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THE AGE OF RIGHT WING POPULISM:
THE CASE OF BRAZIL

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SAĞ POPÜLİZMİN ÇAĞI:
BREZİLYA ÖRNEĞİ

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EU	European Union
ILO	International Labor Organization
PDSB	Brazilian Social Democracy Party (Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira)
PSL	Social Liberal Party (Partido Social Liberal)
PT	Workers Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores)
Syriza	Coalition of Radical Left
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States

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ABSTRACT

Populism is increasingly a popular concept and issue in politics and academic studies. After the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, there have been significant economic and political changes in the World. As a result, governments, political systems, and parties struggle to meet the new social, political, and economic challenges. Populist discourses, leaders, movements and parties have been rising in this framework. Right-Wing populist movements and leaders have remarkable arguments which imply market friendly economy policies in parallel to global economic order on the one hand, but also defend nativism and protectionism in economic policies on the other hand, and show a tendency towards authoritarianism and anti-establishment view in actual world politics. This study is focusing on Brazil and Jair Bolsonaro who is current elected President of this country with the aim of explaining the right-wing populism and it's economic background in relation with neoliberalism. In order to understand the visible example of right-wing populism, this thesis aims to evaluate the general discussions on populism. In this respect, events such as rising inequality, social unrest and ongoing economic fluctuations will be investigated in historical context and from the perspective of the latest presidential elections in Brazil. Jair Bolsonaro's electoral success with the populist discourse and following economic turmoil period between 2013 and 2018 will be examined. As follows, Bolsonaro's extreme right opinions with populist agenda, and enabling conditions such as the rise of populism in the World, the overall impact of social and economic issues on voting behavior and the political economy of populism will be evaluated in this thesis. It is concluded that populism has changed the mainstream political arena and right-wing populism has gained success by instrumentalizing political economic concerns of voters.

Keywords: Right-Wing populism, Economic Turmoil, Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro, Political Instability

ÖZET

Popülizm, siyasette ve akademik çalışmalarda rağbet gören bir olgu ve gündem maddesi. 2008 Küresel Finans Krizi'nin ardından, ülkelerde kriz ve kriz sonrası dönemde yansımaları görülen birçok ekonomik ve siyasi değişim yaşandı. Bunun sonucunda hükümetler, siyasi sistemler ve partiler, yeni sosyal, siyasi ve ekonomik sınamalarla karşı karşıya kaldılar. Popülist söylemler, liderler, hareketler ve partiler bu çerçevede yükselişe geçtiler. Sağ popülist liderler ve hareketler, günümüz siyasetinde dikkat çekici argümanlara sahiptirler; bir yandan küresel ekonomik dünya düzenine paralel piyasa dostu politikalara vurgu yaparlarken diğer yandan da ekonomide ülke odaklı politika ile korumacılık ve siyasette otoriterlik ve düzen karşıtlığına eğilim gösterirler. Bu çalışma, Brezilya ve ülkenin son seçimlerinden galip olarak ayrılan devlet başkanı Jair Bolsonaro'yu, sağ popülizmi ve onun neo-liberalizm ile bağlantılı ekonomik arka planını açıklamak adına mercek altına alacaktır. Sağ Popülizm'in belirgin örneğini irdelemek adına, bu çalışma popülizm kavramı üzerindeki genel tartışmaları inceleyecektir. Buradan hareketle, artan eşitsizlik, toplumsal huzursuzluk ve ekonomik gelişmelerin seyri gibi tetikleyici olaylar, tarihsel bağlamda ve Brezilya'nın son başkanlık seçimleri perspektifinde incelenmeye çalışılacaktır. Jair Bolsonaro'nun seçimlerdeki popülist söyleminin başarısı ve 2013-2018 yılları arasındaki ekonomik çalkantı dönemi irdelenecektir. Şöyle ki, Bolsonaro'nun popülist gündemli aşırı sağ görüşleri ile dünyada yükselen popülizm ve sosyal ile ekonomik sorunların oy verme davranışına toplam etkisi gibi duruma yol açan koşullar ve popülizmin politik ekonomisi tezde değerlendirmeye alınacaktır. Popülizmin ana akım siyasi arenayı değiştirdiği ve sağ popülizmin seçim süreçlerini yönlendirme adına seçmen kaygılarını kullanarak başarı kazandığı sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Sağ Popülizm, Ekonomik Çalkantı, Brezilya, Jair Bolsonaro, Siyasi İstikrarsızlık

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Human dignity, civil rights, freedom, democracy, the rule of law, and political equality were the fundamental values of the world's political order in principle, at the beginning of the 21st century. Many of the state political bodies have consisted of democratic institutions and electoral systems, which have been playing an active role to drive representative democracy especially after the collapse of Soviet Union when liberal democracy and free-market economy had become the dominant paradigm in the World. Regarding this, international political and economic organizations had a key role in carrying out the globalization of liberal democracy, international trade and financialization. It would be said that advanced liberal economies like the US, Germany, France, UK and Japan have used their influence to organize globalization to further their interests. After the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, which had spread from the US and primarily affected advanced economies, there has been a great transformation in world's economic outlook together with political environment. There were social problems and economic imbalances such as poverty and inequality in all group of countries before the Global Financial Crisis, which arose from the nature of the world's economic order, but during the crisis and in post-crisis period, new issues such as immigration, terrorism, violence, chronic unemployment and low economic performance have started to rise in many countries. Nevertheless, essential elements and values of the established order and then democracy were started to be questioned and the essence of the democratic demands was transformed into different tendencies.

According to Pappas, there are four types in contemporary studies on populism: using quantitative methods to measure populism, focusing on field research to include many cases for analysis, the emphasis of numbers and measurements to settle the content analysis of populism and the growing threat of populism to representative politics (Pappas, 2019). There are serious criticisms about research on populism in studies like Pappas because of the use of deductive reasoning that

can be limit the scope. However, the potential threat of right-wing populism offers to study on the specific cases to analyze causality of the phenomenon with reasonable premises. The concept of right-wing populism that will be discussed in this thesis articulated to economic and social developments in the world; but also represents the political economy of populism with the political and historical complexity of Brazil in order to explain the post-crisis conditions and the link of neoliberal era of the world. In this respect, discussing the threat of rising right-wing populism in the world and impacts on Brazil's political atmosphere by focusing on social and economic elements will be investigated in this thesis.

It is a tough process to choose a case that can be subject to populism in today's contemporary politics. Moreover, working on a subject like populism, which is a very complex topic and trying to explain a specific type of populism with the economic background, is harder than working on populism. In this manner, Brazil and Jair Bolsonaro can be accepted as a remarkable case in terms of actuality and details.

The field study of populism has a large scale which contains different forms, historical cases and evolution of the populist experiences, the effects of populism on various countries and political systems in history and contemporary politics and media. It can be claimed that current political atmosphere shaped by widespread impact of populism, but it can be pointed out that there is an observable cause to explain populism with specific cases as Laclau's parameterizing, which described as "the need to go beyond formulas and identification" by Ernesto Laclau.

A right-wing form of populism generally offers characterized solutions for social and economic problems that excludes particular groups of people by using discriminative rhetoric, which pretends to be mitigating people's concerns, disadvantages and inequalities regarding specific conditions. On the other hand, principally right-wing populists take sides with democracy and global economic order in policies but also defend authoritarianism in line with majoritarian

democracy understanding, nativism, and protectionism. Most importantly, right-wing populist leaders like Bolsonaro tend to suspend civil rights and democratic process by using their power which obtained by a democracy mechanism. Hence, the purpose of this thesis is to discuss the interrelation between the political economy of neo-liberalism and of the relation of its consequences of financial instability, inequality, social unrest to the rise of right-wing populism.

Populism, as a phenomenon, is not a new issue for global agenda or academics. However, populism has been taking a more significant place in the world agenda in recent years. In the political arena, from the US to the EU, from the UK to Latin America, there are lots of events that are discussed related to populism. Additionally, the global economic and financial outlook has rapidly changed in parallel to political and social turmoil due to the unreasonable conditions in many countries. Numerous academic studies have revealed the imbalances between individuals, which depend not only on development levels of countries but also living standards related to the distribution of income and wealth or social norms. Thus, individuals in any country may identify themselves as a political, socio-economic aspect of any class, culture, nationality, or political movement that shaped the social perception and political arena.

Populist movements and leaders have been getting more attention by using different social demands and unusual arguments since the Global Financial Crisis period. In the light of the worsening economic and social conditions in a great number of countries, many people from different groups have experienced declining in quality of living standards and positioned themselves as losers of the existing order or changing conditions. Hence, populist discourses, leaders, and movements started to be considered and proclaimed to be the saviors of the people who feel unrestful. Events like the election of Donald Trump as a US President and Brexit Referendum have had significant effects on global politics and economy but also has changed the political climate of the world.

In this study, debates on populism and characteristic form of right-wing populism from a political economy perspective, linking historical and economic circumstances originating from the global economic order examined in the case of Brazil. Brazil is the country that could be classified as a suitable example for the case of right-wing populism due to the country's historical, political and socio-economic background, such as the long military government term, last election process, extreme inequality and long-standing economic and political turmoil period after the Global Financial Crisis. Brazil has a long electoral history but little democratic tradition (Klein & Luna, 2006:7). Since 1989, presidents have been directly elected in Brazil.

Accordingly, Jair Bolsonaro and Brazilian politics expose a significant example to study on the success of right-wing populism and potential risks of right-wing populism as compared with left-wing populism, which these potential risks are not only threat to liberal democracy, global economic order or globalization but also the tradition of democracy, human rights as well as the future of social and economic development process.

Bolsonaro's victory in 2018 Presidential Elections has multiple motives to determine the political economy of right-wing populism that shaped public agenda and voter choices in line with the internal dynamics of Brazil. The main motivation of this thesis based on the reasons of the rise of right-wing populism in recent history. Hence, the thesis will focus on Brazil's political economy between 2013-2018 in order to explain the rise of right-wing populism.

There were two rounds in the study process of the thesis. First, The Global Financial Crisis and economic turmoil period of Brazil which occurred between the Global Crisis and 2018 Presidential Elections are the main factors to understand the point which this thesis study attempts to explain. After 2008, The Global Economy has been experiencing depression and some countries have managed to recover. Brazil suffered from the impacts of the Global Crisis in 2009, but then the country

could recover the economy. Social unrest and economic instability started to increase after 2012 in Brazil. Moreover, economic, political, cultural or other polarizations caused problematic issues, for instance, praising discrimination or violence independent from any parts of polarization such as antagonism. Besides, the rise of social media usage and suspicious political campaign methods on social and mainstream media are open to debate by different sides like effects on voting decisions and fair elections.

Second, pandemic disease spread across the World from China in 2020. This event gave a great chance to expose the vulnerability of populist politics that represents ignorance and irrationalism that caused social and economic chaos during the disease period. Notably, Brazil and the US, which right-wing populist leaders are in power, ranked first two places in total cases and total death amounts according to World Health Organization data (World Health Organization Dashboard, August 2020).

Although the general concept of populism holds main characteristics, independently of right or left tendencies, right-wing populism seduces the people into demonizing a group of people, country, or events such as rivalry between states, ethnicities, sexual orientation or other potential enemies which classified by populist framework. On the other hand, left-wing populism is most likely to criticize system or imaginary upper classes which far from ethnicity, gender or other specifications. Left-wing populist parties define the people on a class basis, referring mostly to the poor. In contrast, right-wing populist parties define the people on a cultural, nativist base (March, 2011; Mudde, 2004). There are mostly right-wing leaders and movements which identified as populist, in power in majority of countries during the last era.

Labels like extreme right (Arzheimer, 2012; Ignazi, 1992) and radical right (Norris, 2005) are commonly used terms to describe right-wing populism by scholars. Mudde and Kaltwasser have defined populism, which has come to appear not only

in different historical moments and parts of the world but in different types (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017). So, the rationale of thesis can be described as an existing rise of populism with the political and economic turmoil and its socio-economic results that have reflections in politics as a right-wing populist response.

