

GRETCHEN HELMKE

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ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Associate Professor, Political Science, University of Rochester, 2008-
Assistant Professor, Political Science, University of Rochester, 2002-8
Assistant Professor, Political Science, University of Notre Dame, 2001-2
Assistant Professor, Political Science, University of Rochester, 2001

EDUCATION

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

Bachelor of Arts, Political Science, University of California at Berkeley,
Highest Honors, Phi Beta Kappa, 1993

RESEARCH

Books

Courts under Constraints: Judges, Generals, and Presidents in Argentina. 2005. Cambridge University Press.

Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America, co-editor with Steven Levitsky. 2006. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Institutions on the Edge: The Origins and Consequences of Inter-Branch Crises in Latin America (Under Contract, Cambridge University Press)

Courts in Latin America, co-editor with Julio Ríos Figueroa (In Progress)

Articles and Papers

“The Logic of Strategic Defection: Judicial Decision-Making in Argentina under Dictatorship and Democracy,” 2002. *American Political Science Review* (96(2): 291-30)

“El Lógico del Defección: La Corte Suprema de Argentina,” *Desarrollo Económico* 43:170-201. [Translated version of 2002 APSR article].

“Checks and Balances by Other Means: Strategic Defection and the ‘Re-reelection’ Controversy in Argentina.” 2003. *Comparative Politics* 35(2): 213-228.

“Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda.” 2004. *Perspectives on Politics* 2(4):725-739.

“Enduring Uncertainty: Court-Executive Relations in Argentina During the 1990s and Beyond.” In *The Politics of Institutional Weakness: Argentine Democracy*. 2005. Edited by Steven Levitsky and Victoria Murillo. Pennsylvania State University Press.

“Modeling Motivations: A New Technique for Inferring Judicial Goals.” 2006. (with Mitchell Sanders) *Journal of Politics* 68(4): 867-878.

“The Comparative Study of Split-Ticket Voting.” 2009. (with Barry C. Burden) *Electoral Studies* 28:1-7.

“Ticket Splitting and Electoral Insurance? The Mexico 2000 Elections.” 2009. *Electoral Studies* 28:70-78.

“Regimes and the Rule of Law: Judicial Independence in Comparative Perspective” (with Frances Rosenbluth) (Forthcoming, 2009) *Annual Review of Political Science*.

“Inducing Independence: A Strategic Model of Lending and Legal Reform.” (with Elena McLean) *Journal of Theoretical Politics* [Revise and Resubmit]

“The Origins of Institutional Crises in Latin America” 2009. *American Journal of Political Science* [Revise and Resubmit]

“Compulsory Voting in Latin American and Western Europe” (with Bonnie Meguid) [Under Review]

“Inequality under Democracy: Explaining the Left Decade in Latin America” (with Alex Debs) [Under Review]

“Courting Conflict: The Logic of Risky Judicial Decision-Making in Latin America” (with Jeffrey Staton) [manuscript]

Other Publications

2008 Review of *Institutional Games and the US Supreme Court*. *Journal of Politics* 70:1244-45.

- 2001 Helmke, Gretchen. Review of *The Legacy of Human Rights Violations in the Southern Cone*. *Comparative Political Studies*. 34(1):123-126.
- 1992 Helmke, Gretchen. *Trading Freedom: How Free Trade Affects Our Lives, Work, and Environment*. Co-editor with John Gershman, Karen Baker, and John Cavanagh. San Francisco: Institute for Food and Development Policy

RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

- National Science Foundation, Co-PI, “Collaborative Research A Cross-National Study of Judicial Institutionalization and Influence,” (April 2008-April 2010)
- Weatherhead Center for International Studies, Academy Scholars Fellowship, Harvard University, 2002-3; 2004-5
- 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 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, 1997-1998 (declined)
- Century Scholar, University of Chicago, 1994-1998
- Phoenix Fellowship, University of Chicago, 1994-1998

INVITED TALKS

- March 2009 CIDE, Mexico City, “Courting Conflict: A Logic of Risky Judicial Decisions” (with Jeffrey Staton) Conference on Constitutional Judges in Latin America.
- April 2008 Yale University, “The Origins of Institutional Crises in Latin America: A Unified Strategic Model and Test” Workshop on the Rule of Law.
- February 2008 CIDE, Mexico City “The Origins of Institutional Crises in Latin America: A Unified Strategic Model and Test”
- March 2007 Northwestern University School of Law, “Explaining Institutional Instability in Latin America: A Crisis Bargaining Approach”

