

# Gretchen Helmke

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## EDUCATION

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Ph.D., Political Science, University of Chicago, 2000

M.A., Political Science, University of California at Berkeley, 1994

B.A., Political Science, University of California at Berkeley, Highest Honors, Phi Beta Kappa, 1993

## ACADEMIC POSITIONS

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Professor, Political Science, University of Rochester, 2016–

Associate Professor, Political Science, University of Rochester, 2008–2016

Assistant Professor, Political Science, University of Rochester, 2002–2008

Assistant Professor, Political Science, University of Notre Dame, 2001–2002

Assistant Professor, Political Science, University of Rochester, 2001

## PUBLICATIONS

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### Books

1. Gretchen Helmke. 2017. *Institutions on the Edge: Inter-Branch Crises in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
2. Gretchen Helmke. 2011. *Courts in Latin America*, co-edited with Julio Ríos-Figueroa. New York: Cambridge University Press. Translated and Reprinted. 2011. *Tribunales Constitucionales en America Latina. Supreme Corte de Justicia de la Nación*. Mexico City, Mexico.
3. Gretchen Helmke. 2006. *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America*, co-edited with Steven Levitsky. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press
4. Gretchen Helmke. 2005. *Courts under Constraints: Judges, Generals, and Presidents in Argentina*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### Papers

1. Gretchen Helmke, Jack Paine and Mary Kroeger. Forthcoming. “Democracy by Deterrence: Norms, Constitutions, and Electoral Tilting.” *American Journal of Political Science*.
2. Gretchen Helmke, YeonKyung Jeong, and Jae-Eun Kim. Forthcoming. “Insecure Institutions: A Survivalist Theory of Judicial Manipulation in Latin America.” *Journal of Law and Courts*.
3. Gretchen Helmke, John Carey, Brendan Nyhan, Mitchell Sanders, Susan Stokes, and Shun Yamaya. Forthcoming. “The Effect of Electoral Inversions on Democratic Legitimacy: Evidence from the United States.” *British Journal of Political Science*.
4. Gretchen Helmke. Forthcoming. “Judicial Manipulation in Latin America.” *Oxford Handbook of Constitutional Law in Latin America*.

5. Carey, J., Clayton, K., Helmke, G., Nyhan, B., Sanders, M. and Stokes, S. 2020. "Who will defend democracy? Evaluating tradeoffs in candidate support among partisan donors and voters." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 1-16.
6. Gretchen Helmke. 2020. "Presidential Crises in Contemporary Latin America." In *Understanding Institutional Weakness: Power and Design in Latin American Institutions*. Cambridge University Press.
7. Gretchen Helmke, John Carey, Brendan Nyhan, Mitchell Sanders, and Susan Stokes. 2019. "Searching for Bright Lines in the Trump Presidency" *Perspectives on Politics*, 17(3)
8. Gretchen Helmke and Elena McLean. 2014. "Inducing Independence: A Strategic Model of World Bank Assistance and Legal Reform." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 31(4): 383-405.
9. Gretchen Helmke and Julio Ríos-Figueroa. 2011. "Introduction: Courts in Latin America." In *Courts in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1-26.
10. Gretchen Helmke and Jeffrey K. Staton. 2011. "The Puzzling Judicial Politics of Latin America: A Theory of Litigation, Judicial Decisions, and Interbranch Conflict." In *Courts in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 306-331.
11. Gretchen Helmke. 2010. "Public Support and Judicial Crises in Latin America." *Journal of Constitutional Law*. University of Pennsylvania 13(2):397-411.
12. Gretchen Helmke and Alexandre Debs. 2010. "Inequality under Democracy: Explaining the Left Decade in Latin America." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 5(3):209-241. Awarded the Best Paper in Comparative Politics, 2009, MPSA, Chicago, 2010.
13. Gretchen Helmke. 2010. "The Origins of Institutional Crises in Latin America." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(3): 737-750.
14. Gretchen Helmke and Frances Rosenbluth. 2009. "Regimes and the Rule of Law: Judicial Independence in Comparative Perspective." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 345-366.
15. Gretchen Helmke. 2009. "Ticket Splitting as Electoral Insurance? The Mexico 2000 Elections." *Electoral Studies* 28:70-78.
16. Gretchen Helmke and Barry Burden. 2009. "The Comparative Study of Split-Ticket Voting." *Electoral Studies* 28:1-7.
17. Gretchen Helmke and Mitchell Sanders. 2006. "Modeling Motivations: A New Technique for Inferring Judicial Goals." *Journal of Politics* 68(4): 867-878.
18. Gretchen Helmke. 2005. "Enduring Uncertainty: Court-Executive Relations in Argentina During the 1990s and Beyond." In *The Politics of Institutional Weakness: Argentine Democracy*. Edited by Steven Levitsky and Victoria Murillo. Pennsylvania State University Press.
19. Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky. 2004. "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda." *Perspectives on Politics* 2(4):725-739. Reprinted 2012 [2004]. "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda." *International Handbook of Informal Governance* (edited by Thomas Christiansen and Christine Neuhold) Edward Elgar Publishing.
20. Gretchen Helmke. 2003. "Checks and Balances by Other Means: Strategic Defection and the 'Re-Reelection' Controversy in Argentina." *Comparative Politics* 35(2): 213-228
21. Gretchen Helmke. 2002. "The Logic of Strategic Defection: Court-Executive Relations in Argentina under Dictatorship and Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 96(2): 291-30. Translated and Reprinted. 2003. "La lógica de la defección estratégica: relaciones entre la Corte Suprema y el Poder Ejecutivo en la Argentina en los períodos de la dictadura y la democracia." *Desarrollo Económico* 43(170):179-201.

