

# Felipe Nunes

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## Current Position

Assistant Professor of Political Science 2014  
School of Global Policy and Strategy (GPS)  
University of California, San Diego

## Education

Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles 2015  
Political Science (Comparative Politics; Formal/Quantitative Methods)  
*Committee:* Michael Thies (chair), Kathleen Bawn, Lynn Vavreck, Jeffrey Lewis, and Sebastian Saiegh

M.S., University of California, Los Angeles 2013  
Department of Statistics (Bayesian Data Analysis; Longitudinal Models; Data Visualization)  
*Committee:* Mark Handcock (chair), Nicolas Christou, and Hongquan Xu

M.A., University of California, Los Angeles 2011  
Political Science (Comparative Politics)

M.A., Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG - Brazil) 2009  
Political Science (Political Institutions and Methods)  
*Committee:* Fatima Anastasia (chair), Octavio Amorim Neto, and Magna Inacio

B.A. with departmental honors, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG - Brazil) 2006  
Social Sciences (Major: Political Science, Minor: Data Analysis)  
*Committee:* Carlos Ranulfo Melo (chair), Fatima Anastasia, and Magna Inacio

## Research Interests

Comparative political institutions — Distributive politics — Research methods for social sciences

## Dissertation

*Presidential Turnovers, Decentralization and Distributive Politics in Latin America*

Starting in the late 1990s, traditional opposition parties in Latin America started to capture presidencies. Some of these parties have dramatically shifted resources to core voters as promised, while others have been slower to realize their campaign agendas. I argue this difference depends on presidents' incentives which differ between centralized and decentralized systems. All presidents want their parties to be re-elected, but when local officials are powerful and often from opposition parties, presidents worry that local rivals will steal credit for the provision of goods. This mechanism deters presidents from targeting their voters directly. Instead, presidents in decentralized systems compensate by delivering more goods where local officials are co-partisans. Resource allocation should thus depend on partisan control of local office in decentralized systems; in centralized it should depend on voters' support for the president. My

theory implies that party-building is critical for policy success when authority is decentralized, whereas personal linkage is crucial for maintenance of the agenda when power is centralized. I demonstrate this pattern across 12 years of elections in 4 countries and 100,000 municipalities drawing on observational and survey experiment data, as well as in-depth interviews with 4 current or former presidents, 3 governors, and several mayors. I find that the degree of decentralization significantly affects presidents' allocation of discretionary resources and the growth of the president's party at the subnational level.

## Current Research

### *Under Review*

"A Bayesian Approach to Fit a Two-part Mixture Model for Longitudinal Government Expenditure Data"

"Share the Wealth? How Leaders Distribute Natural Gas Revenues in Peru," (with Paasha Mahdavi)

"The Conditional Effect of Pork: How Does the Geography of Constituencies Affect the Executive-Legislative Relationship in Brazil"

"Does the Message Really Matter? Economy and Poll Rates in the 2010 Brazilian Presidential Election" (with João Francisco Meira)

### *Working Papers*

"Core Voters or Local Allies? Presidential Discretionary Spending in Centralized and Decentralized Systems in Latin America"

"Popularity, Legislative Majority, or Party Building: A Structural Equation Model to Explain What Latin American Presidents' Prioritize"

"Maintaining a Logroll or Building a Party? The Coalition Politics of Transfer Spending in Brazil" (with Kathleen Bawn)

"Inflation or Moderation? Presidential Runoffs, Legislative Party Systems, and Coalitions" (with Michael Thies)

"The Left Variance: How Electoral Mechanisms Shape Leftist Presidential Behavior in Latin America?"

## Publications

### *Peer Reviewed Articles*

"Do Voters Punish Corrupt Candidates? Accountability in the 2006 Brazilian Elections", (with Monica Mata Machado de Castro) *Opinião Pública*, v. 20, n. 1, 2014 (Portuguese)

"The Left Variance: How Electoral Mechanisms Shape Leftist Presidential Behavior in Latin America", *Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudos Legislativos*, n. 1, 2014

"The Determinants of Positive Sum Outcomes in Minas Gerais and in Rio Grande do Sul", *Revista de Sociologia e Política*, v. 21, n. 47, 2013. (Portuguese)

"What's the Best Strategy to Obtain Legislative Support? Survey Evidence from Brazilian State Assemblies", *Brazilian Political Science Review*, v. 6, n. 2, 2012 (88-113).

