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Narratives of Brazil

Brazilian identity representations in International Mega-Events - the cases of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics.

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Abstract

In this thesis, we have analysed how the organising committees of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics have used these mega-events to negotiate the image of the country and its inhabitants through the tension between historical national narratives and idealised standards of what is expected from a modern nation in relation to the world scene. To do it so, firstly, we have identified and discussed a series of nationalistic historical core narratives which - in different periods of Brazilian history - were crafted to contextualise Brazil and Brazilians within western modernity. Nonetheless, as we understand that there is a myriad of different ways of experiencing and representing a continental nation filled with regional contrasts as Brazil, we also have contextualised the representation of the cultures of different *Brazils* within dominant narratives of Brazilian-ness. Once we have delineated such nationalist and regionalist narratives, we were able to identify them in the content analysis of the audio-visual material of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics such as posters, logos, mascots, ceremonies and so on. The adoption, rejection or negotiation of these narratives in the aforementioned ceremonies do not only tell us how the architects of these events understood and projected the nation's image abroad, but also unveiled their perception of Brazilian-ness and modernity. What is more, the analysis has also exposed the organising committees' judgment of the role that the cultures of different regions play in their idea of the nation as well as their understanding of how different peoples – as the Luso-Brazilians, the Afro-Brazilians, the Amerindians, etc - have contributed to the formation of the nation.

Keywords: *Brazilian-ness, representation, nationalism, regionalism, mega-events.*

Resumo

Nesta tese, analisamos como as comissões organizadoras da Copa do Mundo FIFA 2014 e os Jogos Olímpicos de verão de 2016 usaram esses megaeventos para negociar a imagem do país e seus habitantes utilizando da tensão entre narrativas nacionais históricas e padrões idealizados do que se espera de uma nação moderna e da sua relação com a cena internacional. Para tanto, em primeiro lugar, identificamos e discutimos uma série de narrativas nacionalistas que - durante diferentes períodos da história brasileira - foram elaboradas como formas de contextualizar o Brasil e os brasileiros dentro do que o ocidente considerava moderno. No entanto, como entendemos que há uma infinidade de diferentes formas de vivenciar e representar uma nação continental repleta de contrastes regionais como o Brasil, também contextualizamos a representação das culturas de diferentes *Brasis* dentro narrativas dominantes da *brasilidade*. Uma vez delineadas tais narrativas nacionalistas e regionalistas, pudemos identificá-las na análise de conteúdo do material audiovisual da Copa do mundo de 2014 e dos Jogos Olímpicos de 2016 – tais como cartazes, logotipos, mascotes, cerimônias e assim por diante. A adoção, rejeição ou negociação dessas narrativas nas cerimônias mencionadas não só nos dizem como os arquitetos desses eventos entenderam e projetaram a imagem da nação no exterior, mas também como revelaram as suas percepções de *brasilidade* e de modernidade. Além disso, a análise também expôs as visões das comissões organizadoras sobre qual é papel que as culturas de diferentes regiões brasileiras desempenham nas suas idéias a respeito da nação, bem como os seus entendimentos de como diferentes povos que habitam o país – como os descendentes de portugueses, africanos, ameríndios, etc. - contribuíram para a formação do Brasil

Palavras-chave: *brasilidade, representação, nacionalismo, regionalismo, mega-eventos.*

Résumé

Dans cette thèse, nous analysons comment les commissions d'organisation de la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA 2014 et des Jeux olympiques d'été 2016 ont utilisé ces méga-événements pour négocier l'image du pays et de ses habitants en utilisant la tension entre les récits historiques nationaux et les modèles idéalisés de ce qu'on attend d'un pays moderne et de sa position sur la scène internationale. Premièrement, nous avons identifié et discuté une série de récits nationalistes qui - au cours de différentes périodes de l'histoire du Brésil - ont été élaborés comme des moyens de contextualiser le Brésil et les Brésiliens au sein de ce que l'Occident considérait comme moderne. Cependant, sachant qu'il existe de nombreuses façons différentes de vivre et de représenter une nation continentale regorgeant de contrastes régionaux comme le Brésil, nous contextualisons également la représentation des cultures de différents *Brésils* dans les récits dominants de la *brésilité*. Une fois ces récits nationalistes et régionalistes définis, nous avons pu les identifier dans l'analyse du contenu du matériel audiovisuel de la Coupe du monde de 2014 et des Jeux olympiques de 2016 - par exemple, dans les affiches, des logos, des mascottes, des cérémonies, etc. L'adoption, le rejet ou la négociation de ces récits dans les cérémonies mentionnées nous indique non seulement comment les architectes de ces événements ont compris et projeté l'image de la nation à l'étranger, mais aussi comment ils ont révélé leurs perceptions à propos de la *brésilité* et aussi de la modernité. En outre, l'analyse a également exposé les points de vue des comités d'organisation sur le rôle que jouent les cultures des différentes régions du Brésil dans leurs idées sur la nation, ainsi que leur compréhension de la façon dont différents peuples qui habitent le pays - tels que les descendants de portugais, africains, amérindiens, etc. - ont contribué à la formation de la nation.

Mots clés : brésilité, représentation, nationalisme, régionalisme, mega-événements.

Resumen

En esta tesis analizamos cómo las comisiones organizadoras de la Copa Mundial de la FIFA 2014 y los Juegos Olímpicos de verano de 2016 utilizaron estos mega eventos para desarrollar la imagen del país y de sus habitantes aprovechando de la tensión entre narrativas nacionales históricas y patrones idealizados de lo que se espera de una nación moderna y de su posición en la escena internacional. Para eso, en primer lugar, identificamos y discutimos una serie de narrativas nacionalistas que - durante diferentes períodos de la historia brasileña - fueron elaboradas como formas de situar a Brasil y a sus nativos dentro de lo que el occidente consideraba moderno. Sin embargo, como entendemos que hay una infinidad de distintas formas de experimentar y representar una nación continental repleta de contrastes regionales como Brasil, también situamos las representaciones de las culturas de diferentes *Brasiles* dentro de las narrativas dominantes de brasilianidad. Una vez delineadas tales narrativas nacionalistas y regionalistas, pudimos identificarlas en el análisis de contenido del material audiovisual del Mundial de Fútbol de 2014 y de los Juegos Olímpicos de 2016 - tales como carteles, logotipos, mascotas, ceremonias y así sucesivamente. La adopción, el rechazo o la negociación de esas narrativas en las ceremonias mencionadas no solo nos dicen cómo los arquitectos de estos eventos entendieron y proyectaron la imagen de la nación en el exterior, pero también como revelaron sus percepciones de brasilianidad y de modernidad. Además, el análisis también expuso las visiones de las comisiones organizadoras sobre cuál es el papel que las culturas de diferentes regiones brasileñas desempeñan en sus ideas acerca de la nación, así como sus entendimientos de cómo diferentes pueblos que habitan el país - como los descendientes de portugueses, africanos, amerindios, etc. - contribuyeron a la formación de la nación.

Palabras clave: brasilidad, representación, nacionalismo, regionalismo, mega eventos.

Resum

En aquesta tesi analitzem com les comissions encarregades d'organitzar la Copa Mundial de la FIFA del 2014 i dels Jocs Olímpics celebrades a l'estiu del 2016, van aprofitar aquests mega esdeveniments per desenvolupar la imatge del Brasil i dels seus habitants, aprofitant la tensió entre narratives nacionals històriques i de patrons idealitzats del que s'espera d'una nació moderna i de la seva posició dins l'escenari internacional. En primer lloc, identifiquem i discutim una sèrie de narratives nacionalistes, que durant diversos períodes de la història brasilera es van elaborar com a formes de situar a Brasil i els seus nadius dins dels paràmetres occidentals del que és una nació moderna. Tot i així, entenem que existeix una infinitat de formes d'experimentar i de representar un estat continental replet de contrastos nacionals com ho és el Brasil, també situem les representacions culturals dels diferents Brasils en el mateix territori que hi ha dins les narratives dominants de la brasilitat. Un cop delimitades les narratives nacionalistes i les regionalistes, vam poder identificar-les en l'anàlisi del contingut extret del material audiovisuals del Mundial de futbol del 2014 i dels Jocs Olímpics de 2016: cartells, logotips, mascotes, cerimònies, etc. L'adopció, el rebuig o bé la negociació de dites narratives en les cerimònies no només ens mostren com els arquitectes d'ambdós esdeveniments van entendre i projectar la imatge de Brasil cap a l'exterior, sino que també, com es van manifestar les seves percepcions de brasiliaritat i modernitat. A més a més, l'anàlisi va mostrar les visions particulars de les comissions organitzatives sobre quin és el paper de les cultures de diferents regions brasileres que tenen les seves idees sobre la nació, així com la forma d'entendre com diferents pobles que cohabituen dins el mateix país (descendents portuguesos, africans, amerindis, etc.) contribueixen a la formació de Brasil.

Paraules clau: brasilidad, representació, nacionalisme, regionalisme, mega-esdeveniments.

To Alice

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Résumé substantiel

De temps en temps, les pays et les villes manifestent leur intérêt à organiser des méga-événements internationaux comme les expositions universelles, les jeux olympiques et les coupes du monde de la FIFA. Leur intérêt est souvent justifié comme un moyen d'attirer des investissements d'infrastructures et de réchauffer l'économie locale. Les méga-événements peuvent également servir comme de rites de passage du développement national et régional. En tant que tels, ces événements sont célébrés comme le couronnement d'un régime socio-économique ou d'un groupe politique. Sur la scène symbolique nationale, les méga-événements internationaux sont également des occasions qui permettent aux pays, régions et villes d'introduire leurs cultures ou de donner une nouvelle image de leurs identités à un public plus vaste.

Par conséquent, les méga-événements sélectionnent, recyclent et recréent des récits de société afin de donner une image actualisée de la nation ou de la région. Ces récits sont souvent construits à travers la tension entre les stéréotypes d'une société, des idées bien établies et une compréhension souvent idéalisée de la communauté. Pour cette raison, la modernité joue donc un rôle central dans la négociation de l'image et de la mémoire collective d'une culture dans la mesure où elle dicte ce qui devrait être le message, ce qui est souhaitable et ce qui ne l'est pas, quels récits historiques devraient être réaffirmés et ceux qui devraient être révisés ou complètement évités.

Qui plus est, on pourrait dire que le projet moderne a déjà ses racines dans les récits historiques d'un pays. Premièrement, l'État-nation moderne et la société occidentale sont des éléments inhérents à la modernité. Deuxièmement, les récits historiques - choisis parmi d'autres récits possibles pour définir le caractère national d'un pays - étaient généralement sujets à un biais eurocentrique. En conséquence, des générations après des générations d'élites politiques, intellectuelles et économiques de nations comme le Brésil - ainsi que de celles des pays voisins - ont considéré l'Europe comme la matrice du savoir et de la civilisation. Ainsi, bien que ces élites aient célébré leurs nations comme l'extension de la civilisation européenne sur un continent lointain (l'Amérique *Latine*) elles ont souvent marginalisé les cultures afro-américaines et amérindiennes présentes dans les pays.

Bien que la modernité, entendue comme un projet historique, tire ses racines de l'Europe occidentale, son agence - c'est-à-dire la manière dont elle attire les différentes populations pour l'adoption d'un mode de vie donné et qui influence leur jugement esthétique - est soumise à un processus multicouche, basé sur des conceptions locales, qui redéfinit son contenu original. Les sociétés étant des structures de pouvoir, les communautés sont souvent formées par l'influence ou l'imposition d'un groupe sur d'autres, formant ainsi des couches supplémentaires dans la formation d'identités collectives.

En conséquence, le nationalisme est souvent façonné par des mouvements en faveur et à l'encontre de la mondialisation et des régionalismes. De la même manière, le régionalisme tend à dialoguer en permanence avec le nationalisme et la modernité - en ajustant sa représentation culturelle par rapport à la nation et au monde, cherchant dans le passé des récits pour justifier les agendas contemporains extra-communautaires et intra-communautaires.

Dans cette thèse, nous analyserons la manière dont les comités d'organisation du Brésil pour la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA 2014 et les Jeux olympiques d'été de Rio de Janeiro en 2016 ont utilisé ces événements pour négocier l'image du pays et de ses habitants avec leurs représentations précédentes et l'ethos actuel du monde moderne.

Pour ce faire, nous explorerons le développement de la représentation brésilienne par les membres de sa propre société lors de différents méga-événements internationaux. Nous allons donc identifier un ensemble de catégories - l'ethnicité, la culture, la relation avec la modernité et la nature, etc. - qui ont été utilisées dans le passé pour construire les premières identités du pays. Plus important encore, nous allons contextualiser ces représentations dans la situation nationale et internationale de différentes périodes de l'histoire du Brésil afin de rendre compte de l'évolution identitaire des représentations nationales et régionales.

Comme la représentation des communautés dans les méga-événements mondiaux englobe différentes sphères d'appartenance - internationale, nationale, régionale et locale - à travers l'analyse du contenu de telles représentations, nous visons à comprendre: l'évolution de la vision brésilienne de leur nation par rapport aux sociétés

occidentales modernes ainsi que la manière dont les élites du pays ont compris le passé de leur nation, comment elles ont construit et recyclé leurs récits nationales, comment elles ont imaginé l'avenir de leur pays et comment elles ont observé le rôle (potentiel) du Brésil dans l'évolution de la modernité.

Qui plus est, nous souhaitons également étudier la manière dont les comités d'organisation du Brésil ont décrit la nation en ce qui concerne les ethnies de ses habitants. C'est-à-dire quels groupes ethniques ont été considérés comme formant le patchwork de la nation brésilienne ? Quel rôle chacun de ces groupes ethniques aurait joué dans la construction de la nation, comment et pourquoi les descriptions de ces rôles ont évolué au fil du temps ?

Enfin, nous souhaitons également définir les forces motrices qui ont présidé à la sélection des aspects culturels de différentes régions du Brésil afin de représenter l'ensemble du Brésil dans les méga-événements internationaux. Pourquoi une localité donnée a-t-elle été choisie comme l'incarnation du Brésil au détriment d'autres régions du pays ? Comment les régions brésiliennes qui ont eu l'occasion de représenter leurs identités culturelles dans des méga-événements internationaux se sont-elles distinguées de l'ensemble du Brésil ? Comment ces régions ont-elles relié leur esprit régional à la modernité occidentale et au brésilien ?

L'ensemble de ces discussions viennent répondre à notre principale question de recherche : Comment les comités d'organisation de la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA 2014 et des Jeux olympiques de 2016 au Brésil ont-ils utilisé des récits nationalistes historiques pour représenter la nation et ses habitants dans un contexte mondial contemporain?

Afin de répondre à cette question, nous avons divisé notre recherche en trois étapes : (i) la revue de la littérature existante sur les domaines d'études concernés, (ii) la recherche sur les archives et les archives de journaux, (iii) l'analyse visuelle du contenu de Cérémonies de la Coupe du monde et des Jeux olympiques et de leur matériel audiovisuel.

Avec la cristallisation des récits majeurs présentés comme des éléments constitutifs de

l'identité brésilienne des 19^{ème} et 20^{ème} siècles, nous en arrivons à l'analyse du contenu des cérémonies d'ouverture et de clôture - ainsi que d'autres documents audiovisuels - de la Coupe des Confédérations de la FIFA 2013, la Coupe du monde de football de 2014 ; la cérémonie de Rio 2016 à Londres 2012; et les Jeux olympiques de Rio de Janeiro 2016.

Il est important de noter que bien que nous comprenions le rôle fondamental joué par l'autre épistémologique dans la formation d'une identité et dans ses représentations, cette thèse est centrée sur l'analyse des représentations en tant que moyen de comprendre comment une nation - ou une région - se voit et reconnaît quels aspects de son identité construite socialement peuvent être utiles pour soutenir un programme donné (inter) national. Par conséquent, nous ne mettrons pas beaucoup l'accent sur la réception et n'entrerons pas dans les détails en ce qui concerne les échecs de méga événements qui ne sont pas directement liés à notre noyau de recherche - tels que les scandales de corruption, les problèmes d'infrastructure, les épidémies de virus et le manque des bénéfices de ces méga-événements à la population locale.

Chapitre 1 - Identités collectives et méga-événements: concept et méthode

Dans ce chapitre, nous avons examiné la littérature existante concernant les aspects du nationalisme et les représentations des identités communes. Nous avons fait valoir que *l'autre* joue un rôle central dans le développement du *moi* et que les nations et les régions recherchent généralement dans le passé des récits visant à créer un récit historique exclusif justifiant leur existence en tant que telle. Nous avons également évalué la relation entre le Brésil, l'Europe et la modernité occidentale, analysant ainsi la manière dont une telle relation situe le pays en tant que nation *latino-américaine*. De plus, nous avons discuté des effets de l'interaction entre les différents niveaux d'appartenance - local, national et continental - sur la construction des identités nationales et régionales.

Nous avons ensuite analysé les similitudes et les différences entre les grands méga-événements internationaux tels que les expositions internationales, les jeux olympiques d'été et les coupes du monde de la FIFA. Nous avons examiné comment la nature de ces événements reflétait la période au cours de laquelle ils se sont produits, ainsi que leurs interactions avec des aspects de la modernité tels que le capitalisme,

l'impérialisme culturel ainsi que les idées de développement économique et de progrès social.

Chapitre 2 - Progrès : la brésilienité dans la modernité/colonialité

Le chapitre 2, Progrès : le brésilienité dans la modernité/colonialité, traite du développement de la brésilienité dans la modernité : de la manière dont des générations successives d'intellectuels et d'artistes ont, au cours de leur existence, contribué à la création de différents récits de l'ethnicité brésilienne et l'espace physique national en tenant compte des tendances socioculturelles considérées comme modernes en Europe et ailleurs dans le monde occidental.

Nous avons commencé le chapitre en plaçant la position du Brésil dans le contexte de la modernité occidentale. En tant que pays que l'historiographie occidentale considère comme ayant été découvert par les Portugais en 1500, le Brésil était - et est toujours - intimement lié à la nature dans sa forme première. Au cours de ses premiers siècles, la terre dans laquelle se trouve le pays a donc été considérée comme la représentation d'un paradis d'Éden. L'espace physique où l'humanité se trouvait dans son état primitif, avant l'aube de la civilisation.

À partir de là, nous avons discuté de l'impact de cette image sur la création d'une identité brésilienne et de la manière dont différents groupes ethniques brésiliens - tels que les portugais, les amérindiens et les afro-brésiliens - ont été décrits au fil des siècles. De plus, nous avons écrit sur la manière dont la nation s'est historiquement positionnée par rapport à ses homologues européens et américains afin de créer un récit qui soit à la fois unique et familier - afin de garantir sa propre position au sein du concert des nations modernes.

Enfin - à travers l'analyse du contenu des expositions universelles, les rapports officiels, les monographies primées et le travail créatif d'auteurs qui, d'une manière ou d'une autre, sont devenus de véritables icônes du développement de l'idée de la brésilienité - nous avons vu comment les élites nationales ont choisi représenter la nation et ses habitants conformément à leur ordre du jour et à leurs croyances, actualisant ainsi la mémoire de la nation.

La nature en tant que substitut de la tradition classique, l'iconographie d'une monarchie tropicale.

Depuis sa découverte, le Brésil est intimement lié à l'idée d'une nature exubérante. Dans les siècles qui suivent sa découverte le pays a joué un rôle dans l'imagination des peuples occidentaux. Pour eux, « l'existence de paysages naturels et idylliques et d'une population aussi simple ne pourrait que rappeler un paradis terrestre », où « l'homme et la nature vivaient en parfaite harmonie »¹. Initialement appelée « l'île de la vraie croix »² (*Ilha de Vera Cruz*), la région était aussi appelée « le pays des perroquets »³ (*Terra Pappagalli*) dans les premiers rapports sur le nouveau territoire.

En tant que terre continentale sous les tropiques, utilisée par les Portugais comme une colonie d'exploitation de ressources naturelles, le nouveau territoire était plus communément appelé *Terra do Brasil*. Le nom indiquait l'une de ses richesses naturelles : *Paubrasilia* (bois du Brésil). Le nom actuel du pays provient donc d'une double référence à son ancien statut de colonie d'exploitation des ressources et à la matière première qui attirait les expéditeurs portugais sur son territoire. Par conséquent, « de la combinaison de perroquets, de singes et d'indiens cannibales avec des scènes d'extraction du bois au Brésil est née la représentation dominante du Brésil dans l'iconographie du XVIe siècle »⁴.

Des siècles plus tard, avant sa réelle indépendance du Royaume du Portugal et des Algarves, le Royaume du Brésil (1815-1822) voyait dans la combinaison « des éléments de la royauté européenne - tels que des couronnes, des robes, des manteaux et des sceptres »⁵ avec des « éléments de la nature brésilienne, comme le caféier et le plumage des oiseaux brésiliens »⁶, un récit approprié pour établir son identité de monarchie occidentale au sein des tropiques. À partir de 1822, avec la véritable indépendance du pays, l'Empire du Brésil (1822-1889) a continué à représenter le pays à travers sa faune et sa flore ainsi que ses peuples autochtones⁷.

¹ Hacke et Musselwhite 2017, 143.

² de Caminha 1500 (1963).

³ de Montalbodo 1507.

⁴ Martins Teixeira 2009, 138.

⁵ dos Santos 2003, 187.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Schwarcz 2006, 25.

La volonté d'être perçu à l'étranger comme un royaume semblable à l'Éden n'était pas injustifiée. Contrairement à ses homologues européens, le Brésil ne pourrait pas prétendre avoir hérité des trésors des civilisations classiques⁸, surtout s'il voulait différencier son iconographie de celle du Portugal. En outre, au cours de la première moitié du XIXe siècle, l'Europe vivait sous le signe du romantisme, « un mouvement marqué avant tout par la révérence des mystères du monde naturel »⁹. Ainsi, être reconnu à l'étranger comme une monarchie exotique, qui fondait des éléments de la société occidentale - son langage et ses coutumes - avec l'attrait du monde naturel, constituait un dispositif attrayant pour attirer l'attention de la communauté internationale. En fin de compte, « L'Europe ne pouvait pas concurrencer l'ancienneté des milieux naturels »¹⁰.

L'amérindien mythique et l'afro-brésilien absent, représentant le peuple brésilien dans les expositions mondiales.

Néanmoins, le romantisme n'était pas contenu en Europe. Le Brésil, en tant qu'empire postcolonial sous les tropiques, était imprégné d'un sens de l'esthétique eurocentrique. Par conséquent, l'intelligentsia locale a développé sa propre version du romantisme, remplaçant l'Europe du Moyen Âge par le Brésil Pré-Cambralien, une terre dans sa *Aetas Aurea*. Les chevaliers médiévaux ont été - à leur tour - remplacés par des figures mythiques amérindiennes inspirées sur le mythe du *noble sauvage* de Jean-Jacques Rousseau¹¹.

En plus d'aider la nouvelle nation à séparer son image du Portugal, le protagonisme symbolique des Amérindiens dans les œuvres littéraires et artistiques a également aidé le pays à détourner l'attention du fait que les Afro-Brésiliens étaient toujours asservis dans le pays¹². Qui plus est, l'amérindien mythologique de l'Indianisme, en tant que « symbole de la pureté »¹³, a également contribué à la narration qui favoriserait l'attraction des immigrants européens dans le pays. Ainsi, tout au long des expositions

⁸ dos Santos 2003, 184.

⁹ Casey 2008, 33.

¹⁰ Kammen 1993, 44.

¹¹ Redford 1991.

¹² Schwarcz 2006.

¹³ *Ibid.* 34.

internationales du XIXe siècle en Europe, l'Empire du Brésil s'est présenté comme la terre de l'avenir, essentiellement vierge, qui attendait d'être explorée par les armes européennes « pour devenir une des plus grandes nations du monde »¹⁴.

Grâce à cette stratégie, la présence et l'importance des afro-brésiliens dans le pays ont été largement réduites dans les expositions mondiales. Toute mention de la présence importante des afro-brésiliens a été abrégée en raison de la crainte que leur condition d'esclaves dans le pays ne porte atteinte à l'image de l'Empire à l'étranger de différentes manières. Ainsi, dans des rapports officiels consécutifs aux Expos de Paris-1867, de Vienne-1873 et de Philadelphie-1876, l'empire brésilien n'a réservé que quelques lignes pour mentionner l'existence de l'esclavage sur son territoire, affirmant que «les esclaves sont traités avec humanité, et sont généralement bien logés et nourris » et que « leur travail est modéré et se déroule normalement seulement pendant la journée; tandis que les soirées sont destinées au repos, aux pratiques religieuses ou au loisir »¹⁵. À Paris en 1867, le Comité brésilien tenta de se dégager de sa responsabilité en tant que nation dépendant économiquement de l'esclavage en accusant son ancien colonisateur de l'adoption d'une telle pratique : « [l'esclavage] a été imposé au Brésil en raison de la force des circonstances particulières qui remontent aux premières années qui ont suivi sa découverte »¹⁶.

Un *melting-pot* culturel, le récit de l'exceptionnalisme brésilien

L'annihilation symbolique de l'esclavage au Brésil¹⁷ - et donc également de la présence afro-brésilienne dans le pays - a été faite malgré l'avis de l'Institut historique et géographique du Brésil (IHGB) sur la manière dont le pays devrait présenter son propre récit. Des années auparavant, en 1843, l'institut avait attribué le manuscrit de Von Martius, - intitulé « *Comme il faut écrire l'histoire du Brésil* » - en tant que monographie la meilleure écrite exposant « un projet d'écriture de l'histoire ancienne et moderne du Brésil tenant compte de ses aspects politiques, civiles, ecclésiastiques et littéraires »¹⁸. Dans son manuscrit, Von Martius a défendu la thèse selon laquelle « la

¹⁴ Brazilian Exposition Committee 1867, 3.

¹⁵ Brazilian Exposition Committee 1867, 1873 et 1876.

¹⁶ Brazilian Exposition Committee 1867, 29.

¹⁷ Dos Santos 2008, 164.

¹⁸ Honório Rodrigues 1966, 157.

formation d'hommes [brésiliens] converge de manière particulière en trois races : la couleur cuivrée ou américaine, blanche ou caucasienne et enfin la race noire ou éthiopienne » et que « de la rencontre, du métissage, de la relation mutuelle et des changements de ces races, la population [brésilienne] actuelle - dont l'histoire est très particulière - s'est formée »¹⁹. En plus de reconnaître l'importance culturelle des descendants africains dans la formation de la nation - en affirmant que la société brésilienne s'est construite par le jeu réciproque d'européens, d'amérindiens et d'africains - Von Martius a créé le mythe de *l'exceptionnalisme* brésilien. Celle qui distingue fondamentalement l'histoire et la société brésiliennes du reste du monde, car « au Brésil, on peut trouver les conditions nécessaires à l'amélioration de trois races humaines qui, dans ce pays, sont mises côte à côte, d'une manière inconnue dans l'ancienne histoire »²⁰. Au travers de ce récit, Von Martius a développé la conviction qu'un avenir prometteur se situait devant la nation. Pour le scientifique allemand, « tant l'histoire des hommes que celle des individus nous montrent que le génie de l'histoire (du monde), qui conduit l'humanité d'une manière dont nous devons toujours reconnaître la sagesse, utilise souvent le croisement des races pour atteindre le plus sublime se termine dans l'ordre mondial »²¹.

Anthropophagie, l'esprit sauvage du Brésil comme porte d'entrée de la modernité.

Quelques décennies plus tard, alors que l'empire était déjà transformé en république, un nouveau récit faisant du Brésil un acteur mondial important en raison du métissage culturel et ethnique de ses habitants était développé. En 1928, le *Manifesto Antropofágico* (Manifeste Cannibale) d'Oswald de Andrade utilisait les rites cannibales des Amérindiens comme une métaphore des appropriations culturelles de la société brésilienne, renforçant ainsi les fondements symboliques de la pulsion multiculturelle brésilienne. Dans l'ancien rituel, les Amérindiens se régalaient de la chair leurs ennemis pour acquérir leurs traits physiques, intellectuels et spirituels comme un moyen « d'élargir la condition humaine, voire la surpasser »²².

En conséquence, dans le Manifeste Cannibale, Oswald de Andrade a créé le récit

¹⁹ Von Martius 1843, 443.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 443.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 444

²² Viveiros de Castro 2002, 206.

décolonial d'un pays qui n'avait que partiellement était influencé par la tentative de colonisation portugaise. Une telle influence n'était efficace que dans la mesure où les natifs du pays embrassaient certains aspects culturels et ontologiques de la société de l'autre colonial en tant que moyen de développement de soi vers une sorte de modernité multiculturelle : « De l'équation soi, une partie du cosmos, à l'axiome cosmos, une partie du soi. Subsistance. Expérience. Cannibalisme »²³.

Pour de Andrade, la modernité était donc comprise comme une possibilité uniquement réalisable par le métissage de différents peuples, ethes et ontologies. En ce qui concerne un tel récit - et à travers le discours dans lequel le cosmopolitisme mène à la modernité - De Andrade a conçu un récit de pouvoir qui tente de faire basculer l'aiguille de la modernité de l'Europe occidentale vers un Brésil multiculturel (un creuset des cultures amérindiennes, africaines et européennes).

C'est pour cette raison que de Andrade a célébré les brésiliens comme la survie de « l'esprit sauvage » amérindien ou le « refus de choisir un dogme »²⁴. Selon un tel récit, les amérindiens seraient plus enclins, d'un point de vue ontologique, à s'imprégner d'autres mentalités que leurs homologues non amérindiens. La survie de cet esprit mènerait finalement à une révolution caribéenne, c'est-à-dire : « une réponse de l'Amérique latine à l'aliénation culturelle »²⁵. Selon De Andrade, une telle révolution serait même « plus grande que la révolution française »²⁶ et deviendrait une force motrice entraînant l'humanité vers l'avant.

Gilberto Freyre et la construction du mythe du Brésil en tant que démocratie raciale

De plus, en 1933, *Casa-Grande e Senzala* (Les maîtres et les esclaves) de Gilberto Freyre a de nouveau exploré les caractéristiques multi-ethniques du peuple brésilien. Bien que *Magnus Opus* de Freyre « fournisse une version assainie de la longue histoire de la colonisation et de l'esclavage au Brésil »²⁷, le livre devint aussi une expression

²³ de Andrade 1928.

²⁴ Vieira 1657.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Twine 2001, 6.

des « contributions positives des Africains et des Amérindiens à la culture brésilienne, renversant les hypothèses racistes des analystes sociaux contemporains »²⁸.

Qui plus est, « l'accent mis par Freyre sur le caractère plastique du contexte culturel des colonisateurs portugais et sur le métissage généralisé de la population brésilienne l'a amené à la notion de démocratie raciale »²⁹. Selon Skidmore, un tel discours qui faisait du Brésil une démocratie raciale était largement utilisé à l'étranger, car il « les rendait [brésiliens] moralement supérieurs aux pays technologiquement plus avancés, où la répression systématique des minorités raciales était encore pratiquée »³⁰. Le métissage et la tolérance raciale sont ainsi devenues une question de fierté nationale, plus encore après l'avènement de la Seconde Guerre mondiale (1939-1945).

Le caractère dionysiaque de la société brésilienne

Selon Burke et Pallares-Burke, Freyre a formulé « une série d'hypothèses fertiles sur l'histoire du Brésil qui ont provoqué un débat en 1933 et continuent de le faire depuis »³¹. L'une des hypothèses les plus connues de Freyre est celle selon laquelle les africains et les afro-descendants sont enracinés dans un fort caractère « dionysien », de sorte que les européens ont un caractère inhérent « apollinien »³². Une telle proposition est d'une importance capitale pour comprendre le point de vue de l'auteur sur la nationalité brésilienne. En particulier parce que, pour Freyre, « psychologiquement, être brésilien, c'est être un mulâtre »³³.

Pour comprendre ce que Freyre voulait dire par là, nous devons d'abord revoir l'idée de l'anthropologue sur l'ontologie des peuples. Pour illustrer sa pensée dans un contexte philosophique, Freyre a adapté les concepts de Nietzsche des *Apolloniens* et des *Dionysiens* à la cosmologie brésilienne. Malgré le changement de décor - de la Grèce classique à l'Europe du XIXe siècle, puis au Brésil du XXe siècle -, Freyre a préservé l'esprit dualiste des deux entités grecques, tel que présenté par Nietzsche :

²⁸ Hasenbalg 1985, 25.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Skidmore 1974, 209.

³¹ Burke et Pallares-Burke 2008.

³² Freyre 1962.

³³ *Ibid.*, 432.

« Apollo est associé à la forme visible, à la connaissance rationnelle et à la modération, Dionysos au flux sans forme, au mysticisme et à l'excès. Le monde d'Apollo est constitué d'individus moraux distincts, tandis que Dionysos préside à la dissolution de l'identité individuelle en une communauté spirituelle universelle unissant les êtres humains à la nature. En termes artistiques, Apollo est le dieu des arts plastiques ou figuratifs de la peinture et de la sculpture et est étroitement associé à l'architecture, tandis que Dionysos est le dieu de la musique, un art essentiellement non représentatif et sans forme physique »³⁴.

Bien que, dans la plupart des travaux de Nietzsche, ces forces - aussi complémentaires qu'antagonistes³⁵ - se retrouvent à la fois dans la sphère individuelle, chez la même personne ou dans une œuvre d'art unique (comme dans les tragédies grecques) et dans l'éthos collectif (sémitique contre aryen, romantique contre germanique), dans le parallèle *Freyrien*, chacun d'entre eux semble convenir à deux types de société assez spécifiques - les européens préméditatifs et mathématiques et les africains impulsifs et créatifs. Néanmoins, comme le dit Maranhão, « le métis défendu par Gilberto Freyre présupposait que l'intellect européen et le primitivisme afro-brésilien puissent coexister en une seule personnalité pour former *le vrai brésilien*, symbolisé par le mulâtre »³⁶.

Par conséquent, pour Freyre, le mulâtre - et donc le brésilien - n'était pas strictement un métis en termes ethniques et phénotypiques, mais une personne née sous le signe de deux mondes idiosyncratiques, celui d'Apollon et celui de Dionysos. Freyre a par la suite utilisé un tel concept pour définir un archétype brésilien de l'intellectualité, de faire de la mode et même d'une certaine manière de faire de la politique. Néanmoins, le contexte artistique dans lequel l'essence mulâtre de la civilisation brésilienne a été explorée de manière plus approfondie est précisément celui dans lequel la *pousser* de Dionysos est plus évidente chez Nietzsche, le contexte des arts vivants.

En conséquence, les images des sambistas mulâtres, des danseurs de capoeira et du carnaval ainsi que celles des footballeurs talentueux sont toutes devenues des expressions (internationales) du caractère dionysiaque de la brésilienneté. Bien que la samba et la capoeira - en tant qu'expression de la musique et de la danse - puissent être facilement considérées comme des exemples des arts du spectacle, le football, en

³⁴ Smith, xvi *Apud*. Nietzsche 2001.

³⁵ *Ibid.* xix.

³⁶ Maranhão 2007, 516.

revanche, est généralement perçu comme un sport collectif plutôt que comme une forme d'art.

Malgré cela, de nombreux amateurs de football ont constaté une certaine plasticité dans la pratique du sport britannique chez certains brésiliens, semblable à celle que l'on retrouve dans les domaines des spectacles de danse³⁷. De plus, selon Gil, au Brésil, il existe une perception populaire selon laquelle leurs ressortissants ont une relation innée avec le football, ce qui donne à penser que « le joueur brésilien serait déjà né avec le don d'une technique inégalée pour le sport »³⁸.

À la lumière des liens intimes imaginaires entre les brésiliens et les arts vivants — où « l'homme n'est plus l'artiste, il est devenu l'œuvre d'art »³⁹ — ainsi qu'entre les brésiliens et le football — une connexion capable de transformer, aux yeux de certains, un sport en une forme d'art — le récit dionysiaque de Freyre sur la brésilienité ne vient pas comme une surprise.

L'exploration des ressources naturelles en tant que passerelle vers le développement

Cependant, au cours de la seconde moitié du XXe siècle, le récit d'un pays multiculturel et tolérant n'a pas été laissé à lui-même comme l'une des principales particularités du Brésil à l'étranger. Abritant la plus grande forêt tropicale du monde, l'image du Brésil était toujours fondamentalement liée à la nature. De même, bien que la proclamation de la République du Brésil (1889) ait contraint les élites du pays à abandonner en partie l'iconographie de l'Empire⁴⁰ - être connue comme la « nation de la nature » a bien servi les prétentions de la jeune république d'être l'un des principaux exportateurs de produits agricoles et de matières premières des siècles passés.

Dans ces circonstances, comme la grande majorité des pays industrialisés modernes, différents gouvernements brésiliens ont adopté une vision de la nature qui s'apparentait

³⁷ Barreto 2004, 62.

³⁸ Gil 1994, 100-109.

³⁹ Nietzsche 2000, 23.

⁴⁰ Sandes 2000, 112.

à celle de l'*École Impériale d'Écologie* : « comprendre que la nature est un domaine réservé aux hommes, qui doit être modifié et réorganisé davantage à sa guise »⁴¹. De plus, comme la nature étant souvent considérée comme le point de départ des hommes vers la civilisation⁴², la végétation indigène est souvent comprise comme un obstacle ou un moyen de développement national. Ainsi, selon le cas brésilien du vingtième siècle, le pays était moralement apte à faire tout ce qu'il estimait nécessaire avec sa faune et sa flore pour continuer sa marche vers le progrès.

Ainsi, au Brésil, entre les décennies des années 1960 et 1980, au nom du progrès et de la souveraineté nationale, le gouvernement militaire a intensifié ses efforts en vue de l'occupation de la région amazonienne, qui a abouti à la création du *Plano de Integração Nacional* par le président Emilio Garrastazu Médici en 1970⁴³. L'idée d'attirer la population de son littoral vers son arrière-pays n'était pas tout à fait nouvelle. En fait, la marche vers l'ouest de Vargas⁴⁴ et la construction de Brasilia par Kubitschek⁴⁵ ne sont que deux exemples de tentatives concrètes visant à peupler la région - il s'agit un effort inscrit à l'agenda gouvernemental depuis, au moins, l'époque de l'Empire du Brésil⁴⁶.

Au-delà de l'occupation stratégique de l'Amazonie en tant que moyen de garantir la souveraineté nationale du Brésil⁴⁷, l'armée a compris que le développement de la région pourrait fournir au pays les ressources naturelles et les produits bruts nécessaires à son développement économique. L'intérêt économique de la région était donc à la base de la position diplomatique du Brésil lors de la Conférence des Nations Unies sur l'environnement humain, qui s'est tenue à Stockholm en 1972. Selon Viola, au cours de la conférence, « la position du Brésil était fondée sur le principe que la principale pollution était la pauvreté et que la protection de l'environnement ne devrait intervenir qu'après un développement spectaculaire de l'économie du pays et une augmentation

⁴¹ Worster 1994, 29.

⁴² Hegel 2001, 98.

⁴³ Rebello da Silva 2005.

⁴⁴ Hecht et Cockburn 2010.

⁴⁵ Duarte da Silva 1997.

⁴⁶ Marçal de Queiroz et dos Santos Gomes 2002.

⁴⁷ Ferreira et Salati, 2005.

du revenu par habitant au même niveau que ceux des pays plus développés »⁴⁸. Ainsi, « le fardeau de payer pour la protection de l'environnement mondial devrait être de la responsabilité exclusive des pays développés »⁴⁹.

En conséquence, au cours des décennies suivantes, la communauté internationale a constaté avec appréhension cette position environnementale du pays qui abrite la forêt amazonienne. Encore plus après l'assassinat de Chico Mendes, un dirigeant environnementaliste brésilien, par un éleveur qui a fait les gros titres de la presse internationale en 1988, renforçant la pression internationale sur la mise en œuvre de politiques visant à préserver la forêt tropicale⁵⁰.

L'environnementalisme, un atout diplomatique pour la nouvelle République

Cependant, dans les années 90, après la démocratisation du pays (qui a abouti à l'adoption d'une nouvelle constitution en 1988) et la fin de la guerre froide, le Brésil souhaitait naturellement changer d'image de malfaiteur de l'environnement sur la scène internationale. La transition entre l'image d'un pays dictatorial quasi-fasciste - considéré pendant des décennies comme le plus grand délinquant de la forêt tropicale, au nom du développement industriel - vers une nation moderne et démocratique, prête à adopter une attitude plus *arcadienne*⁵¹ en matière de protection de l'environnement pour étendre son influence internationale au sein du concert des nations.

Pour ce faire, il était compris que la politique environnementale nationale devait passer par des changements internes et externes. Par conséquent, dans les affaires intérieures brésiliennes, la protection de l'environnement et la réduction de la pollution sont devenues des obligations constitutionnelles de toutes les sphères gouvernementales du pays - l'union, les États et les municipalités⁵². Sur la scène internationale, le Brésil a décidé d'accueillir à Rio de Janeiro la Conférence des Nations Unies sur l'environnement et le développement (CNUED) de 1992, mieux connue sous le nom de Sommet de la Terre ou Rio 92, afin de renforcer sa position de leader régional en

⁴⁸ Viola 2004, 30.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Revkin 2004.

⁵¹ Worster 1994, 76

⁵² Constitution fédérale brésilienne de 1988.

Amérique latine et entre les autres pays sous-développés.

À la suite de Rio-92, il a été décidé que les pays développés, ainsi que ceux d'Europe de l'Est en transition vers une économie de marché, devraient réduire leurs émissions de carbone afin de ne pas dépasser les niveaux de 1990, alors que les pays sous-développés étaient épargnés d'une telle tâche. Le Brésil a donc ajusté son discours sur la préservation des ressources naturelles et la réduction des émissions de CO₂. Cependant, dans la pratique, elle a également maintenu sa position consistant à instaurer une responsabilité globale envers les pays développés.

Le succès des négociations de Rio-92 a permis de faire de la conférence un tournant dans le programme environnemental du pays en tant que niche diplomatique. Après 1992, le Ministère des Affaires Étrangères du Brésil a compris que le pays pourrait jouer un rôle international plus important parmi les pays en développement. En outre, Rio-92 différait grandement de Stockholm-1972. Le sommet suédois présentait une « asymétrie de pressions et de résistances »⁵³ entre le Nord et le Sud du globe, alors que celui de Rio montrait que « l'équation responsabilité commune, demandes différenciées était la base de la construction d'un consensus »⁵⁴.

En conséquence, différents gouvernements brésiliens ont utilisé les sommets ultérieurs de Rio-92, tels que Copenhague-2009, comme une arène internationale où le pays pourrait se présenter comme un acteur mondial important: une économie émergente avec des émissions de CO₂ relativement faibles par rapport à son développement industriel, résultat obtenu grâce à son industrie créative innovante et à son utilisation « d'énergie verte ». En outre, le pays a également vu lors des sommets de la Terre des espaces précieux où le pays pourrait étendre son influence internationale par la représentation des intérêts d'autres pays en développement. En conséquence, plus de cent ans après la proclamation de la république, le Brésil a de nouveau vu dans ses rapports étroits avec la nature une occasion de captiver un public international et de l'utiliser pour le bénéfice du pays.

⁵³ Soreanu Pecequilo 2012, 325.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Les BRICS, un coup de pouce pour le soft power international brésilien

Le XXI^e siècle a débuté avec un nouvel élan de l'effort persistant du Brésil pour être reconnu comme l'une des puissances mondiales. En raison de sa croissance économique solide et de sa taille, la presse financière a commencé à faire référence au Brésil en tant que partie d'un super-groupe de pays émergents connu sous le nom de BRICS - Brésil, Russie, Inde, Chine et, plus tard, l'Afrique du Sud. En conséquence, les gouvernements des pays du groupe BRIC ont vite compris qu'ils pouvaient utiliser l'importance de cette nouvelle image de marque pour renforcer leur puissance internationale et renforcer leur influence sur la politique mondiale. Pour le Brésil, le développement des BRICS a consenti à l'approche *sud-sud* de sa diplomatie étrangère, plaçant le Brésil et les quatre autres pays comme des importants acteurs sur la scène internationale. De plus, les pronostics optimistes concernant son économie en croissance rapide et sa pertinence politique internationale croissante semblaient répondre à l'idée presque prophétique, selon laquelle le Brésil était vraiment la *terre de l'avenir*, comme si le plan du génie de l'histoire du monde, proposé par Von Martius en 1843, se révélait enfin au monde et un tel avenir allait bientôt commencer.

En conséquence, le Brésil, ainsi que d'autres BRICS, se sont lancés dans la quête de méga-événements sportifs afin de « projeter une image positive d'eux-mêmes afin d'accroître leur crédibilité et leur statut sur la scène mondiale »⁵⁵. Le Brésil avait déjà tenté d'adopter une telle stratégie avec les tentatives infructueuses d'accueillir les Coupes du Monde de la FIFA de 1994 et 2006 aussi bien que les Jeux olympiques de 2000, 2004 et 2012. Cependant, « après avoir organisé avec succès les Jeux panaméricains de 2007 et commencé à être connu comme un des BRICS, la fortune du Brésil semblait de changer »⁵⁶.

Chapitre 3 - Ordre : la brésilienité au Brésil et au-delà

Au chapitre 3, *Ordre : la brésilienité au Brésil et au-delà*, nous avons analysé les événements qui ont contribué à la construction d'un sentiment de brésilienité au sein de la nation. Ce chapitre vise donc à expliquer comment une identité nationale a

⁵⁵ Grix et Lee 2013, 536.

⁵⁶ Malanski 2016, 1525.

commencé à se forger dans un pays de taille continentale. De plus, ce chapitre est également consacré à la construction d'un aperçu des raisons socio-politiques et historiques qui ont amené certaines pratiques culturelles à être considérées comme des exemples de la culture nationale, tandis que d'autres sont restées définies comme des traditions régionales.

Le chapitre suit un ordre chronologique, partant des débuts du nationalisme et d'une iconographie nationale sous l'Empire du Brésil (1822-1889), passant en revue les symboles nationaux et l'influence croissante des centres régionaux sur la Première République (1889-1930). Nous avons également parlé de l'ère Vargas et de ses conséquences (1930-1954): une période nationaliste autoritaire d'agitation civile qui a considérablement réduit l'autonomie politique des États brésiliens. Nous avons terminé le chapitre en décrivant les implications du régime militaire brésilien (1964-1985) et de la re-démocratisation du pays (de 1985 à nos jours) sur les identités nationales et régionales.

Comme dans le chapitre précédent, nous avons analysé la participation du Brésil aux expositions internationales des siècles passés. Cette fois, le but était de comprendre comment le pays se décrivait par rapport aux différentes zones et cultures de son territoire. En outre, nous avons également examiné les tendances culturelles et les mouvements socio-intellectuels qui ont façonné les identités nationales et régionales menant à des formes révisées de représentations communautaires.

Pour approfondir notre connaissance de la description de l'identité brésilienne lors de la Coupe du monde de la FIFA de 1950, nous nous sommes renseignés sur les rapports de sources primaires sur ses *solennités initiales* (c.-à-d. la première incarnation de cérémonies d'ouverture contemporaines) dans un Maracanã récemment construit.

Enfin, nous avons brièvement évoqué la période qui a suivi l'ère Vargas jusqu'à nos jours, en passant par la dictature militaire - une période qui a encore une fois affaibli la représentation des États au sein du patchwork culturel brésilien - jusqu'à la re-démocratisation du Brésil dans les années 1980.

La création de la brésilienité dans le monde luso-américain

Selon Carvalho (2001), le sentiment de brésilienité au cours de la première moitié du XIXe siècle n'existait pas encore. Avant l'indépendance, en 1822, le Brésil était perçu comme « un archipel de capitaines, sans unité politique et économique », une « contiguïté géographique » ou un « vaste continent ». Même plusieurs années après avoir rompu ses liens avec le Portugal, « l'idée de nation était toujours ambiguë dans le pays. Il pourrait être utilisé pour désigner le Brésil ou ses provinces »⁵⁷. Ce n'est qu'après la Guerre du Paraguay (1865-1870) qu'un sens plus fort du brésilien a commencé à exister⁵⁸.

Des différents plans pour la nouvelle république

La Guerre au Paraguay a eu un impact sur le sentiment du nationalisme brésilien (qui a commencé à influencer l'art et la littérature brésiliens) et a également joué un rôle majeur en renforçant l'influence politique de l'armée au Brésil. En 1889, la République a été proclamée par le biais d'actions intégrées de l'armée brésilienne et des élites locales. Bien que, dans un premier temps, ces groupes aient convenu que la proclamation de la République était le meilleur moyen d'obtenir une autonomie politique plus grande, ils ont vite compris qu'ils avaient des projets assez différents pour le pays : les militaires cherchaient une république centralisée, « souvent plus autoritaire »⁵⁹. Leur principale préoccupation était l'unité sociale du pays. En revanche, pour la plupart des élites provinciales, l'idée était de créer une république décentralisée, « où le pouvoir des États serait plutôt substantiel »⁶⁰.

En conséquence, pendant la plus grande partie de l'histoire de la République brésilienne, ces deux projets brésiliens ont dicté à la fois (a) la manière dont la République fédérale serait gouvernée (c'est-à-dire le droit des citoyens brésiliens d'élire leurs gouverneurs d'État et d'autres représentants politiques locaux contrairement à ce que leur indique le gouvernement central); et b) comment la culture brésilienne serait définie et représentée à l'étranger et dans le pays.

Pendant la majeure partie de la Première République brésilienne (1889-1930),

⁵⁷ Carvalho 2001, 76.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁵⁹ Fausto 2002.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

différentes élites d'État (principalement celles de Minas Gerais et de São Paulo) ont gouverné le pays en élisant à tour de rôle un représentant de leur État à la présidence de la République. Cependant, en 1930, Getúlio Vargas (un gaúcho du Rio Grande do Sul) s'empara du pouvoir par un coup d'État. En conséquence, avec l'aide de secteurs importants de l'armée brésilienne, « Vargas a remplacé la culture politique libérale-oligarchique de la Première République par une culture politique nationaliste-autoritaire jusqu'au milieu des années 80 »⁶¹.

La brésilienité à l'Estado Novo

En 1937, Vargas met fin au congrès et impose une nouvelle constitution. Il a également réduit le pouvoir politique des États en remplaçant les gouverneurs par des administrateurs nommés par lui-même. C'était le début du soi-disant *Estado Novo*.

La constitution de 1937 - écrite par Vargas et son entourage - était plutôt nationaliste-autoritaire. Déjà dans son deuxième article, il interdisait l'utilisation de drapeaux, d'hymnes et d'emblèmes d'États sur le territoire brésilien. Pour montrer la rigueur d'un tel article, le matin du 29 novembre 1937, sur la plage de Russel à Rio de Janeiro, les drapeaux des États ont été brûlés de manière ritualiste dans un bûcher devant une foule immense formée de civils, de ministères, de pouvoirs publics et du Président Vargas. Selon Williams, l'épisode « n'était pas simplement une célébration de l'unité nationale, mais plutôt un assaut contre l'autonomie régionale, les droits individuels et les libertés politiques »⁶².

Alors que les drapeaux de l'État étaient brûlés, le ministre de la Justice de Vargas, Francisco Campos, a prononcé le discours suivant :

« Drapeau brésilien, aujourd'hui tu es le seul. Aujourd'hui, vous êtes élevés sur tout le territoire national, le seul et unique, il n'y a pas de place dans le cœur des brésiliens pour aucun autre signataire, drapeau ou symbole. Les Brésiliens s'unissent autour du Brésil et décident avec détermination qu'ils ne consentiront plus à la division ou à la discorde, que le Brésil est la seule et unique patrie et qu'il n'y a pas de place pour une autre idéologie au Brésil, ni d'espace et de dévotion pour un drapeau autre que celui-ci, ressuscité aujourd'hui avec les bénédictions de l'Église, le salut de l'épée, la vénération du peuple et les chants des jeunes. Vous êtes le seul parce qu'il n'y a qu'un

⁶¹ Williams 2001, 6.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 10.

seul Brésil - recréant autour de vous encore une fois l'unité du Brésil, l'unité de la pensée et de l'action, l'unité qui ne peut régner que si elle est établie par des décisions historiques issues de la discorde publique et de l'inimitié. Un ordre politique et moral unique, un ordre souverain résultant de la force et des idéaux, l'ordre d'une idéologie unique et d'une autorité unique, l'idéologie et l'autorité du Brésil »⁶³.

En fait, les drapeaux et les hymnes de l'État n'étaient pas les seules représentations culturelles régionales atténuées pendant la dictature de Vargas. Grâce à la création du Département de la presse et de la propagande (DIP en portugais), l'Estado Novo pouvait censurer les écrivains, musiciens et journalistes dont les œuvres étaient considérées comme non patriotiques. Le DIP avait également pour objectif de promouvoir la culture « nationale », par exemple en apportant un soutien financier aux compositeurs *samba* et *marchinha*⁶⁴, rythmes généralement liés à la culture urbaine de l'ancien district fédéral du Brésil (Rio de Janeiro). Selon Oliven, le DIP « a contribué à créer un modèle de nationalité centralisé par l'État »⁶⁵.

Pour promouvoir un tel modèle de nationalité, l'administration de Vargas était également disposée à tirer parti des méga-événements (inter)nationaux tels que les expositions mondiales et nationales, les jeux olympiques et les Coupes du Monde de la FIFA. En 1938, Vargas organisa l'Exposition nationale de l'Estado Novo qui, selon le rapport officiel de l'événement, était « orientée par une vision de la collectivité qui ne laissait aucune place aux particularités de l'État ni aux différences régionales »⁶⁶.

Dans la même année, l'Estado Novo a également proposé d'accueillir la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA de 1942. Cependant, la Seconde Guerre mondiale a éclaté et, peu après, la compétition a été annulée. En 1942, le Brésil rejoignit les Alliés dans une guerre contre les régimes totalitaires allemand et italien. Lorsque les responsables de l'armée brésilienne sont rentrés dans leur pays, après avoir combattu des gouvernements autoritaires, ils ont compris qu'il n'y avait pas de place pour des régimes tels que l'Estado Novo dans les années 1945 au Brésil. Par conséquent, Vargas a été déposé, une nouvelle constitution a été écrite et de nouvelles élections ont été organisées. Malgré cela, Vargas - qui reviendra à la présidence en 1951, cette fois par le biais d'élections

⁶³ Correio da Manhã, 27 novembre 1937.

⁶⁴ Schelling et Rowe, 1991.

⁶⁵ Oliven 2000, 63.

⁶⁶ Relatório da Exposição Nacional do Estado Novo, 1939. Cité par Williams 2001.

démocratiques - avait déjà laissé la marque de son Estado Novo au sein de l'identité brésilienne.

La coupe du monde de football de 1950

C'est pendant le gouvernement de Dutra et sous l'influence culturelle de l'Estado Novo que la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA 1950 s'est déroulée au Brésil. Cette influence était aussi politique puisque le nouveau président du Brésil, le maréchal Eurico Gaspar Dutra, ancien ministre de la Guerre de Vargas, a reçu un soutien direct de l'ancien dictateur du Brésil dans sa campagne présidentielle. Par conséquent, Dutra était « un homme du cercle intérieur (...) [qui] semblait représenter une continuité de Vargas, sans les caractéristiques totalitaires »⁶⁷.

Rio de Janeiro dans la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA 1950

La position de premier plan de Rio de Janeiro en tant que symbole culturel et géographique du Brésil était présente dans le logo officiel de la Coupe du monde de football de 1950. En regardant l'affiche (voir *Figure 1*), on peut voir une jambe bronzée jouer au ballon avec la baie de Guanabara, célèbre dans le monde entier, à l'arrière-plan. Les couleurs du drapeau national - vert, jaune et bleu - qui remplissent l'affiche, renforcent l'idée que Rio de Janeiro est analogue au Brésil et inversement.

Néanmoins, ce n'est pas uniquement à travers l'affiche officielle que Rio occupe une place prépondérante dans la compétition. À une époque où les vols commerciaux n'étaient plus aussi populaires qu'aujourd'hui, la taille du continent brésilien a limité la Coupe du monde principalement au sud-est et au sud du pays (un seul match a eu lieu à Recife, dans le nord-est du Brésil). Parmi les 6 villes hôtes, Rio de Janeiro a accueilli le plus grand nombre de matches de la Coupe du monde - 8 sur 22. La compétition a également été programmée de manière à ce que pratiquement tous les matches de l'équipe nationale brésilienne soient disputés au Maracanã - à l'exception du match du Brésil contre la Suisse, à Sao Paulo, pendant la phase de groupes.

La cérémonie d'ouverture de la Coupe du monde de football 1950

À une époque où la télévision n'était pas encore devenue un média populaire dans le

⁶⁷ Skidmore 1976, 89.

monde et où les transmissions par satellite n'existaient pas, les cérémonies de méga-événements sportifs n'occupaient pas une place aussi importante dans l'organisation des jeux comme c'est le cas aujourd'hui. Ce n'est qu'après l'avènement de la transmission directe à l'étranger dans le contexte de la guerre froide que les cérémonies de méga-événements ont atteint le sens actuel⁶⁸.

Bien que les cérémonies officielles de la Coupe du Monde aient tendance à être moins coûteuses et fantaisistes que celles des Jeux olympiques d'été, le cas de la cérémonie d'ouverture de la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA 1950 est assez curieux par rapport à ce qu'on aurait pu imaginer - par le manque de références à ce sujet dans les publications académiques et sur l'Internet. - car n'y avait aucune cérémonie d'ouverture à un tel événement. En fait, l'absence de reportage sur une cérémonie précédant le match d'ouverture de la Coupe du monde de 1950 est récurrente même dans les journaux populaires brésiliens de l'époque, tels que *O Globo Sportivo* et *A Manhã*. D'autres journaux, par exemple, le *Correio da Manhã*, ont brièvement décrit la cérémonie d'ouverture en l'appelant plutôt « solennités initiales »⁶⁹.

En dépit du manque d'intérêt suscité par les cérémonies d'ouverture des grands événements sportifs dans les années 1950 au Brésil, le quotidien de Rio de Janeiro, *Jornal do Brasil*, a consacré quelques lignes à la couverture de la cérémonie d'ouverture de la Coupe du monde de la FIFA, présidée par le président brésilien, Marshall Eurico Gaspar Dutra, et le président de la FIFA, Jules Rimet. Le journal brésilien rapporte ce qui suit :

« Avant le match Brésil contre Mexique, il y a eu une cérémonie, sous les applaudissements du public, avec le lever des drapeaux des nations concurrentes pour le Championnat du monde. La partie musicale a ensuite été exécutée avec des orchestres militaires entrant sur le terrain et se tenant devant la tribune. La fanfare du Bataillon des Gardes a interprété magistralement la symphonie de l'opéra de Carlos Gomes : « O Guarani ». La partie préliminaire s'achève avec un troupeau de cinq mille pigeons ».⁷⁰

Les présentations de fanfares militaires lors de solennités publiques étaient plutôt

⁶⁸ Fernández Peña et Ramajo 2014.

⁶⁹ *Correio da Manhã*, 25 juin 1950.

⁷⁰ *Jornal do Brasil*, 25 juin 1950.

courantes en Amérique latine pendant la plus grande partie du XXe siècle. On pourrait donc dire que le simple affichage de fanfares militaires lors de cérémonies publiques ne donnent pas nécessairement l'image d'un gouvernement nationaliste-autoritaire, car ils sont moins chers et faciles à mettre en place. En outre, ils sont également - en tant que drapeaux et emblèmes nationaux - des représentations ultimes de l'État national. Cependant, lorsqu'il s'inscrivait dans le contexte des années 30, 40 et 50 - une période où, au Brésil, les gens avaient déjà vécu deux coups d'Etat, les attaques récentes du gouvernement Vargas à l'autonomie fédérale et une guerre civile et qu'ailleurs, dans le monde entier, les gens vivaient encore les séquelles de la Seconde Guerre mondiale et l'avènement récent de la guerre froide, en grande partie à cause de la Guerre de Corée qui a commencé presque simultanément avec la Coupe du monde - on pourrait dire que la présentation d'un groupe militaire à la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA est symptomatique de la situation nationale et inter-nationale de ces années, où des pays vivaient encore à l'ombre des gouvernements totalitaires et des souvenirs de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. En outre, le souvenir récent de la guerre renforcerait le symbolisme de la libération de milliers de pigeons symbolisant la paix dans le monde.

O Guarani - le mythe *indianiste* de la genèse brésilienne

La chanson jouée par le groupe martial était une version instrumentale de l'opéra *O Guarani* (composé en 1870) de Carlos Gomes. L'opéra de Gomes est basé sur le roman indianiste de José de Alencar⁷¹ du XIXe siècle. Écrit en 1857, à peine 35 ans après l'indépendance, le roman est l'une des principales icônes de l'Indianismo - un genre littéraire et artistique inspiré du romantisme européen visant à renforcer le patriotisme dans un pays nouveau-né.

Parmi plusieurs livres et peintures célébrant les exploits épiques des tupi-guaranis, *O Guarani* était plutôt symbolique dans la mesure où il établissait le mythe de la genèse brésilienne de la même manière que les allégories d'Adam et d'Ève à la naissance de l'humanité. Néanmoins, dans le récit d'Alencar, l'union entre Peri - un Guarani - et Ceci, une vierge portugaise, symbolisait l'aube du peuple brésilien⁷².

⁷¹ Alencar, 2000.

⁷² Moreira, 1991.

En dépit de l'importance du livre d'Alencar pour la littérature brésilienne, de nombreux Brésiliens se souviennent peut-être de *O Guarani* surtout comme d'un opéra de Carlos Gomes. C'est parce qu'un de ses airs est bien connu au Brésil en raison de sa présence durable lors de l'ouverture du programme radiophonique *A Voz do Brasil* (La voix du Brésil), depuis le début de l'émission en 1934.

A Voz do Brasil a été créé par le Département de la presse et de la publicité de Vargas (DIP, en portugais) en tant qu'instrument d'intégration nationale par la diffusion des comptes rendus officiels du pays sur des événements domestiques et internationales. Pendant plus de 70 ans, sa diffusion était assurée par une loi fédérale obligeant les stations de radio à fournir une heure de leur programme quotidien à leur diffusion. Par conséquent, l'opéra de Gomes représente l'homogénéité raciale et culturelle du pays à travers le mythe de la genèse du peuple brésilien⁷³. De plus, due son association avec un programme de radio d'État conçu par l'administration de Vargas pour intégrer le pays, il incarne également les efforts d'Estado Novo pour promouvoir une identité brésilienne uniforme.

De 1951 à 1964, le Brésil a vécu une période d'instabilité politique qui a abouti à un nouveau coup d'État. En 1964, l'armée brésilienne s'empare du pouvoir. Une fois de plus, le Brésil était dirigé par un gouvernement autoritaire, nationaliste et antidémocratique. Comme lors du Nouvel État, « la centralisation politique, économique et administrative du pouvoir a été réalisée par un certain nombre de moyens »⁷⁴, comme le remplacement des gouverneurs d'État élus démocratiquement par des administrateurs nommés par le gouvernement central.

