



NOT in the privileged club

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## **Not in the privileged club**

**What are the Brazilian's perceptions about the political, economic and social situation of Brazil?**

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## Executive Summary

In Brazil's history it strongly resonates the influence produced by the colonizers over the colonized in all the historical episodes that followed and formed this huge multicultural nation. The interference can be proven and felt in a diluted way in the culture, politics, and in the economic and social context.

The discovery of Brazil occurred in the period of the great navigations, when Portugal explored the ocean in search of new lands. When Portugal arrived in Brazil thinking it had arrived to the East Indies, they named the natives Indians (*índios*) and began a large exploration of the natural resources available in the territory, to supply the colonizer nation. The indigenous were considered as an inferior culture being subjected to forced labour. Therefore, the colonization was catastrophic to these groups and resulted in a significant reduction of its demographic contingent. Other tragic factors were: the disappearance of some groups, the separation of others towards distant regions where they used to live and the "removal of indigenous culture" or acculturation held by the Jesuits (the evangelization of the natives). Those who enslaved the native's, permanently transformed the culture of a large population despite the strong opposition from the Portuguese Jesuits to using the natives for slave work.

Blacks were considered the base of manual work during the period of colonization. The participation of blacks in Colonial Brazil happened based on the Portuguese colonial experience that entrenched the need of a great number of workers to occupy, at first, the large farms that produced sugar cane and coffee. The black Africans brought to be enslaved were a cheap and strong labor force to be used by the Portuguese colonizers. The Blacks who were brought from Africa and forced to work in Brazil represent a major contingent of the work force that largely contributed in the evolution of the nation, directly responsible for a large part of the development of the Brazilian culture.

Later, the immigrants arrived in search of new opportunities in the new land. They replaced the slaves based on the abolition of slavery, offering skilled labor and incorporating original features from their own cultures to the process of miscegenation. The arrival of European immigrants provided an alternative source of workforce supply and, on the other hand, brought new cultural outlines that interacted and added new shades to the Brazilian context.

The concentration of lands in the hands of a few Portuguese who settled in Brazil to initiate the process of colonization became one of the most fundamental pillars of the economic, social and political structures of the colony. This process extended for centuries, and it can be considered a crucial key point in maintaining gaps noticed in the Brazilian society nowadays. With the installation of the Republican State and later on the democratic state, there was the creation of public policies to serve the interests of the population, although

they were not sufficient and sometimes inefficient, they promoted the structures of the society that can be seen today.

Therefore, the characteristics presented by Brazil today are a result of a long historical process built since the colonization, spread through mishaps and conflicts, prejudice and exclusion, forming the current conjuncture. The country modernized, produced wealth, but it still depends on other economies and presents a high level of social and poverty exclusion of its people. There is also the question of the classification of the country as a dependent peripheral economy. So, this briefly tries to present the intention of this study, a reflection about the historical, economic and social characteristics of Brazil, found in the construction of the identity of its people.

## **Preface**

This research is a small sample of the knowledge acquired from my studies in the field of Human Geography, during the course of my Master's degree. This research tries to demonstrate some different theories and methods based on what I learned during this period. In fact, it is also the consequence and result of new experiences and new knowledges that I acquired while living abroad.

This study focuses on the theme of Brazil, without attempting to enclose the totality of its economic, political, cultural and social aspects. Brazil it's a large country, home to 200 millions, with 516 years of modern history and an even older native history, topped with a huge territory. Claiming to comprehend every aspect of this vastitude is at the very least a challenge. That's why this study attempts to show Brazil as a modern nation going through its historical, economic and even territorial aspect throw the perspective of theories developed by the South to the South's own struggles, complemented by the perspectives of Brazilian on their own country.

It briefly described the historical trajectory of the country, marked by the suffering of many people that built it on a voluntary or subdued basis. I would like to demonstrate with these studies a little of what is the essence of Brazil and the meaning of being Brazilian. Furthermore, based on the historical description, allowing the reader to understand about the Brazilians's perception in relation to their country, which, briefly shows that they are a mixed and tropical population, proud and critical of themselves, much more cheerful than suffered and that in their daily struggles try to make themselves, an unique nation, still in process of evolution in all aspects.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Olivier T. Kramsch and his guidance through an academically difficult period and an even more complex economic and political situation in Brazil. His ideas and enthusiasm inspired me to continue and to try my best. My family is also ought to receive my thanks for being by my side and helping me through this whole process.

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## Table of contents

<b>1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1.1 Research Objective .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1.2 Social Contribution.....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>1.3 Research Goal .....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>1.4 Research Questions .....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>2. About the Brazilian nation.....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>2.1 Brazil’s Territorial Formation.....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>2.1.1 Portuguese Arrival .....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>2.1.2 Colonial Period .....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>2.1.3 Indepence – First Steps .....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>2.1.4 Brazil Republic .....</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>2.2 Final Considerations of the Chapter .....</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>3. Theoretical framework.....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>3.1 Approachs on Development .....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>3.1.1 The <i>Dependentista</i> Perspective .....</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>3.1.2 The <i>Cepalina</i> Perspective .....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>3.2 Approachs on the “Other” .....</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>3.2.1 Postcolonial Perspective .....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>3.2.2 Bordering, ordering &amp; othering .....</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>3.3 Final Considerations of the Chapter .....</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>4. Methodology .....</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>4.1 Methodology selection .....</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>4.2 Research methods.....</b>	<b>46</b>



4.2.1 Desk research.....	46
4.2.2 Case study research.....	47
4.3 Data collection.....	47
4.3.1 Written data.....	47
4.3.2 Fieldwork.....	48
5. The view from above.....	49
5.1 Strategies to Join the “Privileged Club” .....	49
5.1.1 UN’s Security Council .....	49
5.1.2 Negotiations with the European Union.....	50
5.1.3 Equal Negotiations with the United States of America.....	52
5.2 Final Considerations of the Chapter.....	54
6. The view from below.....	55
6.1. Mercosur .....	56
6.2 Unasur .....	57
6.3 Final Considerations of the Chapter.....	58
7. Analysis.....	60
7.1 Presentation of the Data.....	60
7.2 Economic Aspects.....	61
7.3 Political Aspects .....	64
7.4 Cultural Aspects.....	66
7.5 Final Considerations of the Chapter.....	68
8. Coping Mechanisms.....	70
8.1 The Brazilian Way.....	70
8.2 Brazilian Sense of Humor.....	71
8.3 Final Considerations of the Chapter.....	74

<b>9. Conclusion.....</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>9.1 Answering the research question.....</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>9.2 Recommendations .....</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>9.3 Reflection.....</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>Appendices .....</b>	<b>87</b>

# 1. Introduction

This section intends to present the context of this study, briefly describing the formation of the Brazilian State to the comprehension of the political, economic and social perspectives, and the formation of the cultural context (1.1). Next, it will be presented the factors related to the social and scientific contribution of the research (1.2), the presentation of the research objective (1.3) and the guiding questions of the research (1.4).

## 1.1 Research Objective

Brazil is the largest country in Latin America, with vast natural resources and natural beauties, which according to the data of the Statistic and Geography Brazilian Institute (IBGE, 2015) has a current population of nearly 204 million inhabitants.



Picture 1: Political Map of Brazil (2010)

Source: IBGE - Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (2016).

In general, Brazil is a country that presents a solid economic structure, as the seventh largest Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the world and it was stressed, in recent decades the advancement that it has promoted in combating social inequalities generated by the disparity of income that lead to poverty, found mainly in urban concentrations. Its economy

depends, in large part, of the agricultural production with an increase of industrialization, concentrated in the secondary sector, in the Southeast region. In human aspects, Brazil has a big diversity, which is expressed in elements such as the ethnic disposition, the productive levels, the cultural and religious variations, and other innumerable aspects (Pena, 2011)

These characteristics are the result of a long historical process that was set by several factors and events that followed the colonization to the advent of the globalization, forming the economic structure that distinguishes countries as developed or underdeveloped. Although the idea of globalization involves various aspects, the most remarkable refers to the growing financial interdependence between the world.

Recently Brazil has been considered a country with an emerging economy, in other words, it passed the classification of “underdeveloped” to the group of countries with a large potential for economic development, denominated Brics (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), forming a group of the fastest growing countries in the world. This “upgrade” was possible because of the changes that occurred after 2002 with the appearance of Brazil in a more significant way on the world scenario. This new political and economic situation of the country in the international set aroused some national pride experimented by Brazilians and “have been all the rage from the beginning of the Millennium (BRICS). The catchy term and the impressive economic performance elevating them to the status of emerging economies, have fed much hope, as well as anxiety, among government officials, businesses, scholars and others engaged in the international economic affairs discourse.” (Brauner and Pistone, 2015; p.03)

Brazil demonstrated economic and social advances, such as poverty and inequality reduction, drastic drop in the death rate, including childhood death rate, increase in the life expectancy and the increase of basic services (United Nations of Brazil, 2013). In a traditional international set the most politically and economically dominant powers are Western countries, the Global North. The rise of regional organizations and cross-continental ones takes the debate to a new level, in which the presence of rising economies and divergent systems become entitled of a place in the theories. (Schneider, 2015) There is a need to elucidate that in South America, economic and political terms such as “third world” and “underdeveloped” have been attributed a negative symbology, a representation of the large gap between parts of the world, the “them” and the “us”.

Despite the improvements in the economic, political and social areas, Brazil did not get a remarkable place among the countries that command the world market, a type of “club” based on the country’s economic, political and social development. Brazil aims for a place among the wealthy, industrialized countries of the world.

The improvement of the economic climate has been celebrated as a great overcoming of the mishaps suffered since colonization, since the “discovery” of this land, centuries of exploitation of the natural resources such as gold, Brazil wood (*pau-Brasil*) and rubber,

serving as a source of capital to strength Portugal's colonial power. The Portuguese crown prohibited the installation of manufactured trade in Brazil in order to prevent the growth of the colony in the external market. Agriculture has been one of the main economic activities in the country's history, based on large monoculture plantations of sugar cane, coffee, cotton – all intended for export. Due to the fact that they are primary products, these products have a strong tendency to evolve in a negative way when compared to manufactured goods produced by the industrialized countries of Europe, leaving Brazil for a long time in an economic discrepancy. After Brazil's independence from Portugal the country was able to establish a partial national autonomy (in the economic aspect) even though politically it was an independent nation. It created a constitution and the country advanced to the installation of a republican State. It developed a domestic industry and was capable of organizing the society to accept the slow yet steady evolutions in the economy, politics and culture.

In relation to the cultural aspects and the formation of the Brazilian identity, it can be stated that the country is a “barn” of a rich cultural diversity. The result of a colonization based on the settlement of several people that here integrated themselves (voluntary or not) and brought with them hopes and plans or rebellion and transgression, cultural heritages. It's worth mentioning that this “cultural aggregation” was not entirely sanctioned by Portugal, and yet it still permeated and strengthened the Brazilian culture. The people that here consolidated themselves, adopted new cultures to their own backgrounds such as music, religion and way of speaking. The Brazilian culture is a social inheritance that came from the Natives, Blacks, Portuguese, Italians, Spanish, and all those that still contribute to this day. Once it “consolidated” (it's an ongoing process), it became singular, especially on how the daily experiences are faced, on how Brazilian deal with adversity and struggles in an unexpected and genuine way.

The social issues in Brazil's history reveals a process of unequal conditions between the classes, mainly by being immersed into the world's dominant capitalism, with the accumulation of capital by a small minority at the expense of a majority of the population that lived and lives at the margin of society, unable to use society's rights and to exercise their full citizenship and social belonging. These aspects have led the country to be classified, for a long time, as holder of a level of human and economic development lower than expected, when compared to the potential that it presents.

Other nations that have been colonized, especially in Latin America, share a history or the very least aspects similar to those experienced by Brazil. Therefore, the economic crisis that took over the South American continent in the late 1950s, after a period marked by the policy of import substitution and the advancement of industrialization, stimulated a deep debate about the limits of these economies development.

In this framework of thought, theories were created to explain the dynamics of development within this group of countries, a critical analysis of the processes of

reproduction of underdevelopment in the periphery of the world's capitalism, with the proposition of developing concepts of power relations between colonizers and colonized, corresponding to the economy and culture that are "the great indicators of field and subjugation" (Araujo, 2010: 18).

Several theories attempted to interpret the interventions in the formation of the economic, political and social structures of a country, using these attributes to classify countries between developed and underdeveloped, which is directly related to the colonization process' that these countries suffered. The theories to be used in this thesis are some of the perspectives that attempt to explain and understand the presence of the developed and the underdeveloped, and how this dichotomy this "ideological border" can be identified in Brazil. More specifically the theories chosen are: the *Dependentista* perspective, the *Cepalista*, the Post-Colonial theory (focused on Latin America) and the theory of Bordering & Othering which are elaborated by scholars of various countries, including Brazil and Latin America.

The relations of subordination and conditioning of the poles employed in the world economy are included in the system of global interdependence. These perspectives intend to explain the historical condition of subordination, the characteristics of subjection, established by the unequal and conflicting power relations, proposing some hypotheses that allow checking the evolution of the economic situation of the colonized countries, always emphasizing the issue of development, an economic perspective of the "us" and "them", while postcolonial theories and the Bordering, Othering and Ordering approach take the political/social perspective to the subject.

For this purpose, this study focus on Brazilians (residents in the country and abroad) seeking to understand their perceptions in relation to the country's conditions in a more contemporary set, by analyzing their economic, political and social perspectives. At this point, it will be possible to demonstrate how Brazilians portray and realize their country in relation to its development, to its culture and importance, inside the world dynamics.

Reflecting on Brazil's conditions related to its economic, social and cultural aspects require a concentrated effort in the interpretation of historical events of its formation as a nation. It was decided that the historical research of the formation of Brazil should notice the aspects previously mentioned, seeking to identify important characteristics in the construction of the Brazilian context, which will be able to assist in understanding the cultural, economic and social policies in Brazil, not based on static concepts, but on historical and political manifestations of the Brazilian reality.

## 1.2 Social Contribution

This research contributes to the academic field of human geography, to the tract of identity, because it tries to advance the literature on Brazil in the contemporary set, by adding another perspective to the debate. The theoretical framework will open the debate to questioning Brazil's current position in the world according to its own national's perspective.

This research assess if Brazilians consider Brazil to have taken part in "the global economy from the traditionally dominant countries that comprise the OECD, or, even more narrowly, the G7, to emerging economies" (Brauner and Pistone, 2015; p.03), what will eventually be addressed as the "privileged club". Besides the theoretical debate regarding economic (mostly development) and political aspects of the world's arrangement, this research will also take into consideration how Brazilians perceive these changes in the world economy and politics, how Brazilians perceive Brazil in the international arena.

Not only there will be a critical assessment of the mainstream theoretical debate it will focus on how Brazilians understand these approaches to its current situation. Doing so is of personal interest, since studying social and political perceptions within a country by inverting perspectives is a way of expanding a researcher's perception of the world.

Besides the grand theories involved, by starting this debate in one of its subjects, in the "other", in the "South" and then taking it "North" will be an experience of broadening insights of global and local politics, mostly from a contrastant perspective. Applying the theoretical framework to the bottom-up approach of understanding Brazilian society by Brazilians perspectives contrasts with the usual top-down approach. (Schneider, 2016)

Despite the pessimistic previsions given by a number of scholars, Brazil has maintained a level of social development, non-accounted by economic statistics. By taking a grassroots perspective of how the country is doing, and confronting it with the literature, a more comprehensive perspective is possible. Who is primarily affected by improvements or economic and political failures are the Brazilian nationals, which is why this research will give them more space to express their own perspectives of the country.

To the Brazilian society, that is the main focus of this research, understanding in which kind of arena the interaction, the bordering and othering happens is a step towards becoming a welcomed and accepted part of the "upper half" of the international community. Although it begins in the theoretical aspect of bordering, this kind of understanding allows Brazil to adapt and grow in a more active way in the international arena. By offering an on the ground perspective Brazil can adjust their international and domestic affairs to address, underlying reasons that might be responsible for a pessimist impression of their own country, since a society stigmatized by stereotypes and pessimistic perspectives of its future do tend to be stuck in cycles of underdevelopment. (Schneider, 2016)

### **1.3 Research Goal**

The goal of this research is to expand the literature on Brazil's presence in the contemporary international set, given its historical background, fueled by an exploratory colonization and an uncertain development process. We seek to assess Brazilians perceptions of the country's current situation, and its role in the international arena.

Historical contextualization, Latin American theories, analyzing international policies directed to Brazil and on the ground perspectives will allow this research to narrow close to its goal.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

The research questions derived from the stated objectives under the lens of development (historical, political, economic and social) and othering, question perception and world dynamics. This thesis proposes to answer the following questions:

What are the Brazilian perceptions about the political, economic and social situation of Brazil?

How do Brazilians perceive their country in the international arena?

Do Brazilians acknowledge Brazil as an important country in the international arena?

How does the Brazilian development process affects the bordering and othering of the country?

## **2. About the Brazilian nation**

This chapter intends to briefly present the historical evolution of Brazil since its takeover by Portugal, through the process of independence and the formation of the State until the current period. Based on the historical background, it will be possible to understand how the power relations have been established, providing an overview of the Brazilian Territorial Formation (2.1) starting with the arrival of Portugal to Brazil (2.1.1), describing how was the period of colonization (2.1.2), the process of independence(2.1.3 ) and Brazil Republic (2.1.4). Following, some final considerations (2.2) on Brazil's history.

### **2.1 Brazilian Territorial formation**

Brazil is known for its multicultural background, visible in the miscegenation of a 200 million people's nation, and an even more diverse historical background. To understand the historical and cultural context that gave rise to this multicultural process, it is necessary to go back in time and return to the pre-discovery period. Despite the official history of Brazil being counted only from 1500, when the Portuguese arrived to the territory, indicating an Eurocentric perspective in the treatment of history before the arrival of Europeans, leaving the native historical contribution to be considered secondary and irrelevant in the



composition of the country's history.

The cultural homogeneity of the Brazilian society represents how its members are capable to communicate and adapt. Brazilians had five centuries of formation process in which they experienced successive transformations.

### **2.1.1 Arrival of Portugal to Brazil**

The Portuguese arrived in Brazil in 1500, however the process of colonization began only in 1530. The natives were named Indians (*índios*) because the Portuguese believed they had arrived in the East Indies. In the first thirty years, the Portuguese sent to Brazilian lands some expeditions for the territorial recognition and construction of *feitorias* in order to exploit Brazil wood (*pau-brasil*). The first Portuguese who settled in Brazilian territory explored only the coastal areas. They spent some days or months in the territory, but soon returned to Portugal, therefore there was no colonization at this time (Del Priori, 2010).

