

# Sociokulturološka slika Brazila - razumijevanje procesa i imenovanje modela

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UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB  
FACULTY OF CROATIAN STUDIES

Una Stipetić-Kalinić

**SOCIOCULTURAL IMAGE OF BRAZIL –  
UNDERSTANDING A PROCESS AND  
NAMING A MODEL**

MASTER'S THESIS

Zagreb 2021



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Supervisor: Marina Perić Kaselj, PhD

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'MP Kaselj'.

Zagreb 2021

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*Una*

## **Sociocultural image of Brazil -understanding a process and naming a model**

### **Summary**

In this Master's thesis social and cultural, or sociocultural model of Brazilian society will be explored. It will be done through insights into previous existing and available research and theories first, mainly historical and anthropological. Then by using research methods of in-depth interview and content analysis – in order to try to describe the situation in as much detail as possible - discussion part will follow and deal with different interdisciplinary explanations of the current state in the Brazilian society and causes of it, but also with possible solutions. Through the whole work, personal experience will be included and 'fused' into it. At the end, (socio)cultural model of Brazilian society will be named - with clear preference and suggestion of the author which to choose and why, but still with the several variations suggested. This work was written as the author felt the necessity (and a personal wish) to describe, as much as possible in detail, the Brazilian society. And it was all derived from personal experience and emotions after the certain period spent in Brazil and South America.

**Keywords:** blend, Brazil, cultural anthropophagy, diversity, influence, mixture, society

## **Sociokulturološka slika Brazila – razumijevanje procesa i imenovanje modela**

### **Sažetak**

U ovom će se diplomskom radu istraživati društveni i kulturološki, odnosno sociokulturološki model brazilskog društva, i to najprije putem uvida u dosadašnja postojeća i dostupna istraživanja i teorije, uglavnom povijesna i antropološka. Zatim, korištenjem istraživačkih metoda dubinskog intervjua i analize sadržaja – u pokušaju što detaljnijeg opisa trenutnog stanja u društvu – slijedit će rasprava, koja će se baviti različitim interdisciplinarnim objašnjenjima trenutnog stanja u brazilskom društvu i uzrocima tome, ali i mogućim rješenjima. Kroz cijeli rad uključeno je i u njega utkano i osobno iskustvo. Na kraju će biti imenovan (socio)kulturološki model brazilskog društva - s jasnim preferencijama i sugestijom autoraice koji termin odabrat i zašto, ali ipak uz nekoliko predloženih varijacija. Ovaj rad napisan je jer je autorica osjetila potrebu (i osobnu želju) da što detaljnije opiše brazilsko društvo te i iz znanstvene perspektive pokuša objediniti dosad dostupne informacije. A sve je proizašlo iz vlastitog iskustva i emocija, i to nakon određenog razdoblja provedenog u Brazilu i Južnoj Americi.

**Ključne riječi:** Brazil, društvo, kulturalna antropofagija, mješavina, raznolikost, spoj, utjecaj

## Contents:

1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Personal experience in Brazil (and Ecuador) and reasons for choosing this subject.....	1
1.2. Typical image of Brazil- the world in the tropics.....	6
2. Outline of the thesis: Hypothesis, research and method.....	8
3. Brazil- South American fusion of Africa, Asia and Europe (general information and overall insight in Brazil).....	10
3.1. History of Brazil).....	11
3.2. Population and Social Reality (Languages, Culture, Religion, Politics)...12	
3.2.1. Demographic composition of population and culture...12	
3.2.2. Economic situation and population standard.....14	
3.3. Languages.....	16
4. Brazil - cultural and social identity and typical image of Brazil in the world today.....	18
4.1. Motivation for further research- conclusion part 1.....	22
5. Cultural anthropology- key to understanding functioning mechanism of cultural processes in Brazil.....	23
5.1. How I understand cultural anthropophagy .....	23
5.2. Cultural hybridism vs cultural anthropophagy.....	27
5.3. Heritage of literal indigenous anthropophagy in contemporary Brazilian culture and society- indigenous soul.....	29
6. Lado a Lado (Eng. Side by side)- historical soap opera content analysis.....	31
7. Research: In-depth interview with young Brazilians living abroad- belonging to a certain culture and viewing it from that position.....	38
8. Tropicália (tropicalismo)- artistic movement of the 70s Brazil- an <i>intentional</i> example of cultural anthropophagy in practice on a broader level, an artistic movement.....	48
9. Race as a social and political construct – theories and categories. Race and ethnicity vs. nationality. Slavery. Racism in Brazil. Political (in)correctness. The new race and racial categorization?.....	49
10. Discussion: Opposing cultural anthropophagy to criticism of openness in culture and social problems arising from there.....	52
11. Conclusion.....	56
Literature.....	58
Attachments.....	61

## 1. Introduction

### *1.1. Personal experience in Brazil (and Ecuador) and reasons for choosing this subject*

The reason for choosing this topic has its roots deeply rooted in me and it relates to the personal impression and experience I had in Brazil, as well as other South American countries, but also with the rest of the trips and international experiences I had experienced before. I have always loved watching travel and landscape documentaries, studying maps and atlases, learning about different cultures, and meeting different people. Also, everyone around me noticed my ability to learn languages, or at an early age, to remember and repeat (strange, difficult to pronounce, also foreign) words. Every opportunity that involved any type of travel made me so happy and fulfilled, and after each new country I visited I felt “smarter” and more motivated, and the experience filled me with new energy. “Purely” touristic travels have never satisfied me that much. They are a good way of escaping the routine, but they are “classic” and personally, I don't like that. I think of myself as a person who needs more adrenaline in general, which applies to travelling as well.

When I travel, I like to spend some time immersed in the local community and make an impact. So, it is a mutual process of learning and teaching, giving and receiving. And of course, travels like this take a little longer, at least three weeks or even longer. So, as soon as I had a chance, I took a trip like this. My first travel experience like this was to Ecuador in 2011, in my third year of undergraduate study. I was there for a bit more than two months, and I volunteered on the ecological farm on Galapagos Islands, Puerto Baquerizo Moreno, for three weeks. It may seem like a *cliché*, but for me, a 21-year-old girl from Croatia who went on her first trip to another continent, it was a big deal to plant a seedling of a sugar cane into the ground and watch it grow. Also, to roast coffee beans and drink that same coffee afterwards, the taste of which is nothing like the one bought at the supermarket or eat giant papaya that has just been picked from the tree. Or to find out that there are in fact around twenty different types of bananas, even the big ones for frying, called *platano*. Fried banana? But that is not banana, that is “*platano*.” Also, a couple of months later, when I already returned to my studies, I found out that Lonesome George, the oldest turtle in the world, the last of its kind, had passed away. And I really felt that “I have just come in time to see him” back then. Moreover, I learned Spanish then and when I started speaking it no one believed me that I never took a single lesson of Spanish. This experience made me feel fulfilled, happy and proud.

I realized that doing something like this made me feel good, and I could be useful to someone or something. Therefore, I knew that I wanted to work on it, try hard and soon have more experiences similar to this one. Speaking of Ecuador, it is a small country with great diversity, from oceanside to the Andes, volcanic mountains and also beautiful and unique Galapagos Islands (literal translation to Eng., Turtle Islands) and also the equator line passing through the outskirts of capital Quito, where the Museo Intiñan (Quechua for “Route to the Sun”) is located and if you visit it you get a stamp confirming that you have been at the equator line. Speaking of people, one of the most interesting parts for me was to observe indigenous Kichwa people in the capital Quito and Otavalo and listen to their Kichwa language. And what terrified me was the difference between rich and poor, in South American terms it can even be said “class differences”. Yet, poor people who live in pile dwellings or similar types of houses and eat rice all day (figuratively said) are so happy and positive, and I think everyone who ever complains about life should go see something like that if the opportunity arises. On the other hand, there are so-called urbanizations, closed groups of houses with security and ramps to which only residents and their announced guests have access, mostly upper-middle class, and high-class members. It makes one think and wonder about life circumstances. As I mentioned before, after that experience in Ecuador I came home renewed, refreshed, full of new experiences and motivation.

As I liked Ecuador and South America in general very much, a year and a half later, in the summer of 2013, I decided to participate in an educational NGO project in Porto Alegre, Brazil. Porto Alegre was the headquarters of the project, later an NGO EduAction. The project was led by AIESEC, an international student organization (by Porto Alegre local AIESEC office) and supported by Gerdau S.A. The project took place in five South American countries- Brazil, Argentina, Colombia, Peru, and Uruguay. I choose Brazil because I thought I could pick up Brazilian Portuguese during my travels as I had previously picked up Spanish knowing and speaking Italian. Also, I chose Porto Alegre as it is not one of the *catchy* north-eastern popular cities. It was also the headquarters of the project, with the biggest team of volunteers, ten of us, or five pairs, and an international leaders team of a project, which also meant that there was a chance to get to know more people. Also, what I got to know later prior to travelling to Porto Alegre is that there was a boy who volunteered in Ukraine through AIESEC, who later travelled to Croatia, got thrilled with Zagreb and the people there and wanted to help me out when I would arrive there. It all ended up with Rafa and his family being my host family during the



whole duration of the project. My Brazilian (or better to say gaúcho<sup>1</sup>) family. Working in several public primary schools with 7th and 8th graders, paired with Mike, a boy from Guatemala, teaching them through informal and interactive way about leadership, social responsibility, diversity, entrepreneurship, and personal development has been one of the most rewarding experiences so far, as by teaching others you learn so much more and you can clearly see how you made a change to someone.

The diversity I am constantly mentioning was so obvious in the classroom as well, and to teach several classes that are mutually so diverse but share so much in common and in the end are all the same, in at least one thing, no matter how different they were in (some) individual characteristics- Brazilians, proved to be a challenge. Just to clarify, when I said Brazilians here, I didn't mean it only in a national sense of (formal) belonging, but referring to that cultural diversity of Brazilian people, different cultural heritage of Brazil making a whole. Speaking about education in Brazil, there is inequality in the education system, especially when it comes to public vs. private in terms of obligatory schooling. Most of the parents who can afford it send their children to private primary schools, and public universities are of such high quality and so appreciated, that most of the students take one preparational year to enter the university. I worked in public primary schools, where most of the students had very similar social, family backgrounds and living conditions. It was very exotic for them that a girl from Croatia and a boy from Guatemala who had never learned Portuguese before came there to teach them something. But it was very good and very important that we did, as all of us could clearly see and feel that mutual learning process and the change it made to both sides. The motto of the project was. "*E se o mundo coubesse em uma escola?*" ("What if the world could fit in a school?") All of us in the project have shown that it is possible in some way.

Some of the "non-typical Brazilian" things about the Brazilian South have already been mentioned above. Speaking specifically of Porto Alegre, the capital of the southernmost federal state of Rio Grande do Sul (Eng. Big southern river), one of the things I found interesting was that they have four seasons at the south of Brazil. It also meant that at the time when I was supposed to be there, it would be winter. Winter in Brazil, that is possible. And later, after some

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<sup>1</sup> Author's note: Inhabitants of the state Rio Grande do Sul, capital of which is Porto Alegre, often refer to themselves as Gaúchos, otherwise traditional South American cowboys. "The term "gaúcho" refers to the traditional cowboys from South America. They occur in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil, commonly in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. They are often in traditional clothing and make their living by running ranches and working with the horses, sheep and cattle." Meyer, Amelia. Brazil - Gaucho's 2010, <http://www.brazil.org.za/gauchos.html> (visited on 5/9/2017)

time in Porto Alegre when I have been “frozen” multiple times and caught a strong flu that lasted for three weeks (I was even out of work for 10 days), which was the first time after early childhood - I really needed to believe in the southern Brazilian winter. In some little villages in the countryside, it was even snowing. And in the south of Brazil there was no central heating like back home, they heated rooms partially and even wore a jacket in the house if it was too cold. So, one really can be cold in Brazil. The average temperature in the winter months is around 15 °C, but it gets windy, the air is humid, and it rains on average 10 days each winter month (according to INMET<sup>2</sup>). Another interesting thing I found out, felt, and saw is how Porto Alegre is very *European*. In many things like architecture, music, gastronomy, even landscapes, and also due to its “four season” thing- it is definitely not tropical. Then I found out that the first settlers from Europe in this area, apart from the Portuguese, were German, Polish, and Ukrainian. That is why it makes sense that Brazilian barbecue (Port. *churrasco*) is so similar to German and Ukrainian, why they eat marble cake, *cuca* (derivation from German *kuchen*-cake<sup>3</sup>) and drink hot wine, why traditional music includes accordion, why most of the Gaúchos prefer rock music over samba and other different African and “tropically influenced” music. Also, in some small villages, which are immensely reminiscent of Germany, Oktoberfest, a traditionally German beer festival, is held across the country. The biggest Oktoberfest outside of Germany takes place in Blumenau in Santa Catarina federal state, neighbouring Rio Grande do Sul. Had I heard that name somewhere else before, I would surely have thought it was somewhere in Germany.

And all the number of other “European stuff.” Not only that, but Brazilian south has more links to Argentina and Uruguay (gaucho, already mentioned, chimarrão<sup>4</sup>) and is more exposed to Spanish speaking influence than the rest of Brazil. There are also several languages preserved since the time those settlers first came to this area from Italy and Germany. Special form of Italian (Pomoranian) and German (Riograndenser Hunsrückisch) are spoken, and they are considered languages and not dialects. They have also changed over time, but still preserved some original characteristics that languages spoken in Europe have lost.

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<sup>2</sup> "NORMAIS CLIMATOLÓGICAS DO BRASIL 1961-1990" (in Portuguese). Instituto Nacional de Meteorologia. <http://www.inmet.gov.br/portal/index.php?r=clima/normaisclimatologicas> (retrieved on 5 September 2017)

<sup>3</sup> The Brazilianization of a German Cake - Kuchen into Cuca. Flavours Of Brazil. Sabores do Brazil, blog, published on 17/8/2012, <http://flavorsofbrazil.blogspot.co.uk/2012/08/the-brazilianization-of-german-cake.html> (retrieved on 5 September 2017)

<sup>4</sup> Traditional south american tea made of mate plant, *yerba mate*

But of course, the “European” is not the only influence present, there is, for example, great population of Lebanese origin, although Brazilians of Asian origin are settled mainly in São Paulo, there are some in the south (I also had some students), also in Três Coroas there is a Buddhist temple, as well as in general it is a blend of many different cultures and influences.

