

REFERENCES

- Adjuto, D. and Rodrigues, B. (2020) *PGR se Manifesta contra Apreensão de Celular de Bolsonaro (PGR Opposes Bolsonaro's Cell Phone Seizure)*. CNN Brasil. [Online] [Accessed on 30th November 2022] <https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/politica/pgr-se-manifesta-contr-a-apreensao-de-celular-de-bolsonaro/>
- Agostinone-Wilson, F. (2020) *Enough Already! A Socialist Feminist Response to the Re-emergence of Right Wing Populism and Fascism in Media*. Leiden: Brill-Sense.
- Almada, P. E. R. (2021) 'O Negacionismo na Oposição de Jair Bolsonaro à Comissão da Verdade (Denialism in Jair Bolsonaro's Opposition to the Truth Commission)'. *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, 36(106) pp. 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1590/3610608/2021>
- Alves, M. R. and Pompeu, L. (2022) 'Preso por Armar Bomba em Brasília Participava de Ato Bolsonarista em QG e Não Agiu Sozinho (Arrested for Setting a Bomb in Brasília Participated in a Bolsonarist Act at QG and Did Not Act Alone)'. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. [Online] 25th December. [Accessed on 5th February 2023] <https://www.estadao.com.br/politica/policia-prende-suspeito-de-montar-bomba-nos-arredores-do-aeroporto-de-brasilia/>
- Almeida, K. A. de (2022) 'A Ditadura Civil-Militar Brasileira em Disputa no Tempo Presente: Lugares de Memória e Datas Comemorativas (The Brazilian Civil-Military Dictatorship in Dispute in the Present Time: Sites of Memory and Commemorative Dates)'. *Faces de Clio*, 8(15) pp. 10–27. <https://doi.org/10.34019/2359-4489.2022.v8.36162>
- ANDES-SN. (2021) *Dossiê: Militarização do Governo Bolsonaro e Intervenção nas Instituições Federais de Ensino (Dossier: Militarization of the Bolsonaro Government and Intervention in Federal Educational Institutions)*. Brasília: Sindicato Nacional dos Docentes das Instituições de Ensino Superior.
- Assis, F. C. de (2023) 'Economistas Desenvolvimentistas Lançam Manifesto em Apoio às Críticas de Lula ao Banco Central (Developmental Economists

- Launch Manifesto in Support of Lula's Criticism of the Central Bank)'. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. [Online] 13th February. [Accessed on 19th February 2023] <https://www.estadao.com.br/economia/economistas-desenvolvimentistas-manifesto-apoio-criticas-lula-banco-central-npre/>
- Barbiéri, L. F. and Falcão, M. (2023) Metade dos Presos pelos Ataques Golpistas em Brasília Recebeu Auxílio Emergencial, diz MPF (Half of Those Arrested for the Coup Attacks in Brasilia Received Emergency Aid, Says MPF). G1. [Online] [Accessed on 17th February 2023] <https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2023/02/17/metade-dos-presos-pelos-ataques-golpistas-em-brasilia-recebeu-auxilio-emergencial-diz-mpf.ghtml>
- Barzilai-Nahon, K. (2009) Gatekeeping: A Critical Review. *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology*, 43(1) pp. 1–79. <https://doi.org/10.1002/aris.2009.1440430117>
- Bastos, P. P. Z. (2017) 'Ascensão e Crise do Governo Dilma Rousseff e o Golpe de 2016: Poder Estrutural, Contradição e Ideologia (Rise and Crisis of the Dilma Rousseff Government and the 2016 Coup: Structural Power, Contradiction and Ideology)'. *Revista de Economia Contemporânea*, 21(2) pp. 1–63. <https://doi.org/10.1590/198055272129>
- Bauer, C. S. (2019) 'La Dictadura Cívico-Militar Brasileña en los Discursos de Jair Bolsonaro: Usos del Pasado y Negacionismo (The Brazilian Civic-Military Dictatorship in the Speeches of Jair Bolsonaro: Uses of the Past and Negationism)'. *Relaciones Internacionales*, 28(57) pp. 37–51. <https://doi.org/10.24215/23142766e070>
- Benetti, P., Cateb, C., Franco, P. and Osmo, C. (2020) As Políticas de Memória, Verdade, Justiça e Reparação no Primeiro Ano do Governo Bolsonaro: Entre a Negação e o Desmonte (The Politics of Memory, Truth, Justice and Reparation in the First Year of the Bolsonaro Government: Between Denial and Dismantling). *Mural Internacional*, 11, November, pp. 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.12957/rmi.2020.48060>
- Bernstein, S. (2016) Remembering War, Remaining Soviet: Digital Commemoration of World War II in Putin's Russia. *Memory Studies*, 9(4) pp. 422–436. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698015605573>
- Bevins, V. (2018) Jair Bolsonaro, Brazil's Would-Be Dictator. *The New York Review*. [Online] 12th October. [Accessed on 21th December 2021] https://www.nybooks.com/online/2018/10/12/jair-bolsonaro-brazils-would-be-dictator/?lp_txn_id=1400452

Boghossian, B., Fabrini, F. and Teixeira, M. (2020) Decisão do Supremo Cita “Gabinete do Ódio” do Planalto e Indica Possível Associação Criminosa (Supreme Court Decision Cites Planalto’s ‘Hate Cabinet’ and Indicates Possible Criminal Association). *Folha de S.Paulo*. [Online] 27th May. [Accessed on 30th November 2022] <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2020/05/decisao-de-moraes-para-operacao-contra-fake-news-cita-gabinete-do-odio-e-assessores-de-bolsonaro.shtml>