Although the arrival happened in 1500, Brazil's cultural history begin long before that, and understanding the cultural historical background of Brazil in the period pre-discovery is the first step into understanding and representing the multiculturalism that portraits Brazil until most modern settings. Although the history of the country before the European arrival is often treated as secondary, the diversity present in the country, prior to what the Euro-centric history-telling acknowledges as the beginning, is vital in order to be able to represent Brazil in a way that diverges from the usual history-telling.

Brazil along with all Latin America was populated by a large number of indigenous tribes. In Brazil's case the *povos indígenas brasileiros* were indigenous populations that despite the large variety of tribes in its midst were characterized by their relationship with its natural surroundings, an equilibrium with nature. The numbers vary between 3 and 5 million native Brazilians (indigenous) living in the territory that it's now acknowledged as Brazil (Prous, 2006).

The Brazilian natives were divided into tribes, according to the linguistic branch to which they belonged: *Tupi-Guarani* (coastal region), *macro-Ge* or *Tapúia* (Central Plateau region), *Arawak* (Amazon) and Caribbean (Amazon). There are three ways of representing/categorizing Brazilian native tribes, by its linguistic branch, ethnicity and region in which they lived. The tribes specialized in subsistence activities such as farming, collecting, hunting and fishing. The northern tribes often displayed resourcefulness in the production of ceramic. The agriculture was very rudimentary when compared to European practices at the same period, and it used the technique of *coivara* (taking down of trees and burning a small land in the forest for posterior planting). The *índios* tamed small animals such as the capybara, unfamiliar to animals like horse and chicken.

There were a large number of structures ruling the indigenous people ways of life, such as the respect towards nature and its resources and the belief in a variety of gods. The Natives

made objects using raw materials from nature, a tradition that remained in a large number of tribes.

According to Prous (2006) those native tribes presented a social structure around a *cacique* (a political/social chief) and a *Xamã* (a spiritual leader and healer of the tribe). There was no evidence of social classes in the way that the Europeans later introduced in the country. The rights were equal, in the sense that the earth, belonged to all, and so did the outcome of labor (the food would always be shared with all). The hierarchy was based in age and gender, where the women would be responsible for farming, planting, harvesting and taking care of the children, while the men would be in charge of hunting, fishing, and the occasional war.

Despite the differences between European technological achievements and the Brazilian native tribes, or even when compared to other Latin American cultures, some linguistic/ethnic branches demonstrated a political and structural advancement when compared to the typical portrait of a native living in an *oca*, as it appears in the textbooks used to teach history in Brazilian schools.

Brazilian indigenous tribes did not develop into empires such as the *Incas*, *Aztecas* and *Mayas*, although there is archeological evidence of large city complexes deep in the Amazon forest. The *Tupis*, largest ethnic and linguistic group, although divided into smaller tribes had extensive contact with each other, and kept a similar political and social structure. The *Tamoios* could organize in the form of a confederation in case of war, which did happen against the Portuguese until the seventeenth century. The *Tupinambás*, were a tribe that followed a different set of costumes, once they were known for their ferocity in the battlefield and their cannibalistic practices, in order to incorporate their enemies' strength by consuming their flesh.

The *Instituto Socioambiental*<sup>1</sup> has a database of Brazilian tribes, along with some aspects of their cultural and historical background. The interaction between tribes was based on social, political and religious rules. The contact happened in times of wars, marriages, burial ceremonies and also when establishing alliances against a common enemy (Gomes, 2000).

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<sup>1</sup> <https://pib.socioambiental.org/en>



Source: <http://geographo.webnode.com.br/products/a-presen%C3%A7a-indigena-no-brasil/>

The arrival of the European was undoubtedly the turning point to Brazil, being colonized had a large impact in the life of the native population and of the Africans that would arrive to become slaves.

The Portuguese were interested in the land, “given” to them by the Pope in the Tordesillas Agreements. Given their “right” to the land, violence was used against the Natives, either by killing the Natives or transmitting diseases which resulted in the deaths of entire ethnic groups. The violent behavior lasted centuries, resulting in a small number of *índios* to remain to this days. Despite Brazil’s late efforts to revive its *pré-cabral* history, the most reliable sources are testimonies of encounters between Europeans and native Brazilians during the first two centuries after the Portuguese arrival, such as *bandeiras*, Jesuit priests and travelers. Besides the violence that took over the colonization process from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the main cause of indigenous decline was the acculturation, in which the Portuguese imposed their religious beliefs and cultural practices onto the Natives.

The view that Europe had about the Natives was Eurocentric. The Portuguese thought themselves to be superior to the indigenous and therefore they should overcome them and put them at their service. The indigenous culture was considered by Europeans as being inferior and rude. In this view, they believed that their job was to convert them to Christianity so the Natives would follow European culture (Pessanha, 2005).

The Portuguese settlers tried to use the Natives for labor in the crops. The slavery of the Natives could not be carried forward because the Catholic Church positioned itself in their

defense, condemning their slavery. The Portuguese crown itself began to oppose the indigenous slavery at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The idea of imposing European culture was an extremely common concept during this historical period, which justified the massacre of millions.

Brazil's colony was created to assist the needs of Portugal in their trade relations with Europe, by implementing a different policy: the colonization would supply European entrepreneurs with primary products, such as Brazil wood (*pau-Brasil*). Brazil's colonization process was triggered mainly by two factors, the loss of commercial monopoly with the East Indies and the French threat to take control over the Brazilian territory.

In this first stage of colonialization there was not a structuration of the society because the decisions depended exclusively on Portugal and, for this reason we did not see major cultural, political, economic and social events in Brazilian territory.

### 2.1.2 Colonial Period

At the beginning of colonization, the population was restricted to the coast, developing economic activities with extractive characteristics. Later it started the cultivation of sugar cane and the installation of mills, especially on the northern coast. This production was directed to exportation, justifying the choice for coastal areas (Pessanha, 2005).



Picture 2: Brazilian Hereditary Captaincies  
Source: IBGE - Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (2016).

Thus, the colony's economy, which began with the *pau-Brasil* extraction and exchanges between the colonizers and Natives, gradually became dominated by the cultivation of sugar cane for export. The colonial administration system used by Portugal involved the division of the Brazilian territory in large groups (called hereditary captaincies (*Capitanias Hereditárias*), being established in the hereditary model) and hand over the administration to Portuguese nobles in the model used in previous colonization experiences in Island Madeira and São Tomé (Del Priori, 2010).

The administration of the captaincies decentralized political, legal and military responsibilities, so grantees (*donatários*) would take responsibility for the occupation, production and administration. The system failed because it required expensive investments which scared away many grantees, the isolation of the captaincies in relation to Portugal and other captaincies, plus the constant conflicts with Natives (Bernardes, 2007). The reasons for conflicts with the Natives were multiple, highlighting the violation of indigenous territories - the displacement of agricultural and demographic borders and the implementation of sugar cane plantations, mills and other economic activities - and the use of new compulsory forms of work relations, which violated the division of labor, indigenous culture and freedom (Paraiso 2011).

The production was described in its basic characteristics: large estates, monoculture and slavery. The lack of workforce was solved by enslaving black Africans, which, indeed, began arriving in profusion around 1550 - to supply the colonization centers. (Del Priori, 2010).

Around 1695, the rumors about the existence of gold and diamond in the inland of the country, caused a population influx coming from Portugal and other populated areas of the colony promoting the expansion of colonization. The mines provided a relative diversification of services and crafts, such as traders, artisans, lawyers, doctors, teachers and others. This event provided economic transformation with the establishment of trade relations and the establishment of an internal market. It created an essential urban social life (Pessanha, 2005). The mineral discovery dislocated more intensively the settlements towards the countryside. The troopers (*bandeirantes*) were responsible for discovering mineral resources, with their expeditions leaving from São Paulo, expeditions responsible for the expansion of Brazil. The gold rush attracted thousands of people from the coast and Portugal; Furthermore, the need for meat production and gold transport resulted in the emergence of new cities and towns in the path of troopers (Pessanha, 2005).

In this period, the colonial population had as a "core" the primary-exporting activities. This fact is well known, "including Brazil wood, sugar, mining, cattle breeding, leather industry, coffee, rubber and other forest products. However, a major portion of the population was focused, much more, on the daily chores of survival and the possibility of land ownership, always further into the countryside" (Nadalim, 2003: 229). The occupation of the

northeastern region was through the introduction of cattle breeding in areas that were not proper to the development of sugar cane. The sugar cane crop and cattle breeding were the activities that contributed to the realization of the occupation of the Brazilian territory and its territorial expansion.

With the arrival of the Portuguese royal court in 1808, “Brazil was no longer dependent on the colonizer, it hosted the kingdom - and, some years later, it became an independent country. But it remained a “colony” in the constitutional framework” (Nadalin, 2003: 224). The capital of the Portuguese empire settled in Rio de Janeiro and there was, thereafter, the creation of jobs in government and the effects of government payroll on the service and manufacturing sectors, construction and improvement of infrastructure that stimulated growth of the city. Trade was intensified, aided by the foundation of the first Brazilian bank, educational institutions were founded, so was a printing press facility, which stimulated the arrival of technicians and scientists as consultants encouraging the opening of main types of industrial establishments (Baer, 2009).

With the installation of the Portuguese monarchy in Rio de Janeiro the territoriality of the colonial space changed the old relationship between colony and colonizer. Ports were opened, which encouraged the establishment of factories, since the center of power was not located at the other side of the Atlantic, but in the colony soil itself (Bernardes, 2007).

Through the historical events recorded in the colonial period it's possible to see that in relation to culture, there was an imposition of Portuguese culture as the only one valid and accepted by settlers, as a representation of the dominant class domination, without worrying about the wishes and wellbeing of Blacks and Natives. Despite the vast indigenous and Black contingents in the country, they were subjected to the Portuguese culture, having their own cultures rejected by the colonizer.

In the political aspect, there was still a structuring of the political system, in which the representatives of power ran commands coming from Portugal. Later, with the installation of the Portuguese government in Brazil there was the creation of political positions and the designation of functions linking the elites to the new government. The economy was mainly based on the exploitation of minerals and rubber. The agrarian cultures of sugar, coffee and cotton produced for export were carried out by farmers without government support, subjected to high taxes. This new social structure was based on the Euro-centric practice in which the colonizer exercised its power over the colony, and this process was vital in Brazil's history and social construction.

Portugal managed to structure in Brazil “a colonial political and economic system in monopoly regime for trade and with prohibition of industrial development and cultural diversity” (Guimarães, 2002: 19). This domination remained even after Brazil's independence “due to how the independence was articulated, Brazil remained within the same sphere of influence of English hegemony that was previously connected” and intermediated by

Portugal (Guimarães, 2002:21). In 1810 treaties were signed where Brazil replaced Portugal by England as its major economic partner. England was vital in Brazil's independency process, once England was the one that mediated the independence's recognition by Portugal. Brazil's economy became totally dependent on the United Kingdom, which controlled the world market. The commercial opening allowed the increase in the volume of exports. However, the distribution of income from the exports of coffee and rubber was concentrated in the hands of a minority, the owners of the properties.

### **2.1.3 Independence of Brazil - First Steps**

In 1822, it was declared the independence of Brazil from Portugal. Between 1822 and 1889 Brazil was an independent country, ruled by a monarchy. During this period, there was an appreciation of what characterized Brazil as "a different country from the colonizer which was incorporated into the sociocultural contexts, causing a search for the real cultural identity, while an independent nation. This differentiation occurs in several areas of cultural production such as the economy and in other fields" (Felisberto, 2011:8). At this time the Brazilian population was estimated to be 3.9 million inhabitants, in which 1.2 million were slaves (Bernardes, 2007).

During the 19th century Brazil easily adapted to the economic order controlled by Great Britain, that became the core of the industrial world, exchanging their manufactured products for food and raw materials from abroad, especially in countries where the economy was completely dependent on export. Brazil was a typical example, since its economy depended primarily of the export of primary products (coffee) and a few secondary products (sugar, cocoa, cotton) (Baer, 2009). It can't be denied that the coffee was an important element for the growth of the economy throughout the 19th century, allied with the employment of immigrants who promoted the development of industry.

Transferring the Portuguese government to Brazil under the protection of Great Britain and operating the independence without discontinuity in the government, the economic privileges that benefited England in Portugal moved automatically to the independent Brazil. In fact, "although Brazil was able to separate itself from Portugal in 1822, Brazil took several decades more to eliminate the tutelage that, thanks to strong international agreements, England kept over it" (Furtado, 2000:32).

Furtado (2005) identifies the underdevelopment of Brazil compared to countries in Europe and the United States as a result of the privileged position of Great Britain as a supplier of manufactured goods. These factors may explain the progress occurred in the United States in contrast to the stagnant economic situation of Brazil.

In the last decades of the 19th century, the export of cotton, sugar and coffee did not show signs of improvement, mainly due to high costs of the transportation of the product from the interior to the ports. An increase in exports, in this period, was of the rubber "Brazil provided approximately 90% of the world, being responsible for 40% of exports in 1910"

(Baer, 2009:41), until Asia started to produce rubber, and “Brazil not able to compete with the Asian product, much cheaper, gradually lost all participation in the world market” (Baer, 2009:41).

In the analysis of these aspects of the Brazilian post-colonial past in relation to exports, Furtado (2005), draws attention to the fundamental difference between the productive structure of Brazil and the English colonies in North America. In large part of the colonies of North America, the agriculture consisted of small rural properties, while in Brazil they were composed of large properties devoted to monoculture. As a result, the income was distributed much more evenly in North America, creating a basis for the initial development of a commercial sector and independent industry. While in Brazil, due to concentration of ownership, income served to keep a stagnant economic structure (Furtado, 2005).

The main consequences of independence were some political changes inspired by the French Revolution, despite the survival of slavery, the main *legacy* of the colonial period. In 1849, the trafficking of Blacks was declared abolished in Brazil and, gradually, the European immigrants replaced the slaves by a paid workforce. The introduction of European immigrants functioned as an alternative source in the supply of labor force, occupying the posts not filled by slave labor, which became scarce and expensive (Bernardes, 2007).

Only in 1888 the Áurea law was signed, which freed all slaves in Brazil. The abolition was one of the causes for the decline of the Brazilian Empire. From its emancipation, Blacks were left without work and were forced to go to the city where formed Black neighborhoods, which gave rise to the slums. After the abolition of slavery, the immigration of Europeans to Brazil in search of new opportunities began to be performed on a large scale (Baer, 2009).

Ribeiro (1995) states that most Blacks were always under the constant threat of being uprooted and expelled from the communities they created. In connection with slavery, it is possible to see signs of corruption as reported by Biason (2013), according to his research, from 1580 until 1850 slavery was considered necessary and, even with the prohibition of trafficking, the Brazilian government remained tolerant and colluded with the traffickers who mocked the law. The politicians themselves encouraged trafficking by buying slaves recently arrived from Africa, using them in their properties. Despite complaints from international authorities to the Brazilian government, from 1850 until the abolition of slavery in 1888, insufficient effort was made to curb trafficking in part because of profits, bribery and kickbacks that the slave trade generated.

The free Blacks concentrated in the peripheries of large cities, and the elite in rebellion to their freedom did not employ them, leaving them subjected to a life without basic resources for survival. The government did not perform any actions of integration of the Black to the society after abolition, thus making the social relations tense between these groups. They suffered from prejudice and racial discrimination, not getting decent works, living of temporary and informal works, even being excluded by the law (Silveira, 2010).



Thus free, Blacks were denied any piece of land where they could live and grow, they didn't have access to schools in which they could educate their children. Without land to plant, they became subjected to exploitation in farms, underpaid and overworked, not the "freedom" expected. (Ribeiro, 1995).

The contrasts found in Brazilian society were formed mainly in relation to economic aspects, classified among "mill lords" (*senhores de engenho*) and miserable. This last group was composed by members of a less influent class, mostly Blacks who, even offering their strength for work and their potential to favor the progress of the country they kept being deprived of their rights of citizenship, being discriminated against in almost all spheres of society, society that was controlled by a minority, who were and still are white, the dominant class, owner of the financial potential that rules over the market and the social environment where the Brazilian society happened.

On 15 November 1889, occurred the proclamation of the republic by Marshal Manuel Deodoro da Fonseca and began the Old Republic, completed in 1930. At this stage, the expansion of the industry gave rise to the industrial bourgeoisie, the middle class and the working class. It began a process of economic crisis in Brazil, the fact was that the coffee production in the country received government subsidies, which allowed the maintenance of coffee prices in the international market through purchases of surplus. The coffee production in Brazil, during this period, was much larger than the world consumption. With the coffee production by other countries, competition made the prices lower. In 1929, the year of the fall of the New York Stock market, the Brazilian economic situation aggravated, following the world trend in this period and as a result of its own economic problems.

In the internal environment, issues relevant to Brazilian foreign debt (which had already reached great values) prevented the country from borrowing resources, at the same time, there was a lot of pressure from creditors. Because of this pressure, Washington Luís' government put an end to the coffee valorization, which led to widespread dissatisfaction on the part of coffee oligarchies. Therefore, the government lost the support of these elites, especially in São Paulo. This discontentment led to a serious political crisis: members linked to the Republican Party, unhappy with the new economic policies, eventually founded a political party of opposition, the Democratic Party. Thus, appears in the political scene the figure of the ascending Getúlio Vargas who, from the position as a deputy for his state, *Rio Grande do Sul*, assumed in the government of Washington Luís the folder of the Ministry of Finance (Pessanha, 2005).

The election process also allowed the emergence of new forms of corruption, since elections and the concession of public enterprises are considered a large chapter in Brazilian corruption history. (Biason, 2013). An unusual practice occurred in the election of 1929:

*[...]during the electoral disputes to the presidency among the candidates Júlio Prestes (representative of the Paulista oligarchies) and Getulio Vargas (added the groups dissatisfied*

*with the field of traditional oligarchies) the first won by getting 1 million and 100 thousand votes and the second 737 thousand. However, the interests of the group which supported Getúlio Vargas, plus the crisis of the New York Stock market, which led to the bankruptcy of many farmers, resulted in a reversal of the elections. Under accusations of electoral fraud on the part of the liberal alliance which supported the candidate defeated, and the popular mobilization (1930 Revolution), Getúlio Vargas was elected president of the country in 1930. Perhaps this has been one of the most significant violations of democratic principles in the country where the electoral fraud has served for the take-over of power (Biason, 2013:1).*

The Revolution of 1930 marked the end of the Old Republic (with the deposition of President Washington Luís; the repeal of the constitution of 1891, with the goal of establishing a new constitutional order; the dissolution of the National Congress; federal intervention in state governments and change of the political scenario, all signaled the beginning of the Vargas Era (considering that, after the success of the revolution, a military junta gave provisional power to Vargas, recognized as the leader of the revolutionary movement).

