

MILA VERSTEEG

Professor of Law
Senior Fellow, Miller Center
Director, Human Rights Program
Director, Center for Comparative and International Law
University of Virginia School of Law
580 Massie Road, Charlottesville, VA 22903
(434) 466-8778
versteeg@virginia.edu

EDUCATION

- University of Oxford, Balliol College**, D.Phil. in Socio-Legal Studies, 2011
Arts and Humanities Research Council Award; Gregory Kulkes Scholar
Fields: Comparative Constitutional Law, Public International Law, Empirical Methods
- Harvard Law School**, LL.M., 2007
Huygens Scholarship
- Tilburg University**, Netherlands, “Meester in de Rechten” (J.D/LL.B. equivalent), 2006
Cum laude, Honours Programme
- Tilburg University**, Netherlands, B.A. in Public Administration, 2005
Cum laude

PUBLICATIONS

Monographs, Casebooks & Edited Volumes:

In Progress/ Forthcoming

1. HOW CONSTITUTIONS FAIL (With Adam Chilton) (Manuscript in progress)
2. COMPARATIVE GENDER EQUALITY (casebook in progress) (with Rosalind Dixon)
3. THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF COMPARATIVE HUMAN RIGHTS LAW (editor with Neha Jain) (forthcoming 2025, Oxford University Press).
4. COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: A GLOBAL AND INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH (with Tom Ginsburg and David Landau) (forthcoming 2025, Oxford University Press)

Published

5. HOW CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS MATTER (with Adam Chilton) (2020, Oxford University Press) (Monograph)
 - Awarded “Best Book” Prize for 2019/2020 by the International Society of Public Law.
 - Awarded “Best Book Award” by the human rights section of the American Political Science Association
 - Spanish translation forthcoming with Zela Press Editorial.

- Produced 15 book reviews: Katharine G. Young, *How Constitutional Rights Matter*, 70 J. LEGAL EDUC. 190 (2020); Stephen Gardbaum, *How Constitutional Rights Matter*, 69 AM. J. COMP. L. 615 (2021); Katerina Linos, *Organizational Rights in Times of Crisis*, 88 U. CHI. L. REV. 729 (2021); Jacob Eisler, *How Constitutional Rights Matter*, 137 L.Q. REV. 530 (2021); Mark Tushnet, “*Sometimes the Magic Works, Sometimes It Doesn't*”: *A Comment on Chilton and Versteeg*, 2021 U. CHI. L. REV. ONLINE 1 (2021); Ran Hirschl & Alexander Hudson, *How Constitutional Rights Matter: Thoughts on the New Gold Standard in Empirical Constitutional Studies*, 2021 U. CHI. L. REV. ONLINE 1 (2021); Rosalind Dixon & Richard Holden, *Comparative Constitutional Matching: From Most Similar Cases to Synthetic Control?*, 2021 U. CHI. L. REV. ONLINE 1 (2021); Zachary Elkins, *The Mutualism of Human Law and Interest Groups*, 2021 U. CHI. L. REV. ONLINE 1 (2021); Madhav Khosla, *Is a Science of Comparative Constitutionalism Possible?*, 135 HARV. L. REV. 2110 (2022); Amal Sethi, *How Constitutional Rights Matter*, 85 MOD. L. REV. 571 (2022); Yoav Dotan, *Organized Constitutional Rights and Individual Freedoms: A Comment on Chilton & Versteeg's How Constitutional Rights Matter*, ___JERUSALEM REV. LEGAL STUD. (forthcoming 2023); Tom Ginsburg, *Outside-In and Inside-Out Multimethod Research: Discussion of Chilton & Versteeg's How Constitutional Rights Matter*, ___JERUSALEM REV. LEGAL STUD. (forthcoming 2023); Shai Dothan, *From the Temptation to Freeride to the Need for Legitimacy: A Comment on How Constitutional Rights Matter*, ___JERUSALEM REV. LEGAL STUD. (forthcoming 2023); Lee Epstein, *From the Temptation to Freeride to the Need for Legitimacy A Comment on How Constitutional Rights Matter*, ___JERUSALEM REV. LEGAL STUD. (forthcoming 2023); Alex Schwartz, *International Studies Review* (forthcoming).
6. COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: CRITICAL CONCEPTS (four-volume edited collection, with Vicki Jackson) (2021, Routledge)
 7. CONSTITUTIONES APARENTES (with David Law) (Universidad Externado Press) (2018) (Spanish translation of *Sham Constitutions and Constitutional Variation Among Strains of Authoritarianism*)
 8. COMPARATIVE INTERNATIONAL LAW (editor, edited book volume with Anthea Roberts, Paul Stephan, and Pierre Verdier) (Oxford University Press 2018)
 9. THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS OF CONSTITUTIONS (editor, edited book volume with Denis Galligan) (Cambridge University Press 2013)
 - Translated into Chinese, Yinlin Press 2019.

Journal Publications:

1. *Do Constitutional Unamendability Rules Protect Democracy?* PUBLIC CHOICE (revise & resubmit) (with Adam Chilton)
2. *Constitutional Duties*, AMERICAN JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE LAW (forthcoming 2025) (with Erensu Altan & Adam Chilton)
3. *The New Homelessness*, CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW (forthcoming 2025) (with Kevin Cope & Gaurav Mukherjee)
4. *Support for Constitutional Rights During Crisis: Evidence from the Pandemic*, AMERICAN JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE LAW (with Adam Chilton, Kevin Cope and Charles Crabtree) (forthcoming 2025)

