

# Paula Clerici

DR POLITICAL SCIENCE

Buenos Aires, Argentina

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## Current

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- Since 2021 **Researcher**, National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET).
- Since 2024 **Ordinary Professor**, Department of Political Science and International Studies, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella.
- Since 2021 **Director for Argentina**, Interdisciplinary Laboratory of Computational Social Science (iLCSS), University of Maryland.
- Since 2024 **Associate Editor**, Revista Desarrollo Económico.
- Since 2020 **Argentina country expert**, Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem).

## Education

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### Universidad Torcuato Di Tella

DR IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

2011-2015

- Argentina

### University of Warwick

MA IN SOCIAL RESEARCH

2007-2008

- United Kingdom

### Universidad de Buenos Aires

BA IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

2000-2005

- Argentina

## Postdoctoral Research Fellowships

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### Tulane University

UNITED STATES

January-April 2025

- Mid-Career Research Fellow at the Center for Inter-American Policy and Research (CIPR). Director: Ludovico Feoli.

### Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg

GERMANY

June-August 2018

- Research Fellow at the Bamberg Graduate School of Social Sciences (BAGSS). Director: Thomas Saalfeld.

### University of Maryland

UNITED STATES

November 2017-February 2018

- Fulbright Research Fellow at the Interdisciplinary Laboratory of Computational Social Science (iLCSS). Director: Ernesto Calvo.

## Publications

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### PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES

- Clerici, Paula, Jennifer Cyr, Julieta Suárez-Cao y Matías Bianchi.** 2025. "Crafting Policies Together: Citizen Preferences After Crisis." *Government and Opposition* 60(4): 959-988.
- Bonvecchi, Alejandro y Paula Clerici.** 2025. "Playing in the forest while the wolf is not around: vote switching and agenda power in federal multiparty systems." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 17(3): 440-458.
- Bonvecchi, Alejandro and Paula Clerici.** 2025. "Representation and Delegation in Trade Policymaking: The Political Economy of Trade Taxes in Argentina." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 60: 263-279.
- Clerici, Paula.** 2025. "Committee collaboration, competing principals, and partisanship in Argentina." *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 31(1): 248-269.

- Clerici, Paula, Gabriel Kessler, and Gabriel Vommaro.** 2025. "Vínculos juveniles con la política: brechas generacionales, de género y neo-autoritarismo en Argentina, Brasil, Colombia y México." *Colombia Internacional* 122: 147-186.
- Clerici, Paula, Lucía Demeco, Franco Galeano, and Juan Negri.** 2024. "Mudding the playing field. Fiscal contributions to municipalities as a political construction." *Governance* 37(3): 1035-1056.
- Albala, Adrián, Paula Clerici, and Alejandro Olivares.** 2024. "Determinants of the cabinet size in presidential systems." *Governance* 37(3): 771-784.
- Camerlo, Marcelo, Paula Clerici, and Anabella Molina.** 2024. "Poderes partidarios y reclutamiento ministerial. El caso argentino." *Colombia Internacional* 120: 23-50.
- Calvo, Ernesto and Paula Clerici.** 2023. "Después de la #ConsolidaciónDemocrática: Redes sociales, polarización y fake news." *Desarrollo Económico* 63(240): 195-202.
- Bonvecchi, Alejandro and Paula Clerici.** 2022. "Vote switching in multiparty presidential systems: evidence from the Argentine Chamber of Deputies." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 42(1): 1-23.
- Alemán, Eduardo and Paula Clerici.** 2022. "Centralidad y productividad legislativa en la Cámara de Diputados de Argentina, 1983-2019." *Revista de Ciencia Política (Santiago)* 42(1): 31-53.
- Clerici, Paula.** 2021. "Legislative territorialization. The impact of a decentralized party system on individual legislative behavior in Argentina." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 51(1): 104-130.
- Calvo, Ernesto, Paula Clerici, and Sebastián Vallejo.** 2021. "Ciencia y política en tiempos del covid-19." *Política y Gobierno* 28(2): 1-22.
- Clerici, Paula.** 2020. "Minorities at the gate: The legislative contribution of opposition minorities and the Committee System. Evidence from Argentina." *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 26(2): 180-203.
- Clerici, Paula, Facundo Cruz, and Lara Goyburu.** 2020. "¿Fuego amigo? El desgaste de las primarias competitivas en la provincia de Buenos Aires" *Revista de Ciencia Política (Santiago)* 40(1): 1-26.
- Calvo, Ernesto and Paula Clerici.** 2019. "Después de la delegación: la retracción de la autonomía legislativa del poder ejecutivo en Argentina" *Revista de Ciencia Política (Santiago)* 39(3): 411-433.
- Clerici, Paula.** 2018. "Coaliciones electorales y desempeño legislativo: dos juegos desconectados." *Revista SAAP* 12(1): 157-177.
- Clerici, Paula.** 2018. "La influencia de la dicotomía oficialismo/oposición sobre la congruencia de las coaliciones electorales en Argentina." *POSTData* 23(1): 121-149.
- Clerici, Paula.** 2017. "Cada quien atiende su juego. Un estudio acerca de las alianzas electorales en la pelea por la Cámara Baja en Argentina (1983-2013)." *Desarrollo Económico* 56(220): 393-416.
- Clerici, Paula.** 2016. "Juegos de congruencia: las estrategias de alianzas electorales de la UCR y el PJ en Argentina (1983-2013)." *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política* 25(2): 15-33.
- Clerici, Paula, Facundo Cruz, and Lara Goyburu.** 2016. "¿Los hermanos sean unidos? Competitividad en las primarias municipales en la Provincia de Buenos Aires." *Revista SAAP* 10(2): 279-309.
- Clerici, Paula.** 2015. "La congruencia aliancista de los partidos argentinos en elecciones concurrentes (1983-2011)." *Estudios Políticos* 9(36): 143-170.
- Clerici, Paula.** 2015. "La creciente importancia de las alianzas electorales en un escenario de competencia territorializada." *Revista SAAP* 9(2): 313-341.
- Clerici, Paula and Gerardo Scherlis.** 2014. "La Regulación de Alianzas Electorales y sus Consecuencias en Sistemas Multi-nivel en América Latina" *Revista del Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas y Sociales Ambrosio L. Gioja* 8(12): 79-98.
- Clerici, Paula.** 2013. "Alianzas Cruzadas en Argentina. Una aproximación causal desde la teoría." *Ciencia Política* 16: 8-33.

#### OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- Clerici, Paula and Facundo Cruz.** 2024. "Cuarenta años de coaliciones 'a la Argentina'" En Llenderozas, Elsa (Comp.) *Argentina: 40 años de democracia.* Buenos Aires. EUDEBA.
- Clerici, Paula.** 2023. "Las consecuencias de la desnacionalización del sistema de partidos. De alianzas electorales y desempeño legislativo." In Varetto, Carlos and Gabriela Porta (Comps.) *Imágenes fragmentadas. Nacionalización partidaria, política multinivel y subnacional en Argentina.* CLACSO.

**Clerici, Paula.** 2018. "Conclusions." In Albala, Adrián and Josep Reniu (Eds.) *Coalition politics and federalism*. Springer.

**Clerici, Paula.** 2016. "Coaliciones al cuadrado. Las coaliciones políticas como fenómeno a explicar y como variable independiente." *Foro de Debate, Revista Iberoamericana* 16(64): 237-243.

**Clerici, Paula, Facundo Cruz, and Lara Goyburu.** 2016. "Dos territorios. Las elecciones argentinas en Twitter 2015." *Más Poder Local* 30: 14-16.

## Research Projects & Grants

### **Interdisciplinary Laboratory of Computational Social Science (iLCSS), University of Maryland**

ARGENTINA DIRECTOR

Since 2021

- We are dedicated to analyzing social science through computational methods.

### **Ghana Center for Democratic Development - Universidad Torcuato Di Tella - University of Birmingham**

RESEARCH

2024-2027

- Southern-Led Approaches to Democratic Resilience (Benin, Kenia, Senegal, Zimbabwe, Argentina Colombia y Perú). Directors: Jennifer Cyr and Nic Cheeseman.

### **Universidade de Lisboa**

RESEARCH

Since 2024

- Government Partisanship in Latin America. Director: Marcelo Camerlo.

### **Latin American Political Science Association**

CO-DIRECTOR OF LEGISLATIVE STUDIES SECTION)

Since 2024

- Co-Direction with Daniel Chasquetti.

### **Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem)**

ARGENTINA COUNTRY EXPERT

Since 2020

- Executive | Legislature | Political parties and electoral systems | Elections

### **CONICET**

PIP Grant

RESEARCHER

2021 - Present

- "Candidates and legislators. The nomination of national legislators and its consequences on the legislative behavior in Argentina: committees and roll-call."

