

Tópicos especiais em Políticas Planetárias e Antropoceno 1 e 2

Terças-feiras das 18:00 às 21:50.

IREL, UnB

Prof. Niels Soendergaard

Ementa

Tópicos especiais em Políticas Planetárias e Antropoceno - Sociedade da informação e política planetária. Tecnohumanismo. *Complexity thinking*. Relações internacionais pós-humanas. Big data, geo-engenharia e governança dos sistemas planetários.

Objetivos

O objetivo da disciplina é tratar de grandes deslocamentos nas relações internacionais no momento atual, a partir das três macrotendências de 1) mudança da ordem liberal, 2) reordenamento da globalização e intensificação da rivalidade geoeconômica, e 3) desafios ecológicos e governança no antropoceno. Adota um foco fortemente conjuntural em um nexo de temáticas centrais em termos de definir transformações globais atuais. Portanto, procura fornecer aos estudantes uma perspectiva de um complexo panorama atual, marcado por acelerada evolução tecnológica, urgentes desafios ecológicos, e crescente tensão geopolítica.

Avaliação

A avaliação da disciplina será feita a partir do trabalho para escrever um artigo científico relacionado às temáticas da disciplina tanto como o objeto de estudo de cada estudante. O artigo será avaliado por meio do processo, o produto entregue, como a apresentação dele na parte dos seminários.

Cronograma

(A literatura é indicativa. É recomendado que os participantes da turma leiam pelo menos dois textos para cada encontro)

Aula 1. 25/3. Introdução

Os rumos da Ordem Liberal

Aula 2. 1/4. As raízes históricas da Ordem Liberal

Anievas, A., & Saull, R. (2019). Reassessing the Cold War and the Far-Right: Fascist Legacies and the Making of the Liberal International Order after 1945. *International Studies Review* (Vol. 22, Issue 3, pp. 370–395). <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viz006>

Orfeo Fioretos & Eugénia C. Heldt (2019): Legacies and innovations in global economic governance since Bretton Woods, *Review of International Political Economy*, DOI: 10.1080/09692290.2019.1635513

Helleiner, Eric (2019): The life and times of embedded liberalism: legacies and innovations since Bretton Woods, *Review of International Political Economy*, DOI: 10.1080/09692290.2019.1607767

Ikenberry, G. J. (2005). Power and liberal order: America's postwar world order in transition. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Vol. 5, Issue 2, pp. 133–152. <https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lci112>

Jahn, B. (2018). Liberal internationalism: historical trajectory and current prospects. *International Affairs*, Vol. 94, Issue 1, pp. 43–61. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iix231>

Tourinho, M. (2021). The Co-Constitution of Order. *International Organization*, Vol. 75, Issue 2, pp. 258–281. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818320000466>

Long, Tom & Schulz, Carsten-Andreas (2022) Republican internationalism: the nineteenth-century roots of Latin American contributions to international order, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 35:5, 639-661, DOI: 10.1080/09557571.2021.1944983

McKeil, A. (2022). Order without Victory: International Order Theory Before and After Liberal Hegemony. *International Studies Quarterly* (Vol. 67, Issue 1). <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqad002>

Aula 3. 8/4. Convulsão social e desafios contemporâneos à ordem liberal

Babic, M. (2020). Let's talk about the interregnum: Gramsci and the crisis of the liberal world order. *International Affairs* (Vol. 96, Issue 3, pp. 767–786). <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiz254>

Fehl, C., & Thimm, J. (2019). Dispensing With the Indispensable Nation? *Global Governance* (Vol. 25, Issue 1, pp. 23–46). Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/19426720-02501006>

Hale, H. E., & Lenton, A. C. (2024). Do Autocrats Need a Foreign Enemy? Evidence from Fortress Russia. *International Security*, 49(1), 9–50. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00486

Kalyanpur, Nikhil (2023) An illiberal economic order: commitment mechanisms become tools of authoritarian coercion, *Review of International Political Economy*, 30:4, 1238-1254, DOI: 10.1080/09692290.2023.2211280

Levitsky, Steven & Way, Lucan (2025) The path to American authoritarianism. What comes after democratic breakdown. *Foreign Affairs*.

