

VIRGINIA OLIVEROS

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Political Science Department
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ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

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, 2019-2020

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

Inter-American Development Bank, Visiting Scholar, Research Department, 2012-2013

EDUCATION

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

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

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

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

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

Donna Lee Van Cott Best Book Award, Political Institutions Section, LASA

Charles H. Levine Memorial Book Prize, Research Committee on Structure and Organization of Government, IPSA

Reviews: *Gouvernement et action publique*, *Governance*, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Política y Gobierno*, *Revista SAAP*

Under Contract (Fondo de Cultura Económica) to be published in Spanish in 2025

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).

Reviews: *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Latin American Research Review*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *POSTData*, *Revista SAAP*, *Revista Latinoamericana de Opinión Pública*

PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES

1. "Ignoring Women's Performance: A Survey Experiment on Policy Implementation in Argentina" (with Gustavo Diaz, Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro, and Matthew Winters), *British Journal of Political Science* 55: e54 (2025).
2. "Credit Claiming by Labeling" (with Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro and Matthew Winters), *Comparative Political Studies* 56(13): 2099-2127 (2023).
3. "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).
4. "Working for the Machine: Patronage Jobs and Political Services in Argentina," *Comparative Politics* 53(3): 381-402 (2021).
5. "Lying About Corruption in Surveys: Evidence from a Joint Response Model" (with Daniel Gingerich), *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 32(2): 384-395 (2020).
6. "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).
7. "Police Violence and the Underreporting of Crime" (with Daniel Gingerich), *Economics & Politics* 30(1): 78-105 (2018).
8. "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).
9. "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).
10. "Making it Personal: Clientelism, Favors, and the Personalization of Public Administration in Argentina," *Comparative Politics* 48(3): 373-391 (2016).
11. "Electoral Revolution or Democratic Alternation?" (with M. Victoria Murillo and Milan Vaishnav), *Latin American Research Review* 45 (3): 87-114 (2010).

BOOK CHAPTERS

1. "Using Experiments to Study Political Patronage and Politicization," in *Handbook of Politicization and Political Patronage*, edited by B. Guy Peters, Colin Knox, Francisco Panizza, Conrado Ramos, and Katarina Staroňová. Edward Elgar Publishing, 570-585 (2025).
2. "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).
3. "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).
4. "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).

5. “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. * “Argentina 2023: La irrupción de Javier Milei en la política argentina” (with Victoria Murillo), *Revista de Ciencia Política* 44(2): 161-185 (2024).
2. * “Argentina 2021: Elecciones en contexto de crisis” (with Gabriel Vommaro), *Revista de Ciencia Política* 42(2): 153-174 (2022).
3. * “Derecha y democracia en América Latina” (with Noam Lupu and Luis Schiumerini) *Población y Sociedad* 28(2): 80-100 (2021).
4. * “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).
5. “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).
6. “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).
7. “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).
8. “¿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

2023 Argentine Panel Election Study (with Noam Lupu and Luis Schiumerini).

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

Andrews-Lew, Caitlin. *The Emergence and Revival of Charismatic Movements* (Cambridge, 2021), *Governance* 37(1): 325-326 (2024).

Palmer-Rubin, Brian. *Evading the Patronage Trap: Interest Representation in Mexico* (Michigan 2022), *ReVista, The Harvard Review of Latin America* (2023).

Luna, Juan Pablo, Rafael Piñeiro Rodríguez, Fernando Rosenblatt and Gabriel Vommaro (eds.). *Diminished Parties* (Cambridge, 2021) *Party Politics* 29(2): 404-405 (2022).

Mayka, Lindsay. *Building Participatory Institutions in Latin America* (Cambridge, 2019), *Journal of Latin American Studies* 54(2): 351-353 (2022).

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

Alcañiz, Isabella. *Environmental and Nuclear Networks in the Global South* (Cambridge,

2016), *POSTdata* 22(2): 717-719 (2017).

Szwarcberg, Mariela, *Mobilizing poor voters* (Cambridge, 2015), *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 29(2): 801-803 (2016).

RESEARCH REPORTS, MEDIA, & OTHERS

"Why Did Argentina Just Elect a Radical Right-Wing Political Outsider?" (with Emilia Simison), Election Watch, *Journal of Democracy*, November 21, 2023.

"Reflections on the Importance of Fieldwork for Survey Experiments on Sensitive Topics" *Qualitative & Multi-Method Research* 19(2) / 20(1): 8-13, 2022.