- February 2006 Washington University in St. Louis, “Modeling Motivations: Decision-Making on the Argentine Supreme Court.”
- April 2005 Harvard University, “Ticket Splitting in the Mexico 2000 Elections: Uncertainty and Insurance.”
- April 2005 Duke University, “Inducing Independence: A Strategic Model of Lending and Legal Reform,” with Elena McLean.
- February 2005 Córdoba, Argentina, “El Corte de Boleta en América Latina” [“Ticket-Splitting in Latin America”]
- December 2004 Harvard University, “Divided Government and Ticket-Splitting in Latin America.”
- October 2003 New York University School of Law, “Enduring Uncertainty: Court-Executive Relations in Argentina in the 1990s and Beyond.”
- September 2003 Riker Seminar Series, University of Rochester, “Modeling Motivations: A Game Theoretic Account of Decision-Making on the Argentine Supreme Court,” with Mitchell Sanders.
- April 2002 Harvard University, “The Logic of Strategic Defection: Insecure Tenure and Judicial Decision-Making in Argentina Under Dictatorship and Democracy.”
- March 2002 University of Michigan, “The Logic of Strategic Defection: Insecure Tenure and Judicial Decision-Making in Argentina Under Dictatorship and Democracy.”
- May 1998 Universidad de San Andreas, Buenos Aires, Argentina, “Methods for Measuring Judicial Independence: Preliminary Findings for the Case of Argentina, 1976-1995.”
- November 1997 Ciencias Penales y Sociales (INESYP), Buenos Aires, Argentina, “Studying Courts Comparatively: What is Judicial Independence?”

SELECTED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- April 2009 Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, “Inequality under Democracy: Explaining the Left Decade in Latin America” (with Alex Debs)

- August 2008 American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, "Inequality under Democracy: Explaining the Left Decade in Latin America" (with Alex Debs)
- April 2008 Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL., "Endogenous Institutions: The Origins of Compulsory Voting Laws" (with Bonnie Meguid)
- August 2007 American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL., "Endogenous Institutions: The Origins of Compulsory Voting Laws" (with Bonnie Meguid)
- April 2006 Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL., "Institutional Conflict and Crisis in Latin America: An Integrated Strategic Model and Test"
- August 2006 American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA., "Explaining Institutional Instability in Latin America: A Crisis Bargaining Approach"
- May 2006 Conference on Democracy, Divided Government, and Split-Ticket Voting, "Center for American Political Studies, Harvard University, "Dividing to Democratize? Ticket Splitting in the Mexico 2000 Elections."
- April 2006 Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL., "Dividing to Democratize? Ticket-Splitting in the Mexico 2000 Elections."
- June 2005 Liberty Fund Conference, "Law, Liberty, and Judicial Review," Big Sky, Montana, "Modeling Motivations: Decision-Making on the Argentine Supreme Court."
- April 2005 Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL., "Inducing Independence: A Strategic Model of Lending and Legal Reform," with Elena McLean.
- April 2004 Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL., "Ducking versus Defection: Signaling on the Argentine Supreme Court, 1990-2000."
- August 2003 American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA., "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda," with Steven Levitsky.

- August 2003 American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA., "Modeling Motivations: A Game Theoretic Account of Decision-Making on the Argentine Supreme Court," with Mitchell Sanders.
- April 2003 Conference, "Informal Institutions and Politics in Latin America," University of Notre Dame, "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda," with Steven Levitsky.
- March 2003 Conference, "Rethinking Dual Transitions: Argentine Politics in the 1990s in Comparative Perspective," Harvard University, "Enduring Uncertainty: Court-Executive Relations in Argentina in the 1990s and Beyond."
- August 2002 American Political Science Association Meeting, Boston, MA., "Modeling Motivations: A Game Theoretic Account of Decision-Making on the Argentine Supreme Court," with Mitchell Sanders.
- November 2001 Conference, "Constitutional Courts," Institute for Global Legal Studies, Washington University in St. Louis, "The Logic of Strategic Defection: Insecure Tenure and Judicial Decision-Making in Argentina Under Dictatorship and Democracy."
- August 2001 American Political Science Association Meeting, San Francisco, CA., "The Logic of Strategic Defection: Insecure Tenure and Judicial Decision-Making in Argentina Under Dictatorship and Democracy."
- August 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C., "Checks and Balances By Other Means: Strategic Defection and the 'Re-Reelection' Controversy in Argentina."
- October 1999 Conference, "The Scientific Study of Judicial Politics," Texas A&M University, "Ruling Against the Rulers: Insecure Tenure and Judicial Independence in Argentina, 1976-1995."
- October 1999 University of Chicago, Workshop on Comparative Politics and Historical Sociology, "Ruling Against the Rulers: Insecure Tenure and Judicial Independence in Argentina, 1976-1995."
- September 1999 American Political Science Association Meeting, Atlanta, GA, "Ruling Against the Rulers: Insecure Tenure and Judicial Independence in Argentina, 1976-1995."
- October 1998 Conference, "The Scientific Study of Politics," Michigan State University, East Lansing, "Judicial Independence in Argentina," Poster Session.

