



Routledge Handbook of Brazilian Politics

Edited by Barry Ames

ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF BRAZILIAN POLITICS

With contributions from leading international scholars, this *Handbook* offers the most rigorous and up-to-date analyses of virtually every aspect of Brazilian politics, including inequality, environmental politics, foreign policy, economic policy making, social policy, and human rights. The Handbook is divided into three major sections: Part 1 focuses on mass behavior, while Part 2 moves to representation, and Part 3 treats political economy and policy. The *Handbook* proffers five chapters on mass politics, focusing on corruption, participation, gender, race, and religion; three chapters on civil society, assessing social movements, grass-roots participation, and lobbying; seven chapters focusing on money and campaigns, federalism, retrospective voting, partisanship, ideology, the political right, and negative partisanship; five chapters on coalitional presidentialism, participatory institutions, judicial politics, and the political character of the bureaucracy, and eight chapters on inequality, the environment, foreign policy, economic and industrial policy, social programs, and human rights.

This *Handbook* is an essential resource for students, researchers, and all those looking to understand contemporary Brazilian politics.

Barry Ames is the Andrew Mellon Professor of Comparative Politics at the University of Pittsburgh. He is the author of two major monographs, *Political Survival: Politicians and Public Policy in Latin America* and *The Deadlock of Democracy in Brazil*. He was principal investigator for the Two-Cities Panel Study of voting behavior. He is a co-author of *Social Communication, Elections, and Voting Behavior in Latin America* (forthcoming), as well as many articles in political science journals. His early work focused on political and electoral institutions in Latin America, especially in Brazil, and on social context and political behavior. His current work analyzes the process of implementation in Brazilian state-level bureaucracies.



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**For Olivia
Com muito amor**



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INTRODUCTION

Barry Ames

When the editors at Routledge first approached me about putting together a volume on Brazilian politics for their Handbook series, my first instinct was to look for a good place to hide. Edited books, after all, require immense amounts of work but soon become outdated. Indeed, to the degree that an edited book influences the research agenda of the future, it speeds its own path to academia's dustbins. Moreover, as a *norteamericano* political scientist, I feared reawakening nationalist critiques of foreign *brasilianistas*.¹

Still, a few years ago I had written on the depth and maturity of scholarship on Brazilian politics. I claimed that the study of politics in Brazil was arguably the most advanced of all non-OECD countries, and that much of the credit for this achievement goes to Brazilians themselves.² I noted the training Brazilians received in the US, beginning in the 1960s, the quality of the doctoral programs these pioneers established when they returned to Brazil, and the growing number of collaborations between Brazilian and non-Brazilian (mostly US and British) political scientists. Given those remarks, the time for a cutting-edge volume on Brazilian politics had indeed arrived. So I swallowed hard, checked my blood pressure, and accepted.

As I began to assemble contributors and contributions, it became clear that Brazilian political science had indeed grown even beyond expectations. Our 28 chapters have 46 authors: 27 Brazilians and 19 non-Brazilians. About half have appointments in Brazilian institutions, and ten of the chapters are collaborations between Brazilians and non-Brazilians.

Who should be the audience for this book? Scholars are our first audience; scholars needing an overview of the state of the field and ideas for future research. An equally important audience comprises students: graduate and advanced undergraduate students seeking a history of political science research in the field, help in identifying questions for future research, and guidance toward best research practices. And, of course, policy makers are part of our audience, to the degree that evidence still matters in policy making; we hope that this volume provides a comprehensive view of how Brazilian politics works, both from a short- and a long-term perspective.

Linkages

If scholarship on Brazilian politics has truly risen to the highest ranks internationally, we should find linkages, in both directions, between research on Brazilian politics and research more

generally in comparative politics. How does comparative politics influence the study of Brazilian politics? How does the study of Brazilian politics influence comparative politics?

