

**ANDREW STEPHEN REYNOLDS**

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs  
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Princeton University  
Princeton NJ 08544-1013  
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**EMPLOYMENT**

Research Scholar, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, 2020-

Professor, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2013-2020.

Chair, Curriculum in Global Studies, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2009-2014

Adjunct Professor, African, African American and Diaspora Studies, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2003-2013.

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2001-2003.

Assistant Professor, Government Department, University of Notre Dame, 1997-2001.

**EDUCATION**

Ph.D.	1996	Political Science, <i>University of California, San Diego, USA</i> Dissertation Chair, Arend Lijphart
MA (Dist.)	1992	South African Politics, <i>University of Cape Town, South Africa</i> Dissertation Chair, Hermann Giliomee
BA (Hons)	1988	Political Science, <i>University of East Anglia, United Kingdom</i>

**WORK IN PROGRESS**

“Presidential Candidate Mayor Pete Buttigieg: Identity salience and popular support,”

“How Do Voters React to Candidates with Disabilities and Identified Health Conditions?” *under review*

(with Gabriele Magni) Based on a priming poll of 6,500 voters in 12 states February 26 to March 5, 2020.

“How Do Voters React to HIV+ Candidates?” *under review*.

“How Do Voters React to Female and Ethnic/Racial Minority Candidates?”

(with Gabriele Magni). Papers based on four nationally representative surveys in the United States, the United Kingdom, New Zealand and France. To evaluate voter attitudes toward candidates with minority identities we embedded a conjoint experiment in each survey. The scope of findings needed to be separated into multiple papers.

“The Consequences of Election System Design in the Cases of the Arab Spring” (with John Carey and Tarek Masoud).

“Party Politics in the UK” for the *Oxford Encyclopedia of LGBT Politics and Policy*.

## PUBLICATIONS

### Books

*The Children of Harvey Milk: How LGBTQ Politicians Changed the World* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018), 354pp. (Paperback May 2020).  
*Reviews in appendix*

(with Jason Brownlee and Tarek Masoud) *The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015), 370pp.

*Designing Democracy in a Dangerous World* (Oxford, Oxford University Press [Comparative Politics Series] 2011), 198pp.

(with Ben Reilly and Andrew Ellis) *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook* (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2005, published in Spanish and French in 2005, Arabic in 2007, Sinhala, Tamil and Thai in 2012, Burmese in 2014), 223pp.

*Electoral Systems and Democratization in Southern Africa* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999), 341pp.

(with Ben Reilly) *Electoral Systems and Conflict Management in Divided Societies* (Washington DC, National Academy Press, 1999), 62pp.

(with Ben Reilly) *The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design* (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1st edition 1997, 2nd edition 1997. Published in Serbo-Croat 1999, Spanish, French and Arabic in 2000, Albanian in 2001, Burmese in 2002, Nepali in 2005), 168pp.

*Voting for a New South Africa* (Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman, 1993), 130pp.

### Edited Books

*The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002), 507pp.

*Election '99: South Africa – From Mandela to Mbeki* (New York, St. Martin's Press; Cape Town, David Philip; London, James Currey, 1999), 256pp.

(with Timothy Sisk) *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa* (Washington DC, US Institute of Peace Press, 1998), 192pp.

*Election '94: South Africa - An Analysis of the Results, Campaigns and Future Prospects* (New York, St. Martin's Press; Cape Town, David Philip; London, James Currey, 1994, second edition 1994), 237pp.

### Articles

“Voter Preferences and the Political Underrepresentation of Minority Groups: Lesbian, Gay, and Transgender Candidates in Advanced Democracies,” (with Gabriele Magni) *Journal of Politics*, forthcoming

“Does Sexual Orientation Still Matter? The impact of LGBT candidate identity and visibility on vote share in the UK elections of 2015,” (with Gabriele Magni) *American Political Science Review*, Vol.12, No.3 (August 2018).

“From Dynamic Events to Deep Causes: Outcomes and Explanations of the Arab Spring,” (with Jason Brownlee and Tarek Masoud) *Middle East Law and Governance*, Vol.6, No.3 (Winter 2015).

“Why the Modest Harvest?” (with Jason Brownlee and Tarek Masoud) *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.24, No.3, (October 2013) pp.29-44.

“Political Scientists as Electoral System Engineers,” (with John Carey, Simon Hix, Mala Htun, Shaheen Mozaffar, and G. Bingham Powell) *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol.11 No.3 (September 2013) pp.827-840.

