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Guillermo Trejo

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Kellogg Institute for International Studies
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AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION

Criminal Violence	Social Movements
Political Violence	Ethnicity & Religion
Transitional Justice	Latin America & Mexico
Human Rights	Mixed Methods

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

University of Notre Dame

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, 2012 –
Fellow, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, 2012 –
Fellow, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, 2015 –
Faculty Affiliate, Center for Civil and Human Rights, CCHR, 2014 –

Duke University

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 2005–2012
Faculty Affiliate, Duke Human Rights Center, 2009–2012

Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, A.C. (CIDE), Mexico City

Research Professor of Political Science, Division of Political Studies, 1997–2005
Founder and Director of *Diploma on Modern Political Analysis*, 1999–2000; 2003–2004

Centro de Investigación para el Desarrollo A.C. (CIDAC), Mexico City

Research Associate, 1991–1992

EDUCATION

Ph.D.	University of Chicago, Chicago, IL	2004
M.A.	Columbia University, New York, NY	1994
Lic.	Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), Political Science, Honors	1992
Lic.	Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM), Economics, <i>Pasante</i>	1992

AWARDS

2015. Honorable Mention, **Best Article Award**, Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section, American Sociological Association (ASA)

2013. Honorable Mention, **Charles Tilly Award for Best Book**, Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section, American Sociological Association (ASA)

2011. **Jack Walker Outstanding Article Award**, Political Organizations and Parties Section, American Political Science Association (APSA)

2006. **Mancur Olson Award** for Best Doctoral Dissertation in the Field of Political Economy, Political Economy Section, American Political Science Association (APSA)

2005. Honorable Mention, **Gabriel Almond Award** for Best Doctoral Dissertation in Comparative Politics, American Political Science Association (APSA)

PUBLICATIONS

Books

G. Trejo. 2012. *Popular Movements in Autocracies: Religion, Repression, and Indigenous Collective Action in Mexico*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Studies in Comparative Politics Series). [Paperback edition released in July 2014] [Press ranking # 1].

◦ Honorable Mention, Charles Tilly Award for Best Book Published on Collective Behavior and Social Movements, ASA

◦ Reviewed in *Perspectives on Politics*; *Comparative Politics* (review essay); *Critical Mass*; *Handbook of Latin American Studies*; *Journal of Latin American Studies*; *Latin American Politics and Society* (review essay); *Bulletin of Latin American Studies*.

Peer-Reviewed Articles and Chapters

G. Trejo and S. Ley. (Forthcoming 2018). “Multi-Level Partisan Conflict and Drug Violence in Mexico: When Do Criminal Organizations Attack Subnational Elected Officials?” In A. Giraudy, E. Moncada and R. Snyder (eds.), *Inside Countries: Subnational Research in Comparative Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [Press ranking # 1].

G. Trejo and S. Ley. 2017. “Why Did Drug Cartels Go to War in Mexico? Subnational Party Alternation, the Breakdown of Criminal Protection, and the Onset of Large-Scale Violence,” *Comparative Political Studies*. DOI: 10.1177/0010414017720703. August 2. [SSCI IF 2.481]

◦ Featured in the Washington Post (The Monkey Cage); Insight Crime; Marginal Revolution Blog; and in *El Financiero* (Mexican daily).

G. Trejo and S. Ley. 2016. "Federalism, Drugs, and Violence: Why Intergovernmental Partisan Conflict Stimulated Inter-cartel Violence in Mexico," *Política y Gobierno*, vol. 23, no. 1. [Lead article] [SSCI IF 0.158]

° This article is part of a special bilingual issue on Conflict, Violence and Democracy in Latin America. The Spanish title is: "Federalismo, drogas y violencia: Por qué el conflicto partidista intergubernamental estimuló la violencia del narcotráfico en México"

° The Spanish version was downloaded 1,700 times within the first three months of publication. Featured in Mexican mass media, including *Milenio* (3 articles), *Reforma*, *El Financiero* and *Expansión*; authors' interview on Milenio-TV (2 consecutive days).

