ABSTRACT
This text exposes some provisory outcomes of an ongoing research named “Bolsonarism and Deep Brazil: an analysis about ascension and permanence of a socio-cultural and political phenomenon”. It has been realized by the members of Laboratory of Studies Deep Brazil. It’s an analysis and an interpretation of the relations between Bolsonarism and the set of long duration practices and representations that constitute the experience of Brazilian people in its broad sense. Such a set provides us a content to the notion Deep Brazil. We try to explain the elements of Bolsonarism whose profound roots goes far from conjunctural events. Finally, we intend to offer theoretical and hermeneutical resources with which to make comprehensible the reasons to the growth and support, relatively stable, that a part of Brazilian society has dedicated to the politic and cultural agenda of Bolsonarism, as well as to its emblematic character: Jair Bolsonaro.

RESUMO
Este texto expõe alguns resultados provisórios de uma pesquisa em andamento denominada "Bolsonarismo e Brasil profundo: uma análise sobre ascensão e permanência de um fenômeno sócio-cultural e político". Foi realizada pelos membros do Laboratório de Estudos do Brasil Profundo. É uma análise e uma interpretação das relações entre o bolonarismo e o conjunto de práticas e representações de longa duração que constituem a experiência do povo brasileiro em seu sentido amplo. Tal conjunto nos fornece um conteúdo à noção de Brasil Profundo. Tentamos explicar os elementos do bolonarismo cujas raízes profundas vão muito além dos eventos conjunturais. Finalmente, pretendemos oferecer recursos teóricos e hermenêuticos para tornar compreensíveis as razões do crescimento e apoio, relativamente estáveis, que uma parte da sociedade
brasileira tem dedicado à agenda política e cultural do bolonarismo, bem como ao seu caráter emblemático: Jair Bolsonaro.

1 INTRODUCTION

In the Brazilian academic realms as well as in the great press, Bolsonarism appears as a political phenomenon derived from the remarkable historic presence of the influential and controversial politician Jair Bolsonaro, the current head of State in Brazil. The suffix “ism”, aggregated to the president’s name, suggests that there is a set of expectations, perceptions and worldviews, all of them spread over Brazilian society, that could be recognized in several groups and identities nowadays. According to this perspective, Bolsonaro has become the main interpreter, in political field, of a huge and recent movement of ideas and practices that has reproduced by a large range of Brazilian ordinary people.

It is reasonable to analyze Bolsonarism by listing some late transformations in Brazilian society, economy and politics. (1) Changes concerning the rising of new right in political scenario (CEPÊDA, 2018); (2) changes intensified by some innovations in political communication with impact over Brazilian public sphere increasingly digital and limited to social media (ALMADA et al); (3) transformations made possible by a public sentiment of aversion against the Partido dos Trabalhadores (Labor Party), resultant from experience of fraying of presidentialism of coalition and from a prolonged economic recession, both inherited from the years of Labors in the power (CARVALHO, 2018).

In these circumstances, Bolsonarism has emerged under the leadership of an unexpressive Federal Deputy tied to members of police in Rio de Janeiro State. He could gather surround him supposed extraordinary capacities of modifying the “old politics” by cutting country’s scourges off. However, this discourse just could be successful by a trick of deviating the merit of Brazilian social and economic problems to a moral scope. Bolsonaro and his allies were undeniably efficient in associate the whole left wing to PT and to relate the entire moral degradation, supposedly the cause of any other problems in Brazil, to the leftists and their symbols.

The political representations and practices arising from the critics of the “leftism” have been rooted in diversified range of electors. Among them, we can detach small entrepreneurs, high-level civil servants, land owners, cops and army members, truck drivers and Neopentecostal and evangelical leaders. Moreover, the opinion polls suggest
an overall profile of these electors. They are predominantly white men situated within the borders of middle class and residents in Brazilian south hemisphere region (NICOLAU, 2020); they’ve been more susceptible to the narratives that focused on conflicts and polarizations against any political caricatures.

However, despite its reasonability, it is not good enough. In order to make Bolsonarism understandable, it is necessary to dive in a domain of social experiences endowed with historical extension.