“Representation and Rights: The Impact of LGBT Legislators in Comparative Perspective,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol.107, No.2 (May 2013) pp.259-274.

“Getting Elections Wrong,” (with John M. Carey) *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.23, No.1, (January 2012) pp.164-168.

“Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Impact of Election Systems” (with John M. Carey) *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.22, No.4, (October 2011) pp.36-47.

“Electoral Democratization in Nepal,” *Journal of Contemporary Asia*. Vol.40, No.3 (August 2010) pp.509-519.

- “Elections, Electoral Systems, and Conflict in Africa,” *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* (Fall/Winter 2009).
- “Parties and Accountable Government in New Democracies,” (with John M. Carey) *Party Politics* Vol.13, No.2 (March 2007) pp.255-274.
- “Constitutional Design: Promoting Multi Ethnic Democracy,” *Harvard International Review*. (Winter 2007) pp.42-47.
- “How the World Votes: The Political Consequences of Ballot Design, Innovation and Manipulation,” (with Marco Steenbergen) *Electoral Studies*, Vol.25, No.3 (September 2006), 570-598.
- “The Curious Case of Afghanistan,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.17, No.2 (April 2006), pp.104-117.
- “Reserved Seats in National Legislatures,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. Vol XXV, No.3. (May 2005)
- “A Framework for the Systematic Study of Election Quality,” (with Jørgen Elklit) *Democratization*. Vol.12 No.2 (March 2005)
- “Judging Elections and Election Quality Management Process,” (with Jørgen Elklit) *Representation*, Vol.41, No.3 (Autumn 2005), pp.189-207) and in *Revisiting Free and Fair Elections*. ed. Michael Boda. (Geneva, Inter Parliamentary Union, 2005). Translated into French in 2006.
- “Constitutional Medicine” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (January 2005), pp.54-68 and in *Democracy: A Reader*. ed. Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 2009).
- “The Impact of Election Administration on the Legitimacy of Emerging Democracies,” (with Jørgen Elklit) *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol.40, No.2 (July 2002), pp.86-119.
- “How Burma Could Democratize,” (with Alfred Stepan, Zaw Oo and Stephen Levine) *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (October 2001), pp.95-108.
- “Analyzing the Impact of Election Administration on Democratic Politics,” (with Jørgen Elklit) *Representation*, Vol.38, No.2 (Spring 2001), pp. 3-10.
- “The Northern Irish Good Friday Agreement: A Pied Piper to a United Ireland?” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol.114, No.4 (January 2000), pp.613-638.
- “Women in the Legislatures and Executives of the World: Knocking at the Highest Glass Ceiling,” *World Politics*, Vol.51, No.4 (July 1999), pp.547-572.
- “Debate: PR in Southern Africa -- The Case for Proportionality,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 6,

No. 4 (October 1995), pp.117-124, and (updated) in *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa* (Washington DC, US Institute of Peace Press, 1998).

“Power-Sharing Democracy in the New South Africa” (with Thomas Koelble), *Politics and Society*, Vol.24, No.3 (September 1996), pp.221-236.

“Modeling the Drop-off Between Minority Population Share and the Size of the Minority Electorate in Situations of Differential Voter Eligibility Across Groups” (with Bernard Grofman), *Electoral Studies*, Vol.15, No.2 (May 1996), pp.255-261.

“Constitutional Engineering in Southern Africa,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (April 1995), pp. 86-99.

“The Consequences of South Africa’s PR Electoral System,” *Representation*, Vol. 32, No. 119 (Autumn 1994), pp. 57-60.

#### Chapters in Edited Books

“How Robert Mugabe Made a Truly Non-Racial Nation: A case study of Zimbabwe,” in *Constitutional Design and Conflict Management in Africa: Preventing Civil War Through Institutional Design* ed. Alan Kuperman. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

“When do elections fail? Developing better indicators,” (with Jørgen Elklit and Pippa Norris) in *Advancing Electoral Integrity* eds. Pippa Norris, Rich Frank and Ferran Martinez I Coma (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014)

“Electoral System Choice in Myanmar’s Democratization Debate,” (with Kyle Lemargie, Peter Erben and David Ennis) in *Debating Democratization in Myanmar*. ed. Nick Cheesman, Nicholas Farrelly and Trevor Wilson (Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013).

“Academics as Democratic Designers: The moonlighting of political scientists as constitutional engineers,” in *Democracy, Elections and Political Parties*. Eds. Jens Blom-Hansen, Christoffer Green-Pedersen and Svend-Erik Skaaning (Copenhagen, Politica, 2012).