Bond, L., Craps, S. and Vermeulen, P. (eds.) (2017) *Memory Unbound: Tracing the Dynamics of Memory Studies*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Borges, A. and Frazão, F. (2023) Atos de Insubordinação, 8 de Janeiro e “Coronel Cid”: O Que Está Por Trás da Decisão de Lula (Acts of Insubordination, January 8 and “Coronel Cid”: What Is Behind Lula’s Decision). *O Estado de S.Paulo*. [Online] 21st January. [Accessed on 5th February 2023] <https://www.estadao.com.br/politica/lula-demite-comandante-do-exercito/>

BrasilGov, T. (2020) Pronunciamento Oficial do Presidente da República, Jair Bolsonaro (Official Pronouncement of the President of the Republic, Jair Bolsonaro). [Online video] [Accessed on 13th November 2022] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VWsDcYK4STw>

Braun, J. (2023) O que o Brasil Pode Ganhar e Perder com Empréstimos do BNDES para Obras no Exterior (What Brazil Can Gain and Lose with BNDES Loans for Works Abroad). BBC. [Online video] 30th January. [Accessed on 19th February 2023] <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-64426697>

Caetano, G. (2021) Rede bolsonarista lucra e dribla regras no YouTube através de ‘tabelinha’ com Telegram (Bolsonarista Network Profits and Dribbles Rules on YouTube Through ‘Partnership’ With Telegram). *O Globo*. [Online] 5th December. [Accessed on 7th December 2021] <https://blogs.oglobo.globo.com/sonar-a-escuta-das-redes/post/rede-bolsonarista-lucra-e-dribla-regras-no-youtube-atraves-de-tabelinha-com-telegram.html>

Camargo, G. M., Bodê de Moraes, P. R. and Rosa, P. O. (2020) A (Des) construção da Memória sobre a Ditadura Pós-1964 pelo Governo de Jair Bolsonaro (The (De)construction of Memory About the Post-1964 Dictatorship by the Government of Jair Bolsonaro). *Cantareira*, (33) July–December, pp. 79–96. <https://periodicos.uff.br/cantareira/article/view/40791/0>

Carapanã (2018) A Nova Direita e a Normalização do Fascismo e do Nazismo (The New Right and the Normalization of Fascism and Nazism). In Gallego,

E. S. (ed.) *O Ódio como Política: A Reinvenção das Direitas no Brasil (Hate as Politics: The Reinvention of the Right in Brazil)*. 1st ed., São Paulo: Boitempo, pp. 33–39.

Cardoso, L. C. (2011) Os Discursos de Celebração da 'Revolução de 1964' (The Speeches Celebrating the 'Revolution of 1964'). *Revista Brasileira de História*, 31(62) pp. 117–140. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-01882011000200008>

Castro Rocha, J. C. de (2021) *Guerra Cultural e Retórica do Ódio: Crônicas de um Brasil Pós-Político (Culture War and Hate Rhetoric: Chronicles of a Post-Political Brazil)*. 1st ed., Goiânia: Editora e Livraria Caminhos.

Cesarino, L. (2019) 'Populismo Digital, Neoliberalismo e Pós-Verdade: Uma Explicação Cibernética (Digital Populism, Neoliberalism and Post-Truth: A Cybernetic Explanation)'. Paper presented at: *Reunião de Antropologia da Ciência e Tecnologia. VII ReACT*. Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, 7–10 May 2019.

Cesarino, L. (2020a) 'How Social Media Affords Populist Politics: Remarks on Liminality Based on Brazilian Case'. *Trabalhos em Linguística Aplicada*, 59(1) pp. 404–427. <https://doi.org/10.1590/01031813686191620200410>

Cesarino, L. (2020b) 'Como Vencer uma Eleição sem Sair de Casa: A Ascensão do Populismo Digital no Brasil (How to Win an Election Without Leaving Home: The Rise of Digital Populism in Brazil)'. *Internet & Sociedade*, 1(1) pp. 91–120. <https://revista.internetlab.org.br/serifcomo-vencer-uma-eleicao-sem-sair-de-casa-serif-a-ascensao-do-populismo-digital-no-brasil/>

Cesarino, L. (2021) 'Pós-Verdade e a Crise do Sistema de Peritos: Uma Explicação Cibernética (Post-Truth and the Crisis of Expert Systems: A Cybernetic Explanation)'. *Ilha, Revista de Antropologia*, 23(1) pp. 73–96. <https://doi.org/10.5007/2175-8034.2021.e75630>

Clarke, M. A. (2009) 'The online Brazilian Museu da Pessoa'. In Garde-Hansen, J., Hoskins, A. and Reading, A. (eds.) *Save as... Digital Memories*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 151–166.

CNV. (2014a) *Relatório Comissão Nacional da Verdade (National Truth Commission Report)*. Brasília: [Online] [Accessed on 14th January 2022] http://cnv.memoriasreveladas.gov.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=571

CNV. (2014b) Nota da CNV sobre os 50 anos do golpe de 1964 (CNV Note on the 50th Anniversary of the 1964 Coup). [Online] [Accessed on 14th

January 2022] <http://cnv.memoriasreveladas.gov.br/outros-destaques/457-nota-da-cnv-sobre-os-50-anos-do-golpe-de-estado-de-1964.html>

Couto, M. (2021) ‘Bolsonaristas Divulgam Dados Científicos Falsos sobre Covid-19 (Bolsonarists Spread False Scientific Data on COVID-19)’. O GLOBO. [Online] 18th July 2021. [Accessed on 19th July 2022] <https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/sites-bolsonaristas-divulgam-dados-cientificos-falsos-sobre-covid-19-compartilhados-por-parlamentares-1-25115389>

Couto, M. (2023) ‘Governo Lula Engaja Menos nas Redes do que Campanha do Petista (Lula Government Engages Less in Networks Than PT Campaign)’. O GLOBO. [Online] 20th February. [Accessed 21st February 2023] <https://oglobo.globo.com/politica/noticia/2023/02/governo-lula-engaja-menos-nas-redes-do-que-campanha-do-petista.ghtml>

