# Zoila Ponce de León

University of Pittsburgh
poncedeleon@pitt.edu
www.zoilaponcedeleon.com

## Academic Appointments

| | |
|---|---|
| 2024- | Assistant Professor, School of Public and International Affairs<br>Affiliated Faculty, Political Science Department<br>Affiliated Faculty, Center for Latin American Studies<br>*University of Pittsburgh* |
| 2018-2024 | Assistant Professor, Politics Department<br>Core Faculty, Latin American and Caribbean Studies Program<br>*Washington and Lee University* |

## Education

| | |
|---|---|
| 2018 | Ph.D. in Political Science<br>*The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*<br>Major field: Comparative Politics, Minor fields: Public Policy, Methodology |
| 2014 | M.A. in Political Science<br>*The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill* |
| 2011 | B.A. (honors) in Political Science<br>*Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú* |

## Research and Teaching Interests

Comparative public policy, comparative politics, social policy, policy process, political economy, healthcare, welfare access, immigration attitudes, deportation attitudes, political parties, public opinion, Latin America, Peru, Chile, Mexico, Brazil

## Books

1 *The Politics of Healthcare Expansion: Policy Reform and Political Parties in Latin America.* 2026. Cambridge University Press. *Forthcoming* [link]

2 *Comparative Politics: Integrating Theories, Methods, and Cases*, 4th ed., with Tyler Dickovick, Jonathan Eastwood, and Robin LeBlanc. 2022. Oxford University Press. [link]

## Refereed Journal Articles

3 "Immigration and Deportation Attitudes: Sexuality, Economic Contributions, and Respondents' Partisanship," with Gabriele Magni. *International Migration Review. Forthcoming*. [link]

4 "Healthcare Reform out of Nowhere? Policy Reform and the Lack of Programmatic Commitment in Peru." 2021. *Journal of Latin American Studies* 53(3): 493-519. [link]

**Winner of the Journal of Latin American Studies Best Article Prize.**

5 "Women Want an Answer! Field Experiments on Gender Bias in Legislator Responsiveness," with Gabriele Magni. 2021. *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 8(3): 273–284. [link]

**Selected by the Harvard Kennedy School's Women and Public Policy Program for its Gender Action Portal.**

6 "Peru 2018: Political Precariousness in the Times of Lava Jato," with Luis García. 2019. *Revista de Ciencia Política* 39(2): 341-365. [link]

7 "The Changing Shapes of Latin American Welfare States," with Evelyne Huber. 2019. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press. [link]

## Chapters in Edited Volumes

8 "Global Disputes and National Ineffectiveness: Vaccinating in Times of COVID-19." In *Perú Global.* Alberto Vergara and Adrian Lerner, eds. Fondo Editorial de la Universidad del Pacífico/Planeta. *Forthcoming*.

9 "Field Research/Experiments" with Gabriele Magni. 2026. In *Political Science Research in Practice, 3rd ed.* Akan Malici and Elizabeth Smith, eds. Routledge. [link]

10 "Healthcare and the Public-Private Mix in Mexico, Chile, and Peru." 2023. In *The Oxford Handbook of Governance and Public Management for Social Policy.* Karen J. Baehler, ed. Oxford University Press. [link]

11 "Healthcare System Reform" (Reforma del sistema sanitario y de salud). 2022. In *Balance de Investigación 2016-2021 y Agenda de Investigación 2021-2026*. CIES. [link]

12 "Healthcare System in Peru and COVID-19" (Sistema de Salud en el Perú y el COVID-19). 2021. In *Políticas y Debates Públicos.* Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. [link]

## Journal Articles Under Review

13 "Here to Stay": Immigration and Deportation Attitudes, with Gabriele Magni.

14 Welfare Deservingness and Immigration Status: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Brazil, with Sara Niedzwiecki.

