

# MILA VERSTEEG

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Director, Human Rights Program  
University of Virginia School of Law  
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## EDUCATION

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**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* (full tuition and living expenses, awarded by Dutch government)

**Tilburg University**, Netherlands, “Meester in de Rechten” (J.D/LL.B. equivalent), 2006

*Cum laude* (top 1%), *Honours Programme*

**Tilburg University**, Netherlands, B.A. in Public Administration, 2005

*Cum laude* (top 1%)

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## PUBLICATIONS

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### Articles:

1. *Constitutions Un-Entrenched: Towards an Alternative Theory of Constitutional Design*, AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW (forthcoming, 2016) (with Emily Zackin)
2. *Do Constitutional Rights Make a Difference?* AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE (2016) (with Adam Chilton) early access: DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12239
3. *The Failure of Constitutional Torture Prohibitions*, 44 THE JOURNAL OF LEGAL STUDIES 417 (2016) (with Adam Chilton)
4. *International Law, Constitutional Law, and Public Support for Torture: Evidence from a Survey Experiment*, RESEARCH & POLITICS 1 (2016) (with Adam Chilton)
5. *Measuring the Rule of Law: A Comparison of Indicators*, LAW & SOCIAL INQUIRY (2016) (with Tom Ginsburg) early access <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/lssi.12175/epdf>
6. *The Contours of Constitutional Approval*, 94 WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW (forthcoming 2016) (with Nick Stephanopoulos)
7. *International Law in National Legal Systems: An Empirical Exploration*, 109 THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 514 (2015) (with Pierre Verdier)
8. *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)

9. *The Politics of Takings Clauses*, 109 NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 695 (2015)
  - Reprinted in *Sequência: Estudos Jurídicos e Políticos* (Brazil, 2016)
10. *Law versus Norms: The Impact of Human Rights Treaties on Constitutional Bills of Rights*, 171 JOURNAL OF INSTITUTIONAL AND THEORETICAL ECONOMICS 87 (2015)
11. *The Diffusion of Constitutional Rights*, 39 INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF LAW AND ECONOMICS 1 (2014) (with Benedikt Goderis)
12. *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)
13. *Unpopular Constitutionalism*, 89 INDIANA LAW JOURNAL 1133 (2014)
  - Turkish translation forthcoming (Safak Evran trans. 2016)
  - Excerpted in NORMAN DORSEN ET AL., *COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: CASES AND MATERIALS* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, forthcoming).
14. *Why Do Countries Adopt Constitutional Review?* 30 JOURNAL OF LAW, ECONOMICS, AND ORGANIZATION 587 (2014) (with Tom Ginsburg)
15. *Sham Constitutions*, 101 CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW 863 (2013) (with David S. Law)
  - Reprinted in *COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW* (Mark Tushnet ed., forthcoming Edward Elgar Press)
16. *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)
17. *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)
18. *Human Rights Violations After 9/11 and the Role of Constitutional Constraints*, 41 THE JOURNAL OF LEGAL STUDIES 31 (2012) (with Benedikt Goderis)
19. *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)

#### **Books:**

20. *COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: A GLOBAL AND INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH*, Comparative Constitutional Law Textbook that does not take the U.S. as a starting point and is targeted at a global audience, under contract with Oxford University Press (co-authored with Tom Ginsburg, David Landau, Ozan Varol and Will Partlett) (in progress)

21. COMPARATIVE INTERNATIONAL LAW (editor, edited book volume with Anthea Roberts, Paul Stephan and Pierre Verdier) (Oxford University Press 2016)
22. THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS OF CONSTITUTIONS (editor, edited book volume with Denis Galligan) (Cambridge University Press 2013)
  - Chinese translation of the volume forthcoming with Yinlin Press/ Cambridge University Press in 2016

