

Barry Ames

Curriculum Vitae

November 2025

Personal

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Professional Experience

2017-2019	Visiting Scholar, Escola Nacional de Administração Pública (ENAP). Brasília
2015 (November)	Visiting scholar, Federal University of Minas Gerais (Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, Brazil)
2015 (May)	Visiting scholar, Federal University of Pernambuco (Recife, Pernambuco, Brazil)
2001-2011	Chair, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh
1996-2021	Andrew Mellon Professor of Comparative Politics, University of Pittsburgh
1996	Professor, "Quantitative Analysis on Latin America," ICPSR summer methodology program, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.
1994-1995	Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC
1990-1995	Research in Brazil on electoral system and legislative behavior. Project supported by National Science Foundation, North-South Center, IRIS Foundation.
1993-1995	Chair, Committee on International Studies, Washington University.
1995-1996	Associate Chair, Department of Political Science, Washington

	University, St. Louis
1991-1994	Director of Graduate Program, Department of Political Science, Washington University, St. Louis.
1988-1996	Professor of Political Science, Washington University. St. Louis.
1977-1988	Associate Professor of Political Science, Washington University.
1983-1985	Economic Advisor, Office of Rep. Les Aspin, (specializing in fiscal and budgetary issues, international trade, and labor).
1982-1983	Research in Brazil on public finance issues during the transition to democratic government. Focus on five areas: interministerial spending tradeoffs, industrial deconcentration, low-income housing, agricultural development, and wage determination. Project supported by the National Science Foundation.
1980	Research Associate, Center for Latin American Studies, University of California, Berkeley; research on Latin American budgetary processes.
1976-1978	Tinker Postdoctoral Fellow and Visiting Scholar at Stanford University; research on Latin American political economy and study in the core graduate curriculum in economics.
1973-1977	Assistant Professor of Political Science, Washington University, St. Louis.
1971-1973	Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of New Mexico

Education

Stanford University, Ph.D., 1972 (Political Science). Comparative Politics/Latin America; Organization Theory

Stanford University, 1976-1978, Postdoctoral study in Economics.
(completed basic graduate curriculum in economics, including macro- and micro- sequences and development economics)

Stanford University, B.A., 1966 (Political Science)

Publications

Books

Inside Brazilian Bureaucracy: The Politics of Implementation in Brazilian States. 2025. Routledge Press. (co-edited with João Victor Guedes-Neto). This book has thirteen chapters. I am sole author of the theoretical chapter and the concluding chapter, and I am co-author of four other chapters.

Persuasive Peers: Social Communication and Voting Behavior in Latin America. 2020. Princeton University Press. (With Andy Baker and Lucio Rennó.) [winner: Best Book published during 2020-2021 from the Political Networks section of the American Political Science Association.]

Routledge Handbook of Brazilian Politics. Editor and contributor. New York: Routledge. 2018.

Élites, instituciones y el público: Una nueva mirada a la democracia boliviana. [Elites, Institutions, and the Public: A New Look at Bolivian Democracy]. 2004. La Paz: Universidad Católica Boliviana-USAID. (With Aníbal Pérez-Liñán and Mitchell Seligson).

The Deadlock of Democracy in Brazil. University of Michigan Press. 2001. (Translated as *Os Entraves da Democracia Brasileira*. Rio: FGV Press, 2003).

Political Survival: Politicians and Public Policy in Latin America, Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1987.

Rhetoric and Reality in a Militarized Regime: Brazil After 1964, Sage Professional Papers in Comparative Politics, Vol. 4, 01-042, Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications, 1973.

Articles

“Postscript” 2024. Marcus Melo and Carlos Pereira. *Why Brazilian Democracy Did Not Die.* Companhia das Letras.

“Agency and Structure in Latin American Regime Change.” 2020. *Journal of Politics in Latin America.* (October) (with Ignacio Mamone).

“Social Networks in the Brazilian Electorate.” 2017. In Jennifer Victor et al. *Oxford Handbook of Political Networks.* (with Andy Baker and Amy Erica Smith).

