

# Gabriel Cepaluni

## São Paulo State University

School of Humanities and Social Sciences  
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## Academic Appointments

2017 – Present. Associate Professor (with tenure) in the Department of International Relations and the Master's in Public Policy at São Paulo State University.

2023. Senior Lecturer in Social and Public Policy (fixed-term), School of Social and Public Policy, University of Lincoln, UK.

2010 – 2017. Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, São Paulo State University.

## Education

2017. [Habilitation \(or \*Livre-Docência\*\) in International Relations](#), University of São Paulo.

2006 – 2010. Ph.D. in Political Science, University of São Paulo.

## Visiting Fellowships (Funded and Long-Term)

2023 – 2024. Visiting Fellow at the Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame.

2019 – 2020. Senior Global Challenges Fellow at Institute for Advanced Study at Central European University (IAS CEU).

2014 – 2015. Visiting Researcher at Department of Politics, NYU.

2014. Visiting Researcher at Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University.

2008 – 2009. Visiting Researcher at the Department of Government at Georgetown University.

## Visiting Fellowships (Funded and Short-Term)

2017. Visiting Researcher at *Universidad Nacional del Sur* (UNS) / *Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas* (CONICET).

2016. Visiting Fellow at European Union Visitors Programme (EUVP), European Union, Brussels, Belgium.

2016. Visiting Researcher at *Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme/ DEA - Directeurs d'Études Associés*, Paris, France.

2016. Guest Researcher at Uppsala Forum on Democracy, Peace, and Justice, Sweden.

2013. Visiting Lecturer at the *La Salle University*, Bogotá, Colombia.

2012 – 2013. Guest Researcher at the Department of Political Science at Aarhus University, Denmark.

## Publications

### Peer-Reviewed Articles

*Forthcoming*. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, and Driscoll, Amanda. Do Conditional Cash Transfers Improve Intergenerational Gains in Educational Achievement? Evidence from Brazil's Bolsa Familia Program.. *World Development*. [Journal 2-Year Impact Factor: 7.324]

2024. Mignozzetti, Umberto, **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, and Freire, Danilo. [Legislature Size and Welfare: Evidence From Brazil](#). *American Journal of Political Science*. pp. 1-16 [Journal 5-Year Impact Factor: 9.534]

2022. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, Dorsch, Michael T., and Kovarek, Daniel. [Mobility and Policy Responses During the COVID-19 Pandemic](#). *International Journal of Public Health*, 67(1604663), p. 1-8. [Journal 5-Year Impact Factor: 4.203]

2022. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, Chewning, Taylor K., Driscoll, Amanda, and Faganello, Marco A. [Conditional Cash Transfers and Child Labor](#). *World Development*, 152 (105768), p. 1-15. [Journal 2-Year Impact Factor: 7.324]

2021. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, Dorsch, Michael T., and Branyiczki, Réka. [Political Regimes and Deaths in the Early Stages of the COVID-19 Pandemic](#). *Journal of Public Finance and Public Choice*, 37 (1), p. 27-53. [Google Scholar: around 140 citations.]

2020. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, and Fernandes, I. F. [United We Stand, Divided We Fall: Coalitions in the GATT/WTO negotiations](#), *International Political Science Review*, 43 (4), p. 1-17. [Journal 5-Year Impact Factor: 2.648]

2018. Driscoll, Amanda, **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, Guimarães, Feliciano D. S., and Spada, Paolo. [Prejudice, Strategic Discrimination, and the Electoral Connection: Evidence from a Pair of Field Experiments in Brazil](#). *American Journal of Political Science*, 62 (4), p. 781-795 (lead article). [Journal 5-Year Impact Factor: 9.534]

2016. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, and Hidalgo, F. Daniel. [Compulsory Voting Can Increase Political Inequality: Evidence from Brazil](#). *Political Analysis*, 24 (2), p. 273-280. [Journal 5-Year Impact Factor: 8.310] [Google Scholar: around 100 citations.]

