

# CATHERINE REYES-HOUSHOLDER

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## ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

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Postdoctoral Researcher, Centre for Social Conflict and Cohesion Studies, Santiago, Chile September 2017-present

## EDUCATION

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**PhD, Government**, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York May 2017

Major Field: Comparative Politics

Minor Field: International Relations

Dissertation Committee: Kenneth Roberts (chair), Michael Jones-Correa, Peter Enns, and Leslie Schwindt-Bayer (Rice University)

External Reader: Michelle Taylor-Robinson (Texas A&M University)

**Visiting Scholar**, Universidad Católica, Santiago, Chile November 2015-February 2016

**Visiting Scholar**, Fundação Getulio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil February-November 2015

**Visiting Scholar**, Rice University, Houston, Texas August 2013-December 2014

**MA, Government**, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York January 2014

**BA, Latin American Studies**, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts May 2007

Magna Cum Laude

Phi Beta Kappa (Junior)

Highest Honors

## DISSERTATION

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### **“Presidentas, Power and Pro-Women Change”**

Winner of the 2017 Best Dissertation Award, given by the APSA Women and Politics section

Under what conditions do women in office leverage their power on behalf of women? Despite Latin America's deep gender inequalities, women have democratically won the presidency more times here than in any other region in the world. Though similarly situated, Presidents Michelle Bachelet in Chile and Dilma Rousseff in Brazil dramatically diverged in their use of power to advance pro-women change. This dissertation solves the Bachelet-Rousseff puzzle with a novel, constituency theory. I argue that female politicians are most likely to deploy their power to promote change favoring women when they have (1) successfully mobilized women on the basis of gender identity (core constituency); and (2) extensively networked with elite feminists and other female politicians (personal constituency). To illustrate and test this constituency theory, I employ newspaper archives to trace the formation of constituencies of all viable candidates in Chile's and Brazil's presidential races from 1999-2010. I then draw on three original databases to measure the use of legislative and appointment power to advance pro-women change by the winners of these elections. Challenging existing theories of representation, the dissertation provides fresh insights on the benefits and limitations of women's presence in political office.

## PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES

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### **“Citizen Responses to Female Executives: Is It Sex, Novelty or Both?”**

With Leslie Schwindt-Bayer. *Politics, Groups and Identities*. Volume 5. Issue 3. 2017. (pg. 373-398).

### **“Presidentas Rise: Consequences for Women in Cabinets?”**

*Latin American Politics and Society*. Volume 58, Issue 3. Fall 2016. (pg. 3-25).

Featured in *The Washington Post*, [www.presidential-power.com](http://www.presidential-power.com) and the University of Pittsburgh's *Panoramas*.

## PEER-REVIEWED CHAPTERS

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**“Latin America’s *Presidentas*: Challenging Old Patterns, Forging New Pathways.”**

With Gwynn Thomas. Forthcoming in *Gender and Representation in Latin America*. Edited by Leslie Schwindt-Bayer. Oxford University Press.

**“Gender, Institutions and Representation in Post-Transition Executives.”**

With Leslie Schwindt-Bayer. *Women Presidents and Prime Ministers in Post-Transition Democracies*. Edited by Verónica Montecinos. Palgrave MacMillan. 2017. (pg. 80-100).

**“Presidential Power, Partisan Continuity and Pro-Women Change in Chile: 2000-10”**

*The Gendered Executive: A Comparative Analysis of Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chief Executives*. Edited by Janet Martin and MaryAnne Borrelli. Temple University Press. 2016. (pg. 229-249).

**“The Impact of *Presidentas* on Women’s Political Activity.”**

With Leslie Schwindt-Bayer. *The Gendered Executive: A Comparative Analysis of Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chief Executives*. Edited by Janet Martin and MaryAnne Borrelli. Temple University Press. 2016. (pg. 103-121).

## IN PROGRESS

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**“A Constituency Theory for the Conditional Impact of Female Presidents.”**

Invited to revise & resubmit at *Comparative Politics*.

**“Women Mobilizing Women: Candidates’ Strategies to Win the Presidency.”**

Article under review.

**“Women and Executive Politics.”**

Book chapter with Diana Z. O’Brien. Under contract with *Oxford Handbook of Political Executives*.

**“Explaining *Presidentas* Rise.”**

Article with Gwynn Thomas.

**“Presidents’ Sex and Approval Ratings.”**

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS

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**“Chile’s President Is a Woman—And She Just Scored a Major Policy Victory for Women. Here’s Why That Matters.”**

With Susan Franceschet. *The Washington Post Monkey Cage*. August 30, 2017.

**“Pro-Women Change and Executive Power in Latin America.”**

*Comparative Politics* Newsletter. Spring 2017. (pg. 64-68).

**“Would Clinton Really Appoint a Cabinet That’s Half Women and Half Men?”**

With Diana Z. O’Brien. *The Washington Post Monkey Cage*. May 9, 2016.

## SELECT CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

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**“A Constituency Theory for the Conditional Impact of Female Presidents.”**

Presented at the American Political Science Conference. San Francisco, California.

August 2017

**“Women Mobilizing Women: Candidates’ Strategies to Win the Presidency.”**

Presented at the Latin American Studies Association Conference. Lima, Peru.

April 2017

**“A Constituency Theory for Descriptive and Substantive Representation.”**

Presented at the Southern Political Science Association Conference. New Orleans, Louisiana.

