



Degree Program in Politics: Philosophy and Economics

Course of Political Sociology

In the context of Brazilian politics, how do the populist leadership styles of Jair Bolsonaro and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva differ, and what impact do these differences have on governance, public sentiment, and the political landscape?

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2- Abstract

The paper dives into the complicated elements of Brazilian legislative issues, especially centering on the course of Political Humanism. This scholastic investigation scrutinizes the differentiating populist administration styles of two unmistakable figures in Brazilian legislative issues, Jair Bolsonaro and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, and their significant effect on administration, open assumption, and the general political scene of Brazil. The thesis analyzes the individual foundations of Bolsonaro and Lula, illustrating how their one-of-a-kind life encounters have molded their particular administration approaches. By analyzing the authentic directions that moved them to the apexes of control, the investigation sheds light on the basic inspirations and philosophies that support their administration strategies.

Furthermore, the record fastidiously dismembers the crucial aberrations between reactionary populism and the marvels of Lulism and Bolsonarism in the Brazilian political milieu. It digs into the ideological underpinnings, arrangement introductions, and explanatory procedures utilized by these pioneers to mobilize back and explore the complex socio-political scene of Brazil.

Moreover, the consideration fundamentally assesses the suggestions of these dissimilar populist authority styles on open estimation and administration in Brazil. By analyzing open supposition surveys, approach results, and societal responses, the inquiry offers important experiences into how the administration styles of Bolsonaro and Lula have affected the political talk, social cohesion, and arrangement heading in Brazil. Through a nuanced examination of these differentiating administration standards, the consideration contributes to a more profound understanding of the advancing political elements in Brazil and the broader suggestions for equitable administration, social cohesion, and political steadiness in the locale. By unraveling the complexities of populist authority in Brazil, this inquire about gives a comprehensive system for analyzing the exchange between authority styles, open estimation, and administration results in a quickly changing political landscape.

In conclusion, the thesis records Political Human science in Brazilian legislative issues and offers a comprehensive examination of the dissimilar populist administration

styles of Bolsonaro and Lula, giving profitable experiences into the advancing political flow and administration challenges confronting Brazil in the modern era.

3- Introduction

When politics are involved, society tends to make one assumption immediately: is it about the right or left-wing? However, what will be exploited in this paper is the other side, a type of politics that sits on both sides, Populism. This, as scholars say, can be a right-wing movement, as well as a left-wing one. Depending on the side of the world it could be seen as a positive characteristic or a terrible one, as is the example of Latin American countries, which will be what this paper will be talking about.

The meaning of populism is a blurred concept, some scholars even argue that it should not be a political concept, since it doesn't have a straight formula, and it is neither exclusively from the right-wing movements nor the left-wing ones. One thing all populists have in common is the need for a clear enemy to hate and fight against, the most famous enemies are the "socialists", to the right-wing politicians or "the elite" for the left-wing. Another essential component is a supra-nationalist feeling, the populists are supposed to be there as representatives of the people, of the masses, and they talk in their name, usually using very compelling and passionate arguments to defeat their moral enemies. Another strategy used by populists is repetitive rhetoric, or *argumentum ad nauseam*¹, which consists of the repetition of terms and phrases to convince the public.

In Latin America, there have been many examples of populist governments, the main cases this paper will discuss are Bolsonaro and Lula. Brazil has had, over the years, famous populist representatives that were seen by the whole world, a lot of them turned out to lead to a sort of autocracy (a state or society governed by one person with absolute power). Others, it is argued, brought democracy back to the table.

What will be analyzed in this paper is a comparison between two very different governments that Brazilians bore for most of the last 20 years. However, diverse they might be from each other, they do have some common traits that make them be characterized as populists.

To start, an official definition of Populism needs to be set, taking this into account, this paper will use Cass Mudde's definition from the book "Populism: A Very Short Introduction" from 2017 'Populism is defined as a thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic camps, "the pure

¹ Thomás Zicman de Barros and Miguel Lago, *Do que Falamos Quando Falamos de Populismo*, volume 1 (Companhia das Letras, 2022), P. 09

people” versus “the corrupt elite,” and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people.’²

In conclusion, this paper will address the various aspects of populism in Brazil, especially from the 2000s to today’s scenario. We will explore and analyze how do the populist leadership styles of Jair Bolsonaro and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva differ, and what impact do these differences have on governance, public sentiment, and the political landscape. In order to do that, we will compare the political and personal backgrounds of the two politicians and how that came to influence their political careers. Additionally, this paper will explore how “bolsonarismo” and “lulismo” differ from each other and other politics in Brazil.

² Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Cas Mudde, *Populism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2017)

4- Chapter 1 - Populism Background in Brazil

Populism has been used by political leaders in Brazil throughout its history as a means of gaining support, securing their position of authority, and tackling social and economic issues. It has, meanwhile, also come under fire for its clientelistic tactics, occasionally authoritarian inclinations, and short-term emphasis on political victories rather than long-term policy solutions. Brazilian politics and society are still shaped by the legacy of populism, which has an impact on discussions about economic policy, social inequality, and democratic government.

As was said before, populism isn't an exclusivity of any political tendency, it is a concept that explains certain political behaviors, such as rhetoric tendencies for manipulation, the usage of a moral enemy, as well as an ultra-nationalistic view of politics.

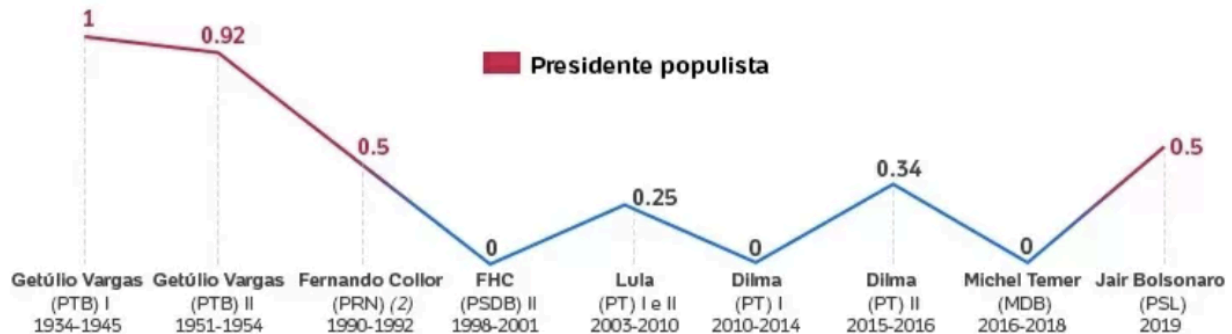
In Brazil, the practice of populism is extremely connected to clientelism policies, where it establishes a bond of gratitude, as the author Matias López would say, this is something that can happen with any public policy³. So being called a populist could be a synonym of an insult, as in the Brazilian population's eyes, it was directly linked to corruption. However, it was not, in fact, for some politicians like João Goulart, who used the association to show that he was a part of the masses, of the common people, the workers. Nevertheless, nowadays, the meaning has shifted, what once meant being part of the people, is now, in contrast, practically an insult, a synonym for manipulative, and authoritarian in the Brazilian political context.

Considering the scale of populist governments, it is possible to see that Getúlio Vargas is the most populist Brazilian president in history, yet, at the time, before the end of the Second World War, the term wasn't used. Yet, as the War reached an end, the use of the word populist started to be vastly used by the Brazilian media and society.