### **CONICET**

FONCyT Grant

RESEARCHER

2022 - Present

- "Political relations between mayors and governors: An explanatory and comparative analysis of the multilevel game in the provinces of Argentina."

### **University of Maryland - TEC Monterrey**

IADB Grant

RESEARCHER

2022-2023

- "Policy Reform and Polarization in Latin America."

### **Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México**

PAPIIT

RESEARCHER

2021-2023

- "Electoral, legislative and government coalitions in Mexico and Latin America."

### **Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios en Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación (CIECTI)**

Innovation Program

RESEARCHER

2022

- "Future Argentina."

### **Universidad Torcuato Di Tella**

FONCyT Grant

RESEARCHER

2019 - 2021

- "The impact of electoral coalition congruence on president's legislative agenda."

## Universidad de Buenos Aires

### RESEARCHER

- “The Congress’s ‘kitchen’. The opposition’s support to the executive in the committee.”

UBA Grant

2020 - 2021

## Universidad de Buenos Aires

### RESEARCHER

- “Electoral coalitions and government legislative performance in Argentina.”

UBA Grant

2018 - 2019

## Universidad de Buenos Aires

### RESEARCHER

- “Political Coalitions in Latin America: Analysis in Multilevel Perspective.”

UBA Grant

2016 - 2017

## Awards & Fellowships

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- 2025 **Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research Fellowship**, Syracuse University, United States.
- 2025 **Mid-Career Research Fellowship**, Tulane University.
- 2022 **Visiting Scholar at Universidade de Brasília**, founded by CAPES Foundation.
- 2020 **Teaching Excellence Award**, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella.
- 2019 **Emerging Scholars Research Development Group**, Democracy and Autocracy Section, American Political Science Association (APSA).
- 2018 **Postdoctoral Research Fellowship**, Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg, Germany.
- 2017 **Fulbright Postdoctoral Research Fellowship**, University of Maryland, United States.
- 2016-2018 **Postdoctoral Research Fellowship**, Scientific and Technological Research Career, National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET), Argentina.
- 2011-2016 **Doctoral Research Fellowship**, Scientific and Technological Research Career, National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET), Argentina.
- 2007-2008 **Chevening Fellowship**, For Master Degree at University of Warwick, United Kingdom.
- 2005 **United States Visitors’ Program**, Department of State, United States.

## Presentations

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- Clerici, Paula and Mauricio Grotz.** 2025. “Discretionary Transfers and Opposition Support: How Presidents Secure Legislative Backing. Evidence from Argentina.” Presented at the Women in Legislative Studies 3<sup>rd</sup> Conference. University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, United States.
- Bonvecchi, Alejandro and Paula Clerici.** 2025. “The Sources of Particularistic Tax Policy: Evidence from Argentina.” Presented at the Argentine Conference of Political Science 17<sup>th</sup> Conference. Santa Fe, Argentina.
- Clerici, Paula and Mauricio Grotz.** 2025. “Discretionary Transfers and Opposition Support: How Presidents Secure Legislative Backing. Evidence from Argentina” in The Center for Inter-American Policy and Research, Tulane University. Nueva Orleans, Estados Unidos.
- Bonvecchi, Alejandro and Paula Clerici.** 2025. “The Sources of Particularistic Tax Policy: Evidence from Argentina” in Virtual Workshop Women in Legislative Studies.
- Clerici, Paula, Jennifer Cyr, Julieta Suárez-Cao, and Matías Bianchi.** 2024. “Citizen Support for Collaboratively-Produced Policy in Latin America.” Presented at the Latin American Political Science Association 12<sup>th</sup> Conference. Lisboa, Portugal.
- Aruguete, Natalia, Ernesto Calvo, Paula Clerici, Carlos Scartascini, and Tiago Ventura.** 2024. “The Effect of Misinformation and Partisan Issues on Social Network Pruning”. Presented at the conference Understanding the Attraction to Political Extremes. Universidad Torcuato Di Tella.
- Bonvecchi, Alejandro and Paula Clerici.** 2023. “Representation and Delegation in Trade Policymaking: The Political Economy of Trade Taxes in Argentina.” Presented at the World Conference of International Political Science Association. Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- Aruguete, Natalia, Ernesto Calvo, and Paula Clerici.** 2023. “Out of my network! The Effect of Misinformation and Partisan Political Messages on Social Network Pruning.” Presented at the Center for Media and Society Studies in Argentina 9<sup>th</sup>

Conference. Buenos Aires, Argentina.