### ***1.2. Typical image of Brazil- the world in the tropics***

On the other hand, aside from being “frozen” and hearing about the snow in the countryside, I was glad I chose Porto Alegre not really knowing what awaited me there. I did read and talk to the people prior to going there, but the impression was way stronger than I thought it would be. There is more to Brazil than the typical image of Brazil (in the world), which is tropical- beaches, samba, football, north-east, hot weather, and capoeira. Those tropical elements will, with help of Gilberto Freyre, the most famous Brazilian sociologist, become symbols of the Brazilian national identity, therefore - a “typical image.” Tanja Tarbuk (2016) summarizes it like this:

*Before that (movements of Modernism in 1922 and Tropicalism in the 60's and the 70's, A/N), Brazil was a nation that was pushing for Europeanization and rejecting elements, that will later, with help of the best-known Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, become symbols of national identity: samba, mix (or blend, A/N) of races and / or cultures and tropical climate. Freyre can be said to be a cultural inventor Brazil. He first presented a positive image of the hybrid and mixed Brazil in his work from 1933. Casa grande & senzala (Lord's House & House of slaves). The power of his idea lies in gathering everything which makes the Brazilian scenario without homogenization of diversity, and in interpreting the fusion of that diversity/diversities as the creation of a new national entity that contains multiple racial and cultural aspects. According to Freyreian theory, tropical climate itself is also conducting a dialogue with building of national identity, and therefore sociology that follows it also must be "mixed, hybrid or amphibious."<sup>5</sup>*

In addition to this, even the national anthem has that blend, pluralism and diversity stated in its lyrics, and the literature is understandably in constant search of identity. Again, Tarbuk (2016) refers to it like this:

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<sup>5</sup> Tarbuk, Tanja. Brazil- taj uzavreli višekulturni atlantski kotao, published in Književna smotra: Časopis za svjetsku književnost, HFD, Zagreb, Vol. 181, No. 3, 2016.; pg. 3

*That is why in his significant song National anthem (Hino Nacional), Carlos Drummond can say: "Not any Brazil exists," as there are many Brazils, not just one. It is his origin in plurality, in building identity on diversity. In this sense, Brazilian literature shows constant pursuit of identity, hence the elaboration of their different heritage, indigenous, black, hence regionalism in literature, as well as the efforts of pre-modernists and modernists to find extra/out-portuguese elements in their culture.<sup>6</sup>*

And that is what “bought me” instantly when it comes to Brazil. That blend of differences coming into one, coming from different areas, different parts of the world through some periods of time uniting all differences into one- Brazilian. And, most importantly, adding the unique note of something new to something already familiar and accepting it as Brazilian. I was glad to be in Porto Alegre, by being there for a couple of months I could have perceived all *those* differences in one whole, more intensively and more clearly. To explain this with the example of one of the Brazilian desserts mentioned above; no one ever says that *cuca* is German- *cuca* is Brazilian, as soon as you have *cuca de goiaba* (Eng. guava) and *cuca de banana*, for example, and there is no (German) *kuchen* made of those fruits - *kuchen* is made mostly of apple and strawberry. But again, one can find *cuca* in three states that form Brazilian southern region- Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. *Cuca* can very rarely be found in the north-east. This is because it was brought there and “made” Brazilian, however, no one ever denies its German origin. Moreover, most Brazilians are proud of that trait of Brazil and Brazilians- acceptance, openness and adaptation of everything and anything by adding a spice of uniqueness in any way- and making it their own, with respect to its origin. Or even an adaptation of anyone, which I will come to and explain in continuation. On the one hand, in Brazil, a person will be accepted as an individual from the side of the host, and your own *everything* will be respected (South Americans or in general *Latinos* often use expression *forma de ser* or way of being, translated to English). But on the other hand, you will instantly become “theirs”- i.e., Brazilian. And it is a mutual impact and influence, an exchange that one cannot avoid.

According to Bhikhu Parekh (2008), it happens always, one is nothing without the other and one depends on the other by exchanging and sharing experiences and time. It is a subconscious process one cannot avoid. And that is what makes individual, social, and national identity. But it is to admit, “with” South Americans, Brazil and Brazilians this process is intensified and more obvious. Moreover, it is the mechanism of how whole society

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

functions. The wor(l)d *blend* is very important, as Brazilian social and cultural structure and image is exactly that, a blend. A blend of “*everything from all over*” making a unique Brazilian whole. When I say unique, what I mean by this is that it had a special way of incorporating different elements into the society which functioned, and it still does, like a subconscious mechanism which later reflected to its (Brazil's, Brazilian society) structure. For example, many other countries have colonial history. But not all of them have that blend, which has no name, or at least as far as I had known before going into the subject. Most European states have a national state model, the USA is told to be a *melting pot*, Australia had exclusive (white) policy towards indigenous aboriginal people. Brazil is none of this. So how is this “thing” called then, I wondered. Because of my personal experience in Brazil, the notion that it really is unique, and I knew nothing about it, in a way, not even any specific word or expression for this that would remind me of Brazil and its people, Brazilian society came to light for me. I heard and realized before that it is a “mixture of everything.” That is an expression, but a very general one, I thought. So, I decided to take a deeper look at the subject and try to describe and define Brazilian society.

## **2. Outline of the thesis: Hypothesis, research, and method**

**Hypothesis:** Brazil is culturally anthropophagical society, and that mechanism or structure is different from any other already known, with its indigenous core.

**Theme of research:** Cultural and social (or sociocultural) image of Brazil

**Research problem:** referring to Brazilian cultural structure and society as a mixture or a blend is lacking an exact explanation and information

**Research goal:** to describe and define Brazilian cultural and social structure with an in-depth approach to both theory and present state in society and possibly to give a name to that model and/or mechanism.

**Research questions:** Does Brazil have special social and cultural structure? Does it have a specific mechanism of culture and society? Where does it come from and how is it called? What keeps it going? Are there down sides of it? Can Brazil set as an example for other societies or society in general (also in (process of) globalization)?

**Research method:** insight in theory, personal experience 'on field', discourse analysis, presuppositions and implicatures, in- depth interview.

When choosing a way of how to write about the subject and making it a whole it was clear that I needed to start from writing and thinking about the general insight in Brazil and the questions and motivations that would come, impose themselves and arise from there. I have already done that in February 2016 in the essay for the optional course of my Communication science Master study, *Culture, Identity and Globalization*, lecturer in charge of which was prof. Marinko Šišak, PhD. I am using that essay as a starting point to this Master thesis (attached to this thesis in Chapters 3 and 4) and I will use the questions imposed in the “first” conclusion (Chapter 4.1.) as motivation for further writing and research.

The next step in expanding my research is insight into theory, by which I mean the very early writings about Brazil when Portuguese colonizers and explorers met indigenous people, then insight into sociological and anthropological writings to understand (better) the subject I want to write about, social and cultural structure. Later, as part of the research I choose to analyse Brazilian soap opera *Lado a Lado* (Eng. *Side by side*) that is set at the beginning of the 20th century, 25 years after the abolition of slavery, in the time of First Brazilian Republic (Port. República Velha, Old Republic) which lasted from 1889 to 1930. The government was a constitutional democracy then, but democracy was nominal. Socially, it was the period when black people, descendants of slaves were still looking for their place in the society. In the plot there are a lot of historical elements relevant to today's state, so discourse analysis and presuppositions and implicatures were chosen for this.

Furthermore, to link all this to the present state and condition, I felt like I needed to talk to the people, because before and behind all the writing(s) and science about it, culture comes from people - people are culture and culture is people. I spoke to young people, at the time aged 21 to 31, using a method of in-depth interview. They were all Brazilians who lived abroad, even had more experience of it, or recently returned to Brazil after living abroad for a while. I chose to do this because the thing is, when the person moves out away from home into a different surroundings and culture, he or she has a broader perspective “from far away” and is more conscious, can notice more easily some traits that make similarities or differences and what is special about a certain culture- in this case, I was interested in their own (culture), their own description and in comparison to where they live or have lived before.

However, it is important to emphasize that with all the similarities and/or differences, culture is one, as well as the world is one, the differences are nothing more than “local varieties” of one whole- world culture. When saying *special* and *unique*, it does not mean that other cultures are less unique, it is only meant in a way to describe a long tradition of a certain

mechanism in Brazil that cannot be found as such in any other culture. Traits found in Brazil can be found in some other cultures as well, and this mechanism that will be explained can also be found in some parts in other cultures, but not as its general and first most characteristic, as in the case of Brazil.

### **3. Brazil- South American fusion of Africa, Asia, and Europe (general information and overall insight in Brazil)**

Brazil is the largest state in South America, located on its east coast, bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, and spanning to the West all the way to the Amazonian rainforest. In terms of surface (8,514,877 km<sup>2</sup>) and population (over 190 million), it is the fifth largest country in the world, the largest Lusophone country in the world, and the only Portuguese speaking country in the Americas (the official language is Portuguese). The full name of this state is the Federal Republic of Brazil, a federal constitutional democracy led by the president, consisting of 26 federal states and one federal district (the federal district of the capital city of Brazil, Brasília, within the federal state of Goiás). It consists of five ecoregions: Amazonian rainforest, Atlantic forests, tropical rainforests, deserts, and wetlands. As far as climate is concerned, there are five major climatic subtypes in Brazil; equatorial, tropical, semi-dense, mountain tropical, moderate, and subtropical climate. Brazil is geographically divided into five regions: North, North-Eastern, Central-South, South-Eastern, and Southern region. The capital is Brasília with 2,562,963 inhabitants, and the largest city is São Paulo (11,244,369 inhabitants), which is, after Tokyo, the second largest city in the world in terms of population in the wider metropolitan area.

One of the interesting things about Brazil is the origin of the word Brazil, which is not mentioned often in relation to Brazil. The name derives from the Latin word “brasa” which means ember, live coal, and is referred to as the name of the Brazilian plant, or tree (Lat. *Caesalpinia echinata*, Port. *pau-brasil*). The English word is paubrasilia, brazilwood or pernambuco tree, because it is typical for the federal state of Pernambuco. Brazil therefore means "red like amber." Many seafarers from the Brazilian regions traded this tree to Europe in the 16th century.

### ***3.1. History of Brazil***

The first landing of Portuguese researchers on the Brazilian soil was on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April 1500, led by Pedro Álvares Cabral. Among historians, it is believed that the area of present-day Brazil has been inhabited by the half-nomadic people about 10 000 years before, and the Mexicans encountered natives in the stone age divided into several tribes with mutual conflicts, most of them from the same linguistic group Tupí-Guaraní. The first settlement was founded in 1532, and the "actual" colonization began in 1534. The colonists used natural resources, initially mostly brazilwood and later sugar and coffee, which became the most significant Brazilian export products. At the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, sugar exports began to decline, but the discovery of gold by the explorers in the state of Minas Gerais (literally meaning general mines) saved the colony from collapse, as the mines attracted large number of immigrants from all over Brazil, and Portugal as well.

In the wars against the French, the Portuguese gradually expanded their territory to the southeast, occupying Rio de Janeiro in 1567, and in the northwest, conquering São Luís in 1615. They sent military expeditions to the Amazonian rainforest and won the British and Dutch strongholds, and in that area since 1669 they started establishing settlements and fortresses. In the year of 1680, they reached Far South and founded Sacramento on the coast of Río de la Plata (La Plata River) in the Banda Oriental region (today's Uruguay). In 1808, Queen Mary I. and her son and regent, the future king John VI, were fleeing in front of the Napoleon's army, and together with the royal family, nobility, and the government, they moved to Rio de Janeiro, which was the only transcontinental transfer of the royal family in history. Rio de Janeiro became the seat of the entire Portuguese colonial empire of Brazil. In 1815, regent John VI, on behalf of his mother Queen Mary, raised Brazil from colonies to the Sovereign Kingdom united with Portugal, while the Portuguese government was constantly attempting to restore Brazil's status of colony, depriving it of all achievements from year 1808 onwards. The Brazilians did not want to obey this and were endorsed by Prince Pedro de Alcantara who proclaimed independence from Portugal on 7<sup>th</sup> of September 1822, and by this act, founded the Brazilian Empire.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of October 1822 Pedro was proclaimed the first emperor of Brazil and crowned as Peter I on the 1<sup>st</sup> of December. The last Portuguese soldiers surrendered on the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 1824. The first Brazilian constitution was proclaimed shortly after, on March 25, 1824, and from Portugal, Brazil was admitted as independent on August 29, 1825. The rule of Peter II (crowned in 1841) was a representative democracy, and this period is considered to be



the "58 years of peace and prosperity in Brazil." The slavery was abolished after a slow but steady process that began at the end of the international slave trade in 1850 and was completed with the total abolition of slavery in 1888 with the "Golden Law" created by Princess Izabela. On November 15, 1889, the monarchy was overthrown, at the time when Peter II was at the peak of his popularity.

After the death of his two sons, Pedro believed that the imperial regime was destined to end so he did nothing, nor did he allow anything to be done to prevent a military strike, with the support of former slave-owners who opposed the abolition of slavery. This was the creation of the federal republic, the official name of which is the Federative Republic of Brazil (Port. República Federativa do Brazil), proclaimed by Deodoro da Fonseca on 15 November 1889.

### ***3.2. Population and Social Reality (Languages, Culture, Religion, Politics)***

#### ***3.2.1. Demographic composition of population and culture***

The demographic composition of Brazil is very diverse in every sense. It is diverse in terms of ethnic origin, racial belonging, and social standards. The population of Brazil is mainly derived from indigenous Indian tribes, Portuguese settlers, and African slaves, but also from the Far East Asian population, mainly in the São Paulo state. Since the arrival of the Portuguese in the 1500s, there was considerable mixing between the first three mentioned groups. The "brown population" ("mixed-race" Brazilians are officially called *pardo*) is a broad category that includes *Cabolcoes* (the descendants of Whites and Indians), *Mulattos* (the descendants of Whites and Blacks) and *Cafuzes* (descendants of Blacks and Indians). The brilliant composition of the population in Brazil and its diversity is something that is very specific and is the subject of many interests, both personal interests of individuals as well as interests of scientists in the field of demography, anthropology, ethnology, or history. What happened in Latin America is that colonizers, mostly Spanish and Portuguese, who were initially aggressive and violent towards the indigenous population, have in some way allowed interfering with the population, for example in public gatherings, and with time have become even more relaxed about it. So, the population is mixed, which is also strongly reflected in today's demographic picture of Brazil when speaking about racial affiliation. According to the latest census from 2011, 47.7 percent of the population declared themselves as whites.

The culture of Brazil is strongly influenced by African culture, which is evident in racial composition, music (samba, originating from Angolan semba), sports, and culture (capoeira). All of this originated from African slaves who were brought mainly to the present-day coast of the state of Bahia during the colonial period. Therefore, Bahia is considered "the most trusted guardian and representative of African cultural heritage in Brazil." Although the rest of Latin America has also been influenced by African culture, especially in music, this influence can be found all over Latin America, so in Ecuador for example, there is a province similar to Brazil's Bahia, Esmeraldas. Still, African influence is the unquestionably the most striking in Brazil. The influence of Japanese culture and population on culture and identity of Brazil is manifested by the fact that the Liberdade (Port. for liberty, freedom) district of São Paulo is inhabited by the largest Japanese population outside Japan and has about 70,000 inhabitants. As a result, one can hear Japanese language on the streets. There are numerous restaurants of Japanese and Asian cuisine, therefore it is also the gastronomic centre of Asian culture in Brazil. The journal of Japanese community in Brazil is the São Paulo Shimbun paper, which is published in Liberdade, and can be found on newspaper stands alongside other Far East papers, magazines, and prints. Martial art and sport of Brazilian Jiu Jitsu was also founded there.

As for the religious structure of the population of Brazil, most of the population is Catholic, as much as seventy-three percent, which is the legacy of the colonial era and the legacy of the Portuguese tradition. Along Catholicism there is also Protestantism, and finally Spiritism, which is a name, an expression that encompasses all traditional (indigenous) forms of worship and belief. More than seven percent of the population did not declare their religion. One of the examples of the traditional form of belief that originates from Africa is Candomblé (or one specific form, Candomblé Ketu, with Ketu being a region of Benin where practitioners originally came from), a dance in honour of the gods that originated in Bahia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, whose roots have the traditional beliefs of the Yoruba, Fon and Bantu people and it ensued by their "creolization." The devotees of this religion and the performers of the dance call themselves "*povo do Santo*" (Port. for people of the Holy, People of the Saint). The other religions of Yoruba tradition in Brazil are Quimbanda, Umbanda and Tambor de Mina (eng. Drum of Mina). Speaking of Yoruba tradition in the context of religion, it is worth to mention that it is also very present and accepted in everyday, popular culture. For example, Iemanjá, a major water spirit from the Yoruba religion, who is the mother of all Orisha(s) and the patron of rivers and oceans (Orisha, according to the teachings of these religion(s), being the spirits sent by the supreme creator, Olodumare, to assist humanity and to teach them to be successful on Ayé (Earth)) - is mentioned in a (pop) song Shimbalaîê by the popular Brazilian singer Maria

Gadú.<sup>7</sup> This again demonstrates the mentioned blend, mixture, acceptance or whatever we wish to call that characteristic or mechanism of Brazilian culture.

