

ANGÉLICA MARÍA BERNAL

University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Department of Political Science
200 Hicks Way, Thompson Hall Room 432, Amherst, MA 01003
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APPOINTMENTS & AFFILIATIONS

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Fall 2018-Present

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Fall 2008-Present

Director, Academic Fellows Program (first generation & BIPOC students), School of Social & Behavioral Sciences, UMASS Amherst, Fall 2017-Summer 2020.

Faculty Affiliate, Center for Latin American, Caribbean, and Latin@ Studies. Coordinating Committee. The Amherst Program in Critical Theory, 2015-Present

Yale University

Teaching Instructor, Program on Ethics, Politics and Economics, Spring 2008

EDUCATION

Yale University

Ph.D. in Political Science

Cornell University

The School of Criticism and Theory

Wellesley College

B.A. in Political Science (Honors) and Cognitive Science, *magna cum laude*

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

Angélica María Bernal. [*Beyond Origins: Rethinking Founding in a Time of Constitutional Democracy*](#) (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Reviews: *Contemporary Political Theory* (2018); *Political Theory* (2018); *CHOICE* (2018); *Perspectives on Politics* (2019); *Review of Politics* (2019); *Foro Interno: Anuario de Teoría Política* (2020); *The Palestinian Yearbook of International Law* (2021)

Award: 2018 APSA Foundations of Political Thought, First Book Award Honorable Mention

Author Meets Critics Panel (with Adam Dahl, Jane Gordon, Kevin Olson, and Paulina Ochoa Espejo), American Political Science Association, Boston, MA September 2019.

Angélica M. Bernal, editor. [*De la Exclusión a la Participación: Pueblos Indígenas y Sus Derechos Colectivos en el Ecuador*](#). (Quito: Abya Yala Press, 2000).

PEER REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES

Angélica Maria Bernal. “Ecuador’s Dual Populisms: Neocolonial Extractivism, Violence, and Indigenous Resistance,” *Thesis Eleven* 164:1 (June 2021): 9-36.

<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F07255136211025220>

Populism(s) Portal: <https://thesiseleven.com/populisms-portal/>

Angélica Maria Bernal. “Creolizing Foundings: World-Making Beyond Pure Origins,” Symposium on Jane Gordon’s *Creolizing Political Theory* (Rowan & Little Field), *Philosophy & Global Affairs* (September 2021). <https://doi.org/10.5840/pga202192118>

Angélica Maria Bernal. “Living Ideology and the Limits of Contestation.” Review Essay on Katherine Gordy’s *Living Ideology in Cuba: Socialism in Theory and Practice* (University of Michigan Press, 2015). *The CLR James Journal: A Review of Caribbean Ideas*, Volume 23, n. 1/2 (2017).

Angélica M. Bernal. “The Meaning and Perils of Presidential Refounding in Latin America.” *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory* 21:4 (December 2014), pp. 440-456. [*Lead article in Special Issue “Populism”]

Angélica M. Bernal. “Power, Powerlessness, and Petroleum: Indigenous Environmental Claims and the Limits of Transnational Law.” *New Political Science* 33: 2 (June 2011): 143-167. [*Winner of the American Political Science Association’s Christian Bay Best Paper Award]

Angélica M. Bernal, “A Revolution in Law’s Republic: Arendt and Michelman in Dialogue.” *Hannah Arendt Net: Zeitschrift für Politisches Denken*, Bd. 5, No. 1 (2009).

BOOK CHAPTERS

Angélica Maria Bernal, “Contesting Conquest: Tuti Cusi Yupanqui’s Anticolonial Resistance,” in [*Globalizing Political Theory*](#), edited Kate Gordy, Shirin Delaymi, & Smita Rahman (Submitted to Routledge Press, 2022).

Angélica Maria Bernal, “Tyranny,” in [*Democracies in America: Key Words for the 19th Century and Today*](#), edited by Greg Laski and Berton Emerson (Oxford University Press, 2023).

DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780198865698.003.0020

Angélica Maria Bernal. “Pachamama’s Rights, Climate Crisis, and the Decolonial Cosmos,” in *In Search of the Concrete Universal: The Critical Theory Seyla Benhabib* (under review Columbia University Press, 2021).

Angélica M. Bernal. “Founding.” *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought, Volume 3*. Edited by Michael Gibbons, Diana Coole, Elizabeth Ellis, and Keenan Ferguson (West Sussex, UK: Wiley Blackwell 2015): 1351-1355.

