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AN ANTIHERO'S JOURNEY: THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OF
JAIR BOLSONARO AND THE USE OF ARCHETYPES ON FACEBOOK

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Abstract: In Brazil, the shift from the traditional media vehicles to an “electronic podium” has provided more flexibility in terms of time, costs, and language for candidates to elaborate their electoral campaigns. Given the extensive use of and the importance given to Facebook during Jair Bolsonaro’s campaign, this article assesses how the candidate depicted his image on his Fan Page. Drawing on the literature on political and electoral communication and brand archetypes, and based on a sample of 158 posts made by Bolsonaro’s Facebook Fan Page /jairmessias.bolsonaro between August and October 2018, it is argued that Bolsonaro’s marketing strategy developed a combination of two rival archetypes: the antihero. The study contributes to the literature on political brands showing that a narrative build simultaneously on a mythical/heroic and an outlaw favored the candidate in a context of political polarization.

Key words: political communication; elections; politicians; Facebook; archetypes; antihero; Brazil.

1. Introduction

Given the impact of communication techniques and platforms on political processes, each election has its own normative to regulate communication strategies in Brazil. Ruled by the Supreme Electoral Court, the presidential elections in 2018 were regulated by the resolution 23.590. Historically, because television plays one of the most important roles in Brazilian elections (Panke and Cervi 2011), this normative determined how much time each candidate disposes to promote their ideas and proposals according to a representation rationale.

In that year, the Supreme Electoral Court defined to give only 48 seconds per week on television for Jair Messias Bolsonaro, the Social Liberal Party's (*Partido Social Liberal - PSL*) right-wing candidate; a quite inferior amount of time in comparison to his main opponents. As a result, the candidate's campaign took place mainly via social network sites, with great importance given to his Facebook Fan Page. Accordingly, Bolsonaro opted for a strategy in which he could directly talk to his followers, who then turned to active voters and supporters.

The dispute for media prominence prompted contemporary political movements to develop and promote relationships with supporters. Especially, given the development and further advances of social network sites, their potential to produce user-generated content and to reverberate in other platforms made it more necessary than ever (M. H. Weber 1999; Uysal and Yang 2013). One of the key strategies for the construction of a candidate's public image is the usage of archetypes, a form of instinctive perception adopted by the general individual about a person or brand. The usage of archetypes tends to attach its essence with those who make use of them, creating identification between the public and a brand, in this case, a candidate (Gusatti, Brambilla, and Prevedello 2020; Kamlot and Calmon 2017).

The presidential dispute of 2018 was marked by a climate of 'us against them' because it took place during the most polarized period in democratic Brazil, both politically and socially (Cioccaro 2018). Against this backdrop, we investigated how the candidate Bolsonaro portrayed his public image making use of different archetypes on his Facebook Fan Page during his campaign.

The study of archetypes as a political strategy is justified by the following reasons. Firstly, it is possible to verify a recent emphasis in candidates' personalism rather than their political views or proposals; Secondly, archetypes are conceived in symbolic images which enables a candidate to link his underlying beliefs and values; Thirdly, archetypes strengthen the desired identity of a candidate and empower the evaluation of his personality; and finally, they serve as a touching point

between voters and the candidate's motivation, strengthening his or her own brand (Kamlot and Calmon 2017; Orkibi 2015; Medveschi and Frunză 2018).

Given the scarcity of studies on the usage of archetypes for branding (Kamlot and Calmon 2017), especially in political campaigns, we run a Content Analysis (Krippendorff 2004; Frey and Cissna 2009) on the posts made by Bolsonaro in his Facebook Fan Page during the electoral period. A theoretical contribution is that our research further advances in Schneiker's (2018) study by showing that the narrative of a superhero anti-politician also works for a candidate who was depicted as an ordinary man: the Antihero archetype.

Structurally, this paper is divided into five sections. After this introduction, we discuss conceptual aspects regarding electoral communication and political campaign strategies. In the following sections, we present and analyze the results collected from Bolsonaro's Facebook Fan Page. In the fifth section, we present our final considerations and suggest further research developments.

