

# Cultural complexity and institutional image: How do the Military Forces Communicate?<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

The understanding of the phenomenon of how organizational culture takes place has its basis on the assumption that military organizations are a culture, before its materialization as an institution, according to its density and permanence. Several authors, since the 80s of the last century, have been scrutinizing organizations, elaborating satisfactory analysis methodologies, motivated to construct a theory of organizational behavior even for complex ones such as the armed forces. Objectively, military cultural expressions are easy to observe, but difficult to interpret in their latent meanings. It is possible to describe how you construct your environment and what are the discernible patterns of behavior among its members, but often, you cannot understand about the underlying logic: why you behave in a certain way. The objective of the work is to understand how a complex organization like the military that affirms its image and socialization as dense that it fuses the organizational identity with the individual identity of its socialized ones. In order to meet the proposal, there was a selection of books and articles, as well as the system *Scielo* in order to make a literature review on power and image of the military to broaden the search for the debate. On the other hand, there is a case study through the analysis of an interview (conducted by Folha de São Paulo), to the candidate for the Presidency of the Republic of Brazil in the elections of 2018. Jair Bolsonaro, Brazilian Army reserve officer and a parliamentarian for six terms, which was explored on his private channel on You Tube, available until September 2017. A conclusion is that as the socialized of the Military Culture merge the organizational and individual identities, an external image coherent with the sphere of the public (political) is re-affirmed in spite of the heterogeneity of the institutional world and the junction of identities.

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## 1. Introduction

This paper seeks to give visibility to the fact that the military segment in Brazil tends to be a cohesive, homogeneous whole, thanks to various forms of socialization, but it also has historical heterogeneity. Throughout history, several military parties can be identified within the Brazilian Army (EB), according to the interpretation of some authors who studied electoral facets and partisan coalitions (Coelho, 1978; Rouquié, 1980; Oliveira & Martins, 2014). Some thinkers thematized the diversity of military life from different currents, which constitute a way of expressing convictions to specific beliefs that lead to multiple ideological exercises (Castro, 1990). It is the traditional case of the conflict between military nationalists that anticipates the role of institutions, such as the extinct Higher Institute of Brazilian Studies, the Military Club and the War College (Gaio, 1997; Andrade Jr., 2001).

Within the selected approach, the homogeneity of the military institution undergoes a continuous process of adaptation. For now, there is a crisis of institutional identity, since the militia was prepared for a condition of conflict generated in the bipolar world that now becomes blurred. Before, the dynamic “red versus blue armies” was understood in a linear and simple way, around the projection of scenarios<sup>4</sup>. Today the globalized world and widespread terror bring difficulties for the planner and commander of military actions, perhaps of his subordinates, for the innovations and imponderability of the variables that make up the scenarios. Scenarios that provoke coincidences of a diverse order, such as the environmental dimension, to put a case, together with biological, chemical and nuclear warfare, at the same time, intensified by the weapons of terror that minimize the previous paradigm (of simplicity) to face to the complexity of globalization.

The military, as a social category, is defined in terms of inclusion, due to an identity built in a solid and constant manner with its external image, especially because it is transmitted through communication agents who are experts in the use symbolic. In addition, artificially, through them, society gets to know what the military is doing or what it should be. Thus, the conception of the use of discourse, to which we feel closer, does not abandon the concept of ideology but places it in a descriptive position, designating a historical formation, a set of ideas, in short, a system of representation (Ferreira, 2007).

To define the background of the study, expand the debate and search for solutions, an approach was made to the category ‘power and image of the military’ in the database of the *Scielo* system. To show the transmission of traits of socialization and military culture, with

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4 This is still the method that the War College uses to anticipate the future. The brochure *The Method of Strategic Planning*, classified as LS 107-DPD, of 2002, and prepared by Prof. Gustavo Heck and CMG Adalberto Souza Filho, on pages 35 to 42, emphasizes the construction of scenarios as the main tool for decision making, but in the same brochure talks about the specificity of open systems and uncertain behavior, without explaining how to anticipate such “prospective uncertainties”.

reflections of the organizational image in the individual image, was presented the micro-case of the reserve captain of the Army, Jair Bolsonaro, parliamentarian of mandate continued for six occasions and currently candidate for the Presidency of the Republic in the elections of 2018. Material from his private channel on social networks was reviewed, available until September 2017.

The work has two sections. A first (sections 2 and 3), that focuses on the issue of power and image with the categories: Brazilian military, organizational identity and political behavior, which present the justification and the construction of their personality as an institution. Organizational image of the military, which affirms his personality and his permanence, in the political scene; and the specificity of the military institution: a complex dynamic that addresses the elements and characteristics of the organizational culture and its values. In the second section (section 5), the chronicle of the aforementioned interview by Jair Bolsonaro (micro-case) is presented. It is observed, in short, that the organizational and individual military identities are fused and an external image coherent with the sphere of the public (political) is re-affirmed without ignoring the complexity of the military institutional world of Brazil that characterizes it by an institutional matrix heterogeneous but cohesive in its guiding principles.

## 2. Theoretical framework

### 2.1. Brazilian military: organizational identity and political behavior

In the first place, the military organization is characterized by being a coherent institution in terms of behavior that is interested in building its own identity. For several years, the academic interpretation of the Brazilian military, particularly in relation to its tendency to intervene in the political arena, revolved around a central issue: the degree of independence of the military as political actors in relation to the classes, groups, matches, etc. The organizational approach seeks to assess the internal characteristics of the institution and its relationship with the external environment, placing them as the main determinants to explain the political behavior of the military. This approach has been criticized for relegating the external environment of institutions to a secondary level. José Murilo de Carvalho<sup>5</sup>, in relation to this problem, concluded that the military could not be studied without paying attention to the organizational aspects (Carvalho, 2005).