G. Trejo and M. Altamirano. 2016. "The Mexican Color Hierarchy. How Race and Skin Tone Still Define Life Chances 200 Years After Independence," in Juliet Hooker and Alvin Tillery (eds.) *Racial and Class Inequalities in the Americas*," Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association. [Lead article]

G. Trejo. 2016. "Why and When Do Peasants Rebel?" in D. Brady and L. Burton, *Oxford Handbook of the Social Science of Poverty*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Press ranking # 3]

G. Trejo. 2014. "The Ballot and the Street: An Electoral Theory of Social Protest in Autocracies," *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 12, no 2. [Lead article] [SSCI IF 3.035]

° Honorable Mention. Best Article Award, Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section, ASA

G. Trejo. 2009. "Religious Competition and Ethnic Mobilization in Latin America: Why the Catholic Church Promotes Indigenous Movements in Mexico," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 103 no. 3. [Lead article] [SSCI IF 3.844]

° Jack Walker Outstanding Article Award, APSA

° Article reviewed in *The Wilson Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2010

G. Trejo. 2004. "The Political Foundations of Ethnic Mobilization and Territorial Conflict in Mexico, 1975-2000," in *Federalism and Territorial Cleavages*, edited by U. Amoretti and N. Bermeo, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. [Press ranking # 12]

G. Trejo. 2002. "Redefining the Territorial Bases of Power: Peasants, Indians and Guerrilla Warfare in Chiapas, Mexico," *International Journal on Multicultural Studies*, UNESCO, vol. 4, no. 1.

G. Trejo. 2000. "Etnicidad y Movilización Social: Una Revisión Teórica con Aplicaciones a la Cuarta Ola de Movilizaciones Indígenas en América Latina," *Política y Gobierno*, vol. 7, no. 1. [SSCI IF 0.158]

° Article translated to Portuguese in a special collection on contemporary social theory in Latin America published in Brazil

R. Kaufman and G. Trejo. 1997. "Regionalism, Regime Transformation and Pronasol: The Politics of the National Solidarity Programme in Four Mexican States," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 29, issue 3. [SSCI IF 0.410]

° A slightly different version of this article was published in Spanish by *Política y Gobierno*

Articles Under Review

G. Trejo, J. Albarracín and L. Tiscornia, "Breaking State Impunity in Postauthoritarian Regimes: Why Transitional Justice Mechanisms Deter Criminal Violence in New Democracies," *R & R*

G. Trejo and S. Ley. 2016. "High-Profile Criminal Violence: Why Drug Cartels Murder Government Officials and Party Candidates in Mexico," *R & R*

S. Ley, S. Mattice and G. Trejo, "Indigenous Resistance to Criminal Governance in Mexico: Why Regional Ethnic Autonomy Institutions Protect Communities from Narco Rule," *Under Review*

Book Chapters

G. Trejo. 2010. "Violencia y política en el México del bicentenario: Causas y consecuencias de la primera crisis de la democracia," in R. Cordera (ed.) *Historia Crítica de las Modernizaciones en México: Presente y Perspectivas*, Fondo de Cultura Económica. [Press ranking # 1 in Latin America]

G. Trejo. 2006. "Etnicidad e mobilizacáo social. Una revisáo teorica com aplicacoes a quarta onda de mobilizacoes indígenas na America Latina," in *America Latina hoje – conceitos e interpretacoes*, edited by J.M. Domingues and M. Maneiro, Rio de Janeiro: Civilizacáo Brasileira.

G. Trejo. 2004. "Conflicto social y transición a la democracia en México," in *24 Años de Desarrollo Social en México*, edited by R. Aguilar et.al., Mexico City: Banamex.