2. Literature review

Each election has as specific legislation in Brazil conceding a predetermined amount of time for candidates to present their proposals through ads broadcasted on radio and television; what is called as the Unpaid Electoral Advertisement Slot (HGPE: *Horário Gratuito de Propaganda Eleitoral*). However, the changes in electoral legislation determined by the Political Reform of 2015 considerably reduced the length available for each candidate. As a result, the growing trend on the use of social media for Presidential campaigns was made even more important given this scenario. Bhatti (2015) explains that social media tools have been explored as political strategies because of their capability for an easier, quicker, more flexible, and cheaper way of communication in comparison with the traditional media during elections. As such, political marketers have on the internet a key for the establishment of durable and more intimate relationships, and the creation, maintenance, and change on the public imagery of political actor.

Against this backdrop, the development and establishment of public image in contemporary political arenas must be considered as a strong asset for politicians. That is, politics is done by the ability actors have to impose a desired public image; this phenomenon is described as image policy (Gomes 2004). One of the core aspects of such arenas lies in their decentralized format of content production, which is produced both by social media users and political elites. According to Jenkins (2006), the internet has altered the behavior of the public regarding information usage. If once there was a format in which information was mostly

distributed by the mass media, contemporarily the information flows through social media viralization in a now hyperconnected world (Swaminathan et al. 2020). In other words, the support or opposition gained via social media facilities. Given that, content produced by political elites is not limited to traditional mass media, but it can be also found on social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and now TikTok. As we live in a more participative culture, the public is not formed by mere consumers, but rather, they act as cocreators and a relevant part of creative processes (Jenkins 2006).

Accordingly, the Brazilian Media Research (Brasil 2016) found that two out of every three Brazilians access the internet daily for around one and a half hours. The more social media are incorporated in the daily routine of the population, the more political information gains relevancy to citizens (Rodgers 2010; Sobel, Riffe, and Hester 2016; Orkibi 2015). Political campaigns at the beginning of the XXI century have more than the inclusion of new actors in the production of content. It has promoted a change in spaces; politicians, media, and voters have begun to meet each other on social media environments. Traditional media have transferred contents to these new media enhancing its impact (Swaminathan et al. 2020). Additionally, due to technological advances and the velocity, these old media outlets became way more commented and shared. This post-web scenario not only brought new arenas for political debate, but it also reshaped how such debates occur (Cervi 2016).

Although the emphasis on personalism is not a new strategy in debates and political campaigns, there has been a surge in personalism given the self-representation of candidates before their audience (Orkibi 2015; Medveschi and Frunzã 2018). As a result, there is a reinforcement of the messianic perception of candidates during the campaigns, as their communications become essentially personalistic. Thus, based on the constructivist paradigm, we consider that public images both constitute and are constituted by a social reality composed of a myriad of actors' interests, preferences, and behaviors (Schneiker 2018; Berger and Luckmann 1985). Eventually, the construction of a candidate's image use different strategic narratives to commune two sides of a public image; the concrete and the abstract, the tangible and the intangible (Gomes 2004; M. H. Weber 2004).

Because a high equity brand triggers favorable association among market segments adding value to the offering, it has the potential to trigger favorable associations among voters adding value to a candidate in each election. Accordingly, brand differences often result from attributes or benefits of an offer/product, or even non-product-related by the means of brand extensions. Among the wide variety of possibilities, Keller (2016) remarks on the possibility of associating a brand with some other entity: in our case, the archetypes.

Given these possibilities, Kamlot and Calmon (2017) argue that the use of archetypes to create meaning and give sense to brands emerged as an innovative option in organizational branding strategies. This idea also follows the trend presented by Orkibi (2015) and Medveschi and Frunzã (2018) and seems to have an ideal contextual endeavor to juxtapose personalistic marketing and the archetypal representation of candidates.

Drawing from Plato's elemental forms and Jung's archetypes, Mark and Pearson (2018) explained that the concept of archetypes comes from the instinctive perception that individuals adopt about others, whether it is a person or a brand. As such, marketers tend to connect archetypes to brands aiming at the creation of competitive advantage. Consequently, by optimizing the spread of an intended image of an object or product being sold, marketers expect a higher comparative advantage when comparing their offers to their competitors (Gusatti, Brambilla, and Prevedello 2020; Žugić and Konatar 2018).