Peterson, John (2018) Present at the Destruction? The Liberal Order in the Trump Era, *The International Spectator*, 53:1, 28-44, DOI: 10.1080/03932729.2018.1421295

Priebe, M., Schuessler, J., Rooney, B., & Castillo, J. (2024). Competing visions of restraint. *International Security*, 49(2), 135–169. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00498

Posen, B. R. (2025). Putin's Preventive war: the 2022 invasion of Ukraine. *International Security*, 49(3), 7–49. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00501

Stokes, D. (2018). Trump, American hegemony and the future of the liberal international order. *International Affairs* (Vol. 94, Issue 1, pp. 133–150). Oxford University Press (OUP). <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iix238>

Søndergaard, Niels (2020) New Lines Within the European Civil Society Mobilizations Against the TTIP, *New Political Economy*, 25:2, 284-299, DOI: 10.1080/13563467.2019.1598958

Aula 4. 15/4. A emergência da China e a ordem liberal

Allan, B. B., Vucetic, S., & Hopf, T. (2018). The Distribution of Identity and the Future of International Order: China's Hegemonic Prospects. *International Organization*, Vol. 72, Issue 4, pp. 839–869. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818318000267>

Chan, S. (2021). Challenging the liberal order: the US hegemon as a revisionist power. *International Affairs*, Vol. 97, Issue 5, pp. 1335–1352. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiab074>

de Graaff, Nana (2019): China Inc. goes global. Transnational and national networks of China's globalizing business elite, *Review of International Political Economy*, DOI: 10.1080/09692290.2019.1675741

De Graaff, N., & Van Apeldoorn, B. (2018). US–China relations and the liberal world order: contending elites, colliding visions? *International Affairs* (Vol. 94, Issue 1, pp. 113–131). Oxford University Press (OUP). <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iix232>

Johnston, A. I. (2019). China in a World of Orders: Rethinking Compliance and Challenge in Beijing's International Relations. *International Security*, Vol. 44, Issue 2, pp. 9–60. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00360

Layne, C. (2018). The US–Chinese power shift and the end of the Pax Americana. *International Affairs*, Vol. 94, Issue 1, pp. 89–111. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iix249>

Lim, Darren J. & G. Ikenberry, John (2023) China and the Logic of Illiberal Hegemony, *Security Studies*, 32:1, 1-31, DOI: 10.1080/09636412.2023.2178963

Lind, J. (2024). Back to bipolarity: How China's rise transformed the balance of power. *International Security*, 49(2), 7–55. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00494

Iitzkowitz Shiffrinson, J. R. (2020). Partnership or Predation? How Rising States Contend with Declining Great Powers. *International Security* (Vol. 45, Issue 1, pp. 90–126). MIT Press - Journals. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00384

Beckley, M. (2023). The Peril of Peaking Powers: Economic Slowdowns and Implications for China's Next Decade. *International Security*, Vol. 48, Issue 1, pp. 7–46. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00463

Aula 5. 22/4. O futuro da Ordem Liberal e a emergente multipolaridade

Acharya, Amitav (2017) After Liberal Hegemony: The Advent of a Multiplex World Order. *Ethics & International Affairs*, 31 no.3, pp.271-285.

Aydin, U. (2021). Emerging middle powers and the liberal international order. *International Affairs* (Vol. 97, Issue 5, pp. 1377–1394). <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iab090>

Bettiza, G., Bolton, D., & Lewis, D. (2023). Civilizationism and the Ideological Contestation of the Liberal International Order. *International Studies Review* (Vol. 25, Issue 2). Oxford University Press (OUP). <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viad006>

Flockhart, Trine (2016) The coming multi-order world, *Contemporary Security Policy*, 37:1, 3-30, DOI: 10.1080/13523260.2016.1150053

Goddard, S. E. (2018). Embedded Revisionism: Networks, Institutions, and Challenges to World Order. *International Organization* (Vol. 72, Issue 4, pp. 763–797). Cambridge University Press (CUP). <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818318000206>

Mearsheimer, J. J. (2019). Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order. *International Security*, Vol. 43, Issue 4, pp. 7–50. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00342

Glaser, C. L. (2019). A Flawed Framework: Why the Liberal International Order Concept Is Misguided. *International Security* (Vol. 43, Issue 4, pp. 51–87). https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00343

Parsi, Trita (2024) Toward a Better Security Order / November 2024. Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft.

Peters, Michael A. (2023) The emerging multipolar world order: A preliminary analysis, *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 55:14, 1653-1663, DOI: 10.1080/00131857.2022.2151896

Mearsheimer, John. & Walt, Stephen. (2016) The case for offshore balancing: A superior US grand strategy. *Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43946934>

Ikenberry, G. J. (2018). The end of liberal international order? *International Affairs* (Vol. 94, Issue 1, pp. 7–23). <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iix241>

Ikenberry, G. (2018). Why the Liberal World Order Will Survive. *Ethics & International Affairs*, 32(1), 17-29. doi:10.1017/S0892679418000072

Brooks, Stephen G., Ikenberry G. John, Wohlforth, William C. (2013) Don't Come Home, America: The Case against Retrenchment. *International Security* 2013; 37 (3): 7–51. doi: https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00107

Desglobalização(?), rivalidade e novos rumos da geoeconomia

Aula 6. 29/4. Geopolítica, choques globais e desglobalização(?)