#### **2.1.4 Brazil Republic**

In 1930 begins in Brazil a movement undertaken by politicians and military who, breaking down President Washington Luís, established the end of the Old Republic in Brazil and inaugurated the so-called Vargas Era, taking the gaucho Getúlio Dorneles Vargas to presidential power. The government of Getúlio Vargas extended from then over a period of 15 years.

In 1930, assumed the government of Brazil the president elected Getúlio Vargas who began the process of industrialization, which became the framework of discussions and policy measures. At this time, two events caused a fall in the price of Brazilian coffee: the first, the federal government, in an effort to combat inflation and stabilize the exchange, stopped assisting the coffee economy, generating a climate of distrust and, second, the crisis of the New York Stock market (Worth, 2011).

With the inauguration of Getulio Vargas government, it began a new phase under his leadership with the installation of a provisional government that lasted until 1934. Although victorious over the Constitutional Revolution of 1932, which occurred in São Paulo, Vargas was forced to convene a constituent assembly, which gave the country a new Constitution (1934), of liberal nature. Vargas gave a coup in 1937, closing the Congress and establishing a dictatorship of corporate nature, called the New State, governed by a granted charter, of authoritarian character (Pessanha, 2005).

In the Vargas era, the State started encouraging the industrialization which began to diversify. This period redesigned the government machine, with the creation of the Labour, the Industry and Commerce ministries'. During the Vargas era was built the mill of Volta Redonda in Rio de Janeiro and the *Vale do Rio Doce* company, intended for the iron mining

exploration in *Minas Gerais*. In addition, Vargas created labor laws (CLT<sup>2</sup>) preparing the country for the growth of the industries, armed forces were strengthened, especially the army. The government began to adopt a more centralized, interventionist and development planner attitude, especially in the economic and administrative sectors (Santos, 2011; Silveira, 2010). Vargas ruled the country until 1945, when he was deposed by a new military coup.

The government of Juscelino Kubitschek (1956- 1960) elaborated a broad national development plan and the economy really took a leap in the period: the sector of durable goods (automotive industry and domestic appliances) was consolidated in the country. He opened the economy to transnational corporations, which were in great expansion throughout the world. The structure of industrial production diversified into convergence with the standards of industrialized countries, including from the technological point of view with the direct participation of the State in the industry strengthening economic groups and encouraging the participation of foreign capital for direct investment. (Suzigan & Furtado, 2006).

The automotive sector was the one that most received support to develop in the government of Juscelino Kubitschek, with the decision to establish an industry sector in Brazil. Between 1955 and 1963 the United States massively invested in Brazil, mainly in the processing industry sector that was based on automotive field. This became a threat to the autonomous development of Brazil (Caputo, Melo, 2009).

However, the goods produced by the industries were accessible only to a small number of Brazilians, while the majority (formed by the working class) continued politically and economically marginalized. Even the development was concentrated in the Southeastern region of Brazil, and the other regions continued with their traditional economic activities. The accelerated growth period, without stability, generated a high inflation rate. The next government had to deal with this heritage. This inflation still took the purchasing power of the worker and generated income concentration (Pessanha, 2005).

In March of 1964, the military took power through a coup and ruled the country for the following 21 years, installing a dictatorial regime that attempted to maintain a false democratic impression in the country. The military regime, under the pretext of combating subversion and corruption, suppressed constitutional rights, persecuted and censored the means of communication, abolished political parties and created bipartisanship. At this stage the country entered a period of industrialization and rapid economic growth. However, it did not benefit the majority of the population, particularly the working class. In Castello Branco's government (1964-1967), first president of the military era, some measures were adopted such as the free entry and exit of international capital, the end of control over the prices of products considered basic, such as food and the wage freeze (Pessanha, 2005).

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<sup>2</sup> Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho – Working laws

The period of military dictatorship in Brazil established a politically aligned regime to imperial powers and led to profound changes in the political organization of the country as well as in economic and social life. The social movements that came into play in this period created the conditions for the exercise of democracy in Brazilian society, however, this mobilization did not extend to the entire working class (Gonçalves, Ferreira, 2013).

At this time, there was an economic recovery in growth rates and the country reached 10% of GDP (Gross Domestic Product) per year of growth, characterizing what is called an economic miracle, which was based on the significant inflow of foreign capital in the country, taking advantage of the favorable international situation for the implementation of large sums of resources in the form of direct investments and bank loans (Santagada, 1990; Gonçalves Ferreira, 2013).

However, in Brazil this economic situation presents an aggravating factor that may be observed from the historical beginnings, for the lack of investment in public policies aimed at the lower classes such as access to social and economic welfare. According to Gonçalves Ferreira (2013), at the end of the 70s, in the passage of the Geisel government to Figueiredo's, the dictatorship was already showing steps toward its end, with the economic crisis, which increased inflation, slowed economic growth and further increased the poverty of the country. However, the government signaled the beginning of fundamental reforms to modernize our economy. Several measures were adopted in the country, culminating in a great discussion around three important factors: first, economic and financial openness; second, restructuring three economic sectors: agriculture, industry and services; third, long-term structural phenomena: tax, social security and political reform (Castelo Branco, 2004).

The 80's in Brazil became known as the lost decade (from the economic, growth and development point of view) and ended with hyperinflation. From an economic perspective, we had inherited the high debt ratios of previous periods we faced difficulties to rollover the debt from creditor institutions (Santagada, 1990). In the 80s, Brazil did not adopt any industrial policy, and the sector since then started to lose participation in GDP. After the end of the regime, federal deputies and senators met in 1988 in a national constituent assembly and promulgated the new Constitution, which extended individual rights. In 1990, in Collor's government, was enacted the end of the import substitution model and protection to the industrial sector, promoting the unilateral openness of the Brazilian economy (Suzigan & Furtado, 2006).

The election of Fernando Collor de Melo and his vice president, Itamar Franco opened the door to neoliberalism in Brazil. This government proposed changes to the administrative reform, the end of the stability of the servers, the privatization of social security and the flexibility of labor laws (Gonçalves Ferreira, 2013).

In the 90s, the Brazilian economy was going through a period of intense transformation. The trade and financial opening of the economy to foreign capital increased, as well as the

business competitiveness. The privatization process expanded and the combat of inflation intensified. These events were a process of transformation of the economy, towards a situation of greater competition with the foreign trade and involved the objective of lowering the inflation and maintaining the economic policies relatively stable. With the rise of capitalism, the differences in the economic order between the countries were becoming increasingly prominent (Barbosa, 2012).

During Fernando Henrique Cardoso's (1995-2002) government, Brazil already had structured a socioeconomic terrain to neoliberal proposals. The government was responsible for the implementation of the Real Plan, which was essential for the stabilization of the Brazilian economy (Gonçalves Ferreira, 2013). The 2002 elections were a landmark for Brazilians, the consolidation of democracy in the alternation of power from one candidate to another one without the mishaps of the previous decades, as were the cases of Tancredo and Sarney and Collor and Itamar, and more, the coming to power in a democratic way a Left party candidate: Lula, who ruled the country between 2003 and 2010 (Barbosa, 2012).

Lula was considered by the working class, as a representative of them, implementing welfare benefits, policies for the most impoverished segments of the population as emergency relief of poverty, the main social policy of Lula (Gonçalves Ferreira, 2013). Lula's government controlled inflation, ensuring economic stability with improvements in health, education and public safety. The income redistribution was highlighted with the implementation of social programs such as *Bolsa Família*. The justification to these programs is that they can have an immediate effect of relieve in situations of acute lack of resources, and at the same time provided an immediate correction, to a certain extent, the extreme inequalities that exist in Brazil. Lula maintained his economic policies based on the "tripod": floating exchange rate / inflation targets / fiscal austerity, keeping the economic plan with the continuity of the Real in its stable and controlled inflation (Barbosa, 2012).

Lula's government was committed to the economic and social progress of the country declaring that one of the conditions for the construction of a "new economic model would ensure the sovereign presence of Brazil in the world." Brazil becomes more important to act together with a few selected countries, increasing Brazil's negotiating power (Souto Maior, 2004).

It is noticed that the official programs in recent years have contributed to a certain extent in decreasing poverty which affected many Brazilian. There are many bottlenecks in Brazilian infrastructure such as the lack of railways, precariousness of ports, among other problems that cause high costs for the country in several important segments, both domestically and externally. Many financial resources that should benefit the population as improving the quality of health care, education and infrastructure were diverted from their original purpose or did not achieve the expected success, which did not contribute to the development and growth of the country.

Lula's government (2003-2011) was succeeded by Dilma Rousseff's who took over the plans of the former government. The re-election of Dilma in the second round of the presidential election of 2014 earned her the right to a second term that is temporarily suspended by the process of impeachment suffered by the president on 12 May 2016. Her impeachment brought to light a series of holes in Brazil's politics and economic policies. The country has plundered into a crisis and a recession.

## **2.2 Final considerations of the Chapter**

Currently, it is estimated that only 400,000 Indians occupy the Brazilian territory, especially in demarcated indigenous reserves and protected by the government. There are about 200 indigenous ethnic groups and 170 languages. However, many tribes were eradicated, either by death of its member or by the loss of their cultural identity. The populations present in this part of the world were indigenous, unruly and uncivilized to the European standards of culture. That mentality, abundant and extremely common to the historical period justified the massacre of millions, either by the advanced weaponry brought to the country by the Portuguese or by diseases unfamiliar to the indigenous immune system. The idea that Brazil was discovered is by itself the first sign of a mentality negative of itself. The mentality of an "us and them" has been a part of Brazilian history from the beginning.

In analyzing the historical process of the formation of Brazil, it appears that by the end of the colonial period, there was not an intervention made by the State in structuring public policies to support the *índios*, slaves and the Portuguese themselves installed in the country. Public policies should be geared to answer the concerns of the population, in order to arrange for everyone to achieve the quality of life necessary to construct the future of the country, where they live with dignity.

It is noticed that the Portuguese came to Brazil, annihilated the Natives, devastated forests, enslaved Blacks, who after freed, were not integrated to the society. These Blacks were excluded because of racial prejudice. Moreover, they were illiterate, landless, in other words the people that were here would not be able to enrich.

*No people who passed through this situation as their routine of life during centuries would leave it without getting marked indelibly. All of us Brazilians, we are flesh of the flesh of those black and tortured índios. The most tender sweetness and more atrocious cruelty here combined to make us the people painful and suffered and insensitive and brutal people, that we are (Ribeiro, 1995, p. 120).*

Despite numerous obstacles that the country suffered since the arrival of Portugal, in all aspects discussed, these events were not enough to reduce the strength and encouragement for the growth of the country. In addition, the Brazilian population is about 3% of the world population, it is formed by multiple aspects, races and customs, with an unique way of seeing and living in the world without shaking with mishaps, presenting creativity and strength to make front to the world.

### 3. Theoretical framework

This chapter aims to present the theoretical framework to support the arguments about the main issue of this study, focusing on the economic and political development of Brazil. Therefore, we present the following approaches on Development (3.1), which are reflections that appear after the Second World War, when the reasons for countries to be classified as developed and underdeveloped begin to be questioned. Many theories attempt to explain this situation, among them, stand out the *Dependentista* perspective (3.1.1) and the Cepalina Perspective (3.1.2), the other two theories: Postcolonial (3.2.1) and Bordering & Othering (3.2.2), deviate from the perspective of economic development and present theories on political and social development and exclusion. In conclusion, we present some final considerations (3.3) on the perspectives discussed.

#### 3.1 Approaches on Development

At the end of World War II, reflections and intellectual constructions on the economic development process of capitalist countries begun to rise, given the increasing differences between countries.

*Development economics, as a branch of economics that attempts to show how the world's poor economies can develop, had its origins in the 1940s and 1950s. One of its earliest ideas was that the economies of the less developed countries were mired in a cycle of poverty and needed a "big push" to develop. This push was seen as a large boost in investment, helped by the state's infrastructural and social spending, as well as by private foreign capital spending and aid from the governments of the developed nations (Herrera, 2006:1).*

The main objective of the development issue was to identify the obstacles that prevented the implementation of modernity. New approaches to development - being the approach of human development and sustainable development the most recurrent - contribute to the search for a concept of a more humanistic development oriented to human nature and the right of all individuals to a dignified, healthy, enlightened and fair life. Especially in Latin America, arose theories that proposed to analyze the local economy framework and relations of the region with the rest of the world, aiming to overcoming poverty in developing countries (Duarte, Graciolli, 2007).

The development ideas were: 1) industrialization is the way of overcoming poverty and underdevelopment; 2) a country cannot industrialize only through market impulses, requiring state intervention (interventionism); 3) state planning is the one that should define the desired expansion of the economic sectors and the necessary instruments; 4) participation in the economy is beneficial, raising funds and investing where private investment is insufficient (Pereira, 2011).

The explanation is based on historical evidence that show that the periphery transfers its productivity gains to the core, stimulated by two factors: first because of the demand for

primary products being low while the manufactured products are high. The disadvantage is that the demand for primary goods increases more slowly than for manufactured products. This trend is explained by the use of modern techniques that tend to decrease the amount of raw materials to produce a unit of product, and by the lack of trade union organization and excess labor in agriculture forced the periphery to contract in more than its income, due to the cyclical phases of the world economy. This evidence points to a tendency of deteriorating terms of trade between primary and manufactured goods, these factors interfere in trade between the core and the periphery tending to reproduce underdevelopment conditions, deepening the gap between the developed and underdeveloped countries (Silveira, 2010 ).

The classification of nations as developed or underdeveloped shows a close relationship with the historical roots mainly to the colonization or the kind of colonization. Development and underdevelopment should be considered as two aspects of the same historical process, linked to the creation and the form of diffusion of technology. Therefore, “*o subdesenvolvimento não pode ser estudado como uma ‘fase’ do processo de desenvolvimento, fase que tenderia a ser superada sempre que atuassem conjuntamente certos fatores*” (Furtado, 2003:88).

It is common to separate the developed countries or the Global North, also called central or rich, from underdeveloped countries or Global south, also called peripheral or in development. Among them, in theory, are the emerging countries, which would have greater social and economic growth than other poor countries (Pena, 2011).

Contradictorily, it begins in Latin America, a heterodox way of thinking, critic that will stand against the theories of modernization. First, the theory of Cepal (*Comissão Econômica para América Latina e Caribe*), which Prebisch used to point out the structural aspect of Latin America. Then comes the *dependentista* perspective. These discussions were described by Grosfoguel (2013) as an unprecedented thing, in order to distinguish discontinuity from continuity, concepts used since the French Revolution that were based on a liberal ideology of modernity, ensuring the possibility of a rational and conscious reform of society, in which each nation-state was considered sovereign and free to rationally control their progressive development.

From these approaches, new interpretations originated to explain the same issue from different perspectives, highlighting the *dependentista* perspective, which separated itself from the *cepalista* perspective, grounded by the scholars of Cepal (ECLAC - Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean).

### **3.1.1 The *dependentista* perspective**

The *dependentista* perspective or dependency theory arises in the 50's, as an attempt to explain the socio-economic development in the region, in particular from the industrialization period, which began between 1930 and 1940. It was prepared by the



Argentinian Raúl Prebich and other scholars linked to the economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean - ECLAC who criticized the conventional explanations of development, based on an essentially economic perspective. This perspective is formulated from the theoretical rules of ECLAC who exercised, and largely influenced the dependency theory (Bichir, 2009). The theory influenced the academic environment of developed countries, given the originality of ECLAC thinking, the first school of Latin American thought (Castro Silva, 2011).

Dependency theories are often associated with *cepalina* theories, in which they argue that the capitalist world is divided between core and periphery, giving more consistency to the idea in the periphery itself. Munck (1999) complements that “the dependency approach to uneven development between nation-states emerged in Latin America during the 1960s, at least in part as a response to the perceived Euro-centrism of the Marxist theories of imperialism. [...] In the dependency approach, the diffusion of capital does not lead to development but to the stagnation and decapitalisation of rural areas.” (Munck, 1999: 57-58). The *cepalina* approach understands that industrialization would strengthen the national state and consequently there would be an expansion of internal markets, allowing the dependent part (Latin America) to develop and overcome its dependency of the core states.

The dependency theory, born in the context of the Latin American industrialization crisis focuses its analysis on peripheral countries, from a critical view of the relationship between these countries and those belonging to the “core”, arguing that the national or regional unit can only be understood in connection with their inclusion in the political and economic global system, namely the economies of peripheral countries are conditioned for development and expansion by the economies of the core countries (Castro Silva, 2011). Peripheral development should “base itself in the diversification of consumption of a minority whose lifestyle is based on cultural evolution of high-productivity countries and in which the development is supported from the beginning, technological progress” (Guggiana 1999: 148).

The economic crisis that settled in Latin America in the late 1950s, after a period marked by policies of import substitution and the advance of industrialization, encouraged a profound debate about the limits of the development in Latin American economies and laid the foundation to the concept of a new terminology, dependence. Faced with the limitations contained in the developmental ECLA model, begins to form a new thought, largely influenced by the core-periphery concept (Bichir, 2009).

For Coelho (2011), the *dependentista* perspective addresses the need to understand that underdevelopment would be another stage in the development of capitalism that began with the expansion of the core countries. For Bresser-Pereira (2005) the *dependentista* perspective can be divided into two main areas: the first linked to the present Associated Dependency, which is part of Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto with the now-classic work "Dependency and Development in Latin America" (1969), and the second is the

Marxist view, or we can call it the theory of overexploitation of labor, known as the Marxist theory of dependence. Both approaches were strongly influenced by the Marxist method. The main characteristics of these approaches are:

- Associated dependence approach, in a very simple way, notes the impossibility of national development being led by the dependent bourgeoisies, which takes the resulting conclusion to the first assertion that the dependent countries must join the dominant system so they can get some spoils of this relationship. Thus, the Associated dependence shares the view of Marxist current dependence of the local bourgeoisie being unable to conduct national development, because one of the conditions for development would be the creation of domestic savings, and the local bourgeoisie is involved in conspicuous consumption, imitating the standard of living of the core countries. This dependency interpretation is located in a historical context in which the Latin American industrialization of the 50s and 60s got strong foreign investment, which in itself showed, within the view of associated dependency, development possibilities brought by this relationship (Bresser Pereira (2005); Rabbit (2011)).

- The interpretation of the Marxist dependency which can also be called the theory of overexploitation of labor differs from the Associated dependence approach in the fact that the upper classes of peripheral countries do not carry out an exploration of work, but a super-exploitation of labor, as they share profits with foreign classes. So consumption is predominantly located in the core, enabling the workers overexploitation, since they will not be the subject of consumption (Bresser-Pereira (2005), Rabbit (2011)).