Probably the clearest example of linkage in both directions is the study of legislative politics. Early work on the Brazilian Congress borrowed liberally from the rational-choice perspective of US Congress scholars. The importance of “credit claiming” in legislators’ search for district-level pork-barrel projects originated in work on the US Congress. So too did the emphasis on the primacy of reelection as a goal of legislators. Almost immediately, scholars of Brazilian legislative politics dropped the assumption that reelection was primary, because Brazilian deputies are very likely to leave their legislatures to return to business or to seek executive office, especially the office of municipal mayor. Similarly, the issue of credit claiming is a nice example of the importance of the Brazilian experience for more general legislative theorizing. In the US, all congressional districts are single member, and so every legislator has the same incentives to claim credit for federally funded projects. In Brazil, however, real legislative districts, the famous “electoral fortresses” (*redutos eleitorais*), may have one dominant vote getter or many competitors sharing their votes. As a result, we could *test* the assumption of credit claiming in districts with varying numbers of competitors.³

At the same time, scholars of the Brazilian Congress have largely failed to replicate one of the most famous strategies of US Congress scholars, the tradition of “soaking and poking,” that is, the deeply qualitative, time-intensive investigations of Fenno (1966, 1978), Wildavsky (1964), and their compatriots. It is certainly debatable whether the absence of this research tradition in Brazil matters, but it is difficult to imagine that the flowering of the formal modeling approach of US Congress scholars would have been possible without the reality check of the soakers and pokers. We shall return to this theme at the end of this introduction, when we consider the research agenda of the future.

A second research focus with extensive connections to the broader comparative politics literature is the area of public opinion. As Yan Carreirão and Lucio Rennó point out in their contribution to this volume, debates about electoral behavior in Brazil shed light on such themes as the impact of citizens’ views of the effectiveness of regimes in recently democratized countries. These debates also offer insights about vote choice in multiparty environments and systems of open-list proportional representation. Matthew Kearney and Fabiana Machado, in their chapter on ideology, compare Brazilian and Latin American public opinion on economic policy with parallel attitudes in the US and Canada. The exceptional conservatism of US attitudes is revealed by responses to questions on the role of government-owned industry and the responsibility of governments for the welfare of their citizens. Similarly, scholars of comparative politics are increasingly interested in the concept of “negative partisanship,” the idea that voters are more against one party than for another, and that they oscillate between affiliation with one party and affiliation with none (see Zuckerman et al. 2007). The Brazilian experience (explored by David Samuels and Cesar Zucco Jr. in this volume) is instructive: Although the PT is the only Brazilian party with strong mass affiliations, it is also the only party with strong negative reactions as well.

In some research areas, the Brazilian experience seems to show the limits of our scholarly tools. The chapters by Octavio Amorim Neto and by Carlos Pereira and Frederico Bertholini highlight the Eurocentric and US-centric nature of research on cabinet formation in democracies. As these two chapters demonstrate, the tools used to analyze two-party presidentialism are not useful in dealing with multiparty settings, but cabinet formation in multiparty Western European parliamentary governments is based much more on negotiations over policy (and less on pork and patronage) than in Brazil. Scholars of Brazilian coalitional presidentialism, in other words, needed to develop new analytic tools, and these tools have increased the generality of our theories of cabinet formation.

How Does the Study of Brazilian Politics Reflect Current Political Conflicts in Brazil?

As academic disciplines mature, they increasingly march to the beats of their own drums, progressing in a somewhat Kuhnian manner toward ever-smaller questions, questions of interest mainly to members of the discipline itself. Although political science research in Brazil has become more rigorous over the last 30 years, it has not lost its connections to the problems facing the nation itself. Consider, as one example, the evolution of research on the Brazilian party system and legislative–executive relations. Around the turn of the millennium, the dominant view held that Brazil had too many parties, that most of these parties existed only to distribute pork and patronage, and that gridlock was the rule rather than the exception (see Lamounier 1995; Mainwaring 1999; Ames 2001). With the euphoria of the early years of PT governments came arguments that presidents could manage the system well, and that parties were reasonably coherent ideologically. Toward the end of the first two PT administrations, a middle ground emerged (especially see the work of Carlos Pereira in this volume), a middle ground arguing that the system worked precisely because the executive could distribute pork and patronage. In the light of Brazil’s deep recession, post-2014, and the magnitude of its corruption scandals, all these arguments are undergoing a reevaluation. Concomitantly, the increasing involvement of the judicial system in politics, evident in the Lava Jato scandal, has fostered much-needed research in that area.