- “The Dynamics of Party Identification When Party Brands Change: The Case of the Workers Party in Brazil.” 2016. *Journal of Politics*. 78:1 pp.197-213. (with Andy Baker, Anand Sokhey, and Lúcio Rennó.)
- “Evaluating Governance Programs: Donors and Political Parties in Morocco.” 2015. In *Sustainable Development and Human Security in Africa*. Edited by Louis Picard, Terry Buss, Taylor Seybolt, and Macrina Lelei. (New York: Taylor and Francis, CRC Press). (Co-authored with Louis Picard and Miguel Carreras.)
- “PT no purgatório: ambivalência eleitoral no primeiro turno das eleições presidenciais de 2010.” 2014. *Opinião Pública*. Volume 20. No. 1. (with Lucio Rennó).
- “The Brazilian Electoral Panel Studies (BEPS): Brazilian Public Opinion in the 2010 Presidential Elections.” 2013. Interamerican Development Bank. IADB: Washington, DC. (with Fabiana Machado, Lucio Rennó, David Samuels, Amy Erica Smith and Cesar Zucco. (accompanying dataset).
- Review of Sebastian Saiegh. 2011. *Ruling by Statute. How Uncertainty and Vote Buying Shape Lawmaking*. New York: Cambridge University Press. *Política e Gobierno*.
- Review of Antonio Lavareda and Helcimara Telles. (eds.) *Como o eleitor escolhe seu prefeito: campanha e voto nas eleições municipais*. *Americas Quarterly* 6:2.
- “What’s Next: Reflections on the Future of Latin American Political Science.” 2012. In Peter Kingstone and Deborah Yashar, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*. New York: Routledge.
- “Reelection and Legislative Power: Surprising Results from Brazil.” 2012. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 37:4 (November). (With Saul Cunow, Scott Desposato, and Lucio Rennó.)
- “Keeping Up with the Souzas: Social Influence and Electoral Change in a Weak Party System, Brazil 2002-2006.” 2012. *Latin American Politics and Society*. (Winter). (With Amy Erica Smith and Miguel Garcia).
- “Comparative Assessment of Decentralization in Africa: Mozambique In-country Assessment Report.” 2010. Report prepared for US Agency for International Development – Democracy Group. (October). (with Ed Connerley, Domingos M. do Rosario, Eduardo Nguenha, Laudemiro Francisco).
- “Famintos por Pork: Uma análise da Demanda e Oferta por Políticas Localistas e Representação Política.” 2012. In Timothy Power and Cesar Zucco, eds., “O Congresso por ele mesmo: autopercepções da classe política brasileira.” Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG. (with Carlos Pereira and Lucio Rennó).
- “Knowing Left from Right: Ideological Identification in Brazil, 2002-2006.” 2010. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*. (with Amy Erica Smith). (Fall).