## Recent Working Papers

1. Gretchen Helmke, Jae-Eun Kim and Seda Ozturk. 2021. “Sounding the Alarm: Transgressing Democratic Norms and the Effects of Political Pushback.” *Under Review*.
2. Gretchen Helmke and Jack Paine. 2020. “When Strong Institutions Undermine Strong Democracies.”
3. Gretchen Helmke, YeonKyung Jeong, Jae Eun Kim, and Seda Ozturk. 2019. “Upending Impunity: Prosecuting Presidents in Contemporary Latin America.”
4. Gretchen Helmke, YeonKyung Jeong, Ezgi Siir Kibris, Jae Eun Kim, Adriana Tobar, and Emily VanMeter. 2018. “Draining the Swamp? Partisan Bias in the Prosecution of Former Latin American Leaders.”

## Other Publications

1. John Carey, Gretchen Helmke, Brendan Nyhan, and Susan Stokes. 2017-2021. Bright Line Watch Survey Report, Waves 1-15. Bright Line Watch. <http://brightlinewatch.org/>
2. John Carey, Gretchen Helmke, Brendan Nyhan, Mitch Sanders, Susan C. Stokes and Shun Yamaya. 2020. “How will Americans respond when there’s another split between the electoral college and the popular vote?” *Monkey Cage*. *Washington Post*.
3. Gretchen Helmke. 2017. “”Could Trump set off a constitutional crisis? Here’s what we can learn from Latin America.?” *Monkey Cage*. *Washington Post*
4. Gretchen Helmke and G. Bingham Powell. 2015. “Balancing Trade-offs and Leveraging Experience.” *Comparative Politics Newsletter* 25(2):13-15.
5. Gretchen Helmke. 2015. Review of “Cuba: A New Start, October 12–December 31, 2014”; Review of “Spare Parts: Four Undocumented Teenagers, One Ugly Robot, and the Battle for the American Dream”; Review of “Venezuela: What Everyone Needs to Know.” *Foreign Affairs*. (May/June).
6. Gretchen Helmke. 2008. Review of “Institutional Games and the U.S. Supreme Court.” *Journal of Politics* 70(4):1244-45.
7. Gretchen Helmke. 2001. Review of “The Legacy of Human Rights Violations in the Southern Cone.” *Comparative Political Studies* 34(1):123-126.

## RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

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- Democracy Fund. Grant for Bright Line Watch. Co-PIs: John Carey, Brendan Nyhan, and Susan Stokes, 2018–2022
- William & Flora Hewlett Foundation. Grant for Bright Line Watch. Co-PIs: John Carey, Brendan Nyhan, and Susan Stokes, 2017,–2022
- University of Rochester, PI, Pump Primer II for In The Field, April 2016 –March 2017
- Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Fellowship, Washington D.C., September 2010–June 2011
- Best Paper in Comparative Politics, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, 2010
- National Science Foundation, Co-PI, “Collaborative Research A Cross-National Study of Judicial Institutionalization and Influence,” (SES0751340), April 2008 –April 2010
- Weatherhead Center for International Studies, Academy Scholars Fellowship, Harvard University, 2002 –2003; 2004 –2005
- Edward C. Corwin Award for Best Dissertation in the Field of Public Law, Honorable Mention, Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 2001
- Visiting Fellow, The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, 2000