(...)	(...)
<i>Pensamento tão livre quanto o céu,</i>	<i>Thought as free as the sky</i>
<i>Imagino um barco de papel</i>	<i>I imagine the paper boat</i>
<i>Indo embora pra não mais voltar</i>	<i>Leaving not to return</i>
<i>Tendo como guia <b>Iemanjá</b>.</i>	<i>With <b>Iemanjá</b> as a guide.</i>
(...)	(...)

The Yoruba tradition, in addition to religion and belief, is also very present in the cuisine, accordingly, especially in the north-eastern region, but spread all over Brazil too. Two of the most popular Yoruba dishes worth mentioning are Acarajé and Vatapá.

### ***3.2.2. Economic situation and population standard***

Reflecting on the economic standard of the population, it can be noted that the majority of citizens economically belong to the middle class. Although Brazilian society is not officially divided into social classes, there are informal divisions and generally noticeable extremes, both in the social standard and in the (racial) composition of the population. For example, between the population in the *favelas* (Brazilian slums, shanty towns) and those in the richer quarters of certain cities. *Favelas* are poor settlements on the hills above the town (Port. *morro*), which originated in the 18th century as places inhabited by former slaves and were initially also called the African quarters (Port. *bairros africanos*). The origin of the word *favela* is not clear, there are more versions of it, but most likely it derives from the Latin word “*faba*,” meaning grain. Before the first *favela* was created, the poor people were driven from the centre of the town and forced to live in remote areas. But most of today's *favelas* were created in the 1970s, due to the large urbanization during which many people left rural areas of Brazil where they had previously lived and moved to the cities. Since many could not find a place to live, they settled in *favelas*. According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), in 2011 about six percent of the population (11.4 million of the total population of 190 million people) lived in such illegal settlements. The largest *favela* in the world is Rocinha (Port. for *small farm*), in the south zone of Rio de Janeiro, where about 70,000 people live (Attachment 2).

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<sup>7</sup> Maria Gadú, Maria Gadú, Som Livre, 2009 (length 3:17)

There are many social and charitable projects today that strive to ensure better life and equal opportunities for people, especially children, and ensure that people of (in) *favelas* are not excluded from the whole society. Although this exclusion rarely occurs directly, unfortunately such social behaviour is very often, even unconsciously, part of the actions and treatment of these people. Schools and sports clubs are opening and artistic, social and sport activities are being organized. For example, Rocinha sports complex was opened in the end of June 2010 through the so-called Growth Acceleration Program (Portuguese abbreviation: PAC) of the Federal Government of Brazil, together with the inauguration of the pedestrian bridge (Port. Pasarela da Rocinha) of a famous architect Oscar Niemeyer, connecting the sports complex with the rest (or other side) of the favela. What is interesting about the bridge is that it has the shape of a samba dancer's buttocks. It should also be mentioned that not all residents were satisfied with the project, as it included the destruction of houses in a high-risk area. As a result, there were protests on the opening and inauguration day. Because of its size and infrastructure, Rocinha is often called *favela bairro* or favela neighbourhood. There is also a strong cultural activity in the favelas, to preserve tradition through music and dance, with one of the most active and most famous groups in this area being Grupo Cultural AfroReggae (GCAR) founded in 1993 in the Vigário Geral *favela* in Rio de Janeiro.

Regarding the economic situation in Brazil in general, according to GDP, Brazil's economy is the eighth largest in the world, and according to the parity of purchasing power, the seventh largest. The currency in Brazil is the Brazilian real. The economy of Brazil has a large base of natural resources and a developed industry and economy. Companies from the United States, Switzerland, Japan, and France have a large share and influence and are important part of the economy. Recently, there has been great industrial progress. Each year, large areas of forests are cut off and new areas are used in agriculture. Most of the plantations are owned by large farmers, and foreign companies also have a strong influence. Most of the working-age population is employed in service activities (42%), in agriculture (31%) and in industry (27%). Brazil is a growing global economy, with renewable energy sources playing an increasingly important role. Environmental awareness is also growing, separate waste collection and recycling have been organized, oil collectors have been in the streets, the citizens have been aware of the importance of reducing greenhouse gas emissions. At the same time, movement and healthy lifestyle were encouraged by actions such as the Saturday bicycle race in the city centre with a ban on personal vehicles, and it became a tradition. For example, the city of Curitiba in the state of Paraná is one of the world's leading cities in the number and layout of cycling paths and the use of alternative forms of transport such as bicycle, scooter, or Segway.

In the political and economic sense, Brazil is part of the BRICS (abbreviation/ acronym for Brazil, Russia, India, China and (the Republic of) South Africa, sometimes even including Nigeria, in that case the acronym being BRINCS), which is an association of complementary economies that have grown and united so they could be more competitive in the world market due to similar interests, opposing to the European Union and the United States. The term BRIC was introduced in 2001 by Jim O'Neill, President of the Global Financial Research Bank Goldman Sachs. The Republic of South Africa was granted membership in 2010, and the name and abbreviation/acronym BRICS was created, according to the initial letters of the English name of the member states. The activity of this association was stronger in the beginning and has grown weaker now.

Politically speaking, Brazil is known as a democracy and world power led for a certain time, to be precise from 2011 to 2016, by President Dilma Rouseff, which at the time made Brazil one of the few countries headed by women. However, Brazil as well as other Latin American countries are often named mentioned and known as machoistic society states. But still, this fact remains written in the world and Brazilian history.

### ***3.3. Languages***

Portuguese is the official language, while Portuguese language spoken in Brazil is a dialect/ vernacular which the linguists call Brazilian Portuguese. Portuguese is actually the only official language and the language used in public communication in Brazilian society in general, in the media, for business and administrative purposes.

The exceptions are São Gabriel da Cachoeira, where along Portuguese language, Indian language Nheengatu, which belongs to Tupi - Guarani language family, is the official language. It was even one of the two *linguas gerais* or general languages (ling. *lingua franca*) until the late 19th century, proscribed by Marquis of Pombal and spoken all along Brazilian coast - and Pomerode in the federal state of Santa Catarina on the southern coast, where German has the status of the official language. Likewise, in the southern part, various immigrant languages are spoken and used, and their speakers are mostly bilingual rural people. An example of this are the Brazilian-German dialects, such as the Riograndenser Hunsrückisch and Pomeranian language, name of the second one mentioned coming from the German word and name of the German region *Pommern* (but again, this word coming to German from Slavic (i.e., Polish) *Pomorje*, meaning seaside) where the settlers who brought it there first came from, and

accordingly, spoke the language. Also, there are variants of Italian language based on the Venetian language, for example Talian or *italiano riograndense*. Polish and Ukrainian are widely spoken in the federal state of Paraná. Local Indian (or indigenous) languages are mostly used in the northern part of the country, although Portuguese is very well represented there. In São Paulo, Japanese, Korean, and Chinese languages can often be heard in immigrant quarters (primarily in Liberdade, already mentioned). Brazil is the only Lusophone country in the Americas (and thus in Latin America), which makes language the important part of Brazilian national identity (although language is always an important part of national identity) and emphasizes the diversity of national culture in relation to the Hispanic neighbours.

The Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP), which includes representatives of all Portuguese-speaking countries, has reached an agreement on Portuguese reform in one international language instead of the current two distinct dialects of the same language. All CPLP countries had to make the necessary changes by 2014. However, in Brazil, there is a growing current of those language experts who insist that Brazilian Portuguese should be proclaimed as an independent, separate language instead of an actual situation of two separate dialects of the same language.

Although in its constitution Brazil does not recognize the concept of national minorities as such, mostly due to its history, so the use of its own language does not have to be enabled, assured formally like in European countries for example (to all various linguistic and cultural societies in Brazil who use any other language) - there are many variants of traditional (indigenous) and immigrant languages in Brazil, which the communities freely use in their own communication, and sometimes, with the approval and anticipated implementation, they introduce it to the education system and the system of daily (official) communication. Federal state of Rio Grande do Sul has recently reintroduced some immigrant minority languages in the school curriculum, as explained, to reverse the trend of those languages (once) being replaced by Portuguese to facilitate easier integration into society. It is (now and again, as it should be) about honouring the diversity.

One interesting thing about Brazil's linguistic structure and policy is that Brazil is the first South American country to have introduced the possibility of learning Esperanto in high school as an optional subject. Esperanto is very popular in Brazil, and it is at the top of the list of countries with the biggest number of speakers.

#### **4. Brazil - cultural and social identity and typical image of Brazil in the world today**

Through its turbulent, diverse, and interesting history, Brazil has brought many influences and components to the world cultural heritage, so today Brazil is very often the first association that comes along when speaking about certain topics or terms. Since it is very diverse and specific in its identity, it is quite understandable why it is so. For example, football, once considered an elite sport, and played in public only by the whites in "rich" country clubs, has over time become and is today considered the most important and recognizable Brazilian national sport. Brazil is one of the leading countries in the world when it comes to success in football, and it has one of the world's leading successful and most widely known football players. But football is not only played and measured for its success. In Brazil football is really "lived," alive in a sense that support and emotional engagement of the Brazilian people and public are enormous and impossible not to notice in general. There are also names of Brazilian and world football, such as Ronaldinho or Kaka, which only a few, if any, have not heard of.

Another recognizable Brazilian cultural fact is samba, a type of dance and music whose original form- semba has its roots in Angola, from where most of the slaves were brought to the Brazilian coast. Samba as a dance is also included in Latin American dance competitions, and its ballroom/competition version is somewhat different than traditional carnival one. One of the forms of performing samba is also "*samba de roda*" (Port. for round/circle samba), inscribed in 2008 in the UNESCO's List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, where musicians and dancers, each with their own instrument, form a circle and then create music and spontaneous performance. It was developed in the State of Bahia, in the region of Recôncavo during the seventeenth century. It developed under the strong influence of dances and cultural traditions of African slaves. The performance also includes elements of Portuguese culture, such as language, poetry, and certain musical instruments. It is very easy to recognize the African influence in it, even "just" by listening first-hand, from the musical beat and the instruments used. Samba also plays an important role in the carnival; in Rio de Janeiro, for example, there is a stadium where Samba schools are introduced and make a parade during the carnival, and it is even called *Sambadrome*. Another cultural fact of Brazil is *capoeira*, a kind of combat, martial art dance that also originates from Africa, or from African slaves who developed this dance wanting to defend and liberate themselves, and they were trying to do it through music and dance.

Carnival has been the best and most widely known Brazilian cultural fact for long. Carnival is held every year forty days before Easter, and the most famous one is in Rio de Janeiro, where its main event is the two-day parade of Samba Schools (on Sunday and Monday) during which richly costumed participants have their thematic performance, (to) the specific song for that year, as well as a certain number of moving scenographies- allegories. Special jury evaluates appearances in multiple categories and announces the results on Wednesday after the carnival. The top six schools participate both on Saturday and at the Champions' Parade. Less formal groups of carnival participants are called “*blocos*” (Port. *bloco*- block, clause). They parade through the city streets and have certain theme of performance as well. Their performances are not of a competitive character. There are about thirty *blocos* in Rio. In Porto Alegre, the capital of the southernmost federal state of Rio Grande do Sul, there is *Bloco da Laje*. It was formed in 2011 and it participates in every carnival of Porto Alegre, where many people gather and have fun together. They go out in city areas not only in the carnival period, but throughout the year, mainly in central Parque Farroupilha<sup>8</sup>, commonly known as *Parque da Redenção* and they perform and have fun with the people gathered there. Music groups playing in the streets of the city are called *bandas* (Port. *banda*- (music) band, group). But the carnival in Rio is not the only one of course, there are ones in other parts of Brazil, mostly in the north-western states, and the way of celebrating it and performing is somewhat different everywhere. In the state of Minas Gerais, for example, performing *blocos* have traditionally been accompanied by *fanfares*, short musical flourishes that are typically played by trumpets, French horns, or other brass instruments, often accompanied by percussion. Recently, the growing influence of the Rio Carnival has been observed through the numerous samba schools that have been established recently.

The next thing we know very well about Brazil is coffee. Brazil is the leading world producer and exporter of coffee, according to the latest data at the time of writing (of World Atlas) producing roughly 2.700,000 metric tons per year. Although Brazilians are very high on the world 's list of coffee consumers, they are not at the very top, but currently 14th, to say “only” 14th regarding to the fact the country is the leading producer.

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<sup>8</sup> ... named after „*Farroupilha Revolt, or Ragamuffin War (1835–1845), uprising in Brazil's southernmost province of Rio Grande do Sul, the longest and most dangerous of the five major regional revolts that shook Brazil during the regency (1831–1840). First ridiculed as farrapos, or “ragamuffins” for their characteristic fringed leather garb, the rebels adopted the name as a banner of pride and defiance. Political and economic grievances fueled the rebellion.*“, retrieved from encyclopedia.com, OUP, CUP, Cengage.

<https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/farroupilha-revolt> (retrieved on 8/12/2021)



Another aspect that needs to be observed is nature, especially tropical nature, and long sandy beaches such as Copacabana and Ipanema, the most famous ones. Also, another distinction is the monument known to everyone, the statue of Christ the Redeemer on Corcovado Hill, which Catholic worshipers donated to the city of Rio de Janeiro in 1922. Many other monuments were inspired by it, among all the monument of Christ the King in Lisbon. Another interesting thing is that the hill of Corcovado rising above Rio de Janeiro is the place of evergreen vegetation which forms the Tijuca forest and the Corcovado National Park, all very close uphill from the centre of the city itself.

As far as social reality is concerned, it is worth recalling *favelas*, English translation of which would be slums, although that is arguable, so it is better to use the Portuguese word. Favelas are “poor” settlements on the hills and wealds above the city, not necessarily on the outskirts of the city, as it is often believed. Brazil is known for favelas and one word often associates to the other. This has been one of the most burning problems for many years. People in favelas mostly come from rural areas or smaller towns, they are mostly of dark skin tone (skin complexion) and come in search of a better life, but still, they remain there "on the margins" with minimal living conditions and families continue to grow there from generation to generation. So, the whole area spreads and it leads to increasing the differences in social standard in general, and in a very small space, two extremes of social standard can be noticed. The question arises as to whether the problem of favela could be solved, because it involves a large number of people, who need better housing and health care and education, as well as opportunities for economic and financial independence – this should be provided to the working-class population in/of favelas. But there is also the question of how many people from that whole population would actually want that and would be willing to agree to something else and new, since such a situation lasts for years, and in human behaviour and acceptance there are certain habits that are difficult to change. Also, people in favelas often disagree with some or even most of the policies of the authorities towards favelas and its inhabitants, and interest is often at two different ends. In this sense, favela, though often related to as social problem/issue, can be seen as part of Brazil's cultural identity.

All the aforementioned things are typical elements of Brazilian culture, society and geography, but part of the full picture of Brazil and its diversity make also some of the less known elements and facts. For example, there are deserts in Brazil, mostly in the northeast, most famous of which is Lençóis Maranhenses in the Maranhão state, which make a national park of the same name. This area is very interesting, since it is not a “real” desert- it is an area within the rainy area and is subject to the "rules" of the rainy season. What is happening is that

the rain stays on the sandy ground for some time, and it forms lagoons, "pools" in the desert's sandy soil, which then looks like a reflecting lens (Port. *lençois*- lenses).

The lesser-known part of Brazil is also the continental part of Brazil along the southern coast, from the coast to the interior to the West, on the border with Argentina and Uruguay. It is home to the population mainly originating from German, Polish and Ukrainian immigrants, and this area is geographically reminiscent of these countries. The population is largely engaged in wine growing and the area is largely made up of vineyards. In October, a beer festival modelled on the heritage of German tradition, mostly known as Oktoberfest, is held in some cities in this area. Also, there is a lot of chocolate production, which remained so, that is, it continued from the colonial period when the cities had a certain "role," in regard to their geographical position and natural goods- role of these was the production of chocolate. Today, those are colloquially called "chocolate towns". In all of those mostly, *café colonial* is available. It is a typical meal of Brazilian cities that in the 19th and 20th century hosted a large number of German immigrants (most of these, as said, located in the southern states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina e Paraná).