In this organizational approach, the work of Edmundo Campos Coelho (1978) stands out, whose work mentioned here. His essay begins with harsh criticisms of what he calls the *instrumental conception* that, in essence, is that which seeks to explain the intervention of the Army in politics only nominally, as a corporation. According to the author, in the *instrumental conception*, the military corporation would not exist as an autonomous political actor; it would participate in politics as an instrument of social classes, with the objective of taking or protecting

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5 Murilo de Carvalho is an expert in interpreting the military in its organizational and political aspects in Brazil.

the power of these. The author distinguishes three versions of the *instrumental conception*: (1) oligarchic where the ruling classes command the Army; (2) of the middle sectors, where the Army would be the political agent of the middle classes; and (3) moderator, where the Army would perform a function whose content and meaning would be defined from outside and independently of the corporation.

The critical position of Coelho, in relation to the *instrumental conception*, is constructed from the following points: (1) at the moment of thinking about the Army as the instrument of private interest, the study of the own military organization, due to the importance of the analysis of social classes, their demands and politico-social practices; (2) the instrumental conception results in a *paisanization* of the military, since the corporation did not possess its own values, specific forms of internal formation and socialization, and not even specific and particular interests; and (3) this conception also implies a high degree of openness of the army to the influence of civil society. On the contrary, in the Army, from independence until today, the tendency of progressive closure with respect to society can be observed (Coelho, 1978).

The organizational approach indicates that the appropriate unit of analysis is the military institution and not the social classes. For the same author, according to Gaio, the history of the organization is investigated with the purpose of discovering a constellation of individuals that reveal their nature, their character, their ethos. Distinguishes two moments in the relations between the army and society: the first, when the army presents a high degree of openness to society, phase of accommodation and adaptation, in which the military does not have full control over their organization, registered until 1964 (Gaio, 1997). The second is the closure of the organization to the influences of society. It should be noted that the closure is never absolute. At this moment, the organization already has control over itself, since it has articulated elements that allow it to develop strategies for controlling society. For the second moment to be reached, that is, for the organization to acquire autonomy, vis-à-vis groups and social classes, it needs to create certain conditions for the formation of its own identity that allows the progressive closure as specific agencies for the formation of leaders. This, with relative isolation from leadership, in order to protect themselves from the pressures that come from the leaders, socialization agencies and indoctrination (Gaio, 1997).

In summary, the organizational identity and the political behavior of the Brazilian Military are shaped by two categories, at the same time founding principles of their institutionality:

*2.1.1. Military: a refracted, filtering and dense institution.* The prevalent approach (and that we hold in this work) presupposes that the Army is not a passive institution, without its own values, instrumentalized by social classes, but, at the same time, it is not an institution alien to society. On the contrary, it is maintained that the Army suffers social influences that are filtered and mediated, based on the internal values of the institution. Being thus the reflection of the social conflicts that are "(...) affected, with greater intensity of what is generally imagined, by the mediation of values and norms of the military organization, when it does not happen that they are affected by conflicts of nature specifically institutional, by the hierarchy, that is, the determinants of military behavior" (Coelho, 1978, p. 129).

2.1.2. *Superior School of War (ESG): decisive moment of the military identity of the Brazilian armed forces.* The constitution of military identity allows the maximization of the power of the military over society. Gaio warns about the importance of the acquisition of an identity, of its potential in the production of consensus, to overcome disintegrating forces that weaken the institution. This is how the closing process coincided with the identity creation plan and the for Superior School of War (ESG) (Gaio, 1997).

## 2.2. Organizational image of the military How to perceive the image?

The military organization seeks to affirm its image. Before examining this aspect, our understanding of the image and its functionality, behind the journalistic approach, focuses on the discourse that best suits a particular interest or conviction. The care that must be taken with the discursive elements, coupled with the filter of journalistic activity, resides in the fact that it is not just a faithful reproduction or a reaction to certain external stimuli, because we speak of systems that have their own logic, a particular language and a structure based on values and concepts.

One should not, however, believe that this image is constructed solely through discourse. The organizational message can be present in symbols, words, actions, objects, organization as a whole (Kunsch, 2009). The culture and identity of the organization are affirmed before the group through communication. Although you cannot control how your image is perceived, the organization will seek to be linked to values judged to be positive, to attract certain audiences, making efforts to create a public impression in terms of organizational image.

In the macro aspect, the doctrine of national security formulated by the ESG proposes, as strategic elements for the composition of the institutional image, the construction of principles that can eliminate the label of underdeveloped country imposed on Brazil and at the same time, do it in such a way that security and order are not put at risk. The production of this doctrine was an important milestone in the construction of an identity proper to the Armed Forces (FFAA), since in it are expressed some values that serve as a factor of cohesion and military unity. The doctrine is constituted in a political-social project of the military for Brazil, despite the fact that its representative role is confused with the very process of construction of its identity through the recognition of its specific actions in the transformation.

The armed forces were externally influenced by the social problems of the country and these affected their internal organization, propitiating the crisis in terms of hierarchy, disorganization, individualism and internal divisions. These problems come from the *contagion* with the Brazilian reality itself. The social problems recognized by the military were the ambition of the elites, the social indiscipline of the citizen, poverty, economic backwardness, the power of the oligarchies.

To make the Army a strong organization, the resolution of these problems was needed. The prevalence of a centralized power in the State was necessary and that the new elites were concerned with industrialization in order to put an end to poverty, since it compromised na-

tional internal security and contributed to the situation of generalized disorganization. In this process of transformation of the country, the armed forces occupy a relevant role that makes possible the administration of the State, because they would be the only viable reference point to form a nation. The Army and the Navy were considered fit to lead the process of formation of the nation (Andrade Jr., 1998).

According to Coelho, the importance of the doctrine of the ESG was, at that time, that of the production of an identity, because it defined what the Army was and what its function was in Brazilian society. The doctrine should create a consensus within the Army so that it could play its part, obtaining success. That is, destroying the obstacles that made Brazil an underdeveloped country and, consequently, returned to the weak and divided Army. The author also reveals that the updating of traditional military precepts, in which values such as honor, loyalty and public service coexist, and traditional heroic self-image (with values generally associated with science and technology, in addition to the new image business), became a positive factor in the creation of the identity of the Army (Coelho, 1978).

