

# Catherine Reyes-Housholder

Instituto de Ciencia Política, Pontificia Universidad Católica

Tel.: (+56) 964968767 — Email: creyeshousholder@uc.cl

[www.reyes-housholder.com](http://www.reyes-housholder.com)

## Research Interests

Executive politics  
Gender  
Elections  
Presidential power  
Latin America

## Academic Appointments

2020-present	Assistant Professor, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile
2021-present	Associate Researcher, Center for Social Conflict and Cohesion Studies (COES)
2019-20	Postdoctoral Fellow, Fondecyt (Chile's National Science Foundation)
2019-21	Adjunct Researcher, Center for Social Conflict and Cohesion Studies (COES)
2018-20	Associate Researcher, ICESO-Universidad Diego Portales
2017-19	Postdoctoral Researcher, Center for Social Conflict and Cohesion Studies (COES)

## Education

2014-17	<b>PhD</b> , Government, Cornell University (Ithaca, New York)
2011-14	<b>M.A.</b> , Government, Cornell University (Ithaca, New York)
2003-07	<b>B.A.</b> , Latin American Studies, Smith College (Northampton, Mass.)

## Visiting Positions

2015	Pontificia Universidad Católica (Santiago, Chile)
2015	Fundação Getulio Vargas (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)
2013-14	Rice University (Houston, Texas)

## Publications

### Refereed Articles

Conditional acceptance	"The Puzzle of Chile's Resilient Support for Gender Parity." With Julieta Suárez-Cao and Javiera Arce-Riffo (graduate student). <i>PS: Political Science &amp; Politics</i> .
2023	"Unpacking Gendered Consequences of Protest-Driven Crises." With Julieta Suárez-Cao and Carmen Le Foulon. <i>Politics &amp; Gender</i> . 1-7. doi:10.1017/S1743923X22000381.
2021	"Candidate Sex, Corruption and Vote Choice." With Carmen Le Foulon. <i>Electoral Studies</i> . Volume 69, 102270.
2021	"Gendered Incentives, Party Support and Viable Female Presidential Candidates in Latin America." <i>Comparative Politics</i> with Gwynn Thomas. 53(2): 331-355. <i>List continues on the next page</i>

- 2020 "A Theory of Gender's Role on Presidential Approval Ratings in Corrupt Times." *Political Research Quarterly*. 73(3): 540-555  
Article's data featured in *AnalizaR Datos Políticos* Eds. Francisco Urdínez and Andrés Cruz.
- 2019 "Chile 2018: Desafíos al poder de género desde la calle hasta La Moneda," *Revista de Ciencia Política*. 39(2): 191-215. With Beatriz Roque (graduate student).
- 2019 "A Constituency Theory for the Conditional Impact of Female Presidents." *Comparative Politics*. 51(3): 429-447.
- 2018 "Women Mobilizing Women: Candidates' Strategies to Win the Presidency." *Journal of Politics in Latin America*. 10(1): 69-97.
- 2017 "Citizen Responses to Female Executives: Is It Sex, Novelty or Both?" With Leslie Schwindt-Bayer. *Politics, Groups and Identities*. 5(3): 373-398.
- 2016 "Presidentas Rise: Consequences for Women in Cabinets?" *Latin American Politics and Society*. 58(3): 3-25.  
Lead article. Featured in *The Washington Post*, [www.presidential-power.com](http://www.presidential-power.com) and the University of Pittsburgh's *Panoramas*).