*It consists (café colonialA/N) of a self-service type of meal. Usually the amount of food served is abundant. There is also a great variety of choices from both German and Brazilian cuisines, such as bread, cheese bread, butter, jam, ham, margarine, cheese types, cookies, cakes, (mentioned cuca, German marble cake A/N), sausage, salted and sweet pies, omelet and brigadeiro. To drink one can pick among milk, coffee, tea, hot chocolate and fresh juices. The buffet often has a fixed price per person, but some places charge per kilo. The colonial coffee is traditionally served in the late afternoon.<sup>9</sup>*

One can feel the strong influences of European culture, and the general impression of being in this area is "European", unlike in the northern regions, where the impression is either tropical or continental in terms of and in the case of staying in the rainy wetlands of the Amazon or beaches of the northeast.

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<sup>9</sup> Torres, Jenifer A.. What is cafe coloidal? Posted on Foreigners in Curitiba, May 2014, <https://foreignersincuritiba.wordpress.com/2014/05/27/what-is-cafe-colonial/> (retrieved on 8/12/2021)

#### ***4.1. Conclusion part 1- motivation for further research***

Brazil is a country whose identity is in every sense, both socially and culturally, economically, and politically, very interesting and diverse. It is a blend of multitude of races, languages, and cultures with a high level of social and cultural tolerance, despite (institutionalized or “inherited”) social inequality. Although there are problems and controversies in Brazilian society, especially regarding to the relationship between racial origin and economic status and there are still differences in formal and social treatment regarding social and economic status, individuals and the Brazilian society in general are very open to diversity and accordingly *it* has open and relaxed approach. There is a constant possibility and a constant process of redefining everything without ever setting a firm border. One of the problems of the Brazilian society, especially in the area of small communities, is *machismo* and this “manhood” of the male gender is emphasized very often.

In relation to the open approach to human divergence and convergence, there is still certain amount of resistance to social changes, the Brazilian society is very sensitive to that, and the changes take place very slowly.

Another fact is that the economic potential of Brazil is huge, with BRICS being part of the economic strategy. However, the majority of the population economically belongs to the middle class, and there is also the problem of a very high level of child labour. Although children should attend school, what happens is that a large number of children are actually proud of the fact that they can work and help their families in that way. Also, children are allowed to be registered with the Employment Service and have a workbook. Although child labour leads to social inequality and even injustice, it is likely that these children say so because they have learned or heard so from their elders. This information shows how much the importance of work and personal contribution through own work and effort are rooted in Brazilian culture and the people' s way.

The education system remains one of Brazil's challenges. It needs to be harmonized, given that public higher education is on a high-quality level. However, it is available mainly to those who come from economically well-situated families and "better," mainly private primary or secondary schools, since most of public primary and secondary schools are not at this level to prepare students well enough for enrolment in state faculties, which are of very high quality according to the level of education and teaching they offer.

But the greatest wealth of Brazil is the already mentioned mixture of cultures, races and languages that contributed to the world culture and has yielded many recognizable and enriching cognitions and components. In cultural geography there is even the theory that the world will look like Brazil in the future, the image of the world will be (or should be) a picture of today's Brazil and the „world" should “learn” from Brazil. Really? It certainly remains an interesting topic for exploration, research, and possible prediction of the direction of that movement, and it is the topic that definitely should be further explored.

## **5. Cultural anthropophagy- key to understanding the functioning mechanism of cultural processes in Brazil**

*Brazil eats, sleeps and drinks football. It lives football! -Pele*

*It is contradictory, but it is Brazil. -Vinicius Munhos Ferreira*

### ***5.1. How I understand cultural anthropophagy***

Cultural anthropophagy, sociological (or social) term and concept which was first introduced by Brazilian poet and polemicist Oswald de Andrade in 1928, contextually said, compares literal anthropophagy found in indigenous tribes of Brazil (primarily Tupinamba) with the image of the present-day Brazil and its culture and- implements the concept of “cultural anthropophagy.“ Oswald de Andrade in his work *Manifesto Antropofago*, which implements that term and concept, by choosing simple wording, strongly criticizes the urge of humans to take a point of view of any appearance in society only from their own point of view, from their standpoint, from their background, and take it as the only right thing. Humans do that no matter which culture they come from, so judging, even unconsciously done, is often present. And it should not be so, says Andrade, although not directly, but very subtly by choosing wording.

Anthropophagy was criticized and characterized as barbaric in the Western world, but in the beginning, no one understood that it also had a deeper meaning of a sacred ceremony with an aspect of honour. By practitioners, it was seen as taking over and adopting positive values from the enemies, mostly strength and war combating skills. It implied that the enemy accepted that members of his tribe would take the revenge back, also with an aspect of honour, which was all done and said during the ceremony. The thing that Andrade does not deny is that

anthropophagy is violent in every form of its appearance, not necessarily because it directly involves violence as Western world knows it, but because it includes the act of taking something from someone and making it one's own. Taking something from someone/something is always violent, as it is still taking away and that person is not the same anymore after, equally as after adopting it, the recipient of that same thing is not the same, it changes, and it is different. All of this, of course, basically speaking in terms of ignoring the cultural and communicative concept of exchanging ideas. Including this concept, anthropophagy, especially cultural anthropophagy, probably could not be called violent anymore.

Furthermore, Andrade does not mention in any way that this act could be called immoral, and according to some other authors (ex. Neneve and Siepamann (2014)), the problem occurs when other authors try to interpret Andrade's work from English or some other (mis)translation. And why immoral at all? Because it includes going outside of oneself towards the other violently, again not in a literal meaning of violence. But, on the other hand, practitioners of anthropophagy did see a lot of moral in that act. To get back to the language interpretation, any appearance that wants to be explained, needs to be explained somehow, even from the translated original writing. But what happens here is that even in the very good translation, original sense could be lost, at least a bit, and only the translator, if even, keeps the original sense. Further interpretations might lead to multiple interpretations of the same thing. That is why it is very important to try to think outside one's own language, own notion and interpreting zone, to take a notice to possible differences and allow them.

To continue, for understanding (cultural) anthropophagy we need to go back to the more detailed description of anthropophagy found in Brazil. The most detailed one is found in the writings of Hans Staden (1900), where he wrote about his trip to Brazil in 1547 and his first encounter with the indigenous people of Brazil. Almost everywhere they went, they found indigenous people who had their own developed behaviour and community system and were afraid of newcomers. However, in the places where indigenous people had already made friends with the Portuguese, the explorers were also welcomed. In the behaviour of indigenous people, there was an act of violence, but also an act of honour and a sense of community feeling. Even Michel de Montaigne's very well-known essay *Of cannibals* (1580) is written on the basis of his first meeting with the indigenous Brazilians in Rouen and he states, similar to Andrade and Staden that „*We may call them barbaric for the rule of reason, but not in respect of ourselves,*

*who exceed them.* <sup>10</sup>, probably wanting to say that when trying to understand and interpret, one must think outside his or herself, take also other(s) viewpoint than the one which is “normal” to us. De Montaigne also notes community feeling, as he writes that after the ceremony, they would always leave some for their absent friends.

The above mentioned also applies to implementing cultural processes and appearances in a certain culture, and later interpreting them. To finally come to the cultural anthropophagy, the term was made in concordance to literal anthropophagy (i.e., cannibalism) and it relates to the culture or better to say, cultural mechanism. That is why for understanding it, it is necessary to go deeper into the description of anthropophagy itself first. Thus, anthropophagy in terms of culture or cultural anthropophagy means that everything that comes in a certain culture- from some other culture- can be adopted and/or implemented, but of course, with certain modifications which happen naturally during the process, according to the needs and nature of an individual, group of people, or a society in general. It is a process of implementation, adaptation (or modification) of characteristics and then, an adoption of a (whole) certain appearance and making it one's own. According to de Andrade, cultural anthropophagy is the key to Brazilian culture and its image today, and just generally seen, it could not be far from there. Of course, there are more processes regarding Brazilian culture and society that occurred later, for example Gilberto Freyre's tropicalism, but that is to come to later. What can be confusing is, if cultural anthropophagy is a positive process of acceptance, welcoming and adaptation, and in the end adoption of otherness, then why the society in which it is widely present, like Brazil, has so many internal social problems, primarily big social inequality, and racial and economic discrimination? The right answer would probably be that, on the contrary of positive acceptance and welcoming, cultural anthropophagy still has that violent core, also indigenous and human core and necessity of conquest and taking other's space, it can even be said invasion and disturbance. It is important to notice that the concept of owning the land wasn't known to the indigenous people, just taking over the space, and that is what is meant here.

So, it is to notice that the necessity to know more, go further, expand, and to go bigger and conquer was already in the core of the very first humans we know of. That is why the colloquially said “live and let live” concept is impossible in a literal way. Just to make it clear, “live and let live” should be lived everyday regarding to respecting differences and freedom of

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<sup>10</sup> De Montaigne, Michel. *Of cannibals*. Translation by Charles Cotton, 1685

expression, but what is meant here is that it is impossible in a literal way of ignoring the existence of other and willingness to get to know different. It is not in the nature of humans to know only about their own, not wishing to know the other and live in their own bubble (although some and some communities do live like that). That is where the core principle of cultural anthropophagy can be found. Needless to say, the thing that happens if one comes across something different and unusual, and this also applies to a certain culture in general, one has a tendency to take a look at it from his or her perspective and judge (not necessarily in a negative way). Especially more closed individuals and groups of people, not (that) open-minded. That is what creates exclusion and misunderstanding and provokes violence, both between people and in a society. The desire for further discussion on this issue probably leads to the discussion about political correctness today and its boundaries, if there are ones, but that is the other thing to discuss.

Finally, getting to Brazil specifically, it is to say that Brazil is (probably) not the only country in which we can find cultural anthropophagy processes, but it is probably the only one where we can take cultural anthropophagy as a general model and use it for describing its culture (in general). It appears in other cultures and societies as well, but Brazil is definitely the most representative one. Every aspect of culture anywhere in the world can be adapted in some other culture. It is implemented, adapted (modified) and then adopted, made that culture's own. No matter the adaptation it has been through, after that process, something new, that *something* is then that culture's original. Adaptations are not notable at the first glance. Of course, when one looks at it from a deeper level and thinks about it, it is obvious that it is an adaptation of something else found somewhere before but made its own by implementing certain modification(s). Brazil is probably the world's leading cultural anthropophagy society, both regarding the time from when it has been actual, and the number of characteristics implemented in that way (although of course, the number cannot be counted exactly). It is an open society, and so is open and even to say relaxed, its model of culture with implementing and adopting characteristics in it. Open model of wide acceptance and openness to adaptation. Again, that can be found in other societies except in Brazil, but it is Brazil's main process and characteristic regarding (its) culture.

Of course, it also provokes problems and disputes, which are to be discussed more deeply in other occasion. But if Brazilian cultural and social model is not European national state model (as there are no national minorities for example), not USA's melting pot (as no Brazilian will say, I'm Spanish Brazilian or I'm Lebanese Brazilian for ex., they are just

Brazilians no matter their origin; while most of them still do know it, are aware of it and take care of it) or Australian planned settlement model, if it is different from other Latin American neighbours or any other country/society- finally, it can be said that it is an (or the) “cultural anthropophagy model“, socially and culturally.

In conclusion, of course there are many more details to be mentioned and described in an attempt of describing Brazilian society and defining its social and cultural model but understanding and taking into account cultural anthropophagy is definitely a good start. There are many other concepts that would be good to be taken into account as the next points, such as *cultural hybridism* or *hybridity* in *cultural globalization*. It only remains to be seen where further search, description and investigation would take us.

## 5.2. Cultural hybridism<sup>11</sup> vs cultural anthropophagy

The term *hybridity* itself originates in biology and simply put, it signifies mixing, a mix, a mixture, usually referring to crossing of species. Hybrid is a “*cross between two separate races, plants or cultures.*”<sup>12</sup> Hybridism is a feature of nature and civilization ever since „*the Sumerians through the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans to the present. Both ancient and modern civilizations have, through trade and conquests, borrowed foreign ideas, philosophies, and sciences, thus producing hybrid cultures and societies.*”<sup>13</sup>

However, in the field of science, particularly in cultural studies, war studies and postcolonial studies, “cultural hybridity” became actual in the 20th and 21st century, along the concepts of interculturalism and multiculturalism and it is used in discourses about race, post-colonialism, identity, anti-racism, language and literature and globalization. According to Raab and Butler (2008) cultural hybridity is more prominent in Latin America than North America (USA and Canada):

*E Pluribus Unum,” the motto of the U.S.A., has probably never been a reality. The idea that there ever was a homogeneous ‘one’ which emerged from the meeting of different cultural traditions is fictitious. In Latin America, on the other hand, there has traditionally been an acknowledgement of continuing difference, although José Vasconcelos’ idea of a “raza cósmica” may also be said to point toward*

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<sup>11</sup> Hybridism or hybridity both refer to the same process and the expression is used alternately

<sup>12</sup> Wikipedia. Hybridity. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hybridity> (visited on 20 June 2017)

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.



*homogeneity. American realities – North and South – in the twenty-first century, however, suggest that we cannot really speak of an “unum” either for the New World as a whole or for any American nation. “E Pluribus Plures” may be more to the point.*<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, the authors describe how “miscegenation” is obvious in everyday life and list some of the examples of cultural hybrids: „*Taco Bell, El Vez, and Univisión in the United States are cultural hybrids just like McDonald’s, Molotov, and CNN in Latin America. Examples abound. Consider, for example, the Jewish-Chinese bakery, deli, and café “Nussbaum & Wu” on Manhattan’s Upper West Side: staffed primarily by Colombians, Mexicans and Mexican Americans, it serves bagels with everything from lox to egg salad, Asian pastries, ‘American’ carrot cake and muffins, (so-called) French and Italian breads and coffees.*”<sup>15</sup>

From this brief description, it is to be concluded that cultural hybridity is the appearance of different characteristics from a different culture, all mixed at the same time and space, which only sometimes includes mixing of characteristics and making one (new) whole, for example Spanglish (mixture of Spanish and English language used by Latino immigrants in USA). Otherwise, it is the existence of a part of other culture in some other culture, and that same part is making a part of (the other) whole. It is an existence of a certain mixture. There are ongoing discussions on whether it is positive or negative, if it can even be determined in that way, and different scientists have different views.

Now, to come to the comparison of cultural anthropophagy, which I tried to describe in a previous essay, and cultural hybridity. Those two are similar as they both refer to mixing cultural characteristics and existence of a mixture, mutual influence, but are definitely different because cultural anthropophagy basically means adoption of a certain characteristic from a different culture and making it that culture's own (with certain adaptation or modification). So, to take an example from Latin America, more specifically Brazil, there is Brazilian rap (or hip-hop), but it is still Brazilian, as long as rap in its original form comes from the USA. There is Brazilian rap and it is Brazilian “only” (not saying that again characteristics of Brazilian rap cannot be adapted and adopted into some other culture). Samba is a Brazilian dance, even though it has roots in Africa, same as capoeira. Football is a Brazilian national sport, moreover, a national madness, regardless of the fact that it was originally a European sport. Some of the

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<sup>14</sup> Butler, M. Raab, J. Introduction: Cultural Hybridity in the Americas. *Hybrid Americas: Contacts, Contrasts, and Confluences in New World Literatures and Cultures*. Ed. Josef Raab and Martin Butler. Tempe: Bilingual Press/Editorial Bilingüe & Münster: LIT Verlag, 2008. 1-18., pg. 1

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, pg. 6

greatest Brazilian footballers are black, despite the fact that football was initially banned for people of colour, and others played it on the streets of *favelas* and backyards. It is applicable to many more appearances (not only) in Brazilian culture, but it is obvious why it is different from cultural hybridism- as long as it refers to a mixture, it is adapted and infiltrated into culture, while a cultural hybrid is coexistence of different characteristics at the same time and place, creating a hybrid.