**Clerici, Paula and Mauricio Grotz.** 2023. "Discretionary transfers and the opposition support for the president's agenda. Evidence from Argentina." Presented at Latin American Studies Association Conference (virtual).

**Bonvecchi, Alejandro and Paula Clerici.** 2022. "Playing in the Forest while the Wolf is not Around: Vote Switching and Agenda Power in Federal Multiparty Systems." Presented at Latin American Political Science Association 11° Conference (virtual).

**Clerici, Paula and Mauricio Grotz.** 2022. "Discretionary transfers and the opposition support for the president's agenda. Evidence from Argentina." Presented at 25° Seminar on Fiscal Federalism. La Plata, Argentina.

**Clerici, Paula, Lucía Demeco, Franco Galeano, and Juan Negri.** 2021. "Mudding the court. Contributions to municipalities as a political construction." Presented at the Argentine Conference of Political Science 15° Conference. Santa Fe, Argentina.

**Alemán, Eduardo and Paula Clerici.** 2021. "Centrality and productivity in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies." Presented at Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference (virtual).

**Clerici, Paula.** 2020. "The legislative contribution of opposition minorities and the Committee System." Presented at Canadian Study of Parliament Group Annual Conference (virtual).

**Clerici, Paula.** 2019. "Not So Government-Opposition Dynamic. President's Success in Committee Under Democratic Rule. Evidence from Argentina." Presented at American Political Science Association Annual Conference. Washington DC, United States.

**Albala, Adrián, Paula Clerici, and Alejandro Olivares.** 2019. "¿Repartiendo Torta o Galleta? Determinantes del Tamaño de los Gobiernos en Sistemas Presidenciales." Presented at the Latin American Political Science Association 10° Conference. Monterrey, México.

**Clerici, Paula.** 2019. "Todo queda en casa. El impacto de la desnacionalización del sistema de partidos sobre el comportamiento legislativo." Presented at Argentine Conference of Political Science 14° Conference. Buenos Aires, Argentina.

**Clerici, Paula.** 2018. "Electoral coalitions and legislative behavior: two separated games." Presented at European Consortium for Political Research General Conference. Hamburg, Germany.

**Clerici, Paula, Facundo Cruz, and Lara Goyburu.** 2017. "¿Dónde están los votos? PASO, competencia interna y transferencias en la Provincia de Buenos Aires (2015)." Presented at the Argentine Conference of Political Science 13° Conference. Buenos Aires, Argentina.

**Clerici, Paula, Facundo Cruz, and Lara Goyburu.** 2017. "El monstruo de pies competitivos. Primarias abiertas, simultáneas y obligatorias en la Provincia de Buenos Aires (2015)." Presented at the Latin American Political Science Association 9° Conference. Montevideo, Uruguay.

**Clerici, Paula.** 2016. "The influence of ruling party/opposition dichotomy on electoral coalition congruence in Argentina." Presented at the Political Studies Association Annual Conference. Brighton, United Kingdom.

**Clerici, Paula, Facundo Cruz, and Lara Goyburu.** 2016. "¿Los hermanos sean unidos? Competitividad en las primarias municipales en la Provincia de Buenos Aires." Presented at the Argentine National 12° Conference on Democracy. Rosario, Argentina.

**Clerici, Paula.** 2016. "La influencia de la congruencia de las coaliciones electorales sobre el comportamiento de los legisladores oficialistas en Argentina (1995-2015)." Presented at the European Council for Social Research on Latin America 8° Conference. Salamanca, España.

**Clerici, Paula.** 2016. "El estudio de las coaliciones en el ámbito legislativo." Presented at 1° International Conference on Political Coalitions. Barcelona, España.

**Clerici, Paula.** 2015. "Los números de la congruencia. Los juegos subnacionales de las alianzas electorales de la UCR y el PJ (1983-2013)." Presented at the Argentine Conference of Political Science 12° Conference. Mendoza, Argentina.

**Clerici, Paula.** 2013. "Desnacionalización y alianzas cruzadas, ¿una relación de causalidad?" Presented at the Argentine Conference of Political Science 11° Conference. Entre Ríos, Argentina.

**Clerici, Paula.** 2012. "Competencia multinivel: Un marco teórico para estudiar las alianzas cruzadas en Argentina." Presented at the Uruguayan Conference of Political Science. Montevideo, Uruguay.

**Clerici, Paula.** 2010. "Reforma política: Institucionalización del sistema de partidos colombiano (y su convivencia con las instituciones informales)." Presented at the Latin American Political Science Association 5° Conference. Buenos Aires, Argentina.

