

# Brazilian Studies Programme 6 February 2020

St Antony's College, Syndicate Room, from 16:30 to 18:00 (organizer: andreza.desouzasantos@lac.ox.ac.uk)

Book round: Under Review

Vulnerable Men: Political Ambition and Resistance to Gender Quotas in Latin America, by Malu A. C. Gatto

Summary: Merging insights from the gender quota, career trajectories, and policymaking literatures, Vulnerable Men argues that the key to understanding the adoption of gender quotas in male-dominated legislatures rests on disaggregating male legislators' behavior at each stage of the policy cycle, particularly by differentiating their actions in policy elaboration and policy adoption. Specifically, the book contends that whereas quotas' normative value of promoting gender equality inhibits legislators and their parties to publicly oppose the policy in roll-call votes, career concerns still permeate the policymaking process with legislators working avidly to delay the advancement and weaken the design of quotas at the policy elaboration stage.

Bio: Malu A. C. Gatto is Assistant Professor of Latin American Politics at the Institute of the Americas at University College London (UCL) and Global Fellow at the Brazil Institute at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars. Previously, she was a post-doctoral/senior researcher (Oberassistentin) at the Department of Political Science of the University of Zurich. Her research is comparative in nature and explores questions about the gendered dynamics of institutional change, legislative behavior, and policy-making with a regional focus in Latin America, especially Brazil. Her past work has appeared in the Journal of Politics of Latin America and PS: Political Science and Politics. Currently, I have papers under review at Comparative Political Studies and Democratization. She has also provided analysis on Brazilian politics and women's political representation for, among others, the Financial Times, the Washington Post, the BBC, and El País. Her book manuscript, titled "Vulnerable Men: Political Ambition and Resistance to Gender Quotas in Latin America" is currently under review.

Cybersecurity Governance: States, the Military and Digital Space, by Carlos Solar



Summary This research project explores cybersecurity governance—the actions and policies taken by civilians, the military, industry, and private sector to safeguard the digital space. It builds on the notion that countries in the Americas are entering the cyber era in the midst of extraordinary political uncertainty, rising criminality, and enduring violence. Decision makers are willingly placing cybersecurity under the domain of the military expanding their roles beyond the four conventional battle theatres (air, sea, land, and space). Mastering the fifth realm, the cyber, comes at a moment when Eastern and Western powers test the boundaries of cyber engagement below the threshold of warfare. The implications of securing the digital frontier against malign cyber actors are thus far-reaching. This book examines how the global wave of cybersecurity preparedness drives Latin American states toward novel governance arrangements in search for greater protection of their virtual and physical networks from local and international intruders.

Bio Carlos Solar is a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at the Latin American Centre in the University of Oxford. Carlos is currently working on a book-length manuscript on cybersecurity governance in the Western Hemisphere. He is the author of Government and Governance of Security: The Politics of Organized Crime in Chile (Routledge, 2018). He has published on issues of international security, transnational crime, criminal policy, and civil-military relations in the Journal of Strategic Studies, British Politics, International Politics, International Studies, Policy Studies, Peace Review, Global Crime, Latin American Policy, Democracy and Security, and Mexican Studies. He can be contacted through his website: www.carlossolar.com

#### Published, ethnography and history:

### The Politics of Memory: Urban Cultural Heritage in Brazil, by Andreza A de Souza Santos

Summary: Who decides which stories about a city are remembered? How do interpretations of the past shape a city's present and future? In this book, I discuss notions of power and national identity by examining how nation states negotiate the preservation of urban spaces and how a city interprets, resists, and consents to the functions and meanings that it has inherited and that it reinvents for itself. Looking at the Brazilian city of Ouro Preto, which is hailed as a National Monument (1930) and as one of the first generations of UNESCO World Heritage Sites (1980), I discuss Brazilian politics in the early twentieth century and currently. Architectural symbolism exemplified national policies aiming at unifying the nation, however, such policies did not bridge socio-economic distances. Geographical, racial, and socio-economic tensions resurface despite narratives and aesthetics of pride. This book applies fine-grained ethnography and historical analysis to discuss the limits of Brazil's imagery of social harmony and participatory democracy amid continuous inequality.

Bio: Andreza Aruska de Souza Santos is Director of the Brazilian Studies



Programme and Lecturer at the Latin American Centre, University of Oxford. Her work focuses on urban and political anthropology, looking mainly at collective memory, particularly trauma and difficult heritage, and participatory politics in mining regions in Brazil. She is the author of the book 'The Politics of memory: Urban cultural heritage in Brazil' (Rowman & Littlefield, 2019) and coeditor of the book 'Urban transformations and public health in the emergent city' (Manchester University Press, forthcoming 2020). Before Oxford, Andreza worked in Brazil, Germany, South Africa and India, this background is visible in her comparative writing.

### Before the flood, by Jacob Blanc

Summary: In Before the Flood Jacob Blanc traces the protest movements of rural Brazilians living in the shadow of the Itaipu dam—the largest producer of hydroelectric power in the world. In the 1970s and 1980s, local communities facing displacement took a stand against the military officials overseeing the dam's construction, and in the context of an emerging national fight for democracy, they elevated their struggle for land into a referendum on the dictatorship itself. Unlike the broader campaign against military rule, however, the conflict at Itaipu was premised on issues that long predated the official start of dictatorship: access to land, the defense of rural and indigenous livelihoods, and political rights in the countryside. In their efforts against Itaipu and through conflicts among themselves, title-owning farmers, landless peasants, and the Avá-Guarani Indians articulated a rural-based vision for democracy. Through interviews and archival research—including declassified military documents and the first-ever access to the Itaipu Binational Corporation—Before the Flood challenges the primacy of urban-focused narratives and unearths the rural experiences of dictatorship and democracy in Brazil.