Angélica M. Bernal. “De la exclusión étnica a derechos colectivos: Un análisis político del Ecuador.” In Angélica M. Bernal, ed. *De la Exclusión a la Participación: Pueblos Indígenas y Sus Derechos Colectivos en el Ecuador*. (Quito: Abya Yala Press, 2000).

BOOK REVIEWS

Angélica María Bernal. “Review of Steve Ellner, ed. 2021. *Latin American Extractivism: Dependency, Resource Nationalism, and Resistance in Broad Perspective* (Rowman and Littlefield),” in *Latin American Politics and Society* (forthcoming 2022).

Angélica María Bernal. “Review of Joshua Simon’s *The Ideology of Creole Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2017),” in *Perspectives on Politics* (2018).

Angélica M. Bernal. “Review of Marc Becker’s *¡Pachakutik! Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador*.” *Latin American Politics and Society* 55:3 (Winter 2013): 200-203.

Angélica M. Bernal. “Review of Paul Apostolidis’ *Break in The Chains: What Immigrant Workers Can Teach America About Democracy*.” *Perspectives on Politics* 10:2 (June 2012).

MEDIA

Angélica María Bernal & Joshua Holst, “Post Protest, Government. In Ecuador Strikes Out Against Indigenous Leaders,” [NACLA](#), August 4th, 2022.

Joshua Holst & Angélica María Bernal. “Debrief: Ecuador’s National Strike,” [Rethink Politics](#) June 29th, 2022.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Angélica María Bernal, “The Lost Revolution: Hannah Arendt, Decolonial Theory, and the Haitian Revolution,” in *Creolizing Hannah Arendt*, edited Neil Roberts and Marilyn Nesbitt (Routledge, for submission Fall 2022).

Angélica María Bernal. “Presidential Refounding and Constituent Power,” in *Oxford Handbook of Constituent Power*, edited by Peter Niesen, Lucia Rubinelli, and Markus Patberg. (Oxford University Press, for submission September 2023).

Angélica María Bernal. *The Price of Life: Extractivism and Resistance in the Ecuadorian Amazon* (single-authored book manuscript, in progress).

“On the Agency of the Non-Human World: Two Views from Latin America” (with Elva Orozco-Mendoza, manuscript in preparation for journal submission)

Angélica María Bernal, Martin Botelho Mendoza, and Raul Sanchez Urribari. “Populist Constitutionalism in Latin America: The Cases of Ecuador, Bolivia, and Venezuela” (in preparation for journal submission)

GRANTS, HONORS AND AWARDS

- SBS Outstanding Mentor Award, UMASS Amherst, 2022
- ISSR (Institute for Social Science Research) Scholar, UMASS Amherst, 2022-2023
- Fulbright Scholar, Ecuador, 2020-2021*, 2022-2023
- SBS Research Grant, UMASS Amherst, Spring 2019, (**\$7500**)
- Distinguished Teaching Award Nominee, UMASS Amherst Spring 2018, Fall 2018
- “Revisioning Political Theory in the Americas,” Center for Latin America, Latinx & Caribbean Studies grant, co-PI with Adam Dahl (**\$7500**)
- Graduate-Faculty Initiative-RAship Grant (**\$2000**), UMASS Political Science 2014-2016
- PI, Healy Endowment/Faculty Research Grant (**\$10,000**), UMASS 2012-Present
- Mellon Mutual Mentoring Grant (**\$500**), UMASS 2011-2012 & 2012-2013
- Center for Research on Families Scholar, UMASS, 2011-2012
- Lilly Teaching Fellow, UMASS, 2011-2012
- General Education Fellow (**\$1,500**), UMASS, (\$1500) 2010-2011
- Research Support Fund Award (**\$1000/yr**), UMASS 2010-2016
- Flex Grant for Teaching and Faculty Development (**\$500-800/yr**), UMASS 2009-2016
- RFYE (Residential First Year Experience) Student Choice Teaching Award, 2009
- NAIS Faculty Development Grant (**\$1,000**), UMASS 2008
- Diversity in Education Grant (**\$5,000**), UMASS 2008
- Graduation Flag-Bearer representing School of Social & Behavioral Sciences, Yale 2008
- Liza Cariaga-Lo Award for Excellence in Advancing Diversity, Yale University 2008
- Christian Bay Best Paper Award (**\$100**), American Political Science Association 2007
- John F. Enders Fellowship (**\$3,500**), Yale University 2007
- Fannie Workman Bullock Fellowship (**\$15,000**), Wellesley College 2006-2007
- Edward A. Bouchet Graduate Honor Society, Yale University 2006
- University Dissertation Fellowship (**\$17,000**), Yale University 2004-2005
- School of Criticism & Theory Grant (tuition costs), Cornell University 2004
- European Union Studies Program Grant (**\$3500**), Yale University 2002-2003
- Globalization & Self-Determination Project Grant (**\$5000**), Yale University 2002
- Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship in Humanistic Studies (**\$22,000**) 2001-2002
- Fulbright Fellowship, (**\$21,000**) 1998-2000
- Psi Chi, Psychology Honor Society, Wellesley College 1997

