

V. Ximena Velasco-Guachalla

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University of Essex
Colchester, United Kingdom

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Appointments

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|---|-------------------|
| Assistant Professor, Department of Government
University of Essex, United Kingdom
<i>Academic permanency (UK equivalent of tenure)</i> | May 2020–present |
| Associate Researcher, Instituto de Investigaciones Socio-Económicas
Universidad Católica Boliviana “San Pablo”, Bolivia | July 2022–present |

Education

- | | |
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| Ph.D., Political Science , University of Colorado Boulder | 2020 |
| Committee: Carew Boulding (Chair), Andy Baker, David Brown, Moisés Arce, Rachel Rinaldo.
Fields: Comparative Politics, International Relations, Latin American Politics, Methodology. | |
| M.A., Political Science , University of Colorado Boulder | 2015 |
| B.A., Economics and Political Science , University of Kansas | 2012 |

Research and Teaching Interests

Comparative Politics; Latin American Politics; Democratic Institutions; Political Behavior; Contentious Politics; Corruption; Development; Comparative Political Economy; Research Methods.

Publications

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

- Velasco-Guachalla, V. Ximena. 2026. “[Shifting Political Cycles: Presidential Elections in Bolivia 2025.](#)” *Revista Elecciones* 25(31): e3105.
- Hummel, Callan, and Velasco-Guachalla, V. Ximena. 2024. “[Activists, Parties, and the Expansion of Trans Rights in Bolivia.](#)” *Comparative Politics* 56(3): 321–343.
- Hummel, Callan, Velasco-Guachalla, V. Ximena, and Humerez Aquino, Luna A. 2024. “[Reluctant](#)

Entrepreneurs, Informality, and Micro-Businesses in Bolivia's Transgender Community." *Revista Latinoamericana de Desarrollo Económico* 42: 11–42.

Velasco-Guachalla, V. Ximena, Hummel, Callan, Nelson-Nuñez, Jami, and Boulding, Carew. 2022. "Legitimacy and Policy During Crises: Subnational COVID-19 Responses in Bolivia." *Perspectives on Politics*.

Velasco-Guachalla, V. Ximena, Hummel, Callan, Handlin, Sam, and Smith, Amy Erica. 2021. "When Does Competitive Authoritarianism Take Root?" *Journal of Democracy* 32(3): 63–77.

Hummel, Callan, **Velasco-Guachalla**, V. Ximena, Nelson-Nuñez, Jami, and Boulding, Carew. 2021. "Crisis Doble: Bolivia in 2020." *Revista de Ciencia Política* 41(2).

Hummel, Callan, Felicia Marie Knaul, Michael Touchton, **Velasco-Guachalla**, V. Ximena, Jami Nelson-Nuñez, and Carew Boulding. 2021. "Poverty, Precarious Work, and the COVID-19 Pandemic: Lessons from Bolivia." *The Lancet Global Health* 9(5): e579–e581.

Griffin, John D., Chad Kiewiet de Jonge, and **Velasco-Guachalla**, V. Ximena. 2020. "Deprivation in the Midst of Plenty: Citizen Polarization and Political Protest." *British Journal of Political Science* 50: 1–17.

Bearce, David H., and **Velasco-Guachalla**, V. Ximena. 2020. "Can We Explain Regime Type Differences If Citizens Don't Vote Based on Foreign Economic Policy?" *Foreign Policy Analysis* 16(3): 492–503.

Baker, Andy, and **Velasco-Guachalla**, V. Ximena. 2018. "Is the Informal Sector Politically Different? (Null) Answers from Latin America." *World Development* 102: 170–182.

Book Chapters and Reference Works

Velasco-Guachalla, V. Ximena, and Hummel, Callan. 2026. "Bolivia." In *Reference Module in Social Sciences*. Elsevier.

Velasco-Guachalla, V. Ximena, and Mathesová, Karolina. 2024. "Behavioral Consequences of Corruption: Protest." In *Handbook on Gender and Corruption in Democracies*. Edward Elgar, pp. 338–358.

Hummel, Callan, **Velasco-Guachalla**, V. Ximena, Jami Nelson-Nuñez, and Carew Boulding. 2025. "Decentralization, State Capacity, and Inequality: Explaining COVID-19 Outcomes in Bolivia." In Rachel M. Gisselquist and Andrea Vaccaro (eds.), *How States Respond to Crisis: Pandemic Governance Across the Global South*. Oxford University Press.

Public Scholarship and Policy Publications

Velasco-Guachalla, V. Ximena, and Hummel, Callan. 2026. "Why Bolivia Voted for Change—And Continuity." *Journal of Democracy*. Published online October 16, 2025.

Martínez Rojas, H., Gutiérrez Yepes, P., Ortiz Escobar, D., Dorussen, H., Benedetti Ramírez, V., Bustos Bautista, A., Contreras Cepeda, L., Gaitán Murillo, L., García Albarracín, A., Amaya Panche, J., and **Velasco-Guachalla**, V. Ximena. 2022. *Fortalecimiento de la confianza y la inclusión socioeconómica*. Universidad Externado de Colombia.

Baker, Andy, Boulding, Carew, Mullenax, Shawna, Murton, Galen, Todd, Meagan, **Velasco-Guachalla**, V. Ximena, and Zackary, Drew. 2017. "Maintaining Civic Space in Backsliding Regimes." Research and Innovation Grants Working Papers Series. Washington, DC: USAID and International Institute of Education.