³ Matias López, *Political Culture and State in Latin America and the Philippines* (2015)

O populismo no Brasil

Bolsonaro reabre retórica entre 'elite' e 'povo' (1)



Fontes: Base de dados do "Team Populism", do professor Kirk Hawkins, e Bruno Castanho Silva

Arte/UOL

4.1 Reactionary Populism

A political strategy known as "reactive populism" mixes reactionary ideology with aspects of populism. In general, the term "populism", as seen before, refers to a political tactic that aims to appeal to the worries of common people, frequently by presenting oneself as an outsider or the champion of the working class against the privileged, as Carlos de La Torre in "Populism: quick immersion" mentions, populists also rightly criticize the deficits of participation and representation of real existing democracies⁴. Conversely, reactionary ideology usually aims to restore existing social structures and values, frequently in reaction to perceived threats from progressive movements or social change.

Combining these two characteristics, reactionary populism frequently draws on the grievances and disappointments of societal and economic shift-affected groups while also making a nostalgic appeal to a mythical past. This can take many different forms, such as nationalism, authoritarianism, and anti-immigrant attitudes.

However, when talking about Brazilian reactionary populism, this theory that many schools, such as Christian Lynch & Paulo Henrique Cassimiro adopt which its politics are characterized by resistance to the advancement of social equity, with the aim of "restoring the order", the traditional values, and dividing the society into patriots and cosmopolitans⁵. In the

⁴ Carlos de la Torre, *Populisms: A Quick Immersion*, volume 2 (Tibidabo Publishing, Inc, 2019), P. 13

⁵ LYNCH, Christian; CASSIMIRO, Paulo Henrique, *O Populismo Reacionário* (São Paulo: Editora Contracorrente, 2022)

context of Jair Bolsonaro's government, this type of populism manifests itself in the rhetoric of effective actions that come from the basis of the Democratic Rule of Law, which essentially means that no individual, president or private citizen, stands above the law.

Bolsonaro's government despises fundamental principles of democracy, like morality and transparency⁶, and aims for the rupture of established institutions, furthermore, the ex-president's government is described as a multiplier of a radical right-wing populism, that creates internal conflicts in the Brazilian society and works towards establishing a permanent majority on the detriment of democratic pluralism.

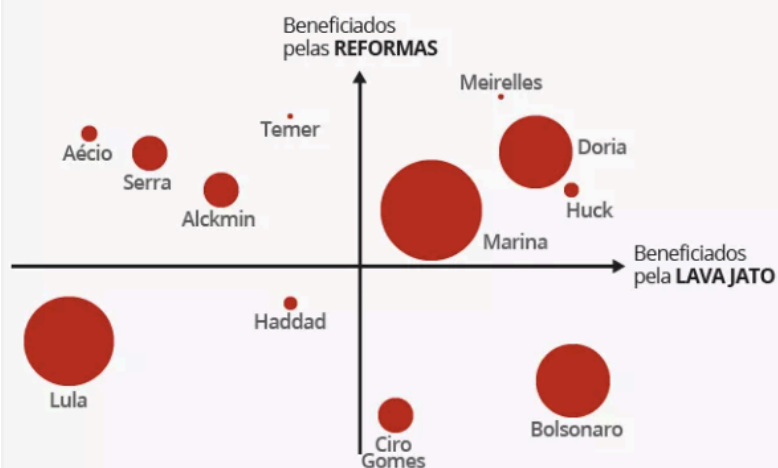
However, as the authors from "Populismo Reacionário"⁷ mention in their book, this type of populism manifests itself in different manners, according to different political actors. In the case of President Luiz Ignácio Lula Da Silva (Lula), during the "Operação Lava-Jato" (an investigation into money laundering and political corruption in Brazil, which was led by investigative judges, and carried out by the Federal Police.), the investigation had an important role when talking about public incriminating without any solid proof, contributing to the political aversion of public policies by the left-wing parties, especially opinions against the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) - the workers' political party in Brazil. (as the image above shows how and to whom the operation affected).

⁶ Adriano Oliveira, Do Bolsonarismo ao Retorno do Lulismo: Bolsonaro Voltará ao Poder? (CRV, 2023), P. 08

⁷ LYNCH, Christian; CASSIMIRO, Paulo Henrique, O Populismo Reacionário (São Paulo: Editora Contracorrente, 2022

Impacto das reformas e da Lava Jato em 2018

● Tamanho do potencial eleitoral, calculado pela razão entre as intenções de voto e a rejeição na última pesquisa Datafolha*



*Pesquisa Datafolha de 02/05/2017. Para os candidatos ausentes (Serra, Meirelles e Haddad), ele foi estimado usando pesquisas anteriores e a dinâmica que afeta o partido.



Infográfico elaborado em: 14/05/2017

The investigation against politicians like Lula was headed by important icons in Brazilian politics, such as the ex-judge Sérgio Moro and the ex-attorney General of the Republic, Deltan Dallagnol, it was seen as a special vanguard destined to refund the country basing it in republican and democratic principals, yet, was also criticized by their controversial actions and were questioned about their impartiality.

5. Chapter 2 - Personal Background of both presidents

Analyzing the background of both presidents is crucial for the understanding of today's policymakers' decisions and paths to follow. The very different policies adopted by them are just a reflection of their pasts and the ideologies that were built in the process.

While Luiz Ignazio Lula da Silva comes from a very poor family, Jair Bolsonaro comes from the Brazilian elite, with a military tradition. While one of them was positively affected by the military coup that lasted from 1964 to 1985, the other, a leader of syndicates, was persecuted⁸.

Bolsonaro's presidency has been marked by policies favoring deregulation, privatization, and conservative social values. He has pursued an agenda of economic liberalization and austerity measures, often at the expense of social welfare programs and environmental protections.

On the other hand, Lula's background as a labor leader and his experiences of persecution during the military dictatorship⁹ informed his commitment to democracy, human rights, and social inclusion. His presidency prioritized social programs such as Bolsa Família, which aimed to reduce poverty and inequality in Brazil.



⁸ Coelho, Y. (2023, January 10). Jair Bolsonaro: conheça a trajetória política do ex-presidente. InfoMoney. <https://www.infomoney.com.br/perfil/jair-bolsonaro/>

⁹ From 1964 to 1985

By observing differences as such, therefore, it is possible to see the impact of their backgrounds on their principles, ideologies, and on what they advocate for as politicians and representatives of the country, what is also arguable is the type of followers that each one of them have, as the graph above shows.

5.1 Lula's History and getting to government

The President's story is a long one when referring to his political life since he started as early as 1964 (when he was just 19 years old), with the Brazilian Military Dictatorship, which lasted from 1964 to 1985. From that point on, Lula became an icon for Brazilian left-wing movements, especially when talking about the syndicates and the fight for workers' rights.

Luiz Ignacio Lula da Silva was born on October the 27th, in 1945 in a small city in the Brazilian Northeast named Caetés, which is located in the state of Pernambuco (later on the fact of where he comes from will define lots of his politics). However, when he was 7 years old he and his family (led by a single mom) to another small city, yet, in the state of Sao Paulo where he later on built a family and established themselves in a neighborhood with a large concentration of factory workers (fact that will also come back to reflect his ideology).

The first step that Lula took to eventually lead him to political life was in 1962 when he got the title to be a "*torneiro mecânico*", however, his working life in the profession (with a high risk of getting hurt) had a very short life, as with one year working in the area, he cut one of his fingers off during the job. This incident would later become one of his main features, whose story will be known by all Brazilians.