- “Participatory Budgeting, Discussion Networks and Political information in Two Brazilian Cities.” 2010. In *Political Discussion in Modern Democracies: A Comparative Perspective*. edited by Michael Wolf, Ken’ichi Ikeda, and Laura Morales. (with Lucio Rennó). London: Routledge.
- “Methodological Problems in the Study of Child Soldiers.” 2009. In *Child Soldiers in the Age of Fractured States*. Edited by Scott Gates and Simon Reich. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- “A Qualidade das Eleições no Brasil: Como Decidem os Eleitores?” 2010. *Estudos Legislativos: 20 anos da Constituição Brasileira*. Edited by Deborah Messenberg. Brasília: University of Brasília. (with Andy Baker and Lucio Rennó).
- “Split-Ticket Voting as the Rule: Voters and Permanent Divided Government in Brazil.” 2009. *Electoral Studies*. 28:1 (March). (with Andy Baker and Lucio Rennó).
- “The ‘Quality’ of Elections in Brazil: Policy, Performance, Pageantry, or Pork?” 2010. in Peter Kingstone and Timothy Power. *Democratic Brazil*. (2nd edition). (With Andy Baker and Lucio Rennó).
- “Parties and Governability in Brazil.” 2007. In Paul Webb and Stephen White, eds., *Political Parties in New Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- “Strategy, Careers, and Judicial Decisions: Lessons from the Bolivian Courts,” 2006. *Journal of Politics*. (With Anibal Perez-Linan and Mitchell Seligson). (May).
- “Social Context and Voter Volatility in New Democracies: Networks and Neighborhoods in Brazil’s 2002 Elections.” 2006. *American Journal of Political Science*. (With Andrew Baker and Lucio Rennó). (May).
- “Hide the Republicans, the Christians, and the Women: A Response to “Politics and Professional Advancement Among College Faculty.” 2005. *The Forum* Vol. 3. No 2. (With David Barker, Chris Bonneau, and Chris Carman).
- “The Political Economy of Personnel Expenditures: Brazilian States, 1965-1994.” 2005. *Revista de Economia Política*. Volume 25. (January). With Taeko Hiroi and Lucio Rennó.
- “Attitudes Toward Democracy and Market Reform in Cape Verde.” 2003. Published as Afrobarometer Report #25. (with Lúcio Rennó).
- “A Democracia Brasileira: Uma Democracia em Xequê.” 2001. In Alzira Alves de Abreu. *Transição em fragmentos: desafios da democracia no final do século XX*. Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas.
- “Party Discipline in Brazil’s Chamber of Deputies.” 2001. In Scott Morgenstern and Benito Nacif, eds., *Legislatures in Latin America*. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.

- "Disciplina partidária na câmara dos deputados." 2001. *Dados*.
- "Disciplina partidária na camara dos deputados do brasil." 2000. *Política e Gobierno*. 7:1.
- "Institutions and Democracy in Brazil." 2000. In Howard Handelman and Mark Kessler, eds., *Democracy and its Limits: Lessons from Asia, Latin America and the Middle East*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press.
- "Approaches to the Study of Institutions in Latin American Politics." 1999. *Latin American Research Review*. 34:1 (Winter).
- "The Politics of Sustainable Development: Environmental Policy Making in Four Brazilian States." 1997-1998. 1997. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*. 39:4. Pp. 1-40. (Co-authored with Margaret Keck.)
- "Soft Theory, Hard Evidence: Rational Choice and Empirical Investigation in Brazil," 1996. Occasional Paper Number 217 of the Latin American program of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. (Spring).
- "Comparative Politics and the Replication Controversy," 1996. Newsletter of the American Political Science Association's Organized Section in Comparative Politics, 7:1. (Winter).
- "Electoral Strategy Under Open-List Proportional Representation." 1995. *American Journal of Political Science*. (May).
- "Electoral Rules, Constituency Pressures, and Pork Barrel: Bases of Voting in the Brazilian Congress," 1995. *Journal of Politics*. 57:2 (May).
- "Politics in Brazil," in W.P. Shively, ed., *Comparative Governance*. Chicago: McGraw-Hill. 1995. (various new versions in editions between 1995 and 2020).
- "The Reverse Coattails Effect: Local Party Organization in the 1989 Brazilian Presidential Election." 1994. *American Political Science Review*. (March).
- "A Organização Partidária Local nas Eleições Presidenciais Brasileiras de 1989," 1994. *Dados - Revista de Ciências Sociais*. 37:1 (July).
- "Electoral and Legislative Politics in Brazil: New Data." 1993. *APSA-CP*. (newsletter of the American Political Science Association's Organized Section in Comparative Politics). v. 4, no. 1, (Winter).
- "The Dynamics of Congressional Elections in Brazil, 1978-1990." 1993. in Luiz Pedone, ed., *Sistemas Eleitorais e Processos Políticos Comparados*, Brasília: OEA/UnB.
- "Military and Society in Latin America." 1988. *Latin American Research Review*. Volume 23, No. 1.
- "Legislative Politics and the Distribution of Public Expenditures in Brazil, 1947-1964." 1987. *Comparative Politics*. (January).

"O Congresso e a Política Orçamentária no Brasil durante o Período Pluripartidário." 1986. *Dados*, Vol. 29, No. 2.