"State Legislative Coalitions: A Comparative Analysis of the Governments of Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul Between 1998-2006", *Revista Teoria & Sociedade*, v. 19, n. 2, 2011. (Portuguese)

"What to do and What not to do with Regression: Assumptions and Applications of Ordinary Least Square Models (OLS)", *Revista Política Hoje*, v. 20, n 1, 2011. (with Dalson Figueiredo Filho, Enivaldo Rocha, Manoel Santos, Mariana Batista, and JosÃ Alexandre Junior) (Portuguese)

"Determinants of Particularistic Behavior of Brazilian State Legislators", *Dados*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 52, n. 4, 2009 (with Monica Mata Machado de Castro and Fátima Anastasia) (Portuguese)

"Party Behavior and Parliamentary Caucus: The Behavior of Parties in the Legislative Assembly of Minas Gerais between 1995 and 2005", *Cadernos da Escola do Legislativo*, N. 15, 2008 (Portuguese)

### *Invited Contributions*

"A Weak Party System, but Presidentialized Political Parties: The Case of Brazil". In: Gianluca Passarelli. *The Presidentialization of Political Parties*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. (With Carlos Ranulfo de Melo)

"Paths, Routes and Shortcuts: State Legislatures and Political Careers". In: Rachel Meneguello. *The Brazilian Legislature: Functioning, Composition and Public Opinion*. Brasília: Editora do Senado, 2012. (With Fátima Anastasia and Izabella Correa) (Portuguese)

"The Political Middle Way: Coalitions Between PT and PSDB in Majoritarian Elections". In: Luis Felipe Miguel, Silvana Krause, e Humberto Dantas. *Partisan Coalitions in the Brazilian New Democracy*. São Paulo: UNESP, 2010. (with Fátima Anastasia and João Francisco Meira) (Portuguese)

"Ideology and Preferences Distance: A Comparison Between the Governments Lula (Brazil) and Lagos (Chile)". In: Magna Inacio; Lucio Renno. *The Brazilian Legislature in Comparative Perspective*. Belo Horizonte, Editora UFMG, 2009. (with Carlos Ranulfo Melo) (Portuguese)

"The Conditions and Institutions of Brazilian Democracy in the Post-88". In: Carlos Ranulfo Melo and Manuel Alcantara Saez (Org.). *La democracia brasilena*. Salamanca: Editora de la Universidad de Salamanca, 2008. (with Monica Mata Machado de Castro and Fátima Anastasia) (Spanish)

"The Conditions and Institutions of Brazilian Democracy in the Post-88". In: Carlos Ranulfo Melo and Manuel Alcantara Saez (Org.). *The Brazilian Democracy*. Belo Horizonte, UFMG, 2008. (with Monica Mata Machado de Castro and Fátima Anastasia) (Portuguese)

"Democracy, Legislatures and Institutional Mechanisms of Participation". In: Magna Inácio, Raquel Novaes and Fatima Anastasia. *The Brazilian Referendum*. Belo Horizonte, UFMG, 2007. (with Izabela Correia) (Portuguese)

"Participation, Apathy and Political Motivations in a Metropolitan Area". In: Neuma Aguiar (Org.). *Social inequalities, Social Networks and Political Participation*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2007. (with Fátima Anastasia and Carlos Ranulfo Melo) (Portuguese)

"Representation Reform". In: Leonardo Avritzer and Fatima Anastasia (Org.). *Political Reform in Brazil*. Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 2006, p. 1-271. (with Fátima Anastasia) (Portuguese)

## Grants

### *Awards*

Swarr Prize, Best Political Science Paper (Department of Political Science at UCLA)	2014
Best Poster Award, Society for Political Methodology (Annual Summer PolMeth Meeting, University of Virginia, VA)	2013
International Scholarship Award, Phi Beta Kappa Alumni in Southern California (Award for academic excellence between foreign graduate students)	2013
UFMG Knowledge and Culture Award (Award for best poster at 10th Conference at UFMG Knowledge and Culture)	2007
Brazilian Political Science Association Award (ABCP) (Award for the 2nd best undergraduate paper at the 5th ABCP meeting)	2006

### *Research Grants*

Research Development Grant, FAPEMIG (Support research expenditures of \$ 25,000.00)	2012-2014
Fieldwork Grant, UC MEXUS Small Grant (Support field travel expenditures of \$ 1,500.00)	2012
Fieldwork Research Grant, Fulbright Commission (Support field travel expenditures of \$ 7,000.00)	2012
Fieldwork Grant, Department of Political Science (UCLA) (Support research expenditures of \$ 4,000.00)	2012
Mellon Foundation Research Grant, Latin America Institute (UCLA) (Support field travel expenditures of \$ 1,500.00)	2010