Christensen, T. J. (2024). Mutually Assured Disruption: Globalization, Security, and the Dangers of Decoupling. *World Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1353/wp.0.a918726>

Ripsman, N. M. (2021). Globalization, deglobalization and Great Power politics. *International Affairs*, Vol. 97, Issue 5, pp. 1317–1333. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiab091>

Chen, L. S., & Evers, M. M. (2023). “Wars without Gun Smoke”: Global Supply Chains, Power Transitions, and Economic Statecraft. *International Security*, Vol. 48, Issue 2, pp. 164–204). https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00473

Victor D. Cha; Collective Resilience: Deterring China's Weaponization of Economic Interdependence. *International Security* 2023; 48 (1): 91–124. doi: https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00465

Farrell, H., & Newman, A. L. (2019). Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion. *International Security* (Vol. 44, Issue 1, pp. 42–79). https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00351

Gjesvik, Lars (2023) Private infrastructure in weaponized interdependence, *Review of International Political Economy*, 30:2, 722-746, DOI: 10.1080/09692290.2022.2069145

Gupta, S., Wang, Y., & Czinkota, M. (2023). Reshoring: A Road to Industry 4.0 Transformation. *British Journal of Management* (Vol. 34, Issue 3, pp. 1081–1099). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8551.12731>

Kornprobst, M., & Paul, T. V. (2021). Globalization, deglobalization and the liberal international order. *International Affairs* (Vol. 97, Issue 5, pp. 1305–1316). Oxford University Press (OUP). <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiab120>

Paul, T.V. (2023) The Spectre of Deglobalization. *Current History*, January, 2023.

Aula 7. 6/5. A geoeconomia e geopolítica atual: um neoestatismo resurgente?

Babic, Milan (2023) State capital in a geoeconomic world: mapping state-led foreign investment in the global political economy, *Review of International Political Economy*, 30:1, 201-228, DOI: 10.1080/09692290.2021.1993301

Grevi, Giovanni (2024) What Grand Strategy for Europe? Three competing visions and one competing proposal. CSDS In-depth nr. 2024/10.

Draghi, Mario (2024) The future of European competitiveness. European Commission

Di Carlo, D., & Schmitz, L. (2023). Europe first? The rise of EU industrial policy promoting and protecting the single market. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 30(10), 2063–2096. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2202684>

Wijaya, Trissia & Jayasuriya, Kanishka (2024): Militarised neoliberalism and the reconstruction of the global political economy, *New Political Economy*, 10.1080/13563467.2023.2298199

Helleiner, E. (2021). The Return of National Self-Sufficiency? Excavating Autarkic Thought in a De-Globalizing Era. *International Studies Review* (Vol. 23, Issue 3, pp. 933–957). Oxford University Press (OUP). <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viaa092>

Lavery, Scott (2023): Rebuilding the fortress? Europe in a changing world economy, *Review of International Political Economy*, DOI: 10.1080/09692290.2023.2211281

Anton Malkin (2020): The made in China challenge to US structural power: industrial policy, intellectual property and multinational corporations, *Review of International Political Economy*, DOI: 10.1080/09692290.2020.1824930

Mazzucato, M. & Kattel, R. (2022) Mission-Oriented Industrial Strategy. United Nations Industrial Development Programme.

Mazzucato, M. (2022) The inclusive entrepreneurial state: collective wealth creation and distribution. IFS.

McNally, Christopher A. (2019): Chaotic mélange: neo-liberalism and neo-statism in the age of Sino-capitalism, *Review of International Political Economy*, DOI: 10.1080/09692290.2019.1683595

Ougaard, M. (2015). The reconfiguration of the transnational power bloc in the crisis. *European Journal of International Relations* (Vol. 22, Issue 2, pp. 459–482). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066115589616>

Pearson, M. M., Rithmire, M., & Tsai, K. S. (2022). China's Party-State Capitalism and International Backlash: From Interdependence to Insecurity. *International Security* (Vol. 47, Issue 2, pp. 135–176). MIT Press. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00447

Schindler, S., Alami, I., DiCarlo, J., Jepson, N., Rolf, S., Bayırbağ, M. K., ... Zhao, Y. (2023). The Second Cold War: US-China Competition for Centrality in Infrastructure, Digital, Production, and Finance Networks. *Geopolitics*, 29(4), 1083–1120. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2023.2253432>

