

## CURRICULUM VITA

**JENNIFER L. McCOY**

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### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 2013-present Distinguished University Professor of Political Science, Georgia State University
- Research on political and societal polarization in democracies around the world. Teach courses on polarization, populism, democratic erosion, comparative democratization, international norms, Latin American politics. Advise PhD students.
- 2015- 2016 Inaugural Director, Global Studies Institute, Georgia State University
- Recruited core group of interdisciplinary faculty to GSU, planned new space, co-created new curriculum, oversaw five regional and thematic centers with faculty affiliates, developed seed-grant program, created infrastructure and marketing plan for the Institute.
- 1998-2015 Director, Americas Program, The Carter Center (joint position)
- Developed and oversaw projects on mediation of intra- and inter-state disputes, societal reconciliation and dialogue, transparency and anti-corruption, electoral institutions and practices, tensions between media and governments, and the collective defense of democracy. Raised funds and oversaw \$1.5-\$2 million annual budget. Supervised core staff and field offices. Strategic planning, grant-writing, and management.
- 2006-2012 Professor, Department of Political Science, Georgia State University
- 1991-2005 Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Georgia State University
- 1984-1990 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Georgia State University
- 1989-1998 Senior Research Associate, Latin American and Caribbean Program, Carter Center
- 1994-2000 Senior Associate, Policy Research Center, Georgia State University
- 1987-88 Associate Director, Latin American and Caribbean Program, Carter Center of Emory University (on leave from Georgia State University)

**EDUCATION** University of Minnesota, PhD April, 1985

Department of Political Science

Fields of Concentration: International Politics  
Comparative Politics (Latin America)  
Comparative Political Economy

Supporting Program: Economics  
Statistics

Dissertation: "Democratic Dependent Development and State-Labor Relations  
in Venezuela," (Advisors: Gary Wynia and Raymond Duvall)

Oklahoma State University, 1974-78

B.A. with Honors, Political Science and Spanish

Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá Colombia

Semester of study, 1977

**RESEARCH INTERESTS** Democratization processes in Latin America and globally.  
Crisis prevention, mediation and conflict management.  
Political polarization and conflict.  
Electoral processes and election monitoring.  
International democracy norms.  
U.S. policy towards Latin America.

**TEACHING INTERESTS** Comparative Politics  
Latin American Politics  
Comparative Democratization  
International Politics  
Political Polarization

**COURSES TAUGHT** Latin American Politics (graduate and undergraduate)  
Polarized Democracies in Comparative Perspective (grad and undergrad)  
Political Economy of Latin America (graduate and undergraduate)  
Comparative Political Economy (graduate)  
Comparative Democratization Processes (graduate)  
International Politics (undergraduate)  
Theories of International Politics (graduate)  
International Norms (graduate)  
International Political Economy (graduate and undergraduate)  
International Development (graduate)  
Global Affairs (undergraduate)  
The Vietnam War (graduate and undergraduate)  
American Foreign Policy (undergraduate)

## **HONORS/RECOGNITIONS**

Institute of Advanced Study Fellowship, Central European University, Spring 2019.

Provost Senior Faculty Fellowship, Fall 2018.

Distinguished University Professor, Georgia State University, 2013.

Outstanding Faculty Scholar Award, College of Arts and Sciences, Georgia State University, 2010.

Life-time Member, Council of Foreign Relations, 2005-present.

International Women's Forum member, 2008-present.

Georgia State University Exceptional Service Award, 2003.

Fulbright Scholar, Uruguay, 1991 and 1992.

**GRANTS (individual research grants; does not include Carter Center project grants)**

NSF Conference Grant on Polarization, 2017 (\$49,950).

Central European University Conference Grant, Budapest, March 2017.

GSU International Initiatives Grant, 2016-17 (\$4950).

Pre-ISA Workshop Venture Grant, March 2016, (\$17,000).

GSU University Conference Grant, March 2016 (\$3000).

The Carter Center service contract to serve as Director of the Americas Program, 1998-2015 (\$750,000). Managed Program with a \$2 million annual budget.

NSF Collaborative RAPID grant, "Social Preferences and the Colombian Peace Process," 2015-16, Co-PI with Ryan Carlin, Greg Love, Jelena Subotic. (\$100,000)

IIE/USAID Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Research and Innovation Grant "Dilemmas of Transitional Justice in the Colombian Peace Process," 2014-15. Co-PI with Ryan Carlin and Jelena Subotic. (\$75,000)

Georgia State University Scholarly Support Grant, 2008 (\$15,000).

U.S. Institute of Peace Grant. "International Mediation in Venezuela, 2002-2004." (PI, 2005, \$47,600).

Rockefeller Foundation Team Residency Award "International Mediation in Venezuela, 2002-2004" July 2005 and February 2006.

Georgia State University Research Team Grant, Political Communication and Civil Society Formation in Transitional Democracies. 1998 (\$15,000)

Georgia State University International Initiatives Grant, "Democratization and Decentralization In Latin America." 1995-96 (\$13,000).

Rockefeller Foundation Team Residency, 1995. "Political Learning during Redemocratization in Latin America," Bellagio Conference and Retreat Center, Italy.

North-South Center Research Grant, 1993-94. "Political Learning during Redemocratization in Latin America" (PI, \$43,000).

Return Fulbright Scholar, Uruguay, 1992.

Georgia Consortium on Conflict Resolution Research Grant, 1991.

Fulbright Scholar, Uruguay, 1991.

Georgia State University Instructional Improvement Grant, 1995.

Georgia State University Research Grant, 1987, 1990, 1992.

Faculty Development Seminar, Federal University of Pernambuco and University System of Georgia, Recife, Brazil, 1986.

## **WORK IN PROGRESS**

"Moral Polarization and Support for Democracy," with Rengin Firat and Dariga Abivola.

"Comparative Findings from Polarized Societies," with Murat Somer.

"Legitimacy Deficits in Public Attitudes towards the Colombian Peace Process," with Ryan Carlin and Jelena Subotic.

"Games People Play: International Mediation in Venezuela," with Thomas Legler.

"The Decaying International Election Monitoring Norm: Conceptualizing Electoral Accompaniment in the Western Hemisphere," with Shelley McConnell.

## **PUBLICATIONS:**

### **BOOKS and GUEST EDITORSHIPS**

Guest editor with Murat Somer, **Special Issue on Polarization and Democracy: A Janus-faced Relationship with Pernicious Consequences**, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 62:1, January 2018.

Guest editor with Murat Somer, Special Issue on **Polarizing Politics: A Global Threat to Democracy**, *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Forthcoming 2019.

Francisco Diez and Jennifer McCoy, *Mediación Internacional en Venezuela*, (Buenos Aires: Editorial Gedisa, 2012).

Jennifer McCoy and Francisco Diez, *International Mediation in Venezuela*, (United States

Institute of Peace, Oct. 2011).

*The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela.* Edited by Jennifer McCoy and David Myers. Johns Hopkins University Press. November 2004. Reprinted with new Epilogue in 2006. Published in Spanish by El Nacional, Caracas, Venezuela, 2007.

*Political Learning and Redemocratization in Latin America: Do Politicians Learn from Political Crises?*, edited by Jennifer L. McCoy (Univ. of Miami: North-South Center; Lynne Rienner Press (distributors), 2000).

*Venezuelan Democracy Under Stress*, edited by Jennifer L. McCoy, William C. Smith, Andres Serbin, and Andres Stambouli (North-South Center/Transaction Press, 1995).

*Democracia Bajo Presion: Politica y Mercado en Venezuela*, edited by Andres Serbin, Andres Stambouli, Jennifer L. McCoy and William Smith (Caracas, Venezuela: Nueva Sociedad, 1993).

*Food, Agriculture, and Development in the Pacific Basin*, co-edited with G. Edward Schuh, (Westview Press, 1986).