Da Ros, L. and Taylor, M. M. (2022) ‘Bolsonaro and the Judiciary: Between Accommodation and Confrontation’. In Birle, P. and Speck, B. (eds.) *Ibero-Online.de: Brazil under Bolsonaro. How Endangered is Democracy?* Vol. 14. Berlin: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut Preußischer Kulturbesitz, pp. 44–54. https://publications.iai.spk-berlin.de/receive/iai_mods_00000128

DeLuca, N. (2022) ‘Janonismo Cultural’ Usa Fake News Contra Fake News para Furar Bolha Progressista (‘Cultural Janonism’ Uses Fake News Against Fake News to Pierce Progressive Bubble). *Folha de S.Paulo*. [Online] 11th October. [Accessed on 26th February 2023] <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/blogs/hashtag/2022/10/janonismo-cultural-usa-feitico-contra-o-feiticeiro-para-furar-bolha-progressista.shtml>

Diamantaki, K. (2013) ‘Memory and History in the Age of Digital Media’. Paper presented at: *Hybrid City II: Subtle Revolutions*. University Research Institute of Applied Communication. National Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece, 23–25 May 2013.

Dieguez, C. (2022) *O Ovo da Serpente: Nova Direita e Bolsonarismo: Seus Bastidores, Personagens e a Chegada ao Poder (The Serpent’s Egg: New Right and Bolsonarism: Behind the Scenes, Characters and the Rise to Power)*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

Dunmire, P. L. (2012) ‘Political Discourse Analysis: Exploring the Language of Politics and the Politics of Language’. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 6(11) pp. 735–751. <https://doi.org/10.1002/lnc3.365>

Editorial. (2023) ‘O Governo “Fraco” Abriu para Negócios (“Weak” Government Opened for Business)’. O *Estado de S.Paulo*. [Online] 13th

- February. [Accessed on 19th February 2023] <https://www.estadao.com.br/opinia/o-governo-fraco-abriu-para-negocios/>
- Eichhorn, K. (2019) *The End of Forgetting: Growing Up with Social Media*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Engesser, S., Ernst, N., Esser, F. and Büchel, F. (2017) ‘Populism and Social Media: How Politicians Spread a Fragmented Ideology’. *Information, Communication & Society*, 20(8) pp. 1109–1126. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.120769>
- Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. (1997) ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’. In van Dijk, T. A. (ed.) *Discourse as Social Interaction. Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. Vol. 2. London: Sage, pp. 258–284.
- Farias, D. B. L., Casarões, G. and Magalhães, D. (2022) ‘Radical Right Populism and the Politics of Cruelty: The Case of COVID-19 in Brazil under President Bolsonaro’. *Global Studies Quarterly*, 2(2) pp. 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1093/isagsq/ksab048>
- Fico, C. (2004) ‘Versões e Controvérsias sobre 1964 e a Ditadura Militar (Versions and Controversies about 1964 and the Military Dictatorship)’. *Revista Brasileira de História*, 24(47) pp. 29–60. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-01882004000100003>
- Fico, C. (2017) ‘Ditadura Militar Brasileira: Aproximações Teóricas e Historiográficas (Brazilian Military Dictatorship: Theoretical and Historiographic Approaches)’. *Revista Tempo e Argumento*, 9(20) pp. 05–74. <https://doi.org/10.5965/2175180309202017005>
- Finchelstein, F. (2019) *Do Fascismo ao Populismo na História (From Fascism to Populism in History)*. Lisboa: Edições p. 70.
- Fioratti, G. (2020) ‘Série de TV Evita o termo “Ditadura” ao Falar de Crimes Cometidos por Militares. (TV Series Avoids the Term “Dictatorship” When Talking About Crimes Committed by Military Personnel)’. *Folha de S.Paulo*. [Online] 10th February. [Accessed on 2nd November 2020] <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ilustrada/2020/02/serie-de-tv-evita-o-termo-ditadura-ao-falar-de-crimes-cometidos-por-militares.shtml>
- Fonseca, B. and Scofield, L. (2023) Bolsonaristas Usam Código “Festa da Selma” para Coordenar Invasão em Brasília (Bolsonaristas Use “Festa da Selma” Code to Coordinate Invasion in Brasilia). *Pública*. [Online] [Accessed on 5th February 2023] <https://apublica.org/sentinelas/2023/01/bolsonaristas-usam-codigo-festa-da-selma-para-coordenar-invasao-em-brasilia/>

Fuoli, M. (2012) 'Assessing Social Responsibility: A Quantitative Analysis of Appraisal in BP's and IKEA's Social Reports'. *Discourse & Communication*, 6(1) pp. 55–81. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481311427788>

G1. (2020) Bolsonaro Descumpre Monitoramento por Coronavírus, Participa de Ato e Cumprimenta Apoiadores no DF (Bolsonaro Breaches Monitoring by Coronavirus, Participates in Act and Greets Supporters in Federal District). [Online] [Accessed on 24th September 2021] <https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2020/03/15/mesmo-com-recomendacao-de-monitoramento-por-coronavirus-bolsonaro-participa-de-carro-de-ato-em-brasilia.ghtml>

Gallego, E. S. (ed.) (2018) *O Ódio como Política: A Reinvenção das Direitas no Brasil (Hate as Politics: The Reinvention of the Right in Brazil)*. 1st ed., São Paulo: Boitempo.

Gantner, E. (2019) Obsessed with History—Conflicting Digital Narratives in East Central Europe. *EuropeNow*. [Online] [Accessed on 30th January 2022] <https://www.europenowjournal.org/2019/09/09/obsessed-with-history-conflicting-digital-narratives-in-east-central-europe/>

Garde-Hansen, J. (2009) 'MyMemories?: Personal Digital Archive Fever and Facebook'. In Garde-Hansen, J., Hoskins, A. and Reading, A. (eds.) *Save as... Digital Memories*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 135–150.

