

CANDELARIA GARAY

ILR School
Cornell University
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Ithaca, NY 14853

cgaray@cornell.edu

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Associate Professor, Department of Global Labor and Work, School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, January 2024–present.

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella (Argentina), March 2022–December 2023.

Senior Fellow, Ash Center for Democratic Governance, Harvard University, 2021–present.

Visiting Fellow, Kellogg Institute for International Affairs, University of Notre Dame, spring 2021.

Ford Foundation Associate Professor of Democracy, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, July 2018–December 2020.

Associate Professor of Public Policy, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, July 2015–June 2018.

Assistant Professor of Public Policy, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, July 2011–June 2015.

Research Fellow, Wiener Center for Social Policy, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, January–June 2011.

EDUCATION

PhD in Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, 2010.

MA in Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, 2003.

Graduate Studies in Public Policy and Administration, Universidad de San Andrés, 1999–2001.

Graduate Certificate in Civil Society Studies, Universidad Di Tella, Univ. de San Andrés, 1998.

B.A. in Sociology, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1997.

PUBLICATIONS

Book

Social Policy Expansion in Latin America (New York: Cambridge University Press 2016).

- 2017 Robert A. Dahl Award of the American Political Science Association (APSA).

- Honorable mention, 2018 Bryce Wood Book Award of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA).

Reviewed in *Comparative Politics*, *Encuentro Latinoamericano*, *Latin American Research Review*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Journal of Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Revista*, and *Revue Française de Science Politique*.

Book Manuscripts in Progress

Labor Coalitions in Unequal Societies (advance contract with Cambridge University Press for simultaneous paperback, hardback, and eBook publication, to be completed in 2026).

Social Policy in the Global South (advance contract with Cambridge University Press, Element Series on the Politics of Development).

Special Issue in Progress

“The Policy Consequences of Social Movements” (edited and lead article with Santiago Anria and Jessica Rich), *5 papers published online, introduction under review*.

Journal Articles and Book Chapters

“Subnational Democracy, Protest, and Welfare: Evidence from Argentina” (with Julia Smith Coyoli), *World Development* 188 (April 2025).

“Sociedad civil, política pública y capacidad estatal en América Latina” (with Santiago Anria), in Botero, Felipe, Fernanda Somuano, and Carla Yumatle, *La sociedad civil latinoamericana. Fracturas y transformaciones recientes*. Siglo XXI Editores (forthcoming in 2025).

"Civil Society and Social Policy in the Global South" in Barrientos, A., Carnes, M., Kwon, H., Obinger, H., Patel L., Smith, C., Eds, *Social Protection in the Global South*. Oxford University Press (forthcoming in 2025).

“Social Movements and Policy Entrenchment” (with Santiago Anria and Jessica Rich), *Comparative Politics* 57 (1) (October 2024): 113-137.

“Permissive Regulations and Forest Protection,” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 59 No 2 (June 2024): 313-352.

“Redefining Labor Organizing in Latin America” in Centeno, Miguel, and Agustín Ferraro (eds.), *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: The Neoliberal State and Beyond* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023).

“Argentina 2022: Desafíos Profundos y Continuidad Política” (with Emilia Simison) *Revista de Ciencia Política* 43 No 2 (August 2023).

“When Mayors Deliver: Political Alignment and Well-being” (with Emilia Simison), *Studies in Comparative International Development* 57 (September 2022): 303–336.

“Including Outsiders in Latin America” in Kapiszewski, Diana, Steven Levitsky, and Deborah Yashar (eds.), *The Inclusionary Turn: Democracy and Citizenship in Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press 2021).

“Incentives for Organizational Participation: A Recruitment Experiment in Mexico” (with Brian Palmer-Rubin and Mathias Poertner), *Comparative Political Studies* 54, No 1 (January 2021): 110-143.

“Organizational and Partisan Brokerage of Social Benefits: Evidence of Social Policy Linkages in Mexico” (with Brian Palmer-Rubin & Mathias Poertner) *World Development* 136 (Dec 2020).

“The Multilevel Politics of Enforcement: Environmental Institutions in Argentina” (with Belén Fernández-Milmanda), *Politics & Society* 48, No 1 (March 2020): 3-26.

“A Multilevel Approach to Enforcement: Forest Protection in the Argentine Chaco” (with Belén Fernández-Milmanda), Brinks, Daniel, Steven Levitsky & Victoria Murillo (eds.), *Understanding Weak Institutions: Lessons from Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

“Local Health Care Provision as a Territorial Power-Building Strategy: Non-Aligned Mayors in Argentina” (with María Marta Maroto), *Comparative Politics* 52, No 1 (October 2019): 105-125.