G. Trejo. 2003. "Mutaciones de un conflicto cambiante," in *Chiapas: Interpretaciones Sobre la Negociación y la Paz*, edited by C. Arnson, et.al., Mexico City: CISAN, UNAM and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

G. Trejo and J. A. Aguilar. 2003. "Etnicidad y consolidación democrática: La organización de las elecciones federales en zonas indígenas," in *Dilemas de la Democracia en México: Los Actores Sociales Ante la Representación Política*, A. Hémond and D. Recondo (eds.), Mexico City: CEMCA and IFE.

G. Trejo. 2003. "Pobreza y desigualdad en México," in *Gran Historia de México Ilustrada*, vol. V, Mexico City: Editorial Planeta De Agostini.

G. Trejo and C. Jones. 1998. "Political Dilemmas of Welfare Reform: Poverty and Inequality in Mexico," in *Mexico Under Zedillo*, S. Kaufman Purcell and L. Rubio (eds.), Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner. [Press ranking # 16]

G. Trejo. 1995. "The Politics of Educational Reform in Mexico: Ambivalence toward Change," in *The Challenge of Institutional Reform in Mexico*, R. Roett (ed.), Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner. [Press ranking # 16]

WORK IN PROGRESS

Books

G. Trejo and S. Ley. *Democracy and Large-Scale Criminal Violence: The Politics of Drug Wars in Mexico*, Manuscript in progress.

Articles

S. Ley, J. Márquez and G. Trejo, "Can Drug Lords Influence the Outcome of Democratic Elections? Evidence from Mexico's Wild West"

G. Trejo and F. Bizzarro Neto, "Religious Competition and the Rise of Leftist Parties: Why the Catholic Church Provided the Mass Base for the Workers' Party in Brazil"

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Policy Research Monographs

G. Trejo and C. Jones. 1994. *Contra la pobreza: Por una estrategia de política social*, [Fighting Poverty: Toward a New Social Policy Approach] Mexico City: Cal y Arena & CIDAC.

G. Trejo, et.al. 1992. *Educación para una economía competitiva: Hacia una estrategia de reforma*, [Education Policy for an Open Economy: A Reform Strategy] Mexico City: Diana & CIDAC.

Book Reviews

G. Trejo. 2012. Review of *Demanding the Land: Urban Popular Movements in Peru and Ecuador* by Paul Dosch, (Pennsylvania University Press, 2010) in *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 10, no. 3.

G. Trejo. 2007. Review of *Democracy in Latin America, 1760-1900: Civic Selfhood and Public Life in Mexico and Peru* by Carlos Forment (The University of Chicago Press, 2003) in *Política y gobierno*, vol. 14, no. 2.

G. Trejo. 2006. Review of *Economic and Political Contention in Comparative Perspective* by Maria Kousis and Charles Tilly (eds.), (Paradigm Publishers 2005) in *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Review*, vol. 35, no. 6.

G. Trejo. 2002. Review of *Containing Nationalism* by Michael Hechter (Oxford University Press, 2000) in *Política y gobierno* vol. 9, no. 2.

G. Trejo. 2000. Review of *Rendering unto Caesar: The State and the Catholic Church in Latin America* by Anthony Gill (The University of Chicago Press, 1998) in *Política y gobierno*, vol. 7, no. 2.

G. Trejo. 1999. Review of *The Rebel's Dilemma* by Mark Lichbach (The University of Michigan Press, 1996) in *Política y gobierno*, vol. 6, no. 2.

G. Trejo. 1998. Review of *Chiapas: la razón ardiente: Ensayo sobre la rebelión del mundo encantado* by Adolfo Gilly (Era, 1997) in *Política y gobierno*, vol. 5, no. 1.

G. Trejo. 1998. Review of *Chiapas: La rebelión indígena de México* by Carlos Montemayor (Joaquín Mortiz, 1997) in *Política y gobierno*, vol. 5, no. 1.

G. Trejo. 1997. Review of *Organizing Dissent: Unions, the State, and the Democratic Teachers' Movement in Mexico* by Maria L. Cook (The Pennsylvania University Press, 1996) in *Política y gobierno*, vol. 4, no. 2.