### **Book Chapters:**

23. *Modes of Domestic Incorporation of International Law*, in HANDBOOK ON THE POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW (Wayne Sandholz & Chris Whytock eds., Edward Elgar, forthcoming 2016) (with Pierre Verdier)
24. *Constitutional Correlates of the Rule of Law*, in RULE OF LAW AND CONSTITUTIONALISM (Maurice Adams & Anne Meuwese eds., Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2016) (with Tom Ginsburg)
25. *Conceptualizing Comparative International Law*, in COMPARATIVE INTERNATIONAL LAW (Anthea Roberts, Paul Stephan, Pierre Verdier & Mila Versteeg eds., Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2016) (with Anthea Roberts, Paul Stephan and Pierre Verdier)
26. *Constitutions*, in INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPAEDIA FOR THE SOCIAL AND BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCES (Elsevier, 2015) (with Kevin L. Cope)
27. *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)
28. "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)
29. *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)
  - Chinese translation forthcoming with Yinlin Press/ Cambridge University Press in 2016
30. *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)
  - Chinese translation forthcoming with Yinlin Press/ Cambridge University Press in 2016
31. *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)

### **Shorter Works:**

32. *History, Geography and Rights: A Response to Chilton and Posner*, VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW (forthcoming 2016)

33. *The Status of International Law in Domestic Legal Systems: An Empirical Perspective*, ASIL PROCEEDINGS (forthcoming 2015) (with Pierre Verdier)
34. *Debating the Influence of the United States Constitution*, 89 NYU LAW REVIEW ONLINE (2012) (with David S. Law)

**Manuscripts/ Works in Progress (available on SSRN or upon request):**

35. JUST WORDS? THE EFFICACY OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS (with Adam Chilton) (book manuscript in progress, under contract with Oxford University Press)
36. *Credible Commitments in International Law* (with Pierre Verdier)
37. *What is Constitutional Law? And Can We Measure It?*
38. *The Strength of Weak Review* (with Pierre Verdier and Yonatan Lupu)

**Popular Press, Non-Academic Writing:**

39. *The Failure of Constitutional Torture Prohibitions*, in THE WASHINGTON POST- MONKEY CAGE (April 25, 2015) (with Adam Chilton)
40. *An Exceptional Constitution*, in INSIGHTS IN LAW AND SOCIETY (2015)
41. *The Declining Influence of the United States Constitution: Synopsis and Commentary*, in Heritage Foundation: Model, Resource, or Outlier? What Effect Has the U.S. Constitution Had on the Recently Adopted Constitutions of Other Nations? (May 29, 2013)
42. *In Sickness and in Health: The Constitution Should Give Americans the Right to Basic Health Care*, in SLATE, The Hive: How Can We Fix the Constitution? (June 12, 2012) (with Kevin L. Cope)
43. *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).

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**ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS & OTHER EXPERIENCE**

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APPOINTMENTS & TEACHING

**University of Virginia School of Law**, Associate Professor of Law, 2011-current

Director of the Law School's Human Rights Program, 2014-current

*Courses:* 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, the Law of Game of Thrones (Seminar in Ethical Values)

*Service:* International Relations Committee (2012-current); Public Service Mentor, Bicentennial Campaign Committee, Political Science Search Committee for Taylor Chair in Foreign Relations.

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

*Courses:* Comparative Legal Institutions (with Tom Ginsburg)

## ACADEMIC VISITS

- Tel Aviv University**, Tel Aviv, Visiting Professor (2016-2017 academic year, upcoming)  
*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, 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