5. *Constraining Constitution-Making*, 1 JOURNAL OF LAW AND EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS (2024) (invited contribution to inaugural issue) (with Adam Chilton, Cristián Eyzaguirre, David Landau) <https://doi.org/10.1177/2755323X231225387>
6. *What Constitutional Provisions Are the Most Important?* 1 EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF LEGAL STUDIES 19 (2024) (invited contribution to inaugural issue) (with Ran Hirschl, Tom Ginsburg, Daniel Brinks, Zachary Elkins, Netta Barrak-Corren, Ashley Moran, Yvonne Tew, Adam Chilton, David Landau, Rosalind Dixon, Adam Chilton, and Richard Albert)
7. *The Procedure of Democratic Erosion*, 73 EMORY LAW JOURNAL 1249 (2024) (with Kevin Cope) (symposium contribution)
8. *De-Judicialization Strategies*, 133 YALE LAW JOURNAL FORUM 228 (2023) (with Emily Zackin)
9. *Beyond Constitutional Rights*, 28 JERUSALEM REVIEW OF LEGAL STUDIES 40 (2023) (with Adam Chilton) (symposium contribution)
10. *The Constitutionalization of Democracy*, 34 JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY 36 (2023) (with Tom Ginsburg)
 - Reprinted as *The Constitutionalization of Parties and Politics, in* Constitutions and Democracy (Tom Ginsburg, Aziz Huq & Tarun Khaitan eds., 2023) (with Tom Ginsburg)
11. *Social Rights Scapegoating*, GLOBAL CONSTITUTIONALISM 1 (2023) (with Adam Chilton & Cristian Ezaquirre), <https://doi.org/10.1017/S2045381723000278>
12. *Legal Origins and Human Rights*, 3 RUTGERS JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 26 (2023) with Adam Chilton) (Publication of the Edward J. Bloustein Jurisprudence Lecture)
13. *Unsexing Citation*, 21 INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW 407 (2023) (with Rosalind Dixon)
 - Winner of honourable mention award for best article by the International Society of Public Law (2024)
14. *Abusive Constitutional Borrowing*, 71 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE LAW 494 (2023) (Book Review)
15. *Introduction: A Second Wave of Constitutional Studies*, 51 JOURNAL OF LEGAL STUDIES 321 (2022) (with Adam Chilton)
16. *The Effect of Gender Equality Clauses* 51 JOURNAL OF LEGAL STUDIES 329 (2022) (with Adam Chilton)
17. *Small-c Constitutional Rights*, 20 INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW 141 (2022) (with Adam Chilton)
18. *The Global Evolution of Foreign Relations Law*, 116 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 1 (2022) (with Kevin Cope and Pierre-Hugues Verdier)
19. *The Bound Executive: Emergency Powers During the Pandemic*, 19 INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW 1498 (2021) (with Tom Ginsburg)
 - Spanish translation forthcoming in *Revista del Centro de Estudios Constitucionales* (journal by the Mexican Supreme Court)

20. *Measurement and Causal Identification in Constitutional Law*, 19 INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW 1842 (2021) (with Adam Chilton)
21. *Empirical Constitutional Studies: Directions for the Field*, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LAW REVIEW ONLINE (2021) (with Adam Chilton)
22. *Can Rights Combat Economic Inequality?* 123 HARVARD LAW REVIEW 2017 (2020) (book review)
23. *The Law and Politics of Presidential Term Limit Evasion*, 120 COLUMBIA LAW REVIEW 173 (2020) (with Tim Horley, Anne Meng, Mauricio Guim, and Marilyn Guirguis)
24. *The Strength of Weak Review: National Courts, Interpretative Canons and Human Rights Treaties*, 63 INTERNATIONAL STUDIES QUARTERLY 507 (2019) (with Pierre Verdier and Yonatan Lupu)
25. *Afterword: Understanding the Third Wave of Judicial Review*, 17 INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW 10 (2019)
26. *Empirical Studies of Human Rights Law*, 15 ANNUAL REVIEW OF LAW AND SOCIAL SCIENCE 155 (2019) (with Cosette Creamer and Kevin Cope)
27. *From Catalonia to California: Secession in Constitutional Law*, 70 ALABAMA LAW REVIEW 923 (2019) (with Tom Ginsburg)
28. *The Future of Human Rights Scholarship*, 81 JOURNAL OF LAW AND CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS 1 (2018) (with James Loeffler) (symposium introduction)
29. *The Coming Demise of Liberal Constitutionalism?*, 85 UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LAW REVIEW 239 (2018) (with Tom Ginsburg & Aziz Huq) (symposium introduction)
30. *Courts' Limited Ability to Protect Constitutional Rights*, 85 UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LAW REVIEW 293 (2018) (with Adam Chilton)
31. *The External Dimensions of Constitutions*, 57 VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 517 (2018) (with Eyal Benvenisti) (symposium introduction)
32. *Rights without Resources: The Impact of Social Rights on Social Spending*, 60 THE JOURNAL OF LAW AND ECONOMICS 713 (2017) (with Adam Chilton)
 - Spanish translation in progress
33. *The Political Economy of the Constitutional Right to Asylum*, 102 CORNELL LAW REVIEW 1291 (2017) (with Lucas Kowalczyk)
34. *Measuring the Rule of Law: A Comparison of Indicators*, 42 LAW & SOCIAL INQUIRY 100 (2017) (with Tom Ginsburg)
 - Response articles by Karen J. Alter, *Whose Rule of Law is It*, 2 LSI FORUM (2016); Sally Merry, *The Social Life of Measurement*, 2 LSI FORUM (2016)
 - Reprinted in THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO THE RULE OF LAW (Martin Loughlin & Jens Meierhenrich eds., forthcoming) (condensed version)
35. *Book Review: The Interpretation of International Law by Domestic Courts*, 111 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 538 (2016) (with Kevin Cope)

