

Curriculum Vitae

Orlando J. Pérez, PhD

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University of North Texas at Dallas
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Education

Ph.D. (1996)

University of Pittsburgh (1989-1996)
Political Science

Master of Arts (1992)

University of Pittsburgh (1989-1996)
Political Science

Bachelor of Arts (1989)

Florida International University (1987-1989)
Political Science

Bachelor of Science (1985)

University of Miami (1983-1985)
Biochemistry

Associate of Arts (1983)

Miami-Dade College (1981-1983)
Pre-Medicine

Academic Positions

2019-	Professor of Political Science (with tenure), University of North Texas at Dallas
2014-2019	Professor of Political Science (with tenure), Millersville University of Pennsylvania
2007-2014	Professor of Political Science (with tenure), Department of Political Science, Central Michigan University
2000-2007	Associate Professor of Political Science (with tenure), Department of Political Science, Central Michigan University
1998-2000	Assistant Professor of Political Science, Department of Political Science, Central Michigan University
1995-1998	Assistant Professor of Government, Department of History & Government, Adams State College
1994-1995	Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science, Department of Political Science, University of Kansas

Administrative Positions

July 2019-August 2023	Dean, School of Liberal Arts & Sciences
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July 2014-July 2019	University of North Texas at Dallas Associate Dean, College of Arts, Humanities & Social Sciences (March-July 2018 Interim Dean)
January 2013-July 2014	Millersville University of Pennsylvania Director, Cultural and Global Studies Programs College of Humanities and Social & Behavioral Sciences
July 2009-January 2013	Central Michigan University Chairperson, Department of Political Science Central Michigan University

Teaching Experience

Introduction to Comparative Politics, Introduction to Political Science, Latin American Political Systems and Processes, Seminar in Comparative Politics (graduate seminar), Problems & Processes of International Development (graduate seminar), U.S.-Latin American Relations, Armed Forces & Society, Modern Cuba Politics and Society, Cuba Study Abroad Program, Survey Research, American Government, The Military and Politics, Democratic Theory

Areas of Research Interests

Comparative politics, Latin American politics (with specialization on Central America), civil-military relations and security issues, democratization, public opinion (survey research), elite democratic theory, U.S.-Latin American relations (with specialization on U.S.-Panama relations and U.S. strategic policies in Latin America), crime and gangs in Central America

Grants and Honors

American Council of Education (ACE), Agile Administrators Program, Scholarship Recipient, Learning Circles Member, 2021-22. ACE program aimed at developing academic leaders that lead innovation across campus and rise to the challenge of rapidly changing environment to meet the needs of students and the community.

American Conference of Academic Deans (ACAD) Fellow, 2020-21. The ACAD Fellows Program aims to provide strategic support for academic leaders to participate in ACAD and provide opportunities for professional development and network building.

Vanderbilt University, *Americas Barometer*, Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), (November 2004-Present)-Country-expert for Panama and Honduras for the Democratic Indicator Monitoring Survey for United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Democracy and Governance Monitoring Program, \$250,000.

Fulbright Scholar, University of Chile, Lecturing/Research in Political Science, Latin America and Caribbean Politics, Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES), Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the United States Department of State, 2014-15, Award Declined.

Project on security and natural disasters in Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean, co-sponsored by the Ford Foundation, Woodrow Wilson International Center, Latin American Program, and the Fundación Guillermo Manuel Ungo of El Salvador, coordinator Central American component (with Ricardo Cordova), 2006-2009. Grant, \$50,000.

Project on “Creating Community of Security in North America, Central America and the Caribbean,” Woodrow Wilson International Center, Latin American Program and Ford Foundation, coordinator, Central American component (with Ricardo Cordova), 2004-2006. Grant, \$100,000.

United States Institute of Peace, Grant Award (2001-2002). Project: “The Transformation of Civil- Military Relations in Post-Authoritarian Central America,” \$38,000.

Institute of International Education, J. William Fulbright Doctoral Dissertation Grant (1992-1993). \$10,000 plus travel.

(Central Michigan University)

Dean’s Discretionary Fund for International Travel, Participation in Workshop on “The Development of the State: Civil-Military Institutions,” Center for Military Studies, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark, November 30-December 1, 2012, \$1000.

Premier Display Grant, Faculty Research and Creative Endeavor Committee, Participation in Workshop on “The Development of the State: Civil-Military Institutions,” Center for Military Studies, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark, November 30-December 1, 2012, \$1000.

Premier Display Grant, Faculty Research and Creative Endeavor Committee. Deliver a paper at the Consejo de Estudios Latinoamericanos de Asia y Oceania [Latin American Studies Council of Asia & Oceania] annual meeting, Seoul, South Korea, June 21-23, 2007, \$1000.

Summer Faculty Scholar, College of Humanities and Social & Behavioral Sciences, “The ‘New Left’ in Latin America: Deepening or Eroding Democracy,” 2007, \$3,500.

Faculty Insight Team (FIT), ORSP, “Comparative Analysis of Student Leaders in a Cuban, Panamanian and U.S. University,” 2006-2007, \$9,000.

Premier Display Grant, Faculty Research and Creative Endeavor Committee, July 9-16, 2006. Deliver a paper at the International Political Science Association annual meeting, Fukuoka, Japan, \$1000.

Premier Display Grant, Faculty Research and Creative Endeavor Committee, June 28-29, 2005. Deliver a paper at a conference sponsored by the Research Committee on Armed Forces and Society of the International Political Sciences Association (IPSA), China Arms Control and Disarmament Association (CACDA), and Shanghai Institute for Defense

Strategic Studies (SIDSS), Shanghai, P.R.C. \$1000.

Summer Teaching and Curriculum Development Fellowship, Faculty Teaching and Program Development Committee, “Faculty Development for Cuba Study” (with Angela Haddad), 2003, \$2,500.

Faculty International Development Grant, Office of International Education, Develop a study abroad course in Cuba (with Angela Haddad), July, 2003, \$2,500.

Premier Display Grant, Faculty Research and Creative Endeavor Committee, June 29-July 4, 2003. Deliver paper at the 19th International Congress of the International Political Science Association, Durban, South Africa. \$1,000.

Premier Display Grant, Faculty Research and Creative Endeavor Committee Premier, July 9-11, 2002. Deliver paper at the 1st Latin American Congress of Political Science, Salamanca, Spain. \$1,250

Research Professorship, Office of Research and Sponsored Programs, Central Michigan University (2001-2002). Project: "The Transformation of Civil-Military Relations in Post-Authoritarian Central America". Salary for one semester and \$2,000.

Provost Award for Outstanding Research and Creative Activity, 2001, \$1,500.

Premier Display Grant, Faculty Research and Creative Endeavor Committee, June 25-29, 2001. Deliver paper at the X Congress of the International Federation of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Moscow, Russia. \$1,500.

Summer Faculty Scholar, College of Humanities and Social & Behavioral Sciences, 1999, "Rethinking Civil-Military Relations in Post-Authoritarian Central America." \$1,200.