“Constitutional Medicine,” in *Democracy*. eds. Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 2009).

“Electoral Arrangements in Systems of Complex Power Sharing,” in *Settling Self-Determination Disputes: Complex Power-Sharing in Theory and Practice*, eds. Marc Weller and Barbara Metzger (Leiden, Martinus Nijhoff, 2008).

Reserved Seats in National Legislatures: A Comparative Approach,” in *Redistricting in Comparative Perspective*, eds. Bernard Grofman and Lisa Handley (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008).

- “The State of Play: Minority MPs in National Legislatures,” in *State of the World’s Minorities: Events of 2005-6* (London, Minority Rights Group International, 2007).
- “Constitutional Engineering and Democratic Stability: The debate surrounding political institutions in Afghanistan,” in *Building State and Security in Afghanistan* (Princeton NJ, Woodrow Wilson School of International Affairs, 2007).
- “Constitutional Engineering in Southern Africa,” “Rejonder: The Case for Proportionality,” and “The Curious Case of Afghanistan,” in *Electoral Systems and Democracy*, eds. Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 2006).
- “South Africa: Succeeding with Proportional Representation,” in *Electoral System Choice*, ed. Josep Colomer (New York, Palgrave, 2004).
- “Designing Electoral Systems,” in *Crafting Indonesian Democracy*, ed. R. William Liddle (Jakarta, Mizan, 2001).
- “Electoral Systems and Conflict Management in Divided Societies,” (with Ben Reilly) in *International Conflict Resolution after the Cold War* (Washington D.C., National Academy Press, 2000).
- “Electoral Systems and the art of Constitutional Engineering: An Inventory of the Main Findings,” (with Bernard Grofman) in *Rules and Reason: Perspectives on Constitutional Political Economy*, eds. Ram Mudambi, Pietro Navarra and Giuseppe Sobbrino (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- “Majoritarian or Power-Sharing Government,” in *Democracy and Institutions: The Life Work of Arend Lijphart*, eds. Markus Crepaz and Thomas Koelble (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2000), pp.155-196.
- “The Results,” in *Election ‘99: South Africa* (Cape Town, David Philip; London, James Currey; New York, St. Martin’s Press, 1999), pp.173-198.
- “Sierra Leone,” in *Elections in Africa*, eds. Dieter Nohlen, Michael Krennerich, and Bernhard Thibaut (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.789-802.
- “Electoral System Reform in the United Kingdom,” *Inroads: A Journal of Opinion*, No.7, (May 1998), pp.109-114 and in *Making Every Vote Count: Reassessing Canada’s Electoral System*, ed. Henry Milner (Toronto, Broadview Press, 1999).
- “Elections, Electoral Systems, and Conflict Management” (with Timothy Sisk), in *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa* (Washington DC, US Institute of Peace Press, 1998).
- “Electoral Systems for Divided Societies” (with Ben Reilly), in *Democracy and Deep Rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators* (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1998), pp.191-204.

“Voter Turnout: Is Democracy in the Numbers?” in *Report of the 1997 International IDEA Democracy Forum* (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1998), pp.74-79.

“The Case for Democratic Hope in Africa,” in *Designing Electoral Systems for Emerging Democracies*, ed. Jørgen Elklit, (Copenhagen, DANIDA, 1997).

“The Results,” in *Election ‘94: South Africa* (Cape Town, David Philip; London, James Currey; New York, St. Martin's Press, 1994), pp. 182-220.

### Encyclopedia Contributions

“Designing Electoral Systems,” in *The International Encyclopedia of Elections*, ed. Richard Rose (Washington DC, Congressional Quarterly Press, 2000), pp.58-66.

### Book Reviews

“David Butler and Denis Kavanagh (eds). *The British General Election of 1997*,” *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (Fall 1998), pp.17-20.

“Colin Baker. *Seeds of Trouble: Government Policy and Land Rights in Nyasaland, 1946-1964*,” *African Studies Review*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (December 1995), pp.114-116.

### Other Publications

“*Transgender and Gender Variant Candidates and Elected Officials around the World*” (with Logan S. Casey) (Chapel Hill, LGBT Representation and Rights Initiative, 2015).

*Political Science, Electoral Rules, and Democratic Governance: Report of the Task Force on Electoral Rules and Democratic Governance* (eds. Mala Htun and G. Bingham Powell, Jr) (American Political Science Association, 2013).

*Out in Office: LGBT Legislators and LGBT Rights Around the World* (Chapel Hill, LGBT Representation and Rights Initiative, 2013).