A second area notable as a research response to everyday politics is the area of participatory institutions, both the participatory budget process and the use of national policy councils. Early experiments with participatory budgeting, a PT-sponsored process in which neighborhood groups are given the power to control part of a municipality’s capital budget, met with enthusiastic scholarly response. At the micro level, participatory budgeting increased the involvement of women and the poor in local politics. At the macro level, participatory budgeting promised greater efficiency in municipal spending. As participatory budgeting spread beyond PT-controlled municipalities (originally mostly in Rio Grande do Sul), and as Lula’s administrations instituted the National Conferences, mainly in social policy areas, to give civil society a greater role in policy formation, scholars adopted a more nuanced approach (see our chapters by Wampler and Romão, Abers and von Bülow, and Avritzer). They now stress not only the bottom–up nature of these participatory institutions but also their top–down quality, that is, the ability of party groups to manipulate the conferences to maximize their symbolic value to the incumbent administration.

Choices: What’s in and What’s out of this Volume

Although the *Routledge Handbooks* are by no means skimpy volumes, editors still have to make choices: there are always more topics than any single volume can include. I made choices to highlight crucial theoretical debates in Brazil, in Latin America, and in comparative politics generally. I also wanted to include discussions of aspects of Brazilian politics that were unique to Brazil (such as the *Bolsa Família* program) but are substantively interesting to scholars and policy makers in other Latin American countries.

Nonetheless, this *Handbook* has gaps. We have no chapter on favelas and urban policy, especially the Police Pacification Units that state governments established to reduce urban violence and drug trafficking. There should be a chapter on Petrobrás and energy/ethanol policy. And we are missing chapters on media and politics, labor, tax policy, and the military. In some of these cases I commissioned chapters, but the authors never delivered. Other cases are purely errors of omission on my own part.

Organization of the Volume

How to organize our 28 chapters? After flirting with various principles of thematic and substantive organization, I opted for a traditional political science approach, focusing on political inputs and outputs. Having made this choice, it initially seemed sensible to begin with policy processes – domestic and foreign, economic and social. If we see these as dependent variables, we could then move to such themes as political participation and interest articulation, parties and elections, and legislative and judicial processes as independent variables, as determinants of the outcomes of the policy processes. In the end, I rejected this approach. It offered a picture of the theoretical development of the field that was too advanced, too optimistic. In reality, our knowledge of the input side of Brazilian politics has progressed enormously, but we still cannot explain political outcomes without a substantial margin of error.⁴

In the interests of modesty, then, I returned to a traditional ordering. Part 1 is the input side, with a group of chapters on political culture, behavior, and participation, and another group of chapters on civil society. Part 2 focuses on representation, with chapters on parties and elections and on political institutions. Part 3 treats political economy and policy both broadly, with discussions of inequality, human rights, and foreign policy, and narrowly, with discussions of economic and social policy.

Themes and Contributions

We begin the input side of Brazilian politics with five chapters on political culture, behavior, and participation. Given the enormous importance of the Lava Jato (carwash) and other corruption scandals in the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff and in reinforcing Brazil's deep recession, it makes sense to dive right in to Brazil's corruption problems. The opening chapter, by Kelly Senters, Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro, and Matthew Winters, offers a comprehensive picture of the attitudes of Brazilians toward corruption both at the highest levels of government and in everyday life. Senters et al. utilize an extensive series of public opinion polls to show that citizens do care about corruption; indeed, in the wake of the recent scandals, a much higher percentage of the population thinks corruption is Brazil's "most important problem." But there is a partisan lens here as well: partisans of the PT and Lula are more likely to believe that the government is taking action against corruption. The next chapter, by Julian Borba and Ednaldo Ribeiro, focuses on political participation, both electoral and contestatory. The key variables needing explanation are turnout, abstention, and invalid voting (blank and null ballots). Borba and Ribeiro discuss how electronic voting affects invalid votes and the ways in which cognitive mobilization variables (a result of Brazil's inequality) affect participation. Pedro dos Santos and Kristin Wylie then turn to the representation or, more appropriately, the underrepresentation of women in Brazil's formal political structures. Brazil has instituted gender quotas, but quotas fail to overcome the barriers created by informal and formal political institutions. Gladys Mitchell-Walthour examines the role of race in Brazilian politics. Although Brazil's Afro-Brazilian population is very large and suffers substantial economic and social discrimination, racial cleavages in voting have been weak but are beginning to change. Mitchell-Walthour examines the evolution of race and politics over Brazil's various political regimes and reviews public opinion research analyzing the voting patterns of Afro-Brazilians.

