

Sandra J. Ley Gutiérrez
Associate Professor
Political Studies Division
Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE)
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EDUCATION

- 2014 Ph.D. in Political Science
Duke University
Fields: Comparative Political Behavior; Conflict and Violence
Dissertation: Citizens in Fear: Participation and Voting Behavior in the Midst of Violence
- 2010 M.A. in Political Science
Duke University
Approved with Distinction
- 2007 B.A. in Political Science and International Relations
Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas
Thesis: Decentralization and Electoral Autonomy: Determinants of Autonomy in the Local Electoral Institutes in Mexico, 1990-2004
Approved with Distinction

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 2021-present Associate Professor
Political Studies Division, CIDE-Mexico City
- 2020-present General Coordinator for the Program on the Study of Violence (PEV)
Political Studies Division, CIDE-Mexico City
- 2016-2021 Assistant Professor
Political Studies Division, CIDE-Mexico City
- 2015-2016 Visiting Professor
Political Studies Division, CIDE-Mexico City
- 2014-2015 Visiting Fellow
Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame
- 2013-2015 Security Consultant
México Evalúa
- 2014-2015 Expert for Mexico
Mexico Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center

2014	Local Senior Consultant for Mexico Democracy International
2007-2008	Research Projects Coordinator Parametría

PUBLICATIONS

Academic

Ley, Sandra. Forthcoming. "High-risk participation: Demanding peace and justice amid criminal violence." *Journal of Peace Research*.

Aruguete, Natalia, Ernesto Calvo, Francisco Cantú, Sandra Ley, Carlos Scartascini, and Tiago Ventura. 2021. "Partisan cues and perceived risks: The effect of partisan social media frames during the COVID-19 crisis in Mexico." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 31:sup1, 82-95.

Ley, Sandra, J. Eduardo Ibarra-Olivo and Meseguer, Covadonga. 2021. "Remittances and Protests against Crime in Mexico." *International Migration Review* doi:10.1177/01979183211011428

Rettberg, Angelika and Sandra Ley. 2021. "Conflicto, Criminalidad y Violencia: Un Desafío para los Empresarios de Colombia y México." In Andrea Lluch, Martín Monsalve y Marcelo Bucheli (eds.), *Historia empresarial en América Latina: temas, debates y problemas*, Universidad del Pacífico-Ediciones Uniandes.

Ley, Sandra, Covadonga Meseguer and J. Eduardo Ibarra-Olivo. 2021. "Family Remittances and Vigilantism in Mexico." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 47(6): 1375-1394.

Trejo, Guillermo and Sandra Ley. 2019. "High-Profile Criminal Violence: Why Drug Cartels Murder Government Officials and Party Candidates in Mexico." *British Journal of Political Science* 51(1): 203-229. (Honorable Mention at APSA Democracy and Autocracy Section).

Trejo, Guillermo and Sandra Ley. 2020. *Votes, Drugs, and Violence. The Political Logic of Criminal Wars in Mexico*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (2021 Democracy & Autocracy Best Book Award, APSA).

Altamirano, Melina, Sarah Berens and Sandra Ley. 2020. "The Welfare State amid Crime. How victimization and perceptions of insecurity affect social policy preferences in Latin America and the Caribbean." *Politics and Society*, Special Issue "Societies under Stress." (2021 Seligson Prize from LAPOP).

Altamirano, Melina and Sandra Ley. 2020. "The Economy, Security, and Corruption in the 2018 Presidential Election. Campaign issues and electoral preferences in Mexico." *Política y gobierno*, 27(2). Special bilingual volume on the Mexican 2018 Election.

Castro Cornejo, Rodrigo, Sandra Ley, and Ulises Beltrán. 2020. "Anger, Partisanship, and the Activation of Populist Attitudes in Mexico." *Política y gobierno*, 27(2). Special bilingual volume on the Mexican 2018 Election.