*Fixing Afghanistan's Electoral System: Arguments and Options for Reform* (with John M. Carey) (Kabul, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, 2012).

*Indonesia: Areas of Electoral Law under Discussion* (with August Mellaz) (Jakarta, Perludem, 2011).

*Electoral Systems and the Protection and Participation of Minorities* (London, Minority Rights Group International, 2006).

*A Guide to Parliamentary Elections in Afghanistan* (with Lucy Jones and Andrew Wilder). (Kabul, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, 2005).

*Free, Fair or Flawed: Challenges for Legitimate Elections in Afghanistan* (with Andrew Wilder) (Kabul, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, 2004).

*Voter Turnout in Democratic Elections: A Worldwide Comparison* (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1997).

*Electoral Systems - An Introductory Guide* (London, Charter 88 Trust, 1992).

### Podcasts

*The Children of Harvey Milk*  
In Production

### Opinion Editorials

*New York Times* (11-22-12)

*Washington Post* (7-6-04, 9-25-04, 12-16-15, 4-18-16, 11-11-16, 1-27-17, 10-22-18, 5-28-20)

*New Statesman* (5-13-15 and 11-2-15)

*Politico* (5-24-19)

*Raleigh News and Observer* (10-13-11, 4-28-16, 6-2-16, 12-23-16, 12-30-16 and 2-3-18)

*Huffington Post* (8-15-17, 11-8-17, 11-10-17, 11-14-17)

*Christian Science Monitor* (4-17-93, 6-10-93, 9-14-94, and 10-19-00)

*Haaretz* (4-27-17)

*Chicago Tribune* (3-23-94)

*San Diego Union Tribune* (10-26-93)

*Durham Herald Sun Tribune* (Columnist May-September 2005)

### **LECTURES PRESENTED**

Between 1991-2020 lectures presented at conferences, seminars and workshops in Boston, Boone, Cambridge, Chapel Hill, Chicago, Durham, Greensboro, Honolulu, Houston, Irvine, New York, Notre Dame, Philadelphia, Princeton, Raleigh, St. Louis, San Diego, San Francisco, Stanford, Stillwater, Washington DC, Winston-Salem (USA), Cambridge, London, Oxford (UK), Montreal, Toronto (Canada), Freetown (Sierra Leone), Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Pretoria (South Africa), Nairobi (Kenya), Harare (Zimbabwe), Jakarta (Indonesia), Amman (Jordan), Jerusalem (Israel), Brasilia (Brazil), Stockholm (Sweden), Locarno (Switzerland), Amsterdam and The Hague (Netherlands), Vienna (Austria), Warsaw (Poland), Gabarone (Botswana), Georgetown (Guyana), Canberra (Australia), Auckland and Wellington (New Zealand), Kabul (Afghanistan), Triesenberg (Liechtenstein) Curacao (Netherlands Antilles), Saha (Yemen), Rangoon (Burma), Bangkok, Mae Sot, Chaing Mai (Thailand), Ulaan Baatar (Mongolia), Beirut (Lebanon), Juba (Sudan), Kathmandu (Nepal), Islamabad (Pakistan), Cairo (Egypt), Benghazi and Tripoli (Libya), Manila and Cotabato City (Philippines), Kiev (Ukraine), Maynooth and Dublin (Ireland), Melbourne and Sydney (Australia), Colombo (Sri Lanka), Berlin, Mainz, Frankfurt, Munich (Germany), Mogadishu (Somalia) and Aarhus (Denmark).



## **TEACHING AND RESEARCH INTERESTS**

- \* LGBTQ+ politics.
- \* Issues of minority voting rights and representation in the United States.
- \* The comparative study of constitutional engineering in plural societies.
- \* The political consequences of electoral systems.
- \* Democratization and electoral politics in Southern and West Africa.
- \* Democratization and electoral politics in the Middle East and North Africa.
- \* Democratization and electoral politics in Asia.
- \* The politics of the United Kingdom, Ireland and Western Europe.
- \* The political theory of representation.

Awarded the 2013 Tanner Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

The 2007 Carolina Women's Leadership Council Faculty-Student Mentoring Award Recipient.

Awarded a University of California, San Diego 'Excellence in Teaching Award' for 1994-1995.

Member of the APSA Presidential Task Force (2011-2012) on "Electoral Rules and Governance."

Shortlisted and interviewed to be the United Nations Independent Expert on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (2017) (Geneva, UN Human Rights Council).