## Manuscripts in Preparation

15 Layered Access: How Inclusive Healthcare Systems Produce Unequal Outcomes for Immigrants

16 Who Gets Care? Immigration Enforcement and Healthcare Inequality, with Daniel Jones

17 What Makes Political Violence Acceptable? Conjoint Evidence from Latin America, with Natán Skigin.

18 Economic Drivers of Attitudes Toward Immigrants in Brazil.

19 Party-Voter Policy Congruence: Rethinking its Relationship to Clientelism.

## Public Scholarship

"Populist and Authoritarian Values among Lula's and Bolsonaro's Supporters" with Gabriele Magni. *The Washington Post's Monkey Cage*, October 24, 2022. [link]

"Women politicians more likely to reply to people who reach out in need, study shows," with Gabriele Magni. *The Conversation*, October 19, 2020. [link]

"How gender affects the response rates of politicians to inquiries about healthcare and unemployment support," with Gabriele Magni. 2020. *European Politics and Policy at the London School of Economics*, August 21, 2020. [link]

## Other Publications

"Decisiones de política pública en una democracia sin partidos: el caso del 'SOAT médico'" (Public Policy Decisions in a Democracy without Parties: the Case of 'SOAT Médico'). 2012. *Politai Revista de Ciencia Política* 3(5): 181-192.

*Drogas y política carcelaria en el Perú* (Drugs and Prison Policy in Peru), with Jérôme Mangelinckx and Juan M. Torres. 2012. Lima: Centro de Investigación Drogas y Derechos Humanos.

## Research Grants

### External

2026 Finalist - Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Learning from Abroad to Reimagine Health Knowledge Systems for Equity and Wellbeing Grant (Pending)

2022 Summer Centennial Center Research Grant, APSA ($2,500)

2021 Economic and Social Research Consortium (CIES) Annual Research Contest (Healthcare System Reform) ($4,000)

2015, 2013 Fund for Latino Scholarship, APSA ($1,100)

### Internal

2019-2023 Lenfest Summer Research Grants, WLU

2017, 2015, 2014 Thomas M. Uhlman Summer Research Award, UNC-Chapel Hill

2014 Tinker Foundation Summer Pre-dissertation Field Research Grant, Institute for the Study of the Americas

## Fellowships and Awards

2025–2026 NASPAA NEXT Leadership Development Program

2024 VFIC Mednick Memorial Fellowship

2022 Best Article Prize, Journal of Latin American Studies

2018 John Patrick Hagan Award for Outstanding Teaching, UNC-Chapel Hill

2017-2018 Academic Year Dissertation Completion Fellowship, UNC-Chapel Hill

2016 Mellon Summer Dissertation Fellowship, Institute for the Study of the Americas

2016 Spring Off-Campus Dissertation Research Fellowship, UNC-Chapel Hill

2015 Matthew J. Burbank Summer Research Fellowship, UNC-Chapel Hill

2011 Best Undergraduate Thesis in Political Science and Government Prize, PUCP

2011 Award for Highest GPA upon Graduation in Political Science and Government, PUCP

## Travel Grants

2019 Artinian Travel Award, SPSA (declined)

2018 Graduate Student Transportation Grant, UNC-Chapel Hill

2018 Prestage-Cook Travel Award, SPSA

2017 Southeast Latin American Behavior Consortium Travel Award

2017 Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy Travel Grant, National University of Singapore

2017, 2015 Mellon Conference Travel Award, Institute for the Study of the Americas

2017, 2015 Whit Ayres Fund for Graduate Student Support, UNC-Chapel Hill

2016 APSA Annual Meeting Travel Grant

## Conference Presentations

"Layered Access: How Inclusive Healthcare Systems Produce Unequal Outcomes for Immigrants." LASA 2026

"The Politics of Healthcare Expansion: Policy Reform and Political Parties in Latin America." REPAL, LASA 2026

"Who Gets to Stay? Economic Contributions, Sexuality, and Partisanship in Deportation Attitudes." IPSA, EPSA, MPSA, WPSA 2025.

"Political Parties and Policy Reform: Expansion of Healthcare in Latin America." APSA 2024; SPSA 2023; APSA 2022; MPSA, ISA 2021; PolSoc 2020.

"Immigration and Deportation: Attitudes in Brazil and the United States." REPAL, MPSA 2024; International Political Economy Society (IPES), EPSA, Borders and Boundaries (Penn Perry World House) 2023; APSA; EPSA 2022.

"Immigration and Welfare Deservingness. A Survey Experiment of Transfers and Services in Brazil." APSA, SPSA 2023.

"Party-Voter Policy Congruence: Rethinking its Relationship to Clientelism." Mini-Conference of the Southeast Latin American Behavior Consortium 2018.

"Two Paths to Reform: Political Parties and Technocrats in Latin American Healthcare Policy." LASA, SPSA 2018.

"Healthcare and the Public-Private Mix in Mexico, Chile and Peru." LASA 2018.