Aula 8. 13/5. A virada tecnológica e a geopolítica

Broeders, D., Cristiano, F., & Kaminska, M. (2023). In Search of Digital Sovereignty and Strategic Autonomy: Normative Power Europe to the Test of Its Geopolitical Ambitions. *Journal of Common Market Studies* (Vol. 61, Issue 5, pp. 1261–1280). <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13462>

Calderaro, A., & Blumfelde, S. (2022). Artificial intelligence and EU security: the false promise of digital sovereignty. *European Security* (Vol. 31, Issue 3, pp. 415–434). <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2022.2101885>

Capri, Alex. (2020) Semiconductors at the Heart of the US-China Tech War How a New Era of Techno-Nationalism is Shaking up Semiconductor Value Chains. Hinrich Foundation.

Capri, Alex. (2021) Techno-nationalism via semiconductors: Can chip manufacturing return to America? Hinrich Foundation.

Dauvergne, Peter (2020): The globalization of artificial intelligence: consequences for the politics of environmentalism, *Globalizations*, DOI: 10.1080/14747731.2020.1785670

Lonergan Erica D; Poznansky Michael (2024) Competing Visions for US Grand Strategy in Cyberspace, *Security Studies*, 33:4, 607-639, DOI: 10.1080/09636412.2024.2393862

Gilli, A., & Gilli, M. (2019). Why China has not caught up yet: Military-Technological superiority and the limits of imitation, reverse engineering, and cyber espionage. *International Security*, 43(3), 141–189. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00337

Farrand, Benjamin & Carrapico, Helena (2022) Digital sovereignty and taking back control: from regulatory capitalism to regulatory mercantilism in EU cybersecurity, *European Security*, 31:3, 435-453, DOI: 10.1080/09662839.2022.2102896

Larsen, B.C. (2022) The geopolitics of AI and the rise of digital sovereignty. Brookings.

Luo, Y., Van Assche, A. The rise of techno-geopolitical uncertainty: Implications of the United States CHIPS and Science Act. *J Int Bus Stud* (2023). <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41267-023-00620-3>

Miailhe, Nicolas (2018) The geopolitics of artificial intelligence: The return of empires? *Politique étrangère* Issue 3, 2018, pages 105 to 117

Peters, Michael A. (2022): Semiconductors, geopolitics and technological rivalry: the US CHIPS & Science Act, 2022, *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, DOI: 10.1080/00131857.2022.2124914

Broeders, D., Sukumar, A., Kello, M., & Andersen, L. H. (2025). Digital corporate autonomy: geo-economics and corporate agency in conflict and competition. *Review of International Political Economy*, 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2025.2468308>

Os desafios ecológicos e governança no antropoceno

Aula 9. 27/5. O antropoceno e os desafios ecológicos

Biermann, F. (2014). The Anthropocene: A governance perspective. *The Anthropocene Review* (Vol. 1, Issue 1, pp. 57–61). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053019613516289>

Biermann, F. (2021) The future of ‘environmental’ policy in the Anthropocene: time for a paradigm shift, *Environmental Politics*, 30:1-2, 61-80, DOI: 10.1080/09644016.2020.1846958

Steffen, W., Grinevald, J., Crutzen, P., & McNeill, John. (2011). The Anthropocene: conceptual and historical perspectives. In *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society A: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences* (Vol. 369, Issue 1938, pp. 842–867). The Royal Society. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rsta.2010.0327>

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Folke, C., Polasky, S., Rockström, J., Galaz, V., Westley, F., Lamont, M., Scheffer, M., Österblom, H., Carpenter, S. R., Chapin, F. S., III, Seto, K. C., Weber, E. U., Crona, B. I., Daily, G. C., Dasgupta, P., Gaffney, O., Gordon, L. J., Hoff, H., Levin, S. A., ... Walker, B. H. (2021). Our future in the Anthropocene biosphere. *Ambio* (Vol. 50, Issue 4, pp. 834–869). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13280-021-01544-8>

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Patberg, P. & Zelli, F. (2016) Global environmental governance in the Anthropocene: An introduction. In Patberg, P. & Zelli, F. (eds.) *Environmental Politics and Governance in the Anthropocene*. Routledge.

Rockstrom, J. (2009) A safe operating space for humanity. *Nature* 461.

