

**JAIME G. LLUCH**  
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**Department of Political Science**  
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**Educational Degrees**

- 2007 Department of Political Science, **Yale University**.  
Ph.D. degree awarded on May 28, 2007. **Chair: James C. Scott**  
Examination fields: Comparative Politics, U.S.A. Politics, Latin American  
Politics.
- 1989 **Yale Law School**. Juris Doctor degree awarded May, 1989.
- 1986 Department of Political Science,  
**University of California, Berkeley**. M.A. degree awarded  
May, 1986. Focus: Latin American Politics and Politics of Development
- 1984 **Brown University**, B.A. degree awarded May, 1984.  
Phi Beta Kappa, Honors, and magna cum laude.

**Professional Positions**

- 2014- Associate Professor. Political Science Department, University of Puerto Rico,  
Río Piedras (since January 2014). This is a tenure track post (not tenured yet).
- 2012-2014 Fellow and Post-Doctoral Fellow, Penn Program on Democracy, Citizenship, and  
Constitutionalism, University of Pennsylvania. Research theme for 2012-2013:  
“Constitution-Making.”
- 2012 Visiting Professor of Law, Law Department, Universitat Pompeu Fabra,  
Barcelona, Spain. Third trimester of 2011-2012 academic year. Subjects:  
Constitutional Law and National Pluralism; U.S. Constitutional Law (taught in  
English).
- 2011-2012 Visiting Fellow in Italian Studies, at Collegio Carlo Alberto, Turin  
(Moncalieri), Italy, and at Institute for Studies on Federalism and Regionalism,  
EURAC, Bolzano/Bozen, Italy (October 1, 2011- March 30, 2012). Research  
Project: “The Italian Federal Political System and Devolutionary Autonomies  
in Northern Italy.”
- 2010-2011 Santander Fellow in Iberian and European Studies, European Studies Center,  
St. Antony’s College, University of Oxford, United Kingdom. Research  
Project: “Citizenship and Transnationality: Explaining Circular Migration in  
the European Union and the Americas.”
- 2009-2010 Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Research Unit on European Governance  
(URGE), Collegio Carlo Alberto, Turin (Moncalieri), Italy. Research Project:

“Citizenship and Transnationality: Explaining Circular Migration in the European Union and the Americas.”

- 2007-2009 National Science Foundation Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, at the Political and Social Sciences Department and in the Max Weber Post-Doctoral Program, European University Institute, Florence, Italy.
- 2003 Visiting Ph.D. Student, European University Institute, Florence, Italy, during February-August, 2003, working with Professor Michael Keating.
- 2001-2002 Yale-Nuffield Exchange Scholar for 2001-2002, at Nuffield College, University of Oxford, U.K. Supervised by Professor Laurence Whitehead.

### **Dissertation**

Shades of Nationhood: Explaining Internal Variation in the Orientation of Stateless Nations' National Movements, 2007, Political Science Department, Yale University. **Chair: James C. Scott.**

### **Academic Honors and Awards**

- 2016 Awarded "Honorable Mention" for the Charles Taylor Book Award 2016 for best book using interpretive methods at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting 2016 in Philadelphia, September 2, 2016, for my book Visions of Sovereignty (2014).
- 2014-2015 Awarded Fulbright Fellowship for Canada, Visiting Research Chair on Constitutionalism and Federalism, at the Centre on Human Rights, University of Ottawa Law School. Also awarded for 2016-2017.
- 2014-16 Invited by the National Academies and Ford Foundation to be a review panelist at assessment exercise in March 2014, at the National Academies' Beckman Center in Irvine, CA, USA. Also invited in 2015 and 2016.
- 2012 Awarded Vilaseca i Marcet book prize for Visions of Sovereignty, by the *Institut d'Estudis Autonòmics* of the *Generalitat de Catalunya* in Barcelona. Amount of the book prize: 20,000 euros.
- 2011-2012 Awarded a Visiting Fellowship in Italian Studies, at Collegio Carlo Alberto, Turin (Moncalieri), Italy.
- 2010-2011 Awarded a Post-Doctoral Fellowship, European Studies Center, St. Antony's College, Oxford University.
- 2009-2010 Awarded a Post-Doctoral Research Fellowship, Research Unit on European Governance (URGE), Collegio Carlo Alberto, Turin (Moncalieri), Italy.
- 2007-2009 Awarded a National Science Foundation Post-Doctoral Fellowship for 2007-9, NSF Grant No. SES-0706689.
- 2005 Awarded a Ford Foundation Diversity Dissertation Fellowship for 2005-2006.

