

## BENJAMIN GOLDFRANK

Curriculum Vitae, August 2019

School of Diplomacy and International Relations  
Seton Hall University  
South Orange, NJ 07079

Tel: 973-275-2095  
Fax: 973-275-2519  
Email: benjamin.goldfrank@shu.edu

### ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

School of Diplomacy and International Relations, Seton Hall University; *Professor*, August 2019 – Present; *Chair*, July 2013 – July 2019; *Associate Professor*, August 2011 – August 2019; *Assistant Professor*, August 2007 – August 2011.

Political Science Department, University of New Mexico; *Assistant Professor*, January 2003 – June 2007.

Political Science Department, University of California, Berkeley; *Instructor*, Summer 2002.

### EDUCATION

Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley. Political Science. December 2002.

M.A. University of California, Berkeley. Political Science. May 1996.

B.A. Harvard University. Social Studies. *Summa Cum Laude*, *Phi Beta Kappa*. Certificate in Latin American Studies. June 1993.

### PUBLICATIONS

#### Books:

- *Deepening Local Democracy in Latin America: Participation, Decentralization, and the Left*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011.
- *The Left in the City: Participatory Local Governments in Latin America*. Co-edited with Daniel Chavez. London: Latin American Bureau and Transnational Institute, 2004.  
Published in Spanish as *La izquierda en la ciudad: Participación en los gobiernos locales de América Latina*, Barcelona, Spain: Icaria and Transnational Institute, 2004.  
Revised edition published in Italian, with Giovanni Allegretti, as *La sinistra e le città: Partecipazione nei governi locali dell'America Latina*, Firenze, Italy: Caminito Editrice and Transnational Institute, 2005.

#### Articles:

- “The Latin American Left’s Missed Opportunity to Deepen Democracy,” *Journal of International Affairs*, 71:1 (Fall/Winter 2017).
- “The World Bank and the Globalization of Participatory Budgeting,” *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 8:2 (December 2012).  
Published in Spanish as “El Banco Mundial y la globalización de los presupuestos participativos,” in *Democracia participativa, gestión urbana, e capitalismo de crisis* CIDADE, CLACSO, and TNI e-book (<http://issuu.com/ongcidade/docs/ebookdp>, 2014).
- “Church, State, and Human Rights in Latin America,” co-written with Nick Rowell, *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 13:1 (March 2012).
- “Los Consejos Comunales: ¿Avance o retroceso para la democracia venezolana?” *Íconos: Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, FLACSO Ecuador, N. 40 (May 2011).
- “Municipal Neoliberalism and Municipal Socialism: Urban Political Economy in Latin America,” co-authored with Andrew Schrank, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33:2 (June 2009).
- “From the Petista Way of Governing to the Brazilian Way: How the PT Changed,” co-authored with Brian Wampler, *Revista Debates*, Porto Alegre, Brazil, 2:2 (Jul-Dec 2008).
- “¿De la ciudad a la nación? La democracia participativa y la izquierda latinoamericana,” *Nueva Sociedad*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, No. 212 (Nov-Dec 2007).  
Published in German as “Von der Stadt zur Nation? Partizipative Demokratie und die lateinamerikanische Linke?” in *Nueva Sociedad*, Special Issue, How Left is the Latin American Left? (September 2008).  
Published in Portuguese as “Da cidade a nação? A democracia participativa e a esquerda latino-americano,” in *Política Externa*, São Paulo, Brazil, 16:4 (Mar/Apr/May 2008).

- “The Politics of Deepening Local Democracy: Decentralization, Party Institutionalization, and Participation,” *Comparative Politics*, 39:2 (January 2007).
- “Los procesos de ‘presupuesto participativo’ en América Latina: Éxito, fracaso y cambio,” *Revista de Ciencia Política*, Chile, 26:2 (December 2006).
- “Competitive Institution Building: The PT and Participatory Budgeting in Rio Grande do Sul,” co-authored with Aaron Schneider, *Latin American Politics and Society*, 48:3 (Fall 2006).  
Published in Portuguese as, “Construção Institucional Competitiva: O PT e o Orçamento Participativo no Rio Grande do Sul,” in *Desenho Institucional e Participação Política: Experiências no Brasil Contemporâneo*, edited by Catia Lubambo, Denilson Coêlho, and Marcus Melo. Rio de Janeiro: Vozes, 2005.  
Published in Spanish as, “Construcción institucional competitiva: el PT y el Presupuesto Participativo de Rio Grande do Sul,” in *Diseño institucional y participación política: Experiencias en el Brasil contemporáneo*. Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2006.
- “The Fragile Flower of Local Democracy: A Case Study of Decentralization/Participation in Montevideo,” *Politics & Society*, 30:1 (March 2002).