Research Grant, Faculty Research and Creative Endeavors Committee, 1998-99, “Rethinking Civil- Military Relations in Post-Authoritarian Central America.” \$4,980.

Faculty International Development Grant, Office of International Education, Participate in a CIEE International Faculty Development Seminar, “Economic Reform, Regional Integration & Democratization in Argentina and Chile, June 9-17, 2001. \$2,500.

Professional Activities

Academic and Research Related Memberships

- NORC at the University of Chicago, USAID Study of Democratic Attitudes in Latin American and the Caribbean Phase II, USAID/Latin America and Caribbean Learning and Rapid Response (LACLEARN), Co-Country (with Christine Wade) expert for Honduras, write a paper examining the relationship between democratic attitudes and economic, political, and social developments, 2022.
- Latin American Public Opinion Project and *AmericasBarometer*, Vanderbilt University, member, 2004-present

Advisory Committee for 2016/2017 *AmericasBarometer* Planning Caucus, member.
 Country-Team Leader, *AmericasBarometer*, Panama (2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018).
 Country-Team Leader, *AmericasBarometer*, Honduras (2010, 2012, 2014).
 Country-Team Leader, *AmericasBarometer*, Nicaragua (2008).
 Country-Expert Analyst, *AmericasBarometer*, Honduras (2021-2022)

- Regional Advisor for Freedom House’s Freedom in the World Annual Report, 2017-2019.
- Midwest Association for Latin American Studies (MALAS), Vice-President, 2015; President, 2016; Executive Board Member, 2015-2019.
- Country Expert for Panama, Varieties of Democracy Project, University of Gothenburg, 2017.
- Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Co-Chair (with Ricardo Cordova Macias), Politics and Public Policy Track, 50th Annual Conference, New York City, New York, 2015-2016.
- U.S. Student Fulbright National Screening Committee, Central America/Caribbean, Member, 2014-2016.
- Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Bryce Wood Book Award Committee, member, 2014-2015
- Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Defense, Public Security and Democracy Section, Co- Chair, 2009-2012.
- International Political Science Association (IPSA), Research Committee on Armed Forces and Society, Advisory Board, 2009-present.

International Consulting

- Country expert, Panama, Shaping Sustainable Economies, Transformation Index, Bertelsmann Foundation, Germany, 2010-2018.
- FHR Lim A. Po Institute for Social Studies, Suriname, International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University, The Netherlands, Master of Public Administration program (2010-2014)-Teach “Governance and Democracy” core module.
- Management Systems International (October 15, 2008-January 15, 2009)-Survey expert on the MCC/USAID Control of Corruption Threshold Program (CCTP). Responsible for expert advice on the development and implementation of a baseline national probability survey.
- Pan-American Foundation (May-June 2007)-Independent reviewer and consultant for the project, “Public Opinion in Cuba at a Time of Transition.” Reviewed and provided assistance to series of phone surveys in Cuba on economic, political and democratic

issues.

- Management Systems International (MSI) (January 5, 2006-July 31, 2006)-Survey expert on the Africa Bureau Anti-Corruption Initiative. Direct a series of public opinion surveys to assess service delivery and transparency in the health sector in Benin, Mozambique, and Tanzania.
- Associates in Rural Development (ARD), Inc (October 1, 2003-October 30, 2004)-Senior Research Analyst for the Panama component of the Central American, Mexico and Colombia, Democratic Indicators Survey for USAID's Democracy and Governance Monitoring Program.
- Management Systems International (MSI) (October 14, 2003- April 30, 2004)-Responsible for directing the performance of a series of probability surveys to assess the impact of a USAID-funded Civil Society Corruption Reduction Project in Albania.
- Management Systems International (MSI) (December 16, 2002-March 21, 2003)-Responsible for supervising focus groups and directing the performance of a series of probability surveys to assess the impact of a USAID-funded Journalist Training in Transparency and Anti-Corruption Project in Paraguay.
- United Nations Development Program-Honduras (August 14-September 4, 2002)-Responsible for evaluation of a project to "Assist in the Reforms and Modernization of the Honduran Armed Forces to Guarantee Democratic Governance and Civilian Supremacy".
- University of Pittsburgh, for ARD/USAID in Ecuador (July 20-30, 2002)-Responsible for pre-testing, finalizing questionnaire, and supervising training of interviewers for a municipal governance survey.
- Associates in Rural Development (ARD), Inc (April 4-May 31, 2002)-Political analysts on an assessment of USAID DG programs in Guatemala. Prime responsibility for political context analysis and evaluation of local government and human rights programs.
- Management Systems International (MSI), (October 31-November 30, 2001)-Conducted focus groups in Paraguay as part of a journalist-training program sponsored by USAID.
- University of Pittsburgh, for USAID in Ecuador (October 14-29, 2001)-Responsible for pre-testing, finalizing questionnaire, and supervising training of interviewers for a democratic values survey conducted by CEDATOS of Ecuador under contract to the University of Pittsburgh.
- Casals and Associate, Inc. in Honduras (January 14-19, 2001)-Responsible for pre-testing a transparency and corruption questionnaire and provide technical training to interviewers. Translated Questionnaire into English.
- United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in Nicaragua (Oct. 28-Nov. 4, 1999)- Reviewed training procedures and fieldwork for the national survey on

democratic values as part of the Democratic Initiatives Tracking System Project.

- Department of Education, Faculty Reader for the Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad and Faculty Research Abroad Programs Washington, D.C. (December 16-20, 1996)-Read and evaluated proposals from graduate students and faculty for the above programs sponsored by the US Department of Education.
- Department of State, Participant at the Briefing for the Hon. William Hughes, Ambassador-Designate for the Republic of Panama (August 9, 1995)-Made a presentation on Panamanian politics, and prospects for democracy during the briefing for the incoming U.S. Ambassador to Panama.
- International Election Observer for The Carter Center of Emory University during the National Elections in Panama (May 7, 1994)-Conducted observation of polling procedures, and ballot counting process during the Panamanian national elections.
- United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in Guatemala (May 11-25, 1993)-Reviewed training procedures and fieldwork for the national survey on democratic values as part of the Democratic Initiatives Tracking System Project.
- United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in Panama (Oct. 17-31, 1991)-Constructed sample frame and helped train interviewers for a drug abuse survey under the Narcotics Awareness and Education Project.