In additionally, starting from the year 2013 and after the economic outlook of Brazil began to fail with the rise of violence and crime rates, and social unrest. In relation to these periods, social support for the Federal government of the Brazilian Workers Party has started to decline. In this sense, the explanation of rising populism could be built on the results of economic and financial crises (Di Tella, 1997).

As will be argued in the thesis, it is crucial to evaluate the economic background of social and political events. In this regard, the right-wing populism, which is presented by leaders like Jair Bolsonaro emerged under the conditions of the Global Financial Crisis and economic turmoil, but more importantly, it has transformed politics by using social and economic concerns, which resulting from the global paradigm.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To begin with the attempts to describe populism, it looks fruitful to go back to the 1950s. Edward Shils argued that populism is an ideology of displeasure against the established order in the study about criticism of McCarthyism in the US (Shils, 1956). Ionescu and Gellner explained populism over the “conflicting imperatives” of the concept of populism in the collected research study, which consists of the conference notes that were held in the London School of Economics in 1967 (Ghita Ionescu & Ernest Gellner, 1969). The study focused on conceptual change and the form of populism phenomenon in line with debates on populism as a doctrine or as a movement.

In a chronological view, the debate on populism has changed in parallel with the World’s political conditions and economic outlook. In this chapter, the framework of the thesis will be explained in detail. As stated above, the aim of the thesis framework is an attempt to understand the socio-economic milestones which paved the way for the success of right-wing populist discourse in Brazilian Case in middle 2010’s. The subject will be discussed under the spotlight of the World’s political and economic events that occurred after the Global Financial Crisis, and general historical context, until Jair Bolsonaro’s electoral victory and significant conditions rather specific to Brazil with Bolsonaro’s populist campaign.

Primarily, the debates on the definition and different approaches on populism will be discussed in general terms in this chapter. Although doubts to conceptualize the populism phenomenon, the main generalizations are helpful to understand the essence. After the first part, right-wing populism and related economic, and social processes that set the ground for the populist discourse will be investigated in line with the main question of this thesis, which is the impact of political economic conditions on the rise of populism.

2.1. What is Populism?

Today, it would be said that there is no absolute definition or agreed description about populism. Cas Mudde, who has been very popular on populism discussions in recent years, mentioned “deep historical sources” of populism such as social and economic shifts, in the article about the latest populist surge in Europe (Mudde, 2016). Definitions, historical cases, and characteristics of populism were gathered in a book by Paul Taggart, which consists of detailed explanations on movements, parties, and leaders. Taggart describes populism as a tool of progressives, of reactionaries, of democrats, of autocrats, of left and the right (Taggart, 2000). Populism positioned as a complement to the ideologies in Taggart’s view.

As it is seen, scholars have not a common understanding or similar approaches on the populism subject. Due to cases of populism and determining factors such as political or economic structure in different timelines, there would be different approaches and explanations to describe what populism really means. In this part of the chapter, the concept of populism will be analyzed for how various perspectives describe it, but it will be grounded on reasonable arguments. Then, how the right-wing populism differs from the left-wing populism will be examined. Finally, the framework of the thesis work will be presented in relation to the political economic background.

“In the 1890s, journalists who knew their Latin coined word to describe a large third party, the Populist, or People’s Party, which powerfully articulated the progressive, civic-nationalist” (Kazin, 2016). The People’s Party which was also known as the Populist Party or Populists, was a party in the late 19th century in the US. Its supporters and activists were generally from Southern and Western states who defended common interests of especially rural people against the established order of bankers, corporations, and politicians. The party became institutionalized part in the Democratic Party after 1896 (Taggart, 2002).

On the other side, there were Narodniks, the name of the movement that consisted of educated young men and women from the cities who aimed to transform the country with rural people against the tsarist regime with their revolutionary ideals beginning with the 1870s in Russia (Venturi, 1960). The term of Narodnik was derived from the word “Narod”, meaning “people” in the Russian language, and Narodnik can be translated as peopleism/populism.

These were the most significant and earliest populist cases, according to many academic studies in political history. There was a significant difference between these two parties because of their motivations. People’s Party placed itself to defend demands of farmers and rural people unlike the revolutionary character of Narodniks.

After this phase, it is useful to argue about what populism means today. Benjamin Arditi described populism as a drunken guest at dinner, who is rude, disrespects the rules of sociability and may flirt everyone else’s partner in the room.¹ Despite some basic acceptances about populist rhetoric and methods, there are different explanations regarding the answer to this question. The first is that populism is an ideology (Mudde, 2004; Ignazi, 2003; Norris, 2005). The Second answer to the question describes populism as a political style (Laclau, 2005; Kazin, 1995). And, according to the third one, populism is a political strategy (Acemoglu et al., 2011; Madrid, 2008).

Considering the different approaches on what exactly defines the label of populism, many scholars refer to similar characteristic features when they debate on populism. Regarding this, Jan Werner Müller argued that populism is not a doctrine; it is a frame that includes concerted principles. In this sense, today’s right-wing populist cases could be seen as a combination of ideology, political style and political strategy under the concerted principles and features.

¹ For further information please see: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/jan/10/we-the-people-the-battle-to-define-populism>

In the light of these, discussions on the major conceptual framework of populism can be determined. To begin with, expressions of “the people” and “the others” or “the elite” were mentioned in the majority of studies. Mudde describes populism as “thin-centered ideology” in other words, populism can be combined with complex ideologies like liberalism or socialism etc. (Mudde, 2004). Populist leaders or movements can be part of any center or radical right and left ideologies, but they draw a line separating the people and the others or the elite who are figured as a threat to society or state. This segregation is used by populists to demonize the others against the people with manipulation.

Accordingly, populists see the people as a unity of pure nation and see themselves as representatives of the people. At this point, it can be said that right-wing populists use the conflict that aimed to foster the people by using political, racial, cultural, or religious identities. On the other side, left-wing populists focused on the criticism about the system, government, or privileged groups such as wealthy people or upper class, clergy and government officials, in short economic and political elite.

Another key expression of populist discourse is “general will”. According to Finchelstein, populists are not against democracy or elections, unlike fascists, but they have a tendency towards authoritarianism when they are in power (Finchelstein, 2017). Concordantly, Michael Kazin defines populism as a language that claims to speak for the majority as an element of Americans in his analysis of American Populism (Kazin, 1995). This expression has corresponded to the conflict between the people and the others, claimed by a populist discourse, which alleged that the pure people were real decision-makers and not the others. Therefore, populists may reject the legitimacy of governments when they are not in power or lose elections.

Anti-establishment posture is one of the main characteristics of populism. In the Latin American Populism Analysis, Madrid argues that the populist method appeals to anti-establishment, and anti-system paradigms (Madrid, 2008). Populists blame

mainstream politics, governments, policies and economic situations when they criticize about representation but, in contrast, blame internal or external enemies when they are in power. The notable difference between right-wing and left-wing populists at this point is that right-wing populists favor nativism when left-wing populists frame their class based ideological, social and economic components. Nativism and protectionism are essential for right-wing populists. Economically, there are prominent examples of nativist and protectionist policies in today's global agenda, which generally projected by right-wing populist leaders.

Populist leaders and movements generally tend towards authoritarianism because of their understanding of the general will, which reference to support of the pure people for the power domain. When we look at populist examples, we typically see the “charismatic leadership” factor in many cases. Taggart, for instance, argues that populist parties are generally characterized by a centralistic organizational structure headed by a charismatic leader which could be identified as a special personality description of Max Weber (Taggart, 1995). Mudde describes the core ideology as a combination of nativism, authoritarianism, and populism (Mudde, 2007). Populist movements or leaders suppose that they are speaking and acting in the name of the people of who they are (Taggart, 2000:92). Herewith, populists come from among the people and, if anyone stands against their political attitudes, it meant to be in a position against the people which could be described as monolithic people under the leader or movement.

Aside from these, populism had to be understood as the concept of adapting fascism to the political order of the post Second World War according to Finchelstein (Finchelstein, 2017). After the Second World War, fascism lost its legitimacy and has no longer been accepted as ordinary political opinion due to the crimes of fascist regimes, which became evident especially after the war and were clarified even more within international law.

Federico Finchelstein argued that after the vanishing of fascism, which emerged between two World Wars and under the conditions of economic and political crises, populism started to appear in the political arena with a conformation of democratic principles and rejection of marginal political opinions like fascism. The existing type of right-wing populism poses a potential threat to democracies and humanitarian values, unlike from other current and historical forms of populism, since middle 2010's.

Although there is no agreed definition of populism, according to Benjamin Moffitt, it generally attaches itself to the right in the European context, but that is not an iron rule (Moffitt, 2016). Piero Ignazi, who named right-wing populist parties as "extreme-right" describes the right populism in two categories: traditional and post-industrial (Ignazi, 2002). It can be asserted that today's populism phenomenon which this thesis focused on, locates in the post-industrial era.

At this point, considering mainstream approaches and several explanations which are useful to define populism in the literature, the main argument of this study is that recent right-wing form of populism which exploits economic, social and political problems to gain popularity is fueled by the political economy of the global economic order and crisis period.

To summarize, from the birth of the word of populism to explanations by different approaches, the contemporary understanding of the phenomenon can be characterized under the people and the others/elite, general will or the majority, purity of the people, anti-establishment, monolithic people under the leader elements that give a body to populist movements and leaders. Thus, the initial understanding of populism will be based on these elements in this thesis.

2.2. Economic Turmoil, Political Instability, Inequality And Right-Wing Populism

It would be useful to examine right-wing populism, which has increasingly drawn attention in the contemporary global agenda, with the economic and political developments in recent era. According to many scholars and columnists, there is no difference between left-wing and right-wing populism in the perspective of conceptual acceptances, which built on the neoliberal perspective. The function of neoliberalism generally drawn apart from the populist phenomenon. It is also essential to point out that mainstream academic studies and media articles about populism, built arguments on threats of populism against the global economic order, liberal democracy and free-market economy. However, this study aims to show that Jair Bolsonaro, as an example of right-wing populist, used the core arguments of market economy and radical right ideology together. This study tries to unfold the reasons arising from the global economic and political order, which based on the free-market economy and representative democracy in a critical approach.

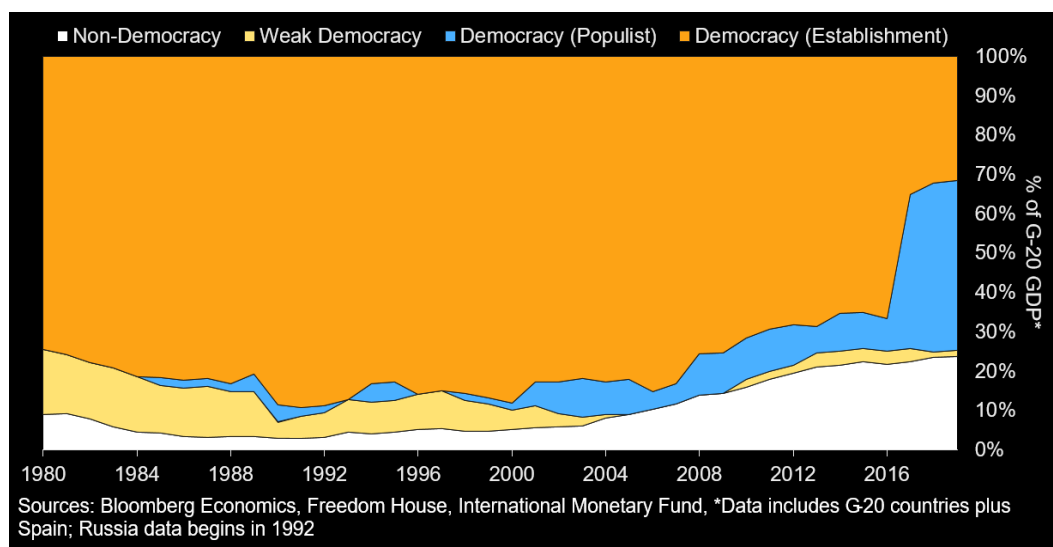
In the last quarter of 2007, the economic turmoil called the Global Financial Crisis officially began in the US, which was firstly started in the US Mortgage Market but then affected the global financial system and global economic outlook. Together with the Global Financial Crisis, Arab Turmoil, which expanded a couple of Arab States have changed the global agenda after it was started at Tunisia in 2011. These two important events have been shaking the World politics and global political-economic agenda since the beginning of 2010s. Right-wing populist parties have gained significant public support in the last decade amidst two crises: the global financial crisis and the immigrant/refugee crisis (Kaya, 2019).