36. *Constitutions Un-Entrenched: Towards an Alternative Theory of Constitutional Design*, 110 AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW 657 (2016) (with Emily Zackin)
- Reviewed by Rosalind Dixon in JOTWELL: JOURNAL OF THINGS WE LIKE (Lots) (November 17, 2016)
 - Reprinted, with a new introduction, as *Limiting Judicial Discretion*, in COMPARATIVE JUDICIAL REVIEW (Erin Delaney & Rosalind Dixon eds., 2018).
37. *Do Constitutional Rights Make a Difference?* 60 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE 575 (2016) (with Adam Chilton)
38. *International Law, Constitutional Law, and Public Support for Torture: Evidence from a Survey Experiment*, RESEARCH & POLITICS 1 (2016) (with Adam Chilton)
39. *The Contours of Constitutional Approval*, 94 WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 113 (2016) (with Nick Stephanopoulos)
40. *History, Geography and Rights: A Response to Chilton and Posner*, 56 VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 501 (2016)
41. *Measuring the Rule of Law: Pushing Forward*, 2 LAW AND SOCIAL INQUIRY FORUM (with Tom Ginsburg) (2016)
42. *The Failure of Constitutional Torture Prohibitions*, 44 THE JOURNAL OF LEGAL STUDIES 417 (2015) (with Adam Chilton)
43. *International Law in National Legal Systems: An Empirical Exploration*, 109 THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 514 (2015) (with Pierre Verdier)
- Reprinted in COMPARATIVE INTERNATIONAL LAW (Anthea Roberts et al., eds., forthcoming)
 - Translated into Spanish and published in *Revista Latinoamericana de Derecho Internacional* (2020)
44. *Comparative International Law: Framing the Field*, 109 THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 467 (2015) (with Anthea Roberts, Paul Stephan and Pierre Verdier) (symposium introduction)
- Spanish translation in *Journal Revista Facultad de Jurisprudencia* (2021)
45. *The Politics of Takings Clauses*, 109 NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 695 (2015) (symposium contribution)
- Reprinted in *Seqüência: Estudos Jurídicos e Políticos* (Brazil, 2016)
46. *Law versus Norms: The Impact of Human Rights Treaties on Constitutional Bills of Rights*, 171 JOURNAL OF INSTITUTIONAL AND THEORETICAL ECONOMICS 87 (2015)
- Generated response articles by Mathias Siems, *Human Rights Treaties and Comparative Law*, 171 JOURNAL OF INSTITUTIONAL AND THEORETICAL ECONOMICS 118 (2015); Maya Sen, *How Ratifying Treaty Rights Could Affect Norms, Laws, and Constitutional Language*, 171 JOURNAL OF INSTITUTIONAL AND THEORETICAL ECONOMICS 112 (2015).
47. *The Diffusion of Constitutional Rights*, 39 INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF LAW AND ECONOMICS 1 (2014) (with Benedikt Goderis)
48. *American Constitutional Exceptionalism Revisited*, 81 UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LAW REVIEW 1641 (2014) (with Emily Zackin)

- Translated into Portuguese and published in 19 *Novos Estudos Jurídicos* 695 (Luciene del Ri trans. 2014)
49. *Unpopular Constitutionalism*, 89 INDIANA LAW JOURNAL 1133 (2014)
- Translated into Turkish and published in Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi, Cilt: 20, Sayı: 1, 2018, s. 125-197 (Safak Evran trans., 2018).
 - Excerpted in NORMAN DORSEN ET AL., COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: CASES AND MATERIALS (3rd edition, 2016).
 - Reprinted in GENDER IN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW (Catharine MacKinnon & Elizabeth Long eds 2018).
50. *Why Do Countries Adopt Constitutional Review?* 30 JOURNAL OF LAW, ECONOMICS, AND ORGANIZATION 587 (2014) (with Tom Ginsburg)
51. *International Law in Domestic Legal Systems: An Empirical Perspective* 108 AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW PROCEEDINGS 376 (2014) (with Pierre-Hugues Verdier)
52. *Sham Constitutions*, 101 CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW 863 (2013) (with David S. Law)
- Translated into Spanish and appeared as CONSTITUTIONES APARENTES (Universidad Externado Press 2018)
 - Reprinted in COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW (Mark Tushnet ed., Edward Elgar Press 2017)
53. *When to Overthrow Your Government: The Right to Resist in the World's Constitutions*, 66 UCLA LAW REVIEW 1186 (2013) (with Tom Ginsburg and Daniel Lansberg Rodriguez)
54. *The Declining Influence of the United States Constitution*, 87 NYU LAW REVIEW 762 (2012) (with David S. Law)
- Featured on front pages of *The New York Times*, *The International Herald Tribune*, *The Canadian Globe and Mail*, and other national and international radio and television outlets
 - Excerpted in PHILIP ALSTON & RYAN GOODMAN, INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS 55 (2013)
 - Translated into Chinese and published in the TSINGHUA RULE OF LAW FORUM (Xu Xiaofei trans. 2014)
 - Translated into Portuguese and published in "Do Constitucionalismo nacional ao constitucionalismo global: desafios e tendências" (2023 forthcoming)
 - Generated response articles by Sujit Choudhry, *Method in Comparative Constitutional Law: A Comment on Law and Versteeg*, 87 N.Y.U. L. REV. 2078 (2012); Zachary Elkins, Tom Ginsburg & James Melton, *Comments on Law and Versteeg's The Declining Influence of the United States Constitution*, 87 N.Y.U. L. REV. 2088 (2012); Vicki C. Jackson, *Comment on Law and Versteeg*, 87 N.Y.U. L. REV. 2102 (2012)
 - Reprinted in revised form as *Is the Influence of the United States Constitution Declining? in CONSTITUTION-MAKING* (Roger Smith eds., 2019)
55. *Debating the Influence of the United States Constitution*, 89 NYU LAW REVIEW ONLINE (2012) (with David S. Law)
56. *Human Rights Violations After 9/11 and the Role of Constitutional Constraints*, 41 THE JOURNAL OF LEGAL STUDIES 31 (2012) (with Benedikt Goderis)
57. *The Evolution and Ideology of Global Constitutionalism*, 99 CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW 1163 (2011) (with David S. Law)