By so doing, archetypes enhance the degree of empathy between individuals and brands through the promotion of associations between an offer and an entity (Keller 2016). As such, we understand that the usage of archetypes can be depicted as one out of many possible strategies to be employed in a political campaign. This is what particularly happened in the polarized presidential dispute of 2018 in Brazil, as described in the next section.

3. The 2018 elections in Brazil

Since 1994, Brazilian voters have scrutinized the dispute for the presidency between two political parties; the Worker's Party (*Partido dos Trabalhadores* - PT) and the Brazilian Social Democratic Party (*Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira* - PSDB). However, the elections in 2018 represented a turning point regarding this narrative. For the first time in more than 20 years, a candidate who was presented as an outsider shifted the dispute and brought one of the smallest Brazilian parties in the spotlight, the PSL.

Bolsonaro was not an outlier given that he built his political career as a federal representative for decades. Throughout his terms as a Federal representative and during his political campaign, his discourse promoted a disruption in the *status quo* of Brazilian politics; he devoted his efforts against the PT, which held the presidency for over twelve years from Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva to Dilma Rousseff. Further, he promoted militarism as a political option and opposite the progressive agenda (Valle 2018). Bolsonaro replaced the traditional right-wing candidate, Geraldo Alckmin (PSDB) who was the predictable opponent to the Workers' Party in the 2018 elections. Bolsonaro's anti-establishment and anti-corruption rhetoric was amplified by the recruitment of the federal judge Sergio

Moro as his Minister. Previously, Moro had a pivotal role in the Operation Car Wash, a criminal operation held by the Federal Police of Brazil which uncovered the biggest corruption scandal in the country's history, and in which the former president Lula da Silva and many of the high scallion members of the PT were found guilty.

Until that moment, the HGPE was always credited to be one of the key elements determining agendas during political disputes. But for the first time in the history of Brazil's national elections, social media received equal or even more attention than the television ad time. Voters were flooded by messages broadcasted via social media or even by the repercussion on the traditional mass media. Eventually, Bolsonaro, who had of about 8 seconds available for each appearance on television during the first round on television – an amount of 11 minutes –, made use of a variety of means and platforms to convert his digital influence into votes. Though such presence in the digital sphere cannot be fully credited for his expressive results in the ballots, he disputed the second-round against Fernando Haddad (PT), who had 2 minutes and 23 seconds per appearance (for a total of 189 minutes), despite the difference of available time on television (Salgado and Costa 2019). Bolsonaro won the elections by a difference of about 11% in the second-round.

The campaign was marked by antagonistic narratives from both candidates who aimed at criminalizing the opponent. The adversary was ultimately depicted as an enemy worthy of combat under a rhetoric strategy that underscored a society comprised of a battle between us and them (Cioccarì 2018).

Even though the official campaign had started on August 16th as part of the ordinary electoral schedule, an unexpected event changed its course substantially. On September 6th, while rallying in Juiz de Fora – a city in the State of Minas Gerais –, Bolsonaro suffered an attempt against his life. The candidate was stabbed in the stomach while being over a supporter's shoulder. The culprit, Adélio Bispo, was implied as a member of different left-wing groups and, even more complicated, as a member of the Socialism and Liberty Party (*Partido Socialismo e Liberdade - PSOL*). After the conduction of a formal investigation by the Federal Police, it was proved that Bispo had several mental health issues and was not part of a major scheme.

Until that point, Bolsonaro had already a significant mediatic capital to stay in the public eye. However, after the attempt on his life, the candidate gained massive media coverage whether on health reports or concerning investigations on Bispo. It is worth noticing that it resulted in enhanced support for Bolsonaro and candidates within his party alike (Cioccarì 2018). The single fact that a candidate running for president had an attempt on his life is an event worth the mobilization of all media vehicles both national and, to some extent, international. Despite not being possible to establish such a simplistic causality, according to

electoral polls before and after the Juiz de Fora stabbing there was an increase in support for Bolsonaro (Estadão 2018). Against this backdrop, we describe the methodological procedures that were used to accomplish the objective of this work in the following section.