Ley, Sandra and Magdalena Guzmán. 2019. "Doing Business in the Context of Criminal Violence in Mexico," with Magdalena Guzmán. In D. Avant, M. Berrie, E. Chenoweth, R. Epstein, C. Hendrix, O. Kaplan, and T. Sisk, *Civil Action and the Dynamics of Violence*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Trejo, Guillermo and Sandra Ley. 2019. "Mexico's Drug Wars and the Remaking of Local Order" with Guillermo Trejo. In A. Giraudy, E. Moncada and R. Snyder, *Inside Countries: Subnational Research in Comparative Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ley, Sandra, Shannan Mattiace, and Guillermo Trejo. 2019. "Indigenous Resistance to Criminal Governance. Why Regional Ethnic Autonomy Institutions Protect Communities from Narco Rule in Mexico." *Latin American Research Review* 54(1): 181-200.

Ley, Sandra. 2018. "To Vote or Not to Vote: How Criminal Violence Shapes Electoral Participation." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(9): 1963-1990.

Trejo, Guillermo and Sandra Ley. 2018. "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* 51(7): 900-937. (Award for Best Paper Published in CPS in 2018)

Aldrich, John, Gregory Schober, Sandra Ley, and Marco Fernández. 2018. "Incognizance and Perceptual Deviation: Individual and Institutional Sources of Variation in Citizens' Perceptions of Party Placements on the Left-Right Scale." *Political Behavior* 40: 415-433.

Cantú, Francisco and Sandra Ley. "Poll Worker Recruitment: Evidence from the Mexican Case." *Election Law Journal* 16(4): 495-510.

Meseguer, Covadonga, Sandra Ley, and J. Eduardo Ibarra-Olivo. 2017. "Sending money home in times of crime: The case of Mexico." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(13): 2169-2192.

Ley, Sandra. 2017. "Security and Crime Issue Voting: Electoral Accountability in the Midst of Violence." *Latin American Politics and Society* 59(1): 3-27.

Trejo, Guillermo and Sandra Ley. 2016. "Federalism, Drugs, and Violence. Why Inter-Governmental Conflict Stimulated Inter-Cartel Violence in Mexico." *Política y Gobierno* 23(1): 9-52. Special bilingual volume on Democracy, Conflict, and Violence in Latin America.

Public policy reports

López Ayllón, Sergio et al. 2018. "Estudio para elaborar una propuesta de política pública en materia de Justicia Transicional en México." CIDE-CNDH. Mexico City.

Chapa, Lilian and Sandra Ley. 2015. "Prevención del delito en México. ¿Cuáles son las prioridades?" México Evalúa. México, D.F.

Ley, Sandra. 2015. "Violence and Citizen Participation in Mexico: From the Polls to the Streets". Briefing Series on Building Resilient Communities in Mexico: Civic Responses to Organized Crime. Justice in Mexico; Woodrow Wilson Center: San Diego; Washington, D.C.

Mizrahi, Yemile, Sandra Ley, Lilian Chapa, and Leonel Fernández. 2014. "Mid-term Performance Evaluation of Crime Prevention Models in Mexico". Democracy International-USAID.

Koloffon, Lilián, Leonel Fernández, and Sandra Ley. 2014. "Prevención del delito en México. ¿Dónde quedó la evidencia?" México Evalúa. México, D.F.

De Buen, Néstor, Leslie Solís, and Sandra Ley. 2013. "La cárcel: ¿Para qué?". México Evalúa. México, D.F.

Villanueva, Roberto, José Rivera, and Sandra Ley. 2013. "Pasos para la Memoria. Manual de Documentación de Casos de Víctimas de Violaciones de Derechos Humanos y del Delito". Centro de Comunicación Social. México, D.F.

Ley, Sandra. 2007. "Independencia de los Órganos Electorales: Teoría y Evidencia para el caso mexicano". In Instituto Electoral del Distrito Federal. *Grandes Temas para un Observatorio Electoral Ciudadano*, Vol. III. México: IEDF.