### Book Chapters and Book Reviews

- Forth-coming "Gender, Corruption, and Presidential Politics." *Handbook on Gender and Corruption in Democracies*. Edited by Emily Beaulieu Bacchus and Tiffany Barnes. Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.
- 2023 "Women's Paths to Power: Female Presidents and Prime Ministers, 1960-2020." By Evren Çelik Wiltse and Lisa Hager. *Perspectives in Politics*. 21(2). pg. 772-773.
- 2023 "Democracia y Género en Chile." *Tejiendo rutas: perspectivas para un Chile con equidad de género*. Editado por Bárbara Flores Arenas, Catherine Reyes-Housholder, Gloria Jiménez-Moya, Héctor Carvacho García y Paola Jirón Martínez. Fondo de Cultura Económica. Centro de Estudios de Conflicto y Cohesión Social. pp.
- 2022 "Constitución, género y paridad." With Isabel Castillo. In Isabel Castillo, Javier González, and Aldo Madariaga (eds.) *Buscando un nuevo contrato social*. Santiago: Catalonia.
- 2021 "Women's Empowerment and Disempowerment: The Rise and Fall of President Dilma Rousseff." By Pedro A.G. dos Santos and Farida Jalalzai. *Perspectives on Politics*. 19(4). pg. 1361-1362.
- 2020 "Conflictos de Género en Chile: Diversidad Ideológica y Rechazo a la Violencia." With Valentina Paredes. In *Informe Anual Observatorio de Conflictos 2020*. Edited by Matías Garretón, Nicolás Somma, Alfredo Joignant, and Tomás Campos. Centre for Social Conflict and Cohesion Studies (COES).
- 2020 "Women and Executive Politics." With Diana Z. O'Brien. In *Oxford Handbook of Political Executives*. Edited by Rudy B. Andeweg, Robert Elgie, Ludger Helms, Juliet Kaarbo, Ferdinand Muller-Rommel. pg. 251-272
- 2019 "Presidentas, Poder, y Cambios Pro-Mujer en Chile y Brasil". In *La Política Siempre Ha Sido Cosa de Mujeres: Elecciones y Protagonistas en Chile y la Región*. Edited by Julieta Suárez-Co and Lucía Miranda. Santiago: FLACSO. pg. 25-41

- 2018 "Latin America's *Presidentas*: Challenging Old Patterns, Forging New Pathways." With Gwynn Thomas. In *Gender and Representation in Latin America*. Edited by Leslie Schwindt-Bayer. New York: Oxford University Press. pg. 19-38.
- 2017 "Gender, Institutions and Representation in Post-Transition Executives." With Leslie Schwindt-Bayer. In *Women Presidents and Prime Ministers in Post-Transition Democracies*. Edited by Verónica Montecinos. Palgrave MacMillian. pg. 80-100.
- 2016 "Presidential Power, Partisan Continuity and Pro-Women Change in Chile: 2000-10" In *The Gendered Executive: A Comparative Analysis of Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chief Executives*. Edited by Janet Martin and MaryAnne Borrelli. Temple University Press. pg. 229-249.
- 2016 "The Impact of *Presidentas* on Women's Political Activity." With Leslie Schwindt-Bayer. In *The Gendered Executive: A Comparative Analysis of Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chief Executives*. Edited by Janet Martin and MaryAnne Borrelli. Temple University Press. pg. 103-121.

### In progress

*How Women Win the Latin American Presidency*. Book manuscript.

"Gender Protests and Transgressive Tactics." With Rodolfo Disi and Valentina Paredes. In *Social Protest and Conflict in Radical Neoliberalism: Chile, 2009-2020*. Edited by Alfredo Joignant and Nicolás Somma. Palgrave. (accepted)

"Female, Feminine, or Feminist? Gender and Presidential Voting in Latin America." With Leslie Schwindt-Bayer.

"Gender Stereotypes, Political Candidacies and Voter Evaluations." With Santiago López-Cariboni.

## Grants and Prizes

November 2022-23	<b>“Conflicted Identities for Social Justice? Exploring Female Economic and Political Elites in Chile and the UK”</b> Principal investigator. £58,000 from the Atlantic Fellows for Social and Economic Equity Programme of the London School of Economics and COES. With COES researchers Rachel Theodore, Isabel Castillo.
March 2022-25	<b>Fondecyt de Iniciación. “How Women Win the Presidency.”</b> Three-year grant #11220371 from Chile’s National Science Foundation.
October 2019	<b>Premio Federico Gil. Universidad de Chile. Instituto de Asuntos Públicos.</b> Prize awarded for academic trajectory in political science.
May 2019	<b>APSA Travel Grant.</b> American Political Science Association Funding to present at APSA Conference in Washington, DC
January 2019	<b>Mini COES Grant, Centre for Social Conflict and Cohesion Studies</b> US\$7,600 for conjoint experiments in Latin America.
July 2018	<b>Women and Politics Research Section Travel Grant</b> Funding to present at APSA Conference in Boston, MA
August 2017	<b>Best Dissertation Award.</b> American Political Science Association Prize given by the Women and Politics Research Section.
June 2017	<b>APSA Travel Grant.</b> American Political Science Association Funding to present at APSA Conference in San Francisco, CA
Feb.-May 2016	<b>Sage Dissertation Completion Fellowship.</b> Cornell University Graduate School
2015-16	<b>Fulbright-Hays Fellowship.</b> U.S. Department of Education. Approximately US\$55,000 for dissertation fieldwork in Brazil and Chile.
Aug.- Dec. 2014	<b>Sage Dissertation Completion Fellowship.</b> Cornell University Graduate School
Dec. 2013	<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
March 2012	<b>National Science Foundation Graduate Student Fellowship</b> Honorable Mention.
2011-12	<b>Sage Fellowship.</b> Cornell University Graduate School.
March–Nov. 2012	<b>Fulbright Fellowship. Uruguay.</b> Funding to research the Frente Amplio and to assist public education teachers.