## **ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS**

Founding Board Member of the Global Parliamentary Equality Caucus (2019).

Chair, Curriculum in International and Area Studies (Global Studies as of 2010), UNC CH, 2009-2014

Faculty Advisory Board, Institute for the Arts and Humanities 2006-2009

Phillips Ambassadors Steering Committee, 2008-2011

Study Abroad Advisory Board, 2009-2014

Global Research Institute Board, 2009-2014

UNC Advisory Board for Global Education, 2009-2014

UNC Center for International Business Education and Research Advisory Board, 2009-13

## **JOURNAL EDITORIAL BOARDS**

*American Political Science Review*, 2020-

*Politics and Gender*, 2019-

*Representation*, 2005-

## **FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AND AWARDS**

*LGBTQ Representation and Rights Research Initiative (2012-)*

\$425,000 from various sources to support my research and fund the initiative.

*University of Amsterdam, Netherlands (Dec-Jan 2020-21)*

Visiting Fellow

*Hertie School of Governance, Berlin Germany (Fall 2017)*

Visiting Fellow

*Faculty Engaged Scholar UNC (2009-2011)*

\$15,000 research award

*Academic Leadership Development Program UNC (2008)*

Fellow, Spring 2008

\$7,000 award

*UNC African Studies Center (2007)*

\$4,500 course development award

*UNC Peace, War and Defence Curriculum (2006)*

\$3,000 course development award

*Carolina Asia Center (2006)*

\$5,000 Freeman award for travel to Mongolia.

*Institute for Arts and Humanities, Chapel Hill (2005)*

Fellow, Fall 2005

*Carolina Asia Center (2005)*

\$5,000 Freeman Course Development Award

*UCIS, UNC Chapel Hill (2003)*

\$3,000 for travel to Burma

*Ford Foundation (1999) Co-PI*

\$60,000 to support the conference **Constitutional Design 2000** held December 1999 at the University of Notre Dame.

*United States Institute of Peace* (1999) Co-PI  
\$38,000 to support the conference **Constitutional Design 2000**.

*Kellogg Institute*, University of Notre Dame (1999) Co-PI  
\$40,000 to support the conference **Constitutional Design 2000**.

*Nanovic, Keough Institutes and Henkles Fund*, University of Notre Dame (1999) Co-PI  
\$18,000 to support the conference **Constitutional Design 2000**.

*Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts*, University of Notre Dame (1999) PI  
Travel to South Africa to edit the book *Election '99: South Africa*

*Keough Centre for Irish Studies*, University of Notre Dame (1998) PI  
Grant for field research in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

*Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts*, University of Notre Dame (1998) PI  
Summer research assistance support for book project on institutions and democratization.

*Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace* (1995/96)  
Peace Scholar Fellow. Administered by the United States Institute of Peace, Washington DC.

*Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation* (1995/96)  
Dissertation Fellow. Administered by IGCC, University of California

*Centre for the Study of Democracy/Global Peace and Conflict Studies Institute*, UC Irvine (1995)  
Grant for August 1995 follow up case study research in South Africa

*National Science Foundation Grant* - SBR-9321864 (1994)  
Awarded for the study of the impact of electoral laws on party behavior in the first non-racial South African elections of April 1994 (PI's: Arend Lijphart and Bernard Grofman)

*J.W. Jagger International Scholarship* (1991)  
Administered by the University of Cape Town

## **PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES**

### **Ph.D. Committees**

Altin Ilirjani, Department of Political Science, UNC Chapel Hill

Jessica Piombo, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Susan Glover, Department of Political Science, UNC Chapel Hill

Sarah Shair-Rosenfield, Department of Political Science, UNC Chapel Hill

Emanuel Coman, Department of Political Science, UNC Chapel Hill

Micah Levinson, Department of Political Science, UNC Chapel Hill

Brian Overington, Department of Political Science, UNC Chapel Hill

**American Political Science Association 2003**

*Panel Chair for the Electoral Systems and Representation Section*

**CONSULTANCIES (CONSTITUTIONAL DESIGN)**

**Ukraine** (2016 and 2018)

IFES adviser on elections and LGBTQ issues.

**Somalia** (2017)

Advisor on electoral systems and electoral administration.

**Sri Lanka** (2016 and 2018, 2019)

IFES adviser on election systems, gender and LGBTQ rights.

**Yemen** (2005, 2014 and 2015)

IFES adviser to the Yemeni CDC and Election Commission.

**Philippines** (2013)

IFES adviser to the Transitional Council of the Bangsamoro Autonomous Political Entity.