In the micro aspect of the organizational look, Castro (1990), gathering testimony from the military, found among them a vision that supposed the separation between two worlds: the world of the *here inside*, and the world of the out there (table 1); the latter corresponds to the world of civilians, civilians in colloquial language. Castro, in the book *O Espírito Militar*, after investigating the worldview and the values of the cadets of the Military Academy of Black Needles, shows how the military evaluates the values of the fellow citizens.

**Table 1**  
**Values of AMAN cadets paramilitaries and civilians**

AMAN – “Here inside”	FACULTY- “Out there”
Seriousness, professionalism, competence, continuous activity	Lack of seriousness, professionalism, competence, continuous activity, idleness
Maturity	Immaturity
Attention	Disinterest (apathy)
Teachers are an example	Teachers are not an example
Good personal presentation	Bad personal presentation
Proper use of language	Bad language
Real freedom	Fake freedom
Discipline	Indifference
(Orders)	(Disorder)
(Military)	(Fellow citizens)
(+)	(-)

Source: *O Espírito Militar*, Celso Castro (1990, p. 41).

When Celso Castro made this analysis, showing the relationship of extreme polarization between the civil and military dimension in the cadet’s mind, he concludes that the cadet’s

worldview could lead to a serious pre-trial and, thus, generate a difficulty for the future military leaders when dealing with environments and contradictory scenarios in terms of decisions and good judgment. The army is hermetic, inflexible and has difficulty leaving the “box”, is disturbed when it has to undergo procedures that are foreign to those of the barracks routine or about which it has no prior knowledge. “The corporation is endogenous, is self-sufficient and, with some exceptions, does not feel comfortable communicating with other institutions and people” (Menezes, 2016, p. 302). There is corporatism but it is fragmented within the spheres of influence of the four-star generals.

Thus, it is clearly seen, through table 1, the difficulty that exists for a military to integrate into the civilian way of life, to share the same values or the same objectives, because these are perceived in a negative way, as opposite values. To those of military life. The cadet has a critical vision of civilians and therefore focuses on strengthening their links with fellow soldiers and giving rise to a strong defense of the high values of their institution. All of Castro’s work demonstrates that the process of socialization of military values that takes place in the Military Academy of Black Needles (and that according to our point of view can be extended to other military schools), based on established criteria by the military institution, develops in the cadets a clear differentiation between military values and civil values.

### 3. The specificity of the military institution: a complex culture

The objective dimension of the organizational culture refers to the visible artifacts created by the organization. This level of manifestation is a gateway to the organizational culture that “(...) begins with the visible artifacts, the organization’s environment in spatial terms, its architecture, its technology, the distribution of work spaces, of dress, visible or audible patterns, behaviors and public documents (...)” (Schein, 1985, p. 3).

In this dimension, military cultural expressions are easy to observe but difficult to interpret in terms of latent meanings. The subjective dimension of organizational culture involves the meanings that individuals attribute to reality. The notion of meaning belongs to the symbolic universe and requires an interpretive approach. This dimension involves cultural elements such as myths, rituals, legends, values, beliefs, expectations and organizational heroes (Schein, 1985).

Like societies, all military organizations can have groups whose norms, values and behavior frontally contradict what the dominant culture represents. In this case, these groups build an alternative culture (counterculture) in order to fill a new space or even destabilize the dominant culture (Andrade Jr., 1998). It is, in such a north, that Fleury defends the politicization of the concept of culture (Fleury, 1989).

The corporate culture approach interprets the cultural field as an integrated, consistent and uniform phenomenon that is used to identify the most important components for the military. This approach assumes that it is possible to reach an organizational consensus through the management of cultural products, such as symbols, myths and heroes. In this perspective, which is defended by Pettigrew, the organizational culture becomes a set of meanings col-

lectively accepted by a certain group, being a set of symbols, discourses, beliefs, rituals and myths (Pettigrew, 1979). According to this homogeneity, Schein defines culture as a product learned in the experiences of the group. Organizations are characterized by cultural complexity, where individuals become members of certain groups and develop different loyalties and values (Cf. Gregory, 1983).

With an interesting proposal for this study, Fleury (1989) conceptualizes culture as a set of basic values and assumptions expressed in symbolic elements, which, in their capacity to organize, assign meanings, build organizational identity, act as much as traits of communication and consensus, as well as hiding and instrumentalizing relations of domination. For example, until today the military detest being recognized as public officials since, for most of them, the term has a pejorative connotation because they perform mobile and dynamic activities, unlike office work characterized by bureaucracy.

Military values are expressed in symbols, stories, myths and organizational rituals. Symbols are the greatest manifestations of culture, as they are collectively constructed references. Stories are narratives that organize beliefs about the organization and its value system, operating as a guide that helps members understand how things are done. A cultural network that continues to reinforce and remind the members of the organization, "why we do things like that", filters the stories. In this way, the stories operate to coordinate the actions of the members in pursuit of a common goal, at the same time as they shape the behavior or the action. The stories are symbolic and flexible, and can be reinterpreted and changed according to the situation in which they are applied (Freitas, 1991).

That is why we believe that the different values and beliefs of the individuals that enter the military activity can be adapted to the interests of the organization, which satisfies the attempt of homogenization of the discipline of the militia, carefully thought in terms of the application of the army disciplinary regulation (RDE) as an instrument of constant reinforcement.

The myth, within organizations, also rescues and makes alive the image of heroes and charismatic individuals. It serves to make part of the memory the feats of the organization and the actors that give rise to organizational ideologies. Organizational heroes are individuals who play roles that embody the value system and even define the organization's concept of success. These heroes can be identified throughout the organization, but often play the roles of managers. In reality, these represent what the organization defends. The action of the heroes reflects models that are emulated by other members (Deal & Kennedy, 1982). As an example, we have observed the strength of the image of the army patrons as heroes in the internal celebrations (birthdays) in all the military units with a mandatory presence for all the members.