In a nutshell, the aim of this article is to deal with analytical and interpretative elements extracted from research “Bolsonarism and Deep Brazil: an analysis about the growing and the permanence of a socio-cultural and political phenomenon”, and to contribute by identifying and clarifying, at least partially, repertories, practices and representations that made possible the growing of Bolsonarism as well as have given it duration. In other words, the academic role of this article is to focus on the historical elements of culture that connect Bolsonaro with the portion of Brazilian people who have in him their reflection. We hope that it could be more than a theme within the current discussion. We want that it could be an agenda of discussion by itself.

2 WHY TO THINK OF BOLSONARISM? INITIAL STEPS;

There is a large misunderstanding about Brazilian political and cultural life, since the emergence of Bolsonarism and the general crisis aggravated by the pandemic period. The analysis offers more mistakes than get right when they try to explain the government choices and its residual popular support, because the specialists seem to be tied to improper or insufficient instruments of interpretation.

It is remarkable that the usual analysis of Bolsonaro and Bolsonarism has been evolving political passions that turns the diagnosis about it in an exclusively (or almost exclusively) conjunctural explanation, without the view of totality that the complex objects require. The main consequence of such approach is to separate Bolsonarism from its origins in national life, by highlighting it as a discontinuous episode in Brazilian history. Thus, the predominant discourse about the huge phenomenon of Bolsonarism have put its social and cultural roots aside, or does not take these dimensions seriously.

1 However, some voting intentions survey, that contrast Bolsonaro and Lula, have indicated a possible recent change in this frame with respect the regions of supporters. The results of the last survey reveal the Bolsonaro’s supporters are predominant in North and Center-West regions, not anymore in South and South-East. But in the lack of specific and updated descriptions we decided to maintain the previous information.
It is not a mistake to add that the academic inquiries about Bolsonarism, until the date when this text was published, have not arrived to a unity yet. It reflects on the multiple forms by which social-scientific literature keeps speculating what would be the core of this theme. Each analyst focus on a small set of topics and formulates an explanation whose scope only diversifies our interpretation of the conjuncture.

Considering such limiting circumstances, the research we have been developing has turned firstly to gather the works, books, articles and reports about Bolsonarism in order to distinguish and then rank the topics. After an analysis on these, we typify and list them according their emphasis. This procedure gave us an overview with nine types of the main Bolsonarism subject-matter that can be regarded, without hierarchy of importance, as in the Table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Emphasis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The character Bolsonaro, features of personality and personal trajectory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Political and economic context and impacts of 2013 manifestations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The efficient use of political communication in digital environments</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The comparison to international phenomena of threat to democracy, the growing of new right wings and new populism</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The adhesion to evangelical religions agenda</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The militarization of society, spread of militias and the role of public security crisis in the cities</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The advances of neoliberalism in the economic blueprints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The consequences of geopolitical actions and some connection with Lava Jato Operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Reaction to new social movements and the to the political reforms related to gender, sexualities and reproductive rights</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Source: the authors.

Otherwise the apparent criteria that draw the prevalent map of such main themes, the question that moves this research: “what makes the mass of Brazilian people support Bolsonaro’s government?”, has been guiding us to think in a frame that includes the political cultural in its deep sense. The answer for that question demands diffuse behavioral pattern which characterizes the sociability and institutionality of what we call Deep Brazil. The key to comprehend why the president and his government are supported by an enthusiastic and loyal mass of Brazilians is in some aspects of the mentality which are reproduced in long duration beliefs, values and national habits. Theses aspects, however, must be understood from the point of view of how the present conjuncture digests them. By prioritizing the Deep Brazil, our research contributes to the current academic researches and press analysis, with a specific intellectual resource: the presentation of the roots of conjunctural phenomenon that has resulted in Bolsonarism.
The point is to identify the durable representations of Brazilian culture and reveal that they are not a creation of the recent times. The way as Bolsonaro and his allies have been navigating through Brazilian public life, mobilizing representations so different each other as, for instance, masculinity, crime combat, relation to Brazilian autochthons, the critics of political institutionality, among others, has demonstrated the strategic use of ideas, with simplicity and reasonable popular acceptance, as part of the composition of a political character who seems to be an “ordinary guy”. Bolsonaro articulates those themes and frames them under political communication tools, remarkably via social media, in order to raise and lower the temperature of national political life. The adhesion and aversion to government are measured by his staff that conducts a kind of permanent electoral campaign on behalf of him.