"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), blog 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

"The Roots of Affective Polarization in Argentina" (with N. Lupu and L. Schiumerini)

"Bureaucrats hired through connections are more dishonest and less pro-social" (with Meyer-Sahling, J., Mikkelsen, K., Schuster, C., Seim, B., and R. Sigman).

"Affective Polarization in Latin America" (with N. Lupu and L. Schiumerini)

"Resisting Milei: Opposition strategies in Argentina" (with L. Gamboa and R. Zarazaga)

"Patronage Politics in Argentina" (with Juan Negri)

INVITED PRESENTATIONS

2025 University of Massachusetts Amherst (virtual, April 2)

2024 Universidad de Santiago de Chile (virtual, Sept 11, cancelled); University of Miami (April 19)

2023 CIDE - UMASS-Lowell (virtual, November 15), Vanderbilt University (virtual, October 23); Universidad San Andrés (August 3)

2022 Universidad de San Martín (April 6); Universidad Di Tella (March 31)

2020 Universidad Di Tella (July 23); Chicago (February 17); Duke/UNC (February 6)

2019 Michigan State (November 22); Notre Dame (November 13 & 21), CIDE (October 9)

2018 Universidad Di Tella (December 13); University of Pennsylvania (November 2); Texas A&M (October 12); Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (September 28)

2017 Harvard University (April 11); Brown University (April 3); University of Connecticut (March 29); University of Gothenburg (February 22); Yale University (January 31)

2015 University of Oxford, Nuffield College (June 4)

2014 Inter-American Development Bank (May 12); Fundación Rap Argentina (May 7)

2013 Inter-American Development Bank (June 11 and June 20)

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

American Political Science Association: 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2025

Argentine Association of Political Analysis: 2001, 2003, 2013, 2017, 2019, 2023

Argentine National Congress on Democracy, Universidad de Rosario: 2004

European Political Science Association: 2015, 2016, 2017, 2025

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

International Political Science Association: 2023

Latin American Studies Association: 2012, 2013, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2022, 2023, 2024

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

Midwest Political Science Association: 2011, 2012, 2013, 2015, 2016, 2021, 2022, 2024, 2025

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

Southern Political Science Association: 2019

FELLOWSHIPS & AWARDS

Visiting Fellowship, OSUM Forum on Democracy, Central European University, Budapest (\$25,600) (2024-25) – *8-months residential research fellowship* (declined)

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

Charles H. Levine Memorial Book Prize, Research Committee on Structure and Organization of Government, IPSA (2022) – *co-winner for best book on comparative administration or public policy published in the previous year*

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*

Visiting Scholar, Research Department, Inter-American Development Bank, Washington DC (\$54,000) (2012-2013) – *residential research fellowship*

University Fellow, Columbia University (2005- 2012)

Brooks World Poverty Institute Fellowship to assist to a 2-week Workshop on Poverty, Development and Globalization, University of Manchester (2010)

Saltzman Institute, Columbia University, Fellowship to assist to the 2-week Institute of Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (IQMR), Syracuse University (2009)

Fulbright Fellowship (declined) (2005-2006)

Graduate Fellowship, CONICET, Argentina (2004-2005)

Graduate Fellowship, *Agencia Nacional de Promoción Científica y Tecnológica*, Argentina (2002-2003)

GRANTS

TULANE UNIVERSITY

LB Grant, Provost Office (Summer 2024, \$9000)

Summer Research Grant, CIPR (Summer 2024, \$3000)

Summer Research Grant, Stone Center for Latin American Studies (Summer 2015, \$3000; Summer 2021; \$3000; Summer 2024, \$4000; Summer 2025, \$4000)

Summer salary, CIPR (Summer 2023, \$10,138)

SLA Book subvention award, SLA (Spring 2019, \$5000; Fall 2023, \$5000)

SLA Faculty Research Award, SLA (Fall 2021, \$5000)

Murphy Institute Seed Grant (Summer 2019, \$3000)

Carol Lavin Bernick Faculty Grant (Summer 2016; \$1000; Summer 2017, \$4570)

Lurcy Research Grant, SLA (Summer 2016, \$2000)

Newcomb College Institute Research Grant (Summer 2016, \$2083)

New Orleans Center for the Gulf South Grant (Spring 2016, \$2500)

Murphy Institute (Spring 2016, \$2000)

CIPR Conference Grant, CIPR (Spring 2019, Summer 2020, Fall 2020, Spring 2024)

Faculty Professional Travel Grant, Stone Center for Latin American Studies (Spring 2016, Summer 2016, Spring 2017, Spring 2018, Fall 2019, Spring 2020, Summer 2022, Summer 2023, Summer 2024, Summer 2025)

