

# Mariana Giusti-Rodríguez

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## EDUCATION

Ph.D. Government, Cornell University, 2017 (Expected)

M.A. Government, Cornell University, 2013

B.A. Political Science and Latin American and Iberian Studies, Bard College, 2007

## DISSERTATION

“From Social Cleavages to Party Systems: The Impact of Social Network Structures on Party Building Processes in the Andes”

*Committee:* Kenneth Roberts (chair), Sidney Tarrow, Gustavo Flores-Macías, Ronald Herring

This dissertation examines the relationship between ethnic cleavages, social networks, and party system reconstruction efforts in the Andes. It advances two main arguments. First, in contrast to existing literature that analyzes social cleavages as single units and assumes that their activation will trigger party system consolidation, this dissertation argues that a process of social cleavage articulation mediates the relationship between salient cleavages and party systems. Social cleavage articulation is defined as the process by which political organizations identify, aggregate, and represent cleavage-based identities. I examine cleavage articulation processes at the level of cleavage poles—which are the opposing blocks within a cleavage unit—and identify three potential articulation outcomes: full, partial, and failed articulation that result when both, one, or neither pole of the social cleavage acquire partisan expression, respectively. I argue that each of these articulation outcomes is associated with distinct party system structures and patterns of electoral volatility. Second, this dissertation examines the underlying sources of variation in cleavage pole articulation dynamics and posits that this variation is largely the product of differences in the social network structures that politicians have access to. Specifically, I argue that variation in social networks’ national ties and community embeddedness conditions the likelihood of cleavage pole articulation and party building by regulating the information exchange between voters and politicians. Stage one of this research uses ecological inference, survey data, and congruence analysis to examine the relationship between ethnic cleavages, articulation dynamics, and systemic outcomes in Bolivia and Peru. Stage two combines an original elite survey with extensive interview data to evaluate the relationship between network structures, information flows, and party building dynamics.

## FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

- 2016-2017 Provost Pre-doctoral Fellowship, University of Pennsylvania
- 2016-2017 Sage Dissertation Completion Fellowship, Cornell University
- 2015-2016 Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship
- 2014-2015 Ford Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship
- 2015 Edward A. Bouchet Graduate Honor Society, Cornell Chapter
- 2015 Graduate School Dean’s Scholar
- 2014 John Garcia Award, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research
- 2010-2011 Dean’s Excellence Fellowship
- 2009-2010 Fulbright Fellowship (Multi-country: Bolivia and Peru)

- 2003-2007 Excellence and Equal Cost Scholarship, Bard College
- 2005 Heinz and Elizabeth Bertelsmann Scholarship, Bard College
- 2005 Eugene M. Lang Scholarship, Bard College

## GRANTS

- 2014 Supplemental Grant for Methods Training at ICPSR, Government Department, Cornell University
- 2013 Supplemental Grant for Methods Training at IQRM, Government Department, Cornell University
- 2013 Travel Grant (Bolivia), Einaudi Center, Cornell University
- 2012 Tinker Grant (Bolivia), Einaudi Center, Cornell University
- 2012 Supplemental Grant for Pre-Dissertation Research in Bolivia, Government Department, Cornell University
- 2011 Tinker Grant (Brazil), Einaudi Center, Cornell University
- 2011 Supplemental Grant for Language Training in Brazil, Government Department, Cornell University

Conference Travel Grants, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Cornell University (2012, 2013, 2015, 2016)

## PUBLICATIONS

### *Journal Articles*

"Las fracturas de la oposición: Un análisis de clivajes sociales, estructuras de movilización y representación en Bolivia," *Journal de Comunicación Social*, 2 (2): 13-44 (2014).

### *Manuscripts in Preparation*

"Different Party Systems, Same Unswerving Voters: The Articulation of Bolivia's Ethnic Cleavage and its Impact on Electoral Volatility." *Under review*.

"Failure to Represent: Ethnic Cleavages, Group-Party Congruence, and Political Attitudes in Bolivia and Peru". *In Preparation*.

### *Ongoing Research*

"Silencing by Denial: The Strategic Exclusion of the Ethnic Cleavage in Peruvian Politics."

"Social Movement Parties: A Less Than Inevitable Normalization?"

"Rupture of Representation? Political Elite Survival After Party System Collapse," with Mathias Poertner.

"All Politics is Local: Decentralization and Government Performance across Bolivian Municipalities, 2003-2013," with Don Leonard.

## CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

### *Conference Papers*

- 2016 “What do Voters Want and What are Parties Giving? An Analysis of Ethnic Cleavages and Political Representation in Bolivia and Peru,” International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, May 27-30.
- 2015 “Social Cleavages Without Representation: Re-Examining the Relationship Between Collective Identities and Electoral Volatility,” International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, May 27-30.
- 2015 “All Politics is Local: Decentralization and Government Performance across Bolivian Municipalities, 2003-2013” (with Don Leonard), International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, May 27-30.
- 2013 “Social Cleavages Without Representation: Limits of Party System Formation in the Andes,” Annual Meeting of Midwest Political Science Association, April 11-14.
- 2012 “Social Movement Parties: A Less Than Inevitable Transformation?,” Annual Meeting of Midwest Political Science Association, April 12-15.
- 2010 “Social Change or Political Power? Indigenous Movements in Bolivia and Peru at a Crossroads,” Fulbright Fellows Workshop.
- 2005 “Dictatorship and Democracy in Central America: Does Coffee Make a Difference?,” Leadership Alliance Symposium.

### *Department Talks*

- 2013 “Social Cleavages Without Representation: Limits of Party System Formation in the Andes,” Graduate Student Workshop.

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

### *Cornell University*

#### **Teaching Instructor**

Spanish Conversational on Latin American Politics, FLAC Course, Spring 2012.

#### **Teaching Assistant**

Middle Eastern Politics, Prof. David Siddhartha Patel, Spring 2013.

Prisons: Responsibility, Rights, and Race, Prof. Mary Katzenstein, Fall 2011 and 2012.

Comparative Politics of Latin America, Prof. Gustavo Flores, Spring 2012.

### *Auburn Correctional Facility*

#### **Teaching Assistant**

Comparative Inequality and Development, Cornell Prison Education Program, Spring 2011.

## RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

*Visiting Researcher*, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Perú, 2014-2015.

*Research Associate*, Universidad Católica Boliviana “San Pablo,” 2014.

Designed survey instrument, survey experiment, and focus groups for a study on ethnicity in Bolivia directed by Prof. Rafael Loayza.

*Visiting Researcher*, Universidad Mayor de San Simón, 2013-2014.

*Puerto Rico Expert*, Global Leadership Project (GLP), 2012

Developed the Global Leadership Project’s dataset on Puerto Rico’s political and social leaders.

*Research Assistant*, Asociación SER (Puno, Perú), 2006.

Assisted in the production of *Puno Hoy: Del Titicaca al Bahuaja Sonene*, an edited volume on development issues in present-day Puno, with contributions from local experts.

*Research Intern*, The Hunger Project (New York, NY), 2005.

Collected data on living conditions and development issues in Zacatecas and Chiapas, Mexico.

*Research Mentee*, GSAS-Leadership Alliance Summer Research Program, Columbia University, 2005.

Conducted research on the relationship between large landownership and democratic stability in Central America under the mentorship of Prof. Sheri Berman.

## **ADDITIONAL TRAINING**

Summer Program in Quantitative Methods of Social Research, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, 2014.

Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research, Center for Qualitative and Multi-Method Inquiry, 2013.

Writing in the Majors Seminar, Cornell University, 2011.

## **COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT**

Teaching Assistant, Cornell Prison Education Program, Spring 2011.

Program Coordinator, Foundation for Sustainable Development (Nicaragua), 2007-2009.

Volunteer Grant Writer, Corporación Piñones Se Integra (Puerto Rico), 2007.

Volunteer, Bard Prison Initiative, Bard College, 2006-2007.

Volunteer Mentor, Bard Hudson Mentoring Program, 2004-2006.

## **PROFESSIONAL SKILLS**

Proficiency in R, Stata, Excel, N-Vivo, L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X, Qualtrics

## **LANGUAGES**

Spanish: Native speaker, Portuguese: Conversational, Quechua: Basic

## **RESEARCH AREAS**

Comparative Politics; Political Behavior; Collective Action; Ethnic Politics; Political Representation; Party Systems; Social Networks; Political Accountability; Latin American Politics; Social and Political Inequality; Immigration Politics

## **TEACHING AREAS**

Comparative: Introduction to Comparative Politics; Latin American Politics; Political Parties and Representation; Identity Politics and Voter Behavior; Social Movements, Contentious Politics, and Social Change

Methods: Qualitative Research; Field Research

## **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP**

American Political Science Association (APSA)

Midwest Political Studies Association (MPSA)

Latin American Studies Association (LASA)

## ACADEMIC REFERENCES

**Dr. Kenneth M. Roberts**

Professor  
Department of Government  
Cornell University  
203 White Hall  
(607) 255-6764  
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**Dr. Sidney Tarrow**

Emeritus Maxwell Upson Professor of Government  
Department of Government  
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**Dr. Gustavo Flores-Macías**

Associate Professor  
Department of Government  
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**Dr. Ronald Herring**

Professor  
Department of Government  
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