

Gabriel Cepaluni

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Executive Summary

Comparative political economist with dual Brazilian/Italian citizenship and international research experience at institutions including Notre Dame, CEU, NYU, Brown, Georgetown, and UNU-WIDER. Author of 20+ peer-reviewed articles, book chapters, and books, with publications in *American Journal of Political Science*, *World Development*, and *Political Analysis*, and a book under contract with Cambridge University Press. Currently, I have papers at Revise & Resubmit stage at top journals including *Nature*, *World Development*, and *European Journal of Political Economy*. I have led and collaborated on research grants from FAPESP, Mellon-LASA, and other organizations. My expertise includes causal inference, experimental and quasi-experimental methods, and policy evaluation, with research spanning forced labor, social programs, and political institutions, combining academic rigor with real-world policy relevance across Latin America and Europe.

Academic Appointments

2017 – Present. Associate Professor, Department of International Relations and Graduate Program in Public Policy, São Paulo State University (UNESP), Brazil.

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 (UNESP), Brazil.

Education

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

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

2003–2004. M.A. in International Relations, San Tiago Dantas Program – UNESP, UNICAMP and PUC-SP, Brazil.

1996–2002. B.A. in Social Sciences, University of São Paulo, Brazil.

1996–1999. B.A. in Journalism, Methodist University of São Paulo, Brazil.

Visiting Fellowships (Funded and Long-Term)

2025. Visiting Fellow, United Nations University – World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER), Helsinki, Finland (completed June 2025).

2023–2024. Visiting Fellow, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, USA.

2019–2020. Senior Global Challenges Fellow, Institute for Advanced Study, Central European University (IAS CEU), Hungary/Austria.

2014–2015. Visiting Researcher, Department of Politics, New York University, USA.

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

2008–2009. Visiting Researcher, Department of Government, Georgetown University, USA.

Visiting Fellowships (Short-Term)

2017. Visiting Researcher, Universidad Nacional del Sur (UNS) / CONICET, Argentina.

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

2016. Visiting Researcher, Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme/DEA, Paris, France.

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

2013. Visiting Lecturer, La Salle University, Bogotá, Colombia.

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

Publications

Google Scholar Citations (July 2025): 2,426 total, 944 since 2020. h-index: 13, i10-index: 15

Peer-Reviewed Articles in English

2025. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, and Driscoll, Amanda. [Can Conditional Cash Transfer Interrupt the Cycle of Intergenerational Poverty?](#) *World Development*, 187: 106852. **Impact Factor (2022): 6.9**

2024. Mignozzetti, Umberto, **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, and Freire, Danilo. [Legislature Size and Welfare: Evidence From Brazil](#). *American Journal of Political Science*, 68(1): 1–16. **Impact Factor (2023): 5.6**

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. **Impact Factor (2022): 4.2**

2022. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, Chewning, Taylor K., Driscoll, Amanda, and Faganello, Marco A. [Conditional Cash Transfers and Child Labor](#). *World Development*, 152: 105768. **Impact Factor (2022): 6.9**

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): 27–53. **Google Scholar: 204 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): 1–17. **Impact Factor (2022): 2.65**

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): 781–795. **Impact Factor (2023): 5.6**

2016. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, and Hidalgo, F. Daniel. [Compulsory Voting Can Increase Political Inequality: Evidence from Brazil](#). *Political Analysis*, 24(2): 273–280. **Impact Factor (2022): 5.4; Google Scholar: 114 citations**

Peer-Reviewed Articles in Portuguese

2015. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**. Reforming Institutions from Inside: Federalism and Inequality in Brazil. *Brasiliana: Journal for Brazilian Studies*, 3(2): 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): 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*, 69: 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): 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): 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): 273–335. **Google Scholar: 1,030 citations**
2006. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, and Shimabukuro, Alessandro. HIV/Aids na África e os Interesses de Segurança dos EUA. *Perspectivas*, 29: 67–95.
2005. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**. Regimes Internacionais e o Contencioso das Patentes para Medicamentos: Estratégias para Países em Desenvolvimento. *Contexto Internacional*, 27(1): 51–99.