**Afghanistan** (2012)

Consultant to Afghan Research and Evaluation Unit on electoral and parliamentary issues.

**Syria** (2012)

US Institute of Peace technical expert to *The Day After* project.

**Libya** (2011)

NDI adviser on transition issues.

**Egypt** (2011)

NDI adviser on electoral law issues.

**Indonesia** (2011)

IFES adviser on electoral law issues.

**Tunisia** (2011)

IFES adviser on constitutional design issues.

**Iran** (2011)

IFES adviser on electoral law briefing.

**Lesotho (2011)**

UNDP/UNEAD mediation on election law.

**Burma (2010)**

Advisor to the Vahu Institute.

**Pakistan (2009 and 2010)**

IFES sponsored adviser on questions of national and local electoral system design.

**Jordan (2009)**

IFES sponsored adviser on questions of local electoral system design.

**Egypt (2009)**

Adviser to IFES on a women's quota for parliamentary elections.

**Iraq (2008)**

Senior Electoral Adviser, United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI).

*Adviser on minority representation in Governorate Council elections.*

**United Nations Development Program-Inter Parliamentary Union (2008)**

*Chief consultant to the project on the parliamentary representation of minorities.*

**Nepal (2008 and 2009)**

*IFES sponsored advisor on questions of electoral system design.*

**Burma (2008)**

Co-convenor of expert group under the auspices of the National Endowment for Democracy.

**Iraq (2007)**

Senior Electoral Adviser, United Nations Electoral Assistance Department-Iraq.

US Institute of Peace contracted adviser to Constitutional Committee of Iraqi Government.

**Sudan (2007-2008)**

*National Democratic Institute advisor to the Sudanese SPLM on questions of election design.*

**Afghanistan (2006 and 2007)**

*IFES sponsored advisor to the Afghan Independent Electoral Commission on questions of electoral system design.*

**Lebanon (2006)**

*Part of IFES mission to assess the Boutros Commission electoral reform proposals.*

**Burma (2001 and 2005)**

*Conducted seminars under the auspices of the Burma Fund, the Shalom Foundation and the British Government on issues of constitutional and election design.*

**Netherlands Antilles (2005)**

*Speaker on institutional reform issues for government of the Netherlands Antilles.*

**Afghanistan (2004-2005)**

*Consultant to Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit on election issues.*

**Iraq (2004)**

*NED sponsored advisor to the Coalition Provisional Authority on questions of electoral system design*

**Sudan (2003-2004)**

*US State Department sponsored advisor to the Sudanese SPLM on questions of constitutional and governmental design.*

**Guyana (2004-2005)**

*Consultant to UK Department for International Development on Constitutional Reform issues.*

**Afghanistan (2002-2003)**

*Expert advisor to UK Department for International Development team drafting transition options for Afghani governance.*

*Member of the Liechtenstein Group working on State and Security issues in Afghanistan.*

**Kenya (2002)**

*IRI sponsored advisor to the Constitution of Kenya Reform Commission on questions of electoral system design.*

**Burma (2001)**

*Advisor to the Burma Fund and National Council of the Union of Burma.*

**Guyana (2000)**

*Consultant to Constitutional Reform Commission on questions of electoral system design.*

**Angola (2000)**

*Consultant to Constitutional Commission on questions of constitutional design.*

**Zimbabwe (1999)**

*NDI sponsored advisor to the Constitutional Commission on electoral system design.*

**Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (1999)**

*Expert consultation for the OSCE High Commissioner for Minorities on issues of governance – drafting the ‘Lund Principles’.*

**South Africa (since 1991-1999)**

*Advisor to political parties and members of the Constitutional Assembly on issues of electoral system design.*

*Advisor to the South African Gender Commission on the representation of women.*

**Indonesia (August 1998)**

*Sponsored by the Ford Foundation to advise on constitutional issues in Jakarta.*

**Jordan (1996-1997)**

*International member of the Independent Electoral Review Commission.*

**Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (1997)**

*Expert consultation for the OSCE High Commissioner for Minorities on issues of power-sharing in Central and Eastern Europe.*

**Sierra Leone (September-October 1995)**

*United Nations (UNDP) advisor to the Interim National Election Commission of Sierra Leone.*

**NON-ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT**

**1996-97 International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance**, Stockholm, Sweden  
Program and Research Officer.