## 4. Methodology

As a research exercise, from a qualitative approach, a case study was carried out using the documentary analysis technique. The work unit was based on an interview conducted by the "Folha de São Paulo" with Jair Bolsonaro, officer of the reserve of the Brazilian Army (two

videos available on the private channel on YouTube of the candidate for the Presidency of the Republic of Brazil [2018]). For this, first, the theoretical source is supported from the metadata resources available on the *Scielo* platform in terms of the military theme, image and power and, second, journalistic chronicles are used to give context to the analysis.

The process involved access to the system in question to indicate items with the chosen theme: military, power and image; It was identified the inexistence of the relationship between the word military and image, even in Spanish-speaking countries. Of the 154 articles reviewed under the military and power keywords, four were selected that were identified with the title of the proposal and served as background. The exercise of inquiry and interpretation emerges around the starting question: how does a complex organization like that of the military affirm its image?

## 5. Case study: Jair Bolsonaro, a successful parliamentarian, but above all a military man...

### 5.1. Chronicle

*5.1.1. Contextualization of the identity of the military and parliamentarian.* The case study on organizational image, starting with Jair Bolsonaro, assumes that the captain of the army reserve strives to maintain his personal identity, which is associated with the Brazilian Army, that is, its long political platform as a parliamentarian (initially a councilor and then a federal deputy). He never stopped being military, seeking to keep the code of honor and honor of his class (military ethics) and using such an image as a key to the adherence of his voting public, mostly middle class military, their families, as well as members of the public force of the states of the federation and sympathizers.

In Brazil, the active and reserve military are subject to the same statute that is exclusive to this corporation. The statute that regulates the public servant must also govern them. In addition, all the military (active or reservists) are subject to the Military Penal Code and the Disciplinary Regulation. This differentiation between civilians and the military is enough to affirm the differentiated nature of the performance of the public agent. Marked by the culture of the military institution, the performance of the officials is guaranteed, when the guarantee of law and public order is necessary in extreme situations, within the national territory and outside of it, in the missions of guarantee of peace and national security in international terrain.

*5.1.2. Characterization of the image by the biographical study.* It examines, then, part of the biography of Bolsonaro. The Center for Research and Historical Documentation of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation, a prestigious academic organization in Brazil, organized the primary sources that allow us to reconstruct a large part of its personal and professional history<sup>6</sup>.

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6 Primary sources: Chamber of Deputies, Brazil. Brazilian deputies. Repertoire (1995-1999); State of São Paulo (17/1, 21/8, 6/9 y 8/10/93); (26/6/93, 24/6 y 18/9/94, 31/1/95, 13 y 14/1/96, 30/1 y 12/4/97, 5/2, 14, 18 y 30/3, 29/9, 10/10 y 11/11/98, 2/2, 30/7, 15/8 y 29/12/99, 14/12/00, 6/9/01, 19/12/02, 10/12/04, 09/14, 10/10/05

Jair Messias Bolsonaro was born in Campinas, São Paulo, a state in southeastern Brazil, on March 21, 1955. He is the son of Perci Geraldo Bolsonaro and Olinda Bonturi Bolsonaro. In 1977 he completed the training course for officers of the Military Academy of the Black Needles (AMAN), located in Resende (RJ), and the military parachute course in the *Paraquedista Brigade* of Rio de Janeiro. In 1983, he trained in physical education at the School of Physical Education of the Army and became a teacher in jumps of the *Paraquedista Brigade* of Rio de Janeiro.

In 1986, serving as captain in the eighth Campaign Artillery Group, he gained national projection when writing, in the *Punto de Vista* section of the magazine *Veja*, the article entitled *Salary is low*. For Bolsonaro, the cessation of dozens of AMAN cadets was due to the low salaries paid and not to deviations of conduct, as the leadership of the Army wanted to make believe. The article caused his arrest for violating the disciplinary regulations of the militia. The attitude of his superiors generated the reaction of active officers and reserve, including General Newton Cruz, former head of the central agency of the National Information Service (SNI) in the government of João Figueiredo. Bolsonaro received about 150 telegrams of solidarity from the most varied regions of the country, in addition to the support of officers of the Military Institute of Engineering (IME) and of women officers who held a demonstration in front of the military complex of the Red Beach in Rio de Janeiro.

In October 1987, the climate of discontent among the military generated new acts of indiscipline. The magazine *Veja* reported on the invasion of the mayor of *Apucarana* (PR) by Captain Luís Fernando Valter de Almeida, who, in front of 50 men, read a manifesto against the low salaries of the armed forces. The same report presented a plan in which Captain Bolsonaro was one of the central characters (during the student period of the Higher School for the Improvement of Officials, EsAO). "The plan had the objective of exploding bombs in several units of the Military Villa, of the Military Academy of the Black Needles (...) and in several barracks", with care so that there were no injuries. The operation, however, would only be carried out if the readjustment granted to the military by the federal government was below 60%, all with the intention of "frightening" the army minister, General Leônidas Pires Gonçalves.

The plan assigned to Bolsonaro and Captain Fábio Passos da Silva provoked immediate reactions from the Minister of the Army. The two captains "peremptorily denied, in a radical way, in writing, any veracity of that information", according to General Leônidas himself. However, due to the fact that there were witnesses and documentary evidence (on the occasion of the report made in the Military Villa, Bolsonaro had drawn a sketch in which, in a didactic way, I explained to the reporter the operation of a charge of dynamite) the decision to declare the two captains innocent was precipitated. Leônidas Pires Gonçalves, on the other hand, then sent to the Superior Military Court (STM) the results of a syndication made by the Army in Rio de Janeiro, which said that the two involved should be excluded from the armed forces.

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y 7, 15.05.08); globo (24/6, 6/10 y 8/10/93, 30/8/94, 24/3/95, 20/3/96, 5/2 y 24/7/97); (In the event that the conditions established in this Regulation are not met). Parliamentary profile / IstoÉ (1991); (3 y 10/9/86, 28/10, 4/11 y 2/12/87, 20/1 y 22/6/88, 15/5/97); Esto es Gente (14/2/00). Text prepared via CPDOC by Maria Carmina Monteiro, Márcia de Sousa and Fabrício Pereira da Silva. Document available in: <http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/acervo/dicionarios/verbete-biografico/jair-messias-bolsonaro>.