Publications

Books

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| 2023 | Malone, Mary Fran T., Lucía Dammert, and Orlando J. Pérez. <i>Making Police Reform Matter in Latin America</i> . Lynne Rienner Publishers. |
| 2022 | Marcella, Gabriel, Orlando J. Pérez, and Brian Fonseca (eds). <i>Democracy and Security in Latin America State Capacity and Governance under Stress</i> . New York, NY: Routledge Publishers. |
| 2016 | Pérez, Orlando J. <i>Historical Dictionary of El Salvador</i> . Lanham: MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. |
| 2015 | Pérez, Orlando J. <i>Civil-Military Relations in Post-Conflict Societies: Transforming the Role of the Military in Central America</i> . New York, NY: Routledge Publishers. |
| 2015 | Millett, Richard, Jennifer S. Holmes and Orlando J. Pérez (editors). <i>Latin American Democracy: Emerging Reality or Endangered Species</i> . 2nd Edition, New York, NY: Routledge Publishers. |
| 2011 | Pérez, Orlando J. <i>Political Culture in Panama: Democracy after Invasion</i> . New York: Palgrave-Macmillan. |

- 2009 Millett, Richard, Jennifer S. Holmes and Orlando J. Pérez (editors). *Latin American Democracy: Emerging Reality or Endangered Species*. New York, NY: Routledge Publishers, 1st Edition.
- 2006 Schlager, Neil, Jayne Weisblatt and Orlando J. Pérez. *World Encyclopedia of Political Systems and Parties*, 4th edition, (contributor and co-editor). Volume I-III, New York: Facts on Files.
- 2000 Pérez, Orlando J. (ed.) *Post-Invasion Panama: The Challenges of Democratization in the New World Order*, (editor and contributor). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Peer Reviewed Articles and Book Chapters

- 2023 Perez, Orlando J., and Christine J. Wade. "Militarism, Authoritarianism and Corruption: Post-Coup Honduras and the Decline of Democracy". *Revista Latinoamericana De Opinión Pública*, December 1-31. <https://doi.org/10.14201/rlop.31391>.
- 2022 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama: Political Culture and the Struggle to Build Democracy," In *Latin American Politics and Development* 10th Edition, edited by Harvey F. Kline and Christine J. Wade. New York, NY: Westview Press.
- 2021 Pérez, Orlando J. Review *Modern Panama: From Occupation to Crossroads of the Americas*. *Hispanic American Historical Review* 1 February, 101 (1): 179–181.
- 2020 Pérez, Orlando J., and Randy Pestana. "The Rise and Retreat of the Armed Forces." In *The Oxford Handbook of Central American History*" edited by Robert H. Holden. Oxford University Press.
- 2018 Pérez, Orlando J. "The Place of the Military in South American Governance," In *Handbook of South American Governance* edited by Pia Riggirozzi and Christopher Wylde. New York, New York: Routledge Publishers.
- 2018 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama: Political Culture and the Struggle to Build Democracy," In *Latin American Politics and Development* 9th Edition, edited by Harvey F. Kline, Christine J. Wade, and Howard J. Wiarda. New York, NY: Westview Press.
- 2017 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama: The Preeminence of Geography and the Transit Route for Establishing Panama's Strategic Culture," In *Culture and National Security in the Americas*, edited by Eduardo Gamarra and Brian Fonseca. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- 2016 Pérez, Orlando J. "The Failure of Engagement: US-Venezuela Relations under Obama," In *The Obama Doctrine in the America*, edited by Jonathan D. Rosen

& Hannah S. Kassab. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

- 2015 Pérez, Orlando J. "The Impact of Crime on Voter Choice in Latin America" In *The Latin American Voter*, edited by Ryan E. Carlin, Matthew M. Singer Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- 2014 Pérez, Orlando J. and Rafael Martínez. "The Central American Military: Building Democratic Control in Post-Conflict Societies," In *Handbook of Central American Governance*, Diego Sanchez-Ancochea and Salvador Martí i Puig (eds.), New York, NY: Routledge Publishers.
- 2013 Pérez, Orlando J. "Gang Violence and Insecurity in Contemporary Central America," In *Murder and Violence in Modern Latin America*, Eric A. Johnson, Ricardo Salvatore, Pieter Spierenburg (eds.), Wiley-Blackwell.
- 2013 Pérez, Orlando J. "The Basis of Support for Hugo Chávez: Measuring the Determinants of Presidential Job Approval in Venezuela," *The Latin Americanist*. Volume 57, No. 2, June.
- 2013 Pérez, Orlando J. "La organización de defensa y las relaciones civiles-militares en Centroamérica" In *Organización de la defensa y control de las Fuerzas Armadas en América Latina*, edited by David Pion-Berlin and Jose Manuel Ugarte. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Jorge Baudino Ediciones.
- 2012 Pérez, Orlando J. "Los desafíos de seguridad en América Central: Análisis de las capacidades del sistema de Integración Centroamericana (SICA)" In *El concepto y las relaciones multilaterales de seguridad y defensa en el contexto de la UNASUR*, edited by Sonia Alda Mejías and Veronica Gómez Ricaurte. Madrid, Spain: Instituto Universitario General Gutierrez Mellado de Investigación sobre Paz, la Seguridad y la Defensa.
- 2011 Pérez, Orlando J. "Crime, Insecurity and Erosion of Democratic Values in Latin America," *Revista Latinoamericana de Opinión Pública (Latin American Journal of Public Opinion)*, WAPOR-Buenos Aires, Editorial Teseo, Volumen 1, Numero 1, pp. 61-86.
- 2010 Pérez, Orlando J. "El Golpe de estado y la Constitución de Honduras: falencias institucionales y relaciones civiles-militares", In *La reconstrucción de la seguridad nacional: Defensa, democracia y cuestión militar en América Latina*, edited by Marcela Donadio, pp. 447-459. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Prometeo Libros.
- 2010 Pérez, Orlando J. "La crisis de Honduras y su repercusión regional," In *Anuario 2010 de la seguridad regional en América Latina y el Caribe*, edited by Hans Mathieu and Catalina Niño Guarnizo, pp. 58-72. Programa de cooperación en seguridad regional, Bogotá, Colombia Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- 2010 Pérez, Orlando J. "La política de seguridad de los Estados Unidos y las

- relaciones venezolano-estadounidenses,” In *Adictos al fracaso: Políticas de seguridad de Estados Unidos en América Latina y la Región Andina*, edited by Brian Loveman, pp. 173-216. Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones.
- 2009 Pérez, Orlando J. “Measuring Democratic Political Culture in Latin America,” In *Latin American Democracy: Emerging Reality or Endangered Species*, edited by Richard Millett, Jennifer S. Holmes and Orlando J. Pérez, pp. 21-41. Routledge Publishers.
- 2009 Pérez, Orlando J. and Jennifer S. Holmes “Conclusion,” In *Latin American Democracy: Emerging Reality or Endangered Species*, edited by Richard Millett, Jennifer S. Holmes and Orlando J. Pérez, pp. 347-355. Routledge Publishers.
- 2008 Pérez, Orlando J. “Honduras.” In *Countries at the Crossroads: A Survey of Democratic Governance*, edited by Sanja Kelly, Christopher Walker and Jake Dizard, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- 2006 Pérez, Orlando J. “Panama during World War II: Nationalism and the Challenge to Canal Security,” In *Latin America During World War II*, edited by John Bratzel and Thomas Leonard, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers,
- 2006 Pérez, Orlando J. “U.S. Security Policy and U.S.-Venezuela Relations,” In *Addicted to Failure. US Security Policy in Latin America and the Andean Region*, edited by Brian Loveman, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- 2006 Pérez, Orlando J. “La agenda de seguridad en Centroamérica hacia el siglo XXI,” (with Ricardo Córdova Macías), In *El Rompecabezas: Conformando la seguridad hemisférica en el siglo XXI*, edited by Joseph S. Tulchin, Raúl Benítez Manaut and Rut Diamint, Universidad de Bologna, Buenos Aires, Libros Prometeo.
- 2005 Pérez, Orlando J. “New Threats and Old Dilemmas: Central America’s Armed Forces in the 21ST Century,” (with Richard Millett), *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Summer): 59-79.
- 2005 Pérez, Orlando J. “La Transformación de las Relaciones Civiles - Militares en Centroamérica,” (with Ricardo Córdova Macías), In *Democracias frágiles: Las relaciones civiles militares en el mundo Iberoamericano*, edited by José Antonio Olmeda, Instituto Universitario General Gutiérrez Mellado, Editorial Tirant Lo Blanch, Madrid.
- 2004 Pérez, Orlando J. “Democratic Legitimacy and Public Insecurity: The Impact of Crime Victimization on Support for Democracy in El Salvador and Guatemala,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume 118, Number 4 (Winter): 627-644.

