



# FROM HOPE TO HATE

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## From Lulism to Bolsonarism

How did low-income subjects - the very citizens that once symbolised Brazil's rise as a global democratic power in Lula era - come to support Bolsonaro?



A photograph of two women standing on a balcony with a metal railing, overlooking a densely populated hillside town. The woman on the left is wearing a blue t-shirt and sunglasses, while the woman on the right is wearing a purple top and a dark cardigan. The background shows a vast expanse of colorful buildings built on a hillside under a clear blue sky. A semi-transparent dark rectangle is overlaid on the image, containing the text.

**RESEARCH CONTEXT**  
**MORRO DA CRUZ (“MORRO”)**  
2009-2019





**PARTICIPATORY  
BUDGETING:**  
People discussed  
and voted for the  
budget of their  
community



World  
Social  
Forum

another world is possible



## CANDIDATOS



JAIR BOLSONARO

PSL **ELEITO**50,12%  
36.263  
votos

FERNANDO HADDAD

PT

49,88%  
36.087  
votos

Branco

3.092  
votos

Nulos

6.346  
votos





# 10 YEAR-ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELDWORK

*Participant observation in people's everyday life*

*In-depth interviews*

**1) 2009-2014**

**2) 2016-2019**

## **2017-2018:**

- *17 focus group with Bolsonaro voters*
- *Participation in their WhatsApp groups*
- *Participation in other pro-Bolsonaro groups*





## Milton's case



**The  
Economist**

NOVEMBER 14TH - 20TH 2010

[Economist.com](http://economist.com)

The decline of music piracy

Nigeria gets better

Farmers v greens in America

How drugs are being decriminalised

Bland bosses

# Brazil takes off



**A 14-PAGE SPECIAL REPORT  
ON LATIN AMERICA'S BIG SUCCESS STORY**

**2010  
Economic Growth:  
7,5%**

I like to buy designer clothes and go downtown  
with my head high (Martha, street vendor then  
32)

Katia, 42: when I wear my genuine Ray-Ban,  
white people think my glasses are fake. But I  
don't care, I think I am a super hot black woman,  
you racists!

Betinho, 16, when bought his first Nike  
cap, said that the object was like a  
hero's cape and said: eu to podendo, I  
am empowered. I am no longer the  
invisible favelado.







"People feel sorry about my daughter, and they will give the money for the milk. But nobody feels sorry for me. When I had a heart attack because of my daughter condition I was humiliated sleeping two cold nights on street on a long line at the health center. They don't feel sorry when I am not well-dressed police stops and beats me; when I go to the mall or I am an invisible poor person or security guards chase me as if I were a bandit. Now, that I paid in cash for the shoes, I go to the mall every week, I pass by the shop and the sellers say: HELLO MISTER MAROBA. They say my name. It is like I exist".

The  
Economist

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[www.economist.com](http://www.economist.com)

The new face of terror  
The Breaking Bad school of business  
Obama's Iran gambit  
On the edge of the helium cliff  
E-cigarettes: don't stub them out

# Has Brazil blown it?

A 14-page special report

7,5% in 2010 to  
-3,77 in 2015





“



*I do not know what happened in the last years, but life became more and more difficult, more violent, and money is no longer enough for daily expenses, for leisure, the weekend bbq. Something must change, it is impossible to continue in this way.*

“



*The country is lost, people do not know what is right and wrong. I believe Bolsonaro - LIKE THE DRUG TRAFFICKING - will restore the order and what is right and wrong. Morro became a lawless area. Cássio.*



*I struggled to be honest, to work, I chose another path, I chose to survive, I want to have a family, to have a salary, a house a normal life. The poor and the black receive social benefits, others join the DT, but what about people like me? I feel I am punished for trying to work honestly. (...) Bolsonaro is for the correct, not for the corrupt, the bandits. Bolsonaro will value the hard worker.*









# THANK YOU!

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