#### REFEREED ARTICLES and BOOK CHAPTERS

Murat Somer and Jennifer McCoy, "Introduction: Déjà vu? Polarization and Endangered Democracies in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" in Special Issue on Polarization and Democracy: A Janus-faced Relationship with Pernicious Consequences, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 62:1, (January 2018): 3-15. [doi.org/10.1177/0002764218760371](https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764218760371)

Jennifer McCoy, Tahmina Rahman, and Murat Somer. "Polarization and the Global Crisis of Democracy: Common Patterns, Dynamics and Pernicious Consequences for Democratic Polities" in Special Issue on Polarization and Democracy: A Janus-faced Relationship with Pernicious Consequences, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 62:1 (January 2018): 16-42. [doi.org/10.1177/0002764218759576](https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764218759576)

Alban Lauka, Jennifer McCoy and Rengin B. Firat. "Mass Partisan Polarization: Measuring a Relational Concept" in Special Issue on Polarization and Democracy: A Janus-faced Relationship with Pernicious Consequences, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 62:1 (January 2018): 107-126. [doi.org/10.1177/0002764218759581](https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764218759581)

Shelley McConnell, Jennifer McCoy, Michael McCarthy "Challenging the Norm: International Election Accompaniment in Nicaragua and Venezuela," *América Latina Hoy*, 70 (August 2015): 109-132.

"Challenges for the Collective Defense of Democracy on the Tenth Anniversary of the Inter-American Democratic Charter," *Latin American Policy* (April 2012).

"Venezuela under Chávez: Beyond Liberalism," *Latin America's Left Turns: Politics, Policies and Trajectories of Change*. Edited by Maxwell A. Cameron and Eric Hershberg. Lynne Rienner Press, 2010.

Jennifer McCoy and Jonathan Hartlyn, "The Relative Powerlessness of Elections," in

Democratization by Elections, edited by Staffan Lindberg. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

Jonathan Hartlyn, Jennifer McCoy, Thomas Mustillo, "Explaining the Success and Failure of Elections in Latin America," Comparative Political Studies, Vol 41, No 1, (Jan 2008):73-98. Published in Spanish: "La importancia de la gobernanza electoral y la calidad de las elecciones en América Latina contemporánea," América Latina Hoy, 51, 2009, pp. 15-40.

"Transnational Response to Democratic Crisis in the Americas, 1990-2005," Promoting Democracy in the Americas, edited by Sharon Lean, Tom Legler, Dexter Boniface. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.

"International Reaction to Democratic Crisis in the Americas, 1990-2005." Democratization, 13:5 (December 2006): 756-775.

"The 2004 Venezuelan Recall Referendum," Taiwan Journal of Democracy, 2:1 (July 2006): 61-80.

Jonathan Hartlyn and Jennifer McCoy, "Observer Paradoxes: How to Assess Electoral Manipulation," in Andreas Schedler, editor. Electoral Authoritarianism: the Dynamics of Unfree Competition. Lynne Rienner Press, 2006, pp 41-56.

"One Act in an Unfinished Drama: the Referendum in Venezuela," Journal of Democracy, 16:1 (Jan 2005): 109-123. Also published in Portuguese in Novos Estudos 72 (July 2005).

Jennifer McCoy, "From Representative to Participatory Democracy? Regime Transformation in Venezuela," in The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela. Edited by Jennifer McCoy and David Myers. Johns Hopkins University Press. November 2004.

"Venezuela in the Gray Zone: from Feckless Pluralism to Dominant Power System," by David Myers and Jennifer McCoy, Politeia (Sept 2003). Caracas: Central University of Venezuela, Institute of Political Studies journal.

Jennifer L. McCoy and Heather Heckel, "The Emergence of a Global Anti-Corruption Norm," International Politics 38:1 (March 2001): 65-90.

Jennifer McCoy, "The Learning Process" and "Comparative Lessons" in Jennifer McCoy, editor, Political Learning and Redemocratization in Latin America: Do Politicians Learn from Political Crises (Univ. of Miami: North-South Center; Lynne Rienner Press (distributors), 2000): 1-14, 131-148.

Jennifer McCoy, "Nicaragua's Second Election," in Krishna Kumar, editor, Post-Conflict Elections, Democratization, and International Assistance (Lynne Rienner Publisher, 1998).

Jennifer McCoy, "Monitoring and Mediating Elections during Latin American Democratization," in Kevin Middlebrook, editor. Electoral Observation and Democratic Traditions in Latin America (Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California-San Diego, 1998): 53-90.

Jennifer McCoy, "Introduction: Dismantling the Predatory State," in Robert Rotberg, ed., Haiti Renewed (Brookings Institute Press, 1997): 1-26.

Jennifer McCoy and William Smith, "From Deconsolidation to Reequilibration? Prospects for Democratic Renewal in Venezuela," in McCoy, et al, Venezuelan Democracy Under Stress (Transaction Press, 1995): 237-285.

William Smith and Jennifer McCoy, "Venezuelan Democracy Under Stress," in McCoy, et al, Venezuelan Democracy Under Stress (Transaction Press, 1995): 1-12.

Jennifer McCoy and William Smith, "Desconsolidación o reequilibrio democrático en Venezuela," Nueva Sociedad 140 (Nov-Dic 1995): 18-32.

Jennifer McCoy and William Smith, "Democratic Disequilibrium in Venezuela," Journal of InterAmerican Studies and World Affairs Vol 37, No 2 (Summer 1995): 113-179.

Jennifer McCoy, "La Crisis de Confianza," in Democracia Bajo Presion: Politica y Mercado en Venezuela, edited by Andres Serbin, Andres Stambouli, Jennifer McCoy and William Smith (Caracas, Venezuela: Nueva Sociedad, 1993): pp. 9-26.

Jennifer McCoy, "Mediating Democracy: A New Role for International Actors?" in ed. David Bruce, New World Order: Social and Economic Implications (Atlanta, Georgia: Georgia State University Business Press, 1993): pp. 129-140.

Howard Lehman and Jennifer McCoy, "The Dynamics of the Two-Level Bargaining Game: The 1988 Brazilian Debt Negotiations," World Politics 44:4 (July 1992): 600-644.

Jennifer McCoy, Larry Garber and Robert Pastor, "Making Peace by Observing and Mediating Elections," Journal of Democracy, Fall (1991): 102-114. Reprinted in The Global Resurgence of Democracy, edited by Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (John Hopkins University Press, 1993): 178-192.

Jennifer McCoy, "Labor and the State in a Party-Mediated Democracy: Institutional Change in Venezuela," Latin American Research Review, 24:2 (Spring 1989): 35-68.

Jennifer McCoy, "Venezuela: Austerity and the Working Class," in Paying the Costs of Austerity In Latin America, edited by Werner Baer and Howard Handelman (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989): 195-223.

Jennifer McCoy, "The State and the Democratic Class Compromise in Venezuela," The Journal of Developing Societies, 4:1 (Spring 1988): 85-104. Also in State and Development, edited by Cal Clark and Jonathan Lemco (Leiden: Brill, 1988).

Jennifer McCoy, "Consecuencias de la crisis economica y la austeridad," Revista Relaciones de Trabajo (Valencia, Venezuela; 1988): 204-227.

Jennifer McCoy, "The Politics of Adjustment: Labor and the Venezuelan State," Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 28, no. 4 (Winter 1986-87): 103-138.

Jennifer McCoy and G. Edward Schuh, "Food and Agriculture in the Pacific Basin: An Overview," in Schuh and McCoy (eds) Food, Agriculture and Development in the Pacific Basin (Westview Press, 1986): 11-22.

Roger Benjamin, Robert Kudrle, and Jennifer McCoy, "The Dynamics of Economic Change in the Pacific Basin," in R. Benjamin and R. Kudrle (eds.), The Industrial Future of the Pacific Basin, Westview Press, 1984: 1-12.

Elizabeth Cholawsky and Jennifer McCoy, "A Comparative Analysis of News Coverage of Rhodesia," Journalism Quarterly, Spring, 1982.

## **INVITED PUBLISHED ARTICLES, CHAPTERS, ACADEMIC BLOGS and BOOK REVIEWS**

["Venezuela elections 2018: evaluating electoral conditions in an authoritarian regime,"](#) London School of Economics Latin America blog, May 18, 2018.

["Venezuela Is in a Dark Place, But There Is a Way Forward,"](#) Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, November 15, 2017.

["Credibility of Venezuela's Electoral Process on the Line,"](#) Venezuela Politics and Rights blog, August 3, 2017.

