

MARIANA V. RAMÍREZ BUSTAMANTE

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APPOINTMENTS

Heidelberg University	Heidelberg, Germany
Postdoctoral researcher, Heidelberg Center for Ibero-American Studies	2024-

EDUCATION

Vanderbilt University	Nashville, US
Ph.D., Political Science	2024
Dissertation: <i>"Public Opinion Dynamics around the Illegal Co-optation of Power by Narco-linked Candidates and Organizations"</i>	
Committee: Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, Noam Lupu, Cassy Dorff, Mollie J. Cohen (Purdue University)	

M.A., Political Science	Nashville, US
Field: Comparative Politics	2022

Salamanca University (USAL)	Salamanca, Spain
M.A. Latin American Studies (with Honors)	2016

Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PUCP)	Lima, Peru
B.A. Political Science and Government (with Honors)	2013

PUBLICATIONS

Peer-Reviewed

"Electoral Support for Candidates Involved in Drug Trafficking: Experimental Evidence from Peru"
Forthcoming in *Comparative Political Studies* (2025).

"Escenarios locales de irregularidad electoral en Perú: Trashumancia electoral en las elecciones locales de 2014 y 2018" (with Corvetto, P.), *Democracia Actual* 3:138-161 (2019).
[Local scenarios of irregular electoral practices in Peru: Flying voters in the 2014 and 2018 local elections]

"Trashumancia electoral en las elecciones subnacionales de 2018 en Perú: Mecanismos para garantizar la integridad del padrón" (with Corvetto, P.), *Revista Académica del RENIEC Nombres* 4(1): 29-65 (2017/8).
[Electoral Transhumance in Subnational Elections from 2018 in Peru: Mechanisms to Guarantee the Integrity of the Electoral Roll].

"Escenarios de trashumancia electoral local: Un análisis a partir de las Elecciones Municipales de 2014 en Perú" (with Corvetto, P.), *Revista Académica del RENIEC Nombres* 3(1): 174-209 (2016).
[Local scenarios of electoral transhumance: An analysis from the Municipal Elections of 2014 in Peru]

"Actores y escenarios como determinantes clave de la política de drogas en el Perú. El caso de la implementación del control de hoja de coca en el valle del Monzón 2010-2015" (with Casas, F.) *Revista de Ciencia Política y Gobierno* 4(7): 33-57 (2017).
[Actors and scenarios as key determinants to the drug policy in Peru. The case of implementation of coca leaf control in the Monzón Valley 2010-2015]

"Revocatoria de mandato subnacional en ciudades grandes de América del Sur: Lima Metropolitana (2013) en perspectiva comparada" *Revista de Ciencia Política y Gobierno* 3(6): 175-206 (2016).
[Recall Referendum at a Subnational Level in Big Cities from South America: Metropolitan Lima (2013) in Comparative Perspective]

Non-refereed

"Social Media Disruption: Messaging Mistrust in Latin America" (with Lupu, N. and Zechmeister, E. J.), *Journal of Democracy* 31(3): 160-171 (2020).

"Rule of Law: Corruption, Crime and Justice for Gender-Based Violence" (with Facundo Salles Kobilanski and Adam D. Wolsky), in Lupu, N., Rodriguez, M. & Zechmeister, E.J. (Eds.). *Pulse of Democracy*. Nashville, TN: LAPOP: 56-88, 2021.

"Are We Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals? Using AmericasBarometer Data to Measure Progress in the Americas" (with Noam Lupu and Laura M. Sellers). *Insights Report*. Nashville, TN: LAPOP, 2020.

Participación en organizaciones cívicas, y percepciones sobre servicios y políticas públicas en la República Dominicana. Nashville, TN: LAPOP, 2019.

[Participation in civic organizations, and perceptions on public services and policies in Dominican Republic]

"Tolerance of Executive 'Coups' in Peru" (with Elizabeth J. Zechmeister) *Topical Brief 035*. Nashville, TN: LAPOP, 2019.