To conclude, it is important to say that there are some other concepts and processes which are in a way parallel to cultural anthropophagy and hybridity and should definitely be taken into account when speaking about culture, specifically Latin American culture. While cultural anthropophagy refers to cultural processes in Brazil and was introduced by Oswald de Andrade in 1928, in terms of race specifically, Mexican philosopher José Vasconcelos Calderón in his essay from 1925 suggests a fifth (or bronze) race, which is a characteristic of American continent and a hybrid of all other (four main) world's races, which is also largely mentioned when speaking about processes of mixing cultural characteristics, especially in Latin America. But still, this is to be discussed specifically, as it is a very broad topic.

### ***5.3. Heritage of literal indigenous anthropophagy in contemporary Brazilian culture and society- 'indigenous soul'***

There are several strong elements or characteristics that define Brazilian contemporary culture and society. Those are openness, acceptance, and adaptation. It can even be said that those three are incorporated strongly in the nature of people, as the people are the ones who make the society. The mentioned elements, openness, acceptance, and adaptation, affect functioning of the society as a whole, they give what can be simply said a core, a soul. But because it brings positivity and happiness in general, in some parts of the society they are reflected in a negative way, as every society has its own internal problems. But that is a topic for further discussion.

The first question that can be asked is where these elements came from and how they became core elements, how they managed to stay there. To answer this very simply and honestly, there are numbers of theories and (possible) explanations about this, but all of them have the same core point- it is the indigenous heritage, heritage of indigenous people to a Brazilian land. To make a small digression, even if we compare Brazil to the rest of the South American neighbouring countries, the image is different, but probably because of the acceptance and adaptation of different characteristics compared to the ones accepted and

adopted in the neighbouring countries. The process was probably very similar. But let us keep our focus specifically on Brazil.

So, where does it come from? From the indigenous heritage. What is the reason? The acceptance of that characteristic of the indigenous soul, indigenous heritage, indigenous core, which is obvious even today. That indigenous core which is mentioned throughout is anthropophagy or cannibalism. Even if Jesuit missionaries wanted to abolish it when they encountered it in the 16th century, which eventually happened, there is still an indigenous anthropophagical core in Brazil, not the literal one, but in terms of culture, cultural and social (sociological) processes. That process was first defined by Oswald de Andrade as “cultural anthropophagy” in 1928, already mentioned above. Cultural anthropophagy is correlational to literal anthropophagy found primarily in Tupinamba tribes in Brazil and compared to it taking into account the element of honour that an act of (literal) anthropophagy had- all together, it was seen and found as a sacred act that involved high level of respect mutually between a killer, eater(s) and a victim, behind of which was also an element of warfare and revenge. It wasn't necessarily violent as it was described by the missionaries who encountered it, it was violent because it involves taking the (part) of other into the other and both are being changed. Of course, with an element of mutual willingness (because of a social pattern) with high level of respect.

The other author that describes indigenous core, going from literal patterns more deeply and philosophically into “an Indian soul,” is Eduardo Viveiros de Castro. In his work from 1992 (reedition 2002), “The inconstancy of the Indian soul,” taking the elements of their society and “system” (by which is meant patterns of social life and functioning) one by one, de Castro describes the remaining indigenous soul in today’s Brazilian society. In short, the indigenous soul is acceptance, because as de Castro states, citing Serafim Leite and other authors [*they are very easy in saying yes to everything, but they say it as easy as they say no. (...) So, inconstancy is a constant*]. It can then be assumed that the indigenous people had a religion which involved acceptance, they had no problems being and becoming like their Jesuit missionaries.

The author includes a lot of characteristics of the indigenous society connecting it to a deeper sense and notion of an “indigenous soul”, which was changed by eventually abandoning literal anthropophagy (which at the very end of the paper raises the question of whether it should be attributed to Europeans), but still that same anthropophagy became a core of a cultural process that is seen in today’s contemporary Brazil, in a form of cultural anthropophagy. Along to openness, anthropophagy is the main process of constant acceptance and adaptation of

different cultural characteristics, calling that process cultural anthropophagy. Again, that process is not leading to a concept of so-called cultural hybridity, but is whole another, or other ontology- indigenous ontology of adoption of other, or otherness.

## **6. Lado a Lado (Eng. Side by Side) - historical soap opera content analysis**

**-João Ximenes Braga, Claudia Lage, Rede Globo, 2012, 155 episodes**

Lado a Lado (Eng. Side by Side) is a Brazilian soap opera (Port. telenovela) plot of which is motivated by the historical fact of the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1878, beginning of the new, 20<sup>th</sup> century and how black people, descendants of African slaves, were still finding their “place in the sun” 25 years after that. After this very long period of slavery that lasted about 300 years, all the way from 16<sup>th</sup> to more than the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century, 25 years is still a very short period, and those people needed to demand their space and rights in the society. Majority of them were expelled from city centre, their houses were burnt to make new houses for higher class, and they escaped to the wealds above the city, to the hills (Port. *morro*). Viewers of this soap opera can basically see the start of the “favela problem” on screen, although the word favela was not used back then, so it wasn’t used in the soap opera either. The word used was “*morro*”, which literally translates as an *isolated hill*<sup>16</sup>, a ridge, but as previously said, as favelas were built in such places, today it can also be used instead of *favela*.

The plot revolves around two women of different social classes and race, during the period of abolishment of slavery in the late 18th and early 19th century (Attachment 1). Both of them are wise, independent and strong young women. Isabel is a descendant of a slave (her mother is *white*, and Isabel’s dad worked for her, as he informs Isabel at one point, so Isabel is a *mulatta*) and Laura is a girl from high class who likes to read and teach and wants to work. She doesn’t want to get married when her fiancée Edgar gets back from Portugal, even though she loves him. Isabel believes in equality and is fierce in standing up for herself and social justice. Both Laura and Isabel are rebellious and always ready to stand up for what they believe is right.

The choice to make the analysis of certain elements of this soap opera, bringing up the first episode separately in a scene order, then mentioning the rest of the elements through the

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<sup>16</sup> Collins English Dictionary, Morro. <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/us/dictionary/english/morro> (retrieved on 20 September 2021)

discussion, was made because the elements shown and mentioned in the story / plot are (probably) a very relevant representation of the whole society then, of the concerns raised then and it relates to the problems present in the Brazilian society even today, so in the soap opera viewers can see the roots of it all. Of course, part of this may be the imagination and understanding of the creators, but it is definitely motivated by historical facts and events and genuinely reflects the (un)necessary concerns about the future of Brazilian society. This can be said with certainty because some of the problems or critical situations mentioned are relevant even today.

To finally get to the series itself, the first episode starts with a short description written on screen, which explains how in the year of 1903, 25 years after abolition of slavery (in 1878), Rio de Janeiro is still a place where black people, descendant of slaves need to struggle constantly to find their place in the society and demand their rights. After a couple of skylines of Rio de Janeiro from that period in frame, the first scene is introduced, which is a carnival street party at the “morro”. Zé Maria, dressed in a carnival suit (Port. *fantasma*) notices Isabel dancing samba and enjoying carnival celebration, but after he tries to hug her and dance with her, she pushes him away. Previously, he talked to his friend Caniço, who said “*It will be though to have that beautiful lady.*” Zé Maria replied: “*It is carnival Caniço, everything is possible.*” After that Isabel comes to her aunt Jurema and complains about how she had an unpleasant experience with “*fantasma*” (eng. ghost) and that she would be happy if they banned costumes during the carnival like they said they would. Jurema advises her to relax and not to be so strict. The next, second frame shows Laura trying on her wedding dress with her mother Constancia, aunt Celinha and a servant Rita. It can already be noticed how mother and daughter are completely different and do not get along well. Laura replies to a request of her mother very briefly and sarcastically. In the third frame, two sisters are talking in a living room and Constancia’s son, Laura’s brother Albertinho is entering a living room from the stairs getting ready to go to the carnival party, dressed in a carnival costume. It can be noticed that it differs very much from the one Zé was wearing at the *morro*. Albertinho enters and scares his mum and aunt. From that moment already, Constancia's disapproval and shame towards the descendants of the slaves comes to light. Her son Albertinho is “on her side” and it also symbolizes views of the whole high (then and now mostly white) class. The scene goes around about how members of high class should attend “civilized” carnival parties. Even in today’s Brazil, “main” carnival parties in city centres are vastly different from the ones in smaller

neighbourhoods. The scene follows below. The next scenes, all to the end of the first episode, will be transcribed below and crucial elements or phrases will be bolded.

### Scene 3:

(Albertinho dressed in a carnival costume goes down the stairs to the living room and singing a carnival song, approaches Celinha from the back. Celinha gets afraid, then the conversation follows.)

Co: Thank you, may go! (to Rita)

Ce: You scared me Albertinho...!

Co: Celinha was always afraid of carnival costumes, ever since we were little she would hide in the garden when she would hear the noise in the street.

A: Really, Celinha?

Ce: Aha.

Co: Isn't it too early to go to the party (to the dance)? **Everything that is decent and respectful happens only on Ouvidor Street<sup>17</sup>**, as you know, with the name of the carnival society there.

A: Yes, yes, at the **"more civilized spaces"**, as madam usually says. It is not dangerous there, aunt. There devils are dressed like angels. I'm going now. (starts to sing again and Celinha gets afraid)

Co: Oh, that companions of his! It is all because of his bohemian friends. They listen to the music of black (people). **Some "samba". Imagine, Celinha, like that beat of Africans, of macumbeiros<sup>18</sup> will ever be of any importance for Brazil!**

### Scene 4:

Zé Maria approaches Caniço and says that he has seen the darts in the sky coming from Moca Branca and that it is a provocation, they have to stop it or the police will come and stop (ruin) the carnival celebration.

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<sup>17</sup> Lucena, Filipe. História da Rua do Ouvidor, Diário do Rio: "Desde sempre, a Rua do Ouvidor, uma das mais antigas da Cidade Maravilhosa, tinha vocação para ser grande. Por lá se encontravam as lojas mais concorridas, as livrarias, as discussões intelectuais nas confeitarias e boa parte das pessoas mais influentes do país. Era o centro do centro do Rio." <http://diariodorio.com/historia-da-rua-do-ouvidor/>, published on 16/3/2015, (retrieved on 17/8/2017)

<sup>18</sup> Dicio, Dicionário Online de Português. Macumbeiro: Que pratica a macumba, culto afro-brasileiro, de origem nagô, que tem influência católica, espírita e ocultista/ que pratica ou professa a macumba. <https://www.dicio.com.br/macumbeiro/>(retrieved on 17/8/2017)

Aracruz, de, Arantan. Dicionário inFormal. Macumbeiro: Os escravos viviam presos em senzalas e se comunicavam com outras senzalas, através de toras ocas de madeiras (as macumbas) que eram colocadas em buracos no chão e acionadas através de pancadas com sarrafos de madeira. Sendo macumbeiro na época o escravo que tocava este instrumento musical ainda encontrado em algumas tribos da África. A ignorância, a falta de cultura e principalmente o preconceito existente em nosso país, atribui a pecha de "macumbeiro" a todos que exercitam as religiões e praticas de preceitos religiosos espirituais. <http://www.dicionarioinformal.com.br/macumbeiro/>, published on 17/1/2009, (retrieved on 17/8/2017)

### Scene 5:

Conversation between Constancia and Laura.

Co: Dear daughter, my dress will turn out just perfect (for Laura's wedding)! (looks at Laura being surprised) Are you going out?

L: Yes, I have a deal.

Co: At Carnival night? **I don't think it is a good idea or a polite behaviour if a young girl leaves the house without a companion**, especially when this celebration is actual.

L: I'm not going there, mother, I'm going to meet Alice, just that.

Co: If you are going to meet your cousin then it is all right. But wait, I'm going with you! I'm going to use this opportunity to see Carlota. (her other sister)

L: I'm not going to their house, we are going to meet in a coffee house. Goodbye! (rushes out from the house)

**Scene 6:** Albertinho is at the carnival celebration at the *morro* with his friends. Conversation about having fun around "*mulattas*", fight and *capoeiras* starts.

A: Ah, the carnival. Celebration of meat (meaning girls' bodies). Everything is possible, mister! (...) Everything is possible, really!

Friend: **Robbery, rough discussion, gang of capoeiras,...**

Friend 2: ... Only that rests is to find a *mulatta* and you are going to get out from here accompanied and with messy (non-brushed) hair...

Friend 3: **By "mulatta"...**?

A: Last day of diversity on our faces! Let's use our opportunity!

(puts the mask on and notices Isabel from afar)

**Scene 8:** Celinha and Constancia follow Laura to the library where she plays a role in a play, but they are convinced she is meeting her lover. Celinha faints.

**Scene 9:** At the *Morro*. Zé Navalha is concerned about **darts** again and thinks that the other carnival group might come and ask for a fight. In the moment right after he has just repeated that to Caniço, and Caniço replied to him to stay calm, other carnival group came to the neighbourhood.

**Scene 10:** Ze and the leader of the group that came, who at first wanted to fight and Ze replied that he wanted peace, agreed to have a capoeira fight "men to men", after Ze suggested it. If Ze wins, "*they will go away and play their drum far away from here*".

Prior to this, Caniço refuses to join the conversation as he is not dressed in a carnival costume. Ze's face is covered, so if any trouble happens, he would be able to escape the police more easily.

While capoeira fight is in place, Isabel notices it with a disgrace and rushes to Jurema. Jurema already expresses disapproval, quietly speaking to herself. Conversation follows.

I: Aunt, let's get out of here quickly! (they are putting away street food Jurema always offers at community gatherings)

J: **Yes, we shouldn't pay attention to the Devil coming through this capoeiras.**

I: **All capoeiras are bandits!** (going away with all the food and expressing disgrace)

Fight finishes, gang goes away, Caniço approaches Ze to say he did very well. Ze replies that now he would like to see the *mulatta* who refused to dance with him. Caniço replies that the beautiful one he is talking about has already left. Ze replies that only today's day has left (to have fun).

### Scene 11:

Albertinho and his friends after a Capoeira fight.

Fernando: Let's get out of this hell!

A: What is it, Fernando? We are having fun!

Friend 2: Let's go to Ouvidour street, we have had enough of this rabble (Port. *gentinha*, diminutive of "*gente*"- people, folk)

His friends go away, but Albertinho stays.

**Scene 12:** Isabel and Jurema are getting to Jurema's place. Jurema says she will go back when this mess passes, there is plenty of dough left to make acaraje, there are people who want it. Isabel says that she will go home as she needs to get up early tomorrow. Jurema greets her with "*Oxala te abencoe!* Oxala blesses you!

As Isabel is walking to her home, not far from Jurema's house, Fernando's four friends cross ways with her and don't want to let her pass. They block her way and start to offend her and violate verbally.

Friend: **Let me mix this coffee with milk!** (touches her)

I: Do you know where I'll make you to put the spoon?

Friend: (not understood clearly, but being rude, A/N)

I: You don't even know how much!

Friend: **Girl, you should have already known where your place is!** (touches her face)

I: (pushes him away) Yes, I know! Far away from you!

Friend: You are very beautiful, girl! And you have nowhere to run to! (all of them surround her and put their arms on her.

