the REDI Task force at the Freeman Spogli Institute, 2021-2022. REDI is focused on increasing racial equity, diversity, and inclusion at FSI through sustained action in hiring, research, policy initiatives, curriculum, and more.

Member of the Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Committee at the Political Science Department.

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

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

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