The approach of the Research that funds the present text is eminently multidisciplinary. It has links with knowledge repertories from Political Science, Sociology, Anthropology and Social-Political Philosophy, and concentrates its product in a sort of Sociology of Brazilian Political Culture. Its diversified instruments offer a dealing with Bolsonarism inside a broader scope relate Deep Brazil. Thus, it is possible to explore how Deep Brazil has been ingraining in Bolsonarism besides to provide others useful explanatory nuances.

Given the complexity of this object and of the task of presenting its dynamics in the field of effective opinions and votes, as well as under the difficulties of realizing the connection with deep dimensions of mentalities expressed in the national culture, we outline the design of this research requiring quantitative and qualitative methodologies. The quantitative method analyses the evolution of opinion polls – from the running in 2018, until the newest – and characterizes a pattern related to behaviors reflected on the Bolsonarism mass of supporters. The qualitative method analyses contents and series of sources, it consists in some efforts to examine the messages and symbols predominant in the last election whose effectively has turned discourse to justify Bolsonaro’s choices during his administration.

The research focus on the time frame within June of 2018 and June of 2021. This clipping comprises the electoral campaigns, the first half of Bolsonaro’s mandate, the impact of Covid-19 crisis and the city elections in 2020 besides some episodes happened in 2021. By the angle of demography, we consider Brazil as a political, economic and social totality, despite we recognize some cleavages of class, region, gender, generation and the ethnical-racial components.
So far, the team has surveyed an expressive volume of works and articles published in Brazil and in other countries from the last three years up to now. These writings, which take Bolsonarism as their central theme, were the basis to the types that figured in the Table 1. But our orientation to contribute to these works with the Deep Brazil analysis was to take three great axes, that is, Institutions, Culture and Conservativism.

3 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: THE COMMITMENT WITH THE NOTION OF DEEP BRAZIL

In order to analysis and understand the relation between Bolsonarism and Deep Brazil, we needed a large background of references from sociology, philosophy, politics, economics and political communication. As we suggested before, it is because such relation demands an outlook beyond what is a mere set of conjunctural political considerations to which politics is almost isolated from culture and social life; an outlook that brings to light some historical and ongoing representations, beliefs and values spread among Brazilian ordinary people. Now, it is necessary to define how we understand Deep Brazil, then after we are going to situate Bolsonarism through the literature and, at last, we are going to replace it on the economic and culture perspectives, as well as in the context of political communication considering the misinformation as it has been nowadays.

Deep Brazil is a notion, not a category neither a concept. The meta-theoretical option to consider it as a notion is not an arbitrary choice. We are facing something that is necessarily subject to time and to our increasingly improvable perception of the object. The first frame as a notion bellows us to deal with the theme as something over to a continuous process, something experimental and corrigible. What we want is to assure a suitable treatment to singularity of Brazilian nation. In order to do so, we take as a starting point the idea that Brazilian people, real, lived and unique, differ substantially from the official spheres composed by formal institutions and from elites, that is, some dominant sectors of Brazilian society.

It is indispensable to reach our objectives to construct forms of analyzing and acting which close that popular national experience. This forms aim to cover the dimensions that are invisible for who just sees what happens in the chain of events of present and of recent past. We take as a useful instrument of research the idea of long
duration formulated by French historian Fernand Braudel (1965), but we adapt it in a particular way.

It is remarkable that since nineteenth century an intense debate over the Brazilian national character, by part of intellectuals, writers, artists and naturalists as Manoel Bonfim, Capistrano de Abreu, Pedro Américo, José de Alencar, Gonçalves Dias, Carlos Gomes, Machado de Assis, Euclides da Cunha, Affonso Celso, Paulo Prado among many others (REIS, 2017), has been happening. From that time, it was highlighted the problem of nationality, which would turn into a dramatic discussion at the end of XIX century, when they tried to elaborate the elements of Brazilian nationality.