- College Nominee for Rhodes and Marshall Scholarships, Wellesley College 1997
- Emily Greene Balch Human Rights Award, Wellesley College 1997

INVITED PRESENTATIONS

“Presidential Refounding and Constituent Power,” *Oxford Handbook of Constituent Power Workshop*, University of Hamburg, February 2024 and Yale University, March 2024.

“The Lost Revolution: Hannah Arendt, Decolonial Theory, and the Haitian Revolution,” *Creolizing Arendt* Conference, Williams College, Spring 2022.

“Pachamama’s Rights, Climate Crisis, and the Decolonial Cosmos,” Yale Political Theory Workshop, April 6th, 2021.

“Foundings Sins, Presidential Violence,” The James Weldon Johnson Institute for the Study of Race and Difference, Emory University, March 8th, 2021.

“The Rights of Others, Decolonial Theory & The Global South,” Invited Talk for *The Concrete Universal* Conference in honor of Seyla Benhabib, Yale University, December 14-15th, 2020.

<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC6W1blNQ-flROHzwUB7jcMA/videos>

“Constitucionalismo, Refundación, y Mujeres Indígenas,” *Seminario: Nueva Constitución y Género*, Instituto de Asuntos Públicos, Universidad de Chile, Diciembre 9, 2020.

<https://www.uchile.cl/noticias/171869/academicas-y-activistas-proponen-un-enfoque-de-genero-interseccional>

“*Pachamama’s* Rights: The Rights of Nature and Indigenous Resistance in Ecuador,” The Feinberg Lectures, UMASS Amherst, November 8th, 2020.

https://blogs.umass.edu/feinberg/history-from-below-extractivism-geology-and-power/?_gl=1*185c8jk*_ga*MTIyMjkwNjE3NS4xNTk3NjcxMDA1*_ga_21RLS0L7EB*MTY0NDUyMDEyOC4xNjAuMC4xNjQ0NTIwMTI4LjA.&_ga=2.105432451.1249133638.1644520128-1222906175.1597671005

“The Rights of Nature & Indigenous Resistance,” *Plebeian Politics* Columbia Law School, September 2020.*

“Democratic Founding and Constituent Processes,” Invited to conduct a week-long seminar and present a public lecture at ITAM, Mexico City, March 2020. [postponed]*

“Human/Non-Human Rights: The Rights of Nature and Indigenous Resistance to Extractivism in Ecuador,” Wesleyan University, February 8th, 2020.

“Decoloniality from Above and Below: Democracy, Postdevelopment, and Indigenous Resistance,” *Caribbean Philosophical Association Summer School*, June 20th, 2019.

“Freedom, Settler Colonialism, and Indigenous Resistance: On the Indigenous Internationalism of George Manuel,” *Democracy and Freedom: Between Past and Future*, Williams College, April 12-13, 2019.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8LpCoN7Ozzg>

“*Pachamama* as the People: Indigenous Resistance and the Politics of Extractivism in Ecuador,” *The Politics and Poetics of Race*, University of Memphis, Friday Nov. 9th, 2018.

“The Lost Revolution: Hannah Arendt, the Haitian Revolution, and Decolonial Theory,” Cornell Political Theory Workshop, Sept. 25th, 2018.

“Populist Constitutionalism in Latin America,” Five Colleges Legal Studies Workshop, April 30th, 2018.

“DACA and the State of Immigration Policy,” UMASS Amherst, September 19th, 2017.

Invited speaker on campus panel, “Can We Stand Together? Thoughts and Perspectives on the Women’s March on Washington,” UMASS Amherst, Feb. 13th, 2017.