- Congressional Quarterly Press Award for Best Graduate Student Paper Presented at the Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association Meeting, 1998
- Mellon Fellowship for Final Year of Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1999 –2000
- Social Science Research Council, International Dissertation Research Fellowship, 1997 –1998
- National Science Foundation, Dissertation Research Award (SBR-9617896), 1997 –1998
- J. William Fulbright Scholarship (declined), 1997 –1998
- Century Scholar, University of Chicago, 1994 –1998
- Phoenix Fellowship, University of Chicago, 1994 –1998

## RECENT CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS

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### Organizer

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|---------------|---|
| December 2019 | “Constitutional Hardball Round Tables.” Harvard University. Conference Co-Organizer (with Steven Levitsky)  |
| May 2018      | “Democracy’s Resilience: Is America’s Democracy Threatened?” The Brookings Institution and Bright Line Watch. Conference Co-Organizer (with John Carey, Brendan Nyhan, and Susan Stokes)    |
| October 2017  | “How Do Democracies Fall Apart (And Could It Happen Here)?” The Yale Program on Democracy and Bright Line Watch. Conference Co-Organizer (with John Carey, Brendan Nyhan, and Susan Stokes) |
| May 2017      | “In The Field.” University of Rochester. Conference Co-Organizer (with YeonKyung Jeong and Rabia Malik)   |

### Presenter

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| October 2021  | “Democracy by Deterrence: Modeling Mutual Forbearance in U.S. Electoral Politics.” American Political Science Association. Seattle, WA. Panel.              |
| October 2021  | “Election Subversion: Is American Democracy in Danger?” University of California at Irvine Law’s Fair Elections and Free Speech Center. Virtual Conference. |
| April 2021    | “Four Threats: The Recurring Crises of American Democracy.” Midwest Political Science Association. Virtual Roundtable.                                      |
| April 2021    | “Constitutional Crises at Home and Abroad.” University of Virginia Democracy Initiative. Virtual Panel.   |
| March 2021    | “Fading Democracy.” Skalny Center at the University of Rochester. Virtual Conference.   |
| November 2020 | “2020 US Election.” Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Brown University. Virtual Roundtable.  |
| October 2020  | “American Democracy and the 2020 Election.” University of Rochester. Virtual Discussion.  |
| October 2020  | “Voting and Electoral Manipulation.” Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Brown University. Virtual Roundtable.                           |
| December 2019 | “Presidential Impeachment.” Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. Roundtable on Constitutional Hardball.   |
| August 2019   | “Formal Models of Democratic Backsliding.” American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C. Panel.  |

June 2019	“Upending Impunity: Prosecuting Presidents in Contemporary Latin America.” University of Chicago.
April 2019	“Upending Impunity: Prosecuting Presidents in Contemporary Latin America.” Duke University.
October 2018	“Draining the Swamp? Partisan Bias in the Prosecution of Former Latin American Leaders.” Harvard University.
September 2018	“The Resilience and Erosion of Democracy.” American Political Science Association, Boston, MA. Roundtable.
May 2018	“The Puzzle of Purges: Presidential Instability and Judicial Manipulation in Latin America,” presented at the conference Defending Human Rights in Times of Constitutional Crises. University of Chicago.

## PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

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### Recent University and Department Service

- Department Chair (2011-2013; 2014-2017)
- Director of Graduate Studies (2009-2010; 2021-present)
- External Review Committee for Department (2021-present)
- Coordinator of Comparative Faculty Group (2014-)
- Coordinator of Comparative Dissertation Group (2015-)
- Field Research Grants (2008-present)

### Selected Professional Appointments

- Co-Founder and Co-Director. Bright Line Watch. 2017 –present
- Editorial Board Appointments: *American Political Science Review* (2016), *American Journal of Political Science* (2012), *Journal of Theoretical Politics* (2010), *Journal of Politics* (2007)
- Comparative Politics Section Co-Chair, American Political Science Association Meetings, 2010
- Executive Committee, Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association, 2009
- Section Chair, Comparative Politics in the Developing World, Midwest Political Science Association, 2007