- 2003 Pérez, Orlando J. "100 Years of Panama," *The Latin Americanist*, (guest editor, special issue) (Summer/Fall 2003).
- 2003 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama Turns 100!" *The Latin Americanist*, (Summer/Fall): 7-13.
- 2002 Pérez, Orlando J. "Chavismo and the Transformation of Civil-Military Relations in Venezuela," *The Latin Americanist*, (Summer/Fall): 12-33.
- 2002 Pérez, Orlando J. "Dismantling Liberal Democracy: Neopopulism and the Reorientation of Civil-Military Relations in Venezuela," In *Armies and Politics*, edited by Evgeny N. Pashentsev and Constantine V. Miniar-Beloroutchev, Moscow, Russian Federation: Russian Progressive Review.
- 2001 Pérez, Orlando J. "El neomilitarismo latinoamericano y su desafío a la democracia liberal", En *Militares y Civiles: Balance y perspectivas de las relaciones civiles- militares venezolanas en la segunda mitad del siglo XX*, edited by Hernán Castillo, Manuel Alberto Donis Ríos y Domingo Irwin, Caracas, Venezuela: Publicaciones UCAB.
- 2000 Pérez, Orlando J. "Drugs and Post-Intervention Political Economy in Haiti and Panama." In *The Political Economy of Drugs in the Caribbean*, edited by Ivelaw L. Griffith, 138-161. London: Macmillan Publishers.
- 2000 Pérez, Orlando J. "Introduction: U.S.-Panamanian Relations in Historical Perspective." In *Post-Invasion Panama: The Challenges of Democratization in the New World Order*, edited by Orlando J. Pérez, 1-10. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- 2000 Pérez, Orlando J. "Executive-Legislative Relations in Post-Invasion Panama." In *Post-Invasion Panama: The Challenges of Democratization in the New World Order*, edited by Orlando J. Pérez, 85-10. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- 2000 Pérez, Orlando J. "The Past as Prologue?: Political Parties in Post-Invasion Panama." In *Post-Invasion Panama: The Challenges of Democratization in the New World Order*, edited by Orlando J. Pérez, 125-146. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- 2000 Pérez, Orlando J. "Conclusion: Democratization and Economic Development: Challenges and Opportunities for a New Century." In *Post-Invasion Panama: The Challenges of Democratization in the New World Order*, edited by Orlando J. Pérez, 147-155. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- 1999 Pérez, Orlando J. "Public Opinion and the Future of U.S.-Panama Relations," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 41, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 1-34.

- 1998 Pérez, Orlando J. “Democracia o estabilidad?: La reelección presidencial y sus consecuencias para Panamá,” In *El Canal de Panamá en el Siglo XXI: Encuentro académico internacional sobre el Canal de Panamá*, edited by David Montoya, 313-322. Universidad de Panamá.
- 1995 Pérez, Orlando J. “Who votes in Central America? A Comparative Analysis.” Co-authored with Mitchell A. Seligson, Annabelle Conroy, Ricardo Córdova, and Andrew Stein. In *Elections and Democracy in Central America Revisited*, edited by Mitchell A. Seligson and John A. Booth, 123-147. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press.
- 1995 Pérez, Orlando J. “Elections under Crisis: Background to Panama in the 1980s,” In *Elections and Democracy in Central America Revisited*, edited by Mitchell A. Seligson and John A. Booth, 151-182. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press.
- 1995 Pérez, Orlando J. “Moving Beyond Personalism: Panama inches toward electoral democracy,” *Hemisphere: A Magazine of Latin American and Caribbean Affairs*. Volume Six, No. 3: 14-16.
- 1993 Pérez, Orlando J. “Sistemas electorales y su impacto sobre el sistema político,” *Revista Tareas* No. 85, Panamá, (Nov.-Dec): 65-81.

Monographs and Occasional Papers

- 2021 Pérez, Orlando J., Georgina Pizzolitto y Luke Plutowski. (Eds.) *Cultura política de la democracia en Honduras y en las Américas 2021: Tomándole el pulso a la democracia*. Nashville, TN: LAPOP.
- 2019 Brown Araúz, Harry and Orlando J. Pérez. “Panama: Political dialogue as a means to develop public policies,” Working Paper, Rice University’s Baker Institute for Public Policy.
- 2018 Pérez, Orlando J. *Cultura política de la democracia en Honduras, 2016/17*. LAPOP, USAID, Vanderbilt University.
- 2016 Pérez, Orlando J. (with Randy Pestana). *Honduran Military Culture*. Florida International University’s Jack D. Gordon Institute for Public Policy (FIU-JGI) and FIU’s Kimberly Green Latin American and Caribbean Center (FIU-LACC), in collaboration with the United States Southern Command (USSOUTHCOM),
- 2015 Pérez, Orlando J. *Cultura política de la democracia en Honduras y en las Américas, 2014: Gobernabilidad democrática a través de 10 años del Barómetro de las Américas*. LAPOP, USAID, Vanderbilt University.
- 2013 Pérez, Orlando J., John A. Booth and Mitchell A. Seligson “Wither Honduras? Volatile Elite Politics and Citizen Dissatisfaction,” (with) *AmericasBarometer Insight Series, No. 90*, May. Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP),