Steffen, W., Richardson, K., Rockström, J., Cornell, S. E., Fetzer, I., Bennett, E. M., Biggs, R., Carpenter, S. R., de Vries, W., de Wit, C. A., Folke, C., Gerten, D., Heinke, J., Mace, G. M., Persson, L. M., Ramanathan, V., Reyers, B., & Sörlin, S. (2015). Planetary boundaries: Guiding human development on a changing planet. *Science* (Vol. 347, Issue 6223). <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1259855>

Steffen, W., Broadgate, W., Deutsch, L., Gaffney, O., & Ludwig, C. (2015). The trajectory of the Anthropocene: The Great Acceleration. *The Anthropocene Review* Vol. 2, Issue 1, pp. 81–98. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053019614564785>

Aula 10. 3/6. Seminário: Apresentação e debates sobre outlines dos artigos

Aula 11. 10/6. A evolução das políticas ambientais globais

Burke, A. (2022). An architecture for a net zero world: Global climate governance beyond the epoch of failure. *Global Policy* (Vol. 13, Issue S3, pp. 24–37). Wiley. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.13159>

Falkner, R. (2016) The Paris Agreement and the new logic of international climate politics. *International Affairs* 92(5), pp.1107-1125.

Höhne, Chris, Kahmann, Christian, Lohaus, Mathis (2024) Continuity and Change in Norm Translations After the Paris Agreement: From First to Second Nationally Determined Contributions. *Global Environmental Politics* doi: https://doi.org/10.1162/glep_a_00743

Gao, Shuqin. (2017) China and Global Energy Governance: Integration or Confrontation? *Global Governance* 23, no. 2, 201:–25
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/44861125>.

Keohane, R. O., & Oppenheimer, M. (2016). Paris: Beyond the Climate Dead End through Pledge and Review? *Politics and Governance* (Vol. 4, Issue 3, pp. 142–151). Cogitatio. <https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v4i3.634>

Keohane, R. O., & Victor, D. G. (2016). Cooperation and discord in global climate policy. *Nature Climate Change* (Vol. 6, Issue 6, pp. 570–575).
<https://doi.org/10.1038/nclimate2937>

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<https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2024.2434469>

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Aula 12. 17/6. Governança ambiental e as cadeias globais de valor

Dallas, Mark, Ponte, Stefano., Sturgeon ,Timothy J. (2019) Power in global value chains, *Review of International Political Economy*, 26:4, 666-694

Dauvergne, P., & Lister, J. (2010). The Power of Big Box Retail in Global Environmental Governance: Bringing Commodity Chains Back into IR. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* (Vol. 39, Issue 1, pp. 145–160).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0305829810371018>

Gamu, J.K., Søndergaard, N. (2023) Governance capture and socio-environmental conflict: a critical political economy of the global mining industry’s prior consultation regime. *Review of International Political Economy* (forthcoming).

Lang, J., Ponte, S., & Vilakazi, T. (2022). Linking power and inequality in global value chains. *Global Networks*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12411>

Nepstad, D., McGrath, D., Stickler, C., Alencar, A., Azevedo, A., Swette, B., Bezerra, T., DiGiano, M., Shimada, J., Seroa da Motta, R., Armijo, E., Castello, L., Brando, P., Hansen, M. C., McGrath-Horn, M., Carvalho, O., & Hess, L. (2014). Slowing Amazon deforestation through public policy and interventions in beef and soy supply chains. *Science* (Vol. 344, Issue 6188, pp. 1118–1123). <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1248525>

Ponte, Stefano (2019): Green Capital Accumulation: Business and Sustainability Management in a World of Global Value Chains, *New Political Economy*, DOI: 10.1080/13563467.2019.1581152

Søndergaard, Niels., Thives, Victor., Gomes de Jesus, Camila Lorena & Vaz, Isadora Pimenta de Campos (2022): Fragmented sustainability governance of telecoupled flows:

Brazilian beef exports to China, *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, DOI: 10.1080/09640568.2022.2118570

Soterroni, Aline C. et al. (2019) ,Expanding the Soy Moratorium to Brazil's Cerrado. *Science. Adv.*5,eaav7336(2019).DOI:10.1126/sciadv.aav7336

Strassburg, B., Brooks, T., Feltran-Barbieri, R. et al. (2017). Moment of truth for the Cerrado hotspot. *Nat Ecol Evol* 1, 0099 <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41559-017-0099>

Thives, Victor., Søndergaard, Niels & Inoue, Cristina Yumie Aoki (2022): Bringing states back into commodity-centric environmental governance: the telecoupled soy trade between Brazil and China, *Third World Quarterly*, DOI: 10.1080/01436597.2022.2081144

Aula 13. 24/6. Workshop; como escrever um artigo acadêmico

Aula 14. 1/7. Seminário

Aula 15. 8/7. Seminário