CONFERENCE PAPERS (Last three years)

G. Trejo and S. Ley, “Federalism, Drugs, and Violence: Why Intergovernmental Partisan Conflict Stimulated Inter-Cartel Wars in Mexico, 2006–2012”

- CIDE, Mexico City, 2016
- Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, 2014
- American Political Science Association Meeting, 2014

S. Ley, J. Márquez and G. Trejo, “Can Drug Lords Influence the Outcome of Democratic Elections? Evidence from Mexico’s Wild West”

- American Political Science Association Meeting, 2015

S. Ley, S. Mattice and G. Trejo, “Indigenous Resistance to Narco Violence. Why Ethnic Autonomy Regimes Serve as a Firewall against Organized Crime.”

- Brown University 2016
- Latin American Studies Association Meeting, 2016

G. Trejo, J. Albarracín and L. Tiscornia, “Breaking State Impunity in Postauthoritarian Regimes: Why Transitional Justice Mechanisms Deter Criminal Violence in New Democracies”

- CIDE, Mexico City, 2016
- University of Chicago, 2016
- Providence College, 2016
- Latin American Studies Association Meeting, 2014

G. Trejo and F. Bizzarro Neto, “Religious Competition and the Rise of Leftist Parties: Why the Catholic Church Provided the Mass Base for the Workers’ Party in Brazil”

- Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, 2015
- Yale University, 2014
- Northwestern University, 2014

G. Trejo and M. Altamirano, “Race and Public Goods Provision in Latin America: Why Democracies Discriminate Against Individuals with Indigenous Phenotypical Features”

- University of California, Berkeley, 2015
- University of Notre Dame, 2014
- Midwest Political Science Association, 2014

CONFERENCE, WORKSHOPS AND LECTURE PRESENTATIONS (last 5 years)

- 2018. Oxford University, Nuffield College
- 2017. University of Notre Dame, Peace, Conflict, Crime and Violence Workshop
- 2017. University of Kentucky
- 2017. Latin American Research Review (LARR) Workshop at University of Notre Dame
- 2017. Latin American Studies Association Meeting
- 2016. CIDE, Mexico City, Transitional Justice Conference
- 2016. Columbia University
- 2016. University of Chicago
- 2016. University of Wisconsin, Madison
- 2016. Latin American Studies Association Meeting
- 2016. Brown University
- 2016. Providence College, Cleary Lecture, Keynote Speaker
- 2016. CIDE, Mexico City, presentation of special issue of *Política y gobierno* on Violence
- 2015. University of Texas-Austin, Latin American Studies Speakers Series
- 2015. Universidad de las Américas, Puebla, Keynote Speaker, Criminal Violence Conference
- 2015. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association Meeting
- 2015. Brown University, BIARI Summer School
- 2015. University of Berkeley, American Political Science Association Task Force on Racial and Class Inequalities in the Americas
- 2015. Harvard University, Mexico after Ayotzinapa Conference
- 2015. Midwest Political Science Association Meeting
- 2015. University of Chicago, Center for Latin American Studies
- 2014. University of Berkeley, American Political Science Association Task Force on Inequalities in the Americas
- 2014. 40th Anniversary of CIDE, Mexico City
- 2014. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association
- 2014. Northwestern University, Comparative Politics Workshop
- 2014. Latin American Studies Association Meeting
- 2014. University of Chicago, Center for Latin American Studies
- 2014. Midwest Political Science Association Meeting
- 2014. University of Notre Dame, Public Opinion and Elections Working Group
- 2014. Yale University, Religion and Politics Colloquium

2014. Harvard University, Subnational Comparative Studies Conference
2013. Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Conference on Organized Crime
2013. University of Notre Dame, Lecture Series, Kellogg Institute for International Studies
2013. University of Michigan, Religion and Politics Conference
2013. Brown University, Subnational Comparative Studies Conference
2013. University of Chicago, Comparative Politics Workshop
2013. Midwest Political Science Association Meeting
2013. University of Chicago, Katz Center for Mexican Studies