Garde-Hansen, J., Hoskins, A. and Reading, A. (eds.) (2009) *Save as... Digital Memories*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gerbaudo, P. (2018) 'Social Media and populism: An elective Affinity?' *Media, Culture & Society*, 40(5) pp. 745–753. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443718772192>

Gielow, I. and Fernandes, T. (2018) 'Objetivo é fazer Brasil Semelhante ao que "era há 40, 50 anos", diz Bolsonaro'. *Folha de S.Paulo*. [Online] 15th October. [Accessed on 30th April 2020] <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/objetivo-e-fazer-brasil-como-era-a-40-50-anos-atras-diz-bolsonaro.shtml>

Glasser, S. B. and Baker, P. (2022) 'Inside the War Between Trump and His Generals'. *The New Yorker*. [Online] 8th August. [Accessed on 5th February 2023] <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2022/08/15/inside-the-war-between-trump-and-his-generals>

Godoy, M. (2021) 'Extrema Direita no Brasil já Não Precisa de Bolsonaro para se Mobilizar, Revela Pesquisa (Far-Right in Brazil No Longer Needs Bolsonaro to Mobilize, Reveals Research)'. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. [Online]

- 18th October. [Accessed on 19th October 2021] <https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,extrema-direita-no-brasil-ja-nao-precisa-de-bolsonaro-para-se-mobilizar-revela-pesquisa,70003871541>
- Godoy, M. (2023) ‘Ex-GSI, Coronel Pede Golpe, Ameaça Dino, Ofende Comandante da Marinha e o Desafia: “Venha me Punir” (Former GSI, Colonel Asks for a Coup, Threatens Dino, Offends Navy Commander and Challenges Him: “Come Punish Me”)’. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. [Online] 19th January. [Accessed on 5th February 2023] <https://www.estadao.com.br/politica/marcelo-godoy/ex-gsi-coronel-pede-golpe-ameaca-dino-ofende-comandante-da-marinha-e-o-desafia-venha-me-punir/>
- Goulart, B. (2016) ‘Lembrando o Passado Autoritário: Memórias sobre a Ditadura Militar no Brasil (Remembering the Authoritarian Past: Memories on the Military Dictatorship in Brazil)’. Paper presented at: *40o Encontro Anual da ANPOCS. SPG20: Os Estudos da Memória na Justiça de Transição no Brasil*. Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Ciências Sociais. Caxambu, Minas Gerais, 24–28 October 2016.
- Harris, J., Davidson, C., Fletcher, B. and Harris, P. (2017) ‘Trump and American fascism’. *International Critical Thought*, 7(4) pp. 476–492. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21598282.2017.1357491>
- Hirsch, M. (2012) *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hoskins, A. (2009) ‘The Mediatization of Memory’. In Garde-Hansen, J., Hoskins, A. and Reading, A. (eds.) *Save as... Digital Memories*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 27–43.
- Hoskins, A. (2011) ‘Media, Memory, Metaphor: Remembering and the Connective Turn’. *Parallax*, 17(4) pp. 19–31. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13534645.2011.605573>
- Hoskins, A. (2018a) ‘Memory of the Multitude: The End of Collective Memory’. In Hoskins, A. (ed.) *Digital Memory Studies: Media Pasts in Transition*. New York: Routledge, pp. 85–109.
- Hoskins, A. (2018b) *Digital Memories Studies: Media Pasts in Transition*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Hunter, W. and Power, T. J. (2019) ‘Bolsonaro and Brazil’s Illiberal Backlash’. *Journal of Democracy*, 30(1) pp. 68–82. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2019.0005>

- Huysen, A. (2019) 'Behemoth Rises Again'. *N+1*. [Online] 29th July. [Accessed on 20th April 2020] <https://nplusonemag.com/online-only/online-only/behemoth-rises-again/>
- Iecker de Almeida, G. (2019) *The Discursive Construction of the Past: Initiatives Concerning the Legacies of Dictatorship in Brazil (1995–2016)*. PhD Thesis. Ghent University.
- Informe RUVTE. (2015) Registro Unificado de Víctimas del Terrorismo de Estado (Unified Registry of Victims of State Terrorism). [Online] [Accessed on 29th November 2022] <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/derechoshumanos/ANM/registro-unificado-de-victimas-del-terrorismo-de-estado/informe-ruvte-2015>
- Jiménez, C. (2020) 'Bolsonaro Expõe Apoio a Protestos a seu Favor e Contra o Congresso (Bolsonaro Exposes Support for Protests Against Congress)'. *El País*. [Online] 25th February. [Accessed on 13th November 2022] <https://brasil.elpais.com/politica/2020-02-26/bolsonaro-expoe-apoio-a-protestos-a-seu-favor-e-contra-o-congresso.html>
- Kuntsman, A. (2010) 'Online Memories, Digital Conflicts and the Cybertouch of War'. *Digital Icons: Studies in Russian, Eurasian and Central European New Media*, (4) pp. 1–12.
- Laclau, E. (2005) *On Populist Reason*. London and New York: Verso.
- Lagerkvist, A. (2017) 'Embodiments of Memory: Toward and Existential Approach to the Culture of Connectivity'. In Bond, L., Craps, S. and Vermeulen, P. (eds.) *Memory Unbound: Tracing the Dynamics of Memory Studies*. New York: Berghahn Books, pp. 173–194.
- Lopes, M. T. T., Meyer, E. P. N. and Linhares, E. A. (2020) 'Pandemia e Erosão da Democracia Constitucional: Uma Análise dos Ataques à Transparência no Brasil (Pandemic and Constitutional Democracy Erosion: An Analysis of the Attacks to Transparency in Brazil)'. *Revista Direito Público*, 17(96) pp. 93–122. <https://doi.org/10.11117/rdp.v17i96.4544>
- Limongi, F., Freitas, A., Medeiros, D. and Luz, J. (2022) 'Government and Congress'. In Birle, P. and Speck, B. (eds.) *Ibero-Online.de: Brazil under Bolsonaro. How Endangered Is Democracy?* Vol. 14. Berlin: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut Preußischer Kulturbesitz, pp. 30–43. https://publications.iai.spk-berlin.de/receive/iai_mods_00000128