Concluding the first section of Part 1, Amy Erica Smith explores the assertiveness of Brazil's religious community in electoral campaigns and in policy advocacy. While clergy of all faiths seek to maximize church attendance and religious influence in the political sphere, Smith shows how the political behavior of religious communities cannot be understood without considering

the Brazilian state's permissiveness toward religious competition, the behavior of transnational religious institutions such as the Catholic Church, and the effects of local religious entrepreneurs. Smith also demonstrates that the exercise of political influence by clergy, both Catholic and evangelical, is far from automatic. Because most Brazilians believe that clergy should not endorse candidates, religious leaders must be subtle in their attempts to influence policy attitudes and electoral behavior, and religious messages do not dominate other political influences.

The second section of Part 1 focuses on civil society, that is, the arena between the family and the state, the arena created by individual and collective actions, organizations, and institutions to advance shared interests. In Chapter 6, Rebecca Neaera Abers and Marisa von Bülow argue that scholarship on social movements in Brazil has gone through four periods, each corresponding to a different approach to the interactions between social movements and the state. In the 1970s and 1980s, research focused on the explosive growth in social movements themselves. In the 1990s, scholars focused on the growing "civil society" participation in formal participatory institutions (such as the participatory budget process). Post-2000, the literature came to challenge the idealization of both movement autonomy in the first period and participatory institutions in the second, developing more complex approaches to state–movement relations. But Abers and von Bülow believe that social movement scholars still need to engage with the recent upsurge in right-wing mobilization and the emergence of new forms of mobilization. In Chapter 7, Brian Wampler and Wagner Romão concentrate on one aspect of the broad discussion begun by Abers and von Bülow, that is, the political and policy development of subnational participatory institutions. They emphasize the importance of the roles played by elected governments and local politicians in fostering these participatory institutions. In other words, participatory institutions are not just a "social movements in government" story; they are also a story of politicians seeking ways to expand their support coalitions. Finally, Part 1 concludes with a discussion on lobbying in Manoel Santos's chapter. In my view, lobbying is one of the understudied areas of Brazilian politics, but scholars are beginning to pay attention. Santos shows how interest representation in Brazil combines elements of the old corporatist system with a new pluralism. Whereas business owners have adapted well to the new reality of regulation in a pluralist environment, labor has become more fragmented. Post-Dilma, the end of the compulsory union contribution puts labor in an increasingly hostile environment.

Part 2, on representation, begins with seven chapters on parties and elections. In Chapter 9, George Avelino and Arthur Fisch examine campaign spending in elections for federal representatives between 2002 and 2014. They show that campaign spending rose over the period, that it is an important tool for candidates, and that it varies across and within states. Significantly, district magnitude (which varies in congressional races from 8 to 70) has limited influence on campaign spending. Finally, Avelino and Fisch find that most campaign spending is concentrated on a few competitive candidates, and that electoral competition is therefore less intense than would be expected on the basis of the huge numbers of candidates per seat. In Chapter 10, André Borges analyzes the interplay of multilevel elections, strong federalism, and decentralized electoral rules. Concurrent elections that strengthen presidential coattails combine with the strong legislative powers of the president to create incentives for intergovernmental coordination and a nationalized party system. Simultaneously, however, the existence of autonomous subnational party branches, a highly malapportioned upper chamber, and permissive electoral rules facilitate the existence and growth of office-seeking parties organized around subnational contest. Overall, federalism weakens the connection between presidential and legislative races and fosters party fragmentation.