To Furtado (2005), the strong connection between periphery and core results from capitalist development and the dominant economic needs. The internal dynamics of the peripheral countries are conditioned for its role in the structure of the world economy. Thus, underdevelopment is not characterized by the delay, as the conventional theory explains, but it would be a consequence of international capitalist development.

Dependency theory reached the peak of its prestige in the 70s, declining in recent decades (Colistete, 2001). Currently, the *dependentista* perspective is of utmost importance for its position relative to foreign capital and its relationship with the dependence. For the scholars, the historical concentration of foreign investment in the primary sector has benefited more the international capitalists than the national ones. Still, foreign investment “do not substantially improve the technological base of the economy, because the sophisticated capital and skilled technicians are always brought from abroad and leave little useful things behind in the country” (Guggiana 1999: 148).

### **3.1.2 The *Cepalina* Perspective**

The thinking of ECLAC - Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (Cepal) emerges in the post-war (1948), created by the United Nations (UN) with the mission to research and conduct economic studies to promote development policies in Latin America.

Headquartered in Santiago, Chile, it has established itself as one of the main debate centers on the region's economy. It constitutes an original thinking on Latin American economics (Furtado, 2005). "From the structural historical method and theory of peripheral underdevelopment, ECLAC has prepared an analysis of the specificity of the socio-economic reality of developing countries, proposing a set of policies aimed at overcoming the backwardness via industrialization" (Silveira, 2010: 5). ECLAC originated in a context of dissatisfaction of the Latin American countries because they were excluded from Marshall Plan aid to Europe and the scrapping of its industrial equipment, result of the lack of dollars to import caused by years of export crisis (Pereira 2011 ).

It is known that when a market appears less dynamic and competitive, it reduces considerably the country's integration prospects in the international scenario, increasingly competitive, and as it maintains a low level of economic growth, a high external dependence. So it generates great instability and future uncertainty, directly affecting investors' decisions, reducing the direct international financial flows (Castelo Branco, 2004).

ECLAC was created to act temporarily in the analysis of Latin American reality, but the studies that it presented and its theoretical position caused it to become permanent. However, ECLAC was beyond this initial project, because it created its own analytical tools that encompassed within the same interpretive framework the elements: structural, dualistic and history. Structural and dualistic, because the world's economy should be understood as a core-periphery structure that reproduces itself, at different rates; and history, because the causes of underdevelopment must be sought in the country's historical background (Furtado, 2005: 1)

*In 1960s ECLAC economists were defining economic backwardness or underdevelopment in a manner that lent currency to the term "structuralism": underdevelopment was structural heterogeneity, that is, an economic assemblage characterized by heterogeneous technologies and production functions. Underdevelopment was an uneasy mix of traditional and modern economies. For the early structuralists, industrialization was seen as the single most important objective in a development program, since historically the process was associated with rapid economic growth and high per capita incomes. Moreover, it seemed to offer at least a partial solution to the employment requirements resulting from the rapidly expanding Latin American population and the even faster-growing urban populations from the 1950s and 1960s. (Love, 2005: 102)*

ECLAC has as its main point of analysis the question of industrialization as the path of development, proposing the replacement of the growth pattern faced to the markets of developed countries and to establish a market focused on the country's own consumers. From this perspective, initially they should produce traditional consumer goods, based on low-tech and low financial investment, and gradually move towards the production of durable consumer goods and capital goods with the increment of the industry. (Silveira, 2010).

Among the main precursors of Cepal stand out Raúl Prebisch from Chile and Celso Furtado from Brazil. They defended the thesis on development and underdevelopment, emphasizing the role of the state in the economy, which had great importance in the development of its own conceptual framework that “gave support and legitimacy to the proposed economic policies arising from the ECLAC” (Colistete, 2001: 21). They promoted an ideological appeal to industrialized countries as a factor of overcoming the colonial and underdeveloped step.

For these researchers, underdeveloped countries had an indirect process of industrialization as a result of development of industrialized countries. In Brazil, this process created a dependent industrialization process of already developed countries and therefore could never be overcome without a strong state intervention to redirect the surplus of the productive sector, promoting a redirection of economic and social policies of the country to take into account the true social development. Furtado wrote several studies in which he defended his point of view on the *Cepalina* perspective:

*In his landmark work Desenvolvimento e subdesenvolvimento (1961) he formulated three fundamental hypotheses: 1. The global expansion of core industrial capitalism through "the penetration of modern capitalistic enterprises into archaic structures" produces profoundly heterogeneous "hybrid structures." 2. Underdevelopment is an autonomous historical process that tends to perpetuate itself, a process qualitatively distinct from the experience of core countries, and cannot be considered a stage that all societies must pass through on their road to development. 3. Underdevelopment is characterized by an oversupply of labor, and capital-intensive technology imported from the core prevents the absorption of the working masses connected with the vast subsistence economy. The occupational structure of underdeveloped countries tends to perpetuate and exacerbate inequality in income distribution and social injustice (Rocha, 2007:134).*

In his work *Subdesenvolvimento e estagnação na América Latina* (1966) and *O mito do desenvolvimento econômico* (1974), Celso Furtado established the “relationship between growth and income distribution in the Brazilian model and the important difference between economic growth and economic development, the latter being understood as the reduction of social and economic inequalities” (Rocha, 2007:135). Besides that, in “his thesis that underdevelopment was not simply a stage that all societies would have to pass through but a structural problem that could be overcome only by the state, the fundamental agent of national development he proposed major structural and institutional reforms - income redistribution and agrarian reform - to transform the domestic market into the dynamic decision-making center of the economy” (Rocha, 2007:136)

The ECLAC theory explained the underdevelopment of Latin American economies from two basic propositions: they developed on 'poorly diversified structures and poorly integrated with a dynamic primary exporting sector, but unable to spread technical progress for the rest of the economy, employing productively all workforce and to allow sustained growth in

real wages' (Colistete, 2001: 23). This was contrary to what he preached of a free trade doctrine. The negative effects could be verified over time by the lack of a dynamic industry, understood as primarily responsible for the absorption of skilled labor and the generation and dissemination of technical progress, at least since the British Industrial Revolution (Colistete, 2001).

Another factor explaining the underdevelopment of the economies was the pace of access to technological innovations used in Europe and the increase of productivity that were significantly higher in industrial economies (core) than in economies specializing in commodities (periphery), which would lead to a secular differentiation of favorable income to the core industries. Allied to this, "export prices of primary products tend to present an unfavorable evolution in front of manufactured goods produced by industrialized countries. As a result, there would be a tendency to deteriorating terms of trade which would adversely affect Latin American countries through the transfer of productivity gains in the primary exporting sector to industrialized countries" (Colistete, 2001: 23).

Very consistently, Celso Furtado (2005) uses the main thesis of ECLAC to explain the reasons for the backwardness of Latin American economies when compared to the developed countries. They can be summarized based on the following factors:

- 1) The core versus periphery - technical progress expanded unevenly: in the core (rich countries), was faster and increased the productivity of all economic sectors; on the periphery (poor countries) the dissemination of technical progress was restricted to the export sector not spreading through the rest of the production system.
- 2) The deteriorating terms of trade – this approach is a challenge to the theory of comparative advantages, of Ricardo. Instead of the productivity gains of the core being transferred to the periphery, the opposite occurred. There was a comparative disadvantage in the exchange between countries that had specialized in producing food and raw materials and those focused on the production of industrial goods, which aggregated greater value.
- 3) The theory of inflation as a structural problem - the main cause of inflation was the rigidity of the food supply, whose expansion was hampered by still existing pre-capitalist conditions in the agricultural sector (land concentration) and the double pressure on agriculture, either as a producer of food required by rapid urbanization, whether as a supplier of raw materials required by the industrial expansion. This approach clashed with the liberal view that saw inflation as a cyclical phenomenon, mainly due to the increased amount of money in the economy (monetarism), which caused an excess of demand compared to an offer.
- 4) The planning approach - state planning was, according to ECLAC, the best way to drive market forces to promote industrial expansion with sectoral balance, to reduce bottleneck points in the economy.

5) The structural unemployment approach - as the technological domain comes from the core, the periphery simply adopts techniques imported, saving what it has in abundance (labor oversupply) and spending what is scarce (capital). It generates a structural trend of unemployment in Latin American countries.

6) The external imbalance approach - the external imbalance tended to be recurrent in the economies of Latin America, because of the low diversification of exports and the need to import capital goods and intermediate inputs not available internally.

7) The import substitution theory - using as a parameter that industrialization is the way of development, ECLAC proposed the replacement of the growth pattern "towards outside" (facing the external market) by the "towards inside" pattern (based on the internal market). The latter would be supported by substitutive industry imports, starting with the production of traditional consumer goods that required simple technology and little capital, later moving to the production of durable consumer goods and capital goods.

Furtado (2005) defines industrialization as the way to overcome underdevelopment, with the state responsible for promoting it, as in the one that has the ability to identify and pursue social needs. Moreover, as the business class of the peripheral countries tends to weakness, the state is decisive, both in the allocation of resources, as, investments in strategic sectors of the economy. However, industrialization will only be responsible for the development, when it is fomented by the internal market and is conducted by a social criterion (Silveira, 2010).

In this context, ECLAC thinking shows that 'the model of primary exporting economic development and its form of international integration were inadequate for Latin American countries, and argued that the planned industrialization was a historical necessity for overcoming the core-periphery system of dependence' (Kolling, 2007).

For Colistete (2001) the *cepalina* perspective was very efficient as the logical argument of the theory of development because it was based on characteristics widely recognized as typical in Latin American reality. The ECLAC theory allowed the incorporation of new themes and issues that became reason of attention to ECLAC, and the ambiguity and flexibility were decisive to consolidate its influence, at least in the 50 and 60. Thus, "the constant qualification of the main propositions with new hypotheses ended up undermining the consistency of the ECLAC theory. The first changes in the ECLAC theory occurred in the early 60s, when it was made more precise specification efforts of requirements for industrial diversification that could be considered effective - that is, able to overcome the peripheral condition"(Colistete 2001 : 31).

Deeper changes in subsequent years, lead to CEPAL's more deterministic propositions on the limits and problems of Latin American and peripheral development - particularly through the concept of dependency. These changes reduced the internal consistency and the explanatory capacity of the ECLAC theory, contributing to the relative decline of its

influence. Despite this relative decline, ECLAC left deep marks in Brazilian economic thinking.

Cepal's scholars try to show that it is not simply a delay, that underdevelopment is a specific situation with specific structural features: greater specialization of economic structure, greater heterogeneity that prevents the spread of the technical process, a smaller market and a number of structural aspects that differentiate the underdeveloped countries from the rich countries, and thus prevents them from following the same path. ECLAC perspective influenced the Brazilian economic thought by its consolidation with emphasis on structures, which guided important parts of the economic analysis of Brazil and its intellectual heritage that can be clearly seen in influential currents of Brazilian economic thought, as an important aspect for understanding the intellectual references who have conditioned economic strategies in Brazil since the 50s.

### **3.2 Approaches on the *Other***

Since the Enlightenment during the eighteenth century, there was a fascination for scientific achievements and discoveries, a period in which other cultures and other forms of knowledge were disregarded unless they had originated in Europe. The scholars that studied other societies and cultures came up with concepts that legitimized them being different, more evolved and civilized, and those standing in the wrong side became the "other". (Dussel, 2009; Pereira Prazeres, 2015)

Latin America, in particular the territory under Portuguese domain were conquered through cultural imposition and the occasional massacre. The Portuguese "imposed their culture and religion to the Natives, as in an exchange of favors where the Native accepts the religion and culture and in exchange their lives are spared. This "deal" allowed the colonizer to explore the colonized territory without any major resistance" (Pereira Prazeres, 2015:1510).

The indigenous culture and later the black culture, which slowly became integrated to the "new" Brazilian culture, were largely discriminated and demonized, especially ancestral rituals and the presence of a large number of gods. The main argument to suppress other cultures were that they were inferior to the Portuguese (European), a blessed culture that would bring modernity and development to Brazil. Dussel (1993, p. 296) points out that "is declared as non-human the content of others because they were different from their own (...) because "human" were only the inhabitants who lived in the cities of their own making".

Their religion, their "civilization" justified wars against the Natives and slaves that resisted, claiming to be there to "civilize", a process where Europe would lead them through. This resembles the colonial history of the Middle East where even in "Enlightened days" of modernity the presence of the "other" justifies conflict, no longer motivated by the instinct to civilize, but with an economic motivation.

### 3.2.1 The Postcolonial Perspective

The Postcolonial perspective tries to analyze how certain places and people are constructed as subaltern in relation to those who are considered superior and developed. This perspective discusses the historical process of colonization undertaken by Europe in other continents. It is often associated with countries that experienced colonialism in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, most of them in the African continent, Asia and Middle East.

The idea of empire and colonies is not new in human history. Not only there was the pre-capitalist colonization in antiquity engendered by the Phoenicians, Greeks, Persians and Romans, but also in the Middle Ages the Arabs colonized North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula, the European powers invaded the Middle East in the form of Crusades and the Mongol Genghis Khan ruled China. The difference between the old colonization and the capitalist one in Modernity is the fact that they not only required taxes, goods and wealth of the conquered countries, but restructured economies of the colonized countries in such a way that the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized interfered in the exchange of materials and human resources between them. Consequently this colonization devastated cultures, from ancient times, many people, and replaced them by a Eurocentric and Christian culture (Bonnici, 2005: 1).

Colonialism as a phenomenon “predates capitalism as a world system and follows it as “political” in its different stages of development.” (Ferreira, 2013: 255). Post colonialism as a cultural study researches the colonial hierarchy and the impossibility of the colonized in expressing their own terms in cultural production (Araujo, 2010).

The theory of post colonialism describes “how former colonial powers still perceive themselves as better, more modern, more civilized than the former colonies. [...]Through cultural ‘brainwashing’, Western countries still think they are better.” (van Ham, 2015: pp. 15) It shows the construction of historical power relations between colonizers and colonized, acknowledging the distortions produced by imperialism (or the power discrepancy) and still held by the current capitalist system (Bonnici, 1998)

There is a certain difficulty in creating an explanation to describe the term of post colonialism. To Mata (2014) the concept of post colonialism should work as an analytical tool of hegemonic relations and unveil the colonality of knowledge according to the strategy of resistance to systems that tend to legitimize hierarchy, such as, for example, euro-centrism.

Turner (2003) claims that recognizing the particularities of Spanish and Portuguese colonialisms in the New World it would be possible to expand postcolonial theories to incorporate Latin America, in a more universal study of post colonialism.

Latin American colonial experience was shaped by the distinct nature of Spain and Portugal’s imperial projects. [The most unique features were] the importance of Catholicism, the distinctiveness of Iberian legal traditions and mercantilist policies, lower levels of racial and ethnic closure due to fetters upon representative government, and



the coupling of higher levels of state control with low levels of bureaucratization on the ground (de Holanda, 2006 [1936]; Hiers, s.d.; Mahoney, 2010, pp. 22–24; Tannenbaum, 1946; Wimmer, 2002) [...] Latin American colonialism began early, lasted for over 300 hundred years, and began to unwind as Spain and Portugal confronted the increasing imperial might and international projection of other European states – especially France and England (Bortoluci and Jansen, 2013; pp. 202).

The Latin America postcolonial perspective has to essentially go through the Portuguese and Spanish colonization processes, but what has interfered with that part of the continent happened and happens in a more contemporary set. The most evident heritage of colonialism in Latin America are the political institutions and racialized policies on the other (Fredrickson, 1988; Sanjine's, 2004; Thurner, 1997). Also, other social, political, economic, and cultural legacies of the colonial domination were the “particular and complex trajectories of internal and external postcolonial relations, especially given their entrenched dependency upon the exportation of primary products and the strong influence of Great Britain and the United States over their domestic and foreign policies (Furtado, 1977; Gootenberg, 1993).” (Bortoluci and Jansen, 2013; pp. 203)

Quijano (2000) defends that the forms of violence that constituted colonialism and post colonialism in Latin America, formed a “coloniality of power”, the way that the colonizer used “cultural and racial classification systems – and the institution of spaces responsible for enacting and enforcing these – that were established in the colonial era. Associated particularly with slavery and other forms of compulsory labor Latin America is an important site for examining the representational and discursive practices that were developed for and through the operation of early European colonialism.” (Bortoluci and Jansen, 2013: pp. 2019). Latin America with its early colonial experience contributed to establish Europe's economic and political power through modernity, leaving behind to the colonized a mentality of inferiority and the heritage of violence.

Colonialism and the subsequent need for postcolonial theories were motivated by a very viewing of the world throughout modernity: euro-centrism. Euro-centrism justified

the way of thinking that puts the European continent, its culture, its history, its people, its politics, etc. at the centre of things. Their norms and values regarding the rule of law, democracy, economy and so on are used as a benchmark. All others are judged against this European standard. Furthermore, Euro-centrism tends to see its own European values as universally applicable. This, combined with the already addressed feelings of superiority, indirectly paved the way for imperialism as we have known it since the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. (Hobson, 2012; van Ham, 2015: 16-17)

Euro-centrism evolved along modernity, shifting alongside the power centers. The idea of a certain superiority of (now) Western countries, especially in the economic sphere, represents how euro-centrism hasn't lost all its relevance. The “United States (as well as

most Western countries) are very similar to Europe where its values, culture and politics are concerned. After all, modern day United States is a result of the British colonies in the eighteenth century.” (van Ham, 2015:pp. 17)

### **3.2.2 Bordering, ordering & othering**

The European expansion had a direct impact on Brazil’s history, since its “discovered” in 1500 and establishment of a colony in the land. The geographical perspective of European and capitalist expansion, drawn the first line, where the “discovery” of a New World, new territories, added to the former knowledge of what the world looked like. Not only national borders were increased and enhanced, different types of frontiers appeared.

Frontier means “in front”, an area which “was part of a whole, a manifestation of the spontaneous tendency for growth, [...] on the margin of the inhabited world. Its main attention is directed toward the outlying areas which are both a source of danger and a coveted prize. The nature of frontiers differs greatly from the nature of boundaries. They are a characteristic of rudimentary socio-political relations; relations marked by rebelliousness, lawlessness, and/or absence of laws. (Kristof; 1959: 269 - 271). Europeans explored oceans and expanded their frontiers into new territories. The division of the known world by those constructions can be seen in imaginary borderlines, separating poverty from wealth, development from underdevelopment, the “upper half” from the “lower half”.

Along with the evolution of societies, economic systems, technologies and politics, frontiers also evolved into unit, sovereignty. Frontiers became boundaries, “well established limits of [a] given political unit, and all that which is within the boundary is bound together, state, that is, the state as a sovereign (or autonomous) spatial unit, one among many. The boundary is fastened by an international bond.” (Kristof; 1959: 269 - 270).