One of the first political movements in which he participated was in the Metalurgic syndicate in the ABC, in 1975¹⁰, he became the president. During the same year, Lula founded the biggest Brazilian political party yet, the "Partido dos Trabalhadores" (workers' party), as leader of the party, Lula participated in his first election for public office, in 1982, where he was a candidate for governor of the state of Sao Paulo. The populist strategy began soon, as one of his campaign slogans were "Workers vote for workers" and "enough voting for our bosses", which emphasizes the idea of the masses (workers, in this case) and the Elite

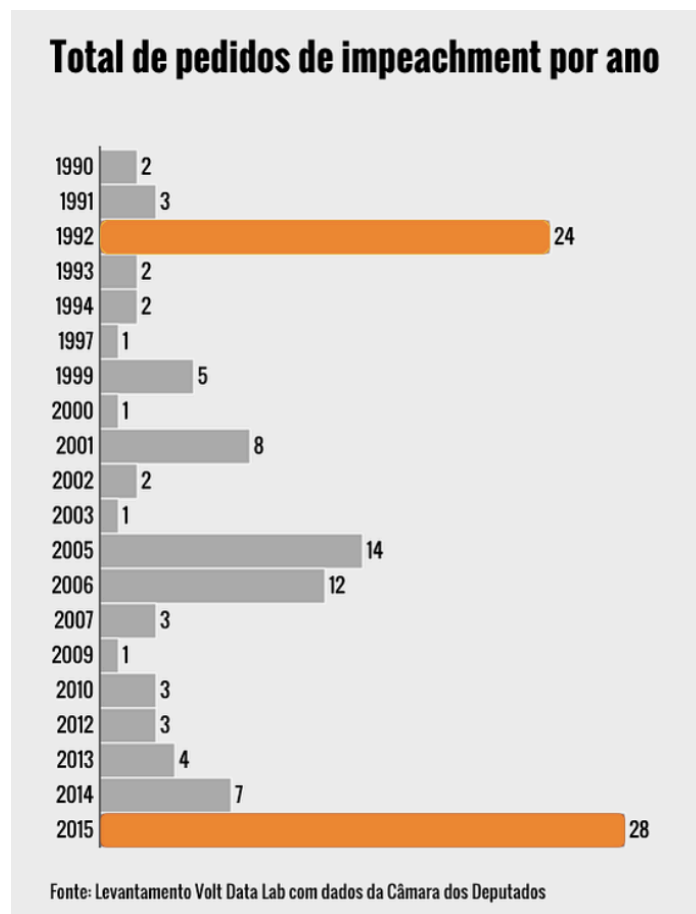
¹⁰ Lula eleito presidente: relembre a trajetória política do petista da infância ao Palácio do Planalto. (2022, October 30). BBC News Brazil.

(the business owners). Even though he only got ten percent of the votes, it was already acceptable for a first-time candidate.

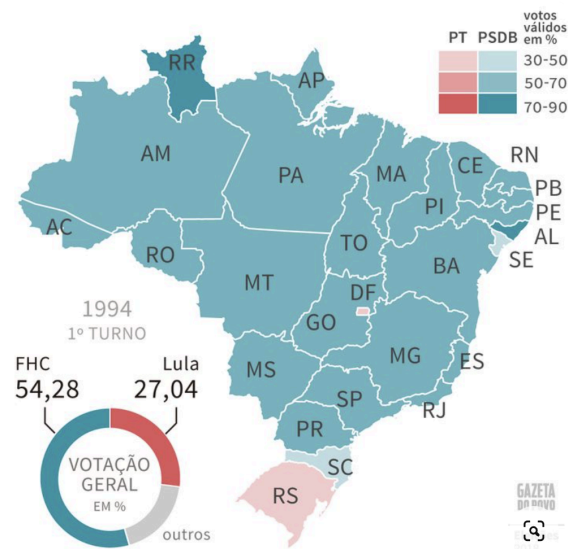
In the same year as his first elections, he created the (CUT) - Central Única dos Trabalhadores (the single workers center) which had an important role in Brazilian politics. During that time, the citizens had almost no say in who was going to lead the country, as a consequence, the movement “Diretas Já” started, which aimed to bring back the direct elections.

In 1986, during the state elections of Brazil, specifically in Sao Paulo, Lula was the most-voted congressman in history. However, that didn’t stop him from running for president in 1989, for the first time, the outcomes were surprising as he passed to the second phase of the national elections, when he ran against Fernando Collor de Mello and lost.

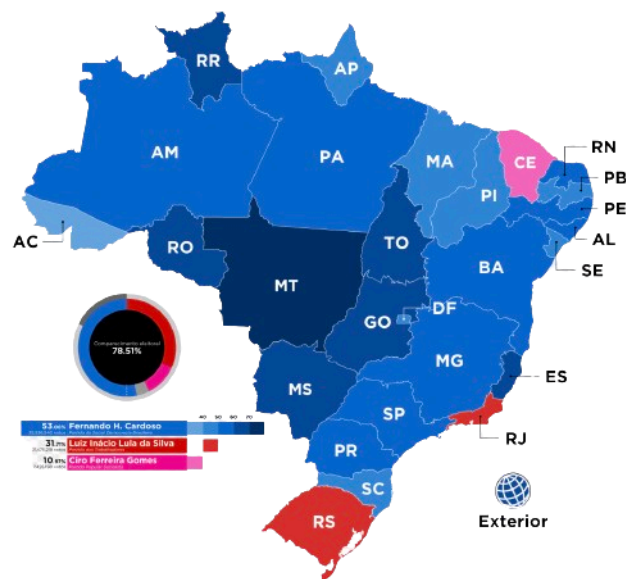
The president Collor yet, didn’t have a happy ending as politicians like Lula advocated for his impeachment for numerous accusations of corruption, and as it turned out, he was the first Brazilian president in history to be impeached, in 1992. As the graph below shows, there have only been two presidents in Brazilian history to be removed from government. When Itamar Franco (Collor’s vice-president) took over, in 1992, Luiz Ignácio da Silva refused to take part in that government as a way of protesting.



Lula, once again ran, against Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC), for president in the 1994 elections, in which he also lost, and this time, with an even bigger difference, it didn't go to a second round of elections. The only states in which Lula reached majority during those elections were Rio Grande do Sul and Distrito Federal (where the State capital is).



In the 1998, election year, Lula again decided to run for president against FHC, this time with a new slogan that read “the Brazil that knows Brazil”. Even though he practically maintained his strategy from the first time running, the profile of voters changed a little, as it