In Chapter 11, Daniela Campello asks about elections and accountability. Can Brazilian voters utilize elections to hold governments accountable for economic conditions? In order to

do so, they must correctly attribute responsibility for economic outcomes. Such attribution is a very difficult task in an environment of volatile commodity prices and international interest rates. As a result, Brazilians tend to reward presidents who govern in good times, that is, periods of high commodity prices and low US interest rates, and they punish presidents who govern in bad times. The implications of Campello's argument are stark: leaders are bereft of incentives for good policy making but, during "good times," find it profitable to extract rents. In Chapter 12, Yan Carreirão and Lucio Rennó survey the broader debates on Brazilian electoral behavior. They find a consensus that retrospective and economic voting matter, but ideological predispositions have only a limited role in vote choice. Partisanship, either through identification or rejection, matters for the PT, but not for other parties.

The question of ideology, always a difficult concept to identify and measure, is the subject of Chapter 13. Matthew Kearney and Fabiana Machado begin by recognizing the traditional argument that Brazilian voters respond mostly to personalistic and pork barrel appeals rather than programmatic appeals, and they note the growing evidence of ideological coherence in candidates and parties (at least in the PT). But where are voters in terms of ideological positions? Kearney and Machado's survey evidence shows that Brazilian voters have a clear conception of their locations on a left–right spectrum, and that these locations remain relatively constant during an electoral cycle. Voters also have specific policy positions on issues such as the role of government in the economy and gay marriage, but these tend to be unrelated. Ideological self-placement is loosely related to positions on economic questions but unrelated to positions on social issues.

The question of ideology is also the subject of Chapter 14, where Timothy Power and Rodrigo Rodrigues-Silveira link ideology to party organization and party politics. The bulk of the modern right continues to be a set of clientelistic parties that always seek accommodation with whatever government holds power. But some new, programmatic elements are appearing on the right. Power and Rodrigues-Silveira identify an economic right, a religious right, and a law-and-order right that, in their terms, "exhibits nostalgia for the previous authoritarian regime."

Finally, David Samuels and Cesar Zucco Jr. explore the concept of "negative partisanship," that is, the partisanship of people who dislike a party but do not identify with another. If we compare these negative partisans with "hard core" partisans, those who identify with a party and dislike another, it is clear that negative partisanship is an important phenomenon. Between 1989 and 2014, hard-core partisans dropped from 30 percent of the electorate to 14 percent, while negative partisans climbed from 8 percent to 23 percent. Much of this growth correlates with Brazil's economic crisis and its corruption scandals. Samuels and Zucco Jr. suggest that the roots of *antipetismo* and *petismo* may lie in individual authoritarian and anti-authoritarian psychological predispositions.

The second section of Part 2 assesses political institutions. Because of the importance of Brazil's system of multiparty coalitional presidentialism, we begin with two chapters on the subject. In Chapter 16, Octavio Amorim Neto reviews the extensive literature on coalitional presidentialism, focusing on the concept structure of majority coalition cabinets and on the operational indicators adopted to measure the political makeup of cabinets and cabinet appointments and their impacts on executive policy making. He pays special attention to the failed presidency of Dilma Rousseff, showing how her mismanagement of the coalition formation process contributed to her ultimate impeachment. Amorim Neto makes the point that in the future the study of Brazilian presidentialism will need to include the role of the chief executive's personality, the roles of corruption and the judicial branch, and the importance of fiscal policy.

In Chapter 17, Carlos Pereira and Frederico Bertholini build a Governability Cost Index to measure the costs presidents face in multiparty settings. Their index aggregates the number

of cabinet positions, their respective budgets, and the monetary resources initiated by legislators in the annual budget that has been appropriated by the executive. The index, which they apply to all of Latin America, facilitates comparison of strategies of coalition management and their correspondent governing costs between presidents and over time. In a result that parallels those of Amorim Neto, Pereira and Bertholini show that the constitutional and agenda-setting powers of presidents may be less important than their coalition management skills.⁵ Spending more money may simply lead to intertemporal cycling majorities and presidential defeats in Congress.