## *Appendix*

***The Children of Harvey Milk: How LGBTQ Politicians Changed the World* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018. Paperback May 2020).**

“Here, readers will easily learn, and what they learn is absolutely inspiring. For political animals, this book is an easy choice. For the slightly clueless, it's a know-your-history book that doesn't dwell strictly domestically. For a casual reader, it may be challenging but in the end, *The Children of Harvey Milk* could be the most informative book you'll lay eyes on.”--Terri Schlichenmeyer, *BookwormSez* column

“Offering a much-needed survey of the current LGBTQ political landscape, Reynolds tells the stories of the politicians and activists who have come after Milk. His book describes in great detail a compelling web of personal stories of individual gay men and women transforming the views and votes of those around them. Demonstrating a real gift for storytelling, he allows the personal as well as the professional aspects of his subjects' lives to shine through.”

-- Charlie Pullen, *Times Higher Education*.

“The book's group portrait of LGBTQ leaders who have labored for change is a reminder that representation matters. A scholarly analysis that will also appeal to politically engaged generalist readers.”-- *Library Journal*

“*The Children of Harvey Milk* is a vital almost up to the minute barometer of where LGBTQ civil and human rights stand.”-- *New York Journal of Books*

“A unique look at how politics affect the LGBTQ community and the LGBTQ politicians that help bring about the changes needed for the community. Reynolds does an excellent job at not only looking at past politicians, but current game changers as well” -- *The Over the Rainbow Booklist committee of the American Library Association's GLBT Round Table*

“Illuminating political and social history.”-- *Kirkus*

“Refreshingly ambitious in its global scope... an engrossing set of journalistic pieces.” -- *Gay & Lesbian Review*

“What has caused many people and societies to decide that homosexuality is acceptable and that gay and transgender men and women deserve rights and legal equality? In a labor of impressive scholarship, Reynolds demonstrates that LGBTQ individuals serving openly in the political realm have been the major instigators of this change. He makes his point in a collection of historical, exciting, and moving stories—stories with endings both tragic and happy. In the very beginning, Reynolds tells of Harvey Milk (1930–78) but also of Gilbert Baker (1951–2017), who created and sewed together the iconic rainbow flag. He includes histories of LGBTQ political advances from the South Pacific, Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean. The diverse geographies of his vignettes remind one that along with the solid victories in the West, countless gay and transgender people throughout the world live continuously in the face of extreme violence. This



volume joins such other valuable histories of the LGBTQ rights movement as Lisa Stulberg's *LGBTQ Social Movements* and Lillian Faderman's *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle*.” --J. Goins, *Choice*

“In this remarkable book, Andrew Reynolds shows us the global breadth and depth of the movement for equal rights among LGBTQ people. Reynolds shows us that the movement is world-wide, producing courageous leaders in countries that we might never imagine gay people coming forth, asserting their identities, and claiming their citizenship. This is a work of extraordinary scholarship and it provides us with a bracing dose of hope at a time when democracy itself is facing world-wide threats.” - *Kenneth Sherrill, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, Hunter College, New York*

“Andrew Reynolds’ stunning book shows us the struggles-and failures-of the LGBTQ political movement worldwide, from Africa to the Caribbean. This is the story of our times: begun by Harvey Milk, and now carried on around the globe. Gripping, sobering, and inspiring.”- *Jennifer Finney Boylan, author of She's Not There and Long Black Veil*

“Electing LGBTQ people to office is critical to moving equality forward. In *The Children of Harvey Milk*, Reynolds inspires and empowers as he traces the history of LGBTQ rights through the eyes of those who dreamed big, shattered barriers, and helped advance equality in the halls of parliaments and legislatures around the world.” - *Chad Griffin, President, Human Rights Campaign*

“Andrew Reynolds captures the enormous progress LGBTQ people and candidates have made since Harvey Milk's run for office more than four decades ago - and demonstrates that LGBTQ political power is critical to advancing equality for our community. Few can match Reynolds' exhaustively researched LGBTQ political knowledge, and *The Children of Harvey Milk* will certainly become a key reference on the history of our movement.” -*Mayor Annise Parker, President & CEO of LGBTQ Victory Fund*

“This is political biography at its best. By reviewing the careers (and self-reflections) of politicians who devoted themselves to advance LGBT rights from around the world, Reynolds illustrates the idea that the struggle for LGBT rights faces universal as well context-specific challenges. Reynolds's central claim is that gay rights don't emerge by themselves. They require the courage, astuteness, and perseverance of dedicated politicians to make them happen.” -*Javier Corrales, Professor of Political Science, Amherst College*