The debates on “brazilianity” were intensified at the dawn of Twentieth Century. In the 30s years, when Getúlio Vargas bet on a politics of national affirmation, through expedients as corporatism and populism, the official institutionalization of the national had to do with an identity forged by symbols as samba, tropical essence and miscegenation. In the same decade, one saw to be emerged the Gilberto Freyre’s, Sérgio Buarque de Hollanda’s and Caio Prado Junior’s contributions. Afterward, the intellectual tradition that was born there had continuity with authors as Darcy Ribeiro and Roberto Da Matta, in Anthropology; Guerreiro Ramos, Florestan Fernandes and Fernando Henrique Cardoso, in Sociology; Carlos Nelson Coutinho, Chico de Oliveira and Francisco Weffort, in Political Science; Emília Viotti and Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz, in History; and Celso Furtado, Ignacio Rangel and Maria da Conceição Tavares, in Economy.

By following insights extracted from some writings from that tradition and under its inspiration, the notion of Deep Brazil has been acquiring a set of important details. We have been trying to explore them scientifically as it follows:

Deep Brazil encompass practices, representations, beliefs and values expressed as aspects of long duration. They are realizable in individuals and groups actions and imaginary whose socialization has occurred within the context of the populations that anticipate the Brazilian State-Nation formation, but above all they came from the time where Brazil were emancipated as an independent country. The individuals and groups used to translate, and create agencies, social, cultural, political and economic articulations. The core of understanding is that a huge and historical mass of Brazilians acts outlining, subverting, crossing or overriding the official and hegemonic institutions – which are almost always coordinated by people from social sectors of owners of economic and symbolic capital (BOURDIEU, 2001).
Therefore, Deep Brazil instead to be identified with a social class or a geographical region, it is something that across classes and regions and is spread over whole Brazilian territory. Why to claim this notion in an inquiry about Bolsonarism? The predictable answer is that, with the clues obtained from it, we could to grasp the growing and the permanence of Bolsonarism before and during the Bolsonaro’s administration. Both, Bolsonarism and Deep Brazil, have elective affinities, a complex and subtle relation between two social forms, something besides the traditional view by overcoming the wrong idea of primacy of “material” or of “spiritual”. In these terms, we suggest Bolsonarism as a phenomenon, a social, culture and political fit, made existing by previous conditions of Deep Brazil. This link could be more scrutinized by references of updated literature about Bolsonarism.

4 NOTES ABOUT SOME IMPORTANT ACADEMIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO REFLECT BOLSONARISM SINCE THE PRESENT

Marcos Nobre (2020) arguments that Bolsonarism is an authoritarian project of a political group that advances against democracy. It is clear some echoes from the work How Democracies Die (LEVITSKY; ZIBLATT, 2018) which includes a reasoning about the worldly diffusion of authoritarianism. They have reached occupy expressive electoral spaces and slowly they have sabotaged the institutional fundament of liberal democracies, such as free press, confidence in science and credibility of judiciary system. Nobre defends there is a trend to stand up to the political dispute under a logic of war. Bolsonarism would reproduce the same thought. The high numbers of militaries and cops in public charges, as well as insistency in the congress discussions about the popularization of access of guns, help to create a climate of conflict as part of the routine of institutions and politics. According to him: “Bolsonaro has brought the idea of it is time to change the people in the power, it means that is the moment to submit the rest of the country to the groups of the ‘authentically Brazilians’, of the ‘true people’”.