In that moment Ze arrives, still dressed in a costume, fights them with capoeira and protects Isabel. She is safe and Fernando and friends go away. Ze tries to talk to Isabel asking her was she all right, but she roughly says: "Forget



it!” Ze: I did nothing wrong” Isabel says that she is afraid of capoeiras, doesn’t like them, doesn’t approve them and is constantly refusing to talk to him. Ze starts saying: “But if I wasn’t here now...! Isabel stops him and says that he has already done and said too much for today, in an upset tone. Ze looks after her as she is walking towards her home and adds a comment: “*Mulherzinha metida!*” – Termagant little women! (pejorative diminutive use).

**Scene 13:** Laura and Constancia talk at home about ‘what Laura has just done’. Discussion starts with Constancia saying that Laura shouldn’t have lied about where she was about to go. **Then Laura admits that she was giving literature, art and drama classes in the public library for a while and that for now, this is a voluntary work. Laura explains that the person who kissed the young boy wasn’t her but the character from Arturo Azevedo’s play, Laura and her student were just reading a piece.** Constancia gets angry saying that Laura should save this for actresses who are already misclassified in the society and then gets to say that a woman who is a fiancée to a man, is committed, and about to get married in a year, should not work at all, especially not volunteer work and work in performing arts which includes kisses on scene. What would the husband say and why would he tolerate that? Laura says that she studied, not only done a “normal course”, probably wanting to say she is willing to make something of it now, but Constancia interrupts saying that was only to spend time doing something while her fiancée was in Portugal. Also, Constancia states that Laura has had this craziness of getting rid of all the most beautiful dolls in exchange for books ever since she was little. Constancia speaks in an upset tone: “Oh my God, how far have we come and where are we going stop?”

Discussion follows:

L: Ah, I don’t know where we are going to stop, but I hope it is going to be pretty far. We are in 1903. The 19<sup>th</sup> century has passed. The monarchy is over.

Co: **The world continues the same.** With the same rules and the same values. Wrong is the one who thinks it can be any different.

L: **Wrong is the one who thinks it can be the same. Madam believes that the time goes (passes) by and people don’t change.**

Co: You really think that your husband would allow all this insanity? Rehearsals, theatre, kisses? I am your mother, I can forgive, but your husband... At the day of your wedding, when you enter the church, I am going to follow you every step of your way, one by one, and your father is going to give your hand to Edgar. This conversation is going to be forgotten, lost in time like a daydream. You will also forget this girl so full of fantasies....

L: (gets angry and speaks in high voice) Those are not fantasies!

Co: Those are manic stuff! Very soon by Reverend’s word and with God’s blessing they are going to be dead, buried forever!

**Scene 14:** Albertinho and his friends talk about how they knew it was going to turn out this way. They are using a lot of pejorative words: *aquela oscurinha, essa gentinha.*

**Scene 15:** Constancia and her husband Alberto are having dinner. Alberto says that all Constancia’s concerns will pass when Laura marries. Constancia adds that this marriage is very important for their family.

**Scene 16:** Laura is with her aunt Celinha in her room talking about the today's scene. Celinha is in shock, but still proud of Laura and how brave she is, giving classes and acting in a play, and admires how she was successfully hiding all from her mother.

L: Who knows, maybe one day my mother will understand. **Single or married, I want to study, I want to work.** It's not too much to ask. Many women have already done it.

Ce: Many of them haven't. Few of them. Very few. They can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

L: Right. But little by little...

**Scene 17:** Isabel and her father Afonso are at their home talking about how Isabel arrived home concerned. She said that it was nothing, that she knows how to take care of herself, but Rio is really getting dangerous.

Af: You arrived home very worried, my daughter.

I: It is nothing, father.

A: Don't tell me that there was some joke?

I: I know how to take care of myself. But Rio is really getting dangerous. While we are coming home the city is boiling.

Af: It has been some time since people could enjoy carnival in Gamboa<sup>19</sup> in peace. Now it is not the case, people are attacking each other. I should have gone there with you. I am spending so much time in my barber shop...

I: Tomorrow I'll bring you lunch while Madam is taking an afternoon nap.

Next scene (**Scene 18**) happens at a barber shop. Isabel brings lunch for her dad, but he isn't there. She speaks to Ze, decides to wait for her father. Two of them have a little discussion while Afonso gets back.

Isabel says how Ze is bold and that she knows this type of men very well. Afonso gets back and asks if everything was all right, Isabel says that this was only a little misunderstanding. After Isabel has left, Ze asked Afonso: "Sir Afonso, if it wouldn't be an insult, could I ask your daughter on a date?"

**Scene 19:** Constancia is in Laura's room reading her diary. Alice and Laura get to the room. Laura asks her what she is doing, and she says: "I'm reading. Isn't it your favourite hobby? Why wouldn't I read then? Laura is very upset, as well as Constancia who torn Laura's diary.

(...) Later Constancia comes to talk to Laura saying she wants to understand her and apologizes to her.

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<sup>19</sup> Wikipedia. Gamboa, RJ. „Gamboa is a neighborhood in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Gamboa, along with Santo Cristo and Saúde, is one of the oldest boroughs of Rio. It was originally settled by the aristocracy, due to the attractive position on the shores of Guanabara Bay, but lost its glamour when the docks were built. Along with this history, the area also hosts The English Cemetery at Gamboa, one of the oldest British institutions in Rio.

In 1809, Dom João VI ceded to the British two and a half acres of farmland along the shore of the bay. Lord Strangford, British Ambassador to the Emperor's court, founded the cemetery, and the first burial took place in 1811." [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gamboa,\\_Rio\\_de\\_Janeiro](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gamboa,_Rio_de_Janeiro) (retrieved on 22/8/2017)

**Penultimate scene:** Ze takes Isabel to Confetaria Colonial, to which Isabel opposes at first, as it is expensive, but Ze insists and they go inside. It is a place for high class members, mostly white, and the waiter instantly says that this table has been taken. Ze asks for another available table, but the waiter suggests them to search for some other place. Ze calmly replies. *“We are in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. I’m kindly asking you for a menu and Portuguese red wine”*. Isabel stays thrilled and two of them kiss. After that, Isabel was shocked by the way she reacted, she had never done something like this, especially otherwise she would not have done it in public. Carlota and Celinha are at the next table, and as Isabel and Ze leave, Carlota comments. *“Que surdencia! Rio de Janeiro fique qual a Paris com essa gatinha frequentando os lugares mais chiques da cidade. Nos acabamos uma terra pobre perdida nos tropicos! / “What a surging! Rio de Janeiro seems like Paris with this rabble visiting the most chic places of the city. We ended up as a poor land lost in the tropics!”*

## **7. Research: In -depth interview with young Brazilians living abroad- belonging to a certain culture and viewing it from that position**

*„The limits of my language means the limits of my world.”<sup>20</sup> -Ludwig Wittgenstein*

*Brazil is not what you see, but what you feel. Once you spend time here - a week, two weeks - you get in the vibe. It's really intoxicating. - Francisco Costa*

When thinking about the best way to gather information about Brazilian culture and society I thought about an in-depth interview with several Brazilians right away, because, as described above in Chapter 3, our own culture does give us, or to every individual separately, a starting point from which he or she looks at the world. It does not mean to judge in a bad way, it just means that we are broadening our views and getting towards different things or themes from a certain point of view, which is first and foremost our culture, habits, customs etc. First thing we know is how to act in our own culture and later we get to know that there are also different points of views, and we can choose which one (we want) to take, when, where and

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<sup>20</sup> Ludwig Wittgenstein's quote heading this Chapter is from his work Tractatus (1921), the aim of which is to reveal the relationship between language and the world: what can be said about it, and what can only be shown. Wittgenstein argues that language has an underlying logical structure, a structure that provides the limits of what can be said meaningfully. The limits of language, for Wittgenstein, are the limits of philosophy. Much of philosophy involves attempts to say the unsayable. This is a starting point to cognitive science in many areas of it, as well as cognitive linguistics and it is meant to say that a certain language gives us a starting point to shape our ideas, which can be broadened also to culture.

why. Linking this roughly to cognitive science (see footnote below) takes us to the very logical conclusion that no matter how broad our views were, if we move a bit further, we get a different angle, different perspective and that gives us a chance to “see better and more” and understand better some traits that maybe we were not aware of before.

That is why I chose to speak to five Brazilians aged (at the time of the interview A/N) from 21 to 30, three men and two women, living abroad, about their own view of what Brazil and Brazilian are, what it means and how it feels to be Brazilian and their experiences and views of other cultures and then those were compared. And it was also because when it comes to culture, a lot of it depends on people's (or on an individual) feeling and explanation of it. The set of questions I asked follows in continuation. Depending on each conversation flow itself and the themes coming up, I used some additional sub-questions which if necessary are going to be mentioned in a discussion.

#### **In- depth interview questions:**

1. What is Brazil for you? First associations or thoughts.
  2. What is Brazilian culture (and what makes it special, different from others)?
  3. Has your view of it or any specific characteristic of it changed since you have been living abroad? In which way? Do you notice some things you were not aware of before? Do you appreciate some things more? (sub-questions about mentality, people of the nature or nature of the people, why is that so, history)
  4. How would you compare Brazil and Brazilian culture, “Brazilian traits” to the country you live in (Sweden, Italy, UK, Iceland)
  5. Brazil and Latin America? (due to Portuguese vs. Spanish in the rest of it)
  6. What are the negative elements of Brazilian culture? Is there racism in Brazil and what are the other social problems? Why are they present and how can they be solved? Your criticism. (sub-questions about immigration and treating foreigners follow)
  7. Do you know what is cultural anthropophagy and how would you explain it? Do you know what tropicalism/tropicalismo/tropicalia is?
  8. Would you like to or do you imagine yourself living back in Brazil or you want to stay abroad?
  9. Do you have anything to add to all this?
- At the end of the conversation all interviewees were asked about 1. race, 2. ethnicity/ethnic/national origin, 3. “feeling,” how they declare themselves in terms of

national belonging. They could decide whether they wanted to answer these questions. All of them did and even added on and discussed about it.

**Interviewees (data at the time of the interview, June 2017):**

1. Paula Correia, 21, from São Luis, Maranhão, living in Vasteras, Sweden for 7 years
2. Filipe Reolon, 28, from Porto Alegre, RS, living in Rome, Italy for 5 months (obtaining citizenship)
3. Ana Rita Silva Otsuka, 27, from Sertãozinho, SP, living in London, UK for 1 year
4. Vinicius Munhos Ferreira, 27, from Vitoria, ES, until recently lived in London, UK, for 10 months (from September to June 2017)
5. Anuar Joma, 30, from Chu í, RS, living in Westfjords, Iceland for 4 months

Four out of five interviewees have multiple experiences of living abroad, in addition to currently living abroad, they have already lived in other places abroad before.

In the analysis answers will be summarized with a slash in between the answers in order of interviewing as above, later the most common words will be pulled out which will bring a discussion and carry out a conclusion.

**Questions (answer interviewee 1/ interviewee 2/...)**

1. **Home**, I miss it a lot even though I like it here, it's my home, all Brazilians are nostalgic I guess/ **happy people**, happy population/ broad question, where I was born, my **home country**, I don't know, where **my family** lives/ broad and complicated question, a **mixture** of African, European and native culture **from which new original culture emerged**/ I am a marketing graduate, so I have a bit of marketing direction in thinking about it. It is untouchable and unmeasurable if you think in a wider perspective. You live in the city actually, not in the state, not in the country. Also, you learn a lot from foreigners (as Brazil is huge), very often they have been to places where you yourself haven't been. Personally, when I go back and when I live there, what I like are the **simple things of life**, type of activities, business, job, because it is so different from what you live outside. There are negative things too, sometimes being worried, not like in Europe for example.
2. **Mixed**, when I think about it, we do hospitality, we are **warm people** and always there, we don't only give you the information you ask, but we take you to the place/ Brazil is big, we have **different cultures inside** of Brazil, it is hard to define it shortly, impossible actually, it **depends on the part** of Brazil, every part has a **certain influence** from

different parts of the world, you can find **everything**. European culture in the south, African in the north, South American in the west, and in the middle is everything mixed, literally everything.

**Five most often mentioned words:**

1. mix/mixed/mixture
2. warm
3. happy, simple
4. difference/diversity/different
5. big (about the size of Brazil)

In terms of racial and ethnic origin, four out of five interviewees are white and one black (according to their own declaration). Two of them have a mixed European heritage, one alongside the European has a Lebanese origin, is of mixed European and African heritage and one along the European has a Japanese origin on one side of the family. One out of four interviewees who declared as white has “clearly” Asian characteristics in appearance, like eyes, cheeks, and dark hair (on the father's side of Japanese origin, her father is a son of Japanese immigrants). When asked about race, the interviewee carried out interesting personal views about how race all in all seems more to be a category of how “others” see you in (physical) appearance than how you see yourself, or more importantly, how you feel. It should be concluded that belonging is definitely more about feeling than about certain characteristics that are more or less obvious and that we have learned as such in school or anywhere else. Regarding Asians in Brazil, mostly Japanese, while most of them still “are” in their own community in Brazil and speak Japanese, by coming there as immigrants, staying, and building their life there, they actually become Brazilians. Ana Rita is more connected to her “white” side of the family than to her Asian side, she does not speak Japanese, nor does her father. So, for the others she is Asian, because of her appearance, but as for her herself, she is white as she does not feel nor preserves anything specifically Asian. When asked about race, Ana Rita said the following: *“Now here, me coming from Brazil you really expect multiple answers, don't you? (...) Who knows...! I'm Brazilian! (slightly laughs) (Who knows what I am (as in, what is behind it A/N)!”* Ana Rita has multiple racial or multi-racial origins of black, white, and Asian. Her great-grandparents from her mother's side were black, they were from Bahia, where slaves from Africa were first brought. She added that later there were white people on that side of the family,

probably Portuguese because they were the first Europeans/whites who came there. When speaking about great-grandparents from Bahia who were black, Ana Rita said, “*So, they were black, or to say, Afro- Brazilians... But no, we don't have that expression, they were black.*”

Ana Rita's story about race and racial origin is a great example to clear up and explain this “Brazilian culture thing” in approach to culture. First, she states that “*race is a category more of how others see you than how you feel* (her personal statement being of mixed race).” If we stick to *category*, it is something shaped in a certain way under a certain rule, more or less open and free to change its rule and shape. What cultural anthropophagy tells us is that there is no need of categories because positions are actually interchangeable. By this, the whole cosmology (of culture) changes, which means it opens spaces for other categories, also open ones. The “Brazilian category” is not binary, meaning that there is no “hyphenation,” mixing of two or more categories as in the USA (Italian-American, German-American, African American), nor it is exclusive. To Ana Rita herself, it was strange when she used the expression Afro-Brazilian to refer to her black great-grandparents. It is open (or inclusive), and it is even possible to say that it is a bit disoriented- schizophrenic if one chooses to be explicit in expressing. That is where social problems might come from in a broader level, when the society and also the categories of it are “too open” (it is put under quotation mark as category can't be too open, especially when speaking about cultural anthropophagy and Brazil) in that specific society that is open and accepting and in their nature people are relaxed, certain things can get disoriented and disorganized, but that is a theme for a specific chapter. Of course, the mentioned USA has a different history, so it leads to a different social model as well, but it is mentioned to roughly compare those two.