"Tolerance of Executive Coups in Peru" (with Elizabeth J. Zechmeister), in Zechmeister, E.J. & Lupu, N. (Eds.). *Pulse of Democracy*. Nashville, TN: LAPOP: 69, 2019.

"Social Media and Political Attitudes" (with Noam Lupu & Elizabeth J. Zechmeister), in Zechmeister, E.J. & Lupu, N. (Eds.). *Pulse of Democracy*. Nashville, TN: LAPOP: 52-65, 2019.

Democracia y territorio en países unitarios. Una agenda de investigación pendiente. (with Chávez, N.; Cueva, C. and Encinas, D.). Lima: Jurado Nacional de Elecciones, 2016.

[Democracy and Territory in Unitarian Countries. Unsettled Research Agenda]

Agenda nacional de investigación para la lucha contra las drogas, 2016-2021. (with Casas, F. and Guevara, E.). Lima: DEVIDA – Observatorio Peruano de Drogas, 2015.

[National Research Agenda for the Fight against Drugs, 2016 - 2021]

"Informes de las organizaciones extranjeras sobre el Proceso Electoral Ordinario en el Distrito Federal 2014-2015," in Instituto Electoral del Distrito Federal. *Perspectiva ciudadana sobre la elección concurrente en el Distrito Federal 2015. Informes de observadores electorales y visitantes extranjeros*. Mexico DF: IEDF, 197-201, 2015.

[Report from Foreign Organizations about the Ordinary Electoral Process in the Federal District 2014 – 2015]

Proceso de reforma electoral de Perú: Un análisis de reglas y actores (2011-2015). Washington D.C.: Secretaría de Asuntos Políticos de las Organización de los Estados Americanos (SAP/OEA), 2015.

[Electoral Reform Process in Peru: An analysis of rules and actors (2011-2015)]

Reformas a los mecanismos de democracia directa y participación ciudadana en América Latina (1978-2015) (with Adrán Porras). Washington D.C.: Secretaría de Asuntos Políticos de las Organización de los estados Americanos (SAP/OEA), 2015.

[Reforms to Direct Democracy Mechanisms, and Citizenship Participation in Latin America (1978-2015)]

National Office of Electoral Processes (ONPE, for its initials in Spanish) related publications upon request (2011-2013).

Work in Progress

"How Do Drug-trafficking Organizations Shape Political Attitudes?" (Under review)

"How Poll Worker Attendance Affects Elections: Evidence from Peru" With Mollie Cohen (Working paper)

"Authoritarianism in the Shadows: Drug Trafficking and the Politics of Obedience" (In progress)

"Organized Crime and Political Participation: How does Extortion Shape Turnout and Protests Participation in Chile?" With Veronica Hurtado (Data Collection)

HONORS AND AWARDS

2025 Heidelberg Center for the Environment (HCE), Seed Fund Workshop "Challenging Extrativism in the Andes" with J. Müller & N. Zanetta-Colombo. €10,000.