Hummel, Callan, and **Velasco-Guachalla**, V. Ximena. 2019. "Corruption, Fraud, and Statistics in Bolivia's Disputed Election." *Mischiefs of Faction*.

Boulding, Carew, Foxworth, Ray, Hummel, Callan, Nelson-Núñez, Jami, and **Velasco-Guachalla**, V. Ximena. 2019. "The Real Story Behind Bolivia's Protests." *The Monkey Cage*, *The Washington Post*.

Book Reviews

Velasco-Guachalla, V. Ximena. 2025. Review of *None of the Above: Protest Voting in Latin American Democracies*, by Mollie J. Cohen. *Revista Latinoamericana de Opinión Pública* 14: e32160. <https://revistas.usal.es/cuatro/index.php/1852-9003/article/view/32160>

Under Review

Ortiz Escobar, David, Han Dorussen, **Velasco-Guachalla**, V. Ximena, Johanna Amaya-Panche. "Trust and the Socioeconomic Reintegration of former FARC-EP combatant." Under review.

Boulding, Carew, **Velasco-Guachalla**, V. Ximena, Gustavo Perez-Arrobo. "Understanding Protesters' Attitudes about the Political System." Under review.

Boulding, Carew, **Velasco-Guachalla**, V. Ximena. "Winners, Losers, and Protest Voters: How Executive Turnover and Party Tenure shape the Legitimacy Gap." Under review.

Selected Work in Progress

"Resistance in the Streets and in the Courts: Socioenvironmental Conflict in Bolivia and Colombia." (with Adriana Molina Garzon)

"Protest, Democratic Backsliding, and Satisfaction with Democracy." (with Carew Boulding)

"When Do Political Elites Support Power Grabs? Evidence from Bolivia." (with Sergio Ascencio)

"Rethinking Trust in Economic Reincorporation: Ex-Combatants, Local Entrepreneurs, and Productive Projects." (with David Ortiz, Han Dorussen and Johanna Amaya Panche)

Grants and Awards

Economic and Social Research Council, Secondary Data Analysis Initiative	2023
"Successful Reintegration Trajectories of Ex-Combatants in Colombia," with Han Dorussen. £137,353.	

Global Challenges Research Fund	2021
"Strengthening Trust and Socioeconomic Inclusion," with Han Dorussen. £24,070.	

Research Allocations Committee, University of New Mexico

2023

“Street Protests and the Environment: When Does Civil Society Engage?,” with Adriana Molina Garzón. \$10,000.

Teaching and Supervision

University of Essex

GV831: Coordinator of Undergraduate Final year Dissertations

GV317: Corruption

GV510: Democracy, Inequality and Violence in Latin America (UG and PGT)

GV313: Authoritarianism

University of Colorado at Boulder

PSCI 4012: Global Development

PSCI 2012: Introduction to Comparative Politics

PSCI 3062: Revolutions and Political Violence

Graduate Student Advisement

(PhD Government)

Winnie Xia , internal examiner. Defended on February 2024.

Rodrigo Moura De Araujo, Supervisory Panel Chair. Defended on June 2026

Fadhilah Fitri Primandari, Supervisory Panel Chair. In progress

María José Guerrero González, Supervisory Panel Chair. Defended on February 2024

Supervisor for 18 post-graduate (master’s level) and 22 undergraduate dissertations.

Invited Talks, Policy Engagement, and Public Scholarship

Invited Talks

“[Protest in the Midst of a Pandemic.](#)” Part of the series *Protest and Repression in Latin America*. David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University. November 2, 2021.

“[Autocratization in Latin America.](#)” Part of the series *Autocratization Today*. Centre d’Étude de la Vie Politique, Université Libre de Bruxelles. May 18, 2022.

“[Maintaining Civic Space in Backsliding Regimes.](#)” Learning Forum, Center for Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance, United States Agency for International Development (USAID). March 2021.

“[Democracy and Human Rights in South America.](#)” Latin American Studies Center, University of Colorado Boulder. December 2020.

Policy Engagement

Recurring invited expert contributor to the [Latin America Advisor](#) (Inter-American Dialogue), providing expert commentary on Bolivian politics, democracy, and elections (2024–present).

Consultant for the U.S. Department of State on “Populism in Latin America.” August 2024.

Public Commentary

“Bolivia Protesters Bring Country to Standstill over Election Delays.” *The Guardian*. August 9, 2020.

“Bolivia in Danger of Squandering Its Head Start over Coronavirus.” *The Guardian*. July 3, 2020.

“Drafting a New Chilean Constitution: Discontent at the Gates of the Promised Land.” *Culturs*. December 22, 2020.

Languages and Technical Skills

Methods: OLS, MLE, GLMs, Bayesian statistics, survey methodology, time series, causal inference, machine learning, text analysis, event data analysis, qualitative and mixed methods.

Programming: Stata, R, LaTeX, Python.

Languages: Spanish native; English fluent; Portuguese advanced; Arabic conversational; French conversational.

Fieldwork

Bolivia: La Paz, 2014, 2018, 2021, 2022, 2023.

Colombia: Bogotá, 2023, 2024.

Honduras: Tegucigalpa and La Esperanza, 2015.

Mexico: Oaxaca, 2016.