GRANTS

2017. Research Grant, The Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation
2017. Research Grant, Notre Dame International, University of Notre Dame
2017. Authors' Workshop, Kellogg Institute for International Studies
2017. Workshop Grant, Kellogg Institute for International Studies
2016. Research Grant, Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, University of Notre Dame
2015. Conference Grant, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame
2013. Conference Grant, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame
2013. Research Grant, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame
2010. Research Grant, Department of Political Science, Duke University
2010. Research Grant, Trent Foundation, Duke University
2010. Grant to help publication of first book, Duke Center for Latin American Studies
2009. Travel Grant, Duke Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies
2009. Research Grant, Trent Foundation, Duke University
1992. Ford Foundation Scholarship for Graduate Studies
1992. Fulbright Garcia-Robles

WORKSHOP CONVENER

Kroc-Kellogg Peace, Conflict, Crime and Violence Workshop, 2017–
(with Gary Goertz, bi-weekly meetings)

CONFERENCE ORGANIZER

“Transitional Justice and the Struggle Against Impunity: Lessons from Latin America for Mexico,”
conference co-sponsored by CIDE & Kellogg Institute (University of Notre Dame) and held in
Mexico City, October 21-22, 2016

“A Truth Commission for Mexico?” conference sponsored by Kellogg Institute and held at the
University of Notre Dame, December 2014.

COURSES TAUGHT AT UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

Graduate Seminars

Comparative Politics Field Seminar, 2017
Dissertation Workshop on Organized Crime and Violence, 2017
Prosem: Scope and Methods in Political Science, 2016

Democracy and Violence, 2014
The Logic of Political Violence, 2012; 2016
Religion and Comparative Politics, 2014

Undergraduate Lectures

World Politics: Introduction to Comparative Politics, 2014, 2015
Elections and Social Protest in Latin America, 2013, 2015, 2017, 2018
Data Analysis for Human Rights, 2015 (co-taught with S. Ley), 2016

Undergraduate Seminars

Organized Crime in Latin America, 2014; 2016
Transitional Justice, 2016, 2018

COURSES TAUGHT AT DUKE UNIVERSITY

Graduate Seminars

Collective Action and Social Movements, 2009, 2012
Organized Crime in New Democracies, 2011
The Logic of Political Violence, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2011
Religion and Comparative Politics, 2010
Comparative Ethnic Politics, 2007

Undergraduate Lectures

Elections and Social Protest in Latin America, 2007, 2009, 2012
Democracy, Development and Violence, 2008, 2010
Religion and Politics, 2005

TEACHING DISTINCTIONS

2012. Dean's recognition for scoring in the top 5% of student evaluations for all undergraduate instructors, Duke University

2009. Dean's recognition for scoring in the top 5% of student evaluations for all undergraduate instructors, Duke University

2005. Faculty award for excellence in undergraduate teaching at CIDE, Mexico City

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

Camilo Nieto Matiz (co-chair; Notre Dame)

Omar Coronel (co-chair; Notre Dame)

Juan Albarracín (co-chair; Notre Dame)

Lucía Tiscornia (Notre Dame)

Leslie MacColman (Notre Dame, Sociology)

Reyes Ruiz (Notre Dame, Economics)

Cecilia Pe Lero (Notre Dame)

Gabriela Cantú (UNAM, Mexico City)