Ce n'est que dans les années 80 que le Brésil a commencé à redevenir progressivement une république fédérale démocratique. À la suite de la re-démocratisation, on pouvait observer « un processus intense de constitution de nouveaux acteurs politiques et de construction de nouvelles identités sociales »⁷⁵. Selon l'anthropologue social Ruben Oliven, il s'agissait notamment des « identités de genre, identités religieuses, identités régionales (la renaissance de cultures régionales) et identités ethniques - représentées

⁷³ Volpe 2002.

⁷⁴ Oliven 2000, 64.

⁷⁵ Oliven 2000, 66.

par les mouvements noirs et l'organisation croissante des communautés autochtones »⁷⁶.

Chapitre 4 - *Ensemble dans un seul rythme* - représentations des identités nationales et régionales lors de la Coupe du monde de football 2014

Dans le chapitre 4, *Ensemble dans un seul rythme* - représentations des identités nationales et régionales lors de la Coupe du monde de football 2014, nous avons utilisé les chapitres précédents pour analyser la manière dont les comités nationaux et locaux ont utilisé les récits nationaux et régionaux afin de représenter leur pays, leurs états et leurs villes devant un public international.

Nous avons donc examiné comment le Brésil était décrit par rapport à ses différentes localités et comment ses différentes localités se présentaient par rapport à leurs homologues nationaux et ainsi que par rapport aux récits les plus populaires de la nation. Par conséquent, nous avons discuté des relations entre plusieurs discours - de chacune des villes hôtes - concernant les ethnies, le climat et leur appartenance ethnique par rapport le reste du Brésil. De plus, nous avons évalué quels éléments visuels - tels que les représentations de la religion, de l'architecture, de la faune et de la flore, etc. - confèrent une cohésion à la représentation de l'ensemble du pays.

La Coupe du Monde comme un *lieu de mémoire*

Comme dans la phrase célèbre de George Orwell « qui contrôle le présent, contrôle le passé »⁷⁷, Pierre Nora nous rappelle que les cérémonies des méga-événements peuvent également être comprises comme des lieux de mémoire et « n'existent donc que par leur capacité de métamorphose, le recyclage de leur signification et prolifération imprévisible de leurs ramifications »⁷⁸.

La représentation d'un pays ou d'une région hôte dans un méga-événement international - par le biais de cérémonies d'ouverture, d'affiches et d'autres supports - a pour but de transmettre une image (souvent) idéalisée de soi-même aux publics locaux et étrangers. La périodicité de tels événements peut donc constituer une méthode pratique

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Orwell 2004.

⁷⁸ Nora 1989, 19.

pour comprendre la progression, la régression ou la transition d'une nation vers des agendas politiques différents.

Dans le cas du Brésil, qui a organisé les Coupes du monde de football de 1950 et 2014, l'analyse du matériel promotionnel ainsi que les cérémonies d'ouverture de ces événements nous apportent des dichotomies qui ont joué un rôle central dans la construction de l'identité brésilienne tout au long de l'histoire du pays. L'une de ces dichotomies est présente dans la dualité modernité / colonialité⁷⁹, tandis que le Brésil, ainsi que d'autres pays émergents⁸⁰ ont utilisé la participation et l'accueil de méga-événements pour revendiquer son statut de nation moderne et développée.

Une autre dualité réside dans la tension entre le national et le local. Cette dualité n'est pas uniquement due à la taille du continent brésilien, mais également au fait que les architectes de la proclamation de la république en 1889 (l'armée brésilienne et les élites locales) ont eu différents plans - pour le pays et ses États - pendant la majeure partie de l'histoire du pays en tant que république fédérative⁸¹.

Nous avons donc comparé la manière dont le Brésil s'est montré face aux deux dualités (modernité / colonialité et régionalisme / nationalisme) dans les Coupes du Monde de la FIFA de 1950 et 2014. En outre, une telle comparaison illustre également comme l'organisation des méga-événements sportifs a radicalement changé depuis l'évolution des nouvelles technologies des médias⁸².

Méga-événements au Brésil d'aujourd'hui

Avec la fin du régime militaire au Brésil et la croissance de l'économie qui a débuté au milieu des années 90 et a culminé à la fin des années 2000, le Brésil a commencé à s'aventurer une fois de plus dans le domaine de l'organisation de méga-événements : à savoir la candidature du pays, sans succès, à accueillir les Coupes du Monde de la FIFA 1994 et 2006. De plus, tout aussi peu fructueux, les candidatures aux Jeux olympiques d'été des villes comme Brasilia - en 2000 - et de Rio de Janeiro - en 2004 et 2012.

⁷⁹ Mignolo 2011.

⁸⁰ Curi, Knijnik et Mascarenhas 2011.

⁸¹ Fausto 2002.

⁸² Fernandez Pena et Ramajo 2014.

Malgré ces efforts, ce n'est que pendant le mandat de Luis Inácio Lula da Silva que les candidatures brésiliennes pour l'organisation de méga-événements sportifs ont commencé à porter leur fruit. Après avoir organisé avec succès les jeux panaméricains de 2007 et commencé à être reconnue comme l'un des pays BRIC, la chance du Brésil semblait tourner puis le pays devait accueillir les deux méga-événements mondiaux les plus importants en deux ans - le 2014 Coupe du Monde de la FIFA et Jeux olympiques d'été de 2016 à Rio de Janeiro.

Les affiches régionales de la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA

Même sous de vives critiques, des sommes importantes provenant des États et des municipalités ont été investies dans des stades et d'autres travaux pour la coupe du monde. Il était donc naturel que les villes hôtes recherchent une exposition internationale maximale de leur image. Par conséquent, chaque ville hôte avait son propre logo et son affiche conçus par les respectifs comités locaux pour transmettre ses aspects géographiques, sociaux ou culturels aux publics nationales et internationales (voir *Figures 6 à 26*).

Ainsi, ces affiches servaient, d'une part, de rappels nationaux du patrimoine culturel régional vis-à-vis de l'image généralement homogène du Brésil du XXe siècle et, d'autre part, de supports pour l'image de marque régionale auprès de publics (inter)nationales - un moyen d'attirer les touristes et les investissements.

En ce qui concerne les affiches sur les villes hôtes, nous avons évalué la manière dont elles ont décrit leurs régions et comment elles avaient négocié leurs images avec des conceptions différentes de la brésilienité. Nous avons identifié trois catégories principales à partir desquelles les villes hôtes ont tenté de différencier (ou pas) leurs images des récits nationaux dominants : (i) leurs paysages, (ii) leurs habitants, et (iii) leur flore et faune.

Plusieurs villes étaient représentées comme des paradis tropicaux, avec des plages de sable et / ou des environnements verdoyants. En fait, les villes côtières de Natal, Fortaleza et Rio de Janeiro étaient représentées à travers leurs rivages, tandis que les villes de Cuiabá et de Manaus faisaient référence à leurs écosystèmes (Pantanal et forêt

amazonienne). De même, les villes de Belo Horizonte et Porto Alegre se caractérisaient également par leurs paysages. Le premier à travers les collines du haut-pays, où est située la capitale du Minas Gerais, le second à travers son lac, fruit de ses plaines. En dépit de leur géographie, ces deux villes - capitales de deux États qui, au passé, avaient tenté de devenir indépendantes du reste du pays - ont utilisé les couleurs de leurs bannières régionales en combinaison avec celles du drapeau national, un moyen d'illustrer leur patrimoine régional en tant que partie constitutive de la nationalité brésilienne.

De son côté, São Paulo s'est écarté de l'idée récurrente du Brésil en tant que pays de loisirs et de nature exubérante en choisissant de montrer son horizon moderne comme un signe de son développement socio-économique. Néanmoins, la ville de Fortaleza a choisi de conserver un certain degré de la brésilienneté tropicale (c'est-à-dire l'aspect paradisiaque décontracté) mélangé à l'idée d'un Brésil moderne (se révélant être une métropole au rythme rapide et bien développé) dans sa représentation visuelle.

Sur le plan ethnique, alors que la ville de Natal représentait un homme supra-racial à travers la reproduction de sa silhouette remplie du bleu de son ciel, Rio de Janeiro a bu du récit freyrien du mulâtre dionysiaque en représentant un joueur de football métis possédant des compétences inhérentes à *l'art du football*. Néanmoins, les villes de Brasilia et Cuiabá - à travers les représentations d'hommes multicolores - représentaient des footballeurs pan-raciaux, évitant ainsi toute omission. Qui plus est, ils ont véhiculé un sentiment de société brésilienne multi-ethnique, semblable à un arc-en-ciel, contrastant avec le récit d'une nation mulâtre unicolore.

La représentation de la ville de Curitiba - dans le sud du pays - est un exemple curieux de l'annulation des récits de race et de tropicalité brésiliens du XXe siècle. Comme nous l'avons vu, certaines villes ont éloigné leurs images de l'idée d'un Brésil côtier / tropical ou vert / équatorial, alors que d'autres ont représenté leurs populations comme étant assez différentes du mulâtre brésilien emblématique de Freyre. Curitiba - par le biais du recyclage du *Paranismo* (un mouvement régionaliste du début du XXe siècle) - a fait l'un et l'autre : il a montré l'existence d'un Brésil subtropical (et un peu froid) qui, en raison de son climat, possède une végétation particulière et a insinué (par sa représentation dans l'animation d'ouverture de transmission de la Coupe du Monde)

que la région a connu la colonisation différemment que dans d'autres régions du pays.

Néanmoins, il est intéressant de noter que - pour se différencier de l'idée d'un Brésil tropical - la ville de Curitiba a utilisé le même genre d'éléments que ceux habituellement utilisés dans les récits visant à décrire la nation. Ainsi, la symbologie récurrente d'une Curitiba froide / européenne par rapport à un Brésil tropical / mulâtre s'exprime par le contraste entre la flore tropicale et subtropicale. Ainsi, bien que la représentation de l'identité régionale de Curitiba ait été en quelque sorte faite comme un rejet de la brésilienneté tropicale, les manières de représenter la nation et cette région spécifique ne sont pas si éloignées l'une de l'autre. Par conséquent, on pourrait dire que - dans les domaines du régionalisme et du nationalisme ainsi que dans celui de la représentation au sens large - la différence n'a d'importance que s'il existe un certain degré de similitude entre deux choses à comparer.

L'affiche nationale de la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA

Mise à part que les affiches des villes hôtes, la Coupe du Monde de 2014 avait un logo et une affiche représentant l'ensemble du Brésil (voir figure 5). Alors que le logo faisait clairement référence au trophée de la coupe - avec des mains vertes et jaunes, essayant de faire passer l'idée d'une union (inter)nationale par le football, l'affiche transmettait un message similaire en montrant les jambes de deux hommes jouant au football sur un fond blanc. Les jambes ont été peintes en vert et jaune - les couleurs du drapeau national brésilien - et forment ensemble l'image du Brésil comme sur une carte politique. En observant attentivement l'affiche, on peut remarquer que les jambes, ainsi que les lignes du haut qui donnent forme au Brésil, sont formées de petits dessins, des *tesserae*, représentant des icônes culturelles de différentes localités brésiliennes comme dans un vitrail. Chacun de ces dessins seules serait représentatif d'une région particulière de la fédération ; toutefois, une fois réunis, ils deviennent une sorte de *Brésiliana* qui façonne le pays dans son ensemble par sa diversité culturelle et géographique (voir figure 5).

Fuleco - la mascotte de la coupe du monde

Le 17 septembre 2012, la mascotte officielle de la Coupe du monde 2014 a été présentée par la FIFA. La mascotte, un tatou brésilien anthropomorphique à trois bandes (*Tolypeutes tricinctus*) - aussi connu sous le nom de *Tatu-Bola* (Tatou-Boule) - a été

créé par la société de conception *100% Design* (voir *Figure 4*). Toutefois, l'idée de faire de l'animal en danger la mascotte de la compétition pour attirer l'attention du public sur la nécessité de le préserver était largement soutenue par des ONGs brésiliennes telles que *l'Associação Caatinga* - une association qui a pour objectif principal la protection des ressources naturelles de la Caatinga (une écorégion dans le nord-est brésilien).

Le 25 novembre 2012, le nom du tatou à trois bandes a finalement été révélé. *Fuleco* - un porte-manteau avec les mots *Futebol* (Football) et *Ecologia* (Écologie) - a été le nom choisi par un vote par Internet. Au total, plus de 1,7 million de votes ont été enregistrés. *Fuleco* a reçu 48% des voix, tandis que *Zuzeco* - une fusion entre *azul* (bleu) et *ecologia* (écologie) - était la favorite de 31% des électeurs et *Amijubi* - une combinaison entre *amizade* (amitié) et *júbilo* (réjouissante) - a fini en dernier avec 21%.

Il est important de noter que les tatous à trois bandes, également connus sous le nom de Tatou-Boules, ont la capacité de transformer leur armure défensive en forme de boule et qu'ils le font lorsqu'ils sont effrayés. Leur double morphologie - qui, comme son nom l'indique, associe la forme d'un animal et d'un ballon - semble être un bon choix pour une mascotte de compétition de football.

Par conséquent, le lien distinctif entre le tatou à trois bandes et le football dialogue avec l'idée que les Brésiliens sont naturellement doués pour la pratique du sport britannique. Comme nous l'avons déjà vu, l'idée, selon laquelle le joueur brésilien serait déjà né avec le don d'une technique inégalée pour le sport, a été lancée par Freyre⁸³. Une telle caractéristique socioculturelle serait un trait inné du Brésil, qui a abouti à la conviction que le football brésilien appartient au domaine de Dionysos - où l'artiste devient l'œuvre d'art⁸⁴.

La cérémonie d'ouverture de la Coupe 2014

Le 12 juin 2014, la cérémonie d'ouverture de la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA s'est déroulée dans l'arène du *Sport Club Corinthians Paulista*, à São Paulo. 62.103 personnes l'ont regardé dans le stade et des centaines de millions l'ont suivi à la

⁸³ Freyre 1962, 443.

⁸⁴ Nietzsche 2000, 23.

télévision en direct. Pour diriger les cérémonies d'ouverture et de clôture de la Coupe du monde de football 2014, la directrice artistique belge Daphné Cornez a été embauché par le comité organisateur. Selon le comité brésilien de la Coupe du monde de football 2014⁸⁵, quatre actes ont été présentés: (a) le premier concernait les ressources naturelles du Brésil, telles que les fleuves et la flore locale; b) le deuxième acte concernait le peuple brésilien et sa diversité culturelle; il était suivi d'une (c) représentation du football dans la société brésilienne; et (d) d'un dernier acte musical auquel la chanteuse brésilienne Cláudia Leitte était accompagnée de deux artistes nord-américains d'origine latino-américaine - Jennifer Lopez et Armando Pérez (également connu sous le nom de Pit-bull) - pour chanter la chanson officielle de l'événement: *We are one (ole ola)*.

Selon Cornez, la cérémonie visait à montrer « les trésors du Brésil au monde » : « La danse est l'un des trésors du peuple brésilien, qui a différentes origines ; la végétation est l'un des grands trésors de la nature brésilienne, avec une grande diversité, l'autre étant le football, qui reflète la joie »⁸⁶.

1er acte : la diversité des ressources naturelles et de la flore du Brésil

Au début de la cérémonie, un énorme ballon à diodes électroluminescentes était au centre du terrain de football - il brillait en vert, jaune et bleu, accueillant des personnes du monde entier dans plusieurs langues (portugais, espagnol, français, allemand, Italien, japonais, arabe et russe). Divers danseurs en turquoise sont entrés sur la pelouse, représentant des rivières brésiennes. La végétation indigène du Brésil a suivi : des représentants d'Araucárias (des arbres indigènes de la région de Paraná, au sud du Brésil) ont longé les nénuphars de l'Amazone, ainsi que des broméliacées, des fougères et des fuchsias, représentant la diversité de la flore brésilienne répandue dans le pays.

2ème acte : les cultures régionales brésiennes réunies sur un seul rythme

Le deuxième acte commence par la représentation de l'arrivée des premiers habitants connus du Brésil - les Amérindiens. Les Tupi-Guarani sont représentés en train de

⁸⁵ Portal da Copa. *Copa do Mundo 2014*. www.copa2014.gov.br. Page visitée le 22 avril 2015.

⁸⁶ Exame. *Cerimônia de abertura da Copa do Mundo mostrará tesouros brasileiros*. <https://exame.abril.com.br/brasil/cerimonia-de-abertura-da-copa-mostrara-tesouros-brasileiros-2/>. Page visitée le 28 avril 2015.

remonter une rivière. Les Européens (Portugais) ne sont représentés que de manière indirecte, alors que le récit se rapproche de ce qui semble être le Brésil colonial où les *Baianas* dansent dans leurs robes blanches traditionnelles et où les hommes jouent de la *capoeira* et du *berimbau* - référence au troisième groupe ethnique qui arrive dans le pays, les Africains - venant principalement d'où se trouve actuellement l'Angola.

Plusieurs instruments de musique, issus de différents rythmes folkloriques brésiliens, tels que le *reco-reco*, l'*apito de samba* (sifflet brésilien), le *pandeiro* et l'accordéon, pour n'en nommer que quelques-uns, étaient également représentés. Suivant la même idée, des personnes de divers coins du Brésil ont été représentées à travers leur musique folklorique et leurs vêtements traditionnels. Les *Gaúchos* du sud du Brésil ont dansé sur *Música Nativista*, le peuple de Pernambuco sur le *Frevo*, les Baianos sur *Samba de Roda* et le peuple du Nord-Est sur *Coco do Sertão*. L'histoire a continué ainsi jusqu'à ce que les groupes régionaux susmentionnés se mêlent à un rythme unique, comme dans le slogan de la Coupe du monde - représentant un Brésil unifié et ses cultures hétérogènes formant l'ensemble du Brésil.

3e acte : le football en tant qu'unificateur global

Le troisième acte a commencé avec un arbitre de football envoyant tout le monde en dehors du terrain avec un carton rouge. Des hommes et des femmes déguisés en ballons de football sont arrivés sur le terrain, symbole de l'arrivée du sport dans le pays au XIXe siècle. Soixante-trois garçons et une fille de clubs de football locaux se sont rassemblés autour du ballon, représentant les 32 équipes participant à la phase finale de la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA 2014.

Les enfants portaient des maillots avec les drapeaux des pays participants, jouaient au football seul pendant un court moment, puis formaient un cercle autour du ballon (qui affiche désormais le drapeau national brésilien). Ils ont ouvert le cercle et, à l'autre bout du terrain, un paraplégique portant un exosquelette robotique - mis au point par le neuroscientifique brésilien Miguel Nicolelis - a donné le coup d'ouverture de la Coupe du monde. La signification de ce mouvement est double : il peut montrer les progrès réalisés par le Brésil dans l'inclusion sociale des personnes handicapées et, d'autre part, il peut représenter les progrès scientifiques et technologiques d'un pays qui souhaite rejoindre le concert des pays développés - idée qui a sans doute été stimulée par

l'émergence des pays BRIC au cours des dernières années.

4ème acte : *Ensemble dans un seul rythme*

Le ballon - qui était au centre du terrain depuis le début de la cérémonie - s'est finalement ouvert, prenant la forme d'une fleur épanouie et le quatrième et dernier acte a commencé. Claudia Leitte a émergé de son noyau et a commencé à chanter *Aquarela do Brasil* de Ary Barroso. La chanson écrite par Ary Barroso en 1939, pendant les années Vargas, salue les qualités et la grandeur du Brésil et de ses habitants. *Aquarela do Brasil* a été enregistrée par de nombreux artistes au Brésil et à l'étranger, devenant sans doute l'une des chansons brésiliennes les plus célèbres au monde. La chanson est également reconnue comme le début d'un genre de musique appelé *samba-exaltação* - un genre composé d'une « mélodie et des paroles étendues de thèmes patriotiques, dont l'accent musical est axé sur les arrangements orchestraux, y compris les ressources symphoniques »⁸⁷. De plus, *Aquarela do Brasil* (connu internationalement sous le nom de *Brésil*) aurait servi de support de propagande au régime « ultranationaliste de Vargas et à son *Brésil brésilien* »⁸⁸ ou, du moins, la chanson « irradie l'esprit de son temps »⁸⁹.

La chanson a été suivie pour « We are one (ole ola) » d'Armando Perez, alors que les enfants représentant les pays participants à la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA 2014 étaient rejoints par des danseurs vêtus comme des arbres brésiliens et de brésiliens de différentes régions du pays. Au centre du terrain, ils ont tous dansé ensemble devant la chanson officielle de la compétition alors que, parallèlement, Jennifer Lopes et Armando Pérez émergeaient du noyau lumineux de la balle pour rejoindre Claudia Leitte dans la chanson. Comme à la fin du deuxième acte, ils ont dansé « tous dans un rythme », unis par la musique et le football, comme une métaphore des jeux.

La cérémonie de clôture de la Coupe du Monde de 2014

Trente-deux jours plus tard, la finale se déroulait - comme en 1950 - au stade Maracanã de Rio de Janeiro, ce qui en faisait le deuxième stade de l'histoire à recevoir deux finales de la Coupe du monde. Malgré le soutien des aficionados du football brésilien, le Brésil était absent de la Coupe après une défaite historique lors d'un match à 7-1 contre

⁸⁷ Marcondes 1977, 684-5.

⁸⁸ Furtado Filho 2009

⁸⁹ Paranhos 2003, 107.

l'Allemagne. La Coupe du Monde de la FIFA 2014 s'est donc terminée sans qu'aucun match de la sélection ne soit disputé dans le plus grand stade sportif du pays.

En dépit de la défaite du Brésil sur le terrain de football, la cérémonie s'est déroulée à Rio de Janeiro le 13 juillet 2014. La cérémonie de clôture était davantage centrée sur la culture et le football de Rio de Janeiro que celle organisée un mois auparavant, ce qui avait permis à Galvão Bueno, commentateur sportif de TV Globo, de la trouver plus « brésilienne » que la cérémonie à São Paulo⁹⁰.

La grande boule lumineuse, présente lors de la cérémonie d'ouverture, a cédé la place à un immense tapis avec le drapeau brésilien au centre du terrain. La cérémonie a commencé avec les 200 membres de l'école de samba Grande Rio jouant et / ou dansant la samba. Selon Rede Globo⁹¹, quatre grands mannequins symbolisaient « les sentiments fondamentaux liés au football » : « passion, solidarité, liberté et diversité ». Un instant plus tard, 30 couples de *Mestre Sala* et de *Porta-Bandeiras*, symbolisant les 30 pays déjà hors compétition, sont entrés sur le terrain en tenant leurs drapeaux respectifs.

Les derniers couples de *Porta-Bandeiras* et de *Mestre-Salas* à avoir participé étaient ceux des deux finalistes de la Coupe du Monde, l'Allemagne et l'Argentine. Contrairement aux autres nations représentées, les *Mestre-Salas*, qui symbolisaient les deux pays, portaient l'uniforme de leurs équipes nationales respectives. Les deux hommes, qui tenaient également des ballons de football, sont entrés dans le cercle central du stade de Maracanã et ont été rejoints par une *Porta-Bandeira* vêtue d'une robe dorée et tendant une bannière également dorée. La *Porta-Bandeira* semblait représenter le trophée de la Coupe du Monde. Les hommes ont commencé à montrer leurs talents avec le ballon près de la femme incarnant la Coupe du Monde, dans une métaphore basée à la fois sur les traditions du carnaval brésilien - où le *mestre-sala* courtise la *porta-bandeira* tout au long du défilé de rues - et sur le symbolisme d'une finale de la Coupe du Monde, où deux nations se disputent un seul trophée.

⁹⁰ Rede Globo de Televisão, 13 juin 2014.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

À l'arrêt de la samba, le concert de Carlinhos Brown - un musicien afro-brésilien portant une coiffe amérindienne - et de la chanteuse colombienne Shakira a commencé. Ils ont été rapidement rejoints par d'autres célébrités brésiliennes - Ivete Sangalo et Alexandre Pires - et d'autres musiciens latino-américains: le guitariste mexicain Carlos Santana et le rappeur haïtien Wyclef Jean. Leur présentation, un mélange de chansons populaires brésiliennes et de chansons nouvellement composées, couvrait la majeure partie de la cérémonie et était, selon les mots de Bueno, une « célébration de la *latinidad* »⁹².

Vers la fin de la cérémonie de clôture, des dizaines de danseurs aux visages de couleurs nationales sont entrés sur le terrain et, une fois de plus, comme lors de la cérémonie d'ouverture et du slogan de la Coupe du monde, la fête s'est terminée par une danse où tous étaient dans un seul rythme. À la toute fin, le *samba-enredo Peguei um Ita no Norte* s'est évanoui et *l'Aquarela do Brasil* d'Ary Barroso s'est estompée. Pendant six secondes, les paroles « Brésil, Brésil » ont été chantées à l'unisson par les présents au stade Maracanã à la fin de la cérémonie de clôture de la Coupe du monde de football 2014.

Chapitre 5 - *Un Nouveau Monde* - L'image du Brésil moderne lors les Jeux olympiques de Rio de Janeiro

Le chapitre 5, *Un Nouveau Monde - L'image du Brésil moderne lors des Jeux olympiques de Rio de Janeiro*, notamment à propos de la représentation du Brésil pendant les Jeux olympiques en tant que nation capable de contribuer à un meilleur avenir grâce à un modèle de modernité révisée. Il dialogue avec les chapitres précédents en utilisant l'évolution des représentations historiques de la nation en tant qu'instruments permettant de décoder le contenu présenté par le comité d'organisation des Jeux olympiques de Rio de Janeiro.

En conséquence, le chapitre est axé sur le développement de représentations historiques

⁹² Rede Globo de Televisão, 13 juin 2014.

des identités ethniques-raciales brésiliennes - qui, à leur tour, sont basées sur une myriade de théories concernant le rôle des Amérindiens, des Afro-Brésiliens et des Portugais dans la construction d'une nation multi-culturelle. Il également conceptualise le contenu environnemental du matériel audiovisuel de Rio 2016 à travers la relation symbolique entre le pays et la nature, ainsi que son instance politique en relation avec les effets indésirables de l'Anthropocène sur l'atmosphère et les écosystèmes de la Terre.

Lors de la cérémonie d'ouverture de la Coupe du monde de football 2014, le Brésil a conservé son exemple traditionnel en tant que pays diversifié, abritant une flore exubérante et un peuple joyeux. Néanmoins, les Jeux olympiques d'été de 2016 peuvent être vus comme une tentative d'élargir un tel récit : de la diversité ethnique à la tolérance raciale et sexuelle et de la nature sous sa forme originale à l'appel environnementaliste et au développement durable.

De plus, le moment de relancer internationalement le récit du Brésil en tant que nation tolérante ne pourrait être meilleur. Le Comité Olympique International venait de décider que les Jeux de la XXXI^e Olympiade seraient les premiers de l'histoire où les athlètes transgenres seraient autorisés à concourir sans intervention chirurgicale préalable de changement de sexe⁹³. Pour montrer son soutien à la décision du CIO et approuver le fait que les jeux de Rio devaient également être commémorés comme des Jeux olympiques de la tolérance, la mannequin transgenre Leandra Medeiros Cerezo a été invitée à porter la pancarte du Brésil pendant l'entrée des athlètes du pays hôte dans le défilé des nations.

Rio-2016 était également les premiers jeux à avoir une équipe de réfugiés olympiques. La décision a été prise « d'agir comme un symbole d'espoir et de paix pour les réfugiés du monde entier et d'attirer l'attention sur l'ampleur de la crise des réfugiés »⁹⁴. En

⁹³ IOC 2015. *Consensus Meeting on Sex Reassignment and Hyperandrogenism*. https://stillmed.olympic.org/Documents/Commissions_PDFfiles/Medical_commission/2015-11_ioc_consensus_meeting_on_sex_reassignment_and_hyperandrogenism-en.pdf. Page visitée le 2 mars 2018.

⁹⁴ IOC 2016. *Refugee Olympic team to shine spotlight on worldwide refugee crisis*. <https://www.olympic.org/news/refugee-olympic-team-to-shine-spotlight-on-worldwide-refugee-crisis>. Page visitée le 2 mars 2018.

conséquence, dix athlètes - originaires de Syrie, du Soudan du Sud, d'Éthiopie et de la République démocratique du Congo - ont concouru en tant qu'une seule équipe sous le drapeau olympique.

En ce qui concerne le caractère environnementaliste de l'héritage de Rio-2016, le Comité international brésilien a attribué à chacun des onze mille athlètes présents à la *Parade of Nations* la graine d'un arbre natif et une cartouche de terre. L'idée était de les planter à Deodoro (zone ouest de Rio) juste après les jeux, créant ainsi ce qui serait la forêt des athlètes. Le fait qu'en décembre 2017 (seize mois après la fin des jeux) la forêt n'avait pas encore été plantée par le « manque d'investissement »⁹⁵ montre que, lors de la création de récits nationalistes il existe souvent une différence significative entre le discours et la réalité.

Le relais de la flamme olympique

Dans le domaine du symbolisme olympique et des récits nationalistes, une manière efficace d'exprimer le *volksgeist* d'une nation ainsi que sa contribution au projet moderne consiste à décorer les rites olympiques classiques de manière à être plus proches de la cosmologie du pays. Plus encore, lorsque deux des rites les plus emblématiques des Jeux Olympiques modernes - à savoir le relais de la flamme et l'allègement du chaudron olympique - semblent un peu imiter l'un des récits historiques qui donnent corps au concept eurocentrique de la modernité : celle qui fait de l'Europe moderne l'héritière directe de *l'Esprit du Monde (Weltgeist)* qui était autrefois présent en Grèce et à Rome⁹⁶.

Selon Dussel, « la diachronie unilinéaire Grèce-Rome-Europe est une construction idéologique qui remonte au romantisme allemand de la fin du XVIIIe siècle »⁹⁷, étant ainsi « un sous-produit conceptuel du modèle aryen eurocentrique »⁹⁸. Sans surprise, les premiers jeux introduisant la tradition du relais de la flamme sont ceux de Berlin-1936, placés sous le *Geist der Zeit* de l'ultranationalisme allemand. Par conséquent, une

⁹⁵ Globo 2017. *Promessa olimpica, 'Floresta dos Atletas' ainda nao saiu do papel no Rio*. <https://g1.globo.com/rj/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/promessa-olimpica-floresta-dos-atletas-ainda-nao-saiu-do-papel-no-rio.ghtml>. Page visitée le 2 mars 2018.

⁹⁶ Hegel 2001, 120.

⁹⁷ Dussel 2000, 465.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 466.

bonne partie des pratiques de la cérémonie de la flamme olympique semblent constituer une *grand narrative* du *Weltgeist* hégélien: (a) la torche étant allumée par le soleil, « comme s'il y avait une continuité entre les microcosmes des hommes et les macrocosmes de l'univers »⁹⁹; (b) la mise en scène de la lumière provenant des ruines d'Olympie (qui symbolise également la Grèce antique dans son ensemble) au pays où se tiennent les Jeux olympiques; (c) le relais de la flamme en cours de route, symbolisant le long chemin parcouru par *l'Esprit* du centre du monde classique à l'un des centres du monde moderne; (d) la conception particulière du flambeau et du chaudron, nouveaux destinataires de *l'Esprit*, reflétant le patrimoine culturel du peuple dont le pays accueille l'événement.

C'est pourquoi chaque flambeau olympique est différent de ses prédécesseurs. Dans le cas de Rio-16, le flambeau portait une innovation majeure. Lorsqu'il n'est pas éclairé, l'objet est complètement blanc mis à part cinq petites rainures autour de lui (voir *Figure 35*). Cependant, une fois allumées, ces rainures s'ouvrent pour afficher les couleurs du drapeau national - jaune, vert et des différentes nuances de bleu. Chacune de ces couleurs est également censée symboliser la nature exubérante du Brésil en tant que pays tropical : le jaune de son soleil tropical, le vert de ses montagnes, le bleu de sa mer¹⁰⁰. Le fait que la torche reste blanche une fois éteinte et, une fois en contact avec le feu, qu'elle ouvre ses rainures afin de représenter chacune des couleurs nationales, représentant différents éléments du paysage brésilien, peut être considéré comme une métaphore de l'idée selon laquelle les Jeux olympiques - à travers son symbole rituel maximal, le feu olympique - sont là pour dévoiler au monde les richesses du Brésil et son potentiel inexploité.

De plus, la ville de Rio de Janeiro est également bien présentée. Une fois que le flambeau est ouvert, les motifs ondulés sur son sommet nous rappellent la montagne du Pain de Sucre - qui est également l'inspiration du logo des jeux - et les motifs ondulés sur son fond font allusion aux trottoirs de plage de Copacabana. Le bleu de la mer et le soleil brûlant jaune au-dessus de tous ces éléments emblématiques complètent la composition qui rappelle une des cartes postales les plus célèbres de Rio de Janeiro,

⁹⁹ Fernandez Peña et Ramajo Hernandez 2014, 712.

¹⁰⁰ Dolzan 2015.

celle du Pain de sucre vu de la plage de Copacabana.

Le flambeau rend ainsi hommage à la tradition iconographique - qui a commencé dès que le Brésil a été élevé de son statut colonial¹⁰¹ - d'avoir les *granites de gneiss* de Rio de Janeiro, « ces énormes masses arrondies de roches nues émergeant des plus luxuriantes végétations »¹⁰², considéré comme l'une des principales icônes nationales.

Il est important de noter que toutes les torches olympiques utilisées dans le relais d'Athènes à Rio de Janeiro ont été fabriquées en aluminium recyclé, un aspect destiné à collaborer au récit de Rio-2016 en tant que jeu vert et ainsi du Brésil en tant qu'un pays respectueux de l'environnement qui cherche constamment des solutions novatrices aux problèmes de la modernité.

La confection du chaudron olympique semble également avoir eu un tel récit derrière ses lignes directrices. Afin de s'y conformer, Anthony Howe - une sculpteur cinétique américaine - a créé un chaudron olympique beaucoup plus petit que ses prédécesseurs, générant ainsi un taux d'émission de CO2 relativement inférieur à celui des autres Jeux olympiques. Toutefois, la flamme réfléchiée par la structure faisait ressembler le chaudron à un soleil pulsant qui éclairait le stade Maracanã lors de la cérémonie d'ouverture (voir *Figure 36*). En plus d'être une métaphore du rôle d'une industrie créative derrière le développement durable - après tout, le chaudron olympique était aussi brillant que d'autres versions mais moins polluant - la sculpture de Howe était aussi une allégorie de l'image du Brésil en tant que nation tropicale.

Qui plus est, la sculpture ajoute un sens de continuité supplémentaire au rituel d'allumage du chaudron. Depuis Berlin-1936, la vasque olympique est allumée par le feu du soleil qui brille sur les ruines de l'ancienne Olympie. Par conséquent, les rites du chaudron tentent traditionnellement d'aller au-delà de la spécificité des jeux comme des « marqueurs temporels tout au long de l'histoire de la modernité »¹⁰³, en atteignant à la fois le monde classique et l'univers métaphysique. Dans le cas du chaudron brésilien, la lumière achève non seulement son voyage physique et rituel de l'ancienne Olympie

¹⁰¹ Martins 2010.


¹⁰² Darwin 1840, 32.

¹⁰³ Dayan et Katz 1992, 102.

à la ville moderne de Rio de Janeiro, mais complète symboliquement sa traversée métaphysique du soleil olympien - « les macrocosmes de l'univers »¹⁰⁴ - au soleil fabriqué par l'homme qui illumine le stade Maracanã.

L'icône non officielle de Rio-2016, un symbole de paix et d'environnementalisme

Cependant, le chaudron en forme de soleil et le flambeau à changement de forme ne sont pas les seuls symboles olympiques brésiliens à avoir innové pour transmettre un message d'environnementalisme au monde. Au tout début de la cérémonie d'ouverture, une icône ronde a été projetée au centre du terrain du stade Maracanã. L'image, réalisée par le caricaturiste brésilien Zivaldo Alves Pinto exclusivement pour Rio 2016, est similaire au symbole de la paix, également appelé icône de la *Campagne pour le Désarmement Nucléaire*. Toutefois, dans la version brésilienne, l'icône est à l'envers, peinte en vert et avec dix feuilles poussant à partir de la forme en V située au sommet du symbole, formant un arbre stylisé (voir *Figure 38*).

Le symbole de la paix a été créé en 1958 par le designer britannique Gerald Holtom pour être utilisé lors d'une marche contre les armes nucléaires à Londres. L'inspiration de Holtom est venue du dessin d'un « individu désespéré, les mains tendues vers l'extérieur et vers le bas, à la manière du paysan de Goya avant le peloton d'exécution »¹⁰⁵. Par la suite, il s'est aussi rendu compte que le dessin traduisait également l'idée des lettres N et D, comme si elles avaient été créées à l'aide de l'alphabet de signalisation (sémaphore). Par conséquent, quelque chose comme des armes faisant un ^ (N) et un I (D) signifie *Nuclear Disarmament* (ND). La juxtaposition de la représentation au sémaphore des deux lettres, dans un cercle symbolisant la Terre, a conduit au bien connu ¹⁰⁶.

Cependant, plus tard dans sa vie, Gerald Holtom « en vint à regretter la connotation du désespoir et souhaitait que le signe soit inversé », car « la paix devait être célébrée »¹⁰⁷. C'est ce que Zivaldo et Rio-2016 ont fait avec leur icône de la paix et de l'écologie. En inversant l'icône de Holtom, ils ont symboliquement transformé le désespoir en

¹⁰⁴ Fernandez Peña et Ramajo Hernandez 2014, 712.

¹⁰⁵ Westcott 2008.

¹⁰⁶ Kolsbun 2008.

¹⁰⁷ Westcott 2008.

célébration. Par conséquent, au-delà de la connotation non équivoque d'un arbre à l'intérieur de la planète Terre symbolisant l'idée d'écologie et de paix, une lecture contextualisée plus approfondie de l'icône de Rio 2016 permet de comprendre que l'environnementalisme et la tolérance sont des réponses pour transformer le désespoir en triomphe et en joie.

Qui plus est, en utilisant l'un des symboles les plus connus de l'activisme politique de notre époque comme base de la création de son icône, Rio-16 a pu envoyer un message immédiat à son public. Depuis sa création, le symbole de la paix a été utilisé comme une icône de la contre-culture pour promouvoir la fin des guerres, la fin de l'apartheid et pour promouvoir les droits des femmes et des homosexuels¹⁰⁸. Il a donc été utilisé comme une icône d'espoir et de changement dans la même mesure que le symbole de la paix. Ainsi, le symbole de Holtom est également une invitation à défier le statu quo et à bâtir un avenir meilleur, une invitation à une révolution pacifique. Dans le cas de Rio-16, le symbole a été transformé pour devenir un appel à construire un avenir plus vert et plus tolérant.

La Cérémonie d'ouverture de Rio 2016

La mise en scène de la cérémonie d'ouverture des Jeux de la XXXIe Olympiade - dirigée par Fernando Meirelles, Adruça Waddington et Daniela Thomas - commence par la présentation théâtrale de la genèse de *Pindorama*, la terre qui est aujourd'hui le Brésil. Il montre ainsi la formation et la transformation du paysage d'un sol désertique à une nature sauvage exubérante aux motifs verts et jaunes, symbolisant respectivement la flore et la faune locales. Cette transformation se développe à partir d'un vide sans vie qui commence à être emporté par l'océan récemment formé. Des lumières clignotantes et des tonnerres donnent l'idée d'une activité intense dans l'atmosphère de la Terre. Soudain, la tempête s'arrête. L'océan se retire, laissant derrière lui de nombreux microorganismes. Ils se reproduisent et commencent à pénétrer dans le sol. Des structures en plastique et en métal entrent en scène, symbolisant les invertébrés terrestres - les premiers habitants du Brésil. L'activité biologique sur le sol s'intensifie pour former finalement d'innombrables systèmes de rhizomes verts qui soutiendront physiquement les arbres qui commencent à pousser vers le haut, formant ainsi la forêt

¹⁰⁸ Kolsbun 2008.

tropicale. Enfin, d'innombrables oiseaux jaunes ont été projetés sur des arbres verts. La formation de la nature, « la représentation de l'origine immémoriale de toutes les civilisations »¹⁰⁹, est la première chose à paraître dans la cérémonie. La nature remplace donc le vide sans vie de la première scène, dans ce qui pourrait être un rappel du miracle de la vie et de sa fragilité.

Le prochain micro-récit se situe à l'arrivée des premiers humains dans une sorte de paradis vert où les plantes poussent bien et où les animaux sont abondants et se déplacent librement dans la forêt. Leur entrée a lieu au moment où une volée d'innombrables oiseaux chanteurs, représentant le règne animal, s'est dispersée. Ils semblent avoir peur d'un animal volant beaucoup plus grand dont l'ombre est projetée sur les filaments éclairés en vert qui symbolisent la forêt. Une fraction de seconde plus tard, les animaux se cachent derrière l'ombre: des êtres humains qui bougent, alignés, imitent les oiseaux qu'ils viennent de voir. Les Amérindiens représentés sur la scène semblent participer à une sorte de rituel dans lequel ils entendent incarner les oiseaux, peut-être dans le but de « surpasser leur condition humaine »¹¹⁰.

Les Tupi-Guaranis commencent bientôt à manipuler la forêt en portant les filaments suspendus allumés en vert qui représentent la flore locale lorsqu'ils avancent. Alors qu'ils courent dans des directions opposées, les brins se superposent à la manière d'un panier en osier, représentant à la fois l'artisanat amérindien et le patchwork de leurs propres cultures avant l'arrivée des hommes blancs. Bientôt, ils commencent à tourner en rond, imbriquant les brins à leur sommet. Leurs mouvements coordonnés donnent forme à trois *ocas* gigantesques (les grandes structures d'habitat commun amérindien typique du Brésil). Ces *ocas* sont fabriqués uniquement avec des matériaux biodégradables, tels que des pailles et des feuilles. Dans chacune de ces habitations, plusieurs familles peuvent cohabiter¹¹¹. Ces espaces résidentiels peuvent durer de nombreuses années, ce qui réduit au minimum l'empreinte écologique des *ocas* en raison de leur nature biodégradable et de leur caractère communautaire.

En outre, une telle relation équilibrée entre l'homme et la nature est également décrite

¹⁰⁹ dos Santos 2003, 187.

¹¹⁰ Viveiros de Castro 2002, 206.

¹¹¹ Pardi 1993.

lors de la cérémonie d'ouverture de Rio-16 par l'échange de projections de lumière verte et jaune sur les brins verticaux suspendus et le terrain du stade de Maracanã. L'utilisation intelligente des couleurs nationales, dans cette partie de la cérémonie qui juxtapose la nature et l'homme, est destinée à représenter l'environnement naturel brésilien (vert) et l'impact sur l'environnement humain (jaune). Dans le cas des Amérindiens, à plusieurs reprises, les lumières vertes deviennent temporairement jaunes en raison de leurs empreintes physiques. Cependant, la nature récupère rapidement et les empreintes jaunes redeviennent vertes. Une telle transition montre que les Amérindiens sont capables de transformer leur propre environnement à leur avantage sans l'endommager de façon permanente - une capacité très recherchée dans le monde occidental contemporain.

Tout à coup, on entend des tonnerres et on voit des éclairs dans le Maracanã. Les Amérindiens semblent être perturbés par la tempête à venir, s'engageant dans différentes directions et démantelant leurs *ocas* (en référence à l'impact de l'arrivée des Portugais sur la population locale). Au même moment, trois caravelles portugaises apparaissent à l'horizon - ce qui représente l'arrivée des treize navires de la flotte de Pedro Álvares Cabral en 1500. Le langage corporel des capitaines des caravelles portugaises - plus élevé que tous les autres, les bras écartés - donne une idée de la gloire portugaise à l'âge de la découverte (entre le XV^e et le XVII^e siècle). Cependant, en décrivant les Africains réduits en esclavage comme les sources du pouvoir déplaçant les navires portugais, la cérémonie d'ouverture du Rio-16 a clairement montré qu'un passé aussi glorieux avait aussi un côté plus sombre. Le message ressemblait à celui qui dit que les explorations européennes, les élargissements territoriaux et les colonisations - qui ont alimenté le développement de la modernité occidentale - ont été réalisés par l'oppression de différents groupes ethniques, tels que les Africains et les Amérindiens¹¹².

Après un moment de confusion avec l'arrivée des portugais, les indigènes brésiliens se réorganisent, récupérant de leur hiatus musical et rétablissant leurs *ocas*. Quand ils le font, chacune des caravelles, avec des portugais et des africains à l'intérieur, commence à être entourée des filaments qui composent les huttes des Tupi-Guarani. On pourrait

¹¹² Mignolo 2005a.

soutenir qu'une telle configuration de scène semble être une allusion au désir des Indiens du Brésil envers les autres et à son incorporation ultérieure en tant que moyen d'élargir leur humanité, comme l'a exprimé le manifeste d'Oswald de Andrade en 1928. Cette lecture est renforcée par le développement de l'action, comme lorsque les *ocas* encerclent enfin les nouveaux venus du Brésil, les caméras commencent à se concentrer sur les premières interactions entre les Portugais et les Amérindiens. Alors que le premier semble inquiet, retenant ses bras en arrière, les pieds presque immobiles sur le sol; ce dernier semble plutôt actif et curieux, se déplaçant rapidement et cherchant un angle différent pour regarder l'étranger.

Néanmoins, une autre lecture de la rencontre multiethnique susmentionnée à l'intérieur des *ocas* pourrait être celle de la construction initiale du peuple brésilien exprimée par Von Martius en 1843. Dans cette scène, des portugais, des africains et des amérindiens partagent le même environnement pour la première fois, l'habitat d'origine de ce dernier groupe: le Brésil. Par conséquent, ils deviennent tous des Brésiliens, dans la mesure où les *ocas* représentent le Brésil comme l'espace physique et spirituel des Amérindiens.

Après ce moment bref mais significatif à l'intérieur des *ocas*, les membres des trois groupes ethniques brésiliens partent dans des directions différentes. Au moment où les Portugais quittent les lieux et se dirigent vers l'exploration des terres, ils laissent immédiatement derrière eux une piste de développement vers la nature sauvage, modifiant de manière permanente l'environnement grâce à la déforestation. Les Africains repartent avec des Portugais, mais ils reviendront rapidement avec des machines rudimentaires pour créer de grands champs de plantation. Les Amérindiens restent cependant encore un moment, tenant les brins verts tout en chantant, gardant leurs traditions plus longtemps jusqu'à ce qu'ils s'arrêtent.

L'acte se poursuit avec la déforestation de la flore par la main-d'œuvre faite d'africains, asservis par les portugais, travaillant dans les nouveaux champs du Brésil. Les afro-brésiliens sont enchaînés et travaillent à l'épuisement avec des machines rudimentaires, transformant une grande partie de ce qui était autrefois la forêt tropicale en grandes plantations de canne à sucre et de café. Une telle scène dépeint ainsi un grand anathème de l'histoire moderne brésilienne : la représentation explicite de l'esclavage dans le pays.

Cependant, contrairement à « l'anéantissement symbolique »¹¹³ de l'esclavage¹¹⁴ par les comités organisateurs des expositions mondiales du XIXe siècle, les architectes de Rio-2016 ont choisi de dénoncer un chapitre aussi atroce de l'histoire brésilienne. D'une part, la scène dépeint les souffrances persistantes de différents peuples qui ne veulent pas être emmenés dans un pays lointain, rappelant que l'intolérance ethnique peut conduire l'humanité à des pratiques largement condamnées, tandis que, d'autre part, elle donne à ces mêmes peuples le crédit en tant que principal responsable du développement économique de la nation depuis plus de trois siècles.

Poursuivant le récit de la cérémonie, l'expansion et la diversification de l'agriculture brésilienne, ainsi que la fin de l'esclavage dans le pays, commencent à attirer différentes vagues d'immigrants au pays. Ces facteurs ont conjointement contribué à la formation de petits centres urbains, alimentés par le commerce et la nouvelle classe moyenne du pays. Les centres urbains étaient représentés par différents carrés gris parmi les fermes agricoles et les fermes d'élevage. Alors que l'un de ces centres urbains est agrandi, montrant un puzzle complexe de formes géométriques grises à partir desquelles de hautes structures monochromatiques sont érigées numériquement, le voyage de plusieurs milliers d'années allant du Brésil naturel au Brésil moderne est achevé.

Ce qui suit est une démonstration de la créativité de la culture brésilienne moderne. Une telle exposition débute dans les domaines des arts de la scène, dans lesquels la chorégraphe brésilienne Deborah Colker dirige 3 000 bénévoles et 114 danseurs professionnels dans un acte d'interaction artistique-acrobatique avec des structures en acier représentant les villes brésiliennes modernes. L'acte suit avec la représentation théâtrale de l'inventeur brésilien Alberto Santos-Dumont - connu au Brésil sous le nom de *o pai da aviação* (le père de l'aviation) - et son avion 14 bis, qui est devenu célèbre en Europe à cause de son vol en 1906, décollant du stade Maracanã.

Par la suite, en raison d'un changement de projection de la lumière, les structures qui ressemblaient auparavant à des bâtiments gris brésiliens deviennent la représentation des favelas multicolores de Rio de Janeiro. Au-dessus des structures, on peut voir les

¹¹³ Eichstedt et Small 2002, 106-108.

¹¹⁴ dos Santos 2008, 164.

danseurs se déplacent vers les *mashups* de différents airs brésiliens dans un affichage de la culture populaire nationale.

La fête continue, maintenant le terrain de football est également occupé par les danseurs. Les chanteurs de différents rythmes agissent comme s'ils voulaient dépasser leurs homologues. Ainsi, l'acte est subitement suspendu quelques secondes par l'intervention préméditée de l'artiste brésilienne Regina Casé, qui lance le message: « Cessez de vous battre, nous sommes ici aujourd'hui pour rechercher nos similitudes et, surtout, pour célébrer nos différences. Vive la diversité ».

Le bref discours de Casé vers la fin de l'acte est significatif dans la mesure où il s'adresse à différents publics. Sur le plan intérieur, le Brésil - société hautement hiérarchisée qui a pendant longtemps tenté d'être considérée comme une « démocratie raciale » - traverse actuellement l'un des moments les plus délicats de l'histoire moderne avec la crise politique qui a culminé avec la destitution de la présidente Dilma Rousseff, un événement qui a divisé sa population de façon critique. Sur le plan international, la crise des réfugiés en Europe - et la montée de l'extrême droite - a également soulevé des questions concernant le multi-culturalisme en raison de la « peur des différentes cultures, religions et peuples »¹¹⁵.

Après la fête, un appel international

Le deuxième acte aborde un autre problème international, le réchauffement de la planète, alors qu'un garçon afro-brésilien erre sur un terrain apparemment désert dans un avenir presque dystopique. Une série de vidéos prises par la suite explique comment l'humanité a laissé la planète dans un tel état. Chacune de ces vidéos est précédée d'un titre d'avertissement en rouge et noir, ajoutant un sentiment d'urgence à la situation. Le premier, « Les émissions de CO2 », consiste en un modèle informatique élaboré par la NASA, qui indique la quantité d'émissions de dioxyde de carbone émises sur la planète au cours d'une année. L'animation montre que les pays les plus polluants sont situés dans l'hémisphère nord, en particulier ceux considérés comme modernes et bien développés, ce qui semble confirmer la logique selon laquelle les hommes *modernes* privilégient le développement industriel rapide plutôt que le bien-être de la planète.

¹¹⁵ Holmes et Castañeda 2016, 12.

La deuxième vidéo, intitulée « Le réchauffement de la planète », montre un graphique montrant la température moyenne de la planète en hausse de plus d'un degré Celsius de 1852 à 2016. Dans ce graphique, on peut également noter l'évolution de la température qui a augmenté au cours des trente dernières années. Les troisième et quatrième - « fonte de la calotte polaire » et « élévation du niveau de la mer » - montrent Amsterdam, Dubaï, la Floride, Shanghai, Lagos et Rio de Janeiro sous l'eau. Ces trois animations ont pour but de montrer que le réchauffement climatique est le problème de tous, sans distinction de classe sociale, de religion, d'origine ethnique, de situation géographique ou d'empreinte écologique.

Après cette série de courtes vidéos, la caméra cadre à nouveau le garçon qui erre encore sur le sol désert. Il s'arrête soudainement et se met à genoux près d'un semis - la seule plante sur scène. Au moment où il le touche, apparemment soucieux de la plante, le semis recommence à grandir - faisant réapparaître des rhizomes verts sur la scène autrement désertique. Une autre vidéo commence presque simultanément avec un poème du poète moderniste brésilien Carlos Drummond de Andrade. La vidéo dure environ trois minutes. À l'écran, des images de graines en germination et de fleurs épanouies sont suivies par des scènes d'hommes et de femmes du monde entier travaillant au reboisement de la planète. Il est intéressant de noter que la quasi-totalité de ces hommes et femmes semblent provenir de pays en développement d'Amérique latine, d'Afrique et d'Asie. La sélection de ces pays rappelle que les pays européens ont déjà épuisé leurs propres forêts pour atteindre leur degré de développement industriel, en grande partie grâce à leurs « techniques forestières brutes »¹¹⁶.

Le poème de Carlos Drummond de Andrade, *A Flor e a Náusea* (1945) - qui est lu par les actrices Fernanda Montenegro (voix portugaise) et Judi Dench (voix anglaise) pendant que la vidéo susmentionnée est montrée - suit:

« Uma flor nasceu na rua!
Passem de longe, bondes, ônibus, rio de aço do tráfego.
Uma flor ainda desbotada
ilude a polícia, rompe o asfalto.
Façam completo silêncio, paralisem os negócios,

¹¹⁶ Wallerstein 2011, 44-45.

garanto que uma flor nasceu.
Sua cor não se percebe.
Suas pétalas não se abrem.
Seu nome não está nos livros.
É feia. Mas é realmente uma flor.
Sento-me no chão da capital do país às cinco horas da tarde
e lentamente passo a mão nessa forma insegura.
Do lado das montanhas, nuvens maciças avolumam-se.
Pequenos pontos brancos movem-se no mar, galinhas em pânico.
É feia. Mas é uma flor. Furou o asfalto, o tédio, o nojo e o ódio »¹¹⁷.

Le poème a été publié dans le livre *A Rosa do Povo* (La rose du peuple) et a été écrit entre 1943 et 1945, donc pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale et sous le régime autoritaire nationaliste de Getúlio Vargas - une période de l'histoire marquée par l'intolérance dans la plupart des pays et forte industrialisation au Brésil. Par conséquent, le poème - en particulier l'extrait qui a été sélectionné pour faire partie de la cérémonie - est un hymne à la nature, à la vie, à la tolérance et à la résistance humaine. Le fait qu'une fleur ait traversé l'asphalte montre sa force vitale ; sa volonté de vivre malgré le monde gris autour de l'homme. Il représente également le concept moderne de la civilisation humaine en tant que force menaçante contre la nature, car la fleur ne devrait pas être là, brisant l'asphalte. Pour survivre, la fleur a vécu non seulement la difficulté de grandir au milieu de l'asphalte, de résister au trafic et au bitume, mais aussi de « tromper la police » et de nuire à l'établissement.

Le poème est aussi une expression de paix et de tolérance. Pour le poète, peu importe la laideur de la fleur, ni le fait qu'elle ne puisse pas être classée dans la taxonomie actuelle. Pour lui, ce qui compte, c'est que c'est quand même une fleur et qu'elle doit donc être admirée, d'autant plus qu'elle a grandi dans de telles conditions, surmontant « l'ennui, le dégoût et la haine ». Ainsi, à travers la présentation d'un poème brésilien qui célèbre la force et la grâce de la nature, ainsi que la capacité des êtres humains à respecter et à prendre soin de ce qui est différent, le Comité olympique brésilien résume, à la fin de la cérémonie d'ouverture, deux des messages les plus importants de Rio-2016.

¹¹⁷ Andrade 1945.

La Cérémonie de clôture de Rio 2016

Le soir du 21 août 2016 a eu lieu la cérémonie de clôture de Rio de Janeiro 2016. La cérémonie était dirigée par Rosa Magalhães, Alê Siqueira et Abel Gomes, qui ont remplacé Fernando Meirelles, Daniela Thomas et Andrew Andrucha, les directeurs de création de la cérémonie d'ouverture. Alors que Meirelles, Thomas et Andrucha étaient tous des réalisateurs des films, Magalhães est une scénographe qui a été huit fois vainqueur du Carnaval de Rio et Siqueira est un musicien qui a remporté trois fois le Grammy.

Une telle sélection a donc naturellement influencé le contenu de la cérémonie de clôture. Selon le directeur général des cérémonies olympiques de Rio 2016, Leonardo Caetano, la cérémonie de clôture était conçue pour être « plus festive [que l'ouverture]. L'atmosphère des festivals régionaux gagne plus de corps. Carnaval jouera un rôle plus important, avec un hommage au carnaval de rue »¹¹⁸. La cérémonie de clôture devait également être considérablement raccourcie par rapport à la cérémonie d'ouverture. La cérémonie de clôture a donc duré environ trois heures (réparties également entre les représentations interprétatives et les présentations protocolaires).

Au cours de la présentation théâtrale de la cérémonie, plusieurs groupes de danse, écoles de samba et musiciens brésiliens ont raconté l'histoire brésilienne à travers le développement de son art populaire depuis ses peintures rupestres préhistoriques jusqu'aux premières années de la samba. Par conséquent, le récit définit le développement de l'essence artistique des habitants du Brésil, commençant bien avant l'arrivée des Portugais, en passant par l'histoire du nord-est (et la propagation de sa population dans tout le pays), le développement de la samba et de la culture urbaine de Rio de Janeiro comme les principales icônes de la nation.

L'extinction de la flamme olympique de Rio 2016

Vers la fin de la cérémonie de clôture, à l'une des extrémités du stade sur une petite scène située devant la vasque olympique, la chanteuse brésilienne Mariene de Castro

¹¹⁸ Folha de S. Paulo. *Cerimônia de encerramento terá tributo a festas regionais e Carnaval*. <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/esporte/olimpiada-no-rio/2016/08/1804200-cerimonia-de-encerramento-tera-tributo-a-festas-regionais-e-carnaval.shtml>. Page visitée le 29 août 2018.

commence à chanter *Pelo Tempo Que Durar* de Marisa Monte, une chanson sur la fin en tant qu'une étape du cycle de transformation. Pendant la présentation de De Castro, une pluie artificielle commence à tomber sur elle simulant un orage tropical. La vasque olympique Rio 2016 - qui, en raison de la structure en mouvement qui y est fixée, ressemble à un soleil radiant dans le stade de Maracanã - est également happée par la pluie et éteinte par elle.

Quelques secondes plus tard, près de l'endroit où se trouvait la flamme olympique, plusieurs fils verts et jaunes sont soulevés, caractérisant la croissance d'un énorme arbre. La même eau qui avait éteint le feu a été utilisée pour commencer une nouvelle vie - qui est célébrée par les feux d'artifice qui éclate dans le ciel.

En conséquence, l'utilisation d'éléments comme le soleil brûlant, une pluie battante et un arbre en croissance correspond bien au message environnemental de Rio 2016 et à la cosmologie tropicale brésilienne. Qui plus est, l'idée de la fin en tant que phase nécessaire pour un nouveau départ est présentée dans la chanson de Marisa Monte et dans toute la symbologie du cycle de la vie. En tant que pays qui possède la plus grande partie de son territoire sous les tropiques, de nombreuses régions du Brésil ne subissent pas les saisons de la même manière que les zones subtropicales et tempérées, comme en Europe. Plus près de l'équateur, les périodes de l'année sont généralement réduites à deux : la saison sèche et la saison des pluies. Ainsi, en éteignant le feu olympique par une pluie équatoriale, le comité de la cérémonie de clôture a de nouveau façonné une tradition olympique dans l'esthétique brésilienne, telle que la tropicalité du pays et sa forte relation symbolique avec le monde naturel.

Conclusion

Comme personne ne peut prétendre comprendre pleinement un pays aussi vaste que le Brésil dans son essence, dans ses contrastes sociaux presque inépuisables et dans son développement perpétuel d'expériences collectives et personnelles, le Brésil en tant que nation s'appuie souvent sur une myriade de récits et de représentations. Néanmoins, ces récits ne sortent pas *ex nihilo*, ils sont souvent le produit du recyclage de plusieurs récits préexistants ; qui, à leur tour, reflètent une dynamique historique contenant des conjonctures sociopolitiques nationales et internationales. L'organisation de méga-événements internationaux, tels que ceux analysés dans cette thèse, est donc une

occasion exceptionnelle de retenir, sélectionner et combiner certains de ces récits, construisant ainsi une image nationale actualisée du pays - une identité nationale révisée et télévisée à des milliards de personnes, les gens du monde entier.

Dans cette thèse, nous avons identifié de nombreux comptes ethno-raciaux et socio-géographiques à partir desquels la nation a été imaginée. Beaucoup de ces récits ont été utilisés par les comités organisateurs de la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA 2014 et des Jeux olympiques de Rio 2016. Des récits romantiques de l'indianisme à l'idée d'une nation mulâtre et sans racisme, et aussi de la représentation de l'Empire en tant que royaume de l'Amérique *latine* sous les tropiques au discours d'une république engagée politiquement pour réduire les émissions de CO2 et atténuer les effets du réchauffement climatique, les représentations du Brésil dans ces événements ont souvent été négociées à travers la tension entre l'image existante du pays - une combinaison de récits nationalistes des siècles passés - et la façon dont la nation aimerait être perçue actuellement par ses autres épistémologiques.

En tant que public idiosyncrasique, la société occidentale moderne joue un rôle central dans la construction et la reproduction de la mémoire collective des pays d'Amérique latine, tout comme le Brésil, à travers - au moins - deux façons. De manière objective, sur la manière dont ces pays veulent être perçus par leurs homologues plus présents, ces pays puissants, riches et bien développés qui ont les clés du club des acteurs mondiaux et, par conséquent, l'accès à des avantages en *soft power* qui viennent avec une telle adhésion. De manière subjective, jusqu'à présent, ces pays ont toujours dirigé les mises à jour de projets modernes et, par conséquent, ce qui est souhaitable et ce qui ne l'est pas, ce qui est utile et ce qui est obsolète, ce qui est moderne et ce qui est dépassé.

Nous avons également évalué la manière dont certains de ces récits ont été construits afin de créer le récit d'un esprit national brésilien unique - la justification de la nation en tant que telle - alors que d'autres ont tenté de reconnecter le Brésil avec l'Europe à travers son héritage *latin*. Quoiqu'il en soit, il est devenu évident que ces récits étaient généralement créés par la juxtaposition du Brésil et des brésiliens par rapport à l'Ouest, en prenant en compte la manière dont la nation s'intégrait dans le projet moderne, la manière dont elle pourrait collaborer au développement de la modernité mondiale et de

la manière dont le Brésil pourrait continuer à progresser vers un âge moderne utopique et *absolu*.