## Teaching Experience

### Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

2023	Política y Género (Doctoral)
2020, 21, 22, 23	Análisis de Datos Políticos (Undergraduate)
2023	Políticas de Género (Masters)
2021	Herramientas Estadísticas Aplicadas al Análisis Político (Masters)
2022	Seminario de Investigación I y II (Doctoral)
2021, 22	Análisis Cuantitativo I (Doctoral)

### Universidad Diego Portales

2019, 20	Política y Género (Undergraduate)
----------	-----------------------------------

## Select Conference Presentations

August 2023	<b>"How Women Win and Lose Presidential Elections in Latin America: The Case of Paraguay."</b> American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Los Angeles, California.
August 2023	<b>"Female, Feminine or Feminist? Gender and Presidential Voting in Latin America."</b> With Leslie Schwindt-Bayer American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Los Angeles, California.
November 2022	<b>"Cómo Bachelet ganó la presidencia en 2006."</b> IX Conferencia Internacional de COES. El futuro de lo común. Universidad Diego Portales.
September 2022	<b>"How Women Win the Presidency: The Case of Brazil 2010"</b> American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Montréal, Canada.
September 2021	<b>"How Women Win the (Latin American) Presidency."</b> American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Online.
September 2020	<b>"A Regional Analysis of Incumbency and Female Presidential Candidates."</b> American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Online.
August 2019	<b>"The Presidency and Gender: Party Incentives in Latin America."</b> American Political Science Association. Washington, D.C.
August 2018	<b>"Presidents' Sex, Corruption, Scandals and Approval Ratings."</b> American Political Science Association. Boston, Massachusetts.
August 2017	<b>"A Constituency Theory for the Conditional Impact of Female Presidents."</b> American Political Science Association. San Francisco, California.
April 2017	<b>"Women Mobilizing Women: Candidates' Strategies to Win the Presidency."</b> Latin American Studies Association. Lima, Peru.
January 2017	<b>"A Constituency Theory for Descriptive and Substantive Representation."</b> Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, Louisiana
August 2014	<b>"The Presence of <i>Presidentas</i>: Impact on Women's Political Activity?"</b>
April 2014	<b>"Visible Cue Theory of Descriptive Representation."</b> Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago, Illinois.
August 2013	<b>"Presidential Gender and Women's Representation in Cabinets."</b> American Political Science Association. Chicago, Illinois