Those boundaries are not objective, they are social constructions, once “bordering processes do not begin or stop at demarcation lines in space. Borders do not represent a fixed point in space or time, rather they symbolize a social practice” (Houtum, Naerssen; 2002:125). The world is divided, through borders capable of defining and excluding those outside of it.

Capitalism is also an imagined concept, and just like borders, it has the power to exclude and define. By labelling a country or a community as poor or underdeveloped, capitalism and its institutions erected an economic border capable of differentiating the world into global North and global South. Overall “(b)ordering rejects as well as erects othering” (Houtum and Naerssen; 2002: 126). The global South stands as the other, the one that must be kept out of the “First World”, so it can continue to be exclusive and holder of the power to exclude.

This has an impact on space experiences, the come and go, as long as subordinate individuals and groups will cause, in determined contexts, awe, estrangement and even repulse – contexts and places where their presence is not wanted, and where the invisible

borders will materialize through the others' behaviors.

The "invisible borders" organize the experiences of space, defining acceptable behaviors and senses of belonging – actually, areas of possibilities and limits, whose learning is crucial to the social reproduction of this order. After all, they are ideological constructs instilled in individuals and groups that allow such reproduction – expressions of the coloniality of being in the social relations.

In Latin America colonization became a way of dominating the "other", the Eurocentric standard of "civilized and uncivilized" being the invisible border, the political border that legitimized the domination of "them"(Latin America) by "us"(Europe) and justified the frontier expansion into the "New World".

Both internal and external differentiation or classification that affects a country, are closely linked to the concept of othering. Borders are "constructed by law, but they don't represent fixed lines in space or time; rather they symbolise a social practice of differentiation (van Houtum & van Naerssen, 2001: 126; Diez, 2006: 236). The creation of borders is an ongoing process of making differentiations in space and time between people, money or products (van Houtum & van Naerssen, 2001: 126). Ordering and othering is the process where humans make distinctions between an in-group and an out-group; 'us' and 'them'. By making a distinction between oneself and another group a border is erected. The feeling of belonging and the possible perceived superiority towards the out-group actively shapes borders between different groups (1994: xviii). Thus, again '(b)ordering rejects as well as erects othering. This paradoxical character of bordering processes whereby borders are erected to erase territorial ambiguity and ambivalent identities in order to shape a unique and cohesive order, but thereby create new or reproduce latently existing differences in space and identity – is of much importance in understanding our daily contemporary practices' (van Houtum & van Naerssen, 2001: 126 in Kouwenhoven, 2014: 18).

### **3.3 Final considerations Chapter**

The horrors of World War II showed new approaches to development, a more humanistic concept, oriented to human nature and the right of everyone to a decent and healthy life, aimed at world peace and the organization of states to the development and growth economic.

Several perspectives arose, such as the *dependentista* that supports the idea that underdevelopment, through the historical relations between core and periphery is another stage in the development of capitalism that began with the expansion of the core countries.

From the *Cepalina* perspective the integration of Latin American countries into the world economy as periphery - producers of goods and services less dynamic and importers of goods and intensive services - influenced the way these countries incorporated technical progress. The promotion of import substitution industrialization was the main objective of ECLAC. These countries, including Brazil absorbed the technologies that were successful in

the developed countries, and inadequate to the availability of resources and the income level of peripheral states. The *cepalistas* argue that economic development has three dimensions: the increasing effectiveness of the social system of production, the satisfaction of basic needs of the population and the achievement of objectives that aim to dominant groups in society and competing for use of scarce resources.

Post colonialism is a conceptual perspective that tries to analyze how certain places and people are constructed as subaltern to those who are considered superior and developed. Colonialism was, above all, the means of claiming and exploiting foreign lands, resources, and people. Enslavement, indentured labor, and migration forced many indigenous populations to move from the places they considered home.

For the Bordering, ordering and othering perspective, it indicates that borders are erected to erase territorial ambiguity and ambivalent identities in order to shape a unique and cohesive order, but thereby create new or reproduce latently existing differences in space and identity. This helps us understand the (spatial, time, social) complexity of the rules on race relations in the Brazilian pattern: there are spaces, places, moments, interaction contexts, and more so, it explains the bordering predicted by the previous economic theories, of “developed vs underdeveloped”.

## **4. Methodology**

This chapter presents the methodological framework underlying the preparation for this research. The first section describes the methods of research (4.1), and then the research methods used in relation to documentary research to explain the case and the narrative research (4.2). Further, it evidences the process of conducting the data collection (4.3) and finally, it is shown the case selection and data collection description of the theme of this research (4.4).

### **4.1 Methodology selection**

The present research can be characterized as a qualitative approach to the research problem. Qualitative studies are based on intensive observation, with an accurate and detailed record of what happens in the environment, the interpretation and data analysis data of descriptions and narratives.

For the qualitative part, fieldwork will be at the base of the research, and to do so, I will use semi-structured interviews, which will allow me to contact embassies and interview their members. Semi-structured interviews are not only an option to interact with the institutions individuals, but also with the general public. As for collecting data from the public, or nationals not directly involved with government and media, given the limitation of time and resources, a small number will be more suitable.

Although designing and developing any kind of research that requires a large number of subjects is costly, semi-structured interviews tend to be more approachable for a master thesis than a quantitative research. Especially in this case, not only my limitation of time but financial resources will make it quite difficult to develop a large quantitative research. The strongest point of semi-structured interviews is that it is an academic technique, that allows informality (in the conversation) to make it more approachable to people, not a rigid method that the subjects can feel uncomfortable with. Semi-structured interviews “can be used for a range of research, [and] is reasonably informal or conversational in nature and is flexible in [a way] they can be used in conjunction with a variety of other methods and theories.” (Longhurst, 2010: 106).

The approaches that I’ve selected for my methodology may present a few ethical issues along the way. Confidentiality and anonymity are aspects that the participants of the research may expect in exchange for their cooperation. Providing those are entirely my responsibility, and to assure a good research they must be guaranteed.

## **4.2 Research methods**

In this section, we present the description of development activities in a systematic manner, which were carefully chosen to achieve the objectives proposed initially. The steps for the preparation of the study followed the following steps: literature, case study and descriptions.

For the data collection, initially I will use historical sources to gather data regarding Brazil's historical background, of how was Brazil colonized and how the political and economic system may have been on the roots of the situations nowadays. Discourse analysis from the international media and international public policies and academic production that dwell into Brazil's future will provide me with a "from above" perspective, how does the world imagines and portrays Brazil. The "from above" perspective will be then compared with a "from below" perspective, gathered from the interviews of Brazilian nationals complemented by Brazil's policies towards South America in an effort to prove itself a regional power, so it can be acknowledge as a world power.

Analyzing the data available and combining it with the qualitative data acquired during interviews and the desk research will possibly result in enough data to continue the research and answer my questions.

The final method to collect data is in depth observation. As a 'local' I "have huge advantages in providing adequate descriptions of how and why things get done in the way they get done. Yet [I am] also at the disadvantage of no longer noticing how such things get done because they are so familiar as to be seen but unnoticed and you may never have attempted to make them into any kind of formal description" (Garfinkel and Sacks, 1986 in Laurier, 2010: 125).

Taking my perspective as a Brazilian national and attempting to see South America and Brazil itself from an observant perspective can be quite challenging, but if successful will prepare me to be an expert on the field. Historical backgrounds, discourse analysis and interviews are all methods and approaches that will allow me to answer my research questions, from an inside perspective, a Brazilian discussing Brazilian issues inside the international arena.

### **4.2.1 Desk research**

Regarding the procedures, the research is based on literature research. The literature covers the entire bibliography already published in relation to the subject of study, both in printed materials as in a virtual environment, which have the matter addressed. After all, "people express their experiences in written or told stories" (Creswell, 2007: 72).

It is possible to use multiple kinds of sources in desk research: literature, secondary data and statistical data (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007: 201-202). In this specific case the research

on theories served to bring context and base the debate on the subject. An advantage of desk research is that it is less time consuming than other research strategies, since data does not have to be collected by the researcher. A disadvantage is that there is an opportunity that the researcher displays a one sided vision of the data, because the researcher selects parts of the sources. Another disadvantage is that the researcher misses non-verbal communication, since there is no direct contact between the researcher and the subject of research (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007: 206). Because of this, this research makes use of the research method of case study.

#### **4.2.2 Case study research**

The research is based on a case study, in which data were collected through interviews with Brazilian (residents in Brazil and in other countries) which constitutes the primary source of research, in seeking to deepen the debate.

The interview conducted during the development of this research focused on identifying the perspectives of research participants (Brazilians in Brazil and Brazilians residing abroad) in relation to political, economic and social development of the country. In order to check the impact of the current crisis, it was collected information about the knowledge of the respondents about the economic crisis, the repercussions of this crisis worldwide and cultural and social aspects of Brazil. It also intends to highlight the opinion on the overall perception of the country at the current juncture.

#### **4.3 Data collection**

This section points out how the data collection for this approach was performed. The number of sources used for data collection was based on the published literature on the subject (books, articles, dissertations, and thesis) that will base the theory (4.3.1) and the results obtained by the case study and interviews (4.3.2).

##### **4.3.1 Written data**

The bibliography used in preparing the theoretical framework consists of a set of documents such as books, magazine articles, academic articles, government reports and resolutions of Brazilian public agencies. The academic literature was collected at Nijmegen Radboud University and includes journal articles and books. Literary records used for the construction of the historical background are constituted of Brazil's history books, predominantly in Portuguese. The images included illustrations derived from the literature available in the online environment.

##### **4.3.2 Fieldwork**

The fieldwork was carried out by interviews with Brazilians, classified into two groups: Brazilians living in Brazil and Brazilians living abroad. The interviews were conducted in order to understand the perspectives of these groups of individuals on the current political,

economic and social development of Brazil. As the interview guide I used a semi-structured script, aiming for uniformity in the conduct of the interviews. However, for each group, questions were prepared considering their different geographical situation. The script served as a guideline for the development of the case study.

According to Verschuren and Doorewaard (2010), in case study research “the researcher tries to gain a profound and full insight into one or several objects or processes that are confined in time and space”.

The field research began in February / 2016 and lasted until July / 2016. The interviews were conducted in the city of Nijmegen in the Netherlands, Bern in Switzerland in the municipalities of Santa Helena and Guáira both in the State of Paraná and in Colinas municipality in the State of Tocantins in Brazil. The subject’s choice varied according to where I was at the time. The respondents were divided into two groups: Brazilians living in Brazil and Brazilians living abroad. In the first group attended 15 people and the second consisting of Brazilians living abroad, were interviewed nine individuals.



## **5. The view from above**

In this chapter we present the Brazilian struggles in search of a place of prominence in the world scenario, that is, the search for strategies to join the “privileged club” (5.1). A most significant position in the world will be possible only when partnerships are established with the institution that governs international market, giving visibility to Brazil. This global visibility will result in national strengthening, through the development and growth of the country in all aspects.

### **5.1 Strategies to join the “Privileged Club”**

Brazil has always fought for the improvement of its situation as a country (and in all areas) inside the international arena, trying to advance towards a more important position in this scenario, participating more actively in multilateral committees and positioning itself more effectively in the negotiations that took place regarding the growing globalization, resulting in a growing interdependence among countries that has caused upheavals, affecting the capitalist dynamics. The debate on Brazilian trade policies and integration into the economy has intensified in recent years.

Among these debates, there are the ones inherent to the search of joining the group of countries that command the world dynamics, the “privileged club”, such as joining the permanent UN Security Council (5.1.1), free trade with the European Union (5.1.2) and the establishment of an equal level of negotiations with the United States (5.1.3).

#### **5.1.1 UN Security Council**

The United Nations (UN) have a representation in Brazil since 1947. UN’s presence in each country varies according to the demands made by their governments to the Organization. In Brazil, the United Nations system is represented by specialized agencies, funds and programs that develop their activities according to their specific mandates (UN of Brazil, 2013).

UN is an organization formed by several institutions and a number of specialized agencies, among them: World Health Organization (WTO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF) in addition to programs such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Among the stated objectives are: the maintenance of world peace, the encouragement of cooperation between countries and security in the world, to foster friendly relations among nations, to promote social progress, better living standards and human rights. The United Nations 'works either as a form of mediation or intervention in critical situations, that is, highly conflictive, whether as a forum for the gradual construction of the international order' (Sardenberg, 2013: 13).

Currently, the Council UN Security consists of 15 states, of which five are permanent members with veto power (the United States, Russia, China, France and the UK) that may block the adoption of any resolution, while there are ten participating countries with a two-year term, distributed according to a geopolitical criteria - five for Africa and Asia; two for

Latin America and the Caribbean; and three for Europe, one for the east side and two for Western (Arraes, 2005, 2013: 13).

The Security Council is the “UN institution most cited in the press. As the name suggests, the Council deals with a subject of difficult administration, international peace and security and therefore is exposed to public scrutiny for its actions and inactions” (Sardenberg, 2023: 59). It authorizes economic sanctions, sending peace missions and the use of force - and is considered the most important organ of the UN.

Since the creation of the Security Council, the participation of Brazil as a permanent member is an important topic to Brazilian diplomacy. Brazil always strived to participate as a temporary member for the fact that it increases the chances of a permanent membership, having made clear its willingness to assume all the responsibilities of the countries that are accredited to occupy permanent seats. Sardenberg (2013) notes that Brazil has already been ten times on the board as a non-permanent member.

Currently, Brazil presents itself as a strong candidate for the permanent seat, based on its progress in the economy, new technologies, development of its institutions and the gradual strengthening of its military power.

Therefore, the UN team in Brazil considers essential to adopt strategies that meet the new demands of society and recognize children, adolescents, youths, elderly and women in their potential to transform and urge the development and expand the targeted investments to ensure that all have completed their full potential, with necessary subsidies to build and achieve their life projects (United Nations of Brazil, 2013). Brazil should make efforts to increase levels of education, with emphasis on high schooling and higher education, and increase decent work opportunities and vocational training for the young population (UN of Brazil, 2013).

For Brazil, obtaining a lasting seat can express, in a way, the crave for expanding its prestige, the recognition of the international community, in order to legitimize the implementation of certain political and economic measures such as the overhaul of the armed forces or monetary stabilization (Arraes, 2005).

The main advantage of a permanent seat would be the country becoming a decisive actor on the international arena. The current momentum would be appropriate to the entry of the country in the club of permanent members, becoming one of the privileged, transforming Brazil into a decisive actor in the world market and a voice in the international set with the recognition of its potential in the world.

### **5.1.2 Negotiations with the European Union**

The relations between Brazil and the European Union (EU) have always occupied a prominent position in the foreign trade of Brazil. The European Union is indispensable for

the export of Brazilian products, as well as Brazil's integration into global value chains that can provide the necessary competitiveness gain to national productive sectors, and the source and destination of Brazilian most important trade agendas for many decades (Thorstensen et al., 2014).

In recent years, Brazil and the European Union strengthened their relation in several sectors and the current focus on trade issues, justified by the economic crisis, should not hide the advances in those fields. (Dane, Edler, 2014).

However, the convergence between EU and Brazil is still not strong enough to share a common vision, as the reform of the Security Council and the RDD negotiations of the WTO, and on the other hand, to achieve any results in terms of free bilateral trade.

*The European Union is the largest market in the advanced industrialized world (30% of world GDP in 2010 - € 12.5 trillion), and a "trading state" (Rosencrance, 1986). It has strongly influenced the international trade as a trade bloc (20% of world trade flows in 2010), major regulator of global competition and standardization policies (Sapir, 2007). With a population of 500 million people who are relatively well educated and trained, the EU remains the most important demographic entity in the Western. The euro zone crisis does not seriously affect its role as the main competitor of the US dollar (as 18% in 2000 from reserve currency to 25.7% in 2010, with a peak of 27.6 in 2008). The EU is also the first actor to work in cooperation with developing countries (the European Fund accounts Development to 22.682 M Euros from 2008 to 2013, as the largest development budget in the world) and humanitarian aid (€ 1 billion in 2012 more than half of humanitarian aid in the world). The EU is at the center of the world's largest network of arrangements and agreements of various types (bilateral, multilateral, inter-regional, and "strategic partnerships"). (Telo, 2014: 21-22).*

In analyzing these data, it is necessary to reflect that the European Union can use its power to influence decisions of other agents negatively or positively, and it may significantly affect its trading partners. Among the negative measures embargoes can be cited (export ban), boycotts (import ban), delays in the conclusion of agreements, suspension or contract termination, tariff increases, reduction of quotas, the withdrawal of GSP, reduction or suspension of help, and delays in the granting of successive loan installments (Telo, 2014).

Brazil, for its presentation as a peaceful country and of friendly relations with other countries, focuses on the positive side, willing to enjoy the benefits of trade relations. The positive factors that can affect the negotiations among the trading partners of the European Union are: "establishment of commercial agreements, cooperation agreements, association agreements, tariff reductions, quota increases, granting inclusion in the GSP, and providing aid and long-term loans" (Telo, 2014: 22).

For Pino (2014), the cooperation relations of development between the European Union

(EU) and Brazil have experienced a major change in the last five years. From a traditional agenda in the context of EU-Latin America regional relations and sub-regional EU-Mercosur, we witnessed its qualitative transformation in horizontal bases from the signing in July 2007, of the Strategic Partnership Agreement. "Brazil: country strategic paper" prepared at the Summit speaks about all the points in which the partnership was agreed and what were its main objectives:

*[...] the first priority of this Country Strategic Paper will be to stimulate exchanges, contacts and transfer of know-how between the European Commission and Brazil. The primary objectives of these exchanges will be to provide valuable input for improving social inclusion and achieving greater equality in Brazil and improving mutual knowledge in a number of areas of specific interest and to enhance bilateral European Commission-Brazil relations. [...] as a second priority, the European Commission intends to support projects to promote the environmental dimension of sustainable development in Brazil, preferably in coordination with other donors to maximize their impact (European Commission, 2007: 889).*

With a gradual process of overcoming the classical approach donor-recipient, "institutional strengthening and capacity building for public policy design of distributional cut, in betting fostering the role of regional stabilizer of Brazil and support the southern American giant's efforts in production and maintenance of public goods such as environmental preservation '(Pino, 2014: 123).

Currently opportunities were opportunities for dialogue on global challenges and opportunities for bilateral or bi-regional interest between Brazil and the European Union to go deeper into political relations, boosting economic links and diversifying cooperation initiatives. The main meeting point focus on complementarities, mutual help in combining resources, the synergies that are generated and possibilities of exchanging knowledge and experiences among countries. For most, it is a time of challenges that can result in great opportunities for Brazil regarding the negotiations with the European Union in the near future, with the strengthening of cooperation between the parties in the economic, commercial, industrial, scientific, technological and a wide range of topics that are important to both parties, such as energy, transport, environment, education, social development and public policy.