The years between 2015 and 2017, Europe and the World witnessed terrifying incidents which started with a terrorist attack against the Charlie Hebdo Magazine in France and continued with further terrorist attacks in Europe, Britain, the US, Turkey and some other countries. An unusual political and economic rhetoric

started to overtake the political arena in the shadow of the immigration problems, terrorist attacks, low economic growth, and unemployment issues, volatile global financial outlook and social conflicts in this period. US President Donald Trump's anti-immigrant rhetoric has started to sound in politics. Conformably, Brazil was also faced refugee issue that majority of refugees came from Venezuela due to the economic and political crisis in Venezuela.

Syriza's election victory in January 2015, by using political agenda which against mainstream politics and EU austerity policies in Greece could be counted as the first success of the contemporary populist chain. Until this thesis started to be prepared; voters chose to leave the EU in Britain under the impacts of populist discourses on Brexit Referendum process on June 2016, Donald Trump won the presidential election with nativist and discriminative commitments on November, 2016. As a global phenomenon, populist surge has spread to the large part of the countries. Lastly, Jair Bolsonaro, who has provocative statements about serious economic, political and social issues, won Brazil's presidential elections in October 2018.

Figure 1: World's Most Important Economies are under the control of Populist Governments or Non-Democratic Regimes



Source: Bloomberg Economics, <https://www.bloomberg.com/>, (16.05.2019)

Almost 70 percent of the world's most important economies that include China as a non-democratic regime, are under the control of populist governments or non-democratic regimes as it seen on Figure 1, according to an analysis by Bloomberg Economics (Bloomberg, 2019). Bloomberg Economics puts the election of Donald Trump as president of the US as the milestone in 2016 with the populist wave recently expanded to Italy and Brazil in 2018.

The rise of China and the growing potential of Chinese Economy are also assumed to be major factors in promoting the populist leaders and movements for protectionism, authoritarianism and an inward-looking perspective. In this regard, it would be recognized that authoritarian approach and economic rise have caused to inspiration for political actors from all around the World. As the problems such as economic instability and social unrest increase, political and economic base of authoritarianism and protectionism have influenced the dominant paradigms of current world order. Populist movements and leaders have become aware of this stature. Revolting against mainstream political actors and system, and a developing a populist response which formed by majoritarian understanding of democracy fueled by popularity of authoritarianism and economic rivalry between different group of countries.

According to journalist Gideon Rachman, the populist era was started with Donald Trump's election, and Brexit and it might last as three decades. Rachman sees the period from 1945 to 1975 as strong economic growth and construction of welfare states with Keynesian demand management, which lasted about 30 years until the neoliberal era. And he states that the neoliberal era also lasted about 30 years, which started with the election of Margaret Thatcher in Britain, followed by Ronald Reagan in the US at the beginning of the 1980s. Rachman claimed that the neoliberal era was over by the Global Financial Crisis in 2008, and after a few years of uncertainty, the new era was started with Donald Trump's election and Brexit.²

² For further information please see: <https://www.ft.com/content/debb6f2c-285c-11e9-a5ab-ff8ef2b976c7>

Despite the main characteristics and generalizations, there could be limitations up to the differential identification of populism. Ernesto Laclau called the era as “globalized capitalism” where widening of horizons that need “a precondition for thinking the forms of our political engagement”, and social relations in the world in which we live are deeper than in the past (Laclau, 2005). In this manner, this thesis concerns the necessity of autonomy of actual social demands, and the logic of their articulation related neoliberal world order and inequality, with the nature of the collective entities such as rising populism, resulting from them, parallelly to Laclau’s approach on populism phenomenon (Arditi, 2010).

There are common roots that increased insecurity and distrust, which are among the consequences of social and economic changes in the late 20th and early 21st century (Bauman, 2001, 2000). These changes provide a ground of radical right-wing populism (Furedi, 2007; Kinnvall, 2013; Richards, 2013). Insecurity and uncertainty, within the conditions of economic turmoil and political instability have extended different groups of society. Thus, inequality in relation to neoliberalism as an economic order could be vital factor of the global rise of populism.

Piketty argues that inequality and populism are linked due to the globalization period and representation of voter groups (Piketty, 2018). According to Piketty, left-wing parties used to attract less educated and low-income groups, and right-wing parties used to attract wealthy and well-educated people before 1980’s. Today, educational and ideological split of voters has been reversed in significant societies. Inequality between people and transnational balance of power have already caused conflicts. Both the left and right-wing populist movements and leaders benefit from these conflicts but the reasons behind the crises and rising right-wing populism have similar roots related with the global economic order.

Extreme inequality has been one of the major problems of World due to long-term neoliberal process and formulation of Milanovic suited well to the global and

national outlooks. For instance, 2153 billionaires have more wealth than 60% of the world population according to Oxfam 2019 report.³

World Bank Economist Branko Milanovic formulated the evolution of inequality as (Milanovic, 2016):

$$\begin{aligned} \textit{Global Inequality} &= \textit{Greater Inequality within nations} + \\ &\quad \textit{Inequality in Nations} \\ &= \textit{Greater difference between countries mean incomes} + \\ &\quad \textit{Inequality in countries individual incomes} \\ &= \textit{Location Function} + \textit{Class Function} \end{aligned}$$

After the Global Financial Crisis, social and economic concerns of the people all around the world have crystallized the dynamics of the societies. Recently, after the gaining momentum of right-wing populist movements and leaders in EU, in the UK and in the US, right-wing leaders and parties have started to rise and gain success in Argentina, Chile and lastly Brazil with their hierarchical, nationalist and market friendly but protectionist discourses.

Margaret Canovan has defined two main categories of populism which are agrarian and political with seven substrates:

Agrarian Populism

1. Farmers radicalism (e.g., the U.S. People's Party)
2. Peasant movements (e.g., the East European Green Rising)
3. Intellectual agrarian socialism (e.g., the Narodniks in Russia)

³ For further information please see; <https://www.oxfam.org/en/press-releases/worlds-billionaires-have-more-wealth-46-billion-people>

Political Populism

4. Populist dictatorship (e.g., Peron)
5. Populist democracy (i.e., calls for referendums and “participation”)
6. Reactionary populism (e.g., George Wallace and his followers)
7. Politicians populism (e.g., broad, nonideological coalition-building that draws on the unificatory appeal of “the people”)

Together with the current right-wing populist cases, Brazil’s lastly elected president Jair Bolsonaro which could easily be subject to right-wing arguments that demand “protester” votes, suited well political category characteristics of Canovan’s typology. In detail, it would be said that Bolsonaro and today’s other populist examples could represent all types of political populism to create politic method as an ideology, strategy and political style.

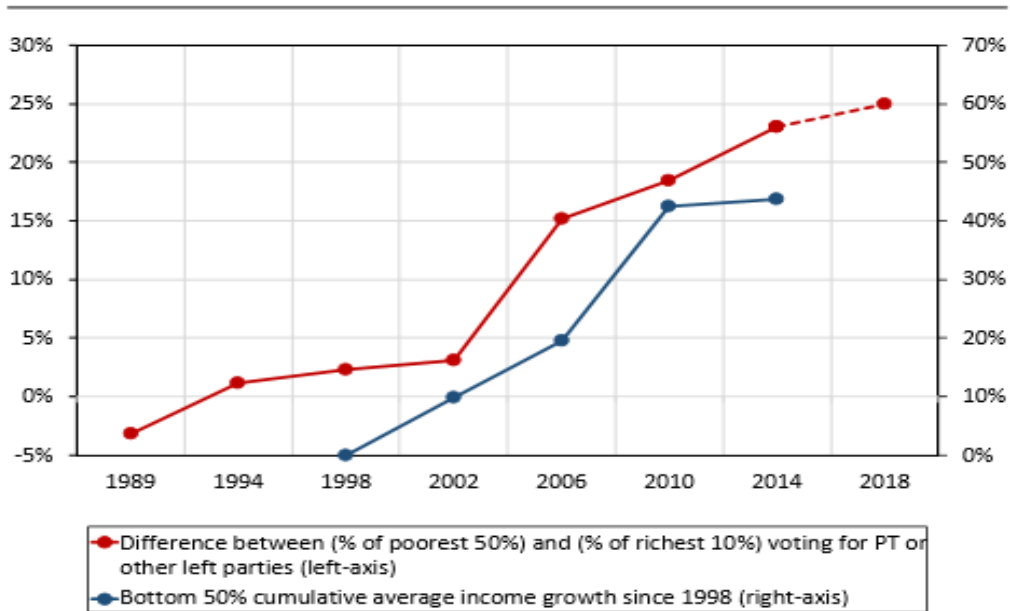
Moreover, there can be usually seen successful right-wing populist parties and movements which defend the arguments together like authoritarianism, nativism, neo-nationalism, protectionist market economy, and anti-immigration or discriminative nationalism in the general context of recent politics as noted by Mudde “successful populists today are on the right, particularly the radical right”⁴.

For instance, Brazil is among the unequal countries in the world despite the economic and social changes, and industrial transition began in the 1980’s, and Workers Party policies which aimed to decrease disadvantages of poor people.

As it seen in Figure 2, cumulative average income growth of bottom 50% of Workers Party or other left party voters was strong from the late 1980’s until the middle 2010’s, but difference between 50% bottom and 10% richest groups of voters also increased.

⁴ For further information: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-43301423>

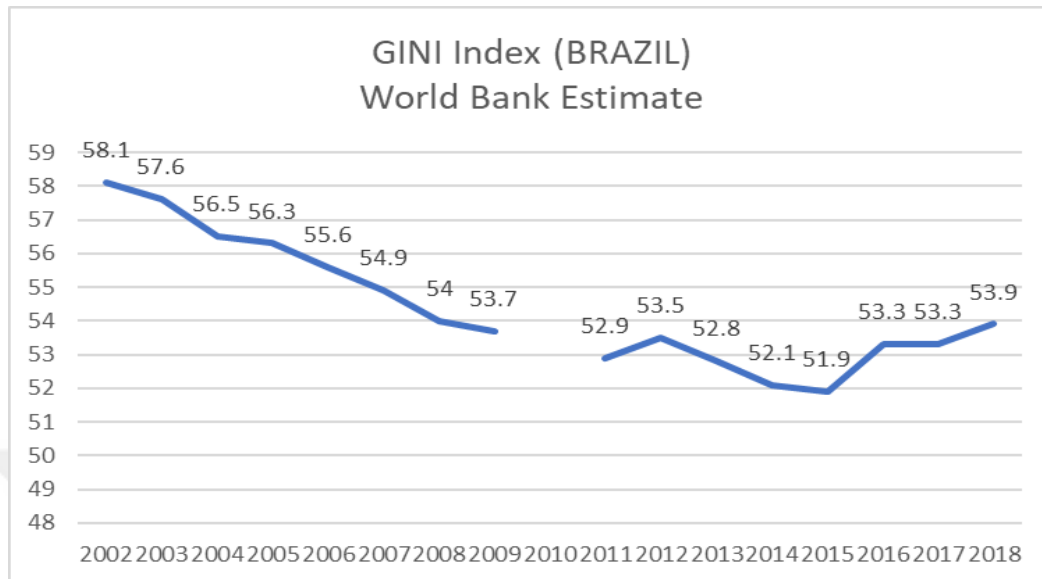
Figure 2: The Income Growth since 1989 and The Difference between The Bottom 50% and The Top 10% since 1998



Source: Authors' computations based on surveys conducted by the Datafolha institute and income data from Morgan (2017). Left parties include the PT, the PDT, the PCdoB, the PSOL (from 2006 on-wards) and the PSB (for 2002 only).