- 2004            Awarded a Coca-Cola World Fund Grant at Yale, and a Québec Studies Grant by the Québec Government's Department of International Relations. Also awarded a grant by the George Leitner Fund at Yale University.
- 2003            Visiting Student, *Istituto Universitario Europeo*, Florence, Italy, during February-August, 2003, working with Prof. Michael Keating.
- 2002            Awarded a Yale Center for International and Area Studies (YCIAS) Dissertation Research Grant by Yale, and a grant by the John Perry Miller Fund by the Yale Graduate School of Arts and Sciences.
- 2001-2002      Yale Exchange Scholar, at *Nuffield College, University of Oxford*, United Kingdom. My advisor at Oxford was Laurence Whitehead, during the entire 2001-2002 academic year.
- 2001            Awarded a Ford Foundation Pre-Doctoral Fellowship for Minorities, providing three years of support for the Ph.D. degree. Also awarded the Fox International Fellowship at Yale for one-year of study at Cambridge University, United Kingdom (declined), and a YCIAS Pre-Dissertation Research Grant at Yale. Also awarded a Summer Language Institute Fellowship by the Yale Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, for an intensive French language course.
- 1993            Awarded a National Science Foundation Pre-Dissertation Fellowship for the Ph.D. degree. I decided not to enter a Ph.D. program at that time, and remained in the practice of law.
- 1988            Awarded a Yale Law School Summer Public Interest Fellowship, in the UNAN Law School in León, Nicaragua, for research on the Sandinista government's agrarian reform.
- 1984-1985      Awarded the Samuel T. Arnold Traveling Fellowship at Brown, and spent the year researching liberation theology in Central and South America.
- 1984            Phi Beta Kappa, Honors, and magna cum laude at Brown.

### **Books published**

Visions of Sovereignty: Nationalism and Accommodation in Multinational Democracies, University of Pennsylvania Press (2014), in their Series on "National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century." The Series is edited by Prof. Brendan O'Leary. This book was awarded the IV Vilaseca i Marcet international book prize by the Institut d'Estudis Autònoms, Generalitat de Catalunya (Barcelona) in December, 2012. Another version of this book has been published in Barcelona, by permission from Penn Press.

Constitutionalism and the Politics of Accommodation in Multinational Democracies, Jaime Lluch (Single Editor), St. Antony's College Series, Palgrave Macmillan UK Publishers, 2014. Edited volume (10 chapters) based on the papers at major Oxford Conference on "The Politics of Accommodation in Multinational Democracies," June 16-17, 2011, at European Studies Center, St. Antony's College. This book integrates both comparative constitutional law and comparative politics perspectives.

The Moral Polity of the Nationalist: Sovereignty and Accommodation in Catalonia and Quebec (1976-2010). Published in November 2013 by the *Institut d'Estudis Autònoms* of the Catalan government in Barcelona, in their ConTextos Series. Published by permission from the

University of Pennsylvania Press. Awarded Vilaseca i Marcet international book prize by the Catalan government in December, 2012.

### **Social Science Journal Articles Published**

“Unpacking Political Identity: Race, Ethnicity and Nationhood in a Federal Political System,” Ethnopolitics (UK), forthcoming in 2018.

“Autonomism and Federalism,” in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Vol. 42 (1) Winter 2012. Published by Oxford University Press.

“The Internal Variation in Substate National Movements and the Moral Polity of the Nationalist,” in European Political Science Review, Vol. 4, Issue 3 (2012). Published for the European Consortium for Political Research by Cambridge University Press.

“Sovereignists and Associationists: Explaining the Origins of National Movements’ Political Orientation,” in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Vol. 17, No. 2 (April, 2011). Published by Routledge.

“How Nationalism Evolves: Explaining the Establishment of New Varieties of Nationalism within the National Movements of Quebec and Catalonia,” in Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity, Volume 38, No. 3 (May, 2010). Published for the Association for the Study of Nationalities by Routledge.

### **Law Review Articles Published**

“State-Nations, The Legality-Legitimacy Paradox, and Sub-State Party System Realignment: Catalonia and Puerto Rico, 2010-2018,” in Revista Jurídica Universidad de Puerto Rico, forthcoming in 2018 (Peer Reviewed).

“Varieties of Differentiated Citizenship: Asymmetric and Multilevel Citizenship,” Revista Jurídica de la Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico, forthcoming in 2018 (Peer Reviewed).