Nous avons vu que, souvent, ces récits étaient utilisés en fonction des intérêts des élites brésiliennes, montrant peu ou pas d'importance à savoir s'ils bénéficieraient aux populations décrites par eux ou si le récit était un peu proche des expériences de vie de ces personnes. Dans de nombreuses occasions, de larges segments de la population brésilienne ont été complètement effacés ou ont été réduits à des comptes immatériels dans des représentations symboliques de la nation en raison des préoccupations des élites nationales vis-à-vis de son image à l'étranger - preuve du biais racial occidental perçu par les élites brésiliennes et du rôle de l'observateur sur la présentation de soi.

En ce qui concerne la représentation du Brésil en tant qu'espace physique, le pays a été largement décrit comme une terre tropicale et exotique, abritant des oiseaux colorés et une végétation exubérante. Considérant que ces attributs ont initialement aidé la monarchie brésilienne à se distinguer des autres maisons européennes, il a rapidement servi à montrer le pays comme un paradis terrestre - rempli de potentiel naturel, il ne manquait que les immigrants européens pour le transformer en une nation occidentale de premier rang.

Nous avons également vu que les régionalismes et les nationalismes ne sont que des structures de pouvoir différentes au sein de la modernité / colonialité en tant qu'ajustement culturel progressif des sociétés qui entrent dans la logique de la colonialité en englobant une bonne partie de ce qui vient de la matrice coloniale du pouvoir (internationale, nationale et régionale) en tant que gage de la modernité. Néanmoins, étant donné que le régionalisme et le nationalisme peuvent imposer des pratiques culturelles émanant des classes dirigeantes au niveau national ou régional, les identités régionales et nationales peuvent être deux forces concurrentes dans la construction d'un État-nation.

De 1930 à 1945, Getúlio Vargas - inspiré des doctrines politiques d'extrême droite de l'époque - a construit une identité nationale homogène en excluant les singularités culturelles de différents groupes régionaux brésiliens. Cette construction symbolique nationaliste et autoritaire de la nationalité brésilienne a perduré jusque dans les années

1980, lorsque le pays a connu une renaissance des identités régionales avec la fin du régime militaire et la nouvelle démocratisation du pays. En revanche, les gouvernements démocratiques du Brésil d'aujourd'hui - ou jusqu'à 2016 - ont adopté un discours conforme aux idéaux libéraux du XXI^e siècle en matière de diversité culturelle et de représentation sociale.

Les cérémonies de la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA, en 1950 et 2014, étaient des constructions symboliques du soi collectif séparés par un intervalle de temps de 64 ans. Les récits présentés par les deux événements étaient remplis de constructions symboliques basées sur les paradigmes de la modernité (ou, pourrait-on dire, du *progrès*) qui influençaient le point de vue de l'organisateur sur l'unité (un moyen de rétablir *l'ordre*). C'est-à-dire que l'évolution de l'idée de ce qu'on entend être un État moderne par rapport à l'uniformité ou à la diversité culturelle d'un pays change et influence la structure politique du pays. Par conséquent, ces différences de compréhension sont cruciales pour le rôle joué par les différentes régions du Brésil dans la construction de la nationalité brésilienne ou, du moins, pour le degré de manifestation de cette diversité.

Cela vient expliquer les différentes approches vis-à-vis du Brésil, en tant que représentation, sur les affiches officielles de la Coupe du Monde (c'est-à-dire qu'en 1950, la baie de Guanabara, à Rio de Janeiro, était la quintessence du pays; tandis que, en 2014, le comité local a exploré l'idée que la *partie* constitue le *tout* en utilisant des aspects nationaux, tels que sa carte politique et les couleurs de son drapeau national combinées à des icônes culturelles et géographiques de chaque région du pays pour représenter l'ensemble du Brésil). Les mêmes différences de principe sont présentes dans les cérémonies d'ouverture, dans les années 1950, les principaux acteurs de la cérémonie étaient des membres de l'armée nationale qui ont interprété une chanson qui représente la naissance des brésiliens en tant que peuple qui, mythologiquement, partageait les mêmes ancêtres. D'autre part, l'ouverture de la Coupe du monde de football 2014 a représenté le Brésil à travers sa société civile, venant de différents coins du pays avec leur propre musique, leur flore et leur folklore.

En ce qui concerne les Jeux Olympiques, le Brésil étant un pays émergent d'Amérique latine, les organisateurs de Rio 2016 ont eu du mal à décrire le pays en tant que

superpuissance mondiale ou comme un héritier des traditions classiques de l'Europe. Au lieu de cela, ils ont choisi de chercher dans le récit historique du Brésil des éléments pouvant être utilisés pour la construction d'un récit qui placerait la nation dans la première rangée de la modernité. Ainsi, Rio-2016 a montré - à travers l'adaptation des rites olympiques et sa cérémonie d'ouverture - que le Brésil pouvait contribuer au projet moderne de lutte contre deux des problèmes centraux de la modernité eurocentrique : l'intolérance ethnique et la dégradation de l'environnement. À travers la présentation théâtrale d'un récit historique indiquant que le Brésil tire des leçons de ses erreurs passées, les jeux lancent un appel international à la tolérance et à l'environnementalisme comme des moyens pour construire un avenir plus compatissant et plus vivable.

Un tel appel à un avenir différent a été exprimé à travers les appareils rituels de Rio 2016 (flambeau olympique, chaudron, médailles), les mascottes, la cérémonie d'ouverture, etc. Néanmoins, son rôle en tant que message central des jeux a été prononcé d'une manière plus emblématique par l'icône de Ziraldo symbolisant la paix, la tolérance et l'environnementalisme (une sorte d'icône alternative aux jeux, libérée des contraintes nationalistes dans son symbolisme, qui a été conçue pour être utilisée également dans des occasions sans rapport avec la compétition).

La devise de l'événement, *Un Nouveau Monde*, peut être comprise comme l'expression d'un récit historique nationaliste (le Brésil comme la terre du futur), mais aussi comme une déclaration de la manière dont le Brésil - à travers l'internationalisation de plusieurs récits nationaux reliant l'esprit national au *multiculturalisme* et à la faune et à la flore exubérantes - peut collaborer à l'établissement d'une version actualisée du projet moderne ; celui dans lequel règne la paix entre différentes nations et groupes sociaux ainsi qu'entre l'humanité et la nature.

Il est intéressant de noter que l'idée de représenter le Brésil en tant que nation dotée de qualités pouvant être utiles à la construction d'un monde meilleur - plutôt que comme un pays qui a déjà joué un rôle central dans le projet moderne, ou comme un État qui occupe actuellement une position de leader mondial - semble être quelque peu interreliée avec le récit du Brésil en tant que pays du futur. Après tout, l'avenir est une feuille blanche : le temps où tout est possible ainsi que la période historique qui échappe

à l'approche de l'homme. Une période qui sort donc des limites de l'historiographie eurocentrique.

Il est important de noter que la représentation théâtrale des Amérindiens à Rio 2016 était différente de celle de la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA 2014. Alors que dans ce dernier ses organisateurs ont adopté une représentation plus communément utilisée des amérindiens, semblable à celle présentée par l'indianisme et par l'empire brésilien lors des Expositions universelles du XIXe siècle (c'est-à-dire celle qui implique que leur temps est révolu), le comité Rio-2016 a fondé son récit sur les brésiliens anthropophages, protagonistes du Brésil en tant que nation ouverte à toutes les cultures et en tant que creuset ethnique où la modernité est exempte de xénophobie et de haine raciale.

En plus de cela, le comité de la cérémonie de Rio 2016 a également attribué aux amérindiens un second élément qui, selon eux, constituerait la solution à un autre revers majeur de la modernité : leur relation équilibrée avec la nature. Le fait qu'ils aient élu ces deux éléments (tolérance à l'autre et développement durable) au rang des principales contributions du Brésil au projet moderne (ou, au sens hégélien, à l'évolution de l'Esprit) a : (i) accompli la tradition olympique de cérémonies d'ouverture montrant ce qui était, est ou pourrait être la collaboration des pays hôtes avec la société occidentale; (ii) présenté le Brésil comme un pays à l'avant-garde de la modernité en ce qui concerne les deux éléments susmentionnés; (iii) a présenté une version revisitée (plus responsable et plus inclusive) du projet moderne et; (iv) ont racheté l'image des amérindiens en tant que peuples pouvant collaborer à la société occidentale en inspirant l'adoption de certaines pratiques et de certains comportements indispensables à la mise en place d'une ère plus pacifique et durable.

Les membres de l'autre principal pilier ethnique de la société brésilienne - les afro-Brésiliens - étaient représentés comme étant à l'origine du caractère *dionysiaque* de la nation. Créatifs, joyeux et passionnés de danse et de musique, ils ont été décrits comme le moteur de la culture populaire de Rio de Janeiro. En 2012, à Londres, Renato Sorriso a incarné le pays tout entier en enseignant à un vendeur anglais comment se détendre et comment profiter du moment en utilisant ses pas de samba, sa cordialité et son sens de l'humour.

À Rio-2016, un message similaire a été livré dans la description des afro-brésiliens après 1888. Ils ont été décrits comme le cœur palpitant de la musique brésilienne par leur amour du rythme et également par leur volonté de combiner les genres musicaux pour créer quelque chose d'inédit et d'électrifiant. Rio 2016 a ainsi extrait l'élément *football* du récit du Brésil *mulâtre* et *dionysiaque* - élément central de l'origine du concept de Freyre et dans une partie du matériel audiovisuel de la Coupe du monde de la FIFA 2014 - en mettant davantage l'accent sur d'autres éléments tout aussi importants du récit de *Dionysos* chez Nietzsche : la musique et les arts de la scène.

En ce qui concerne la représentation des conditions dans lesquelles les afro-brésiliens sont arrivés au Brésil et y ont vécu jusqu'à ce qu'ils ne soient plus asservis, la cérémonie d'ouverture de Rio 2016 a été différente de l'approche traditionnelle en ce qui concerne leur représentation. Au XIXe siècle, les comités d'organisation des pavillons brésiliens pratiquaient l'annihilation symbolique et / ou la banalisation de l'esclavage en cours dans le pays. Ainsi, ces comités ont évité le sujet et, lorsqu'une référence à une pratique aussi condamnée était inévitable, ils l'ont mentionné dans des rapports assainis sur leurs conditions de vie. Déjà au XXIe siècle, la cérémonie de 2012 ainsi que la cérémonie d'ouverture de la Coupe du monde de football de 2014 représentaient indirectement la lutte afro-brésilienne pour la liberté par le biais de démonstrations de *capoeiristas*. Néanmoins, Rio 2016 est allé au-delà d'une telle représentation et s'est adressé à l'éléphant dans la salle par la représentation théâtrale explicite de l'esclavage d'avant 1888.

D'une part, la représentation théâtrale de l'esclavage de façon explicite lors de la cérémonie peut être comprise comme un moyen de sensibiliser le public à l'inégalité historique entre les personnes d'ascendance africaine et européenne au Brésil, ce qui permet de mobiliser le soutien populaire en faveur d'actions positives dans le pays. D'autre part, sa description explicite n'est peut-être pas toujours souhaitable car, au cours de notre recherche, nous avons eu connaissance de rapports de musées qui ont décidé de modifier le contenu de leur exposition sur l'esclavage en raison des effets émotionnels négatifs que la représentation des souffrances endurées par les afro-brésiliens réduits en esclavage ont causé sur leurs descendants et / ou des personnes qui s'identifient comme appartenant au même groupe ethnique.

Puisque le débat sur la représentation de l'esclavage dans les expositions, les cérémonies et autres médias est une discussion récurrente dans le monde académique (dont on est loin d'avoir une réponse incontestée à ce sujet), cette partie de notre thèse pourrait évoluer vers une recherche post-doctorale qui ne porterait pas uniquement sur l'évolution historique de sa représentation dans les méga-événements, mais également sur leur réception par les afro-brésiliens.

En fait, en raison du caractère interdisciplinaire de nos recherches ainsi que des limites de notre champ d'application, cette thèse peut être complémentaire - ou servir de base à une poignée d'études. Bien que nous n'ayons pas inclus le genre comme élément central de notre discussion sur la représentation de la brésilienité dans les méga-événements, nous nous sommes rendu compte qu'il existe de nombreux documents qui, si analysés, pourraient contribuer à donner une vision plus holistique de la discussion sur les identités nationales du pays et avoir de la valeur pour le domaine des études de genre (concernant des sujets tels que *l'intersectionnalité*, la relation entre le genre et l'identité nationale, etc.). De même, nous ne nous sommes pas concentrés sur la réception de ces événements. Par conséquent, cette thèse pourrait servir de référence complémentaire à ceux qui s'intéressent à la manière dont les méga-événements ont influencé la façon dont le Brésil, les brésiliens et la brésilienité sont vus à l'étranger.

Malgré ses limites, cette thèse a contribué au domaine des études brésiliennes dans la mesure où elle a relié différents récits nationaux au développement de l'histoire sociopolitique et culturelle de la nation afin de contextualiser sa représentation dans les méga-événements récents en cours. En conséquence, elle a également contribué au débat sur la représentation historique des amérindiens, des afro-brésiliens et du mythe (ou promesse) du Brésil en tant que *pays du futur*. En outre, à travers l'analyse de méga-événements mettant en parallèle des différentes identités régionales, nous avons présenté au lecteur un point de vue singulier sur la manière dont les comités d'organisation locaux et nationaux définissent actuellement la partie et l'ensemble de la nation.

Enfin, en plaçant le projet moderne dans son contexte et en envisageant les méga-événements comme des arènes internationales dans lesquelles des pays exposent non

seulement leurs avancées vers la modernité, mais les utilisent également comme moyen d'influencer la communauté internationale sur la façon dont la modernité doit être comprise, nous avons donné notre petite contribution aux domaines des études olympiques et études décoloniales.

Introduction

Every now and then, nations and cities show their interest in hosting international mega-events such as the World Exhibitions, the Olympic games and the FIFA World Cups. Their interest is often justified as a means to attract infra-structural investments and heat the local economy, serving as milestones – or rites of passage – on national and regional development. As such, these events are celebrated as the crowning of a socio-economic regime or a political group. In the national symbolic arena, international mega-events are also international opportunities from where nations, regions and cities can introduce their cultures or rebrand their images to larger audiences.

Therefore, mega-events select, recycle and recreate societal narratives in order to bring about an updated image of the nation or region. Such an image is often constructed through the tension between a society's set of stereotypes and well-established conceived ideas, with an often-idealized understanding of the community. Modernity thus plays a central role in the negotiation of a culture's image and collective memory in so far it dictates what should be the message, what is desirable and what is not, which historical narratives should be reaffirmed and which should be revisited or completely avoided.

What is more, one might argue that the modern project already has its roots deep into a country's historical accounts. Not only the modern nation-state and Western society are inherent elements of modernity but also the accounts that were selected among other possible narratives to defined a country's national character were generally subject to a Eurocentric bias. As a result, generations after generations of political, intellectual and economic elites of nations such as Brazil - as well as those of its neighbouring countries - have looked at Europe as the matrix of knowledge and civilisation. Thus, while these elites celebrated their nations as the extension of European civilisation in a distant continent, *Latin-America*, they often looked down at the cultures of African-Americans and Amerindians.

Although modernity, understood as a historical project, has its roots in western Europe, its agency – that is to say, the way in which it attracts different populations in adopting a given way of life and it influences their aesthetic judgment – is subject to a multilayered process, based on local designs, that refashions its original content. As societies are power structures, communities are often formed by the influence or the imposition of a group over others, forming further strata in the formation of collective identities.

As a result, nationalism is often shaped by movements towards and against westernization and regionalisms. By the same token, regionalism tends to be in a constant dialogue with nationalism and modernity – adjusting its cultural representation in relation to the nation and the world, seeking in the past narratives to justify extra-communal and intra-communal present-day agendas.

In this thesis, we will analyse how Brazil's organising committees to the 2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 Rio de Janeiro Summer Olympics have used these events to negotiate the image of the country and its inhabitants with their past representations and the (current) modern ethos.

To do it so, we will explore the development of Brazilian representation, by members of its own society, in different international mega-events. We will thus identify a set of categories – such as ethnicity, culture, relation with modernity and nature and so on – that were used in the past to build early identities to the country. Most importantly, we will contextualise such depictions within the domestic and international state of affairs of different periods of Brazilian history in order to provide an account of the evolution of national and regional representations in relation to the aforementioned aspects of identity.

As the representation of communities in world mega-events encompasses different spheres of belonging – international, national, regional and local – through the content analysis of such depictions, we aim to understand the evolution of the Brazilians view of their nation in relation to modern western societies as well as how the elites of the country comprehended their nation's past, how they build and recycle their national

memories, how they imagined their country's future and how they observed Brazil's (potential) role within modernity.

What is more, we also want to investigate how Brazil's organising committees have portrayed the nation concerning its inhabitants' ethnicities. That is to say, which ethnic groups were considered to form the patchwork of Brazilian nation, what role each of these ethnic groups has arguably played in the building of the nation, how and why the narratives of such roles have changed over time.

Finally, we also want to set an account on the driven forces behind the selection of cultural aspects of different Brazilian regions to represent the whole of Brazil in international mega-events. Why a given locality was chosen as the embodiment of Brazil in detriment of other regions of the country. How the Brazilian regions that had the opportunity to represent their cultural identities in international mega-events have differed themselves from the whole of Brazil and how did they relate their regional ethos with western modernity and Brazilian-ness.

It is important to note that although we understand the fundamental role played by the epistemological other in the formation of an identity and in its representations, this thesis is focused on the analysis of representations as a means to the understanding of how a nation - or a region - sees itself and recognises which possible aspects of its socially constructed identity may be useful to support a given (inter)national agenda. Therefore, we will not put much emphasis on reception nor go into detail when it comes to mega-events' setbacks which are not directly connected to our research core - such as corruption scandals, infrastructural problems, viruses' outbreaks and the World Cup/Olympics lack of legacy to the Brazilian population.

The themes presented in this thesis were somehow discussed in a myriad of academic works. The interspecific cooperation between mega-events and modernity was expressed - through a Marxist approach - by Pesavento¹ and Roche². The biased representation of the ethnic formation of the Empire of Brazil in some of the nineteenth-

¹ Pesavento 1997.

² Roche 2003.

century expositions was discussed by Schuster³ and Schwarcz⁴. Barbuy⁵ analysed the Brazilian pavilion in *Paris 1889* and considered the symbolic meaning of its design and content to the reaffirmation of the country's unity and connection with both (Latin) Europe and the natural world. Williams⁶ and Oliven⁷ have published their studies denouncing the consequences of Vargas national-authoritarian regime on the preservation of regional identities. Goldblatt⁸ wrote an account of Brazilian politics and its relation to football, including a chapter dedicated to the manifestations that took place during the 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup.

Nevertheless, none of these authors has written a comprehensive account of the evolution of the representation of Brazilian-ness in international mega-events which converges into the past two major events held in the country, the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Olympics.

What is more, this thesis also comes to fill a theoretical gap in so far it connects different historical artistic and cultural movements – which, in Brazil, have been used in the construction of an array of regional and national narratives - with the development of the modern ethos, the ever-changing character of a historical project that dictates what is appropriate and what is antiquated, what is right and what is wrong, what is needed and what is obsolete.

In doing so, this thesis seeks to look at Brazil as a collection of a myriad of representations, which were fashioned and selected under the biases of different generations of political, artistical and intellectual elites, each of them with their particular understanding of their own society, of their epistemological counterparts and of what means to be modern.

In Chapter 1, *Collective Identities and Mega-Events: Concept and Method*, we will start by reviewing part of the existing literature concerning aspects of nationalism and

³ Schuster 2015.

⁴ Schwarcz 2006.

⁵ Barbuy 1996.

⁶ Williams 2001.

⁷ Oliven 2000.

⁸ Goldblatt 2014.

representations of communal identities. We will argue that the other plays a central role in the development of the self and that nations and regions generally seek in the past narratives that aim to create an exclusive historical account to justify their existence as such.

We will also assess how Brazil, as a former Portuguese colony, relates to Europe and western modernity, thus analysing how such a relation situates the country as *Latin American* nation. What is more, we will discuss the effects of the interaction between different levels of belonging – local, national and continental – on the construction of national and regional identities.

We will then analyse the similarities and dissimilarities among major international mega-events such as the International Exhibitions, the Summer Olympics and the FIFA World Cups. We will examine how the nature and the narrative of these events reflect the period in which they came about as well as how they interact with aspects of modernity such as capitalism, cultural imperialism and the ideas of economic development and social progress.

Chapter 2, *Progress: Brazilian-ness within Modernity/Coloniality*, is about the development of Brazilian-ness within modernity, or rather how successive generations of intellectuals and artists have – during their time – contributed to the creation of different narratives of Brazilian race and national physical space taking into account socio-cultural trends considered to be modern, and thus desired, in Europe and elsewhere in the Western world.

We will thus start the chapter by setting Brazilian position in relation to western modernity within context. As a country which western historiography considers to be *discovered* by the Portuguese in 1500, Brazil was – and still is – intimately related to nature in its primary form. The land in which the country is located has been thus considered to be the representation of an Eden-like paradise and/or of the physical space where mankind could be found in its primitive state, before the dawn of civilisation.

From there, we will discuss how this image has affected the creation of a Brazilian identity and how different Brazilian ethnic groups – such as the Portuguese, the

Amerindian and the Afro-Brazilian - have been portrayed throughout the centuries and why the ways in which they have been remembered and represented have changed over the years.

What is more, we will write about how the nation has historically positioned itself in relation to its European and American counterparts in order to create a narrative that would, at the same time, be unique and familiar - so to secure its own position within the concert of modern nations.

Finally, through the content analysis of universal expositions official reports, prize-winning monographs and the creative work of authors that - somehow or another – have become true icons of the intellectual development of Brazilian-ness, we will see how national elites have chosen to portray the nation and its inhabitants in accordance to their own agenda and sets of beliefs, thus updating the nation's memory.

In Chapter 3, *Order: Brazilian-ness within Brazil and beyond*, we will set an account of the events that have contributed to the construction of a sense of Brazilian-ness within the nation. Therefore, this chapter aims to elucidate how a national identity began to be shaped in an otherwise continental country. Moreover, this chapter is also dedicated to building an outline of the socio-political and historical reasons that have led some cultural practices to be regarded as examples of *national culture* while others remained defined as *regional traditions*.

The chapter follows a somewhat chronological order, departing from the inception of nationalism and a national iconography during the Brazilian Empire (1822-1889), passing through the revisitation of national symbols and the increasing influence of regional centres on the first republic (1889-1930). We will also write about the Vargas era and its aftermath (1930-1954), an authoritarian nationalistic period of civil turmoil that dramatically reduced the political autonomy of Brazilian states. We will finish the chapter by describing the implications of the Brazilian military rule (1964-1985) and the country's re-democratisation (1985 to nowadays) on national and regional identities.

As in the previous chapter, we will also analyse the Brazilian participation in international expositions of the past centuries. The goal is to understand how the country portrayed itself in relation to the different zones and cultures of its territory. Additionally, we will also look into the cultural trends and socio-intellectual movements that (re)shaped national and regional identities leading to revisited forms of communal representations.

In order to deepen our knowledge on how Brazilian identity was portrayed during the 1950 FIFA World Cup, we will seek on primary sources reports about its *initial solemnities*, the first incarnation of contemporary opening ceremonies, in a recently built Maracanã Stadium.

Finally, we will briefly discuss the period after Vargas era to nowadays, passing through the military dictatorship – a period that has, once more, weakened the representation of the states within the Brazilian cultural patchwork - to the 1980s' re-democratisation of Brazil.

In Chapter 4, *All in one rhythm – Audiovisual representations of Brazilian national and regional identities in the 2014 FIFA World Cup*, we will use the precedent chapters to analyze the ways in which the competition's general and local committees have used national and regional narratives in order to portray their country, their states and their cities to international audiences.

We will thus examine how Brazil was portrayed in relation to its different localities and how its different localities depicted themselves vis-à-vis their domestic counterparts as well as the nation's most prevalent narratives. Therefore, we will discuss how several accounts in relation to Brazilian ethnicities, weather and ethos relate to each of the city hosts' audiovisual depiction of the event. What is more, we will evaluate which visual elements - such as the representations of religion, architecture, native flora and fauna as well as of a particular way of practising football (*futebol arte*) – give cohesion to the representation of the whole of the country.

Finally, Chapter 5, *A New World – The image of a modern Brazil during the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Olympics*, writes about the representation of Brazil during the Olympics as a nation capable of contributing to a better future through a revisited model of modernity. It dialogues with the previous chapters as it uses the evolution of the historical representations of the nation as instruments to decode the content presented by the Rio de Janeiro Olympics organising committee.

As a result, the chapter is centred on the development of historical representations of Brazilian ethnic-racial identities – which, in turn, were based on a myriad of theories regarding the role of Amerindians, Afro-Brazilians and Portuguese in the construction of a multi-cultural nation. It also contextualises the environmental content of the audiovisual material of Rio 2016 through the long-lasting symbolic relation between the country and nature as well as its political instance in relation to the undesired effects of Anthropocene on Earth's atmosphere and ecosystems.

Chapter 1. Collective identities and Mega-Events: Concept and method

In 1882, when Ernest Renan asked, and answered, his famous question: “*qu’est que ce qu’une nation?*”¹ - or what is a nation? - our world was rather different than it is today. Several countries, on both sides of the Atlantic, were just starting to construct nationalist narratives to delineate what differed them from other nations. They were thus defining their national identities and legitimating their very existence as such. Nowadays, more than 130 years later, many of these countries already have their identities somewhat known, while others still trying to negotiate their image or differentiate them from those of other nations. Most importantly, the world has changed in the way people look out for information. Books, reports and words of mouth are no longer the only media accessible for those who want to know more about a given territory or culture without living their homes. Radio, television and, later, the internet have changed the way in which countries and regions are perceived and, therefore, imagined. These media have thus changed the process of seeing and being seen both in content, pace and space to the point that instead of just asking ourselves “what is a nation?”, with the intention of defining which cohesive forces make a nation to those who experienced it in a direct way, one also has to ask questions as what makes the representation of a nation? Which forces are involved in the process that selects a few cultural and geographical features of a whole country to present them as epitomes of an entire nation? What are the post-modern arenas in which a nation’s representation can reach a large audience?

Crafting collective identities

To answer these questions, one has first to give some thought on how the process of differentiation through self-representation works. In the series of actions that form an identity (whether national, collective or even personal), we can find in Deleuze’s work an example of one of the steps, that may or may not be the first one, of such a process: “lightning (...) distinguishes itself from the black sky but must also trail it behind, as

¹ Renan 1997.

though it were distinguishing itself from that which does not distinguish itself from it”². Therefore, lightning just exists as such in contrast to what lightning is differentiating itself from - in this case, the black sky. In the same way, a country only exists if there are other countries to differentiate itself from, inasmuch a person just exists as an individual if there are others to whom he or she can be compared to. In the former case, such a logic becomes rather evident when one uses as examples names of countries that are elaborated to explicitly differ these nations from their epistemological others - as Belarus, Vietnam, North and South Korea - or those which had their names given as a means to (re)connect their nation to a territory, people or historical figure - such as Macedonia, New Zealand, Colombia and Bolivia. Therefore, in the process of identity making, difference only matters if there is a certain degree of sameness inasmuch as sameness only matters if there is a certain degree of difference.

a) The gaze and its effect on representations of the self

That said, we go to a part of the process that some may consider beyond representation, but, as we will see later, plays an important role within identity-making. Reception is not merely one’s passive action of decoding and interpreting a conveyed message as the observer is an active player on a given message’s content and form. Edgar Degas’ famous painting *Danseuse s'habillant* (1889) portrays a ballerina caught in a rare moment when she is not performing and is completely unaware of the observer’s presence. At this moment, when she is preparing herself for the presentation and/or has just left the scene, she allows herself to comfortably bend her knee and lean forward in a manner that she otherwise would not do if she was still, or already back, on stage. The instant that she is not performing, when there are no spectators nearby, she is no longer an onstage ballerina. When it comes to the representation of countries in mega-events, such as World Exhibitions and Olympic ceremonies, the same seems to happen. On this matter, Mitchell makes a point about the way in which such International Expositions have countries displaying (what they estimate the *other* would judge to be the best of) their cultures and national riches by telling the story of an Egyptian scholar who lived in Paris in the nineteenth century. For this scholar, as he wrote down in a

² Deleuze 1994, 28.

book of his authorship, “one of the beliefs of the Europeans is that the gaze has no effect”³.

As nowadays we know that the gaze has indeed an important effect on the observed’s behaviour, and thus in the formation of his/her identity, it is important to look a little closer at how one defines *same* and *other*. Categorisation is inherent to human thinking, and a necessary tool to form meaning or to transmit it through language. When one categorises someone or something, one first defines which are the parameters of such categorisation. If one wants to classify a country, for example, one will quickly use his own definition of what a country is. Then one may go on defining this country through different variables regarding, for example., location (Western or Eastern hemisphere), wealth (rich or poor), development (developed or undeveloped), the ethnicity of its inhabitants, level of democracy and so on. In doing so, one would have countries which have more things in common among themselves: Western, rich, developed and democratically-sound countries, with a white population majority, would be part of a group, otherwise known as, *the West*.

If a country wants to be categorised as such, and share all the soft power benefits that come with such a categorisation, it has to be considered to have more common aspects with these countries than traits that differ it from them (Australia is considered to be a western country, even though it is located in the Eastern hemisphere). The benefits that come with such a classification, in terms of foreign influence, is one of the reasons why otherwise socially and politically undemocratic states, sometimes, want to be recognised as healthy democracies in the eyes of the west. Unfortunately, this is also one of the reasons why the nineteenth century Brazilian intelligentsia - classifying its racism as “anthropological truths” or “geographical Darwinism” - saw western Europeans in the top edge of their “ethnographic scale” and encouraged their immigration to Brazil⁴, ghettoising other undesired ethnic groups that were already present in the country (we will further discuss such an issue in the next chapters).

³ Mitchell 1988, 2.

⁴ Skidmore 1974, 25.

Thus, the understanding of what is appraised and what is devaluated within a given context and/or society is a central aspect to the comprehension of one's image differentiation process towards or from a particular category. Jean-Paul Sartre explains that through the simple process of self-categorisation, when one predefines what one thinks one is or what one is ought to be, one becomes a representation: one's own representation of oneself or one's representation of the desired other ⁵ .

“Considérons ce garçon de café. Il a le geste vif et appuyé, un peu trop précis, un peu trop rapide, il vient vers les consommateurs d'un pas un peu trop vif, il s'incline avec un peu trop plein de sollicitude pour la commande du client, enfin le voilà qui revient, en essayant d'imiter dans sa démarche la rigueur inflexible d'on ne sait quel automate, tout en portant son plateau avec une sorte de témérité de funambule, en le mettant dans un équilibre perpétuellement d'un mouvement léger du bras et de la main.”⁶

After describing the almost thespian aesthetics of the waiter's movements, Sartre concludes:

“Toute sa conduite nous semble un jeu. Il s'applique à enchaîner ses mouvements comme s'ils étaient des mécanismes se commandant les uns les autres, sa mimique et sa voix même semblent des mécanismes; il se donne la prestesse et la rapidité impitoyable des choses. Il joue, il s'amuse. Mais à quoi donc joue-t-il ? Il ne faut pas l'observer longtemps pour se s'en rendre compte: il joue à être garçon de café”^{7, 8}

The example of the *garçon de café* exemplifies the role of what Sartre called *mauvaise foi* (bad faith) in the process of representation. Social pressures over what is desirable and what is not, over how an individual should behave like, are determinant on how one will attempt to craft one's identity. The same thing can be said about a nation: its image, or representation, is shaped by the tension between its historical past and current

⁵ Sartre 2012, 95.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 94

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ “Let us consider this waiter in the café. His movement is quick and forward, a little too precise, a little too rapid. He comes toward the patrons with a step a little too quick. He bends forward a little too eagerly; his voice, his eyes express an interest a little too solicitous for the order of the customer. Finally, there he returns, trying to imitate in his walk the inflexible stiffness of some kind of automaton while carrying his tray with a recklessness of a tight-rope walker by putting it in a perpetually unstable, perpetually broken equilibrium which he perpetually re-establishes by a light movement of the arm and hand”. English translation by Phillips 1981.

possibilities with how this nation would like to become, or be recognised as, in the future.

Therefore, the identity-making process of a nation is the one in which a state tries to keep its own uniqueness while it continuously attempts to differ itself towards or from a certain category of countries, negotiating its own image with its others in order to attain or keep its ultimate wished identity.

b) From the past as a Luso-American monarchy to the project of a *modern tropical republic: The Brazilian Spiritual Principle*

This is the point at which Ernest Renan becomes relevant to our discussion once again. When Renan answers the question with which we have started this chapter - “*qu’est que ce qu’une nation?*” (what is a nation?) - the author tackles two points that are also important in the discussion about a nation’s representation. According to Renan, even if certain aspects that are considered to be central to a nation’s formation - such as its peoples, its cultures and its geography - are indeed substantial elements on a nation’s genesis, what really keeps a nation together are (a) its common past, the memory of a shared history, and (b) a common - and imagined - future; the constant reaffirmation of a given nation’s citizens to live and build their future together⁹.

These two aspects, which Renan said to form a single national “spiritual principle”, are important to the understanding of a nation’s representation as they embody two major stages on a nation’s identity construction process: (a) the background of a nation’s representation - that is, the historical accounts that form its national narrative; and (b) what the nation wants to become, or become known as - its utopian role model that guides it towards a given identity.

In the case of the first Brazilian republic (1889-1930), one could describe the nations’ past as the one of a young South-American republic, which was once the colony of an Iberian country, whose people - an ethnic mixture of European, Africans, and Amerindians - imposed, or were subjects of, slavery. Therefore, given these aspects,

⁹ Renan 1997.

how could one differ Brazil from other Latin American republics when it comes to its past?

As we will see in the next chapters, there is no single answer to this question. Von Martius believed that Brazil's original inhabitants descended from a once great people that, after being divided, left their mark all over the Brazilian sub-continent through their Tupi-Guarany based languages¹⁰; Oswald de Andrade argued that the anthropophagical ritual practised by many of the Brazilian Indian tribes was an index of these peoples' drive towards the appropriation of certain cultural, physical and spiritual aspects attributed to the *Other* as a means to broaden their human condition, an ontological trait that, he claimed, was inherited by modern Brazilians¹¹; Gilberto Freyre understood that Brazil was a unique country in the Americas because it was the only one colonised by the Portuguese - a people who, according to him, had a different way of dealing with those that they colonised and/or enslaved¹²; finally, some modern authors, as Leslie Bethell, also pointed out that, other than having a different language and former coloniser, Brazil also had a distinct past in relation to other Latin American countries as it was the only nation in the region in which a monarchy preceded the republic proclamation¹³.

However, even if Brazil has indeed a different national past in relation to other Latin American republics, its national project is not uncommon to the region. As one can point out, Ernest Renan's "spiritual principle" second aspect (I.e. the set of ideals that make its inhabitants want to continue as a single nation and share a common future) is stated clearly on the flag of the Federative Republic of Brazil. The positivist motto *Ordem e Progresso* (Order and Progress) - inspired by Auguste Comte ideals¹⁴ and adopted since republic proclamation in 1889 - reveals the national aspiration of modern Brazil as the concept of progress, while keeping a country's social order, is the core concept of the modern project. By having progress as a goal, a nation is *constantly* in the move towards the desired end. Hence, if such a nation main objective is to be

¹⁰ Von Martius 1956.

¹¹ De Andrade 1928.

¹² Freyre 1945a.

¹³ Bethell 2010.

¹⁴ "L'amour pour principe et l'ordre pour base, le progrès pour but". Comte 1896, 90.

continuously in progress this either means that such an end is unachievable or that the end is actually a means. This is how modernity may come to be an obsession that can just be temporarily satisfied, as “to be modern means to be on the move”¹⁵.

Such a drive is not exclusive to Brazil, in the whole of the American continent, and elsewhere in the world where the western-European set of values was imposed - by force or otherwise - modernity was later embraced as an everlasting project; a project that had western Europe as its matrix and the further development of western civilisation as a goal. Within this project, “the relations between European and non-European suffered a temporal alteration: all non-European belonged to the past”¹⁶, while Europeans, and their cultural attributes, were capable of leading mankind to a greater future. According to Anibal Quijano, such a scenario lead to “an evolutionist historical perspective”¹⁷, in which:

“All non-Europeans could be placed vis-à-vis Europeans in a continuous historical chain from ‘primitive’ to ‘civilised’, from ‘irrational’ to ‘rational’, from ‘traditional’ to ‘modern’, from ‘magic-mythic’ to ‘scientific’; in sum, from non-Europeans to something that could be, in time, at best ‘Europeanised’ or ‘modernised’”¹⁸.

Therefore, in post-colonial countries, modernity became a means of European domination destined to last longer than physical colonisation as:

“Imperialism did not maintain its rule merely through suppression, but through the export and institutionalisation of European ways of life, organisational structures, values and interpersonal relations, language, and cultural products that often remained and continued to have an impact even once the imperialists themselves had gone home”¹⁹.

While Sreberny-Mohammadi defined the “export and institutionalisation of European ways of life, organisational structures, values and interpersonal relations, language and

¹⁵ Bauman 1998a, 23.

¹⁶ Quijano 2000, 221.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Sreberny-Mohammadi 1997, 51.

cultural products” as cultural imperialism, others such as Quijano and Mignolo saw these elements as constituent traits of a larger historical project known as *modernity*.

In the core of such a project, one would find a Eurocentric narrative of history. This narrative defines the history of the past three millennia in (a) antiquity, or classical era, a period in which the World Spirit (*Weltgeist*)²⁰ develops itself in Rome and Greece; (b) middle ages, also known as the dark ages, a span of about thousand-years in which Europe, and thus mankind, makes little progress in arts, philosophy and science; and (c) modern times, when the spirit attains a higher degree of maturity, due to the anthropocentric shift caused by the enlightenment in post-renaissance Europe²¹, taking humanity out of darkness.

Such a narrative is one of the driven forces behind the view that sets modern Europe both as modernity’s frontrunner and archetype, turning modern western European (former) empires into the only acceptable and desirable models of civilisations to be followed by other peoples, regardless of their preexisting *ethea*. The continual endeavours towards the adoption of such a model, that has western European civilisations at the top of its hierarchical chain giving instructions to other cultures on how to become modern, and defining what is modern and what is not, is known as coloniality²².

Bauman says that “modernity proclaimed no order untouchable, as all untouchable orders were to be replaced with a new, artificial order where roads are built that lead from the bottom to the top and so no one belongs anywhere forever”²³. Mignolo²⁴, however, claims that western modernity depends on the embracing of a set of Eurocentric values in order to exist, therefore “it is not modernity that will overcome coloniality, because it is precisely modernity that needs and produces coloniality”²⁵. Either way, within a modern socio-historical context filled with racial hierarchies and western bias, the understanding of modernity cannot be disconnected from the concept

²⁰ Hegel 2001.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Quijano 2000.

²³ Bauman 1998a, 30.

²⁴ Mignolo 2005a.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

of coloniality, as “coloniality and modernity are two sides of the same coin”²⁶, the former being the latter’s darker side²⁷.

Moreover, as we have previously seen, coloniality is not solely generated by “the export and institutionalisation of European ways of life”, “organisational structures” and “languages”. In the sixteenth century, during modernity’s dawn, when early modern colonial powers, such as Portugal and Spain, expanded their empires at the expense and suffering of non-European peoples, “the idea of race or purity of blood (...) became the basic principle for classifying and raking people all over the planet, redefining their identities, and justifying slavery and labor”²⁸. The link between civilisation and Europe - whereas other parts of the globe were linked to nature or human state in its original form - has thus lead to the belief that Europeans were superior in relation to their counterparts. This belief was used as an excuse for domination, oppression and, even worst, as a means to justify human slavery.

From, at least, the sixteenth century onwards, the use of “geohistorical identities”, also known as racial categories, have been used and revisited different times- e.g. “Kant’s ethno-racial tetragon (Africans are black, Americans are red, Asians are yellow, and Europeans are white) was the eighteenth-century version of early Spanish classifications of Moors, Jews, American Indians, black Africans, and the Chinese”²⁹. Throughout modern history, this sort of categorisation has, more often than not, privileged Europeans, or whites, in detriment of other “races”. Even during the long nineteenth century (1789-1914)³⁰, when modernity had already left its early years and most of the western nations started to prohibiting slavery (much due to the capitalist need for new markets) the generalised bias of European intelligentsia was somewhat kept unaltered. Such a biased view of the *self* and the *other* has served classic and late modern European Empires - France, United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain and Belgium- as a justification to the colonisation of African and/or Asian peoples as:

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁷ Mignolo 2011.

²⁸ Mignolo 2002, 83.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Hobsbawm 2010.

“It was Hegel (...) who declared that ‘Africa has no history’, and it was Marx who, though critical of British imperialism, concluded that the British colonisation of India was ultimately for the best because it brought India into the evolutionary narrative of Western history, thus creating the conditions for future class struggle there”³¹.

However, such a hierarchical view over human ethnicities was not an exclusive trait of European intelligentsia. What is called coloniality of thought - that is to say, the adoption of Eurocentric values and beliefs - is rather effective in the sense that even those who are considered to be lacking behind in the pursuit towards modernity collaborate to its perpetuation through the reproduction of the very aesthetics of judgment that holds them back.

On the regional level, local elites play a central role in the insertion of such aesthetics into the local communities. As they try to differentiate themselves from the people inside their borders by adopting Western cultural trends, they create a social fetishism over *modern* developments. These tendencies cease to be modern as soon as they are also embraced by the members of lower social strata – driving the same elites into seeking new *modern* cultural trends in Europe and elsewhere³². Bauman – partly – described such a scenario as the following:

“[I]n the past, as they are today, the elites of the wealthy and powerful were always more cosmopolitically inclined than the rest of the population of the lands they inhabited; at all times they tended to create a culture of their own which made little of the same borders that held fast for lesser folk; they had more in common with elites across the borders than with the rest of the population inside them”³³.

This may be one of the reasons why the nineteenth-century Latin American intelligentsia in general, with few exceptions, kept a close eye on what was happening in Europe, adopting its theories, as the hierarchical classification of peoples, even when they were of little benefit to them. This meant that the members of the local elites were, at the same time, perpetrators and subjects of ethnic-cultural prejudice and geographical

³¹ Young 1990, 2.

³² Malanski 2009.

³³ Bauman 1998b, 12.

determinism - as “Latin Americans were considered second-class Europeans who lacked the science and sophisticated history of Europe”³⁴.

Nevertheless, as we will see in the next chapters, in Brazil, such an ethnic bias, that had previously served past generations of Brazilian aristocrats of Portuguese descent as a justification to forced labour, was still reproduced, even if in a lesser magnitude, by the intellectuals of the First Republic (1889-1930). These intellectuals saw the whitening of Brazilian population as a means to the country’s development (through the belief that Brazilians of non-European descent were to blame for the country’s backwardness) and as a way to reaffirm their ethnocultural bounds with Europe³⁵. As the same bias was also present among the intelligentsia of other regions of the continent that shared a similar past of Iberian colonisation (as well as the same prejudice that led to African and Amerindian enslavement within their borders), the idea of a “Latin” America - in detriment of African-America or Indigenous-America - became increasingly accepted by the local ruling classes as an indication of the subcontinent’s ethnic-cultural connection with Europe.

Therefore, “Latin America as the name of a sub-continent became indistinguishable from the political project of the Creole elite (land-owners and plantation managers in complicity with the State) in their efforts to build nation-states out of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial ruins”³⁶. Through such a political project that privileged, for instance, European labour instead of a newly freed Afro-Brazilian working class, “the local elites (...) sought to embrace ‘modernity’ while Indigenous, Afro, and poor Mestizo peoples got poorer and more marginalized”³⁷. Hence, according to Mignolo, “the ‘idea’ of Latin America is that sad one of the elites celebrating their dreams of becoming modern while they slide deeper and deeper into the logic of coloniality”³⁸.

³⁴ Mignolo 2005a, xvii.

³⁵ Skidmore, 1974.

³⁶ Mignolo 2005b, 390.

³⁷ Mignolo 2005a, 58.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

c) Regionalism and Nationalism as parts of a power structure

Nevertheless, the gradual acculturation of peoples or societies that get into logic of coloniality - by embracing whatever comes from the colonial matrix of power as a token of modernity - is met, at the local level, by similar forms of cultural adjustment: the assimilation and/or imposition of cultural practices originating from the ruling regions and/or classes within a nation. Among these practices, one can point out the role of national or local elites in delineating a community's cultural capital³⁹ or a national government dictating to its citizens, by force or education, a given cultural model. However, one would say that the actors involved in these processes, from the individual to the national spheres, are all subjects to the influence of the age and the geopolitical context that they exist within. Therefore, at the same time that nation-states and local elites are at mercy of modernity/coloniality's logic, they are also local actors from where such a logic comes through⁴⁰.

In addition, when it comes to the case of nation-states, more specifically their role in the selection of a given narrative to become "national" in detriment of a myriad of other regional and local narratives, Anibal Quijano explains that societies are power structures as "[p]ower is what makes diverse and dispersed forms of social existence into a single, articulated totality, or a society"⁴¹.

Therefore- as "any power structure is always, partially or totally, an imposition of someone to some group upon others"⁴² - every nation-state "is both a power structure and a product of power"⁴³. Thus the triumph of a given social identity over other social identities - which is essential to the formation of an imagined group, community, society or nation-state⁴⁴ - takes place in "space of domination that has been disputed and won against rival powers"⁴⁵.

³⁹ Bourdieu 1984.

⁴⁰ Malanski 2011.

⁴¹ Quijano 2000, 222.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Anderson 2006.

⁴⁵ Quijano 2000, 223.

Regional and national identities can thus be two competing forces within the construction of a nation-state. This one of the reasons why, in the North of Africa, “national parties show[ed] no pity at all towards the caïds and the customary chiefs” as “their destruction [was] the preliminary to the unification of the people”⁴⁶. As a matter of fact, perhaps Massimo d’Azeglio was bearing in his mind what he deemed to be the incompatibility of regional and national Italian identities when he stated that “we have made Italy, now we have to make Italians”⁴⁷. In the same fashion, one would say that it was a similar understanding of the nation-state that led Polish Marshall Piłsudski to declare: “it is the state which makes the nation, not the nation the state”⁴⁸.

There are, at least, two possible outcomes of national influence over a given regional culture, its acceptance or its rejection. In the former, there is no or little reaction of local actors as they seem to be prone to embrace the national identity. This may be caused due to the fact that (a) often national identities have regional origins, this is frequently the case of the cultures originated in historical, political or economic capitals, especially from the localities from where those at the top of the power structure come from; (b) localities that originally share most of their geographical, historical and cultural traits with what is considered to be the national norm, and (c) when, after centuries of state influence over a region (through education, the consumption of cultural goods, physical imposition and so on), a particular culture dies out or becomes ghettoised in a given sector of the local society. Regardless of the socio-geographical and historical processes that may have led a local identity to be represented within the national patchwork, in the instances where the national and the local seem to coincide or be in relative harmony, these identities seem to mesh rather than compete⁴⁹.

However when the understanding of certain regional socio-cultural features is far apart from that of the imagined national norm, regionalism - as a socio-cultural phenomenon - may take place. The effects of such regionalism - that may range from the simple acknowledgement of regional difference to the utter desire towards the two identities

⁴⁶ Fanon 1965, 94.

⁴⁷ Oliven 2006a, 21.

⁴⁸ Hobsbawm 1990, 44.

⁴⁹ Connor 1972, 335.

breakaway - lie on one's discerned degree of difference between both identities as well as the socio-political and historical context in which the regional agents are in.

Therefore, regionalism - understood as "one or more of several possible sets of regional social relations, and political claims on some arm of the State"⁵⁰ - cannot be thought outside of the political context in which the modern nation-state was invented. As we will see in the following chapter, although the history of the formation of Brazil as a nation largely differs from its western counterparts, the country, as a modern nation-state, has also struggled, often resorting to physical and moral violence, to keep its different regions united, thus avoiding the same fate of other Latin American countries. On these grounds, the Brazilian socio-anthropologist Ruben Oliven affirmed that "one of the fundamental points of reference to understand regionalism is the process of national unification that accompanies the formation of the state and which, besides centralising power, has been shown to be historically contrary to the maintenance of cultural and regional diversity"⁵¹.

It would be an error, however, to believe that the development of collective identities would emerge solely from the tension between local and national influences. Even if we keep in mind only these two levels of belonging, there are competing forces in the making of national identities inasmuch as there are different identities in the contest to regional or local hegemony.

As we have previously seen, collective identities - either national or international, regional or local, and so on - can be only imagined "when and where some homogenisation of people has been accomplished on a basic level"⁵². It is in this context that Ann Markusen affirms that "the significance of a region lies in the struggles over and within it, not in the entity per se"⁵³. Therefore regionalisms are also arenas of internal struggle from where a given idea or concept regarding the local culture emerges triumphant. Hence "[l]ike nationalism, regionalism has many facets, articulating the

⁵⁰ Markusen 1983, 33.

⁵¹ Oliven 2006b, 303.

⁵² Quijano 2000, 223.

⁵³ Markusen 1983, 34.

positions of very different groups and encompassing the claims and interests of elites and masses”⁵⁴.

Regionalism, between Same-ness and Difference

What is more, as it is the case for nationalisms, regionalisms also depend on the creation of regional narratives to support the claims of a social-constructed homogeneous identity. According to Emile Benveniste, the word *region* comes from the Latin term *regio*⁵⁵, and “[it] refers to the principle of division (...) of *diacrisis* which introduces by decree a decisive discontinuity within the natural continuity (among the regions of a territory, but also between ages, genders, etc.)”⁵⁶.

On the matter, Pierre Bourdieu states that “the principle of legit division of the social world (...) is founded, as every symbolical power, over recognition - turning into existence what it states”⁵⁷. For this reason, narratives that support an imagined community - either regional or national - often resort to symbolic representations - defined by Bourdieu as *représentations objectales* (i.e. emblems, flags, insignias, etc.)⁵⁸ - as easy-accessing reminders of their essence.

Such a sort of regional representation comes to being through the materialisation of the signified, which may have a correlation with a historical narrative and/or may be of assistance on producing a new one. Either way, such signified is often based on difference; as it is difference - the contrast between lightning and the dark sky - the driving force that divides, that discontinues, the *regio* which leads to the concept of a region or anything else that can be represented.

Nevertheless, the degree of difference employed on the establishment of an “*objectal*” regional representation largely depends on the agenda behind its creation or, when there is none intended, on the subjective understanding of its architects on how this region differs from - or connects to - other territories and communities. Therefore, when – let

⁵⁴ Oliven 2006b, 303.

⁵⁵ Benveniste 1969. 14-15. *Apud.* Bourdieu 1980, 65.

⁵⁶ Bourdieu 1980, 65.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

us say - an otherwise unknown islet in a well-known touristic region of the world wants to advertise itself abroad in order to attract a good number of foreign visitors. To do it so, it would have to create an image of its own. On the one hand, such an image should not be the exact same of its neighbouring and better-known islands, as it would risk the little island to go unnoticed - its representation could hence be based on its smaller size or on the sort of singular cultural experience that the islet could provide to the visitors. On the other hand, its representation should not be too different from those of the neighbouring islands - as it could benefit from the already settled popularity of the region where its signifier lies.

However, the tension between a given degree of difference and sameness is not solely relevant when a community wants to differentiate itself from others. Nations that want to convey a more updated representation of their societies may also consider how much they want this representation to be distant from their current image - the reasoning should thus develop around which societal aspects are to be kept as they are and which should be renewed or replaced by more positive, up to date, traits. The reasoning behind the changes in a given community's image is, nonetheless, based on a series of pre-conceived ideas and values about what is considered to be desirable in a modern society.

Furthermore, modernity plays a determinant role in how often these changes in a community's image should be made. As a matter of fact, the almost-constant process of identity transformation is particularly common among modern nations due to their perpetual need of renewing their images in order to set them in accordance with their ever developing modern societies. Nonetheless, when the desired societal changes were only partly achieved, such societies may be satisfied by making local and foreign audiences believe that they have made further advances towards modernity⁵⁹. As a consequence, modernity sets both the pace in which communities should update their identities and in which direction should these updates be aimed at.

Within the discussion on identities updating processes, one may argue that tradition is the opposite force in relation to modernity, the anchor which regulates the relentless

⁵⁹ Bauman 1998a, 23.

homogenising impulses of progress. Even if it may be so that collective contemporary identities often result from the tension between tradition and progress, Ruben Oliven reminds us that, insofar social identities of regions and nation-states are concerned, “the cult towards tradition, far from being outmoded, is perfectly articulated with modernity and progress”⁶⁰. According to the author, such a synergy between the two otherwise oppositional forces is based on identity and historical grounds, as the modern nation-states need historical narratives as a means to the justification of their own existence:

“In the core of the construction of nations it is necessary to point out a real or imagined past, which would give a substance to the community designated by this political form [as a nation]. The nation that wants to be modern and free from the old religious and aristocratic social order is forced to use tradition to justify itself”⁶¹.

Therefore, Renan’s famous definition of a nation - the one which ends by explaining that communities often rely on a common past and a common plan to the future to keep existing as such - may be also used for the understanding of modern identities dynamics of representation. Within such process, traditions are often revised, giving some ground to the modern project - local traditions, however, still need to be within reach in order to assure the difference, the *regio*, that makes of the nation a single and recognisable entity. Therefore, when the identity updating process of a community is a deliberate effort, it often results in an action in which such a community negotiates its former image with a more advantageous version of it. Such updated version of the community thus generally searches the optimal balance between modernity - through the replacement of social traits that are no longer deemed beneficial in the eyes of the other - and tradition, through the maintenance of the cultural elements the architects of such a representation consider to be essential to the community’s identity.

International Mega-events: staging the nation

If the media is the message⁶², one should look closer to the arenas in which national cultures are mediated in order to understand how can they have an influence over a

⁶⁰ Oliven 2006, 28

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² McLuhan 1964.

nation's identity. Since the nineteenth-century second half, modern nations have made use of international mega-events to display their cultural heritage, their technological achievements and their advances towards modernity.

a) World Exhibitions: showcases of modernity's progress

Arguably, one of the first international events able to attract enough visitors and expositors to be considered an international "mega" event took place in London 1857. The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations⁶³, or the Crystal Palace exhibition, was a British response - of international proportions - to a series of similar events held by and to the French. These domestic events happened from 1798 to 1849 in Paris and were called *Les Expositions des Produits de l'Industrie Française*⁶⁴. After the British exhibition, however, a series of international expositions have started taking place. As a result, since the mid-nineteenth-hundreds, these international mega-events have been organised in a more or less fixed calendar. During the long nineteenth century - thus before the advent of television and the consequent enhancement of the Olympic games appeal - the world exhibitions were the most popular mega-event in the globe⁶⁵.

Therefore, taking part on it and (more importantly) hosting such an event became a matter of prestige: it was as if - during the period in which the event took place - the hosting city became the *de facto* world's capital. This motivated developed western nation-states to sponsor the hosting of such events with the nineteenth-century world powers competing to see if they could organise an even greater event than the previous one⁶⁶.

⁶³ Beaver 1970.

⁶⁴ Rapport du Jury Central sur les Produits de l'Agriculture et de l'Industrie exposés en 1849. 1850.

⁶⁵ Roche 2003, 105.

⁶⁶ The Bureau of International Expositions (BIE-Paris) has catalogued 71 internal exhibitions taking place from 1851 to 1915. Out of this number, 55 (77.4%) of the expositions were organised by an European country, 9 (12.6%) by the USA and only 7 (9.8%) exhibitions were organised by a non-North Atlantic state. The countries that held most international expositions during this period were France 16, 22.5%; the United Kingdom 10, 14%; and the United States of America 9, 12.6%.

As both modernity and world exhibits go hand in hand with the creation of the modern nation-state and its industrial development, one would say that international expositions were the ultimate expression of the modern ethos. Moreover, as the latter was also the utmost representation of the internationalisation of the capitalist system, the arena from where the advances on the means of production are intended to be advertised and often sold to the private sector, it was natural the international exhibitions were subjects of Marxist criticism. Walter Benjamin, for instance, considered the expositions to be “places of pilgrimage to the commodity fetish”⁶⁷ that “glorify the exchange value of commodity”⁶⁸.

A similar critic over this type of event was made by Sandra Pesavento: as for her “the universal expositions would not just be the edge of the spear for the internationalisation of capitalism as a system, as they would also materialise the universal dimension of the bourgeois imaginary”⁶⁹. What is more, still according to Pesavento, international exhibitions have an utopian nature as, on the one hand, they “seek to convey values and ideas, such as solidarity among nations and harmony among classes, belief in unlimited progress, and confidence in men’s potentialities in the control of nature, faith in the virtue of reason and in the positive character of machines”⁷⁰. While, on the other hand, they also “seek to conceal the exploitation of men by men, the imperialist competition between nations and the process of the worker submission to the machine”⁷¹.

The essence of the international expositions criticism made by Walter Benjamin and Sandra Pesavento show that this type of mega-event does not solely epitomise the long nineteenth-century *Geist der Zeit* (the global expansion of the modern project) but also works as the agent of the economic system in which modernity finds its best fit. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels themselves were harsh critics of the bourgeois character of the world exhibits⁷². For them, the 1851 Crystal Palace exhibition was “a striking proof of the concentrated power with which modern large-scale industry [was] everywhere

⁶⁷ Benjamin 1969, 169.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 170.

⁶⁹ Pesavento 1997, 15.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Marx and Engels 1850.

demolishing national barriers and increasingly blurring local peculiarities of production, society and national character among all peoples”⁷³.

Although Karl Marx understood the world exhibits as the expression of large-scale industry development which lead to the acculturation processes of local industries and societies, his main concern about this type of event laid on the fact that the exhibit was designed by and for the modern bourgeois society, wishing that “in a future exhibition the bourgeoisie will perhaps no longer figure as the owners of these productive forces but only as their ciceroni”⁷⁴.

Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to contextualise world exhibits solely to capitalism and class struggle. As modern mega-events, these expositions transcended economic systems, working as “international stages and areas for the display of current versions and ideals of international world order, that is of national identities and differences in a transient context of relatively peaceful coexistence and of common absorption in the ideals of the ‘progress of Western civilisation’”⁷⁵.

Moreover, according to the British historian Timothy Mitchell, the exhibitions, as the both the product and the paramount representation of the epoch in which they take place, had to have a colonial nature as “the age of the exhibition was necessarily the colonial age, the age of world economy and global power in which we live, since what was to be rendered as exhibit was realty, the world itself”⁷⁶.

b) International Expositions in a Latin American context

Within a Latin American context, the expositions worked as a showcase of what was considered to be modern: a means to the understanding of modern cultures customs, their fashion, their etiquette and the efficiency of their industry. More than that, it served the Latin American elites as the perfect platform to expose their advances towards modernity, seeking recognition of other modern nations’ elites in the hope of

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Roche 2003, 198.

⁷⁶ Mitchell 1988, 13.

being considered their equals. In this regard, for Latin American nations, world exhibits epitomised their modern dream as “modernity and technology were obsessions to part of the enlightened elite of Latin America”⁷⁷. After all, most of the Latin American nations became independent during the long nineteenth-century, a period in which “[a] Latin American goal and dream was built, so to speak: to be modern, to participate in the route of progress, to become a great nation, to undo the image of the tropical exoticism of backwardness and inertia”⁷⁸.

There was, however, a conflict of interest on the image that Latin American nations were to display in these mega-events. If on the one hand, the Latin American bourgeoisie wished to be recognised as a constituent part of a western elite, being tempted to emphasise the societal and technological national advances towards a European pattern of development, on the other hand, the expo presented an strategic opportunity to the attraction of foreign investors and European immigrants. This meant that Latin American elites needed also to display their countries’ proximity to raw nature, their own underdevelopment, and relative technological backwardness, in order to portray the region as a land of opportunities, with enormous potential - only lacking European arms and capital to flourish as a sound modern society.

c) The exhibition as a surrogate to reality

Nonetheless, other than being arenas from where modern bourgeoisies could celebrate their advances towards modernity and/or present their lands as prosperous sources of raw materials, international expos also helped to create a pictorial image of the world that would serve these very bourgeoisies (or modern elites) as a reference model from where they could make sense and (re)produce meaning out of an otherwise chaotic reality. The French Historian Madeleine Rébérioux argued that “[t]he expo is indeed one of the highest order creators of mental representations and collective imaginaries”⁷⁹, whereas Karl Marx said that “[man] raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality”⁸⁰. These two sentences combined well explain the

⁷⁷ Pesavento 1997, 16

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Rébérioux 1979, 3.

⁸⁰ Marx 1977, 456. *Apud.* Mitchell 1988, 21.

idealisation and the reproduction of certain clichés on the epitomisation of different localities and societies in the Expos as well as the social relevance of the replication of such clichés in world exhibits.

Mitchell argues that the issue is intensified when the international expos' visitor does not have enough previous experiences regarding a given locality - or the awareness of the fact that what he is seeing is simply a subjective representation of its original. To him, in the world exhibitions, “[e]verything was arranged before an observing subject into a system of signification (...), declaring itself to be the signifier of a signified”⁸¹. Thus, in oversimplifying complex structures as nation-states, cities, societies, and peoples, the expos created an orderly and easily-accessed way of perceiving the world outside.

As a result, the world exhibits— alongside with the popularisation of the means of rearranging (and consuming) reality into a better-organised and linear illustration of it (i.e. photography, travel magazines, encyclopaedias and so on) — assisted in the creation of modern sort of tourist: the one that sought “the real” as the *in loco* and lively recurrence of his first contact with its reproduction. That is why often for European visitors that had previously seen the representation of Egypt in a Parisian exhibition, to later go to Cairo, would have the feeling that “[n]othing encountered in those Oriental streets quite matched up to the reality they had seen represented in Paris”⁸².

Furthermore, as a means to illustrate modern (wo)men's constant need for the organisation of their impressions - about someone or something - into a pictorial order, Mitchell uses the anecdotal experience of French author Gustave Flaubert in the streets of Cairo:

“So here we are in Egypt', wrote Gustave Flaubert, in a letter from Cairo in January 1850. 'What can I say about it all? What can I write you? As yet I am scarcely over the initial bedazzlement ... each detail reaches out to grip you; it pinches you; and the more you concentrate on it the less you grasp the whole. Then gradually all this becomes harmonious and the pieces fall into place of themselves, in accordance with the laws of perspective. But the first days, by

⁸¹ Mitchell 1988, 12.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 29.