["Venezuela's Controversial New Constituent Assembly, Explained,"](#) Monkey Cage blog, *Washington Post*, August 1, 2017.

[Venezuela Withdraws from the Organization of American States after Being Cited for Violation of the Inter-American Democratic Charter](#)  
SSN Basic Facts, May 2017.

["Before Going Nuclear, Republicans and Democrats Might Consider These Four Lessons from Polarized Democracies,"](#) Monkey Cage blog, *The Washington Post*, April 3, 2017.

"Lessons from Venezuela's Pernicious Polarization," *LASA Forum*, XLVIII:1 (Jan 2017): 53-57.

["How Much Punishment for a Lasting Peace?"](#), Jennifer McCoy and Henry Carey, *Democracy: a Journal of Ideas*, October 27, 2016.

["Will Colombia's peace deal get the people's vote?"](#) *the Conversation*, Sept. 26, 2016.



[“Can outsiders help Venezuela in the midst of crisis, again?”](#) *The Conversation*, June 28, 2016.

[“From Interruption to Alteration: Almagro Applies the Inter-American Democratic Charter to Venezuela,”](#) *WOLA: Venezuelan Politics and Human Rights Blog*, June 2, 2016.

[“What Hugo Chávez and Donald Trump have in common,”](#) *Reuters: The Great Debate*, March 31, 2016.

[“Venezuela election: Socialist Party defeat comes at turbulent time for higher education,”](#) *Times Higher Education*, December 9, 2015.

[“Could the Colombian Peace Deal Be a Model for Other Countries,”](#) with Jelena Subotic, *The Conversation*, October 15, 2015. Reprinted in *Huffington Post*.

[“Jimmy Carter in Cuba,”](#) *The Conversation*, August 14, 2015. Reprinted in *Time* and *Newsweek*.

[“Paying for Human Rights Violations: Perceptions of the Colombian Peace Process”](#) (with Ryan E. Carlin and Jelena Subotic), *Open Democracy*, August 3, 2015.

[“Can Latin America and the United States Overcome the Past?,”](#) *The Conversation*, April 14, 2015.

[“Approaching the End of a Fifty-Year Conflict,”](#) *Peace Policy*, January 28, 2015.

[“The US-Venezuela-Cuba Triangle,”](#) *The Conversation*, January 7, 2015.

“Leveling the Playing Field – the electoral challenge for the Western Hemisphere,” *Americas Quarterly*, October 2014.

[“Pitfalls Abound in Colombia-FARC Peace Talks”](#) (with Ryan E. Carlin and Jelena Subotic), *Monkey Cage, The Washington Post*, August 28, 2014.

[How Registration Reforms Can Boost Voter Participation in Georgia](#)

Co-Authored with [Henry Carey](#), [Daniel Paul Franklin](#), [Charles Hankla](#)  
SSN Basic Facts, March 2014.

“The Limits of Legacy: the Post-Chávez Challenge and Electoral Legitimacy,” with Michael McCarthy, *Americas Quarterly*, 7:43 (Summer 2013), pp. 39-44.

[What to Expect as Venezuela Moves On after Hugo Chavez](#)

SSN Key Findings, April 2013

“Crisis Diplomática entre Ecuador y Colombia: Mediación Track 1.5,” in Pensamiento Propio (No. 36, July-December 2012).

“The Chavez Challenge for Obama: An Inconvenient Marriage or Frosty Separation,” in The Obama Administration and the Americas: Looking Forward, Abraham F. Lowenthal, Theodore J. Piccone and Laurence Whitehead, Editors. (Brookings Institute Press, Sept. 2010) In Spanish with Bogota: Planeta Press, Sept. 2010.

“Foreword,” The Cubans, (University of Virginia Press, 2010).

Book Review of: Steve Ellner, *Rethinking Venezuelan Politics: Class, Conflict, and the Chávez Phenomenon*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2008; published in Latin American Politics and Society (Winter 2009).

McCoy, Jennifer. “Engaging Venezuela: 2009 and Beyond.” In The Obama Administration and the Americas: Agenda for Change. Edited by Abraham Lowenthal, Theodore Piccone and Laurence Whitehead. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institute Press. 2009.

Book Review of Anibal Pérez-Lián, *Presidential Impeachment and the New Political Instability in Latin America*, Cambridge University Press, 2007. Perspectives on Politics, June 2009.

“Venezuela”, World Book Encyclopedia, 2009, with Andres Rangel.

“Venezuela: Leading a New Trend in Latin America?” Revista: Harvard Review of Latin America. (Fall, 2008): 52-56.

“Democratic Transformation in Latin America,” Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations, Winter/Spring 2008: 19-29.

Julia Buxton and Jennifer McCoy. “Política, protargonismo y rendición de cuentas en la Venezuela bolivariana.” Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales. 14:1 (2008).

“International Response to Democratic Crisis in Venezuela,” in Defending the Gains? Transatlantic Responses When Democracy is Under Threat, edited by Esther Brimmer, (Baltimore, MD: Center for Transatlantic Relations, Johns Hopkins University, 2007): 119-132.

“Venezuela After the 2006 Elections,” Latin American Studies Association Forum, Vol 38, Issue 1 (Winter 2007): 25-27.

Book Review of Peter Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, Oxford University Press, 2005. In Perspectives on Politics (June 2007).

“The Vulnerabilities of Democracy and the Inter-American Democratic Charter,” FOCALPOINT: Spotlight on the Americas. Canadian Foundation on Latin America. March 2005.

“Venezuela After the Recall Referendum,” in U.S. Policy in Latin America: Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela. Aspen Institute, January 2005.

“Defining the ‘Bolivarian Revolution’: Hugo Chávez’s Venezuela,” Current History (February 2001): 80-85 (with Laura Neuman).

“Demystifying Venezuela’s Hugo Chávez,” Current History (February 2000) 66-71.

“Venezuela” 2000 American Annual/Encyclopedia Year Book (Grolier Educational).

“Venezuela” Encyclopedia Britannica (2000), with Heather Heckel.

“Venezuela’s ‘Peaceful Revolution’,” Current History (February 1999): 122-126 (with Harold Trinkunas).

“Nicaragua: Beyond the Revolution,” Current History (February 1997): 75-80 (with Shelley McConnell).

“This Land Is My Land: Nicaraguan Property Disputes,” Hemisfile, September 1995.

"Electing Ernesto: The Meaning of the Mexican Elections," Hemisphere, Fall 1994.

"Venezuelan Alternatives," Hemisphere, Winter/Spring 1993.

"Democratic Prospects in Latin America," Harvard International Review, Symposium on Democracy (Winter 1992/93).

"Monitoring Latin America's Elections: Opportunities and Dilemmas Share the Ballot." North-South Magazine (April-May, 1992): 30-35.

"All eyes on democratic elections," Hemisfile, September 1991: 1-2, 12.

"Nicaragua in Transition," Current History (March 1991): 117-120, 131-32.

Book review, Steve Ellner, Venezuela's *Movimiento al Socialismo*, Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs, 31:4 (Winter, 1989): 243-245.

Book review, John Weeks, Limits to Capitalist Development, South Eastern Latin Americanist, (June-September 1986):56-57.

## **PUBLISHED REPORTS AND WORKING PAPERS**

“Legitimacy Deficits in Colombia’s Peace Talks: Elites, Trust and Support for Transitional Justice.” Ryan E. Carlin, Jennifer L. McCoy, Jelena Subotic. Working Paper published by the Democracy, Human Rights and Governance Fellows and Grants Program of IIE/USAID. May 2015.

The April 14, 2013 Special Presidential Elections in Venezuela: report of The Carter Center, June 2013. (Contributor and editor). 90 pages

The October 7, 2012 Presidential Elections in Venezuela: final report of a Carter Center Study Mission, November 2012. (Contributor and editor) 60 pages.

The November 2011 Elections in Nicaragua: A Study Mission Report of The Carter Center, January 2012. (Contributor and editor)

“Nicaragua’s Troubling Elections.” Testimony Prepared for the Hearing on “Democracy Held Hostage in Nicaragua, Part 1” of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. Congress, December 1, 2011.