### *Fellowships and Travel Grants*

Dissertation Year Fellowship at UCLA (Covers fees, tuitions and monthly stipend, \$ 37,000.00)	2013-2014
Jorge Paulo Lemann Fellowship to support graduate education at UCLA (Support research expenditures of \$ 15,000.00)	2013-2014
CAPES/Fulbright Scholarship to support graduate education at UCLA (Covers fees, tuitions and monthly stipend of \$ 1,300.00)	2009-2013
Travel Grant, Annual Meeting of the Society for Political Methodology (Covers ticket and lodging at the University of Virginia)	2013
Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models (EITM) grant, University of Berkeley (Tuition, allowance for meals, stipend for round-trip airfare and dormitory housing)	2013
Research Travel Grant Program, UCLA (Support field travel expenditures of \$ 500.00)	2012
Graduate Summer Research Fellowship, Department of Political Science (UCLA) (Support research expenditures of \$ 1,500.00)	2011
Graduate Summer Research Fellowship, Department of Political Science (UCLA) (Support field travel expenditures of \$ 2,500.00)	2010
Velez Fellowship, Department of Political Science, UCLA (First year fellowship of \$ 7,000.00)	2009-2010
FAPEMIG Master Fellowship to support graduate education at UFMG (Support master studies of \$ 9,600.00)	2007-2009
Fundación Carolina Fellowship to support summer studies at Spain (Covers ticket, lodging and meals in Salamanca)	Jul-2008
PAD Scholarship to support undergraduate education at UFMG (Support undergrad studies of \$ 3,600.00)	2004-2006

## Conference Papers, Posters, and Presentations

“Whom do Voters Reward? Experimental Results for the Credit-Claiming Battle in Federal Systems” (73th Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2016)

“Popularity, Legislative Majority, or Party Building: A Structural Model to Estimate Presidents’ Priorities in Latin America” (IX Meeting Brazilian Political Science Association, Brasilia, DF, august 2014)

“Core Voters or Local Allies? Presidential Discretionary Spending in Centralized and Decentralized Systems in Latin America” (2013 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 2013, 6th Southern California Comparative Political Science conference, Santa Barbara, CA, September 2013)

“A Bayesian Approach to Fit a Two-part Growth Mixture Model for Longitudinal Government Expenditure Data” (Poster presentation, Society for Political Methodology Summer Meeting, Charlottesville, VA, July 2013)

“Are Mayors Stronger in Decentralized Systems? The Electoral Influence of Local Politicians in Latin America” (XXXI International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington D.C., May 2013)

“Inflation or Moderation? Presidential Runoffs, Legislative Party Systems, and Coalitions” (70th Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2013)

“Share the Wealth? How Leaders Distribute Natural Gas Revenues in Peru” (70th Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2013)

“Popularity, Legislative Majority, or Party Building: What do Latin American Presidents’ Prioritize?” (5th Southern California Comparative Political Science conference, Riverside, CA, May 2013)

“The Left Variance: How Electoral Mechanisms Shape Leftist Presidential Behavior in Latin America” (4th Latin American Political Science Association (ALACIP), Quito, June 2012; and 69th Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2012)

“Maintaining a Logroll or Building a Party? The Coalition Politics of Transfer Spending in Brazil” (68th Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2012; and Comparative Politics Reading Group at UCLA, Los Angeles, February 2012)

“Cheap Deputies and Rich Presidents: The Strategic Use of Pork to Build Coalitions in Brazil” (68th Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2011; Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January 2011; and Comparative Politics Reading Group at UCLA, Los Angeles, November 2010)

“Qual a estratégia mais eficiente para obter apoio legislativo? A relação Executivo-Legislativo em 12 estados brasileiros” (International Political Science Association, Santiago, July 2009)

“Corruption and Accountability: an Analysis of the Brazilian National Elections” (International Political Science Association, Santiago, July 2009)

“Padrões de Interação entre Legisladores e cidadãos em Legislativos estaduais” (Brazilian Social Sciences Association, Caxambu, October 2008)

“Estabilidad, Representación y Gobernabilidad: Las Instituciones en Bolivia, Brasil, Paraguay y Venezuela” (Uruguayan Political Science Association, Montevideo, September 2008)

“Como pode funcionar? Estabilidade, Representação e Governabilidade nos Sistemas Políticos de Brasil e Venezuela” (ILASSA Conference, Austin, February 2007)

## Invited Talks

“Core or swing voters?” Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG)	<i>Fall, 2014</i>
“The Presidential Dilemma in Latin America” Universidade de São Paulo (USP)	<i>Summer, 2012</i>
“Presidential Discretionary Spending in Brazil” Universidade Federal de Pernambuco (UFPE)	<i>Summer, 2012</i>