Brazil's GINI Index was in a declining trend between the beginning of the 2000's and mid-2010's, as seen in Figure 3. Due to the optimal global economic outlook until the global financial crisis, and Workers Party government policies, GINI Index which measures the distribution of income has showed improvement until the year 2015. Nevertheless, the general outlook of the country which extreme inequality shaped the income groups and social structure has not changed. Brazil has continued to be one of the most unequal countries in the world. Today, Brazil is ranked 8th in world in income inequality by the GINI Index according to World Bank Data.

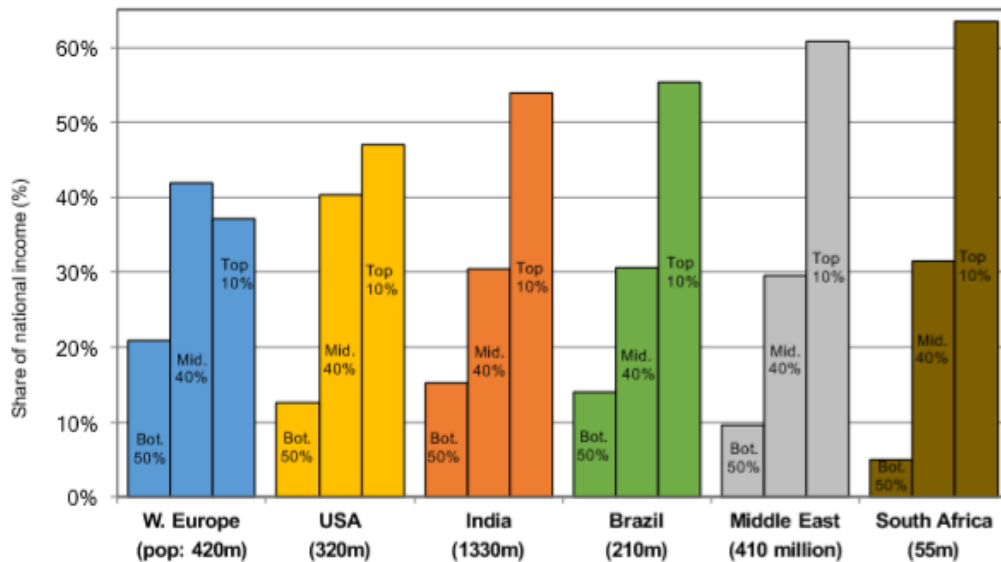
Figure 3: Brazil's GINI Index



Source: WorldbankData <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.DDAY?end=2017&locations=BR&start=2003&view=chart>, (13.06.2020)

Nevertheless, there can be mutual understanding of populism that includes the clash between two groups like Jan Werner Müller's expression as "the real people" and the "the others" (Müller, 2016). Right-wing populism accuses "the elite" or "the others" by manipulating the economic and social welfare of a country in the manner of discourse. As occurred in a European right-wing populist agenda, Latin American examples tend to blame and criminalize several groups of society such as Afro descendant people to deteriorate the social and economic welfare.

Figure 4: Bottom 50% vs. Middle 40% vs. Top 10% Income Shares Across the World



Source: Lydia Assouad, Lucas Chancel, Marc Morgan. Extreme inequality: Evidence from Brazil, India, the Middle East and South Africa, WID.world Working Paper N° 2018/4.

The implementations of redistribution policies in line with the local and global growth trend in Workers Party governments, wealth and income inequality had never been extinguished to compensate inequality in Brazil, similar to the World’s general outlook as can be summarized with the examples of different countries and regions in Figure 4.

Concordantly, if we look at the demand and supply sides of populism, the critical drivers of populism could easily understand by the perspective of inequality. As it is discussed commonly, populism involves supply and demand sides. When we look at the left-wing populist figures, generally it would not be surprising to see that issues like inequality and distribution problems are generally linked with capitalism. On the other side, there would also be arguments about the distribution of power and wealth or income, but the arguments built on the well-being of a specific or characterized groups of people which could called patronage in the name

of national integrity from the typical perspective of right-wing populist understanding (Guiso & Herrera & Morelli & Sonno, 2017).

On the demand side of populism, economic challenges and social problems could easily be linking with the loss of trust about existing government and leading political parties and leaders. In relation to circumstances, any new political movement or actor may rise with the populist discourse to satisfy popular demands. Right-wing populists generally use the anti-establishment and enemy of the people arguments to influence the people.

Supply-side of populism creates space for itself to mobilize a society in response to social or economic conditions that current political institutions and actors responsible for them. From the perspective of right-wing populists, discourses usually benefit from significant debate subjects in politics and in the public to raise the popularity.

Brazil's social and economic components created sharp political conditions that divided society at the points of interest. Thus, due to the economic turmoil period, socio-economic characteristics of Brazilian Society and decline in the popularity of PT government that arose from the additional specific reasons despite the historical success, Jair Bolsonaro could build a populist method as an example of today's right-wing populist figure.

2.3. Political Economy of Populism

Global Financial Crisis officially began in the last quarter of 2007. When we look at the main reasons for crisis, which started with several events like the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers in the US, we could see the financial meltdown process caused by mortgage credits and its effects on US Banking Industry and Global Financial System.

It is a prominent academic discussion and research topic of how Global Financial Crisis came about. This is because, the crisis was the biggest financial crisis of free-market economy after the Great Depression according to many scholars. Starting from American credit market and the distortion of American financial sector, the crisis led to a large depression both in the US and whole global economy. In a similar vein, capitalism had another catastrophic economic crisis, which created the ground of World War II, through the end of the 1920's.

In this regard, the globalization process of neoliberalism could be investigated properly. The aftermath of World War II, the policies and understandings of Keynesian economics had been chosen to overcome such catastrophe. Therefore, the post-war economic world order set by such an economic approach. The crucial points of such order were establishing international mechanisms to prevent a 29-like crisis and another world war. To achieve that, there was a need for a global monetary policy, system, reference that every country would obey. Such quest was the way to so-called the Breton Woods System. Such a system raised from seeking of an efficient international fixed exchange value. However, the question was how to set such value. The gold standard had collapsed in the 1929 Crisis. Therefore, such system cannot be back to implement because it is proved that that system is not practical.

Moreover, such value cannot be any other material, either. In the end, most reliable currency in the hand was the US dollar. US dollar is decided to be a reference so

that all currencies would be measured with fixed exchange rate. Then, another question at this time raised. How is the value of the US dollar decided? This because, the US cannot decide that its own and, also FED also must obey the international rules. Thus, the solution was taking the US gold reserves for reference. Furthermore, the very main question was the issue of convertibility under the Breton Woods system. And, it is decided that the exchange of currencies could be done under the fixed exchange rate regime for the sake of free trade because liberal economic world order must be restored aftermath of the war (Heywood, 2013).

However, there was a lack of international institution or mechanism to realize that. Therefore, the foundation of IMF as an international mechanism, a supervisor, and a new world order's institution who control the exchange rates, credits and monetary policies. Additionally, the Keynesian economic approach was consisting of an idea that government intervention is needed in the economy even in the form of investment. This is because, there is a need for consumption. To have consumption, people need to have wage, income. To have income, there must be employment. In such a circuit, the government is the key. In such way, the cycle of capitalism would continue. Another international mechanism other than the IMF was the United Nations. UN was a crucial institution which will serve as a supervision and capital vacuum to the reconstruction of the western economy after World War II through Marshall Aids.

All of these had implemented throughout the post-war period and led to a one of the best eras for economic growth. It is so-called the golden years of free-market economy where splendid economic growth and its redistribution to social segments, as well as full-employment and rise in social security spending, have observed.

However, the Keynesian economy era and the golden years worked well until the beginning of the 1970's. With this decade, Keynesian economy encounter with series of crises. Along with the advancement of technology, the world has becoming increasingly globalized. Such a process brought the invention of offshore finance

system which resulted in free floating Dollar out of control of the US, the FED and the IMF. Such invention of off-shore finance entailed to a challenge to established bank and fixed exchange rate system. As a result of this, the convertibility of Dollar and the number of multinational banks increased (Kazgan, 2016).

Therefore, the fixed exchange rate practically became impossible. The capital movements actually became decisive for the exchange rate. As the consequence of these, this system entered the continuous crisis with the beginning of the 1970's. It is not still agreed on what obvious reasons had led to crises, but the indication of crises was explicit: unrest of labor, stagnation of economy, hyperinflation, and rising unemployment rates. And 1973 and 1979 debt crises made the peak point enormously.

Neither international management like IMF nor the tools and methods of the Keynesian economy were able to solve such a crisis since they were not organized for international, uncontrolled capital movement (Stiglitz, 2003). That's why Keynesian economics era and the Breton Woods system were on the brink of an end. In this atmosphere, the neoliberal thoughts, solutions, policies, etc. were started to progress throughout the end of 1970's.

In conjunction with the election of Ronald Reagan in the US and Margaret Thatcher in the UK, the era of neoliberalism and neoliberal policies started in real terms. The primary motivation was restoring the Keynesian economic order that resulted in crises. Since the Keynesian methods were not able to address the problems and solve the problems, neoliberalism was the ideology that asserted claim to overcome the 1970's crises as a new method of economic development, a model of social organization, and political object.

In this respect, the main principles of neoliberalism like classical liberalism were reducing the government intervention to the economy, supporting the free-market economy, removing all entanglement for free trade, lowering public spending,

deregulation in trade and finance, privatization and implementing tight public and monetary policy (Hayek, 1946).

It can be said that the main objective of neoliberalism was halting or even reversing the public sector and government intervention that marked in the period of post-war with Keynesianism. After becoming a dominant economic and political ideology with Thatcher in the UK and Reagan in the US, neoliberalism started to spread all world countries with the early experiment of Chile in 1973.

The progress of neoliberalism could not be separated from the dynamics of globalization and the increasing influential strength of international institutions or mechanisms such as the UN, IMF, WB, GATT, etc. Along with the neoliberal agenda of Thatcher and Reagan in the beginning with 1980's, IMF and World Bank also agreed to follow similar policies such as free-trade, liberalization of the capital market, flexible exchange rate regimes, a balanced budget.

Therefore, neoliberalism become the hegemon ideology until the 2008 Global Financial Crisis. It is not false that the main reason process which caused to such crisis was neoliberalism. Especially, the deregulation policy of such ideology was the paving factor through the crisis. Starting with the 1980's, the financial markets of the US have been becoming deregulated (Adda, 2013). Until the Global Financial Crisis, it can be said that US financial sector was already dominated by 5 investment bank, 2 group and 3 rating agencies for instance. With such a condition of the US economy, the finance sector has become distorted.

According to the neoliberal theoretical approach, inequality is natural and fundamental element of capitalism in line with the neoliberal economy (Heywood, 2014). It is also an academic and actual issue of how neoliberal economic order affect the global economy, political conditions, countries, and societies in the framework of inequality.

For instance, Brazil's Workers Party governments had a chance to implement economic and distributive social policies which created electoral success in which global economic outlook was optimistic and commodity prices tended to increase in 2000's. Enabled global conditions gave an opportunity to Workers Party that applied a developmental strategy which differed from the IMF and neoliberal economic approach. In addition, Workers Party strategy targeted to income equality for a sustainable growth principle. Nevertheless, neoliberal structure of World Economy created external and internal risks due to the complexity of economic and financial relations of countries. In parallel to economic slowdown, Brazil's political arena has witnessed the clash between Workers Party legacy and populist right-wing politician Jair Bolsonaro.