## Talks

- September 2023 **“Women, Power and Moral Integrity.”**  
Invited talk at Wake Forest University, North Carolina. Sponsored by the program for Leadership and Character.
- October 2022 **“Chile’s Constitutional Process.”**  
Online lecture for undergraduates at the College of Saint Benedict Saint John’s University.
- May 2022 **“Gender Stereotypes, Political Candidacies and Voter Evaluations.”**  
Seminario Instituto de Ciencia Política. Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.
- March 2022 **“Parallel Conjoint Experiments for Measuring Gender Stereotypes and Analyzing Preferences.”**  
International Methods Colloquium. Wake Forest University.  
<https://www.methods-colloquium.com/single-post/housholder-and-cariboni-parallel-conjoint-experiments-for-measuring-gender-stereotypes>
- June 2021 **“How Bachelet Won in 2005-06.”**  
Seminario Instituto de Ciencia Política. Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.
- May 2021 **“Democracia y género durante el proceso constituyente chileno.”**  
Lecture for political science students at the Universidad Diego Portales, Chile. Online.
- April 2021 **“How Women Win the (Latin American) Presidency.”**  
Women and Public Policy Program. Harvard Kennedy School. Online.
- November 2020 **“Género y Democracia en América Latina.”**  
Lecture for political science students at the Universidad Sergio Arboleda, Colombia. Online.
- October 2019 **“Candidates’ Sex, Corruption and Vote Choice.”**  
LAPOP Conference: The Public and Democracy in the Americas. Bogotá, Colombia. *Did not attend due to Chilean crisis of October 2019.*
- October 2019 **“Incentivos de Partidos y Candidatas Presidenciales.”**  
Seminarios Instituto de Ciencia Política. Universidad Católica. Santiago, Chile.
- July 2019 **“Candidates’ Sex, Corruption and Vote Choice.”**  
Oxford-USACH Conference on Corruption and Electoral Manipulation. Santiago, Chile.
- April 2019 **“Gendered Attributes? The Impact on Support for Presidential Candidates.”**  
Empirical Study of Gender Research Network (EGEN). Yale University.
- March 2019 **“Lo Femenino en la Academia.”**  
COES-Facultad de Economía y Negocios de la Universidad de Chile. Santiago, Chile
- November 2018 **“Explicando el Apoyo de las Mujeres Candidatas a la Presidencia.”**  
Seminario de Psicología Política. Facultad de Psicología. Universidad Católica. Santiago, Chile.
- November 2018 **“Las Consecuencias de Mujeres Presidentas.”**  
Guest talk via Skype for Política Comparada III Universidad Icesi, Cali, Colombia.
- October 2018 **“Las Causas y Consecuencias de Mujeres Líderes.”**  
Guest lecture. Facultad de Economía y Negocios. Universidad de Chile. Santiago, Chile.
- March 2018 **“Presidents’ Gender, Corruption, Scandals and Approval Ratings.”**  
Seminario ICSSO at the Universidad Diego Portales. Santiago, Chile.
- January 2018 **“Cuotas de Género: Repensando la Representación Política.”**  
Seminario Ahora Nos Toca a Nosotras at the Universidad Diego Portales. Santiago, Chile

- December 2017 **“Una Teoría del Impacto Pro-Mujer de las Presidentas.”** 7  
Flacso-Chile. Santiago, Chile.
- October 2015 **“Ascensão das Presidentas: Poder Presidencial e as Reformas Pró-Mulher na América Latina.”**  
Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- April 2015 **Latin America’s *Presidentas*: Challenging Old Patterns, Forging New Pathways.”**  
Women Latin America Lead Conference at Rice University. Houston, Texas.
- October 2014 **“*Presidentas* Rise: Consequences for Women in Cabinets?”**  
Seminarios Instituto de Ciencia Política. Universidad Católica. Santiago, Chile.
- November 2008 **“¿Por Qué y Cómo Ganó el Frente Amplio en 2004?”**  
U.S. Ambassador’s residence. Montevideo, Uruguay.