Brazil has been a pioneer in the development of participatory political institutions, originally in the participatory budget process at the municipal level, but extending to “national conferences” for debate on specific public policies. In Chapter 18, Leonardo Avritzer explores the history and development of these new institutions. He shows that these institutions, especially the national conferences, became more important when the PT assumed national power after Lula’s initial election. The national conferences allowed the PT government to bypass the highly fragmented National Congress, where the legislative process has always been cumbersome and inefficient. After 2014, however, the Rousseff government was so hamstrung that it could not prevent congressional opposition to the national conferences from weakening their policy-making role.

The judiciary seems to be playing an increasingly important role in Brazilian politics, particularly in regard to the Lava Jato corruption scandal; indeed, the term “judicialization of politics” is increasingly heard. In Chapter 19, Luciano Da Ros and Matthew Ingram review the field of judicial politics. They review the main features of the justice system, placing it in the context of Brazilian politics, and highlight four key areas of inquiry: empowerment, activation, behavior, and the impact of justice decisions. They also review the role of the judiciary in the current corruption scandals. The study of judicial politics in Brazil is still in its early stages, and Da Ros and Ingram identify many promising and important new areas of research.

In an essay in the *Handbook of Latin American Politics* (Ames et al. 2012), I argued that the study of bureaucracy was one of the great gaps in political scientists’ understanding of Latin American politics. Although new research projects on bureaucracy are underway, we still lack systematic treatments of bureaucratic processes at either state or national level. We have begun to learn, however, about the relation between politicians and bureaucrats. In Chapter 20, Sérgio Praça and Felix Lopez conclude Part 2 by focusing on the appointment process through which politicians distribute political appointments. Patronage is a central tool for presidents to build and maintain legislative coalitions. At the same time, the appointment of skilled civil servants allows presidents to benefit from administrative and policy-specific expertise. Praça and Lopez examine this process in various policy arenas, and they show its implications for the quality of public policy, especially the potential for corruption.

Part 3, on political economy and policy, constitutes our “dependent variable.” We begin, in Chapter 21, with Frances Hagopian’s discussion of the political economy of inequality. At the turn of the century Brazil had the worst inequality in Latin America; over the last 15 years its improvement has been dramatic. Hagopian assesses two sources of this dramatic change: structural forces, including labor market dynamics and educational investment, and institutions and public policies, including cash transfers and increases in wages. These public policies became possible when programmatic political parties (the PT and the PSDB) came to power. For reasons that were both ideological and strategic, these parties constrained clientelism and established social assistance policies with clear rules for distribution. Alternative explanations, such as the rise to power of the PT (thus leaving out the role of the PSDB), the commodity boom, and popular participation, are all wanting in the face of Hagopian’s evidence.

In Chapter 22, Kathryn Hochstetler focuses on environmental politics, especially on Brazil's process of environmental impact assessment. Hochstetler finds that these assessments have actually contributed to the reduction in pollution levels and rates of deforestation, but their effectiveness varies according to the overall priorities of the administration in power. Chapter 23 moves the focus to foreign policy. Guilherme Casarões traces the study of Brazilian foreign policy through an initial period in which US scholars initiated most research and a second period (beginning in the 1990s) in which Brazilian scholars dominated. Foreign policy research evolved over four waves: a descriptive–normative phase in which scholars and practitioners searched for “best policies,” the beginning of scientific approaches drawing on mainstream international relations scholarship, a focus on bureaucracy and foreign policy, and, finally, research on the relationship between non-state actors and foreign policy in a democratic context. Foreign policy research remains an area in which Brazilian scholars are a bit cut off from the mainstream of political science research, and Casarões makes some useful suggestions pointing toward a reduction in this isolation.