- Translated into Chinese and published in the TSINGHUA RULE OF LAW FORUM (Xu Xiaofei trans. 2013)

-

Book Chapters:

58. *Comparative Human Rights Law: An Introduction to the Field*, in OXFORD HANDBOOK ON COMPARATIVE HUMAN RIGHTS LAW (Neha Jain & Mila Versteeg eds. 2025, forthcoming) (with Neha Jain)
59. *Can Law Improve Human Rights Outcomes? Empirical Challenges* in OXFORD HANDBOOK ON COMPARATIVE HUMAN RIGHTS LAW (Neha Jain & Mila Versteeg eds. 2025, forthcoming) (with Adam Chilton)
60. *Identifying Constitutional Law*, in CONCEPTS, DATA, AND METHODS IN COMPARATIVE LAW AND POLITICS (Diana Kapiszewski & Matt Ingram eds, 2024 forthcoming) (with Adam Chilton)
61. *Are Constitutions So Indeterminate that We Cannot Compare Them?* in REDEFINING COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: ESSAYS FOR MARK TUSHNET (Madhav Khosla & Vicki Jackson eds., forthcoming 2024) (with Tom Ginsburg).
62. *Models of Judicial Review*, in OXFORD HANDBOOK ON COMPARATIVE JUDICIAL BEHAVIOR (Lee Epstein et al., eds., 2024) (with Tom Ginsburg)
63. *What Counts as Constitutional Identity*, in DECIPHERING THE GENOME OF CONSTITUTIONALISM: THE FOUNDATIONS AND FUTURE OF CONSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY 312 (Yaniv Roznai & Ran Hirschl eds. 2023)
64. *The Politics of Constitutional Rights*, in THE RESEARCH HANDBOOK ON THE POLITICS OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW 432 (Mark Tushnet & Dimitry Kochenov eds., 2023) (with Adam Chilton)
65. *Constitutions and Constitutionalism: An Introduction*, in COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: VOLUME 1 (Vicki Jackson & Mila Versteeg eds. 2021) (with Vicki Jackson)
66. *Constitution-Making, Methodology, and Interpretation: An Introduction*, in COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: VOLUME 2 (Vicki Jackson & Mila Versteeg eds. 2021) (with Vicki Jackson)
67. *Government Structures and Frameworks: An Introduction*, in COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: VOLUME 3 (Vicki Jackson & Mila Versteeg eds. 2021) (with Vicki Jackson)
68. *Constitutional Rights: An Introduction*, in COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: VOLUME 4 (Vicki Jackson & Mila Versteeg eds. 2021) (with Vicki Jackson)
69. *Separation of Powers, Treaty-Making, and Treaty Withdrawal: A Global Survey*, in OXFORD HANDBOOK OF COMPARATIVE FOREIGN RELATIONS LAW (Curtis Bradley ed., 2018) (with Pierre Verdier)
70. *Limiting Judicial Discretion*, in COMPARATIVE JUDICIAL REVIEW (Erin Delaney & Rosalind Dixon eds., 2018) (with Emily Zackin) (partial reprint)
71. *Modelo Constitucional Colombiano en Perspectiva Comparada Latinoamericana y Global*, in LOS 25 AÑOS DE LA CONSTITUCIÓN (1991-2016): DEBATES CONSTITUCIONALES Y PERSPECTIVAS CONSTITUYENTES (Andres Rodriguez ed., 2017) (with Camilo Sanchez)

72. *Modes of Domestic Incorporation of International Law*, in RESEARCH HANDBOOK ON THE POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW (Wayne Sandholz & Chris Whytock eds., Edward Elgar, 2017) (with Pierre Verdier)
73. *Constitutional Correlates of the Rule of Law*, in CONSTITUTIONALISM AND THE RULE OF LAW (Maurice Adams & Anne Meuwese eds., Cambridge University Press, 2017) (with Tom Ginsburg)
74. *Conceptualizing Comparative International Law*, in COMPARATIVE INTERNATIONAL LAW (Anthea Roberts, Paul Stephan, Pierre Verdier & Mila Versteeg eds., Oxford University Press, 2018) (with Anthea Roberts, Paul Stephan and Pierre Verdier)
75. *Constitutions*, in INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPAEDIA FOR THE SOCIAL AND BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCES (Elsevier, 2015) (with Kevin L. Cope)
76. *Constitutional Variation Among Strains of Authoritarianism*, in THE CONSTITUTIONS OF AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES 165 (Tom Ginsburg & Alberto Simpser eds., Cambridge University Press, 2014) (with David S. Law)
 - a. Translated into Spanish and appeared as CONSTITUCIONES APARENTES (Universidad Externado Press 2018)
77. “Perfection in Imperfection:” *Joseph de Maistre and the Limitations of Constitutional Design*, in CONSTITUTIONS AND THE CLASSICS 312 (Denis Galligan ed., Oxford University Press, 2014)
78. *Theories of the Social and Political Foundations of Constitutions*, in THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS OF CONSTITUTIONS 3 (Denis Galligan & Mila Versteeg eds., Cambridge University Press, 2013) (with Denis Galligan)
79. *Transnational Constitutionalism: A Conceptual Framework*, in THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS OF CONSTITUTIONS 103 (Denis Galligan & Mila Versteeg eds., Cambridge University Press 2013) (with Benedikt Goderis)
80. *Quantitative Methods for Comparative Constitutional Law*, in COMPARATIVE LAW: PRACTICE AND THEORY 230 (Maurice Adams & Jacco Bomhoff eds., Cambridge University Press 2012) (with Anne Meuwese)
 - Reprinted in COMPARATIVE LAW METHODOLOGY (Maurice Adam & Jaakko Husa eds., Edward Elgar 2017).