“The Constitutional and Political Recognition of Stateless Nations in Canada and the United States,” in Volume XLVII, No. 3 (agosto-mayo 2012-13), Revista Jurídica de la Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico.

### **Chapters in Edited Books**

“Constitutional Moments and the Paradox of Constitutionalism in Multinational Democracies (Spain, 2006-2017)” in Rogers Smith and Richard Beeman (eds.), Constitution-Making (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming in 2019).

### **Book Reviews**

Reviewer of Brendan O’Leary et al. (eds), Power Sharing in Deeply Divided Places (Penn Press 2013), published in Perspectives on Politics (2016).

Reviewer of Robert A. Saunders, Ethnopolitics in Cyberspace, (Lexington Books, 2011), published in Ethnic and Racial Studies (2012).

Reviewer of Gabriella Elgenius, *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism: Celebrating Nationhood* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), published in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (2012).

### **Selected Presentations and Conference Papers**

Paper accepted, APSA Annual Meeting 2018, Boston, August 30-September 2, 2018. "Spreading the Federal Idea in Europe: Explaining Variation in Italy and Spain," placed in the following Created Panel: "European Perspectives on Regionalism and Federalism."

Paper accepted, Nationalism and the Market conference, "The market and the strategies for secessionism and non-secession adopted by substate national movements," June 21-22, 2018, Università La Sapienza, Roma, Italia.

Invited Speaker, McGill University, Montréal, Canada. February 23, 2018. "Constitutional Aspects of the Crisis in Spain."

Invited Speaker, Wellesley College, Mass. November 13, 2017. "Visions of Sovereignty and Catalonia in 2017."

Invited Speaker, Seminar Series, Institute on Comparative Federalism, at EURAC, July 21, 2017, in Bolzano/Bozen, Italy.

Paper accepted, Annual Meeting 2017 of the American Political Science Association in San Francisco, California, August 30 to September 3, 2017. Title of my paper: "Microethnography vs. Macroethnography: Varieties of Comparative Field Research," which has been placed in the following Full Panel: Separatism and Democratization: Using Ethnography to Identify Mechanisms.

Papers accepted, International Political Science Association Joint Conference, on "Democratization and Constitutional Design in Divided Societies," at the University of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus, on June 24-27, 2017.

Invited speaker, at *Groupe de recherche sur les sociétés plurinationales'* international conference on "Constitutional Politics in Multinational States," October 28-29, 2016 in Ottawa, Canada. Title of my paper: "The Legitimacy-Legality Constitutional Paradox in Multinational Democracies and the Constitutional Origins of Sub-State Party System Realignments: Catalonia and Puerto Rico (2005-2016)."

Paper presented at the 2016 APSA Annual Meeting in Philadelphia, September 1-4, 2016. Panel was on "The Politics of Citizenship." Title of my paper: "Asymmetric Citizenship and Imperial Legacies."

Papers accepted for 24<sup>th</sup> World Congress of Political Science, convened by the International Political Science Association, July 23-28, 2016, in Istanbul, Turkey.

Paper accepted for 21st Annual World Convention, Association of the Study of Nationalities, April 14-16, 2016, at Columbia University.

Invited speaker, 2015 EUDO Dissemination Conference at the European University Institute (Florence, Italy) on "Spreading Citizenship: Dynamics of Norm Diffusion in Europe and the Americas, November 26-27, 2015. Title of my paper: "Asymmetric Citizenship and Empire."

Invited speaker, Primer Congreso de Ciencia Política y Sociedad, October 27-29, 2015, Political Science Department, University of Puerto Rico, Mayagüez, Puerto Rico. Topic: Visions of Sovereignty.

Invited speaker, International Law Students Association Seminar Series, University of Puerto Rico School of Law, October 13, 2015. Topic: Autonomic elections in Spain.

Invited speaker, Faculty Seminar Series, University of Puerto Rico Law School, September 10, 2015. Topic: Visions of Sovereignty.

Paper presented at the 2015 APSA Annual Meeting in San Francisco, CA, September 3-6, 2015. Panel was on "Comparative and Multilevel Citizenship." Title of my paper: "Varieties of Multilevel and Asymmetric Citizenship."

Invited speaker, 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary International Studies Conference, at Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals, Barcelona (IBEI), June 19-20, 2014. Title of my paper: Substate Nationalism in Multinational Democracies and Material Constraints.