Publications in newspapers and magazines

"Municipios bajo fuego", *Nexos*, with Guillermo Trejo (February 2015)

"Desapariciones y protesta". *Letras Libres*. Polifonía Blog. (November 20, 2013)

"Elecciones y violencia". *Letras Libres*. Polifonía Blog. (July 11, 2013)

"Lecciones desde Colombia". *Letras Libres*. Printed edition. (April 2013)

"Conteos comparados de la violencia en América Latina". *Letras Libres*. Polifonía Blog. (November 28, 2012)

"La insuficiencia de las bases de datos". *Letras Libres*. Polifonía Blog. (September 19, 2012)

"El desafío de contar a nuestros muertos". *Letras Libres*. Polifonía Blog. (September 12, 2012)

"¿Qué mide realmente el Índice de Estados Fallidos?" *Letras Libres*. Polifonía Blog. (June 29, 2011)

WORK IN PROGRESS

"Yucatán as an Exception to Rising Criminal Violence in México," with Shannan Mattiace (R&R)

"From Election Day to Presidential Approval: Partisanship and the Honeymoon Period in Mexico," with Rodrigo Castro, Ulises Beltrán, and René Galicia (R&R)

“Security or Social Spending? Perceptions of Insecurity, Victimization, and Policy Priorities in Mexico and Brazil,” with Melina Altamirano and Sarah Berens (R&R)

“Rewriting Violence: Risk Effects and the Targeting of Journalists in Mexico’s Criminal Conflict,” with Cassy Dorff and Colin Henry (Under review)

“Voting for Law and Order in Mexico,” with Francisco Cantú and Tiago Ventura (In progress)

HONORS, AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

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| 2021 | Book <i>Votes, Drugs, and Violence</i> with Guillermo Trejo awarded the 2021 Democracy & Autocracy Best Book Award from the American Political Science Association. |
| | Book <i>Votes, Drugs, and Violence</i> with Guillermo Trejo awarded Honorable Mention for the 2021 William Riker Prize from the American Political Science Association. |
| | Paper “The Welfare State amid Crime: How Victimization and Perceptions of Insecurity Affect Social Policy Preferences in Latin America and the Caribbean,” with Melina Altamirano and Sarah Berens, awarded the 2021 Seligson Prize from LAPOP. |
| | EGAP COVID-19 Small Grants Fund. In collaboration with Lucía Tiscornia and Tiago Ventura, for the project “Criminal governance amid the COVID-19 pandemic.” |
| 2021-2023 | Member of <i>Journal of Illicit Economies and Development</i> Editorial Board |
| 2020 | Level 1 National Researcher, National Council for Research and Technology (Conacyt) |
| | UC MEXUS-Conacyt Collaborative Research Grant. In collaboration with Lauren L. Young, for the project “The causes and effects of lynchings in Mexico using a new dataset of media reports.” |
| | Paper “High-Profile Criminal Violence: Why Drug Cartels Murder Government Officials and Party Candidates in Mexico,” with Guillermo Trejo, awarded Honorable Mention at APSA 2020 Democracy and Autocracy Section. |
| | Academy of Medical Sciences Global Challenges Research Fund Networking Grant. In collaboration with Carolina Garriga, for the project “Establishing an interdisciplinary network to address the economic consequences of criminal violence in Mexico.” |
| 2019-2023 | Member of <i>Political Behavior</i> Editorial Board |
| 2019-2022 | Member of <i>Política y Gobierno</i> Editorial Board |
| 2018 | Paper “Why Did Drug Cartels Go to War in Mexico? Subnational Party Alternation, the Breakdown of Criminal Protection, and the Onset of Large-Scale Violence,” with Guillermo Trejo, awarded Best Paper Published in CPS in 2018 |