**Book Chapters:**

- “Participatory Budgeting in Canada and the United States,” co-authored with Katherine Landes, in *Hope for Democracy: 30 Years of Participatory Budgeting Worldwide*, edited by Nelson Dias. Faro, Portugal: Epopeia Records and Oficina, 2018.
- “Good Government and Politics as Usual: The Schizophrenic Path of the Workers’ Party,” co-authored with Brian Wampler, in Peter Kingstone and Timothy Power, eds., *Democratic Brazil Divided*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 2017.
- “Participatory Budgeting in Latin American Cities,” in Tom Angotti, ed., *Urban Latin America: Inequalities and Neoliberal Reforms*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017.
- “Mejorando las posibilidades del éxito del presupuesto participativo,” in *Procesos de descentralización y participación*, edited by Alejandro Noboa, Mariano Suárez, y Natalia Bisio. Salto: Universidad de la República Regional Norte, 2015.
- “Democracia participativa e izquierdas: logros, contradicciones, y desafíos,” in *Democracia participativa e izquierdas: logros, contradicciones, y desafíos*, edited by Anja Minnaert and Gustavo Endara. Quito: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2015.
- “Una mirada panorámica a la primera ola local de la izquierda,” in *El giro a la izquierda: los gobiernos locales en América Latina*, edited by Fernando Carrión and Paul Ponce. Quito: FES-ILDIS and Quinta Avenida, 2015.
- “Participatory Budgeting and Urban Sustainability: Reviewing Lessons from Latin America,” in *Institutional and Social Innovation for Sustainable Urban Development*, edited by Harald Miege and Klaus Töpfer. New York: Routledge, 2013.  
Published in Spanish as “Democracia participativa y sostenibilidad ambiental: Una revisita a las Lecciones de América Latina,” in *Nueva Sociedad*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, No. 240 (July-August 2012).  
Re-published in *Democracia Participativa na América Latina: casos e contribuições para o debate*, edited by Luciano Fedozzi, Rodrigo de Souza Corrad, and Rodrigo Rangel. Porto Alegre: ObservaPOA and OI DP (2017) and in *Democracia Participativa*, online journal, October 2018 <https://www.dparticipativa.org>
- “La difícil pero no imposible difusión del presupuesto participativo,” in *Democracia Participativa vs. Representación. Tensiones en América Latina*, edited by Carlos Mascareño y Egon Montecinos. Caracas: Centro de Estudios Regionales, Universidad de Los Lagos y Centro de Estudios del Desarrollo, Universidad Central de Venezuela, 2012.
- “The Left and Participatory Democracy: Brazil, Uruguay, and Venezuela,” in *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, edited by Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.

- “Neoliberalism and the Left: National Challenges, Local Responses, and Global Alternatives,” in *Beyond Neoliberalism in Latin America? Societies and Politics at the Crossroads*, edited by John Burdick, Phillip Oxhorn, and Kenneth Roberts. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- “Lessons from Latin American Experience in Participatory Budgeting,” in *Participatory Budgeting*, edited by Anwar Shah. Washington, DC: World Bank Institute, Public Sector Governance and Accountability Series, 2007.
- “The Difficulties of Deepening Democracy: La Causa R Meets Caracas the Horrible,” in *The Left in the City*, edited by Chavez and Goldfrank, London: Latin American Bureau and Transnational Institute, 2004. (Revised and translated editions in Spanish and Italian.)
- “Conclusion: The End of Politics or a New Beginning for the Left?” in *The Left in the City*, edited by Chavez and Goldfrank, London: Latin American Bureau and Transnational Institute, 2004. (Revised and translated editions in Spanish and Italian.)
- “Making Participation Work in Porto Alegre,” in *Radicals in Power: The Workers’ Party and Experiments with Urban Democracy in Brazil*, edited by Gianpaolo Baiocchi. London and New York: Zed Books, 2003.
- “Restraining the Revolution or Deepening Democracy? The Workers’ Party in Rio Grande do Sul,” co-authored with Aaron Schneider, in *Radicals in Power*, edited by Baiocchi. London and New York: Zed Books, 2003.
- “Quem Vai Participar do OP Quando Todas as Ruas Estiveram Pavimentadas?” in *Construindo um novo mundo: Avaliação da experiência do Orçamento Participativo em Porto Alegre – Brasil*, João Verle and Luciano Brunet, editors. Porto Alegre: Editora Guayí, 2002.

