Cesar Zucco

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Academic Appointments

- *Lemann Family Foundation Professor*: Department of Political Science and School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University (2026–present)
- Professor: EBAPE, Getulio Vargas Foundation (2024–26)
- Associate Professor: EBAPE, Getulio Vargas Foundation (2016–24)
- Assistant Professor: EBAPE, Getulio Vargas Foundation (2013–16)
- Assistant Professor: Political Science Department, Rutgers University (2011–13)
- Lecturer in Politics and International Affairs: Princeton University (2009–11)

Visiting Academic Appointments

- Residential Fellow: The Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars (2021/22)
- Non-stipendiary Visitor: Nuffield College, University of Oxford (2017/18)
- Post-Doctoral Fellow: Program on Democracy, Yale University (Spring 2010)
- Visiting Professor: Rio de Janeiro Graduate Research Institute—IUPERJ (2008/09)
- Post-Doctoral Fellow: Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton University (2007/08)

Education

- Ph.D. in Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles (Sep 2007)
- MSc. in Political Science, Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro (Dec 2000)
- Bachelor of Laws, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (Apr 1999)

Peer-Reviewed Books

- *The Volatility Curse*, Cambridge University Press (2020, with D. Campello)
- *Partisans, Antipartisans, and Nonpartisans*, Cambridge University Press (2018, with D. Samuels)

Peer-Reviewed Articles

- "Tapped on the Shoulder: How Executives Influence Electoral Careers in Presidentialism" *Comparative Political Studies* (forthcoming 2026, with J. Meira & T. Power)
- "The Roots of Brazil's Partisan Divide: Debating Structural Inequalities of Race, Class, and Gender" *Latin American Politics and Society* (forthcoming 2026, with F. Mello and D. Samuels, and Larissa Beckman)
- "Benefits by luck: A study of lotteries as a selection method for government programs" *Comparative Political Studies* 58(10):2130–2160 (2025, with N. Bueno & F. Nunes)
- "It's my party and I'll lie if I want to: Elite ideological obfuscation in post-authoritarian settings" *Party Politics* 31(2):310–322 (2025, with T. Power)

- "Partisan Stereotyping and Polarization in Brazil" *Latin American Politics and Society* 66(Special Issue 2):47–71 (2024, with F. Mello and D. Samuels)
- "The Ideology of Brazilian Parties and Presidents: A Research Note on Coalitional Presidentialism Under Stress" *Latin American Politics and Society* 66(1):178–188 (2024, with T. Power)
- "Be Careful What You Wish For: Portfolio Allocation, Presidential Popularity, and Electoral Payoffs to Parties in Multiparty Presidentialism" *Party Politics* 30(4):622-636 (2024, with M. Batista & T. Power)
- "What you see and what you get: direct and indirect political dividends of public policies" *British Journal of Political Science* 53(4):1273–1292 (2023, with N. Bueno & F. Nunes)
- "Do political preferences affect policy learning and uptake? Evidence from a field experiment with micro-entrepreneurs in Brazil," *The Journal of Politics*, 85(3):1003–1016 (2023, with A. K. Lenz, R. Goldszmidt & M. Valdivia)
- "Making the bourgeoisie? Values, voice, and state-provided homeownership" *The Journal of Politics*, 84(4):2064–2079 (2022, with N. Bueno & F. Nunes)
- "Venture Distress and Problemistic Search among Entrepreneurs in Brazilian Favelas" *Journal of Business Venturing*, 36(6):106162 (2021, with A. K. Lenz, R. Goldszmidt, & C. Sutter)
- "Microcredit Impacts: Evidence from a Large-Scale Observational Study in Brazil" *European Journal of Development Research* 34:1940–1966 (2021, with R. Goldszmidt, P. Behr, A.K. Lenz, L. Gonzalez & M. Valdivia)
- "Fragmentation Without Cleavages" *Comparative Politics*, 53(3):477–500 (2021, with T. Power)
- "Face-to-face vs. virtual assistance to entrepreneurs: Evidence from a field experiment in Brazil" *Economics Letters*, 188:108922 (2020, with A.K. Lenz, R. Goldszmitdt, & M. Valdivia)
- "Endogenous Policymaking" *The Journal of Politics* 88(2):800–807 (2020, with D. Campello).
- "Do Conditionalities Increase Support for Government Transfers?" *Journal of Development Studies* 56(3):527–544 (2020, with J. P. Luna & G. Baykal)
- "Measuring portfolio salience using the Bradley-Terry model: An illustration with data from Brazil" *Research & Politics*, (2019, with M. Batista & T. Power)
- "A Direct Comparison of the Performance of Public-Private Partnerships with that of Traditional Contracting" *Brazilian Journal of Public Administration*, 52(6):1237–1257 (2018, with B. Rodrigues)
- "Trading Old Errors for New Errors? The Impact of Electronic Voting Technology on Party Label Votes in Brazil." *Electoral Studies*, 43:10–20 (2016, with J. Nicolau)
- "Presidential Success and the World Economy" *The Journal of Politics*, 78(2):589–602 (2016, with D. Campello)
- "Crafting Mass Partisanship at the Grass Roots, from the Top Down." *British Journal of Political Science*, 45(4):755–775 (2015, with D. Samuels)
- "The Impacts of Conditional Cash Transfers in Four Presidential Elections (2002–2014)" *Brazilian Political Science Review*, 9(1):135–149 (2015)
- "Lulismo, Petismo, and the Future of Brazilian Politics" *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 6(3):129–158. (2014, with D. Samuels)
- "The Power of Partisanship in Brazil: Evidence from Survey Experiments" *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(1):212–225 (2014, with D. Samuels)