“A must read in an era of relativism and complacency. In *The Children of Harvey Milk*, Andrew Reynolds reveals the political heroes and the personal journeys who contributed and are contributing to a radical shift in public attitudes on LGBT rights in parts of the World. Reynolds sensibly paints the way LGBTI leaders excel in turning their personal hardship in the precursor to beauty and triumph. More importantly, *Children of Harvey Milk* identifies ingredients of a recipe for a much-needed global social change starting with political participation and

representation of LGBTI people.” -*Fabrice Houdart, Human Rights Officer at the United Nations Human Rights Office*

“Andrew Reynolds tells inspiring stories of people-some familiar, some not-who were courageous enough to say 'this is who I am' and fight for a place at the table. They helped bring a community out of the shadows and into the light in ways both large and small.” -*Jim Obergefell, co-author of Love Wins and named plaintiff of the marriage equality decision Obergefell v. Hodges*

“Andrew Reynolds' *The Children of Harvey Milk* is a compelling work of LGBTQ history and at the same time a clarion call for queer people to resist, to reform-and to get involved in politics. The book's true heart and soul are the stories of the army of LGBTQ politicians who have transformed our world in the decade's since Milks' assassination. A must read for anyone interested in how social change happens.” -*Steven Petrow, Columnist, USA Today, and Former President, National Lesbian & Gay Journalists Association*

“It takes many players, many methodologies, and many contributions to achieve transformative change such as our winning the freedom to marry in 25 countries so far (up from zero when we started). By collecting for the first time such a broad sweep of the emerging group of openly LGBT elected officials, Andrew Reynolds gives us their perspectives on the ways in which they make it into office, figure out how to use their voices and votes, work with activists (and sometimes butt heads with them), influence their colleagues, balance the pressures and expectations on them (both typical and singular), represent their own communities, find the courage to lead, and, sometimes, prove pivotal.” -*Evan Wolfson, Founder, Freedom to Marry*

“Andrew Reynolds tells moving stories of politicians whose openness about being LGBT is reshaping laws and policies. Some led us out of the closet, while others had to be led-but all have helped create a more welcoming world. Reynolds links the stories with social science research to create a convincing picture of the past and the future of change.” -*M. V. Lee Badgett, Prof of Economics, University of Massachusetts Amherst*

“Mandatory reading for all of those interested social justice movements, *The Children of Harvey Milk* is smart, educational, and entertaining. Reynolds draws his readers in by humanizing a movement that is all but exclusively politicized. Not only does this book fill a giant gap in the academic literature, it also manages to remain engaging and accessible to both academic and non academic readers alike. I can't recommend it any more highly.” - *Melody Moezzi, Author of Haldol and Hyacinths: A Bipolar Life and War on Error: Real Stories of American Muslims*

“Reynolds' work takes us on a global tour of key political battles for LGBTQ rights while reading like a novel. He skillfully weaves in moving stories -- most not widely known -- that brightly illustrate that persuasion in the halls of power has been often quite personal.” - *Ken Smith, National Co-Chair, Carolina Pride Alum Network*

“Reynolds's protagonists are at the vanguard of political representation and rights for LGBT people in several established democracies. The personal narratives that drive the telling of their stories illuminates the mostly unseen experiences of these important facilitators of change-figures who have often worked within and benefited from the intense struggle of an enduring transnational movement. An inspiring read and hopeful account of the expansion of human rights, this book is helpful at a time when such new rights face heightened global resistance.” - *Phillip Ayoub, Professor of Diplomacy and World Affairs at Occidental College and author of When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the Politics of Visibility*

“These stories of authenticity and perseverance offer a roadmap for a courageous politics that our world so desperately needs. *The Children of Harvey Milk* will leave every reader hopeful and optimistic that change is possible, and inspired to make it happen.” – *Sarah McBride, author of Tomorrow Will be Different and National Press Secretary, Human Rights Campaign*

“Fascinating and inspiring stories about all the out LGBT+ politicians who've been elected to public office worldwide since the 1970s, often against great odds. Many of them have also pioneered other progressive causes, including women's rights, anti-racism, environmental protection & worker's rights. Bravo!” – *Peter Tatchell, Director, Peter Tatchell Foundation*

“This engrossing, beautifully moving book is a brilliant reminder of how individuals can become the catalyst for enormous changes in our lives particularly in the arena of the family created before but personified by Harvey Milk. This is a story of inspiration, hard politics, tough decisions, and sacrifices and a commitment to change the world in which LGBT+ people live and lived.” Lord Michael Cashman, *author of One of Them: From Albert Square to Parliament Square*