It somehow feels that the Brazilian model imposed itself and stayed there, continued. The interesting thing is, even when asked first about their race, where I expected the answer white/black/Asian/ mixed race, all of the interviewees instantly answered “Brazilian,” even if they knew what race meant. When I additionally explained the saying “*race, not nationality,*” the answers were black/white... I have not asked my interviewees, but I suppose that “nationality” sounds very strict to them, especially in the context of speaking what Brazilian culture is like (asking them as Brazilians living abroad), so they all got confused. Later when asked about how they felt and how they would present themselves “nationally,” all of them said: “*(Yeah), Brazilian, (of course).*” Paula from Maranhão, when asked about race first said, “Brazilian only,” and then again when I said “race, not nationality” she said, “Oh, I'm black, yeah, that is no problem for me.” So, Paula, considering herself black, added a comment from

which it is visible that even if a society is open, accepting, adapting/adaptive, and all together inclusive, being black can still cause an inconvenience. It is certainly more convenient to be white, which is in Filipe's opinion still heritage of slavery. Most poor people in Brazil are black, and this can be explained as a result of slavery in Brazil which spanned three hundred years, so the "tradition" unfortunately continued. These points were made by interviewees during conversation(s), which will be mentioned in continuation. The same point of convenience is also called into question by Filipe's Italian origin on his mother's side, which is convenient for him when wanting to live abroad, moreover, in Italy.

Regarding the interviewees who at first expressed themselves as Brazilians in terms of race, Paula, laughing slightly, added that there is no problem for her being black and Ana Rita saying: *"Who knows...! I'm Brazilian! (also slightly laughing) Who knows what I am (as in, what is behind it A/N)!"*, can only confirm cultural anthropophagy in Brazilian culture and society, not only as a theory of functioning, but also as "alive" mechanism, accepted and "used" by Brazilians.

Anuar, who comes from a small southernmost town on the Brazilian coast called Chuí, located on the border with Uruguay, gave a very interesting insight into regional differences and mutual understanding between Chuiers and neighbours and the rest of Brazil and Brazilians. In this case, Uruguayans can even be called fellow citizens or fellow residents. *"When you are in my town, Uruguay is literally across the road. And then you are in Chuy, Uruguay. Big difference isn't it?"*, Anuar joked. He gave an interesting statement about how Brazil (in context, but in general any state) actually cannot be measured or described, as the only place you live in is "the (certain) city"- that is what you can describe as you can see it and feel it. The (federal) state or the county is hard to describe and measure, as you are not actually *there* all over. He is Brazilian, of course, but admits that he identifies more with Uruguayans and/or Argentinians. The language, *gaúcho*, *churrasco*, *chimarrão*. Those are southern Brazilian - and Uruguayan and Argentinian - traits.

*„Of course, I accept and like everything and everyone Brazilian, but I'm just saying that my local culture is more similar to other, neighbouring nations' culture than "my own"/ Brazilian. When I go "up" northeast, for example, I need to, I don't know, order food differently. Or I forget that something is not common there. Because Brazil is huge, there are so many differences. When I go "up" there, I know that I'm in 'my country' as the infrastructure is same, I have my bank there, I can use the same currency there, the same phone. But still, the food is different, the habits are different and when I say something, it is sometimes not understood at first, or I must say it differently, order food for example, as I said. Sometimes I even forget that something I want in that moment is not common there."*



Speaking about the typical image of Brazil, Anuar said that it is clear why the tropical image was made to be typical. Hot weather, beach, colours, and dancing are appealing, cold weather, rain, and mountains, not that much. The mountains are beautiful, but they attract a specific group of people. The tropical is appealing for more people widely. On the cultural image of Brazil in general, Anuar said it is the history and nature of the people altogether.

Filipe from Porto Alegre lives in Italy now (at the time of the interview A/N), moreover, he is in the process of obtaining citizenship from his mother's side. The request and the process have been completed and now he is just waiting for the documents to be submitted to him. Like all the other interviewees, he says that he would not go back to Brazil (Anuar goes back often because of the family business, to help for some time, then he travels again) because of the insecurity that has risen in the last couple of years due to political happenings. He was previously in Italy for some time doing volunteering, he liked it and decided to go back also because it is “convenient” to him. He is of Italian descent on his mother's side, so he has a “blood right” to Italian citizenship. Luckily, he can have dual citizenship because it is permitted in Brazil and Italy, and he does not know if he would give up Brazilian over Italian if he had to choose. The thing he emphasizes as very different from Brazil in a negative way is the “ghettoization” of immigrants. He said, *“It is very noticeable; although Italians are happy, loud, and open, they don't like strangers. It is like that in the rest of Europe too. In Brazil, it is the opposite. We like strangers and accept them as ours, they infiltrate but preserve their own culture and characteristics. People from Haiti who came to Brazil were very happy to be well received and to get a job.”* But he also added that it is perhaps different because Brazil does not have that big immigration wave as Europe does. Brazil had immigration in the colonial era and in the golden rush, now it does not. He cannot say what would it be like and what would happen if Brazil had such immigration right now, but he thinks there still would be no ghettoization. While speaking about racism and ethnic origin, Felipe said that Brazil is a racist country, but more than people being racist, as exclusive towards black people just because they are black, which is coming from history. They are poor and have less opportunities because of their background, which originated and continued from history, as already mentioned above. Vinicius later said the same, he called it “structurally racist” and made a point, coming from history.

Because Filipe is from Porto Alegre- and southernmost region of Brazil is known to be more similar to Uruguay and Argentina than the rest of Brazil, *Gaúchos* being known as local patriots and even “separatists“ (sounding derogatory, but most often used as a joke, due to

*Guerra Farroupilha* in the 19th century, explained in the footnote above on pg. 22)- I asked him if he had a feeling he needed to explain that, as no one actually thinks of Porto Alegre when mentioning Brazil. And he did explain “*the stuff*” about Porto Alegre at the start of our conversation. He stated that when saying where he is from, apart from Brazil he would explain Porto Alegre because people mostly didn't hear of it. Still, while it definitely is more connected to Argentina and Uruguay, he is Brazilian, and that demonstrates the fact that Brazil is so diverse and has had multiple influences.

On the topic of Haitian refugees being well received in Brazil, Anuar, Filipe and Vinicius said the opposite of what Ana Rita said, who thinks they were not treated well. Vinicius said that they were treated well and that “Brazilians are happy to have them.” Still, there are isolated cases of violence towards immigrants. But those are isolated cases that can unfortunately be found anywhere. Vinicius, who is familiar with the concept of cultural anthropophagy compared it to that and said that this is the Brazilian trait of openness, accepting, adapting and adopting, chewing. “*Immigrants and foreigners are welcome, 'we' are going to make them Brazilians and take good stuff from them to us (not literally), we will learn from it, them still being them, but slightly changed, as well as 'we' would change in a process.*” Probably “they” would too, A/N. Anuar added that whoever comes can become Brazilian as there are already so many differences inside that “everything passes.” I would explain it like; there is not even an initial possibility of judging someone by appearance and other visible characteristics, as there is already a blend of everything. Of course, a local Brazilian is likely to notice or distinguish tourists from locals, for example, just as locals in any other country can recognize a tourist, but this is not just by appearance as such, but by “whole” social behaviour. Still, the point is that this blend there is so diverse.

Vinicius, coming from Vitoria, the capital of the state of Espírito Santo (Eng. Holy Spirit) in the south-eastern region of Brazil, which represents typical tropical image of Brazil, when asked about what Brazil is, said: „*This is a broad and complicated question, my personal impression is that it is a mixture of African, European and native culture from which a new original culture emerged.*“ Then, what does it mean original? – „*It is not just the sum of those cultures I mentioned, it is a new thing. It is not merely a mixture, hybridity. It is something from which a new thing emerged. If you are Brazilian, it is not to say you are African+ European + Native+ Arabic + Japanese,...You are a new thing that is made of those things.*“ Then ethnic origin does not really matter? People know it, but it does not matter that much? „*No, I think it does matter. We can say it does matter in Brazil because Brazil is structurally racist, a really*

*racist country. But it is contradictory. Because at the same time the country is really racist, our culture is really a mixture, a melting pot (used to refer to the type of special mixture of cultures and different influences, not referring to existing cultural models A/N). It is contradictory, but it is Brazil.*” Structurally racist, as Vinicius explained, means that black people have considerably smaller chances of progress than people from other backgrounds. However, he again noted that there are initiatives to equalize this, such as quotas for enrolling black students in universities, introduced ten years ago, which in his opinion have proved effective. Black students who enter university progress very well and try hard because of the chance they have been given. Again, with Brazil being such a blend and “*a new thing*” as Vinicius said, it is contradictory that black students need to be given a chance under these quotas, but the fact is that black people usually are of socially lower background and it is hard to progress. This equally gives them an opportunity to progress, but also encourages motivation and they perform very well at university.

Even if the first question already pulled out a long going conversation on Brazilian culture, still I asked Vinicius second question specifically; what is Brazilian culture then, even if you already mentioned a lot. „*Oh, this is even harder. Do you mean everyday life, habits, art?*“ *Everything and anything*, I said, not to refer again specifically to social structure, but to leave space and see what it can call out. Vinicius pulled out gastronomy and cuisine as an example.

*For us it is normal to eat Arabic breakfast, then Italian lunch, some native things for dinner (Italian and Arabic meaning Italian and Arabic-style, because again, it is Brazilian A/N). It's really normal. For example, we eat tapioka, it's a typical native food, but in the same way we eat bread, pasta, Italian food. Our cuisine again is a mixture of those backgrounds and ahhh... Yeah, it is Brazilian. Because you wouldn't recognize Italian pizza in Italy as a pizza we eat in Brazil, it is not the same. And Italians wouldn't recognize Brazilian pizza as a pizza.*

Again, from all the things Vinicius said it can be concluded that Brazilian society is really culturally anthropophagical society. Elements of it do occur in other societies as well, but it is not first and foremost trait, as a mechanism of a society.

When asked if they were familiar with cultural anthropophagy, only two interviewees, Ana Rita and Vinicius knew what it was and were able to explain it “well.” All of them think that there is a certain mechanism of Brazilian culture and society, that it is special, or better to say specific, except Ana Rita. Ana Rita said that those traits can be found in any country of colonial history or the new world and that there is nothing special in Brazilian mixture.

However, when comparing it to the US later, she did say that there is a mixture in the US, but again it is different, and that there is something called “*manifesto antropofago*” in Brazil. Thus, after all, even Ana Rita confirmed that there is a specific mixture and model of Brazilian society, which is cultural anthropophagy. Only Vinicius knew about tropicalia and broadened the discussion on how cultural anthropophagy of Oswaldo de Andrade, modernism and tropicalia are very important periods/ movements/ concepts in Brazilian history and art.

All of them spoke very similarly about what they would say is special and what they miss from there, even that they do appreciate more and see better which of those “Brazilian” traits are valuable. The answer to this can be summarized easily. It is the people and their warmth! And that is also what they miss in the countries they live in. Ana Rita and Vinicius, who have been living in London, which is a true melting pot, for about a year, said that they met so many different people and that they simply cannot miss anything “specifically Brazilian,” but also brought up people and their warmth when speaking about what they love about Brazil. So, this can bring out the discussion on the nature of people or people of nature, to be mentioned in continuation.

During the introduction to the conversation, I explained to Filipe why I was doing this and he said: “*To those questions (what is Brazil and Brazilian culture) you will get different answers from the people from different regions of Brazil.*” The answers, with all of their diversity and difference depending on the conversation flow and sub questions, however, could be “put under the same roof,” same groups and types of answers. It is to notice that the awareness and pride about Brazil being specific like that is high among Brazilians and that this way of behaviour is just as it is supposed to be, “normal”, natural.

## **8. Tropicália (tropicalismo)- the artistic movement of the 70s in Brazil- an example of intentional cultural anthropophagy in practice on a broader level, an artistic movement**

„A Brazilian Revolution in Sound. Tropicalia is one of the most significant cultural movements in Brazil encompassing music, film, visual art and theatre. “<sup>21</sup>

Tropicalia is the movement born in the 60's in Brazil as an opposition to military dictatorship and oppression of student protests. It followed the concept of Antropofagia in expression in different types of art, but mostly through music. Three very important musicians to mention are Gilberto Gil, Jorge Ben Jor and Caetano Veloso. In visual arts, an important figure is Helio Oiticica. Carmen Miranda, a Brazilian/Portuguese international star was also present in the movement. Her image and appearance were used intentionally to represent the caricature and to introduce the concept of authenticity - in Brazil she was viewed as inauthentic, while for the people outside of Brazil she was seen as (representing) “typically Brazilian,” for whatever that actually meant – so the point was, and this usage of Miranda's image was intentionally done, to address and introduce the concept of authenticity. All in all, that is also why the Tropicalia movement was “made.” Veloso in particular would sometimes imitate Miranda's gestures during performances and with this dichotomy it was appealing enough to the audience.

The Tropicália movement was born in 1968, a momentous year around the world. It was the year of the Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy assassinations, the Prague Spring, the Chicago Convention, the Tet Offensive in Vietnam and the anti-war movement, the student rebellion in France, civil rights, the beginning of the end for the Soviet Union and the birth of the women's movement. In Brazil, army violence that killed three protesters in the opening months of 1968 failed to keep students from protesting the four-year-old repressive Brazilian military dictatorship. It was against this extraordinary backdrop that Tropicália arrived.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Tropicalia. A Brazilian Revolution in Sound. SOUL JAZZ RECORDS, Sounds of the Universe.  
<https://soundsoftheuniverse.com/sjr/product/tropicalia-a-brazilian-revolution-in-sound> (retrieved on 12/9/2017)

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

The movement relies strongly on the concept of anthropophagy. It shows anthropophagy in practice through art. It sometimes comes or was coming in the association with counterculture movements such as Black Power in the USA, but later and also today, with its legacy being present and alive, and even with the occurrence of posttropicalia (for example, when Gilberto Gil was the Minister of Culture in *Governo Lula*<sup>23</sup> period (Borim, 2004)), it is a legitimate cultural movement which gave and left a lot in Brazilian culture and placed through it *a lot of it* in the world, and although it creates and continues to carry out *this* typical image, it does question the authenticity, and this image still is the Brazilian image. The image of Brazil and as Borim (2004) calls it in his article, from the margins of counterculture it came to be(come) or it lead to the stage of change.

„Sem ser uma autobiografia, Verdade tropical e Caetano Veloso por ele mesmo. /Without being an autobiography, Tropical Truth is Caetano Veloso himself.“<sup>24</sup>

## **9. Race as a social and political construct – theories and categories. Race and ethnicity vs. nationality. Slavery. Racism in Brazil. Political (in)correctness. The new race and racial categorization?**

When speaking about race in a context of humans (and human society), according to Barnshaw (2008) race is defined as a grouping of humans based on shared physical or social qualities into categories generally viewed as distinct by society.

In most of the primary schools around the world it is taught that there are five (main) races and those are roughly (in analogy to the Balkans): Black or Negroid, White, or Caucasian, Yellow or Asian/Asiatic, Red or Indigenous and Indian and there are mixtures of all those. Such categorization is very narrow, lacking and limiting. For example, what about the Pacific and Indian Ocean island population? In the USA, there is a Pacific islander racial category. What about Roma/Traveller nation? In genetic structure and also in appearance, it is close to Indian, but they would rarely declare themselves as Indian. Some of them declare themselves as White, but “*other Whites*” do not consider them white. What about Arabic people? They are not White,

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<sup>23</sup> Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, born Luiz Inácio da Silva on 27 October 1945 is a Brazilian politician and former union leader who served as the 35th president of Brazil from 2003 to 2010. *Governo Lula*, which translates to English as Government Lula or Lula Government when said, it is meant and corresponds to his presidency period. He added his nickname Lula to his legal name in 1982.

<sup>24</sup> Foreword, published on covers of Caetano, V. *Verdade tropical*, São Paulo, Companhia das letras, 1997

not Black, not Asian. They are Arabic. But again, not in national(ity) or ethnicity sense, but also racial. Which “gives” the same name (or adjective) in both categories. What about *Latino* people? Most of them would declare themselves as *Mestizo* in terms of racial belonging. Red or Indigenous category. Indigenous from where? Aboriginal people of Australia, are they also “red” Indigenous or not, “only” American Indigenous are “red”? New Zealand Maori are Indigenous to New Zealand, but as they are Islanders, they “fall into” a different racial category, also as most of them themselves would declare.