God, it is such a bewildering chaos of colours ...' Flaubert experiences Cairo as a visual turmoil. At first it is indescribable, except as disorder. What can he write about the place? That it is a chaos of colour and detail, which refuses to compose itself as a picture. The disorienting experience of a Cairo street, in other words, with its arguments in unknown languages, strangers who brush past in strange clothes, unusual colours, and unfamiliar sounds and smells, is expressed as an absence of pictorial order.”⁸³

After commenting about Flaubert’s initial confusion with his “real” experience on Cairene streets, Mitchell goes on with his attempt to understand what would be the cause of similar reactions on other nineteenth-century Europeans that would also have ventured themselves on getting to know those places which they had previously seen represented elsewhere:

“Although they thought of themselves as moving from the pictures to the real thing, they went on trying - like Flaubert - to grasp the real thing as a picture. How could they do otherwise, since they took reality itself to be a picture? The real is grasped in terms of a distinction between a picture and what it represents, so nothing else would have been, quite literally, thinkable. Brought up within what they thought of as a representational world, they took representation to be a universal condition.”⁸⁴

This would explain modern tourists need, which persists nowadays, to search for visual experiences similar to those “raised in the imagination”⁸⁵. That is, a foreign visitor in Rio de Janeiro, for instance, would not only feel a socially constructed impulse to see the Sugarloaf, Christ the Redeemer and Copacabana, but would also want to see, and photograph, these attractions through a similar angle from the pictures that he had previously seen. Thus, as he carefully plans what he wants to see and how he wants to see them, in many ways, his trip had already started before he left home as the representation preceded the real both in a chronological order and in terms of importance. Therefore, “the so-called real world 'outside' is something experienced and grasped only as a series of further representations, an extended exhibition”⁸⁶.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁸⁶ Mitchell 1988, 29.

Finally, one should not overlook the actors behind the organisation of world exhibits, their agenda as well as their subjectivity. About this matter, Catherine Bertho-Lavenir reminds us of the role of nation-states as collective entities behind “the symbolic elaboration and transmission of everything related to the narrative of a common future. [Such as] flags, hymns and ceremonies, the education of history and the sculpture of statues, the making of monuments and the organisation of exhibitions, thus contributing to the creation of a collective imaginary”⁸⁷, meaning that nation-states are generally driven forces that foster the creation of multifold mega-narratives of normative character; and that the international expositions are one of the channels that help on conveying such narratives, giving shape to the nation as collective project and assuring its sustainability⁸⁸. As a result, the narratives presented by the representations of nation-states in world exhibitions are often one-sided, being more committed to the further development of a positive national narrative than with the portrait of a potentially unfavourable reality.

Furthermore, whereas Bertho-Lavenir aims at the nation-state, Robert Rydell focuses in the subjectivity of the individual, which is largely influenced by the social group which he belongs, to explain the biased character of the content found in these exhibits. According to him “[i]f one function of the expositions was to make the social world comprehensible, the directors of the fairs attempted to organize the direction of society from a particular class perspective. These events were triumphs of hegemony as well as symbolic edifices”⁸⁹.

One of the possible readings of Rydell’s sentence is thus that world exhibits were often the embodiment of white western privileged-class men views over the world. Consequently, international expositions, as western means to the display of worldly representations, influenced by individual and collective biases, created a distorted image of the *Orient*⁹⁰ inasmuch as they did so with *Latin America*⁹² and, by the same token, Brazil.

⁸⁷ Bertho-Lavenir 2008, 42.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Rydell 1984, 2.

⁹⁰ Said 2003.

⁹¹ Mitchell 1988, 32.

⁹² Mignolo 2005a.

The Olympics, a modern *Neo-tradition* with classical roots.

If, in the nineteenth-century, Universal Expos began the era of modern mega-events of global reach as means to the exposure of nationalistic narratives and undoubtedly became the world's main events of the genre - in the twentieth century - such a prominent position was gradually matched and, later, surpassed by the modern Olympic games. As the creation and further development of the two events were envisioned and fostered by the members of the European elites of the *dix-neuvième*, it was natural that both events shared several similarities on their narratives and social meaning.

Among their similar traits, one could point out that World Exhibits and Olympic games are both international arenas from where modern nation-states can display their nationalistic narratives and thus strengthen their national identities. Moreover, one could also say that these events are organised in a way that global leading powers can peacefully compete against one another in order to receive the biggest amount of medals, as well as places where these global powers could show their upper-hand over “underdeveloped” nations by excelling in events which were previously designed by the “developed” nations.

A further similarity of these two events lies in their narratives, both deeply influenced by the *Geist der Zeit* of their epoch and by the *Weltanschauung* of their architects. In that respect, Sociology professor Maurice Roche is among those who share the understanding that Universal Expos and the Olympic movement “continue this tradition, typically developing and promoting their events using an idealistic discourse of universalistic and humanitarian values (...) derived from the Enlightenment and nineteenth-century ‘progress’ worldviews”⁹³.

In terms of narrative, however, differently than the Expos, the Olympics' architects have searched into the classical antiquity a historical narrative to justify its existence as a western tradition of global significance. Therefore, whereas both Expos and Olympics had their narratives based on the idea that the events were catalysers of human

⁹³ Roche 2003, 198.

development and progress, leading humanity to a better *future*, the latter connected its narrative to the classical *past*, thus working as a meta-narrative to western historiography in which is based the very principle of *Renaissance* due to the anthropocentric shift in Europe (i.e. the rebirth of western civilisation from the dark ages). The Olympic movement has thus attempted “to establish continuity with a suitable historic past”⁹⁴ for the games’ narrative, making of the Olympics a modern invented tradition⁹⁵, or neo-tradition.

Such a narrative to the modern Olympics neo-tradition has not come about *ex nihilo*. In the 1890s, the Baron Pierre de Coubertin, considered to be the father of modern Olympics, was a “young man from the élite classes [who] could not ignore the ancient roots of civilisation”⁹⁶. For several years prior to his famous 1894’s speech⁹⁷, the Baron had unsuccessfully tried to implement physical education in French schools, as he had a favourable experience with its adoption in English institutions⁹⁸. His drive to do it so came out of the classical belief that “the successful development of physical qualities generally produces a happy equilibrium in the moral domain. *Mens sana in corpore sano*”⁹⁹. Such a belief was not unorthodox at the time since “an Olympic Zeitgeist certainly existed in philhellenic Europe, which had a strong influence on de Coubertin”¹⁰⁰.

In spite of de Coubertin’s first failures in convincing the French education ministry to adopt physical education as part of the French school’s curricula, he did not give up of his objective and kept on travelling to different countries, such as the United States and Greece, in order to gather further political and financial support as well as supplementary evidences on the benefits of sport education¹⁰¹.

⁹⁴ Hobsbawm and Ranger 2013, 1.

⁹⁵ Hobsbawm and Ranger 2013.

⁹⁶ Clastres 2010, 9.

⁹⁷ De Coubertin’s speech in 1894 at La Sorbonne is largely understood as the foundation mark of the modern Olympic movement. See Clastres 2010, MacAloon 1981.

⁹⁸ MacAloon 1981, 52-70.

⁹⁹ Coubertin 1887, 642. *Apud.* MacAloon 1981, 81.

¹⁰⁰ Clastres 2010, 11.

¹⁰¹ MacAloon 1981.

Nonetheless, de Coubertin's fortune seemed to have changed when he got in touch with the ideals of the ancient Olympic games and modern attempts at reviving it in Greece¹⁰². The young aristocrat thus realised that he could use the Olympics revival as his champion for advertisement of the importance of physical education, making of the revival of Ancient Greece sports traditions not solely a valuable opportunity to build a narrative to the implementation of physical education in France but also a means to the development of sportsmanlike principles over the Western world.

a) Olympics and the *West*: a Janus-faced rhetoric

As a result, Pierre de Coubertin and other members of the recently established International Olympic Committee (IOC), ended up by building an effective narrative, which fitted well the *Geist der Zeit* of the nineteenth-century and their peers' worldviews, to convince heads of state and Expo organisers to support the games as a sports event of international scale. Therefore, the IOC made use of the modern European narrative of history - which finds its philosophical embodiment on the Hegelian narrative of the world spirit (*Weltgeist*)¹⁰³ - as justification to give continuity to an otherwise ancient Greek tradition which had not been practised for two millennia¹⁰⁴.

In a nutshell, the aforesaid historical account is namely the one which views modern Western civilisation as the natural development of Ancient Greece and identifies the anthropocentric shift in fifteenth-century Europe as the spark that took the continent, and the world, out of the dark ages and set it into modern times. This narrative sees history as the coherent and rational development of the spirit as it governs "the rise and fall of nations"¹⁰⁵. Within this narrative, Western Europe was thus the nineteenth-century recipient of the spirit, which once appeared in Greece and then Rome, and - as such - had a civilising mission with regard to the rest of the globe.

¹⁰² Clastres 2010, 11.

¹⁰³ Hegel 2001.

¹⁰⁴ Ruprecht 2008, 75.

¹⁰⁵ Inwood 1992, 274.

Therefore, the Olympics, was created as a modern neo-tradition that mirrored the Hegelian narrative of intercultural transition towards development - where the spirit goes from one people to another in order to continue to evolve itself towards civilisation and human self-awareness¹⁰⁶ - in a variety of ways: (i) *meta-narratively*, by seeking in the past a prerogative to its existence in the present; (ii) *constituently*, by the origin of the competitive sports that were originally included in the event and the contribution that each host nations could make to the programme; (iii) *historical branding*, by the games periodicity and the spontaneous link which is made between a given host nation and the year in which the Olympics took place within a given nation-state borders; by asserting itself as a means to achieve an (iv) *utopian* definitive destination to all humanity; (v) *physically*, by the sporadic attraction of worldwide athletes and sports' audiences to the place where the games take place, by its (vi) *media appeal*, by the increase of the international attention given to the host city and nation during the event; (vii) *ritualistic*, by the Olympic torch relay allegory and the Olympic ceremonies depicting the host nation spirit; and, finally, by its (viii) *modernity-driven* aspect, the importance that hosting the games may have to a nation's reputation as a developed and/or world leading country.

As we have previously seen, the modern Olympic games narrative can be considered as a (i) meta-narrative of Hegel's spirit because, similarly to the *Weltgeist*, the Olympics made its way from Greece to Modern Europe. The Olympic games are said to have their first incarnation in Ancient Greece. Then, the Olympics had a second revival (776 BC to 393 AD) in classical Greece – even though a part of this second incarnation has taken place under the Roman rule on the Peloponnesus - until its prohibition in 393 AD as part of Theodosius I imposition of Christianity as a state religion in Rome¹⁰⁷. “After an eclipse of centuries”¹⁰⁸, the Olympics were then finally revived in modern Europe as a result of the anthropocentric shift caused by the Enlightenment and further developed by the modern project.

The idea that the modern Olympics were inspired by, and represented a revival of, the ancient Olympics served as a natural justification for its existence in the modern world.

¹⁰⁶ Hegel 2001.

¹⁰⁷ Ruprecht 2008, 75.

¹⁰⁸ De Coubertin 1894.

Moreover, the importance that the games had in Classical Greece as well as Coubertin's claims that "corporal qualities have been discredited since the Middle Ages"¹⁰⁹ worked as prerogative to its existence in the present as an aftermath - and a symbol of - the Enlightenment's anthropocentric shift and as an expression of the idea of continuity, linking classical tradition to modern world.

Therefore, the connection between classic and modern intellectual traditions - or the connections and ruptures between what Western historiography considers to be the great cultures of the past and future as means of human evolution - is precisely one of the main characteristics of the narrative of the *spirit*. The Olympics, as a neo-tradition created under the modern *Geist der Zeit*, also encapsulates such mentality.

As a matter of fact, Hogan is one of the authors who understood the Olympic tradition as a meta-narrative for modernity: "from the beginning of the modern Olympic movement, Olympic rhetoric has been Janus-faced, gazing both back in time to ancient Greece, long constructed as an exemplar of Western culture, learning, and the arts and forward in time to a world of change and progress"¹¹⁰.

A further example of the "Janus-faced rhetoric" of the games, that is in line with the Hegelian narrative of the *Spirit* development from one age after another, from a nation to the next, manifests itself in the origins of the (ii) constituent sports within the original Olympic programme and the further inclusion of other sports by the subsequent Olympic hosts. Prior to the first games held in Athens in 1896, Pierre de Coubertin was not particularly interested in ancient Greek sports. He, nonetheless, has added a few ancient Greek sports into the original programme due to the influence of the Greek delegates on the IOC¹¹¹. That is because, according to Clastres, Coubertin "favoured noble arts (fencing, riding) and sports that originated from England in the 19th century with their own established regulations such as rowing, boxing, running, football-rugby, tennis and yachting"¹¹².

¹⁰⁹ Clastres 2010, 21.

¹¹⁰ Hogan 2003, 104.

¹¹¹ Clastres 2004.

¹¹² Clastres 2010, 11.

Nevertheless, in the search for the modernisation of the games also in its constituent sports, de Coubertin - on the one hand - privileged the modern over classical ones, mirroring the idea of evolution of the spirit, while - on the other hand - he also privileged the already established sports of the nineteenth century imperial powers instead of seeking a more balanced programme, which would encompass the physical activities originated within other contemporary cultures. As a consequence, the latter resulted in the further enhancement of western European sports prestige - leading the so-called Olympic sports to a boost of popularity among the world's elites.

Until Barcelona 1992¹¹³, hosting countries had the opportunity to suggest a sport to be included in the original Olympic programme through the appointment of a *demonstration sport* (events without official medals status) that could eventually make to the Olympic official programme¹¹⁴. Nevertheless, this method of including a popular national sport in the event was just possible if a given nation was to host the games in the first place. Therefore, for most of the Modern Olympics history, once a country satisfactorily covered most of the IOC's Olympic hosting criteria and was awarded the games, this country was also entitled to make its own contribution to the event's calendar, collaborating to the development of the games.

What is more, the games have a (iii) historical characteristic due to their periodicity, the Olympiad. Roche explains that the four-year interval between each game generates a time-structure that is experienced as a time-marker "among individuals and groups in a more substantial way than is possible with routine, and even than is possible with rituals"¹¹⁵. In addition, the Olympiad dialogues with the narrative of the *Spirit* development insofar as it establishes a natural link between a particular year and a given Olympic host (I.e. Barcelona 1992, Beijing 2008 and so on). By doing so, a socially constructed representation of a given people's *Volksgeist* – which is to be displayed through the Olympic ceremonies and the events' marketing material - works as a historical milestone within the western historical narrative.

¹¹³ The Guardian. *The Joy of Six: Olympic demonstration sport sports*. Available at <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2016/aug/01/the-joy-of-six-olympic-demonstration-sports>. Accessed on January 22, 2019.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Roche 2003, 222.

Within such a narrative, the games may also work as a representation of the current international socio-political moment, capturing the *Geist der Zeit* of an epoch. This can be exemplified by the Olympics in Berlin 1936 - when the world was in the verge of a second world war caused by the popular and military advances of ultranationalist regimes - as well as those of Moscow 1980 and Los Angeles 1984, when the Soviet Union and the United States of America have boycotted one another's Olympics due to their socio-political divergences during the Cold War.

A further *Hegelian* historical aspect of the Olympics lies on Coubertin's understanding that the games were the "quadrennial celebration of the springtime of human life and do honour to the coming of age of each successive generation of men"¹¹⁶. Each Olympic Games edition should thus present the world with a new generation of talented young adults, as a means to the celebration of such generation, which was responsible for the "immediate future and the smooth bridging of the gap between future and past"¹¹⁷. Therefore, the Olympics is intended to leave its mark on the *Geist der Zeit* of different epochs insofar it pays tribute to different generations of men.

Furthermore, many of the (vii) ritual practices within the games also seem to have been inspired by modern historiography as well as the Hegelian narrative of the *Spirit*. A good example of the reproduction of such narratives is the modern Olympic torch relay allegory - implemented in Berlin 1936 under the *Geist der Zeit* of ultranationalism in Europe - in which a flame is ritualistically lit by the sun in the ruins of Ancient Olympia and then taken to the Olympic hosting nation to ignite the Olympic cauldron.

One may find further similarities between the developments of the Olympic torch ceremony and Hegel's *Weltgeist* on (a) the torch being lit by the sun, "as if there was a continuity between men's microcosms and the universe macrocosms"¹¹⁸; (b) the image of light been taken from Ancient Olympia ruins (which also symbolises Ancient Greece as a whole) to the nation where the Olympics are been held as well as the torch relay along the way between the two places, symbolising the long path travelled by the spirit

¹¹⁶ Coubertin 1956, 53.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹¹⁸ Fernández Peña and Ramajo Hernandez 2014, 712.

from the centre of the classical world to the current instalment of the centre of the modern one, where the Olympics are to be held; and (c) the particular design of the torch and the caldron, the spirit's new recipients, reflecting the cultural heritage of the people whose nation is hosting the event.

b) The host country as the temporary centre of the modern world

The (v) physical, or socio-geographical, and (vi) mediatized aspects of the Olympics that reflect the *Spirit* narrative lie on the international importance that the city receives during the days that the competition takes place. Since its inception and the IOC invitation to “all the civilized peoples who claim to have roots in antique Greece to participate in the revived games”¹¹⁹, the modern Olympics only made sense with the participation of the international community (increasingly so throughout the twentieth-century and the subsequent engagement of non-Western nations within the Olympic movement). At every new Olympiad, a new city is traditionally chosen to host a new edition of the mega-event. For a few weeks, this city plays the role of a modern Olympia and, during this period, it (v) physically becomes the *de facto* centre of the planet by receiving world-level athletes, chief of states and tourists from around the globe.

The worldwide attention that the Olympic hosts attract before, during and after the mega-event takes place is used and catalysed by the new technologies of (vi) media. Already before the start of the competition, events that are only indirectly linked to the Olympics taking place in the city tend to have a boost in the international attention they receive¹²⁰. Furthermore, “in the medium and longer term, the communication process may be extended as the host becomes an ‘Olympic city’, the Olympics becoming part of its identity”¹²¹.

Moreover, nowadays - with the current media technologies which are available - it is estimated that close to a billion people watch the event opening ceremony and, as for Beijing 2008, 4.3 billion people (or about 63% of world's population) were capable of

¹¹⁹ Pierre de Coubertin *Apud*. Clastres 2010, 18.

¹²⁰ IOC 2009.

¹²¹ Moragas i Spá and Kennet 2005, 3.

doing so¹²². Such enhanced visibility has catalysed the global attention that is given to the host city during the competition days and has changed the ways in which the Olympics are designed and advertised¹²³ as well as the ceremonies aesthetics within mega-events, which have become more spectacular and visually-oriented¹²⁴.

For that reason, since Berlin 1936, the first Olympics to be recorded on video, and Tokyo 1964, the first time the games were broadcasted via satellite¹²⁵, the ceremonies within this mega-event have become increasingly mediatised, expensive and elaborated as the host nations see the Olympics as a singular opportunity to display their civilisation, cultural heritage and show a somewhat biased and vivid image of their *Volksgeist* to the global community. Even more so in the eighties when the USSR and the USA hosted the 1980 and 1984 games respectively: “fueled by Cold War rivalry throughout the 1970s and the 1980s, made-for-television Olympic ceremonies became a major source of audience figures, justifying the investments of the television industry and the main sponsors of the Olympics”¹²⁶.

Therefore, from inception of the Olympic opening ceremonies to nowadays, the host countries have increasingly shown their interest on utilising the occasion not solely to present global audiences with the representation of their nation’s idealised identities - focusing mostly in what they considered to be positive traits of such identities - but also as a means of displaying their previous and/or potential contributions to the world and the modern civilisatory project.

As an example of such agenda on the contemporary Olympic opening ceremonies can be found on the ceremonies of the last two games prior to Rio 2016. If one looks at the ceremonies of both Beijing 2008 and London 2012, one will notice that their openings have made references to their respective country’s past and *Volksgeist* as a means to advertise their nations’ importance within the global scene as well as their own perceptions of modernity.

¹²² IOC 2009.

¹²³ Fernández Peña and Ramajo Hernández 2014.

¹²⁴ Bertho-Lavenir 2012, 722.

¹²⁵ Fernández Peña 2016, 96.

¹²⁶ Tomlinson 1996, 585.

Therefore, in the former, the Chinese government has arguably used the opening ceremony to “showcase its achievements under the ‘socialism with Chinese characteristics’ to the rest of the world”¹²⁷; whereas in the latter, the British made a diplomatic choice by omitting a large share of its stern imperial past¹²⁸ to instead focus on their long-last leading position vis-à-vis the modern project and western popular culture.

As a result, the British presentation made reference to “Victorian industrialists and the industrial revolution, Shakespeare and the two world wars, the Beatles”¹²⁹ as well as their role on the dawn of the digital age (through the advent of the Internet) as a means to highlight their importance on different periods of modern history.

Thus, as the games “are a special kind of time-structuring institution in modernity”¹³⁰ every so often, the hosting countries are tempted to use Olympic ceremonies to address their nations in relation to the narrative of the development of a modern civilization. As a result, to give a few examples, since the advent for made-for-tv ceremonies, some countries have represented themselves as direct inheritors of the classical civilisations of Rome and Greece, as in Athens-2004¹³¹ and Barcelona-1992¹³²; as modern recipients of the *world spirit*¹³³, as in Los Angeles-1984 and London-2012; or even as ancient/emergent superpowers, as in Beijing-2008¹³⁴. Hence, hosting countries typically make use of the occasion as a means to showcase their contributions to the global society and to the modern project¹³⁵.

c) The path to a perpetual global truce and the games’ allure to emergent nations

Furthermore, it is precisely in the display of different Olympic hosts’ cultures that the games narrative dialogues with the (iv) utopian concept of the *Absolute Spirit*. On his

¹²⁷ Cui 2013, 1221.

¹²⁸ Oettler 2015, 244.

¹²⁹ Winter 2013, 4.

¹³⁰ Roche 2003, 102.

¹³¹ Traganou 2010.

¹³² Moragas i Spá, Rivenburgh and Latson *et al.* 1995, 185.

¹³³ Hegel 2001.

¹³⁴ Gong 2012.

¹³⁵ Roche 2000.

book *Fundamentals of the Philosophy of Modern Olympics* (written in 1935), Coubertin expressed his wish “that History will come to take a dominant place beside poetry in the intellectual activities organised in connection with the games, whenever they are celebrated”¹³⁶.

For the father of the modern Olympics, the display of historical narratives on the nation-states involved in the mega-events was thus a natural development of the games, “since the Olympic Games and all that concerns them belong to History”¹³⁷. His wishes were somewhat fulfilled in so far the opening and closing ceremonies - even more so after the advent of via satellite television - have been increasingly designed to present a historical account of the hosting nation and the formation of its cultural heritage.

Nonetheless, the role of history within the “intellectual activities organised in connection with the games” was a means rather than an end. The Baron believed that a better knowledge of different nations’ historical backgrounds would lead humanity towards a sort of perpetual Olympic truce - or “a true and lasting peace”¹³⁸, as - according to his understanding - before the nations can “esteem one another, they must first get to know one another”¹³⁹.

Thus, the potential role that the games could play in the formation of a world consciousness would be a valuable means to the formation of an ideal international society. Hence whereas Hegel believed that the alternation among different civilisations as the recipients of the *Spirit* would assist mankind in the historical development of a universal knowledge leading to an utter human self-awareness; for De Coubertin, the interchanging among different Olympic hosting countries would lead mankind to a better understanding of international and local histories alike. This would guide humanity to the acceptance of different peoples’ cultures and enduring world peace. In other words, the games would foster human self-awareness and this, in turn, would lead mankind to a permanent state of amity.

¹³⁶ Coubertin 1956, 54.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

Finally, the Olympic games play a symbolical and practical role in the development of the Hegel's narrative of the *Spirit* towards western (viii) modernity. According to Hegel, one of the essential aspects necessary to the full development of the *Spirit* was its transition from one people to the next. The same is true when it comes to the Olympic hosting and its relationship with modernity. Therefore, understanding the Olympic/modernity relation within a Hegelian narrative of World-Spirit (*Weltgeist*) may be a way to the understanding of one among the reasons why nations usually take pride on hosting the event and the Olympics significance to emergent countries.

As we have seen before, the invitation to the first Olympic games of the modern era was sent to "all the civilized peoples who claim to have roots in antique Greece"¹⁴⁰. In 1896, such an invitation was both an appeal and a flattery - but it nonetheless effectively meant that only western nations (i.e. those nations from Europe that directly inherit the spirit from Greece or those overseas nations - with a recognised European ancestry and cultural values - which were thus, at least indirectly, touched by the spirit) were to participate in the event.

Even if in the subsequent Olympics the invitation was extended to non-Western nations - in accordance to the Olympic principle of equality among different peoples and the intention to include all the world nations in the games, expressed by the creation of the Olympic flag in 1914 – until Tokyo 1964 the games had only being hosted by modern Western societies, which, within Hegel's spirit discourse, could be considered modern recipients of the *World Spirit*.

Nonetheless, even after 1964, when non-Western nations were granted the hosting of the games, they did it so because they were, in their vast majority, considered by the IOC to have achieved a sufficient degree of modernity or have undeniably become important global players, enabling them to become part of the selective group of countries in which the Olympics have taken place.

That is because in every Olympiad the International Olympic Committee (IOC) chooses a nation to host the games based on her degree of (western) development, measured by

¹⁴⁰ Clastres 2010, 18.

a series of criteria such as finance, general infrastructure, and experience from past sport events; her willingness and her readiness to receive the mega-event; and/or her current (or even future) perceived importance within the world scene.

Although such selection is made on the basis of characteristics the IOC understands to be essential to the success of the event, on the symbolic level, the Olympic hosting is generally perceived - and, sometimes, public displayed - as a recognition of a given nation importance within the global arena and/or as a token that prizes the social and economic advances of a nation towards modernity.

Therefore, these two views over the meaning of hosting the Olympics - namely the games hosting as a confirmation of a given country importance within the global arena and/or as a sign of the western society recognition of a given nation development - may be the reason why emergent countries are keen to host the event.

The Olympics symbolise a given nation's success in their enterprise towards its modernisation and international influence. Consequently, as “emerging states, including the BRICS countries, attempting to wield soft power through hosting the Olympic Games only stand a chance of success to the extent that their modernities are consistent with a neoliberal paradigm of development”¹⁴¹, the prospect of hosting the Olympics can be also seen as a catalyst to the further embracing of the current model of socio-economic modernity.

Lastly, for Hegel, the world was divided two sorts of nations: those that can influence and further develop the *Weltgeist* or world history; and those where the spirit is absent, which did not have any role to play in the development of “civilisation” or human history.

The modern Olympics hosting - as a “prize” given to the nations which have achieved (or have emulated the achievement of) a high level of socio-economic development, modernity and/or a fair amount of influence within the global arena – is thus a rite of

¹⁴¹ Grix and Kramareva 2015, 3.

passage¹⁴² for emergent nations that want to move from the latter to the former group on the eyes of the global community.

In this sense, the representation of a nation's culture, history and folklore during the Olympic opening and closing ceremonies would be a way to imprint this nation *Volksgeist* within the western imaginary, thus contributing to the development of the world-spirit, civilisation, and human self-awareness. In other words, the staging of Olympic ceremonies provides the hosting country with an unique opportunity of presenting its own version of local and global history, re-fashioning modernity itself in so far the content of these ceremonies are generally in accordance with the political agenda of the hosting nations.

Many authors have written about the political, social and cultural importance of the national symbolism presented by Olympic ceremonies. Hogan¹⁴³ has examined notions of gender and ethnicity on the construction of Japaneseness, Australianness and Americanness through the analysis of the Nagano 1998, Sydney 2000 and Salt Lake City 2002, respectively. Chwen Chwen, Colapinto and Luo¹⁴⁴ have studied the 2008 Beijing opening ceremony to understand how Chinese traditional cultural values – based on Confucian principles of harmony – were displayed during the event. Other examples of how Olympic ceremonies were used to convey notions of national identities and to put forward socio-political agendas can be found in Traganou¹⁴⁵, Brownell¹⁴⁶ and Persson and Petersson¹⁴⁷.

What is more, the Olympic games work as agents of modernity in as much as they grant international prestige to host nations. As we have seen, this is made through the very idiosyncrasies in the hosts' selection process, which privileges countries capable of showing a high level of (western) development. As a result, the IOC typically prizes nations that seem to have made sensible advances towards modernity in recent years, whether following a capitalist agenda or not.

¹⁴² Van Gennep 1981.

¹⁴³ Hogan 2003.

¹⁴⁴ Chwen Chwen, Colapinto and Luo 2012.

¹⁴⁵ Traganou 2010.

¹⁴⁶ Brownell 2013.

¹⁴⁷ Persson and Petersson 2014.

For this reason, hosting the Olympics became a matter of national pride in so far it grants to the hosting country the international status of “modern state” granting its inclusion in the hall of nations that already held the event, thus making them be perceived as contemporary recipients for the further development of human self-awareness.

To conclude our discussion on the perception that the revival of the modern Olympics was closely attached to the Hegelian narrative of the *Spirit*, one might say that both the narrative of the *Weltgeist* and the one used to the modern Olympics establishment as a global phenomenon originated from the belief that western civilisation, as a representative of all mankind, achieved an elevated degree of development in Greece, and that western modernity would be the natural continuity of such development.

Such an idea leads to the understanding that “global history, as told by Hegel, is ‘the history’ of all the inhabitants of the planet regardless their language or their sets of beliefs”¹⁴⁸, which, in turn, supports the view that modernity is an unavoidable global process for the general benefit of mankind that will eventually lead all humanity to a utopian state of existence, establishing thus the western European model of civilisation as the only desirable alternative to different societies around the globe.

Since its invention as a modern neo-tradition with classical roots (in the 1890s), the Olympics of the modern era have made use of a narrative akin to that of the *Spirit* to come into being, to expand its global popularity, as well as to create its rituals and its sportive programme.

Assuming that the contents of Hegel’s *Phenomenology of the Spirit* (1807)¹⁴⁹ and *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History* (1837)¹⁵⁰ were both unbeknownst to De Coubertin and his peers, one may attribute these similarities between Hegel’s *Weltgeist* and the narrative on which the modern Olympics were based on the nineteenth-century European elites’ *Weltanschauung*. The very success of the Olympic games as the most

¹⁴⁸ Mignolo 2008, 42.

¹⁴⁹ Hegel 2018.

¹⁵⁰ Hegel 1980.

prestigious sports event of the modern era can be largely ascribed to such modern ethos inasmuch as the games materialised onto a mega-event of global proportions the belief that the future of humanity lies on the further development and spread of western civilisation traditions and values.

Football and Collective Identities

At the beginning of the 20th century, only a few decades after the revival of the modern Olympics, football - a sport which was “primarily played by English private school students”¹⁵¹ - has become the world’s most popular “with help of colonialism”¹⁵². However, it was not solely the British Empire influence over the rest of the globe that made football achieve the popularity that it has nowadays. An aficionado of the sport may name different characteristics inherent to football that may have made the game surpass in popularity and viewership any other sport of British origin or otherwise: among them, its rather accessible set of rules as well as the inexpensiveness of the required equipment for its practice.

a) Football fandom and the feeling of belonging

Nevertheless, according to Von Scheve *et al.*, football has the strong capability of making the members of a given community experience “a feeling of belonging and togetherness”¹⁵³; “playing an important role in the development and maintenance of a ‘collective conscience’, collective identity, and the identification with one’s group”¹⁵⁴. Football fandom thus works as a catalyser for communal identities that may be based on several categories ranging from social class, as certain football teams occasionally get linked to the working class or the bourgeoisie, as seen, for example, in the French sides Olympique Lyonnais and Saint Étienne respectively¹⁵⁵; to ethnicity, as in the clubs founded by Portuguese, German, Italian, English immigrants and so on¹⁵⁶; and

¹⁵¹ Lisi 2007, 1.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Von Scheve et al. 2014, 4.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Auboussier 2009, 134.

¹⁵⁶ In Brazil, the examples of football clubs founded by European immigrants of different origins are many. Just to name a few: Clube de Regatas Vasco da Gama and Associação Portuguesa de Desportos were founded by the Portuguese, whereas

even religion, as in the famous Glaswegian derby, also known as the Old Firm, between the two biggest clubs of Scotland: “Celtic being the champions of the Irish Catholic immigrants while Rangers were the standard bearers of the native Scottish Protestants”¹⁵⁷. Other than these collective identities based on subjective traits, the choice of supporting a club is often based on (different degrees of) locality. That is to say, in many cases, one feels represented by the club of his/her neighbourhood, city or state.

Therefore, on the top edge of this inverted pyramid, one may find the national teams - the ultimate and most encompassing representations of collective identities in the realm of sport. In the case of a heterogeneous society as the Brazilian, a highly inegalitarian nation with a myriad of different ethnicities living in rather distinct regions of the country, national teams represent national integration. This is particularly the case of football, as “football can be seen as an instrument that allows Brazilians of all social classes, races and beliefs, to symbolic break the country’s daily hierarchy”¹⁵⁸. According to Brazilian Sociologist Ronaldo Helal, football’s popularity among the most different Brazilian circles is one of the reasons why Brazilian identity is intimately linked to the sport¹⁵⁹: “in the 1930s, football has established itself as a major symbol of national integration and one of the greatest sources of cultural identity in the country”¹⁶⁰.

However, the intensification of these collective identities through sports fandom has also a darker side. As it is normal in any identity formation process, football fandom also leads to the reinforcement of rivalries based on the binary relation between “us and them”¹⁶¹. In its extreme version, such a binary relation has led to football hooliganism¹⁶² and even deaths due to physical clashes between supporters of different teams/nations.

Cruzeiro Esporte Clube and Sociedade Esportiva Palmeiras by Italians, and Coritiba Football Club by Germans.

¹⁵⁷ Murray, 1984.

¹⁵⁸ Helal 1997, 41

¹⁵⁹ We will further discuss the relation between football and Brazilian identity in the following chapters.

¹⁶⁰ Helal 1997, 50.

¹⁶¹ Horne and Manzenreiter 2013, 196.

¹⁶² Spaaij 2008.

Nonetheless, the contrasting character of the relation “us and them” does not serve only hooliganism and other sorts of physical and moral antagonistic events. Smaller nations may take pride out of their national teams, especially when their sides triumph over bigger football nations, as - due to the global popularity of the sport - the nationals of the winning side may see their country success on football as a means to soft power growth, an expression of their presence in the global scene. As we will see in the next chapter, the same goes for otherwise discriminated ethnic groups that may view in the popular success of their fellow athletes an empowering tool against racial discourses and prejudice.

b) The FIFA World Cup, the nation in the football pitch

Due to football’s capability of “developing and maintaining a collective conscience”¹⁶³ as well as of reinforcing rivalries based on the exacerbation of the “us and them” relation¹⁶⁴, its main event (the FIFA World Cup) has arguably become one of the ultimate arenas for the competition among different modern nation-states. Whereas the Olympics offers to the spectator a diverse set of competitions, both collectively and individually played, from the most elitists of the sports to the most popular ones (including under-23 football), the FIFA World Cup gathers professional athletes in the prime of their form playing a single tournament of what happens to arguably be “the world’s most popular sport”¹⁶⁵.

A further reason why the FIFA World Cup presents global audiences with a competition embedded in national rivalries lies with the fact that World Cup matches are ingrained in national contexts¹⁶⁶. Among the circumstances that collaborate to such a national character of the competition one may point out the collective nature of the sport, where national teams are the elementary representation of the nation-state, turning the athletes into secondary actors in relation to the countries that they represent; as well as the

¹⁶³ Von Scheve, Christian, Beyer, *et al.* 2014.

¹⁶⁴ Horne and Manzenreiter 2013.

¹⁶⁵ Kuper 2014.

¹⁶⁶ Ismer 2011.

“prolonged display of national symbols and the singing of the national anthems at the beginning of a match”¹⁶⁷.

A further characteristic which enhances national rivalries within international football lies the way in which its competitions are played. Differently than in some individual sports - such as athletics, swimming and gymnastics - where athletes representing their countries play against their competitors all at once, in international football, a country plays against another, one at the time, until a single national team emerges victorious - conquering the cup.

c) What can international mega-events – such as the FIFA World Cup - tell us about the hosting nation?

As a nation’s self-representation in mega-events has an inherently biased character, the nationalistic narrative presented by this sort of account renders the analysis of its content into a valuable tool to the understanding of the view that the members of such a nation in-display have about themselves and their epistemological others. Nonetheless, the content analysis of these events may serve a wide range of questions and subjects. It may, for example, come to answer several questions related to (a) what the members of this nation consider to be modern in a specific historical moment; (b) which traits within the national ethos are seen and represented as effective means to the achievement of a certain degree of societal development, which areas are understood and conveyed as the nation’s strengths (i.e. disciplined and/or creative citizens, vast natural resources, sound international relations and so on) ; (c) which of the characteristics of the nation are considered to be in consonance with modernity: in which areas the country is thought to be well-developed (i.e. economy, technology, science, education, democracy, human rights, etc.); (d) how the image of less favourable national attributes, or regrettable chapters in the country’s history, are negotiated with international audiences (are slavery and poverty portrayed at all? If so, how?); (e) how the members of such a country think their nation has collaborated, or may collaborate, to the formation of modern civilisation; (f) what the members of this nation deemed as national and what they consider to be regional; (g) when the loci of

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 548.

representation are opened to the portrayal of different communities within the nation, which regional characteristics are negotiated with the national image to give shape to regional identities?

Methodology, Objectives and Research Questions

The aforementioned questions are solely a few examples of how the content analysis of mega-events may be of help to the expansion of knowledge in the fields of cultural history, cultural mediation, international politics, area and Olympic studies as well as many other research fields. In the following pages we will have a close look onto Brazil's self-representation in international mega-events - namely the World Exhibits (from the nineteenth-century until the early twentieth-century), the 1950 and 2014 FIFA World Cup as well as the 2016 Summer Olympics - to give an answer to the following questions:

- (i) How Brazilians of different generations perceived their country in relation to modern nations? What did they consider to be Brazil's role in the international scene? How did they see their nation's past and how they imagined their country's future? How did they perceive Brazil's role within modernity?
- (ii) How Brazil's organising committees have portrayed the country in relation to its inhabitants' ethnicities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries mega-events? Which ethnic groups were considered to form Brazilian civilisation? What role each of these groups was considered to play in the building of the nation? How and why their images have changed over the decades culminating in the images shown during the 2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 Summer Olympics?
- (iii) Which regional cultural aspects the architects of Brazilian representations within mega-events have chosen to portray the nation? Why did they have chosen them in detriment of cultural elements of other Brazilian regions? How the Brazilian regions that had the opportunity to display their cultural identities in international mega-events have differed themselves from the whole of Brazil?

How did they relate their regional ethos with western modernity and Brazilian-ness?

As we can see, the aforementioned research questions are divided into three sections. These discussion clusters can be broadly defined as pertinent to the discussions on the identity-making of (i) Brazil within Modernity, (ii) Brazilians within Modernity, and (iii) Brazilians within Brazilian-ness. As in a multilayered system through which collective identities are shaped, each of these sections is supplementary to the preceding one(s).

The whole of all these discussions come to answer our main research question:

- **How Brazil's organising committees of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 Olympics have made use of enduring nationalistic narratives to represent the nation and its inhabitants within a contemporary global context?**

In order to answer this question, we have split our research into three stages:

a) The review of the existing literature on the concerning fields of study

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of our study - which intersects a wide range of disciplines as Cultural History, Audiovisual Communication, Brazilian Literature, Sociocultural Anthropology, Continental Philosophy, Decolonial and Latin American Political studies - this was the most time-consuming part of our thesis.

To deal with such extensive framework - that, until the beginning of this Ph.D., was essentially built through our previous studies in Social Communication and Media Studies in Sweden and Brazil as well as during our researching period at the Advanced Institute for Cross-Disciplinary Studies, City University of Hong Kong - we have sought a multidisciplinary doctoral programme.

We have thus enrolled in a double degree PhD programme in Cultural History at the University of Sorbonne Nouvelle, under the supervision of Professor Catherine Bertho-

Lavenir, and in Audiovisual Communication, at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, with Professor Emilio Fernández Peña. Both are experienced researchers in the aforementioned fields of study and have extensively published in the areas of Cultural Mediation and Olympic Studies, respectively. Furthermore, as this thesis writes a great deal about Brazilian intellectual history and literature, we have also sought an expert in Brazilian studies. That is why we spent six months at Brazil's Institute - King's College, London - under the guidance of Doctor Vinícius Mariano de Carvalho.

b) The research into archives and newspaper records

The *Bureau International des Expositions*, in Paris; the *Library of the Congress* and the *National Archives*, in Washington D.C.; as well as the *Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil* and the *Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira* (which have a good share of their collections available online) proved themselves outstanding sources of primary literature on Brazilian history in a global context. The historical records found in these archives/libraries were essential to building a solid historical background from where the content analysis of our main research objects could be contextualised as a historical narrative.

Nevertheless, as all these content dated from a time in history prior to the popularisation of audio-visual technologies, we had to rely on writing accounts that could be either official reports - as in the cases of the earlier International Expositions - or articles written by independent media agents, as in the reports found about the 1950 FIFA World Cup opening ceremony. In the former case, the framing of the official reports – which selected the type of information regarding Brazil that should be kept or excluded from the record - was of particular importance as they ultimately unveiled the Brazilian elites biases in relation to their own nation and countrymen at different moments of the country's history.

c) The visual content analysis of the events' ceremonies and other audiovisual material

With the crystallisation of the major narratives that were presented as constituent parts of the nineteenth and twentieth century Brazilian identity, we go to the final part of our research: the content analysis of the opening and closing ceremonies - as well as other audiovisual material such as posters, television openers, etcetera - of the 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup, a competition that is used by the organisers as a sort of pilot event to the main competition taking place a year later; the 2014 FIFA World Cup; the London 2012/Rio 2016 Handover ceremony; and the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Olympics.

Our objective was to compare how Brazil has portrayed itself, its inhabitants, and its most diverse culture in all the aforementioned events, including the 1950 FIFA World Cup and several of the past centuries International Expositions, to explore how different political agendas and historical moments have influenced the way the country and its people were portrayed. Therefore, the audiovisual content analysis of events that took place in different periods of Brazilian – and global - history unveiled the ethea of different Brazilian generations.

As in George Orwell's famous sentence "who controls the present, controls the past"¹⁶⁸, Pierre Nora reminds us that ceremonies of such mega-events can also be understood as *lieux de mémoire* and therefore "only exist because of their capacity for metamorphosis, and endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications"¹⁶⁹. Therefore, we departed from the principle that the analysis of cultural mediations' loci such as posters, ceremonies and expositions can unveil the subjectivity of the involved actors – which were also influenced by social and economic characteristics of the community they are within.

By the same token, as we have used recorded images of the mega-events ceremonies as the basis of our content analysis, one of our limitations resides in the camera frame

¹⁶⁸ Orwell 2004.

¹⁶⁹ Nora 1989,19.

which may have left aside some parts of the spectacle that could have been important to the full comprehension of these ceremonies. A further limitation was our own subjectivity as, by decoding, we are also bringing forward an interpretation that is naturally subject to personal and societal biases. In order to minimize this issue, we have contextualised the ceremonies in relation to the country states of affairs and geopolitics of their time.

Furthermore, we have also attempted to bring a more holistic interpretation of these events through the exposure of the views of the analysed material architects regarding their own creations. That is why we have made use of – as a complementary part of the audiovisual content analysis – interviews found on newspapers as well as the material found on official websites, documents and (when available) ceremony media guides.

It is important to note that this thesis is in line with the Communication Theory of Identity, which is an approach to identity which “focuses more on mutual influences between identity and communication and conceptualises identity as communication rather than seeing identity as merely a product of communication and vice versa”¹⁷⁰. Therefore, the Communication Theory of Identity also departs from the understanding that: “Identities have individual, social, and communal properties; (...) are both enduring and changing; (...) involve both subjective and ascribed meanings; (...) are codes that are expressed in conversations and define membership in communities; (...) have semantic properties that are expressed in core symbols, meanings, and labels”¹⁷¹.

This leads us to the understanding that the critical reading of different representations of the nation – in our case, more specifically in international mega-events - may bring to light a series of narratives which were otherwise only implicit within such representations. Making us question the material relations that grounded these narratives, the *hows* and *whys* that explain the selection, the negotiation or the override of some historical national narratives.

Finally, the intersection among International History, Memory, Cultural Studies,

¹⁷⁰ Hecht and Jung 2004, 266.

¹⁷¹ Hecht 1993, 79.

Cultural Mediation and Audiovisual Communication is particularly valuable for the sociocultural understanding of intercultural communication through mega-events ceremonies. In as much as mega-events are at the same time local, national and global¹⁷², they are capable of setting into perspective the cultures of different imagined communities¹⁷³ at various levels (city, state and nation). Thus, by aiming to promote and/or represent a given culture over others, the content analysis of ceremonies brings us a series of questions related to symbolic values vis-à-vis what is present and what is absent, to what is desirable within a community's status quo as well as what may be, and what may be not, of interest of a given community's epistemological *Other*.

¹⁷² Roche 2003.

¹⁷³ Anderson 2006.

Chapter 2. Progress: Brazilian-ness within modernity/coloniality

In this chapter we will write about the development of Brazilian-ness within modernity, or rather how successive generations of intellectuals and artists have – during their time – contributed to the creation of different narratives of Brazilian race and national physical space taking into account socio-cultural trends considered to be modern, and thus desired, in Europe and elsewhere in the Western world.

We will thus start the chapter by setting Brazilian position in relation to western modernity within context. As a country which western historiography considers to be *discovered* by the Portuguese in 1500, Brazil was – and still is – intimately related to nature in its primary form. Therefore, the country has been considered the representation of an Eden-like paradise and/or of the physical space where mankind could be found in its primitive state, before the dawn of civilisation. From there, we will discuss how this image has affected the creation of a Brazilian identity and how different Brazilian ethnic groups have been portrayed throughout the centuries.

What is more, we will write about how the nation has historically positioned itself in relation to its European and American counterparts in order to create a narrative that would, at the same time, be unique and familiar - so to secure its own position within the concert of modern nations. Finally, through the content analysis of universal expositions official reports, prize-winning monographs and the creative work of authors that - somehow or another – have become true icons of the intellectual development of Brazilian-ness, we will see how national elites have chosen to portray the nation and its inhabitants in accordance with their own agenda and sets of beliefs.

Quasi-official narratives of a young *Latin-American* monarchy

Ever since its discovery, Brazil has been intimately linked to exuberant nature. Initially called Island of the True Cross (*Ilha de Vera Cruz*)¹, the region was also called the Land of Parrots (*Terra dei Pappagalli*)² in early reports about the newfound land. As a subject state within the tropics, used by the Portuguese as a colony of natural resources exploitation, *Terra do Brasil* was officially named as such as an indication to one of its natural riches: *Paubrasilia* (Brazilwood), a twofold reference to its character as a colony of resources exploitation and to the raw material which attracted Portuguese shippers to its territory. As a result, “from the mixture of parrots, monkeys and cannibal Indians with scenes from Brazilian wood extraction was born the dominant portray of Brazil in the iconography of the sixteenth century”³.

Centuries later - but before its actual independence from the Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves - the Kingdom of Brazil (1815-1822) saw in the combination of “elements of European royalty such as crowns, robes, mantles and sceptres” with “elements of Brazilian nature, such as coffee bush and the plumage of Brazilian birds”⁴ a suitable narrative to establish its identity as a western monarchy within the tropics. From 1822 onwards, with the actual independence of the country, the Brazilian Empire (1822 – 1889) kept on representing the country through the combination of its exuberant nature with the land’s exotic natives⁵.

a) Brazil and Nature, the fantasy of a land in its *Aetas Aurea*

The eagerness to be perceived abroad as an Eden-like realm was not unjustified. Brazil, unlike its European counterparts, found it difficult to be perceived as a *direct* inheritor of the treasures of the classical European civilisations⁶. Moreover, during the nineteenth-century first half, Europe was living under the sign of romanticism, “a movement marked first and foremost by a reverence for the mysteries of the natural

¹ de Caminha 1500 (1963).

² de Montalbodo 1507.

³ Martins Teixeira 2009, 138.

⁴ Dos Santos 2003, 187.

⁵ Schwarcz 2006, 25.

⁶ Dos Santos 2003, 184.

world”⁷.

Therefore, being recognised abroad as an exotic monarchy which fused elements of western society - as its language and customs - with the allures of the natural world was an appealing setup to attract Europe’s attention as, ultimately, even “Europe could not compete with the oldness of natural settings”⁸. Such a strategy has seemingly worked as - for many - Brazil’s became to be known as a tropical *Arcadia*, a land in its *Aetas Aurea*. For “the existence of such natural and idyllic landscapes and such a simple population could only recall an Earthly Paradise” - where “man and nature lived in perfect harmony”⁹.

Nevertheless, as the decades went by, being recognised abroad as *nature’s nation* turned out to be an obsolete strategy. According to Dos Santos, “[i]n the second half of the 19th century, nature lost its romantic aura and became the object of scientific enquiries about the origins of the world. From the perfect surrogate for tradition, it became a synonym for adaptation, evolutionism and progress”¹⁰.

Therefore, in the nineteenth-century, raw nature – or rather its absence - played an important role in Euro-centric modernity insofar it became increasingly seen as mankind’s departing point towards the evolution of the *spirit*¹¹. Nature was thus seen as the starting end of the dualism nature/civilisation - the ground zero of “a linear, one-directional evolutionism from some state of nature to modern European society”¹².

As a result, “nature became increasingly associated with South America, Africa and Asia” whereas European countries were seen as “the sources of culture (the university, the state, philosophy, science, industry and technology)”¹³. Therefore, nature came to be understood both as a token of a given society’s immaturity in relation to its progress towards modernity and as the embodiment of a society’s unrealised potential for

⁷ Casey 2008, 33.

⁸ Kammen 1993, 44

⁹ Hacke and Musselwhite 2017, 143

¹⁰ Dos Santos 2003, 197.

¹¹ Hegel 2001.

¹² Quijano 2000, 552.

¹³ Mignolo 2005a, 82.

industrial development, which, in turn, could lead to the aforementioned societal progress.

b) The Brazilian Historic and Geographic Institute (IHGB) and the inception of an official national narrative

With the country's independence from Portugal in 1822, Brazil's intelligentsia - largely made of Portuguese decedents - ventured itself on the search for a national historical narrative that would break Brazil's colonial bonds with its former coloniser. Such a task was a hard one as any attempt towards a narrative that would delink Brazilian identity from Portuguese influence could also jeopardise the association between Brazilian-ness and western Europe - and, thus, modern civilisation.

What is more, as we have seen, within the modern western perspective wherein the nineteenth-century Brazilian elite laid its stance, the modern European civilisation was undoubtedly "the culmination of a civilising trajectory from a state of nature"¹⁴ or, in other words, the current recipient of the *Spirit*¹⁵. Therefore, non-European inhabitants of the American continent, namely Amerindians and Afro-descendants, were considered to be closer to nature than civilisation, "belonging to the past in the progress of the species"¹⁶.

On top of that, the prejudice towards non-European peoples based on the duality Nature/Civilisation, or Nature/Spirit¹⁷, was also extended to the Brazilian elites, descendants of Portuguese creoles, who were subjects of a similar cultural bias based on the colonial wound that turned them into second-class Europeans – who were "cut from their pasts and lived in a present without history"¹⁸.

As a result, the Brazilian elites - due to their Euro-centric view over human progress - found themselves in a dilemma. On the one hand, their colonial past was a troublesome

¹⁴ Quijano 2000, 542.

¹⁵ Hegel 2001.

¹⁶ Quijano 2000, 542.

¹⁷ Hegel 2001.

¹⁸ Mignolo 2005a, 66.

memory, as it set them as unsophisticated former European subjects in constant need to be in touch with western cultural trends to not fall off modernity's wagon. On the other hand, their ancestral link with Europe was domestically used to justify the exploration of peoples that they considered to be *savages* (i.e. Afro-Brazilians and Amerindians). What is more, internationally, such a link with the old continent could be also advertised as an expression of their own bonds with western civilisation. So how could these elites create a national narrative of their own that would detach them from a colonial and marginal near-past without causing an undesired and permanent rupture on the association between Brazil and European modernity?

To help to answer to this and many other questions linked to the idea of Brazilian-ness, in 1838 - only sixteen years after the Brazilian independence - the Brazilian Historic and Geographic Institute (Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, or simply IHGB) was established in the Empire's capital, Rio de Janeiro. The IHGB was the first institute of its kind in the country and, as other similar historic and geographic institutes in Europe and elsewhere, it had as its mission "the building of a history of the nation, the recreation of the past, the solidification of foundation myths and the reorganisation of homogeneities within characters and events that were, up to then, dispersed"¹⁹.

The IHGB was formed by members of the local oligarchy - whose intellectual background was directly based on European positivism - and, for most of the nineteenth century, was sponsored "financially and intellectually by a scholarly and centralising monarch"²⁰, Pedro II of Brazil. As a result of the oligarchical stance of its members, a good share of its associates believed in the superiority of white Europeans in relation to non-white peoples - such as Amerindians and African descendants. The institutionalised prejudice towards the latter group was - nevertheless - virtually a necessity to justify the early nineteenth-century Brazilian economic system based on forced labour.

¹⁹ Schwarcz 2012, 129. "Criado logo após a independência política do país, o estabelecimento carioca cumpria o papel que lhe fora reservado, assim como aos demais institutos históricos: construir uma história da nação, recriar um passado, solidificar mitos de fundação, ordenar fatos buscando homogeneidades em personagens e eventos até então dispersos".

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 33.

As we have already seen, one of the institute's main *raison d'être* was to create a narrative which would reasonably delink Brazilian identity from Portugal without completely cutting loose Brazilian ties with European civilisation or addressing Afro-Brazilians undeniable right for freedom. A possible way of doing so was to seek into Brazil's pre-Cabralian past - as well as in their own creole experience during the country's colonisation - positive elements that could give shape to a convincing and favourable national narrative. All and all, a similar strategy had previously been used by the Brazilian monarchy, which - for a period - had captivated western imagination through the pictorial combination between symbols of European royalty and elements representing Brazilian native nature.

c) Von Martius: “How to write Brazil’s history”

Therefore, in order to give the direction in which Brazilian cosmology should continue its expansion towards the construction of a cogent “monumental history”²¹ - in the 1840s - the recently created IHGB promised to pay a prize to the author of the best monograph on how Brazilian history should be written. Such a monograph should present the institute with “a plan to write the ancient and modern history of Brazil, taking into account its political, civil, ecclesiastical and literary aspects”²². The prize winner was the German scientist Karl Friedrich Von Martius with his essay “*Como se deve escrever a história do Brasil*”²³ – or “How to write Brazil’s history”.

In spite of its rather patronising and pretentious title - a feeling which could easily be exacerbated among the members of the institute by the fact that Von Martius was a foreigner - “How to write Brazil’s history” was incredibly well received by Brazilian intelligentsia, becoming a classic among those who attempted to understand and explain the South-American nation. Nonetheless, perhaps foreseeing a possible negative reaction among Brazilian intellectuals, Von Martius started his monograph with the words:

²¹ Nietzsche 1980.

²² Honório Rodrigues 1966, 157.

²³ Von Martius 1956.

“I am far from judging myself as qualified as the distinguished Brazilian intellectuals, qualified to meet the views of the institute. However, I do not want let to pass the opportunity without witnessing the respectable association of my interests with such meritorious subject, informing you some of the ideas about the object - ideas that I recommend to the benign reception of the Institute”²⁴.

In spite of his humble first lines, Von Martius seemed to be familiar with the fact that most of the Brazilian (and Latin American) intellectual elites were looking towards Europe both for new social theories and recognition of their European counterparts. He thus made use of his position as a renowned European scientist proclaiming himself a “philosophical historian”²⁵ whenever he seemed to foresee intellectual resistance to a particular view among his Brazilian peers, whose work - “albeit rich in important facts” - did “not satisfy the exigencies of the *real* historiography”²⁶.

One of such ideas that could cause a certain resistance from the 19th century white Brazilian intelligentsia²⁷ is a statement that seems to give African-Brazilians and Amerindians the same importance as to the European Brazilians on the formation of Brazil as a nation:

“The formation of [Brazilian] men converged in a particular way of three races, to be known: the copper coloured or *American*, white or *Caucasian*, and finally the black or *Ethiopian*. From the encounter, from the miscegenation, from the mutual relation and changes of these races, the current [Brazilian] population - whose history is very peculiar - was formed”²⁸.

²⁴ Von Martius 1956, 441. “Muito longe estou eu de me julgar do número dos ilustres literatos brasileiros, habilitados para preencherem as vistas do Instituto: mais ainda assim não quero deixar passar esta ocasião sem testemunhar a tão respeitável associação o meu interesse para, com seu meritório assunto, comunicando-lhe algumas idéias sobre aquele objeto, idéias que recomendo ao benigno acolhimento do Instituto”.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 443-446.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 454.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 442. “Sei muito bem que brancos haverá, que a uma tal ou qual concorrência dessas raças inferiores, taxem de menoscabo à sua prosápia; mas também estou certo que êles não serão encontrados onde se elevam vozes para uma historiografia filosófica do Brasil.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 442. “[A] formação do homem convergido de um modo particular três raças, a saber: a de côr de cobre ou americana, a branca ou caucasiana, e enfim a preta ou etiópica. Do encontro, da mescla, das relações mútuas e mudanças dessas raças, formou-se a atual população cuja história por isso mesmo tem um cunho muito particular”.

In defining that Brazilian society was built through the mutual interplay - by encounters, miscegenation and social relations - of Europeans, Amerindians and Africans, Von Martius was one of the early writers to include the two latter ethnic groups as necessary constituent parts of the newly formed nation. By doing so, the author also crafted a myth of Brazilian *exceptionalism*, the one that Brazilian history and society are inherently different from the rest of the world. Such exceptionalism was made explicit by Van Martius: “in Brazil, one can find the conditions to the improvement of three human races, which in this country are put side by side, in a way that is unknown in ancient history”²⁹.

Through this Brazilian exceptionalism in history, Von Martius also foresaw a promising future to the nation, “seeing a new people being born and being developed by the union and contact among so different human races, we can foresee that its history will be developed according to a peculiar law of diagonal forces”³⁰. In order to justify the idea that the crossing of these three races would lead Brazil to progress through an unusual path and also to justify the argument that the country was foreordained to have a bright future, Von Martius tried to combine his theory with one of Hegel’s most famous narratives in relation to history. Namely the one of the (world) Spirit - or *Weltgeist*³¹.

“Both the history of people and individuals show us that the genius of history (of the world), who leads mankind in ways whose wisdom we must always recognise, many times makes use of the crossing between races to reach the most sublime ends within the world order. Who can deny that the English nation owes its power, its firmness and perseverance to the mix of Celtic, Danish, Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Norman folks”³².

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 442. “Portanto, vendo nós um povo novo nascer e desenvolver-se da reunião e contato de tão diferentes raças humanas, podemos avançar que a sua história se deverá desenvolver segundo uma lei particular de forças diagonais”.

³¹ Hegel 2001.

³² Von Martius 1956, 442. “Tanto a história dos povos quanto a dos indivíduos nos mostram que o gênio da história (do mundo), que conduz o gênero humano por caminhos, cuja sabedoria sempre devemos reconhecer, não poucas vezes lança mão de cruzar as raças para alcançar os mais sublimes fins na ordem do mundo. Quem poderá negar que a nação inglesa deve sua energia, sua firmeza e perseverança a essa mescla dos povos céltico, dinamarquês, romano, anglo-saxão e normandol”.

In spite of his vanguard ideas on the positive aspects of the interplay among different ethnic groups, Von Martius had not yet overcome the nineteenth-century widespread racial prejudice that dominated academia both in Europe and in the Americas. Therefore, Von Martius saw the Portuguese as a superior race (“the most powerful and essential driven force”³³ behind the formation of Brazilian society) in comparison to Amerindians and Africans alike. These two latter groups were, according to him, “inferior races”³⁴ in comparison to the Portuguese.

Although Van Martius considered both Brazilian Amerindians and Afro-Brazilians as “small affluents to be absorbed by the powerful Portuguese river”³⁵, his views over the two former groups were not exactly the same. Whereas Von Martius wrote just a few lines about the possible African contributions to Brazilian society, with the justification that he found very little written material about the cultures of Africa from where he could base his arguments on – much due to Europe’s disregard about African cultures (a continent “with no history”³⁶) as well as the symbolic annihilation³⁷ of enslaved Afro-Brazilians from nineteenth-century print media³⁸ - he was rather enthusiastic with an imagined glorious past of the Amerindians.

The German scientist was among the believers of the theory that the Amerindians in Brazil were decedents of a developed civilisation akin to the Mayas, Aztecs or Incas. The argument was that this very old and lost civilisation was in decline and living its dark ages when the Portuguese arrived. To support such a theory, Von Martius pointed to the fact that - as it happened to the Aymara and Quechua in Peru - the languages which were intelligible to the Tupi were spread all over the country and beyond, reaching the Guianas and the Antilles. On his view, the widespread presence of the languages coming from the Tupi linguistic root could be an indication of the territorial

³³ Von Martius 1956, 443.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.* “O sangue português em um poderoso rio deverá absorver os pequenos afluentes das raças índias e etiópicas”.

³⁶ Hegel 2001.

³⁷ Gerbner and Gross 1976, 182.

³⁸ Dos Santos 2008, 164

extent of such a people in a “flourishing state of civilisation”³⁹. Furthermore, in order to prove this theory, the author made an appeal that more archaeological investigations were funded to find the ruins of such a large and lost civilisation.⁴⁰

In spite of its significant shortcomings - as regarding Amerindians and Africans as *inferiors* to Portuguese - “*Como se deve escrever a história do Brasil*” is a fundamental monograph to the understanding of the social construction of Brazilian identity as it is a seminal literary piece (a) on the view that Brazilian society was formed by three streams: the Portuguese, the African and the Amerindian; and (b) on the idea that through the crossing of these three peoples, Brazil was destined to be a major player in the world scene “exert[ing] a powerful influence over the most elevated classes”⁴¹.

By presenting such ideas, “*Como se deve escrever a história do Brasil*” was to be used as a historical/philosophical counterargument capable of turning the cultural and ethnic mixture of Brazil -- a characteristic that many nineteenth-century writers, such as Gobineau, considered a “genetic degeneracy”⁴², while others understood it as an obstacle to the nation’s development (as it was later pointed out by Skidmore⁴³) -- into a matter of national *exceptionalism* and pride. Moreover, it served as a source of inspiration to many subsequent intellectuals - as Gilberto Freyre and Oswald de Andrade - that later have also attempted to outline Brazilian-ness and its meaning in relation to the rest of the world.