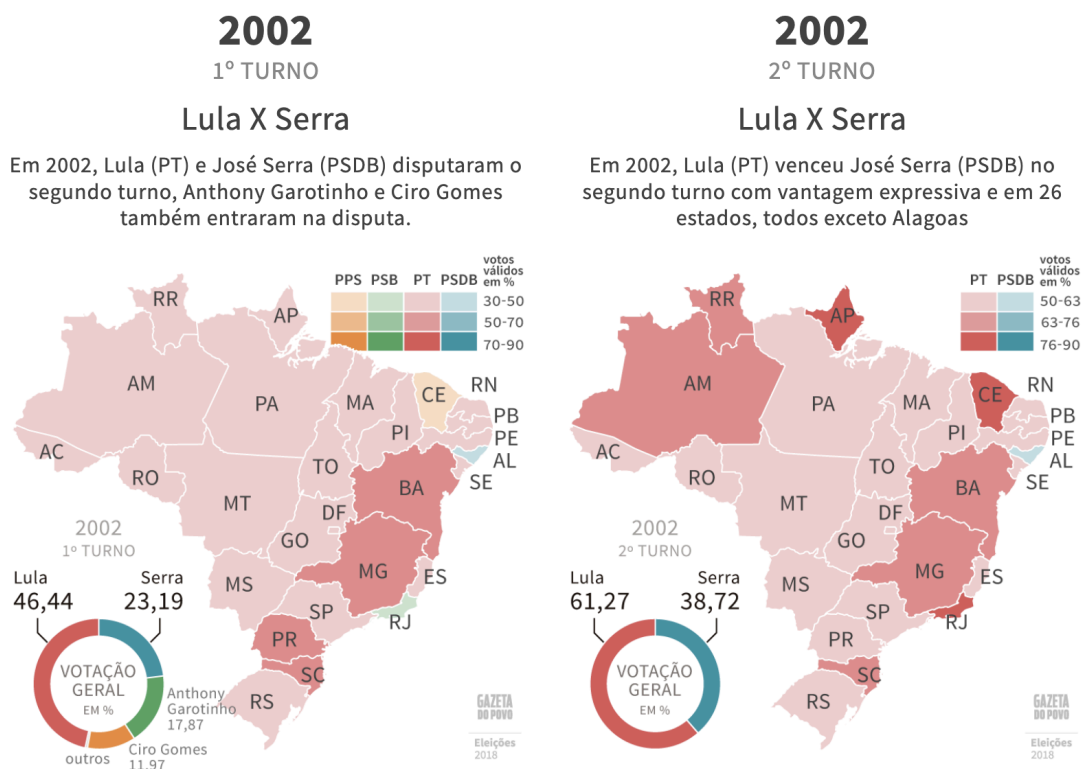
is possible to see below, he lost popularity in the Federal District but gained in Rio de Janeiro.

In 2002, FHC could no longer run for president as he had already served two consecutive mandates of 4 years each, therefore, this was Lula and the PT's time to shine. After running for president three times in a row, the Partido dos Trabalhadores finally had their first serving president.

During Lula's first term as president of the republic, his policies were centered around the combat against hunger, he created various policies, such as "Fome Zero" (zero hunger) and "Bolsa Família" for which he became very well-known internationally.

The president's various policies resulted in a reduction of the public debt from 76% of the GDP to 61%, there was also a significant reduction in inflation, which passed from 12,5% at the beginning of his government to 6% by 2006. Notably, the national unemployment rate went from 13% to just 6%. All of these politics, however, were not associated at the time with populism, the term, as Thomás Zicman de Barros and Miguel Lago said in "Do que falamos quando falamos de populismo" from 2022, began to be used to refer to him during his re-election campaign, in 2006.

Lula was re-elected in 2006, parallelly, the scandal called "Mensalão" began, in which his government was accused of corruption and money laundering. During the second mandate, this time his policies were more focused on infrastructure programs, he privatized federal highways, as well as he focused on international relations.



In 2009 Lula became especially famous internationally with his talk during the annual meeting of the G20, the president was publically praised by Brack Obama, the ex-American president. In 2011, when he left his second mandate, he had a 90% popular approval. Some argue that because he finished his mandate so popular, it had a great impact in the posterior elections as his successor, Dilma Rousseff, won the presidency in 2012.

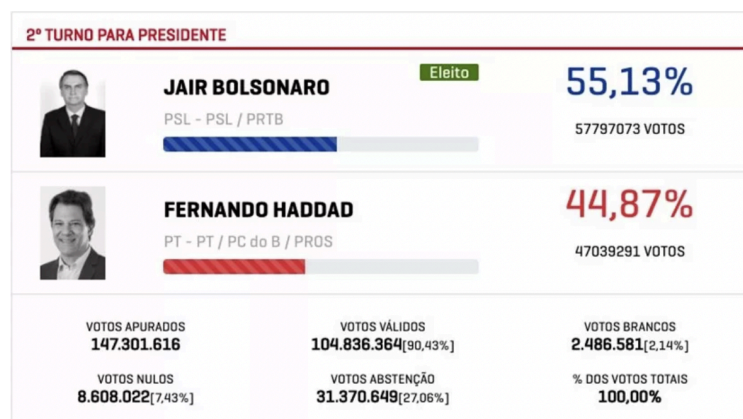
Dilma has always been seen as an extension, a puppet of Lula's, this happened because he finished his last mandate so popular and could no longer be re-elected. However, Brazilians wanted another PT presidency, and as Dilma was the main party's representative, she became the next president of the nation.

The years that followed his presidency were marked by him being accused of corruption during the "Operação Lava-Jato", this operation, led by the Brazilian Federal Police, uncovered various criminal offenses by many different politicians, and at the center of the operation, Lula was mainstreamed.

The accusations against this criminal organization, mainly Luiz ignácio Lula da Silva were made of money laundry, asset concealment, and passive corruption, among other crimes. He was brought to trial by the judge Sérgio Moro, who condemned Lula to nine years and six months of prison time.

On April the 7th 2018, Lula was arrested and remained in a closed regime for 580 days. During this almost 2 years, a day didn't go by without people protesting outside of the prison for his release. His imprisonment didn't stop him to this point, from being a pre-candidate for the 2018 elections, against the right-wing leader, Jair Bolsonaro.

Close to the submission deadline for the candidacy for Brazilian president, Lula was officially stopped from running, as a result, the PT selected Fernando Haddad as their representative for the political party, however, he lost and Bolsonaro became the president of the Republic.



In April 2021, the Supreme Federal Court decided to annul his conviction as it was executed by Sérgio Moro, who was considered to be incompetent to judge the case, the Supreme Court also accused the judge of being biased and partial in the case.

5.2 Bolsonaro's History and getting to government

Jair Messias Bolsonaro comes from a vastly different trajectory than the now president of the republic, Lula. Even though he is natural from Sao Paulo, right after finishing school he got into the official military academy formation (Agulhas Negras)¹¹ which is located in Rio de Janeiro, where in the future he would serve as state congressman. Bolsonaro graduated from the military academy in 1977, and started, in the same year, the course to be a part of the Parachute Brigade of the capital of Rio de Janeiro. In 1983, the ex-president got a degree in fiscal education and later went to the higher officer training school in 1987.

Bolsonaro's political trajectory started as early as 1988 when he was elected city councilor of Rio de Janeiro for the Christian Democrat Party (PDC), yet, he didn't spend much time in the Municipal Chamber. In 1990 the ex-president was elected to be a congressman for the State of Rio de Janeiro, during which mandate, as well as Lula, he also voted in favor of Fernando Henrique Collor's impeachment.

It is very important to highlight that national studies from the university Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV), showed that Bolsonaro's political platform relied mostly on military support, as most of his voters were related to the Brazilian military.

Bolsonaro's ideals were mainly shown in 1993, when he voted in favor of the temporary shutdown of the National Congress, during which, in his own words, "he would rather survive in a military regime than die in this democracy". The ex-president would defend this position by justifying that with democracy, things don't get done efficiently, as when there's an autocracy, the government chief could just unilaterally decide to eliminate the laws that might be interrupting the flow of the economy or politics.

Despite Bolsonaro's open support to a military regime, he got re-elected to be a state congressman, however, now, with a new political party (PPR). During his re-election campaign, he guaranteed to better the working conditions of the military, he also supported

¹¹ Brasilino, C. E. (2018, October 29). Eleições 2018: Jair Bolsonaro é eleito presidente da República. Metrôpoles.

the end of the stability for public servants, regulated birth rates, and revised de defined area of the indigenous populations in the state.

While Lula dedicated his career to the protection of human rights, Bolsonaro, in 1998 wrote an article defending the death penalty, life imprisonment, and criminal majority. As the congress tried to withhold his anti-democratic speeches, they tried to remove him from the job, simultaneously, Bolonaro defended himself with another attack when he publically stated that the Brazilian Dictatorship of 1964 to 1988 should have killed more people to improve the situation of the country.