After the trial carried out in June 1988 by the STM, it was decided not to withdraw the two captains from military service. The court accepted the defense of the military who “considered themselves victims of a flawed trial”, arguing that the documentary evidence - whose analysis had been made by the Army Police - was insufficient, given the calligraphic comparisons were not allowed, eleven He used press letter. The Federal Police, who confirmed Bolsonaro’s handwriting, later denied this award.

All this controversy around Bolsonaro (who even in 1988 was a reservist with the captain’s patent) gave him a projection in the military, which contributed to his election to the City of Rio de Janeiro in November 1988 as a member of the Democratic Party Christian (PDC). In September 1990, I was elected a federal deputy, by the same party, with the votes of the electoral bases in the Military Villa and in some areas of residence. I have resigned after the mandate of councilor, taking office in the Chamber of Deputies in February 1991 and became a member of the Committee on Labor, Administration and Public Service.

On September 29, 1992, I became one of the 441 deputies who voted in favor of the impeachment process of the president, who was accused of the crime of responsibility after the conclusion of the work of the Parliamentary Investigation Commission (CPI) installed in the National Congress to investigate allegations of corruption against Paulo César Farias, former treasurer of his presidential campaign. After the vote in the House, Collor ended up renouncing the mandate on December 29 following the approval of his cassation by the Senate. Vice President Itamar Franco, who had been serving the function since October 2, replaced him in the Executive Headquarters.

In April 1993, Bolsonaro became one of the founders of the Progressive Reform Party (PPR), born of the merger of the PDC with the Democratic Social Party (PDS). In addition, in the same year, he again provoked controversy by defending the return of the regime of exception and the temporary closure of the National Congress. The deputy affirms that the existence of many laws hindered the exercise of power and that, under a regime of exception, the chief, who does not need to be a military man, takes a pen and crosses over the law that is hindering. The President of the Republic, José Luis Rodríguez, issued strong accusations against the president of the Chamber of Deputies. The reaction of the military circles came through the general of the reserve Luís Henrique Domínguez, spokesperson of the Movement of the Guararapes, who condemned any attempt of punishment to the deputy.

In 1993, Bolsonaro accused the governor of Sao Paulo, Luís Antônio Fleury Filho, of intermediating, through a contractor, in the purchase and sale of deputies of the Social Democratic Party (PSD). The objective of Fleury, according to Bolsonaro, was to expand its base of support in the Legislative Assembly of São Paulo and in Congress. The deputies Onaireves Moura (PSD-PR) and the Nobel de Moura (PSD-RO) were in charge of offering the deputies an agreed amount. According to Bolsonaro, Onaireves offered him \$ 85,000 to sign a membership card to the PSD and stated that the payment would be “(...) made by a company linked to the São Paulo government”. Fleury, nevertheless, maintained that the accusation was absurd and requested the condemnation of Bolsonaro for crime of defamation, insult and slander.

In June of 1994, Bolsonaro became involved in another controversy, this time with the governor of the Federal District, Joaquim Roriz, of the Popular Party (PP). On this occasion, he accused the governor of negotiating with the federal government the release of funds for the construction of the Brasília metro in exchange for votes to favor the approval of the Provisional Tax on Financial Movement (IPMF).

Prior to this legislature, the revision of the Constitution of 1988 did not take place and few modifications were approved to the Magna Carta. Among other votes, Bolsonaro was absent in the session that rejected mandatory voting and favored the creation of the IPMF and the Emergency Social Fund (ESF), conceived as sources of financing for the government's economic stabilization plan, dubbed Plan Real.

Although in August 1994 he had again called for the closure of the National Congress, declaring that he preferred to "survive in the military regime to die in this democracy", Bolsonaro triumphed in re-election in the elections on October 3 of that year. His campaign platform included, in addition to the fight for wage improvement for the military, the end of the stability of the servers, the defense of birth control and the review of the area of the Yanomamic Indians, whose extension was considered absurd. He was re-elected with almost 135,000 votes, more than double the previous election, the majority coming from his electoral base formed by the military. In October, however, the Regional Electoral Tribunal (TRE) of Rio de Janeiro decided to cancel the elections on suspicion of fraud. A new election in November confirmed his re-election. In September, he became a member of the National Defense Commission and was again selected for the Chamber's Labor, Administration and Public Service Commission.

In August, it was reported that Bolsonaro practiced nepotism, since he used his companion Ana Cristina Vale, his father and his sister in his cabinet. On that occasion he claimed to be divorcing his wife and argued that, not being married to Ana Cristina, he did not incur nepotism. In December, he became involved in a new controversy when defending the execution of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso. The attack took place at the luncheon to the ex-commander of the Aeronautics, Walter Braüer, exonerated shortly before. He then stated that the execution was "(...) something honorable for certain people". The leader of the government in the Chamber, Artur Virgílio, of the PSDB, presented a request for a cassation of his mandate, but the proposal never reached the plenary of the Chamber.

In early 2000, Bolsonaro defended the death penalty for any premeditated crime and torture in cases of drug trafficking, stating that "(...) a trafficker who acts in the streets against our children (...) has no human rights(...). For the kidnapper (happens) the same thing". He also attacked homosexuals, saying: "(...) I do not admit opening the door of my apartment to meet a gay couple saying goodbye with a kiss on the mouth and that my son will witness it". In December, he was the only deputy to vote against the creation of the Poverty Fight Fund. The Fund, proposed by the federal government and financed by the Provisional Contribution on Financial Movement (CPMF), became operational the following year and allocated resources for income transfer programs, such as the Scholarship-School and basic sanitation.

Bolsonaro continued defending the interests of the armed forces and demonstrating his dissatisfaction with the increase of civil interference over them since the creation of the Mi-

nistry of Defense in the government of Fernando Henrique. In a hearing in the House, Defense Minister Geraldo Quintão criticized him for postponing the readjustment of the military, calling him “un-prepared” and accusing him of being “serving the interests of the United States in the country”. In a speech a few days earlier, he had called the same minister “scoundrel”, “scoundrel” and “immoral”.