2007. Vigevani, Tullo, and **Cepaluni, Gabriel**. [Lula's Foreign Policy and the Quest for Autonomy through Diversification](#). *Third World Quarterly*, 28 (7), p. 1309-1326. (An expanded version appeared in Portuguese in *Contexto Internacional*, 2007.) [Journal 5-Year Impact Factor: 3.007] [Google Scholar: around 900 citations in Portuguese; Google Scholar: over 200 citations in English.]

### Articles in Brazilian Journals or Non-Peer-Reviewed Journals

2015. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**. [Reforming Institutions from Inside: Federalism and Inequality in Brazil](#). *Brasiliiana: Journal for Brazilian Studies*, 3 (2), p. 235-263.

2013. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, Galdino, Manoel, and Oliveira, Amâncio de. [The Bigger, the Better: Coalitions in the GATT/WTO](#). *Brazilian Political Science Review*, 6 (2), p. 28-55.

2012. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**. Coalizões Internacionais: Revisão da Literatura e Propostas para uma Agenda de Pesquisa. *BIB. Revista Brasileira de Informação Bibliográfica em Ciências Sociais*, v. 69, p. 5-22,

2011. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, and Lima, Thiago. [Coalizões Internacionais, Países em Desenvolvimento e Política Doméstica nas Negociações do Gatt/WTO](#). *Brazilian Journal of International Relations*, 1 (1), p. 54-84.

2010. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, and Guimarães, Feliciano de Sá. [Discípulos de Rawls em Busca de uma Concepção Cosmopolita de Justiça](#). *Revista de Sociologia e Política*, 18 (37), p. 227-240.

2007. Vigevani, Tullo, and **Cepaluni, Gabriel**. [A Política Externa de Lula da Silva: A Estratégia da Autonomia pela Diversificação](#). *Contexto Internacional*, 29 (2), p. 273-335.

2006. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, and Shimabukuro, Alessandro. [HIV/Aids na África e os Interesses de Segurança dos EUA](#). *Perspectivas*, 29, p. 67-95.

2005. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**. [Regimes Internacionais e o Contencioso das Patentes para Medicamentos: Estratégias para Países em Desenvolvimento](#). *Contexto Internacional*, 27 (1), p. 51-99.

### Book and Translations

2010. Vigevani, Tullo, and **Cepaluni, Gabriel**. [Brazilian Foreign Policy in Changing Times: The Quest for Autonomy from Sarney to Lula](#). MD: Lexington Books. (Foreword by Prof. Philippe C. Schmitter). Portuguese edition from *Editora da Unesp* (São Paulo), 1st edition, 2012; 2nd edition, 2016. Chinese edition from Social Sciences Academic Press (Beijing), 2015. [Google Scholar: over 150 citations in Portuguese; Google Scholar: over 180 citations in English.]

### Book in Portuguese

2006. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**. [Regime de Patentes: Brasil X Estados Unidos no Tabuleiro Internacional](#). São Paulo: Editora Aduaneiras.

### Book Chapters

2024. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, Dorsch, Michael T., and Dzebo, Semir. ["Populism, Political Regimes, and COVID-19 Deaths."](#) Chapter 4 (27 pages) in: Angelos Chrysosgelos; Eliza Tanner Hawkins; Kirk A. Hawkins; Levente Littvay; Nina Wiesehomeier. (eds.). *The Ideational Approach to Populism, Volume II: Consequences and Mitigation*, 1st Edition, London, UK: Routledge, eBook published 6 November 2024, p. TBD (Total pages: 368).

2019. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, Mariano, Karina L. Pasquariello, and Mariano, Marcelo Passini. ["Preserving Domestic Autonomy: Weak Migration Laws and the Mercosur Strategy of Limited Integration"](#), In: César Álvarez Alonso; José Ignacio Hernández. (eds.). *Latin American Geopolitics*, London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 83–107.