His outbursts towards the other politicians would get even more famous as the press would disclose his speeches such as “During the dictatorship, they should have killed 30 thousand corrupt politicians, among them, the president of the republic, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, it would have been a great gain to our country” in national tv.

Bolsonaro has always been seen in Brazilian politics as a polarizer, characterized by his populism of extreme right-wing position, during his career he advocated for the conservative values, the traditional image of family, the return of military society, as well as the right of self-defense by bearing arms.

The ex-president’s campaign of 2018 was characterized by some symbols he used to identify his public, the most famous one was the use of the Brazilian flag as a synonym for his political support. Another element that characterized his running for president of the republic was that he became the symbol of anti-corruption policies, he was a huge supporter of the “Operação Lava Jato”, which also became anti-PT policies.

Bolsonaro’s political platform for his campaign was not only filled by the conservative, religious, and business public. During this campaign, it became a social war between PT supporters and people who were tired of the dominance of that political party, among those people, there were not only the “Bolsonaristas”, but also the public that would vote for anyone who had a chance of winning the elections against the PT.

Bolsonaro became quickly very popular in Brazilian politics for his brutal honesty, and lack of diplomacy as he would bad mouth all other politicians on national TV. He also expressed his feelings about the non-traditional habits of the new society, as the normalization of LGBTQ+ families, this strategy attracted the attention of not only the more conservative part of society but also the more progressives.

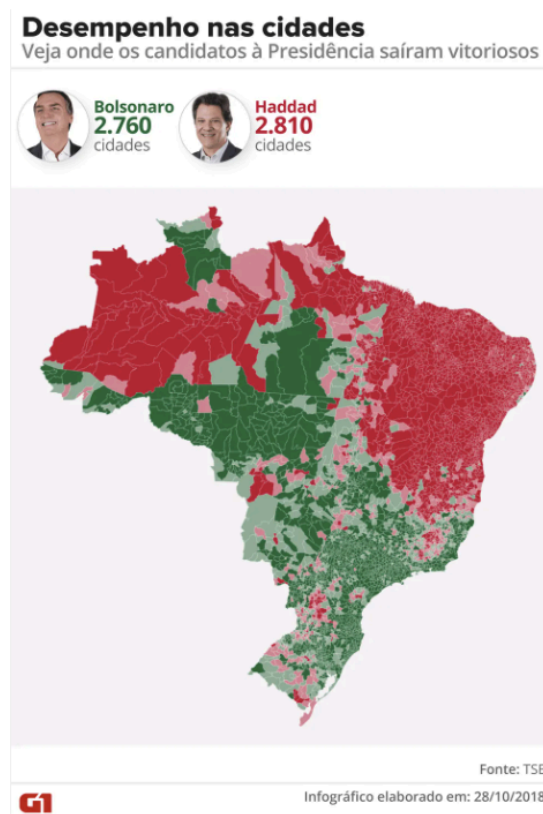
The 2018 run for president divided the country as Bolsonaro would incentivize the polarization of the country, the poor against the rich, South and South-East against the other

regions of the country. However, what created the more controversial speeches was the lack of acknowledgment, on his part, of the minorities and their special necessities.

While he became more popular among the white, middle, and high classes, the minorities of the country spread their hate against him and his followers, the biggest proof of the movement anti-Bolsonaro was during one of his public manifestations, where he was stabbed by a hater of his and almost died before the elections.

As the book “Do que Falamos quando Falamos de Populismo” would say, his dissemination of his ideologies extends to a speech he gave one week before the second round of the 2018 elections when Bolsonaro spoke live via video to his supporters gathered on Avenida Paulista¹². He stated that his supporters would be “the majority” and “the real Brazil”. For him, this is the true Brazilian “people”, linked to the idea of “good citizens.

However hard the people tried to campaign against him, his public was bigger, fed by the anti-PT fever. On January the first, 2019, Bolsonaro defeated the PT candidate Fernando Haddad and was sworn in as president of the republic, winning 55% of the votes with his famous slogan “Brazil above everyone and God above everything”.



¹² Thomás Zicman de Barros and Miguel Lago, Do que Falamos Quando Falamos de Populismo, volume 1 (Companhia das Letras, 2022), P. 79

6. Chapter 3 - Populism, Lulism and Bolsonarism

6.1 Difference between Populismo, Bolsonarismo, and Lulismo

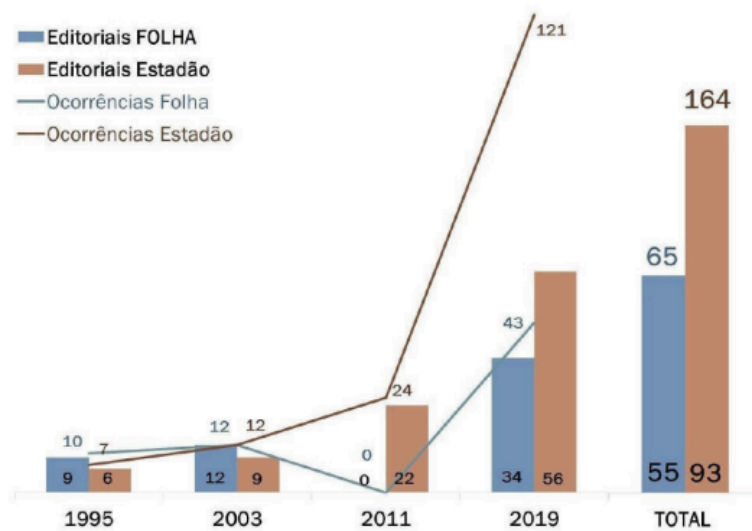
Populismo, Bolsonarismo, and Lulismo are terms associated with political movements and ideologies in Brazil, each representing different strands of thought, governance, and socio-political approaches.

It is no news that Bolsonaro and Lula have very different ideologies and governing styles, nevertheless, some scholars argue that they do have some common factors like the emotive speeches, the localization of an enemy, and the mobilization of the people, this common traits would characterize the both of them as populists.

It is not arguable that however similar their approaches to the masses might be, both of them have totally different positions, Bolsonaro became the personalization of the Brazilian extreme-right wing, the conservatives, and Lula became the image of the political left-wing approach.

The Federal University of Ceará pulled the information from the two most important newspapers in Brazil ¹³when talking about politics and the economy, concerning the number of times it was mentioned by the word populism. It is possible to see a huge increase in the usage of the word by around 2012.

¹³ Hébely da Silva Rebouças, Débora Silva Costa, Larissa Sousa Silva, Janayde de Castro Gonçalves, Adannick Fontes Nascimento, Are Lula and Bolsonaro populists? The perspective of populism from the newspapers Folha de S. Paulo and O Estado de S. Paulo (Federal University of Ceará, 2022)



6.2 Lulism phenomenon and movements

The appearance of the Lulism phenomenon is, as André Singer would say, a crisis of representation, even though a majority of the population can't build their forms of organization. What these people aim for is the presence of a state strong enough to diminish the social and economic differences without threatening the current order.

There was an original belief, in 2005, during the elections that the country would be divided among the poor and the rich. This theory was rapidly contested when in the first term, Alckmin (the main right-wing candidate) got 40% of the total votes, at the time Ver Oliveira wrote “It would be great if, in fact, 40% of the Brazilian population were rich”, a fact which, of course, was not true.