Toward a Common Agenda for Cooperation between the Andean Countries and the United States. The Carter Center and International Idea. January 2011. (Contributor and editor)

“Venezuela: Looking Ahead.” Testimony Prepared for the Hearing on “Venezuela: Looking Ahead” House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere. July 17, 2008.

Observing the 2004 Venezuela Recall Referendum. The Carter Center. February 2005. (Contributor and editor.)

“Venezuelan Referendum Process,” Prepared statement for Hearing on Venezuelan Democracy presented to the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee, Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Senate, June 17, 2004.

“Democracy as Social Organization,” in The Conceptual Debate over Democracy, Theoretical Appendix to Democracy in Latin America: Towards a Citizen’s Democracy, United Nations Development Program, 2004, pp. 233-239.

Observing Political Change in Venezuela: the Bolivarian Constitution and the 2000 Elections, The Carter Center, April 2001 (with Laura Neuman).

The U.S. and Latin America in the New Millennium: Outlook and Priorities. Prepared Statement presented to the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee of the House Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Congress, March 15, 2000.

Transparency in the Americas: Report of a Conference, The Carter Center, November 1999 (contributor).

The Observation of the 1998 Venezuela Elections, The Carter Center, March 1999 (with Harold Trinkunas).

The Observation of the 1996 Nicaragua Elections, Special Report, The Carter Center, March, 1997 (principal author).

Nicaraguan Elections and Property Disputes, Prepared Statement presented to the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee of the House Foreign Relations committee, U.S. Congress, April 1996.

Nicaragua Pre-election Report: Voter Registration, The Carter Center, June 1996 (principal

author).

Nicaragua Pre-election Report: Campaign and Election Preparations, The Carter Center, September 1996 (principal author).

Haiti: Prospects for Political and Economic Reconstruction, World Peace Foundation Report No. 10, November 1995 (sole author).

Invited Intrusion: International Election-monitoring and the Evolving Concept of Sovereignty, Working Paper, Georgia Consortium on Conflict Resolution, July 1995 (sole author).

Report on a Property Issues Conference in Nicaragua, The Carter Center, July 1995 (principal author).

Nicaraguan Property Disputes, Report of The Carter Center, April 1995 (contributing author).

The August 21, 1994 Mexican National Elections: 4th Report, The Carter Center, August 21, 1994 (sole author).

Elections in Mexico: 3rd Report, The Carter Center, August 1, 1994 (sole author).

Electoral Reform in Mexico, Occasional Paper, Vol 4, The Carter Center, November 1993 (contributing author).

Mexican Electoral Reforms, Prepared Statement presented to the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee and the International Organization Subcommittee of the House Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Congress, April 20, 1994.

Economic and Political Situation in Nicaragua, Prepared Statement presented to the Subcommittee on Western Hemispheric Affairs, House Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D.C., March 13, 1991.

Observing the Nicaraguan Election: Report of Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government Observer Delegation, Special Report #1 of The Carter Center of Emory University, July 1990 (Principal Author).

## **PROFESSIONAL CONFERENCES and SYMPOSIA PAPERS**

“Polarizing Populism”, Workshop on Populism in Comparative Perspective, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, December 4, 2017.

Presenter, Workshop on the Psychology of Populism, InterUniversity Center, Dubrovnik, Croatia, September 11-13, 2017.

Presenter and Organizer, Mini-Conference on Extreme Political Polarization in Democracies Around the World, American Political Science Association annual convention, San Francisco, August 30, 2017.

“Moral Polarization and Democracy,” with Rengin Firat, presented at the conference on Morality and Conflict, University of Melbourne, Australia, April 17-18, 2017.

“Games People Play: International Mediation in Venezuela,” Thomas Legler and Jennifer McCoy, presented at the Venezuelan LASA Conference, Caracas, Nov. 14-16, 2016.

“Transforming transitional justice from below: Colombia’s pioneering peace Proposal”, with Jelena Subotic and Ryan Carlin, presented at the American Political Science Association Congress, Philadelphia, Aug 30 – Sep 4, 2016.

“Polarized Democracies in Comparative Perspective: Toward a Conceptual Framework”, with Tahmina Rahman. Paper prepared for the International Political Science Association Conference, Poznan, Poland, July 23-28, 2016.

“Games People Play: International Mediation in Venezuela,” Thomas Legler and Jennifer McCoy, presented at the LASA Conference, New York City, May 25, 2016.

“The Decaying International Election Monitoring Norm: Conceptualizing Electoral Accompaniment in the Western Hemisphere,” with Shelley McConnell. Paper prepared for the American Political Science Convention, San Francisco, Sep 3-6, 2015.

“What Kinds of Justice Do Colombians Want from Peace Talks with the FARC?” with Ryan Carlin and Jelena Subotic. Paper prepared for the American Political Science Convention, San Francisco, Sep 3-6, 2015.

“Changing the Governance Game: Regional Context, Institutional Complexity and the Collective Defense of Democracy in Venezuela,” Thomas Legler and Jennifer McCoy, A paper presented at the XXXIII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, 28 June 2015.

“Legitimacy Deficits in Colombia’s Peace Talks: Elites, Trust and Support for Transitional Justice” Ryan E. Carlin, Jennifer L. McCoy, Jelena Subotic; Paper prepared for presentation at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, May 27-30, 2015, San Juan, PR.

“Legitimacy Deficits in Colombia’s Peace Talks: Elites, Trust, and Support for Transitional Justice,” with Ryan Carlin and Jelena Subotic, presented at the Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington DC, May 4, 2015.

“Does Justice Promote Social Cohesion: Dilemmas of Transitional Justice in Colombia,” Jelena Subotic, Jennifer McCoy, Ryan Carlin. Paper prepared for the

Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, New Orleans, LA, February 18-21, 2015.

“Dilemmas of Transitional Justice in Colombia,” with Jelena Subotic, Paper prepared for the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Toronto, CA, March 26-29, 2014.

“Turn Signals: Assessing Election Quality and Its Role in Democratic Devolution,” with Michael McCarthy and Shelley McConnell, paper presented at the American Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, Aug 29-Sep 1, 2013.

Presenter, Roundtable on Constitutionalism in Latin America in Comparative Perspective, American Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, Aug 29-Sep 1, 2013.

“Electoral Legitimacy and International Norms: Repercussions of the April, 2013 Venezuelan Presidential Elections,” with Michael McCarthy, paper prepared for the XXI International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, DC, May 29-June 1, 2013.

Presenter, Workshop on the Nicaragua Elections, Latin American Studies Association Congress, San Francisco, May 24-26, 2012.

Presenter, Workshop on Recent Research on Democracy in the Andes, Latin American Studies Association Congress, San Francisco, May 24-26, 2012.

“Participatory Democracy or Electoral Authoritarianism? El Pueblo and the Paratrooper In Venezuela,” Presented at the Workshop on Becoming Authoritarian, Cornell University, October 1, 2011.

“Challenges for the Collective Defense of Democracy,” presented to the Workshop on the Inter-American Democratic Charter, Transparencia Peru, Lima, Sept 13, 2011.

“Crisis Democráticas y Desafíos para las Respuestas Internacionales bajo la Carta Democrática,” Comentarios preparados para la presentación en la “VI Cumbre de Ex-Presidentes: Institucionalidad Democrática e Inclusión Social,” organizada por el Centro Global para el Desarrollo y la Democracia, Lima, 11 de Setiembre, 2011.

“Democracy in Unequal Societies, and the Dangers of Elections,” presented at the Workshop On Challenges to Democracy in Divided Societies, Duke Law School, Duke University, January 29, 2011.

“Media in Polarized Societies,” presented at the Symposium on Venezuela on Neutral Ground, Stone Center for Latin America, Tulane University, January 28, 2011.

“Venezuela’s New Left Turn,” paper presented at the New Left Turns in Latin American Conference, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, British Columbia, April 2008.

“Electoral Processes and Democratization in Latin America,” with Jonathan Hartlyn, presented at the Seminar on Democratization through Elections, University of Florida, Gainesville, Nov 30-Dec 2, 2007.

“Lessons from the International Mediation of the Venezuelan Political Crisis, 2002-2004” presented at the Latin American Studies Association Congress, Montreal, Canada, Sept 6-8, 2007.

