

# VIRGINIA OLIVEROS

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## ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

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Tulane University

Associate Professor of Political Science, 2019-present

Assistant Professor of Political Science, 2013-2019

Associate Research Fellow, Center for Inter-American Policy and Research and  
Roger Thayer Stone Center for Latin American Studies, 2013-present

University of Notre Dame

Visiting Fellow, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, 2019-2020

Yale University

Visiting Scholar, Program on Democracy, MacMillan Center, 2016-2017

Inter-American Development Bank

Visiting Scholar, Research Department, 2012-2013

## EDUCATION

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Ph.D. in Political Science (*Distinction*), Columbia University, May 2013

M. Phil in Political Science, Columbia University, October 2008

M.A. in Political Science, Columbia University, October 2006

B.A. in Political Science (*Honors*), Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina, 2001

## PUBLICATIONS

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### BOOKS

1. *Patronage at Work: Public Jobs and Political Services in Argentina*. New York: Cambridge University Press (2021).

Co-winner of the 2021 Donna Lee Van Cott Best Book Award, Political Institutions Section, LASA  
Reviewed in *Política y Gobierno*

2. *Campaigns and Voters in Developing Democracies: Argentina in Comparative Perspective* (edited with Noam Lupu and Luis Schiumerini). Weiser Center for Emerging Democracies Series. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (2019).

Reviewed in *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Perspectives on Politics*, POSTData, *Revista SAAP*, and *Revista Latinoamericana de Opinión Pública*

### PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES

1. “The Most Vulnerable Poor: Clientelism among Slum Dwellers” (with M. Victoria Murillo and Rodrigo Zarazaga), *Studies in Comparative International Development* 56

- (3): 343-363 (2021).
2. "Working for the Machine: Patronage Jobs and Political Services in Argentina," *Comparative Politics* 53(3): 381-402 (2021).
  3. "Lying About Corruption in Surveys: Evidence from a Joint Response Model" (Research Note with Daniel Gingerich), *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 32(2): 384-395 (2020).
  4. "Merit, Tenure, and Bureaucratic Behavior: Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment in the Dominican Republic" (with Christian Schuster), *Comparative Political Studies* 51(6): 759-792 (2018).
  5. "Police Violence and the Underreporting of Crime" (with Daniel Gingerich), *Economics and Politics* 30(1): 78-105 (2018).
  6. "Corruption as a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Costa Rica" (with Ana Corbacho, Daniel Gingerich, and Mauricio Ruiz Vega), *American Journal of Political Science* 60(4): 1077-1092 (2016).
  7. "When to Protect? Using the Crosswise Model to Integrate Protected and Direct Responses in Surveys of Sensitive Behavior" (with Daniel Gingerich, Ana Corbacho, and Mauricio Ruiz Vega), *Political Analysis* 24(2): 132-156 (2016).
  8. "Making it Personal: Clientelism, Favors, and the Personalization of Public Administration in Argentina," *Comparative Politics* 48(3): 373-391 (2016).
  9. "Electoral Revolution or Democratic Alternation?" (with M. Victoria Murillo and Milan Vaishnav), *Latin American Research Review* 45 (3): 87-114 (2010).

#### **BOOK CHAPTERS**

1. "Clientelism in Latin American Politics" (with Ezequiel González-Ocantos), in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latin American Politics*, edited by Gary Prevost and Harry Vanden. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2019).
2. "Toward a Theory of Campaigns and Voters in Developing Democracies" (with Noam Lupu and Luis Schiumerini), in *Campaigns and Voters in Developing Democracies: Argentina in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Noam Lupu, Virginia Oliveros, and Luis Schiumerini. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1-27 (2019).
3. "Perceptions of Ballot Integrity and Clientelism," in *Campaigns and Voters in Developing Democracies: Argentina in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Noam Lupu, Virginia Oliveros, and Luis Schiumerini. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 213-238 (2019).
4. "Economic Constraints and Presidential Agency" (with M. Victoria Murillo and Milan Vaishnav), in *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, edited by Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 52-70 (2011).