4. Methodology

To explore how the candidate depicted his image on his Facebook Fan Page, we run a Content Analysis (Krippendorff 2004; Frey and Cissna 2009) as the methodological approach. For such ends, the work of Mark & Pearson (2018) served as a reference for the thematic categories' classification (R. P. Weber 1990) (see Table 1). Data was collected using *Facepager*, a free API developed by Jakob Jürger and Till Keyling (2019). The unit of analysis was Facebook posts collected on the official Facebook Fan Page of politician Bolsonaro, /jairmessias.bolsonaro, between August 16th, 2018 (the beginning of the official election campaign period), and October 28th, 2018 (end of the election). All publications were collected totalizing 158 publications.

Code	Archetype	Description	Example
01	<i>Innocent</i>	Debates regarding an idealized future, messages focused on well-being through patience and perseverance. Values simplicity and naivety. Represents as an idealist and/or a dreamer.	In the hospital, messages of perseverance, and prayers for recovery.
02	<i>Explorer</i>	The character is shown as enlightened after a long journey of self-knowledge. Appeals to skills obtained through experiences, especially knowledge acquired in contact with the outside world.	Talking about his travels across Brazil and how he managed to have deep knowledge about his people
03	<i>Sage</i>	Appreciation for intellectual attributes. Appeal to academic training or an area of knowledge.	Discussing economics with his staff
04	<i>Hero</i>	The candidate is portrayed as a savior, thus approaching a kind of messianism. The individual is shown as a solution for any kind of problems simply by who he is.	Being carried by huge crowds

05	<i>Outlaw</i>	A revolutionary, anti-establishment. It carries messages of breaking paradigms, disrupting old systems and structures.	Criticizing media outlets and the political establishment
06	<i>Magician</i>	Values the candidate's ability to create solutions, refers to improvisation and the individual's life experiences. Somehow it is a "miracle worker"	Proposing military schools as a solution for Brazilian education
07	<i>Everyman</i>	He is one of us. The candidate shares the simplicity of an ordinary citizen without great ambitions or extraordinary abilities.	Playing football
08	<i>Lover</i>	Appeal to physical beauty and the candidate's appearance in general	Well dressed and in good physical shape
09	<i>Jester</i>	Appeals to humor. The candidate making fun of someone, something, or even himself, or mocking his opponents. Memes also fit in this archetype	Memes and jokes on the opposition
10	<i>Caregiver</i>	Appeal to the individual's charitable works and/or a merciful personality. It values personal sacrifices.	Talking to social movements
11	<i>Creator</i>	Appeal to the works and deeds that generate a legacy. The individual is shown as an innovator, a history of creating solutions and independency.	Portrayed as a great achievement for his party
12	<i>Ruler</i>	The candidate is portrayed as a "steadfast wrist", appeals for legitimacy as a ruler, appealing for authoritarianism and his ability to "get things done"	Suggesting authoritarian measures to fight crime

Table 1: *Archetypes*; **Source:** Mark and Pearson (2018).

The verification of the latent content of the messages and the separation of the manifest content (Frey and Cissna 2009) were essential for the identification of the archetypes depicted in the official fan page of the candidate. To assess each post, the thematic analysis was chosen and the subsequent categorization into thematic units (R. P. Weber 1990). As

suggested by Frey and Cissna (2009) and to increase the reliability of the findings, each post was classified according to the above-mentioned archetypes (Table 1) by two independent coders. In the first round, a Krippendorff's alpha (α) of 0.961 was reached indicating a remarkably high rate of agreement between the two coders (Krippendorff 2011). In case of any inconsistency, there were discussions among the coders, and adjustments to the thematic categories were done to reduce the subjectivity of the classification. This revision process took place until the classifications reached $\alpha = 1$. between both coders. Only one post was not classifiable: The uncut PSL conference ranging approximately two hours

Based on the classification described for the Content Analysis, we present the analysis of the results obtained in the following section and evaluate the incidence and characteristics of the archetypes used during the Bolsonaro political campaign.