- Makhortykh, M. (2020) 'Remediating the Past: YouTube and Second World War Memory in Ukraine and Russia'. *Memory Studies*, 13(2) pp. 146–161. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698017730867>
- Marques, K. (2020) 'Mea Culpa e Autopunição: O Colaboracionista em Não falei, de Beatriz Bracher, e o Desertor em Azul-Corvo, de Adriana Lisboa (Mea Culpa and Self-Punishment: The Collaborationist in Do not Speak, by Beatriz Bracher, and the Deserter in Blue Crow, by Adriana Lisboa)'. *Estudos de Literatura Brasileira Contemporânea*, (60) May–August, pp. 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1590/2316-4018608>
- Martin, J. R. and White, P. R. R. (2005) *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Martins Filho, J. R. (2002) 'A Guerra da Memória: A Ditadura Militar nos Depoimentos de Militantes e Militares (The War of Memory: The Military Dictatorship in the Testimonies of Militants and the Military)'. *Varia Historia*, 18(28) pp. 178–201. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/561937b1e4b0ae8c3b97a702/t/572b572086db43e1a02f40ca/1462458145315/10_Filho%2C+Joao+Roberto+Martins.pdf
- Mazui, G. (2019) 'Você Acredita em Comissão da Verdade?', diz Bolsonaro sobre Mortes na Ditadura. G1. [Online] [Accessed on 21st July 2020] <https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2019/07/30/acredita-em-comissao-da-verdade-diz-bolsonaro-ao-falar-sobre-morte-de-pai-de-presidente-da-oab.ghtml>
- Medeiros, D. and Queiroz, G. (2023) 'Gestão Lula Cria Órgãos contra Desinformação, Define “Mentira” e Acende Alerta para Arbitrariedades (Lula Administration Creates Bodies against Disinformation, Defines “Lie” and Lights Alert for Arbitrariness)'. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. [Online] 4th January. [Accessed on 5th January 2023] <https://www.estadao.com.br/politica/governo-lula-orgao-fake-news-agu-mentira-voluntaria/>
- Mello, I. and Nogueira, I. (2023) 'Lula Diz que Tentativa de Golpe Foi “Revolta dos Ricos que Perderam a Eleição”' ('Lula Says Coup Attempt Was “Revolt of the Rich Who Lost the Election”'). *Folha de S.Paulo*. [Online] 6th February. [Accessed on 7th February 2023] <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2023/02/lula-diz-que-tentativa-de-golpe-foi-revolta-dos-ricos-que-perderam-a-eleicao.shtml>
- Menegat, R. (2019) 'Bolsonaro mencionou a ditadura em 1/4 de seus discursos como deputado (Bolsonaro Mentioned the Dictatorship in 1/4 of his Speeches as Deputy)'. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. [Online] 30th March. [Accessed on 8th

January 2022] <https://www.estadao.com.br/infograficos/politica,bolsonaro-mencionou-a-ditadura-em-14-de-seus-discursos-como-deputado,982285>

Miguel, L. F. (2018) 'A Reemergência da Direita Brasileira (The Reemergence of the Brazilian Right)'. In Gallego, E. S. (ed.) *O Ódio como Política: A Reinvenção das Direitas no Brasil (Hate as Politics: The Reinvention of the Right in Brazil)*. 1st ed., São Paulo: Boitempo, pp. 17–26.

Motta, R. P. S. (2021) *Passados Presentes: O Golpe de 1964 e a Ditadura Militar (Present Pasts: The 1964 Coup and the Military Dictatorship)*. 1st ed., Rio de Janeiro: Zahar.

Müller, J. W. (2019) 'Populism and the People'. London Review of Books. [Online] 23rd May. [Accessed on 19th April 2020] <https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v41/n10/jan-werner-mueller/populism-and-the-people>

Couto Neto, G. R. do (2019) 'A “Nova Direita” no YouTube: Conservadorismo e Negacionismo Histórico sobre a Ditadura Militar Brasileira (The “New Right” on YouTube: Conservatism and Historical Denial of the Brazilian Military Dictatorship)'. *Revista Ágora*, (29) January–July, pp. 83–103. <https://periodicos.ufes.br/agora/article/view/26411>

Napolitano, M. (2015) 'Recordar é Vencer: As Dinâmicas e Vicissitudes da Construção da Memória sobre o Regime Militar Brasileiro (Remembering is Winning: The Dynamics and Vicissitudes of the Construction of Memory about the Brazilian Military Regime)'. *Antíteses*, 8(1) pp. 9–44. <https://doi.org/10.5433/1984-3356.2015v8n15espp09>

Nicas, J., Milhorce, F. and Ionova, A. (2022) 'How Bolsonaro Built the Myth of Stolen Elections in Brazil'. *New York Times*. [Online] 25th October [Accessed on 25th October 2022] <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/10/25/world/americas/brazil-bolsonaro-misinformation.html>

Nunes, F. and Odaha, N. (2022) 'Datafolha: 70% Confiam Mais em Civis do que Militares para Trabalhar em Escolas (Datafolha: 70% Trust Civilians More than Military to Work in Schools)'. *Folha de S.Paulo*. [Online] 2nd July. [Accessed on 24th November 2022] <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/educacao/2022/07/datafolha-70-confiam-mais-em-civis-do-que-militares-para-trabalhar-em-escolas.shtml>