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2 It constitutes a part of our work to examine certain categories as structure for the purpose of interpret the ubiquitous presence and performance of Deep Brazil in historical Brazilian society. We are developing a precise idea, but we can say, without postponing, that some uses of the term structure, that consider it an indivisible block or a previous blueprint, are not sustainable for our aims. Our idea of structure has to do with the ideas formulated by Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens and Roberto Unger. It is above all a divisible, self-corrigeable and reflexive idea. At the same time, we incorporate the critic of structure by Cornelius Castoriadis in his sophisticated article “The logic of magmas”. Nevertheless, the Castoriadean conception of magma, offered as an alternative to ideas like structure, among others, is not able to express, with enough resourcefulness, what we want in order to approach Deep Brazil.
From this approach we can deduce something coverage by our interpretation of Deep Brazil. Bolsonarism, as a political product, and Bolsonaro, as candidate as well as the president, have characterized by a worldview of continuous struggle against “the system” – the antisystem performance is the core of Bolsonarism. We comprehend that a fight against an enemy like that, a person which are institutionally empowered, is something strongly inlaid in Brazilian popular history. It can be seen as central or secondary theme in most famous and historical novels of Brazilian Literary tradition. Domingos Olimpo’s *Luzia Homem*; Manoel Antônio Almeida’s *Memória de um Sargento de Milícias*; Aloíso de Azevedo’s *O Mulato* and *O cortiço*; Graciliano Ramos’ *Vidas Secas*; Jorge Amado’s *Capitães de Areia*; Rachel de Queiroz’s *O Quinze*. In most of them, the characters are overwhelmed, extorted, humiliated and sometimes killed by people with economic or institutional power. The diffuse combination of institutions and institutional actors provides the most part of the intuition also diffuse about the system. Bolsonarism managed to get the idea that the system is gather of Supreme Court, the great press, the universities, some artists and, little by little, anyone else who represents an obstacle for the implementation of his new hegemony.

Nobres’ perspective converges to Lilia Schwartz’s view (2018) with respect to authoritarianism as a characteristic of Brazilian political culture. The anthropologist points out to its roots rejecting the idea of cordiality, in the ordinary sense, would be a perennial element of Brazilian social relations. The slavery, the “mandonismo”, the “coronelism”, the racism, the inequality of gender, the corruption and the patrimonialism would be traces of disability and disgust to democracy. This characteristic has expressed as in the spread of urban violence as in organization of groups of militias to control territories that were controlled before by drug dealers. In this sense, it is defensible that the combat of violence has always been overcoming any and all institutional and constitutional limits.

Bruno Paes Manso and Pedro Inoue (2020) allude to Brazilian mode to combat the crime by means of criminal factions – and here lies an aspect of Brazilian authoritarian cordiality – expressed in the police treatment with afro-brazilians and poor people, with gambling (“jogo do bicho”) and militias. These practices are combine with others, namely, homicides, tortures, threats and improbable alliance among religious leadership, sectors of police, politicians and afraid people unprotected by the State who find a kind of protection with militias. This is a problematic social arrangement which are making a *habitus* unconnected to institutionality and to legal order.
The new solution to manage the territory was based on the presence of police authorities with capacity and willingness to use violence. It was evolving alliance with association of residents, which were in contact with members of municipal Parliament in order to reach benefactors in exchange for votes, and the charge of money to generate revenue for the community itself, as gas canister, and stealing in electrical and water systems. All this has been supported by local battalion unit cops. (MANSO, 2020, p. 144)

As Lilia Schwarcz (2019) reminds us:

Represented by a group of parliamentarians in the National Congress, the so called “bench of bullets” (bancada da bala), which is still attacking the Disarmament Statute by arguing for “flexibilization of law”. Among their proposals there are the increase of private guns, from six to nine, for each citizen; the age reduction for gun permit; and the end of obligation of revalidation for each three years. A part of these demands were met by the recent government and in its beginning, 2019. (SCHWARCZ, 2019, p. 156).

On the other hand, Leonardo Avritzer (2019), in a really smart fashion, has said that democracy in Brazil has a pendulum performance, oscillating between moments characterized by political arrangements tending to authoritarianism and these when there is a coalition of forces and interests that claim for advances in civil, political and social rights. In the lasy years, according to Mr. Avritzer, it would be occurring a process, with some comparisons in the past, of degeneration of democracy. It would reveal the volatility of Brazilian institutionality.

