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Education

University of São Paulo

Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science (Degree expected, February 2023)

Ph.D. Dissertation: *Populism in Contemporary Brazil: A Comparative Analysis of Collor's, Lula's and Bolsonaro's Official Speeches*.

Committee: Paolo Ricci (Chair), Lucio Rennó (University of Brasília), Paulo Peres (Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul), (TBA), (TBA).

Federal University of Santa Catarina

MA Political Sociology (2018)

Master's thesis: [Expertise as Criterion For The Composition of the Constitution, Justice and Citizenship Committee in the Chamber of Deputies \(2011 - 2015\)](#).

Committee: Tiago Daher Borges Padovezi (Chair), Yan de Souza Carreirão, Clarissa Franzoni Dri.

BA Social Sciences (2016)

Bachelor's thesis: [Participatory Budget and Contemporary Democratic Theory: Between Participation and Representation](#).

Committee: Ligia Helena Hahn Lüchamnn (Chair), Tiago Daher Borges Padovezi, Tiago Losso.

Publications

1. Venturelli, G. 2020. [Opening Black Boxes: Jon Elster's Methodological Contributions to Social Sciences](#). *Mediações* 25(2):393-411. (Published in Portuguese).
2. Venturelli, G. 2017. [From Representation to Participation: A Change Among Representative Democracy Authors](#). *Em Debate* 17:84-106. (Published in Portuguese).
3. Venturelli, G. et al. 2014. An Introduction to the Science of Society: Sociology Notebook. Social Sciences Teaching Initiation Program, Federal University of Santa Catarina. (Courseware).

Working Papers¹

1. Venturelli, Gustavo; [Ricci, Paolo](#). Between Populism and Nationalism: An Ideational Approach on Jair Bolsonaro's Speeches (2019 - 2020). (English).
Brief Overview: In this paper we apply content analysis to measure populism and nationalism in Bolsonaro's official speeches (n = 334) from the ideational approach. The results show a low but continuous intensity of populism, through which Bolsonaro resembles right-wing European populist leaders and their attacks towards left-wing ideologies and the political class. Nationalism is sporadic and

¹ I briefly presented the papers with short abstracts in this section because I am still constructing a personal website.

appears especially related to sovereignty when the subject is the Brazilian Amazon, and in its civilizationism type, when Bolsonaro stands for what he considers the Brazilian civilizational model against the internal threats to it: LGBTQIA+ and indigenous people. Finally, we shed light on the relationship between populism and democracy, discussing some of the President's authoritarian attempts against other powers, the electoral process, and civil society.

2. [Ricci, Paolo](#); Venturelli, Gustavo; Tiengo, Guilherme; Viola, Andre. Populism in Brazilian Party Manifestos: Presidential and Gubernatorial Elections (2010 - 2018). (*English*). (*Portuguese version accepted for the Brazilian Political Science Association Conference*).

Brief Overview: Are there populist parties in Brazil? From the Ideational Approach, this paper uses a mix of automated and hand-coding content analysis to measure populism in Brazilian party manifestos from the 2010 and 2018 presidential and gubernatorial elections. We test the hypothesis that the Brazilian party system, a hyper fragmented one, has only left-wing populist parties, such as PSOL, PCO, PCB, and PSTU. Even though Bolsonaro got elected through a little party with a populist discourse, the party itself is not populist. Our findings reinforce the personalistic way by which elections work in Brazil, despite the fact that policy-making is totally party-based. Given the low rates but the repeated frequency of populism in unexpected parties, we also discuss the ontology of the populism concept, since it seems to be a continuous rather than a dichotomous concept.

3. Venturelli, Gustavo; [Tamaki, Eduardo](#). Out With the Old, in With the New: A New Perspective to the Brazilian Populist Democracy (1946 - 1964). (*English*).

Brief Overview: The "populist democracy" presidents were really populists? This paper suggests a new approach to analyze an old subject: the so-called Brazilian "populist democracy" which lasted 22 years in the middle of the twentieth century. We apply holistic grading to analyze speeches addressed by all the elected presidents in that period. We test the hypothesis that populism was overestimated by scholars from the 1960s and 1970s, therefore, we expect to find low rates or any populist appeals among the discourses we are analyzing. At best, one or another president of that time could be classified as somewhat populist.

4. Venturelli, Gustavo; [dos Santos, Pedro](#). Tweeters in Chief: Populism, Masculinity, and the Tweets of Donald Trump and Jair Bolsonaro. (*English*).

Brief Overview: Considering the central role of social media in contemporary politics, especially for right-wing populist leaders, we measure populism and masculinity in Donald Trump and Jair Bolsonaro's tweets throughout 2020. We hypothesize that the relationship between populist appeals and macho exhibitions would increase in consonance with the development of the pandemic. This pattern might be noticed through constant attacks against the media, scientific and intellectual elites, in order to stand for the people and their supposed will; and by demonstrations of strength, braveness, and manhood regarding the way one should deal with the virus.