5. Results

It is possible to draw lines between the archetypal representations of Bolsonaro based on their incidence (see Figure 1). By so doing, we decided to divide such representations into four groups: (1) high presence, above 15% (Outlaw and Hero); (2) medium presence, between 15% and 10% (Everyman, Ruler and Innocent); (3) low presence, between 10% and 5% (Caregiver, Magician, and Sage); and (4) extremely low presence, below 5% (Explorer, Creator, Lover, and Jester).

In group 1, attacks and critics on mainstream media and research institutes were predominant. Bolsonaro was portrayed as a Hero in the middle of crowds and was being carried by the people at rallies. In group 2, Bolsonaro tried to make clear his simplicity and presented his humility as a source for his ideas. As an Everyman (13,17%), for instance, he would visit old friends and made use of a simple, and sometimes rude – language to convey his ideas as a Ruler (10,73%) whilst expressing a message of overcoming, as the Innocent (9,76%). Group 3 was the one with the highest average of ideological issues, political ideals, and proposals. The Caregiver, Magician, and Sage had all similar uses (5,85%; 5,85% and 5,37%, respectively). In this group, the candidate tried to bring some ideas to be discussed and depicted himself as an open-minded candidate. In group 4, residual archetypes were only used on certain occasions: Creator, Lover, and Jester.

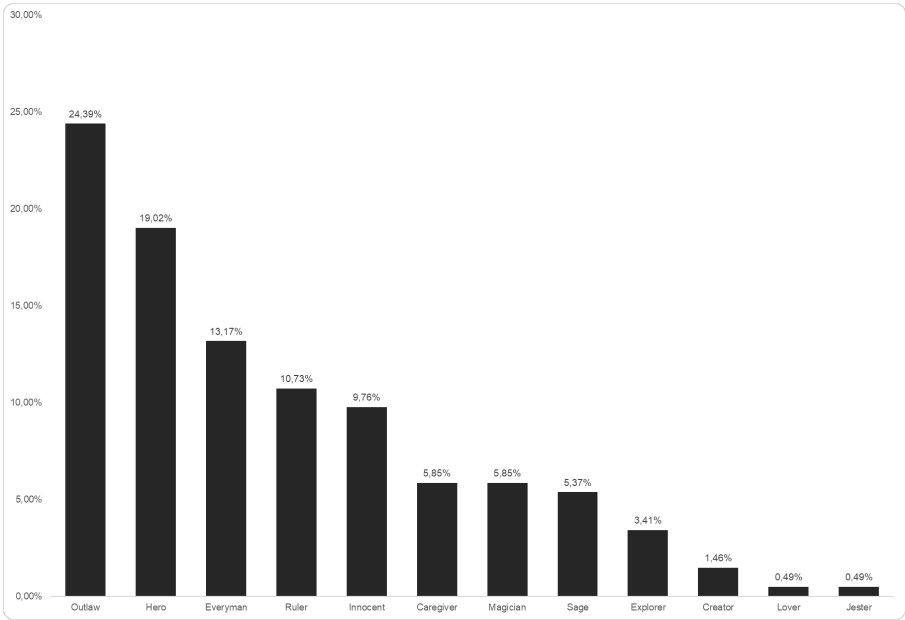


Figure 1: Archetype's on Bolsonaro's Facebook Fan Page.

Mark and Pearson (2018) describe the Outlaw (24,39%) as a misfit, a rebel, and a revolutionary. Accordingly, the Outlaw acts purely by instinct and on his passions and will. Outlaws are loyal to their values, which most of the time are deeply concerned, but they are never a mainstream character. Maybe one of the most remarkable characteristics of Bolsonaro's campaign was acting accordingly to his own will (Mark and Pearson 2018). Most of Bolsonaro's Facebook posts consisted of attacks on mainstream media outlets, on the government, and his adversaries. Also, Bolsonaro underscored attacks on Haddad and the PT. Bolsonaro depicted himself as an indomitable and staunch individual. Incorruptible by any means, an Outlaw who refused to kneel to the system. The Hero (19,02%), in contrast, represents the opposite of the Outlaw, and paradoxically it is the second most used archetype in Bolsonaro's campaign. Bolsonaro allied his revolt and dissatisfactions against the system with a message portraying him as the only candidate capable of changing it. Mark and Pearson (2018) describe the Hero as a carrier of very singular willpower and desire for changes. Given that, one of the Hero's greatest fears is a failure and worse than that, the lack of capability.