### **5.1.3 Equal negotiations with the United States**

The United States and Brazil have not had an easy relationship in recent years. Although relations between the two countries are not, in anyway, opposing or even hostile, they have shown more discord than regional and global cooperation. However, despite their persistent differences, the United States and Brazil are not antagonists, or opponents. The two countries have maintained a friendly relationship for years (Hakim, 2012).

The United States show a clear desire to expand international trade as an essential factor for

national security. Foreign trade is a vital link to economic growth as well as for the maintenance of economic and military power, required for the maintenance of global leadership. The US national security is therefore linked to its economic capacity, dependent on a growing industrial base. It is on this basis that the US tries to promote trade agreements that maximize the opportunities of the most important sectors of its economy (Castelo Branco, 2004). Developed countries like the United States have structural advantages over developing countries like Brazil which cannot be eliminated in the coming decades. With the implementation of the FTAA<sup>3</sup>, Brazilian companies would find themselves exposed to competition with US companies, bigger and more powerful.

The US wants the immediate opening of the economies of the American countries, regardless of the internal situations of each and without discussing the constraints of its own foreign policy, as the barriers to entry into the US of several Brazilian products. In this case, Brazil would be compromised, by international agreement, maintaining its intern market always open for exports from the US and other countries in the Americas. Brazilian companies would be exposed to vigorous competition from large US corporations with all their technological, financial and commercial power (Batista Jr., 2003).

Brazil's growth as Latin American and global power allowed the recognition of the United States about Brazil's prestige, which resulted in a redirection, giving more representation to the emerging country, as holder of the pre-salt reserves, as a relevant State in the energy sector, with prospects of becoming a major global oil supplier, the comparative advantage in biofuels with the production of ethanol from sugar cane, gaining renewed importance of US considerations.

Brazil, has as a priority of the current government to change attitude in itself and in society in the coming years, allowing Brazilian officials to adopt in all external trading levels the defense of national interests. The interest in expanding their exports to the US and other markets would help to reduce the imbalance in the external accounts and the chronic vulnerability of the Brazilian economy. That is to say, they should adopt the same policy of the United States, fighting for the interests of Brazil (Castelo Branco, 2004).

*The Brazilian interest in approaching the United States cannot be summarized by occasional commercial gains, since the US is already an important trading partner. Among the many priorities are also sensitive opportunities, for example, to upgrade the technological frontier of Brazilian industry, either through mechanisms that encourage mutual investment and upgrading of productive chains in Brazil, either for academic cooperation between educational institutions of both countries. In addition to issues related to technological use of an agreement with the United States, there are also great opportunities to increase bilateral relations, still little explored in areas such as defense, services and tourism. The identification of sectoral core products that*

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<sup>3</sup> Free Trade Area of the Americas

*can benefit from a closer relationship is also something that can bring gains for Brazil (Federation of São Paulo State Industries, 2014: 17).*

The creation of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), which predicted the collapse of trade barriers between the countries of the Americas since 2005 was dismissed due to differences between the two protagonists: Brazil and USA. The United States tried to restrict the participation of Brazil in the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) in order to isolate the country on the continent. Brazilian refusal to open some markets with fear, sometimes justified, that the superpower competition would liquidate their domestic producers and the American refusal to let their guard down on issues such as the end to agricultural subsidies, the sector in which the Brazilian productivity is higher (Souto Maior, 2004) are at the main causes to the disagreements.

During Lula's mandate, there was the maintenance of trade and macroeconomic policies that finally won the confidence of foreign investors. In parallel, the foreign minister, Celso Amorim, restored credibility in the idea of political autonomy and sovereign insertion of Brazil in the international scenario. In its relations with the United States, Brazil defended multilateralism and bilateralism based on "reciprocity": the maintenance of free trade should start with bilateral and multilateral negotiations in accordance with the needs and interests of different states (Milani, 2011).

The way the two countries will have to cooperate or, alternatively, to manage their differences depend, however, on the perception that each one has on its own current and future position in the continent and in the world (Souto Maior, 2004).

These new insights directly depend on the agreements and dialogues established between the countries with a very pacifist trend in recent years. The United States can understand that Brazil, although it has a more fragile economy is self-sufficient enough to negotiate individually with other countries or blocs, including the European Union.

## **5.2 Final considerations of the Chapter**

Although, Brazil has shown steady waves of development, there are strong lash backs against the country, aiming to prevent its entry into the "Privileged Club". This can be evidenced by the delay in even considering Brazil's inclusion as permanent member of the UN Security Council, the difficulty of negotiations with the European Union and the disadvantages in relations with the United States.

Brazil joining the permanent Security Council would mean giving veto power to a regional power of the Global South, often non-aligned with the Global North interests, a country that would shift the geopolitical game and give voice to the South Hemisphere.

Regarding the difficulties in establishing negotiations with the European Union, it becomes increasingly urgent, as they advance a number of other bi-regional negotiations around the

world, bringing significant changes in the regulation of international trade offering access conditions to more favorable markets, with great advantages for the deepening of this relationship, particularly through a well-defined agreement that meets the interests of the nation.

Changes in relations between Brazil and the United States should be seen as the negotiations maturing. The US protectionism does not allow equal conditions of competition. However, with the establishment of dialogues and agreements between the two countries, there are possibilities of establishing a balance which can benefit the nations generating gains for both.

In summary, there is an effort of Brazil to achieve a prominent place among the most relevant countries in the world. However, it hasn't yielded the expected results, in part, by concern of some countries of Brazil occupying a prominent place in the international arena.

## **6. The view from below**

This chapter describes the efforts, progresses and achievements of Brazil in the world's market and global negotiations. Brazil, aiming to improve its position, benefited from some strategies to consolidate its credibility with international bodies and also in South America. Among these strategies are the creation of Mercosur (6.1) and UNASUR (6.2) in order to allow free movement of goods, services and factors of production and enable the integration of the countries of South America in the economic, social and political aspects.

### **6.1. Mercosur**

Brazil is one of the founding members of the Southern Common Market, known as Mercosur. The creation of the South American bloc was preceded by the Treaty of Asuncion in 1991, Mercosur joined the customs union - with the prospect of moving towards a common market – of the economies of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. Chile and Bolivia joined the free trade agreement in 1996. As a result of a meeting of Heads of State of South American countries in Brasilia in September 2000, negotiations happened for the establishment of an integrated economic space in the continent until 2005, unifying the countries of Mercosur and the Andean Community (Almeida, 2001).

The objectives of Mercosur are: the creation of a common market with free movement of goods, services and productive factors. Complementing this objective, the adoption of a common foreign policy, coordination of common positions in international forums, the joint formulation of macroeconomic and sectoral policies, and, finally, the harmonization of national legislation with a view to greater integration would result in a strong integration. The goals are quite ambitious, covering areas related not only to the economy but also to culture, education, population movements, labor, among others (Moreira, Miranda, 2012).

Mercosur is a rupture of the import substitution process proposed by ECLAC and a transposition to a development model characterized for economic liberalization and accelerating integration. Besides reducing or eliminating tariffs among members, also regulates trade with nations that do not belong to the block, and standards established through the CET (Common External Tariff). (Carvalho, 2005)

Other economic blocs or groups, which retained substantial margins of the global market share, have advantages over Brazil, that is, the ability that they have to negotiate is in much more favorable terms than Brazil's, and in many cases they will be able to substantially reduce or even completely eliminate any advantages that Brazil could achieve at faster trading. The statement becomes valid when we see the case of the European Union, negotiating "as a bloc", and where the strategic interests in advanced technology areas are added to the well-established interests in traditional areas (Castelo Branco, 2004).

Brazil should resume the leadership of Mercosur, otherwise the country will be unable to advance the agendas of interest and the bloc's interest as a whole (Federation of Industries



of the State of São Paulo, 2014). Brazil's role in Mercosur is therefore increasingly integrator. It is undeniable that Brazil has the leading position in terms of its economic, population, geographical features, among others. It is important to realize that the leading position increases the responsibility of Brazil in driving and the survival of Mercosur. Mercosur definitely demarcates South America as Brazil's area of political and economic influence (Moreira, Miranda, 2012).

For these reasons, it is observed that Brazil has great influence and has power in decision taking within MERCOSUR, which has shown positive results, which makes the Southern Cone partners stronger. Mercosur, as a free trade area in training, has produced excellent business results. However, it is not enough for Brazil as a regional integration platform, much less the world. The insertion of Brazil in the world economy will not be given only through trade, in terms of access to goods markets; It requires also, and perhaps primarily, access to capital and technology market, which is usually only found in the developed world.

## 6.2 Unasur

UNASUR (*União de Nações Sul-Americanas*) its a bloc that seeks to strengthen commercial, cultural, political and social relations between twelve South American – Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay e Venezuela – besides its observant members of Mexico and Panama (Fracisco, 2016).

The establishment of Unasur is of great importance for the integration of these countries because, through the implementation of a free trade zone, that aggregates greater flexibility in trade, movement of people and goods. Another important aspect is the union of the two economic blocks of South America (MERCOSUR and CAN - Andean Community), and the possibility of creating a single currency, called "Pacha" (Fracisco, 2016). The main objective of UNASUR is to provide integration among countries of South America. This integration will occur in the economic, social and political areas. Within this objective, it is expected a greater coordination and cooperation in education, culture, infrastructure, energy, science and finance segments.

UNASUR was created in 2008 when Brazil's foreign policy was undergoing a phase of major advances and good influence among the presidents of Argentina and Venezuela. The creation of UNASUR expressed innovation and continuity in Brazilian foreign policy: innovation with the creation of a new international body, but continuity in the choice of South America.

*At this point of smaller foreign policies of South American countries the challenges for integration becomes larger. One of the main challenges of the bloc is strengthening its institutional framework, needed to make sure that UNASUR has adequate tools to implement its projects and initiatives in 12 countries. From an economic point of view, the question remains: how to make an economic rise of countries without a regional imperialism? In addition, one should take into account that the budget of UNASUR is*

*increasingly compromised by the fall scenario of commodity prices and the severe economic crisis in member countries. The bloc needs to create alternatives to generate the possibility of financing an economic growth and finding a sectoral niche to increase and improve the industrial dynamics (Habermann, 2016: 1).*

For the Defense Minister Celso Amorim, "the South American priority for Brazil, translates not only in trade integration and infrastructure between the countries of the continent, but also as a political integration, with increased contacts between our governments and our societies. There is "more social and human integration with the exchange of experiences in combating poverty and hunger and the promotion of justice (Carvalho, 2010: 50).

The idea is to make the economic bloc formed in the region to converge and not only that, to work cooperatively in the sense that there is a real integration by prioritizing cooperation and peaceful relationships, Brazil strengthens its credibility and international reputation, which creates a great international visibility.

### **6.3 Final Considerations of the Chapter**

Brazil is a country with large potential for economic growth and development in the world economy. However, being unable to act freely in the international arena given the incompatibility between its own economic interests neutralizes its rise.

Brazil chose to act strategically, fighting from below, with the weapons it had. This legitimized its status as an active country by its insertion into economic blocs that could position it positively in the world scenario, with the intention to demonstrate itself as an emerging power and as an influential actor among peers States and, for this, international and regional organizations were strategic. These two groups represent a greater engagement of the member states for institutional strengthening and, consequently, the effective integration in South America.

For this understanding, Brazil tries to structure itself from below, aiming to bring together the forces of the states (say, the member countries of Mercosur and UNASUR) for empowerment and autonomy.

For Moreira and Crespo (2012) local development, in this case understood as national, it's a process of change that has its starting point in the existence of needs that affect the collective and which intends to respond to priority use of its own capacities. Indeed, the development is based on territorial paradigms of the regional economy and the territory, which highlights the idea that the diversity of sub-national framework of territories requires a development that meets the resources available, differentiated and multiform and leave local potential resources and capabilities. The new paradigm of development in the territory is therefore a form of development from more restricted spaces, from below.

However, its interest in further integration of the national economy with the rest of the

world goes beyond mere trade in goods. From this perspective, its structure also backs the access to financial resources and technology, normally only found in developed countries. For all these reasons, regional integration can only be a supplement limited to goods area as part of a wider Brazilian insertion into the world scenario.

## 7. Analysis

This chapter presents the considerations obtained from interviews with Brazilians, the historical analysis of the country's history and an analysis of the public policies adopted by Brazil and towards Brazil. The interviews were divided into two groups: interviews with Brazilians resident in Brazil and interviews with Brazilians living Abroad to identify their perception of the current situation regarding the development political, economic, social and cultural of the country. It is observed that in some moments of research there was no way to differentiate the economic, social or cultural aspects, as they overlap and interact in such a way it becomes almost impossible to describe them in isolation.

It should be noted that the case study in this research is not intended to analyze all conditions in Brazil, the research should be understood as an attempt to analyze the relationship among perceptions of the two groups and the influence of life experiences abroad and at the country that can explain the results in the perception of Brazil's situation.

### 7.1 Presentation of the interview data

The field research was developed by conducting interviews in the city of Nijmegen in the Netherlands, Bern in Switzerland, in the municipalities of Santa Helena and Guaira both in the State of Paraná and in Colinas municipality in the State of Tocantins in Brazil. They were collected from February to July 2016. Respondents were divided into two groups according to residential geographic location, and the groups were: Brazilian residents in Brazil and Brazilians living Abroad.

To preserve the identity of the participants, only their first names were used. 24 people were interviewed, 15 Brazilians living in Brazil and 9 Brazilians living abroad. Some interviews were conducted in the period in which the proposer of this study resided in the Netherlands, in Switzerland, and an interview was made with a Brazilian resident in Portugal, during his visit to his family in Brazil.

#### Group 1

Table 1 - Brazilian residents in Brazil

NAME	AGE	EXPERTISE	RESIDENT
Norberto	51 years	Doctor	Tocantins – Brazil
Janete	51 years	Social worker	Tocantins – Brazil
Priscila	27 years	Student	Tocantins – Brazil
Marcia	38 years	Merchant	Tocantins – Brazil
Sebastião	53 years	Builder	Paraná – Brazil
Elvis	53 years	Business man	Tocantins – Brazil
Maria	29 years	Student	Tocantins – Brazil

Jonathan	19 years	Student	Tocantins – Brazil
John	19 years	Student	Paraná – Brazil
Adriana	39 years	Teacher	Paraná – Brazil
Rosa	27 years	Student	Paraná – Brazil
Adeni	73 years	Retired	Paraná – Brazil
Maria	11 years	Student	Paraná – Brazil
Arthur	22 years	Student	Paraná – Brazil
Milton	22 years	Student	Paraná – Brazil

Source: Research Data (2016).

## Group 2

Table 2 - Brazilian Residents Abroad

NAME	AGE	EXPERTISE	RESIDENT
Aline	22	Student	Netherlands
Isadora	21	Student	Switzerland
Andréia	23	Student	Netherlands
João	23	Student	Netherlands
Fernando	42	Merchant	Portugal
Anderson	25	Student	Netherlands
Alana	30	Student	Netherlands
Marcos	25	Lawyer	Netherlands
Renata	26	Biologist	Netherlands

Source: Research Data (2016).

## 7.2 Economic aspects

Economic problems directly affect the social and political aspects of a country, and they had great impact in the respondent's opinions. Group 1, mostly demonstrated little knowledge on the economic aspect, but making it evident that primary products, as in the whole agriculture sector plays a major role in people's imaginary (as far as economic trades go). When questioned about the current economic situation, group one positioned itself more enthusiastically than group 2, making clear that they believed that for Brazil to overcome this crisis, the country would need to make use of its potential in the primary sector.

*For the pessimists, the situation is disastrous. For those who have another way of thinking is a period of reflection. Unemployment is reaching about 11% in the industrial area, however, the agricultural sector (which supports Brazil's economy) has not shown unfavorable indicators. With a little effort there are possibilities to get out of this economic discomfort that the country has today. (Norberto)*

Furtado's cepalina perspective seems to have little impact on people's opinion about economic development and consequent overcome of this crisis. The general public opinion seem focused on economy as in agriculture, but the government's policies (until Dilma) seemed to equally focus on the agriculture sector and invest in the industrial one. To develop Brazil, through industrialization as Furtado and Prebisch theorized at Cepal, Lula, used a *Cepalina/Dependentista* methodology to execute Brazil's boom of 2005.

The emphasis on international competitiveness through the incorporation of technical progress, and the need for social equity for the successful development (Sicsú, Paula and Michel, 2005: 34) characterize the "*neo-desenvolvimentismo*" proposed by Lula's economic project, rooted on *cepalina* theories. The *cepalina* perspective, the theory that was written in Latin America, by Latin Americans to the continents own reality, addresses issues such as the stage of development of the region and proposes measures (mostly) economic to overcome such situation. Furtado (1959) shows that Latin American economic dependency was due to its market being mostly of primary products, with little aggregated value, forcing countries such as Brazil to spend more on imports than it earned in exports and depend on external investments to keep the economy going. On that matter, the respondents seem to understand the extent of the crisis when it comes to investments.

To both groups, the economic crisis was generated by the chaos in the political situation, affecting Brazil's image and then scaring possible investors away.

*Investors who would invest in the country avoid investing for thinking that is not a sure thing (Elvis).*

*Negotiations can be broken because of this situation (Jonathan).*

*It complicates the relationship between Brazil and other countries, they do not feel safe to invest in the country and the consequences are unemployment and rising prices (Rosa).*

A re-reading of the *cepalina* theory boosted Brazil's boom in 2005. It addressed issues such as growth, equality and industrialization. *New developmentalism* (the new version of Cepal's theory)

can be summarized in four theses: "(1) there is no strong market without strong state; (2) there will be no sustained growth [...] without strengthening ... the state and the market and without implementing appropriate macroeconomic policies; (3) market and strong states will only be built by a national development project that reconciles growth ... with social equity, and (4) cannot [reduce] the inequality without economic growth high rates and continued"(Sicsú, Paula and Michel, 2005: 35 in Morais and Saad-Filho, 2011: 512).

Lula's "*neo-desenvolvimentismo*" focused on a "strong state" "that is able to regulate the markets, and reject[s] the neoliberal axiom that individual rationality in the markets always produce the best result for society. Conversely, a "strong market" is able to accommodate large and small businesses, to keep open access to competition, and to ensure equal

opportunity for producers and consumers, a condition which cannot be guaranteed endogenously by the market itself, but only by state regulation.” (Morais and Saad-Filho, 2011: 513).

We can only speculate why public opinion seem distant from the economic reality of the country, but possible reasons are that an economic analysis of the country is a challenge to a population that has, in average, 7,4 years of formal education (IBGE, 2011) the lowest rate of South America. Without access to formal education, or a quality education, the general public becomes subjected to the media and its biased analysis of several sectors.