September 1998 XXI International Congress of Latin American Studies Association Meeting, Chicago, IL., “Judicial Independence in Argentina.”

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Professional Appointments

Best Book Award Committee, Gregory Luebbert Best Book in Comparative Politics, American Political Science, 2008

Judicature Best Paper Award Committee, Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association, 2008

Editorial Board, *Journal of Politics*, 2007-

Executive Committee, Law and Courts Section, American Political Science Association, 2007-

Section Chair, Comparative Politics in the Developing World, Midwest Political Science Association, 2007

Conference Organizer

Conference Co-Organizer (with Jack Knight, Margaret Levi, and Frances Rosenbluth) “Workshop on the Rule of Law” Yale University, April 23-24 2009.

Conference Co-Organizer (with Julio Rios Figueroa) Los Jueces Constitucionales en América Latina: Árbitros del Conflicto Político or Activos Defensores de Derechos? CIDE, Mexico City, March 6-7 2009.

Conference Co-Organizer (with Barry Burden and Sunshine Hillygus) for “Democracy, Divided Government and Split-Ticket Voting,” Harvard University, (funded by the Center for American Political Studies), May 2006.

Conference Co-Organizer (with Steven Levitsky) for “Informal Institutions and Latin American Politics,” The Kellogg Institute for International Affairs, University of Notre Dame (funded by the Kellogg Institute and Coca Cola), April 2003.

Conference Co-Organizer (with Steven Levitsky) for “Informal Institutions and Politics in the Developing World,” Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University (funded by the Weatherhead Center and the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies), April 2002.

Panel Organizer

“Institutional Instability in Latin America,” Midwest Political Science Meeting, Chicago, IL 2007.

“Split-Ticket Voting in Comparative Perspective,” Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL., April 2006.

“Informal Institutions in Latin America,” American Political Science Association Meeting, Philadelphia, PA., 2003.

“The Separation of Powers and New Institutionalism in Comparative Perspective,” American Political Science Association Meeting, Washington DC, 2000.

“Informal Institutions in New States and Democracies,” American Political Science Association Meeting, Atlanta, GA., 1999.

Discussant (Selected)

“Toward the Construction of an Independent Judiciary: Judicial Reform in Latin America,” Midwest Political Science Meetings, Chicago, IL, April 2006.

“Judicial Independence and Judicial Careers in Latin America,” Latin American Studies Association, Las Vegas, NV, October 2004.

“Repression and Reform under Electoral Authoritarianism,” the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 2004.

“Presidentialism, Party Systems, and Horizontal Accountability,” Conference on “Institutions, Accountability, and Democratic Governance in Latin America,” Kellogg Institute for International Affairs, University of Notre Dame, May 2001.

“Formal Models of Judiciary Processes and Preference Aggregation,” Southern Political Science Meetings, Atlanta, GA, 2001; “Latin American Political Economy,” Public Choice Society and Economic Science Meetings, San Antonio, Texas, 2001.

“Parties, Elections, and Legislatures in Latin America,” the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C., September 2000.

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

Grant and Award Committees

National Science Foundation, 2009
National Science Foundation, 2008
National Science Foundation, 2007
National Science Foundation, 2006
National Science Foundation, 2005
Herman C. Pritchett Award Committee for the best book in Judicial Politics, American Political Science Association Meetings, 2003

University and Department Service

Field Research Grants (2008-)
Deputy Director of Graduate Studies (2008-9)
Ralph Bunche Summer Program Advisor (2008)
China Committee, University of Rochester Committee (2008)
Area Studies Strategic Planning Committee, University of Rochester (2007)
Comparative Politics Job Search Committee, University of Rochester (2006)
Comparative Politics Working Group, Organizer, University of Rochester (2006-present)
Riker Seminar Series, Co-Organizer, University of Rochester (2005-6)
Strategic Planning Committee, Department of Political Science, University of Rochester (2005)
Fulbright Selection Committee, University of Rochester (2003)
Take Five Scholars Program, Thesis Director, University of Rochester (2003)
Graduate Selection Committee, University of Rochester (2002-3)

TEACHING

Courses

Democratic Regimes (Undergraduate Seminar)
Latin American Politics (Undergraduate Seminar)
Comparative Law and Courts (Undergraduate Seminar)
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. Dissertations

Laura Flammand, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2004
Fabiana Machado, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, current
Shawn Ramirez, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, current
Subhasish Ray, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, current
Christian Houle, (Co-Chair), Political Science Department, University of Rochester,
current

Senior Honors Theses

Brett Stark, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2006-7
Angad Singh, Political Science Department, University of Rochester, 2007-8