“Electoral Processes and Democratization in Latin America,” with Jonathan Hartlyn, presented at the September 2007 APSA Congress, Chicago.

“Election Processes in Latin America: Historical Legacies and Proximate Causes,” with Jonathan Hartlyn, presented at the September 2006 APSA Congress, Philadelphia.

“‘Free and Fair’ Enough? Assessing Electoral Manipulation in Democratizing Contexts” with Jonathan Hartlyn, presented at the September 2004 APSA Congress, Chicago.

“Explaining the Success and Failure of Elections in Latin America,” paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Congress, Dallas, March 2003 (with Jonathan Hartlyn and Thomas Mustillo).

“Venezuela in the Grey Zone: from Feckless Democracy to Dominant Power Syndrome?”, paper presented at Latin American Studies Association Congress, Dallas, March 2003 (with David Myers.)

“Making Democracy Meaningful in Latin America,” paper presented at the American Political Science Convention, San Francisco, August 2001 (with Shelley McConnell).

“Elections with Adjectives in Contemporary Latin America: A Comparative Analysis,” paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Congress, Washington, D.C. September 2001 (with Jonathan Hartlyn).

“From Representative to Participatory Democracy? Regime Change in Venezuela,” paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Congress, Washington, D.C. September 2001.

“The Decline of Punto Fijo and the Rise of the Fifth Republic in Venezuela”, paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Congress, Miami, March, 2000.

“Reluctant Reformers: Explaining Privatization in Venezuela and Uruguay,” paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Congress, Chicago, September 24-27, 1998.

“Political Learning in an Emerging Democracy: Nicaragua since 1990,” paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Congress, Guadalajara, Mexico, April 1997.

“Election Monitors and Mediators in Latin American Democratization,” paper presented at the Conference on Election Monitors and Democratic Transitions, United Nations and University of California at San Diego, San Diego, January 24-25, 1997.

“Political Learning and Democratization in Latin America: Comparative Lessons,” paper presented at the XIX Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington D.C., September 28-30, 1995.



"Election-Monitoring and Sovereignty," paper presented to the Project on Sovereignty and a New World Politics, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington D.C., January 12, 1995.

"The Democratic Advantage? Perceptions and Procedures of Economic Reform in Uruguay," paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association meetings, Chicago, April 1995.

Political Learning during Redemocratization in Latin America: Mid-term Project Report, Workshop Presentation, XVIII Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Atlanta, March 10-12, 1994.

"Political Learning in Reemerging Democracies: Framework for Analysis and Illustrations from Uruguay," with Luis Costa Bonino, paper presented at the XVII Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Los Angeles, September 24-27, 1992.

"The Collective Dilemma of Economic Reform: Uruguay in Comparative Perspective," paper presented to the Instituto de Ciencias Politicas, Universidad de la Republica, Montevideo, Uruguay, September 4, 1992.

"From Electoral Bargaining to Social Concertation in Nicaragua," paper presented at the XVI Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, D.C., April 2-4, 1991.

Election Monitoring in Latin America, Round table presentation, XVI Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, D.C., April 2-4, 1991.

With Howard Lehman, "Strategic Bargaining in Brazil's Debt negotiations: The Dynamics of the Two-Level Game," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, September 1989.

"Concertation in Latin America: The Limits of the Social Pact in Venezuela," presented at the Conference on the Micro-Foundations of Democracy, University of Chicago, April 29-May 1, 1988.

"Democratic Class Compromise, Concertation and the Social Pact in Venezuela," presented at the XIV Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, New Orleans, March 16-19, 1988.

"State, Labor and the Democratic Class Compromise in Venezuela," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Conference on Latin American Studies, Merida, April 1987.

"The Venezuelan Labor Movement: Help or Hindrance in the Management of the Debt Crisis," presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association-South, Atlanta, November 1986 and at the XIII Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Boston, October 1986.

"Democratic Stability and Regime Change: Inducements and Constraints in Venezuela," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1985.

"Regime Transformation in the Periphery: A Conceptual Framework," presented at the

Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 1985.

"Democracy, Social Reform, and Regime Stability in Venezuela," presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, March 1985.

## **INVITED LECTURES/SYMPOSIA**

Keynote speaker, "Venezuela's Decline into Authoritarianism," Southeastern Latin American Undergrad Research Conference, Rollins College, Winterpark, FL April 2018.

Invited speaker, "Venezuelan Crisis," Latin America FAO officer training, Southcom, Miami, FL May 16, 2018.

Invited speaker, "Colombian Peace Agreement," Workshop on Comparative Peace Initiatives, CENTRA, Washington D.C., December 12, 2017.

Invited speaker (by Skype), Roundtable on Venezuela, University of California- Berkeley, November 30, 2017.

Invited speaker, "Venezuela's Crisis and the Lima Group," Munck School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto, October 26, 2017.

Invited speaker, "Venezuelan Crisis," Johns Hopkins University SAIS and WOLA, Washington DC, September 29, 2017.

Speaker, "The Vulnerabilities of a Polarized Democracy," Inaugural Inter-Campus Seminar on the Practice of Democracy, Emory University, September 18, 2017.

Invited speaker, *Foreign Affairs Magazine* Roundtable on Venezuela, Council on Foreign Relations, New York City, May 17, 2017.

Invited Speaker, "Venezuelan Crisis," Tulane University, Tulane University, New Orleans, April 21, 2017.

Invited speaker, "Polarized Democracies" University of LaTrobe, Melbourne Australia, April 18, 2017.

Invited speaker, "Polarization and Reconciliation," Candler School of Theology, Atlanta,

Keynote speaker, "Transitional Justice in the Colombian Peace Process," Venezuela LASA Conference, Caracas, Nov 16, 2016.

ADVANCE Distinguished Lecturer, "Causes and Consequences of Polarization," Kansas State University, Manhattan, October 13-14, 2016.

Roundtable on Populism, speaker, LASA, New York City, May 24-26, 2016.

Roundtable on the OAS and Democracy, LASA, New York City, May 24-26, 2016.

Speaker, Panel on “Venezuela’s High Stakes Legislative Elections”, Brookings Institute, November 12, 2015.

Keynote speaker, “The U.S. and Latin America”, Policy Dialogue on Democracy in the Americas, Club of Madrid, Bogotá, Colombia, August 23-25, 2015.

Invited Speaker, Policy Roundtable and FARC and Colombian Civil Society, FIU/Southcom, Miami, FL, July 22, 2015.

Presentation on Colombia’s Political Process, Universidad de los Andes, Bogota, Colombia, March 15, 2015.

Lecture on Venezuela’s Political Future, Iberoamerica University, Mexico City, March 4, 2015.

Speaker, OAS Policy Roundtable on Summits of the Americas, Organization of American States, Washington DC, Dec 15, 2014.

Catalyst Speaker, Consultation on Next-Generation Democracy, Club of Madrid and RFK Center for Human Rights, Florence Italy, Nov 23-24, 2014.

Speaker, Symposium on Electoral Integrity in Venezuela, organized by Universidad Catolica Andres Bello, Caracas, Venezuela, Nov 5, 2014.

Lecture on Democratic Election Standards, Universidad Simón Bolívar, Caracas, Venezuela, Nov 4, 2014.

Panelist, Behind-the-Scenes: “Peace and Human Rights in Latin America,” International Women’s Forum World Leadership Conference, Atlanta, GA Oct 30, 2014.

Keynote speaker, Venezuela After Chávez, Illinois Wesleyan University, Oct. 14, 2014.

Speaker, Conference on Democracy and Elections, hosted by The Carter Center, Caracas, October 1 2014.

Speaker, Panel on U.S.-Cuba relations, Conference on Latin America Trends, Inter-American Dialogue and Andean Development Bank, Washington DC, Sept 3-4, 2014.

Speaker, seminar on Attitudes towards Transitional Justice in the Colombian Peace Process, Universidad de los Andes, July 22, 2014.

Moderator, “Human Rights in Argentina,” Conversations at Carter Center, July 16, 2014.

Presenter, Conference on Democracy and Elections, organized by The Carter Center, Caracas, May 22, 2014.