How some social politics would explain the switch in Lula’s electoral public would be the impact of the “Mensalão” scandal, which made a lot of those classified as poor change their votes and opinions about Lula’s political party. As a consequence, the view of the whole left-wing parties changed as well. During this period, a new classification of social classes appeared, the middle-low class, or C, which represented the division among the middle class that was more subjective to vote for the PT, and left-wing parties, as opposed to more conservative options as the upper-middle class and high classes would prefer to vote for.

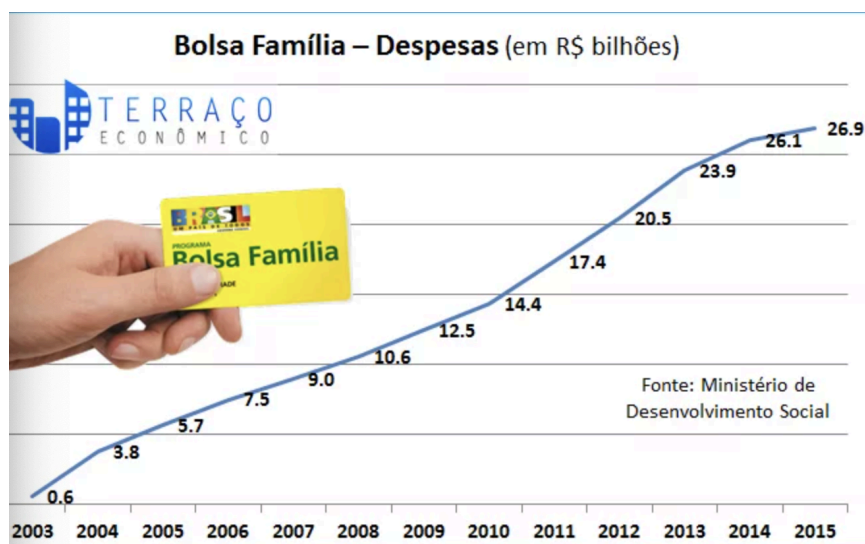
The need for a leader, an organizer of the lower classes is not something new, as Karl Marx would say, the lower classes have historical structural difficulties in organizing movements in their favor. Lula is the biggest representative of the lower classes in Brazil, as he is, many would say, the “father of the poor” or the working class.

Another point of view that is important to take under consideration is what are the priorities of the working classes that voted for Lula. The biggest issue that made people vote for his ideology was the idea that by giving the working class more rights and benefits, they would have a bigger purchasing power. Programs such as “Minha Casa, Minha Vida” facilitated the purchase of houses by the lower classes with extensive loanings done by the government for affordable living.

Another project launched in 2003 by the Lula government is “Programa Bolsa Família” which is a social welfare program in Brazil that aims to alleviate poverty and promote social inclusion by providing money to low-income families. The program works basically by targeting beneficiaries (families living in poverty) and the eligibility is determined through an evaluation of the household income. Next, the money is transferred, on a monthly basis, to a bank account, however, the amount of help each family gets varies according to the family composition, income level, and the presence of minors in the house.

An important point to take under consideration is that there are conditions to these bank transfers from the government, in compensation for receiving the money, the families should send the kids to school (thereby reducing the amount of child labor) and make sure that the minors are in good health.

The Programa Bolsa Família has been worldly praised for its role in reducing social inequality, poverty, child nutrition, and health, the program has also significantly increased the number of school enrollment and frequency by the disadvantaged population. Nevertheless, even though the program brought a lot of pride to his government, it also received some big criticisms, amongst them the main ones are targeting accuracy, administrative efficiency (such as how much the program costs to the government), and potential dependency among beneficiaries.



The increase of the minimum salary also plays an important role in Lula's popularity, this increase happened mainly during May 2005 and April 2006. The minimum wage went from 200 reais, at the beginning of his first government in 2002, to 465 reais by the end of his last consecutive government, in 2009.

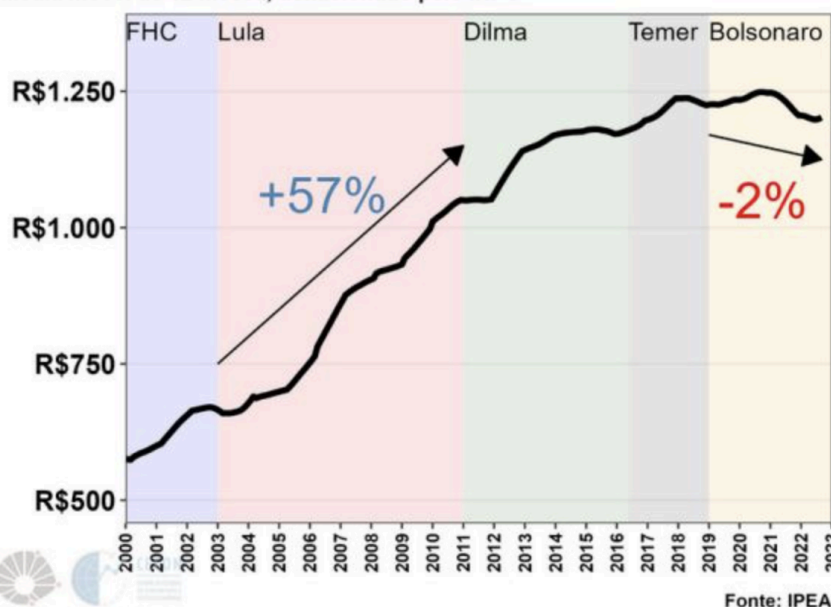
Período	Salário Mínimo R\$	Reajuste Nominal %	INPC %	Aumento Real %
Abril de 2002	200,00			
Abril de 2003	240,00	20,0	18,54	1,23
Mai de 2004	260,00	8,33	7,06	1,19
Mai de 2005	300,00	15,38	6,61	8,23
Abril de 2006	350,00	16,67	3,21	13,04
Abril de 2007	380,00	8,57	3,30	5,10
Março de 2008	415,00	9,21	4,98	4,03
Fevereiro de 2009	465,00	12,05	5,92	5,79
Janeiro de 2010	510,00	9,68	3,45	6,02
Janeiro de 2011	545,00	6,86	6,47	0,37
Janeiro de 2012	622,00	14,13	6,08	7,59
Janeiro de 2013	678,00	9,00	6,20	2,64
Janeiro de 2014	724,00	6,78	5,56	1,16
Janeiro de 2015(*)	788,00	8,84	6,23	2,46
Total período	-	294,00	123,17	76,54

Elaboração: DIEESE
(*) Dado estimado para INPC de 2014

One aspect that is very important to take under consideration is that the Lulism government didn't end by 2009 with his eight-year government. As Lula is the personification of the political party, PT, his arraignment continued for the following 6 years, when Dilma, his successor assumed government and did a term and a half (4 plus 2 years).

Salário mínimo real (2000-2022)

Média móvel de 12 meses, deflacionado pelo INPC



However good an impression he has had to the lower classes, the beneficiaries of his programs, it is a whole different story for those who are middle and upper classes. The point of view of those in a higher social class is that the money from their taxes (which they already pay more than the lower classes) to maintain those who don't want to work, and are tagged as "lazy".

The most conservative part of the society believes that the social welfare programs, such as Programa Bolsa Familia, are creating a society that is directly dependent on the government, which creates a whole culture of dependency and makes people unwilling to work since it is more comfortable to live from the government than by working everyday for low salaries.

Then, if the tendency of society is towards not working, why does the government give more and more support to those programs that disincentivize labor? For the more conservative point of view this answer is very simple: to buy votes from those who can be easily manipulated with money and food. While that is a valid point, for those who are analyzing from a political and economical point of view, this is a much more complicated subject to answer.