Panel and Paper accepted for APSA 2014 Annual Meeting in Washington, DC, August 28-31, 2014, on "Approaches to Bridging Comparative Politics and Comparative Constitutional Law in Multinational or Multiethnic Democracies."

"Constitutional Moments and Constitutive Moments: Varieties of the Paradox of Constitutionalism in Multinational Democracies (Spain, 2006-2013)," paper at the International Conference on Constitution-Making at the University of Pennsylvania, May 3, 2013.

Papers accepted, at major international conference on "The Ways of Federalism and the Horizons of the Spanish State of Autonomies," October 19-21, 2011, at the Universidad del País Vasco, Bilbao, Spain.

Organizer and Chair, major Oxford Conference on "The Politics of Accommodation in Multinational Democracies," June 16-17, 2011, at European Studies Center, St. Antony's College. Title of my paper in my conference: "Why Does Accommodation Matter: Evidence from the Field."

Invited speaker at Centre for Constitutional Law, School of Law, University of Edinburgh, U.K. May 12, 2011. Title of my presentation: "Autonomism and Federalism in Multinational Federal Political Systems."

Paper accepted for Political Studies Association (U.K.) Annual Conference, in London, April, 19-21, 2011. Title of my paper: "Federacies and Conceptual Stretching: A Critique of the Category of Federacy."

Organizer of the Panel on "Interrogating the Intersection Between Race, Ethnicity, and Nationhood" at the APSA Annual Meeting in Washington, D.C., September 2-5, 2010. Title of the paper presented in the Panel: "Race, Ethnicity, and Nationhood in the United States."

Invited speaker at the international conference on "Garantías del Pluralismo Territorial del Estado," at the "Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales" in Madrid, June 14-15, 2010. Title of the paper presented: "Autonomism and Federalism in Spain."

Invited speaker at the EDG Workshop on "Autonomy" organized by Bruce Berman, Alain Gagnon and Michael Keating, and held at the Universidad Carlos III, Madrid, April 13-17, 2010. Title of the paper presented: "Autonomism and Federalism in Contemporary Politics."

Paper presenter in the Panel on “Theoretical Advances in Ethnopolitics,” Political Studies Association Annual Conference, March 29-April 1, 2010, at Edinburgh, Scotland, U.K. Title of the paper I presented: “A Theory of Autonomism: Origins and Maintenance of the Autonomist Bargain.” Chair and Discussant in the Panel on “Ethnicity and Democracy.”

Organizer of the Panel on “Territorial Autonomies and Multinational Federations: Innovation and Complexity in the Institutional Design of Multinational States” at the APSA Annual Meeting in Toronto, September 3-6, 2009. Title of the paper I presented in the Panel: “Towards a Theory of Autonomy.”

“Varieties of Nationalism and the Stateless Nationalists’ Political Dilemma,” Research Seminar Series, June 18, 2009, Institut Barcelona d’Estudis Internacionals, Barcelona.

Co-Organizer of the Panel on “Re-Conceptualizing Majorities, Minorities, and the State” presented at the APSA Annual Meeting in Boston, August 28-31, 2008. Title of my paper at the Panel: “National Identity and Political Identity: The Impact of Majority-Nation Nationalism on Stateless Nations’ National Movements.”

“Managing Nationalism: Varieties of Nationalism and the Accommodation of Non-Secessionist Nationalism,” at the Workshop on Nationalism and Multi-Level Governance, May 30-31, 2008, at the European University Institute.

“Internal Variation in National Movements and the Study of Nationalism: Methodological, Conceptual, and Theoretical Contributions,” at the SPS Fellows Seminar, May 28, 2008, at the European University Institute.

“Shades of Stateless Nationhood: Explaining Internal Variation in Stateless Nations’ National Movements,” presented on September 5, 2007, at the Centro de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad de Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras.

“National Identity and Political Identity: Resolving the Stateless Nationalists’ Dilemma,” presented on August 31, 2007, at the History and Politics Seminar, at the *Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico*.

The National Movement of Puerto Rico - Recent Developments,” presented in March, 2004, before the *Groupe de recherche sur les sociétés plurinationales (GRSP)*, *Université du Québec à Montréal*

“Comparative Politics of Multinational Democracies,” presented in November, 2003 at the Political Science Department, University of Puerto Rico.