**Reviews:**

- Review of María José Álvarez-Rivadulla, *Squatters and the Politics of Marginality in Uruguay*, in *Latin American Politics and Society*, 60:3 (August 2018).
- Review of Steve Ellner, ed., *Latin America’s Radical Left: Challenges and Complexities of Political Power in the Twenty-First Century*, in *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 30:3 (November 2015).
- Review of Richard Sandbrook, *Reinventing the Left in the Global South: The Politics of the Possible*, in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 28:3 (September 2015).
- Review Essay of Merike Blofield, ed., *The Great Gap: Inequality and the Politics of Redistribution in Latin America*, Evelyn Huber and John D. Stephens, *Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America*, and Stephen Kaplan, *Globalization and Austerity Politics in Latin America* in *Perspectives on Politics* 12:2 (June 2014).
- Review of Dennis Rodgers, Jo Beall and Ravi Kanbur, eds., *Latin American Urban Development into the 21st Century: Towards a Renewed Perspective on the City*, in *Urban Studies*, 51:2 (February 2014).
- Review of Wendy Wolford, *This Land is Ours Now: Social Mobilization and the Meanings of Land in Brazil*, in *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 32:1 (January 2013).
- Review of Maxwell Cameron and Eric Hershberg, eds., *Latin America’s Left Turns: Politics, Policies, and Trajectories of Change* and Kurt Weyland, Raúl Madrid, and Wendy Hunter, eds., *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings*, in *Perspectives on Politics*, 9:3 (September 2011).
- Review of Stephen Gregory, *Intellectuals and Left Politics in Uruguay, 1958-2006: Frustrated Dialogue*, *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 30:2 (April 2011).
- Review of James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer, *Social Movements and State Power: Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador* in *Perspectives on Politics*, 5:1 (March 2007).
- Review of David Shirk, *Mexico’s New Politics: The PAN and Democratic Change*, in *Comparative Political Studies*, 38:7 (September 2005).
- Review of William Nysten, *Participatory Democracy versus Elitist Democracy: Lessons from Brazil*, in *Latin American Politics and Society*, 47:1 (Spring 2005).

## **SELECTED PRESENTATIONS**

### **Professional Association Conferences:**

- “Participatory Budgeting in Latin American Cities,” Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Boston, May 24-27, 2019.
- “Social Movements and Participatory Institutions in Latin America,” Southeastern Council of Latin American Studies, 66th Annual Meeting, Oaxaca, Mexico, March 28-30, 2019.
- “Brazil’s Participatory System in Comparative Context,” Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Barcelona, May 23-26, 2018.
- “Ampliando el desarrollo participativo: consecuencias para voz, voto, monitoreo, y justicia social,” Congress of the Asociación Latinoamericana de Ciencias Políticas (ALACIP), Montevideo, Uruguay, July 26-28, 2017.
- “Participatory Democracy in Latin America: A Legacy of the Left Turn?” Caucus for a New Political Science 50th Anniversary Conference, Texas, February 27-28, 2017.
- “La democracia participativa y las izquierdas en América Latina,” European Council for Social Research on Latin America (CEISAL) Conference, Salamanca, Spain, June 28-July 1, 2016.
- “Participatory Democracy and the Left: Comparative Perspectives,” Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, New York, May 27-30, 2016.
- “Improving the Possibilities of Success of PB,” and “State-Level PB: The Case of Rio Grande do Sul,” By the People: Participatory Democracy, Civic Engagement, Citizenship Education Conference at Arizona State University, December 3-5, 2015.
- “The Broad Front’s 25 Years in Montevideo: Good Government, Machine Politics, or Something Else?” Latin American Studies Association meeting, San Juan, Puerto Rico, May 27-30, 2015.
- “Mixed Methods and Multiple Comparisons in Urban Research: The Power of Three?” Invited Panel: Latin American Urban Studies and Planning: Present and Future Research, Latin American Studies Association meeting, Chicago, May 21-24, 2014.
- “¿Un árbol frondoso de democracia local? El nuevo sistema de participación en Rio Grande do Sul,” Congreso de CEISAL, Porto, Portugal, June 12-15, 2013.
- “Participation, Partisanship, and Distribution: The Return of PB to Rio Grande do Sul,” Latin American Studies Association meeting, Washington DC, May 29-June 1, 2013.
- “Participatory Budgeting and Urban Sustainability: Reviewing Lessons from Latin America,” International Sociological Association Forum, Buenos Aires, August, 2012.
- “El Banco Mundial y la difusión del presupuesto participativo,” Asociación Latinoamericana de Ciencias Políticas (ALACIP), Quito, June 2012.