The next two chapters focus on economic policy. In Chapter 24, Peter Kingstone and Luiz Felipe Kling focus on the tension between promoting industry and maintaining macroeconomic stability. Policy makers tend to favor one over the other, with stability the priority since the Real Plan of 1994. In contrast to other Latin American cases, however, Brazilian policy has been flexible, drawing on elements from both sides. Kingstone and Kling closely examine critiques of the current model of inflation targeting and the debate over deindustrialization, in particular, whether deindustrialization is really happening and what it means. In Chapter 25, Mansueto Almeida, Renato Lima-de-Oliveira, and Ben Ross Schneider discuss Brazilian industrial policy, particularly the three industrial policies adopted by PT governments between 2003 and 2016. They show that the PT governments adopted a pragmatic, universalistic set of policies that supported all sectors, particularly sectors that were already large and competitive. As the authors demonstrate, Brazilian industrial policy has broad support among business groups because it is comprehensive, that is, it does not pick winners. Rather than signaling what the country wants to become, in the words of the authors, it risks “consolidating what the country already is: nation with a diversified industrial structure exporting low-tech goods.”

Our discussion of political economy and policy continues with two chapters devoted to social policy. In Chapter 26, Matthew Layton assesses Brazilian social policy, focusing on the now-famous Bolsa Família (BF) program, the program of conditional cash transfers targeted at the poor that lifted (and continues to lift) millions of people out of poverty. Layton (as in the chapter by Frances Hagopian) shows how the PT government built on the conditional cash transfer programs of the prior president, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and kept patronage-seeking politicians from interfering with the enrollment or disbursal of funds to people whose incomes qualified them for assistance. Layton then looks at public opinion data to reveal that, although there is widespread public support for the program, substantial minorities of the public believe that BF also encourages indolence. Finally, Layton reviews the debate over the electoral consequences of BF, siding ultimately with scholars who believe the program had a powerful effect on voters, leading to a realignment of the base of PT support toward the poor, particularly in the northeast. In Chapter 27, Natasha Borges Sugiyama considers the BF program through the optic of policy design, explaining how a program could be designed so that the poor would benefit without the usual payoffs to local and state politicians. Whereas Matthew Layton focused on the effects of the BF on political behavior and public opinion, Sugiyama assesses its effects on human development, that is, on poverty and inequality, health, education, child labor, and nutrition. Because school attendance was a requirement for participation in the BF program, demand for education increased sharply, but the supply of education – schools and teachers – has not kept pace.

Part 3 concludes with Juliana Martins and Anthony Pereira's chapter on human rights. They see a fundamental dualism in Brazil's human rights situation. In the post-1985 Brazilian democracy, every national administration except that of President Michel Temer has emphasized and strengthened the commitment of the state to human rights, with new institutions, new laws, and international commitments defending rights. Martins and Pereira note the existence of a powerful social movement defending human rights, a movement that serves as an "incubator of ideas, lobby for change, and a mechanism for monitoring the implementation of reforms." At the same time, the nation has become more violent, and levels of police brutality remain extremely high. The Brazilian state, like governments everywhere, tends to protect its agents against charges of abusive behavior, and a substantial fraction of the public supports violent policing.

Research Agenda for the Future

Speculating about agendas for future research in any academic area is more than presumptuous, of course, but it seems to be required in volumes of this type, so let us briefly consider the future of political science in Brazil in terms of both method and substance.⁶ We expect to see more integration with Latin America and the rest of the world and less treatment of Brazil as an exceptional case. Traditionally, political science departments in Brazilian universities have focused on political philosophy, international relations, and Brazilian politics, but they are beginning to hire scholars whose interests include Latin America as a whole. In other words, Brazilian exceptionalism in academia is diminishing, albeit slowly, as it diminishes in other areas. The shift is obvious in this volume: our chapters on public opinion and on coalitional presidentialism make explicit comparisons with other countries in the region.