### **Languages**

Spanish (perfect), English (perfect); French (intermediate-plus level), Italian (advanced level), and Catalan (intermediate-plus level) (in all four skills: reading, writing, speaking, and listening)

### **Teaching Experience**

Undergraduate courses taught at University of Puerto Rico: Politics of Europe, Migration and Citizenship, Nationalism and Imperialism, Constitutionalism and National Pluralism, Comparative Politics, Theory of Law, Political Parties, Comparative Politics.

“Constitutionalism and National Pluralism.” Seminar taught at UPenn, Spring, 2013.

Visiting Professor of Law, Law Department, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain. Third trimester of 2011-2012 academic year. Subjects taught: Constitutional Law and National Pluralism; U.S. Constitutional Law (taught in English). Taught four groups of 80 students each.

European University Institute, June 9, 2009. Organizer and Presenter, “3<sup>rd</sup> Term Workshop on Interrogating the Intersection between Race, Ethnicity, and Nationhood,” as part of the teaching program at the SPS Department, EUI. Keynote presenter was Prof. Rogers Brubaker of UCLA.

European University Institute, May 30-31, 2008. Organizer, Chair, and Presenter, “3<sup>rd</sup> Term Workshop on Nationalism and Multi-Level Governance,” as part of the teaching program at the SPS Department, EUI. Keynote presenter was Prof. Josef Marko, University of Graz, Austria, speaking on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

European University Institute, Winter 2008, “The Management of Ethnic and Nationality Conflict.” Ph.D. program-level seminar co-taught with Prof. Michael Keating.

Yale University, Spring 2001, Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, Teaching Assistant, in charge of two sections.

Yale University, Fall 2000, Constitutional Law, Teaching Assistant, in charge of two sections.

### **Teaching Interests**

Comparative Constitutional Law  
Italy and Spain in Comparative Perspective  
Migration and Citizenship  
Politics of Europe  
U.S. Constitutional Law  
Constitutional Law and National Pluralism  
Constitution-Making and the Accommodation of National Diversity  
Constitutional Law in Multinational Democracies  
Environmental Law and Litigation  
Federal Jurisdiction  
Federal Courts and Comparative Federalism  
Administrative Law  
Federalism and Multilevel Governance  
The Politics of Multinational Democracies  
Plurinationalism and Polyethnicity: Comparing the United States and Canada  
Comparative Federalism  
Comparative Politics  
European Union Politics

### **Peer reviewer for the following international journals**

American Political Science Review, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Canadian Journal of Political Science, Regional and Federal Studies (UK), Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Publius: the Journal of Federalism, Nations and Nationalism (UK).

### **Peer reviewer for the following grants and fellowships**

Ford Foundation/National Research Council Fellowship program, at the Beckman Center, Irvine, CA (2014, 2015, 2016, 2017).  
Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (2016).



## **Work Experience as an Attorney**

1995-1998          McConnell Valdés. San Juan, Puerto Rico. Associate. Extensive practice in environmental counseling, mainly in Clean Water Act, RCRA, Clean Air Act, and CERCLA counseling. Also, administrative litigation practice in environmental law before federal and state environmental regulatory agencies.

1993-1995          Rivera, Tulla & Ferrer. San Juan, P.R. Associate. Federal litigation.

1990-1993          Wiggin & Dana, New Haven, Connecticut. Associate. Federal and state litigation.

1989-1990          Weil, Gotshal & Manges. Washington, D.C. Associate. Worked on complex federal environmental law litigation, and CERCLA and RCRA counselling and administrative litigation.

## **Bar Admissions**

Admitted to practice law in Washington, D.C., Connecticut, and Puerto Rico

## **References**

Rogers M. Smith, Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania, USA (formerly at Yale). Tel. 215-898-7662 Email: [rogerss@sas.upenn.edu](mailto:rogerss@sas.upenn.edu)

Brendan O'Leary, Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania, USA  
Tel. 215-573-0645 Email: [boleary@sas.upenn.edu](mailto:boleary@sas.upenn.edu)

James C. Scott, (Chair of Dissertation Committee) Department of Political Science, Yale University, USA  
Tel. 203-432-5230 Email: [james.scott@yale.edu](mailto:james.scott@yale.edu), [brooke.crockett@yale.edu](mailto:brooke.crockett@yale.edu)

Rainer Bauböck, Department of Political and Social Sciences, European University Institute, Florence, Italy  
Tel. +39-055-4685-036 (Italy) Email: [Rainer.Baubock@eui.eu](mailto:Rainer.Baubock@eui.eu)

## **Citizenship and Nationhood**

Born and raised in: San Juan, Puerto Rico. Citizenship: USA.