³⁹ Von Martius 1956, 445. “A língua principal falada outrora pelos índios do Brasil em vastíssima extensão, e entendida ainda em muitas partes, é a língua geral ou tupi. É sem dúvida muito significativo que um grande complexo de raças brasileiras entendam esse idioma. Assim como no Peru com as línguas quêchua e aimara que se estendem sobre vastíssimos territórios, aconteceu no Brasil com a língua tupi; e não podemos duvidar que tôdas as tribos, que nela sabem fazer-se inteligíveis, pertençam a um único e grande povo, que sem dúvida, possui a sua história própria e que de um estado florescente de civilização, decaiu para o atual estado de regradação e dissolução do mesmo modo como o observamos entre os povos ocidentais, que falavam a língua dos incas ou o aimara. Não deve passar inapercebidamente que os caraíbas nas Guianas e nas Antilhas falavam uma língua, por uma sintaxe e vocabulário parente da língua tupi; fato este tanto mais singular, quando há muitos vestígios de serem os caraíbas um povo de piratas, que se estendia da Flórida e das Bermudas para o sul”.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 447.

⁴¹ Von Martius 1956, 443.

⁴² Gobineau 1967.

⁴³ Skidmore 1969.

Indianism: crafting a mythical past to Brazilian society

If, within nineteenth-century Brazilian academia, the Amerindians played an important role in the building of an emancipationist historical narrative vis-à-vis the former coloniser, on the realms of visual arts and literature, the Brazilian natives' role was no different. During most of the Brazilian Empire (1822-1889), a good share of poets (such as Gonçalves Dias⁴⁴), writers (as José de Alencar⁴⁵) and painters (as Victor Meirelles⁴⁶ and Rodolfo Amoedo⁴⁷) seemed to embrace the idea of Brazil as a miscegenated nation, which was also present in Von Martius prize-winning monograph. However, in their works they have mostly ignored the role of (the still enslaved) Africans in the construction of the nation rather focusing on the idea that the country's identity should be indeed based on the social and ethnical fusion between the (mythical) Amerindian and Portuguese (and, therefore, European) civilisation.

As have previously seen, this was because the Brazilian intelligentsia had increasingly ventured itself on the search for a national historical narrative that would break Brazil's colonial bonds with Portugal. As we have also previously mentioned, at the dawn of the Brazilian Empire, mainly three main ethnical groups populated Brazil: (i) the Amerindians, a good share of them from the linguistic branch Tupi-Guarani, who inhabited the country's hinterlands; (ii) the enslaved Africans and their descendants, forced to work on sugarcane fields and mines; as well as (iii) the free Brazilian citizens, the descendants of Portuguese creoles. As the country's economy was dependent of a slavery system based on racial prejudice towards the African type - and the Portuguese were those whose Brazil was trying to lessen its identity connections with - the country's intelligentsia developed a nationalistic narrative based on the figure of a mythological Amerindian.

⁴⁴ For a sample of Dias's Indianist epic poems see *Os Timbiras* (Dias, 1857)

⁴⁵ The most famous De Alencar's Indianist novels are: *O Guarany* (de Alencar, 1857), *Iracema* (de Alencar, 1865) and *Ubirajara* (de Alencar, 1874).

⁴⁶ See *Moema* (1866).

⁴⁷ See *Marabá* (1882) and *O Último Tamoio* (1883).

a) The Brazilian version of European Romanticism

To do it so, the nineteenth-century Brazilian writers and visual artists made use of an artistic and intellectual movement that was in vogue in Europe at the time: Romanticism. If the use of a European intellectual movement to loose Brazil's cultural identity ties from Portugal may seem contradictory at first, one cannot overlook the fact that (a) the Brazilian intelligentsia was largely of European (Portuguese) descent, having frequently studied in the old continent and/or trained in accordance to Western aesthetical judgement; (b) the public to which the message was being addressed to was either European or shared the same aforementioned aesthetical judgment with the latter group. On top of that, we shall bear in mind the fact that (c) Romanticism itself emerged in Europe as a reaction to the Enlightenment as it conveyed a degree of scepticism towards Western modernity through the celebration of the moral virtues of life closer to the natural world in detriment of the *degeneration* of modern urban life⁴⁸.

Nonetheless, although European and Brazilian romanticism narratives were both filled with the aforementioned celebration of the natural world as well as utopian ideals, tragic love stories and national symbologies, there were sensible differences between the literary genres in the *new* and in the *old* continents. One of such differences lies on the chronological order that they have emerged in the two sides of the Atlantic: whereas in Europe literary romanticism peaked at the end of the eighteenth-century, with novelists such as Sir Walter Scott, Alexandre Dumas, Antonio García Gutiérrez and Almeida Garrett, in Brazil, Romanticism, as a literary genre, was most famous during the 19th century - mostly with José de Alencar's novels and Gonçalves Dias' poems.

A further difference — which is perhaps more significant to our discussion about Brazilian modernity/coloniality as well as the deliberation regarding the narrative of the country's ethnic formation — lies on the protagonists and the historical surroundings of Brazilian romanticism narratives. Whereas the late eighteenth-century European romanticism made use of heroic figures, as knights and other chivalric figures, a good share of the nineteenth-century Brazilian romanticism was centred in the mythological and *noble* figure of the Amerindian. Moreover, inasmuch as the *old*

⁴⁸ Casey 2008.

continent's medieval past served European romanticism as its *in illo tempore*, its original and mythical time-period where noble characters such as knights and dames could prime, the Brazilian romantic narratives were mostly set in pre-Cabralian or early Colonial Brazilian contexts as reminders of the country's position as "*Nature's Nation*", establishing a bond with a even deeper past from that of the European civilisation as "in the romantic view, nature was said to be God's first temple, that is, the wholeness beyond individuality that stirred the highest emotion in human beings"⁴⁹.

Therefore, *Indianism*, as became known this particular period of Brazilian romanticism where Amerindians and tropical forests replaced knights and medieval Europe, sought within European cosmology an appropriate way of representing Brazilian natives. Rousseau's noble savage myth (1754)⁵⁰ - which was also used on 19th century literary narratives elsewhere in the western world (in the United States, for example, Herman Melville had embodied Rousseau's noble savage in Moby Dick's character called Queequeg in 1851) – was thus utilised by Brazilian nineteenth-century intellectual scene as it suited romantic ideals, Brazilian national interests and the old continent expectations over Amerindians.

As a result, the most famous Indianist works that have, to some extent, made use of Rousseau's noble savage myth in Brazil were written by Gonçalves Dias in the form of poems, *I-Juca-Pirama* (1851) and *Os Timbiras* (1857); and by José de Alencar with the novels *O Guarani* (1857), *Iracema* (1865) and *Ubirajara* (1874).

b) José de Alencar's Indianist Trilogy

As a matter of fact, the abovementioned novels became to be known as Alencar's Indianist Trilogy (*Trilogia Indianista de José de Alencar*). Other than a pre-modern Brazil as a background, these novels have in common the fact that they all have Amerindians among their protagonists and that these Amerindians have positive moral attributes and, sometimes, even supernatural physical traits.

⁴⁹ Dos Santos 2003, 187.

⁵⁰ Rousseau 1992.

As an example of the Amerindians' extra-ordinary traits, Peri - the protagonist of "O Guarani" - can put a fight with a jaguar as well as with a whole tribe of Aimorés, to drink poison without dying and, more impressively, to pluck out a whole palm tree from the ground using only his bare hands, yet he stills show himself to be rather human, especially in the wholeheartedly way that he demonstrates his love for Ceci. Therefore, according to Vieira Martins, "the characters within Alencar's Indianist novels are not Gods, but heroes that are superior to other men"⁵¹. Such physical and moral superiority of Alencar's protagonists is evident when juxtaposing Peri, the Guarani hero, with the greedy European villains depicted in the first book of the trilogy.

Moreover, another crucial element that binds these three books together, making it a trilogy, is the fact that the protagonists of the three narratives play central roles as the forefathers (and foremothers) of Brazilian nation, even if they do it so in a different fashion. Whereas *Ubirajara* (1874), the last published book of the trilogy, takes place in a pre-Cabralian Brazil and crafts the legend of the merging between two Amerindian peoples (*Tocantins* and *Araguaias*) through the polygamous union of Ubiraja - 'the strongest of the Araguaias' warriors' - with his two wives (the *Tocantim* Araci and the *Araguaia* Jandira); *Iracema* (1865) and *O Guarani* (1857) have the romantic bonds between Portuguese and Amerindians as driven forces behind the narratives of their foundation myths.

In *Iracema* (1865) - which is an anagram to the word *America* and, in the book, is said to mean "virgin with honey lips" (in Tupi-Guarani language) - the namesake woman from the *Tabajáras'* tribe falls in love with Martim, a Portuguese warrior. From her union with the Portuguese man is born Moacir - "the first Cearense" - in Brazil's hinterlands. *Iracema* dies shortly after giving birth to the first of the people of Ceará. Therefore, according to Moniz, "Iracema symbolises the people in metamorphosis: her union with the coloniser, that gives birth to Moacir, represents, through miscegenation, the Tabajára's transformation into the new people of Ceará"⁵².

⁵¹ Vieira Martins 2003, 47.

⁵² De Andrade Moniz 2009, 18.

The foundation myth presented by the first of Alencar's Indianist works, *O Guarani* (1857), comes to the romantic affair between a Guarani man, called Peri, and Cecilia, a Portuguese young woman. In the novel, Ceci is somehow portrayed in an angelic way: she is blond and has blue eyes, she is also a virgin and, differently than many of the European depicted in the novel, she is kind and generous much due to the fact that she has grown up closer to the wilderness and far from the cities, being "more of a Brazilian virgin than a girl from the court"⁵³. Throughout the narrative, Peri appears as her saviour on several occasions- as when the Guarani rescues her from both hostile Aimorés and European attackers as well as from a jaguar.

At the end of the story, he saves Ceci once again, by plucking out a whole palm tree from the ground to use it as a raft in a deluge that kills everybody in the region but the two of them. Here one can correlate Alencar's flood with the Genesis deluge narrative. In both narratives, evildoers perish while the pure-hearted survive. Such an allegory has a powerful nationalistic meaning as from the union between the best and purest of Amerindians and Portuguese alike emerges Brazilian *civilisation*. Moreover, the deluge also represents the rebirth and coming to terms of the two peoples (Portuguese and Amerindians), as if the flood had washed away the hostile past between them.

As a matter of fact, water as a metaphor for civilisations, time and purification is a recurrent theme in "O Guarani" (1857). The book ends with the deluge and begins with the description of the Paquequer River.

"From one of the summits of the Organ Mountains glides a small stream, which flows northerly, and enlarged by the springs which it receives in its course of ten leagues, becomes a considerable river. It is the Paquequer. Leaping from cascade to cascade, winding like a serpent, it dozes at last in the plain, and empties into the Parahyba, which rolls majestically in its vast bed. Vassal and tributary of that king of waters, the little river, haughty and overbearing to its rocks, bows humbly at the feet of its sovereign. It loses then its wild beauty; its waves are calm and peaceful as those of a lake, and do not rebel against the boats and canoes that glide over them. A submissive slave, it feels the lash of its master. It is not at this point that it should be seen, but three or four leagues above its mouth, where it is

⁵³ De Alencar 2000, 493. "Ela pertencia, pois, mais ao deserto do que à cidade; era mais uma virgem brasileira do que uma menina cortesã; seus hábitos e seus gostos prendiam-se mais as pompas singelas da natureza, do que às festas e às galas da rate e da civilização".

still free. There the Paquequer rushes rapidly over its bed, and traverses the forests foaming and filling the solitude with the noise of its career”⁵⁴.

Therefore, the waterway, a tributary to the Paraiba (a much larger river that "majestically flows in its vast riverbed"), is said to be resilient and proud until it gets closer to the main stem. As soon as it approaches the Parahyba, it "loses then its wild beauty; its waves are calm and peaceful as those of a lake, and do not rebel against the boats and canoes that glide over them. A submissive slave, it feels the lash of its master"⁵⁵. Thus, according to Alencar, one should not admire the Paquequer (a metaphor to the Amerindian people) close to its confluence with the Paraiba. It should be instead admired "three or four miles upstream, where it is still free, as the untamed son of this homeland of freedom"⁵⁶.

The metaphors of the *Paquequer* (as the Amerindians prior their contact with the Portuguese), the lake-like behaviour of its waters when closer to the main stem (the Amerindians under the influence of the colonisers) and the Paraiba (the "majestic" trunk, an allegory to Portuguese and, after the conjunction with the Paquequer, Brazilian *civilisations*), indicate the untamed spirit of Peri - who, unlike many of his peers, was still free as his ancestors. Nevertheless, such an anecdote - that, perhaps inadvertently, dialogues with Van Martius view that both Amerindians and Africans were "small tributaries to be absorbed by the powerful Portuguese river"⁵⁷ - unfolds to an understanding akin to the belief that "a civilised Amerindian, is no longer an Amerindian". As if the civilisatory process, or even the first contact with Western civilisation, would unavoidably start stripping them down of their own Amerindian-ness.

Such an understanding leads to the idea that the Amerindian contribution to the Brazilian identity patchwork is akin to the one of a second order simulacrum, a symbol that can no longer be said to faithfully represent the original as the original can no longer be grasped⁵⁸. Therefore, according to this understanding, *genuine* Amerindians

⁵⁴ De Alencar 1857, 5. Translated by Hawes in 2012, 3.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Von Martius 1956, 443.

⁵⁸ Baudrillard 1994, 6.

only exist in the past and/or far from the Western civilisation's gaze - hence giving to Western men the liberty to characterise them as desired.

Therefore, as noted by Degregori⁵⁹, the depiction of the Amerindian in different Latin American societies tends to fall into the following patterns: “exoticism, a tendency to describe the Indian with exotic and stereotyped features, not as a concrete reality; ‘pasadismo’, a tendency to overrate the historical Indian and not rate the present one; ‘paternalism’, a tendency to have compassion for the Indian; and ‘populism’ a tendency to utilise the Indian in political movements”⁶⁰.

c) Carlos Gomes’ *Il Guarany*, an opera on Brazil’s national foundation myth

The patterns of Amerindian mythologies are all present in "O Guarani" (1857) and, as its *raison d’être* is in accordance to the Brazilian pre-Republican ethos, the novel ended up by becoming an important foundation myth to Brazilian civilisation, making of the love story between Peri and Ceci the most known tale written by Alencar. Its popularity during the nineteenth-century second half rendered the novel an adaption into a *grand opera* piece composed by Antônio Carlos Gomes in 1870, named *Il Guarany*.

According to Volpe (2002), "Carlos Gomes’ *Il Guarany* corroborated Second Empire official ideology of national identity by reproducing, however in an oversimplified way, the myth of national foundation conveyed by Alencar’s novel”⁶¹. Although Gomes' set of arias served a rather nationalistic agenda, the opera piece had Italian lyrics and displayed an Italianised title of Alencar's masterpiece. Moreover, in spite of its nationalistic - and, to a certain extent, decolonial - narrative, the reference to Amerindian culture in *Il Guarany* remained only textual, and were not, by any means, aesthetical as the opera “did not imply the use of authentic Indian music, but the participation of Indian characters as archetypal figures in mythical narratives of national foundation and identity”⁶².

⁵⁹ Degregori 1978.

⁶⁰ Larrain 2005, 99.

⁶¹ Volpe 2002, 190.

⁶² *Ibid.*

This could be partially explained by the fact that Emperor Dom Pedro II, known as a great admirer of European highbrow culture and arts, “directly contribute with the career of several artists (poets, painters and musicians) giving them, according to his will, financial help or a scholarship to perfect their art in Europe”⁶³. It was funded by one of these scholarships given by Pedro II that a young Carlos Gomes went to study opera in Italy⁶⁴, a period which may have influenced the aesthetics of *Il Guarany* as well as other of his works.

In respect to that, Gomes failure in adapting elements of Amerindian music into his master opus mirrors the same setback found in much of José de Alencar’s novels as well as of other contemporary writers and artists that ventured into a narrative that sets the Amerindian as the protagonist as a means of national emancipation but showed itself incapable of emancipating itself from European aesthetics. One could thus explain the ambivalent crossing of Amerindian narratives and European aesthetics through the post-independence political moment that Brazil was living as well as through the Europhile nineteenth-century Brazilian Empire *intelligentsia* cultural background. Therefore, the combination of these two factors - Brazilian political moment and the cultural background of its elites - resulted in an intellectual class which, on the one hand, was able to see the necessity of creating an emancipatory narrative to the country but, on the other hand, was unable or unwilling to free itself from the European judgment of aesthetics.

Although one may agree that the latter task is of a more complex nature than the former, being the subjective delinking from the colonised one of the last stages of actual *decolonisation*, the Brazilian elite did not seem to have included in their agenda the creation of a genuine national aesthetic as their following generations would attempt to. *In lieu* of venturing towards a certain degree of intellectual emancipation, they have instead continued to objectively seek modern European artistic genres and narrative aesthetics.

⁶³ Vasconcellos de Carvalho 2013, 4. “Dom Pedro II contribua-t-il directement à la carrière de plusieurs artistes (poètes, peintres et musiciens) en leur attribuant, selon sa volonté, une aide financière ou une bourse d’études pour parfaire leur art en Europe”.

⁶⁴ Academia Brasileira de Música. Carlos Gomes.

As a result, the same Eurocentric core can be found on the nineteenth-century Brazilian intelligentsia naive and romantic portrayal of Amerindians, as if, instead of real people who still exist in the contemporary world, they were mythical figures living in a mythological past. Therefore, although the nineteenth century academic and artistic elites have successfully presented the Amerindian as the main actor of Brazil's unique past in relation to its European counterparts, they also expressed their belief on, what for them was, the unavoidable Amerindian fate: as medieval knights – obsolete noble characters who were not able to contribute with, or even endure, the modern project - native Brazilians were also faded to die out and disappear absorbed by modern civilisation.

The Universal Expositions (1867-1889) as showcases for the Empire

As the Empire had already found in the juxtapositions of images – such as those of natural and classical worlds – the solution to how it should be portrayed, now it only lacked a convincing international arena from where such an image could reach Brazil's European counterparts. Nonetheless, the lack of an international showground would no longer be a problem as the country, as most of the Western developed nations, saw in the recently created Universal Exhibitions (circa 1850) a worldwide stage on which it could display its technological and cultural advances towards modernity.

However, from the nineteenth-century second half onwards, the international fairs were more than just the grounds from where agricultural and industrial entrepreneurs could expose their goods and get hold of new technologies to further develop their production. The *world exhibits* were also a *lieu* from where European imperial powers would dictate world tendencies in different realms of human expressions, thereby expanding their influence, and from where newly created nations would attempt to introduce their desired image to the developed world, accordingly to their aspirations and needs⁶⁵.

In spite of its name, the Empire of Brazil fitted into the latter group (i.e. the peripheral group of *young* countries). For Brazil, a country which had achieved its independence from Portugal only some decades ago, its participation in the Expos were seen as

⁶⁵ Rydel 1984.

essential tasks insofar they were understood as useful venues from where the Empire could establish its identity, thus differentiating itself from other recently created Latin American nations, within the Western imaginary. Therefore, the study of Brazilian involvement in the late nineteenth-century expositions is essential to the understanding of how some national foundation myths - as Von Martius' three races theory, Brazilian Indianism and so on - were negotiated to better fit into the international political and intellectual agenda as well as to build a positive account of the facts regarding the nation's past, present and future.

a) The Brazilian Mythical Amerindian in the Expos

If in the universal expositions the graphics and textual displays of enslaved Afro-Brazilians was an issue to the Empire (given the fact that, by the late nineteenth-century, international slave trade was forbidden and enslavement was an illegal practice in most of the developed world) and the constant depiction of Brazil's population as mostly white was sceptically seen by domestic and foreign audiences alike (not to mention the fact that a newly independent Brazil wished to somewhat detach its image from Portugal), the role of defining the country's own exceptional spirit was ascribed to the mythical Amerindian figure.

Despite of the fact that little to none information about the actual situation and cultures of the "500,000 savages"⁶⁶ that lived in Brazil - in 1889, the official number was already down to 386,955⁶⁷ - can be found in the exposition's catalogues between 1867 and 1889⁶⁸, the Brazilian fine art exhibits and at pavilion sculptures during this period, present the mythical Tupi-Guarani - akin to those presented by José de Alencar's Indianist novels - as a central figure from where Brazil seeks its own exceptionality among Western nations⁶⁹.

Such a preference towards the mythical Amerindian image, in detriment of other

⁶⁶ Comissão Brasileira na Exposição Universal de Vienna 1873, 63.

⁶⁷ Sant'Anna Nery 1889, 190.

⁶⁸ Comissão do Brazil na Exposição Universal de 1867. Comissão Brasileira na Exposição Universal de Vienna 1873. Comissão do Brazil para a Exposição Universal de 1876 and Sant'Anna Nery 1889.

⁶⁹ Schuster 2015b

ethnic groups in Brazil, such as the Afro-Brazilians, as the ultimate representation of the country was in complete accordance to the image of the nation as per the Empire's will. According to Schwarcz, circa 1850, "[t]here were hundreds of images, texts, coins, coats of arms, etc., that pictured the country from the standpoint of miscegenation as much as they exposed a hierarchy: in a nation where 90 percent of the population were African slaves, the selected national representation emphasized nature and the indigenous peoples"⁷⁰.

As we have already seen, one of the main characteristics of the Indianist Amerindian is its *pasadismo*⁷¹ - the "tendency to overrate the historical Indian and not rate the present one"⁷². In the late nineteenth-century universal expositions, such a characteristic can be found both in the predilection towards the mythical Tupi-Guarani in the Indianist *oeuvres d'art* and in the different way in which the historical native was portrayed in contrast with the depiction of the contemporary Amerindian.

Such a disregard towards the contemporary Amerindian and the appraisal of its mythical counter-part can be seen in the selection of two paintings that were exposed within the Brazilian pavilions of *Vienna 1873* and *Paris 1867*. Pedro Américo's *Batalha de Campo Grande* (1871) - exposed in Austria - is regarded as a masterpiece in which the conflict between the Brazilian (white) civilisation against the barbarian hordes of the Paraguayan (coloured) Guaranis reaches its climax⁷³. While Victor Meirelles' *Moema* (1866), exposed in France six years before – thus still during the war against Paraguay - presents a melancholic, almost remorseful, gaze over Amerindians, as "tragic victims of social and racial exclusion"⁷⁴ in the country.

On Meirelles' canvas, one can see the lifeless and naked body of Moema. The character in the painting comes from the fictional story, by Santa Rita Durão (1781), about a young Tupinambá who falls in love with a Portuguese, and real, castaway Diogo Álvares Correia (?-1557), also known as Caramuru. In the poem, Moema is represented

⁷⁰ Schwarcz 2006, 25.

⁷¹ Degregori 1979.

⁷² Larrain 2005, 99.

⁷³ Cardoso 2007.

⁷⁴ Treece 2000, 65.

as the antithesis of Caramuru's love interest, Catarina Paraguaçu (?-1583). On the one hand, Paraguaçu is described as an Amerindian of somewhat European traits, who is easily catechised. On the other hand, Moema represents the "dangerous, dark sexuality of Indian woman"⁷⁵. When Caramuru chooses to take Paraguaçu with him in his journey back to Europe (a voyage which actually happened), the fictional Moema is said to have swum in despair towards their ship to cry her love to the Portuguese just to finally drown into the sea⁷⁶.

The real relation between Diogo Álvares Correia and Catarina Paraguaçu resulted in the first documented union between a Brazilian native and a Portuguese. Therefore, their relationship naturally became the symbol of Brazil's formation, populating the imaginary of the nation as "an ideal cultural union between Europe and America, in which the Portuguese Diogo praises the marvels of Brazil, adopting a tribal name and certainly less controversial aspects of indigenous culture, while the Indian Paraguaçu speaks for European civilisation"⁷⁷.

The faith of the fictional character of Moema – on the other hand - represents the pessimistic prospect of the Amerindian who fails adapting to civilisation. Nevertheless, her death as a final and desperate sacrifice for love implies that - in spite of her "primitive" nature, or the fact that, at times, she has been described as "jealous" or even "vengeful"⁷⁸, characteristics that, within romantic narratives, are normally reserved to the antagonists - she ultimately had a tender-hearted essence to which modern men and women, as recipients of Christian values and Western culture, could relate to. Therefore, the depiction of a lifeless Moema also embodies the death of the *noble savage* as a consequence of Brazil's modernisation as well as, in the Indianists' view, the only alternative to Amerindian acculturation.

As examples of further representations of the mythical Amerindian in the Brazilian pavilions of the late nineteenth-century expositions, one can point at Rodolfo Bernardelli's sculptures *À Espreita* and *Saudades da Tribo* in *Philadelphia 1976*.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Rita Durão, 1836.

⁷⁷ Treece 2000, 64

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

Although the statues were said to have not received much attention of the American public as they “had been unfavourably positioned in a corner of the Brazilian pavilion”⁷⁹, both of them “showed a great deal of empathy for classical antiquity and evoked the frequently emulated *topos* of the ancient warrior hero”⁸⁰.

More meaningful representations of the kind, insofar the attraction that they have received from the general public is concerned, are the six Amerindian sculptures made by the French artist Alfred Gilbert to *Paris 1889*⁸¹. The gigantic stone-made Amerindians - who were equally divided into the two genders, male and female - were displayed just at the entrance of the Brazilian pavilion, thus catching the attention even from those who did not venture into the house.

What is more, each of Gilbert’s Amerindian was the explicit embodiment of a particular Brazilian main river: Amazonas, Paraíba, Paraná, São Francisco, Tietê and Tocantins⁸². Their bodies were young and had Europeanised facial features⁸³. They also carried paddles with them and were surrounded by vegetations which were native to the vicinities of each river that they embodied. Considering the above-mentioned fact, the museologist Heloísa Barbuy wrote the following:

“The choice of rivers represents the territory and its unity. The fact that they were Indians represents the natives; for being couples, the fertility, the promise of abundance and also the country integration. They were strong and young figures, expressing the energy, viability and youth of the country. The vegetation would represent the territory in its natural state, the oars, the idea of its crossing and clearing”.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Schuster 2015b, 11.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Piccard 1891b, 215.

⁸² Barbuy 1996, 221.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 221. “De todos os ornamentos externos do pavilhão, o mais destacado era o conjunto de esculturas do artista francês Gilbert: seis figuras de índios (com tipos físicos europeus), representavam os principais rios brasileiros”.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 221. “A escolha dos rios para a representação do território e a unidade territorial. Por serem índios representavam o aborígene; por serem casais, a fertilidade, promessa de abundância e também a integração do território. Eram figuras fortes e jovens, expressando a energia, a viabilidade e a juventude do país. A vegetação representaria o território em seu estado natural, os remos, a ideia de sua travessia e desbravamento”.

Considering where the Amerindians were featured, attached to the Pavilion's main facade, as well as their characteristics and sets of symbolism - which were all in consonance with the Empire's elected narrative to the country- it would not be an exaggeration to affirm that these Amerindians were meant to represent the embodiment of the late nineteenth-century Brazilian Empire. Therefore, beyond being actual representations of Brazilian natives as a people, these figures were the personification of the country's territory and, at the same time, the representation of the nation's idealised past and its promising future.

Finally, into the late nineteenth-century context, the six Amerindian sculptures of *Paris 1889* also personified the country's untapped potential by embodying its magnificent - and still untouched - nature as a mean to socio-economic progress. Therefore, the use of Arcadian-like Amerindians to symbolise Brazil in detriment of modernity-driven European descendants or captive Africans was a latent message to eventual immigrants to the country: the land was mostly virgin, just waiting to be explored by European arms.

b) The Elephant in the room: the symbolic annihilation of Afro-Brazilians and Slavery in the World Exhibits

According to Schuster, “while the figure of the idealized Brazilian Indian – in the form of the heroic, but now extinct ‘noble savage’ – became the official allegory of Imperial Brazil, at home and abroad, images of free blacks and slaves were extremely rare in the context of the world's fairs”⁸⁵. This was much due to the fact that - despite the Empire's willingness to portray Brazil as a tropical western nation, with immense potential to social and economic development - the country's socio-economic Achilles' heel throughout the late nineteenth-century lied on the fact that its economy was based on the slave labour force.

What is more - as a good share of free Brazilians were also of mixed ancestry, having their physical traits coming from their partial African and/or Amerindian background⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Schuster 2015b, 27.

⁸⁶ Freyre 1945b.

– they also feared that the same racial prejudice that domestically was still used as an excuse to slavery would haunt the nation internationally. The reasons for such discomfort were multifold: (a) the embarrassment caused by the Brazilian belatedness to abolish African slavery when most of its *Nouveau Monde* counterparts had done it so at the beginning of the century; (b) in spite of the fact that slavery had been abolished during the eighteenth-century in many European countries, a large share of the European intelligentsia still believed in and advertised the superiority of *Caucasian* people in detriment to, what they called, *Negroid* and *Mongoloid* types; (c) some European eugenisists, such as the *Count de Gobineau*, believed that the mixture between different races, as those that were taking place in Brazil, was a degeneration⁸⁷; (d) the aforementioned fact that the majority of the Brazilian population was, already in the nineteenth-century, racially mixed could be used as an evidence - by those who believed in the Caucasoid superiority - of the nation's proneness to failure; and, finally, the fact that (e) Universal Expositions were mega-events made *to* and *by* the modern bourgeois society, which celebrated modern industry and the modern capitalist system, and therefore supported, as well as were supported by, free labour (in detriment of slavery) as a means to the further development of the capitalist market⁸⁸.

Therefore, the early Brazilian exhibits in the World Fairs either completely ignored or focused too little on the presence of Africans and slaves in its territory. In *London 1862*, Brazil sent a rather modest display of its national products and culture⁸⁹. Within such a concise collection, the portrayal of the Brazilian population was dramatically abridged and appeared to have had one's skin colour as a criterium for such a selection⁹⁰. According to Schuster, "the few photographs and paintings included in the collection gave no impression of the actual composition of the country's population, as they only depicted members of the Imperial family, as well as a series of illustrious personalities"⁹¹. As the Empire's interest on the universal expositions gradually grew over the years, the Brazilian displays have also been enlarged, making even harder to Brazil's delegates and exhibits to ignore the importance of slavery to the Brazilian

⁸⁷ Gobineau 1967.

⁸⁸ Marx and Engels 1850.

⁸⁹ Schuster 2015a, 21.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

economy or to gloss over the miserable situation in which the slaves lived in the country.

In *Paris 1867*, the first occasion in which Brazil provided an Expo with an exhibition guide⁹², just a few lines of the 360 pages volume were dedicated to the “1,400,000 slaves” in a country with little less than twelve million inhabitants⁹³. The uneasiness of the Empire in relation to the slavery question in Brazil seemed to be unequivocal for an exhibition guide attentive reader not solely by the little volume of information presented by it but also by the apologetic tone used by the Brazilian organising committee when referring to the topic.

The reason is that the few paragraphs that wrote about the subject either tried to conceal the forced labourers’ routine - by saying that “the slaves are treated with humanity, and are generally well lodged and fed”⁹⁴ and that “nowadays, their work is moderate and normally takes place just during the day; while the evenings are destined to rest, religious practices, or amusement”⁹⁵ - or attempt to blame the former coloniser, without directly referring to Portugal, on the imposition of this practice “due to the force of particular circumstances which date back from the first years after [Brazil’s] discovery”⁹⁶.

Nonetheless, in the same catalogue, the Empire states: “the questions regarding the solution to the suppression [of slavery in Brazil] seriously occupy the attention of the [Brazilian] government”⁹⁷. As we have previously seen, such “questions regarding the

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Comissão do Brazil na Exposição de 1867 1867, 29. “La population du Brésil (...) est évaluée à 11,780,000 comprenant 500,000 indigènes non encore civilisés, et 1,400,000 esclaves”.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 29. “Les esclaves sont traités avec humanité, généralement bien logés et bien nourris. Dans la plupart des plantations, ils sont même autorisés à cultiver pour leur propre compte, et disposent librement de leurs récoltes”

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 29. “Leur travail est aujourd’hui modéré et d’ordinaire n’a lieu que de jour; les soirées sont destinées au repos, en partie à des pratiques religieuses, ou à des divertissements”

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 29. “Cette institution a été imposée au Brésil par la force de circonstances particulières qui datent des premières années de sa découverte”.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 29. “Les questions de la solution desquelles dépend sa suppression occupent sérieusement l’attention du gouvernement”

solution to the suppression” of slavery in Brazil were largely of economic order: Brazil was still dependent of forced labour to maintain its sugarcane and coffee plantations productive. However, in order to modernise its economy, expanding its internal market, and to give an end to an outdated practice that was now morally rejected and considered barbaric throughout the civilised world, in 1871, the Empire took a significant measure towards slavery abolition in Brazil: the *Lei do Ventre Livre* (Law of Free Womb).

Although the law was a noteworthy advance towards Afro-Brazilian rights, as it considered free all children born from a slave mother after its implementation date (September 28th, 1871), its practical value was of little significance in relation to the newborns quality of life as they normally stayed until the age of 21 years old under authority of their mothers’ lords and were effectively treated as slaves⁹⁸. Nonetheless, the Free Womb law demonstrated that slavery had its years numbered in Brazil and a full slavery abolition in the country was just at the other end of a gradual process that sought to preserve Brazil’s economy and enhance its image abroad, freeing thousands of people in the process.

Two years later, in *Vienna 1873*, a revised version of the Brazilian expo catalogue added a few lines to the still modest entry about “Brazilian slaves” in the country (this was made in spite of the lack of an up to date Brazilian population census, which prevented the Empire from displaying revised numbers in relation to the composition of its society). The same lines of Paris 1867 referring to the (good) quality of life of Brazilian slaves and attributing slavery to Brazil's colonial past idiosyncrasies, without revealing further details about it, were unaltered. Nevertheless, a few sentences were added exclusively to the catalogue of *Vienna 1873*. These lines made reference to the 1871 *Free Womb law*, saying that "no one is born a slave in Brazil anymore"⁹⁹ and that "slavery tends to disappear [in Brazil] in a few years"¹⁰⁰.

An almost exact copy of this text can be also seen on the Brazilian catalogue to the *Centennial International Exhibition of 1876* in Philadelphia. However, in the Brazilian

⁹⁸ Senado Federal 2012, 180.

⁹⁹ Comissão do Brazil na Exposição Universal de Vienna 1873, 63. “En vertu de la loi du 28 septembre 1871, personne ne naît plus esclave au Brésil”.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

guide to the first official international exhibition held outside of Europe, a closing phrase regarding the philanthropic nature of Brazilians was added. Therefore, in the Brazilian report to *1876 Philadelphia*, after the aforementioned brief description about the relative good conditions in which Brazilian slaves lived in the country and the mention to the *Free Womb law*, one could read that charitable Brazilians "every year contribute[d] towards the emancipation of a considerable number of slaves"¹⁰¹ by making donations to an emancipation fund.

Such covered-up claims regarding the African slaves' conditions in Brazil and the generosity of their masters may have served as an inspiration to twentieth-century theories that stressed the paternalistic, and nearly acceptable, relation between slaves and slaveholders, such as Freyre's *Lusotropicalism*, that led to the social myth that Brazilian racial democracy had deep historical socio-cultural roots.

Moreover - beyond the fact that these claims were made towards an international *other*, who generally did not have access to other sources of information about the issue - the use of such narrative by the Brazilian expo delegations, even during a period in which Brazil was still one of the only countries in the world that had not yet completely abolished racial-based slavery, reveals the complex nature of a largely ethnically mixed people - which, already in the nineteenth-century, commonly had both oppressors and oppressed as their forefathers.

c) Advertising Brazil as a *modern nation to attract white immigrants*

As we have previously seen, "the Empire was a slave-based society and it did not include black people as equal members of the nation"¹⁰². Such an institutionalised racism together with the imminent end of slavery in the country led to the Brazilian elite discontentment with the ethnical composition of the country. Racial bigots did not want to be seen abroad as equals to their former slaves. So, influenced by the belief of the superiority of the Caucasoid type within a eugenic hierarchy, a good share of the

¹⁰¹ Comissão do Brazil para a Exposição Universal de 1876 1876, 97. "La philanthropie des habitants du Brésil, qui tous les ans, offre spontanément la liberté, à un nombre considerable d'esclaves".

¹⁰² Dos Santos 2003, 188.

Brazilian elite saw in the *Free Womb law* an opportunity to “whiten” Brazil through the attraction of European immigrants, who should gradually replace African labour force¹⁰³.

On the meantime, prior to the actual *embranquecimento* of the country take place, sectors of the Brazilian society would seem prone to make use of any opportunity of international exposure to display the country as a modern nation populated by a white European majority. Such a strategy would be helped by the aforementioned symbolic annihilation of Afro-Brazilians as well as by the tendency of the Brazilian delegations to different international exhibitions in selecting photographs and *oeuvres d’art* which collaborated with the idea that Brazil was indeed a modern nation composed mainly by people of European descent.

As an example of such a political agenda of the Brazilian Empire, in *Vienna 1873* and *Philadelphia 1876*, the Brazilian Academy of Fine Arts (AIBA) exposed the paintings of Pedro Américo and Victor Meirelles, respectively *Batalha de Campo Grande* (1871) and *Combate Naval do Riachuelo* (1872). In relation to the latter painting, Williams writes that “academic convention and the highly racist politics of memory operative in the empire afforded Meirelles the freedom to distort key historical aspects of the battle, diminishing the presence of a large number of Afro-Brazilians in the Brazilian naval force”¹⁰⁴.

As for the former canvas, *Batalha de Campo Grande* was seen by 1870s Brazilian art critics as a seminal work of art which “established the relation between [Brazilian] civilisation and [Paraguayan] barbarism”¹⁰⁵. This was much due to the fact that - besides the complete lack of African soldiers in the Brazilian side, which, at the time, were, in fact, the majority of the Brazilian Imperial army effective - one can see in the painting a group of white Brazilians, in a European-style army uniform, conquering their victory against a horde of bare-chested Amerindian looking Paraguayans. Leading

¹⁰³ Skidmore 1969.

¹⁰⁴ Williams 2001, 33.

¹⁰⁵ Cardoso 2007.

the victorious imperial troops, the triumphal figure of the French-born Comte of Eu, who was also the prince consort of Brazil at the time.

This pictorial representation of the *Paraguay war* was seen as a display of the Brazilian army superiority over its neighbouring countries, and also served as a reminder of the reason why Brazil was not able to send a satisfactory exhibit to *Paris 1867*¹⁰⁶. More importantly, by depicting Brazilians as victorious European types dressed on European military fashion storming the barbarous Guarani-looking Paraguayans, the exposition of *Batalha de Campo Grande* was also intended to display the nation as the natural heir of European civilisation in an otherwise uncivilised Latin America.

Finally - as these two paintings "systematically minimised the role of black soldiers in the Imperial army during the Paraguayan War (1865-1870), by simply editing them out altogether"¹⁰⁷ – their public display during the International exhibitions of the 1870s served all too well the aforementioned imperial agenda of portraying the nation as a tropical extension of European civilisation, establishing the Brazilian victory over “barbarous Paraguayan hordes” as “a white accomplishment in official historiography and iconography”¹⁰⁸.

In order to turn such an unrealistic image of the country into existence, the Empire saw in the universal exhibitions a useful media to attract European immigrants to the country. Even before the *Free Womb law* in 1871, Brazil had already seen the necessity of increasing the labour force within its territory. However, due to the Paraguayan War (1864-1870), the Empire fell short of its own expectations in relation to the exhibit that should be sent to *Paris 1867*. Therefore, the catalogue of the Parisian exposition opens with a preface explaining that the modest exhibit sent to Paris was much due to unfavourable conditions in which the second Brazilian exhibition, which traditionally took place in Rio de Janeiro and worked as a means to the selection of what is to be sent to the International Expositions, was organised:

¹⁰⁶ Comissão do Brazil na Exposição de 1867 1867, 3.

¹⁰⁷ Schuster 2015a, 24.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

“The unfavorable conditions in the middle of which was organized the second Brazilian exhibition; the Empire struggling with a war in which it was launched by an act of hostility, as unjustifiable as it was unexpected, and all the attention absorbed by the redemption of the offended national honor; have not allowed (we regretfully acknowledge it) that Brazil could advantageously be included in the Universal Exhibition of Paris, nor give a rough idea of its natural wealth, its productive forces and its immense resources”¹⁰⁹.

The preface then follows with the sentence: “[f]or Brazil to become one of the world greatest nations, she only lacks the population and, to attract it, she only needs to make herself known”¹¹⁰. In the same report, the already mentioned potential of the country to become “one of the world greatest nations” was backed by the riches of Brazilian soil, a characteristic which was also much advertised by the Empire both as a proof of the country’s *exceptionality*, as even “Europe could not compete with the oldness of natural settings”¹¹¹, and as a sign of its latent productive power: “[n]ature seems to have destined Brazil to be one of the first agricultural countries in the world. Still covered in its largest expanse of magnificent virgin forests, its soil retains its primitive fertility, which generously rewards all human work”¹¹².

According to Skidmore, despite the small exhibit sent to *Paris 1867*, the Brazilian strategy of advertising the country through universal exhibitions seemed to work, making the Brazilian committee delighted with the international feedback received during the event as “their special press briefings had even impressed newspapers which had been anti-Brazilian over the Paraguayan War. The Brazilian organizers claimed

¹⁰⁹ Comissão do Brazil na Exposição de 1867 1867, 3. “Les Conditions défavorables au milieu desquelles a été organisée la seconde exposition brésilienne; l’Empire se trouvant aux prises, avec une guerre dans laquelle il a été lancé par des actes d’hostilité aussi injustifiables qu’inattendus et toute l’attention absorbée par la réparation due à l’honneur national offensé; n’ont pas permis (nous le reconnaissons à regret), que le Brésil pût figurer avantageusement à l’Exposition Universelle de Paris, ni donner une idée même approximative de ses richesses naturelles, de ses forces productives et de ses immenses ressources”.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, “Pour que le Brésil devienne une des plus grandes nations du monde, il ne lui manque que la population, et pour attirer celle-ci, il suffit de la faire connaître”.

¹¹¹ Dos Santos 2003, 187.

¹¹² Comissão do Brazil na Exposição de 1867 1867, 69. “La nature semble avoir destiné le Brésil à être un des premiers pays agricoles du monde. Encore couvert dans sa plus grande étendue de magnifiques forêts vierges, son sol conserve sa primitive fertilité, qui recompense généreusement tout travail de l’homme”.

these same papers now had to admit that Brazil was a ‘liberal, rich, progress-loving country destined for great prosperity’¹¹³.

Such a view over the Universal Exhibitions as an excellent platform to the attraction of European immigrants is also explicit in the preface of 1873 Vienna universal exhibition's Brazilian catalogue. Already in its first line, it addresses its public by stating "the necessity of the European states, which have a superabundant population, to get know better the regions of America"¹¹⁴. Keeping the tradition started six years before in France, the catalogue's preface goes on by celebrating the fertility of the Brazilian soil "with its various treasures of natural riches that offer a wide range of opportunities to all genres of industrial activity" to, then, state that the exhibition guide's main goal was to promote the migration to the [Brazilian] empire¹¹⁵.

Even if one skips the preface of the Brazilian catalogue to the aforementioned Austrian exposition, in which it is clearly stated its foremost purpose, one can still, without a doubt, tell the volume's *raison d'être* by the content that follows. Among its almost four hundred pages with detailed (and, naturally, somewhat biased) description of Brazil's "vast territory"¹¹⁶, "generally healthy weather"¹¹⁷, the diversity of its fauna and flora¹¹⁸, the fertility of its soil followed by a comprehensive account on the power of the Brazilian Imperial army, on the national constitution and on how commerce is done in the country; one could find twenty pages exclusively destined to expose the benefits that immigrants were able to receive from the Brazilian government if they were ever to move to the country. Among such benefits offered by the Brazilian Empire to

¹¹³ Skidmore 1974, 127.

¹¹⁴ Comissão do Brasil na Exposição Universal de Vienna 1873 1873, 3. "Conhecer exactamente as regiões da América é hoje necessidade dos Estados da Europa, onde superabunda a população".

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* "A uberidade do solo do Brazil e seus variados thesouros de riquezas naturaes offerecem vasto campo a todo genero de actividade industrial. No intuito de demonstra-lo e prover a immigração para este Império aproveitou-se o feliz ensejo que offerece a Exposição Universal de Vianna d'Austria, tratando-se de rever e melhorar a Breve Notícia impressa em 1867 para a Exposição Universal de Paris. (...)Tendo-se por alvo principal tornar bem conhecido o Império do Brazil e esclarecer os immigrants, procurou-se com todo cuidado dizer somente a verdade".

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 23-39.

potential immigrants was the payment of the difference between the price of the boat ticket to go the United States and the one to go to Brazil in addition to a loan to make such a voyage, free accommodation, financial help from the Empire during the first days in Brazil and free transportation from Rio de Janeiro to the immigrant final destination within the Empire¹¹⁹.

In the 1870s, these incentives to the attraction of new settlers to Brazil were part of the Empire strategy to gradually replace the use of slaves in the Brazilian plantations by a new white labouring salaried class. However, after a long debate concerning the attraction of Asian immigrants to the country¹²⁰, and given the recent advances towards slavery abolition in the country (i.e. *The Free Womb law* of 1871), the official version was that "the government recognised the need to employ all the means at its disposal to make the transition from slave labour regime, not hesitating, as did other civilised nations, to accept the offers to import coolies or Asian workers"¹²¹.

In spite of the claim present in the Vienna's catalogue that the Empire did not hesitate to receive *coolies* or *Asian workers* in the country, Skidmore reminds us that, in Brazil, "the backers of Chinese labour were notably apologetic. They wanted only 'temporary workers', not colonisers who would 'become a permanent part of our society'. Their objective was merely a 'means of transition' to a 'system of completely free labour'¹²². One of the most prominent advocates against Chinese migration in the country was the Brazilian statesman Joaquim Nabuco. For him, the Chinese presence in Brazil would "pervert and corrupt our race even further", making Brazil become "mongolised, just as it was Africanised when Salvador Correa de Sá brought over the first slaves"¹²³. It was thus clear that, insofar the late nineteenth-century national elites' rationale was concerned, European immigrants were at the top end of the plans for Brazil's future while Afro-Brazilians were at the opposite extreme.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 239-240.

¹²⁰ Skidmore 1974, 26.

¹²¹ Comissão do Brazil na Exposição Universal de Vienna 1873 1873, 233. "Le gouvernement reconnaissant la nécessité d'employer tous les moyens à sa disposition pour effectuer la transition du régime du travail esclave, n'a pas hésité, à l'exemple de quelques autres nations civilisées, à accepter les offres qu'on lui a faites pour l'importation de coolies ou travailleurs asiatiques".

¹²² Skidmore 1974, 25.

¹²³ Nabuco 1949, 25-26.

In light of it, one should not believe that the *Lei Áurea* (Golden Law) - which was declared in May 13, 1888, by Princess Isabel of Brazil, finally prohibiting slavery from the country – was purely the result of Brazilians’ “philanthropic nature” nor the ultimate action of the monarchy’s image management strategies. Other than the increasing pressure of western economies that wished for the slavery abolition as a way of consolidating the existence of a Brazilian middle-class, assuring thus the expansion of their markets - a good share of Brazil’s economic elite also defended the end of slavery in the country. According to Skidmore, “the abolitionists believed that slavery was a moral, economic, and political drag on the nation's development”¹²⁴, which made of Brazil a pre-modern state in slow development. The answer to this issue was thus “to import Europeans, thereby increasing the *white* (sometimes defined in cultural terms) element. The purely Negro element was fated to disappear, as the Brazilian population steadily whitened”¹²⁵.

What is more, several of the abolitionists believed that the aftermath of the end of slavery in the country would culminate with the solution to the crises of two colonial legacies: “the economic complex (based on the triad latifundium - monoculture – slavery) and the statist character of the imperial political institutions”¹²⁶. According to Alonso, between 1870 and 1888, “the Brazilian conjecture evidenced the downfall of the colonial socio-political order and would demand political action in order to generate the basic institutions of modern civilisation”¹²⁷.

Paris 1889 and the dawn of the Republic of Brazil

It was thus under the sign of political instability that Brazil finally sent an exhibit to the Exposition Universelle of 1889, in Paris. Ironically, the Brazilian pavilion to the Parisian event – which was held as a celebration of the 100th anniversary of the French revolution – was the last one of Brazil as a monarchy. Only two weeks after the end of Paris-1889, Brazil was proclaimed a republic on November 15. The Empire’s friability,

¹²⁴ Skidmore 1969, 3.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Alonso 2009, 98.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

however, went unnoticed by the visitors to its pavilion as the Brazilian exhibit of 1889 was considered one of the most complete of the country's exhibits to that date¹²⁸.

As we have previously seen, two of the main concerns of the Brazilian Empire were the modernisation of its economy by the introduction of a new salaried force in the country and, through the introduction of this very new workforce coming from Europe, the whitening of its population. These goals would be achieved at the expense of the Afro-Brazilian type that, albeit freed from slavery in 1888, was treated as a marginal and undesired element on the nation's future - since there was virtually nor short neither long-term plan to insert the individual as part of this new salaried social class¹²⁹. To make the situation even worse, even after the dawn of the Republic (1889) and the *Golden Law* (1888), Afro-Brazilians were still deemed to be an obstacle to the nation's progress by the local intelligentsia. Within this group of influential individuals, circulated the ideas of "European thinkers [who] were articulating systematic theories of innate biological differences among races"¹³⁰. For them, the solution to Brazil's *racial problem* lied on the miscegenation with the European type through intermarriage. "Miscegenation, therefore, was seen as regenerative, if not biologically, at least in terms of culture contacts"¹³¹.

It was thus understandable that at the Universal Exposition of Paris 1889 - that took place at Champs de Mars twelve months after the signing of the *Lei Áurea* (Golden law), which forbade once and for all slavery in the country - that Brazil would continue, if not increase, its strategy of advertising the nation as the country of the future in order to continue the attraction of European immigrants and foreign investors. However, some months before its opening, the presence of the Brazilian Empire was not yet confirmed. The official version is that the country would not send an official exhibit due to financial issues¹³², however it is also said that there was a general uneasiness among the late nineteenth century monarchies to take part in an event that celebrated

¹²⁸ Sant'Anna Nery 1889, x.

¹²⁹ Fausto 1995, 221.

¹³⁰ Skidmore 1969, 3.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Pesavento 1997, 188.

the centennial of the French revolution and its symbolism as a pro-republican, an anti-monarchical, movement¹³³.

Nonetheless, with the strong support of the Franco-Brazilian private initiative and the final blessing of the Emperor - who ended up sending a substantial financial contribution and writing a letter to support the Brazilian exhibit at Champs de Mars¹³⁴ - Brazil sent an unofficial exhibit to Paris 1889.

a) Brazil, "the sleepy giant of South America"

In the introduction of its catalogue, which (unlike those of the previous exhibitions) was completely re-written for the occasion by Frederico Santa-Anna Nery - who was in charge of the catalogue production and "should answer to the desires of the desirous public giving exact pieces of information about Brazil"¹³⁵. Santa-Anna Nery stated that the goal of Brazilian exhibit to Paris 1889 was "to show the path that Brazil has covered since the Universal Exposition of 1867"¹³⁶, namely the abolition of slavery in the country in 1888 and the modernisation of its industry and economy.

In relation to such an industrial development, the catalogue authors expressed their happiness with the situation and their optimism with their future by stating that in Brazil "factories and plants are built to locally process the raw materials that were, in the past, sent to Europe and then resented to the country at very high prices", "[t]he local industry makes us less and less dependent on Europe to manufacture the objects we need" and that "[t]he human effort reigns and is deployed everywhere on a virgin and fertile land"¹³⁷.

To make a point over the fast pace of the late nineteenth-century Brazilian development and the success of the implementation of European labour in replacement to slavery, Santa-Anna Nery used the example of the province of São Paulo:

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 186.

¹³⁴ Sant'Anna Nery 1889.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, v.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, x.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, xv.

Who knew, only by name, the province of São Paulo, a quarter of a century ago? (...). Its general and provincial revenues amounted to barely five million: it is the budget of a small French town. It did not yet receive immigrants. (...) São Paulo did not exist for Europe. Well, this corner of the Earth, located in southern Brazil, now makes the astonishment of economists and prepares them new surprises. São Paulo now supplies income, which amounts to the respectable sum of 32 million francs and has almost monopolised the immigration that headed towards Brazil. Its great coffee plantations, its praiseworthy weather and soil (...) attracted, last year, more than one hundred thousand European immigrants. It is the prosperity assured because what Brazil lacks the most, is not the land, it is the arms. Today, the province of São Paulo can be advantageously compared to any French department due to its wealth, its rural explorations and its local administration"¹³⁸.

For Santa-Anna Nery, and a large share of the intellectual and political elites of the late nineteenth century Brazil, the question was simple: Brazil was a vast and fertile country that was lagging behind Europe due to its lack of civilised people. Once the country had finally attracted enough European immigrants - as did the province of São Paulo - such civic and economic gap would cease to exist. Therefore, due to its sheer size and its natural richness - which were deemed superior to those of Europe - many thought of Brazil as "the country of the future" or the "sleepy giant of South America".

The successful example of São Paulo was thus seen as the beginning of a new era of prosperity in the country as well as an illustration of the emergence of a new age, an epoch in which Brazilians would finally overcome their syndrome of second-class people as their country was entering in the concert of developed nations. Such a feeling

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, xiv. "Qui connaissait, seulement de nom, la province de San-Paulo, il y a un quart ce siècle? Elle était perdue dans les infiniment petits. Ses revenus généraux et provinciaux atteignaient à peine 5 millions: c'est le budget d'une petite ville de France. Elle ne recevait pas d'immigrants. (...). San-Paulo n'existait pas pour l'Europe. Hé bien" ce coin de terre, situé dans le Brésil méridional, fait aujourd'hui l'étonnement des économistes et leur prépare de nouvelles surprises. San-Paulo fournit maintenant des revenus qui s'élèvent à la somme respectable de 32 millions de francs, et a presque accaparé l'immigration qui se dirige vers le Brésil. Ses grandes cultures de café, son climat et son sol admirables, son initiative à la fois hardie et pondérée lui ont attiré, l'année dernière, plus de cent mille immigrants d'Europe. C'est la prospérité assurée, car ce qui manque le plus au Brésil, ce n'est pas la terre, ce sont les bras. La province de San-Paulo peut être avantageusement comparée à n'importe quel département français pour sa richesse, ses explorations rurales et son administration locale".

was hence explicitly expressed in the catalogue: "it seems that the South American giant, sleeping for so long, has finally wakened up, excited to make things anew: *jam novus nascitur ordo* [now there is a new order]¹³⁹".

Thus, in order to continue with the economic progress achieved in recent years, the Empire was willing to carry on with its policy of European immigrants' attraction. Therefore, even if the Brazilian catalogue had been completely re-written to the occasion and the socio-economic changes in the country since Brazil had last time exposed in France were celebrated as signs that the young country had made to the ranks of developed nations, the objectives of Brazil in Paris 1889 were akin to those of the previous expos:

"Brazil has come to Paris not to impose her will, but to show to Old Europe that she is not unworthy, due to her progress, to join even more greatly in the economic concert of the great states. Brazil has come to Paris not searching for the vain satisfaction of honorary awards, but to establish more firmly the ties that attach her to Europe, to open new markets to her raw materials, and, mostly, to give confidence to all those who are ready to choose her as their new homeland, to give them jobs and to make them grow their capital"¹⁴⁰.

The message was clear: since the last time that Brazil exposed in Paris, the country had achieved a considerable degree of progress due to the modernisation of its society and industry. However, to advance even further, the country needed immigrants, preferably from Europe. These immigrants were to benefit from Brazil's wealth as much as Brazil would benefit from their working force. Thus, from this synergy, both were to profit. However, to convince prospective immigrants and investors that the country had indeed an immense untapped potential, the Brazilian committee to the 1889 expo needed to

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, xv. "On dirait que le géant de l'Amérique du Sud, assoupi pendant si longtemps, se réveille enfin, animé du désir de tout refaire à nouveau: *jam novus nascitur ordo*."

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, x. "Le Brésil est venu à Paris, non pas pour en imposer aux yeux, mais pour faire constater à la vieille Europe qu'il n'est pas indigne, par ses progrès réalisés, d'entrer plus largement encore dans le concert économique des grands États. Le Brésil est venu à Paris, non pas pour rechercher la vaine satisfaction de récompenses honorifiques, mais pour nouer plus solidement les liens qui l'attachent à l'Europe, pour ouvrir de nouveaux débouchés à ses matières premières, et surtout pour donner confiance à tous ceux qui seraient prêts à le choisir pour leur nouvelle patrie, à y porter leur travail ou à y faire fructifier leurs capitaux"

put much of the exhibit focus on the marvels of Brazil's natural world rather than simply displaying what western civilisation had already done in the country.

b) The Brazilian pavilion in Paris 1889, between nature and civilisation

Therefore, the Brazilian pavilion in Paris 1889 was organised in a way that the passersby would get firstly attracted by the exuberant nature of the garden set next to the Eiffel tower. The Brazilian flora display presented specimens from different areas of the country, thus some were put inside a greenhouse¹⁴¹.

Nonetheless, the garden highlight was the exhibition of real *Victoria Amazonica* – the world's largest Water Lilies – that were kept alive due to a heating system installed on one of the ponds that previously existed on Champs de Mars, which maintained the water at the constant temperature of thirty degrees Celsius¹⁴².

Once the visitor entered into the Brazilian pavilion, he would see some of the agricultural products that Brazil produced, such as wood, yerba mate, cocoa, rubber, sugar and coffee (the latter could even be tasted in an outside kiosk installed close to the Water Lilies' pond). On the second floor, the observer could behold Brazil's manufactured goods whereas if he would go up an extra story, he would enter a session displaying Brazil's industry and highbrow art¹⁴³.

Therefore, the Brazilian exhibit in Paris 1889 was designed in a way that the visitor would somehow enter within the exotic nature of the tropical world to – then - see the opportunities that such an environment provides to Western men and women to, finally, get a glimpse of the civilisation that had been formed there. In spite of the Brazilian delegates efforts to both show Brazil as a land of opportunity and gradually introduce the advances of the nation towards Western modernity, “the majority of chroniclers ignored the elements of the second and third floor of the pavilion”¹⁴⁴.

¹⁴¹ Piccard 1891b, 215.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Barbuy 1996, 223.

¹⁴⁴ Barbuy 1996, 223.

According to the Brazilian museologist Heloísa Barbuy, this was because “either our products were not at the same level, in quality and quantity, in relation to those produced in Europe or because the displays [of the second and third floors] did not correspond to what was expected of Brazil”¹⁴⁵. Either way, the French historian Pascal Ory, who wrote about the visitors’ perceptions of Paris 1889, states that Brazil was reminded in the expo as “a great plantation, due to its exotic garden”¹⁴⁶.

c) The United States of America and Argentina as local competitors

The idea of attracting European immigrants to replace the labour force of enslaved African people was neither new nor exclusively of Brazil. Having abolished slavery decades before Brazil, countries such the United States of America and Argentina were the destination of most of the nineteenth-century immigrants from the old continent. That is why, already in the 1870s, the Empire would cover the difference between the price of the trip to the United States and the one to Brazil to Europeans who decided to make of the latter their new home¹⁴⁷. Given the progress that the United States of America had made in the last century - to the point to compete with western European nations in their political influence in Latin America - Brazil seemed keen to reassure the potential immigrants that the same social advancement could happen to the country if they were to chose it as their new home: "For being South Americans, we are not less Americans",¹⁴⁸ affirmed Santa-Anna Nery in the 1889 catalogue's preface.

If the United States was both a competitor for immigrants and a model of development to the country, Argentina was Brazil's local rival for European investment and migration¹⁴⁹. According to Skidmore, “Brazilian governments had proved less energetic and effective than their Argentine rivals in promoting their country’s image abroad between 1890 and 1904. (...) It was in the search for immigrants that competition was most obvious”.¹⁵⁰ Such competition between the two South-American nations was reflected by the investments made in their respective pavilions in the

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Ory 1999, 85.

¹⁴⁷ Comissão do Brazil na Exposição Universal de Vienna 1873 1873, 239-240.

¹⁴⁸ Sant’Anna Nery 1889, x.

¹⁴⁹ Barbuy 1996, 233.

¹⁵⁰ Skidmore 1974, 136.

Parisian exposition of 1889, which were much more expensive than that of other Latin American nations. Whereas Brazil expended 372,000 francs build its structure¹⁵¹, countries such as Chile (140,000) and Venezuela (51,000) made a relatively more modest investment. Even European countries as Portugal (210,000) and Spain (194,000), the former colonisers of Latin America, put less capital in their exhibits than did Brazil. However, none of these nations expended as much as Argentina did (1,000,000 of francs)¹⁵². The massive Argentine investment rendered the South American republic the prestige of being considered by the Paris 1889 visitors as “the United States of the South”¹⁵³ and “the country of immigrants”¹⁵⁴ – epithets, that we have seen, were also desired by Brazilians.

The aforementioned numbers show the importance that Universal Expositions had to countries such as Brazil and Argentina whose aspirations of regional influence were dependent on their modernisation within European standards. Thus, the idea that civilisation starts in Europe and its mimicry is the only path towards progress and modernity lead Latin American countries into embracing their European ethnical and cultural heritage to the detriment of those people that inhabited their lands (I.e. Afro-Brazilians, Amerindians and so on). Consequently, *Latin America* as a term was increasingly adopted by local elites as a means to “embrace modernity while indigenous, Afro and poor Mestizo/a peoples got poorer and marginalised”¹⁵⁵. Within this perspective, the late nineteenth century expositions were perfect arenas to advertise the country as an extension of western civilisation and to attract European immigrants in order to turn such an image into reality.

The First Republic: Eurocentrism and its discontents

Only one year and a few months after the Golden Law declaration, the republic was declared. The Empire fell in a military coup d’etat on 15 November 1889 due to a deep crisis that had affected different sectors of Brazilian society. According to Alonso, such

¹⁵¹ Piccard, 1891b, 216.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 263.

¹⁵³ Ory 1999, 85.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Mignolo 2005a, 58.

a crisis was the result of the decadence of the main elements of the colonial legacy – namely *latifundia*, agrarian monoculture, slavery and the statist character of imperial institutions. These “would vitiate the other dimensions of social life: institutions, social and racial hierarchy, citizenship, church/state religion, the definition of national identity, and the relationship between public/private”¹⁵⁶.

The situation was aggravated by the growing ambition of the Brazilian military in creating a progressive and modern country and the loss of support of slaveholders due to the failure of the Empire in paying the indemnities of the Golden Law proclamation. As a result, there was little resistance against the coup both by civil and military elites. For most members of both groups, “the monarchy would be archaic, a government of privileges, in the process of disappearing throughout the West, as examples of Russia, Italy, Spain and Portugal would glimpse”¹⁵⁷.