Vanderbilt University,

- 2012 Pérez, Orlando J. *Cultura Política de la Democracia en Honduras y en las Américas, 2012: Hacia la igualdad de oportunidades*, November. LAPOP, USAID, Vanderbilt University, (<http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/ab2012.php#Honduras>).
- 2012 Pérez, Orlando J. and Jack Menke. *Surinamese Strategic Culture*, Findings Report #24 (with), Florida International University, Applied Research Center, Latin American and Caribbean Center, United States Southern Command.
- 2011 Pérez, Orlando J. *Panamanian Strategic Culture*, Findings Report #17, Florida International University, Applied Research Center, Latin American and Caribbean Center, United States Southern Command.
- 2010 Pérez, Orlando J. *Cultura política de la democracia en Panamá, 2010: Consolidación democrática en las Américas en tiempos difíciles*. Un estudio del Proyecto de Opinión Publica en América Latina (LAPOP), Vanderbilt University, USAID, CIDEM.
- 2010 Pérez, Orlando J. *Cultura política de la democracia en Honduras, 2010: Consolidación democrática en las Américas en tiempos difíciles*. Un estudio del Proyecto de Opinión Publica en América Latina (LAPOP), Vanderbilt University, USAID, FOPRIDEH.
- 2010 Pérez, Orlando J., John Booth and Mitchell Seligson “The Honduran Catharsis,” (with) *AmericasBarometer Insight Series*, No. 45, August. Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), Vanderbilt University.
- 2010 Pérez, Orlando J. “Crime and Support for Coups in Latin America,” *AmericasBarometer Insight Series*, No. 32, February. Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), Vanderbilt University.
- 2008 Pérez, Orlando J. *Cultura política de la democracia en Nicaragua, 2008: El impacto de la gobernabilidad*. Un estudio del Proyecto de Opinión Publica en América Latina (LAPOP), Vanderbilt University, USAID, IADB, UNDP.
- 2008 Pérez, Orlando J. *Cultura política de la democracia en Panamá, 2008: El impacto de la gobernabilidad*. Un estudio del Proyecto de Opinión Publica en América Latina (LAPOP), Vanderbilt University, USAID, IADB, UNDP.
- 2007 Pérez, Orlando J. *La cultura política de la democracia en Panamá: 2006, Barómetro de las Américas*, Un estudio del Proyecto de Opinión Publica en América Latina (LAPOP), Vanderbilt University, USAID.
- 2004 Pérez, Orlando J. and Marco A. Gandasegui, Jr. *La cultura política de la democracia en Panamá, 2004: Percepciones de la población en torno al sistema político*, (with), Un estudio del Proyecto de opinión Publica en

América Latina (LAPOP), ARD, Inc., Vanderbilt University, CELA, USAID.

(English version) Pérez, Orlando J. and Marco A. Gandasegui, Jr. *The Political Culture of Democracy in Panama, 2004: Public Perceptions of the Political System* (with Marco A. Gandasegui, hijo), A Study of the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), ARD, Inc., Vanderbilt University, CELA, USAID.

- 2004 Pérez, Orlando J. "Report on Tri-Partite Survey: Albanian Anticorruption Project," Management Systems International (MSI), Inc.
- 2002 Pérez, Orlando J. "Sistematización del proyecto 'Apoyo al programa de Reforma y Modernización de las Fuerzas Armadas de Honduras para garantizar la Gobernabilidad Democrática y el Poder Civil, HON/01/007' Acuerdo de Servicios Especiales # 325/2002, Programa de Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD).

Invited Articles and Op-Eds

- 2025 Pérez, Orlando J. "Why Is El Salvador Allowing Indefinite Presidential Terms?" *The Dialogue: Latin America Advisor*. August 20, 2025. <https://www.thedialogue.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/08/LAA250820.pdf>.
- 2025 Pérez, Orlando J. "El Salvador is a lesson in democratic backsliding: President Nayib Bukele has brought security but undermined accountability." *The Dallas Morning News*, August 8, 2025. <https://www.dallasnews.com/opinion/commentary/2025/08/09/el-salvador-is-a-lesson-in-democratic-backsliding/>.
- 2025 Pérez, Orlando J. "What Do Renewed Protest Movements Mean for Panama?" *The Dialogue: Latin America Advisor*, July 7, 2025. <https://www.thedialogue.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/08/LAA250820.pdf>.
- 2025 Pérez, Orlando J. "Election of judges in Mexico would undermine judicial independence Ruling party is poised to undercut checks and balances." *The Dallas Morning News*, May 24, 2025. <https://www.dallasnews.com/opinion/commentary/2025/05/24/election-of-judges-in-mexico-would-undermine-judicial-independence/>.
- 2025 Pérez, Orlando J. "The Perils of Offshoring Justice: Texas and the U.S.-El Salvador prison pipeline," *Texas Observer*, May 8, 2025. <https://www.texasobserver.org/trump-texas-offshoring-justice-el-salvador/>.
- 2025 Pérez, Orlando J. "Parting Shot: Careful What You Wish For." *LatinFinance*, March 25, 2025. <https://latinfinance.com/magazine/2025/03/25/parting-shot-careful-what-you-wish-for/>.
- 2025 Pérez, Orlando J., and Gabriel Marcella. "Thucydides in Panama: Power vs. Diplomacy in the Time of Trump." *Global Americans*, February 11, 2025.

<https://globalamericans.org/thucydides-in-panama-power-vs-diplomacy-in-the-time-of-trump/>.

- 2025 Pérez, Orlando J. "Trump's Panama Canal Threats Unpacked: The Facts Tell a Different Story." *The Dallas Morning News*, January 24, 2025. <https://www.dallasnews.com/opinion/commentary/2025/01/24/trumps-panama-canal-threats-unpacked-the-facts-tell-a-different-story/>.
- 2024 Pérez, Orlando J. "Will Mulino Slow Migration Flows Through Panama?" *The Dialogue: Latin America Advisor*, July 18, 2024. <https://thediologue.org/analysis/will-mulino-slow-migration-flows-through-panama/>.
- 2024 Pérez, Orlando J. "What Will Mulino's Presidency Mean for Panamanians?" *The Dialogue: Latin America Advisor*, May 7, 2024. <https://thediologue.org/analysis/what-will-mulinos-presidency-mean-for-panamanians/>.
- 2024 Pérez, Orlando J. "Why Bukele's reelection is a threat to democracy in El Salvador," *The Dallas Morning News*, February 2, 2024, <https://www.dallasnews.com/opinion/commentary/2024/02/02/why-bukeles-reelection-is-a-threat-to-democracy-in-el-salvador/>.
- 2023 Pérez, Orlando J. "Democratic transition in Guatemala is not assured," *The Dallas Morning News*, August 28. <https://www.dallasnews.com/opinion/commentary/2023/08/28/democratic-transition-in-guatemala-is-not-assured/>.
- 2022 Pérez, Orlando J. "The crisis of democracy in Central America is fueling immigration," *The Dallas Morning News*, September 22. <https://www.dallasnews.com/opinion/commentary/2022/09/18/the-crisis-of-democracy-in-central-america/>.
- 2021 Pérez, Orlando J. and Randy Pestana "Threats to democracy increase as President Bukele moves to control El Salvador's judiciary" *Global Americans*, May 6. <https://theglobalamericans.org/2021/05/threats-to-democracy-increase-as-president-bukele-moves-to-control-el-salvadors-judiciary/>.
- 2021 Pérez, Orlando J. and Randy Pestana "El Salvador's legislative elections and the challenge to democracy" *Global Americans*, March 3. <https://theglobalamericans.org/2021/03/el-salvadors-legislative-elections-and-the-challenge-to-democracy/>.
- 2021 Pérez, Orlando J. "The Biden Administration and Central America: Meeting the challenge of corruption and authoritarianism" *Global Americans*, February 17. <https://theglobalamericans.org/2021/02/the-biden-administration-and-central-america-meeting-the-challenge-of-corruption-and-authoritarianism/>.