CHAPTER III

POPULISM IN BRAZIL

3.1. Important Milestones and Historical Developments Before The Global Crisis

Brazil is a constitutional democracy today, governed by the military dictatorship in the years between 1930 and 1945 and years between 1964 and 1985 after the foundation of the federal republic in 1889. The presidential system was also established in 1889, but Brazil had 6 constitutions, 3 military rules and 3 three democratic periods until today. The presidential elections held after 29 years in 1989 could account for the beginning of the country's transition period. Fernando Collor de Mello defeated Workers Party's candidate Lula da Silva in presidential elections in 1989.

After the first seventy years of growth period and then industrialization process in the twentieth century, Brazil is one of the ten biggest economies in the world today. The country experienced the transition period in 1990s after the long-term interventional process which based on import-substitution industrialization and faced volatile political and economic conditions until the beginning of Workers Party government in 2000's.

The central objective of Workers Party was reducing poverty and inequality when the party was in power. Luis Carlos Bresser-Pereira who is Brazilian scholar and economist, emphasized the main approach of Workers Party in economy policies as "to signify not only as increasing economic growth and industrialization, but also a reduction in social inequalities and an improvement in the living standards of the population" (Bresser-Pereira, 2012). The model that called neo-developmentalism was first used by Bresser-Pereira, adopted and applied by the Workers Party under the rule of presidents Lula and Rouseff.

According to Bresser-Pereira, neo-developmentalism is “a set of values, ideas, institutions, and economic policies through which, in the early 21st century, middle-income countries seek to catch up with developed countries. It is not an economic theory but a strategy; it is a national development strategy, based mainly on Keynesian macroeconomics and structuralist development macroeconomics” (Bresser-Pereira, 2012).

The presidency of Lula da Silva started in 2003, and Workers Party ruled Brazil until the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff in 2015. Global conditions and internal factors caused to erosion in Brazil’s dynamics after 2013. Economic outlook and political stability in parallel, started to decline in the second term of Dilma Rousseff, after successful Workers Party terms.

In last Presidential Elections, Brazilian People had two choices, far-right candidate of Social Liberal Party, Jair Bolsonaro who is a former army captain and has served as a congressman for Rio de Janeiro in the lower house Chamber of Deputies since 1991 and Workers Party’s candidate Fernando Haddad, Brazilian academician who served as Mayor of Sao Paolo from 2013 to 2017. The interesting part of this election is the difference between two candidates, who are representing the cleavage around the World Political Agenda, which arose from rivalry between main-stream actors and populist movements or leaders.

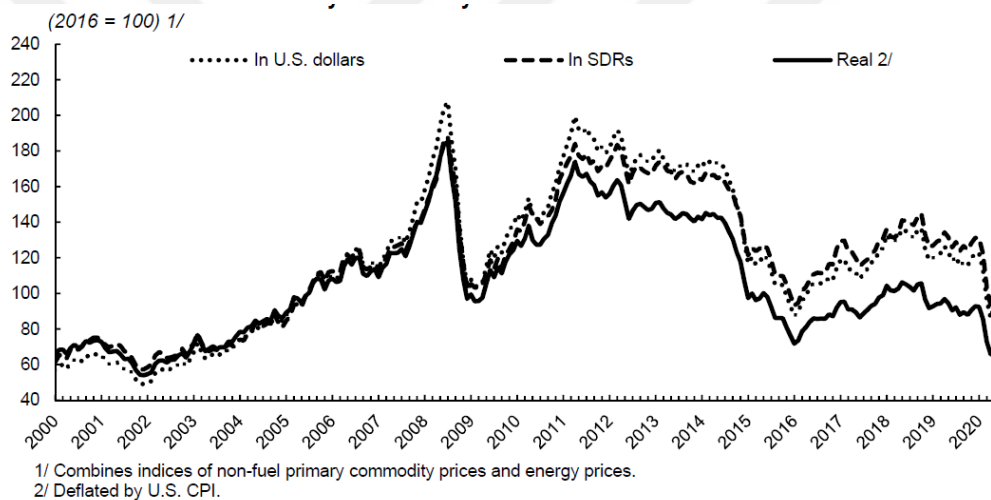
Brazil was one of the countries of Emerging Market Economies, which were in the luckiest part of the global financial crisis that offered some advantages to countries such as Brazil, by reason of economic fundamentals and naturally limited effects of the crisis.⁵ Due to the strong financial and economic outlook which benefited from the growth performance of Emerging Markets, and increasing commodity prices that nearly half of Brazil’s exports originated. Nevertheless, these advantages were

⁵ For further information please see: <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/global-financial-crisis-is-brazil-a-bystander/>

going to be vulnerability within the change of global economic dynamics after 2010's.

Brazil's Economy has benefited the increasing trend in commodity prices which was also created recovery opportunity after the Global Crisis, but after 2012 together with the economic slowdown of Chinese Economy that has a significant portion in Brazil's exports, commodity prices started to decline as it seen on Figure 5.

Figure 5: Indices of Primary Commodity Prices



Source: International Monetary Fund, Indices of Primary Commodity Prices, Index charts, 2000-2020.

The main engine of economic stability that created space to Workers Party policies and political popularity lost functionality in parallel to global economic transition. Due to the decline in commodity prices that can be seen on Table 1, such as iron ore, soya beans and crude oil which were Brazil's top 3 commodity exports, the economic outlook started to weaken after 2013.

**Table 1: Annual Commodity Prices of Crude Oil, Soybeans and Iron Ore
(annual prices, nominal US Dollars)**

Year	Crude oil, average	Crude oil, Brent	Soybeans	Iron ore, cfr spot
	(\$/bbl)	(\$/bbl)	(\$/mt)	(\$/dmtu)
2010	79.04	79.64	447.10	145.86
2011	104.01	110.94	537.52	167.75
2012	105.01	111.97	595.51	128.50
2013	104.08	108.86	551.39	135.36
2014	96.24	98.94	484.86	96.95
2015	50.75	52.37	392.12	55.85
2016	42.81	44.05	405.45	58.42
2017	52.81	54.39	393.38	71.76
2018	68.35	71.07	394.42	69.75

Source: World Bank Commodity Price Data,
<https://www.worldbank.org/en/research/commodity-markets>, (16.09.2020)

3.2. Political Economy of Populism in Brazil

Brazil's Economy, which had agrarian and rural dominated structure, has transformed into industrialized character with complex financial sector and developing service sector after the 1980s in line with the timeline of the 20th century's economic environment (Klein & Luna, 2019). The building of the modern industrial sector and the modernization of agriculture were main drivers of The Brazilian Economy in the second half of the 20th Century. Coffee exports had a crucial role in the transformation of Brazil's Economy which led to demographic changes in the country and immigrants from other continents. At the beginning of the 21st Century, Brazil is an important producer of agricultural and stock farming goods with developing oil production (Reuters, 2019).

The Brazilian Economy was in growth trend for the first seventy years of the 20th century. In 1970's, when the oil shocks that affected many developing economies like Brazil, growth trend gave place to high inflation, external debt and unemployment problems. The average growth rate of Brazil declined to annually 2,1% after the 1970's 20 years period, from the average growth rate of the late 1970's which was 5,7% (Klein & Luna, 2006).

In the late 1980's, Brazil's Economy opened up to global markets with the political shift which was transformed country's route from military regime to democratic process after 20 years. Brazil had started to adopt free-market economy with the demographic transition after the 1980's.

Especially in early 2000's, when nearly all commodity prices were in positive trend due to the rising demand from Emerging Economies, Brazil as a commodity exporter country, became one of the advanced developing economies. In 2006, "unexpectedly large oil reserves were discovered in the so-called Pre-Salt levels, transforming the country into a potential major oil exporter" (Schutte, 2013). Additionally, rising social standards, which resulted from the policies under the

Workers Party has been also part of the macroeconomic outlook of the country (Castro & Koonings & Wiesebron, 2014).

Brazil is a federal presidential representative democratic republic, whereby the President is both head of state and head of government, and of a multi-party system. The federal government, the 26 states and one federal district and municipalities comprise the political and administrative organization of the country.

The official website of the Brazilian Government explains how the structure of Brazilian State works as:

“Brazil is a Presidential Federated Republic composed of the Union, States, Federal District, and municipalities, in which the exercise of power is attributed to distinct and independent organs that are subject to a system of balances to guarantee compliance with the laws of the Constitution.

The country is a Republic because the head of State is elected by the people for a determined period of time. It is a Presidential because the president of the Republic is the head of State and, also the head of Government. It is Federated because the States have political autonomy.

It has a multiparty system, or in other words, it allows for the legal formation of various parties. A political party is a free association of people who share the same ideals, interests, objectives, and political doctrines and have the objective of influencing and participating in political power.

The Union is divided into three independent powers that are balanced among themselves. They are the Legislative, which drafts laws; the Executive, who acts to execute programs or provide public services; and the Judiciary, who resolves conflicts between citizens, entities and the State.”

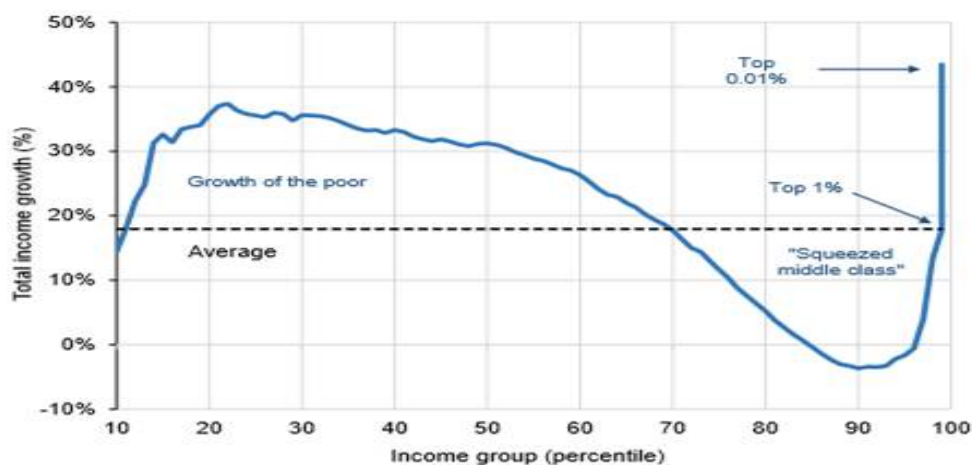
Brazilian democracy was built in the 1930s, having the state as the mediator of conflicts between social interests with labor organizations and capital owners kept under the strong arm of the state (Bastos, 2019). The complexity of economy and political actors still has a key role on Brazil's representative democracy.

Until the 2008 Global Financial Crisis began, Brazil's economic outlook was confident in comparison with other developing countries. In this case, increasing commodity prices which The Brazilian Economy mainly benefited and well managed fiscal and monetary policy by The Workers Party's Lula da Silva government had a key role.

Brazil's political atmosphere had a moderate and democratic outlook under the Lula da Silva administrations. Fair elections, freedom of thought and expression, with a strong economic performance which provided social assistance and good standard of living without discriminating were the main drivers of Brazil's under the motto "a Brazil for everyone" for the first decade of the 21st century.

As seen in Figure 6, the poorer Brazilians and richest top 0,01% has benefited from the advantages, unlike middle class between 2002-2014.

Figure 6: Income Inequality in Brazil, 2002-2014: Growth Incidence Curve



Source: authors' elaboration based on data from Morgan (2017).

Brazil has seen as a survivor of the Global Financial Crisis because of its own and advantaged Emerging Market dynamics. The country had two spectacular events after the Global Financial Crisis Era; 2014 World Football Championship and 2016 Olympic Games, which destabilize the economic balance. In addition to that, the world faced the post-crisis effects like downfall in commodity prices which deeply affected the commodity exporter countries like Brazil. Additionally, political crises caused to social and financial instability in Brazil, after 2013.

After the Lula Term, Dilma Rousseff, also from the Worker's Party, was the first woman elected President of Brazil in October, 2010. Rousseff tried to continue previous administration's policies which targeted to decrease poverty and sustainable economic growth but emerging economies like Brazil started to face global financial and economic challenges that sourced from the ongoing effects of 2008 Global Crisis in first term of Rousseff.