"Survival Strategies and Expenditure Tradeoffs in Latin America." 1980. *Policy Studies Journal*. (September).

"The Politics of Public Spending in Latin America." 1977. *American Journal of Political Science*. (February).

"Education and Defense Expenditures in Latin America: 1948-1968." 1975. in C. Liske, W. Loehr, and J. McCamant, eds., *Comparative Public Policy: Issues, Theories, and Methods*, New York: Halsted-Sage. co-authored with Ed Goff.

"Policy Making in a Militarized Regime: Brazil After 1964." 1974. in G. Dorfman and S. Schmidt, eds., *The Military in Politics*. New York: Geron-X, Inc.

Mexican University Students in Politics: Rebels Without Allies? 1970. University of Denver: The Monograph Series in World Affairs (June). (Co-authored with William Tuohy).

"Bases of Support for Mexico's Dominant Party." 1970. *American Political Science Review*. (March). Reprinted in *Foro Internacional*.

Professional Consulting Experience

2015	Legislative Strengthening and USAID Democracy and Governance assistance. Research Coordinator.
2010	Decentralization in Mozambique. Study part of 10 country USAID project on Decentralization in Sub-Saharan Africa.
2009	Political Party Assistance Programs: Developing New Methodological Tools for Evaluation and Assessment. USAID grant through Higher Education Directorate.
2006	External Review of Political Science Department, UC-Riverside
2005	External Review of Political Science Department, University of Houston
2004	USAID contract (with Mitch Seligson and Anibal Perez-Linan) research Bolivian judiciary and Bolivian congressional deputies.
2002-2003	World Bank Project: Latin American and Caribbean Division Flagship Report on Inequality in Latin America. Author of chapter on political institutions and inequality.

2002-3	Senior Technical Director, Lusophone section of Afrobarometer, responsible for survey management and analysis in Mocambique and Cabo Verde
2000	Participant, 3 rd International Planning Conference for the Afrobarometer Center for Development and Democracy, Accra, Ghana, October 23-27
1999-2000	USAID contract to assist public opinion polling in Moçambique
1992-1993	World Bank mission to Brazil to examine policy making in environmental area
1991-1992	World Bank mission to Angola to examine institutional aspects of public expenditures
1990	International consultant on FUNCEP project on executive-legislative relations
1989-1990	World Bank study of implications of 1989 election in Brazil
1989	World Bank Study of agricultural policy making in Brazil
1988	World Bank mission to Brazil to examine reforms in the coffee marketing board World Bank mission to Brazil to study decision making in foreign trade, social and agriculture as part of project on the "Political Economy of Reform"
1987	World Bank mission to Costa Rica to (1) develop new components for Technical Assistance Loan for public sector rationalization and (2) supervise ongoing technical assistance in the area of budgetary reform
1987	World Bank mission to Kuwait to assess institutional issues relevant to Plan Monitoring and Follow-Up system
1986	World Bank mission to Ghana to evaluate public sector management component of Structural Adjustment Credit and propose long-term strategy for assistance in institutional development
1985-1986	USAID, Advisor to Bureau of Science and Technology on planning and design of public sector management projects in Latin America, with special attention to state enterprise reform
1985	World Bank mission to Guinea-Bissau to evaluate public administration component of technical assistance credit

Recent Convention Papers and other Participation (partial and incomplete list)