In the 2002 elections Bolsonaro was a candidate for the fourth time as a federal deputy for Rio de Janeiro, always militating in the PPB. Re-elected with 88,945 votes, he assumed his new term in February 2003, one month after the start of the government of Luis Inácio Lula da Silva of the Workers’ Party (PT). In the Chamber, he was the head of the Constitution and Justice and Citizenship Commissions, of Foreign Affairs and National Defense, and of Public Security and Combat of Organized Crime. At the beginning of 2003 he declared himself against the reform for the forecast proposed by the federal government. In that year he left the PPB to join the PTB. In early 2005 he left the PTB and joined the Liberal Front Party (PFL). In April he left the PFL and joined the Progressive Party (PP), the new denomination of the PPB, his former collective.

In 2005, involved members of the Lula government and parliamentarians accused a political crisis of financing illicit campaigns and buying and selling votes for the approval of federal government projects. During the so-called crisis of the “mensalão” (monthly allowance), Bolsonaro stood out for the attacks on the PT and party politicians involved in the scandals. During a speech by José Dirceu, who resigned from the Casa Civil in June and took office as deputy, he called him a “terrorist”. He accused José Genoíno of having betrayed colleagues of the Araguaia guerrillas after being arrested by the military in 1972. The defendant who claimed to have confessed under torture denied that version. To console the adversary, Bolsonaro highlighted Genoíno’s testimony in the Parliamentary Investigation Committee (CPI) of Mensalão by taking retired Colonel Licio Augusto Ribeiro Maciel, who had been in charge of the prison and interrogation of Genoíno in 1972 and who supported the version of the denunciation.

At the same time that the political crisis was increasing, the campaign began around the referendum, to be held on October 23, about the prohibition or not of the sale of weapons in Brazil. Bolsonaro had been critical of the disarmament campaigns organized by the federal government in previous years. Against these campaigns he had sent out posters with phrases such as “The PT army is the MST [Movement of Rural Workers without Land]” and “Give your arms: vagabonds are grateful”. On the referendum, he positioned himself among the defenders and organizers of the “No” campaign. He justified his position with the following slogan: “To the disarmament yes, but of the bandits who take machine guns, rifles, grenades”. The consultation was carried out on the scheduled day; the supporters of the “No” were defeated to the prohibition of the sale of weapons, which obtained 64% of the valid votes against 36% of the votes for the “Yes”.

Bolsonaro was always critical of memory policies protected and implemented by civilian governments, systematically defending the actions of the military regime. He dedicated himself to defend, in particular, the repression of the Araguaia guerrilla. In 2006, when the federal government determined that efforts should be made so that the mortal remains of the guerrillas disappeared in combats with the armed forces were located, he ordered to make and display posters with the said “Araguaia: who looks for bone is a dog”.

In the 2006 elections, he was re-elected for the fifth consecutive term with 99,700 votes. He took office in February 2007 and in that legislature, he was the head of the Constitution and Justice and Citizenship Commissions, of Foreign Affairs and National Defense and of Public Security and Combat to Organized Crime. In 2008, he became involved in a new controversy at a public hearing in the Chamber to discuss the situation of the Raposa / Serra do Sol indigenous reservation in the State of Roraima. The state government answered the demarcation made by the federal government and conflicts between farmers and indigenous people took place. Bolsonaro fought the continuous demarcation in the border area, stating that it would put national integrity at risk and opposed Justice Minister Tarso Genro (PT). On that occasion, the indigenous representative in the debate, Jecinaldo Sateré Maué, threw water at the deputy.

## 5.2. Analysis: context and biographical characterization

As mentioned, this work started with the analysis of the individual image, through the Private Channel on YouTube, of Mr. Jair Bolsonaro<sup>7</sup>. This channel<sup>8</sup> has the following head: “Official Channel Mr. Jair Bolsonaro, access our channel, leave your comments and share. Together we are stronger and we will make the future of BRAZIL better for everyone”.

It is a channel in which the deputy: (1) exposes some of his points of view, (2) defines some of his activities, (3) establishes some of the interviews, and (4) presents other related topics. In the presentation image of the channel appears its logo built with its name and a green and yellow strip of background. In most of the videos, the Brazilian flag or the colors of the Brazilian flag are present. The videos allow comments, which are, in the great majority, favorable and directed to the likely public elector who becomes familiar with the ideas of the deputy. To date (September 27, 2017) there are about 357,427 registered followers in the channel. From that private channel<sup>9</sup>, we selected a video in which an interview is presented to the candidate made by the reporter of the Folha de São Paulo<sup>10</sup> newspaper, Rubén Valente. This video was published on May 16, 2017. The introduction of the video states: “Occasion in which the deputy Jair Bolsonaro gives an interview to the Folha de São Paulo newspaper about events that occurred 30 years ago”.

Next, we reproduce part of the interview and analyze it (Table 2). The moments that we selected to analyze in the timeline of the video were removed by several comments made to it. The purpose of the interview was to explore certain elements that question the integrity of Jair Bolsonaro. When observing the comments on the interview we noticed that some of

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7 There is evidence related to the values of the military, in the speech of Enéas Carneiro, (doctor, deputy and candidate for the Presidency of the Republic), since he praises the deputy for his integrity. Aeneas agrees with the military discourse, having been a student of the War College. See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aR6ihrWChT0>. Bolsonaro also cites Enéas with respect and admiration, seeking inspiration and recognizing him as an individual icon of the institutional image. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ljar4ibcsG>

8 To see in <https://www.youtube.com/user/jbolsonaro/featured>

9 To see in <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WKVPPXqnZsU&t=499s>

10 To see the report in the Folha de São Paulo newspaper published on May 18, 2017.

<http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2017/05/1885048-bolsonaro-afirma-que-praticava-garimpo-de-ouro-nos-anos-1980.shtml>

the responses of the interviewee caused great enthusiasm in the Internet citizens who call it *myth*, because of the direct, explicit way, with which it identifies and unmask the intention preconceived by the newspaper.