2013. Vigevani, Tullo, and **Cepaluni, Gabriel**. ["Brazil: Global Power-To-Be?"](#). In: Ryan K. Beasley; Juliet Kaarbo; Jeffrey S. Lantis; Michael T. Snarr. (eds.). *Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective: Domestic and International Influences on State Behavior*. 1ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press, p. 265-290. [Google Scholar: the book has over 220 citations.]

### Book Chapter in Portuguese

2009. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, and Shimabukuro, Alessandro. [HIV/Aids na África e os interesses de segurança dos Estados Unidos](#). In: Eugenio Diniz. (Org.). *Estados Unidos: Política Externa e atuação na política internacional contemporânea*. Minas Gerais: PUC-Minas e Embaixada dos Estados Unidos da América, p. 1-544.

### Working Papers and Books

2024 **Cepaluni, Gabriel**. "Capitalism and Development: Steering Markets Toward Fairness". *Under review*.

2024. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, Dorsch, Michael T., and Dzebo, Semir. [Populism, Political Regimes, and COVID-19 Deaths](#). In Press for a Routledge book chapter on Populism.

2024. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, Dorsch, Michael T., and Civitarese, Jamil. [Land Invasions and Contemporary Slavery](#). *Submitted*.

2024. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, Dorsch, Michael T., Kovarek, Daniel, and Moise, Alexandru D. From the Street to the Ballot Box? The BLM Movement and Voter Turnout in Primaries. *Submitted*.

2024. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, and Civitarese, Jamil. *Modern-Day Slavery and the Trade of Small Weapons*.

2024 **Cepaluni, Gabriel**. *Lula's Foreign Policy, Round Three: Can Brazil Stage a Comeback?*

### Selected Presentations

2024. *Land Invasions and Contemporary Slavery*. Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Thursday, April 4 through Sunday, April 7. (with Michael T. Dorsch, and Jamil Civitarese).

2024. *Modern-Day Slavery and the Trade of Small Weapons*. Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Thursday, April 4 through Sunday, April 7 (with Jamil Civitarese).

2024. *From the Street to the Ballot Box? The BLM Protest Movement and Voter Turnout* Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior (EPOVB) Conference at Florida State University, February 29th - March 2nd (with Michael Dorsch, and Jamil Civitarese).

2024. *Electoral Cycles of Poverty Alleviation Program Implementation: Evidence from Brazil's Bolsa Família*. Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior (EPOVB) Conference at Florida State University, February 29th - March 2nd. (with Amanda Driscoll, and Fernando Mello).

2024. *From the Street to the Ballot Box? The BLM Protest Movement and Voter Turnout*. Rooney Center for the Study of American Democracy at the University of Notre Dame, Feb 16 (with Michael T. Dorsch, and Jamil Civitarese).

2023. *Do Conditional Cash Transfers Interrupt the Cycle of Intergenerational Poverty? Lessons from a Large Administrative Data Set*. Work-in-Progress Seminars, University of Notre Dame's Kellogg Institute for International Studies, Thursday, October 26 (with Amanda Driscoll).

2021. *Land Invasions and Contemporary Slavery*. Southern Political Science Association, Online, January (with Michael T. Dorsch, and Jamil Civitarese).

2021. *Conditional Cash Transfers and Child Labor: Insights from Brazil's Bolsa Familia*. Southern Political Science Association, Online, January (with Taylor K. Chewning, Amanda Driscoll, and Marco A. Faganello).

2021. *Land Invasions and Contemporary Slavery*. Latin American POLMETH, Online, November.

2020. *Can Conditional Cash Transfers Interrupt the Cycle of Intergenerational Poverty? Lessons from a Large Administrative Dataset*. Latin American POLMETH, Online, November (with Amanda Driscoll).

2020. *Political Regimes and Deaths in the Early Stages of the COVID-19 Pandemic*. Workshop "Rising Democracies, Interrupted," organized as a webinar by the Research Committee "Quality of Democracy" of the International Political Science Association (IPSA), June (with Michael T. Dorsch, and Réka Branyiczki).

2019. *When Does Clientelism Pay Off? Legislature Size and Welfare in Brazil*. LASA's International Congress, Boston, United States, May (with Umberto Mignozzetti).