#### **PUBLICATIONS IN SPANISH**

\* Indicates peer-reviewed article

1. \* "Derecha y democracia en América Latina" (with Noam Lupu and Luis Schiumerini) *Población y Sociedad* 28(2): 80-100 (2021).
2. \* "La Legislatura de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires. Un estudio sobre las relaciones Ejecutivo-Legislativo en el nuevo marco institucional (1997-2000)" (with Fernanda Araujo), *Revista SAAP* 3(2): 353-393 (2008).
3. "Reformas políticas: internas abiertas obligatorias y unificación electoral en las

- elecciones de 2005” (with Gerardo Scherlis), in *La política después de los partidos*, edited by Isidoro Cheresky. Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 361-390 (2007).
4. “Uso y abuso de las instituciones electorales. El caso de las internas partidarias y las fechas de las elecciones de 2005” (with Gerardo Scherlis), *Revista Res Publica Argentina*: 51-72 (2007).
  5. “Entre lemas y neolemas. Las elecciones de 2003 en la provincia de Tucumán,” in *El voto liberado. Elecciones 2003: perspectiva histórica y estudio de casos*, edited by Isidoro Cheresky and Inés Pousadela. Buenos Aires: Biblos, 253-285 (2004).
  6. “¿Elecciones concurrentes o elecciones desdobladas? La manipulación de los calendarios electorales en la Argentina, 1983-2003” (with Gerardo Scherlis), in *¿Qué cambió en la política Argentina?* edited by Isidoro Cheresky and Jean-Michel Blanquer. Buenos Aires: Homo Sapiens, 179-211 (2004).

#### **SURVEY STUDIES**

*2019 Argentine Panel Election Study* (with Noam Lupu and Luis Schiumerini).

*2015 Argentine Panel Election Study* (with Noam Lupu, Carlos Gervasoni, and Luis Schiumerini).

#### **BOOK REVIEWS**

Review of Mayka, Lindsay. *Building Participatory Institutions in Latin America: Reform Coalitions and Institutional Change*, Cambridge University Press (2019), *Journal of Latin American Studies*: forthcoming 2022.

Review of Muñoz, Paula. *Buying Audiences: Clientelism and Electoral Campaigns When Parties are Weak*, Cambridge University Press (2019), *Política y Gobierno*: 29(1) (2022).

Review of Alcañiz, Isabella. *Environmental and Nuclear Networks in the Global South: How Skills Shape International Cooperation*. Cambridge University Press (2016), *Revista POSTdata* 22(2): 717-719 (2017).

Review of Szwarcberg, Mariela, *Mobilizing poor voters: machine politics, clientelism, and social networks in Argentina*, Cambridge University Press (2015), *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 29(2): 801-803 (2016).

#### **RESEARCH REPORTS, MEDIA, & OTHERS**

“Reflections on the Importance of Fieldwork for Survey Experiments on Sensitive Topics” *Qualitative & Multi-Method Research*, forthcoming

“Will Trump’s name on stimulus checks help win him votes in November?” (with Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro and Matt Winters), *Washington Post*, April 29, 2020.

“Por qué la ciudadanía debería exigir que los gobiernos concursen los puestos en el sector público” (with Christian Schuster), BID Gobernarte, July 27, 2017.

“New CSES Country Spotlight: Argentina” (with Noam Lupu and Luis Schiumerini), The official blog of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES), May 2, 2017.

#### **WORK-IN-PROGRESS**

“Credit claiming by labeling” (with Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro and Matthew Winters), *Under Review*

“Class and Affective Polarization: Evidence from Argentina” (with Noam Lupu and Luis

Schiumerini)

“Argentina 2021: Elecciones y Polarización en context de crisis” (with Gabriel Vommaro),  
*Under review*

“Gendering Rewards” (with Gustavo Diaz, Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro, and Matthew Winters)

“Bureaucrats hired through connections are more dishonest and less pro-social: behavioral evidence from 5,000 bureaucrats in four countries” (with Meyer-Sahling, J., Mikkelsen, K., Schuster, C., Seim, B., and R. Sigman).

## **INVITED PRESENTATIONS**

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- 2022 Universidad Di Tella (March 31); Universidad de San Martín (April 6)
- 2020 Universidad Di Tella (July 23); University of Chicago (February 17); Duke/UNC Latin American Politics Working Group (February 6)
- 2019 Michigan State University (November 22); University of Notre Dame, Kellogg Institute (November 13 and November 21), CIDE (October 9)
- 2018 Universidad Di Tella (December 13); University of Pennsylvania Comparative Politics Workshop (November 2); Texas A&M University Ethics and Political Science Program (October 12); University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Political Science External Speaker Series (September 28)
- 2017 Harvard University, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies (April 11); Brown University, Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (April 3); University of Connecticut, Political Science Colloquium (March 29); University of Gothenburg, Quality of Government Institute, Sweden (February 22); Yale University, Comparative Politics Workshop (January 31)
- 2015 University of Oxford, Comparative Political Economy Seminar at Nuffield College, UK (June 4)
- 2014 Inter-American Development Bank, Seminar on “Politics, Ideology, and Institutions” (May 12); Fundación Rap Argentina – Tulane University, “El Desafío de la Inclusión Social” (May 7)
- 2013 Inter-American Development Bank, Seminar on “Accountability, Transparency, and Innovations in the Public Sector” (June 20); Inter-American Development Bank, Research Department (June 11)