The Republic proclamation was thus an attempted to take Brazil out of the middle-ages and to put it into modernity’s wagon. By turning their heads from a superannuated form of government and an obsolete socio-economic system to the future, the Brazilian elites once more looked towards the west as a role model. As a result, during a good share of the Brazilian first Republic, the nation experienced “its own version of the Belle Epoque”¹⁵⁸ - a period in which Brazilian economic, military, artistic, political and intellectual elites were inspired by French positivism. The idea that Europe and Europeans were superiors to their counterparts was thus unaltered. Therefore, the republic continued – if not intensified – the strategical plan to whiten its population through immigrants’ attraction, “assuming that Brazil would, over the next century at most, virtually *bleach out* the non-white element”¹⁵⁹.

a) *Rebellion in the Backlands, setting modernity under a new perspective*

As any given idea is hardly a consensus in a country with the proportions of Brazil, during the wake of the first republic, there were a few intellectuals who, eventually,

¹⁵⁶ Alonso 2009, 98.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁵⁸ Skidmore 2009, 102.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 103.

attempted to disown the scientific racism that dictated the Brazilian immigration policies. Among them, the jurist-politician Albert Torres, the educator-writer Manuel Bomfim and the poet-sociologist Silvio Romero. The literary work of the latter is a curious case as it epitomises the gradual shift of Brazilian intelligentsia from scientific racism to multiculturalism. Initially, a harsh critic of the racial mix in Brazil, defending the end of slavery as a means to receive more white immigrants in the country, Romero later became one of the proponents of the idea of Brazil being the ethnocultural melting pot of three races.

Therefore - according to Skidmore - Torres, Bonfim and Romero were important pieces on the evolution of Brazilian identity as they “served as anti-racist mentors for the new generation of Brazilian thinkers that emerged after World War I”¹⁶⁰. What is more, during the same period, another Brazilian intellectual – Euclides da Cunha - ended-up by writing what would become a seminal book which would gradually change the ideological common acceptance among Brazilian intelligentsia that Amerindians and Afro-Brazilians were essentially savages, whether noble or not, whose very existence, knowledge and ethos were completely obsolete in the modern world. Euclides da Cunha’s monograph about the Canudos War (1896 - 1897), called *Rebellion in the Backlands*¹⁶¹ (1902), sets modernity into a new perspective, recognising some value on the knowledge of otherwise excluded groups of Brazilian society.

In spite of the author’s racial bias towards non-European ethnic groups – i.e. “Euclides saw the cabloco as the backbone of a new race uniquely adapted to the rigours of the harsh interior of the Brazilian Northeast. But the Negro and the mulatto got no such reprieve. Euclides regarded them, especially the mulatto, as degenerates”¹⁶² - the book presents its readers with elements to the understanding of why was so difficult to the Brazilian Republican army to fight against a militia formed by Amerindians, recently-freed African slaves and local impoverished peasants. Through its narrative, Da Cunha explains how the militia’s lack of formal military training was counterbalanced by its combatants’ knowledge of the land and their better adaptability to the harsh environmental conditions of Brazil’s backlands.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Da Cunha 2001.

¹⁶² Skidmore 1969, 3.

As a result, according to Costa¹⁶³, *Rebellion in the Backlands* served as a valuable intellectual influence to the 1900s early intellectual generations which “was less oriented to the contemplation of things European and more open to seeing the social plight of its own poor people”¹⁶⁴. Such a relativisation of western modernity – especially the one coming from Europe – was further impulsed by historical events that took place in Europe during the 20th century first decades. For some historians, such as Compagnon, the advent of the Great War (1914-1918) collaborated to the feeling that the cultures of western Europe were not to be the sole role model to the recently proclaimed Brazilian Republic. Due to the war “Europe became the object of a deep disillusion among the Latin-American elites (...) [e]nding an era that had begun with the rupture of the colonial bound that unified the new world and the Iberian peninsula”¹⁶⁵. Therefore, “[a]fter 1918 those who espoused racist theories were on the defensive. A younger generation, born with the Republic and Abolition, was much more skeptical of racist theory from abroad”¹⁶⁶.

b) The Brazilian independence centennial: Rio’s International Expo and São Paulo’s Modern Art Week

The year 1922 was marked by the festivities of Brazil’s independence centennial. Such a symbolic anniversary raised with it several questions related to Brazilian-ness and the essence of the national spirit. It was under such a soul-searching sign that different events were organised by the Brazilian political and cultural elites of different regions of the republic.

Rio de Janeiro’s Independence Centenary International Exposition

In the federal capital, an international exposition was organised. The Independence Centenary International Exposition took place in Rio de Janeiro between September 7, 1922, and March 23, 1923. As expected, several Western and Latin-American countries

¹⁶³ João Cruz Costa 1962. *Apud.* Larrain 2005, 97.

¹⁶⁴ Larrain 2005, 97.

¹⁶⁵ Compagnon 2013, 203.

¹⁶⁶ Skidmore 1969, 5.

– like Argentina, Portugal, France, England and the United States - sent their delegations to expose their exhibits at “Avenida das Nações”.

In order to show social and architectural signs of Brazil’s development to foreign audiences, the city of Rio de Janeiro underwent several reforms in its urban tissue – the most emblematic being the demolition of Monte Castelo and the consequent Haussmann-like moving of its underprivileged-class from the city centre¹⁶⁷.

The idea was to portray the city as a cosmopolitan capital of a modern – and centenary - nation¹⁶⁸. That is why the largest exposition to ever take place in Brazil was set to happen in the year of 1922, as “the one hundred mark seems to reveal the conquest of a long-lasting type, as if attested some social and political maturity of the nation”¹⁶⁹.

Rio-1922 was, therefore, designed in such a way to show both the traditional image of the country as an “inexhaustible source of natural wealth”, a means to foreign investors attraction, and Brazil’s progress to date – which was “carefully expressed in tables and graphs that pointed to an ‘unequivocal’ growth trend of the ‘modern sectors’ of the economy, based on iron and electricity”¹⁷⁰.

São Paulo Modern Art week: Vanguardistas & Verde-e-Amarelos

Earlier on in 1922, in February, another event of national relevance took place in São Paulo: the Modern Art week (Semana de Arte Moderna de São Paulo). Although the *Paulistano* event was different in nature and capital investment than that from Rio de Janeiro, the two of them shared a similar aspiration: they were both driven by the symbolism of the country’s centenary. Hence, both *Cariocas* and *Paulistanos* sought in Brazil’s past a historical narrative that could lead the nation to a brighter future. However, in spite of their ambitions, their understanding of what was modern - of what was desirable to be kept the way it was and what should be better changed - was rather different.

¹⁶⁷ Da Motta 1992a, 5.

¹⁶⁸ Da Motta 1992b.

¹⁶⁹ Sandes 2000, 111.

¹⁷⁰ Da Motta 1992b, 12.

This is because whereas the 1920's Francophile bourgeoisie from Rio de Janeiro was culturally attached to the historical link between (Latin) Europe and Brazil, wishing to "transform Brazil's capital in a sort of tropical Paris, hoping that the changes in Rio would be spread throughout the country"¹⁷¹; most of the artists involved with the Sao Paulo Modern Art Week were skeptical about the idea that Western Europe was the sole centre of science and culture and that the nation should blindly follow its lead.

Although the majority of the artists who took part in the art festival believed that Brazil should be the master of its own destiny, many of them disagreed on the direction in which the nation should aim its future at. Therefore, one can separate these artists into two large groups: Verde-e-Amarelos (the Green and Yellows) and the Vanguardists. Whereas the former - somewhat inspired by late romanticism ideals such as vehement criticism towards modernity (considered by them as "artificial and obliterating"¹⁷²) and the appraisal of traditions of the natural world - believed that a "U-turn" back to Brazilian agrarian traditions was necessary as a means to completely cut its ties with urbanising Europe; the "Vanguardists" celebrated the multi-cultural nature of Brazilian-ness and saw in the city a crossroad from where different cultures would mingle, setting Brazil in the vanguard of modernity¹⁷³.

The Vanguardists - a loose group of artists that included Oswald and Mário de Andrade, Heitor Villa-Lobos, Tarsilia do Amaral and Menotti del Picchia - were thus convinced that the multi-ethnic and multicultural nature of their countrymen, including the Amerindian, European and African elements in the construction of Brazilian-ness, were central to the formation of a unique Brazilian identity narrative, and thus to the development of a genuine Brazilian modern art. For them, Brazilians should actively embrace their own multicultural nature and start making use of it as a creative-driven force towards a Brazilian-like modernity in art and elsewhere as an option for the filterless reproduction of artistic and cultural trends of the modern world or the retrogression towards Brazil pre-modern past.

¹⁷¹ Neves 1991, 18.

¹⁷² Da Motta 1992, 32.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

c) Anthropophagy, the foundation of the ultra-modern Amerindian

Following this logic, six years later (1928), one of these *Vanguardists* - namely Oswald de Andrade - published the Manifesto Antropofágico (more popularly known in English as *Cannibal Manifesto*), in which he epitomised some of the ideas behind the aesthetics of the Modern Art week and, at the same time -- by using the cannibalistic rituals of the Amerindians as a metaphor to the cultural appropriations of Brazilian society, the symbolic grounds of the Brazilian multi-cultural drive -- created a meta-narrative for Brazilian modernity.

Such a reference to anthropophagic, or cannibal, ritual traditions of the Tupis - in which the Amerindians would feast on the flesh of their enemies to acquire their physical, intellectual and spiritual traits - are expressed in the manifesto first lines as something driven by what, according to Oswald, is inherent to all men as social beings: the absorption of the *other* through the embracing of his/hers cultures, ideas, beliefs and customs.

“Cannibalism alone unites us. Socially. Economically. Philosophically.
The world’s single law. Disguised expression of all individualisms, all
collectivisms. Of all religions. Of all peace treaties.
Tupi or not tupi that is the question.
Down with every catechism. And down with the Gracchi’s mother.
I am only interested in what’s not mine. The law of men. The law of the
cannibal (...)”¹⁷⁴

The manifesto goes on and, some lines down below, it reminds the reader of the fact that the Tupis would be selective of whom they would eat based on what they desire to become (and, humorously, it prevents the reader that text that follows would be filled with metaphors and jargons: “I asked a man what law was. He answered me that it was the assurance of the full exercise of possibilities. That man was called Galli Mathias.¹⁷⁵ I ate him”¹⁷⁶).

¹⁷⁴ De Andrade 1928.

¹⁷⁵ Gallo Mathias is the fictional embodiment of the French expression *galimatias* (gobbledygook in English) that means “[a] language characterised by circumlocution and jargon, usually hard to understand”.

¹⁷⁶ De Andrade 1928.

Therefore, as seen in the above lines, Oswald understood that Brazilians inherited from the Amerindians their love for freedom, their desire for a “world without dates. Without rubrics. Without Napoleon. Without Caesar”¹⁷⁷, and they should continue to make use of such a freedom of spirit to keep on subverting European cultural trends. After all, in the Oswaldian point of view, Brazil is a country “without grammar, nor collections of old plants” of people who “were never catechised”, who have instead appropriated Christianity, making “Christ to be born in Bahia, or in Belém¹⁷⁸ do Pará”¹⁷⁹.

Along with this understanding, in *Cannibal Manifesto*, Oswald de Andrade created the decolonial narrative of a country that had only been partially influenced by the Portuguese colonisation attempt, and such an influence was just effective insofar the natives of the land embraced certain cultural/ontological aspects of the *colonial other* as a mean to the development of the *self* towards a sort of *pan*-cultural modernity; “[f]rom the equation ‘Self, part of the Cosmos’ to the axiom ‘Cosmos, part of the Self’. Subsistence. Experience. Cannibalism”¹⁸⁰.

Modernity was thus understood as a possibility only achievable by the miscegenation of different peoples, ethos and ontologies. Insofar such a narrative is concerned — and through the discourse in which cosmopolitanism leads to modernity — Oswald crafted an empowering discourse that attempted to tilt the modernity needle from Western Europe towards a multi-cultural Brazil, a melting pot of Amerindian, African and European cultures.

It was for this reason that Oswald celebrated the survival of the savage spirit the Amerindian - who is arguably more ontologically inclined to absorb the *Others*’ mindsets than his non-Amerindian counterparts)- and foresaw a, what he called, *Carib revolution* having its epicentre in Brazil. According to the author, the Carib revolution would be “a Latin America answer to cultural alienation by the increasing insertion of

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ Belém is the Portuguese spelling of Bethlehem.

¹⁷⁹ De Andrade 1928.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

miscegenation and hybridisation within global flows”¹⁸¹ , and is to be even “greater than the French revolution” becoming a driven force moving humanity “onward”¹⁸².

Moreover, considering one of the last sentences of his Manifesto, Oswald believed that in order to achieve this *Carib revolution*, his fellow countrymen should first “[make] contact with the Carib side of Brazil”¹⁸³, bringing to an end the vicious cycle of *only* looking towards Europe in search for modernity while alienating the cultures of the other groups that constitute the whole of Brazil: “our independence has not yet been proclaimed. An expression typical of Dom João VI: ‘My son, put his crown on your head before some adventurer put it on his!’ We expelled the dynasty. We must still expel the Bragantine spirit, the decrees and the snuff-box of Maria da Fonte”¹⁸⁴.

As a result, the *Cannibal manifesto* served as a nationalistic and decolonial narrative that represented and strengthened a cultural and artistic movement in which Brazilian writers (such as Mário and Oswald de Andrade), painters (Anita Malfatti and Emiliano Di Cavalcanti), sculptors (Victor Brecheret), composers (Heitor Villa-Lobos), architects and urban planners (Oscar Niemeyer and Lúcio Costa) — many of them with an European educational background in their fields of artistic expressions — also started gazing inwards, towards their own country, to their national history, people and landscape.

They have done it so in order to incorporate new narratives and aesthetics into the Western contemporary artistic tendencies, showing that Brazil too could provide the world with an original way of thinking - implementing a decolonial method that would not simply overlook or try to replicate what was being done in Europe or elsewhere.

Furthermore, the generation of 1920 reckoned one of the nineteenth-century Brazilian intelligentsia setbacks in their attempt to create an emancipatory narrative to the nation. While the Indianist aesthetics exposed the national intellectual elite dependency of Europe, the Anthropophagists have created a narrative aimed to the emancipation of

¹⁸¹ Cocco 2008, 271.

¹⁸² De Andrade 1928.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

both form and content that, at the same time, also allowed them to make use of Western aesthetics without compromising the national element.

Other than that - as the members of nineteenth-century Brazilian romanticism - the Anthropophagists also made use of a nationalistic narrative that set the Amerindians as the nation's forefathers. However, by linking the Amerindians to their anthropophagic ritual instead of their romantic physical and moral virtues, they were able to include other ethnic groups, such as the Afro-Brazilians, to the construction of a twentieth-century national identity.

Amerindians ontology and the cultural foundations of the Anthropophagic narrative

Although Oswald de Andrade's manifesto may be perceived as an overly idealised decolonial metaphor that combines Brazilian's multiculturalism - as members of the *nouveau monde* - with one of the most controversial rituals of Brazil's first inhabitants; its narrative did not come about *ex nihilo*. In fact, according to Viveiros de Castro¹⁸⁵, the cultural origins of the Tupi's cannibalistic rites lie on the very ontology of the Amerindian, going beyond the simple act of eating human flesh. That is why - if one considers that Brazilians are originally the cultural and ethnical crossing of Europeans, Africans and Amerindians, as proposed by Von Martius¹⁸⁶ - the discussion on the ontological reasons leading to the ritual Tupi-Guarani cannibalistic practices may lead to a better understanding of the Cannibal manifesto's narrative as well as of the construction of a modern Brazilian identity.

Unfortunately, due to the lack of an Amerindian written culture, one depends almost exclusively on Western narratives to the understanding of Brazilian natives' old practices. Within the available literature in relation to the Amerindian ethos of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a valuable source can nevertheless be found in the Jesuitical literature. This is because, during their catechising and civilisatory mission, the Jesuits lived closer to the Amerindians than any other European group had done it before. As a good share of their work was centred on the challenges of bringing their

¹⁸⁵ Viveiros de Castro 2002.

¹⁸⁶ Von Martius 1956.

faith to the natives of the land, some of their work was also about the ontological differences between Europeans and the natives of the land.

Among the Jesuitical essays on the subject, one may find the work of father Antônio Vieira (1608-1697) – who is known to have written more than a hundred sermons while living in Brazil. One of his well-known written pieces is called *Sermon of the Holy Spirit* (Sermão do Espírito Santo) – rather interesting. In this homily, Vieira tries to explain his seemingly contradictory impression that it was rather difficult to turn an Amerindian into a Christian in spite of the fact that the natives apparently did not present any resistance towards Christianity.

According to the priest, whereas there were peoples, as in Europe, who seemed to be made of marble - due to their resistance to new doctrines and religions as well as their firmness in relation to these doctrines and religions once they were finally accepted; there were other peoples, like the Amerindians, that seemed to be made of myrtle - one could easily shape them into something else, as they would show almost no resistance to new ideas or dogmas, however, the effects of such conversion attempts were rather ephemeral:

“Here is the difference that exists between some nations and others in the doctrine of faith. There are some naturally firm nations, tenacious and constant, which resist the faith and reproduce the mistakes of their forefathers; they resist with weapons, doubt with understanding, distaste with will, they hold on, insist, argue, react, giving a hard work until they surrender; but, once they do it so, once they have received the faith, they still firmly and constantly on it, as marble statues: no further job is required. There are other nations, on the contrary - and these are those from Brazil - that receive everything that is taught to them, with great gentleness and ease, without arguing, without reacting, without doubting, with no resistance; however these are myrtle statues which, as the gardener raises his hand and scissor, they soon lose their new shape, going back to their natural and old brutishness, to become wild bushes as they were before.”¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ Vieira 1657, 3. “Eis aqui a diferença que há entre umas nações e outras na doutrina da fé. Há umas nações naturalmente duras, tenazes e constantes, as quais dificilmente recebem a fé e deixam os erros de seus antepassados; resistem com as armas, duvidam com o entendimento, repugnam com a vontade, cerram-se, teimam, argumentam, replicam, dão grande trabalho até se renderem; mas, uma vez rendidas, uma vez que receberam a fé, ficam nela firmes e constantes, como estátuas de mármore: não é necessário trabalhar mais com elas. Há outras nações, pelo

Therefore, according to Vieira, “the inconstancy was a constant in the savage’s equation”;¹⁸⁸ as “the word of God was embraced tirelessly by an ear and ignored with indifference by the other. The enemy there was not a different dogma, but an indifference towards it, a refusal to choose”¹⁸⁹.

Such duality between European and Amerindian - or marble and myrtle - as well as the cannibalistic rituals of Brazilian natives, were later explored by the Brazilian anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro in his book “A Inconstância da Alma Selvagem” (2002). For Viveiros de Castro, the inconstancy of the Amerindian - as it was noted by Father Antonio Vieira, almost four centuries before - was the “expression of a way of being which has the exchange, not the identity, as its fundamental value”¹⁹⁰. According to the author, the Amerindian objectively seeks to become the other, even if this becoming is only a temporary state of being, as, originally, the Amerindian is constantly seeking to become something or someone else.

In order to depict the transitory identity of the Amerindian, the anthropologist makes use of the written account of the meeting between Hans Staden (a sixteenth-century German castaway who was made prisoner by the Tupinambás) and Cunhambebe (the tribe’s chieftain): “Cunhambebe had before him a large basket filled with human flesh. He was eating a leg, he held it before my mouth and asked me if I also wanted to eat it. I answered: ‘An irrational animal does not eat another of his kind, and a man should eat another man?’ He then bit it and said: ‘*Jauára ichê*. I am a jaguar. It is tasty’¹⁹¹”¹⁹².

contrário — e estas são as do Brasil —, que recebem tudo o que lhes ensinam, com grande docilidade e facilidade, sem argumentar, sem replicar, sem duvidar, sem resistir; mas são estátuas de murta que, em levantando a mão e a tesoura o jardineiro, logo perdem a nova figura, e tornam à bruteza antiga e natural, e a ser mato como dantes eram”

¹⁸⁸ Vieira 1657.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ Viveiros de Castro 2002, 206.

¹⁹¹ Staden 1557,132 *Apud*. Castro 2002, 255.

¹⁹² “Durante isto Cunhambebe tinha à sua frente um grande cesto cheio de carne humana. Comia de uma perna, segurou-m’a diante da boca e perguntou-me se também queria comer. Respondi: “Um animal irracional não come um outro parceiro,

For Viveiros de Castro, the inconstancy of the Tupinambás' *savage soul* and the act of feeding on the enemies' flesh were both expressions of the same tendency and desire: "to absorb the other and, in this process, to alter the self"¹⁹³. Such a desire of the Amerindians was symptomatic of a society in which the "interior and the identity were hierarchy subordinated to the exteriority and the difference, where the becoming and the relation prevailed over the being and the substance"¹⁹⁴. In other words, for the Amerindian "the other was not a mirror, but a destine"¹⁹⁵.

As an example of the dichotomic relation that Portuguese and Amerindians had in relation to the other, one could state the following:

"If the Europeans desired the Amerindians because they have seen them as useful animals or potential European and Christian men, the Tupi desired the Europeans in their complete *otherness*, which appeared to them as possibility of auto-transfiguration, a sign of reunion with what had been separated in the origin of culture, thus capable of broaden the human condition, or even surpass it"¹⁹⁶.

It was precisely such a vision over the other — as a means to the auto-transfiguration of the self, in order to achieve something that goes beyond cultural differences, something essentially human — the main element on the *Oswaldian* narrative of the Tupi identity, which should continue to inspire Brazilians artists and, consequently, the rest of the population.

e um homem deve devorar um outro homem?" Mordeu-a então, e disse: "*Jauára ichê. Sou um jaguar. Está gostoso*" (Staden 1557, 132, *Apud.* Castro 2002, 255).

¹⁹³ Viveiros de Castro 2002, 207.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 220.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 206. "Se europeus desejaram os índios porque viram neles, ou animais úteis, ou homens europeus e cristãos em potência, os Tupi desejaram os europeus em sua alteridade plena, que lhes apareceu como uma possibilidade de autotransfiguração, um signo de reunião do que havia sido separado na origem da cultura, capazes portanto de vir alargar a condição humana, ou mesmo de ultrapassá-la".

Therefore - besides serving as a powerful decolonial narrative that sought to give to Brazilian intelligentsia more autonomy of thought and aesthetic freedom - one of the main contributions of the anthropophagic movement to the construction of a Brazilian modern identity possibly lies on the different role which begun to be attributed the Amerindian in the formation of Brazilian society. Prior to the 1920s generation, if one looks at those authors who tried to create a favourable narrative to Brazilian natives, such as Von Martius and José de Alencar, they have shown a tendency to depict Brazilian natives *either* as a once great people - in the European sense of what is to be great, that is to say, something akin to the myth of the pre-Cabralian unified Tupi people which once were the masters of a continental portion of land and were capable of building complex architectural structures *or* as noble savage knight-like warriors within the tropics.

One would thus say that both views over the Amerindians were somewhat biased attempts to see the Amerindians in a good (European) light as the categorisation of the Amerindians under these sets of attributes seems to precede a better understanding of the Amerindian ontology – being rather moulded by the Western ideals of greatness and purity.

Moreover, the portrayal of a mythical people that have had all its glory and identity either linked to a long forgotten past or to its natural state before the contact with white men (as exposed by Alencar’s metaphor of the Paquequer river, which may lead to the understanding that *a civilised Amerindian, is no longer an Amerindian*) ultimately makes the Amerindians’ identity captive of history, time-locked within the nation’s past. Such an understanding makes Brazilian natives thus to be remembered simply as the first inhabitants of the land, either presumed long dead, diluted in the process of the formation of Brazilians as a people or completely alien to the formation of a modern Brazilian society, with no contribution to make to the contemporary Brazilian civilisation.

Through the Cannibal manifesto, Oswald de Andrade explicitly shed a different light on what would be the contribution of the Amerindian cultures in the Brazilian identity patchwork. Even though his manifesto may have served the agenda of a *Paulista* urban elite - which was obviously distant from the natives' strive to coexist with the modern world - its popularisation within the country was nevertheless a milestone on the representations of Amerindians and, consequently, on the perception of Brazilian identity. On top of that, the 1920s generation, influenced by the seminal work of Euclides da Cunha (*Os Sertões*, 1902), tried to understand the Amerindian in their own terms, turning what had previously been deemed as negative - inconstancy, abnormality, cannibalism - into positive traits: inquisitiveness, singularity, anthropophagy.

Finally, through such a revisited understanding of the Amerindian, Brazilian modernists set a narrative in which one should stop looking solely after Europe in order to grasp modernity and rather start gazing at one's national and local history to build its own fate. Therefore, insofar the social construction of Brazilian identity narrative is concerned; the anthropophagical movement has relocated the Amerindian *raison d'être* from a mythical and sterile past into a flourishing future.

Gilberto Freyre and the creation of the fantasy of a Brazilian racial democracy

Furthermore, the Brazilian modernists somewhat gave continuity to Von Martius' thesis that Brazil, as a nation, was formed through the combination of distinct ethnocultural elements – thus contributing “enormously to the elite's sense of national identity by creatively affirming the multi-racial nature of Brazilian civilization”¹⁹⁷. Drinking for such an understanding regarding Brazil as a nation, in 1933, a young Brazilian socio-anthropologist called Gilberto Freyre wrote one of the most famous books about Brazilian society, *The Masters and the Slaves*.

Gilberto Freyre's Magnus opus quickly became an expression of “the positive

¹⁹⁷ Skidmore 1969, 6.

contributions of Africans and Amerindians to Brazilian culture, subverting the racist assumptions of contemporary social analysts”¹⁹⁸. Thus “instead of deriving from it the catalogue of character problems such as indolence, moral inadequacy, improvidence and apathy, which had been highlighted by nineteenth-century authors, he accentuated the positive side, the harmonious contribution of each group to a syncretic Brazilian identity”¹⁹⁹.

What is more, Freyre’s “emphasis upon the plastic character of the Portuguese colonisers’ cultural background and widespread miscegenation among the Brazilian population led him to the notion of a racial democracy”²⁰⁰. According to Skidmore, in the 1930s and 1940s, such a notion of Brazil as being a racially democratic nation was extensively used abroad as it “made them [Brazilians] morally superior to the technologically more advanced countries, where systematic repression of racial minorities was still practised”²⁰¹. Miscegenation and racial tolerance became thus a matter of national pride, even more so after the advent of World War II (1939-1945) .

As a result, “already in the 1930s, the notion elaborated by the anthropologist Gilberto Freyre, that Brazil was a racially and culturally mixed country, came into force as a kind of unofficial state ideology, held above racial cleavages and class and the social conflicts that were precipitated at the time”²⁰². If “The Master and the Slaves” became one of the classic books to the understanding of the cultural formation of pre-modern Brazil, it also helped Gilberto Freyre to become one of the most prominent and controversial figures of Brazilian twentieth-century academia. In the words of Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, Freyre was one of the greatest examples of “Brazilian anthropologists [who] became bards of nationality, a *sui generis* phenomenon in the international panorama”²⁰³.

Because of the author’s eagerness to establish a nationalistic narrative that would whitewash the relation between master and slaves in order to build Brazil’s historical

¹⁹⁸ Hasenbalg 1985, 25

¹⁹⁹ Larrain 2005, 108.

²⁰⁰ Hasenbalg 1985, 25.

²⁰¹ Skidmore 1974, 209.

²⁰² Schwarcz 2012, 325.

²⁰³ Da Cunha 1986, 7.

grounds as a racial democracy, Freyre's socio-anthropology was not without his critics. For many, Freyre "provided a sanitised version of Brazil's long history of colonisation and slavery"²⁰⁴ by defending the idea that the Luso-Brazilian and the enslaved Afro-Brazilians had a – somewhat romanticise - *paternalistic* relationship. Such a relation between masters and slaves in the country was thus the central argument that resulted in the theory that "the treatment of slaves in Brazil was softer than in North America, especially due to closer, even sexual, relationships between masters and slaves in the hacienda"²⁰⁵.

However, the vision over the nature of the Brazilian exceptional relationship between oppressor and oppressed, as well as the "myth of the benevolent or non-violent character of slavery"²⁰⁶, would later be called into question by the twentieth-century academia. Lara, for instance, draws attention to the fact that "[i]n Freyre's work, paternalism is undoubtedly a descriptive and imprecise term that offers a perspective of analyzing society 'from above' and implies idealized notions of human warmth and appreciation of personal relationship"²⁰⁷.

a) Lusotropicalism, the Portuguese as the nation's protagonist

What is more, the "idealised notion of human warmth" - which Lara refers to - is one of the three major characteristics of the Portuguese that, according to Freyre, were essential to render the Luso extra-continental (tropical) expansion successful. Freyre called these inherent Portuguese traits (i) mobility, (ii) acclimatability and (iii) miscibility. The sum of these traits would - according to the author - serve to explain how "a country that was practically uninhabited, with a population that was numerically insignificant as a result of all the epidemics, famines, and especially wars that had afflicted the peninsula in the Middle Ages"²⁰⁸ ended-up by succeeding in "virilely besprinkling with what was left of its blood and culture populations so diverse and at so great distance from one another: in Asia, in Africa, in America, and in the numerous

²⁰⁴ Twine 2001, 6

²⁰⁵ Larrain 2005, 198.

²⁰⁶ Chalhoub 1998, 42.

²⁰⁷ Lara 1995, 48.

²⁰⁸ Freyre 1986, 14

islands and archipelagoes”²⁰⁹.

Among these three attributes, (i) mobility was certainly the most palpable even for those unfamiliar with pre-modern Portuguese history. According to “The Masters and the Slaves”, the Portuguese technological advances on ocean navigation allowed “individuals of worth, warriors, administrators and technicians” to be “shifted about by the colonial administration in Lisbon like pieces on a backgammon board: from Asia to America and from there to Africa, depending upon the exigencies of the moment or of the region”²¹⁰.

Still, according to Freyre, the success of the Portuguese expansion - granted by their physical mobility - was only sustained by two remaining attributes of the Lusitanians, their acclimatability and miscibility. These two characteristics would later be pointed out by Freyre as the two fundamental pieces of *lusotropicalism*, the distinctive character of such a people which arguably rendered them better colonisers than their northern-European counterparts²¹¹. As stated in *The Masters and the Slaves*, the Portuguese (ii) acclimatability to the tropics was granted by the distinct Portuguese weather:

“With respect to the physical conditions of soil and temperature, Portugal is Africa rather than Europe. The so-called “Portuguese climate” of Martonne, unique in Europe, is one that approximates the African. Thus, the Portuguese were predisposed by his own mesology to a victorious encounter with the tropics; his removal to the torrid regions of America was not to bring with it the grave disturbances associated with adaptation nor the profound difficulties of acclimatisation that were experienced by colonisers coming from cold climates”.²¹²

Therefore, the Portuguese – as a people who was already familiar with a tropical-like weather - felt at home in Brazil as well as in other overseas territories such as Angola, Mozambique, East Timor, Goa, Macau and so on: all warm places in which the nationals of other European colonial powers would arguably struggle. This peculiarity of the Portuguese would make them more prone to adopt the tropics as their new home,

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 11

²¹¹ Freyre 1958.

²¹² Freyre 1986, 14.

feeling almost as an autochthonous people in the land. Under this circumstance, the Portuguese acclimatability to the tropics would also play a role in their (iii) miscibility with the natives of tropical regions.

The allegedly Portuguese trait of miscibility with non-Europeans was, according to Freyre, not solely the result of their adaptability to the tropical world but also the product of several centuries of the Moorish presence in the Iberian Peninsula. Such a socio-cultural characteristic, unprecedented in Europe, was deemed essential to the maintenance of Portuguese control across the colonial Lusosphere in spite of their relatively small number:

“As to their miscibility, no colonising people in modern times has exceeded or so much equalled the Portuguese in this regard. From their first contact with women of color, they mingled with them and procreated mestizo sons; and the result was that a few thousand daring males succeeded in establishing themselves firmly in possession of a vast territory and were able to compete with great and numerous peoples in the extension of their colonial domain in the efficiency of their colonising activity. Miscibility rather than mobility was the process by which the Portuguese made up for their deficiency in human mass volume in the large-scale colonisation of extensive areas. For this, they had been prepared by the intimate terms of social and sexual intercourse on which they had lived with the coloured races that had invaded their peninsula or were close neighbours to it”²¹³.

The Portuguese capacity of mixing himself with other people was thus key to compensate for its small number and, as a result, created colonial societies which were “all hybrid, some of them more so, others less”²¹⁴. Therefore, Freyre kept alive the idea that the formation of a Brazilian people was due to the miscegenation of the three ethnic groups. However, he chose to give to Portuguese men – rather than to the Amerindians, as his contemporary modernists did – the protagonism in the process; “[t]rough intercourse with the Indian or the Negro woman the coloniser propagated a vigorous and ductile mestizo population that was still more adaptable than he himself to the tropical climate”²¹⁵.

²¹³ Freyre 1986, 11.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

Such a preference towards the adoption of Portuguese men as protagonists in the formation of Brazil as well as his indifference in relation to the power structure and the social context in which sexual intercourses between European men and generally oppressed “coloured” women have taken place have certainly collaborated to the academic perception that Freyre indeed “analysed society from above”²¹⁶. On the other hand, in the first few decades following its publication, such a historical account - that somewhat followed the imperial tradition of whitewashed reports about the good conditions in which Brazilian slaves were dealt with and the “generosity” of slave owners - became widely accepted by the Brazilian general public as a way to allay the colonial wound and as a means to idealisation of both Brazilian and Portuguese societies.

That is why even after Vargas’ fall and the consequent end of Brazil’s *Estado Novo*, the ideas of Gilberto Freyre became increasingly popular on both sides of the Atlantic. Lusotropicalism, for instance, became the bastion of the autocratic regime of Salazar in Portugal insofar it served as an alibi to the Portuguese twentieth-century presence in Africa²¹⁷. In Brazil, the belief that the nation was a racial democracy served well the military dictatorship as it subdued class/racial conflicts keeping civil unrests at bay. Freyre’s personal involvement with both regimes was criticized by a good share of the 1960s Lusophone intelligentsia that considered the author as “a champion of Portuguese colonialism in Africa and a staunch defender of military rule at home”²¹⁸.

b) Freyre and the narrative of a mulatto and Dionysian Brazil

Despite his involvement with autocratic government and his failure to substantiate a good share of his assertions, Freyre provided “a series of fertile hypotheses about Brazilian history which provoked debate in 1933 and have continued to do so ever since”²¹⁹. One of Freyre’s most famous hypotheses is the one that Africans and Afro-descendants are ingrained with a strong “Dionysian” character insomuch as Europeans have an inherent “Apollonian” nature. Such a proposition is of extreme relevance to

²¹⁶ Lara 1995, 48.

²¹⁷ Medina 2000, 45.

²¹⁸ Dunn 2014, 128.

²¹⁹ Burke and Pallares-Burke 2008, 96.

understanding the author's view on Brazilian-ness. Particularly so because - for Freyre - "psychologically, to be Brazilian is to be a mulatto"²²⁰.

Nevertheless - in order to understand what he meant with the aforementioned remark – one has first to set it in context with the peculiarities of Freyre's thought. Especially the dichotomic character of his narratives:

"Freyre loved binary oppositions. The titles of his books make his point obvious enough, contrasting as they do masters and slaves, mansions and shanties, order and progress, adventure and routine (...). Contrasts between hard and soft, rough and smooth, fixed and fluid, angular and curved recur in Freyre's work, like that between the angular, thin Don Quixote and the round, plump Sancho Panza or between the angular English and the curvaceous, baroque Brazilians"²²¹.

Therefore, in order to elucidate one of these bipartitions – namely the one between white European and coloured Brazilian or African ethea - Freyre adapted Nietzsche's philosophical concepts of the Apollonians and Dionysians into the Brazilian cosmology. In spite of the changing in the setting – from classical Greece and, later, nineteenth-century Europe to twentieth-century Brazil - Freyre's preserved the dualistic essence of the two greek entities as seen in Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy*:

"Apollo is associated with visible form, rational knowledge, and moderation, Dionysius with formless flux, mysticism and excess. The world of Apollo is made up of distinct moral individuals, while Dionysus presides over the dissolution of individual identity into a universal spiritual community uniting human beings with nature. In artistic terms, Apollo is the god of the plastic or representational arts of painting and sculpture, and has a strong association with architecture, while Dionysus is the god of music, the art which is essentially non-representational and without physical form"²²².

While in the most part of Nietzsche's work these forces – which are "as complementary as they are antagonistic"²²³ - can be found both in the individual sphere, within the same person or a in single piece of art (as in the Greek tragedies), and in the collective ethos

²²⁰ Freyre 1962, 432.

²²¹ Burke and Pallares-Burke 2008, 179.

²²² Smith xvi. Introduction in Nietzsche, 2000.

²²³ *Ibid.*, xix.

(Semitic versus Aryan, Romantic versus Germanic²²⁴), in the Freyrian parallel each one of them seem to befit two rather specific types of society – the premeditative and mathematical Europeans and the impulsive and creative Africans. Nonetheless, as said by Maranhão, “the mestizo defended by Gilberto Freyre presupposed that the European intellect and the Afro-Brazilian primitivism could coexist in one personality to form the ‘true Brazilian’, symbolised by the mulatto”²²⁵.

Therefore, for Freyre, the mulatto – and thus the Brazilian - was not strictly a mestizo in ethnic and phenotypic terms, but someone born under the sign of two idiosyncratic worlds, that of Apollo and that of Dionysus. Such a concept was later used by Freyre to define an archetypal type of Brazilian fashion, intellectuality and even a certain manner of making politics²²⁶. Nonetheless, the artistic context in which the *mulatto*ness of Brazilian civilization was more extensively explored was precisely the one in which the Dionysian drive is said to be more evident in Nietzsche’s thought, the one of the performing arts.

As a result, the images of the mulatto sambistas, capoeira and carnival dancers as well as those of the highly-skilled dark-skinned football players, all became (inter)national expressions of the Dionysian character of Brazilian-ness. Although samba and capoeira – as expressions of both music and dance - can be easily seen as examples of performing arts, football, on the other hand, is generally perceived as a collective sport rather than a form of art.

In spite of it, many have seen a certain plasticity in the way the British sport is practised by some Brazilians that is akin to the one found in realms of dance performances²²⁷. What is more - according to Gil - in Brazil, there is a popular perception that their nationals have an innate relation with football that leads to the understanding that “the Brazilian player would already be born with the gift of an unmatched technique for the sport”²²⁸. In light of the imagined intimate bonds between (i) Brazilians and performing

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, xiv.

²²⁵ Maranhão 2007, 516.

²²⁶ Burke and Pallares-Burke 2008, 179.

²²⁷ Barreto 2004, 62.

²²⁸ Gil 1994, 100-109.

arts – so strong that “man is no longer the artist, he has become a work of art”²²⁹ - and (ii) Brazilians and football - a connection capable of transforming, in the eyes of some, a sport into an art form; Freyre’s Dionysian narrative of mulatto-ness as a general Brazilian approach to life does not come out as a surprise.

c) Football, the arena where Dionysius defeats Apollo

Although Freyre describes the inclination towards what belongs to Dionysius as a sort of national defining character - at least when Brazilian-ness is juxtaposed with European Apollonian cultures - that is intrinsic to all Brazilians in the most diverse forms of cultural expressions and social interactions, football stands out as the arena in which Dionysius defeats Apollo; the pitch where the outcast demi-god wins over his favoured half-brother.

It is thus natural that the idea of football as a cultural expression of Brazilian society comes after triumphant spells of the national team in the 1938 World Cup, in France, against Poland and Czechoslovakia (which would later culminate with the best *seleção*’s international result to that date):

“Our mulatto football, with the artistic floridness whose efficiency - less in defines than in attack - was demonstrated with brilliance during the matches held this year against the Polish and the Czechoslovakians, in an expression of our social formation, democratic as no other one and rebel to excesses of internal and external ordering; to excesses of all that is uniform, geometrical and standardised, to radicalisms which make individual variation or personal spontaneity disappear.

Freyre then continues, expanding his understanding of the mulatto-ness of Brazilian football to other areas of the largest South-American nation:

In football, like in politics, Brazilian Mulattism has become known for its taste for flexion, for surprise and floridness which reminds one of dancing and capoeira steps, particularly dancing, Dionysian dance. A dance which allows improvising, diversity, individual spontaneity. Lyrical dance. While European football is an Apollonian expression of a scientific method and socialist sport in which personal action is mechanised and subordinated to the whole, the

²²⁹ Nietzsche 2000, 23.

Brazilian is a sort of dance, in which the person is prominent and shines.”²³⁰

If, academically, the relationship between football and (Brazilian) *race* would be further explored by Mario Filho’s *O Negro no Futebol Brasileiro*²³¹ which ultimately argues that “football played a decisive part in racial democratization and thus in the construction of an integral nation”; politically, such an association would be used by different Brazilian governments - especially those of nationalist-authoritarian character such as the Estado Novo (1930-1945) and the Military Regime (1964-1985) – as an instrument to the promotion of general political apathy, to the cultural unification of distant geographical regions as well as a national pride boosting apparatus. As a matter of fact, the national euphoria with the Brazilian football team of the period between 1958 and 1970 was such that a major Brazilian newspaper, still under the heat of Brazil’s unprecedented third world-cup victory in 1970, was carefree to come up with a hyperbolic analogy: “Brazil’s victory with the ball compares with the conquest of the moon by the Americans”²³².

Imagining the future of Brazil (from 1930s to 1960s)

Back to the 1930s Brazil, the outcomes of the 1920s modernist generation - of which Freyre was originally included – were not restrained within the country. In spite of the quasi-fascist government of Vargas, the myth of Brazil as a racial democracy started getting momentum abroad and Brazilian modernist visual and performing arts became increasingly popular in the northern hemisphere. To make things look brighter to the country, the national economy had grown stronger as a result of Vargas’ measures to turn Brazil from a majorly agrarian country to an industrial powerhouse. The merger of all these aspects encouraged the republic to, once more, internationally assert its image as a distinctive example of a socially advanced nation within the tropics.

a) New York 1939, Brazil and the *Dawn of a New Day*

During the 1939 New York World’s Fair, on the occasion of the Brazilian pavilion

²³⁰ Freyre 1962, 433.

²³¹ Filho 1964.

²³² Jornal do Brasil. 22 June 1970. *Apud.* Goldblatt 2014.

inauguration, the Brazilian ambassador to the United States of America, Mr Carlos Martins Pereira e Souza, gave an illustrative speech - inside the *Good Neighbour Hall* - of how the nation would like to be seen by its western counterparts:

“[T]he formation of the Brazilian outlook, based on the Greek and Latin traditions through Portugal, France and Italy on one side, and those of England and the United States with regard to political liberty on the other, is becoming more and more evident. We are conscious of being the only people who founded a Western civilization in the tropics; we conquered the wilderness of the land; melted races; and are sure of the future which awaits us, - all this, has created an independence of spirit for Brazil which has the courage to consolidate itself without ancestral prejudices”²³³.

In spite of the fact that Brazil, in 1939, was a *de facto* dictatorship, Mr Pereira e Souza deliberately made sure to state that the country was in harmony with the political liberty traditions of England and the United States inasmuch as Italy was under the rule of Benito Mussolini’s fascism and war was about to take place in Europe. However, it is even more interesting to note that, in a few sentences, the ambassador has recapitulated at least a century of Brazil’s history of self-contemplation that resulted into a national image as well as certain willingness to be recognised as a (i) western nation, “based on the Greek and Latin traditions through Portugal, France and Italy on one side, and those of England and the United States” on the other; (ii) the home to an exceptional people, the “only” one to build a “Western civilization in the tropics”; (iii) that “conquered the wilderness of the land” in its development process, the result of an “imperial” approach towards the environment²³⁴; (iv) that “melted races”, unifying not solely Portuguese, Amerindians and Africans as per the accounts of the likes of Von Martius and Freyre but also embraced the new immigrants coming from Italy, Germany, Japan and Eastern Europe; (v) that is “sure” of the future that awaits it, in a clear reference to the idea, one day, Brazil would be a major global player and, finally, the (vi) “the independence of spirit”, a trait that, according to Oswald de Andrade’s narrative, would be the ontological heritage of the Amerindians to all Brazilians. As we will see in the final chapters of this thesis, in spite of the fact that almost eighty years have passed since Mr Carlos Martins Pereira e Souza made such a speech, most of the aforementioned

²³³ Vidal 1941, 168.

²³⁴ Brazil’s adoption of the “Imperial ecology” will be discussed in detail in the following pages.

elements still form the basis on which the international image of Brazilian society is built upon.

b) Niemeyer's architecture, the face of Brazilian modernity

Curiously, Mr Pereira e Souza's discourse took place on the occasion of the Brazilian pavilion inauguration, which was one of the first buildings designed by a young Oscar Niemeyer in collaboration with his mentor, Lúcio Costa²³⁵. The two architects would later become worldwide renowned as the designers of Brasilia – Brazil's new capital built from scratch in the late 1950s. While the first was responsible for Brazil's new capital modernist urban planning, the latter was the mind behind its futuristic buildings. Niemeyer's work, however, cannot be reduced only to the construction of the administrative edifices of the new Federal District. For more than 60 years – from late 1940s to his passing in 2012 – Niemeyer was Brazil's number one architect when it comes to the design of monuments, having made the projects of several structures in Brazil and abroad such as the Niterói Contemporary Art Museum, the Asturias' Oscar Niemeyer International Cultural Centre, São Paulo's Copan Centre, Belo Horizonte's São Francisco de Assis Church, The Havre's Cultural Centre and the United Nations headquarters in New York, to name a few.

In spite of Niemeyer's young age, he was only 32 in 1939, his project for the Brazilian Pavilion in New York was already representative of the type of architecture that he would develop later in life. Comfortable with the organisers demand that foreign pavilions should be of "modern style" in order to fit into the exposition's motto - "Dawn of a New Day" - the three-story building, which followed the Brazilian tradition of showing to the world its vast natural resources in combination with its advances towards societal development²³⁶, "adopted a language of grace and elegance, lightness and spatial fluidity, open plan, curves and free walls"²³⁷. Such a style was classified by Costa as Ionic, "contrasting it to contemporaneous stern Modernist architecture, which

²³⁵ Maddrey 1940

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

²³⁷ Herrle and Wegerhoff 2008, 384.

he termed ‘Doric’²³⁸.

Curvy lines and open plans were indeed two of Niemeyer’s trademarks. The architect would later explain the source of his inspiration in his autobiography:

“I am not attracted to straight angles or to the straight line, hard and inflexible, created by man. I am attracted to free-flowing, sensual curves. The curves that I find in the mountains of my country, in the sinuousness of its rivers, in the waves of the ocean, and on the body of the beloved woman. Curves make up the entire Universe, the curved Universe of Einstein.”²³⁹

Such a preference to “sensual curves” in detriment to straight lines within the context of Brazilian modernism - as well as that of the twentieth-century myth of Brazilian cultural mulattism - turned Niemeyer’s body of work into the utmost expression of Brazilian-ness in architecture. For Gullar, the architect’s use of curvy lines was a re-invention of the seventeenth-century Brazilian colonial baroque, turning modernist architecture into something more *theatrical* or *opera-like*²⁴⁰. These interpretations of Niemeyer’s work led some architects and scholars to see a strong *Dionysian* character in his creations, an impulse that was understood as an “anti-colonialist” attempt akin to that of Brazilian modernism:

“If the *Loosian* figure of the English gentleman embodied ‘the truly modern style’ of Apollonian Europe, Niemeyer found in the eroticised figure of the Brazilian woman of African descent, the *mulata*, the incarnation of the Dionysian *espírito de brasilidade*, which he employed to challenge the rationalist and functionalist rhetoric of doctrinaire European Modernism, and infect ‘civilising’ imports with what was perceived as the tropical, irrational primitive, in accordance with Brazilian Modernism’s anti-colonialist Anthropofagist strategy”.²⁴¹

However, even if Niemeyer became internationally known as “an essentially Dionysian architect”²⁴² with a “decolonialist” role in worldwide architecture insofar it brought

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

²³⁹ Niemeyer 2000, 62.

²⁴⁰ Gullar 1987, 15.

²⁴¹ Philippou 2013, 11.

²⁴² Koch, Marcus and Steen 2010, 43.

Latin-America architecture to the worldwide vanguard of structures' design²⁴³, in Brazil, Niemeyer's style was considered mostly Brazilian/futuristic, carrying a certain essence of tropical utopia. This does not come out as a surprise as, according to Stierli, "from its inception, modern architecture has been under the spell of utopia (...). [It] was strongly engaged in constructing a better society for the future. It was always intended as both a spatial and a social project, addressing both *urbs* and *civitas*"²⁴⁴.

Niemeyer's Dionysian (or neo-baroque) modernism was thus the perfect fit for the ambitious project of building a new capital to a young and promising republic within the tropics. The relocation of Brazil's administrative capital from Rio de Janeiro to its central plateau was an old project, dating from before the country's independence, as a way to distance the country's political power from local elites and develop the countryside. Nonetheless, it was president Juscelino Kubitschek (1956-1961) the one to finally build the city – that should be "modern and urbanistically revolutionary"²⁴⁵ - from scratch in the period between 1957 to 1960.

In spite of the official reasons attributed to the creation of the new capital, Stierli sees the construction of Brasilia as the outcome of a project driven by a series of utopias such as "the utopia of decolonisation and territorial logic" and "the utopia of progress and infrastructural logic"²⁴⁶. It is interesting to note that the ideals of decolonisation and progress were two, sometimes conflicting, forces behind the Brazilian project as *the land of the future*. Nonetheless, different ways of understanding and searching the balance between these two forces - i.e. the decolonialist drive and the impulse towards modernity - have historically divided Brazilian intelligentsia.

After all, how could Brazil become modern without following the European lead? Would, one day, Brazil be at the centre of the world's cultural scene or much of its traditions would simply linger away with the process of acculturation, the direct result of the nation's never-ending drive towards modernity? The construction of an ultra-

²⁴³ During his life, Niemeyer became several prestigious architectural prizes such as 1988 *Pritzker Prize*, the 1998 *RIBA Gold Medal* and the 2004 *Praemium Imperiale*.

²⁴⁴ Stierli 2013, 8.

²⁴⁵ Kubitschek 2000, 19.

²⁴⁶ Stierli 2013, 8.

modern Brasília was thus an attempt to answer these questions through the unification of the utopias of *decolonisation* and *progress* into the physical form of a new national capital. As a result, the modernist city of gigantic concrete-and-glass buildings became the material image of a Brazilian utopian future, thus “giving a face to Brazil that wanted to be modern”²⁴⁷.

c) the 1940s: Brazil, (still is) the land of the Future

As we have previously seen, the idea that Brazil was destined to be a worldwide protagonist was not exactly new – two of the most famous passages on the theme are on “*Como se deve escrever a história do Brasil*” (1843) and “*Manifesto Antropofágico*” (1928). Nevertheless, in the final years of Vargas era, another book gave international reach to it as *Bresilien - ein Land der Zukunft* (Brazil - Land of the Future) was simultaneously published in Portuguese, German, Swedish, French and English.

Its author, Stefan Zweig, who had fled from Europe under World War 2 to live his last years with his wife in a tropical and war-free South America²⁴⁸, was impressed with the exuberance of Brazil and its people. For the well-known Austrian writer, who was disappointed with the second war in Europe in less than a quarter of a century²⁴⁹, the country had everything it needed, from physical resources to human capital, to become an important global player in the future. What is more, Zweig saw in Brazil something that his contemporary Europe seemed to lack: a peaceful way of thinking and a humane attitude²⁵⁰. On top of that, Zweig was also particularly impressed by the country’s nature, which, according to him, was “always in a state of climax”²⁵¹. Therefore, differently than Von Martius and De Andrade, Zweig did not foresee that the country was to become an important global player exclusively because of the nation’s original mixing of different peoples, but – as the reports for nineteenth-century Brazilian exhibitions – its vast nature was to play an essential role in the country’s ascension.

²⁴⁷ Perrotta-Bosch 2018, 9.

²⁴⁸ Stefan Zweig died in February 22 1942. The Federative Republic of Brazil declared war Germany and Italy on August 22 of the same year.

²⁴⁹ Zweig 1941, 12.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 82.

A common aspect of the works of Von Martius (1843), De Andrade (1928) and Zweig (1941) is the use of future as an epoch capable of materialising a close-to-ideal Brazilian civilisation. According to Carvalho, “as the past (*illo tempore*), the future is also a mythical time, in which everything will be accomplished, it is the time of hope”²⁵².

As such, the *future* (in the verge of becoming the *present*) is a driven force that moves us towards modernity and the *future* (as a utopian and distant age) is modernity’s final destination - when the *spirit* becomes absolute. Therefore, setting Brazil as *the* land of future was promising that, one day, Brazil will either be a frontrunner of western modernity or that western modernity will somehow be shaped by Brazilian-ness. Either way, it is interesting to note that, from time to time, such an understanding – that somehow, throughout the years, became more of a prophecy – is once again put forward whenever the nation goes through a period of fast socio-economic development, or even a nationalistic-authoritarian dictatorship.

The evolution of the national politics on environmentalism and the Brazilian economic miracle

As we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, Brazil’s image has always been intimately linked to the natural world. The ways in which distinctive Brazilian governments approached such a link and, most importantly, their own relationship with the natural world were rather different.

a) The military rule (1967-1985): Nature as a gateway to social development.

During its military period (1967-1985), for example, the Brazilian government undoubtedly embraced a view over nature that was akin to that one advocated by the *Imperial Ecology* outlook. In such a school, one understands that nature is men’s domain, “to be altered and rearranged more or less as he chooses”²⁵³. In other words, such regard over ecology in the modern times would mean that men, who would often

²⁵² De Carvalho 2006, 32.

²⁵³ Worster 1994, 29.

see nature either as an obstacle or as a means to national development, were deemed morally apt to do whatever they considered necessary with nature in order to continue their march towards progress.

Most commonly than not, this meant deforestation and the voracious exploration of natural resources. Therefore, in Brazil, between the decades of the 1960s and 1980s, in the name of progress and national sovereignty, the military government increased its efforts to the occupation of the Amazon region, which culminated in the creation of the Plan to National Integration (Plano de Integração Nacional) by president Emilio Garrastazu Médici in 1970.

The idea of attracting the country's population from its coastline to its backlands was not exactly new. In fact, Vargas *march to the west*²⁵⁴ and the construction of Brasilia by president Kubitschek²⁵⁵ were just two examples of concrete attempts to populate the area - an effort that was in the governmental agenda since, at least, the Brazilian Empire²⁵⁶. Nonetheless, arguably, no other regime was responsible for such a large environmental impact as the military dictatorships of 1967-1985. The fiscal incentives (up to 30% of tax deduction) to enterprises that wished to move to the region²⁵⁷, the economic stimulus to attract new settlers to the area, the creation of the Free Economic Zone of Manaus²⁵⁸ in 1968 and the infrastructure built in order to integrate the country (e.g. the construction of the Trans-Amazonian highway, a 4,000 km long road crossing seven Brazilian states and cutting the forest in two) were all justified by the military discourse of nation unification and modernisation.

Moreover, such a discourse had the slogan “integrate to not give it away” (*integrar para não entregar*)²⁵⁹, which made reference to a certain apprehension from the military that Brazil would lose part of its territory to its neighbours in the same way that it got from them in the previous centuries: by the physical occupation of “inhabited” lands.

²⁵⁴ Manso Pereira 1997, 6.

²⁵⁵ Duarte da Silva 1997.

²⁵⁶ Alves Nunes 2014, 1.

²⁵⁷ Rebello da Silva 2005.

²⁵⁸ In Portuguese the area is known as *Zona Franca de Manaus*.

²⁵⁹ Ferreira and Salati 2005.

Beyond the strategic occupation of the Amazon as a mean to guarantee Brazil's national sovereignty, the military understood that the development of the region could provide the country with the natural resources and the raw products needed to its economic development. The economic interest on the region was thus the basis of the Brazilian diplomatic position in the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, in Stockholm. According to Viola, during the conference, the "Brazilian stance was based in the principle that the main pollution was poverty, and environmental protection should come only after a dramatic development of the country's economy and an increase of the per capita income to the same level of developed countries"²⁶⁰.

Such a political stance made clear the country's perspective over the importance of its rainforests as means to socio-economic development. Therefore, in Stockholm 1972, alongside other emerging countries such as China, Brazil showed to its peers its understanding that actions towards environmental issues were secondary in contrast to the economic development of a so-called *third-world country*²⁶¹. Hence, for military-ruled Brazil and other emergent countries, "environmental protection should come only after reaching high per capita income, and the burden of paying for global environment protection should be an exclusive responsibility of developed countries"²⁶².

As a result, during the following decades, the international community saw such an environmental position from the country that is home to the largest rainforest in the world with apprehension. Even more so after the assassination of Chico Mendes, a Brazilian environmentalist leader in the Amazon region, by a rancher made the international headlines in 1988, increasing the international pressure over the implementation of policies to preserve the rainforest²⁶³.

²⁶⁰ Viola 2004, 30.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

²⁶² *Ibid.*

²⁶³ Revkin 2004.

b) Re-democratisation, *Rio 1992* and the rise of Brazil as a leader of the emergent world

Therefore, after the country's re-democratisation (which resulted in the advent of a new constitution in 1988) and the end of the *Cold War*, Brazil naturally wanted to change its image within the international scene. The transition between the image of a quasi-fascist dictatorial country - that for decades was seen as the planet's largest rainforest offender, all in name of a certain degree of industrial development achievement - towards a modern and democratic nation, which was ready to embrace a more *Arcadian*²⁶⁴ attitude on ecological issues, became part of the Brazilian agenda to expand its international influence within the concert of nations.

To do it so, insofar the image of Brazil as an environment-friendly nation is concerned, it was understood that the national programme had to go through internal and external changes. Therefore, in Brazilian domestic affairs, environment protection and pollution reduction became constitutional duties of all governmental spheres of the country (union, states and municipalities²⁶⁵); while, on the international scene, Brazil decided to host the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), better known as *Earth Summit* or *Rio 92*, in the city of Rio de Janeiro, as a means to recover its past-centuries-image of a quasi-*Arcadian* country, where nature reigned absolute, as a means to secure its position as a regional leader in Latin America and among other underdeveloped countries.

As an outcome of *Rio 92*, five important documents were approved by the participant countries. One of them was the *Rio Declaration*. Among the twenty-seven principles of the document, the item four - which states that "environmental protection shall constitute an integral part of the development process and cannot be considered in isolation from it"²⁶⁶ - is seen as a rupture from the past decades view of the Brazilian

²⁶⁴ According to Worster, Arcadian ecology is the common belief "that man must learn to accommodate himself to the natural order rather than seek to overwhelm and transform it". Worster 1994, 76.

²⁶⁵ Brazilian Federal Constitution. 1988. Art. 23. "É competência comum da União, dos Estados, do Distrito Federal e dos Municípios: VI - proteger o meio ambiente e combater a poluição em qualquer de suas formas; VII - preservar as florestas, a fauna e a flora".

²⁶⁶ United Nations 1992.

military government that had shown the tendency to understand environmental protection and development as two opposing elements.

The Brazilian traditional instance that developed countries should be accountable for Earth's pollution reduction, however, was maintained. It was therefore decided that developed countries, and those from Eastern Europe in transition to a market economy, should reduce their carbon emission in order not to exceed the emission levels of 1990, while underdeveloped countries were spared of such a task²⁶⁷. Brazil had thus adjusted its discourse in relation to the preservation of natural resources and the lowering of CO₂ emissions, but, in practical terms, had also kept its instance of setting global warm accountability into developed nations.

Therefore, the success in the negotiations of the Rio-92 made the conference be seen in Brazil as a milestone of the country's environmental agenda as its diplomatic niche, from where it could play a stronger international role among developing nations²⁶⁸. In addition, for the Brazilian Foreign Affairs Ministry, Rio-92 greatly differed from Stockholm-1972, in so far the latter presented an "asymmetry of pressures and resistances" between the global North and South and, in 1992, "the equation *common responsibility, differentiated demands* was the basis of consensus construction"²⁶⁹ between the two groups of countries.

As the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs believes to have played an essential role in such a consensus, as being one underdeveloped world leaders, "introducing their demands and claims from the perspective of the global South"²⁷⁰. Such a role was perceived as a Brazilian victory as it set the country in a vanguard position among the international scene insofar environmental issues negotiations were concerned²⁷¹.

Furthermore, the country's privileged diplomatic position as a voice from the South in relation to environmental issues seems to have been also partially secured by the

²⁶⁷ Senna Ganem 2012, 35.

²⁶⁸ Soreanu Pecequilo 2012, 325.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 326.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 325.

nation's own advances in the realms of green energy technology. Beyond possible controversies of what is indeed green energy, two national plans have backed up Brazil's claims of being an environmentally oriented nation: (i) the use of hydroelectric power to supply its industries and (ii) the development of sugarcane-based ethanol as a replacement to other fossil fuels.

As an example of the former, one can point out the controversial construction of the bi-national Itaipu Dam (1975 to 1984) which destroyed the Guaira Falls²⁷² and submerged an area of about 1500 kilometres square that were otherwise inhabited by several hundreds of native species²⁷³, establishing - in the own words of the state rule hydroelectric - "the world's largest generator of renewable clean energy"²⁷⁴. As an example of the latter, the advent of the first sugarcane-based ethanol-powered car available to the public in 1978, a product of Brazilian technology - and its subsequent strategical insertion into the national market during the *pro-alcohol* programme²⁷⁵.

Despite the environmental impacts of both projects, the Itaipu Dam and the *pro-alcohol* were both celebrated as victories of the Brazilian creative spirit on the path to sustainable development and in the reduction of CO2 emission. They were, after all, the evidence of Brazil's capacity to collaborate with the modern project, giving possible technical solutions to the collateral effects of developed nations' technological and industrial progress.

Therefore - although the use of hydroelectric energy and biofuel in detriment to fossil fuels were largely implemented in the 1970s and 1980s as part of the military government policy to make the country self-sustainable (following the principle of

²⁷² The Guaira falls - also known as Salto das Sete Quedas in Portuguese - were waterfalls located in the Paraná River, in the physical frontier between Paraguay and Brazil. Before their inundation to the construction of the Itaipu Dam, in 1982, the falls had one of highest water volume flow per second in the world and were one of the most popular touristic attractions in the region.

²⁷³ Agostinho, Júlio Jr. and Borghetti 1992.

²⁷⁴ Itaipu Binacional. www.itaipu.gov.br. Accessed on January 19, 2019.