## Teaching Experience

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|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2017-Present | <b>Legislative Politics   Political Coalitions in Latin America and Europe   Research Design and Methods in Social Sciences</b> , Professor, MA in Political Science, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella. |
| 2015-Present | <b>Actors and Political Processes   Research Design and Methods in Social Sciences   Introduction to Political Science</b> , Professor, BA in Political Science, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella.      |
| 2017-2022    | <b>Research Design and Methods in Social Sciences</b> , Professor, MA in Public Policy, Universidad de San Andrés.                                                                                   |
| 2022-2023    | <b>Latin American Politics</b> , Adjunct Professor, BA in Political Science, Universidad de Buenos Aires.                                                                                            |
| 2009-2016    | <b>Comparative Politics   Political Sociology</b> , Teaching Assistant, BA in Political Science, Universidad de Buenos Aires.                                                                        |

## Other professional experience

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|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 2021      | <b>Consultant</b> , Inter-American Development Bank (IDB).                                                                                     | <i>Argentina</i>  |
| 2019      | <b>Consultant</b> , Metropolitan Areas Development Program, Ministry of Interior.                                                              | <i>Argentina</i>  |
| 2016      | <b>Consultant</b> , Secretary of Electoral and Political Affairs, Ministry of Interior.                                                        | <i>Argentina</i>  |
| 2011      | <b>Researcher</b> , Argentine Electoral Observatory, Centro de Implementación de Políticas Públicas para la Equidad y el Crecimiento (CIPPEC). | <i>Argentina</i>  |
| 2008-2010 | <b>Analyst in Corporate Social Responsibility</b> , ES Global Consulting.                                                                      | <i>México</i>     |
| 2007      | <b>Consultant in Corporate Social Responsibility</b> , Canal de Panamá.                                                                        | <i>Panamá</i>     |
| 2006-2007 | <b>Analyst in gender issues</b> , CEFEMINA.                                                                                                    | <i>Costa Rica</i> |
| 2005      | <b>Analyst in social programs</b> , Amartya.                                                                                                   | <i>Argentina</i>  |
| 2005      | <b>Research Assistant</b> , CEIL-PIETTE, CONICET.                                                                                              | <i>Argentina</i>  |
| 2005      | <b>Research Assistant</b> , INAP.                                                                                                              | <i>Argentina</i>  |

## Outreach & Professional Development

### METHODS TRAINING

Time Series and Pooled-time Series Analysis | Maximum Likelihood Estimation | Network Analysis | Survey Experiments | Text-as-Data | Qualitative Causal Inference | Graph Models | Process Tracing | Multi-Method Social Science.  
Statistical Packages & Applications: R, Stata, LaTeX, NVIVO, Gephi, QGIS.

### LANGUAGES

English: fluent. Italian: spoken, read, understood. French and Portuguese: read and understood. German: notions. Spanish: native.

### ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Since 2024. Revista Desarrollo Económico (Argentina).  
2021-2025. Revista Sociedad Argentina de Análisis Político (SAAP) (Argentina).

## PEER REVIEW

Journal of Politics | Political Research Quarterly | British Journal of Political Science | Legislative Studies Quarterly | European Political Science Review | Political Behavior | Latin American Politics and Society | Political Geography | Regional & Federal Studies | Journal of Politics in Latin America | Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties | Bulletin of Latin American Research | Oxford Encyclopedia | Política & Gobierno | Revista de Ciencia Política (Santiago) | Colombia Internacional | América Latina Hoy | Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política | Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política | Revista SAAP | Desarrollo Económico.

## SERVICE

Membership in committees for grants and scholarships: Fulbright (for visiting and PhD in USA) | FONDECYT (Chile) | Universidad Católica Argentina | FURP Program to support Innovation in Public Policies.

Membership in committees awards: The Jewell-Loewenberg Award for the best article in Legislative Studies Quarterly (APSA Legislative Studies section) - Deil S. Wright Best Paper Award (APSA Federalism section) | Best PhD Dissertation Award on Political Science (ALACIP) | Best PhD Dissertation Award on Social Sciences (UBA).

## PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND NETWORKS

Democracy and Autocracy Section (APSA) | European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) | International Political Science Association (IPSA) | Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) - Argentina Country Expert | Center of Inter-American Policy and Research (Tulane University) | Women in Legislative Studies | Red de Politólogas | Grupo de Estudios Legislativos (GEL-ALACIP) | Sociedad Argentina de Análisis Político (SAAP).