2024 Visions in Methodology (VIM) Conference Travel Award, Washington University in St. Louis. \$600.

2024 Political Science Summer Research Award, Department of Political Science. Vanderbilt University. \$1000.

2024 Travel Grant, International Studies Association (ISA). \$400.

2024 Pre-stage Cook Travel Award, Southern Political Science Association (SPSA). \$300.

2023 APSA Latino Fund Award, American Political Science Association (APSA). \$500.

2023 First Generation Scholars Travel and Accessibility Grant, American Political Science Association (APSA). \$145.

2023 EPOVB Early Career Fellowship, American Political Science Association (APSA). \$500.

2023 Travel Grant, Institute for Humane Studies (IHS). \$450.

2023 Summer Centennial Center Research Grant, American Political Science Association (APSA). \$2434.

2023 Graduate Student Council Travel Grant, Vanderbilt University. \$500.

2023 APSA Travel Grant, American Political Science Association. \$150.

2023 Graduate School Travel Grant, Vanderbilt University. \$1000.

2023 Political Science Travel Award, Department of Political Science. Vanderbilt University. \$750.

2023 APSA EPOVB Travel Award, Institute of Politics at Florida State University. \$400.

2023 Dissertation Enhancement Grant, Russell G. Hamilton Graduate Leadership Institute. Vanderbilt University. \$1850.

2022 Summer Program Scholarship, Advancing Research on Conflict (ARC) Consortium. Full scholarship. \$1500.

2022 Graduate School Travel Grant, Vanderbilt University. \$500.

2022 Summer Research Award, College of Arts and Science. Vanderbilt University. \$2400.

2022 Political Science Fellowship Funding, Department of Political Science. Vanderbilt University. \$1500.

2022 Simon Collier Travel Award for Summer, Center for Latin American, Caribbean, and Latinx Studies. Vanderbilt University. \$2500.

2018 IPSA World Congress of Political Science Travel Award, Electoral Integrity Project. \$500. Declined.

2017 Certificate in the Center of Economic Research and Teaching (CIDE), Aguascalientes, Mexico. Full scholarship to participate in the Certificate Drug Policy, Health and Human Rights 2017.

2017 5th Summer School of Mixed Methods, Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. Partial scholarship, which covered 50 % of the tuition (150 thousand Chilean pesos), awarded by the Political Science Institute from Pontifical Catholic University of Chile.

2014 Honorable mention as Best Thesis, Contest for the Best Undergraduate Thesis in Political Science and Government. B.A. Social Science Department - Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (PUCP).

CONFERENCES AND PRESENTATIONS

Latin American PolMeth Meeting at Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, November 21-22, 2025 in Viña del Mar. (*scheduled*).

How Do Drug Trafficking Organizations Shape Political Attitudes? Evidence from Peru. Presentation at REDESAL, October 7 and 8, 2025 in Bogotá. (*scheduled*).

Second Bilateral Academic Forum Germany-Chile, June 16-18, 2025 in Berlin.

Toward a Just Transition: Current Debates and Negotiations Around Just Energy Transition in Chile, with Irigoyen, A. and Lehmann, R. at CEISAL Congress 2025, June 2-4, 2025 in Paris.

How Do Drug Trafficking Organizations Shape Political Attitudes? Evidence from Peru. Presentation at Midwest Political Science Association Conference, April 3-7, 2025 in Chicago.

Organized Crime and Political Participation: How does Extortion Shape Turnout and Protests Participation in Chile?, with Hurtado, V. Presentation at Comparative Politics Conference on Citizen's Trust and Polarization, March 27-28, 2025 in Saarbrücken.

How do Drug-trafficking Organizations Shape Political Attitudes? Evidence from Peru. Presentation at Workshop Rising Scholar in Comparative Politics in Latin America, March 10-11, 2025 in Oxford.

The Narco-economy and Incumbent's Support: A Case Study of Monzón Valley. Presentation at Workshop Informality as a Methodological Approach, February 14-15, 2025 in Naples.

Organized Crime and Political Participation: How does Extortion Shape Turnout and Protests Participation in Chile?, with Hurtado, V. Presentation at Seminario Interdisciplinario en Comportamiento Político y Opinión Pública, January 7, 2025 (online).

Organized Crime and Political Participation: How does Extortion Shape Turnout and Protests Participation in Chile?, with Hurtado, V. Presentation at EU-VALUES Conference, December 5-6, 2024 in Santiago de Chile.

How Poll Worker Attendance Affects Elections: Evidence from Peru. Presentation at the Center for Data and Methods' (CDM) Colloquium, November 27, 2024 in Konstanz.

Organized Crime and Political Participation: How does Extortion Shape Turnout and Protests Participation in Chile?, with Hurtado, V. Lightning talk at 2024 Urban Politics in the Global South conference, November 14-15, 2024 (online).

Organized Crime and Political Participation: How does Extortion Shape Turnout and Protests Participation in Chile?, with Hurtado, V. Presentation at XI COES International Conference, November 7, 2024 in Valparaíso.