## SELECTED PRESENTATIONS

- 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
- Comparative Constitutional Law Roundtable**, Ontario, September 2015
- European Law and Economics Association Annual Meeting**, Vienna, September 2015
- New York University Constitutional Theory Workshop**, New York, September 2015
- Young African Leader Initiative**, James Madison's Montpelier, Orange, July 2015
- University of Virginia School of Law, Summer Faculty Workshop**, June 2015
- Northwestern University, Judicialization of International Law Workshop organized by the Journal *International Organization***, Chicago, June 2015
- Hamburg Lecture in Law and Economics**, Hamburg, June 2015
- Tel Aviv International Law Workshop**, Tel Aviv, Israel, May 2015
- Haifa School of Law Faculty Workshop**, Jerusalem, Israel, May 2015
- Hebrew University Human Rights Workshop**, Jerusalem, May 2015
- Hebrew University School of Law Public Law Workshop**, Jerusalem, Israel, May 2015
- Koç University Conference on Constitutionalism**, Istanbul, Turkey, May 2015
- University of Chicago Law School, Conference on Constitutional Success**, Chicago, April 2015
- George Washington Roundtable on Comparative Constitutional Law**, Washington DC, March 2015
- Washington University Comparative Constitutional Law Roundtable**, Seattle, December 2014
- Columbia Law Faculty Workshop**, NYC, November 2014
- Wisconsin Constitutional Law Smooze**, Madison, November 2014
- Constitutional Law Congress**, UNIVALI, Itajaí, Brazil, November 2014
- International Law Workshop**, Federal University of Santa Catarina, Florianopolis, Brazil, November 2014
- Rule of Law Symposium**, Tilburg University, Tilburg, October 2014
- University of Virginia School of Law, Faculty Workshop**, September 2014

**Sokol Colloquium on Private International Law**, UVA Law School, September 2014  
**University of Southern California, Faculty Workshop**, Los Angeles, August 2014  
**Young African Leaders Initiative**, James Madison's Montpelier, Orange, July 2014  
**Does Law Matter Colloquium**, Max Planck Institute, Regensburg, Germany, June 2014  
**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**, Conference on Constitutional Amendment, October 2012  
**University of Texas at Austin**, 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

## CONFERENCE AND SEMINAR ORGANIZING

**University of Virginia Human Rights Program**, organized numerous human rights talks and panels over the course of the 2014-2015 and 2015-2016 academic years

**James Madison's Montpelier Annual Roundtable in Comparative Constitutional Law**, co-organizer and convener (with Dick Howard and Russ Miller) of a two-day roundtable on comparative constitutional law, Orange, VA, October 2013, October 2014, and October 2015

**Sokol Colloquium on Comparative International Law**, co-organizer, co-convener, and co-editor of the book that results from the conference, September 2014 and September 2015

**University of Virginia**, Organizer and convener of full day conference on "Constitution-Making in the Arab Spring," February 2012

**Oxford University**, Organizer and co-convener (with Denis Galligan) of workshop series on the "Social and Political Foundations of Constitutions," Oxford, 2009-current (a total of 8 full-day workshops)

**Oxford University**, Organizer and co-convener (with Denis Galligan) of Centre for Socio-Legal Studies seminar series "Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Human Rights," Oxford, 2008 (8-week series)

## REVIEWING

Journal Articles: *American Journal of Political Science*, *World Politics*, *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, *Journal of Legal Studies* (4x), *Political Research Quarterly*, *Law and Society Review*, *American Review of Law and Economics*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Law and Social Inquiry*, *Academica Sinica Taiwan*, *Journal of Law and Courts*, *International Review of Law & Economics* (2x)

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

Conferences: *Conference for Empirical Legal Studies 2014* (7 papers); *European Conference for Empirical Legal Studies 2016* (3 papers)

Grant proposals: *National Science Foundation: Law and Social Sciences Program*

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

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## **OTHER EXPERIENCE**

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**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

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#### ACADEMIC AWARDS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

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**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  
**Domus Bursary**, Balliol College, 2009-2010 (grant for D.Phil)  
**Bishop Warner Bursary**, Balliol College, 2009-2010 (grant for D.Phil)  
**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)  
**Harvard Human Rights Summer Fellowship**, Harvard Human Rights Program, 2007 (grant to work at the Southern Africa Litigation Centre, Johannesburg)  
**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)

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#### PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

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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

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#### LANGUAGES

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Dutch (native), English (fluent), German (conversational)