Popular Press:

81. *Should SCOTUS Term Limits Be Imposed Through Constitutional Amendment or Legislation? Americans Don't Care Much*. Balkanization Blog (2022) (with Kevin Cope)
82. *States of Emergencies: I* HARVARD LAW REVIEW BLOG (April 17, 2020) (with Tom Ginsburg)
83. *States of Emergencies: II* HARVARD LAW REVIEW BLOG (April 20, 2020) (with Tom Ginsburg)
84. *Can Emergency Powers Go Too Far?* TABLET MAGAZINE (April 6, 2020) (with Tom Ginsburg)
85. *America is on a Collision Course with the Constitution*, THE ATLANTIC (March 23, 2020) (with others)

86. *The World is Experiencing a New Form of Autocracy*, THE ATLANTIC (March 1, 2020) (with Tim Horley and Anne Meng)
87. *Federalism in the Middle East: A Collection of Essays*, LAWFARE (August 13, 2018)
88. *What Europe Can Teach America About Free Speech*, THE ATLANTIC (August 19, 2017)
89. *The Failure of Constitutional Torture Prohibitions*, THE WASHINGTON POST- MONKEY CAGE (April 25, 2015) (with Adam Chilton)
90. *An Exceptional Constitution*, INSIGHTS IN LAW AND SOCIETY (2015)
91. *In Sickness and in Health: The Constitution Should Give Americans the Right to Basic Health Care*, SLATE (June 12, 2012) (with Kevin L. Cope)

Works in Progress (draft available on request):

1. Do Eternity Clauses Promote Democracy? (with Adam Chilton)
2. Unpacking the Rule of Law (with Jarek Kantorowitz and Kevin Cope)

Professional Activities:

Amicus Briefs:

3. Brief of Four Law Professors as *Amici Curiae* in Support of Plaintiffs-Counter-Defendants-Appellants in PETRÓLEOS DE VENEZUELA, S.A., PDVSA PETRÓLEO, S.A., and PDV HOLDING, INC. v. MUFU UNION BANK, N.A. and GLAS AMERICAS LLC.

Professional Reports:

4. *Tunisia vs. Myriam Bribri*, Clooney Foundation for Justice Initiative Report (June 2020).
5. *The Future of the Social Sciences in the American Society of Comparative Law: A Path to Integration and Collaboration* (report for American Society of Comparative Law, 2016) (with Richard Albert, Joshua Braver, Tom Ginsburg, Ran Hirschl, Katerina Linos, Kim Scheppelle and Holger Spamann)
6. *Analytic Report on the Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan*. Rome, International Development Law Organization, June 2012 (with Jose Cheibub, Tom Ginsburg, Veronica Eragu, Donald Horowitz, and Christina Murray).

ACADEMIC AWARDS

Best Book Prize in Human Rights for 2020, awarded by the American Political Science Association

Best Book Prize for 2019/2020, awarded by the International Society of Public Law

Innovator in Constitutional Democracy Award, Awarded by the “Global Summit” on the “International Forum on the Future of Constitutional Democracy,” January 2021

Bankard Fund for Political Economy, University of Virginia, 2020-2021 (30,000\$ for research)

Andrew Carnegie Fellow, Carnegie Foundation, 2017-2019 (200,000\$ for research)

McFarland Prize for Exemplary Scholarship, University of Virginia School of Law, Spring 2016
Bankard Fund for Political Economy, University of Virginia, 2016-2017 (30,000\$ for research)
Foundation for Law, Justice and Society Fellowship, 2009-2010, 2010-211
Arts and Humanities Research Council Doctoral Award, British government, 2007-2010 (three-year award (tuition and college fees) for D.Phil studies at Oxford)
Gregory Kulkes Scholar, Balliol College, Oxford, 2007-2010 (grant for D.Phil)
Commercial Bar Scholarship, Oxford Law Faculty 2007-2008 (grant for D.Phil)
Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds Scholarship, the Netherlands, 2008-2009 (grant for D.Phil)
Huygens Scholar, “Huygens Scholarship Programme for Talented Students,” Ministry of Education, the Netherlands, 2006-2007 (full tuition and living expenses for LL.M. at Harvard)
VSB scholarship, VSB foundation, the Netherlands 2007 (grant for LL.M. at Harvard)
Excellence Scholarship, Tilburg University, 2004 (monetary award for academic excellence)

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS & OTHER EXPERIENCE

APPOINTMENTS & TEACHING

University of Virginia School of Law, Professor of Law, 2016-current
Director of the Center for International and Comparative Law, 2020-current
Director of the Law School’s Human Rights Program, 2014-current
Associate Professor of Law, 2011-2016

Courses: International Law, International Human Rights Law, Comparative Constitutional Design, Constitution-Making, Public International Law and the Scholarly Process, Human Rights Study Project, International Law in Domestic Legal Systems, SJD colloquium, the Law of Game of Thrones (Seminar in Ethical Values)

Service: Diversity Committee (2018- current); Entry-Level Appointments Committee Chair (2016-2017); International Relations Committee (2012-current); Sokol Committee (2012-current); Public Service Mentor (2013-current), Bicentennial Campaign Committee, Political Science Search Committee for Taylor Chair in Foreign Relations (2015-2017).