**Table 2. Extracts and contexts marked at the time of the interview with Bolsonaro**

Video frame	Interviewed	Context
4:54	- Stop talking nonsense, do you want to lower the level of the interview? Stop being illiterate, that was in 1986. -¡In 87 it was the episode of ESAO and you already had ties with Captain Valter de Apucarana!	The reporter mentions two events that occurred in 1986 and 1987 and is confused. After the persistence of the reporter, the deputy closes the matter indicating the confusion of the journalist. He recommends that "study law".
5:30	Indiscipline: yes ¡disloyalty: no!	The concept of loyalty for military life is clear to the deputy. The newspaper puts that word "disloyalty" specifically in order to question the integrity of the possible candidate for the Presidency.
8:17	¡You are a scrotum! This is not an interrogation. To finish here, the Superior Military Court, which you must respect, filed all that. "The army was wrong?" No, the army is not wrong. He was the one who signed it.	In the context, the reporter recovers a case that occurred 30 years ago when the deputy was an official captain (active). The reporter reads "so that the voter knows", a case that had been filed by the Superior Military Court.
16:35	No no no. So, why do they absolve me? Do not come with those antics, not here. I was acquitted!	The reporter insists on reading and emphasizing all the terms that can compromise the deputy's image.
18:28	So what are you doing here?	The reporter says he does not know the reporter related to the defamation case, which ended up being dismissed from the magazine "Veja".
20:07	¡Sherlock Holmes! He's going to work on the "Lava-jato", Sherlock Holmes!	The deputy ironizes the investigation that the reporter did, because he insists on the attempt to incriminate him for something of which he was acquitted.
26:30	Are you going to write there that I got the first place in the physical education course in the army, among 45 officers? And when do you think I was an undisciplined captain (...)? In the course of diving in the RJ? In the course of which I stood out? Are you going to write that I volunteered for three years on the Brazilian border, that I was featured in the jump master course in the paratrooper brigade?	Before the impositive inquiries, the deputy asks the questions.
28:05	You brought out that theme ¡You asked that! Do you want to take responsibility for any indiscipline of the armed forces? As usual?	The deputy is outraged by the expression: "you preach indiscipline". This refers to the salary situation of the time and the demand for its adjustment.
28:35	Do not come now to mention Lula's daddy, who is not going to hit! A crazy woman who wrote such nonsense and was fired from Veja magazine.	The reporter says that the deputy denied all the time the contact with a certain reporter who accused him of "elaborating a plan".
30:26	¡You are doing a pig job! I am not here to discuss an issue that is already buried. You have to respect the Brazilian Justice, you have to respect the Superior Military Court.	The deputy affirms that he is willing to play various topics for this interview and the only thing they did was to ask him about cases that were closed 30 years ago.

Video frame	Interviewed	Context
32:27	Are you kidding me? I am the accused and you are the judge?	The deputy is surprised by the reporter's approach.
35:50	Ready to "put the cave" tomorrow? Ready to "put the cave" tomorrow?	When trying to finish the interview, the deputy asks this question to the reporter.
37:08	That's why I was acquitted, because I'm a Military man with a capital M. Obviously I'm not perfect.	On another closed case. The deputy recalls a situation in which he saved a colleague.
39:00	Are you looking for a defect in me? You have no way of calling me corrupt, right? If I wanted to be rich because I'm not syndicated in the "Lava-jato"?	As for the practice of garimpo (literally, look for precious stones), the deputy explains that his father practiced it.
39:50	¡Look for something to condemn me, to accuse me! ¡You are going badly!	The deputy expresses his opinion on the approach with which the media approached the interview.
40:50	If you want to go and look for gold with me, I invite you, but you're overweight.	The deputy invites the reporter, with a clear will to practice the search for precious stones.
41:15	If I had found him I would not be giving this interview at this time.	The reporter asked if he found gold.
41:36	Do you consider it a vice? "(Laughter) (Someone comments: we already know what tomorrow's topic will be)".	"Are you addicted to that practice?" Asks the reporter.
42:00	Good afternoon everyone. You can not neglect this issue. ¡This is not an order. It is your obligation!	At the closing of the interview the deputy makes an appeal. The next day the publication was about the search for gold that the deputy practiced for leisure, but in a pejorative tone.

Source: Private Channel (official) by Jair Bolsonaro on YouTube

### 5.3. Discussion

Social networks are means of communication that the deputy uses to have links with society. He uses them as a way to demystify the image with which traditional media seek to characterize it. As mechanisms of interlocution with society, often, they make the citizen, also an Internet user, better understand their ideas and question the antagonistic version that the media in general offer of him.

According to Marqués, Aquino & Miola (2014) social networks can play a fundamental role in the provision and acquisition of political information depending on the group of citizens to whom they are directed. Knowing an event, or an opinion, through a friend who commented on something published by a certain political personality can have as much credibility (or even more) than reading the officially produced material. It also allows a parallel with journalism insofar as it opens the possibility of implementing a "reading contract". The participation of citizens is stimulated through the opportunity to interact with those responsible for political decisions.

The authors studied indicate that there is a series of works in the area of Communication and Democratic Theory (Verba, 1995; Delli Carpini, 2000; Souza, 2001; Vita, 2004; Coelho, 2007; cited by Marqués, Aquino & Miola, 2014). That classify the fundamental aspects to

promote greater political participation of citizens: a) motivation (by interacting directly with those who hold the power to decide, which increases the possibility that direct demand is heard), and b) the discussion about subjects of the daily life of the individuals. For example, associating these two dimensions (while it is possible to follow actors with a high degree of political power, shows the importance of interaction with friends, neighbors or colleagues) is presented as increasingly relevant tools in the present.