2018. *When Does Clientelism Pay Off? Legislature Size and Welfare in Brazil*. IPSA World Congress of Political Science, Brisbane, Australia, July (with Umberto Mignozzetti).

2016. *Politicians Matter: Legislature Size and Welfare with Evidence from Brazil, and Bias and Discrimination in International Courts*. Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden, September-October (with Umberto Mignozzetti).

2014. *Is the Dispute Settlement Body Impartial? Observational, and Experimental Evidence from the World Trade Organization and Do We Really Want More Politicians? The impact of the Size of Legislatures on Quality and Performance of Government*. Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, United States, April (with Umberto Mignozzetti).

2014. *United We Stand Divided We Fall: Which are the Countries that Join into Coalitions More Often in the GATT/WTO Negotiations?*. IPSA World Congress, Montréal, Québec, Canada, July (with Ivan F. Fernandes).

2014. *A Roundtable on the 2014 Brazilian Elections*. Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, United States, Sept. (with James N. Green, and Anani Dzidzienyo).

2012. *On Politicians' Office-Seeking Behavior: Evidence from a Pair of Field Experiments in Brazil*. IPSA World Congress, part of the Federalism and Inequality in the Global South BIARI Alumni Initiative, funded by Mellon-LASA, Santander Universities, and Brown University, Madrid, Spain, July (with Feliciano D. S. Guimarães, Paolo Spada, and Holger L. Kern).

## Grants and Awards

US\$5,000 — *Pasquale Human Trafficking Grants & Fellowships*, 2024-2025 (Pedro Accorsi (PI) and Gabriel Cepaluni (CO-PI)).

€300,000 — *European Transoceanic Encounters and Exchanges (ETEE)*. Jean Monnet Network, Erasmus+ Programme of the EU, (Patrick Pasture (PI), and with researchers from University of Leuven, Belgium; University of California, Berkeley, United States; Kobe University, Japan; Nanyang Technological University, Singapore; UNESP, Brazil; Seoul National University, South Korea; University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands; and Jawaharlal Nehru University, India), 2019-2022.

US\$14,000 — *How Political Competition Fuels Conditional Cash Transfer Programs: The Case of Brazil's Bolsa Família Program*. Florida State University Council for Research and Creativity Grant Program, 2019 (with Amanda Driscoll — PI).

US\$3,000 — **Cepaluni, Gabriel** (PI). *Experimental Studies on Social Norms*. FAPESP, São Paulo, Brazil, 2018-2019. (with Esteban Freidin).

US\$10,000 — **Cepaluni, Gabriel** (PI). *Relationship between the Number of Legislators and Social Well-Being*. FAPESP, São Paulo, Brazil, 2017 - 2019.

US\$2,000 — **Cepaluni, Gabriel** (PI). *Is the Dispute Settlement Body Impartial?: Observational and Experimental Evidence from the World Trade Organization*. CNPq, Brasília, Brazil, 2014-2017.

US\$10,000 — **Cepaluni, Gabriel** (PI). TOP USA Massachusetts Award (with Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro), 2013.

US\$25,000 — *Federalism and Inequality in the Global South BIARI Alumni Initiative — BIARI Alumni Seed Fund Award*, Mellon-LASA, Santander Universities, and Brown University, 2011-2014 (Richard Snyder (PI) and Lorena Moscovich (CO-PI)).

US\$30,000 — **Cepaluni, Gabriel** (PI). *Ph.D. scholarship*, CNPq, Brasília, Brazil, 2005-2010.

US\$7,500 — **Cepaluni, Gabriel** (PI). *MA scholarship*, CAPES, Brasília, Brazil, 2003-2004.

## Additional Training

2014. *Introduction to Network Analysis using Pajek*. IPSA Summer School, São Paulo, Brazil (taught by Prof. Vladimir Batagelj, University of Ljubljana).