Speaker, symposium on Democratic Elections, organized by National Democratic Institute, Tegulcigapa, Honduras, March 17, 2014.

Keynote address, Symposium on the Quality of Elections in Venezuela, Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, Caracas, Venezuela, November 4, 2013.

Presenter, Roundtable on New Foci in Drug Policy: Uruguay, an Open Debate; Organization of American States, Washington DC, September 16, 2013.

Presenter, Evaluating U.S. Elections, Carter Center, July 17, 2013.

Presenter, School on Election Observation, Universidad de Salamanca, Spain, June 19-20, 2013.

Presenter, Symposium, "Change or Continuity: Hugo Chávez and the Future of the Bolivarian Revolution," University of Massachusetts, April 19, 2013.

"[Venezuela's Political Future](#)," (with Margarita López Maya), The Carter Center Conversations Program, April 18, 2013.

Keynote address, Conference on Inter-American Peacebuilding, North Carolina State University, March 14, 2013.

Organizer and presenter, Conference on Democracy, Human Rights, and Peace Honoring Robert A. Pastor, American University, March 5, 2013.

Presenter, Ethics in International Relations, Global Peace Convention, Atlanta, Nov 29, 2012.

Presenter, International symposium on comparative campaign regulations, Caracas, Venezuela, November 15, 2012.

Presenter, State Department Seminar on Venezuela, November 13, 2012.

Presenter, Analyzing the Venezuelan Presidential Elections, Canadian Council on International Affairs, Ottawa (by videoconference) October 24, 2012.

Presenter, Analyzing the Venezuelan Presidential Elections, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington DC, October 23, 2012.

Participant, Workshop on Voter Identification, The Carter Center, Atlanta, Sep 28, 2012.

Presenter, Scenarios for the Venezuelan 2012 Elections, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington DC, Sept 7, 2012.

Presenter, Seminar on Venezuela, Organization of American States, July 31, 2012.

Book Launch, *Mediación Internacional en Venezuela*, Caracas, Venezuela, June 19, 2012.

Participant, Inter-American Dialogue Sol Linowitz Forum, Washington DC, June 8-9, 2012.

Presenter, International symposium on “La calidad de las elecciones subnacionales en Mexico,” FLACSO-PNUD, April 17-18, 2012.

Presenter, Seminar on Mexico, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta and the World Affairs Council, April 12, 2012.

Chair, International Seminar on The Role of the Media in the Andean Region, La Paz, Bolivia, March 26-27, 2012.

Presenter, Symposium on Venezuela: Countdown to the October 7 Elections, Washington Office on Latin America, Washington DC, March 6, 2012.

Presenter, “International Mediation in Venezuela and Upcoming Venezuela Elections,” George Washington University, March 6, 2012.

Presenter, “A conversation on Venezuela,” Council of the Americas, Washington DC, March 6, 2012.

Presenter, “Venezuela: from political crisis to elections,” American University, Washington DC, March 6, 2012.

Presenter, “Venezuela”, Council on Foreign Relations, Atlanta, Mar 1, 2012.

Presenter, Limits to International Influence in Venezuela,” Atlanta Council for International Affairs, Jan 9, 2012.

Presenter, “Limits and Opportunities for International Election Observation,” Conference on Latin American Elections, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington DC, December 13, 2011.

Presenter, “Chávez’ Venezuela,” World Affairs Council, Naples, FL, Dec 5, 2011.

Presenter, “Limits to International Influence in Venezuela,” McGill University, Montreal, Canada, Nov 22, 2011.

Presenter, Symposium on Automated Elections, Panama City, Panama, December 2, 2011.

Presenter, Symposium on Automated Elections, *Revista Semana*, Bogota Colombia, February 16, 2011.

Keynote address, 14<sup>th</sup> Annual conference on the Americas, The Americas Council, University System of Georgia. Georgia Perimeter College. February 12, 2011.

Moderator, “Brazil Rising: What happens after Lula”, World Affairs Council of Atlanta, April 15, 2010.

Presenter, “International Reactions to Democratic Crisis: Trends from Latin America, 1990-2010,” Symposium on Collective Defense and Promotion of Democracy, Georgia State University and The Carter Center, Atlanta, March 15, 2010.

Presenter, “The Volatile Relations between the U.S. and Andean Countries,” Institute for

Developing Nations, Emory University, Feb 9. 2010.

Participant, "Thirty Years of Democracy in Latin America," symposium chaired by President Leonel Fernandez and sponsored by Funglode and International IDEA, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, Oct. 28-30, 2009.

Panel discussant on 3 panels, presenter on 1 roundtable. Latin American Studies Association Congress, June 11-14, 2009, Rio de Janeiro.

Keynote address, "Chávez' Venezuela," The Miller Center, University of Virginia, Nov 21, 2008.

Presenter, "Democratic Transformation in Latin America," Conference on Governability in Latin America, Private Sector Forum of Latin America, Medellin, Colombia, May 29-30, 2008.

Presenter, "Andean Politics", Conference on the Andes, Brown University, February 2008.

Presenter, "Venezuelan Foreign Policy," Conference on Venezuela, George Washington University, January 2008.

Presenter, "Measuring Violations of the Inter-American Democratic Charter", Conference on An International Research Network for Monitoring and Reporting on the State of Democracy in the Andes," Lima, Peru, Dec 14-15, 2007.

Presenter, "New Tendencies in Latin American Politics and their Impact on Relations with the U.S.," Conference on Hacia Donde Va America Latina?, Universidad Nacional de San Martin, Bariloche, Argentina, May 17-18, 2007.

Presenter, "Political conflict and Democracy," Conference on Venezuela after the Reelection of Hugo Chavez, Washington Office on Latin America, Washington, D.C., Feb 14, 2007.

Keynote speaker, "Venezuela after Chávez' Reelection", University of North-Carolina, Chapel Hill, February 7, 2007.

Presenter, "Venezuela and Colombia," UNC-Duke Consortium on Latin America Conference, Feb 8-9, 2007.

Presenter, "Democracy Promotion in Venezuela," Conference on Defending the Gains? Transatlantic Responses When Democracy is Under Threat, Johns Hopkins University SAIS, Baltimore, Sept 25, 2006.

Presenter, "International Response to Democratic Crisis in the Americas," Conference on the Inter-American Democratic Charter," The Carter Center, Atlanta, GA, April 26, 2006.

Presenter, "Four Democratic Vulnerabilities and the Inter-American Democratic Charter," Seminar on Democracy and the 2005 Summit of the Americas, Argentine Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 2005.

Presenter, Aspen Institute Congressional Forum on Latin America, Punta Mita, Mexico, Jan

9-14, 2005.

Presenter, "Venezuelan Politics," the Tuesday Seminar, David Rockefeller Center for Latin \ American Studies, Harvard University, Nov 30, 2004.

Organizer and presenter, Workshop on "Engaging the Inter-American Democratic Charter," The Carter Center, Nov 11-12, 2004.

Presenter, "Left in Latin America," Corporate Partners Workshop, David Rockefeller Center For Latin American Studies, Harvard University, October 22, 2004.

Presenter, "Venezuela Recall Referendum," Miami Herald Latin American Conference, Miami, Sept 30, 2004.

Presenter, "Venezuela Recall Referendum," Inter-American Dialogue, Washington, D.C., Sept 7, 2004.

Keynote speaker, "Latin America's Contemporary Context" Federal Reserve Bank Supervisory Meeting, Atlanta, June 3, 2004.

Organizer and presenter, Workshop on "Creating the Friends of the Inter-American Democratic Charter," The Carter Center, May, 2004.

Presenter, Sol Linowitz Forum on U.S. and Latin America, Inter-American Dialogue, May 14-16, 2004.

Presenter, Georgetown University Conference on the Future of Venezuela, April, 2004.

Presenter, U.S. Institute for Peace Workshop on Reconciliation in Venezuela, April 2004.

Presenter, "The Future for Venezuela," Salomon Smith Barney Conference on Latin America; Annual Meeting of the Inter-American Development Bank, Milan, Italy, March 22-24, 2003.

Presenter, "Venezuela Political and Economic Crisis," Council on Foreign Relations, New York, February 2003.