“Subnational Variation in Forest Protection in the Argentine Chaco” (with Belén Fernández-Milmanda), *World Development* 118 (June 2019): 79-90.

“Redistribution under the Right in Latin America: Electoral Competition and Organized Actors in Policymaking” (with Tasha Fairfield), *Comparative Political Studies* 50, No 14 (December 2017): 1871-1906.

- 2019 Best Article Prize, Economics & Politics Section, Latin American Studies Association.

“Los movimientos de desocupados en el Conurbano: Protesta, política social y política partidaria” in Zarazaga, Rodrigo and Lucas Ronconi (eds.), *Conurbano infinito* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2017).

“Argentina’s Left Populism in Comparative Perspective” (with Sebastian Etchemendy) in Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth Roberts (eds.), *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

“Associational Linkages to Labor Unions and Political Parties” in Collier, Ruth Berins and Samuel Handlin (eds.), *Reorganizing Popular Politics: Participation and the New Interest Regime in Latin America* (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2009).

“Social Policy and Collective Action: Unemployed Workers, Community Associations and Protest in Argentina,” *Politics & Society* 35, No 2 (June 2007): 301-328.

Reviews & Other Academic Publications

Review of *Property Threats and the Politics of Anti-Statism: The Historical Roots of Contemporary Tax Systems in Latin America* by Gabriel Ondetti (Cambridge University Press, 2021) in *Perspectives on Politics* 20 (1) (March 2022): 349-50.

“Los movimientos de desocupados y la promesa de igualdad social: Reflexiones acerca del artículo de Juan Carlos Torre” in *Desarrollo Económico* 228 (59) (September 2019).

Work in Progress

“Social Policy in Latin America” (with Emilia Simison). Presented at APSA 9-13 September 2020, REPAL June 15–7 July 2021, and LASA May 5-10, 2022. *Under Review*.

“Mass Politics: Organizations and Political Identity in Latin America” (with Mathias Poertner and Brian Palmer-Rubin). Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, April 15, 2021, and at the APSA Meetings, September 15-18, 2022. *Under Review*.

- *Honorable Mention, 2023 Kendra Koivu Paper Award, Qualitative and Multimethod Research Section, American Political Science Association.*

“The Policy Consequences of Social Movements” (with Santiago Anria and Jessica Rich). *R&R*

“Recasting Labor Coalitions in Latin America.” Presented at the APSA Meetings, September 9-13, 2020; Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, April 14, 2021, and other venues.

“Labor Unions and Trust in Latin America” (with Andrew Schrank), presented at LASA 2023.

“Land (In)security, Indigenous Communities and Deforestation in the Chaco Forest” (with Maria Paula Saffon-Sanin), presented at LASA 2024, REPAL 2024, and LASA and APSA 2025.

“Representing Women Workers: Explaining Gender Disparities in Teachers’ Unions” (with Christopher Chambers-Ju and Julia Smith Coyoli) presented at LASA 2024 and APSA 2024.

Original Surveys

Organizations and Voting in Mexico, 2017 (with Brian Palmer-Rubin and Mathias Poertner).

Participation in Popular Neighborhoods and Slums in Argentina (with Emilia Simison, planned for 2025-26).

AWARDS AND HONORS

2023 Honorable mention, Kendra Koivu Paper Award, Qualitative & Multimethod Research, American Political Science Association.

2019 Best Article Prize, Economics and Politics Section, Latin American Studies Association.

2018 Honorable mention, Bryce Wood Book Award, Latin American Studies Association.

2018 Ford Foundation Associate Professor of Democracy Chair.
2017 Robert A. Dahl Award, American Political Science Association.

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

Leverhulme Small Research Grant, The British Academy, 2025 (with Emilia Simison) for “The Informal Sources of Robust Participation,” September 2025-2026.

Visiting Fellowship, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, 2021.

Faculty Research Medium Grant, “The Sources of Robust Participation,” Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 2020 (\$25,000).

Research Grant, Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Harvard University, 2019-2020 (\$15,000).

Faculty Research Grant, “Waves of Protest in Latin America,” David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, 2019-2020 (\$9,000).

Conference Grant, “Food in the Welfare State,” with Nara Dillon, Linda Cook, Elizabeth Perry, and Gunnar Trumbull, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 2019 (\$25,000).

Dean’s Research Grant, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2018 (\$10,000).