## **CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**

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American Political Science Association: 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2020, 2021, 2022

Argentine Association of Political Analysis: 2001, 2003, 2013, 2017, 2019

Argentine National Congress on Democracy, Universidad de Rosario: 2004

European Political Science Association: 2015, 2016, 2017

Graduate Student Conference on Political Economy, New York University: 2011

Latin American Studies Association: 2012, 2013, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2022

Meeting of Young Researchers, Universidad de Buenos Aires (Argentina): 2001, 2003

Midwest Political Science Association: 2011, 2012, 2013, 2015, 2016, 2021, 2022

REPAL (Red de Economía Política de América Latina): 2019, 2021, 2022

Southern Political Science Association: 2019

## **FELLOWSHIPS & AWARDS**

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Donna Lee Van Cott Best Book Award, Political Institutions Section, LASA (2022) – *for best book on Latin American Politics and Institutions published in 2021*

Visiting Fellowship, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame (\$55,000) (2019-2020) – *residential research fellowship*

Louisiana Artists and Scholars (ATLAS) Fellowship, Louisiana Board of Regents (\$36,390) (2016-2017) – *one-semester sabbatical fellowship*

Brooks World Poverty Institute Fellowship to assist to the Workshop on Poverty, Development and Globalization, University of Manchester (2010)

Saltzman Institute (Columbia University) Methods Fellowship to assist to the Institute of Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (IQMR), Syracuse University (2009)

University Fellow, Columbia University (2005- 2012)

Fulbright Fellowship (declined) (2005-2006)

Graduate Fellowship, Argentine National Council of Scientific and Technological Research (CONICET) (2004-2005)

Graduate Fellowship, Argentine National Agency of Scientific and Technological Promotion (*Agencia Nacional de Promoción Científica y Tecnológica*) (2002-03)

## **GRANTS**

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Murphy Institute Seed Grant, Tulane University (Summer 2019)

Book subvention award, SLA, Tulane University (Spring 2019)

Faculty Professional Travel Grant, Stone Center for Latin American Studies, Tulane University (Spring 2016, Summer 2016, Spring 2017, Spring 2018, Fall 2019)

International Travel Grant, Committee on Research (COR), Tulane University (Summer 2015, Summer 2016, Summer 2017)

Carol Lavin Bernick Faculty Grant, Tulane University (Summer 2016, Summer 2017)

International Conference Fund, Office of the Dean, Tulane University (Summer 2015, Summer 2017, Summer 2019)

Lurcy Research Grant, Tulane University (Summer 2016)

Newcomb College Institute Research Grant, Tulane University (Summer 2016)

New Orleans Center for the Gulf South Grant, Tulane University (Spring 2016)

Summer Research Grant, Stone Center for Latin American Studies, Tulane University (Summer 2015)

Graduate Student Travel Grant to assist to the XXX LASA International Congress, San Francisco, May 23-26, Latin American Studies Association (LASA) (2012)

Summer Research Grant, Center for the Study of Development Strategies (CSDS), Columbia

University (2011)  
Summer Field Research Travel Grant, Institute of Latin American Studies (ILAS), Columbia University (2009, 2010, 2011)  
Research Grant, Center for International Business Education and Research (CIBER), Columbia University (Summer 2010)  
Graduate School of Arts and Science Summer Grant, Columbia University (2006; 2008)  
Undergraduate Travel Grant Award to assist to the 6th National Congress on Democracy, Rosario, Argentina, Universidad de Buenos Aires (2004)

## **TEACHING**

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### **TULANE UNIVERSITY**

Quantitative Methods I (G); Challenges of Developing Democracies (U/G); Democracy in Latin America (U); Introduction to Comparative Politics (U); Latin American Politics (U); Politics of Developing Democracies (U); Scope and Methods of Political Science (U)

### **PH.D. COMMITTEE MEMBER**

Mart Trasberg (May 2021); JP Olvera (2023)

### **ADDITIONAL TEACHING**

Experiments and Survey Experiments, *Escuela de Verano de Métodos Mixtos, Universidad Católica de Chile* (short course), 2019