Dilma Rousseff won a second term in 2014, by a narrow margin despite the dissatisfaction of the public and the decline of popularity that caused protests in mid-2013. Rousseff's second term was the beginning of the disturbance in Brazil that created opportunity to potential rivals like Bolsonaro as a populist leader to run for the 2018 presidential elections.

Especially, protests which expanded in 2015 and 2016 blamed Rousseff Government for economic stagnation. Petrobras Scandal which resulted with the Operation Car Wash that caused detention of Lula da Silva's presidential candidate in 2018 had a key role on declining popularity and political options of Workers Party.

In this case, right-wing populist leaders and movements are successful in presenting themselves as ordinary people who damaged from economic instability which was the result of global economic turmoil. Similarly, right-wing populist actors portrayed rivals, political establishment and some segments of society as

responsible parts of failure as distinguished from economic order. Brazil's historical background, and economic turmoil and political instability period matched global context in this sense.

In 2015, the impeachment process started by the Chamber of Deputies against Rousseff because of the investigation for corruption cases about the state-owned company Petrobras, and Dilma Rousseff. In 2016, powerful Christian Block of Congress, along with Brazil's megachurch pastors, televangelists and leading bloggers, demanded Rousseff's ouster (Carvalhoes & Barreto 2016).

Judge Sergio Moro, who led the investigations, had been unable to mount a case against Rousseff, but it did not stop mainstream conservative media outlets from highlighting indictments of other conservative politicians, nor from implying that the law was slowly closing in on Rousseff and Lula (van Dijk, 2017). For this reason, Operation Car Wash, despite its support by many on the political left, became primarily identified by the right.

Rousseff was officially removed from the presidency when the trial was ended on August, 2016. There were criticisms about the impeachment process which focused on charges that could be unrelated about corruption case. According to significant opinions, the impeachment process is mostly political and is not actually about corruption case.

The vice president Michel Temer had governed Brazil for 2 years until the end of term in 2018. Without any doubt, mismanagement, corruption and low economic performance made contributions to the failure of Workers Party government under the Rousseff's presidency but there were suspicious points in the period which was started from Rousseff's impeachment to the election of Jair Bolsonaro.

In 2018 Brazil Elections, President and Vice President elected together with the representatives for the house, two thirds of the Senate, State Governors and

Legislators chosen by the voters. The results of this particular election have been characterized by political scientists as “disruptive” (e.g. Abranches, 2018; Moura & Corbellini, 2019) because they represent a breach with the organization of political forces and the party system of the last two and a half decades.

In the presidential election campaign period, Jair Bolsonaro positioned as a voice of the Brazilian People who against the two main problems of the country which were crime and corruption. Specifically, Bolsonaro appealed “the people” and “the others” rhetoric to improve populist political discourse that pointed Workers Party governments as the source of problems. So, Petrobras Scandal was very useful tool to characterize Workers Party politicians as an elite to demonize all policies and figures in previous periods naturally.

There are enabling conditions in the Brazilian political context in addition to the different groups of society which have diversified social and economic issues. Recently, unemployment and rising homicides are common issues for many people in Brazil. During the electoral campaign process, Jair Bolsonaro promised to solve crime by using harsher measures. It would be accounted as a specific condition for the country and many of the voters have made their decisions under this situation separately from ideology and political approach. Therefore, Jair Bolsonaro’s views and attitudes, which included threats about civil rights, gender inequality and plural democracy, were ignored by majority of the Brazilian voters.

It was not surprising that Bolsonaro used the Workers Party government’s relationships with the other leftist Latin American governments compared to emerged countries like the US since the beginning of Workers Party terms. After the Global Financial Crisis, Brazil’s economic outlook and political orientation have been subjected to impacts of global economic volatility and recent developments like Brexit and Presidency of Donald Trump.

Thus, Jair Bolsonaro had a chance to get help external waves of the global political atmosphere with internal opposition towards Workers Party. Consequently, Bolsonaro's anti-establishment discourse which sourced from outside got attention despite the racist, sexist and authoritarian statements in campaign period. After the economic turmoil period, it would not be surprising that Jair Bolsonaro created a discourse in parallel with the other right-wing populists who put the country's priorities against the globalist economic order. In line with this, Jair Bolsonaro has chosen the way of US President Donald Trump which known as "Trumpism" in contemporary politics, and pro-US block to tackle the economic problems of Brazil. Moreover, Bolsonaro expressed the idea of moving away Brazil from developing-nation partners and to set policies closer to Western countries, particularly US.⁶

According to Onis and Kutlay, right-wing populism could be understood in the context of interactions between an economic-identity nexus and domestic-foreign policy nexus (Onis & Kutlay, 2020). Bolsonaro who was called "Trump of the Tropics" by the Brazilian media in election period, also targeted to Workers Party terms which was the main actor of leftist ruling governments in Latin America that was entitled the Pink Tide.

Bolsonaro manipulated public opinion by using the support of political and juridical processes, and also social media processing. During the electoral campaign period, Jair Bolsonaro built a rhetoric on a blend of corruption, economic stagnation, public security with market friendly economic views, Evangelical conservatism, sexism and authoritarianism. However, uncertainty on the Workers Party's leadership because of the trial processes came together with the main concerns of the Brazilian People, and these facts clearly prove that voters want to choose a candidate who could solve the common problems of the country. In this respect, Jair Bolsonaro has praised authoritarian rule with populist discourse in order to gain popularity.

⁶ For further information please see: <https://www.ft.com/content/7bb95f8e-f269-11e8-9623-d7f9881e729f>

“A good criminal is a dead criminal” was simply one of the Bolsonaro’s statements during the election campaigns. Bolsonaro had an attitude against women, Afro Brazilian People, LGBT people that regularly used in speeches and media. There were several endorsements about the military regime which governed the country between 1964 to 1985 by Bolsonaro in parallel with his authoritarian tendencies. It can be pointed out that Bolsonaro’s general approach proves that democracy is not an iron rule for right-populist leader.

Bolsonaro’s election campaign has targeted to focus on crime and corruption regarding issues about Workers Party to gain protestor votes in line with the attitude of the general will. Jair Bolsonaro described himself as an outsider candidate. Because of the major corruption issues in the political arena, many of voters demanded a different political figure away from mainstream politics. The protests who were against the Workers Party government which rose after 2013, started with younger and left-centric activists but expanded to middle-class in the process of time. Right-wing figures and extremists turned the crisis into an opportunity to grow influence inside the protests and political arena. Despite the unpopularity of right-wing ideology, significant people and politicians expressed opinions which included the return of military rule on main and social media (Canavarro, 2019).

Jair Bolsonaro was a suitable character for the charismatic leadership hypothesis. Bolsonaro is a former army captain and has served as a congressman for Rio de Janeiro in the lower house Chamber of Deputies since 1991, and there is not any qualification except that Bolsonaro’s radical rightist past and statements. In the period after 2010, the number of right-populist leaders and movements won elections and achieved notable electoral success by using economic, political and social downturns linked with the unresponsiveness of mainstream parties and governments. So, most of the Brazilian People were sceptic about Workers Party politicians due to the recent political and economic atmosphere.

Extraordinary leaders are distinguished from ordinary ones by, first, their exercise of personal authority over the private life of the political organizations they control and, second, their ability to act in ways that cause a radical break with an established political and institutional order (Pappas, 2019). In other words, pre-election period was a perfect storm that gave opportunity Bolsonaro to become a charismatic leader who made use of majoritarian democracy and economic nativism.

Right-wing populist leaders and movements have controversial aspects in addition to their political stance. For instance, economic stabilization and identity politics based on nativism and nationalism are core elements in right-wing populist discourse. Right-wing populists generally have strict connection with powerful elites in contrast of anti-elite sentiment. On the other hand, reducing poverty and inequality is the key promise of right-wing populist in today's political context. Yet there is no example in any case, despite majority of right-wing populist experiences to concern poverty and inequality.

In the Brazilian context, Jair Bolsonaro has positioned himself as interests of business and upper crust. After the election process, Jair Bolsonaro has welcomed Davos, and his reform agenda won the approval of the global business community. Ironically, there are close connections between right-wing populists and market friendly actors and mechanisms despite the criticisms about populist discourse as columnist George Monbiot stated⁷. It can prove that managing capitalism is more important than solving the social and economic problems of nations from the perspective of neoliberalism and right-wing populism.

⁷For further information please see: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jul/26/trump-johnson-nationalists-billionaire-oligarchs?utm_term=Autofeed&CMP=fb_gu&utm_medium=Social&utm_source=Facebook&fbclid=IwAR0d1eaWXDIDIEwIjV0_sO5PrmIdKs9LYwmu5VU6JQaWaAOGBfi mx5ACoXA#Echobox=1564216724

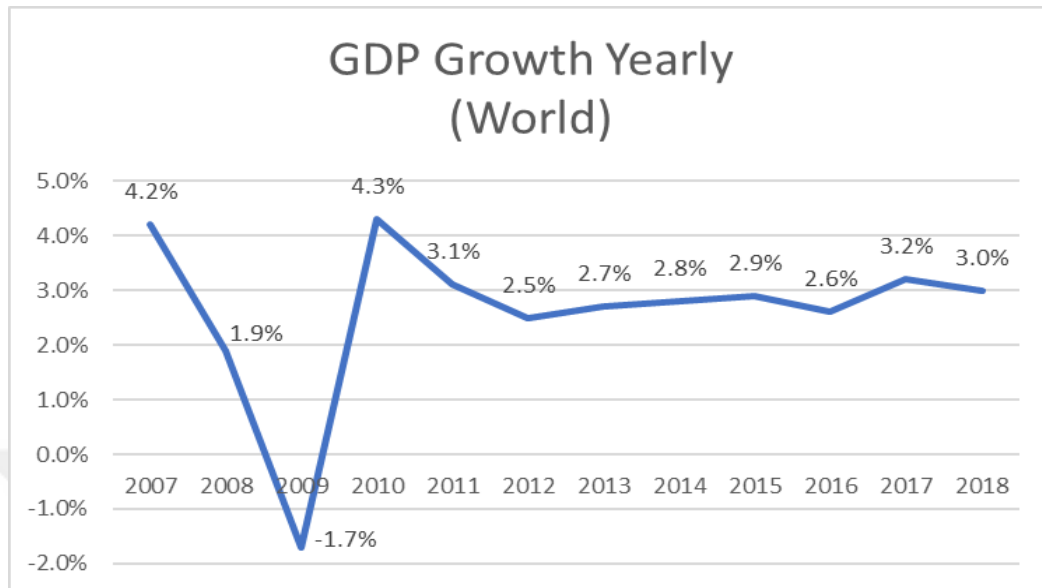
Eventually, the Workers Party government ended after the impeachment process related to Petrobras Case and Brazil came into the electoral process in 2018. Jair Bolsonaro, who has served seven terms in Brazil's Congress underlined solving the problems of Brazil by using authoritarian and market-friendly agenda as a presidential candidate which could easily fit into right-wing populist. Today's right-wing populist agenda, targets to protestors vote by using a combination of social and economic issues under the same political umbrella.

To conclude, Jair Bolsonaro, as a right-wing populist managed to exploit significant issues such as economic growth, unemployment, rising criminal violence and corruption in the society for increasing votes in elections. It would be proof of public support for populist discourse under some specific conditions for populist discourse which is independent from general voting behavior, but right-wing populists have potential to make specific conditions stay permanent. As follows, further main analytic discussions will be explained, and a more detailed account of my framework will be presented.

3.3.1 Growth

Global Economy could not fix the economic performance after the Global Financial Crisis. As seen on Figure 7, World Economy got stuck the growth rates between 2% and 3% from the beginning of 2010's. The post crisis period has not provided persistent economic and financial conditions to the world, especially emerging countries such as Brazil.