²⁷⁵ Created in 1975, the Proálcool (Pro-Alcohol) was a national programme as an energy alternative to the 1970s petrol crisis. The programme reached its climax in 1986, when about 96% of the cars produced in the country that year ran on ethanol. Folha de S Paulo. August 23, 1999. *Proálcool surge com a crise do petróleo*.

absolute national sovereignty and with disregard to their environmental impacts) – since 1988, different Brazilian governments have used such projects heritage both as a mean to their further development and as a discourse to characterise the Brazilian creative industry active role in the country’s relatively low CO2 emissions in relation to its increasing industrial development.

In the same fashion, successive Brazilian governments have used *Rio-92* subsequent summits, such as *Copenhagen-2009*, as international arenas from where the nation sought to display itself as an important global player through its position as an environmentally responsible emergent economy with an innovative creative industry and, at the same time, as a country that is willing and able to represent the interests and rights of other developing (non-Annex I)²⁷⁶ nations without compromising the environment in order to do it so. As a result, almost two hundred years after its independence from Portugal, Brazil once again saw in its close relation to nature an opportunity to captivate international audiences and play its role as a modern nation.

c) The BRICS: the feeling of an imminent *future*

If Rio-92 is seen as an international landmark for Brazilian diplomacy and its image abroad, the 1988 Constitution can be viewed as a domestic milestone in the realms of representative democracy and the inclusion of different ethnic groups, and their cultural manifestations, into the “Brazilian civilising process”²⁷⁷. One can thus separate the recent history of Brazil’s identity construction in two moments, prior to and post the 1988 re-democratisation.

According to the political scientist Eduardo Viola, differently than the Brazilian foreign policy during its military period that sought to expand Brazil’s influence in the international arena through its military prowess while keeping a firm hand “on the

²⁷⁶ Non-Annex I countries is a classification of nations made during the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (Rio-92) in Rio de Janeiro, 1992. The nations within this group are mostly underdeveloped and are not obliged to lower their gas emissions below their standards of 1990.

²⁷⁷ Brazil. 1988. Federal Constitution. Article 215.

principle of absolute national sovereignty”, the post-1988 Brazilian foreign policy was made in accordance to the following trends:

“[T]he acceptance of limitations to the principle of national sovereignty, the clear decision of fighting to become one of the new permanent members of the United Nations Security Council in the occasion of its enlargement, the strong commitment with strengthening Mercosur as a way to cope with the challenges of integration in a globalized economy, and the support of universalism and contractualism in issues like Human Rights, Political Democracy, Reproductive Rights, Women Rights, Social Equity and the Environment”²⁷⁸.

The gradual development of these trends, boosted by the fast-growing Brazilian economy in the 2000s, achieved its pinnacle during Luis Inácio da Silva’s government (2003-2010). What is more, the twenty-first-century Brazilian effort in being recognised as one of world’s global powers, wishing to be granted a permanent member of the *United Nations Security Council*, received an extra lift as, in the early 2000s, the financial press started referring to Brazil as part of an emergent countries supergroup known as the BRICS -Brazil, Russia, India and China.

Although, at first, the ties that linked these countries remained rather vague, as they were based on the fact that, in the near future, the GDP growth of these large emerging economies were deemed to exceed that of the G7²⁷⁹, the governments of the respective BRIC countries soon realised that they could use the economic significance of such new branding as a means to boost their international soft power and have a stronger position in global politics. Seen a good opportunity, in the late 2000s, the BRICs moved from an acronym destined to the fast-growing economies of four countries - that together were home to half of the Earth’s population - to become an actual organised group, which host its first summit in Yekaterinburg, 2009. In the next year, the acronym received a capital *S* as South Africa joined the group - making the acronym BRICS and expanding the group influence on Africa.

For Brazil, the development of the BRICS consummated the South-to-South approach of its foreign diplomacy, setting Brazil, among the other four countries, as an important

²⁷⁸ Viola 2004, 33.

²⁷⁹ Goldman Sachs 2001.

player on the international scene. On top of that, the optimistic prognostics regarding its fast-growing economy and increasing international political relevance seemed to fulfil the almost prophetic idea that Brazil was indeed the *land of the future*, as if the plan of the (Hegelian) spirit to Brazil, as proposed by Von Martius, was finally revealing itself to the world and such a future was up to start anytime soon.

Chapter 3. *Order*: Brazilian-ness within Brazil and beyond

By setting an account of the events that have contributed to the construction of a sense of Brazilian-ness within the nation, this chapter aims to elucidate how a national identity began to be shaped in an otherwise continental country. Moreover, this chapter also aims to outline the socio-political and historical reasons that have led some cultural practices to be regarded as examples of a national culture while others remained defined as regional traditions.

Therefore, in a somewhat chronological way, we will divide this chapter into six distinct parts: namely (i) nationalism in the Pre-Republican Brazil; (ii) Brazilian-ness in the first republic; (iii) Vargas era and its aftermath; (iv) late 20th century Brazilian military rule and re-democratisation; (v) the 2014 FIFA World Cup analysis, and (vi) the analysis of the 2016 Summer Olympics in Rio de Janeiro.

In the first part – Nationalism in the Pre-Republican Brazil - we will analyse the inception of a Brazilian national feeling. We will also speak about the origins of a Brazilian iconography, centred in the city of Rio de Janeiro. As a result, we will describe the aftermath of such Rio-centred national iconography, that is to say, the intellectual efforts of other Brazilian regions in promoting their identity and differentiating their cultural heritage and symbols from that of the – then - Brazilian capital.

Moreover, we will also briefly analyse Rio de Janeiro's role as a recurrent host of Brazilian national expositions that would determinate how the country would be represented abroad in the late 19th century world exhibitions. To conclude this part, we will examine how Brazil was represented during the Expo of 1889, in Paris, in relation to the showcasing of elements linked to different Brazilian regions.

With the crystallisation of what was the national image that Brazilians wanted to advertise during the 1889 Expo in Paris, we will go on with our analysis of the evolution Brazilian-ness within Brazil during the First Republic (1889-1930). We will depart

from the first Brazilian military rule (1889-1894) to the subsequent *República Café com Leite* (1894-1930), a period when the aristocratic elites of Minas Gerais and São Paulo dominated the Brazilian political scene.

We will also evaluate how two of the events that marked the centennial of Brazilian independence - namely the 1922 Rio de Janeiro International Exposition and the 1922 São Paulo Modern Art Week - (re)evaluated what was Brazilian-ness. We will end up the second part with Gilberto Freyre's Regionalist Manifest, which was somewhat a continuation of the discussion that started some years before, during São Paulo's aforementioned event in 1922.

In the third part, Vargas Era and its aftermath (1930-1954), we will write about the roots of the dissatisfaction of certain sectors of Brazilian society with the politics of the first republic that culminated in a coup in 1930. We will speak about a nationalist-authoritarian period of Brazil, led by Getúlio Vargas, that sought to unify the country under a single homogenous cultural identity.

We will then exemplify, through the content analysis of the New York Expo of 1939, how this new Brazilian identity, once again centred in the cultural aspects of Brazil's federal district, aiming to build a modern image of the country abroad. We will end this section by analysing the 1950 FIFA World Cup - a competition that took place in-between two Vargas presidencies.

Finally, we will briefly discuss the period after Vargas era to nowadays, passing through the military dictatorship – a period that has, once more, weakened the representation of the states within the Brazilian cultural patchwork- to the 1980's re-democratisation of Brazil.

Nationalism in the Pre-Republican Brazil: the inception of a national iconography based on Rio de Janeiro

Soon after Brazil's independence from Portugal in 1822, the Sugarloaf Mountain overlooking the Guanabara's bay became the epitome of the city of Rio de Janeiro –

the capital of the new Empire - and, therefore, also the main representation of a sovereign Brazil. Such role achieved by the Sugarloaf as the first national icon of an independent Brazil filled a vacant slot as the country was looking for symbols that would not automatically be linked to its former coloniser. Nevertheless, the quest for a new national icon proved itself easier than one could imagine as “during the whole colonial period, the Portuguese did not bother to make an iconographic record of Brazil”¹. According to Martins, this was partially because the Portuguese did not have such a representational tradition nor wanted to advertise the country abroad, as they were afraid of further invasions in the country².

The subjective and multi-personal selection for the mountain as the country’s new face happened naturally as “everyone arrived by ship, boats, steamships” in the capital, passing by the Sugarloaf to enter the bay and get to the city of Rio de Janeiro³. Therefore, as soon as Brazil was elevated from its colonial status, it was natural that the Sugarloaf, with its “dazzling beauty” would become one of the new Empire main symbols.

The representation of the peak curvy shapes and its green and blue surrounds would quickly become a fever among painters of the time, whose portrayals would depict the hill from different angles and under different weathers⁴. It was not only the portraitists of time that became fascinated by the hill. Writers and geologists would spread the word among the nineteenth-century western cultural elites. As a matter of fact, one of the world most famous naturalist of all times was reported to have expressed his appreciation towards the Sugarloaf when his boat, the HMS Beagle, arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1832. Charles Darwin became rather interested in the rocky formation of the Sugarloaf, known as gneiss-granites: “these huge rounded masses of naked rock rising out of the most luxuriant vegetation”⁵.

¹ Martins, 2010.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Augusta, Soares da Cruz and de Cássia. 2010.

⁵ Darwin 1840, 32

Such seminal role in the formation of a Brazilian iconography played by the Sugarloaf would hence expand its symbolic aura throughout the city of Rio de Janeiro. As a result: “the photographs of Rio de Janeiro’s dazzling beauty and its icons marked the image of Brazil abroad for decades”⁶.

a) Rio as the centre of Brazilian-ness

Naturally, it was not only the beauty of Rio de Janeiro’s coastline or simply the worldwide fame of the Sugarloaf that made the city well known abroad. Early nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro was nonetheless a vibrant city that had already been the capital of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarve (from 1815 to 1822), a fact that rendered to the city the curious title of *the only non-European city which has been the capital of a European Empire*. With Brazil’s independence, Rio naturally became the capital of the Brazilian Empire (1822 – 1889).

With the country's independence in 1822, the city of Rio de Janeiro progressively became Brazil's quintessential city. Such prominence within the Brazilian-ness social construction was understandable as Rio was both the nation's capital and one of its largest cities⁷. These helped Rio de Janeiro to be one of the most visited cities of the Brazilian Empire - a trait that has not changed nowadays⁸.

Moreover, the production of coffee and sugar cane in the province attracted waves of migrants from different regions of Brazil⁹, especially after the slavery abolition and the first years of the Brazilian republic¹⁰. Therefore, Rio de Janeiro was seen as a melting pot of different Brazilian cultures and people, granting the city a *national* status as the centre of Brazilian-ness that, during the Empire, was second to none.

⁶ Augusta, Soares da Cruz and de Cássia. 2010.

⁷ Império do Brasil 1872.

⁸ Embratur 2006.

⁹ Lima 2003.

¹⁰ Coutinho da Costa 2015.

However, the prominence of Rio de Janeiro as the cultural and political centre of Brazil did not please the totality of the Brazilian population. Due to its past as the Portuguese-Brazilian Empire and its status as the current Brazilian Empire's capital, Rio de Janeiro was seen by other Brazilians as the urban embodiment of the monarchical system and of the central governmental power in the country. This explains the fact that the leaders of regional separatist movements of the time often displayed a "great resentment" towards the city¹¹.

Furthermore, Rio's prominence within the national imaginary turned the city into a constant epistemological "*Other*" to most of the Brazilian urban centres spread throughout the country. Therefore, on the one hand, *local* and *regional* identities were often built on their cultural differences as opposed to the country's capital. On the other hand, the sense of nationality of different Brazilian regions, their sense of belonging to the nation, would in many cases be built on their similitudes in relation to Rio de Janeiro's cultural elements.

b) Regionalisms and nationalism during the Brazilian Empire

Nevertheless, when did Brazilians start to feel as such? Martins¹² says that Brazil did not have an iconography of its own during the Portuguese rule because the latter did not have such tradition nor the interest on doing so. But how about the locals who were born on Brazilian soil? When did they start to have a nationalist feeling towards the land that would trigger the interest in delineating a clear national identity to them and their fellow nationals? When did a sense of Brazilian-ness start in Brazil?

To answer such questions, one has to look at Brazil's colonial past. In 1534, Brazil was divided into fifteen captaincies. Later on, in 1815, with Brazil's status upgrade from colony to a constituent part of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarve,

¹¹ Carvalho 2001, 77. "Os textos rebeldes revelam grande ressentimento contra a Corte e o Rio de Janeiro, e nenhuma preocupação com a unidade nacional".

¹² Martins 2010.

these captaincies would later become Brazilian provinces – and they would keep such status throughout the history of the Brazilian Empire until the Republic proclamation, in 1889.

Although the captaincies system proved to be a failure in economic aspects, their political organisation – and their need to report directly to Portugal – proved to be successful insofar as the territorial and linguistic unit of the country was concerned¹³. Nevertheless, it was not before the Portuguese court arrival in Brazil - in the year of 1807- that the country started to be recognised as a nation. Until then, Brazil was seen as “an archipelago of captaincies, without political and economic unit”, a “geographical contiguity” or even a “vast continent”¹⁴.

Such inclination to look at Brazil as a vast continent and disregard it as a nation rendered the separatist revolts of the time a regional or, even, a Pan-American character. For instance, according to Carvalho (2001), part of Minas Gerais’ intelligentsia that was involved in the independence movement of 1789 “did not speak about Brazil. [They] spoke about America, ‘we, the Americans’, or about Minas Gerais -‘our homeland’¹⁵”.

Likewise, the same could be said about the ones involved in the revolt of 1817 in Pernambuco¹⁶. Brazil seemed thus “to be fated to the same destiny of the Spanish Colonies: to be fragmented into several different countries”¹⁷. However, the Brazilian history took a different early step that put it into a different path from those of the Spanish Colonies. On September 7th, 1822, Brazil became independent from Portugal, and - unlike its neighbours that took the opportunity to change their political system to a republic- the country kept its old monarchical system, a decision that, in a first moment, helped to preserve its territorial unity.

¹³ Carvalho 2001, 18.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁵ Carvalho 2001, 76. “Os juristas, poetas e militares da capitania de Minas Gerais que sonharam com a independência em 1789, inspirados no exemplo norte- americano, não falavam em Brasil. Falavam em América (“nós, americanos”), ou falavam em Minas Gerais (a “pátria mineira”)”.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, “A colônia portuguesa estava preparada para o mesmo destino da colônia espanhola: fragmentar-se em vários países distintos”.

Nevertheless, as stated by Carvalho, even several years after breaking its ties with Portugal, the idea of nation was still ambiguous within the country - “it could be used to denote either Brazil or its provinces”¹⁸. As a matter of fact, Carvalho tells us that Bernardo Pereira de Vasconcelos, a deputy from Minas Gerais “with no record of separatist discourse”, used to refer to the province of Minas Gerais as “his nation” whereas Brazil would be “the Empire”¹⁹. Therefore, during the Brazilian Empire early years, “the emotional identification was with the province, and Brazil was a political construction, an act of will which was driven more by the mind than by the heart”²⁰.

If a nationalistic feeling towards Brazil was rather absent during its early monarchical years, it was thus natural that some local revolts, seeking the independence of provinces from the imperial central power would take place. Among several revolts that occurred in the country during this period, there were three revolts – namely Sabinada (in Bahia, 1837-1838), Cabanagem (in Grão-Para,²¹ from 1835-1840) and Farroupilha (in the Rio Grande do Sul, 1835-1845) – which, as a result, proclaimed the unilateral independence of their provinces²². However, in all of the separatist revolts, but the Cisplatina – which granted the independence to Uruguay – the Brazilian Empire emerged victoriously, and the respective provinces were reincorporated to the crown.

The hatred against common enemies as the origins of Brazilian nationalism

According to Carvalho, in spite of the military victories of the Empire, one’s feeling of belonging was still linked to one’s province and “the little national feeling that could

¹⁸ Carvalho 2001, 76.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 77.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Grão-Pará is a defunct province that used to cover the north of Brazil where nowadays are the Brazilian states of Amazon and Pará.

²² Carvalho 2001.

exist in Brazil was mostly based on the hatred towards foreigners, especially against the Portuguese (...) [which were] the major traders and urban owners”²³.

Different historians agree that the inception of a Brazilian nationalist feeling was such hatred towards foreigners. Two of them (Carvalho and Schwartz), however, disagree about which conflict against foreign forces was decisive to the consolidation of Brazil as a nation.

According to Stuart Schwartz, the inception of Brazilian nationality was the Dutch invasions in Pernambuco – during the seventeenth-century first half, when Brazil was still a Portuguese Colony²⁴. Schwartz explains that the fact that the metropolis had not officially declared war against the invaders “led to a view of this victory as essentially one of the colonials”²⁵, which lead the locals to identity rupture with Portugal making they deem the Portuguese rule dispensable.

Although Carvalho agrees with Stuart Schwartz on the importance of these events to the formation of an identity in Brazil, he claims that such episode rendered a strong identity to the people of Pernambuco, not to all the Brazilians.²⁶ For the Brazilian historian, the conflict that would unite the country against a common threat -- which was not the former coloniser -- would only happen two centuries after the victory against the Dutch, when Brazil was already an Empire independent from the one of Portugal.

In Carvalho’s understanding “the main factor to the production of a Brazilian identity was the War of Paraguay”²⁷ (fought between 1865 and 1870). According to him, no other conflict - neither the independence proclamation nor the two wars against

²³ Carvalho 2001, 77. “ O pouco de sentimento nacional que pudesse haver baseava-se no ódio ao estrangeiro, sobretudo ao português. Nas revoltas regenciais localizadas em cidades, a principal indicação de brasilidade era o nativismo antiportuguês, justificado pelo fato de serem portugueses os principais comerciantes e proprietários urbanos”.

²⁴ Schwartz 1987, 17.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Carvalho 2001, 78.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

Argentina - “had such a national character and mobilised such a large share of the population”²⁸ as the Paraguayan war did.

Among many reasons for the unprecedented nationalistic feeling among the Brazilian population brought by the conflict, the historian points out (a) the initial euphoria with the first Brazilian victories in the battlefield, (b) the constant use of the flag and the national anthem as instruments of national propaganda, (c) the boost of popularity of the Emperor Dom Pedro II as well as (d) media coverage which created the first national heroes. In the view of the historian, until the Paraguayan war, “Brazil was a country with no heroes”²⁹.

Nonetheless, the Paraguayan war impact was felt not solely within the realms of nationalism (which started to influence Brazilian art and literature) but it also played a major role by boosting the political influence of the army in Brazil. This is an important fact as, we will see during the development of this chapter, the process Brazilian army empowerment would culminate with the end of the monarchy in the country and the republic proclamation in 1889 as well as the coups of 1930 and 1964.

Although the establishment of a binary relation *us*, the Brazilians, versus *them*, the foreign enemies - brought about by conflicts such the Paraguayan war – was able to create a feeling of national union, the Brazilian crown was naturally interested on supporting more objective actions to foster a national spirit within the country.

²⁸ Carvalho 2001,78. “O principal fator de produção de identidade brasileira foi, a meu ver, a guerra contra o Paraguai. O Brasil lutou em aliança com a Argentina e o Uruguai, mas o peso da luta ficou com suas tropas. A guerra durou cinco anos (1865-1870), mobilizou cerca de 135 mil soldados vindos de todas as províncias, exigiu grandes sacrifícios e afetou a vida de milhares de famílias. Nenhum acontecimento político anterior tinha tido caráter tão nacional e envolvido parcelas tão grandes da população, nem a independência, nem as lutas da Regência (todas provinciais), nem as guerras contra a Argentina em 1828 e 1852 (ambas limitadas e envolvendo poucas tropas, algumas mercenárias)”.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

c) The creation of regional historical institutes as a reaction to the Carioca establishment

A rather successful attempt towards such an agenda was the creation of the Brazilian Historic and Geographic Institute (*Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, otherwise known as IHGB). The institute was founded, in 1838, by the Society of National Industry (*Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional*) - a civil society sponsored by the Imperial Ministry of Business (*Ministério dos Negócios do Império*) - in Rio de Janeiro. The IHGB aimed at the “creation of a national history, the *recreation* of the past, the solidification of foundation myths, and the organisation of facts seeking homogeneity in characters and events that, until then, were otherwise dispersed”³⁰.

The epoch (1838) and the location (Rio de Janeiro) of its foundation seem to define many of the IHGB main characteristics. Its locality - in the capital of the Brazil Empire - was an intelligible indication that the Institute “was created within the limits of monarchical domain”,³¹ receiving direct support of the Emperor himself — an “illustrated and centralising monarch”³² — and was therefore strongly linked to the local oligarchy³³. As a matter of fact, “the majority of them [first members of the IHGB] also used to work within the State apparatus”³⁴.

Its year of foundation, 1838, not so many years after the country’s independence and contemporary to different separatist revolts in the country — such as *Sabinada* (1837-1838), *Cabanagem* (1835-1840) and *Farroupilha* (1835-1845) - seemed to have also played a role in the formation of different regional institutes. According to Sandes, the defeat of insurgent movements as well as the political centralisation (of the time) “created a favourable atmosphere to the country’s history re-writing”³⁵. Moreover,

³⁰ Schwarcz 2012, 129. “O estabelecimento carioca cumpria o papel que lhe fora reservado, assim como aos demais institutos históricos: construir uma história da nação, recriar um passado, solidificar mitos de fundação, ordenar fatos buscando homogeneidades em personagens e eventos até então dispersos”

³¹ Sandes 2000, 81.

³² Schwarcz 2012, 33.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Guimarães 1988, 10.

³⁵ Sandes 2000, 81-82. “A centralização política e a derrota dos movimentos insurreccionais (...) criaram o ambiente favorável à reelaboração da história da pátria”.

according to Schwarcz, the institute had the responsibility to “invent a memory for a country that should separate, from then on, its fate from the old European metropolis”³⁶.

Therefore, the IHGB’s *raison d’être* was placed under the sign of the country’s unification under the same national identity. However, one of the flaws of the IHGB, as well as of other institutes of the kind created in different Brazilian regions, resided on the bias of its participants. To Schwarcz, “[the goal of] unifying the nation meant the *construction* of a past that was intended to be singular, although clearly marked by the profile of influential economic and social groups that participated in the various [Brazilian] institutes”³⁷. In the case of the IHGB, the issue was that it had the ambition to be the bastion of a national history, but it promoted the “consecration of the local [Rio de Janeiro] elite as well as of a history which was basically regional”³⁸.

Given IHGB’s regional bias towards Brazilian history, it was natural that other historical institutes would flourish within different areas of the country to create their own historical narratives and iconographies. Therefore, twenty-four years after IHGB’s creation, a group of intellectuals from Recife’s Faculty of Law created the Pernambuco’s Geographic and Archaeologic Institute (IAGP). It was the second institute of this type in Brazil and the first one in the northeast. Already in the first opening solemnity, the institute main goals were made clear: “on the one hand, the recuperation of nation’s history, on the other hand, the substantiation of Pernambuco’s relevance to the country’s destiny”³⁹.

In practical terms, the institute would serve to revive, although in intellectual and historical terms, Pernambuco’s importance in the national scene as the state suffered “since the beginning of the XIX century, a period of flagrant economic decadence, motivated by international competition and the consequent price drop on its main exportation products”⁴⁰. Therefore, according to Levine, “[the institute] wanted to,

³⁶ Schwarcz 2012, 33.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 130.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 136.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

through its cultural romanticism, preserve the past to use it as a shield against an uncertain future”⁴¹.

According to Schwarcz, the majority of the articles (67%) published by the IAGP between 1870 and 1930 were focused on themes related to its region⁴². Among all the subjects present in IAGP’s journal, the one that is repeated the most - occupying 51% of the total volume of the publication - is the Dutch invasion in the province (from 1630 to 1654). Although the articles about the incident may differ in form and content, “its interpretation is always similar: on the one hand, ‘the disgraceful foreign subjugation’; on the other hand, the heroic response of Pernambuco people ‘brave and patriotic’”⁴³. The Dutch invasion and - most importantly - their expulsion from the land were therefore “transformed in a sort of myth of identity formation for Pernambuco people”⁴⁴ with the help of the institute.

Circa the nineteenth century’s end and the twentieth century’s beginning, many other regional institutes of the type have emerged in different Brazilian areas. The Geographic and Historic Institute of Alagoas (1869), the Geographic and Historic Institute of Bahia (1894), the Geographic and Historic Institute of Santa Catarina (1896), the Geographic and Historic Institute of Paraná (1900) and the Geographic and Historic Institute of Minas Gerais (1907), are just some examples among many others. All these institutes aspired to, to a larger or lesser extent, develop a historical narrative of their regions and their importance to the historical fabric of the country. Their creation has nonetheless “revealed the regionalist profile that characterised the different establishments, as well as the disputes that existed between different regions within the politics of the Brazilian empire and the first years of the Republic”⁴⁵.

Among the different Brazilian regional institute, one would more openly challenge the supremacy of the IHGB: the Geographic and Historic Institute of São Paulo (Instituto

⁴¹ Levine 1980, 117. *Apud.* Schwarcz 2012, 155.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 154.

⁴³ Schwarcz 2012, 158.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Schwarcz 2012, 131. “[os institutos regionais] revelaram o perfil regionalista que caracterizou os diferentes estabelecimentos, assim como as disputas que se verificavam entre regiões no interior da política imperial e da República Velha”.

Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo or IHGSP). Founded in 1895, the Paulista institute would open its first journal volume with the phrase: “the History of São Paulo is Brazil’s own history”.

In the view of Lilian Schwarcz, the sentence, as well as its position in the IHGSP’s journal (on the first page of its first volume) was – undoubtedly - a taunt towards the IHGB. That is to say: “a provocation before the unitary project of Rio de Janeiro’s establishment, calling themselves the Brazilian Institute, assuming a certain consensus which existed less and less”⁴⁶.

Such a view over the dispute between the two institutes can be better understood if put into the late nineteenth-century Brazilian context. The country was no longer an empire under the somewhat unifying figure of the king. In 1889, six years before the IHGSP foundation, the country became a republic under the influence of the Brazilian army and local elites, which wanted more autonomy to their provinces. Although Rio de Janeiro remained the capital, it was no longer Brazil’s economic hub as its coffee production on the Paraíba’s valley was in decadence, losing its competition against São Paulo’s “coffee barons”.

Both institutes would reproduce this shift on the internal balance of the country, which could be noticed since the 1880s⁴⁷. The quarrel between the IHGB and the IHGSP would hence “not be limited to the institutional sphere, [they would rather be] based on the disputes between the ruling elites of the two states”⁴⁸.

During its first years, the IHGSP worked on São Paulo’s historical narrative focusing rather on the local. However, they sought to build such a narrative in a way that would “encompass the country as a whole”⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 165. “A história de São Paulo é a historia do Brasil” era uma frase sem dúvida de efeito, mas que, ao abrir o primeiro volume da revista paulista, representava uma clara provocação. Provocação ante o projeto unitário do estabelecimento carioca, que se autodenominou Instituto Brasileiro, supondo um certo consenso que cada vez menos se sustentava”.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 166.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 165.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 166.

As in other Historic and Geographic institutes spread over the country, the IHGSP also aimed at the creation of a foundation myth. It was in the figure of the *Bandeirante* that São Paulo's cosmology would be centred. The *Bandeiras* were different groups, led by Portuguese settlers in Brazil, which marched to the country's interior seeking for gold, silver and gemstones during seventeenth-century. In doing so, they have also considerably expanded the original borders of Brazil.

According to Schwarcz, the myth of the *Bandeirante* as a "fearless adventurer", crafted with the help of the IHGSP, "sought, in a remote past, legitimation to a recent origin"⁵⁰. Therefore, through the *Bandeirante* narrative, the institute has exposed the São Paulo elite's leading ambitions in relation to the future of the state within the country.

Displaying the Empire through its regions

During the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, Universal Expositions played an important role in defining a given country's image to the developed world. The timing was very appropriate to young Latin American nations like Brazil, which had become independent only a few decades before this type of events became popular among the nineteenth-century developed nations.

a) Rio de Janeiro's role in the (Inter)National Expositions

As Brazil's capital, Rio de Janeiro was the natural choice for hosting the National Expositions of the period (the city hosted these events in 1861, 1867, 1873, 1875 and 1888)⁵¹. During this period, the National Expositions were considered a sort of "national finals" for expositors from different corners of Brazil that had often been already pre-selected from their respective Provincial Expositions⁵².

Rio de Janeiro's position as the National Expositions permanent hosts offered a logistical advantage to the expositors coming from the capital's vicinities in relation to

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁵¹ Cunha, 2010.

⁵² Pesavento, 1997.

those who had to send their products all the way to the Federal District. Meanwhile, the expositors of some Brazilian provinces would face financial difficulties or fall short to send a committee to the National Exposition. As a matter of fact, that was the case of Rio Grande do Sul in the exposition of 1861. Most of the *Gaúcho* products were livestock and its by-products, which seemed to render the more than 1.500 kilometres journey barely feasible. The expositors of Rio Grande do Sul thus “failed to deliver its products to the *court* exposition on time”⁵³. On the other hand, in the same year, Rio de Janeiro was considered the “event’s highpoint” confirming its “situation as the country’s political centre, biggest Brazilian port and the central axis of Brazil’s major exportation product, coffee beans”⁵⁴.

The city of Rio de Janeiro would keep such a prominent position in the subsequent events⁵⁵. According to Pesavento, during a good share of the nineteenth-century, “either due to its privileged economic position or its central political position, Rio was, without a doubt, ‘the place where things happened’ and where the most developed industrial sectors [of the country] could be found”⁵⁶.

Closer to the end of the nineteenth century, the Province of São Paulo started to defy Rio de Janeiro’s leading industrial role in the country, and this seems to have reflected on the image of Brazil in the international expositions insofar the origin of Brazilian exports was concerned. According to Pesavento, although Rio “kept its position as the province with the largest number of textile factories and with the biggest amount of [Brazilian] products exposed [in the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia] (...),

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 108. “Rio Grande do Sul, província periférica e que tinha, na época, a pecuária como principal atividade, não conseguia remeter seus produtos em tempo para a exposição da Corte”.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* “No cômputo geral dos expositores do evento nacional de 1861, o grande destaque ficou por conta do Rio de Janeiro, fazendo jus a sua situação de centro político do país, maior porto nacional e eixo central do maior produto de exportação do país, o café”.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 108. “Seja pela sua posição econômica privilegiada, seja pela sua posição política central, o Rio era, sem dúvida, o “lugar onde as coisas aconteciam” e onde se concentravam os setores que poderiam ser considerados mais avançados em termos industriais”.

it was São Paulo that presented itself as the first [province] in terms of *progress*”⁵⁷. For the author, São Paulo’s industrial advances - as well as the province’s positive feedbacks during the exposition in Philadelphia - had much to do with its solution to overcome manpower shortage caused by humanist laws restricting slavery in Brazil⁵⁸. Unfortunately for the larger number of freed descendants of the enslaved people in the country, the solution found by São Paulo business owners was the extensive use of immigrant labour force (mostly from Italy, Spain and Japan).

Thirteen years after the Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition, and just one year after the complete slavery abolition in the country, another “centennial” exposition took place in Paris. Differently than the American exhibition that celebrated the centennial of its independence, the French exposition was the celebration of the hundred anniversary of the French revolution, and – therefore – the centennial of the First French Republic inception. Interesting enough, Brazil – the only monarchy of the *New World* - would become a republic during the exposition⁵⁹.

The Brazilian pavilion - which on the words of Pascal Ory “was inaugurated *imperial* and would be demolished republican”⁶⁰ – rendered different reactions in its visitors. For some, it was considered an “amazingly whitewashed representing a sort of *Luso-American renaissance*”⁶¹- while, for others, the Brazilian structure in Paris 1889 was a “pavilion lacking on national style”⁶² or even “a good looking Hispanic styled pavilion”⁶³.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 154. “Se o Rio de Janeiro mantinha a sua posição de província com o maior número de fábricas têxteis e com mais número de produtos expostos, além de ser o maior centro cafeicultor do país, era São Paulo que se apresentava como a primeira do Império em progresso”.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ The 1889 Universal Exposition took place in Paris between May 6 to October 31 1889.

⁶⁰ Ory 1999 83. “Le pavillon, inaugure impérial, sera démoli républicain.”

⁶¹ Jeinisel 1889. *Apud.* Barbuy 1996, 220.

⁶² Ervy 1889. *Apud.* Barbuy 1996, 220.

⁶³ Gautier 1889. *Apud.* Barbuy 1996, 220

According to Barbuy, the project - developed by the French architect Louis Dauvergne - was made over “somewhat vague orientations allowing rather personal interpretations”⁶⁴. These orientations stated that the pavilion should seek for “an architectural character that would befit a building designed for the exposition of natural products coming from a Latin *and* American Empire which is particularly rich in mineral and vegetal raw-products”⁶⁵.

What is more, “although [the style of the Brazilian pavilion] did not correspond to the genuine national architectonic style, it reflected the idea of Brazil as a Latin America member”⁶⁶. The choice for such architectonic style shows that, at the dawn of the republic proclamation, Brazil did not have yet a well-formed identity abroad, at least, insofar its edifice building aesthetics or its cultural differentiation vis-à-vis the rest of the Latin-American subcontinent are concerned.

Perhaps foreseen the (almost complete) unawareness of the general European public towards their country the Brazilian organising committee to the 1889 Expo made use of one of Brazil’s most striking icons: the curvy lines of Rio de Janeiro’s coastal line, containing, of course, the images of the Sugarloaf and the Guanabara Bay. For such assignment, they shipped to Europe an *oeuvre d’art* of the Brazilian artist Victor Meirelles called “*Panorama do Rio de Janeiro*”.

The installation was a 360 degrees painting of the city as seen from Santo Antônio hill. It measured 115 metres of length and 14.5 metres of height. This massive structure had been already previously exposed in Europe (during the 1888 Exposition in Brussels) and would be sent back to Rio de Janeiro, to be finally presented to Cariocas, in 1890.

⁶⁴ Barbuy 1996, 220.

⁶⁵ Lenotre 1889, 178. *Apud.* Barbuy 1996,220. Emphasis added by the author.

⁶⁶ Barbuy 1996, 220.

One could assume that the idea of the *Panorama* was to bring a *little* of Brazil to foreign audiences in an epoch which travelling overseas usually took weeks. The fact that the apparatus turned around the spectator and had some lights projected on it conferred a sense of motion and an extra feeling of realism to Meirelles' work. Therefore, the Brazilian organising committee efforts in making the visitors feel like they were in Brazil - and, more specifically, in Rio de Janeiro - were evident. One can thus say that the selection of the city of Rio de Janeiro's coastline to be portrayed in such a fashion, and the fact that they shipped it all the way from Brazil to Europe, was an sign of the strong iconographic potential of the city and the fact that Rio de Janeiro coastal line was seen as an (idealised) small version of the country – the one that mixed tropical and coastal elements to the image of raw nature juxtaposed with strong signs of western civilisation presence.

The representation of Rio de Janeiro in Paris was thus considered rather successful as Victor Meirelles and Henri Langerock won the jury's gold medal⁶⁷. What is more, it assisted Brazil to be considered by part of the local press as the “most beautiful and civilised country in South America”⁶⁸. This was also much due to the fact that, albeit realistic, the panorama captured an attractive angle of the city, distant enough from the poverty of part of its inhabitants and from infrastructure problems that could lead to public health issues. As a result, the panorama presented the visitor with “a hygienic image of the city”⁶⁹.

Such idealised vision of Rio de Janeiro goes along with the image constructed throughout Brazil's imperial age, and displayed in universal expositions during most of the pre-republican Brazilian history, as noted by the historian Sandra Jatahy Pesavento: “Rio de Janeiro - the court centre and the capital of Braganças' tropical Empire - was

⁶⁷ Ministère du Commerce de L'Industrie et des Colonies 1889, 120.

⁶⁸ Coelho 2007, 115.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

modernity's gateway to the country, and also the radiating centre of a certain image of the nation and its potential for large exhibitions that were held abroad"⁷⁰.

b) The Amazon forest represented in the Champs de Mars

Nevertheless, it was not solely the curvy Rio de Janeiro coastal lines and somewhat modern streets that deserved extra attention from the Brazilian committee delegates. Another impressive effort to take "a little of Brazil" to Europe was made with the country's flora, especially the one native to the Amazon forest. For the general surprise of the public, live specimens of rainforest plants could be found on the external part of the Brazilian pavilion in the Parisian Champs de Mars. For the plants and trees that needed a warmer climate to be kept alive, a temperature-controlled greenhouse was built⁷¹. As for the Amazon forest water lilies (*Victoria Régias*) — which were brought all the way from the north of Brazil to France by boat — a special system to keep the water at a tropical 30 degrees Celsius was offered by the Franco-Brazilian union⁷².

The impression caused by the "exotic" Amazon forest specimens was such that it somewhat overshadowed the agricultural products which were displayed - in a manner considered to be "boring" by some of the visitors - inside the "rather small" Brazilian pavilion⁷³. For others, the country's large display of its native flora reminded of the Brazilian image of the beginning of the century, in which the country was constantly portrayed as "nature's country". Thus, leaving the visitors with the impression that the country was a large plantation⁷⁴.

⁷⁰ Pesavento 1997, 17. "O Rio de Janeiro, sede da Corte e capital do Império tropical dos Braganças, era porta de entrada da modernidade para o país, bem como o centro irradiador de uma certa imagem da nação e de suas potencialidades para os grandes certames que se realizavam no exterior".

⁷¹ Piccard 1891b, 217.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 216.

⁷³ Ory 1999, 83-84. "On eut donc un Pavillon brésilien, charmant et un peu grêle, plus remarque pour son jardin exotique que pour les produits agricoles qu'il exhibait avec ennui".

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 85. "A ce compte le Brésil restera dans sons souvenir comme une grande plantation, grâce à son jardin exotique".

The fact that a large share of the Brazilian committee efforts in the 1889 Expo was put on the rainforest display, perhaps even more than on the display of products that could be commercialised with Europe, may have something to do with the main source of the pavilion's funding. According to Barbuy, the Legislative Assembly of Amazonas - a province which was living its golden years due to the Amazon rubber boom (1879-1912) - sponsored the Brazilian pavilion with the (then) equivalent of 150 thousand French Francs⁷⁵. Such sum, intended to be spent to organise an especial section destined to the Amazon province in the expo, amounted to about 40% of the total sum spent (372 thousand francs)⁷⁶ on the whole of the Brazilian pavilion to the 1889 expo.

c) Rivers and Amerindians as geographical and ethnical connections between Brazilian regions

In spite of the impression caused by the garden funded by Amazonas and the Panorama portraying the city of Rio de Janeiro, products coming from other Brazilian provinces did not go completely unnoticed. Coffee, a product which - in the late 20th century - started to have as its main producer the province of São Paulo, could be tasted under a structure, built "at the last moment", at the edges of the water lilies basin⁷⁷. Rubber (mostly from Amazonas and its neighbouring provinces), cacao (mostly from Brazil's northeast) and Mate (from Southern Brazil) were also displayed and even, in the case of the latter two, tasted by the visitors⁷⁸.

Nevertheless, to avoid the idea of a country scattered into different regions – i.e. that it was "an archipelago of provinces" as the country was imagined by many of the pre-Paraguayan war generations⁷⁹ - the Brazilian pavilion exhibit the sculpture of six

⁷⁵ Barbuy 1996, 229.

⁷⁶ Piccard 1891b, 216.

⁷⁷ Piccard 1891b, 216. "A la dernière heure, un pavillon a été construit sur les bords du bassin pour la dégustation du café et d'autres produits du Brésil".

⁷⁸ Rousselet 1890, 202.

⁷⁹ Carvalho 2001.

Amerindians, each of them representing one of the main Brazilian rivers⁸⁰ (Paraná, Amazonas, São Francisco, Paraíba, Tietê and Tocantins⁸¹), with each river epitomising a specific Brazilian region.

The sculptures, made by the French artist Gilbert⁸², were rich in symbolism. Perhaps the most important aspect of the sculptures, in so far as the discussion regarding Brazilian nationalism and regionalisms is concerned, is the fact that the Amerindians represented Brazilian rivers. The rivers, represented by the sculptures, embodied the idea of territorial unity, as they were representative of each Brazilian region and their waters crossed over, at least, more than one province in the country. Moreover, they also represented Brazil's integration, as one of the major means of transport in late nineteenth-century Brazil was the navigation of its rivers. Therefore, through the personification of Brazilian rivers as Tupi-Guaranis, the statues symbolised the integration of the land prior to its discovery by Europe, bringing about the feeling that the boundaries of modern Brazil had been somewhat sensibly designed and the nation was foreordained to exist as an undivided tropical colossus.

Furthermore, Barbuy notes the fact that they were sorted in pairs, a man and a woman. Therefore, they would also represent "fertility, promises of abundance and the country integration"⁸³, whereas the paddles that they were carrying would symbolise the "idea of crossing and exploration"⁸⁴.

The idea of country integration, presented in the 1889 expo by the representation of rivers embodied by Amerindians, came thus to fulfil a gap that is to be expected of a young nation with a continental territory: the relative scarcity of an internationally recognizable nationwide iconography. Nonetheless, the Republic proclamation would

⁸⁰ Piccard 1891b, 215.

⁸¹ Barbuy 1996, 221.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

spark the need for a revisited iconography for the country, working as an invitation to the creation of a national narrative that would be more up to date. By delinking itself with some aspects of the Imperial tradition, such a narrative would not solely drink from a common national past but rather from an imagined future and the experience of a collective present. What is more, the transformation of the country into a federative republic also encouraged local intellectual elites to craft regional narratives of their own.

Nationalism and Regionalism in the First Brazilian Republic (1889-1930)

In 1889, the first Brazilian Republic was proclaimed through integrated actions of the Brazilian army, which, as we have previously mentioned, had gradually become more influent within Brazilian politics since the Paraguayan war, and local elites — which had in the Paulista Republican Party⁸⁵ one of its most powerful political arms.

Although these two groups – the national army and the regional elites – have initially agreed that the republic proclamation was indeed the best way to achieve more political autonomy, they have soon realised that they had rather dissimilar plans to the country: on the one hand, the military sought a centralised republic, often more authoritarian,⁸⁶ as their main concern was the social unity of the country. For most of the provincial elites, on the other hand, the idea was to make a decentralised republic, “where the power of the states would be rather substantial”⁸⁷.

⁸⁵ Fausto 2002. “A proclamação da república no Brasil se deveu a duas forças, muito diferentes, do ponto de vista social e do ponto de vista ideológico. Uma dessas forças era representada pelos partidos regionais, o principal partido regional era o partido republicano paulista. Essas elites estavam muito mais preocupadas com os seus interesses em cada região. O sonho da elite paulista, ou das grandes elites regionais, era fazer uma república pouco centralizada. Quer dizer, em que o poder dos estados se tornassem muito amplo. Já os militares, que foram a outra força que deu origem a república, tinham concepções diferentes dessas elites civis. Era a idéia de uma república centralizada, muitas vezes mais autoritária. Os militares estavam muito mais preocupados com a unidade social”.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

As a consequence of such divergence of objectives, during most of the Brazilian republican history, these two plans to Brazil dictated both (a) the way on which the federal republic would be governed (I.e. the right of Brazilian citizens to elect their own state governors and other local political representatives contrary to their indication by the central government); and (b) how Brazilian culture would be defined and represented abroad and within the country.

In so far the creation of a new iconography to the republic was concerned, both the representatives of the army and of the republican regional elites decided to keep some of the elements which were already successfully developed by the monarchy. Nonetheless, according to Carvalho, the republicans — conscious that the new regime was not unanimity among Brazilians contemporary to the republic proclamation — these groups have also “tried to legitimate the regime through the manipulation of national symbols”⁸⁸.

As a result, “the national flag was altered, however, the colours and the basic design of the Imperial banner were kept. They have tried to change the national anthem; such altering was nevertheless prevented by popular reaction”⁸⁹. Hence, the author concludes that “the flag and the anthem had already acquired legitimacy as [national] civic symbols”⁹⁰.

If the architects of the republic have fallen short in altering some of the national symbols such as Brazil’s anthem, they have been more successful in the negotiation of past historical events symbolism. Therefore, narratives about important elements of Brazilian history, such as the one of the Minas Gerais Conspiracy, were altered. The conspirators, that sought the creation of an independent republic of Minas Gerais at the end of eighteenth-century, ceased to be seen as national traitors and became martyrs of the republic.

Therefore, one of the leaders of the revolt, Joaquim José da Silva Xavier, known as *Tiradentes* - whose life was taken by the Brazilian Empire army and his body was

⁸⁸ Carvalho 2001, 82.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

quartered into several pieces to be public displayed in different Brazilian cities, in a strategy to frighten other separatists- became one of the main Brazilian republican heroes. His brutal death and the fact that most painters portrayed him looking like the way Jesus Christ is represented — long hair, long beard, wearing white — enhanced his popularity in the country⁹¹. One would say that such portrayal is far from being a coincidence as the clear majority of Brazil’s population was (and, as a matter of fact, still is) subjectively or objectively Christian.

In spite of the creation of national heroes, such as *Tiradentes*, there was little popular involvement regarding the republic proclamation or the possible maintenance of the monarchical system. For Carvalho, the lack of interest of the Brazilian multitude in relation to the politics of the country was symptomatic of a population that was not yet politically organised and did not have a nationalist feeling consolidated⁹². Such scenario - where “the participation in national politics, including in important moments, was limited to small groups”⁹³ - would arguably endure until 1930⁹⁴ (the first of the Vargas’ years).

a) The *República da Espada* (Brazil’s first military rule) and The *República do Café com Leite* (the dream of regional elites)

After the Republic proclamation, the Brazilian army - headed by Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca and, after, Marshal Floriano Peixoto (both veterans of the Paraguayan War)- ruled the country for about five years (1889 to 1894), in a period that is known as the *República da Espada* (Sword’s Republic). The name is a reference for both the weapon traditionally carried by members of the Brazilian military and the way on which this government repressed local revolts (such as the *Revolução Federalista*) in order to secure the country’s sovereignty as well as the republican system.

⁹¹ Carvalho 2001, 83.

⁹² *Ibid.*, “Pode-se concluir, então, que até 1930 não havia povo organizado politicamente nem sentimento nacional consolidado. A participação na política nacional, inclusive nos grandes acontecimentos, era limitada a pequenos grupos”.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

Until the promulgation of the 1891 Constitution, a provisory government called *Governo Provisório dos Estados Unidos do Brasil* (Provisory Government of the United States of Brazil) was formed until a new constitution was written and presidential elections were held. The new government was essentially formed by highly ranked members of the army, presided by Marshal Deodoro, and served to restrain a certain uneasiness regarding the fragility of Brazil's new political system and its territorial unity. According to De Araújo, for the military inner circle:

“[T]he republic should have a strong executive power or pass through a dictatorial period. The autonomy of the provinces was seen with caution, as besides favouring the interests of the big landowners [in detriment to the interests of the Republic], it could also incur in the fragmentation of the country”⁹⁵.

The authoritarian nature of the new military regime became evident when - in order to avoid any attempt to restore the monarchical system in the country - one of its first decrees was to decree the banishment of the royal family from Brazil. However, the provisory government, as was to be expected, was short lived. Only two years after the Republic proclamation, in 1891, a new constitution was promulgated, and new elections were to be held. Nevertheless, the result of Brazil's first presidential became a large disappointment to the civil elites of the country as the military kept on ruling the country. That is because the National Congress elected Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca president instead of the civil presidential candidate Prudente de Moraes (a member of the Paulista Republican Party). However, later that year, Deodoro da Fonseca resigned the presidency, leaving his vice-president Marshal Floriano Peixoto as the country ruler until November 1894.

Nevertheless, even with Prudente de Moraes' defeat in the first presidential elections, the year of 1891 was celebrated by most of the local civil elites in Brazil. The country had finally become a federal Republic under the new constitution. As a result, Brazil

⁹⁵ De Araújo and Rodriguez 2012, 50. “Para eles a República deveria ser dotada de um poder executivo forte, ou passar por uma fase ditatorial. A autonomia das províncias era vista com cautela, pois além de favorecer os interesses dos grandes proprietários de terra, poderiam incorrer no risco de fragmentação do país.”

changed its name once more. As exposed already in the second article of the 1891 Constitution: “The provinces of Brazil, reunited by the federation bond, constitute the United States of Brazil”⁹⁶.

The triumph of a federalist system over a centralising organisation was seen as a victory for the Brazilian civil elites⁹⁷ that now were “implicitly authorised to carry out various tasks, such as borrowing money from abroad and organize their own military forces”⁹⁸.

In 1895, the mandate of Marshal Floriano Peixoto ended, and its former rival, Prudente de Moraes was elected the first Brazilian civil president. Moraes, a former senator for São Paulo state, had chosen by São Paulo *coffee baron*, and other members of the civil elites of the state, as their leader. His accession to the country’s presidency marked a new chapter on Brazilian history where regional oligarchies — more significantly those from São Paulo and Minas Gerais — exercised their control over Brazilian politics in a substantial way.

Therefore, from 1895 to 1930, with the exception to Hermes da Fonseca term (a Marshal from the Rio Grande do Sul who served as the country’s president from 1910 to 1914), the republic had presidents that were either supported by São Paulo or by Minas Gerais. Such scenario is known in Brazil as the *Política do Café com Leite* (Coffee with Milk politics) because it served the interests of the regional oligarchies that produced mainly coffee (as it was the case for the civil elites of São Paulo) and dairy products (one of the main products produced by Minas Gerais elites).

In spite of the military’s initial fear that the power of the big landowners and a greater autonomy of the states could undermine Brazil’s unity, “incurring in the fragmentation

⁹⁶ Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1891. Article II.

⁹⁷ Fausto 2002.

⁹⁸ Fausto 1995, 249. “Os estados ficaram implicitamente autorizados a exercer atribuições diversas, como as de contrair empréstimos no exterior e organizar forças militares próprias”.

of the country”⁹⁹, this system held the country together until 1930 because of, among other reasons, the political and economic interests on São Paulo — the biggest exporter and richer state in Brazil — in having the Republic support to control the coffee prices through the implementation of favourable exchange rate policies and coffee stocking¹⁰⁰. The country was thus somewhat dependent on São Paulo’s economic prosperity and São Paulo needed the Federal Government political support. In order to keep its political influence, São Paulo needed the support of Minas Gerais, one of the states with the largest number of representatives in the national congress.

b) The 1920s, distinctive ways of envisioning the nation

In 1922, and therefore still under the influence of the Brazilian *Coffee with Milk politics*, Brazil celebrated her 100th anniversary as an independent country. A combination of factors -- such as the coming of age of a new generation of artists and intellectuals who grew up in a liberal society, closer to the urban centres and that was getting some distance from the old patriarchal societal model of the Empire, a certain disillusion towards Europe caused by the Great War¹⁰¹, and the fulfilment of an agenda which, due to the nationalistic symbolism of the year, invited a heterogeneous Brazilian intelligentsia to rethink the country through “the growing perception that although Brazil had already a territory, she did not constitute a nation yet”¹⁰²-- turned 1922 into a remarkable year insofar the discussion about the country’s identity is concerned.

Among the significant events of that year, one can name the advent of the Brazilian Communist Party (in Niterói), the 18 of Copacabana Fort revolt and the 1922 Universal Exposition in Rio de Janeiro as well as the 1922 Modern Art Week in São Paulo. All these events are important on the discussion of Brazilian modernity and identity, however, in this subchapter, we will try to focus on the importance of the latter three

⁹⁹ De Araújo 2012, 50.

¹⁰⁰ Fausto 1995, 266.

¹⁰¹ Compagnon 2013.

¹⁰² Da Motta 1992a, 4. “O grande anseio, diria mesmo a obstinação, que animava a intelectualidade naquele momento era conhecer o país, na mesma medida em que crescia a percepção de que se o Brasil tinha território, não se constituía ainda como nação”.

events to the formation of different regional identities, based on the discourse of modernity, on a narrative configuration that would encompass the country as a whole.

The 1922 São Paulo's Modern Art Week marked the inception of different groups within São Paulo's intellectual elites which were unhappy with early twentieth century Brazil's "[F]rench-oriented literary and artistic world (...) with little room for artistic originality".¹⁰³ Each one of them, however, presented different plans to Brazil's cultural scene.

The crescent disillusion with European rationalism and scientific optimism of the past years, intensified by the Great War in Europe (1914-1918)¹⁰⁴, led the South American *intelligentsia* to a "growing interest on philosophies that preached the predominance of feelings and emotions, with an appeal towards the imagination"¹⁰⁵. According to Silva da Motta, within the self-reflexive context of 1922, "to go to the depths of ourselves, meant to seek our roots, our primitive and mythological founding forces"¹⁰⁶.

It was in this context that the culture of Rio de Janeiro, in particular, and of the large Brazilian urban centres, in general — which were considered to be the representatives of the unsuccessful adaption of European modernity in the country,¹⁰⁷ examples of a Brazilian "coastal cosmopolitanism"¹⁰⁸ — started to be treated in a "hateful and ironical"¹⁰⁹ way by the members of the traditionalist group called "Verde-Amarelos". For the members of this traditionalist group, "the social and political regeneration could be only possible through a return to the origins, that is to say, to nature – eternal and

¹⁰³ Skidmore 2009, 102.

¹⁰⁴ Compagnon 2013.

¹⁰⁵ Da Motta 1992a, 32. "O desencanto com os princípios racionais acentuou o papel do inconsciente, crescendo o interesse pelas filosofias que pregavam o predomínio dos sentimentos e emoções e apelavam para a imaginação"

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* "Ir ao fundo de nós mesmos significava, dentro dessa perspectiva, buscar as raízes, as forças primitivas e mitológicas que fundavam o nosso ser".

¹⁰⁷ Da Motta 1992a, 38.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, "[L]itoranismo cosmopolita".

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

identical to itself”.¹¹⁰ Such group understood that the true Brazilian identity was in the past, in Brazil’s indigenous flora and fauna as well as in other natural aspects - “its weather, its rivers, its underground wealth”¹¹¹ and “landforms”¹¹².

A second, and somewhat more moderate, group was formed by what we can call the vanguardists. This group, like the traditionalists, was also disillusioned with the exhausted model of the Brazilian *belle époque* (characterised by the artistic, political and economic Brazilian elites uncritical attempt to emulate cultural traits from the western European civilisation, mostly from France) but utterly disagreed with the *Verde-Amarelos* on the possible alternatives to it.

The vanguardists — an umbrella term to designate different subgroups of “individuals linked to European vanguardist ideas (...) [who] sought to tune the national reality with the fast and hectic pace of the new industrial and urban world”¹¹³ as an answer towards their common disenchantment with the aesthetics of nineteenth-century theories and techniques¹¹⁴ — disagreed altogether with the traditionalists’ proposal of returning to *nature*.

Such a disagreement laid on the fact that, for the likes of, “Mario de Andrade, Oswald de Andrade, Menotti del Picchia, and others, it was difficult to believe that Brasil was

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 36. “Tal como no romantismo, a regeneração social e política só seria possível com um retorno à origem, ou seja, à natureza, eterna e idêntica a si mesma”.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Da Motta 1992a, 34. “É marcante a diferença entre estas duas elites intelectuais: uma composta por indivíduos ligados às idéias vanguardistas europeias, rompendo com valores clássicos e buscando sintonizar a realidade nacional com o ritmo veloz e febril do novo mundo urbano e industrial; outra, igualmente filiada a correntes internacionais, de carácter conservador, marcada pelo apelo aos valores da natureza e do campo, pelo repúdio ao industrialismo e à modalidade da vida urbana, litoralista, cosmopolita e liberal”.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

in the hinterlands”¹¹⁵. For them, “the city imposed itself as the new cyanic centre of national life, as a new identity, awaiting the moment to reveal itself as such”¹¹⁶. This new urban identity would be thus necessary to the configuration of a new reformulated and modern nation.

Freyre’s Regionalist Manifest

The debate between traditionalists and Vanguardists on the making of a new Brazil spread way beyond the 1922 Sao Paulo Modern Art Week. In 1926, the socio-anthropologist Gilberto Freyre wrote a Regionalist Manifest (Manifesto Regionalista) and read it during the First Brazilian Congress of Regionalisms¹¹⁷, in the North-eastern city of Recife. One of the goals of such manifesto was to “rehabilitate the North-eastern values and traditions”¹¹⁸ and defend them from the “neophyte wrath of leaders who, among us, pretend to be “advanced” and “progressive” because they blindly and shamelessly emulate foreign novelties”¹¹⁹.

Freyre, much alike the traditionalists from São Paulo, thus criticises both the Francophile elite of Rio de Janeiro and the Vanguardists of the 1922 Modern Art week for their overly-close cultural ties with Europe. He does openly mention the two states,

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 38. “Para um expressivo grupo de intelectuais, especialmente aqueles que dentro do modernismo admiravam os cânones vanguardistas - Mário de Andrade, Oswald de Andrade, Menotti del Picchia, dentre outros - era difícil acreditar que o Brasil estava no sertão. Para estes, a cidade impunha-se como o novo centro ciânico da vida nacional, impunha-se como identidade nova, aguardando o momento de se revelar, de se formular como tal. Esse identidade é indissociável da idéia de modernidade”

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Freyre 1996.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* “Procuramos defender esses valores e essas tradições, isto sim, do perigo de serem de todo abandonadas, tal o furor neófilo de dirigentes que, entre nós, passam por adiantados e "progressistas" pelo fato de imitarem cega e desbragadamente a novidade estrangeira. A novidade estrangeira de modo geral. De modo particular, nos Estados ou nas Províncias, o que o Rio ou São Paulo consagram como "elegante" e como “moderno””.

São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, in his manifesto and criticises what they “enshrine as *elegant and modern*”¹²⁰.

Although similar to the traditionalist stream of the Paulista modernist movement in its proposal of returning to tradition as a mean of understanding the nation’s essence, Freyre’s Regionalist Manifest went beyond its South-eastern counterpart as it defended “the region as a unity of national organisation”¹²¹. For Freyre, “it is the set of regions that truly makes Brazil. We are a set of regions before being an arbitrary collection of ‘States’”¹²².

According to Ruben Oliven: “in calling for the need for inter-regional articulation, Freyre touched on an important and topical problem: namely how to allow regional differences to exist within a national unity, in a country with Brazil’s continental dimensions”¹²³. According to Oliven, Freyre answered to such a question, “Freyre affirmed [in his manifest] that the only way of being national in Brazil was first to be regional”¹²⁴.

Finally, for Oliven, there are, at least, two possible ways of understanding the manifest: “The first would regard it as a document elaborated by an intellectual representing a rural, peripheral aristocracy and seeing the social order undergoing transformations which undermined the traditional norms of domination”¹²⁵. The second reading would be the understanding that the manifesto “contains a series of recurring questions in our history: unitary state versus federation, nation versus region, unity versus diversity, national versus foreign, popular versus erudite, tradition versus modernity”¹²⁶.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Oliven 2000, 59.

¹²² Freyre 1996. “O conjunto de regiões é que forma verdadeiramente o Brasil. Somos um conjunto de regiões antes de sermos uma coleção arbitrária de “Estados””.

¹²³ Oliven 2000, 59.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

c) The 1922 International Expo, the Carioca *Belle Époque* and the fragility of the Coffee and Milk politics

Back in 1922, another important event that took place in Brazil that year was the 1922 Rio de Janeiro International Expo. Two years earlier, in 1920, was decided that — as part of independence’s centennial celebrations, and also to use the temporal gap that was left in the history of the universal exhibitions due to the Great War (1914-1918) as a means to insert the country into the post-war new world economy¹²⁷ — an “exposition was to be held in the Republic’s capital”¹²⁸.

During the 1920s precedent decades, that is to say, since the republic proclamation and the slavery abolition, Rio de Janeiro - as well as other important economic centres in Brazil - was living a period economical prosperity and rapid population growth, caused by internal and external migration to the city, which lead to the creation of a new local bourgeoisie (as well as the development Rio’s first favelas).

During this period, known as Rio de Janeiro’s *Belle Époque*, such a new carioca bourgeoisie was culturally inclined to embrace Francophile customs in the same manner that the traditional Brazilian aristocracy had done it for decades. Therefore, enriched members of the new Brazilian middle class also started looking towards Europe, mainly France¹²⁹, seeking for novelties in fashion and etiquettes as a means to culturally differentiate themselves from the members of the country’s working class.

Nonetheless, according to Neves, “[the 1920s Francophile bourgeoisie from Rio de Janeiro] wanted to transform Brazil’s capital in a sort of tropical Paris, hoping that the

¹²⁷ Da Motta 1992a, 12.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹²⁹ Neves 1991, 18.

changes in Rio would be spread throughout the country”¹³⁰. Still, in the words of Neves, during this period, “people would speak of Rio de Janeiro as if what happened in this city was what happened in the country as a whole”.¹³¹ Therefore, “the image of Brazil was reduced to Rio de Janeiro, and the image of Rio de Janeiro to the ‘desire to be Paris’”¹³².

Such feeling would explain the efforts of Rio de Janeiro’s mayor Carlos Sampaio, inspired by Haussmann’s reforms in Paris, to modernise Rio’s cityscape, by getting rid of the historical, but *chaotic*, Morro do Castelo and why “was necessary to Rio de Janeiro become an apotheosis of Brazilian modernity”¹³³.

On September 7th of that year, more than six thousand exposers, coming from all the states of the Republic, were present at the Independence Centenary International Exposition. After all, in 1922, “Rio de Janeiro was seen as a cosmopolitan city and it was to there that the delegations of different Brazilian states should go to show what was genuinely national”¹³⁴ to local and foreign audiences alike. Moreover, in an area created especially for the event, the pavilions of fourteen different nations stood close to eleven buildings showing Brazilian products, such as food, beer and agricultural goods, as well as pavilions destined to the display of the advances of Brazilian industries.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, ““Era para a Europa, mas sobretudo para a França, de onde vinham tantas novidades, que voltavam-se os olhos dos que suspiravam por transformar a capital do Brasil numa espécie de Paris tropical, na esperança de que as mudanças que se operassem no Rio de Janeiro se estendessem por todo o país. Aliás, muitas vezes por esse tempo, falava-se do Rio de Janeiro como se o que se passava nessa cidade fosse o que acontecia no país inteiro. Reduzia-se de alguma forma a imagem do Brasil ao Rio de Janeiro, e a imagem do Rio de Janeiro ao “desejo de ser Paris”.”

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ Da Motta 1992a, 5.

¹³⁴ Sandes 2000, 116.

However, as explained by da Motta, “it was not just the image of a promising Brazil that [the organising committee] wanted to build, nor the event was designed solely to foreign visitors”¹³⁵. The exposition was also intended to be a “civic lesson” to achieve “patriotic objectives”¹³⁶, as there was a growing tension in Brazil as whole and Rio de Janeiro in particular, during the first semester of 1922, caused by the presidential elections of the same year in which the candidate supported by Rio de Janeiro, the Rio Grande do Sul, Pernambuco and Bahia — Nilo Peçanha — did not acknowledge his defeat against Minas Gerais’ Artur Bernardes.