University of Chicago Law School, Olin Fellow and Lecturer in Law, 2011

Courses: Comparative Legal Institutions (with Tom Ginsburg)

ACADEMIC VISITS

Leiden Law School, Distinguished fellow, June 2023

UCLA Law School, Visiting Professor, January 2023

Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel, Visiting Professor, May 2021 (on Zoom)

Lewis & Clark Law School, Distinguished International Law Visitor 2017-2018, February 2018

Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya, Israel, Visiting Professor, December 2017

Course: Comparative Constitutional Law (short course)

Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv, Israel, Visiting Professor, May 2017

Course: Comparative Constitutional Law (short course)

Columbia Law School, NYC, Samuel Rubin Visiting Associate Professor of Law, Spring 2016

Courses: Public International Law, Comparative Constitutional Design

University of Hamburg, Hamburg, Visiting Professor, June 2015

Course: Comparative Constitutional Law (short course)

Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel, Visiting Professor, May 2015

Course: Comparative Constitutional Law (short course)

University of Chicago School of Law, Chicago, Visiting Assistant Professor, fall 2013

Courses: International Human Rights Law, Comparative Constitutional Design

Washington University in St. Louis, St. Louis, Center for Empirical Research in the Law, Visiting Scholar, spring 2010

New York University Law School, New York, Institute for International Law and Justice, Hauser Global Law Visiting Researcher, New York, spring 2009

PRESENTATIONS

University of Virginia School of Law, Public Choice Workshop (February 2024)

Yale Law School, Workshop on the Future of Constitutionalism (January 2024)

Leeds University, Unwritten Constitutionalism Symposium (January 2024)

Law as Science, Colloquium presentation (October 2023)

Leiden Law School, Workshop on Empirical Methods in Constitutional Law (June 2023)

Stanford Law School, Workshop on the Rule of Law, May 2023

Chicago Law School, Book Conference on Comparative Constitutional Law casebook, May 2023

University of Wisconsin, Roundtable on Constitution-making in the Global South, March 2023

Columbia Law School, Conference on Constitutions and Democracy, February 2023

Emory Law School, Symposium on Rule of Law, February 2023

UCLA Workshop on Comparative Constitutional Law, Los Angeles, January 2023

Hebrew University, Book conference on “How Constitutional Rights Matter”, Jerusalem, December 2022

Hebrew University, Conference on Oxford Handbook on Judicial Behavior, Jerusalem, December 2022

Columbia Law School, International Law Workshop, November 2022.

Conference for Empirical Legal Studies, November 2022

George Mason University, Law and Economics Workshop, November 2022 (on Zoom)

CATO Institute, Workshop on Freedom and Human Development, Commentator, October 2022

University of Copenhagen Faculty of Law, Book Panel on Law as Science, October 2022 (on Zoom)

Georgetown Law Center, Book Panel on Constitutional Statecraft in Asian Courts, September 2022

University of Virginia School of Law, Sokol Colloquium on Comparative International Law (August 2022)

Leiden Law School, Lecture on Comparative Constitutional Studies, August 2022

Center for Transnational Legal Studies, Roundtable on Comparative Constitutional Law, July, London 2022

Rutgers Center for Transnational Law, Keynote Lecture on Constitution-making and International Law, May 2022 (on Zoom)

Housing Conference on Irish Constitutional Referendum, May 2022 (on Zoom)

Conference for Empirical Legal Studies, March 2022 (on Zoom)

The University of Texas Law School, Workshop on Presidential Powers, February 2022 (on Zoom)

Cardozo Law School, Faculty Workshop, February 2022 (on Zoom)

University of New South Wales, Comparative Constitutional Law Roundtable, December 2021 (on Zoom)

Northwestern Law School, Book conference on judicial review, December 2021 (on Zoom)

University of Texas, Conference on Constitutional Identity, November 2021 (on Zoom)

Comparative Politics Workshop, November 2021 (on Zoom)

American Society for Comparative Law, Plenary Panel on Comparative International Law, October 2021 (on Zoom)

University of Sheffield, Panel on Unwritten Constitutionalism (author meets reader), October 2021 (on Zoom)

Ono Academic College Faculty of Law, Conference on Constitutional Duties, October 2021 (on Zoom)

Federal University of Paraná Brazil, Faculty Workshop, September 2021 (on Zoom)

University of Virginia School of Law, Faculty Workshop, August 2021 (on Zoom)

Federal University of Minas Gerais Brazil, Workshop on Constitutionalism and Democracy, July 2021 (on Zoom)

University of Chile, Panel on “What Can Constitutions Do for Their Own Success,” June 2021 (on Zoom)

I*CON-Mundo, multiple presentations and commentaries, June 2021 (on Zoom)

Global Forum on Constitutional Law, Methods in Constitutional Law, January 2021 (on Zoom)

University of Chicago Law School, Symposium on “How Constitutional Rights Matter,” October 2020 (on Zoom)

NYU School of Law, Constitutional Theory Workshop, October 2020 (on Zoom)

American Society of Comparative Law, Hot Topics Panel on COVID-19 and the law, Annual Conference, October 2020 (on Zoom)

University of Minnesota, Public Law Workshop, October 2020 (on Zoom)

Externado University, Conference on Constitutionalism under Extreme Conditions, October 2020 (on Zoom)

Hong Kong University, Faculty Workshop, September 2020 (on Zoom)

University of Virginia School of Law, Faculty Workshop, June 2020 (on Zoom)

University of Chicago Law School, Faculty Workshop, June 2020 (on Zoom)

Supreme Court of Mexico, Webinar, June 2020 (on Zoom)

Federalist Society, Annual Conference, June 2020 (on Zoom)

Duke Law School, Faculty Workshop, April 2020 (on Zoom)

UCLA Law School, Faculty Workshop, February 2020

Wissenschaft Kollege Berlin, Workshop on Constitutionalism and Populism, February 2020

University of Pennsylvania Law School, Constitutional Law Workshop, November 2019

Hebrew University, Keynote Lecture, Conference on Empirical Studies in Public Law, June 2019

ETH Zurich, Law and Economics Lecture, March 2019

The Ohio State University, Moritz College of Law, Faculty Workshop, March 2019

University of Texas School of Law, Conference on Constitutionalism and Populism, February 2019