5. Venturelli, Gustavo.; [Tamaki, Eduardo](#); Daher, Daniel; Tiengo, Guilherme. From Ambiguity to Quasi-consensus: a Literature Review of the Efforts on Defining Populism (1967 - 2021). (*Portuguese*).

Brief Overview: What is populism? In order to update the Brazilian debate on populism, and to answer this question, we trace a long historical path to present the most important efforts to define this so contested concept. We devote a section to normative discussions, and another three focus on the main contemporary empirical approaches to the phenomenon: the strategic approach, the cultural approach, and the ideational approach. We present the concepts, their elements, and potential empirical indicators, their advantages, and their weak/limitations.

6. Tamaki, Eduardo, Gustavo Venturelli, and Matheus G. M. Ferreira. Loudmouth, Sharp Tongue: the use of Debasing Language by Brazil's President Jair Bolsonaro. In: Feldman, Ofer. *Dissing and Derision: Political Leaders' Vulgar Rhetoric and Ridicule around the Globe*. New York: Springer. (Forthcoming).
7. Tamaki, Eduardo, and Gustavo Venturelli. International Constellations of the Populist Radical-Right: An Analysis of Jair Bolsonaro's International Speeches (2019 - 2020). In: Lacatus, Corina, Georg Löffmann, and Gustav Meibauer. *Populism, Political Communication and Performative Leadership in International Politics*. (Forthcoming).
Brief Overview: While, in theory, the populist radical right ideology is hostile to international cooperation and sees International Relations as a zero-sum game, leaders from this camp have supported each other and adopted common elements in their anti-globalization and ultraconservative discourse across the globe. This chapter aims to analyze and discuss how Jair Bolsonaro, a populist radical right leader, engaged in populism primarily through international discourses that go beyond regional particularities, uniting himself against a wave of progressive-values changes based on the narrative of a 'culture war.' Like a Don Quixote who keeps attacking windmills, Bolsonaro combines religiosity, nationalism, patriotism, xenophobia, and authoritarian-leaning elements to create a common narrative that resonates among those disgruntled who feel betrayed and left behind. This chapter presents a case study of the current Brazilian President, Jair Bolsonaro, applying a mixed man-machine content analysis method to classify his official speeches during his first two years as president. The study distinguishes between national and international discourses, focusing primarily on his international speeches and looking at how different elements come together under a single umbrella of populism, fueled with 'culture war' and authoritarian elements.

Communications

1. Venturelli, Gustavo.; Ricci, Paolo.; Tiengo, Guilherme.; Viola, Andre. Populism in Brazilian Party Manifestos: Presidential and Gubernatorial Elections (2010 - 2018). *79th Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, 2022.
2. Venturelli, Gustavo.; [Tamaki, Eduardo](#). Out With the Old, in With the New: A New Perspective to the Brazilian Populist Democracy (1946 - 1964). *79th Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference*, Chicago, 2022.
3. Venturelli, G.; Ricci, P. Between Populism and Nationalism: An Ideational Approach on Jair Bolsonaro's Speeches (2019 - 2010). *European Consortium for Political Research General Conference*. Virtual, 2021.
4. Venturelli, G. Brazil Above Everything, God Above Everyone: An Ideational Approach to Jair Bolsonaro's Speeches in His First Year in Government. *78th Annual Midwest Political Science Association Conference*. Virtual, 2021.
5. Venturelli, G. An informational approach on the composition process of the Constitution, Justice and Citizenship Committee of the Chamber of Deputies. *VI Brazilian Graduate Forum of Political Science* at Federal University of Pará, Belém, PA, 2019.
6. Venturelli, G. Democracy in Santa Catarina's education: elections for school principals as the perpetuations of political indications. *V Undergrad National Meeting and IV National Conference of PIBID* at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte, Natal, RN, 2016.

Fellowships

1. *Internationalization Program*. Fellowship to conduct part of the research abroad. New York City under the supervision of David Plotke (The New School for Social Research).

Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES), Sep 2021 - Feb 2022.

2. Ph.D. Fellowship. *Populism in Contemporary Brazil: A Comparative Analysis of Collor's, Lula's and Bolsonaro's Official Speeches*. National Council for the Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq), Feb 2018 - Feb 2022.
3. Teaching Assistant. *Politics IV: Brazilian Political Institutions*. The University of São Paulo. Feb 2020 - Jul 2020.
4. Master's Fellowship. Expertise as Criterion For The Composition of the Constitution, Justice and Citizenship Committee in the Chamber of Deputies (2011 - 2015). Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES). Feb 2016 - Jan 2018.
5. Scientific Initiation. *Changes and stability in the patterns of political participation in Brazil: a longitudinal analysis of Brazilian's political engagement (1988 - 2013)*. National Council for the Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq), 2014 - 2015.
6. Teaching Initiation Program/Teaching intern. *Teaching Social Sciences in Public High School: a comparative analysis of two cases*. Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES), 2012 - 2014.

Skills

1. Languages: Portuguese, English, Spanish.
2. Softwares: R.