Öhman, C. and Watson, D. (2019) 'Are he Dead Taking over Facebook: A Big Data Approach to the Future of Death Online'. *Big Data & Society*, 6(1) pp. 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053951719842540>

- Oliveira, R. (2019) 'Autores se autocensuram sobre ditadura para não perder espaço no MEC de Bolsonaro'. *El País*. [Online] 7th April. [Accessed on 2nd November 2020] https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2019/04/06/politica/1554504245_154102.html
- Oliveira, V. E. de and Madeira, L. M. (2021) 'Judicialização da Política no Enfrentamento à Covid-19: Um Novo Padrão Decisório do STF? (Judicialization of Politics in the Fight Against Covid-19: A New STF Decision-Making Pattern?)'. *Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política*, 35(e247055) pp. 1–44. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0103-3352.2021.35.247055>
- Olivo, C. (2023) PL Cogita Michelle Bolsonaro como Candidata à Presidência (PL Considers Michelle Bolsonaro as Presidential Candidate). CNN. [Online] [Accessed on 26th February 2023] <https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/nacional/pl-cogita-michelle-bolsonaro-como-candidata-a-presidencia/>
- Oteíza, T. (2017) 'The Appraisal Framework and Discourse Analysis'. In Bartlett, T. and O'Grady, G. (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Systemic Functional Linguistics*. London: Routledge, pp. 457–472.
- Ouverney, A. L. M. and Fernandes, F. M. B. (2022) 'Legislativo e Executivo na Pandemia de Covid-19: A Emergência de uma Conjuntura Crítica Federativa? (Legislative and Executive in the Covid-19 Pandemic: The Emergence of a Critical Federative Conjuncture?)'. *Saúde Debate*, 46(1) pp. 33–47. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0103-11042022E102>
- Pastro Oliveira, S. D. and Marinho, M. G. S. M. C. (2013) 'A Internet, um Espaço de Disputa pela Memória da Ditadura Militar no Brasil (The Internet, a Space of Dispute for the Memory of the Military Dictatorship in Brazil)'. *Revista Tempo e Argumento*, 5(10) pp. 159–181. <https://doi.org/10.5965/2175180305102013159>
- Pereira, M. H. de F. (2015) 'Nova Direita? Guerras de Memória em Tempos de Comissão da Verdade – 2012–2014 (The New Right? War of Memories in Times of Truth Commission in Brazil – 2012–2014)'. *Varia Historia*, 31(57) pp. 863–902. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0104-87752015000300008>
- Pfanzelter, E. (2017) 'Performing the Holocaust on Social Networks: Digitality, Transcultural Memory and New Forms of Narrating'. *Kultura Popularna*, 1(50) pp. 136–151. <https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0010.4081>
- Pinto, E. C. (2019) *Bolsonaro e os Quartéis: A Loucura com Método (Bolsonaro and the Barracks: Madness with Method)*. IE-UFRJ Discussion Paper N. 006-2019. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto de Economia da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro.

Pires, B. (2020) 'Os Laços do Clã Bolsonaro Com Steve Bannon (The Bonds of Clan Bolsonaro with Steve Bannon)'. *El País*. [Online] 20th August. [Accessed on 25th November 2022] <https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2020-08-20/os-lacos-do-cla-bolsonaro-com-steve-bannon.html>

Presidência da República. (1964) Ato Institucional Nº 1 (Institutional Act Nº 1). [Online] [Accessed on 21st October 2022] http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ait/ait-01-64.htm

Queiroz, A. A. de (2018) 'O Congresso Mais Conservador dos Últimos 40 anos (The Most Conservative Congress of the Last 40 Years)'. *Le Monde Diplomatique Brasil*. [Online] 5th November. [Accessed on 7th September 2022] <https://diplomatique.org.br/o-congresso-mais-conservador-dos-ultimos-quarenta-anos/>

Reading, A. (2009) 'Memobilia: The Mobile Phone and the Emergence of Wearable Memories'. In Garde-Hansen, J., Hoskins, A. and Reading, A. (eds.) *Save as... Digital Memories*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 81–95.

Reading, A. (2013) 'Europe's Other World: Romany Memory within the New Dynamics of the Global Memory Field'. In Rutten, E., Fedor, J. and Zvereva, V. (eds.) *Memory, Conflict and New Media: Web Wars in Post-Socialist States*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 21–31.

Reading, A. (2020) 'Memory and Digital Media: Six Dynamics of the Global'. In Merrill, S., Keightley, E. and Daphi, P. (eds.) *Social Movements, Cultural Memory and Digital Media*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 241–252.

Reporters Without Borders. (2021) Um Ano Sombrio para a Liberdade de Imprensa no Brasil: 580 ataques contra a mídia em 2020 (A Dark Year for Press Freedom in Brazil: 580 Attacks on the Media in 2020) [Online] [Accessed on 13th November 2022] <https://rsf.org/pt-br/um-ano-sombrio-para-liberdade-de-imprensa-no-brasil-580-ataques-contram%C3%ADdia-em-2020>

Resende, E. S. A. and Chagas-Bastos, F. H. (2021) 'Remembering the Coup, Celebrating the Revolution: Securitization of Memory and Mnemonic Disputes in Brazil'. *Global Affairs*, 7(2) pp. 233–252. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23340460.2021.1965005>

Richardson-Little, N. and Merrill, S. (2020) 'Who Is the Volk? PEGIDA and the Contested Memory of 1989 on Social Media'. In Merrill, S., Keightley, E. and Daphi, P. (eds.) *Social Movements, Cultural Memory and Digital Media*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 59–84.