The crisis has not affected the respondents directly, but they sense its outcome in the inflation numbers, cuts in investments and in unemployment numbers. The reasons that led to the current economic situation in Brazil are many, such as the lack of investment in infrastructure and the lack of long-term strategic planning in the economy. These factors, combined with scandals triggered by corruption in Brazilian politics that overthrown the government's credibility both in the national economy and in international trade, aggravated the domestic economic problem.

Group 1 had a more positive perspective of Brazil's future, while group two considered this crisis and consequent recession to last for longer, since the political situation does not contribute to an economic stabilization.

*The economic situation is completely connected to the political situation of the country. This can be seen by the exchange rate that is bad, the level of unemployment, rising inflation - situations that demonstrate that the politics don't work, and thus the economy follows it (Isadora).*

*In Brazil, I worked with marketing and the last thing I did at work was a survey of the market in various industries to mount the plan for the next 5 years. I was crying. I do not know how the country will come out of this (Alana).*

*The situation is bad and will take years to recover. I do not believe that any change of government will solve the economic problem of Brazil, but it can improve. However, I believe that we are a country with great potential if we can change our political situation as a whole (Marcos).*

*I think the Brazilian media manipulates information, further aggravating the crisis (which despite worrying is not the chaos that they want to show) to influence a politically illiterate mass and collaborating with the wishes of the Brazilian conservative elite (Anderson).*

Without the presence of the state, the market is inefficient, because in addition, it is not being able to promote the necessary structural changes for development, aiming to exclusively benefit the big capital (a minority). While agriculture, industry and services gave their blood to achieve levels of productivity and competitiveness, the government failed in strategic planning, infrastructure and fiscal policy. These aspects can be shown by the fact

that Brazil has been throughout its history at the margin of progress and success.

Brazil's disadvantage in the international market is that it's "few" industrialized products cannot compete with the products of countries that have stronger industrializations, and the insistence of governments throughout the military dictatorship and the governments until

2002 in inserting Brazil in an orthodox neo-liberal path and launching the country into the world market only served a minority of the population. Opening Brazilian market to foreign industries instead of applying the *cepalina* theories and investing in national industries resulted in economic crisis and an increase of the gap in wealth distribution. It held back Brazil's development, only addressed from 2002 onwards, in which statically, the "*neo-desenvolvimentismo*" showed good results.

The *dependentista* theory coins the definition for dependency in South America, in an economic dependency of Western countries giving the fact that Brazil, as a primary economy is dependent of industrialized countries to supply its market with industrialized products. Lula's project sought to incentive the country's industrialization, but reversing 500 years of exploitation does not happen in the matter of days. Strategies to strength Brazil's negotiation power were required, so an adaptation of the *dependentista* theory was in order: to "piggy back developed countries until South America could develop on their own".

Brazil created mechanisms such as economic blocs (Mercosur and Unasur) to strength its negotiation power, to overcome historical deficiencies until its development process becomes more consolidated. As stated before: "other economic blocs or groups, that retain substantial margins of the global market share, take advantages over Brazil, that is, the ability that they have to negotiate much more favorable terms than Brazil's is very large, and in many cases they will be able to substantially reduce or even completely eliminate any advantages that Brazil could achieve at faster trading". (Castello Branco, 2004) So Brazil joined economic blocs, restructured its economic stance and promoted programs for national development, all seeking to economically and socially develop the country and simultaneously boost Brazil as a regional power.

### **7.3 Political aspects**

The respondents and the overall data regarding Brazil's current situation seem to agree: the political crisis escalated into an economic recession. Despite the whole dissatisfaction with Dilma in her second turn (due to an economic shrinking), her impeachment process is what largely motivated a full scale recession.

The recent path that the Brazilian politics took can be assessed in the light of its historical and structural process. Political and economic dependency plus large scale schemes of corruption seem to have unleashed a political aversion process, converting to a distrust and disbelief in the political process. All schemes that have been brought to light motivated different reactions from Brazilians, but both groups and a large majority of the population



think corruption is the greatest villain, suppressing any development that the country might have.

*Now that things began to appear, I think it is good everything that is happening, because it has people's behavior changing. Not to accept things that are happening. I think this is the way, it has to happen (Isadora).*

*Political instability feeds back the economic instability and therefore the crisis tends to get worse (Aline).*

*I thought the lack of involvement of people was responsible for the country's problems (Alana).*

*I always thought Brazil to be a country subjected to corruption and the will of politicians who do not represent us (Marcos).*

*Brazil has gone through several moments of good and bad. In fact, Brazil needs serious people, it is a country with many chances for growth. (Elvis)*

*That Brazilian politics are very distorted and that the people are very accommodating and not interested in the subject. (John)*

*There were many mistakes, political and administrative, but we had some hope because the last ten years there has been a worker appreciation, poor workers left the misery, they valued Brazilian companies. (Adriana)*

*Brazil's political situation today allows Brazilians to know what happens for a long time, to a greater or lesser degree. Corruption is a phenomenon inherent in third world countries, because people do not have a political conscience in defining what is public resource and what is particular feature. This situation will be good for the country's future by improving its consciousness on the subject. (Norberto)*

Economic prospects had the respondents divided: group 1 believed in a future recovery, group had a more conservative perspective on the subject. As for politics, the distrust and the distaste for the country situation and historical common practice of corruption (some say inherited from the colonial process by Portugal and perfected by Brazilians over the centuries) were general. Brazilians are aware of the level of corruption in the country and very much unhappy about it, situation that associated with the economic crisis has worried Brazilians in what regards their future.

#### **7.4 Cultural aspects**

This segment is the one that has the most positive answers and opinions. The culture of the country, considered heritage which Brazilians acquired from colonization and miscegenation, was built from the experiences of its people, of its roots. The cultural characteristics are part of their identity, through principles, beliefs and values.

Related to cultural aspects of Brazil, we can see that Brazil is a country with an enormous cultural diversity, these cultural aspects are at the very basis of the people's identity, and the

various social groups construct their culture and receive the influence of other cultures. Access to knowledge, social relations, and diverse cultural experiences can contribute to the socio-cultural development of the subject.

When asked what was/is Brazil to each of them, the answers showed that the country has great significance for all Brazilians interviewed. Positive opinions were put side by side to the criticisms made to the economic and political aspects. The respondents classified Brazil's culture and social aspect very positively. A singular point throughout the interviews were the contradictions. Brazilians proved themselves capable to be very critic of their country and simultaneously very proud. A common aspect among the groups was the dislike for the recurring stereotyping of Brazil.

*Brazil is my country, it belongs to me, where I feel better, more relaxed, if anything happens I know who to turn to, it's the place I love (João)*

*Brazil is a continental country with a large territory with different cultures in every region of the country, in its cuisine, and music (Norberto).*

*Brazil is a wonderful country with an amazing diversity, of honest people, but that unfortunately is facing difficult situations for being in the hands of politicians, mostly dishonest, who do not care about the people, do not value the country's wealth (Adriana).*

*Brazil is my homeland, a rich country, beautiful, but regrettably our leaders do not know what they govern. Brazil could be a first world country if we had honest politicians (Adeni)*

*Brazil is a mixture of cultures and natural beauties, which makes it unique in all its aspects, and what stands out most is the receptivity of the Brazilian, the naturalness of human contact, the warm way and full of humor winning the affection of all (Arthur).*

*Brazilians are not undermined by the difficulties, they always manage to overcome adversity, that's what I love about us (Elvis).*

When group 1 was asked whether they would like to live anywhere else they strongly replied no. But when asked where they would like to live, if given the chance, the answers showed that the economic border plays a huge part in Brazilians imaginary, they wanted a "first world country". Group 2 answered that living in a "first world country" showed how much Brazil still had to progress. This mentality where despite claiming to love Brazil, the desire to live in an economically developed country, a

glorified “them” that did not face the same problems as the “us” proved to be present. This same bordering, erected by standards of development and economic progress show that Brazilians often compare themselves to what is acceptable, what is the “first world”.

*I think I would go to Switzerland. Because of the economy, because it is a first world country, better than here (Marcia).*

*In England, because I lived there and because there are not so many robberies, assaults and accidents. It is a good country to live in. It's first world (Sebastião).*

*I think Europe is more evolved culturally and economically, as we are not fully developed (Aline).*

*Brazil is not developed as some European countries, particularly in political, economic and social issues (Isadora).*

*Brazil could be a first world country if it had honest politicians because it is a rich country. (Adeni)*

It seems that belonging to the “upper half” to the “privileged club” is the utmost demonstration that Brazil is a good country, a good place. This mentality of subordination and inferiority seem to have roots in the colonization and the cultural, economic and political domination endured by Brazil. During the colonization we were submitted by a country that had always been under the influence of an even more powerful one: England.

“The colonization of Brazil were, as we said above, subject to a colonizer that for long periods of its history, was dependent on a higher power, the British. If we want to radicalize, we could say that Brazil was actually directly colonized by the Portuguese, and indirectly, by the English. We were therefore doubly colonized: Portugal and the British power, always attentive to their domains” (Gomes, 2004).

Another external “social” problem was the stereotypes to which Brazil is often a “victim”. The stereotyped views of the country can influence the global context, so if asked whether respondents consider this good or bad they unanimously answered as it being bad, given the reason stated before that the country disposes of a cultural variety that often becomes secondary to this stereotypes.

*We are known as the country of Carnival, soccer, the beautiful woman - but we are more than that. (Janete)*

*I think Brazil is not especially known, that people think Brazil is a weak country, of Indigenous people - these people do not really know the country. (Elvis)*

*They only see what the media shows outside and do not know the true culture of Brazil (Adriana).*

*I think it has many stereotypes: mainly of Brazilian women oversexualized, I think there's the issue of being a developing country, a poor country. I think internationally there is still this stereotypical view (Andreia).*

*Despite being liked by most people I talked to, I think Brazil still has a wild and exotic country image, only of beaches and forests. People have no idea of the size of Brazil or the diversity, and also do not think that we are part of the Western world (so I was told once by a Dutch). I also think that today we are seen as a violent country and with a lot of corruption, although people do not have in-depth knowledge on these issues. (Marcos).*

There was one answer, given by a Brazilian living abroad (Marcos) that personified the contradictions in which Brazilians simultaneously love and hate their country and portraits Brazil's image in the international arena given the current situation:

*Politically, Brazil's image has suffered by the damage caused by corruption and low levels of income distribution and human development, when compared to countries that have the same wealth. Its home, but it has a long way to go. I think the Brazilian does little of its roots and traditional culture today. I also think that the Brazilian is very little nationalist and easily conforms to the political, economic and social situation. Although we are warm to receive other people in our country, we are very little sensitive to each other, and people looking to take advantage over the other often without putting themselves in the others situation. The whole scenario makes us very dependent (Marcos).*

## **7.5 Final Considerations of the Chapter**

The group of Brazilians living in Brazil described their views on the country identifying it as a continental country, wonderful, warm and with great diversity. They like to live in Brazil, most would not live anywhere else in the world, but point out that the country should improve in some respects, particularly the political, economic and social issues. References to Brazil in the international arena according to respondents are not good, the media distorts the image, it reflects negatively on the negotiations at the international level.

The group of Brazilians living abroad describes their visions of Brazil as their home, identity, homeland, among other attributes. Respondents described the country as an emerging, with potential for growth, full of diversity and disorganized in some spots. Views on Brazil, before living abroad, were negative and in a derogatory way. Some respondents changed their opinion demonstrating a more positive outlook of the country. Addressing negative points

about the spread of the Brazilian stereotypes, especially concerning women, corruption, carnival and population poverty, with some indignation about the lack of knowledge about Brazil and the false image disseminated in the media, and how this image harms the country in international relations, feeling uncomfortable with this false image. Some inferiority feelings were expressed, so did group 1.

Regarding the political aspects, the country is experiencing a difficult period, where the respondents mainly criticized the political corruption, the “tradition” of not punishing those guilty of fraud, embezzlement and theft. In the economic aspect, despite the unemployment levels in the industry, other areas such as agriculture and livestock show progression and growth, minimizing some of the situation. In general, respondents believe Brazil will recover from the economic crisis from the change in the political arena. For international impacts caused by the current situation, the Brazilians living in Brazil unanimously stated the impacts in the world scenario, especially mentioning the stagnation of foreign investments. They consider the country as underdeveloped, especially because of the crisis experienced at the current period, but point out that it is a nation with great chances of growth and relevance to other countries, especially by the trade of primary products and with enormous growth potential because of its work capacity and territorial use.

Regarding the social aspects, they consider Brazil an underdeveloped country with a description of various factors that characterize and hold this view, especially by comparing to European states. Under the belief that the country they live abroad is better, most respondents justified it because of factors such as security, infrastructure, government assistance, policy development and economy and also the higher quality of life.

Regarding culture all respondents addressed the numerous positive aspects such as cooking, diversity, openness, joy, good sense of humor, optimism, persistence, solidarity, among others. Regarding the negative aspects they focused on the political benchmarks, indicating corruption, lack of knowledge and interest in the subject, the lack of ethics, discipline, culture of the “five minutes late” and the conservative influence of religion. Other aspects highlighted were the stereotypical view of the outside Brazil and the Brazilian submission.

## 8. Coping Mechanisms

The Brazilian people – sometimes as the supporting role and often as the protagonist of the ills suffered by the nation – with its origin not exactly defined, based on unfavorable historical events, could have become a people devoid of hope, depressed and without great prospects for the future. However, the racial mix that here was formed, together with all the weird episodes in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres characterize the cultural expressions front to adversities.

*“Bola pra frente”* is a very used expression that makes allusion to Brazil’s favorite sport, soccer, but it also means: *keep going on*. This mentality of keep on fighting appears in the literature and in the daily lives, as strong as the inferiority complex (7.3). *“Verás que um filho teu não foge à luta”* this sentence in Brazil’s national anthem represents this cultural aspect that often becomes buried by stereotypes such as *Carnaval*, soccer, partying and corruption. Brazil’s anthem express that “its children do not flee the fight”, the fight although not literal, represents how Brazilians sometimes face difficult situations in their daily lives, as any country belonging to the Global South, under the categorization of underdeveloped or in development. The expression makes an allusion to the ability that Brazilians have to make the best out of bad situations, out of the difficulties of being a country stricken by the “bad side” of globalization.

The Olympic Games of 2016 hosted by the city of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil presented in its opening ceremony a side of Brazil that it’s rarely seen in the international media, or portrayed by the national one, a side that foreigners get to know once they visit the country. The Brazilian humor, the *gambiarra*, the *jeitinho*, they are all ways that Brazilians found to cope, against governments known for their corruption and inefficiency, to cope in a world where the country has been secondary, not wealth or developed enough.

### 8.1 The “Brazilian Way”

The *jeitinho* or the Brazilian way have more uses than just being a coping mechanism, since the whole idea behind the expression came “from the peculiar blend of Portuguese, African, and Amerindian cultural influences in a setting in which central authority attempted, without great success, to exploit the people and resources and to enforce religious norms. Under these circumstances, it was preferable to appear to obey than actually to obey.”<sup>4</sup> It was an instrument of rebellion that evolved into the *malandragem*, a downside, in which the Brazilian way can be perverted into a way to take advantage of any situation.

The Brazilian way shows positive and negative sides of Brazilian culture. On the positive side, Brazil’s “strong cultural values in favor of conciliation, tolerance, and cordiality. To the extent possible, direct personal confrontation is avoided. This Brazilian style of behavior may be derived from an Iberian and colonial heritage of diverse ethnic groups living together,

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<sup>4</sup> Extracted from <http://countrystudies.us/brazil/38.htm>

weaker central authority exercised by the Portuguese crown, and day-to-day practical forms of resistance to exploitation. It may also have an element of popular emulation of the genteel behavior of the elites. Whatever its origins, Brazilians are known for their informality, good nature, and charm (*simpatia*), as well as their desire not to be thought unpleasant or boorish (*chato*). They place high value on warmth, spontaneity, and lack of pomp and ceremony.”<sup>5</sup>

On the negative side, Brazilian can be exploitative of their environment, taking advantage of daily situations and one another. Brazilians tend not to think in terms of the common good. Mutual benefit discourses are often distrusted since it brings up the mistrust of it being a disguise for colonialism or exploitation. This results in the evasion of social rules, situation that can be overcome by impoliteness.

The *jeitinho* evolved into practices such as the *gambiarra*, which means doing the best out of a bad job. These mechanisms are society’s way of “rebellious” against abusive and incompetent governments, once they don’t do it right leaving it to civil society to deal with the damages. Dealing with difficult problems does not mean having to find complicated solutions, Brazilians have shown that they can find pragmatic solutions to difficult problems without many resources, all it takes is wiliness and creativity.

## 8.2 Brazilian sense of Humor

The Brazilian found a way to cope and overcome the misfortunes of life by a strong sense of humor. Despite living in a country where, since its origin, reasons for disappointment and hopelessness of its population were common, the disorders, misfortunes and difficulties did not let them down, they kept themselves going in a very light and humorous way.

Humor can be considered a defensive procedure, acting as the individual protection, a kind of psychological adjustment, helping them to accept the facts of life and continue on life's journey, viewing adversity, allowing the subject to distance itself from problems (Silva, 2010).

Humor that comes from Brazilians own experiences and struggles, fueling the satires with daily experiences and using it as a mechanism to show distrust for the political and economic situation. The humor has been present in Brazilian literature since the beginning of the republic and even more so in the daily interactions.

During a state visit to Brazil, French president Charles DeGaulle is reputed to have remarked, "*Ce n'est pas un pays sérieux*". Magalhães's anthology, representing the *Academia Brasileira de Letras*, portrays the satirical and humorous perspective that the author attributes to the character of the Brazilian people. He emphasizes the

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<sup>5</sup> Extracted from <http://countrystudies.us/brazil/38.htm>

connection of humor with national reality: the street anecdotes, anonymous sayings, biting and epigrammatic broadsides. This mode of socially based humor is mainly expressed through satire, derived from moral or ethical considerations, whether intended to conserve inherited traditions or challenge them in favor of change. The originality of Brazilian humor, so affirms Humberto de Campos from another perspective, is to be found in the shock of its capriciousness against established conventions and traditional moral and artistic formulas (Magalhães, 1969: 10 in Jackson, 2000).