How do Drug-trafficking Organizations Shape Political Attitudes? Evidence from Peru. Presentation at HCIAS Wednesday Colloquium, November 6, 2024 in Heidelberg.

Electoral Support for Candidates Involved in Drug Trafficking: Experimental Evidence from Peru. Presentation at International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, June 12-15, 2024 in Bogotá (online).

Who should we believe? (Mis)match between elites' and ordinary people's perspectives on in-depth interviews. Poster presentation at Visions in Methodology Conference (VIM 2024), May 23-24, 2023, Washington University.

How Do Drug Trafficking Organizations Shape Political Attitudes? Evidence from Peru. Presentation at Violence, Instability, and Peace (VIP) Workshop (virtual), April 25, 2024.

Electoral Support for Candidates Involved in Drug Trafficking: Experimental Evidence from Peru. Presentation at 81st Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference, April 4 - 7, in Chicago.

Pay It Forward: Women Helping Women Workshop. 65th ISA Annual Convention, April 2, 2024, in San Francisco.

The Narco-economy and Incumbent's Support: A Case Study of Monzón Valley (Peru). Presentation at Southern Political Science Association, January 10-13, 2024, in New Orleans.

Electoral Support for Candidates Involved in Drug Trafficking: Experimental Evidence from Peru. Poster presentation at Latin American Political Methodology Meeting, November 17-18, 2023, in Recife, Brazil.

ARC Annual Conference, October 28-29, 2023, in Washington D.C.

The Narco-economy and Incumbent's Support: A Case Study of Monzón Valley. 2023 Southwest Workshop on Mixed Methods Research, October 19-20, 2023, in Maryland.

Bridging the Gap's New Era Workshop (NEW), October 15-17, 2023, in Denver.

Electoral Support for Candidates Involved in Drug Trafficking: Experimental Evidence from Peru. Presentation at American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 31-September 3, 2023, in Los Angeles.

Drug Trafficking and Support for Local Government. A Comparative Analysis of the Andes. Presentation at Midwest Political Science Association Conference, April 13-16, 2023, in Chicago.

Electoral Support for Candidates Involved in Drug Trafficking: Experimental Evidence from Peru. Poster presentation at the Inaugural Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior (EPOVB) Conference, March 2-4, 2023, Florida State University.

How Do Drug-trafficking Organizations Shape Political Attitudes? Evidence from Peru. Poster presentation at the 2022 LAPOP Conference, The Public and Democracy in the Americas, September 30 and October 1, 2022, in Antigua (Guatemala).

¿Retocesismo democrático en América Latina? Actitudes de los ciudadanos hacia maniobras del Ejecutivo para el cierre del Congreso. Poster presentation at the 2020 LAPOP Conference, The Public and Democracy in the Americas (virtual), October 22 and 23, 2020.

Política Territorial en "Clases, Estado y Nación en el Perú." Un análisis de las continuidades y cambios. Presentation at Latin American Studies Association (LASA)'s Annual Meeting, May 24–28, in Boston.

¿Más riqueza, más miedo? Crecimiento económico, capacidad del Estado y miedo al crimen en Perú. Presentation at Latin American Studies Association (LASA)'s Annual Meeting, May 23–26, in Barcelona (Spain).

Forms of Association between Terrorism and Illegal Markets: Historical Nexus between Shining Path and the Cocaine Market in Peru (1985–2016). Poster presentation at Annual Conference of the European Society of Criminology, 13–16 September, 2017, in Cardiff (UK), with Casas, F. & Zevallos, N.

Violence Organization in Order to Control the Illicit Markets: The Historical Linkage between Shining Path and the Cocaine Market in Peru (1985–2016). Presentation at ECPR Standing Group on Organized Crime, 7–8 July, 2017, in Bath (UK), with Casas, F. & Zevallos, N.

Revocatoria de mandato subnacional en ciudades grandes de América Latina: Perú en perspectiva comparada. Presentation at the Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, May 27–30, 2016, in New York.