- Riley, D. (2004) ‘Enigmas of Fascism’. *New Left Review*. [Online] November-December. [Accessed on 19th April 2020] <https://newleftreview.org/issues/II30/articles/dylan-riley-enigmas-of-fascism>
- Robinson, W. I. (2019) ‘Global Capitalism Crisis and Twenty-First Century Fascism: Beyond the Trump Hype’. *Science & Society*, 83(2) pp. 481–509. <https://doi.org/10.1521/isis.2019.83.2.155>
- Rocha, C. (2018) “Menos Marx, Mais Mises”: Uma Gênese da Nova Direita Brasileira (“Less Marx, More Mises”: A Genesis of the New Brazilian Right). PhD Universidade de São Paulo.
- Rocha, J. E. and Remenche, M. de L. R. (2018) ‘Ditadura Militar e Memória Discursiva: Uma Análise a partir do Gênero Meme (Military Dictatorship and Discursive Memory: An Analysis from the Meme Genre)’. *Revista Eletrônica de Divulgação Científica em Língua Portuguesa, Linguística e Literatura Letra Magna*, 14(23) pp. 570–585.
- Rocha, M. and Galf, R. (2022) ‘Moraes Nega Ação do PL Sobre Urnas e Condena Partido a Pagar R\$ 23 Milhões por Má-Fé (Moraes Denies PL Action on Ballot Boxes and Condemns Party to Pay BRL 23 Million for Bad Faith)’. *Folha de S.Paulo*. [Online] 23rd November. [Accessed on 27th November 2022] <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2022/11/moraes-rejeita-acao-golpista-multa-pl-em-r-22-milhoes-e-bloqueia-fundo.shtml>
- Rodrigues, F. da S. and Vasconcelos, C. B. de (2014) ‘The Brazilian Military Reserve Officers and the Defense of the Institutional Memory of March 31, 1964’. *História Unisinos*, 18(3) pp. 529–543. <https://doi.org/10.4013/htu.2014.183.05.e>
- Rutten, E., Fedor, J. and Zvereva, V. (2013) *Memory, Conflict and New Media: Web Wars in Post-Socialist States*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Santana, E. S. and Magalhães, L. D. R. (2021) ‘Ditadura Militar, Memória, História Pública e Vídeos Disponíveis na Internet (Military Dictatorship, Memory, Public History and Videos Available on the Internet)’. *Revista HISTEDBR On-line*, 21(00) pp. 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.20396/rho.v21i00.8666492>
- Santos Junior, M. A. dos (2019) *#Vaiparacuba: A Gênese das Redes de Direita no Facebook (#Gotocuba: The Genesis of Right-Wing Networks on Facebook)*. 1st ed. Curitiba: Appris.
- Santos, R. A. and Cortes, G. R. de O. (2020) ‘O Enunciado Discursivo “Intervenção Militar Já” nas Redes Sociais: Confrontos e Resistência (The

Utterance “Military Intervention Now” in Social Media: Confrontations and Resistance’. *Letras & Letras*, 36(1) pp. 21–37. <https://doi.org/10.14393/LL63-v36n1-2020-2>

Schneider, N. (2020) ‘Bolsonaro in Power: Failed Memory Politics in Post-Authoritarian Brazil?’ *Modern Languages Open*, August(1) pp. 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.3828/mlo.v0i0.324>

Shalders, A. (2020) O Que Investiga o Inquérito que Levou à Prisão de Sara Winter (What Investigates the Inquiry that Led to the Arrest of Sara Winter). BBC. [Online] [Accessed on 25th November 2022] <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-53058547>

Smit, R., Heinrich, A. and Broersma, M. (2017) ‘Witnessing in the New Memory Ecology: Memory Construction of the Syrian Conflict on YouTube’. *New Media & Society*, 19(2) pp. 289–307. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444815604618>

Stier, S., Bleier, A., Lietz, H. and Strohmaier, M. (2018) ‘Election Campaigning on Social Media: Politicians, Audiences, and the Mediation of Political Communication on Facebook and Twitter’. *Political Communication*, 35(1), pp. 50–74. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2017.133472>

Tamas, E. F. B. (2009) *A Tortura em Questão: A Disputa de Memórias entre Militares e Militantes (The Torture in Question: The Dispute of Memories between Military and Militants)*. PhD Thesis. Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo.

Teixeira, L. B. (2022) Candidato Sem Celular, Lula Troca Rua pelo Digital Só no Fim da Campanha (Candidate Without Cell Phone, Lula Swaps Street for Digital Only at the End of the Campaign). UOL. [Online] [Accessed on 26th February 2023] <https://noticias.uol.com.br/eleicoes/2022/10/29/lula-candidato-analogico-era-digital.htm>

Teixeira, M., Azevedo, V., Machado, R. and Holanda, M. (2023) ‘Lula Completa Um Mês de Governo Mais à Esquerda do que no Primeiro Mandato (Lula Completes One Month of Government More to the Left than in the First Term)’. *Folha de S.Paulo*. [Online] 5th February. [Accessed on 5th February 2023] <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2023/02/lula-completa-um-mes-de-governo-mais-a-esquerda-do-que-no-primeiro-mandato.shtml>

Teles, L. (2023a) ‘Bolsonaro Diz que Ataque em Brasília foi “Inacreditável”, Mas “Pessoal Aprendeu o que é Política” (Bolsonaro Says Attack in Brasilia Was “Unbelievable”, But “People Learned What Politics Is”’. *O Estado de S. Paulo*. [Online] 16th January. [Accessed on 5th February 2023] <https://www.>

estadao.com.br/politica/bolsonaro-diz-que-ataque-em-brasilia-foi-inacreditavel-mas-pessoal-aprendeu-o-que-e-politica/

