CATHERINE REYES-HOUSHOLDER

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EDUCATION

PhD, Government, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

Expected 2016

Major Field: Comparative Politics Minor Field: International Relations

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

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 Magna Cum Laude

May 2007

Magna Cum Laude Phi Beta Kappa (Junior) Highest Honors

DISSERTATION

"Presidentas, Power and Pro-Women Change in Latin America"

In a region known for *machismo*, Latin American women have won the presidency eight times since 1999. Presidents in Latin America possess strong legislative powers, and single case studies suggest that some – but not all – *presidentas* are using these prerogatives to promote women's status in society. This puzzle drives my research: Why would some *presidentas* deploy their power to push for PWC (pro-women change) more than other *presidentas*?

I first develop a novel three-tier conceptualization of PWC that simultaneously avoids the problem of essentializing women's interests and permits cross-cultural comparison. I then argue that any president is more likely to use his/her powers to promote PWC under two conditions: (1) when he/she has a politically significant constituency demanding PWC ("constituency" hypothesis); and (2) when he/she has access to expertise on PWC policies in the form of linkages to women's organizations and elite feminists ("expertise" hypothesis). Presidential gender matters because *presidentas* are more likely than their male counterparts to meet each of these conditions. Yet, presidential gender is not destiny. Variations in incentives and expertise account for divergence in the extent to which *presidentas* advance PWC as well as the kinds of PWC *presidentas* pursue.

To probe this argument, I first identified *presidentas* with divergent outcomes using female cabinet nominations as a proxy for the use of presidential power to promote PWC. From the small group of *presidentas* who displayed significant variation, I selected "most similar" *presidentas* (Michelle Bachelet of Chile and Dilma Rousseff of Brazil) and matched them with their immediate male predecessors who were from the same political party (Ricardo Lagos of Chile and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva of Brazil). Case selection thus controls for confounders such as party, country, institutions and presidential gender.

Two original databases, one Chilean and the other Brazilian, with approximately 400 legislative bills and executive decrees provide fine-grained measures of the use of legislative powers to promote PWC by these four presidents. National media archives, approximately 80 personal interviews and public opinion data collected in both countries test observable implications derived from the "constituency" and "expertise" hypotheses.

PUBLICATIONS

"Presidential Power, Partisan Continuity and Pro-Women Change in Chile: 2000-10"

Book chapter. Edited by Janet Martin and MaryAnne Borelli. The Gendered Executive. Temple University Press.

"The Impact of Presidentas on Women's Political Activity."

Book chapter with Leslie Schwindt-Bayer. Edited by Janet Martin and MaryAnne Borelli. *The Gendered Executive*. Temple University Press.

"Presidentas Rise: Consequences for Women in Cabinets?"

Latin American Politics and Society. Forthcoming Fall 2016.

"Gender, Institutions and Representation in Post-Transition Executives."

Book chapter under contract with Leslie Schwindt-Bayer. Edited by Verónica Montecinos. *Women Presidents and Prime Ministers in Post-Transition Democracies*. Palgrave MacMillian.

WORKING PAPERS

"Latin America's Presidentas: Challenging Old Patterns, Forging New Pathways."

Book chapter under review. With Gwynn Thomas. In *Women, Representation, and Politics in Latin America*, ed. Leslie Schwindt-Bayer.

"Citizen Responses to Female Executives: Is It Sex, Novelty or Both?"

With Leslie Schwindt-Bayer.

"Presidentas, Power and Pro-Women Change in Chile and Brazil 2000-2014."

SELECT CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

"The Presence of Presidentas: Impact on Women's Political Activity?"

November 2014

Presented at the Analyzing Latin American Politics Conference. Houston, Texas.

"The Presence of Presidentas: Impact on Women's Political Activity."

August 2014

Presented at the American Political Science Association. Chicago, Illinois

"Presidential Gender and Women's Representation in Cabinets."

August 2013

Presented at the American Political Science Association. Chicago, Illinois

"Critical Junctures and Economic Multilateralism: The Case of Brazil."

April 2013

Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Conference. Chicago, Illinois.

INVITED PRESENTATIONS

"Ascensão das Presidentas: Poder Presidencial e as Reformas Pró-Mulher na América Latina."

October 2015

Presented at the Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro. Brazil.

"Latin America's *Presidentas*: Challenging Old Patterns, Forging New Pathways."

April 2015

Presented at the Women Latin America Lead Conference at Rice University. Houston, Texas.

"Presidentas Rise: Consequences for Women in Cabinets?"

October 2014

Presented at the Instituto de Ciencia Política. Universidad Católica. Santiago, Chile.

"¿Por qué y Cómo Ganó el Frente Amplio en 2004?"

November 2008

Fulbright Research presented at the U.S. Ambassador's residence. Montevideo, Uruguay.

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

Fulbright-Hays Fellowship. U.S. Department of Education.

February 2015-February 2016

Approximately US\$55,000 for dissertation fieldwork in Brazil and Chile.

Research Travel Grant. Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies.

October 2014

US\$1,000 for qualitative interviews and lab-in-the-field experiments in Santiago, Chile.

Research Travel Grant. Cornell University Graduate School.

December 2013

US\$2,000 for interviews and experiments conducted during presidential elections in Santiago, Chile.

Conference Travel Grants. Cornell University Graduate School.

August 2013 and August 2014

Funding to present papers at American Political Science Association conferences.

Conference Travel Grants. Cornell University Graduate School.

April 2013 and April 2014

Funding to present papers at Midwest Political Science Association conferences.

National Science Foundation Graduate Student Fellowship.

March 2012

Honorable Mention.

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS CONTINUED

Sage Fellowship. 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 fieldwork in Santiago, Chile for undergraduate thesis.

ADDITIONAL METHODOLOGICAL TRAINING

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

Comparative Politics of Latin America. Cornell University, Ithaca, New York Professor Gustavo Flores-Macías.

January 2013-May 2013

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

August 2012-December 2012

Professor Peter Katzenstein

LANGUAGES

English. Native. Spanish. Fluent.

Brazilian Portuguese. Advanced.

French. Advanced.

SOFTWARE

Stata 13.

REVIEWER

Journal of Politics.2015Politics and Gender.2014, 2015Politics, Groups and Identities.2014