Hostility to quantitative methods and formal reasoning has diminished among Brazilianists, both Brazilians and non-Brazilians.⁷ Although that shift is certainly praiseworthy, the absence of a deep and rigorous *qualitative-ethnographic* tradition, the tradition I have called "soaking and poking," is regrettable. This kind of quasi-ethnographic tradition is especially missed, as I suggested earlier, in the study of legislative bodies. It is also important to the study of bureaucracy.⁸ In the US, intensive observations of bureaucrats and bureaucratic processes, observations undertaken by sociologists as well as political scientists, allowed the development of a rich body of qualitative evidence and led ultimately to formal models of bureaucratic behavior.⁹ It is hard to imagine the formal models without the qualitative tradition alongside as a reality check.¹⁰ The absence of a soak and poke tradition also affects the study of federalism. We do have some good work on federalism (Abrúcio 1998) in general and on state assemblies and municipalities (Marenco et al. 2017), but overall the natural laboratory of states in strong federalism has been relatively neglected. The study of subnational politics in Brazil should prove particularly interesting in the light of the low correlations between indicators of wealth and human capacity, on the one hand, and measures of government transparency and bureaucratic efficiency, on the other. Because the poorest states are not necessarily those with the lowest state capacity, nor are the richest states necessarily those with the highest state capacity, a most-similar-systems approach is feasible.

Although a military coup seems extremely unlikely, Brazil's democracy seems a bit less robust than it did just a few years ago. The current economic and political crises, as various chapters in this book demonstrate, have reduced support for democracy and increased negative partisanship. The neo-authoritarian strand of the right has grown, the citizenry seems increasingly polarized, and intolerance remains a serious problem. The implications of these changes – the possibility of a prolonged democratic crisis – are likely to be fruitful areas of political science research.¹¹

Finally, we need to find ways to support collaborative work among Brazilianists wherever they are located. My calls for soaking and poking will fall on deaf ears if graduate students can

see only a case study at the end of their fieldwork; they know that the label “case study” will inhibit their chances of getting an academic job. On the other hand, in-depth qualitative work takes time and resources. I believe that the way to solve this dilemma is through collaborative work, led by senior scholars with access to resources. Of the 28 chapters in this book, 15 are collaborative, but they are mainly *desk* projects, that is, the authors jointly analyzed publicly available data. If we are to collaborate in *field* studies such that data can be shared, senior scholars need to be creative in encouraging the development of common and broad theoretical approaches, theoretical sub-arguments specific to each junior researcher, and data shareable by all.¹² This kind of research strategy, of course, has implications for funding. The number of individual professors with resources sufficient to support collaborative projects seems small. But this is partly because scholars, especially those at the big US Latin American centers (Texas, Pittsburgh, Vanderbilt, Notre Dame, and so on), rarely think of building collaborative research teams. On the Brazilian side, the CNPq naturally limits its awards to Brazilians. Inter-university agreements (*convênios*) might be a good place to start: such agreements are common in the social sciences but rarely involve money. If we agree that the institutional arrangements in which scholars work should not influence their choices of research questions and methods, perhaps it is time to rethink the institutions.

Notes

- 1 See Massi (1990) and Miceli (1989).
- 2 See Ames (n.d.).
- 3 This is, of course, what I tried to do in *The Deadlock of Democracy in Brazil* (2001).
- 4 In the years just before the 2016 impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff, it was much more common to read of Brazil’s arrival into a long cycle of stability and progress.
- 5 For a focus on constitutional and agenda-setting powers as the key to coalition management, see Figueiredo and Limongi (2000).
- 6 I am indebted to Amy Erica Smith for suggestions about future agendas.
- 7 For some Brazilian views of the evolution of political science in Brazil, see Amorim Neto and Santos (2015), Leite (2017), and Madeira and Marengo dos Santos (2016).
- 8 I am indebted to André Borges for reminding me of the important, richly qualitative work of Felix Garcia Lopez and his research team (2015) on political appointments to bureaucratic positions.
- 9 A good example in the US would be the qualitative and formal work of Daniel Carpenter (2003, 2010).
- 10 This kind of work is beginning to appear in Brazil. See Pires (2015) and the projects of the National School of Public Administration in Brasília.
- 11 Levitsky and Ziblatt’s *How Democracies Die* (2018) is thus timely for Brazilianists and Latin Americanists in general, as well as observers of the Trump phenomenon in the US.
- 12 As an example, I have developed a project on Brazilian state bureaucracies that includes more than 15 collaborators. See barryames.com

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