Harvard Law School, Empirical Legal Studies Workshop, November 2018

University of Southern California Law School, Faculty Workshop, October 2018

University of Virginia School of Law, Faculty Workshop, July 2018

ICONN-S conference panels, Hong Kong, June 2018

University of Leiden, Lecture, Leiden, Netherlands, June 2018

University of Maryland Constitutional Law Smooze, March 2018

Lewis & Clark Law School, Distinguished International Law Lecture, March 2018

George Washington Comparative Constitutional Law Roundtable, March 2018

Yangon School of Political Science, Yangon, Myanmar, January 2018

Interdisciplinary Center, Faculty Workshop, Herzlyia, Israel, December 2017

International Political Science Association, Hannover, Germany, December 2017

University of Virginia School of Law, Faculty Workshop, October 2017

European University, Lecture, St. Petersburg, Russia, August 2017

Young African Leader Initiative, James Madison’s Montpelier, July 2017

Interdisciplinary Center, Conference on Globalization of Constitutional Law, Herzlyia, June 2017

Izmir University, Distinguished Lecture on Comparative Constitutional Law, Izmir, Turkey, June 2017

Hebrew University, Public Law Workshop, Jerusalem, Israel, June 2017

Tel Aviv University, Law & Economics Workshop, Tel Aviv, Israel, May 2017

Max Planck Institute, Lecture in Law & Economics, Bonn, Germany, May 2017

University of Chicago Law School, Symposium on the Limits of Constitutionalism, May 2017

Columbia Law School, Conference on Social Rights, April 2017

Berkeley Law School, International Law Colloquium, April 2107

University of Louisiana Lafayette, Lecture on Comparative Constitutional Law, March 2017

UCLA, Law & Economics Workshop, Los Angeles, March 2017.

Stanford University, Freeman Spogli Institute, Conference on Federalism in the Middle East, Stanford, February 2017.

University of Michigan, Donia Human Rights Center, Ann Arbor, Michigan, February 2017.

Georgetown University, Department of Political Science, Methods for the Comparative Study of Legal Institutions, February 2017.

University of Arizona Law School Faculty Workshop, Tuscon, Arizona, January 2017.

University of Zambia School of Law, Lusaka, January 2017.

World Bank, Conference on Transnational Regulation, Washington DC, November 2016.

Universidad Nacional De Colombia, Conference Celebrating 25 Anniversary of Colombian Constitution, Bogota, September 2016.

University of Cambridge, Conference on the External Dimensions of Constitutions, Cambridge UK, September 2016.

Rule of Law Collaborative, Justice Sector Inter-Agency Training, Washington DC, September 2016

University of Virginia, Faculty Workshop, Charlottesville, July 2016.

Young African Leader Initiative, James Madison's Montpelier, Orange, July 2016

European Conference for Empirical Legal Studies, Amsterdam, June 2016.

International Society of Public Law Annual Meeting, Berlin, June 2016.

ETH Zurich, Law and Economics Workshop, Zurich, May 2016.

Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Workshop on Comparative Methods, Budapest, May 2016.

University of Chicago Law School, Meeting of Special Committee on Comparative Law and the Social Sciences, Chicago, April 2016.

Columbia Law School, Faculty Workshop, NYC, March 2016.

Maryland Constitutional Law Smooze, Baltimore, March 2016.

Georgetown University, Workshop on Data and Methods in Comparative Legal Studies, Washington DC, February 2016.

University of New South Wales, Comparative Constitutional Law Roundtable, Sydney, Australia, December 2016

University of Florida Law School, Faculty Workshop, Gainesville, November 2015

Rule of Law Collaborative, Justice Sector Inter-Agency Training, Washington DC, September 2015, November 2015

University of Southern California Law School, Faculty Workshop, Los Angeles, October 2015

Queen's University, Comparative Constitutional Law Roundtable, Ontario, September 2015

European Law and Economics Association Annual Meeting, Vienna, September 2015

New York University School of Law, Constitutional Theory Workshop, New York, September 2015

Young African Leader Initiative, James Madison's Montpelier, Orange, July 2015

University of Virginia School of Law, Faculty Workshop, June 2015

Northwestern University, Judicialization of International Law Workshop organized by the Journal *International Organization*, Chicago, June 2015

Hamburg University, Lecture in Law and Economics, Hamburg, June 2015

Tel Aviv Law School, International Law Workshop, Tel Aviv, Israel, May 2015

Haifa School of Law, Faculty Workshop, Jerusalem, Israel, May 2015

Hebrew University Faculty of Law, Human Rights Workshop, Jerusalem, May 2015

Hebrew University Faculty of Law, Public Law Workshop, Jerusalem, Israel, May 2015

Koç University Faculty of Law, Conference on Constitutionalism, Istanbul, Turkey, May 2015

University of Chicago Law School, Conference on Constitutional Success, Chicago, April 2015

George Washington University Law School, Roundtable on Comparative Constitutional Law, Washington DC, March 2015

Washington University Law School, Comparative Constitutional Law Roundtable, Seattle, December 2014

Columbia Law School, Faculty Workshop, NYC, November 2014

Wisconsin Law School, Constitutional Law Smooze, Madison, November 2014

UNIVALI, Constitutional Law Congress, Itajaí, Brazil, November 2014

Federal University of Santa Caterina, International Law Workshop, Florianopolis, Brazil, November 2014