2017	<p>Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation Research Grant. In collaboration with Guillermo Trejo and Shannan Mattiace, for the project “Criminal Violence and Indigenous Resistance. Why Ethnic Autonomy Institutions Deter Drug Violence in Mexico.”</p> <p>National Researcher Candidate, National Council for Research and Technology (Conacyt)</p> <p>Mexico City Collaboration Grants, University of Notre Dame. In collaboration with Guillermo Trejo, for the project “Democracy and Criminal Violence: The Political Foundations of Drug Wars in Mexico.”</p>
2013-2014	Inter-American Foundation Grassroots Development Fellowship
2012-2013	International Research Travel Fellowship, Duke University
2012	Democracy, Institutions, and Political Economy Summer Funding, Political Science Department, Duke University
2011	<p>Walter T. Molano Award, Political Science Department, Duke University</p> <p>Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies Field Research Grant, Duke University</p> <p>Democracy, Institutions, and Political Economy Summer Funding, Political Science Department, Duke University</p>
2010	Walter T. Molano Award, Political Science Department, Duke University
2009	<p>Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Predissertation Research Grant, Duke University</p> <p>Democracy, Institutions, and Political Economy Summer Funding, Political Science Department, Duke University</p>
2005	Academic Excellence Fellowship, Sempra Energy/CIDE

PRESENTATIONS

2020	“The Covid-19 Crisis: Effects on Criminal Violence and Public Security in Latin America,” Webinar, University of Michigan.
2019	“Rewriting Violence: Risk Effects and the Targeting of Journalists in Mexico’s Criminal Conflict,” with Cassy Dorff and Colin Henry, “New Research by Women Studying Violence” Workshop, University of Notre Dame.

- “Criminal Violence and Indigenous Resistance. Why Ethnic Autonomy Institutions Deter Drug Violence in Mexico,” with Shannan Mattiace and Guillermo Trejo, “Old and New Challenges to Mexican Democracy” Conference, Yale University.
- 2018 “The Welfare State amid Crime. How victimization and perceptions of insecurity affect preferences for redistribution in Latin America,” with Melina Altamirano and Sarah Berens, Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, IL.
- “High-risk Activism and Protest amid Violence. Evidence from Mexico,” “New Research by Women Studying Violence” Workshop, University of Notre Dame.
- “The Welfare State amid Crime. How victimization and perceptions of insecurity affect preferences for redistribution in Latin America,” with Melina Altamirano and Sarah Berens, Workshop on “Criminal and Political Violence in Mexico and Central America,” UCSD-Stanford.
- 2016 “High-profile Criminal Violence. Why drug cartels murder subnational authorities and party candidates in Mexico,” with Guillermo Trejo, Workshop on “Subnational Political Violence,” Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas-Mexico City.
- “Doing Business in the Context of Criminal Violence in Mexico,” with Magdalena Guzmán, Conference on “Nonviolent Strategies in Violent Settings,” Sié Center, University of Denver.
- “High-risk activism: Protest amid criminal violence,” Latin American Studies Association Annual Conference, New York City.
- “Indigenous Resistance to Drug Violence in Mexico. Why Indigenous Mobilization and Ethnic Autonomy Institutions Deter Criminal Violence,” with Shannan Mattiace and Guillermo Trejo, Conference on “Unequal Security in the Americas,” Brown University.
- 2015 “Can Drug Lords Replace the Median Voter in Democratic Elections? Evidence from Mexico’s Wild West,” with Guillermo Trejo and Javier Márquez, American Political Science Association Conference, San Francisco, CA.
- “At the Polling Station: How Violence Shapes Citizen Participation and the Organization of Elections,” with Francisco Cantú, Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, IL.
- “Mexico’s Drug Wars and the Remaking of Local Order: Why Criminal Organizations Murder Local Officials,” with Guillermo Trejo, Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, IL.
- “Nonviolent Strategies in Violent Settings,” Sie Center, University of Denver.
- “The State of Citizen Security in Mexico: 2014 in Review and the Year Ahead. Policy Implications for the Peña Nieto Administration,” Mexico Institute, Woodrow Wilson Institute, Washington D.C.