International Conference Fund, Office of the Dean (Summer 2015, Summer 2016, Summer 2017, Summer 2019, Fall 2022, Summer 2023, Summer 2024, Summer & Fall 2025)

International Travel Grant, Committee on Research (COR), Provost Office (Summer 2015, Summer 2016, Summer 2017, Fall 2022, Summer 2023, Summer 2024)

OTHERS

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

TULANE UNIVERSITY

Great Books in Comparative Politics (G); 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 CHAIR

JP Olvera (Tulane University 2025) – Predoctoral fellow, CIPR, Tulane University

Mandeep Karki (Tulane University expected 2027) – Third year graduate student

PH.D. COMMITTEE MEMBER

Mart Trasberg (Tulane University 2021) – Assistant Professor, Tecnológico de Monterrey

Paúl Troncozo (Tulane University expected 2027) – Third year graduate student

Ebenezer Makinde (Tulane University expected 2027) – Third year graduate student

PH.D. EXTERNAL EXAMINER

Jesús Espinosa Herrera (Nuffield College, Oxford University, 2021)

Anabella Molina (Universidad de Buenos Aires, 2025)

ADDITIONAL TEACHING

Fieldwork and Survey Experiments, *Escuela de Verano de Métodos Mixtos, Universidad Católica de Chile* (short course), 2026

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 (2-week 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

Social Science Methods and Impact Evaluation, NGO *Soluciones Prácticas* (4-day course for NGO workers working on development issues), Lima Perú, 2015

Social science research methods, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex (day workshop with researchers from Latin America and follow up on their research). Brighton UK, 2015.

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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

TULANE UNIVERSITY

Department of Political Science:

Coordinator, Tulane Political Science Speaker Series, 2014-2018 & 2024-

Director of Graduate Studies, 2022-2024

Member, Search Committee, 2017-18, 2021-22, 2022-23, 2023-24, 2024-25

Member, Budget and Faculty Committee, 2021-2023

Member, Graduate Studies Committee, 2014–2016; 2020-2022

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

Member, Postdoctoral & Mid-Career Fellows Selection Committee, 2016-present

Stone Center for Latin American Studies:

Member, Travel Grants Committee, 2021- 2022

Member, Graduate Summer Field Research Committee, Spring 2019

School of Liberal Arts:

Member, Graduate Studies Committee, 2017-2020

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Member, Urban Politics Section Executive Committee, APSA, 2023-2025

Member, Dennis Judd Best Book Award Committee, Urban Politics, APSA, 2025

Chair, Van Cott Best Book Award Committee, Political Institutions, LASA, 2024

Member, Van Cott Best Book Award Committee, Political Institutions, LASA, 2023

Member, Political Networks section Best Book Award Committee, APSA, 2023

Member, AJPS Best Article Award Committee, MPSA, 2023

Member, Pi Sigma Alpha Best Paper Award Committee, MPSA, 2022

Member, Best Paper Award Committee, REPAL, 2021

Program Co-Chair, MPSA, 2021

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

Member, Pi Sigma Alpha Best Paper Award Committee, MPSA, 2020

Member, Local Committee, Sixth Annual Conference, REPAL 2019

Member, Seligson Prize Best Paper Award Committee, LAPOP, 2018

EDITORIAL BOARDS

Revista Latinoamericana de Opinión Pública (RLOP), 2021-2025

REFEREE

Journal Referee: *American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, British Journal of Political Science, Bulletin of Latin American Research, Colombia Internacional, Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Democratization, Desarrollo Económico, 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, Studies in Comparative International Development, World Development, World Politics.*

Book Referee: Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, Palgrave Macmillan, University of Michigan Press

Funding Referee: FONDECYT Chile, National Science Foundation

INVITED DISCUSSANT

American Political Science Association: 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2025

Argentine Association of Political Analysis: 2017, 2019

European Political Science Association: 2016, 2025

International Political Science Association: 2023

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

Latin American Studies Association: 2017, 2018, 2019, 2023, 2024

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

Southern Political Science Association: 2019

Book workshops: Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro and Matthew Winters (virtual 2024) Emilia Simison (Tulane 2023); Rodrigo Zarazaga (virtual 2023); Christopher Chambers-Ju (Tulane 2019); S. Erdem Aytaç and Susan Stokes (Yale 2017)

Book presentations: Brian Palmer-Rubin (REPAL 2022); Carlos Gervasoni (Notre Dame 2019); Ernesto Calvo and M. Victoria Murillo (SAAP 2019); Isabella Alcañiz (SAAP 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

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

Last updated: July 2025