Participant, "Latin American Democracy," Conference of the Ditchley Foundation, Oxford, England, February 2003.

Presenter, "Venezuela: Perspectives and Prospects in a Time of Uncertainty," Institute of Latin American Iberian Studies, Columbia University, New York City, November 18, 2002.

Presenter, "Venezuela: The Path to Reconciliation and Change," Council of the Americas, New York City, November 18, 2002.

Presenter, Seminar on the Inter-American Democratic Charter, Liu Institute, University of British Columbia, November 12-13, 2002.

Moderator and Participant, Inter-American Forum on Political Parties, Sponsored by the Organization of American States, Vancouver, December 4-6, 2002.

Moderator, "The Future of U.S.-Cuba Relations," Debate at The Carter Center, Atlanta, March 22, 2002.

Moderator, Conference on Electoral Reform in Peru, Lima, Peru, December 1-2, 2001.

Presenter, Conference on the 2001 Elections in Peru, Lima, Peru, July 11, 2001.

Participant, Conference on Money and Politics, Mexico City, June 3-5, 2001.

Invited participant of civil society to the Presidential Summit of the Americas (Quebec City, April 2001). Contributed proposals through the OAS and the Council of Presidents and Prime Ministers.

Presenter, U.S. State Department Symposium on "Venezuela", September 2000.

Presenter, U.S. Inter-Agency Conference on "Venezuela", September 22, 1999.

Presenter, U.S. Inter-Agency Conferences on □Prospects for Reform in Venezuela,□ Washington, D.C., September 11, 1998.

Participant, □U.S National Interest and the Western Hemisphere,□ The American Assembly, May 28-31, 1998, Harriman, New York.

Presenter, U.S. Inter-Agency Conferences on Nicaragua, Washington D.C., October 17, 1997.

Presenter, U.S. AID Conference on Post-Conflict Democratic Transition: Washington, D.C., October 30-31, 1997.

Participant, United Nations Conference on Election-Monitoring, Queretaro, Mexico, August 14-16, 1997.

Presenter, U.S. Inter-Agency Conference on Nicaragua, Washington, D.C., September 22, 1997.

Participant, U.S. Department of State Conference on Venezuela, Washington, D.C. January 13, 1995.

Panel Moderator, Southern Center for International Studies Conference on Latin America: Emerging Power in a Changing World, Atlanta, GA, February 23, 1995.

Participant, Workshop on Defining International Standards for Free and Fair Elections, Inter-Parliamentary Union, United Nations, New York, January 22, 1994.

Participant, Seminar on Collective Responses to Regional Problems, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Carter Center, Atlanta, September 20-21, 1993.

Speaker, Seminar on The Social Aspects of Peacekeeping, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, United Nations, New York City, April 28, 1993.



Co-Director and Presenter, Conference on Democracy Under Pressure: Politics and Markets in Venezuela, North-South Center, Caracas, Venezuela, November 9-11, 1992.

Discussant, Conference on International Transformations and Hemispheric Restructuring, North-South Center, Miami, December 7-8, 1992.

Participant and Co-organizer, Conference on Public-Private Sector Cooperation for Development, University System of Georgia and Argentine Consulate, Atlanta, November 4-6, 1992.

Participant, Mexican Election-Monitoring of U.S. Elections Project, Carter Center, November 1-5, 1992.

Speaker, Workshop on Election-Monitoring, United Nations, New York, City, November 7, 1992.

Participant, Workshop on a New Social Science Research Agenda, Woodrow Wilson Center for International Affairs, Washington, D.C., December 13-15, 1991.

Speaker, Workshop on Civilian Aspects of Peacekeeping, Canadian Institute of Peace Security, Ottawa, July 9-10, 1991.

Presenter, Conference on U.S.-Latin American Relations in the 1990s, North-South Center, Miami, June 15-17, 1991.

Plenary Session speaker, "International Monitoring of Transitional Elections," Southern Political Science Association Meeting, Atlanta, November 9, 1990.

Presenter, "U.S. Foreign Policy in Central America," Third World Studies Conference, Georgia Southwestern College, May 25, 1989.

Keynote speaker, "The United States and Cuba," Conference on the New Ethnic: Immigration and Assimilation of Cubans in the U.S., Georgia College, April 19-20, 1989.

Rapporteur, Consultation on the Hemispheric Agenda, The Carter Center of Emory University, Atlanta, March 29-30, 1989.

Participant, Conference on Labor Movements and Transitions to Democracy, Kellogg Institute, Notre Dame, IN, April 26-28, 1988.

Participant, Conference on El Salvador, Commission on U.S.-Latin American Relations, St. Simon's Island, GA, October 1988.

Participant, Seminar on U.S. Elections and Policy Toward Latin America, Cuban Center for U.S. Studies and University of New Mexico, Havana, Cuba, September 1988.

## **OP/EDs. MEDIA ANALYSES and selected MEDIA APPEARANCES**

["Will Elections Save Venezuela?"](#) *The Hill*, January 26, 2018.

July-August 2017, interviewed in various media outlets about the Venezuelan crisis, including NPR/WBUR's On Point, Wall Street Journal, Financial Times, New York Times, Reuters, BBC News Hour, BBC World, Australia Public Broadcasting, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Al Jazeera English, CGTV, and others.

["What Can be Done about the Crisis in Venezuela?,"](#) *Maclean's Magazine*, July 7, 2017.

["Protests Alone Won't Fix Venezuela. This Approach Could.,"](#) *Reuters*, May 3, 2017.

Interview on my research about Polarized Politics on [National Public Radio](#), April 5, 2017.

Jennifer McCoy quoted in AP story on Venezuelan opposition historic electoral victory, Published by *New York Times*, [The Guardian](#), and others, January 5, 2016.

["Historic Summit Falls Short of Potential,"](#) *Al Jazeera America*, April 13, 2015.

["The Americas as a Political Project: Dead or Alive?"](#) *Open Canada*, April 17, 2015.

["Americas Summit: Real Hemispheric Problems Shrouded behind Leaders Delicate Dance,"](#) *Global Atlanta*, April 10, 2015.

["EEUU-Venezuela: "El miedo conduce a que muchos piensen que es imposible convivir"](#), interview of Jennifer McCoy in *Infobae* (Argentine on-line analyses), March 17, 2015.

["Este es el momento en que Obama puede actuar por su legado"](#), interview of Jennifer McCoy in *Infobae* (Argentine on-line analyses), March 15, 2015.

["Cuba: History is on Obama's Side,"](#) *Al Jazeera*, December 20, 2014.

Guest to discuss U.S. policy shift with Cuba on [CNN](#), December 17, 2014.

["Colombia after the Elections,"](#) *The Hill*, June 20, 2014.

Jennifer L. McCoy quoted on voting irregularities in Randal C. Archibold, ["Incumbent's Party Loses Presidency in Panama"](#) *New York Times*, May 4, 2014.

["How to Build Voter Turnout"](#) (with Charles Hankla), *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, March 14, 2014.

["Can Venezuela Back Down from the Cliff?,"](#) *Aljazeera*, March 13, 2014.

"[The 'Street Strategy' Deepening Venezuela's Troubles](#)" (with Michael McCarthy), *The National Interest*, March 5, 2014.

"[Latin America's Experiences Offer Lessons for Postcoup Egypt](#)," *World Politics Review*, July 15, 2013.

"[The Roots of Venezuela's Recount](#)" (with Michael McCarthy), *The National Interest*, April 25, 2013.

"[Venezuela Votes Again](#)" (with Michael McCarthy), *The National Interest*, April 10, 2013.

"[Chávez Legacy an Incomplete Revolution](#)," *USA Today*, March 6, 2013.

"Constitutional Debates Amidst an Absent President", posted in Venezuelan Politics and Human Rights Blog, WOLA, January 10, 2013.  
<http://venezuelablog.tumblr.com/post/40177039917/constitutional-debates-amidst-an-absent-president>; also published in Portuguese in [Folha de Sao Paolo](#).

"Despite Uncertainty, Venezuela's Political Scenario not all that Bleak" with Michael McCarthy, Dec. 20, 2102. *World Politics Review*.  
<http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/12587/despite-uncertainty-venezuelas-political-scenarios-not-all-bleak>; also published in Portuguese in [Folha de Sao Paolo](#).