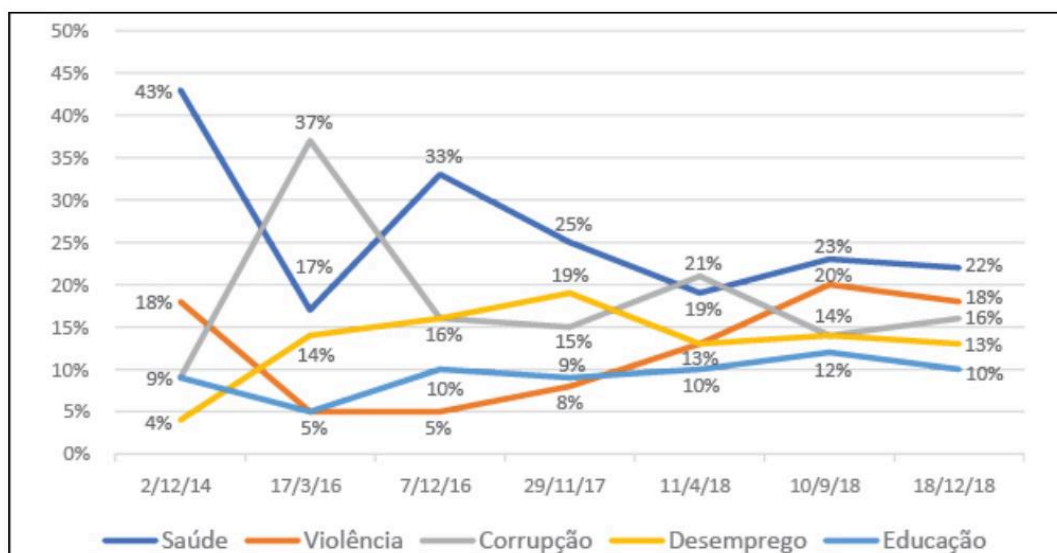
6.3 Bolsonaroism phenomenon and movements pro-right

As previously discussed, Bolsonaroism refers to the political ideology and support associated with Jair Bolsonaro, Brazil's ex-president. There are some key ideas that come with the ideology which are characterized by a combination of conservative, populist, Anti-leftism, anti-Lulism, authoritarianism, and nationalist beliefs.

In this part of the chapter, we are going to analyze why Bolsonaro's government was extremely controversial, according to a study conducted by the DataFolha¹⁴ concerning the positive expectations of the population in the first semester of a new presidency. While Lula had 76% of approval, Dilma had 73% and Bolsonaro got the lowest percentage of approval since 1989, with 65%.

Why did the whole Bolsonaroism movement ascend from? The extreme right-wing and the "anti-petistas", however there is a relation between what people considered to be the main problems in society at the time and the type of candidates (an extremist in this case) they would vote for. When done a study by DataFolha, done on 19/12/2018 showed that what

Gráfico 1 – Os problemas do Brasil



Fonte: Gráfico elaborado pelo autor com base nos dados da pesquisas Datafolha (19 dez. 2018).

¹⁴ Datafolha is a research institute of Grupo Folha, a group of related companies of which the newspaper Folha de S.Paulo is part

Brazilians were most concerned about was health with 22% of the votes, violence (18%), corruption had 16% of the votes, while unemployment had 13% and education, 10%.

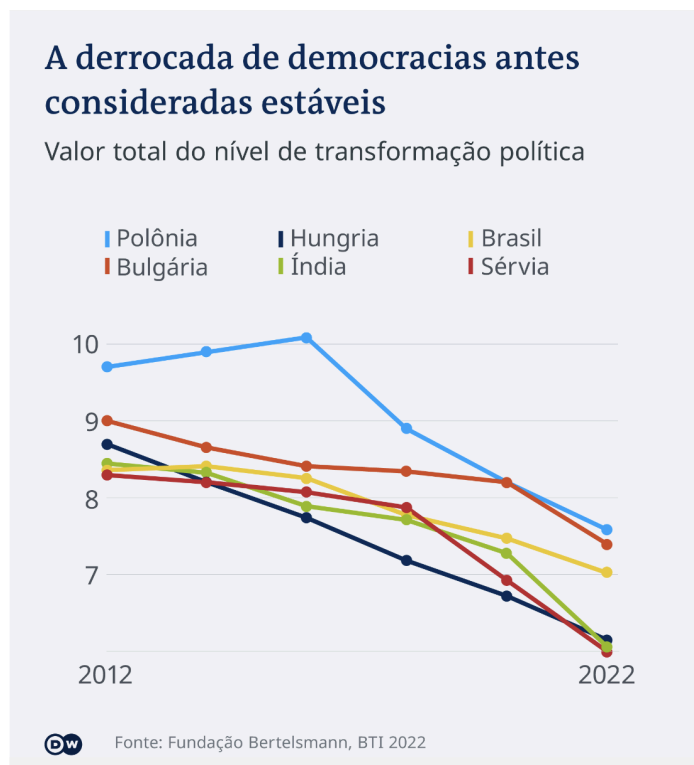
The main values of the Bolsonarism phenomenon is conservadorism, which centers all of the ideas that Jair Bolsonaro likes to spread in his speeches and policies. The ex-president openly defies policies in favor of minorities, such as the LGBTQ+ community, indigenous populations, the black and women. He would make speeches involving God the church and the traditional form of family, which were not only unconstitutional (as Brazil is a laic State), but also offensive for those who were from the LGBTQ+ community or single parents.

Nationalism is a characteristic that is extremely present in Bolsonaro’s policies, as is the idea of sovereignty where he clearly advocates for the Brazilians’ interests in the national and international scenarios, such as in international agreements. His extreme nationalism cost the country, during four years, diplomatic relations with various countries, but mainly in Latin America, where most regimes at the time were more liberal, with left-wing tendencies.

The lack of ability of Bolsonaro’s in being diplomatic had serious consequences in the national scenario as well, for example, the numerous conflicts the ex-president had with Rodrigo Maia, the chamber president, showed the people the danger in his lack of dialog and his willingness to impose his agenda, and indirectly criminalizing the Congress.



The traces of authoritarianism in Bolsonaro’s speeches and attitudes are imminent, not only because of his lack of dialog with the left-wing side, which already were his sworn enemies, for his policies anti-leftism and anti-Lulismo. But also what cost Bolsonaro his government was that he, with his policy of no dialog and pushing agendas, anielated the ones who previously supported him, the center-wing and the right-wing. The danger of having a president that does not debate or leaves the floor to others to do so, poses a threat to the principles of democracy and free speech. As the graph below indicates, Brazil has been shown, during Bolonaro’s government, as one of the countries that had a severe decline in democracy.