Qualitative and Quantitative Methods for Impact Evaluation, Inter-American Development Bank (short online course for Latin American bureaucrats), 2018

Qualitative and Quantitative Methods for Impact Evaluation of Regional Public Goods, Inter-American Development Bank (a day workshop for IDB employees), 2018

## **PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

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Advanced Graduate Workshop on Poverty, Development and Globalization; Brooks World Poverty Institute, University of Manchester; June 21 - July 9, 2010

Institute of Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (IQMR); Maxwell School of Syracuse University; May 26 - June 9, 2009

## **PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

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### **TULANE UNIVERSITY**

#### **Department of Political Science:**

Member, Budget and Faculty Committee, Spring 2022- present

Member, Graduate Studies Committee, 2014–2016; Fall 2020-present

Comparative Politics of MENA Search Committee, 2021-2022

International Development Search Committee, 2017-2018

Organizer, Tulane Political Science Seminar, 2014-2018

#### **Center for Inter-American Policy and Research (CIPR):**

Postdoctoral Fellows Selection Committee, 2016-present

Social Media (twitter account), May 2020-present

**Stone Center for Latin American Studies:**

Travel Grants Committee, Fall 2021

Graduate Summer Field Research Committee, Spring 2019

**School of Liberal Arts:**

Member, Graduate Studies Committee, 2017-2020

**PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS**

Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the 2021 best paper, MPSA, 2022

Best Paper Award Committee, REPAL, 2021

Program Co-Chair, MPSA, 2021

Section Chair, Latin American and Caribbean Politics, MPSA, 2020

Pi Sigma Alpha Best Paper Award Committee, MPSA, 2020

Local Committee, Sixth Annual Conference, REPAL 2019

Seligson Prize Award Committee, LAPOP, 2018

**EDITORIAL BOARDS**

*Revista Latinoamericana de Opinión Pública (RLOP)*, 2021-present

**REFEREE**

**Journal Referee:** *American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, British Journal of Political Science, Bulletin of Latin American Research, Colombia Internacional (Colombia), Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Democratization, Desarrollo Económico (Argentina), Economics and Politics, Electoral Studies, Governance, IDB Working Paper Series, International Journal of Public Opinion Research, International Political Science Review, Journal of Experimental Political Science, Journal of Politics, Journal of Politics in Latin America, Journal of Latin American Studies, Latin American Politics and Society, Latin American Research Review, Perspectives on Politics, Political Behavior, Political Science Research and Methods, Political Research Quarterly, Politics and Gender, Public Administration, Public Opinion Quarterly, Research and Politics, Revista De Ciencia Política (Chile), Studies in Comparative International Development, World Development, World Politics.*

**Book Referee:** Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, University of Michigan Press

**Funding Referee:** FONDECYT Chile, National Science Foundation

**INVITED DISCUSSANT**

American Political Science Association: 2019, 2020, 2021

Argentine Association of Political Analysis: 2017, 2019

European Political Science Association: 2016

Midwest Political Science Association: 2011, 2013, 2016, 2020

Latin American Studies Association: 2017, 2018, 2019

Southeast Latin American Behavior (SeLAB) Conference: 2017, 2018

Southern Political Science Association: 2019

**BOOK WORKSHOP DISCUSSANT**

Christopher Chambers-Ju, *How Teachers Mobilize: The Politics of Education in Latin America*, Tulane University, March 2019

S. Erdem Aytaç and Susan Stokes, *Why Bother? Rethinking Participation in Elections and Protests*, Yale University, June 2017

**BOOK PRESENTATION DISCUSSANT**

Carlos Gervasoni. *Hybrid Regimes Within Democracies: Fiscal Federalism and Subnational Rentier States*, Cambridge University Press (2018), University of Notre Dame, September 2019

Ernesto Calvo and M. Victoria Murillo. *Non-Policy Politics: Richer Voters, Poor Voters, and the Diversification of Electoral Strategies*, Cambridge University Press (2019), Conferencia de la SAAP, Buenos Aires, July 2019

Isabella Alcañiz, *Environmental and Nuclear Networks in the Global South: How Skills Shape International Cooperation*, Cambridge University Press (2016), Conferencia de la SAAP, Buenos Aires, August 2017

**CONFERENCE ORGANIZED**

*Campaigns and Voters in Latin America: Argentina in Comparative Perspective* (with Noam Lupu and Luis Schiumerini), Tulane University, May 2016

**NON-ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

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Junior Consultant/ Research Assistant, United Nations for Development Program (UNDP), “Political Reform in Argentina” (ARG/00/007), 2001

*Last updated: March 2022*