January 2017

<b>“The Presence of <i>Presidentas</i>: Impact on Women’s Political Activity?”</b> Presented at the American Political Science Association. Chicago, Illinois.	August 2014
<b>“Visible Cue Theory of Descriptive Representation.”</b> Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Conference. Chicago, Illinois.	April 2014
<b>“Presidential Gender and Women’s Representation in Cabinets.”</b> Presented at the American Political Science Association. Chicago, Illinois.	August 2013
<b>“Critical Junctures and Economic Multilateralism: The Case of Brazil.”</b> Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Conference. Chicago, Illinois.	April 2013

## INVITED PRESENTATIONS

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<b>“Ascensão das <i>Presidentas</i>: Poder Presidencial e as Reformas Pró-Mulher na América Latina.”</b> Presented at the Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.	October 2015
<b>“Latin America’s <i>Presidentas</i>: Challenging Old Patterns, Forging New Pathways.”</b> Presented at the Women Latin America Lead Conference at Rice University. Houston, Texas.	April 2015
<b>“<i>Presidentas</i> Rise: Consequences for Women in Cabinets?”</b> Presented at the Instituto de Ciencia Política at the Universidad Católica. Santiago, Chile.	October 2014
<b>“¿Por Qué y Cómo Ganó el Frente Amplio en 2004?”</b> Fulbright research presented at the U.S. Ambassador’s residence. Montevideo, Uruguay.	November 2008

## GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

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<b>APSA Travel Grant.</b> American Political Science Association. Funding to present at the American Political Science Association Conference in San Francisco, CA.	June 2017
<b>Conference Travel Grants.</b> Cornell University Graduate School. Funding to present at the Latin American Studies Association Conference.	April 2017
<b>Sage Dissertation Completion Fellowship.</b> Cornell University Graduate School.	February-May 2016
<b>Fulbright-Hays Fellowship.</b> U.S. Department of Education. Approximately US\$55,000 for dissertation fieldwork in Brazil and Chile.	February 2015-February 2016
<b>Sage Dissertation Completion Fellowship.</b> Cornell University Graduate School.	August-December 2014
<b>Research Travel Grant.</b> Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies. US\$1,000 for qualitative interviews and lab-in-the-field experiments in Santiago, Chile.	October 2014
<b>Research Travel Grant.</b> Cornell University Graduate School. US\$2,000 for interviews and experiments conducted during presidential elections in Santiago, Chile.	December 2013
<b>Conference Travel Grants.</b> Cornell University Graduate School. Funding to present papers at American Political Science Association conferences.	August 2013 and August 2014
<b>Conference Travel Grants.</b> Cornell University Graduate School. Funding to present papers at Midwest Political Science Association conferences.	April 2013 and April 2014
<b>National Science Foundation Graduate Student Fellowship.</b> Honorable Mention.	March 2012
<b>Sage Fellowship.</b> Cornell University Graduate School.	August 2011-August 2012

**Fulbright Fellowship.**

March 2008-November 2008

Funding to research the rise of the Frente Amplio in Uruguay and to teach in the public education system.

**Tomlinson Grant.**

January 2007

US\$2,500 to conduct three weeks of interview fieldwork in Santiago, Chile.

**ADDITIONAL METHODOLOGICAL TRAINING**

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**Stata Netcourse 471: Introduction to Panel Data Using Stata.** Online. January-March 2017.**Advanced Topics in Political Methodology I and II.** Rice University. Houston, Texas. August 2013-May 2014.**Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (IQMR).** Syracuse University. Syracuse, New York.

June 2014-August 2014.

Relevant Courses: Elite Interviewing. Archival Research. Discourse Analysis. Natural Experiments.

**Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR).** University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan

June 2013-August 2013 and June 2012-August 2012.

Relevant Courses: Advanced Regression Analysis. Maximum Likelihood Estimation. Network Analysis.

**TEACHING ASSISTANTSHIPS**

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**Comparative Politics of Latin America.** Cornell University. Ithaca, New York.

January 2013-May 2013

Professor Gustavo Flores-Macias.

**Introduction to International Relations.** Cornell University. Ithaca, New York.

August 2012-December 2012

Professor Peter Katzenstein

**LANGUAGES**

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**English.** Native.**Spanish.** Fluent.**Brazilian Portuguese.** Advanced.**French.** Advanced.**SOFTWARE**

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**Stata.****REVIEWER**

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*Journal of Politics in Latin America.*

2017

*Journal of Women, Politics & Policy.*

2017

*Brazilian Political Science Review.*

2016, 2017

*Politics, Groups and Identities.*

2014, 2016

*Latin American Politics and Society.*

2016

*Journal of Politics.*

2015

*Politics & Gender.*

2014, 2015

## REFERENCES

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Kenneth M. Roberts  
Richard J. Schwartz Professor  
Cornell University, Department of Government, 203 White Hall  
Ithaca, NY 14853  
[kr99@cornell.edu](mailto:kr99@cornell.edu)

Leslie Schwindt-Bayer  
Albert Thomas Chair and Associate Professor  
Rice University, Department of Political Science, 6100 Main St. MS 24  
Houston, TX 77005  
[schwindt@rice.edu](mailto:schwindt@rice.edu)

Michael Jones-Correa  
Presidential Professor of Political Science  
University of Pennsylvania, Political Science Department, 208 S. 37th Street, Room 217  
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6215  
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Peter K. Enns  
Associate Professor  
Cornell University, Department of Government, 205 White Hall  
Ithaca, NY 14853  
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