- "When Pay Outs Pay Off: Conditional Cash-Transfers and Voting Behavior in Brazil 2002–2010" *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(4):810–822 (2013)
- "Bolsa Família and the Shift in Lula's Electoral Base, 2002–2006" *Latin American Research Review*, 48(2):3–24 (2013, with T. Power)
- "Legislative Coalitions in Presidential Systems: The Case of Uruguay" *Latin American Politics and Society*, 55(1):96–118 (2013)
- "Elite Preferences in a Consolidating Democracy: The Brazilian Legislative Surveys, 1990–2009." *Latin American Politics and Society*, 54(4):1–27 (2012, with T. Power)
- "Distinguishing Between Influences on Brazilian Legislative Behavior" *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 36(3):363–396 (2011, with B. Lauderdale)
- "Ideology or What? Legislative Behavior in Multiparty Presidential Settings" *The Journal of Politics*, 71(3):1076–1092 (2009)
- "Estimating Ideology of Brazilian Legislative Parties, 1990–2005" *Latin American Research Review*, 44(1): 218–246 (2009, with T. Power)
- "The President's 'New' Constituency: Lula and the Pragmatic Vote in Brazil's 2006 Presidential Election," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 40:29–49 (2008)
- "Where's the Bias? A Reassessment of the Chilean Electoral System" *Electoral Studies*, 26:303–314 (2007)

Book Chapters

- "Partisans, Anti-Partisans, and Voter Behavior," in Ames, Barry (org.) "Routledge Handbook of Brazilian Politics." Routledge, p. 269–289 (2018, with David Samuels).
- "Party-Building in Brazil: The Rise of the PT in Perspective," in Levitsky, S., J. Loxton, B. Van Dyck, J. Dominguez (eds.) *Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press (2016, with David Samuels)
- "Estabilidad Sin Raíces: La Institucionalización del Sistema de Partidos Brasileño" In Mariano Torcal (org.) *Sistemas de partidos en América Latina. Causas y consecuencias de su equilibrio inestable*, Ch. 3, Anthropos, Barcelona (2015)
- "Understanding the Increasing Popularity of Brazilian Presidents," In Needell, Jeffrey (org.) *Emergent Brazil: Key Perspectives on a New Global Power*, U. Press of Florida, Gainesville, Ch. 3, pp.51–67 (2015, with Daniela Campello)
- "O Congresso por ele mesmo." UFMG Press, Belo Horizonte. (2011, co-edited with T. Power)
  - "Introdução: Ouvindo os Próprios Parlamentares" p. 11–36. (with T. Power)
  - "Esquerda, Direita e Governo: A ideologia dos partidos políticos brasileiros" p.37–60.
  - "Conclusão: Avaliando o Congresso Brasileiro" p. 305–308. (with T. Power)
- "A esquerda em um país democrático, globalizado e desigual: Uma análise do Brasil de Lula" In Moreira, Carlos et al (orgs.), *La Nueva política en América Latina: rupturas y continuidades*. Trilice, Montevideo, p.97–124 (2008, with Daniela Campello)

Selected Work in Progress

- "'That Could Be Me': Fear of Sending-Country Chaos Can Drive Immigration Attitudes" (with F. Mello, D. Samuels, & I. Jurado, working paper)
- "Polarization and Perceptions of Status Gain and Loss: The Case of Brazil" (with Fernando Mello and David Samuels, under review) "Resistance or Cooptation? Civil Society, Carnaval, and Electoral Behavior under Brazil's Military Dictatorship" (with Caio Gonçalves and Fabio Caldieraro)
- "What Prevents Voters from Benchmarking Across Borders?" (with D. Campello, working paper)
- "Exogenous Economic Conditions and Political Instability in Latin America" (with D. Campello, work in progress)