- “Politização e integridade na burocracia: Evidências experimentais de sete estados brasileiros.” 2025.
(with João Victor Guedes Neto (FGV EBAPE). ANPOCS, Campinas (SP)
- “Democracy, Law, and Populism in Latin America,” 2023. Buenos Aires. IPSA panel. Chair and discussant.
- “Pork-Barreling in Comparative Perspective.” 2022. APSA, Montreal, CA. Chair and discussant.
- “Party Brands and Partisan Identification,” APSA 2013 (with Andy Baker, Lucio Rennó, Anand Sokhey)
- “The Brazilian Election of 2012” LASA 2012, San Francisco, CA (with Lucio Rennó)
- “In Spite of Themselves,” TEDx Pittsburgh speaker, November 19, 2011.
- “The Brazilian Electoral Panel Study: Applications, Limitations and Advantages.” 2011. Presented at Inter-American Development Bank Workshop on the Brazilian 2010 Panel Study. (May 20). (co-authored with Fabiana Machado, Lucio Rennó, David Samuels, Amy Erica Smith and Cesar Zucco.
- “The Sources and Dynamics of Mass Partisanship in a New Democracy.” APSA Convention, 2010. (With Andy Baker, Anand Sokhey, and Lucio Rennó.).
- “Urban Context and Political Behavior: Partisanship and Polarization in Two Brazilian Cities.” 2010. Paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Convention. Toronto, CA. (October). (with Reynaldo Rojo-Mendoza).
- “Vote Intention in Brazil’s 2002 Election: A Preliminary Research Report Utilizing a Contextual Approach to Ideology and Partisanship.” Midwest Political Science Association Convention, April, 2005. (With Andy Baker and Lucio Rennó.)
- “Social Context and Voter Volatilities in New Democracies: Networks and Neighborhoods in Brazil’s 2002 Election.” American Political Science Association Convention, 2004. (With Andy Baker and Lucio Rennó.
- “The Formation of Mass Attitudes in an Environment of Multiple Weak Parties.” panel chair and paper giver at the Latin American Studies Association Meeting, Dallas, TX. March 27-29, 2003.
- “Preliminary Report: Public Opinion in Cabo Verde: The Afrobarometer Survey.” delivered at the African Studies Association Meeting, Washington, DC. December 7, 2002. (With Juan Carlos Rodriguez-Raga.

- “Culture vs. Institutions in the Support of Democracy in Latin America: a Cross-National Approach” (With Mitchell Seligson, Siddhartha Baviskar and Mary Malone, presented at the Midwest Political Science Association convention, April, 2001). Also chair of panel.
- “Rational-choice Institutionalism in Latin America.” Delivered at the APSA convention, Washington, September, 2000
- “Political Patronage in Latin America, a quantitative approach.” Delivered at the Latin American Studies Association Convention, Miami, FL, 2000.
- “Political Constraints on Policy Makers in Brazil.” Delivered at the World Bank, March, 2001.
- “The Political Economy of Reform in Brazil.” Delivered at a conference on the impact of the Asian Crisis on Latin America. Washington, DC, February, 1998
- “Parties and Coalitions in the Brazilian Legislature.” Conference of the Latin American Studies Association, Guadalajara, Mexico, 1997.
- "Rational Choice Approaches to the Study of Latin American Politics." Conference of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, DC, 1995.
- "Soft Theory, Hard Evidence: Rational Choice and Empirical Investigation in Brazil." (Delivered at a conference on rational choice theory and the political economy of development at Northwestern University, May 10-12, 1995.)
- "Measuring Democracy: How Can We Know It When We See It?" participant in roundtable at Midwest Political Science Association Convention, April, 1996.
- "Overcoming Legislative Chaos: Strategies of Party Cooperation in Brazil," delivered at the International Political Science Association Convention, August 22, 1994, Berlin, Germany.
- "Understanding New Legislatures: Observations and Evidence from the Brazilian Congress," delivered at the convention of the American Political Science Association, Sept. 2, 1993. (With David Nixon).
- "The Reverse Coattails Effect: The Effect of Local Party Endorsements on National Presidential Candidates in the 1989 Brazilian Presidential Election," Midwest Political Science Association, May, 1993.
- "Disparately Seeking Politicians: Strategies and Outcomes in Brazilian Legislative Elections," Latin American Studies Association Convention, October, 1992.
- Roundtable on "Democracy and Markets," in Midwest Political Science Association Convention, April, 1992.

"Class and Clientele in the Dynamics of Electoral Politics," delivered at the Convention of the American Political Science Association, September 1-3, 1989, Atlanta, GA.

"Comment on Remmer and Merckx," at the Levy Conference on Latin American Debt, Bard College, October, 1989.

