

BENJAMIN GOLDFRANK
Curriculum Vitae, October 2022

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:

- *The Rise, Spread, and Decline of Brazil's Participatory Budgeting: The Arc of a Democratic Innovation*. Co-authored with Brian Wampler. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022.
- *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:

- “Comparaciones múltiples y métodos mixtos en la investigación urbana: ¿el poder de los tres?” *Administración Pública y Sociedad* 13 (Enero-Junio 2022), translated by Virginia Romanutti.
- “Scaling-Up and Zooming-Out: Understanding How and When Participatory Institutions Matter,” co-authored with Jared Abbott, *Comparative Politics* 53:4 (July 2021).
- “The Systemic Turn and Participatory Budgeting: The Case of Rio Grande do Sul,” co-authored with Sveinung Legard, *Journal of Latin American Studies* 53 (February 2021), 161-187.
- “Sistemas Participativas en Brasil y Venezuela: Orígenes y casos de dos modelos,” co-authored with María Teresa González Esquivel, *Caderno CRH* (UFBA), 33:87 (July 2020).
- “La difusión y el diseño de los presupuestos participativos en Brasil y los Estados Unidos,” *Revista de Ciencia Política y Gobierno*, 11 (2019).
- “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, gestão urbana, e capitalismo de crise* CIDADE, CLACSO, and TNI e-book (<http://issuu.com/ongcidade/docs/ebookdp>, 2014).
- “Church, State, and Human Rights in Latin America,” co-authored 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:

- “Social Movements and Participatory Institutions in Latin America,” co-authored with Rocío Annunziata, in Federico M. Rossi (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American Social Movements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2023).
- “Inclusion without Power: Limits of Participatory Institutions,” in Diana Kapiszewski, Steven Levitsky, and Deborah Yashar (eds.), *The Inclusionary Turn in Latin American Democracies*, edited by (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).
- “Presente y futuro de la participación en América Latina,” co-authored with Carmen Pineda Nebot, in Carlos Iván Molina-Bulla, Carmen Pineda Nebot, Thiago Ferreira Dias, and Marco Aurélio Marques Ferreira (eds.), *Participación Social y Políticas Públicas en Iberoamérica* (Bogotá: Universidad Externado de Colombia, 2021).
- “Participatory Democracy in Latin America? Limited Legacies of the Left Turn,” in Manuel Bálán and Francoise Montambeault (eds.), *Legacies of the Left Turn in Latin America: The Promise of Inclusive Citizenship*. South Bend, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2020.
- “Las instituciones participativas en las grandes ciudades latinoamericanas: Entre las promesas y los problemas,” in Lorena V. González (ed.), *Instituciones participativas en Sudamérica: ¿del optimismo al ocaso?* (Bogotá: Universidad de Bogotá Jorge Tadeo Lozano, 2020).
- “La democracia estadounidense en el siglo XXI: ¿Mengua temporal o un ocaso permanente?” in *¿Una nueva democracia para el siglo XXI?* edited by Joaquín Brugué Torruella, Simone Martins, and Carmen Pineda Nebot. Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2020.
Published in Portuguese as, “A democracia estadunidense no século XXI: declínio

temporário ou decadência permanente?” in *Uma nova democracia para o século XXI?* edited by Torruella, Martins, and Pineda. Viçosa: Instituto de Políticas Públicas e Desenvolvimento Sustentável, 2020.

- “Participatory Budgeting, Civic Education, and Political Capital,” co-authored with Daniel Schugurensky, in *Encyclopedia of Educational Innovation*, edited by Michael Peters and Richard Heraud. Singapore: Springer, 2019.
- “Participatory Budgeting in Canada and the United States,” co-authored with Katherine Landes, in Nelson Dias (ed.), *Hope for Democracy*. Faro, Portugal: 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 Alejandro Nobao, Mariano Suárez, y Natalia Bisio (eds.), *Procesos de descentralización y participación*. Salto: Universidad de la República Regional Norte, 2015.
- “Democracia participativa e izquierdas: logros, contradicciones, y desafíos,” in Anja Minnaert and Gustavo Endara (eds.), *Democracia participativa e izquierdas: logros, contradicciones, y desafíos*. Quito: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2015.
- “Una mirada panorámica a la primera ola local de la izquierda,” in Fernando Carrión and Paul Ponce (eds.), *El giro a la izquierda: los gobiernos locales en América Latina*. Quito: FES-ILDIS and Quinta Avenida, 2015.
- “Participatory Budgeting and Urban Sustainability: Reviewing Lessons from Latin America,” in Harald Mieg and Klaus Töpfer (eds.), *Institutional and Social Innovation for Sustainable Urban Development*. 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 Luciano Fedozzi, Rodrigo de Souza Corrad, and Rodrigo Rangel (eds.), *Democracia Participativa na América Latina: casos e contribuições para o debate*. 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 Carlos Mascareño y Egon Montecinos (eds.), *Democracia Participativa vs. Representación. Tensiones en América Latina*. 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 Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts (eds.), *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.
- “Neoliberalism and the Left: National Challenges, Local Responses, and Global Alternatives,” in John Burdick, Phillip Oxhorn, and Kenneth Roberts (eds.), *Beyond Neoliberalism in Latin America? Societies and Politics at the Crossroads*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- “Lessons from Latin American Experience in Participatory Budgeting,” in Anwar Shah (ed.), *Participatory Budgeting*. Washington, DC: World Bank Institute, 2007.
- “The Difficulties of Deepening Democracy: La Causa R Meets Caracas the Horrible,” in Chavez and Goldfrank (eds.), *The Left in the City*. 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 Chavez and Goldfrank (eds.), *The Left in the City*. London: Latin American Bureau and Transnational Institute, 2004. (Revised and translated editions in Spanish and Italian.)