The work of biographical survey of Mr. Jair Bolsonaro, made by the CPDOC / FGV, a historical and documentary research institution of reference in Brazil, by itself is enough to clarify the moments of tension and the tendentious approach that the journalist of the character. The tone of the interview seeks to emphasize previous attitudes of the interviewee. The journalist's investigation reaches; therefore, a disciplinary transgression occurred 30 years ago, among other events studied in the dossier by the CPDOC. The full video shows how the complete interview was conducted, the interviewee's position, not only the editorial point of the Folha de São Paulo. The interview was conducted based on this condition.

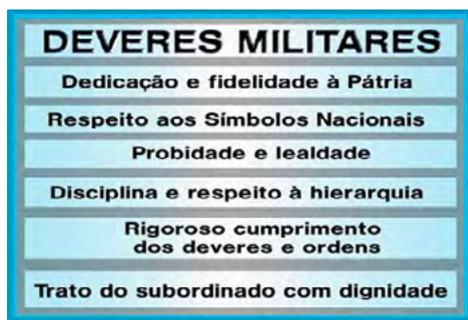
Social media itself has signaled a vertiginous growth in Bolsonaro's popularity. It is easily linked to its integrity, austerity with public money, with his political isolation-as a supporter of the corruption of power and the upholding of values that defend the family, the territory, the well-being of the military, private property, democracy and the maintenance of firmness before the variations of perception proven by the gender ideology, corruptible in the sense of the deputy. The moment of Brazilian crisis has proclaimed a need to return to the respect of the Brazilian nationality and citizenship, and Bolsonaro grows as a champion to be called "myth", in an environment where almost all politicians respond to judicial proceedings for inappropriate behavior or corruption in all possible spheres.

The document entitled Vade-Mécum of Military Ceremonial of the Army: Values, Duties and Military Ethics (VM 10) clarifies, explicitly, what values, duties and military ethics are (figures 1 and 2).

**Figura 1**  
**Military Values**



**Figure 2**  
**Military homework**



**Source:** General Secretary of the Brazilian Army.  
Exact reproduction

As for the values proclaimed, fundamental for the deputy and of importance to the target public, those that refer to the military institution explicitly stand out. This can be seen in the composition of his first advertising work for the campaign for the presidency of the republic in 2018. The title is Bolsonaro's first commercial as a pre-candidate for the presidency of the republic in 2018, and in this piece the Party is presented Patriot and Jair Bolsonaro as candidate for the presidency. Bolsonaro rigorously follows the itinerary the primer and the military orientation in terms of values, although in the past there were some deviations to discipline and hierarchy. The aim of the advertising discourse is to awaken the population to patriotism. Which is found in the same name of the party: "Patriot". This is an invitation to the population to change course, emphasizing the attitude of the Brazilian as a patriot and highlighting terms to unite citizens as: faith, hope, love and patriotism. "Brazil above all" is a recurring phrase. It insists on an invitation for the citizen to join the party through the patriotic application 51 and to "be more a patriot", according to the words of the founder and party president Adilson Barroso. At the end of the commercial scenes of vivacious reception of the candidate are presented by the population of the States of the North, Northeast, South and Southeast of the country, accompanied by a musical chorus that says: "I am Brazilian, with much pride, with much love". The candidate is ovation with the loa: "myth, myth, myth!". This is understood by his direct style, by denouncing corruption and by not having been involved in shady processes.

According to Menezes: "(...) there is a widespread perception among officials that the military presence on the political scene does not generate positive effects for the institution and that today society would be able to tolerate a new intervention of this nature" (2016 , p. 298). In addition, he believes that currently "(...) the country has new competent representatives and prepared to account for the challenges of national development", a condition that the coup generals of 1964 did not consider possible.

An element that can be considered central to this process is the link between the military and civil sphere. Thinking about the articulation between civilians and the military, as well as the confrontation between them, opens new horizons for the military institution. Sharing classrooms, debates and training with ministers, economists, lawyers, sociologists and historians, among others, allows the military to better understand the details of public life and the State. The effects of this situation lead the officers to understand that the problems of the nation are more than military. Military schools are beginning to consolidate a more structured view of national problems (Cf. Moreno, 2014).

From a broader point of view, in the words of Menezes (2006), we can distinguish some interests that are camouflaged among the military to argue in favor of the search for space in the context of public policies and in the demand for greater commitment from politicians with national defense: (a) survival interest, a desire that often appropriates the "feeling of nationality" to justify the existence of the institution. Therefore, this is a longing that underlies all the others and that can be interpreted as a feeling of self-preservation. The military call themselves as the predestined ones to propagate the idea of the national and, in parallel, to promote the idea of the State placing itself in a syncretic position of Nation and State; (b) the interest of cohesion that is related to the desire and the need for harmony, an indispensable

behavior that in the political sphere is manifested as a way to reaffirm the identity and address the feeling of survival; (c) the interest of influence manifested in the will to alter the attitudes of politicians for the benefit of their own existential interests (of survival) and those linked to the permanence of the State as a sovereign entity. There is a generalized understanding about the idea that the destinies of their institutions are inextricably linked to the existence of the State; and (d) the interest of integration, which is currently the most sought and encouraged interest among the Forces.

Now, we can point out that at the moment when we perceive a distancing from the nucleus of the power of the State, expressions such as “inter-operability”, “integration between forces”, “joint operations” and others that were little used when each Force was a ministry and the preponderance was disputed together with the power (Cf. Menezes, 2016, pp. 296-297). To this extent, Moreno (2014a) shows that the Brazilian armed forces would be subject, if their conservative modernization process were not met and the level of military preparedness was raised in all national problems, as was designed by the Higher School of war. It considers that the military has autonomy against the interests that make their identities merge (survival, cohesion, influence, integration).

## 6. Final considerations

It is concluded that as the members of the Military Culture merge the organizational and individual identities, an external image coherent with the sphere of the public (political) is reaffirmed, despite the heterogeneity of the institutional world and the crossing of identities. The honest officer, well trained and socialized in the rites of the organization, is recognized for his masculine character, companionship, dignity, defense of the law and order, of the family, of the territory and of the patrimony of the nation. These traits allow him to participate in the public scene and achieve recognition. The Brazilian armed forces end up having a corporate gain from an image that clearly and fairly represents their organizational values.

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