Books

2025. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**. *Capitalism and Development: Steering Markets Toward Fairness*. Book manuscript under contract with Cambridge University Press.
2010. Vigevani, Tullo, and **Cepaluni, Gabriel**. *Brazilian Foreign Policy in Changing Times: The Quest for Autonomy from Sarney to Lula*. Lexington Books. Portuguese edition: Editora da Unesp (2012, 2016). Chinese edition: Social Sciences Academic Press (2015). **Google Scholar: 222 citations**
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](#). In: *The Ideational Approach to Populism, Volume II*. Routledge.
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: *Latin American Geopolitics*, Palgrave Macmillan.
2013. Vigevani, Tullo, and **Cepaluni, Gabriel**. [Brazil: Global Power-To-Be?](#) In: *Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective*, CQ Press. **Book: 259 citations**

2009. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, and Shimabukuro, Alessandro. HIV/Aids na África e os interesses de segurança dos Estados Unidos. In: Eugenio Diniz (Ed.), *Estados Unidos: Política Externa e atuação na política internacional contemporânea*, PUC-Minas.

Working Papers / Revise & Resubmit

2025. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, Michael T. Dorsch, and Jamil Civitarese. *Land Invasions and Contemporary Slavery*. Revise & Resubmit at *European Journal of Political Economy*.

2025. **Cepaluni, Gabriel** (co-author among 250+). *Investigating the Analytical Robustness of the Social and Behavioural Sciences*. Revise & Resubmit at *Nature*.

2025. **Cepaluni, Gabriel** and Jamil Civitarese. *Modern-Day Slavery and the Trade of Small Weapons*. Revise & Resubmit at *World Development*.

2025. Accorsi, Pedro, and **Cepaluni, Gabriel**. *Demographics and Child Recruitment: Population Structure as a Driver of Wartime Vulnerability*. Working Paper.

2025. **Cepaluni, Gabriel**, Michael T. Dorsch, Daniel Kovarek, and Alexandru D. Moise. *From the Street to the Ballot Box? The BLM Movement and Voter Turnout in Primaries*. Working Paper.

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

Summary: Total of 2,426 Google Scholar citations across all works, including articles published in leading international journals (*AJPS*, *World Development*, *Political Analysis*, *Third World Quarterly*) and multiple languages (English, Portuguese).

Selected Presentations

2025. *Gun Violence and the Political Economy of Human Rights Investigations in Brazil*. UNU-WIDER Brown Bag Seminar, Helsinki, April 30.

2024. *Land Invasions and Contemporary Slavery*. Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, April 4–7.

2024. *Modern-Day Slavery and the Trade of Small Weapons*. Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, April 4–7.

2024. *From the Street to the Ballot Box? The BLM Protest Movement and Voter Turnout*. Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Conference, Florida State University, February 29–March 2.

2024. *Electoral Cycles of Poverty Alleviation Program Implementation: Evidence from Brazil's Bolsa Família*. Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Conference, Florida State University, February 29–March 2.

2024. *From the Street to the Ballot Box? The BLM Protest Movement and Voter Turnout*. Rooney Center for the Study of American Democracy, University of Notre Dame, February 16.

2023. *Do Conditional Cash Transfers Interrupt the Cycle of Intergenerational Poverty?* Kellogg Institute, Notre Dame, October 26.

2021. *Conditional Cash Transfers and Child Labor: Insights from Brazil's Bolsa Família*. Southern Political Science Association, Online, January.

2020. *Can Conditional Cash Transfers Interrupt the Cycle of Intergenerational Poverty?* Latin American POLMETH, Online, November.

2019. *When Does Clientelism Pay Off? Legislature Size and Welfare in Brazil.* LASA's International Congress, Boston, May.