“A Response to Pasha Bueno Hansen’s *Feminist and Human Rights Struggles in Peru: Decolonizing Transitional Justice*, Mass Violence and Human Rights Conference—UMASS, Friday Feb. 5th, 2016.
<https://soundcloud.com/newenglandpublicradio/dr-pascha-bueno-hansen-feminist-and-human-rights-struggles-in-peru>

“The Law and Politics of ‘Good Living’: *Buen Vivir*, Extractivism, and the Naturalization of Sovereignty in Ecuador,” October 21, 2015, University of Connecticut, Storrs.

“Response to Marisol de la Cadena’s Keynote Address: *Protesting from the Uncommons*, presented at the “On Protest: Latin America in Comparative and Transnational Perspective” a Mellon-LASA Workshop, October 9-10th, 2014 UMASS Amherst.

“First Inaugural Seven Sisters Latina Conference,” March 1st, 2013, Smith College, Northampton, MA.

* = postponed or canceled grants or talks related to the COVID-19 pandemic.

SELECTED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

“Pachamama’s Rights, Climate Crisis, and the Decolonial Cosmos,” Association for Political Theory Meeting, UMASS Amherst, November 12, 2021.

“Violence in the Extractive Zone: State Violence, Repression, and Indigenous Resistance in Ecuador,” paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association annual meeting, Boston, MA, May 25th, 2019.

“Populist Constitutionalism in Latin America: the Cases of Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela,” with Martin Mendoza Botelho & Raul Sanchez Urribari, paper presented at the American Political Science Association meeting, San Francisco, September 2017.

Author Meets Critics discussant for Juliet Hooker’s *Theorizing Race in the Americas* (Oxford University Press, 2017), Western Political Science Association, Vancouver 2017.

“Hannah Arendt and the Haitian Revolution,” presented at the Caribbean Philosophical Association meeting, UCONN June 2016; Western Political Science Association Meeting, San Diego March 2016; and Northeast Political Science Association meeting, November 14, 2014.

Chair & Discussant, “Latin American Political Thought and Comparative Political Theory,” and “Injustice” panels, Western Political Science Association Meeting, San Diego 2016.

Author Meets Critics organizer, Chair, and discussant for Katherine Gordy’s *Living Ideology in Cuba: Socialism in Theory and Practice* (University of Michigan Press, 2015), Western Political Science Association Meeting, San Diego 2016.

Organizer and discussant for “Author Meets Critics Elizabeth Beaumont’s *The Civic Constitution: Civic Visions and Struggles in the Path Toward Constitutional Democracy* (Oxford University Press, 2014).” Western Political Science Association Meeting, Las Vegas 2015.

“Social Justice Campaigns and the Bodily Harm Frame in Comparative Perspective”, with Nandini Deo, presented at WPSA 2015.

“On the Agency of Non-Human Beings,” presented at the American Political Science Association meeting, August 2014.

“Author Meets Critics: George Ciccariello-Maher’s *We Created Chavez: A People’s History of the Venezuelan Revolution* (Duke 2013),” presented at the Western Political Science Association, April 2014.

“The Law and Politics of the ‘Good Life’ in Ecuador: *Sumaq Kawsay*, Extractivism, and the Naturalization of Sovereignty,” presented at the New England Caribbean and Latin American Studies Association, November 2013 and Latin American Studies Association may 2013.

“Change or Continuity: Hugo Chávez and the Future of the Bolivarian Revolution,” Conference Organizer for joint UMASS-Amherst College Symposium, April 18th, 2013.

Discussant “Author Meets Critics: Cristina Beltrán’s *The Trouble with Unity* (Oxford 2010),” Caribbean Philosophical Association. Rutgers University, September 30th, 2011.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS-AMHERST

Undergraduate Courses:

Political Science 197/273: Power*

Political Science 203: American Political Thought*

Political Science 374: Issues in Political Theory

Political Science 397: Indigenous Rights and Social Movements in Latin America

Graduate Courses:

Political Science 793X: Critical Theory

Political Science 791L: Latin American Political Thought

Political Science 797: Arendt

Political Science 791F: Foundings

Political Science 791: Citizenship

* = Large courses, 100+ students per semester

YALE UNIVERSITY

Classics of Ethics, Politics & Economics (Spring 2008)

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Section Chair

Foundations for Political Theory, American Political Science Association (APSA), 2022-2023

Prize Committees

Lowi Book Award, American Political Science Association (APSA), 2021

Editorial Boards

Philosophy & Global Affairs, 2020- [member of founding editorial board]

Comparative Political Theory, 2020- [Editorial Board Member]

Fellowship Reviewer

Social Science Research Council (SSRC), International Dissertation Research Fellowship (IDRF), 2017-2018.