- 2018 Pérez, Orlando J. "Hear no evil, see no evil: Daniel Ortega in the midst of a crisis" *Global Americans*, July 13.
<https://theglobalamericans.org/2018/07/hear-no-evil-see-no-evil-daniel-ortega-in-the-midst-of-a-crisis/>.
- 2018 Pérez, Orlando J. "Can Nicaragua's Military Prevent a Civil War?" *Foreign Policy* July 3, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/07/03/can-nicaraguas-military-prevent-a-civil-war/>.
- 2017 Pérez, Orlando J. and Mitchell A. Seligson, "Hondurans are in the streets because they don't believe their election results" *The Washington Post*, December 29, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/12/19/hondurans-are-in-the-streets-because-they-dont-believe-their-election-results/?utm_term=.85bef269475b.
- 2016 Pérez, Orlando J. "The slow "auto-golpe" in Nicaragua" *Global Americans*, August 24, <http://theglobalamericans.org/2016/08/slow-auto-golpe-nicaragua/>.
- 2016 Pérez, Orlando J. "Putting lipstick on a pig: Has the age of coups returned under a pro-democratic guise?" July 21, *Global Americans*, <http://theglobalamericans.org/2016/07/putting-lipstick-pig-age-coups-returned-pro-democratic-guise/>.
- 2016 Pérez, Orlando J. "Guatemala and its comedian president" *Global Americans*, March 17, <http://theglobalamericans.org/2016/03/2767/>.
- 2015 Pérez, Orlando J. "Guatemala's Uncertain Future after the Elections" *Global Americans*, October 28, <http://theglobalamericans.org/2015/10/guatemalas-uncertain-future-after-the-elections/>.
- 2015 Pérez, Orlando J. "What happens next in Central America?" *Global Americans*, September 11, <http://theglobalamericans.org/2015/09/what-happens-next-in-central-america/>.
- 2015 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama." In *Britannica Book of the Year*, edited by Karen Jacobs Sparks. Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.
- 2014 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama." In *Britannica Book of the Year*, edited by Karen Jacobs Sparks. Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.
- 2013 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama." In *Britannica Book of the Year*, edited by Karen Jacobs Sparks. Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.
- 2012 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama." In *Britannica Book of the Year*, edited by Karen Jacobs Sparks. Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.

- 2011 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama." In Britannica Book of the Year, edited by Karen Jacobs Sparks, Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.
- 2010 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama." In Britannica Book of the Year, edited by Karen Jacobs Sparks, 448-49. Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.
- 2009 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama." In Britannica Book of the Year, edited by Karen Jacobs Sparks, 447-48. Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.
- 2008 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama." In Britannica Book of the Year, edited by Karen Jacobs Sparks, 446-47. Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.
- 2007 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama." In Britannica Book of the Year, edited by Karen Jacobs Sparks, 443-44. Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.
- 2006 Pérez, Orlando J. "Republic of Panama," In World Encyclopedia of Political Systems and Parties, 4th. edition, edited by Neil Schlager and Jayne Weisblatt; consulting editor Orlando J. Pérez, 1041-1049. New York: Facts on File.
- 2006 Pérez, Orlando J. "Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela," In World Encyclopedia of Political Systems and Parties, 4th. edition, edited by Neil Schlager and Jayne Weisblatt; consulting editor Orlando J. Pérez, 1491-1499. New York: Facts on File.
- 2006 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama." In Britannica Book of the Year, edited by Karen Jacobs Sparks, 443. Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.
- 2005 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama." In Britannica Book of the Year, edited by Karen Jacobs Sparks, 445. Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.
- 2004 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama." In Britannica Book of the Year, edited by Karen Jacobs Sparks, 447. Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.
- 2003 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama." In Britannica Book of the Year, edited by Karen Jacobs Sparks, 479. Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.
- 2002 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama." In Britannica Book of the Year, edited by Charles P. Trumbull, 476. Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.
- 2001 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama." In Britannica Book of the Year, edited by Charles P. Trumbull, 478. Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.
- 2000 Pérez, Orlando J. "Panama." In Britannica Book of the Year, edited by Charles P. Trumbull, 475. Chicago, Ill.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.

Selected Conference Presentations and Participation (2000-present)

- 2024 "Crime, Corruption and Political Culture in Honduras: Explaining the Challenge to

- Democratic Governance in a Narco-State” Paper Prepared for the XLII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, (June 12–15), Bogota, Colombia.
- 2024 “What Does Bukelismo Mean for Latin America?” Hudson Institute Panel Presentation, February 21, <https://www.hudson.org/events/what-does-bukelismo-mean-latin-america>.
- 2021 “Institutional Trust and Civil-Military Relations in Latin America” Paper Prepared for the 26th World Congress of Political Science (IPSA), Virtual, (July 10-26).
- 2019 “Democracy and (In)security in Central America: Measuring the Impact of Trust in the Armed Forces” Paper Prepared for the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) International Congress, Boston, MA (May 24-27).
- 2018 “Democracy and Institutional Legitimacy in Latin America: The Effects of Militarizing Domestic Security” Paper Prepared for the International Political Science Association (IPSA) World Congress, Brisbane, Australia (July 21-25).
- 2018 “Crime Victimization, Perception of Insecurity and Voting for Authoritarian Populists in the Americas” Paper Prepared for the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) Conference, Barcelona, Spain (May 23-26).
- 2017 “American Caudillo: The Rise of Strongmen Politics in the United States and Latin America” (with Mary Malone and Dinorah Azpuru), Paper Prepared for the 9th Congress of the Latin American Political Science Association (ALACIP), Montevideo, Uruguay (July 26-28).
- 2017 “Redefining Coups: Executive Power and Constitutional Governance in Latin America,” Paper Prepared for the 9th Congress of the Latin American Political Science Association (ALACIP), Montevideo, Uruguay (July 26-28).
- 2017 “Political Tolerance and the Erosion of Democratic Values in Post-Authoritarian Panama,” Paper Prepared for the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) Conference, Lima, Peru (April 29-May 1).
- 2015 “Measuring Democratic Political Culture in Latin America,” Presentation at the 65th Annual Conference Midwest Association for Latin American Studies, Millersville, PA (October 8-10).
- 2015 “Determinants of Public Support for Militarizing Domestic Security: Evidence from the *AmericasBarometer*,” Paper Prepared for the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) Conference, San Juan, Puerto Rico (May 27-30).
- 2014 “Trust in the Armed Forces: Evidence from the *AmericasBarometer*,” Paper prepared for the *AmericasBarometer* Regional Release, Latin American and Caribbean Center, Florida International University, Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), Vanderbilt University, Miami, FL (December 4).
- 2014 “Cultura Política de la Democracia en Panamá: Barómetro de las Américas, 2014,” Paper presented at the 64th Annual Meeting of the Midwest Association for Latin American Studies, Panama City, Panama (November 20-22).