## Research Experience

Consultant, Vox Populi Brazilian 2014 Gubernatorial and presidential elections	<i>2014-2015</i>
Consultant, Zahpee Monitoring the Brazilian 2014 World Cup	<i>2014</i>
Consultant, Inter-American Development Bank Fiscal Windfalls and Expenditure Efficiency: Subnational Level Evidence	<i>2013</i>
Graduate Research Assistant, Prof. Tim Groseclose Several projects (Data analysis, proof checking, R coding)	<i>2013-2014</i>
Lead Researcher, Party Building in Latin America FAPEMIG grant for research development	<i>2012-2014</i>
Graduate Research Assistant, Prof. Jeff Lewis Several projects (NHGIS data, ‘rvoteview’ R package)	<i>2012-2013</i>
Graduate Research Assistant, Prof. Arthur Stein UCLA-UCSD joint project on Political Violence	<i>2012-2013</i>
Graduate Research Assistant, Prof. Lynn Vavreck UCLA-YOUGOV joint project on Survey methodology	<i>2011</i>
Graduate Research Assistant, Legislative Studies Center (CEL-UFMG) UFMG survey on subnational parliamentary elites	<i>2007-2008</i>
Research Assistant, Prof. Fatima Anastasia Several projects on Elections, accountability, and representation	<i>2004-2007</i>

## Teaching Experience

### Graduate Level (at UCSD)

IRGN 479: Political Institutions in Latin America	<i>Spring 2016</i>
IRGN 456: Program Design and Evaluation	<i>Spring 2016</i>

### Graduate Level (at UCLA)

PS 200E: Advanced Topics in Quantitative Methods With prof. Jeff Lewis	<i>Spring 2013</i>
PS 200B: Statistical Methods II (Probability) With prof. Kathleen Bawn	<i>Winter 2013</i>

## Undergraduate Level (at UCLA)

Stats 10: Introduction to Statistical Reasoning With prof. Randall Rojas / Felipe Nunes ( <i>as instructor</i> )	Summer 2013
PS 154: Government and Politics in Latin America: States of South America With prof. Barbara Geddes	Spring 2012
PS 50: Introduction to Comparative Politics With prof. Michael Thies	Fall 2011

## Undergraduate Level (at UFMG)

Mini-course: Introduction to Data Analysis with SPSS Felipe Nunes ( <i>as instructor</i> )	Winter 2009
Mini-course: Introduction to Survey Analysis Felipe Nunes ( <i>as instructor</i> )	Spring 2008
PS 3: Democratic Theory and Political Institutions With prof. Magna Inácio	Spring 2008
PS 6: Introduction to Data Analysis for Social Science With prof. Danielle Cirenno and Prof. Jorge Alexandre Neves	Fall, Winter 2008

## Languages and Specialized Training

### *Additional Research Training*

EITM (Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models) Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley <i>Director: Sean Gailmard</i>	Summer 2013
Advanced Workshop on Research Design for Causal Inference Northwestern University and the University of Southern California <i>Directors: Bernard Black and Mathew McCubbins</i>	Summer 2011
EMAS (Escuela de Análisis Sociopolítico) Departamento de Ciencia Política, Universidad de Salamanca <i>Director: Araceli Mateus</i>	Summer 2008
Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis Political Science Department, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais - Brazil <i>Courses: Mathematics for social sciences, Introduction to regression analysis, Categorical regression models (Logit, probit, multinomial), Longitudinal data analysis for comparative research, Spatial econometrics using GeoDa, Introduction to SPSS, Survey data analysis, Sampling design.</i>	Summer 2003-2007

### *Fieldwork*

Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela

### *Languages*

English (fluent), Portuguese (native), Spanish (fluent)

### *Statistical Analysis*

R, Stata, SPSS, JAGS/BUGS, Fathom

## Programming Languages

Python, JavaScript, L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X, HTML/CSS, SQLite, Unix

## Data Visualization and Spatial Analysis

GeoDa, QGIS, ArcView GIS

## University Service

### At UCLA:

Graduate Students Association president, Department of Political Science	2012-2013
Methods workshop coordinator, Department of Political Science	2012-2013
Departmental space committee, Department of Political Science	2012-2013
Comparative politics reading group coordinator, Department of Political Science	2010-2011

### At UFMG:

Conference co-organizer, Forum for graduate students	2009
Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Social Sciences	2008
Undergraduate representative, Department of Sociology	2006
Undergraduate representative, Department of Political Science	2006
Conference co-organizer, Social Sciences Undergraduate Seminar	2005
President of the undergrad students association, Department of Social Sciences	2005
Undergraduate studies committee, Department of Social Sciences	2005
Lecture Series Student Coordinator, Department of Social Sciences	2005

## Professional Service

**Co-editor:** A Different View (ADV) (2008-2009).

**Reviewer:** Revista de Sociologia e Política (2012), Journal of Legislative Studies (2013), Journal of Politics (2014, 2015), Revista de Sociologia e Política (2015)

## References

Michael Thies (chair)  
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Department of Political Science, UCLA  
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