According to Jackson (2000) the humor can be drawn from Brazil's mixed reality, since it is an incongruent and confused construct, often emphasizing the strangeness of its perceptions of reality. De Andrade (1972) "exploited the image of *"bananas podres"* ["rotten bananas"] to satirize the tropical decadence of Brazilian reality. To characterize this phase of national redefinition that juxtaposed colonial to present time, modernist poet Murilo Mendes invented the phrase *"bagunça transcendente"* ["transcendental confusion"], satirizing the distorted national stereotypes, heroes, and historical episodes." (Jackson, 2000)

In the 60s, Brazilian laughed at the hick (*caipira*) who came to the city in the midst of the phenomenon of urbanization. In the 80s, with the failure of the Cruzado Plan, Brazilian laughed at the chronicles and created jokes that showed politicians making gaffes and made the whole country laugh to keep from crying the lost decade (Arantes, 2015).

Regarding Brazilians, what intrigue is, how do these people maintain this ability to preserve their good mood in times of tribulations as those that can be checked when you know (even if briefly) the historical process of its constitution as a nation? How do this harassed and enslaved people (Natives, Blacks) and the abused were able to disregard the feelings of discouragement and abandonment in a country without structure? And how did they managed enthusiasm to believe in the country in times of financial disorder denounced by rising inflation, high unemployment, precariousness of public health and education?

The answers to all these questions are apparent when observing the joy, energy and sense of humor of Brazilians. These attributes are displayed in the way of life that these people hold, original, breaking rules, standards and protocols. The origins of the keen sense of humor Brazilians have was consolidated by the bias of the reflections of society's problems, full of irreverence that can be can be identified by ironic nuances, sarcasm, satire, jokes and other approaches that humor allows.

The typical Brazilian good humor, who can find a joke in all misfortunes, regardless of the subject, which makes foreigners feel as a part of Brazilian culture, in part, because of the openness of the people that allow things to happen spontaneously, living each situation as it presents itself, without masking the reality of the country.

Amid the political and economic crisis faced by Brazil and with the facilities provided by



modern technology, jokes, cartoons, videos and new formats of humor spread in a random mixture of several arts. For its creation are used technologies in the virtual environment and development through the use of common figures of speech in everyday conversations, drawings, music, video, theater and other arts.

In the internet arose the Polandball's (spherical designs that generically represent the members of a country). These geopolitical satires, are a *meme* (used to describe a concept image or video, which spreads via the Internet) that are present in a large number of strips (comics) over the internet at which images interact with each other using a language not standardized, with slangs, making humor with stereotypes of each country and with international relations.

Among these generic comics, Brazilball appears, in a representation of Brazilian humor that takes the form of *zuera* in the internet. The representation of the country presents skits to the geopolitical, internal and external situation of the nation. Internally, especially in relation to politics and economics, as the recent case of impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff, in May this year.



Picture 3: Brazilball 1

Source: [https://www.reddit.com/r/polandball/comments/1uqlxw/joke\\_life\\_preserve\\_early\\_2014\\_results/](https://www.reddit.com/r/polandball/comments/1uqlxw/joke_life_preserve_early_2014_results/)

Other internationally renowned events did not escaped the scorn of Brazilian, as the World

Cup held in Brazil in 2015 and the Olympic Games held in the country in August of 2016 in the state of Rio de Janeiro.



Picture 4: Brazilball 2

Source: [https://www.reddit.com/r/polandball/comments/1uqlxw/joke\\_life\\_preserve\\_early\\_2014\\_results/](https://www.reddit.com/r/polandball/comments/1uqlxw/joke_life_preserve_early_2014_results/)

For Acselrad and Gold (2009), there is a possibility of humor within any subject, person or entity. When someone considered important by society is spotted in an awkward position, capable of causing laughter, immediately he loses the unobtainable pose, of being different from the others, being exposed to a situation that causes laughter to others.

In this context, Brazil is noticed as a country historically exposed to various ills, identified as a country that works in a totally irrational way, which is based on humor as a catalyst for the problems faced and still faces in order to lighten its experience.

The new generation takes interest in soccer and Carnaval, for which Brazil is famous, and *memes* – the newcomer trend – that personifies Brazil's critical sense of humor. After all in this country, "the *zuera* never ends". Brazilians incorporate these cultural practices as outlets for the frustrations of everyday life.

### 8.3 Final Considerations of the Chapter

Brazilian can overcome problems and endure hardships through humor, since these situations often demand the people to maintain a good and cheerful mood. The good mood is a recognized Brazilian phenomenon that acts as a strong buffer against stress, divergences and disappointments, improving the relationship among Brazilians. In a way, this way of living is contagious also to those who are not accustomed to the Brazilian culture, as in the case of foreigners staying in the country, an invitation to spontaneous participation, by the socializing interaction of the host, this enthusiastic approach triggers positive feelings. In

short, it can be said that humor cannot be considered just a state of mind, but it should be understood as a view of the world.

## 9. Conclusion

Brazil has been associated with a large number of stereotypes since its “discovery”. From the beginning of Brazil’s modern history, the country has been dependent on others perspectives of it. The imaginary portraits the country as exotic, tropical, as the “other”. Some stereotypes have a positive impact in Brazil’s economic, political and social lives. Being considered a tropical land of “wonders” does have a certain appeal to the rest of world, but it also has an effect on the land itself. (Schneider, 2016)

Three hundred years of colonization, a heritage of patrimonialism, corruption, economic and political dependence to which Brazil stands idly by and in some degree even reinforces it only serve to justify it being treated as a commodity. The world might have stereotyped ideas of what Brazil and Brazilians look like, but the country itself has issues of self-understanding, misguided perceptions of itself that might contribute to a mentality that allows further stereotypes and wrongfully perceptions to grow dominant.

Brazil has been presented to the world from very different perspectives, going from a partying, lazy and “screw up” country to an emerging power. The way the world’s popular opinion perceives Brazil is full of stereotypes, and the way Brazil is presented in the academic literature does show a pattern that reinforces the idea that Brazil is not living to its potential, not achieving the “world’s standards”<sup>6</sup>.

Brazilians on the other hand seem more focuses on the diversity and wealth of the country, heavily criticizing corruption for holding Brazil back, but they do seem to be influenced by the possibility of one day becoming developed and being a “first world country”.

The country has been heavily criticized by the international media if it does its politics and economic affairs in a way that diverges from the “world’s” way of doing it. Clearly, Brazilians tend to believe that the right way to do it is the Western way, where to join the “privileged club” Brazil must first adapt to the standards of a developed country.

Uneven processes of development have been the rule when it comes to most of the countries belonging to the “third world”. The third world is a term that begun to be used during the Cold War and it became a regular denomination given by those considered developed to countries that experienced colonialism, imperialism and conflicts and do not achieve certain standards of the international community regarding economic development, security and political stability. The denomination is the first line in drafting social and political borders between parts of the world. (Schneider, 2016)

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<sup>6</sup> <http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21586833-stagnant-economy-bloated-state-and-mass-protests-mean-dilma-rousseff-must-change-course-has>

The third world is often approached by the “first world” with strategies for its development. Strategies that proved effective in first world countries during its periods of development. The strategies answer to a series of standards from international organizations, and seek to “promote opportunities, create security, and empower people”, (Craig and Porter, 2005; P. 226) by attempting to implement this policies for development. These strategies have an import role in the dependency theory, and are recognizable in the bordering/othering theoretical approach. Because it worked in Europe it will not necessarily work in Latin America. (Schneider, 2016)

Taking as primary sources Brazil’s history and the opinions of Brazilians, allowed this research to achieve one of its goals: how Brazil is perceived in the international arena by its own nationals. This research was capable to elucidate what Brazilians believe to be their country’s role in the world. This idea confronts the dominant discourse in world politics and economics by primarily taking into consideration Brazilians opinions of their own nation.

Although the economic and political dependence during colonization and the “indirect neo-colonization” play a huge part in the development stage that Brazil finds itself today, playing the victim is not an appropriate way of facing the situation. Portugal may have taken natural resources, England might have economically dominated the country during its early industrialization attempt, and the United States might use its economic superiority to keep Brazil as an outcast, but the greatest villain is corruption. Mentioned by all of those who were interviewed, a stereotype that it’s mostly truth and that where the victim and the abuser are the same.

Brazil’s challenge its corruption that appears so deep, so rooted and for so long that it has become a cultural aspect that Brazilians are ashamed so they would rather put the responsibility somewhere else. Brazil corrupts itself and sabotages its own chances of development by thinking of itself as a “them” far deep in the underdevelopment.

## **9.1 Answering the research questions**

Brazil faced and still faces many unfavorable conditions for the development of its full potential as country. First, the exploitation by Portugal, for more than three centuries drafted a line, where “them” (Brazil) was less, and to overcome that they would have to be colonized by an “us”. The fact that in its independence from Portugal, one third of its population was made up of newly emancipated slaves, who did not dispose of the same rights of other citizens (Portuguese and immigrants), enriched by the fact of being people who were in Brazil not by choice, but because they were forced to come, brought through violence, which may show negative aspects in relation to growth, future prospects and negatively influences the economic, cultural and social development of the country. Other factors that have prevented the successful growth were the sabotages in the treatment and

in the negotiations on the international market, briefly discussed in Chapter 2 of this research.

Then, Brazil in a Contemporary set, an independent nation, with considerable resources reinforces its position as less, by allowing the Global North to have its way in the international arena in what concerns Brazil. It stereotypes itself as a land of drinking, partying and not being serious (not to claim something as good or bad). That's how Brazilian media portrays the country, instead of demonstrating the other side, of hard working people, that challenges its disadvantageous conditions every day, that does a lot with little and that is capable of still being a happy country. Brazilians tend to stereotype their country as less, as never good enough, even when they were able to see the good side.

Although the respondents classified Brazil as a country with a large economic potential, when asked if Brazil was important in the international arena, they only expressed Brazil's regional importance, not being a match to Western countries. Brazil's visibility is often shaded by corruption scandals and the current economic-political conjuncture, which has the potential to affect other countries. Overall, Brazilians seem to think that their country only matter for its stereotypes or for its difficulties, not representing a country politically and economically powerful enough to actually matter.

The fact that Brazilians believe to be on an inferior position when compared, and by comparing their country to the "first world" shows a lingering mentality of subordination that now incorporates Western states and Brazilian politicians (often put on pedestals where they take advantage of the country and manipulates its population). And internationally, Brazil and Brazilians are often portrayed as second class world citizens, which became evident during the criticisms suffered by Brazilians about their culture during the Olympics.

The borderlines drawn by scholars and politicians across the ocean and reinforced by the economic bordering in the contemporary world do not represent South America's own "personality" but the reflex of what is expected of them to be a part of the "club". Ideologically, the good and the advanced are still on the other half, far from Brazil's reach, even though statically Brazil's power, from regional to South-South proves the other way. Colonial borders remain in the sense where Brazil is still considered "uncivilized", but this time the one doing the bordering are also Brazilians themselves.

## **9.2 Recommendations**

To achieve more comprehensive results, more time and financial resources would allow a more comprehensive research, if possible even using a quantitative methodology to incorporate Brazil's large population, associated with the application of a qualitative aspect to identify perceptions and opinions.

This research had one biased aspect, the interviewed presented high educational levels, unlike the majority of the Brazilian population. The possibility of interviewing people from more humble backgrounds and less education would certainly have provided a wider range of perspectives (since it is the majority of Brazilians). The data selection also poses a future recommendation to other researchers, where they could have taken another approach to the subject, and used parts of the data that were left out in this study.

### 9.3 Reflection

Brazil has a multicultural society and this exact mix makes it unique, singular and colorful - giving the country its own identity - which allow experiences, feelings and genuine Brazilian culture. Regarding cultural aspects, the Brazilians who were interviewed demonstrated pride when describing the characteristics of Brazil, and simultaneously they were capable of demonstrating negative opinions and strong criticisms. Perhaps, it is ought to be said that Brazilian cultural contradictions fall into the same category as the sense of humor: often overlooked, but present in all regions and among all classes.

This research elucidated that the international scenario leaves no places for countries that have a hard time catching up with globalization. Such statement, as harsh as it may sound, is often expressed in academic works, the media and the statistical data collected by international organizations. Access to education, health care, and the occurrence of violent conflicts are all significant and representative data that catching up is a very difficult task.

The oscillation between things going fine and going down the slope, is a characteristic of the "Global South", and determining Brazil's identity in this set, by its own people is perhaps more important than the opinion of foreigners, after all Brazilians are the ones living in the country. Being part of the "privileged club" might be the overall idea that Brazil "made it through", but perhaps Brazil's regional part and original ideas show that development can be achieved through different paths. Brazil "coming from behind", from below, shows that even with all its mistakes and difficulties the country is capable of getting into the "Privileged Club" through a back door, or even better, it is ready for its own club.

*"O correr da vida embrulha tudo. A vida é assim: esquenta e esfria, aperta e daí afrouxa, sossega e depois desinquieta. O que ela quer da gente é coragem"* (Guimarães Rosa)

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## **Appendices**

### **Appendix I: Interview guides**

- Brazilians Residents in Brazil

### **Appendix II: Interview guides**

- Residents abroad

## **Appendix I: Interview guides - Brazilians Residents in Brazil**

1. O que é “Brasil” para você?
2. Como você descreveria o Brasil, enquanto país?
3. Você gosta de viver no Brasil? Por que?
4. Se você pudesse viver em qualquer outro lugar, você deixaria o Brasil para trás? Por que?
5. Onde você gostaria de viver? Por que?
6. Como você acha que o Brasil é conhecido internacionalmente?
7. Você considera essa imagem boa ou ruim? Porque?
8. Você já se sentiu incomodado com a opinião de estrangeiros sobre o Brasil?

### **Política e Economia**

9. Desconsiderando a situação atual do Brasil, qual era a sua opinião política sobre o país antes dos acontecimentos de 2015/2016?
10. O que mudou na sua opinião dado a atual situação política?
11. Qual é o seu contato com a política brasileira? (Leitura de jornais, assistindo TV, trabalho na área)
12. Você costuma/va acompanhar a situação política /social do país?
13. Qual é a sua opinião sobre a atual situação econômica?
14. Enquanto estudante essa situação/crise (política e/ou econômica) te afetou?
15. Você acha que esta crise tem/terá impacto internacional? Como?

### **Cultural e Social**

16. O que você entende por um país “subdesenvolvido”?
17. Você considera o Brasil “subdesenvolvido”? Por quê?
18. O que você considera positivo da cultura brasileira?
19. O que você considera negativo da cultura brasileira? O que você não gosta no brasileiro?
20. Você acredita que brasileiros precisam adaptar seu comportamento quando visitam/moram no exterior? Por que?
21. Você acredita que estrangeiros também precisam adaptar seu comportamento quando visitam/moram no Brasil? Por que?
22. No geral, você considera o Brasil no mesmo nível de relevância que outros países? Por que?



23. Eu tenho autorização para publicar seu nome, ou você prefere ficar anônimo?

#### Residents in Brazil

1. Personal information (name, age, occupation)
2. What is your background in politics? From reading newspaper, watching TV, job in the field)
3. Do you stay tuned with the political/social situation of the country?
4. Do you like living in Brazil? Why?
5. If you could live anywhere else would you leave Brazil behind? Why?
6. Where would you like to live? Why?
7. 10. How would you describe Brazil, as a country, in its current political situation?
8. 11. What is your opinion to the current political situation?
9. 12. What is your opinion about the current economic situation?
10. 13. Do you think this crisis will have an international impact? How?
11. 15. Describe Brazil, as you believe it is seen by general public opinion.
12. 16. What do you understand by a "Third world" country?
13. 17. Do you consider Brazil Third World? Why?
14. 19. Despite Brazil's current situation, what was your opinion about the country before the events of 2015/2016.
15. Has it changed? Why?
16. 22. Which kind of challenges or difficulties have you experienced given the place where you live?
17. 23. How would you describe Brazil, as country?
18. 24. Do I have approval to publish your name, or do you want to stay anonymous?

## **Appendix II: Interview guides**

### **- Residents abroad**

1. O que é “Brasil” para você?
2. Como você descreveria o Brasil, enquanto país?
3. Porque você saiu do Brasil?
4. Você pretende retornar ao Brasil?
5. Por que? Motivos financeiros ou outros?
6. Qual era a sua opinião sobre o Brasil antes de viver exterior?
7. Qual é sua opinião sobre o Brasil agora?
8. Como você acha que o Brasil é conhecido internacionalmente?
9. Você considera essa imagem boa ou ruim? Porque?
10. Você já se sentiu incomodado com a opinião de estrangeiros sobre o Brasil?
11. Sua nacionalidade interfere na sua rotina?
12. Como você é tratado no dia-a-dia, dado a sua nacionalidade?

### **Política e Economia**

13. Desconsiderando a situação atual do Brasil, qual era a sua opinião política sobre o país antes dos acontecimentos de 2015/2016?
14. O que mudou na sua opinião dado a atual situação política?
15. Qual é o seu contato com a política brasileira? (Leitura de jornais, assistindo TV, trabalho na área)
16. Você costuma/va acompanhar a situação política /social do país?
17. Qual é a sua opinião sobre a atual situação econômica?
18. Enquanto estudante, alguma dessas situações/crise (política e/ou econômica) te afetou? Você acha que esta crise tem/terá impacto internacional? Como?

### **Cultural e Social**

19. Você considera o Brasil “subdesenvolvido”? Por quê?
20. O que você entende por um país “subdesenvolvido”?
21. Você acredita que o país onde você está é melhor que o Brasil?
22. Que tipo de diferenças culturais você vivenciou?
23. O que você considera positivo da cultura brasileira?

24. O que você considera negativo da cultura brasileira? O que você não gosta no brasileiro?
25. O que você mais sente falta do Brasil?
26. Que tipo de comportamento/adaptação cultural você teve de apresentar vivendo fora do Brasil?
27. Você acredita que os estrangeiros também precisam adaptar seu comportamento quando visitam/moram no Brasil? Por que?
28. Como você se sente em relação aos nacionais do país onde mora? Por que?
29. No geral, você considera o Brasil no mesmo nível de relevância que o país onde reside? Por que?
30. Eu tenho autorização para publicar seu nome, ou você prefere ficar anônimo?

#### Residents abroad

25. Personal information (name, age, occupation)
26. What is your background in politics? From reading newspaper, watching TV, job in the field)
27. Have you been accompanying the political/social situation of the country?
28. How would you describe Brazil, as a country, in its current political situation?
29. What is your opinion to the current political situation?
30. What is your opinion about the current economic situation?
31. Do you think this crisis will have an international impact? How?
33. Describe Brazil, as you believe it is seen by general public opinion.
34. As a Brazilian living abroad, has your nationality been a problem?
35. What do you understand by a “Third world” country?
36. Do you consider Brazil Third World? Why?
38. Despite Brazil’s current situation, what was your opinion about the country before the events of 2015/2016.
39. Has it changed? Why?
41. Which kind of challenges or difficulties have you experienced given your nationality?
42. How would you describe Brazil, as country?
43. Do I have approval to publish your name, or do you want to stay anonymous?