Besides the Hero and the Outlaw, Bolsonaro also had his image linked to the Everyman (13,17%). Mark and Pearson (2018) describe this archetype as a fundamental pillar for democracy. When this archetype is linked to a brand, Bolsonaro will use a working-class' clothing and other common clothes (even if rich), he will speak in colloquial manners and will pull away every type of elitism (Mark and Pearson 2018). Bolsonaro's

campaign was strongly based on “amateur” productions, almost improvised or even made to have such effect, and heavily implying the Everyman in the campaign. Thus, there was a withdraw from appealing to an aesthetic of excellence, which is a key characteristic of television campaigns.

The Hero can be supplemented by the Everyman to create an ideal narrative. Gandin and Panke (2015) illustrate the Hero's journey as one consisting of a myriad of well-defined phases. During this journey, the Hero starts as a humble and alienated being, an average person who takes life for granted; an Everyman. Because of the natural-supernatural dichotomy, the Hero is the one who crosses the line between two worlds and receives help from a divine power in a sort of an epiphany (Campbell 2007). As the recipient of the divine's will, the Hero returns to society with the sole purpose of saving it. Gandin and Panke (2015) further explains that the contact a Hero has with supernatural power is an epiphanic momentum in which his destiny is determined, and a holy aura is revealed. This Hero is, then, disconnected from this human nature and returns to society as superior to his fellows. Authors (Gandin and Panke 2015) take Lula da Silva's history to illustrate that his process of creating heroes was defined by the overcoming of life's obstacles. The former Brazilian president achieves a standard of a Hero through this epiphanic transformation: from poverty to the presidency.

Based on Campbell (2007) and Gandin and Panke (2015), parallels can be traced within Bolsonaro's campaign. During the period he was in the hospital for health recovery, Bolsonaro had his contact with a supernatural power: Juiz de Fora (the place where he was stabbed) became Bolsonaro's second birthplace. Because of this, Bolsonaro's narrative can be compared with his greatest adversary, the former president Lula da Silva, which had humble beginnings, but after his contact with a source of power, and the overcoming of many challenges, came back to share his experiences and to be exalted before the people (Gandin and Panke 2015).

With these three main archetypes together, Bolsonaro is portrayed as some sort of Antihero. According to García (2016), an Antihero is a mixture of hero and villain, which is mainly marked by moral ambiguity. This archetype usually engages in moral inadequate actions, depending on the point of view, even if these actions are inherently good in many narratives (García 2016). The strategic use of the digital platforms by Bolsonaro, although used in many times to disseminate aggressive or politically incorrect content, does not fail to meet the desires of a certain portion of the population, his supporters. Thus, the candidate presents himself as a controversial politician that raises both hate and passion in his narratives, being a catalyst for approval.

Because Bolsonaro as an Antihero engages in opportunistic reasoning, it must be underscored that this archetype is mainly based on teleological reasoning (Hunt and Vitell 2006). That is, under the

teleological theory of ethics in moral philosophy – i.e. the Hunt-Vitell model of ethics – an Antihero archetype is maintained by the perspective that his behaviors are not inherently right or wrong. Accordingly, it may be that Bolsonaro's amalgam of paradoxical archetypes was founded upon a process of pondering the importance of a given set of stakeholders, the positive and negative consequences on each of these stakeholders, and the probability of positive and/or negative consequences occurring.