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

2014. *Is the Dispute Settlement Body Impartial? Observational, and Experimental Evidence from the World Trade Organization.* Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April.

Grants and Awards

US\$5,000 – *Pasquale Human Trafficking Grants & Fellowships*, 2024–2025 (Co-PI).

US\$2,200 – *The Hayek Fund for Scholars*, Institute for Humane Studies (IHS), 2025 (Awardee).

€300,000 – *European Transoceanic Encounters and Exchanges (ETEE)*, Jean Monnet Network, Erasmus+ Programme, 2019–2022 (Co-PI).

US\$14,000 – *How Political Competition Fuels Conditional Cash Transfer Programs*, Florida State University Council for Research and Creativity, 2019 (Co-PI).

US\$3,000 – *Experimental Studies on Social Norms*, FAPESP, 2018–2019 (PI).

US\$10,000 – *Relationship between the Number of Legislators and Social Well-Being*, FAPESP, 2017–2019 (PI).

US\$10,000 – *TOP USA Massachusetts Award*, 2013 (Co-PI).

US\$2,000 – *Is the Dispute Settlement Body Impartial?: Observational and Experimental Evidence from the WTO*, CNPq, 2014–2017 (PI).

Full scholarship (courses, travel, accommodation, and meals) – *Social Change Workshop*, Institute for Humane Studies (IHS), Brown University, Providence, RI, June 2009.

US\$25,000 – *Federalism and Inequality in the Global South BIARI Alumni Initiative*, Mellon-LASA, Santander Universities, and Brown University, 2011–2014 (Co-PI).

US\$30,000 – *Ph.D. scholarship*, CNPq, 2005–2010 (PI).

US\$7,500 – *M.A. scholarship*, CAPES, 2003–2004 (PI).

Additional Training

2025. **Intensive Spatial Methods**, University of Oslo, Norway, May 19–21.

2014. **Introduction to Network Analysis Using Pajek**, IPSA Summer School, São Paulo.

2012. **Survey Experiments in Political Science**, University of São Paulo, Brazil.

2012. **Practical Introduction to Bayesian Statistical Modeling**, IPSA Summer School, São Paulo.

2012. **Multilevel Analyses in Comparative Politics**, University of São Paulo, Brazil.

2011. **Multiple Regression Analysis**, IPSA Summer School, São Paulo.

2010. **Development and Inequality in the Global South**, Brown International Advanced Research Institutes, Brown University, USA.

2010. **Experimental Methods in Social Sciences**, Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV), São Paulo.

2010. **Mathematical Concepts and Formal Modeling**, IPSA Summer School, São Paulo.

2009. **Social Change Workshop**, Institute for Humane Studies (IHS), Brown University, Providence, RI. *Full scholarship (courses, travel, accommodation, and meals).*

Teaching

Politics and Public Policy (Graduate, UNESP and University of Lincoln, UK)

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

Experimental Approach to Public Policy Evaluation (Graduate, UNESP)

Research Design (Undergraduate and Graduate, UNESP)

Analysing the Policy Process (Undergraduate, UNESP and University of Lincoln)

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), Armando Gallo Yahn Filho (UNICAMP).

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

Skills

Software

R, Stata, \LaTeX

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, February 2020.

Reviewer: *American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Political Analysis, Comparative Political Studies, International Studies Quarterly, Review of International Studies, Political Geography, Latin American Politics and Society, Foreign Policy Analysis, Journal of Public Finance and Public Choice, PLOS ONE, Latin American Research Review, Journal of Politics in Latin America, Review of Development Economics, Population Review, International Journal of Sociology, Globalizations, Cross-Cultural Research, Brazilian Political Science Review, Humanities and Social Sciences Communications, Economic Analysis and Policy, Government and Opposition.*

Evaluator: 2024 ABCP Dissertation Award, Brazilian Political Science Association.

References

Amanda Driscoll. Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Florida State University. Email: adriscoll@fsu.edu

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

Michael Touchton. Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Miami. Email: miketouchton@miami.edu

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

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