2012. *Survey Experiments in Political Science*. Department of Political Science, University of São Paulo (DCP-USP), Brazil (taught by Prof. Matthew S. Winters, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign).

2012. *A Practical Introduction to Bayesian Statistical Modeling*. IPSA Summer School, São Paulo, Brazil (taught by Prof. Simon Jackman, Stanford University).

2011. *Multiple Regression Analysis*. IPSA Summer School, São Paulo, Brazil (taught by Prof. Guy D. Whitten, Texas A&M University).

2012. *Multilevel Analyses in Comparative Politics*. Department of Political Science, University of São Paulo (DCP-USP), Brazil (taught by Prof. Ernesto Calvo, University of Maryland).

2010. *Development and Inequality in the Global South*. Brown International Advanced Research Institutes, BIARI, United States

2010. *Experimental Methods in Social Sciences*. Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV-SP), São Paulo, Brazil (taught by Prof. Scott W. Desposato, University of California, San Diego).

2010. *Mathematical Concepts and Formal Modeling*. IPSA Summer School, São Paulo, Brazil (Prof. Rebecca Morton, New York University).

## Teaching

Politics and Public Policy (Graduate), U. of Lincoln.

Critical Reading in the Social and Political Sciences (Graduate), U. of Lincoln.

Analysing the Policy Process (Undergraduate), U. of Lincoln.

Experimental Approach to Public Policy Evaluation (Graduate), UNESP

Research Design (Undergraduate and Graduate), UNESP  
 Foreign Policy and Regional Integration (Undergraduate), UNESP  
 International Trade (Undergraduate), UNESP  
 Introduction to International Affairs (Undergraduate), UNESP  
 International Negotiations (Undergraduate), UNESP  
 Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective (Undergraduate), UNESP

## Advising

**Ph.D. Committees:** Rodolpho T. Bernabel (USP, São Paulo) and Armando Gallo Yahn Filho (UNICAMP, São Paulo).

**Master's Committees:** Jorge Luiz Pigni de Freitas (Chair, UNESP, São Paulo), Murilo Celli (Chair, UNESP, São Paulo), Beibei Sang (*Programa San Tiago Dantas*, São Paulo), Gabriel Ciucci (*Universidad Nacional del Sur*, Argentina), André Ziccardi Gomes Nogueira (USP, São Paulo), Douglas Henrique Novelli (UFPR, Paraná), Thiago Tâm Huynh Trung (USP, São Paulo), José Flávio de Castro (UNESP).

## Skills

### Software

R, Stata, L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X.

### Languages

Portuguese (native), English (fluent), Spanish (fluent), Italian (basic), French (basic).

## Service

**Organizer:** *Workshop: Political Economy of Development: Democratic Institutions and Poverty Alleviation*. Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, supported by IAS-CEU, SPP-CEU, and Global Challenges Fellowship, February 2020 (co-organizers: Amanda Driscoll and Cristina Corduneanu-Huci).

**Reviewer (English journals):** American Political Science Review, Journal of Politics, Political Analysis, International Studies Quarterly, Plos One, Review of Developing Economics, Latin American Research Review, Latin American Politics and Society, Journal of Politics in Latin America, Foreign Policy Analysis, Review of International Studies, Political Geography, Frontiers in Public Health, Population Review, Journal of Public Finance and Public Choice, Politics, International Journal of Sociology, Globalizations, Cross-Cultural Research, Brazilian Political Science Review.

## References

Amanda Driscoll. Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Florida State University. Email: [adriscoll@fsu.edu](mailto:adriscoll@fsu.edu).

Michael T. Dorsch. Associate Professor, Department of Public Policy, Central European University. Email: [DorschM@ceu.edu](mailto:DorschM@ceu.edu).

Michael Touchton. Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Miami. Email: [miketouchton@miami.edu](mailto:miketouchton@miami.edu).

Matthew S. Winters. Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Email: [mwinters@illinois.edu](mailto:mwinters@illinois.edu).

Scott W. Desposato. Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, San Diego. Email: [swd@ucsd.edu](mailto:swd@ucsd.edu).