- 2014 “Mexico’s Drug Wars and the Remaking of Local Order: Why Criminal Organizations Murder Local Officials,” with Guillermo Trejo, Subnational Research in Comparative Politics Conference, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
- “High-risk Activism and Protest amid Violence. Evidence from Mexico,” Latin American Politics Workshop, University of Houston, Houston, TX.
- “Electoral Accountability in the Midst of Violence: Evidence from Mexico,” American Political Science Association Conference, Washington D.C.
- “Federalism, Drugs, and Violence. Why Inter-Governmental Conflict Stimulated Inter-Cartel Violence in Mexico,” with Guillermo Trejo, Midwest Political Science Association National Conference, Chicago, IL.
- 2013 “Uncertainty or Ambiguity? Sources of Variation in Ideological Placements of Political Parties,” with John Aldrich and Gregory Schober, American Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, IL.
- “To Vote or Not to Vote: Elections in the Midst of Violence”, Latin American Studies Association, Washington D.C.
- “To Vote or Not to Vote: Elections in the Midst of Violence”, Politics and Government Workshop, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, Mexico City.
- “To Vote or Not to Vote: Elections in the Midst of Violence”, Midwest Political Science Association National Conference, Chicago, IL.
- “Votes, Drugs, and Violence. Subnational Democratization and the Onset of Inter-Cartel Wars in Mexico” with Guillermo Trejo, Midwest Political Science Association National Conference, Chicago, IL.
- 2011 “Security and Crime Issue Voting in Latin America”, Midwest Political Science Association National Conference, Chicago, IL.
- “Citizens at Risk: Perceptions of Crime and Insecurity in Latin America”, Conference on Preference Formation, Duke University, Durham, NC.
- 2008 “Electoral Institutions and Democratic Consolidation in the Mexican states, 1990-2004,” with Francisco Javier Aparicio, Midwest Political Science Association National Conference, Chicago, IL.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- 2021 Instructor, “Introduction to Political Science,” B.A. in Political Science and International Relations, CIDE.

	Instructor, "Order, Conflict, and Violence" Seminar, Political Science Graduate Program, CIDE.
2020	<p>Instructor, "Research Design," B.A. in Political Science and International Relations, CIDE.</p> <p>Lecturer, "Beyond the coverage of criminal violence," Investigative Journalism Certificate, CIDE.</p> <p>Lecturer, "Criminal Governance," Drug Policy Certificate, Universidad de los Andes-CESED.</p> <p>Instructor, "Civil Society in Comparative Perspective," Political Science Graduate Program, CIDE.</p> <p>Lecturer, "Violence, Insecurity, and Democracy," Strategic Political Analysis Certificate, CIDE.</p>
2019	<p>Instructor, "Political Sociology I," B.A. in Political Science and International Relations, CIDE.</p> <p>Lecturer, "Violence, Insecurity, and Democracy," Strategic Political Analysis Certificate, CIDE.</p>
2018	<p>Lecturer, "Trafficking of illicit drugs, violence, and state capture," Drug Policy Certificate, Universidad de los Andes-CESED.</p> <p>Instructor, "Political Sociology II," B.A. in Political Science and International Relations, CIDE.</p> <p>Lecturer, "Regime transitions and democratic crisis," Strategic Political Analysis Certificate, CIDE.</p> <p>Instructor, "Political Sociology I," B.A. in Political Science and International Relations, CIDE.</p>
2017	<p>Lecturer, "Regime transitions and democratic crisis," Strategic Political Analysis Certificate, CIDE.</p> <p>Instructor, "Political Sociology II," B.A. in Political Science and International Relations, CIDE.</p> <p>Lecturer, "Social Violence in Mexico and Latin America," Certificate for Mexican Federal Police Leadership, CIDE-PF.</p> <p>Instructor, "Political Sociology I," B.A. in Political Science and International Relations, CIDE.</p>
2016	Instructor, "Workshops for human rights activists, victims and their relatives," El Colegio de México-CNDH, Violence and Peace Seminar.