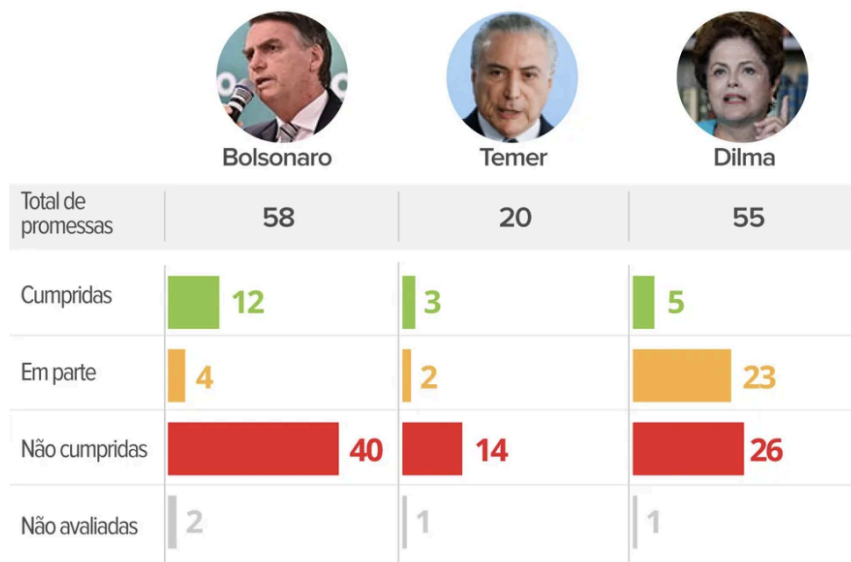


Bolsonaro’s ideology is, many times in academic literature, compared to Fascism and Neonazism. The association between those ideologies is due to similar traits in their characteristics, such as the idealization of tradition, as mentioned before, reactionism, anti-intellectualism (demonstrated by the decrease in government spending for education during his governance), a pact between the elites which aims to contradict social mobility. Nevertheless, probably the biggest trait in common with Bolsonarism, fascism and Neonazism is the militarization of society.

¹⁵However fascist his discourses have been over his whole political career, he did achieve several goals during his four year presidency. Some may argue that by being autocratic, he achieved more things than presidents who debate their actions and act in a democratic manner. When comparing the three last presidents, it is possible to see how many of the promises they made during their campaign was actually achieved during the first one hundred days of government. Bolsonaro had also the largest number of unachieved promises, by far, compared to Michel Temer and Dilma.

Promessas aos 100 dias

Veja o status dos compromissos de campanha medidos pelo G1 dos últimos três governos no período



Infográfico elaborado em: 09/04/2019

Comparação das promessas de Bolsonaro, Temer e Dilma — Foto: Igor Estrella/G1

The population delivered trust to Bolsonaro not only because of his personal promises, but also because of the Head of Ministers he chose for his government. The famous Brazilian economist Paulo Guedes, was one of the main reasons Bolsonaro got elected, along with the Judge from the Lava Jato Operation, Sérgio Moro.

¹⁵ LYNCH, Christian; CASSIMIRO, Paulo Henrique, O Populismo Reacionário (São Paulo: Editora Contracorrente, 2022

As previously discussed, Bolsonaro 's campaign was solidly based on the policies anti-lulismo and anti-petismo, which made the decision of having Sérgio Moro, the face of the Operação Lava Jato, extremely wise. The PT had the spotlight during the whole corruption scandal, with the main actor, Lula Ignácio da Silva. At this point it is possible to see the characteristics that made his campaign have the character of populist strategy, the idea of having his campaign around the Operação Lava Jato and the PT is setting a face to the enemy (a populist characteristic), with the announcement of his choice for ministers, he secured the image of the “heroes” of the story.

Yet, the heads of ministries did not last long in their positions, during the ex-president’s government there were more than thirty changes of ministries. However, the change of the Minister of Justice was the one that had the most controversy, since Sérgio Moro was the face of anti-corruption, and therefore, the reason for many Brazilians' votes.

With the exit of the most famous Head of Ministry, the ex-judge started going public and announcing that the president was never really interested in the fight against corruption, which was the reason for his resignation. Sérgio Moro also went public to reveal that Bolsonaro tried to make “political interferences” and added it to the list of reasons for his resignation.

7. Conclusion

The ideological chasm between Lulism and Bolsonarism in Brazilian administrative issues is critical and has significantly polarized the nation. Lulism, championed by Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, typifies a left-wing conviction framework centered on measures of social thought, desperation helping, and the security of human rights. In stark separation, Bolsonarism, started by Jair Bolsonaro, maintains a right-wing conviction framework characterized by preservationist values, staunch anti-leftist conversation, and a strong emphasis on patriotism. This stark ideological separation has not as it were isolated the Brazilian voters but has as well fueled emphatically political polarization, making a sharp separation between supporters of Lulism and Bolsonarism. The clash between these two conviction frameworks has on an exceptionally fundamental level reshaped the political scene in Brazil, influencing course of action choices, open conversation, and the by and huge course of the country's administration.

Another critical viewpoint to consider is the separation between Social Programs and Money-related Liberalization in the settings of Lulism and Bolsonarism. Lulism, in the midst of Lula's organization, put a strong complement on actualizing social programs such as Bolsa Familia to combat dejection and awkwardness, indicating to hoist the most powerless parts of society. In separate, Bolsonarism underneath Jair Bolsonaro's organization has slanted towards budgetary liberalization, pushing for deregulation and seriousness measures that prioritize monetary improvement over social welfare programs. This move in the center from social programs to budgetary liberalization has had a vital impact on open conclusions and back bases. Supporters of Lulism tend to prioritize social welfare and comprehensive approaches, while Bolsonarism's complement on monetary changes resonates more with those supporting market-oriented courses of action and budgetary instruction. The divergence in approaches towards social programs and budgetary courses of action has not as it were shaped the political conversation in Brazil but has besides affected the needs and slants of the electorate.

The separating course of action approaches of Lulism and Bolsonarism have had a facilitating influence on organizations in Brazil, shaping the course of the country's organization. Lula's organization, characterized by a center on social programs and comprehensive courses of action, pointed at lifting marginalized areas of society and diminishing awkwardness through a center on trade like Bolsa Família. In separate, Bolsonaro's complement on deregulation and privatization has moved needs towards monetary improvement and traditionalist values, favoring market-oriented courses of action over social welfare programs.

These special approaches have not as it were influenced the approach arranged but have additionally influenced the common organization design in Brazil. Lulism's complement on social thought and desperation reflects a commitment to tending to systemic lopsided characteristics and progressing human headway, while Bolsonarism's center on monetary liberalization signals a slant for market-driven components and budgetary education. The changing approaches of Lulism and Bolsonarism have thus molded the administrative choices and course of action headings in Brazil, reflecting separating dreams for the country's change and societal needs.

The examination of despot and comprehensive organization is essential in understanding the separating specialist styles of Bolsonaro and Lula in Brazil. Bolsonaro's despot slants and hesitance to bolt in in trade with negating bunches have drawn input for undermining larger part run the show guidelines and covering negate. His government's centralized decision-making and furious approach have raised concerns nearly the crumbling of a larger part run the show guidelines and the concentration of control in the official office. Separate, Lula's establishment as a labor pioneer and his commitment to larger part run the show government and human rights have shaped a more comprehensive and participatory organization mold. His organization prioritized talk, consensus-building, and social joining, developing a sense of collective decision-making and representation.

These special specialist styles have had an essential influence on open acknowledgments of vote-based framework and organization in Brazil. Bolsonaro's tyrant slants and furious conversation have raised cautions roughly the delicacy of law-based teaching and the potential crumbling of benevolent opportunities. His government's disregard for straightforwardness and obligation has fueled concerns about the concentration of control and the marginalization of opposing this idea voices. On the other hand, Lula's

comprehensive approach and complement to social talk have contributed to a more participatory and direct organization, overhauling open acceptance in impartial shapes and institutions.

Overall, the separating approaches to the organization between Bolsonaro and Lula reflect broader wrangles almost nearly the portion of the organization in shaping the larger part run the show benchmarks and values. The weight between fascism and inclusivity in Brazilian authoritative issues underscores the noteworthiness of specialist styles in influencing open discernments of the vote-based framework and organization.

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