"The Role of Political Parties as Policymakers: Health Reform and Programmatic Commitments in Latin America." International Conference on Public Policy, LASA 2017.

"Electoral Rules, Gender, and Legislators' Responsiveness: Field Experiments from Europe and Latin America." EPSA 2017.

"Policy Reform and Programmatic Commitments: The Role of Political Parties as Policymakers in the Peruvian Health Reform." MPSA 2017.

"Institutional Environment and Responsiveness of MPs: Field Experiments from Latin America and Europe." APSA 2016.

"Transactional Representation: Rethinking Party Congruence and its Relationship to Clientelism." APSA, LASA 2015; Political Accountability Workshop, Duke University, 2014.

"The Politics of Health Reform in Latin America: Agenda Setting and Decision Making in Chile and Peru." Congreso Latinoamericano de Ciencia Politica, Lima, July 22-24, 2015.

## Invited Talks

2025: University of Pittsburgh's Mock World Health Organization

2024: University of Chicago; University of Alabama; University of Pittsburgh's Center for Latin American Studies (CLAS)

2023: University of California, Santa Cruz

2021: Peru's Ministry of Health (MINSA)-Economic and Social Research Consortium (CIES); Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú's School of Government and Public Policy; Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú's Law School

## Research Experience

Field Research in Chile, Mexico, and Peru.

Lateral Coding for the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project, Spring 2014.

Researcher at the Center for Drugs and Human Rights Research, Lima, Peru, 2011-2012.

Research Assistant for the Office of Congressman Daniel Robles, Lima, Peru, 2010.

## Teaching Experience

2024- **University of Pittsburgh**
PIA 3121: Policy Theory (PhD)
PIA 0101: How Public Policy Works (Undergraduate)

2018-2024 **Washington and Lee University**
Immigration Attitudes
Latin American Politics
Applied Statistics
Global Politics
Dystopian Fiction, Horror, and Politics

2013-2017 **UNC Chapel Hill**
Contemporary Latin American Politics (Instructor)
Introduction to Comparative Politics (Teaching Assistant)

2012 **Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú**
Academic Research in Political Science (Teaching Assistant)

2023 **Associated Colleges of the South**
Workshop on Interactive Learning Practices in Undergraduate Statistics

## Service

*University of Pittsburgh*

Member, PhD Program Committee, 2024-present.

Member, Ph.D. Dissertation Committee (Chelsie Spinner), 2025-present.

Comprehensive Exam Reader (Katelan Hudson), 2024-present.

Faculty Mentor, Pittsburgh Policy Initiative (PPI), 2024-present.

*WLU*

Faculty Advisor, Association of Latino Professionals For America (ALPFA), 2023-2024; Recruitment Ambassador, 2022-2024; Student Affairs Committee, 2021-2024; University Committee on Inclusiveness and Campus Climate, 2020-2024; Williams School Assurance of Learning Committee, 2019-2024; Advisory Board for Global Learning, 2018-2023; Williams School Statistical Literacy Committee, 2018-2019.

*Profession*

Reviewer, *American Journal of Political Science, Comparative Political Studies; Comparative Politics; British Journal of Political Science; Political Behavior; Journal of Politics in Latin America; Latin American Politics and Society; Latin American Research Review; Journal of Development Studies; Politics, Groups, and Identities; Global Social Policy; PLOS One; Revista de Ciencia Política; Revista de Direito Sanitário; Politai; La Colmena; Administración y Desarollo; Politics and the Life Sciences*

Member, Ph.D. Dissertation Committee (Tiago Tasca, University of California-Santa Cruz), May 2023-June 2026.

Chair, MPSA Section on Health, Education and Social Policy, 2021.

Graduate Coordinator, UNC-Duke Latin American Politics Working Group, 2014-2015.

## Skills

*Languages:* Spanish (native), English (fluent), Portuguese (advanced), French (intermediate)

*Statistical Packages and Applications:* R, Stata, LaTeX

## Additional Training

APSA Centennial Center Teaching and Learning Symposium, Washington, DC, Summer 2019.

Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Methods Research, Syracuse University, Summer 2015.

## Professional Memberships

American Political Science Association (APSA), Latin American Studies Association (LASA), European Political Science Association (EPSA), International Political Science Association (IPSA) Red para el Estudio de la Economía Política de América Latina (REPAL), Red Latinoamericana de Análisis de la Política Social (PolSoc)