- “Making Participation Work in Porto Alegre,” in Gianpaolo Baiocchi (ed.), *Radicals in Power: The Workers’ Party and Experiments with Urban Democracy in Brazil*. 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 Baiocchi (ed.), *Radicals in Power*. London and New York: Zed Books, 2003.
- “Quem Vai Participar do OP Quando Todas as Ruas Estiveram Pavimentadas?” in João Verle and Luciano Brunet (ed.), *Construindo um novo mundo: Avaliação da experiência do Orçamento Participativo em Porto Alegre – Brasil*. Porto Alegre: Editora Guayú, 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 RECENT PRESENTATIONS

Professional Association Conferences:

- “Auge, Difusión, y Ocaso del Presupuesto Participativo Brasileño,” GIGAPP, Madrid (hybrid), Sept 21-23, 2022.
- “Knowledge and Power: Women in Latin American Political Science,” with Yanina Welp, American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Montreal, Sept 15-18, 2022.
- “The Rise, Spread, and Decline of Participatory Budgeting in Brazil,” with Brian Wampler, Latin American Studies Association, virtual, May 5-8, 2022.
- “La Difusión y el Diseño de los Presupuestos Participativos en Brasil y los Estados Unidos: Implicaciones para el Gobierno Abierto a Nivel Local,” XXIV International Congress of the Centro Latinoamericano de Administración para el Desarrollo, Buenos Aires, Argentina, Nov 12-15, 2019.

- “Participatory Budgeting in Latin American Cities,” Latin American Studies Association (LASA) 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,” LASA 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.

Invited:

- “The Rise, Spread, and Decline of Participatory Budgeting in Brazil,” with Brian Wampler, ERIGAL, University of Montreal, September 15, 2022.
- “A democracia estadunidense no século XXI: declínio temporário ou decadência permanente?” International Seminar, Postgraduate Program in Political Science, Federal University of the State of Rio de Janeiro, September 23, 2021.
- “La política exterior de Biden hacia América Latina: entre cambio y continuidad,” Fundación Global Democracia y Desarrollo, Dominican Republic, August 12, 2021.
- “The Arc of a Democratic Innovation: The Rise, Spread, and Decline of Brazil’s Participatory Budgeting,” with Brian Wampler, for the Workshop: Participatory budgeting in 2020: participation without democracy? Via Zoom, Nov. 23-24, 2020.
- “La democracia estadounidense en el siglo XXI: ¿Mengua temporal o un ocaso permanente?” Centro de Estudios Regionales, Universidad Austral de Chile, October 19, 2020.
- “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.

RECENT AWARDS

- University Research Council Summer Research Grant, Seton Hall, Summer 2020.
- 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

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION COMMITTEES

- Roberta Rice, Ph.D. 2006. “From Peasants to Politicians: The Politicization of Ethnic Cleavages in Latin America.” Political Science. University of New Mexico.
- Matthew Ingram, Ph.D. 2009. “Crafting Courts in New Democracies: The Politics of Subnational Judicial Reform in Brazil and Mexico.” Political Science. University of New Mexico.

- Nick Rowell, Ph.D. 2012. "Church-State Ties, Roman Catholic Episcopacies and Human Rights in Latin America." Political Science. University of New Mexico.
- Margaret Edwards, Ph.D. 2013. "Investigating the Causes of Presidential Failure." Political Science. University of New Mexico.
- Justin Delacour, Ph.D. 2014. "Liberal Discourse and the Hegemon's Dilemma: A Realist-Constructivist Approach to the Study of US-Latin American Relations." Political Science. University of New Mexico.
- Martín Freigedo. Ph.D. 2015. ¿Por qué unos más y otros menos? Los incentivos para crear mecanismos de innovación democrática en los municipios uruguayos. Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales. Mexico City, Mexico.
- Sveinung Legard. Ph.D. 2018. Scaling up Participatory Democracy: Citizen Engagement in Budgeting in Brazil and Norway. Sociology. University of Oslo, Norway.
- Claudia Kuzma. Ph.D., 2021. The Socio-Cultural Dimension of Territory as the Foundation for Participatory Decentralization and Human Development in Uruguay and Chile. International Development. University of Ottawa.

SELECTED PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

- President of the Seton Hall University American Association of University Professors Advocacy Chapter, June 2021 – Present.
- Expert reports on Venezuela country conditions and US-Venezuelan relations for detainees, August 2020-February 2021.
- Expert report on Venezuela country conditions and courtroom testimony for a political asylum applicant, September 2019.
- Expert report on Venezuela country conditions and comments on opposing counsel's expert report for a child custody case, August-November 2015.
- 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 and proposals for SUNY Albany, Bristol University, Oxford University, Penn State University, Pluto, Routledge, Rutgers University, Stanford University, United Nations University, University of New Mexico, University of Pittsburgh, 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*, *Local Development and Society*, *Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política*, *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, *The Latin Americanist*, *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política*, *Qualitative Sociology*, *Revista CLAD Reforma y Democracia* [Venezuela], *Perfiles Latinoamericanos* (Mexico), *Política y Gobierno* (Mexico), *Íconos: Revista de Ciencias Sociales* (Ecuador), *Local Government Studies*, *Environmental Planning C*, *Political Power & Social Theory*, *Critical Policy Studies*, *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.