Section Chair

Foundations of Political Theory Section, Western Political Science Association, April 2021 (Seattle, WA)

Comparative Politics Section, Western Political Science Association, Annual Meeting April 2015 (Las Vegas, Nevada)

Manuscript Reviewer

Oxford University Press
Lexington Books
Philosophy & Global Affairs
American Journal of Political Science
Routledge Press
Duke University Press
Cambridge University Press
American Political Science Review
British Journal of Political Science
European Journal of Political Theory
Constellations: An International Journal of Critical and Democracy Theory
Political Theory
New Political Science
Perspectives on Politics
Latin American Politics and Society
Ethics and Global Politics

DEPARTMENTAL SERVICE

Chair

Sonia Alvarez, Distinguished Professor case, 2021
Adam Dahl, Tenure case, 2020
Andrew March Tenure case, 2019
Adam Dahl, 4.2 Review, 2019

Member, Standing Committee

Personnel Committee, 2018-2019; Graduate Admissions, 2017-2018; Speakers and Events Committee: 2013-2014, 2014-2015; Open Search, 2013-2014; Undergraduate Studies Committee, 2011-2012, 2015-2016; Personnel Committee, 2010-2011; Graduate Studies Committee, 2009-2010

Dissertation Chair

Samantha Davis (Post-doc, Oberlin College, PhD 2022)
Elva Orozco-Mendoza (Assistant Professor, UConn Storrs)
Ben Leiter (in-progress)
Luz María Sánchez-Duque (in-progress)

Member, Dissertation Committee:

Eric Vázquez Sánchez (comp lit, in-progress).
Martha Balaguera Cuervo (Assistant Professor, University of Toronto).
Alix Olson (Assistant Professor, Oxford University at Emory).
Samantha Rose Hill (Assistant Director, Hannah Arendt Institute).
Ana María Ospina (independent scholar, Colombia).

Member, Comprehensive Examinations:

Elif Savas; Beki Atkins (Chair), Samantha Davis (Chair), Luz Maria Sanchez Duque (chair), Ben Leiter (Chair), Gabriel Mares (Chair), Martha Balaguera (Chair), Elva Orozco-Mendoza (Chair), Robert Darrow (Chair), Alix Olson (Chair), Andres Fabian Henao Castro, Samantha Rose Hill

Theory Field Clerk, 2009-2010

Convener & Organizer

Book Publishing Workshop, 2008-2009

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Executive Board Member

Center for Latin American, Caribbean, and Latinx Studies, 2008-present

Ad Hoc Committee Member

SBS Dean's Search Committee (Spring 2020)

Ad Hoc Committee Member

Truman Committee, UMASS University (Spring 2020)

Director

Academic Fellows Program (for first generation and BIPOC undergraduates). Dean's Office, School of Behavioral & Social Sciences, 2017-2020

Steering Committee

The Amherst Program in Critical Theory, 2015-Present

Faculty Affiliate

Native American Indian Studies Program

Keynote Faculty Speaker

Model United Nations, UMASS Amherst, March 13th, 2015

Member, Adhoc Committee

Truman Scholarship Program Committee, 2014-2015.

Conference Organizer

“Change or Continuity? Chavez and the Future of the Bolivarian Revolution,” International Conference hosted at UMASS Amherst, April 2013. Raised funds and administered budget of over **\$13,000.**

Organizer

“Do I Look Illegal to You?” UMASS Amherst, May 2010. Teach-In, Talks and Protests surrounding the passage of Arizona Anti-Immigration Bill SB1070.

COMMUNITY SERVICE

Ad-Hoc Committee Member

Elementary School Building Committee, Town of Amherst, MA, 2022-Present

Vice President

Special Education Parent Advisory Council (SEPAC), Amherst Pelham Regional School District, 2021-2022

AFFILIATIONS

American Political Science Association (APSA)

Association for Political Theory (APT)

Western Political Science Association (WPSA)

Latin American Studies Association (LASA)

Caribbean Philosophical Association (CPA)

New England Latin American and Caribbean Studies Association (NECLAS)

LANGUAGES

Spanish: Native Fluency

English: Reading & Spoken Fluency

French: Reading & Spoken Proficiency

Latin: Reading & Translation Proficiency

American Sign Language: Beginning Competency

Kichwa: Beginning Competency

REFERENCES

AVAILABLE UPON REQUEST