	Lecturer, “Workshops for public officials who attend victims,” El Colegio de México-CNDH, Violence and Peace Seminar.
	Instructor, “Political Sociology I,” B.A. in Political Science and International Relations, CIDE.
	Instructor, “Systematization of Original Databases,” Investigative Journalism Certificate, CIDE.
2015	Instructor, Data Analysis for Human Rights (with Guillermo Trejo). University of Notre Dame. Spring Semester.
	Lecturer, Human Rights and Peace Building Certificate, Centro Nacional de Comunicación Social-Centro Cultural de España en México-Universidad del Claustro de Sor Juana.
2013	Teaching assistant for Prof. Chris Johnston, “Introduction to Political Inquiry,” Duke University.
2011	Teaching assistant for Prof. Margaret Mackean, “Democracy, Development, and Violence,” Duke University.
	Teaching assistant for Prof. Erik Wibbels, “Globalization y Domestic Politics,” Duke University.
2010	Teaching assistant for Prof. Irina Alberro, “Introduction to Quantitative Methods,” Colegio de México.
2007	Teaching assistant for Prof. Matthew Kocher, “Introduction to Quantitative Methods,” CIDE.

FIELDWORK RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2017	In-depth interviews with activists, human rights defenders, and journalists in the Sierra Tarahumara and Chihuahua.
2014	Focus groups and in-depth interviews with public officials and beneficiaries of crime prevention programs in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua y Monterrey, Nuevo León.
2012	In-depth interviews with victims of crime and participants of marches for peace in the states of Baja California, Chihuahua, Guerrero, Jalisco, Morelos and Nuevo León.
2011	Participation in the March for Peace (May 5-8, 2011) and the Caravan for Peace (June 2011), organized by the Movement for Peace with Justice and Dignity.

CONSULTING EXPERIENCE

2021	Consultant for the U.S. Department of State on security policy in Mexico, July
	Project Coordinator of the “Essay evaluation of aspiring electoral councilors in five local public electoral institutes 2021,” conducted by CIDE for the National Electoral Institute.
2020	Project Coordinator of the “Essay evaluation of aspiring electoral councilors in local public electoral institutes 2020,” conducted by CIDE for the National Electoral Institute.
2018	Project Coordinator of the “Study on Violence Against Women in Mexico,” in collaboration with Cabify, the National Laboratory for Public Policy (LNPP), and CIDE.
2016-2017	Project Coordinator of the “Systematization, Analysis and Visualization of Attacks against Human Rights Defenders and Journalists in Mexico” project, in collaboration with the National Digital Strategy, the National Laboratory for Public Policy (LNPP), and CIDE. 2017 World Summit on the Information (WSIS) Champion, Category 17.
2014	Local senior consultant for Democracy International’s evaluation of USAID crime prevention programs in Mexico.
2013-2015	Security consultant for México Evalúa.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Reviewer for the *American Political Science Review*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *World Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Democratization*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Journal of Politics*, *Latin American Research Review*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Política y Gobierno*, *Foro Internacional*.

VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE

2011-2014	Movement for Peace with Justice and Dignity, Mexico Collaborated in the systematization of denunciations of cases of murders and disappearances, documented cases of victimization, and accompanied victims’ processes of denunciation of crimes with local public prosecutors
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LANGUAGES

Spanish (Native)
English (Fluent)
French (Basic)

SOFTWARE

Stata (Advanced)

R (Basic)
ArcGIS (Intermediate)
LaTeX (Advanced)

AFFILIATIONS

American Political Science Association
Latin American Studies Association