"Beneath Chávez's Victory," posted in *Financial Times Beyond Brics* Blog, October 15, 2012. <http://blogs.ft.com/beyond-brics/2012/10/15/guest-post-beneath-chavezs-victory/>  
Also published in Portuguese in [Folha de Sao Paolo](#) and in Spanish in [Infobae](#).  
<http://america.infobae.com/notas/59958-Detras-de-la-victoria-de-Chavez>  
<http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/1172142-analise-por-sob-a-vitoria-de-chavez.shtml>

"Avisa a Hugo Chávez: Vaya más despacio," *Tal Cual* newspaper, Caracas, Venezuela, Dec 12, 2007, p. 4.

"Putting the Brakes on Chávez," *Newsday*, Dec 10, 2007.

"The Meaning of the Year of Elections in Latin America," IPS Column Service, December 7, 2006.

"Chávez' Second Chance," *New York Times*, April 18, 2002.

"Does U.S. Vote Meet World's Standards?," with David Carroll, [Atlanta Journal and Constitution](#), November 8, 1992.

"Venezuela Coup Plot a Test for Democracy," [Daily News](#), February 16, 1992.

"Do Not Leave Nicaragua Alone," [Christian Science Monitor](#), November 28, 1990.

"Venezuela: The Dilemmas of Sudden Oil Wealth," [The Miami Herald](#), September 9, 1990.

"Journey to Democracy in Nicaragua," with Robert A. Pastor, Atlanta Journal and Constitution (Perspective Section), April 22, 1990.

"Venezuelan Riots Underscore Need for Debt Policy," Atlanta Constitution, March 7, 1989.

"Panama's Shift Must Come From Within," Atlanta Constitution, March 4, 1988.

"Unilateral Intervention by U.S. could Lend Support to Haiti's Military Junta," Atlanta Constitution, December 9, 1987.

## **PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES and SERVICE**

Expert Witness with written reports for three Venezuela Asylum Cases, fall 2017.

Interviewed for film documentary on Cuban Political Change by Gianni Mina, December 5, 2015.

Regional leader retreat, Scholars Strategy Network, Harvard University, Boston, October 29-31, 2015.

Keynote speaker, Club of Madrid Regional Dialogue on Democracy, Bogotá, Colombia, August 23-26, 2015.

Workshop on Populism in Europe and Latin America, European Consortium on Political Research, Nijmegen, Netherlands, June 29-July 3, 2015.

Participant, University Leaders Forum, Summit of the Americas, Panama City, Panama, April 9-11, 2015.

Co-Chair, Consultation on Ecuador's Communication Law, Quito Ecuador, Dec 10, 2014.

Co-Chair, Conference on Media, Democracy and Peace, organized by The Carter Center and Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia, Nov 6-7, 2014.

Co-Chair, Conference on New Paradigms of Media Regulation, organized by The Carter Center, Santiago, Chile, May 26-27, 2014.

Mission leader, Carter Center High-Level Delegation to Panama's National Elections, May 4, 2014.

Participant, Workshop on Amnesty and Transitional Justice, Barcelona, Spain, March 24-25, 2014.

Co-Chair, Conference on Concentration of Media, Lima, Peru, March 20-21, 2014.

Mission leader, Carter Center High-Level Delegation to Honduran National Elections November 24, 2013.

Mission leader, Carter Center High-Level Delegation to Venezuelan Special Presidential Elections, April 14, 2013.

Co-Chair, Conference on Media-Government Relations, Quito, Ecuador, Jan 20-21, 2013.

Mission leader, Carter Center Expert Study Mission to the Venezuelan Presidential elections, October 7, 2012.

Mission leader, Carter Center Expert Study Mission to the Venezuelan MUD primary elections, Feb 12, 2012.

Mission leader, Carter Center Expert Study Mission to the Nicaraguan national elections, Nov 5-10, 2011.

Mission leader for The Carter Center's election observation mission, Bolivia National Elections, December 6, 2009.

Facilitator for Sensitive Issues Commission of the Foreign Ministers during the restoration of diplomatic relations between Ecuador and Colombia, September-December 2009.

Led international delegation of Friends of the Inter-American Democratic Charter to Honduras to pursue a peaceful resolution to the coup and political conflict. October 2009.

Press commentary on Honduran coup to New York Times, Washington Post, LA Times, CNN domestic, CNN Espanol, CNN.com, and many others. 2009

Election observer, Bolivia Constitutional Referendum, January 25, 2009.

Invited civil society representative, Summit of the Americas, Trinidad and Tobago, April 2009.

Director, Carter Center's project on Mediation and Monitoring in Venezuela (2002-2004).

Representative for the Carter Center to the Tripartite International Working Group on Venezuela (OAS, UNDP, Carter Center) to mediate the political conflict, 2002-2004.

Director, President Carter's historic trip to Cuba, May 2002 (organized trip and accompanied the Carters).

Directed election observer delegations to Bolivia (2009), Jamaica (2002), Venezuela (1998, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004), Peru (2000, 2001), Nicaragua (1990, 1996, 2001), Panama (1994) and Mexico (1994) for The Carter Center.

Election observer to Indonesia (1999), Jamaica (1997), Guyana (October 1992) with Carter Center delegation; Haiti (December 1990) with Carter Center/NDI delegation; Suriname

(May 1991) with OAS delegation.

Chaired hemispheric conference on Political Finance in the Americas, The Carter Center, March 2003 (100 participants including former presidents, current policymakers, leading scholars, media, business, NGOs.)

Chaired hemispheric conference on Challenges to Democracy in the Americas, The Carter Center, October 2000 (100 participants including former presidents, current policymakers, leading scholars, media, business, NGOs.)

Chaired hemispheric conference on Transparency for Growth in the Americas, The Carter Center, May 1999 (100 participants including former presidents, current policymakers, leading scholars, media, business, NGOs.)

Director, Nicaraguan Property Project of The Carter Center (1994-95).

Election-Monitor and Managua Director for Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government (Chair, Jimmy Carter), Nicaragua Elections Project, The Carter Center (October 1989-March 1990).

## **CONSULTANCIES/ADVISORY BOARDS/TASK FORCES**

Atlanta Co-Chair, Scholars Strategy Network, 2014-present.

Board Member, International Women's Forum-Georgia, 2011-14.

Council on Foreign Relations Task Force on Brazil, 2010-11.

Senior Advisor to the Andean Democracy Research Network. 2008-present.

Contributing member of Brookings Commission on Partnership with Latin America to provide recommendations to the next U.S. administration (2008)

Executive Secretary and Founder, Friends of the Inter-American Democratic Charter, a group of leaders and ministers from the Americas promoting the collective defense of democracy in the hemisphere.

Academic Advisory Board Member to the U.S. Commission on Federal Election Reform, co-chaired by Jimmy Carter and James Baker (2005).

Member of the Board, FOCAL (Canadian Latin American Institute), 2005-2010.

Task Force Member, "Colombia", Inter-American Dialogue, 2004.

Co-chair of the UNDP-LAC Democratic Dialogue Community of Practice project (2003).

Consultant to the UNDP Regional Project on Democratic Development in Latin America (theoretical framework), 2002.

Methodological Advisory Committee member of the Global Access Project to measure corruption and government accountability globally, Center for Public Integrity, 2002-2004.

Advisory Board member, SUNY-Binghamton Democracy Center (2001-2004).

Advisory Council member, Campaign Finance Reform in Latin America Project, Poder Ciudadano, Buenos Aires (2001-2002).

Editorial Board member, Latin American Politics and Society (2000-2002).

Editorial Board member, Latin American Research Review (1997-1999).

Consultant to the United Nations Development Program, OAS, U.S. State Department, and private companies.

#### PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Political Science Association  
International Studies Association  
Latin American Studies Association

#### FOREIGN LANGUAGES

English (native)  
Spanish (high proficiency)

#### TRAVEL

Research: Venezuela, Nicaragua, Uruguay, Colombia.  
Professional Travel: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Europe, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Jamaica, Mexico, Peru, Spain, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago.

September 2017