"Politicians, Survival, and Public Policy in Latin America," delivered at the Convention of the American Political Science Association, September 3-5, 1987, Chicago, Illinois.

"When Soldiers Need Friends: The Search for Legitimacy by an Authoritarian Regime in Retreat," delivered at the Convention of the Latin American Studies Association, April 20, 1985, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Professional Participation

Member, editorial board, *American Journal of Political Science*

Member, editorial board, *Colombia Internacional* (Universidad de los Andes)

Member, editorial board, GIGA.

Chair, Best Paper in Comparative Politics Award, 2001 APSA.

Member, Data Set Prize Committee, APSA organized section on comparative politics

Member, executive committee, APSA organized section on comparative politics

Chair, organized section on political institutions, Latin American Studies Association, 1997

Professor, ICPSR summer methodology course for Latin Americanists. 1996

Member, ICPSR committee on archived data sets in comparative politics

Chairman, Selection Committee for Award to Outstanding Book in Political Economy, American Political Science Association, 1993

Member, Editorial Board, *Latin American Research Review*, *Journal of Politics*. Journal of Politics in Latin America

Reviewer: APSR, AJPS, LARR, JOP, ISQ, National Science Foundation, etc.

Grants and Awards

USAID-HED (Higher Education for Development) grant "to study USAID's conceptual framework for political party support and develop new tools to assess and evaluate political party programs."

\$685,000 over two years. (with Scott Morgenstern, Steve Finkel, and Aníbal Pérez-Liñan). May 2009.

National Science Foundation, "The Dynamics of Political Attitude Formation in a Milieu of Multiple Weak Parties: A Context-Sensitive Analysis of Voting Behavior in Two Brazilian Cities." January 1, 2002–December 31, 2003. \$221,000.

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Fellow, 1994-1995

North-South Center Grant, 1994-95 (\$16,500)

Sabbatical Leave Award, Washington University, 1994-1995

IRIS (Institutional Reform and the Informal Sector) Project, 1994, (\$12,000)

National Science Foundation Research Grant, 1990-1991 (\$86,000)

National Science Foundation Research Grant, 1982-1984 (\$72,000)

Sabbatical Leave Award, Washington University, 1980-1981

Fulbright Faculty Research Abroad Program, 1980 (declined)

Tinker Foundation Post-Doctoral Fellowship, 1976-1978

Research Affiliations

ENAP, Brasília, visiting scholar 2017-2019

University of Brasília (UnB), visiting scholar, 1990 and 1993.

University Research Institute of Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ), visiting researcher, 1982-1983

Fundação Getúlio Vargas, visiting researcher, 1969-1970.

Dissertations Chaired at Washington University

Michelle Lorenzini, "Exchange Rate Decision Making in the Asian Tigers," 2000

Migara de Silva, "Dutch Disease in Indonesia and Nigeria," 1996

Kirstin Hamann, "Labor Legislation in Spain," 1995

Bruce Wilson, "Politics of Economic Policy in Costa Rica and Jamaica," 1992

Keith Yanner, "Democratization in Mexico, 1988-1991." 1992

Diana Mosovich Pont-Lezica, "Collective Action in an Unstable Environment," 1990

Margaret Sherraden. "Social Policy Reform in Mexico: Rural Primary Health Services," 1989

Rosario Espinal, "Classes, Power and Political Change in the Dominican Republic," 1985

Thomas Lancaster, "Regime Change and Public Policy in Spain," 1983

Lois Oppenheim, "Quest for Unity in Allende's Chile," 1980

Benjamin Crosby, "Political Parties in Costa Rica," 1976

Dissertations Chaired or Co-Chaired at the University of Pittsburgh

David McCoy
João Guedes-Nato
José Incio Coronado
Ignacio Mamone
Douglas Block
Amy Erica Smith
Miguel Garcia Sánchez
German Lodola
Luis Jiménez
Laura Wills-Otero
Juan Carlos Rodriguez-Raga
Jon Hiskey
Vince McIlhinney
Lucio Rennó
Dinorah Azpurú
Taeko Hiroi
William Lies

Languages: Portuguese and Spanish