Recent Competitive Fellowships and Grants

- FGV/RPA–Rede de Pesquisa Aplicada (2023 Call). "10th Brazilian Legislative Survey" 2024–2026 (R$ 120k)
- CNPq–Brazilian Ministry of Science and Technology. "Bolsa de Produtividade em Pesquisa" 2022–2025, Level 2 (R$ 39.6k)
- FGV/RPA–Rede de Pesquisa Aplicada (2019 Call). "Os efeitos da casa própria: uma avaliação do Minha Casa Minha Vida (Phase 2)" (R$ 55k)
- CNPq–Brazilian Ministry of Science and Technology. "Bolsa de Produtividade em Pesquisa" 2019–2022, Level 2 (R$ 39.6k)
- eGAP–Metaketa II Taxation. 2017 (with A.K. Lenz, R. Goldszmidt and M. Valdivia) "Increasing Microentrepreneurs Formalization and Access to Social Security in Brazil" (US$ 215k)
- FGV/RPA–Rede de Pesquisa Aplicada (2016 Call). "Os efeitos da casa própria: uma avaliação do Minha Casa Minha Vida" (R$ 59k)
- FGV/RPA–Rede de Pesquisa Aplicada (2016 Call). "8ª Pesquisa Legislativa Brasileira" (R$ 32k)
- CNPq–Brazilian Ministry of Science and Technology. Edital 01/2016-Universal (R$ 42k)
- FAPERJ–Rio de Janeiro State Research Agency. "Jovem Cientista do Nosso Estado" 2017–2020 (R$ 70k)
- CNPq–Brazilian Ministry of Science and Technology. Edital 25/2015–Ciências Humanas e Sociais Aplicadas (R$ 5k)
- CNPq–Brazilian Ministry of Science and Technology. "Bolsa de Produtividade em Pesquisa" 2015–2018, Level 2 (R$ 39.6k)
- FGV/RPA–Rede de Pesquisa Aplicada (2014 Call). "Avaliação do impacto de Programas Complementares de Transferência de Renda" (R$,78k)
- Global Development Network. "Global Research Competition" 2013 (with G. Baykal and J.P. Luna) "Are conditional government transfers a politically acceptable?" ($ 37.5k)

Recent Invited Talks

- Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies, UT Austin, Oct. 2026
- David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard, Oct. 2026
- Brazil Program, Massachussets Institute of Technology, Oct. 2026
- Dept. of Political Science SIPA, Columbia University, Sep. 2024
- Graduate Program in Economics, UnB, June 2024
- Graduate Program in Political Science, UFMG, Mar. 2023
- Comparative Politics Workshop, University of Chicago, Mar. 2023
- Bocconi University, Milan, Jan. 2023
- Department of Political Science, Emory University, Mar. 2022
- Department of Political Science, University of Maryland, Feb. 2022
- IESP, Rio de Janeiro, Oct. 2022
- Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, Washington DC, Mar. 2022
- DC Political Economy Research Workshop, Georgetown University, Oct. 2021
- Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, Oct. 2021
- David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard, Oct. 2021
- Latin American Centre, Oxford University, Oct. 2020
- Laboratório de Estudos Políticos, FGV-CPDOC, August 2019
- Uruguayan Association of Political Science, Universidad de la Republica, Montevideo, July 2019
- Political Science Department, UFPE, March 2019
- Graduate Program in Political Science, UnB, Brasília, April 2019
- UFG, Goiânia, March 2019
- Brazilian Studies Programme Workshop, University of Oxford, February 2018
- Koç University, Istambul, March 2018
- Politics Seminar, Nuffield College, University of Oxford, March 2018
- Center for Doctoral & Postdoctoral Studies, TUM, Munich, February 2018
- Cologne Center for Comparative Politics, University of Cologne, January 2018
- Instituto de Ciências Sociais, University of Lisbon, January 2018
- UFMG, Belo Horizonte, November 2018

Recent Conference Papers

- APSA — American Political Science Association, Boston, Sep 2026: "Resistance or Cooptation? Civil Society, Carnaval, and Electoral Behavior under Brazil's Military Dictatorship" (with C. Gonçalves and F. Caldieraro)
- ABCP — Brazilian Political Science Association, Belém, Aug 2026: "Varieties of Polarization: Democratic Values and Public Policies Among Brazilian Political Elites" (with T. Power)
- ISPP — International Society of Political Psychology, Prague, July 2025, "Over the Border and Out of Reach: The Limits of Economic Benchmarking"
- ECPR — European Consortium for Political Research, Dublin, Aug 2024, "Do you have an appointment? How executives shape political careers in Brazil" (with J. Meira and T. Power)