Camila Rocha, whereby field researches about the Brazilian new right, shows how these new political groups have been constructing identitarian and emotional relations that extrapolate politics as struggle by the power only:

The perception that the right activism would be inauthentic, which is manipulated by very important and exerient political elites and/or composed by hysteric and paranoiac people, and have been contested by a new historiography, is possibly related to an implicit understanding of to have material resources would explain the success of rights in mobilizing significant part of civil society for your causes. However, despite having financial and organizational resources actually help to explain partially the success of social movements, many others factors can determine their success or the failure, as the creation of strong collective identities, emotional dynamics that emerge from interactions and conflicts among political groups, changes in structures of political opportunity that create favorable moments to actions of determined groups and, in the last years, the ability to use (and the logic in itself) of social medias, factors that I consider crucial to the boom of new rights in Brazil amid the cycle of protests for the impeachment of Dilma Roussef (2014-2016). (ROCHA, 2016, p. 49)

As Rocha pointed, the displays of political communication, that have turned possible through (and in) the social medias, have been indispensable to Bolsonarism.
Thus, we want to recognize that Bolsonaro’s ascension is tied to the phenomenon of misinformation like the fake news, as he mobilized and has been mobilizing representations, readings of reality, emotions, etc., by availing the changes of social conditions of communication: social universalization of internet access, hyper connectivity, mobile communication and consolidation of digital environments (ALMADA et al, 2019).

It must not to be neglected the economic context of the last eight years. In relation to this, the economist Laura Carvalho (2018) treats of exhaustion of economic model implemented in Brazil since the end of the Lula’s first mandate, what she calls “little miracle” (milagrinho), characterized by the above average growth anchored in increase of commodities price. By the way, Paulo Gala and André Roncaglia (2020) go back to the time in order to demonstrate how Brazilian economic complexity has diminished side by side its deindustrialization, which have been making vulnerable the country to the drama of economies that are bound to the so called “average income trap” (Gala, Roncaglia, 2020).

All of these essential contributions for anyone who want to know about Bolsonarism must be considered with its several details. But we understand that they show just a part of phenomenon, the part closest to us by the proximity of time. We can describe the ensemble of these studies as a prolific reconstruction of the present, but we think that it is necessary to dive into the beams of aspects that only a multidisciplinary study in sociology of culture could have historical sensibility enough to reveal the real origins of Bolsonarism. It means to subject the articulations of ideas and interpretations brought by the researches mentioned above to a filter of identifications of elements of long duration. However, besides these work, we have been formulating some analysis focused on the present. The section bellow is about it.

5 A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF INSTITUTIONS UNDER BOLSONARISM;

As a consequence of our theoretical background combined with the updated researches we listed above, we invest in an interpretative analysis of the relation between Bolsonarism and institutions. In order to do so, it is necessary, first, consider Bolsonarism not only the governmental actions practiced by the president himself, but as the set of actors of professional politics – most of them actuating in Congress – self-proclaimed Bolsonarists, the communication vehicles and communicators and the social activism that
defends bolsonarist values in a declared sympathy for the president, and, at last, the entrepreneurs who support the same ideology and finance it.

To comprehend the relation among these Bolsonarisms and the institutions we must to come back to the beginning of the current administration and to notice six aspects.

Firstly, with broad majority of deputies in its side and huge popular support, Bolsonarism dedicated its energy not against the Parties of opposition, but against the institutions that represent impasses to the governability: Judiciary, that imposes the limits of law, and the Press, that imposes the inconvenience of supervision and critics.

Secondly, the trend to choose conflict instead dialogue and cooperation, by raising the temperature of institutional routine, both in institutions of power and in institutions of communication.

The third aspect is that the president actions to handle the impasses of law and critics used to be cooptation with offer of positions (a) to actors who have influence in the public machine and in State realms, (b) with financing journalists, entrepreneurs of communication and YouTubers which exercise the task of spread a discourse almost always to protect Bolsonaro by attacking his critics, and (c) with close relation and straight contacts with the support core, those who Bolsonaro conserves an ideological link.

Fourth, bolsonarist actions practiced by professional politicians are intentional bets on conflicts. An efficient instrument to exemplify this point has been their defamatory strategies through the social medias: they choose someone who must be the center of attacks by a moment and invest in a narrative that incites digital mobilization against him. On the other hand, the positive agenda of these bolsonarists in relation to institutions used to be only the defense of a small numbers of interests fundamentally connected to their great support sectors, by occupying deliberative commissions to sensible subjects.