Faculty Small Grant, “Labor Unions and Social Movements in Developing Countries,” Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 2018-2019 (\$9,900).

Faculty Grant, “Labor Unions and Social Movements in Developing Countries,” David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, 2017-2018 (\$10,500).

Dean’s Research Grant, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2017 (\$5,000).

Faculty Medium Grant, “Organizing the Vote: Interest Organizations and Party-Voter Linkages in Mexico” (with Brian Palmer-Rubin and Mathias Poertner), Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 2016-2017 (\$25,000).

Challenges to Democracy Associate Professor Fellowship, Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Harvard University, 2015-2016 (\$40,000).

Faculty Small Grant, “Health Service Provision in Metropolitan Areas,” Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, July 2015-June 2016 (\$10,000).

Faculty Grant, “Commodities vs. Forests? Variation in Forest Protection in the Chaco,” David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, 2015-2016 (\$10,000).

Faculty Grant, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, 2014.

Faculty Book Workshop Grant, Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Harvard University, 2012 (\$5,000).

Fellowship, University of California, Berkeley, Department of Political Science, 2009.

Dean's Fellowship, University of California, Berkeley, 2007-2008.

International Dissertation Research Fellowship, Social Science Research Council (SSRC), 2006.

Simpson Fellowship, University of California, Berkeley, 2005-2006 (\$12,000).

Horowitz Social Policy Grant, Horowitz Foundation for Social Policy, 2005-2006.

W. K. Kellogg Foundation Fellowship for Doctoral Studies, 2002-2005.

Fulbright Fellowship for Doctoral Studies, 2002-2004.

W. K. Kellogg Foundation Grant for Visiting Fellowship, Institute for Policy Studies, Johns Hopkins University, 2000.

Graduate Fellowship, Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Tecnológicas (CONICET), Argentina, 2000-2002.

POLICY-RELATED RESEARCH

Report "Paths to Universalization of Healthcare Services and Pensions in Latin America," World Bank (with Emilia Simison), August 2023.

Background paper on labor unions and trust in Latin America, Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), March 2021 (with Andrew Schrank).

Invited Conferences: Discussant of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP)'s *Regional Human Development Report*, June 8, 2022, Buenos Aires. Discussant for UNDP's *Launch of Working Papers Series*, June 16, 2021 (online). Discussant for UNDP's *Working Paper Series* (online, June 30, 2020).

Researcher, *Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad* [Center for the Study of State and Society] (CEDES), Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1996-2002. Conducted research on civil society organizations, health policy, social development, children's policies, and state corruption.

- Researcher of the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project.
- Project sponsors: CONICET; Argentina's Ministry of Social Development; W. K. Kellogg Foundation; Inter-American Foundation; UNICEF; and Argentine Foundation for Development with Equity (FADE).
- Publications available at www.cedes.org.ar or upon request.

- Conference participation: Bangalore, India (1999); Dublin, Ireland (2000); Baltimore, US (2000); Santiago, Chile (2001); Buenos Aires, Argentina (2001); Istanbul, Turkey (2002).

INVITED TALKS, ACADEMIC WORKSHOPS, AND CONFERENCES

2025. Book Workshop. Julia Smith Coyoli. Harvard University, May 9.

2025. Duke-University of North Carolina. Comparative Politics Conference, May 2.

2025. Comparative Politics Seminar. Columbia University, February 5.

2024. Political Science Research Workshop. UDELAR, Montevideo, Uruguay, October 2.

2024. Research Conference. Universidad de la República, Montevideo, Uruguay, October 1-3.

2024. Book Workshop. Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro & Matthew Winters, June 12 (online, Brown).

2024. Conference “Labor, Strikes, and Democracy,” Cornell University, April 19-20.

2023. Book Workshop. Scott Mainwaring. Universidad Di Tella, Argentina, November 30.

2023. Conference. CINEP-Universidad del Rosario, Bogotá, Colombia. November 2.

2023. Workshop. Civil Society in Latin America. Ford Foundation-Univ. Di Tella, Oct 5.

2023. Book Workshop. Jonathan Morse. University of Connecticut, September 22.

2023. Social Policy in Latin America, Taipei School of Economics & Politics, Oct 19 (online).

2022. Workshop on Environmental Governance. Tulane University, May 16 (online).

2022. Center for European Studies and Comparative Politics, Sciences Po, January 24 (online).

2021. Book Talk. Institutional Weakness in Argentina. Rosario, Argentina Nov. 11 (online).

2021. Southwest Mixed-Methods Workshop, Northwestern University, Nov. 4-5 (online).

2021. The Politics of Social Policy in Latin America. AUCIP, Uruguay, August 5 (online).

2021. Latin American Politics & Party Competition. UNC-Duke Workshop, May 17-20 (online).

2021. Latin America Workshop. University of Notre Dame, April 23 (online).

2021. Kellogg Institute Workshop. University of Notre Dame, April 8 (online).

2020. Conference “The Neoliberal State and Beyond.” Princeton University, Sept. 5-6 (online).

2020. “Reach Symposium.” University of Toronto. Canada, March 6-7.