Tilburg University, Rule of Law Symposium, Tilburg, October 2014

University of Virginia School of Law, Faculty Workshop, September 2014

University of Virginia School of Law, Sokol Colloquium on Private International Law, September 2014
University of Southern California, Faculty Workshop, Los Angeles, August 2014
Young African Leaders Initiative, James Madison's Montpelier, Orange, July 2014
Max Planck Institution, Does Law Matter Colloquium, Regensburg, Germany, June 2014
Bielefeld University, Index Building in the Social Sciences Workshop, Bielefeld, Germany, June 2014
Harvard Law School, Public Law Workshop, April 2014
American Society of International Law, Annual Meeting, DC, April 2014
Younger Comparativist Society, Portland, Oregon, April 2014
Georgetown University Law Center, Faculty Workshop, February 2014.
Northwestern University School of Law School, Faculty Workshop, December 2013
University of Chicago Law School, Faculty Workshop, November 2013
University of Chicago Law School, Economic Foundations of International Law, November 2013
Wayne State University Law School, Bi-Annual Conference on State Constitutions, October 2013
8th Annual Conference for Empirical Legal Studies, University of Pennsylvania School of Law, October 2013
University of Virginia School of Law, Faculty Workshop, September 2013
Washington and Lee University School of Law, Faculty Workshop, September 2013
WashU Department of Political Science, Workshop on Public Law and Political Economy, June 2013
Law and Society Association Annual Conference, Boston, June 2013
Yale University, Constitutional Rights and the Environment, April 2013
7th Annual Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, Stanford Law School, November 2012
Heritage Foundation, The Influence of the U.S. Constitution Abroad, Washington, DC, October 2012
University of Wisconsin Law School, Conference on Constitutional Amendment, October 2012
University of Texas at Austin Law School, Law and Economics Workshop, September 2012
University of Virginia School of Law, Faculty Workshop, July 2012
IMT Lucca, Political Studies Series, Lucca, Italy, July 2012
Southeastern Association of Law Schools, Palm Beach, July 2012
Law and Society Association Annual Conference, Honolulu, June 2012
University of Oxford, The Social and Political Foundations of Constitutions, May 2012
University of Virginia Law School, Faculty Retreat, January 2012
University of Oxford, Constitutional Law Workshop, December 2011
6th Annual Conference for Empirical Legal Studies, Northwestern University School of Law, November 2011
University of Chicago Law School, Constitutions in Authoritarian Regimes Workshop, October 2011
University of Oxford, Social and Political Foundations of Constitutions Workshop, June 2011
Harvard Law School, Workshop on Public Law and the Political Economy, Cambridge, June 2011
University of Chicago Law School, Constitutional Law Workshop, May 2011
University of Virginia School of Law, Faculty Workshop, May 2011
University of Chicago Law School, Regional International Law Colloquium, May 2011
5th Annual Conference for Empirical Legal Studies, Yale Law School, November 2010
University of Chicago Law School, Rational Choice and Constitutional Law Workshop, September 2010
Law and Society Association Annual Conference, Chicago, May 2010
Oxford University, Constitutions and the Classics Workshop, May 2010
4th Annual Conference for Empirical Legal Studies, USC Law School, November 2009
Harvard Law School, Graduate Forum/Harvard European Law Association, March 2009
New York University, JSD Forum, February 2009
University College London, Graduate Networking Conference, November 2008
Oxford University, Socio-Legal Discussion Group, 2008, 2009, 2010
Oxford University, Human Rights Discussion Group, 2008, 2010

European Commission, Conference on the Economic Analysis of Terrorism, Brussels, September 2008

REVIEWING:

Journal Articles: *University of Chicago Law Review*, *Economic Letters*, *American Journal of International Law*, *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, *American Journal of Political Science* (3x), *American Political Science Review* (2x), *Journal of Politics* (2x), *World Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* (2x), *Journal of Legal Studies* (6x), *Political Research Quarterly*, *Law and Society Review* (2x), *American Review of Law and Economics* (2x), *International Studies Quarterly*, *Law and Social Inquiry*, *Academica Sinica Taiwan*, *Journal of Law and Courts*, *International Review of Law & Economics* (2x), *Research & Politics*, *Political Behavior*, *Constitutional Studies*, *Law and Social Inquiry*, *Review of Law and Economics*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *European Journal of Law and Economics*.

Books: *Edward Elgar Press*, *Cambridge University Press* (7x), *Oxford University Press* (4x)

Conferences: *Conference for Empirical Legal Studies 2014* (7 papers); *European Conference for Empirical Legal Studies 2016* (3 papers), *Conference for Empirical Legal Studies 2015*, *Conference for Empirical Legal Studies 2016*; *European Law & Economics Association 2018* (10 papers)

Grants: *National Science Foundation*, *European Research Council*

Member of Advisory Board: *Virginia Journal of International Law*

Editorial Board: *Law & Social Inquiry*

Dissertation Committees: Christopher Clapp, Mauricio Guim

SJD students: Apinop Atipiboonsin, Franz Oberarzbacher, Alexis Ramirez

BOOK ENDORSEMENTS

Tom Ginsburg, Terence C. Halliday & Gregory Shaffer, *Constitution-Making and Transnational Legal Order* (Cambridge University Press, 2019)

Ozan Varol, *The Democratic Coup d'Etat* (Oxford University Press, 2017)

Andras Jakab, Arthur Deyve & Giulio Itzcovich, *Comparative Legal Reasoning* (Cambridge University Press, 2017)

Eric C. Ip, *Judging Regulators: The Political Economy of Anglo-American Administrative Law* (2020).

OTHER EXPERIENCE

Foundation for Law, Justice and Society, program advisor, academic advisor to research programme “The Social and Political Foundations of Constitutions” at the Oxford Centre for Socio-Legal Studies, 2010-12.

Southern Africa Litigation Centre, Legal assistance to human rights organizations in Southern Africa, Johannesburg, South Africa, summer 2007

Oxford Pro Bono Publico, Legal assistance to the military lawyers of Guantanamo Bay detainee Omar Khadir, Oxford 2007

West African Judicial Colloquium, “Promoting access to global jurisprudence,” providing training to Supreme Court Chief Justices of seventeen West African countries on the use of foreign and international (human rights) law in judicial decision making, Accra, Ghana 2007

Centre for the Study of African Economies, Department of Economics, Oxford University, Consultancy services to set up a research project on legal institutions in Africa, Oxford, summer 2006

United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute, Internship, empirical research on determinants of crime and justice, Turin, Italy, summer 2005

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Rule of Law Research Consortium, World Justice Project, member (by invitation)

Society for Empirical Legal Studies, member

American Political Science Association, member

International Society of Public Law, member

Law and Society Association, member

American Society of International Law, member