Fifth, there is a small and active group of bolsonarist known communicators that work in defense of the President. It is an unrestrictive defense. It works by giving voice and notoriety to bolsonarists from politics end business and by creating the conditions for adhesion of bolsonarists perception of reality whenever a controversial event could be inopportune to Bolsonaro, like the people destitutions from or nominations to the government. Furthermore, there is massive attacks against institutions. When the assault aims the Judiciary, it used to be directed against specific judges, like Alexandre de Moraes, Gilmar Mendes or Luis Roberto Barroso. If it is directed to the Press, the attacks
used to be against companies providers of communication services, like Folha de São Paulo and Portal UOL.

The last aspect of the relations between Bolsonarism and institutions, from the viewpoint which highlights the Bolsonarism side, is about social activists and business. That is above all something relate to the field of ideological debate, i.e., what has been called “cultural war”. The organized social activism whereby digital medias and with a special help from the increasing comments, likes, dislikes and shares displays have been intensifying the pressures against everybody described as anti-Bolsonaro. Sometimes, these mobilizations included plans and insinuations to physical violence.

After those six aspects, it is appropriated to observe as a provisory conclusion that Bolsonarism has reached to impose the schedule of subjects in the Congress, in the Judiciary and in the Press. Bolsonaro by himself was able to do so even denying to talk to journalists as well as by avoiding to follow the law. Therefore, Bolsonarism has been creating an institutional culture based on the message of constant conflict, apparently without a destination unless keeping in the power.

6 FINAL NOTES

The structure of political opportunity (MCDAM; TARROW, 2009) in Brazil was drastically changed since at least 2013. The factors that provided this changing were: (a) the crisis associated to the left hegemony, especially because of the Workers administration, that started in 2013; (b) the exhaustion of model of economic blueprint introduced by the federal government between 2088 and 2014 (CARVALHO, 2018; GALA e RONCAGLIA, 2020); (c) the dissemination of incapacity of governments of acting in order to provide material improvement of life, as well as (d) the displacement of public debate to sphere of morality, behaviors and identities (BOSCO, 2017).

In this context, Bolsonarism and his most influential character, Jair Bolsonaro, have organized repertories that made possible the convergences of factors, tendencies and patterns that we interpret as being of long duration. These elements are diffuse in the Brazilian society and very rarely they acquire centrality in the great public life starred by official institutions, current academic studies and national journalism. The origins of Bolsonarism is before the political actuation, and even the existence, of Bolsonaro himself. If Bolsonaro is the most relevant political character today, that is why he has attracted for him that convergence elements of long duration, the elements that constitutes what we are calling from Deep Brazil.
We defend here that Jair Bolsonaro has turned viable and legitimated by acting in the interface among structural elements of long duration of Brazilian society. These elements are tensioned by conjunctural rearrangements on the political, economic and informational table. By performing as outsider in politics, Bolsonaro could “slip through” the gaps that were open by structure of political opportunity, gathering an identitarian-political group both cohesive and diverse.

Bolsonarism has been agglutinating surround it a conservatism tradition that urges to be represented in the structures of federal power. Militaries from Army were found in Bolsonaro (a Former-Captain) a way to ascend to political power after the unfortunate years of experience in government during the dictatorship (1964-1985). The cops who live a plethora of the endemic problem of urban violence (little by little it has been spreading in the most cities of country side), and are punished with lowest remuneration by their jobs, saw in Bolsonaro a way to compensate their professional discredit and to be protected against a legislation that prevent death penalty because of Bolsonaro’s promises to these professionals. Conservative sectors of evangelical movements who claim by the return to the traditional family values saw Bolsonaro as the messenger of the conservativism and of the will of God for Brazil. In short, Bolsonaro has known how to intend for the wear generated by diverse crisis (the economic mainly) and by the popular distrust in relation to politics. He presented as the translator to dissatisfactions availing a spread perception of moral degeneration in Brazil. Thus, Bolsonarism could be turned into the message from interests articulated among popular urges to solve complex social problems with shortcut.

But what is most import in order to finish our considerations in this text is to recover the historical dimensions of the elements inside Bolsonarism. All of these elements have been reframed in actual context but they are also a part of Brazilian historical representations, what characterize Brazil as people and nation. It means Bolsonarism is a phenomenon of the present crossed by beams of elements from the very pasts. Our desire and our activism is to bring that discussion to the center of academic interests.
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