Teles, L. (2023b) ‘Militantes Bolsonaristas Voltam a se Mobilizar em Supergrupos nas Redes e Cobram Soltura de Presos (Bolsonarista Militants Mobilize Again in Supergroups on the Networks and Demand the Release of Prisoners)’. *O Estado de S.Paulo*. [Online] 21st February. [Accessed on 26th February 2023] <https://www.estadao.com.br/politica/militantes-bolsonaristas-voltam-a-se-mobilizar-em-supergrupos-nas-redes-e-cobram-soltura-de-presos/>

Tolotti, R. (2018) Relembre o Editorial de Roberto Marinho Apoiando a Ditadura e a Retratação da Globo em 2013 (Remember Roberto Marinho’s Editorial Supporting the Dictatorship and Globo’s Retraction in 2013). *InfoMoney*. [Online] [Accessed on 29th February 2020] <https://www.infomoney.com.br/politica/relembre-o-editorial-de-roberto-marinho-apoiando-a-ditadura-e-a-retratacao-da-globo-em-2013/>

UFMG. (2019) Forte influência do YouTube na Política Brasileira é Confirmada por Pesquisa da UFMG (YouTube’s Strong Influence on Brazilian Politics is Confirmed by UFMG Research). [Online] [Accessed on 10th May 2020] <https://ufmg.br/comunicacao/assessoria-de-imprensa/release/forte-influencia-do-youtube-na-politica-brasileira-e-confirmada-por-pesquisa-da-ufmg>

UOL. (2022) Bolsonaristas Queimam Carros e Tentam Invasão PF Após Prisão de Indígena (Bolsonaristas Burn Cars and Try to Invade Federal Police After Indigenous Arrest). [Online] [Accessed on 5th February 2023] <https://noticias.uol.com.br/politica/ultimas-noticias/2022/12/12/bolsonaristas-queimam-carros-e-tentam-invasao-pf-apos-prisao-de-indigena.htm>

Uribe, G., Della Coletta, R. and Fernandes, T. (2020) ‘Filhos de Bolsonaro Atuam em Gabinete Paralelo para Tentar Reverter Desgaste do Pai (Bolsonaro’s Sons Work in a Parallel Cabinet to Try to Reverse Their Father’s Crumbling)’. *Folha de S.Paulo*. [Online] 26th March. [Accessed on 2nd May 2020] <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2020/03/filhos-de-bolsonaro-atuam-em-gabinete-paralelo-para-tentar-reverter-desgaste-do-pai.shtml>

Valencia, Y. A. O. (2013) ‘Sociedad Civil, Estética y Resistencia: El Canto de las Víctimas contra la Dictadura de Pinochet (Civil Society, Aesthetics and Resistance: The Song of the Victims Against the Pinochet Dictatorship)’. In Villarreal, M. L. T. and Parra, P. M. I. (eds.) *Visiones sobre Construcción de Paz, Sociedad Civil y Fortalecimiento de la Democracia (Visions on*

Peacebuilding, Civil Society and Strengthening Democracy) Bogotá: Editorial Universidad del Rosario, pp. 1–51.

Valencia-García, L. D. (ed.) (2020) *Far-Right Revisionism and the End of History*. New York and London: Routledge.

van de Bildt, J. (2017) The Uses of Facebook for Examining Collective Memory: The Emergence of Nasser Facebook Pages in Egypt. In Bond, L., Craps, S. and Vermeulen, P. (eds.) *Memory Unbound: Tracing the Dynamics of Memory Studies*. New York: Berghahn Books, pp. 131–148.

van Dijck, J. (2007) *Mediated Memories in the Digital Age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

van Dijck, J. (2017) ‘Connective Memory: How Facebook Takes Charge of Your Past’. In Bond, L., Craps, S. and Vermeulen, P. (eds.) *Memory Unbound: Tracing the Dynamics of Memory Studies*. New York: Berghahn Books, pp. 151–172.

van Dijk, T. A. (1993) ‘Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis’. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2) pp. 249–283. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002006>

van Dijk, T. A. (1997) ‘Discourse as Interaction in Society’. In van Dijk, T. A. (ed.) *Discourse as Social Interaction. Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. Vol. 2. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 1–37.

van Dijk, T. A. (2001) ‘Discourse, Ideology and Context’. *Journal of Asian Economics*, 35(1–2) pp. 11–40. <https://doi.org/10.1515/flin.2001.35.1-2.11>

van Dijk, T. A. (2015) ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’. In Tannen, D., Hamilton, H. E. and Schiffrin, D. (eds.) *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. 2nd ed., Vol. 1. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 466–485.

Whitt, R. S. (2016) “‘Through a Glass, Darkly’”: Technical, Policy, and Financial Actions to Avert the Coming Digital Dark Ages’. *Santa Clara High Technology Law Journal*, 33(2) pp. 117–229. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2742388

Weber, M. (1946) ‘Politics as a Vocation’. In Gerth, H. H. and Mills, C. W. (eds.) *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 77–128.

Weizenmann, P. P. (2019) “‘Tropical Trump’”? Bolsonaro’s Threat to Brazilian democracy’. *Harvard International Review*, 40(1) pp. 12–14.

Zanini, F. (2020) ‘Dissimulada, ditadura militar criou miragem de separação de poderes’. *Folha de S.Paulo*. [Online] 27th June. [Accessed on 10th

November 2020] <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2020/06/dissimulada-ditadura-militar-criou-miragem-de-separacao-de-poderes.shtml>

Zucker, E. M. and Simon, D. J. (eds.) (2020) *Mass Violence and Memory in the Digital Age: Memorialization Unmoored*. Cham: Palgrave MacMillan.

Zvereva, V. (2019) The Instrumentalization of the Soviet Past: The Production of a digital Memory. *EuropeNow*. [Online] [Accessed on 30th January 2022] <https://www.europenowjournal.org/2019/09/09/the-instrumentalization-of-the-soviet-past-the-production-of-a-digital-memory/>