- 2014 “Confianza en las Fuerzas Armadas: Perspectiva desde la opinión pública,” FLACSO-ISA Joint International Conference, “Global and Regional Powers in a Changing World,” Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Ciencias económicas, Buenos Aires, Argentina (July 23-25).
- 2014 “Coups beyond the Military: Presidents, Parliaments and the Military in Fragile Democracies,” Paper presented at the 55th Annual Conference of the International Studies Association, Toronto, CA (March 26-29).
- 2013 “Civil-Military Relations from a Public Opinion Perspective,” Paper presented at the 66th Annual Meeting of the World Association for Public Opinion Research, Boston, MA (May 14-16).
- 2013 “La opinión pública y los parámetros de acción de las FFAA en América Latina,” Paper presented at the V Jornadas de Estudios de Seguridad, Instituto Universitario “General Gutierrez Mellado,” Madrid, Spain (May 7).
- 2013 “Political Culture of Democracy in Panama: Evidence from the *AmericasBarometer*,” Panama- United States Roundtable, Center for Hemispheric Policy, University of Miami, and Panama – American Chamber of Commerce, Panama City, Panama, (April 25).
- 2013 “The Impact of Crime and Insecurity on Political Participation in Latin America,” Paper presented at “The Latin American Voter,” Mini-Workshop, Southern Political Science Association, Orlando, FL, (January 5).
- 2012 “Las Relaciones Civiles-Militares desde la Perspectiva de la Opinión Pública,” Paper presented at the 54th Meeting of the International Congress of Americanists, Vienna, Austria (July 15-20).
- 2012 “Military Coup and Constitutional Arrangements: An Analysis of Civil-Military Relations in Honduras,” Paper presented at the World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Madrid, Spain (July 8-12).
- 2012 “Mass Support for Populism in Latin America: A Comparative Analysis using Survey Data from the *AmericasBarometer*, 2010,” Paper presented at the 65th Annual Conference of the World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR), Hong Kong, PRC (June 14-16).
- 2012 “Political Culture of Democracy in Panama: Evidence from the *AmericasBarometer*,” Paper presented at the XXX Conference of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), San Francisco, CA (May 23-26).
- 2011 “Wither Central America?: Crime, Violence and Insecurity and the Erosion of Democratic Governance in the Sub-Region,” Presentation at United States Southern Command, Sponsored by the Jack D. Gordon Institute for Public Policy and Citizenship Studies, Program in National Security Studies, USSOUTHCOM Headquarters, Miami, FL (November 21)

- 2011 "Government Capacity: Assessing Security Collaboration among Central American Countries," Presentation at the Conference on Central America: Confronting Criminal Threats, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, Anti-Drug Intelligence Community Team, USSOUTHCOM, Miami, FL (September 26)
- 2011 "Civil-Military Relations and Support for Military Coup d'états in Latin America," International Political Science Association, Research Committee on Armed Forces and Society Triennial Conference, Armed Forces and Society: New Domestic and International Challenges, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey (June 17-19)
- 2011 "El sistema de integración Centroamericana (SICA)," VII Semana Iberoamericana de Defensa y Seguridad, El concepto y las relaciones multilaterales de seguridad y defensa en el contexto de la UNASUR, FLACSO-Ecuador, Instituto Universitario General Gutierrez Mellado y Ministerio de Defensa Nacional de Ecuador, Quito, Ecuador (June 7-9)
- 2011 "The Demographics of Support for Authoritarianism in Latin America," IV Latin American Congress of Public Opinion, World Association of Public Opinion Research (WAPOR), Belo Horizonte, Brazil (May 4-6).
- 2011 "Authoritarian Values and Support for Coups in Latin America," 61st Political Studies Association Annual Conference "Transforming Politics: New Synergies," Novotel London West, London, UK (April 19-21).
- 2010 "Cultura política y valores autoritarios en América Latina: Estudiando los determinantes del apoyo a los golpes de estado," Congreso Uruguayo de Ciencias Políticas, Montevideo, Uruguay (August 2-3).
- 2010 "Crime, Insecurity and Erosion of Democratic Values in Latin America," III Congress of Public Opinion in Latin America, WAPOR, Queretaro, Mexico (April 14-17).
- 2009 "How Sound Is Security Collaboration among Central American Countries?" Changing Strategic Environments in the Caribbean Basin, Americas Workshop, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University (NDU), Washington, DC (August 5-6).
- 2009 "Choosing Soldiers over Politicians: Crime and Support for Coups in Latin America," World Congress of Political Science, International Political Science Association (IPSA), Santiago, Chile (July 12-16).
- 2009 "Defense Organization in Central America," Workshop on Defense Organization in Latin America, Sponsored by the Defense, Public Security and Democracy Section, Latin American Studies Association, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (June 11-14).
- 2008 "Democratic Political Culture in Latin America: The Impact of Governability, Evidence from the Americas Barometer 2008," 58th Annual Conference of the Midwest Association for Latin American Studies (MALAS), San Juan, Puerto Rico (November 20-22).

- 2008 “Inseguridad y democracia en Centro América,” Sub-regional Conference in Central America, Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, National Defense University, Panama City, Panama (July 29- 31).
- 2008 “Gang Violence, Insecurity and Democracy: Exploring the Impact of ‘Mano Dura’ Policies,” Research Committee on Armed Forces & Society, International Political Science Association, Santiago, Chile (June 25-28).
- 2008 “Exploring Populist and Authoritarian Values in Latin America: Venezuela in Comparative Perspective,” World Association of Public Opinion Research, New Orleans, LO (May 13-15).
- 2008 “Popular Views of Globalization,” Conference on Latin America and Globalization, Center for the Studies of the Americas, Copenhagen Business School, Copenhagen, Denmark (April 15-16).
- 2008 “Colliding Domestic Rationalities: A Framework for Understanding Cuba’s New Export Commodity” (with Angela Haddad), Cuba Project International Symposium A Changing Cuba in a Changing World, Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies, The Graduate Center, The City University of New York, New York, New York (March 13-15).
- 2007 “Measuring Democratic Political Culture in Latin America,” 57th Annual Conference of the Midwest Association for Latin American Studies (MALAS), St. Louis, MO (November 1-4).
- 2007 “Neo-Populism in Latin America: A Comparative Micro-Level Analysis using Survey Data,” 60th World Association of Public Opinion Research (WAPOR), Berlin, Germany (September 19-21)
- 2007 “Mass Support for Populism in Latin America: A Comparative Analysis of Survey Data,” Consejo de Estudios Latinoamericanos de Asia y Oceanía (CELAO), Seoul, South Korea (June 21-23)
- 2007 “Democracy and Crime Victimization in Latin America,” Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA), Chicago, Illinois (April 12-15).
- 2006 “Democracy, Crime, and Public Insecurity: An Analysis of Security Sector Reform in Central America,” 20th Meeting of the International Political Science Association (IPSA), Fukuoka, Japan (July 9-12).
- 2006 Chair, Panel: “Democracy and Public Opinion in Africa,” 59th Annual meeting of the World Association of Public Opinion Research (WAPOR), Montreal, Canada (May 16-18).
- 2006 “Los nuevos temas de seguridad en Centroamérica,” XXVI International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, (March 15-18).
- 2006 Organizer, Panel: “Los desafíos de seguridad en Centroamérica” XXVI International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, (March