## Select Professional and Public Policy Publications and Media Interventions 8

Spring 2021	“Gender Inequalities and Presidential Politics: (Im)possible to Transform?” <i>Comparative Politics Newsletter</i> . American Political Science Association. Spring. Volume XXXI. Issue 1. pg. 84-92.
October 2020	“ <b>Conexión Global.</b> ” Analysis of the final stretch of the 2020 U.S. presidential race with Daniel Matamala of CNN Chile. <a href="https://www.cnnchile.com/lodijeronencnn/catherine-reyes-housholder-estado-clave-e-uu_20201029/">https://www.cnnchile.com/lodijeronencnn/catherine-reyes-housholder-estado-clave-e-uu_20201029/</a>
October 2020	“ <b>Conexión Global.</b> ” Live analysis and commentary of the 2020 U.S. vice-presidential debate with Mónica Rincón of CNN Chile.
September 2020	“ <b>Conexión Global.</b> ” CNN Chile interview with Mónica Rincón concerning Trump voters, gender, and the 2020 presidential race in the United States. <a href="https://www.cnnchile.com/lodijeronencnn/entrevista-catherine-reyes-housholder-votantes-trump_20200916/">https://www.cnnchile.com/lodijeronencnn/entrevista-catherine-reyes-housholder-votantes-trump_20200916/</a>
September 2020	“ <b>Género y Política.</b> ” Tele13 Radio. Podcast with Alfredo Joignant.
December 2019	“ <b>El Imperativo de la Paridad.</b> ” With Julieta Suárez-Cao. <i>La Segunda</i> . December 4. Opinión. pg. 11. Santiago, Chile
January 2018	“ <b>Cuotas de Género: Repensando la Representación Política.</b> ” <i>Nota COES de Política Pública</i> . N°14 January. ISSN: 0719-8795. Santiago, Chile.
December 2017	“ <b>Representación Política y Ley de Cuotas.</b> ” <i>La Segunda</i> . December 27. Opinión. pg. 13. Santiago, Chile.
August 2017	“ <b>Chile’s President Is a Woman – And She Just Scored a Major Policy Victory for Women. Here’s Why That Matters.</b> ” With Susan Franceschet. 2017. <i>The Washington Post Monkey Cage</i> . August 30.
Spring 2017	“ <b>Pro-Women Change and Executive Power in Latin America.</b> ” <i>Comparative Politics Newsletter</i> . American Political Science Association. Spring. pg. 64-68.
May 2016	“ <b>Would Clinton Really Appoint a Cabinet That’s Half Women and Half Men?</b> ” With Diana Z. O’Brien. 2016. <i>The Washington Post Monkey Cage</i> . May 9.

### Languages

**English** (*Native*)

**Spanish** (*Fluent*)

**Brazilian Portuguese** (*Advanced*)

**French** (*Advanced*)



## Service

2022-present	Coordinator of the bi-weekly <i>seminarios</i> program at the Instituto de Ciencia Política.
2022-present	Academic representative from the Facultad de Historia, Geografía y Ciencia Política for the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile's campus ministries.
2022-present	Member of Comité Curricular, undergraduate
2022, 2021, 2019	Fondecyt Regular (Chile's National Science Foundation) proposal evaluator
2020-present	Member of COES's research agenda on elites
2018-present	Member of COES's research agenda on gender
2020	Centro de Estudios de Conflicto y Cohesión Social postdoctoral proposal evaluator
2018	Member of Best Dissertation Prize Committee. APSA Women and Politics Section.

## Reviewer

Latin American Politics and Society (2023, 2020, 2016), Politics & Gender (2023, 2022, 2021, 2020, 2019, 2018, 2015, 2014), Canadian Journal of Political Science (2023), Journal of Politics in Latin America (2023, 2021, 2018), Comparative Political Studies (2022, 2021), Revista de Ciencia Política (2022, 2020), Journal of Politics (2022, 2020, 2015), Contemporary Politics (2022), Journal of Women, Politics & Policy (2022, 2019, 2018, 2017), Government & Opposition (2022, 2021, 2019), Studies in Comparative International Development (2022), Political Research Quarterly (2022, 2018), Psyke (2022), Cambridge Elements Series (2021), Political Behavior (2021), Legislative Studies Quarterly (2021), American Political Science Review (2021, 2020), Social Movement Studies (2020), European Journal of Politics & Gender (2020), European Political Science Review (2019), Politics, Groups and Identities (2019, 2016, 2014), Latin American Research Review (2019, 2018), Governance (2018), Comparative Politics (2018), Brazilian Political Science Review (2017, 2016)

## References

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, Professor of Political Science  
Rice University, Department of Political Science, 6100 Main Str. MS 24. Houston, TX 77005  
[schwindt@rice.edu](mailto:schwindt@rice.edu)

Michael Jones-Correa, Presidential Professor of Political Science  
University of Pennsylvania, 208 S. 37<sup>th</sup> St., Room 217. Philadelphia, PA 1904-6214.  
[mjcorrea@sas.upenn.edu](mailto:mjcorrea@sas.upenn.edu)

Peter K. Enns, Associate Professor  
Cornell University, Department of Government 205 White Hall Ithaca, NY 14853  
[peterenns@cornell.edu](mailto:peterenns@cornell.edu)