- REPAL — Red de Economía Política de America Latina, Washington, June 2024: "Exogenous Economic Conditions and Political Instability in Latin America" (with D. Campello)
- APSA — American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, Sep 2023:
  - "Benefits by luck: A study of lotteries as a selection method for government programs" (with N. Bueno and F. Nunes) — *Winner of "Best Comparative Public Policy paper" by APSA's Public Policy section*
  - "Partisan Stereotyping and Polarization in Brazil" (with F. Mello and D. Samuels)
- REPAL — Red de Economía Política de America Latina, Buenos Aires, July 2022: "What you see and what you get: direct and indirect political dividends of public policies" (with N. Bueno and F. Nunes, non-presenting author) — *Winner of "Best Paper" in the 2022 REPAL conference*
- REPAL — Red de Economía Política de America Latina (Virtual), June 2021: "Exogenous Shocks and Misattribution of Responsibility for Economic Performance: Results From Survey Experiments" (with D. Campello)
- APSA — American Political Science Association (Virtual), Sep 2020:
  - "Exogenous Shocks and Misattribution of Responsibility for Economic Performance: Results From Survey Experiments" (with D. Campello)
  - "Making the bourgeoisie? Values, voice, and state-provided homeownership" (with N. Bueno and F. Nunes) — *Winner of "Best Paper" in APSA's Public Policy Section*
- APSA — American Political Science Association, Washington, Sep 2019: "Exogenous Economic Conditions and Irregular Handovers of Power in Latin America"
- APSA — American Political Science Association, Boston, Sep 2018: "Do Governments Make Dreams Come True? An Analysis of the 'Minha Casa Minha Vida' Housing Program" (with N. Bueno and F. Nunes, non-presenting)
- APSA — American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, Sep 2017: "Rewarding Merit or Luck? Electoral Accountability in Comparative Perspective" (with D. Campello)
- REPAL — Red de Economía Política de America Latina, Lima, Mar 2017: "Exogenous Shocks and Misattribution of Responsibility for Economic Performance: Observational and Experimental Evidence" (with D. Campello) — *Winner of "Best Paper" presented in the 2017 REPAL conference*

Teaching

- Columbia University: Scope & Methods (2026-F), Comparative Politics Survey I (Graduate, 2026-F), Inequality, Poverty & Politics (SIPA, 2026-S)
- Fundação Getúlio Vargas: Statistics 1B—Intro to Causal Analysis (Graduate, 2025-2, 2024-2, 2023-2, 2022-3, 2021-2, 2020-2, 2019-2, 2018-2, 2017-2, 2016-2, 2015-2, 2014-2); Comparative Political Institutions (Graduate, 2024-3,2023-3, 2022-3, 2019-2, 2014-2, 2015-1, 2016-3, 2018-2); The Politics of Inequality and Poverty Reduction (Graduate, 2018-3, 2016-3, 2016-3, 2015-1, 2014-1, Undergraduate 2025-3); Intro to Public Policy (Graduate, 2025-2, 2024-2, 2023-3, 2023-1, 2022-4, 2021-2, 2020-1, 2019-2)
- Rutgers University: Introduction to Causal Analysis (Graduate, Spring 2012); Comparative Political Institutions (Undergraduate, Fall 2012 & 2011); and The Politics of Inequality and Poverty Reduction (Undergraduate, Fall 2012 & 2011)

- Princeton University: WWS-501 The Politics of Public Policy (Team taught, Graduate, Fall 2010 & 2009); POL-350 Research Methods in Political Science (Undergraduate, Fall 2009 & 2010)

Languages

- Portuguese: Native Speaker
- English: Highly Proficient
- Spanish: Proficient

Service

- Founding member: FGV's "Committee for Ethics in Research" (2016–2025)
- Co-chair: Political Behavior section of the Brazilian Political Science Association (2020–2022)
- Member: editorial board of "Latin American Politics and Society" (since 2020)
- Member: editorial board of "Political Behavior" (since 2023), Ad-hoc editor (since 2025)
- Referee: American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, Análise Social, Brazilian Political Science Review, British Journal of Political Science, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Dados, Economic Journal, Economics Letters, Electoral Studies, Journal of Development Studies, Journal of Latin American Studies, Journal of Politics, Journal of Politics in Latin America, Latin American Politics and Society, Latin American Research Review, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Party Politics, Política y Gobierno, Political Analysis, Political Behavior, Political Research Quarterly, Revista de Administração Pública, Revista de Estudios Sociales, Revista de Sociologia e Política, Opinião Pública, Revista Uruguaya de Ciéncia Política, Studies in Comparative International Development, World Development, and World Politics

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