2019. Center for Latin American Studies. Georgetown University, October 15.

2019. Conference and Workshop. Universidad Católica del Perú. Lima, Perú, June 24-26.

2019. Conference on the Frontiers of Clientelism. Harvard University, May 3-4.

2019. Latin America Workshop. UNC-Duke University, April 15.

2019. Book Workshop, Christopher Chambers-Ju. Tulane University, March 29.

2018. CLACSO Conference. Buenos Aires, Argentina, November 20-23.

2018. Conference “Food in the Global Welfare State.” Harvard University, November 9-10.

2018. Book Workshop, Lorenza Fontana. Weatherhead Center, Harvard University, November 8.

2018. Development Workshop. Brown University, November 7-8.

2018. Latin American Politics Seminar. Harvard University, November 6.

2018. Comparative Politics Colloquium. UC Berkeley, November 1.

2018. Latin American Politics Seminar. MIT, October 17.

2018. Third RAP Symposium. Harvard University, October 3.

2018. Book Workshop, James Loxton. Harvard University, August 29.

2018. AUCIP–Universidad Católica. Montevideo, Uruguay, July 31.

2018. AUCIP–Universidad de la República. Montevideo, Uruguay, July 30.

2018. Book Workshop, Laura Gamboa. Ash Center, Harvard University, March 26.

2018. Book Talk, Scott Mainwaring. Ash Center, Harvard University, March 19.

2017. Book Conference “Weak Institutions in Latin America.” UT Austin, September 28.

2017. Book Talk. SAAP, Buenos Aires, Argentina, August 3.
 2017. Book Talk. Ash Center, Harvard University, March 29.
 2017. Book Workshop, Brian Palmer-Rubin. Ash Center, Harvard University, March 22.
 2016. Latin American Politics Seminar. Harvard University, November 2.
 2016. Latin American Politics Seminar. Tulane University, November 11.
 2016. Conference “Patterns of Inclusion in Latin America.” Princeton University, May 20-22.
 2016. Comparative Politics Seminar. University of New Mexico, April 28.
 2016. Conference “Institutional Weakness in Latin America.” Harvard University, May 9-10.
 2015. Latin American Politics Seminar. Cornell University, November 16.
 2015. Latin America Working Group, Department of Political Science, MIT, September 29.
 2015. Book Workshop, Alisha Holland. Harvard University, March 6.
 2014. Comparative Politics Seminar. University of São Paulo, Brazil, November 12.
 2014. Comparative Politics Seminar. University of Pennsylvania, September 20.
 2014. Seminar Series. Institute for Work and Employment Research, MIT, April 29.
 2014. Ecuador Conference. Harvard University, April 21.
 2014. Second RAP Symposium on Argentina, Harvard University, March 26-28.
 2014. Book Workshop, Alberto Vergara. DRCLAS, Harvard University, March 11.
 2014. Conference “Argentina Today and Tomorrow.” Brown University, February 12.
 2013. “The Commodity Boom and after.” REPAL-UPC, August 13-14, Santiago, Chile.
 2012. Comparative Politics Seminar. Columbia University, November 28.
 2012. “Challenges of Party Building in Latin America.” Harvard University, Nov. 16-17.
 2012. Latin American Politics Seminar. Harvard University, November 13.
 2012. Author Workshop. Ash Center, Harvard University, October 12.
 2012. “New Approaches to Poverty.” Watson Institute, Brown University, April 19.

ANNUAL ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION (panelist, panel chair and/or discussant)

American Political Science Association (2013, 2015-2021, 2022,* 2024, 2025).
Latin American Studies Association (2013-2024, 2025).
Latin American Political Economy, REPAL (2013, 2014, 2016, 2017, 2019,* 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025).
International Political Science Association (2023, 2025).
 *non-presenting co-author.

CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS ORGANIZED

2025. Co-organizer, Dissertation Workshop, REPAL, Sao Paulo, Brazil, June 25
 2024. Co-organizer, Dissertation Workshop, REPAL, Washington, DC, July 12, 2024.
 2023. Co-organizer, Dissertation Workshop, REPAL, Quito, July 12, 2023.
 2015-2019. Co-organizer, Comparative Democracy Seminar, Ash Center, Harvard University.
 2016. Local Organizing Committee, REPAL Conference, Harvard-MIT.

OTHER PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

Institute for Qualitative Research Methods (IQRM), Arizona State University, January 2005.

Philanthropy Fellow, Center for Civil Society, Johns Hopkins University, Spring 2000.

COURSES TAUGHT

Cornell University, ILR School, 2024-

Comparative Labor Relations (spring, undergraduate course).

Social Policy in the Global South (fall, sophomore writing seminar).

Labor Unions and Organizations of Informal Workers (spring, sophomore writing seminar).

Universidad Torcuato Di Tella (Buenos Aires), 2022–2023.

Introduction to Public Policy (undergraduate course).

Latin American Politics and Policy Making (undergraduate course in English).

Comparative Politics (graduate course).

Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government, 2011-2020

2012-2019. Political Institutions and Public Policy: Comparative Politics (graduate course).

2011-2020. Latin American Politics & Policy Making (graduate course).

- *Recipient of teaching excellence award in 2013 and 2018.*

2020. Research Seminar in Latin American Politics (graduate course).

Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, *Visiting Professor*

2015. Comparative Politics (graduate course).

2009. Latin American Politics (graduate course).

DISSERTATION AND THESIS SUPERVISION

Cornell University

One MS student.

Harvard University

Twenty-two master's students (advisor, final essay/thesis).

Two doctoral students (committee member).

Two doctoral fellows (advisor or oral committee member).

One college student (advisor).

Torcuato Di Tella University

One master's student (advisor).

One doctoral student (advisor).

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

2024 Division Co-Chair, APSA, Annual Conference, Comparative Politics of Developing Countries.

2024 Track Co-Chair, LASA, Annual Conference, Economy & Political Economy Section.

2023 Track Co-Chair, Annual Conference, LASA, Labor Studies Section.

2023 Chair, Bryce Wood Book Award Committee, LASA.

2020 Member, Bryce Wood Book Award Committee, LASA.

2016 Local Organizing Committee, Annual Meeting, REPAL, Cambridge, MA.
2015 Member, Alexander George Award Committee, APSA.
2014 Track Co-Chair, Annual Conference, LASA, Public Policy.

Reviewer for:

American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, Cambridge University Press, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Democratization, Desarrollo Económico, Element Series on the Politics of Development, Environmental Politics, Governance, International Journal of Social Welfare, International Interactions, Industrial Labor Relations Review, Journal of Latin American Studies, Journal of Politics, Latin American Politics and Society, Latin American Research Review, Oxford University Press, Perfiles Latinoamericanos, Political Science Research & Methods, Revista Chilena de Ciencia Política, Revista de la Asociación Argentina de Análisis Político, Revista de Ciencia Política, Studies in Comparative International Development, Socio-Economic Review, World Development, and World Politics.

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Cornell University

ILR Graduate Field

Government Graduate Field

Cornell University Faculty Library Board (2025-

Affiliated Faculty: Latin American and Caribbean Studies (LACS), Cornell Center for Social Sciences (CCSS), Cornell Center for Global Democracy, Cornell Einaudi Center.

Undergraduate Studies Committee

International Program Committee

Universidad Torcuato Di Tella

Member, Ethics Committee, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, 2023.

Organizer & host, Faculty Research Seminar, Department of Political Science, 2022–2023.

Harvard University

Admissions Committee, MPP Program, Harvard Kennedy School, 2011-2019.

Policy Committee, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, 2011-2020.

Policy Committee, Brazil Studies Program, 2011-2020.

Award Committee, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, 2019.

Affiliated Faculty, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Ash Center for Democratic Governance, Carr Center for Human Rights.

Award Committee, Kenneth Maxwell Thesis Prize, Harvard College, 2013-2017.

Search Committee, Race and Politics Junior Search, Harvard Kennedy School, 2014.

Award Committee, Summer Grants, DRCLAS, Harvard University, 2016-2017.

Selection Committee, Visiting Scholar Program, DRCLAS, Harvard University, 2014, 2016.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP

American Political Science Association, APSA.

Latin American Studies Association, LASA.
Red de Economía Política de América Latina, REPAL.
International Political Science Association, IPSA.

LANGUAGES

Spanish, native speaker; English, proficient; Portuguese, very good; French, good.