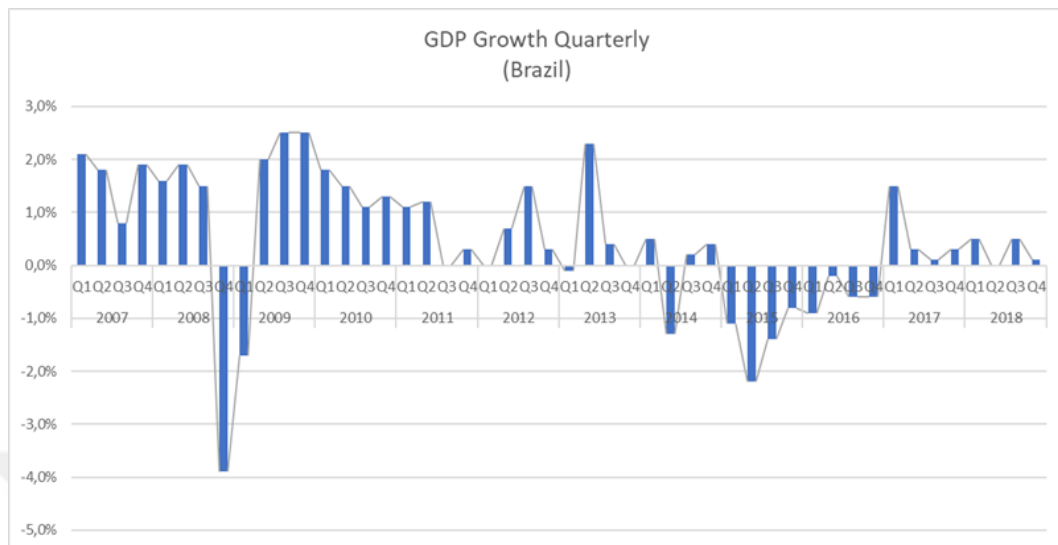
Figure 7: World's GDP Growth Yearly



Source: World Bank Database, <https://data.worldbank.org> , (02.06.2019)

In parallel to the economic and politic instability, as seen on Figure 8, Brazilian Economy entered to the recession period after the Global Financial Crisis. Despite the limited effects and recover process during the global crisis era, Brazil's growth performance started to weaken after 2010.

Figure 8: Brazil's GDP Growth Quarterly



Source: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística Database, <https://www.ibge.gov.br>, (08.06.2019)

Through the crisis era, The Brazilian Economy had only just two quarter of downward trend at the third quarter of 2008 and first quarter of 2009. After these two quarter, the Brazilian economy recovered and returned to growth path. However, such path was not sustainable. The country's GDP growth performance started to get worsened for a long period after 2010.

Main drivers of Brazilian Economy such as commodity prices, have suffered from the low economic performance linking with the worsening outlook of emerging economies after the first phase of the Global Financial Crisis. It was reflected on the political atmosphere of the countries as a transition period of democratization. That's to say, as Rodrik said, democracy worked for the global economy, not vice versa (Rodrik, 2018).

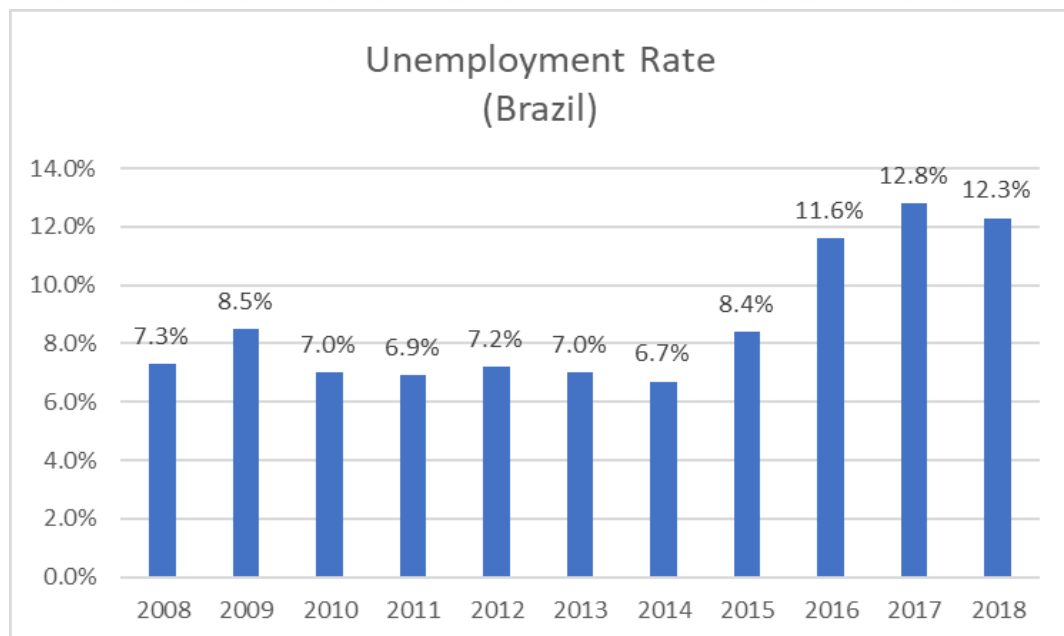
Long term economic downturn became the main issue of The Brazilian People in line with the case of Venezuela which was used by Jair Bolsonaro to attack the Workers Party government linking with communism and recent historical background of leftist governments in Latin America.

Anti-poverty policies under the Workers Party government such as Bolsa Familia criticized by Jair Bolsonaro, who followed a populist discourse through the election period also about Brazil's economic performance. In general, Bolsonaro pledged cutting the size of state, reducing the government spending and breaking the cycle of growing debt, and privatization and economic liberalism praised by him as such in neoliberal agendas.

3.3.2. Unemployment

Rising unemployment rates in countries were the natural result of the Global Financial Crisis. In Brazil, despite the stabilized outlook until 2016, unemployment rate has reached to double digits as it seen on Figure 9, because of the decline in economic performance due to the decreasing commodity prices in the world and global recession.

Figure 9: Brazil's Unemployment Rates



Source: ILO Stats, <https://www.ilo.org/global/lang--en/index.htm> , (08.06.2019)

Together with the violence problem, youth employment sharply increased after 2014 as it seen on Figure 10 and Table 2.

Figure 10: Brazil’s Youth Unemployment Rates



Source:ILO Stats, <https://www.ilo.org/global/lang--en/index.htm> , (08.06.2019)

For out of every four young people who aged between 15 – 24 not in employment, education or training according to data from ILO.

Table 2: Share of Youth not in Employment, Education or Training in Brazil

Share of Youth not in Employment, Education or Training (ILO)										
2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
18.4%	18.8%	N/A	19.4%	20.0%	20.4%	20.1%	21.5%	23.2%	24.3%	24.2%

Source:ILO Stats, <https://www.ilo.org/global/lang--en/index.htm> , (08.06.2019)

Jair Bolsonaro promoted himself to solve unemployment problem during the election period. The main policy campaigns were Christian values, which is similar with Donald Trump election pledges, and counting on capitalism’s own dynamics that means providing necessary conditions for pure capitalism would unfasten the unemployment problem. Even for this issue, there are concrete examples that consist of Bolsonaro’s election promissory and discourse to identify Brazil’s new

president as a typical right-wing populist leader. This because, Bolsonaro's such political agenda shows a huge similarity with the mainstream right-wing populist actor US President Donald Trump.

In this regard, Bolsonaro declared that his priorities will be creating jobs, generating income and balancing the budget without any issues such as rise in wages or working condition reforms.

3.3.3 Violence

According to data from Brazilian Forum of Public Security, 63880 people were murdered across the country in 2017, up 3 percent from the year 2016 and it is equal to 175 deaths per day.⁸

Figure 11: Intentional Homicide Victims in Brazil



Source: UNODC Database, <https://www.unodc.org/>, (22.06.2019)

⁸ For further information please see: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/10/world/americas/brazil-murder-rate-record.html>

During the presidential election process, rising violence was the main subject of The Brazilian Society. In line with the unemployment and poverty especially in poor neighborhoods homicides became the national security problem. Comparably, Bolsonaro built the election campaign on crime and violence issues similar counterparts.

As a mainstream authoritarian leader like Donald Trump, Jair Bolsonaro promised to reduce violence by using strict methods such as keeping gun at home and making easier to use of firearm for the police. Brazil's and other Latin American periods of military rule also praised by Jair Bolsonaro in order to imply his approach of anti-crime policies.

3.3.4. Corruption

All levels of official bodies have considered to be subject about corruption ranging from politics and bureaucracy throughout the small business and daily life in Brazil. Despite the lack evidentiality of cases under the military era there have been several sensational cases of corruption since the Collor de Mello Government until recent years.

After Lula da Silva government there was an investigation which carried out by Federal Police in 2014 during the presidential period of Dilma Rousseff from Workers Party. The officials of state-owned company Petrobras accused of bribe and money laundering. In 2016, Dilma Rousseff removed from the presidency because of the criminal responsibility which related to Petrobras Case.

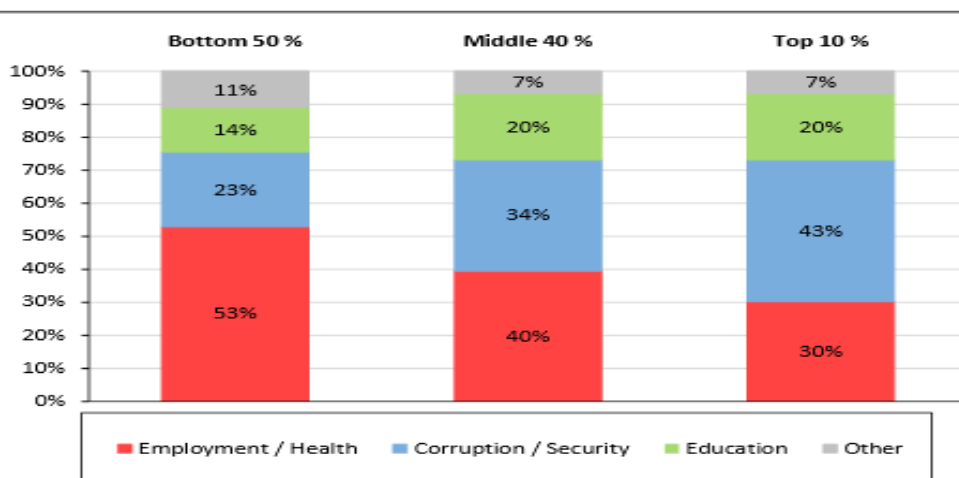
Table 3: Corruption Index in Brazil

Corruption Index in Brazil	
2008	35
2009	37
2010	37
2011	38
2012	43
2013	42
2014	43
2015	38
2016	40
2017	37
2018	35

Source: Transparency International Database, <https://www.transparency.org>, (22.06.2019)

In parallel with the post period of Global Financial Crisis and Brazil’s economic turmoil era there was an increase on perception of corruption in Brazil according to Transparency International’s database as it seen on Table 3. Therefore, anti-corruption was one of the key subjects of Jair Bolsonaro’s agenda during the political campaign process.

Figure 12: Reasons Determining Candidate Choice in 2018 by Income Group



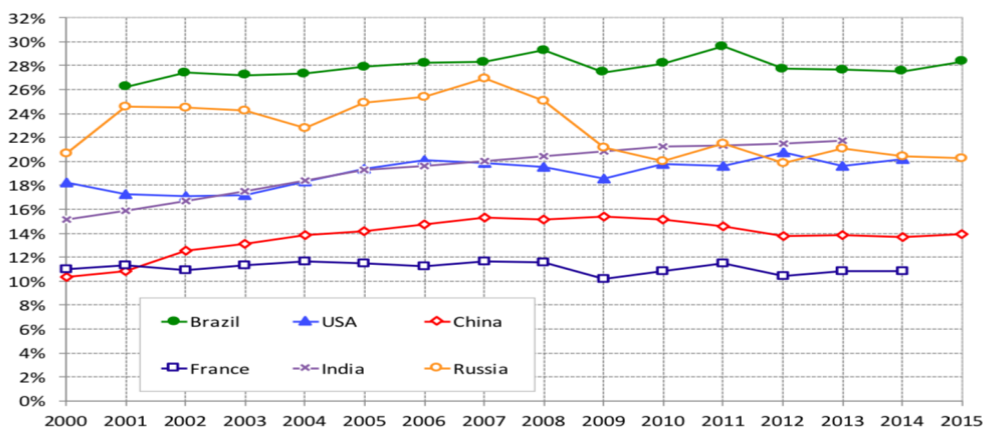
Source: Amory Gethin, Marc Morgan. Brazil Divided: Hindsight on the Growing Politicisation of Inequality, WID.world Issue Brief 2018/3 October 2018.