Crecimiento económico, capacidad del Estado y miedo al crimen en Perú. Presentation at Political Science Latin American Congress, July 22–24, 2015, in Lima (Peru), with López, N. & Becerra, M. G.

SERVICE

Research Experience

APSA EPOVB Fellowship Program (AY 2023–2024)

LAPOP Lab (Fall 2018, 2020; Spring 2019, 2024, Summer 2019–2023)

Prof. Elizabeth J. Zechmeister (Fall 2019)

Prof. Mollie Cohen (June 2013, Summer 2019)

Subnational Policy Research Group, PUCP (June 2015–2018)

Peruvian Cocaine Monitoring Research Program, Criminology Laboratory PUCP (2016–2017)

Political Reforms in Latin America Project, OAS (2014–2015)

Referee

América Latina Hoy, Latin American Research Review, Política, Revista de Ciencia Política, Analecta política, Revista Elecciones, Public Choice, Research and Politics.

Discipline

Discussant and Panel Chair - MPSA 2025

Co-organization of Mini-conference on Organized Crime - APSA 2024

Co-organization of Mini-conference on Organized Crime - MPSA 2024

MPSA Discussant, 2024

SPSA Discussant and Panel Chair, 2024

Catalyst Network, Center for Effective Global Action (CEGA) at the University of California (Feb 2024–)

Country Expert for Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem)

Vanderbilt University

First Generation and Low Income (FGLI) Mentoring Program, Vanderbilt University (Fall 2023 & Spring 2024)

First-year mentor, Vanderbilt University Political Science graduate program (Spring 2023, 2024, Fall 2021, 2023)

Other

Foreign Observer in the Mexican Federal Elections, 2014-2015. Federal Electoral Institute of the Federal District (IEDF), Mexico City, Mexico (June 2015).

Politai Association, PUCP (2010–2013). [*Journal editor in 2012*].

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Instructor. Heidelberg University (with Universidad de Chile), Heidelberg, Germany.
International Diploma on Public Communications. June 2025.

Assistant Instructor. Heidelberg University, Heidelberg, Germany.
Collegio Futuro (4EU+). Spring School 2025.

Leading Instructor. Vanderbilt University, Nashville, US.
Graduate Student Workshop: How to Conduct Fieldwork in Political Science. Fall 2023.

Teaching Assistant. Vanderbilt University, Nashville, US.
PSCI 1101: Introduction to Comparative Politics. Fall 2022.
PSCI 1102: Introduction to International Politics. Spring 2022, Spring 2020.
PSCI 2265: Constitutional Law: Powers and Structures of Government. Fall 2021 (grader).

Teaching Assistant. Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (PUCP), Lima, Peru.
INT124: Academic Research. 2017.
POL210: Research Methods in Political Science. 2015-2017.

WORK EXPERIENCE

Researcher for Peruvian Electoral Management Institutions: National Electoral Jury (2012, 2014), National Office of Electoral Processes (2012-2013), and National Identity and Civil Status Register (2017-2018), as well as National Commission for Development and Life without Drugs (2015-2016).

Consulting for the Peruvian Interior Ministry (2017), USAID via Metis Gaia (2016), Organization of American States (2014-2015), Institute of Public Opinion at PUCP (2013-14), etc.

FIELDWORK RESEARCH

- **Peru:** Lima (April, June and November 2012, June 2013, April-October 2016, December 2019, June-July 2022, May-July 2023; Feb 2024); La Libertad (March 2013); Ica (September 2013); San Martín (February 2016); Arequipa (June 2019); Áncash (June 2019) and Huánuco (November-December 2016, July 2022).
- **Mexico:** Cd. de México (June 2015).

LANGUAGES & SKILLS

Spanish (native), English (fluent), French (intermediate), German (basic), Quechua (basic).

Computational Skills: Stata, R, LaTeX, Qualtrics, QGIS.

Research experience: Observational causal inference, fieldwork, focus groups, semi-structured interviews, public opinion surveys, experiments, media content analysis, archival work.

REFERENCES

Prof. Elizabeth J. Zechmeister
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Prof. Noam Lupu
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