### Grant and Award Committees

- National Science Foundation Review Committee, 2005-2009; 2016
- Best Dissertation Award Committee, Edward S. Corwin Award Committee in Public Law. American Political Science Association. 2016
- Best Book Award Committee, Gregory Luebbert Best Book in Comparative Politics, American Political Science Association, 2008
- Judicature Best Paper Award Committee, Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association, 2008
- Herman C. Pritchett Award Committee for the best book in Judicial Politics, American Political Science Association Meetings, 2003

## Journal Referee

*American Political Science Review; American Journal of Political Science; Comparative Politics; Comparative Political Studies; Gender and Politics; Journal of Law, Economics, and Organizations; Journal of Politics; Journal of Theoretical Politics; Law and Society Review; Latin American Research Review; Legislative Studies Quarterly; World Politics*

## MEDIA

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- Can An Anti-Trump Republican Win a Primary? (*FiveThirtyEight*)
- Which Senators And Representatives Vote In Favor Of Democracy? (*FiveThirtyEight*)
- Discussing the decline of democracy across the globe (*WXXI's Connections with Evan Dawson*)
- How Long Can Democracy Survive QAnon and Its Allies? (*New York Times*)
- In America's 'Uncivil War,' Republicans Are The Aggressors (*FiveThirtyEight*)
- How will Americans respond when there's another split between the electoral college and the popular vote? (*Monkey Cage, Washington Post*)
- Has Democracy Lost Its Appeal? (*Foreign Affairs*)
- "Trump's Tool Kit Does Not Include the Constitution" (*The New York Times*)
- "America Isn't Having a Constitutional Crisis" (*The Atlantic*)
- "Could Trump set off a constitutional crisis? Here's what we can learn from Latin America." (*Monkey Cage, The Washington Post*)
- "Democracy in America: How Is It Doing?" (*The New York Times*)
- "How you'll know when the U.S. isn't a democracy anymore" (*The Washington Post*)
- "Survey: Fraud-free elections, free speech, key to democracy" (*Associated Press*)
- "A Check-up for US Democracy" (*Boston Globe*)
- "The scary part of an unpredictable President" (*CNN Opinion*)
- "Political scientists lay out 9 ways Donald Trump is endangering American democracy" (*Business Insider*)
- "A group of political scientists says Trump's attacks on our democracy are unprecedented and dangerous" (*The Washington Post*)
- "La Justicia debe ser y parecer independiente" (*La Nación*)
- "Why Rousseff's impeachment battle is bad for Brazil - but could be good for democracy" (*Reuters*)
- "Motive is not what you think" (*CNN*)
- "Ya se percibe en la Justicia el clima de transición política" (*La Nación*)

## TEACHING

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### Undergraduate

- Democratic Erosion (Undergraduate Seminar)
- Democratic Regimes (Undergraduate Seminar)
- Latin American Politics (Undergraduate Seminar)
- Comparative Law and Courts (Undergraduate Seminar)
- Measures for Justice (Undergraduate Experiential Seminar with Stuart Jordan)

- Senior Honors Thesis Director: 2007; 2009; 2015; 2019

## **Graduate**

- Democracy and Dictatorship (Ph.D. Seminar with Jack Paine)
- Development and Political Economy (Ph.D. Seminar with Alex Lee)
- Advanced Research Seminar (Ph.D. Seminar with Scott F Abramson)
- Comparative Politics Field Seminar (Ph.D. Seminar with G. Bingham Powell)
- Comparative Parties and Elections (Ph.D. Seminar with Bonnie Meguid)
- Latin American Politics (Ph.D. Seminar)

## **Ph.D. Dissertation Committees**

- Ezgi Siir Kibris, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, ABD
- Agabek Kabdullin, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, ABD
- Jacque Gao, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, ABD
- YeonKyung Jeong, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, ABD
- Seda Nur Ozturk (Chair), Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2021
- Karen Albert, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2020
- Olga Gasparyan, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2020
- MaryClare Roche, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2020
- Benjamin Laughlin (Co-Chair), Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2019
- Sergio Ascencio (Chair), Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2018
- Ian Sulam (Chair), Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2018
- Barbara Piotrowska, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2017
- Rabia Malik (Chair), Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2016
- Miguel Rueda (Chair), Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2014
- Shawn Ramirez, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2013
- Patrick Kuhn, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2013
- Matt Testerman (Chair), Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2012
- Christian Houle, (Co-Chair), Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2011
- Subhasish Ray, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2010
- Fabiana Machado, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2010
- Laura Flamand, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2004