Chonghyun Choi (Notre Dame) – defended 2017

Victor Hernández (Notre Dame) – defended 2015

Melina Altamirano (Duke) – defended 2015

Gregory Schober (Duke) – defended 2015

Sandra J. Ley (Duke) – defended 2014

Marco A. Fernández (Duke) – defended 2012

Anoop Sadanandan (Duke) – defended 2011

Kian Min Ong (Duke) – defended 2010

Matthew Singer (Duke) – defended 2007

Jorge Bravo (Duke) – defended 2006

Miguel Armando López-Leyva (FLACSO) – defended 2004

ACADEMIC REFEREE

Journals

American Journal of Political Science

American Political Science Review

American Sociological Review

Comparative Politics

Comparative Political Studies

Electoral Studies

Hispanic American Historical Review

Journal of Conflict Resolution

Journal of Peace Research

Journal of Politics

Latin American Politics and Society

Latin American Research Review

Party Politics

Perspectives on Politics

Política y Gobierno

Religion and Politics

Security Studies

Studies in International Comparative Development

World Politics

Editorial Houses

Cambridge University Press

Tenure review

Three files from Political Science Departments at R1 universities

ADDITIONAL SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION

Editor

Working Paper Series – Kellogg Institute for International Studies, 2015 –

Co-editor

Mobilizing Ideas – Blog of the Center for the Studies of Social Movements, University of Notre Dame, 2015 –

Editorial board member

Política y Gobierno – CIDE, Mexico City, 2013 –

- Top political science journal in the Spanish-speaking world

Member of special Task Forces

American Political Science Association (APSA)

- Task Force on Inequality in the Americas – report will be published in the Fall of 2015

Track chair for international conference

American Political Science Association Meeting, 2018

- Comparative Politics

Latin American Studies Association Meeting, 2017

- Politics and Public Policy

Latin American Studies Association Meeting, 2014

- Defense, Violence and (In) Security

Award committees

Gregory Lubbert Award, Best article in comparative politics (APSA), 2016.

Donna Lee Van Cott Award, Best book in political institutions in Latin America, Latin American Studies Association (LASA), 2016.

Giovani Sartori Award, Best work in qualitative and multi-methods research, American Political Science Association (APSA), 2015.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Political Science Association
Midwest Political Science Association
Latin American Studies Association

OP-ED CONTRIBUTIONS (last five years)

1. Global Outlets

El País (leading international outlet in the Spanish-speaking world)

- Por qué Peña Nieto no pudo encarar a Trump [Why Mexico's President could not confront Donald Trump] 09/07/2016
- El Leviatán desnudo [Leviathan without clothes] 09/11/2015
- Cuando el Estado exonera al Estado [When the State exonerates the State] 08/25/2015
- Vicios privados, virtudes públicas? [Private vices, public virtues?] 05/26/2015
- Por qué el gobierno reprime la auditoría social en México [Why state authorities suppress societal accountability in Mexico], 03/27/2015
- Municipios y crimen organizado en México [Local governments and organized crime in Mexico] (with Sandra Ley), 02/20/2015
- ¿Por qué el crimen organizado atenta contra la sociedad civil en México? [Why does organized crime attack civil society in Mexico?], 10/10/2014 [29,000 people shared this article through social media] [The article was translated to English by the Trans-border Freedom of Expression Project, University of San Diego]
- La industria criminal en México [Mexico's Criminal Industry], 10/16/2014 [4,000 people shared this article through social media]
- La riesgosa apuesta de las autodefensas en México [The perils of self-defense groups in Mexico] 01/20/2014

Los Angeles Times

- Will we see a 'Mexican Spring'? 06/24/2012

2. *Mexican monthly intellectual magazines and dailies*

Nexos (one of Mexico's leading intellectual magazines)

- Municipios bajo fuego [Municipalities under criminal attack] (with Sandra Ley), 01/01/2015
- Seven additional articles since 1999

Animal Político

- Toluca: ¿Ejecución extrajudicial o batalla desigual? [Toluca: Extrajudicial execution or unequal battle?], 05/24/2015
- Por qué México necesita una Comisión Internacional Contra la Impunidad [Why Mexico Needs an International Commission against Impunity] [The article was translated to English by Mexico Issues and Opinion], 10/29/2015

PERSONAL

Mexican citizen

U.S. permanent resident