### **Invited:**

- “Comparando los presupuestos participativos: Tiempos, contextos, escalas,” Seminario Internacional: Democracia Participativa. Instituto Electoral de la Ciudad de México. Mexico City, May 13-14, 2019.
- “El Presupuesto Participativo y los Retos de la Democracia,” Primero Foro Internacional de Presupuesto Participativo, Estado de México, Toluca, November 7-8, 2018.
- “Participatory Budgeting in the United States,” International Forum of the BRICS Countries on Citizen Engagement Approaches for Community Infrastructure Development, Ufa, Russia, September 21-22, 2017.
- “Participatory Democracy and Latin America’s Multiple Lefts: Comparative Perspectives,” New Patterns of Inclusion in Latin America Workshop, Princeton University, May 20-21, 2016.
- “Participatory Democracy and Latin America’s Multiple Lefts: Comparative Perspectives,” RELAM 1st International Conference, “What’s Left? The Left Turn in Latin America, 15 Years After,” Montréal, March 24-27, 2016.
- “O Sistema no Rio Grande do Sul: Melhorando o Orçamento Participativo?” II Encontro Internacional Participação, Democracia, e Políticas Públicas, UNICAMP, Campinas, Brazil, April 27-30, 2015.

- “Participatory Democracy and the Left: Achievements, Contradictions, and Challenges,” Graduate Lecture Series, Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil, April 24, 2015.
- “Innovación democrática e izquierdas,” Keynote Address at Conferencia Internacional: Democracia participativa e izquierdas – logros, contradicciones y desafíos, Friedrich Ebert Foundation and FLACSO, Quito, Ecuador, November 4-5, 2014.
- “Promoting PB in Latin America,” Real Money, Real Power: 3rd International Conference on Participatory Budgeting in North America, Oakland and Vallejo, September 25-27, 2014.
- “Developing Urban Politics Research Agendas,” Short Course on Comparative Urban Politics in Developing Countries, American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, August 26-31, 2014.
- “Participatory Budgeting in Latin America.” UN Public Service Forum, Seoul, South Korea, June 23-26, 2014.
- “Participation, Distribution, and the Left: The Return of PB in Rio Grande do Sul,” A New Critical Juncture? Changing Patterns of Representation and Regime Politics in Contemporary Latin America, Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, April 24-26, 2014.
- “Participatory Budgeting in Latin America and Beyond: Promises, Pitfalls, and Paradoxes,” Macalester College, March 11, 2014.
- “How Popular is Participation?” The Politics of the Popular in Latin America, Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, New York University, March 7, 2014.
- “Participatory Budgeting in Latin American Cities,” International Conference on Culture, Economy, Participation and Governance in Latin American Cities, Center for Research on Direct Democracy, Aarau, Switzerland, February 21-22, 2014.
- “Presupuestos participativos como herramientas: Mejorando los posibilidades del éxito,” Seminario Transformaciones en los Marcos Político Institucionales a Escala Regional, Universidad de la República Regional Norte, Salto, Uruguay, October 23-25, 2013.
- “¿Un árbol frondoso de democracia local? El nuevo sistema de participación en Rio Grande do Sul,” Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Relaciones Internacionales, Universidad Nacional de Rosario, Argentina. October 22, 2013.
- “How Many Cases is Too Many? The Power of Three,” Comparing Cities Conference, Watson Institute, Brown University, March 15-16, 2013.
- “Mejorando las posibilidades del éxito del presupuesto participativo: Análisis comparativo,” Conferencia Magistral, Primer Congreso Internacional de Participación Ciudadana y Presupuesto Participativo, Monterrey, México, January 31, 2013.
- “Entre la democracia deliberativa y la representativa: El presupuesto participativo,” Conferencia de Democracia Deliberativa y Participación Ciudadana, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, January 31, 2013.
- “Deepening Local Democracy in Latin America?” Latin American Studies Weekly Seminar, Cornell University, April 16, 2012.
- “O Orçamento Participativo no Rio Grande do Sul: Passado, Comparativo, e Futuro,” Seminário Sistema Estadual de Participação Cidadã: Bases Conceituais, State Government of Rio Grande do Sul, February 24-25, 2011.
- “Making Participatory Democracy Work: Porto Alegre in Comparative Perspective,” Comparative Politics Workshop, University of Pennsylvania, April 1, 2010.
- “El presupuesto participativo y la democracia representativa: ¿Una relación complementaria?” Direct Democracy and Participatory Budgeting in Latin America and Chile, Universidad de los Lagos and Government of Chile, Puerto Montt, Chile, July 21-22, 2009.
- “Opportunities and Constraints on Participatory Government,” Urban Democracy and Governance in the Global South, Princeton University, November 7-8, 2008.
- “La difícil pero no imposible difusión del presupuesto participativo,” Second International Conference on Direct Democracy, Center for Research on Direct Democracy, AUCIP, UdeLaR, Universidad Católica, and CLAEH, Montevideo, Uruguay, October 20-21, 2008.