Bio: Dr Jacob Blanc is a lecturer in Latin American history at the University of Edinburgh. He received his PhD from the University of Wisconsin in 2017 and his new book, Before the Flood: the Itaipu Dam and the Visibility of Rural Brazil, was published in 2019 by Duke University Press. He is also the co-editor of Big Water: the Making of the Borderlands Between Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay (University of Arizona Press, 2018), and his articles have appeared in the Journal of Latin American Studies, the Luso-Brazilian Review, and the Journal of Peasant Studies.

#### Politics and Law

## Amanhã vai ser maior (Tomorrow will be greater), by Rosana Pinheiro-Machado

Summary: Since the great social movements of 2013, most Brazilians have only one question: what is happening with the country? Many people are uncertain about the future because of the profound transformations that Brazil has undergone in recent years. 'Amanhã vai ser maior' by professor, anthropologist and columnist

Rosana Pinheiro-Machado has two goals. First, shed light on this period of crisis by bringing an analysis of the political and social scenario from the 'Journeys of June' to the election of Jair Bolsonaro, without academic jargon. Second, point out the outlines that loom on the horizon – and show that we are already building possibilities to resist in dark times.

Bio: Rosana Pinheiro-Machado is an Assistant Professor of International Development at the Department of Social and Policy Sciences, University of Bath. She is also a fellow of the Higher Education Academy, UK. Previously, she was a lecturer at the Department of International Development, University of Oxford and held visiting positions at the University of São Paulo and Harvard University. She is the author of seven books, such as 'Amanhã vai ser maior' (Planeta 2019), 'Counterfeit itineraries in the Global South (Routledge 2017), and 'Made in China' (Hucitec 2011). She is currently a principal investigator of a global research project on consumer cultures in the Global South (Brazil, China, Philippines and Mexico), funded by the Australian Research Council. She has also collaborated with several media outlets, such as the Intercept and Washington Post.

# From Dilma to Bolsonaro: democracy, institutions and the populist threat in Brazil, by Marcus Andre Melo and Carlos Pereira

Summary: The book provides an account of the perfect storm that emerged in Brazil in 2014 due to a gargantuan corruption scandal and an unprecedented economic crisis, and which was followed by the rise of a populist outlier in 2018 amidst disarray in the party system. The book explores in detail the impact of the emergence of robust checks and balances institutions and the role judicial institutions have played in Brazilian democracy. It also considers in detail the changing dynamics of presidentialism in the country through which a president without a coalition superseded a relatively stable coalitional presidential regime.

Bio: Marcus André Melo is Professor of Political Science at the Federal University of Pernambuco and, since 2017, has been a weekly columnist at Folha de São Paulo, Brazil's newspaper with the largest circulation. He was a Fulbright scholar at MIT's Center for International Studies and Coca-cola distinguished professor at Yale's Department of Political Science. His work has appeared in scholarly outlets such as the American Journal of Political Science, Science Direct, the Journal of Democracy, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Comparative Political Studies, Latin American Research Review, Latin American Politics and Society, International Political Science Review, Political Research Quarterly and Journal of Comparative Economics. He is a co-author of Brazil in Transition: Beliefs, Leadership and Institutional Change (Princeton University Press, 2017), Against the Odds: Politicians, institutions and the fight against poverty (Columbia University Press, 2012) and of Making Brazil Work: checking the president in a multiparty system (MacMillan/Palgrave, 2013).

### Direito e Economia da Infraestrura, by Marcos Nobrega

Summary: The Book explains the theoretical and practical aspects of the use of Public Procurement, Concessions and PPPs in Brazil using an approach that includes aspects such as information asymmetries, market failures, auction theory and limited rationality. It is a book that breaks with the conventional and classical approach to the theme of bids and contracts in Brazil.

Bio: Professor da Faculdade de Direito do Recife - UFPE, Conselheiro substituto TCE PE, formado em administraticao de empresas (Unicap), economia e direito (Ufpe). Mestre e doutor em direito (Ufpe). Visiting Scholar Harvard Law School Senior Fellow Harvard Kennedy School of Government Professor Visitintante Faculdade de Direito de Lisboa - FDUL Visiting Scholar Singapore Management University - Singapura Visiting Scholar Massachusetts Institute of Technology - MIT

#### Political Essay

Summary: In this book Cristovam Buarque makes a selfcriticism as former governor and senator, presenting 24 mistakes that were made. According to him, Bolsonaro was elected more because of the mistakes by the left and because of the bad social and economic situation in Brazil despite the 26 years of the progressive and democratic governments through five presidents.

Bio: Born in Recife, Pernambuco state, in northeastern Brazil, Cristovam Buarque graduated in Mechanical Engineering from the Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE), and got a doctorate in Development Economics from Sorbonne University, Paris, in 1973. A staff member of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) for six years, he served in Ecuador, Honduras and the United States. Buarque returned to Brazil in 1979, as a professor at the University of Brasília (UnB), in the Economics Department. From 1985 to 1989 he was the President of UnB, at the historical moment in which Brazil was restoring its democracy. He was elected governor of the Federal District, which he governed from 1995 to 1999. He was then a Senator of the Republic for the Federal District for multiple terms, from 2003 to 2018, after having been the minister of Education in the Lula cabinet. In 2006, he ran for the Presidency of the Republic. As a columnist, he has been collaborating with large Brazilian newspapers for decades. He has published several books, including A cortina de ouro (1994), O que é apartação: o apartheid social no Brasil (2003), Educação é a solução possível (2012), Os erros do sucesso (2014), Mediterrâneos invisíveis (2016) and The End of Economics?, published by Zed Books. Some of his works have been published internationally.