It is important to mention that most of the racial categorization from the early start was made by anthropologists to describe differences in one unique human race and it (all of “its”) had no intention of diminishing or increasing the importance of any specific among all others. It had research and descriptive intentions. Insinuations of emphasizing the superiority of one (or more) certain race(s) among all others came later from the political and governance level. To get back to the (self)declaration of racial belonging, one term that is important to be introduced here is ethnicity. Ethnicity is narrowly connected to race, although it is not the same thing, and it is to be differed from nationality. So, to begin from the latter, nationality is a “formal belonging” to the state where one or one's parents, family were born and basically owning the documents. Some countries allow dual or multiple nationality / citizenship, others do not. Ethnicity then denotes the origin of a person and person can have multiple ones, it is connected to the notion about (personal) origin and also about the feeling.

It is to conclude that at the first glance, race is exclusively a physical appearance category and maybe even only because of that, so many disputes in history have happened and are still happening (there were and are some biological research of race, of course) – as slavery, which is also connected to colonialism, but that is to be discussed more broadly within some other topic. Therefore, something that was begun being made – race, racial categorization, and description – at the end, in some point of history, because those people were “conquered” and also visually different, that visual difference – race, became a reason to exclude and oppress.

When speaking about race today, it formally exists in most societies, and it is about appearance in general. However, there is way more to it than the basic five categories, especially in multicultural societies, and it is also connected with the personal feeling. So, a person, although “Asian” in appearance can declare himself / herself as White because of growing up in a “predominantly white” country and being surrounded by whites and/or the family being there for generations that also they “feel White.” It is called the right of self-declaration. In multicultural societies one can find a lot of individuals appearing one but declaring themselves

the other. Not only in the sense of race, but also nationality. Although name and the appearance for example, can discover a lot about an individual, those things are not to be concluded easily and instantly, but if they are done, they are most probably not done in order to exclude, but to ask and get to know about the diversity. In some so-called *monocultural* countries (where there is predominantly one or several nationalities, religions, and races) people, therefore society in general, are not used to those different categories and more importantly - behind that, the feelings that arise from there, so it is not to judge them, but inform and educate them. The term we come to when speaking about this is political correctness. It should be admitted that there are exaggerations today in regard to this, because for example if one calls one other black, because that person is black among other Whites and Asians, it would be easily declared as politically incorrect, but it is probably not. When emphasizing race (sometimes) it is not always meant in a way to exclude or call out, but to make visual and physical distinction without judging – what was originally meant by anthropologists. History and policies later made the political (and social) incorrectness part. An example of (not fully) fitting in can also be that people of mixed heritage often feel confused – when in one country of origin, they feel like they came from the other country of origin and are foreigners there, and when they come to the other country, they feel the opposite.

Along nationality, national belonging which is formal and ethnicity, there is a feeling of racial belonging as well and, as already said, it is connected to the wholeness of feeling(s) and emotions within a person, to the upbringing and life circumstances, so defining a race as the human categorization connected to physical traces only and dividing it in only five categories, especially taking into account whole human history and the globalised world and the diversity we live in today - is definitely scarce and lacking.

It should be acknowledged that racism exists in some form in all multiracial societies. Racism does not only come from the personal level (although it seems so), but it is also structured and institutional, it has historical causes, as explained in the parts of the text above. In Brazil, speaking in general, it depends on the region and certain social circumstances, but unfortunately there is racism. In 1888, Brazil was the last country in the Western Hemisphere to abolish slavery, with today mostly black and mixed race or *mulatto* population. According to Leal; “*Since the coup against President Dilma Rousseff in 2016, the black population has seen an upsurge in violence. With the election of Jair Bolsonaro in 2018, racism, in effect, became state policy. Racism has always existed in the country, but racists are more visible,*



*showing themselves in broad daylight and proudly practicing their prejudices.*”<sup>25</sup> Recently, since the “last” Black Lives Matter movement in March 2020 in the USA, protests have also emerged in Brazil that continue to this today. What the black population strives to achieve is representation, visibility and inclusion, and a lot of them did it by registering to take part in the elections, according to Garcia (Al Jazeera, 2020).

There is also the topic which is always, or still being relevant, since it has appeared, the racial whitening, or in Portuguese *branqueamento* or *embranquecimento*, especially in context of some celebrities of darker skin complexion, as Anitta, the singer, or Camila Pitanga, the actress. And there are more, of course.

One thing that also provoked a lot of arguments was the holding of the Rio de Janeiro Summer Olympics in 2016 due to reasons of social and economic inequality. The quote that would describe well this worry and incorrectness is: „*Ja que esta, que seja bonito.*” / “When it is already happening, let it be nice.” This sentence or other variants of it often appeared next to a photo showing child or children from the favela looking “down” towards all the glow of the city and the Olympics.

In conclusion, although there is great and immense cultural diversity, there is still no (not even close “enough”) social equality in general and equal social justice for all.

## **10. Discussion: Opposing cultural anthropophagy to criticism of openness in culture and social problems arising from there.**

There are many concepts, theories and models dealing with the “mixture or mixing of cultures.” Some of them are already mentioned above, as interculturalism, multiculturalism and cultural hybridity. Then there are different names or processes of adaptation, of “fitting in”-homogenization, naturalization, assimilation. Many of them were borrowed from biology, as they are the common instinctive processes or mechanism of animals which refer to people, to human also as the part of nature, or more precisely, cultural processes in humans. Those concepts and models depend on history, historical processes or experience of people (or nation) - the way history flew, or has been flowing so far, would shape some of the processes and mechanism in culture today. Of course, there is a role and importance of active policy making

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<sup>25</sup> Leal, Iêda. “Brazilian government makes racism a state policy”, Education International, published on 8 April 2021, updated 1 July 2021 <https://www.ei-ie.org/en/item/24781:brazilian-government-makes-racism-a-state-policy-by-ieda-leal> (retrieved on 20 September 2021)

and dealing with social problems, but structure and social problems today come from historical processes and happenings before and that is inevitable.

To come back to Brazil specifically, none of the processes mentioned above refer to Brazil. Brazil is special, or better to say specific in terms of cultural processes and that is the whole point of this thesis as well. When speaking about cultural processes, the question about the nature of the people or people of the nature comes out. Often when speaking about a certain trait of people, other people put individuals in groups easily. Putting in group is not always judging and narrowing, but again, it is obvious that some traits and characteristics are common to a particular group of people. If we get back to Bhikhu Parekh (2008) and groups when speaking about multiple identities, or to the anthropophagical statement that there is no need of categories, as all categories can belong to anyone, or anyone can „go“, fit into any category by adapting and adopting characteristics and that is *normal* necessity or even urge of people, especially in child age - then there are definitely some common traits to a particular group of people for which can be said (in terms of behaviour and habits); “*That is their nature, they are like this.*” In terms of opinions, attitudes and at some stances behaviour, it is spoken about mentality in the same way. Mentality as a specific way of thinking of a person or a group is often used in a derogatory way opposed to its dated meaning of “*the capacity for intelligent thought.*”, as a word literally deriving from “mental,” as something related to the mind, to the process(es) of mind, one of which is thinking and thought(s). However, even if it is sometimes used in a derogatory way, to “pull out” of something and say “Oh, it’s the mentality” (often used in the Balkans A/N), (traits of) the mentality, mindset of a group or an individual, it doesn’t always need to be negative. On the other side, the “nature of the people,” in any way is mostly mentioned in a positive way, to stress positive sides of an individual, an individual belonging to a group or of the whole group. Speaking about the nature of the people, the expression can be turned around as “people of the nature” and one can ask himself is that in question rather than nature of the people. Meaning, people receive influences from nature and their (internal, emotional) nature then comes from the surrounding nature, they (in a way) own it. For example, residents of a small rocky island surrounded by sea or ocean are more likely to be stingy than residents of a village or town in the plains with much fertile land and food in the area. They will probably be recognized as generous and give away something more easily and generously.

Comparing this to cultural anthropophagy and indigenous core that is present in Brazil, as above mentioned de Castro (1992) writes, the only explanation would be that it is accepted and inherited from indigenous people, from the act of literal anthropophagy that had been

practised by the indigenous people of Brazil, primarily the Tupinamba tribe. At the same time as Jesuits wanted to abolish it, which eventually they did, again it was inherited in another form and reflected in other social processes, it continued through history and society, and became the main, or to say the core mechanism of Brazilian culture and society. In the same way that the natives eventually ceased to practice anthropophagy (literally), at the same time it was inherited by newcomers, with the same values, reasons, and motivations, and passed on to culture, which is evident to this day. Because of its history and the specific way in which (literal) anthropophagy translates into culture, Brazil cannot really be compared to any other country, not even its Latin American neighbours, as the region it belongs to is Latin America and the Caribbean (abbreviated as LAC or sometimes Latam, according to UN Geoscheme<sup>26</sup>), and it definitely cannot be compared to European or African countries or Australia and the USA. Going back to the in-depth interviews conducted for this research, one of the interviewees, Vinicius, said that even more Brazilians do not really consider themselves part of Latin America, as it mostly refers to Spanish speaking America and islands rather than Portuguese (Brazil is the only LAC country in which Portuguese is spoken)- other Latin Americans, Spanish speaking ones, often do not really consider Brazil as part of it. It is always “there,” always mentioned, but not really part of it. Others have confirmed it as well, the two interviewed boys from the South emphasized that their local culture does gravitate towards Latin America and Spanish speaking world, but Brazil in general does not. Later though, Vinicius mentioned that there have been some social movements to bring Brazil closer to Latin American region culturally, rather than gravitating (only) outside of South American continent to USA and Europe.

As already mentioned above, if the society is “very” open and acceptive and there are no categories, that can lead to disorientation, disorder, and anarchy. Brazil as such does have many social problems and in general it can be said that the social problems are more present in mixed influence societies. That is so, again, as anthropophagy has its violent core, taking part of someone to become *mine* and vice versa, changing (though not in a bad way) is in process. However, to use again Vinicius’s quote which in my opinion describes in simple words very well what is at stake, “*Brazil is not merely a mixture, it is a new thing. Combination of those things (...) from which a new culture emerged.*” Anuar even mentioned a professor he had in his undergraduate study of human geography in Lebanon, who said that the world should learn from Brazil and implement at least some of its natural mechanism of culture in its processes, as

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<sup>26</sup>UN Statistics Division, <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/methodology/m49/> (visited on 30/8/2017)

the world will soon look like Brazil. And indeed, given that cultural processes are different in every country (as a state, but also geographically, as a region, and culturally), there is still one thing in common in mixed heritage societies – a new thing is emerging from all that mixture.

The personal opinion of the author is that criticism of openness or sticking to “too closed” categories in terms of culture and society is not a good idea in any way, especially after exploring where Brazilian model comes from and that the already mentioned “nature of people” is praised in any way when speaking about Brazilian people, *o povo Brasileiro*. They are like that because of history and the way of looking at things back then, because of their openness and readiness to inherit the “indigenous core” and follow the process. Again, social problems arising from there are not to be neglected and a solution needs to be found to solve them. However, one should not ignore differences that exist in terms of race, whether it is skin tone or genetic diversity or something else. They are present and factual, but they still need to be accepted and respected, and in terms of everyday coexistence, we need to speak about only one race, as anthropology itself promotes- the **human race**.

## 11. Conclusion

To conclude, it is important to say that this conclusion is written to clear up all the important facts and notions from this research, but some personal appeal is probably going to be recognized in it, which is not common at all in academia- I decided to let it so and I hope it is going to be understood- as I decided to conduct this research after spending a couple of months in Brazil and being driven to it. Also, I spent time conducting this research as an exchange student in London and this story of Brazil of mine has been quite challenging, interesting, border moving, and turned out to be an emotional ride.

About being driven to Brazil and it being so interesting to me, I know I am not the only one, but with spending a couple of months there and working in primary schools, living with a local family and having learned (Brazilian or even *Gaúcho*) Portuguese there, that being a continuation of my previous volunteering experience in Ecuador and gaining interest in Latin America, I had a feeling that I could and I must make something out of it and I could even do it the field of academia. After writing this, I hope I was not wrong. Moreover, about being driven to Brazil, for me it is probably because it was very different from all the places I have been to until then, but yet the same. In a way, a place where life happens in its own specific variant, a place of people, a natural environment for me. And I think I can say that I felt that specific structure or mechanism, again to emphasize, not special as in better than anything else, just specific.

After writing an essay on Brazil as South American fusion of Africa, Asia and Europe I had a feeling I did well and got feedback from lecturer in charge, but I felt it was an overview, I wanted to take it further. So, the starting point, hypothesis of this research was: Brazil is a culturally anthropophagical society, and that mechanism or structure is different from any other already known, with its indigenous core. Even previously, to set this hypothesis, a lot of reading needed to be done as a preface in the process as I was not familiar with the concept. The hypothesis is confirmed through multiple methods: revising previous writings of explorers and sociologists, through an analysis of a soap opera which brings out critical social questions in/of the 20th century after abolition of slavery, and at the end through in-depth interviews with Brazilians living abroad, who all mentioned the elements of cultural anthropophagy in Brazilian culture, two out of five of them being aware that this is how this process, or mechanism, was called. When referring to Brazilian cultural structure as a mixture, there is a lack of an exact explanation or information, which was set as a research problem, and this turned out to be good, since everything read about it had an additional explanation of the “*Brazilian* mixture.” Also,

the interviewees, if not instantly, with sub-questions, themselves being Brazilians had a lot more to say about a “mixture,” about that “mixture.”

This kind of intercultural influence found in Brazil, the socio- cultural model driven with cultural anthropophagy as a mechanism and indigenous soul, or core, as a core of it, will at the very end of this thesis be given several name suggestions. Along with existing interculturalism, multiculturalism, cultural hybridity, and other concepts, this Brazilian, of course not necessarily limited only to Brazil, should be called either one of those- **a) cultural blend, cultural blending, b) cultural alligation, cultural alligating, or c) cultural immixture, cultural immixing, d) (Brazilian) cultural alignment.** Personally, the author would **prefer to call it the latter, cultural alignment, or Brazilian cultural alignment.** It is important to add here that the adjective Brazilian in naming does not mean or need to limit the name and this occurrence only and specifically to Brazil itself, but it means that it was first discovered and/or described in connection to Brazil and its society and culture. To try to oppose to or jump in front of the possible appearing criticism, alignment here does not mean alignment in a sense of (an absolute) perfection. It does not mean that there is no social or any other injustice in a certain society, or that there is no inequality and no necessity of some expected effort in order that changes towards the better take place. Cultural alignment in this context means that social background origin, social and economic status, also sexual orientation, gender and age as categories of description of a person and then society as a whole, do not matter and cannot be used in the case of Brazilian society as something that makes possible to define a different or another someone, just as any description (using any characteristics available) actually defines (some)one as unique self who is a different individual, but still an equal part of “a society puzzle” that makes this (Brazilian) blend, this mixture, without any notices and need of difference or (pretentious) specialness or otherness, but not denying that all this does exist. All this aligns in one whole, in a unique Brazilian whole.

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**Attachments:**

Attachment 1:

Rocinha



Source: <https://borgenproject.org/impact-local-architecture-government-planning-rocinha-brazil/> (retrieved on 8/12/2021)

Attachment 2:

*Lado a lado* soap opera intro- frozen motion picture



Source: <https://mojtv.hr/serije/32678/rame-uz-rame.aspx> (retrieved on 8/12/2021)

Attachment 3:

Worshiping of Iemanjá at the beach in Brazil



Source: <https://journeyingtothegoddess.wordpress.com/2012/02/09/goddess-iemanja/>  
(retrieved on 8/12/2021)