Petrobras Case which included the accusations of significant politic actors including the former President Lula da Silva was the useful issue of Jair Bolsonaro during the presidential election period. Additionally, the timing of criminal case and the result of case which caused the cancellation of Lula da Silva’s replacement in presidential elections was the matter in question. It should be noted that judge Sergio Moro who led the Petrobras Case which was also known as “Operation Car Wash” appointed as Minister of Justice by President Jair Bolsonaro after the presidential elections. Namely, as can be seen in Figure 12, one of the top concerns of Brazilian people was used by populist method as an anti-establishment issue under the controversial circumstances.

3.3.5. Inequality

Social and economic inequalities have been the major problem of Brazilian Society for decades. Brazil has extreme economic inequality in comparison to similar countries for decades. The disparity in income levels in Brazil, has not change since the beginning of 2000s. Top 1% income share in Brazil has continued to stay highest level among the foreign counterparts as it seen on Figure 13.

Figure 13: Top 1% Income Share: Brazil vs Other Countries



Source: Morgan, Marc. Falling Inequality beneath Extreme and Persistent Concentration: New Evidence for Brazil Combining National Accounts, Surveys and Fiscal Data, 2001-2015, WID.world WORKING PAPER SERIES N° 2017/12

In order to present instability of income inequality in Brazil it would be beneficial to show that there was a huge gap between top 10% high income group which took nearly the half of total income in despite of the share of bottom 50% similar to World Income Outlook, at Table 4.

Table 4: Income Shares in Brazil: 2015

Income groups (distribution of per adult pre-tax income)	Survey income series (survey data)	Fiscal income series (survey + tax data)	National income series (survey + tax + national accounts data)
	[1]	[2]	[3]
Bottom 50%	16.0%	12.6%	13.9%
Middle 40%	43.6%	34.3%	30.6%
Top 10%	40.4%	53.1%	55.6%
<i>incl. Top 1%</i>	10.7%	23.6%	28.3%
<i>incl. Top 0.1%</i>	2.2%	10.9%	13.7%
<i>incl. Top 0.01%</i>	0.4%	5.4%	6.5%
<i>incl. Top 0.001%</i>	0.1%	2.5%	3.1%
Total (% national income)	57.5%	72.9%	100.0%

Source: World Wealth&Income Database, <https://wid.world/>, (16.05.2019)

To understand the efficiency of Workers Party's policies which aimed to reduce the inequality between income groups total cumulated growth rates of groups could be viewed at Table 5.

Table 5: Income Growth, Recession and Inequality in Brazil: 2001-2015

Income groups (distribution of per adult pre-tax national income)	Total cumulated growth (2001-2015)	Fraction of total growth captured (2001-2015)	Average income share (2001-2015)	Total cumulated growth (2001-2007)	Total cumulated growth (2007-2015)	Total growth (2013-2015)
Full population	18.2%	100.0%	100.0%	10.4%	7.1%	-6.5%
Bottom 50%	29.9%	20.7%	13.3%	15.2%	12.7%	-8.2%
Middle 40%	9.2%	16.7%	31.4%	6.3%	2.7%	-7.8%
Top 10%	21.0%	62.5%	55.3%	11.7%	8.3%	-5.4%
<i>incl. Top 1%</i>	27.9%	40.1%	27.9%	19.1%	7.3%	-4.2%
<i>incl. Top 0.1%</i>	25.3%	17.9%	13.3%	17.3%	6.9%	1.5%
<i>incl. Top 0.01%</i>	19.3%	6.8%	6.4%	20.2%	-0.8%	9.2%
<i>incl. Top 0.001%</i>	13.8%	2.4%	3.1%	28.7%	-11.6%	18.2%

Source: World Wealth&Income Database, <https://wid.world/>, (16.05.2019)

Bolsonaro's election campaign exploited Brazil's such economic and social inequality level. The promises of Jair Bolsonaro ground on the change of economic direction in order to solve the problems. However, Jair Bolsonaro's economy policies included issues such as opening the economy and boost the growth rates

except tackling with the inequalities differently from the Workers Party approach. In related to this differential, the Workers Party followed a policy that working class and low-income group had gained more social rights and fair pension plans under the Workers Party governments.

Bolsonaro's popularity could be explained the attraction of educated middle and upper classes who were indisposed issues like violence and corruption, but also Workers Party policies that created disadvantages for these group of citizens. The report published by the World Inequality Lab which argued the focus of Workers Party policies, revealed the different perspective of inequality. Despite the improvement in the living conditions of poor and indirectly high-income class, the middle class could not benefit the Workers Party policies. According to report, some upper-class individuals have chosen the far-right candidate Bolsonaro despite disagreeing with his vision of politics and corruption and economic issues remain decisive in voting preferences (Gethin & Morgan 2018).

On the other hand, economy policy campaign of Bolsonaro consists of depressing such social rights and interrupting pension system. Such policy is line with his discourse of neoliberal approach. However, it is possible to observe for Brazil that these set of plans might lead to increase the inequality and poverty level, also a social and economic crisis, similarly country's past experiences before 2000's.

To sum up, from the historical and contemporary debates on populism phenomenon to the Global Financial Crisis and post-crisis periods, and explanations on political economy of neoliberalism in relation to current conditions of the World and Brazil have been tried to demonstrate in the thesis. The specific understanding of the right-wing populism has presented with the elements such as the people and the others/elite, general will or the majority, purity of the people, anti-establishment, monolithic people under the leader. Thus, The Case of Brazil and Bolsonaro as a right-wing populist have been observed in this framework.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Populism is not a new term or concept in world politics. In recent years, populism has become a more remarkable issue because of the events which shaped nearly all over the global political agenda. Main approaches to populism and reasons for the rise of populist discourse have getting more attention in the academic community. There is no doubt that the contributions of the studies which explain what populism is meaning are valuable, but to make a different contribution is more useful by choosing specific countries and cases in line with their political economic conditions. For this reason, Jair Bolsonaro and Brazil were selected as a case in order to gain an understanding of the right-wing populism in this thesis.

In this regard, the research question of the study is to find the main reasons behind the success of Jair Bolsonaro's extreme right-populist discourse in the context of Brazil's contemporary politics and socio-economic conditions, which are the key motivations of Jair Bolsonaro's election agenda. In order to understand the impacts of socio-economic conditions and gaining momentum of right-wing populist politics in Brazil, significant economic and political periods of the World and the country were explained together respectively.

There were populist eras in Latin America and the World. The beginning of the 21st Century provided opportunity to governments such as Brazilian Workers Party which aimed to fix social and economic problems due to the optimal conditions. The rise of populism has been rooted in unequal conditions which sourced from historical developments and lastly neoliberal order of the world. The Global Financial Crisis and post-crisis conditions gave chance to populist movements and leaders to set ground for appeal populist methods. There has been a relation between economic conditions and political stability.

Brazil is a country where extreme inequalities have been the case for decades. Academic studies revealed that income, wealth and some essential public services are distributed unequally in Brazilian society. In the period of 2003 – 2010 when Brazil ruled by the leftist Workers Party, the President Lula da Silva tried to implement structural reforms to mitigate the inequalities among people such as the policies like Family Allowance (Bolsa Familia) in line with the advantageous global economic outlook and Workers Party strategy that targeted to sustainable growth.

The first period of Workers Party, between 2001-2009, labor participation and employment in the economy has increased due to suitable world conditions and policies. It can be said that Workers Party under the Lula da Silva leadership achieved to reduce inequalities during the two terms.

After Lula da Silva's presidency, Dilma Rousseff followed similar policies under the governance of the Workers Party between 2010 and 2016. In 2016, the president Dilma Rousseff was dismissed because of the corruption allegations related to Petrobras Case. This period coincided the timeframe that after-effects of Global Financial Crisis such as low economic growth, rising unemployment and financial instability crystallized in the emerging market economies like Brazil.

After the years of rebalancing of economic and social fluctuations between 2008 - 2012 when there was a recovery in macroeconomic outlook parallel to popularity of Workers Party, Brazil witnessed rising social unrest and low economic performance which were reflected on the crime rates and political instability. Before the 2018 elections, former president Lula da Silva from the Workers Party and Jair Bolsonaro from the Social Liberal Party were the strongest candidates for the presidency until the court decision which decreed the arrest of Lula da Silva due to corruption allegations. Then, Jair Bolsonaro built a populist discourse which gave weight on corruption, economic instability, rising criminal violence and uncertainty under the ruling Workers Party.

During the period of the Global Financial Crisis, Brazil could handle the economic challenges when Workers Party governments protected its popularity in this period. Nevertheless, decline in global commodity prices and stagnation in the countries like China which was main driver of the Brazilian Economy due to the foreign trade partnership, impaired Brazil's social and economic outlook after the 2013. There has been negative trend after 2013 period which created an opportunity for populist discourse that as public opinion has started to change, driven by government policies in spite of economic imbalances and political arena, and Workers Party was in the spotlight because of the charges of corruption.

The dissatisfaction of Brazilian people that largely caused by violent crime and social unrest due to global recession and mismanagement by Rousseff Government such as failed economic and social policies, offered a great opportunity to Jair Bolsonaro who described himself as an anti-establishment politician and defended traditional religious values and market friendly economic policies to solve Brazil's problems. Jair Bolsonaro defended strict measures to dissolve Brazil's major problems with the emphasis of comments including negative opinions about civil rights, racial minorities and gender equality. This reflects a typical right-wing populist figure and discourse as discussed in the literature, and this thesis contributes to literature by analyzing economic and political background with regards to right-wing populism in Brazil in a specific period.

With a discriminative and offensive approach, Jair Bolsonaro achieved to set up a populist discourse that includes anti-leftist arguments in contrast to the Latin American Politics in the beginning of 2000's, and nativist but market friendly economic opinion which brought success in the elections in accordance with the claim of one and only alternative of general will.

In conclusion, right-wing populism can be seen as a form of populist concept in the context of world politics, having roots in the political economy of Global Crisis, that is the deteriorating macroeconomic figures, consequent inequality and social

unrest. Moreover, this study attempts to contribute to the opinion that actors like Jair Bolsonaro who may implement authoritarian and extremist political methods together with market friendly economic approach, could be a threat rather than a political figure for democracy.

After the Global Financial Crisis neoliberal policies and results of neoliberal term of the World Order started to question. For instance, inequality is a significant problem of a many societies in the neoliberal order. This thesis has tried to unfold the linkage between neoliberalism, inequality, poverty and extreme-right in the perspective of the political economy of populism. In order to explain the populism phenomenon, main characteristics and academic background of populism were discussed firstly. Additionally, the relation of economic turmoil, inequality, political instability and right-wing populism was displayed through the perspective of international political economy. In the light of these, World's economic and political context before the Global Financial Crisis and The Political Economy of Populism explained. Finally, Bolsonaro's extreme-right and populist agenda and Brazil's political and economic dynamics were exposed. Enabling conditions and significant reasons that built voter choices were specified.

In this regard, right-wing populist movements and leaders such as Jair Bolsonaro, could create a path by using enabling conditions and democracy, and become more than political actor in politics.

Populism openly affected voter preferences, by instrumentalizing social and economic problems in order to consolidate exclusionary and authoritarian understanding. The Global Financial Crisis period have shown the vulnerability of democratic mechanisms and systems. Consider the impact of rising populism, it is possible to suggest that the future of democracy will be shaped by inequality.

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