Finally, even though the choice for such contradictory but yet interrelated elements – the Hero and the Outlaw – may seem irrational and inconsistent when juxtaposed, it may be that they were strategically used to position and differentiate Bolsonaro as a candidate worth of changes, different from everyone else at that election. Thus, advancing on Schneiker's (2018) perspective, it is not necessarily to be a celebrity to stand out under a populist narrative, but anyone defending anti-establishment and anti-pluralism ideals can make use of such a strategy.

6. Final remarks and for future research

During the 2018 elections, the influence of traditional media was challenged by that of digital social media in comparison to the previous campaigns in Brazil. In that year, a plethora of communicative devices and tools were actively used in political campaigns for the presidency (Salgado and Costa 2019). The massive use of social media by the candidate Bolsonaro indicates an intense professional effort to speak to his audience, although with a very amateur aesthetics, which could also be employed on purpose. It is possible to observe a new movement in Brazil's political campaigns. Albeit it does not indicate a complete crisis in the traditional electoral campaigns model, it indicates that the appropriation of the new channels of communication consists of a model requiring different strategies and tactics in electoral disputes.

Social media has contributed to the mitigation of the disadvantages that Bolsonaro has had in other fields and platforms, especially on television. The candidate was able to compensate for the disadvantages of his campaign concerning the available time for television ads, which was one of the smallest among the candidates (Salgado and Costa 2019). Additionally, Bolsonaro incorporated different archetypes to cause empathy with his audience mainly focusing on himself (Gusatti, Brambilla, and Prevedello 2020).

The campaign emphasized the exposure of Bolsonaro's attributes as the savior (Hero) outraged by the system (Outlaw) and, for this reason, someone closer to his electors (Everyman) in comparison with his opponents. Bolsonaro presented himself as the one, that after a divine revelation, returned as a Hero to transform the most necessary issue within society: the system. Such elements were strategic to establish a

connection with the ordinary citizen. The use of emotional and persuasive arguments created a unique bond between Bolsonaro and a citizen who was raised to the image of an Antihero that could bring the necessary changes to the country. The apparent amateur campaign was the main factor to create this almost mythical image of Bolsonaro. Despite being depicted as a Hero he is also an Everyman, he represented and could do whatever an average citizen would like to do. Bolsonaro was portrayed as an essential representative of democracy carrying the basic precept of *one man, one vote* (Mark and Pearson 2018). A crucial element for any type of political presence that wishes to represent a mass of individuals.

A theoretical contribution is that our research further advances in Schneiker's (2018) study by showing that the narrative of a superhero anti-politician also works for a candidate who was depicted as an ordinary man. Under a populist narrative, it is not necessarily to be a celebrity to stand out, but anyone defending anti-establishment and anti-pluralism ideals can make use of such a strategy. Based on the finds, it becomes clear that the use of different tools and strategies served to solve the candidate's contingencies. In a practical manner, even that the archetypes were not the single element used by Bolsonaro, it is possible to verify that they serve as a basis for the creation of effective narratives in electoral campaigns. It had the power to create a high level of empathy between the citizens and the candidate. Under the theoretical aspect, we advanced in the sense that, even if the Antihero (García 2016) is an already existing archetype, it seems that a necessary inclusion in the categories proposed by Mark and Pearson (2018) is made, at least to analyze political campaigns. Metaphorically, Bolsonaro created an own mythical image that could echo the main character of Fiódor Dostoiévski's (1993) novel *Crime and Punishment*. In that novel, Raskolnikov wanted to prove that he could play as great men like Napoleon Bonaparte and justify his wrongdoings. By being too simple, he needed to prove that he was exceptional in the way Napoleon was. In brief, an Antihero is the one that may use any means for a specific end making use of teleological decision-making (Hunt and Vitell 2006).

By unveiling the use of archetypes in Bolsonaro's campaign, it is suggested that future research identifies how other candidates depict themselves through the same archetypes. Not only that, but it would be also valuable to cross information within digital platforms alike. Against this backdrop, some questions remain unanswered and point out to fruitful researches. Did the mainstream media portray the candidates in the same form as their personal platforms? Given the configuration of audiences in each platform, candidates relied on transmedia strategies and adapted the messages to each one? What are citizens (or consumers) attitudes toward the archetypes depicted by the candidates?

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