- 15-18).
- 2005 “Central American Crime and Gangs,” 55th Annual Conference of the Midwest Association for Latin American Studies, Saint Louis, Missouri (November 3-5).
 - 2005 “Measuring Authoritarian Political Culture in Latin America,” 58th Annual Meeting of the World Association of Public Opinion Research, Cannes, France, (September 15-17).
 - 2005 “La seguridad en Centroamérica,” Presentation at the workshop “La Gobernabilidad de la seguridad en el Caribe: Iniciativas de Reformas y Cooperación,” Global Foundation for Democracy and Development, Woodrow Wilson Center, FUNDAUNGO, Santo Domingo, República Dominicana, (August 2).
 - 2005 “Inseguridad y delincuencia en Centroamérica,” Presentation at the Seminar “La agenda de seguridad en Centroamérica,” Woodrow Wilson Center, FUNDAUNGO, Ford Foundation, San Salvador, El Salvador, (July 14-15).
 - 2005 “Consensus or Conflict: The Making of National Defense Policy in Central America,” Research Committee on Armed Forces and Society of the International Political Sciences Association (IPSA), China Arms Control and Disarmament Association (CACDA), Shanghai Institute for Defense Strategic Studies (SIDSS), Shanghai, P.R.C., (June 28-29).
 - 2005 “Measuring Support for Stable Democracy in Latin America: An Analysis of Results from the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP),” 7th Annual International Seminar of the World Association of Public Opinion Research-Mexico Chapter, Mexico City, F.D., (May 16-17).
 - 2004 “Choosing Soldiers over Politicians: Mass Support for the Military in Latin America,” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Association for Latin American Studies (MALAS), St. Louis, MO (November 11-13).
 - 2004 “Assessing State Fragility in the Western Hemisphere,” Panel participant at the Conference on State Fragility in the Western Hemisphere: Identification, Prevention, and Reconstruction, Sponsored by Office of External Research, Bureau of Intelligence & Research (INR) U.S. Department of State and National Intelligence Council (NIC), Arlington, VA (October 29).
 - 2004 “Civil-Military Relations in Latin America: A Case Study of Public Opinion in Ecuador and Paraguay,” (with Raymond Whitney III), Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois (April 15-18).
 - 2003 “El rol de las fuerzas armadas latinoamericanas en situación de crisis económica, política y social (with Ricardo Cordova Macias), REDES, Networking of Networks: Sharing Knowledge, National Defense University, Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, Santiago, Chile (October 27-30).
 - 2003 Chair, Panel “Armed Forces, Crisis and Society” (Track 2), REDES, Networking of

Networks: Sharing Knowledge, National Defense University, Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, Santiago, Chile (October 27-30).

- 2003 “Challenging Liberal Democracy in Latin America: Neomilitarism and the Transformation of Civil-Military Relations,” Paper presented at the 19th World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Durban, South Africa (June 29-July 4).
- 2003 “Military Role in Remediating Today’s Threats,” Panel participant at the Conference on Central American Security Issues: A New Role for the Military, Sponsored by the Office of External Research, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State and the National Intelligence Council, Arlington, VA (June 17).
- 2003 “El rol de las Fuerzas Armadas y su impacto sobre la democracia: Análisis de la situación en América Central.” Paper presented at the 2003 meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Dallas, Texas (March 27-29).
- 2002 “An Analysis of U.S. Strategic Policies in Central America and their Impact on Civil-Military Relations.” Paper presented at the Research and Education in Defense and Security Studies (REDES), Center for Hemispheric and Defense Studies, Brasilia, Brazil (August 7–10).
- 2001 “Dismantling Liberal Democracy: Neopopulism and the Reorientation of Civil-Military Relations in Venezuela.” Paper presented at 2001 meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, DC (September 6-8).
- 2001 “Dismantling Liberal Democracy: Neopopulism and the Reorientation of Civil-Military Relations in Venezuela. Paper presented at the X Congreso de la Federación Internacional sobre América Latina y el Caribe (FIEALC), Moscow, Russia (June 25-29).
- 2001 “Promoting Democracy or Facilitating Authoritarianism: An Analysis of U.S. Strategic Policies in Central America and their Impact on Civil-Military Relations.” Paper presented at the 59th annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago (April 19-22).
- 2001 “Democratic Legitimacy and Public (In)Security: An Analysis of Public Opinion Toward the National Civil Police in El Salvador and Guatemala,” (with Sara B. Spencer) Paper presented at the 2001 meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Fort Worth, TX (March 15-18).
- 2001 “El neomilitarismo latinoamericano y su desafío a la democracia liberal.” Paper presented at the Conference *Balance y perspectivas de las relaciones civiles y militares venezolanas en la segunda mitad del siglo XX*. Universidad Simon Bolivar, Caracas, Venezuela (February 6-8).
- 2000 “New Missions and Old Mandates: The Transformation of Civil-Military Relations in Post- Authoritarian Central America.” Paper presented at the XXII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Miami (March 16-18).

2000 “From Loyal Subordinates to Active Politicians: An Analysis of Civil-Military Relations in Contemporary Venezuela” (with Leonardo Ledezma), Paper presented at the Conference on Venezuelan Politics, Tufts University, Boston (March 9-10).

Professional Association Membership

American Conference of Academic Deans (ACAD)

Executive Board, member, 2023-2025

Midwest Association of Latin American Studies (MALAS),

Vice-President, 2005-06, President, 2006-08, Executive Committee (2009-2011), Vice-President (2015), President (2016)

Research Committee on Armed Forces & Society

Executive Board (2014-present)

Latin American Studies Association (LASA)

Reviewer of Scholarly Articles

Journal of Peace and War Studies (JPWS)

Democratization

Revista Humanidades

Middle Atlantic Review of Latin American Studies

Journal of Latin American Studies

Bulletin of Latin American Research

Latin American Politics & Society

American Political Science Review

International Journal of Public Opinion Research

American Journal of Economics and Sociology

International Studies Quarterly

Comparative Politics

Political Research Quarterly

Comparative Political Studies

Latin American Research Review

American Journal of Political Science

Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs

Armed Forces and Society

International Politics

Delaware Review of Latin American Studies

Media Commentary & Analysis

The Dallas Morning News

La Prensa (Panama)

ECOTV (Panama)

Global Americas

PBS NewsHour

BBC World News

Univision

The New York Times

Arkansas Democrat-Gazette

El Nacional, Venezuela daily newspaper

“Currently Speaking” WDCQ Delta Public Broadcasting Z-93 Morning Show, Saginaw, Michigan

National Spanish Radio, Barcelona, Spain
La Opinión Digital, Los Angeles, CA
The Saginaw News, Saginaw, MI
Revista Valverde, Lima, Perú