- “The Left and Participatory Democracy: Scaling Up or Scaling Back?” Conference: Latin America’s Left Turn: Causes and Implications, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, April 4-5, 2008.
- “O Futuro da Economia Política Urbana na América Latina,” International Seminar, The Future of Participatory Democracy: Technical Fix or Popular Sovereignty, CIDADE, TNI, OXFAM, and Centro Universitário Metodista, Porto Alegre, Brazil, October 25-27, 2007.
- “¿Profundizando la democracia a través del presupuesto?” Seminar on Construcción de Paz y Participación ciudadana en los gobiernos locales y regionales, Government of Valle del Cauca, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, UNDP, and INDEPAZ, Cali, Colombia, June 5-6, 2007.
- “El presupuesto participativo en perspectiva comparada,” Foro Presidencial Sobre Presupuesto Participativo, Secretary of the Presidency, Ministerial Advisor of Finance, and Minister of Governance and Justice, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, September 2006.

#### **RECENT AWARDS**

- Seton Hall University Teacher of the Year, 2016.
- Teacher of the Year, School of Diplomacy, Seton Hall University, 2016.
- Salgo-Noren Teacher of the Year, School of Diplomacy, Seton Hall University, 2012.
- Researcher of the Year, School of Diplomacy, Seton Hall University, 2011-2012.

#### **RECENT TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

Seton Hall University, Fall 2007 – Present.

*DIPL 4101: Senior Research Project; DIPL 6801: US Foreign Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean; DIPL 6806: Political Economy of Latin America and the Caribbean; DIPL 6803/DIPL 4803: Politics and Society in Latin America and the Caribbean; DIPL 2119/DIPL 6809: Cuba Seminar; DIPL3850/CORE3850: Church, State, and Politics in Latin America*

#### **SELECTED RECENT PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

- Reviewer of research grant applications for the European Research Council, Czech Science Foundation, the National Science Foundation (US), CONICYT (National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research, Chile), and ANPCyT (National Agency for the Promotion of Science and Technology, Argentina).
- Reviewer of book manuscripts for Bristol University, Pennsylvania State University, Routledge, Stanford University, United Nations University, University of New Mexico, and Wiley.
- Reviewer of panel and paper proposals for the annual conferences of the Latin American Studies Association and the Brazilian Studies Association.
- Reviewer for *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *World Politics*, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *Journal of Development Studies*, *World Development*, *Latin American Politics & Society*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *Journal of Politics*, *Latin American Research Review*, *Politics & Gender*, *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, *Theory and Society*, *Development and Change*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Governance*, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *Urban Studies*, *Urban Affairs Review*, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, *The Latin Americanist*, *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, *Qualitative Sociology*, *Perfiles Latinoamericanos* (Mexico), *Política y Gobierno* (Mexico), *Íconos: Revista de Ciencias Sociales* (Ecuador), *Local Government Studies*, *Environmental Planning C*, *Political Power & Social Theory*, *Revista de Sociologia e Política* (Brazil), *Revista de Ciencia Política* (Chile), and *Journal of World-Systems Research*.

#### **LANGUAGES**

Spanish and Portuguese: Fluent reading, speaking, and writing.