Peçanha’s campaign attacked the “imperialism of the great states and asked governmental support to *all* Brazilian exporting goods and not only to coffee”¹³⁷. His defeat culminated with the rebellion of (a small) part of the Brazilian army, which was discontent with the oligarchical dominance on Brazilian politics led by the states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais. Such event was called *A Revolta dos 18 do Forte de Copacabana* (The Eighteen of Copacabana’s Fort Revolt).

Although the revolt was put into action by a small minority of the army and was quickly repressed, with the deaths of most of the insurgents, its battlefield, in the heart of Brazil’s capital, revealed the fragility of the *Coffee with Milk* politics. During the subsequent years, a series of revolts — known as *Revoltas Tenentistas* (Lieutenant’s revolts), in a reference to the patent of most of the military involved — took place in different cities of the country. In spite of the fact that they all had their own particularities, these revolts were generally an attack against the political structures that maintained the oligarchical system of Brazil’s first republic. Such a feeling among the 1920s military would culminate with the 1930s *coup d’état* and the end of the first republic. As Boris Fausto explains: “[u]ntill 1930, the *tenentismo* was an act of rebellion

¹³⁵ Da Motta 1992a, 14.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Fausto 2002, 306. “Na campanha, surgiram ataques ao imperialismo dos grandes Estados e pediu-se proteção para os produtos brasileiros de exportação em geral e não apenas para o café”.

against the Republic's government; after 1930, the 'lieutenants' entered the government and sought to put it into a direction which could support its objectives"¹³⁸.

Nationalism and Regionalisms during the Vargas Era

In 1929, the Republican Party of São Paulo (Partido Republicano de São Paulo, or PRP) - the political arm of the *Paulista* oligarchy - broke their unwritten alliance with the Republican Party of Minas Gerais (PRM) - representatives of the Minas Gerais elites - by supporting a candidate of their state, Júlio Prestes, as a successor for Washington Luis (also from the PRP) in the presidency of the country.

Although this was not the first time in Brazil's history that a politician of the same party was to succeed the Republic's president, the outcomes of the 1929's conflict between PRM and PRP (that is to say, the political representatives of Minas Gerais and São Paulo) marked the end of the *Café com Leite* politics in Brazil. Unhappy with the results of the 1930's presidential elections that confirmed Júlio Prestes (PRP) as the newly elected president of Brazil, the states of Minas Gerais, Rio Grande do Sul and Paraíba lead an armed revolt that divided the country. The insurgents marched towards Rio de Janeiro but were kept within limits by federal troops. The revolt ended when important sectors of the federal army, which "wanted a strong central government that would unify Brazil and put an end to "professional politicians becoming rich at public expense"¹³⁹, intervened in favour of the rebellious, deposing the president Washington Luis and calling a provisory military junta to govern the country. The junta lasted from October 24th to November 3rd, when it handed over the control of the country to Getúlio Vargas (the former governor of Rio Grande do Sul and one of the leaders of the revolt), this way the military once again "entered the government"¹⁴⁰.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 307. "Antes de 1930, o tenentismo foi um movimento de rebeldia contra o governo da República; depois de 1930, os "tenentes" entraram no governo e procuraram lhe dar um rumo que promovesse seus objetivos".

¹³⁹ Skidmore 2009, 102.

¹⁴⁰ Fausto 2002, 307.

Consequently - with the support of the military, which had the territorial unity as part of its agenda since the Empire - Vargas played a substantial role in the building of modern Brazil and the ways in which we nowadays understand Brazilian-ness. Within the country's political scope, "Vargas replaced the liberal-oligarchic political culture of the First Republic with a nationalist-authoritarian political culture that endured until the mid-1980s"¹⁴¹.

One of its first actions towards such a nationalist-authoritarian political culture, already during his period as the "provisory" government president, Vargas ceased the autonomy of the states to elect his or her own candidates. The governors of each Brazilian state were thus to be named by the central government, headed by Vargas himself. Such action, which would be against the Constitution of 1891, amplified the totalitarian powers of his "provisory government". In fact, from 1930 to 1934, there was no longer an actual constitution in the country. Hence, for four years, Vargas ruled Brazil through decrees.

The lack of an actual constitution, as well as the reduction of Brazilian states autonomy and a persistent resentment due to the 1930 *coup d'état* - which prevented São Paulo's leader (Júlio Prestes) to become the new president of the Republic - lead the Paulista elites to initiate a revolt against the interventionism of the central government within federal states politics. To achieve their political objectives and to get rid of Vargas despotic government, the Paulistas demanded the return of a constitutional regime to Brazil¹⁴².

To put pressure on Vargas, in order to "re-establish the control of the federal government by the states"¹⁴³, the insurgents from São Paulo sought the support of other

¹⁴¹ Williams 2001, 6

¹⁴² Carvalho 2001, 99.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 100. "Os paulistas pediam o fim do governo ditatorial e a convocação de eleições para escolher uma assembléia constituinte. Sua causa era aparentemente inatacável: a restauração da legalidade, do governo constitucional. Mas seu espírito era

Brazilian states. The Rio Grande do Sul and Minas Gerais were initially inclined to help the Paulistas in their cause. However, “they finally decide to support the Federal Government, perhaps because [they] feared that a Paulista victory would result in an excessive power to São Paulo”¹⁴⁴.

Within the realms of regional identity creation and civil war propaganda, during the revolution, there was “an attempt to fortify the Paulista identity (...) around the mythologized image of the *Bandeirante*”¹⁴⁵. The use of such mythological figure was not exactly a novelty. The Historical and Geographical Institute of São Paulo (IHGSP) had promoted the narrative of the Paulistas as the decedents of fearless adventurers that brought civilisation to the depths of the country since the end of the 19th century. However, this time, the image of the courageous *Bandeirante* was often used as a motivation to stand up against Vargas’ dictatorship.

Therefore, on June 9th, 1932, the growing tension between the two sides had its climax as the military force of São Paulo went to arms against the Brazilian military force. During the revolt, there were plenty of manifestations in favour of São Paulo’s separation from Brazil. However, the foundation of a new Paulista Republic “was not a central theme within rebel preaching”¹⁴⁶.

On October the 2th of the same year, the revolt ended with the defeat of São Paulo’s military force and several hundreds of casualties on both sides. Although the Paulista lost on the battlefield, the insurgents managed to achieve one of their main goals -

conservador: buscava-se parar o carro das reformas, deter o tenentismo, restabelecer o controle do governo federal pelos estados.”

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, “Outros estados, como o Rio Grande do Sul e Minas Gerais, hesitaram sobre a posição a tomar. Decidiram-se, finalmente, pelo apoio ao governo federal, talvez por receio de que uma vitória paulista resultasse em poder excessivo para São Paulo”.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 100-101. “Tentou-se reforçar a identidade paulista, ameaçada pela grande presença de imigrantes europeus, em torno do bandeirante mitificado”.

¹⁴⁶ Carvalho 2001, 101. “Não faltaram mesmo manifestações de separatismo, embora este não fosse um tema central da pregação rebelde”.

namely the calling for the elections that would define the new national constituent assembly (where Brazilian women voted for the first time in national elections).

Much due to the pressure of the 1932 revolt's oppositional forces, a new constitution was written in 1934. However, the Constitution of 1934 was short lived. Vargas considered it "too liberal"¹⁴⁷. The dictator thus started advocating to his political entourage that the new constitution "prevented the effective exercise of the government"¹⁴⁸.

a) Brazil's *Estado Novo* (1937-1945), the consolidation of a nationalist-authoritarian regime

On November 10th, 1937, Vargas finally went from words to action. He thus closed the Congress and imposed a new constitution; which was closer to what he believed was necessary to the ruling of the country. He constitutionally diminished the political power of the states by replacing state governors by administrators appointed by the central government. It was the beginning of the so-called *Estado Novo* in Brazil.

As it is to be expected of dictatorial governments, the Constitution of 1937 was rather nationalist-authoritarian¹⁴⁹. The autonomy of the states and their cultural identity were one of the 1937 constitution main targets. Already in its second article, it forbade the use of state flags, anthems and emblems within Brazilian territory. To show the rigour of such article, on the morning of 29 November 1937, in Rio de Janeiro's Russel's¹⁵⁰ beach, the state flags were ritualistically burned in a pyre in front of a huge crowd – formed by civilians, state ministries, government authorities and Vargas himself – in what, according to the North-American Brazilianist Daryle Williams, "was not merely a celebration of national unity, but rather an assault upon regional autonomy, individual

¹⁴⁷ Villa 2011, 42.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Villa 2011.

¹⁵⁰ The Russel's beach, previously known as Dom Pedro Primeiro beach, ceased to exist in the 1960s because of Aterro do Flamengo's construction in the 1960s.

rights, and political liberties”¹⁵¹. While the state flags were burned down, Vargas’ Minister of Justice, Francisco Campos, made the following speech:

“Brazilian flag, today you are the only one. You are being raised today throughout the national territory, the one and only, there being no place in the hearts of Brazilians for any other pennant, flag or symbol. Brazilians unite themselves around Brazil and decree with determination that henceforth they will not consent to divisiveness or discord, that Brazil is the one and only fatherland and that there is no place for any other ideology in Brazil, nor is there space and devotion for any flag other than this one, today being raised with the blessings of the Church, the salute of the sword, the veneration of the people, and the songs of the young. You are the only one because there is only one Brazil - re-creating around you once again the unity of Brazil, the unity of thought and action, the unity that can only reign when it is established through historical decisions coming out of public discord and enmity, a single moral and political order, a sovereign order brought about by strength and ideals, the order of a single ideology and of a single authority, the ideology and authority of Brazil”¹⁵².

In fact, the state flags and anthems were not the sole regional culture representations that were attenuated during Vargas dictatorship. Through the creation of the Department of Press and Propaganda (DIP in Portuguese), the New State could censor writers, musicians and journalists whose works were considered ‘unpatriotic’. It also had among its objectives fostering the ‘national’ culture by, for example, giving financial support to *Samba* and *Marchinha* composers¹⁵³ – rhythms generally linked to Brazil’s former Federal District (Rio de Janeiro) urban culture. According to Oliven, the DIP “helped to create a model of nationhood centralised by the State”¹⁵⁴.

In order to promote such model of nationhood, the Vargas’ administration was also willing to make use of (inter)national mega-events such as world and national exhibitions, Summer Olympics (Brazil bid to host the Olympics in its capital, in 1936) and the FIFA World Cup (Brazil present its candidature to host the 1942 FIFA World

¹⁵¹ Williams 2001, 10.

¹⁵² Correio da Manhã. *Discurso do Ministro Francisco Campos*. November 27, 1937. Translated by Oliven 2006b, 305-306.

¹⁵³ Schelling and Rowe 1991.

¹⁵⁴ Oliven 2000, 63.

Cup). In 1938, Vargas organised the National Exposition of Estado Novo in Rio de Janeiro. The exposition, according to its official report, was “oriented by a vision of collectivity which makes no room for state peculiarities and regional differences”¹⁵⁵.

b) 1939 New York world’s fair – Rio as Brazil’s Epitome

Such a uniform representation of Brazilian culture in mega-events during the Vargas era went beyond the national arena. During the 1939 New York World’s fair — which, in spite of its name, lasted from April 30, 1939, to October 31, 1940 — Brazil sponsored the visit of different Brazilian artists whose works should rectify the unfamiliarity about Brazil, and its culture, by the majority of the American public¹⁵⁶.

In order to achieve the aforementioned objective, the Brazilian committee to 1939’s New York expo sent a letter to different Federal Interveners (as state governors were called during the *Estado Novo*) so they could let painters and sculptors of their states know that there was the possibility of presenting their artwork during the American exhibition¹⁵⁷. The artworks would be submitted to Rio de Janeiro to, thereafter, be evaluated by a board of twelve artists residents in the federal district¹⁵⁸. Through the presentation of what, in the understanding of the Rio de Janeiro’s jury, would be *la crème de la crème* of Brazilian highbrow culture the Brazilian committee to the 1939 expo wanted to present the Americans with pieces that would embody the artistic accomplishments of “the only people who founded a western civilisation in the tropics”¹⁵⁹ as well as the “elevated degree of intellectual culture”¹⁶⁰ achieved by the country. As a result, 37 paintings and 4 sculptures of Brazilian artists were sent to New York.

¹⁵⁵ Relatório da Exposição Nacional do Estado Novo, 1939. *Apud.* (and translated by) Williams 2001, 197.

¹⁵⁶ Vidal 1941, 31.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 168.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 71.

If, on the one hand, the selection process worked insofar as it gave the painters and sculptors of different federal states the opportunity to contribute with the representation of Brazilian highbrow culture in the realms of visual arts; on the other hand, the formation of a jury composed by Rio de Janeiro's artists — and most importantly — the need to send one's *oeuvre d'art* to a committee formed and sponsored by a dictatorship which believed that there was “a single Brazil” with “a single ideology and a single authority”¹⁶¹ may have played a role on artworks assigned to the Federal Capital.

Painting and sculptures were not the only art forms displayed in the Brazilian pavilion. Brazilian music, both classic and popular, could be heard during the exposition. According to the General Commissioner of Brazil, Armando Vidal, the presentations of maestro Burle Marx with the soprano Bidú Sayão, playing mainly Villa-Lobos and Francisco Mignone, in the “enormous” Music hall, “was the first time on which the Brazilian symphonic music was presented to the American public”¹⁶².

For those who were not present to the two concerts at New York's Music Hall, or were more interested in popular music, the Brazilian committee prepared a series of concerts by the *Romeu da Silva's Orchestra* which should introduce Brazil's mainstream rhythms to the American visitors to the expo. It is important to note that a comprehensive selection of mainstream, and therefore popular, music could be seen as a problem in a country of the size of Brazil. As long as the selection stayed in the realms of classical music and paintings, one would not see much of regional influence in the chosen artwork, as Brazilian classical music has a strong European element on it.

¹⁶¹ As in the discourse of Vargas' Minister of Justice, Mr. Francisco Campos. *Correio da Manhã. Discurso do Ministro Francisco Campos*. November 27, 1937. *Apud*. Oliven 2001, 197.

¹⁶² Vidal 1941, 71. “Pela primeira vez a música sinfônica brasileira foi apresentada ao público americano”.

However, how select the popular and folk in a continental country? Who would be able to perform such an extensive variety of rhythms?

During the six months that the *Romeu da Silva's Orchestra* made concerts at the Brazilian pavilion restaurant (from May to September) a total of 275 different song titles were played. Out of them, 163 were sambas (59.27%), 75 were *marchas* (27.27%), 24 were *choros* (8.72%), 6 *samba-canções* (2.18), 4 waltzes (1.45%) and two (0.72%) remained unidentified¹⁶³ by the Brazilian official report to the 1939 New York World Exhibition.

Therefore, all musical genres, but the waltzes and the unidentified rhythms, were either originated or linked to Rio de Janeiro's urban culture, a fact that has confirmed the Vargas regime cultural bias and reinforced the leading role of Rio de Janeiro regional culture within Brazilian-ness among foreign audiences.

All and all, the Brazilian artworks in the 1939 New York world's fair could be loosely sorted into two main groups: Brazilian highbrow and popular Brazilian. While the former — that includes authors such as Villa-Lobos and Cândido Portinari — could be defined as the association of elements linked to European and American artistic vanguards and Brazilian elements, the latter would rely mostly on live audile manifestations of a distinct tropical culture — which would (a) have its exoticism attenuated by the aesthetics of a “jazz band orchestra”, rendering Brazilian music a more familiar tune to North-American ears, and (b) would be representative of the Federal Capital's urban culture, leaving other regional musical manifestations completely unheard during the live presentations within the Brazilian pavilion.

In line with Vargas strategic use of (inter)national mega-events as a mean to promote his *modern* Brazil, the country was one of the candidates to host the 1942 FIFA World

¹⁶³ Vidal 1941, 85-92.

Cup. The only other country to present its candidature to the competition was Germany¹⁶⁴. However, in 1939 the Second World War broke out and soon after the competition was called off. In 1942, Brazil joined the Allies; turning its rival on the bids for hosting the world cup into a rival on the battlefield.

In 1945, the Brazilian army officials went back to their country after fighting against totalitarian regimes of Germany and Italy. As a consequence, they soon realised that there was no space to nationalistic authoritarian governments, such as the *Estado Novo*, in 1945 Brazil. Therefore, Vargas was deposed, a new constitution was written (in 1946) and new elections were organised. In spite of these events, Vargas – who would return to the presidency in 1951, this time through democratic elections – had already left the mark of his *Estado Novo* within Brazilian-ness.

c) The 1950 FIFA World Cup, the cultural influence of *the Estado Novo* exposed

Much due to the economic impact of the war in Europe, Brazil was the only bidder to the 1950 FIFA World Cup. The competition thus took place in Brazil during Dutra's government, and under the cultural influence of the *Estado Novo*. Such influence was also political, as Brazil's new president, Marshall Eurico Gaspar Dutra was Vargas' former minister of war, having received the direct support of Brazil's former dictator in his presidential campaign. Therefore, Dutra was as "a man from the inside (...) [who] seemed to represent a continuity of the Vargas system, without the totalitarian characteristics"¹⁶⁵.

¹⁶⁴ FIFA. *FIFA World Cup Host announcement decision*.

http://www.fifa.com/mm/document/fifafacts/mencompwc/51/97/81/ip-201_13a_fwc-host.pdf. Accessed on March 17th 2016.

¹⁶⁵ Skidmore 1976, 89. "O General Dutra, o incolor mas respeitável candidato dos "de dentro", parecia promover uma continuação do sistema Vargas, sem as características totalitárias".

Rio de Janeiro's prominent position as Brazil's cultural and geographical epitome was present in the 1950 FIFA World Cup official poster. When looking at it, one can observe a tanned leg kicking a ball with Rio's world-famous Guanabara's bay in the background – in an image that is intended to represent Brazil and Brazilian-ness. The national flag colours – green, yellow and blue – that fill up the poster; reinforce the idea of Rio de Janeiro being analogous to Brazil and vice versa.



Figure 1: the 1950 FIFA World Cup Poster¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ FIFA. *Official World Cup Posters from 1930 to 2018*. <https://www.fifa.com/worldcup/photos/galleries/official-world-cup-poster-from-1930-to-2018-2921795>. Accessed on December 11, 2018.

Nevertheless, it was not solely through the official logo that Rio had a prominent position in the competition. In a period when commercial flights were not as popular as nowadays, Brazil's continental size confined the World Cup mostly to the country's southeast and south (only one match was played in the north-east city of Recife). Among the 6 host cities, Rio de Janeiro hosted the largest number of matches of the World Cup – 8 out of 22. The competition was also scheduled in a way that virtually all the matches of the Brazilian national team would be played in the Rio's Mario Filho Stadium (also known as Maracanã) – with the exception to Brazil's four goals tie against Switzerland, in Sao Paulo, during the group stage.

1950 FIFA World Cup initial solemnities

Among the matches played in Rio de Janeiro, there was, of course, the opener (Brazil vs. Mexico). In a period when television was yet to become a popular medium globally and satellite transmissions did not exist, the ritualistic celebrations of sports mega-events, such as opening ceremonies, did not yet occupy such a relevant position in the organisation of the games as nowadays. In some cases, they laid merely in the display of the hosting nation official symbols as their national flags, anthems and so on. It was only after the advent of direct overseas transmission within the cold war context that mega-events ceremonies achieved the significance that they have nowadays¹⁶⁷.

Although World Cup official ceremonies tend to be less expensive and fanciful than those of Summer Olympics, the case of the 1950 FIFA World Cup opening ceremony is rather curious as one would imagine – for the lack of references about it both within academia and the Internet – that there was no ceremony whatsoever to such event. In fact, the absence of reports about a ceremony prior to the opening match is recurrent even on Brazil's popular newspapers of the time – such as *O Globo Sportivo* and *A*

¹⁶⁷ Fernández Peña and Ramajo Hernández 2014.

Manhã. Other diaries, such as *Correio da Manhã* briefly described the opening ceremony, calling it rather “initial solemnities”¹⁶⁸.

In spite of the lack of interest on sports mega-events opening ceremonies in 1950s Brazil, the Rio de Janeiro’s daily newspaper *Jornal do Brasil* dedicated a few lines to report 1950 FIFA World Cup opening ceremony – which was presided by Brazil’s President, Marshall Eurico Gaspar Dutra, and FIFA’s head, Jules Rimet. The report of the Brazilian daily newspaper goes as follows:

“Prior to the match Brazil versus México, there was a ceremony, under great applause, with the raising of the flags of the competing nations to the World Championship. The musical part execution followed, with military bands entering the pitch and standing in front of the grandstand. The band of the Guards’ Battalion masterfully performed the symphony of Carlos Gomes’ opera: ‘O Guarani’. The Preliminary part finished with a flock of five thousand pigeons”¹⁶⁹.

Military bands presentations during public solemnities were rather common in Latin America during most of the twentieth century. One might thus say that the simple display of military bands in public ceremonies does not necessarily convey the image of a nationalist-authoritarian government as they are cheaper and easily set in place. Moreover, they also are, as national flags and emblems, ultimate representations of the national state. However, when setting it into the 30s, 40s and 50s context – a period when, in (a) Brazil the memories of two coups, the recent assaults on the federal autonomy by Vargas government and a civil war were fresh still and (b) elsewhere in the globe people were still living the aftermaths of the Second World War and experiencing the advent of the cold war, much due to the Korean War that began almost

¹⁶⁸ *Correio da Manhã*, June 25, 1950. *Solenidades Iniciais*.

¹⁶⁹ *Jornal do Brasil*. June 25, 1950. *Antes da realização do match Brasil x México*. Page 9.

“Antes da realização do match Brasil x México, houve a cerimonia, sob grandes aplausos do hasteamento das bandeiras das nações concorrentes ao Campeonato Mundial. Seguiu-se a execução da parte musical, entrando em campo bandas militares que se posicionaram em frente à tribuna de honra. A banda do Batalhão de Guardas executou magistralmente a Sinfonia da Opera de Carlos Gomes “O Guarani”. Terminou a parte preliminar com uma revoada de 5.000 pombos correio”.

simultaneously to the World Cup – one might say that the presentation of a military band in a FIFA World Cup is symptomatic to the 1950s (inter)national state of affairs, where countries were still living under the shadows of totalitarian governments and memories of the Second World War. Furthermore, the recent memory of the war would also give a stronger symbolism to the release of thousands of doves symbolising world peace.

The song played by the martial band was an instrumental version of Carlos Gomes' opera, *O Guarani* (composed in 1870). Gomes' aria is based on the namesake nineteenth-century Indianist novel of José de Alencar¹⁷⁰. Written in 1857, just 35 years after independence, the novel is one of the main icons of Indianismo, a literature and artistic genre inspired on European romanticism, chivalry stories and the noble savage myth where knights were replaced by heroic native Brazilians on an attempt to boost patriotism in a newborn nation.

Among several books and paintings celebrating the epical feats of the Tupi-Guaranis, 'O Guarani' was rather symbolical since it established the myth of the Brazilian genesis in the same fashion of Adam and Eve allegories to the inception of mankind. Nonetheless, in Alencar's tale, the union between Peri, a Guarani man, and Ceci, a Portuguese white virgin, symbolised the dawn of Brazilian people¹⁷¹. In spite of Alencar's novel importance to Brazilian literature, many Brazilians may remember 'O Guarani' mostly as an opera of Carlos Gomes. This because one of its arias is well known in Brazil due to its long-lasting presence as the opening of the radio programme *A Voz do Brasil* (The Voice of Brazil), since the inception of the show in 1934.

A Voz do Brasil was created by the Vargas' Department of Press and Advertisement (DIP, in Portuguese) as an instrument of national integration through the diffusion of the country's official accounts of events for more than 70 years. Throughout this period,

¹⁷⁰ De Alencar 2000.

¹⁷¹ Moreira 1991.

it had its diffusion secured by a federal law that obliged the radio stations to provide an hour of their daily schedule to its transmission.

Therefore, Gomes' opera does not solely represent the country racial and cultural homogeneity through the myth of Brazilian people genesis¹⁷² but, through its association with a state radio programme designed by Vargas' administration to integrate the country, it also epitomises Estado Novo's efforts to promote a uniform Brazilian identity.

Brazilian twentieth-century military rule and the country's re-democratisation

From 1951 to 1964, Brazil lived a period of political instability that would culminate in another coup d'état. In 1951, Vargas was elected through democratic voting, returning to power in the 'arms of the people'. However, Vargas would not finish his second mandate as he martyred himself by committing suicide in August 1954. According to his suicide letter, Vargas was suffering from the lack of political support. Such political instability was present in the years that followed his death (1954–1964), as Brazil had seven different presidents within a decade.

During this period, the president who engaged the most solid civil and military support and, thus, stayed the longest in power was Juscelino Kubitschek. In his five years mandate (1956–1961), Kubitschek developed a sturdy policy towards fast development and moved the country's capital from Rio de Janeiro to Brasilia – a city designed from scratch in the geographical centre of Brazil that “would stimulate a westward March and consequently territorial integration”¹⁷³.

¹⁷² Volpe 2002.

¹⁷³ Oliven 2000, 64.

In 1964, a new coup took place and the Brazilian army seized power. An authoritarian, nationalistic and anti-democratic government was ruling once more Brazil. Much like during Vargas' *Estado Novo*, "the political, economic and administrative centralisation of power was achieved by a number of means"¹⁷⁴, such as the replacement of the democratically elected state governors by administrators appointed by the central government.

It was only in the 80s that Brazil started to gradually become a democratic federal republic again. Because of the re-democratisation, one could observe "an intense process of constituting new political actors and constructing new social identities"¹⁷⁵. According to the social-anthropologist Ruben Oliven, these included: "age identities (...), gender identities (...), religious identities (...), regional identities (the rebirth of regional cultures) and ethnic identities – represented by the black movements and the increasing organisation of indigenous communities"¹⁷⁶.

The importance of such a revival of regional cultures and the growing organisation of ethnic identity to Brazilian culture can be also observed in the text of the Constitution of 1988, which still in vigour in nowadays Brazil. The article 215 guarantees that: "the State shall protect the manifestations of popular cultures, indigenous and Afro-Brazilian, as well as those from other groups participating in the national civilising process"¹⁷⁷. By granting protection to the manifestation of popular cultures of "groups participating in the national civilising process" the article 215 of the 1988 constitution serves as a political response to the second article of the constitution of 1937 and the nationalistic-authoritarian ideology containing within it.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 66.

¹⁷⁶ Oliven 2000, 66.

¹⁷⁷ Brasil 1988, 35.

Chapter 4. *All in one rhythm* – Audiovisual representations of Brazilian national and regional identities in the 2014 FIFA World Cup

Such a revival of regional cultural practices within the construction of new social identities in Brazil, as noticed by Ruben Oliven, can be observed in the ceremonies of both of the FIFA worldwide competitions taking place in Brazil in the early 2010s. In 2013, the FIFA Confederations Cup took place in Brazil a year prior to the 2014 Brazil FIFA World Cup. As both competitions are organised in the same country within a one-year span, the Confederations Cup served as a thermometer of what is to be expected of FIFA's biggest competition.

The 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup

There are, however, some sensible differences between the two competitions already in the way host cities are selected. Whereas the 2014 FIFA World Cup selected 12 host cities - from the southernmost capital of Brazil (Porto Alegre) to the depths of the Amazon forest (in Manaus) and from the Centre-Western capital of Mato Grosso (Cuiabá) to one of the easternmost capitals of the country (Recife) – the 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup had a reduced number of host cities, only six. The decision was taken due to the smaller number of matches played in the latter competition in comparison to the former. Reducing the number of host cities was thus a means to shorten the distances cover by each participant national team in a continental size as Brazil.

As a result, the Confederations Cup was played mostly in the country's Eastern-side. The selected hosts were thus the North-Eastern cities of Salvador, Recife and Fortaleza as well as the South-Eastern cities of Belo Horizonte and Rio de Janeiro. The only exception to this rule was made to include Brazil's capital, Brasilia (located in the

Centre-West of the country), in the competition – making of Brasilia and Belo Horizonte the only two host cities which were not at Atlantic coastline.

Brazil's geographical North and South were thus absent from the list of host cities to the competition. Some might say that the absence of Curitiba, São Paulo, Porto Alegre, Manaus, Cuiabá and Natal were linked to delays in the construction and/or in the reforms of their stadia (which was particularly lengthy in the case of the former two host cities), while others may say that the selection of host cities was done favouring a specific area of the country known by its touristic appeal: the coastline ranging from the northeast of the country to Rio de Janeiro.

Whatever was the main reason behind the 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup host cities, the competition was played mostly in the tropical zone of the country and in coastal cities. Such a fact indirectly collaborates to support the Western society' image, reinforced through nineteenth-century Brazilian iconography and twentieth-century totalitarian regimes, of Brazil as a tropical and sunny paradise. After all, according to Ruben Oliven, the representation of the country as a tropical paradise is a “very common way of representing Brazil, in which the exotic occupies a central place”¹.

Nonetheless, the Oliven also reminds us that “a significant part of the Brazilian territory is outside the tropics”² and that are “different ways of belonging to a country the size of Brazil, where not everything is a beach, samba and carnival”³.

a) Carnaval, Football and Samba: Adidas *Cafusa*

In spite of Oliven's critique over the homogeneous and oversimplified way in which Brazil tends to be portrayed, the symbolic bound among Brazil, samba and Carnival is

¹ Oliven 2006, 9.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

present already in the name of the 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup official football: the Adidas *Cafusa*.

The name is a syllabic abbreviation of the words *Carnaval*, *Futebol* and *Samba* : Ca – Fu - Sa. Therefore, the name seems to be an attempt to encapsulate certain Brazilian cultural aspects that tend to be seen as common to the whole nation both in the country and abroad. Although football is arguably widespread within the country both as a sportive practice, among amateur practitioners, and as a popular form of entertainment at its professional level⁴, Carnival and samba arguably have stronger links with the tropical and coastal part of Brazil – especially with the states of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro.

Even though Carnival is celebrated in most of the country, its most popular version – insofar its mediatized reach is concerned — is the one of Rio de Janeiro, especially the parades that take place on Rio de Janeiro’s *Sambodromo* during the Christian festive season. Another popular destination during Carnival in Brazil is the city of Salvador da Bahia, where its popular *blocos* make of the city one of the most visited destinations in the country during the period, perhaps only second to Rio.

The same can be said about *samba*. However, due to the extreme popularity of the rhythm in the tropical and coastal side of Brazil, the origins of samba involve much controversy. According to De Menezes Bastos, “a central theme in this debate has focused on competing claims made by *Baianos* and *Cariocas* over where the genre was actually invented”⁵. Nevertheless, it is known that the rhythm has its roots in West-

⁴ According to 2014 FIFA World Cup organising committee official website (<http://www.portal2014.org.br/o-futebol-brasileiro/>), accessed on May 3rd 2015, in 2014 there were almost 30 thousand football clubs spread through all the 27 Brazilian federal unities.

⁵ De Menezes Bastos 1999, 72.

African traditions⁶ and that, already in the 17th century Bahia, African slaves already danced to *Samba-de-Roda* after religious ceremonies⁷.

After the end of slavery, in 1888, *Samba-de-Roda* made it to Rio de Janeiro, when many African Brazilians migrated to the hills of the city, which was Brazil's capital at the time. After some decades ghettoized within Rio de Janeiro's shanties, a transformed sort of Samba – called Samba-Canção (song-samba) – became popular among the middle class during the 1930s, and “the discussions about its origin were reconfigured around an opposition between *the hill* and *the city*”⁸.

Perhaps it is precisely because the origins of samba are not easily defined – having its historical roots based on the duality between African and *Latin American*, *Baiano* and *Carioca*, hill and city, rich and poor - that the rhythm became to be known as simply Brazilian. On top of that, the fact that the rhythm was one of the most popular musical genres in Rio de Janeiro during Vargas centralising rule, having been advertised by the Department of Press and Propaganda (DIP) as genuinely Brazilian in relation to other regional, or unpatriotic, cultural expressions reinforced samba's national character.

b) Confederations Cup Poster

The 2013 Confederations Cup poster, designed by the Local Organising Committee (LOC) and FIFA⁹, carries the image of a Rufous-bellied thrush (*Sabiá-Laranjeira*), a songbird which – in 2002 – became a “national bird” by federal decree. The bird is depicted in green, yellow and blue (the national flag colours) and also displays its characteristic reddish belly. The Rufous-bellied thrush is indigenous to Brazil and it is native to a good share of the Brazilian territory, with exception to the Amazon forest

⁶ Machado 2011, 64.

⁷ Galvão 2005, 40.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ FIFA. *The Brand: What's in a look.*

<http://www.fifa.com/marketinghighlights/brazil2013/the-brand/index.html>. Accessed on May 24, 2018.

region. Its presence in the logo is intended to represent the idea of national integration as the bird covers a good share of the territory during its year-round migratory movement. The idea of national integration expressed by the Rufous-bellied thrush comes also from the fact that it can live both in the countryside and in “wooded urban areas”¹⁰.



Figure 2: 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup Poster¹¹

What is more, according to FIFA, “the official emblem is inspired by the vibrant colours of Brazil’s flag and the country’s abundant nature”¹². Therefore, the Rufous-bellied thrush presence in the logo of the 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup gives continuity to the long-lasting tradition of associating Brazil to nature in its original form. As we have previously seen, such a tradition dates back from a period circa the Brazilian “discovery” by the Portuguese, when the land – for the lack of an official names – was

¹⁰ Gonçalves Junior *et al.* 2008, 72-75.

¹¹ FIFA. *FIFA Confederations Cup 2013*.

<https://www.fifa.com/confederationscup/archive/brazil2013/index.html>. Accessed on May 24, 2018.

¹² FIFA. *The Brand: What’s in a look*.

<http://www.fifa.com/marketinghighlights/brazil2013/the-brand/index.html>. Accessed on May 24, 2018.

initially called *Terra dei Pappagalli* (The Land of Parrots) in a reference to the abundance and beauty of the local fauna¹³.

c) The 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup ceremonies

The 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup opening ceremony took place in Brasilia on June 15th, prior to the match between Brazil and Japan. The choreographer chosen to come up with the ceremony was the carioca Paulo Barros - who was accredited to be the mastermind behind the opening due to his recent success ahead of samba schools (winning three Rio de Janeiro's carnivals up to the year of 2013). Therefore, Mr Barros coordinated a team of two thousand six hundred volunteers¹⁴. A good of share of them gave the ceremony its kickoff. They wore green - symbolising the Brazilian exuberant flora. The colour helped them to initially blend-in with the green of the pitch's grass, allowing them to discreetly spread into several different lines, forming a rectangle within the field as they were an extension of the terrain.

Each of them had what resembled a plastic made Amazonian waterlily in their hands. Some seconds later, they squatted and turned the plastic waterlilies inside-out, turning them into ball-looking shapes. They then covered themselves with these half globes, turning what was before a green rectangle into a white one.

Next second, a good share of turned themselves back into water lilies, whereas many others kept the half-balls over their heads. The contrast between green and white left a message that could be easily read by someone up above: *Bem-vindos*. Then a second message translating the first one to international audiences was formed: "Welcome". Next to it, a third one: "Brasil 2013". Which was followed by a fourth: "Brazil 2013", by simply replacing "s" for "z" and Portuguese for English. The fifth formation was of a pulsating sun right in the middle of the stadium. What followed was the sequence: "o

¹³ de Montalboddo 1507.

¹⁴ Empresa Brasil de Comunicação. *Quase 20 mil pessoas se inscreveram para voluntariado na Copa das Confederações*. <http://www.ebc.com.br/esportes/2013/05/quase-20-mil-pessoas-se-inscreveram-para-voluntariado-na-copa-das-confederacoes>. Accessed on May 3rd, 2015.

sonho" - "the dream" - "começa agora" - "starts now". A countdown starts: "5", "4", "3", "2", "1". They all leave the field.

Another crowd of volunteers enters the pitch. They are divided into three distinct groups: the Baianas, in blue dresses, representing the Afro-Brazilian culture; the Amerindians, characterised by the ceremonial green and blue headdresses that they wore; and the Portuguese, dressed up with traditional Portuguese red and green costumes – as in the Portuguese flag. These three groups together represented Colonial Brazil main inhabitants and are considered the foundation of Brazilian race and culture by many authors including Von Martius and Freyre.

The role of these three people as the forefathers of (an idealised) Brazilian civilisation is presented by the way in which they organised themselves in two sets of six circles which seemed to be attached - like chains - to one another. In the core of each circle, Portuguese and Amerindians are surrounded by those representing the Afro-Brazilian people. When seen from up above, their disposition, movement and costume colours give the idea of something akin to a double helix DNA structure or, perhaps, human cells as in a microscope.

After a few seconds, the Baianas (which represented Brazil's African heritage) left to one side of the pitch, leaving Amerindians and Portuguese where they were. Each representative of the Amerindians and Portuguese subsequently ran in different directions while holding large pieces of beige-coloured cloths, spreading them out. They rapidly finished spreading their fabrics, allowing one to see that they have assumed the shape of twelve different Brazilian zones. Together, these zones formed the shape of the country as a whole, as seen from up above, like on a political map. Meanwhile, the Baianas, who wore dresses in different shades of blue, made a motion of someone going back and forward - in a wave-like movement – which was meant to represent the Brazilian blue sea washing upon its vast shore.

Although rather brief, this moment represented the importance that is given to the three ethnic groups to the integration of Brazilian territory as well as their importance on building the nation. Nonetheless, the role of these groups is twofold: on the one hand, it shows that Brazil is not a single and homogeneous cultural fabric but it is rather a

patchwork of cultures and people that together form the whole of the nation. On the other hand, the presence of these three peoples covering the whole of Brazilian territory comes to reinforce the idea that there is something like a *genuine* Brazilian *race*, which would be the common element to all the corners of the country.

About fifty seconds later, the formation containing the three ethnic groups dissolves itself and the dancers leave the football field. At this moment, one can see eight groups walking onto the pitch. They carry flags and wear traditional clothes of each of the eight nations participating in the Confederations Cup - Brazil, Uruguay, Italy, Spain, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria and Tahiti. The nation that each group personifies can be identified by the traditional – and sometimes rather stereotypical - costumes that they wear: the Spaniards were dressed as *flamenco* dancers, Uruguayans as *gauchos*, Mexicans as *mariachis*, Italians as *tarantella* dancers, Japanese as geishas and samurais and so on. Brazilians were dressed as Rio de Janeiro's carnival dancers – underpinning the position of the former national capital as the emanatory centre of Brazilian-ness.

Together, the dancers characterising the eight nations assumed a sun-like formation in the centre of the field; with standard-bearers of each nation carrying their respective national flags in a circle that forms a hollow sun's core, and each people as a different sunray. The standard-bearers of each nation - there are two of each - step into its hollow core when the traditional music of a given country plays in the stadium. When this happens, all the other nations representers kneel in a respectful reverence to the nation standing out, whereas their respective dancers move accordingly to the song.

After each presentation, they hold hands and turn altogether in a counterclockwise sense -- as in many traditional circle dances around the globe -- expressing union and the idea of a peaceful global community. Later, after they finished displaying their culture through their dance and music, the dancers embodying each nation salute the public in their traditional way. The Japanese, for example, bow their heads; the Mexicans take off their *sombreros*. Brazilians danced to samba and saluted the audience in a rather dramaturgical manner, reminding the way in which a *Mestre-Sala* salutes his *Porta-Bandeira*.

When the act is over and the dancers have already left the field, a party of hundreds of people disguised as trees runs into the football pitch, forming, what seems to be, a

rectangular shape forest. Two goals and two sets of eleven dummies are erect over the trees' crowns. One set of eleven dummies is painted in white and red, while the other half in red and black. They represented two football teams. Therefore, the forest becomes a football pitch, with its canopy replacing the turf. A ball also appears over the crowns. A staged match takes place over the canopy, one of the teams scores a goal, making the dummies celebrate and, then, salute the audience - as if in a theatre. The dummies are akin to those used in Recife's carnival, a reminder of North-Eastern influence on Brazilian culture and of football fandom in the region.

When the dummies and goals are taken away a huge banner with the symbol of the Confederations Cup 2013 is unfold over the forest canopy. Thus given an end to a ceremony in which Brazil was represented mainly by Rio de Janeiro urban culture, followed by the traditions of North-Eastern localities, such as Recife and Bahia, and the green of Brazilian exuberant nature.

2013 FIFA Confederations Cup closing ceremony

After the fifteen matches were played in six different Brazilian cities, the IX FIFA Confederations Cup reached its climax on June 30th, 2013. The final - as in the 1950 FIFA World Cup - took place in Rio de Janeiro's Maracanã stadium. Brazilians were excited to play against Spain to decide who would win the tournament. It was the fifth time that Brazil had reached the finals of the cup (the *seleção* had already won three times), and a fourth title - playing against the current world champions - would boost the confidence of Brazilians in the *seleção* performance in FIFA's main competition, to be played in 2014.

A defeat, on the other hand, could have implications that would reach far beyond football, increasing the pessimism with the country's economy and management. It could also have an effect on the crescent criticism over the country's (inter)national image marketing strategy of willing to host of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 Summer Olympics in spite of the country's persistent issues on areas of priority, such as public transport and healthcare.

Given the series of protests in several different Brazilian cities prior to, and during, the competition - which rendered the tournament the nickname “*Copa das Manifestações*” (Cup of Manifestations) among Brazilians - the moment for the *seleção* players was critical. Their performance, however, was astonishing. They have reached the finals winning all four matches against Japan, Mexico, Italy and Uruguay. Their convincing victory in a 3-0 against Spain seemed to have cleansed the soul of Brazil’s football establishment and somewhat obliterated the ghost of 1950 defeat against Uruguay.

Before the final’s kick-off, the Maracanã received the tournament’s closing ceremony. As in the opener, the closing ceremony volunteers also carried over their heads half-globes that looked like football balls (however the globes did not turn into waterlilies as in the opening ceremony). The volunteers walked around the football pitch, making geometrical patterns for those in the stands and cameras situated up above the pitch level.

When they left the pitch, the audience saw that four larger football half-globes were set onto the four corners of Maracanã’s pitch. What the audience did not know yet was that, inside each large half-globe, there was a known Brazilian musician waiting his/her time to sing.

The first musician to make his presentation in the Maracanã stadium was the Carioca samba composer Arlindo Cruz. He sang *Meu Lugar* (my place), a samba describing Rio de Janeiro’s Madureira neighbourhood - a low-middle class quarter in the north of the city. The neighbourhood is also known to be rather popular among samba enthusiasts and home to two of Rio de Janeiro’s carnival most traditional samba schools (*Império Serrano* and *Portela*).

As soon as Arlindo Cruz’s samba came to its end, the second large football ball opened itself up and the duo *Victor e Léo*, from Minas Gerais, started singing. They represented *the música sertaneja*, a rhythm that has its origins in Brazil’s countryside. The word *sertanejo* is a derivative of *sertão* (“backland”), a semi-arid subarea of Brazil’s northeast. The modern usage of the term, however, is somewhat generally linked to the rural areas of Brazilian countryside. Nonetheless, *música sertaneja*, as a Brazilian

music popular genre, finds as its main national hub in the countryside of São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Goiás, Mato Grosso do Sul, Mato Grosso and Paraná.

The third singer to make his presentation in the Maracanã was Jorge Ben Jor, also from Rio de Janeiro. Ben Jor is known for his particular musical style, which may be defined as a fusion among samba, bossa-nova, rock and funk¹⁵.

The last singer to start her presentation was Ivete Sangalo, the only woman among the five main musicians present in the Maracanã. Sangalo - one of the main exponents of *Axé music* (a popular music rhythm originated in Bahia, closely linked to early twenty-first-century Brazilian carnival) - sung two songs: *Acelera Aê* and *Festa* (or Speed it up and Party, respectively).

The Carnival-like atmosphere of Sangalo's presentation warmed up the public to the ceremony *grand finale*: the entrance of the *Grande Rio* Samba School, which consisted in two couples of *Porta-Bandeiras* and *Mestre-Salas* holding the flags of the competition's finalists, Brazil and Spain. They consisted of several dozens of drummers dressed in gold and blue as well as an equally large number of dancers wearing green costumes.

Meanwhile, the five musicians left the pitch corners and walked onto a circular blue stage, which if viewed from up above turned out to be Brazil's national flag central element, displaying the words "Ordem e Progresso" - Order and Progress – and all the twenty-seven stars representing each Brazilian state plus its Federal District.

As soon as Ben Jor's hit *País Tropical* started to be played, the members of the *Grande Rio* - dressed with national colours - gathered up around the stage. Together they gave shape to the national flag. At the same time, the five musicians started to sign Ben Jor's famous lyrics:

“(1) Moro...

¹⁵ Closer Magazine. *Biographie de Jorge Ben*. <http://musique.closermag.fr/artistes/jorge-ben-1089/biographie>. Accessed on January 12th, 2016.

Num país tropical,
Abençoado por Deus
E Bonito por natureza (Mas que beleza!)

(2) Em fevereiro (Em fevereiro!)
Tem carnaval (Tem carnaval!)
Eu tenho um fusca e um violão,
Sou Flamengo e tenho uma nega chamada Teresa

(3) Sambaby, Sambaby,
Sou um menino de mentalidade mediana (Pois é)
Mas assim mesmo, feliz da vida, pois eu não devo nada a ninguém (Pois é)
Pois eu sou feliz, muito feliz comigo mesmo...”¹⁶

The song *Pais Tropical* was written in 1969 during Brazil’s military dictatorship climax and is closely related to Rio de Janeiro’s cultural scene. Its lyrics speak about the happy life of a “man with an average mentality” who lives in a tropical and God-blessed country and who supports Flamengo, likes carnival, has a *black* girlfriend, a Volkswagen beetle and a guitar. The song protagonist also states that although he is not a “band leader”, he is respected by all his friends.

As a result, some authors have criticised Ben Jor’s song as they believe it conveys a jingoist discourse that served well the military political agenda. For example, according to Chaves¹⁷, the first verse defines a common territory to the nation (a tropical country), the second one sets a common identity (the character of the song is similar to many others in the country), while the third one describes the “amicability”¹⁸ of Brazilian people.

The combination of the three verses carries to place the idea of compliance with Brazil’s *status quo*. The third verse is particularly meaningful as it suggests a certain moderate social attitude as a way to achieve happiness and to “not owe anything to anyone”. Although such verse was written during another, more serious, political context, one

¹⁶“I live in a tropical country, blessed by God and beautiful by nature. In February, there is carnival, I have a Volkswagen beetle and a guitar. I support *Flamengo* and I have a black girlfriend called Teresa. Sambaby, Sambaby, I am a boy with an average mentality. But I am very happy anyway because I owe nothing to anyone. For I am happy, very happy with myself”.

¹⁷ Chaves 2010, 300.

¹⁸ The myth of amicability of Brazilians, and its implications, are explained by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda’s *Raízes do Brasil* (1936).

cannot ignore that such message could also serve the twenty-first-century Brazilian political establishment, especially if one considers the series of protests that took place in 2013 throughout the country.

Moreover, according to Oliven, *Pais Tropical* lyrics bring forward a “rather known way of representing Brazil where exoticism plays a central role”¹⁹. What is more, Oliven also reminds us that “a significant part of Brazil’s territory is not within the tropics” and “there are different ways of making part of a country the size of Brazil, where not everything is a beach, samba and carnival”²⁰.

Nonetheless, is not just the lyrics of *Pais Tropical* that convey an idea of an exuberant and exotic Brazil centred in the tropical fetishism – in which the city and cultures of Rio de Janeiro represent its quintessential embodiments. According to Chaves, the melody itself - influenced by “Latin American and Afro-Cuban rhythms such as salsa and cha-cha-cha”²¹ - brings to mind “Caribbean landscapes, which are present within the Tropical and *Edenic* imagery of Brazil, with the notion of coastal beauty (beach, sea and sun)”²². For Chaves, this ultimately promotes “a compliance between the most direct sense of the song and the most subjective (...) directing and strengthening the semantic understanding of the lyrics”²³.

Lastly, the idea of Rio de Janeiro as Brazil’s epitome goes beyond the lyrics and melody of Ben Jor’s song as it is also implicit within the structure of the 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup closing ceremony as a whole. The whole ceremony – which was developed in a way to exhibit Brazilian popular music to local and foreign audiences alike - gathered up artists from different parts of Brazil. Ivete Sangalo (representing Brazil’s northeast) and Vitor & Léo (representatives of Brazil’s upcountry) joined Rio de Janeiro’s Jorge Ben Jor and Arlindo Cruz in the ceremony first half. However, during the ceremony ending, when the singers left the pitch corners and stepped onto the central stage (a representation of the nation’s flag core) - they all sung a piece of music

¹⁹ Oliven 2006a, 9.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Chaves 2010, 298.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

which aims to capture Brazilian's national character through the *tropicality* of Rio de Janeiro's urban culture. This can lead one to the understanding that the cultural representations of different Brazilian regions were confined within the status of *regional* practices, whereas Rio de Janeiro's cultural elements are considered the utmost embodiment of *national* culture. Such an understanding is supported by the fact that it was only at this moment - and with the presence of *Grande Rio* samba school's members - that an official national symbol (the Brazilian flag) was displayed - rendering the closing of the ceremony (and the symbolic end of the 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup) a patriotic closure filled with *carioca-ness*.

***'Juntos num só ritmo'* - the 2014 FIFA World Cup**

On June the 12th 2014, almost a year after Brazil won its fourth Confederations Cup title - the first major FIFA tournament won by the *seleção* within its territory - the country was to ready to host its second FIFA World Cup, hoping that – on the football pitch - its outcome would be different from the frustrating defeat against Uruguay at the final match sixty-four years earlier.

When it comes to its schedule organisation, the fact that the world had become “smaller” since 1950 – with commercial flights' tickets becoming more accessible to football fans – the Brazilian Football Confederation (CBF) had, at least theoretically, a myriad of possibilities when it comes to the selection of city hosts. On the other end of the spectrum, numerous cities saw in the event an opportunity to enjoy the economic opportunities and international exposure that normally come with this type of event. Therefore - unwilling to fall off the wagon of possible positive outcomes of the games - a total of twenty-two cities applied to host matches of the FIFA 2014 World Cup. However, by 2008, only twelve cities, representing the five socio-geographical areas of Brazil (North, Northeast, Southeast, Centre-West and South), were granted the right to host a minimum of four games of the competition.

As a result, if compared to its national precedents, the number of matches in the 2014 world cup was more evenly distributed among the hosts. In the first world cup in Brazil (1950) the city of Rio de Janeiro received eight matches and, in the other extreme, the

North-Eastern city of Recife hosted only one match. In 2014, on the other hand, four cities – Curitiba, Cuiabá, Manaus and Natal – were offered the chance to host four games while Brasilia and Rio de Janeiro hosted a record of seven matches (the remaining six cities were granted the opportunity to host either five or six matches).

The reasons to the selection of 12 host cities, an above average number of hosts when compared to the competition's previous editions²⁴, as exposed by FIFA President Joseph Blatter, were (i) Brazil's size - a "continent of football"²⁵ according to the association's chief executive; (ii) the intervention of the CBF's president, João Havelange, in favour of a wider participation of different states in the world cup; and (iii) the "general interest showed by Brazil and its people"²⁶ in having a larger number of host cities than it was originally planned.

a) All in one rhythm/ Juntos num só ritmo – Brazil 2014 official slogan

On May 30th 2012, FIFA revealed the slogan of the 2014 FIFA World Cup, '*All in one rhythm/ Juntos num só ritmo*'. The motto of a mega-event is intended to summarise, in a handful of words, what is the message that the hosting country wants to convey by receiving the games. Thus, in the case of the 2014 FIFA World Cup, one of the message first readings is the one of diversity and union through sport.

The message of unity among peoples is not necessarily new in mega-events – it has been traditionally used since the International Expositions of the nineteenth-century and enhanced with the advent of the modern Olympics some decades later. However, a fact that may have gone unnoticed to some of the audience is that there is a slight

²⁴ The record number of host cities in a single edition of the World Cup was in 2002 when Japan and South Korea had 10 host cities each (thus a total of 20 cities received world cup matches that year). From Italy 1990 to South Africa 2010, the number of host cities varied between 9 and 12. FIFA. FIFA World Cup Archive. <https://www.fifa.com/fifa-tournaments/archive/worldcup/index.html>. Accessed on May 5, 2015.

²⁵ Blatter, Joseph. 59th FIFA Congress. *Brazil 2014 venues unveiled*. May 31, 2009. Nassau, Bahamas.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

difference in meaning between the Portuguese and the English versions of the 2014 FIFA World Cup slogan²⁷ - “*juntos num só ritmo*” and “*all in one rhythm*”, respectively.

While ‘*all in one rhythm*’ translates to Portuguese in ‘*todos em um ritmo*’, the literal translation of ‘*juntos num só ritmo*’ is ‘united in only one rhythm’. Although literal translations are certainly not always desired and sometimes are even avoided in order to deliver a similar message to different audiences, the choice of a particular word instead of a different one conveys a different meaning.

Therefore, in the case of ‘*All in one rhythm/ Juntos num só ritmo*’, FIFA acknowledged the difference between the two versions on its official website:

“In Brazilian Portuguese, the word ‘*juntos*’ encapsulates an appeal to all Brazilians to act as hosts and ambassadors of their country in the build-up to and during the event itself. The Official Slogan represents the essence of five pillars representing Brazil: a cohesive society, the power of innovation, a striking nature, a living football and a land of happiness”²⁸.

Therefore, the word “*juntos*” (united or together in a literal translation) - in the Portuguese version of the slogan – is there to embody an aspect that, according to FIFA, is one of the “five pillars” of Brazil: its “cohesive society”. Such aspect is hence absent in the English version of the slogan, meaning that the message is originally addressed to Brazilian citizens.

To understand why the organising committee felt the need to stress the idea of a cohesive society in the message addressed to national audiences, one should not overlook Brazilian history nor the socio-political context in which the event took place.

²⁷ It is not the first time that the slogan of a FIFA world cup has two slightly different meanings, one in English and another in the host nation’s language. The 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany had as its English slogan *A time to make friends*, whereas its German version was *Die Welt zu Gast bei Freunden*, which means *the world as a guest with friends*.

²⁸ FIFA. *Brazil 2014 slogan presented: All in one rhythm/ Juntos num só ritmo*. <http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/news/y=2012/m=5/news=brazil-2014-slogan-presented-all-one-rhythmtm-juntos-num-ritmotm-1641290.html>. Accessed on February 19, 2015.

Other than the already mentioned identity tensions between regional and national identities in different localities of the country, Brazil's history is filled with social struggles that originated from issues related to dualities such as white and black, master and slaves, male and female, rich and poor, bourgeois and proletarian, rightwing and leftwing, Southern and Northern, urban and agrarian, cosmopolitan and provincial, modern and backward.

Therefore, the 2014 FIFA World Cup slogan works as an invitation to all these groups to embrace the competition and forget the social tensions based on the aforementioned historical or contemporary dualities. For the 2014 FIFA World Cup organisers, insofar the institutional narrative is concerned, football (in general) and the world cup (in particular) were two elements that mend Brazilian society together, blurring the lines of socio-economic identities and making that, for a brief moment, all feel equally Brazilians.

In fact, Brazil's minister of sports - Mr Aldo Rabelo – gave a statement on the subject as he explained the slogan as an invitation to “Brazilians and international visitors (...) to explore the new rhythm of Brazil: the rhythm of unity and diversity, the rhythm of innovation, the rhythm of nature, the rhythm of football and the rhythm of Brazilian culture”²⁹. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that CBF and its attached members of the national organising committee have chosen rhythm – “a strong pattern of sounds, words, or musical notes that is used in music, poetry, and dancing”³⁰ - as the symbolic arena in which Brazilians and internationals would mingle with one another during the competition.

As we have previously seen, Gilberto Freyre defended the idea that a common aspect of Brazilian people was its *mulatto*ness - also understood as Brazilians' Dionysian character contrasting with the Apollonian nature of European societies³¹. For Freyre, this very characteristic – originated more in the cultural *métissage* of Africans and

²⁹ *Ibid.* Emphasis added by the author.

³⁰ Cambridge Dictionary. *Rhythm*.

<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/fr/dictionnaire/anglais/rhythm>. Accessed on June 2 2018.

³¹ Freyre 1962, 433.

Europeans in the country than in its actual biological miscegenation - created a quintessential type of Brazilian fashion, intellectuality and politics³².

Whereas it is relevant to keep in mind that Freyre first used the Nietzschean duality of Dionysius and Apollo in order to give a reason for the Brazilian exquisite football style during the 1938 FIFA World Cup, one should not ignore the discussion that takes place within Nietzsche seminal book *The Birth of Tragedy* which inspired Freyre to use such an analogy. For Nietzsche, the father of the modern use of the two Greek gods as a philosophical concept, Apollo was the god of plastic and representational arts and was linked to rational knowledge and moderation, whereas Dionysius was the god of music and other performing arts and “presided over the dissolution of individual identity into a universal spiritual community, uniting human beings with nature”³³.

Nevertheless, Nietzsche did not ignore the intimate connection that Apollo has with music within Greek mythology. However, for him, “if music was apparently already known as an Apollonian art, this was strictly speaking only as the wave-like beat of rhythm”³⁴. What is more, “the music of Apollo was Doric architecture rendered in sound”³⁵, while “in the Dionysian dithyramb all the symbolic faculties of man are stimulated to the highest pitch of intensity”³⁶. It is clear thus that although Nietzsche does not disregard Greek tradition when it comes to the connection between Apollo and rhythm, he considers music in its fullness essentially as a Dionysian art.

Additionally, through the understanding that - within Nietzschean philosophy - Apollo and Dionysius embody two antagonistic and complementary drives that were used as dichotomic forces in order to illustrate the contrasting ethos between Aryan and Semitic, Germanic and Romanic and so on, rhythm emerges as a universal element which is common to both types of societies.

³² Burke and Pallares-Burke 2008, 179.

³³ Smith *Apud*. Nietzsche 2000, xvi.

³⁴ Nietzsche 2000, 26.

³⁵ *Ibid*.

³⁶ *Ibid*.

Music is present in virtually all of world's societies, either as a ritualistic/ceremonial element or as a general cultural activity. Music is, however, performed in a wide variety of manners: with different instruments, diverse aesthetics and distinct cultural significances. If one cancels out all the locally constructed characteristics of music – language constructed lyrics and culturally determined melodies and instruments - all is left is music's most rudimentary and universal basis: rhythm - the universal language that belongs to both Apollo and Dionysius, the musical basis that one has to follow in order to fit in a song either as a dancer or as a member of a band.

Assuming that the use of such allegory that links the concept of rhythm as a cohesive element between Apollonian and Dionysian societies was unintentional, one may not deny that Brazil is considered an essentially Dionysian nation - especially if compared to its European counterparts. The general understanding that Brazilians brought about more dazzling approaches towards music and dance inadvertently connects their national identity to the concept of (Dionysian) rhythm – the one which Nietzsche describes as being almost intoxicating³⁷. Therefore, the slogan “all in one rhythm” is as an invitation to global audiences and tourists to be carried away by the *Brazilian way of life* and *joie de vivre* as imagined by the international community.

b) Adidas Brazuca, the 2014 FIFA World Cup ball

Following the tradition that started in 1970, in México, with the *Adidas Telstar*, the ball for the world cup in Brazil also needed a name that would encapsulate either its *Geist der Zeit* (as did the 1970s football, which was named after a satellite in a clear reference to the fact that a world cup was televised around the globe) or the *spirit* of the country receiving the event (as *Tango* in Argentina 1978 and *Tricolore* in France 1998).

For the 2013 Confederations Cup, the ball was already named after Brazil's image abroad – the one that links the country to Carnival, Football and Samba (Carnaval, Futebol and Samba – or Cafusa). Unlikely what happened during the 2013

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

Confederations Cup, Brazilians were given the chance to choose the name of the ball to be used during the matches of the 2014 World Cup.

Therefore, in September 2012, more than a million people voted to choose the name of the 2014 FIFA World Cup ball through a balloting on FIFA's website³⁸. The polling was opened only to internet users from Brazil and became the first time in the history of the FIFA World Cups that the name of the match ball would be chosen through online voting.

FIFA presented Brazilians with three options to name their match balls. According to FIFA, all of these options were inspired by elements of Brazilian culture³⁹. The possible names were: *Bossa Nova*, *Carnavalesca* and *Brazuca*. The latter (*Brazuca*) won with almost four among five internet users choosing it over the other two remaining options. To be more precise, *Brazuca* had 77.8% of the votes, whereas *Bossa Nova* and *Carnavalesca* received 14.6% and 7.6% of the votes, respectively.

Given the unprecedented nature of the selection process, as well as the impressive margin with which the chosen name granted its victory over the two other options, some questions may be raised: what granted *Brazuca* such an easy triumph over the two other names? Why did Brazilians choose to name the ultimate symbol of their relationship with football the way they did?

In order to attempt giving some possible explanations regarding the questions above, one has – first – try to understand what those names actually mean. The name which ended up being the least voted, *Carnavalesca* (which received only 7.6% of the votes), is almost self-explanatory: it is a Portuguese adjective that links *someone* or, in this

³⁸ The Guardian. *Brazuca: the 2014 Brazil World Cup unveiled by Adidas*. <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2013/dec/03/brazuca-2014-brazil-world-cup-ball-adidas>. Accessed on May 30, 2015.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

case, *something* to Carnival. In this case, the ball would have some of the qualities that people tend to relate to the Christian festive season. Although Rio de Janeiro's carnival is one of Brazil's best known cultural elements abroad, one would say that having the ball named after the festival would reinforce certain national stereotypes on Brazil which – perhaps - are no longer an unanimity throughout the country (i.e. the idea that Brazil is essentially a place to party or that the country is solely an exotic and tropical paradise).

In turn, *Bossa Nova*'s somewhat weak performance -- receiving only 14.6% of the votes – could have been affected by the peculiarities of its audiences and origins. *Bossa Nova* is a music genre – some would say a fusion between Samba and Jazz - which has its roots in the 1950s and the 1960s Rio de Janeiro urban culture and soon became rather popular among the country's elites. *Bossa Nova*'s rhythm patterns, uncommon chords and somewhat singular melody progression have added to the musical genre an extra aura of elitism.

Finally, *Brazuca* is the nickname of a Brazilian person – which is normally used by a Brazilian to refer to his (or hers) fellow countrymen. Although the moniker can be applied to any Brazilian regardless where he or she lives, the term tends to be more often used among Brazilians living abroad rather among those who live within the country (where more than 99% of the population is Brazilian⁴⁰). According to Benito Cao, “the term *Brazuca* was coined in the 1980s to refer to Brazilian immigrants living in the United States”⁴¹. However, nowadays, it became “a sort of nickname for the Brazilians living abroad”⁴² regardless of the country.

⁴⁰ Globo. *Número de estrangeiros que moram no Brasil cai 15,4 em 10 anos, diz IBGE*. <http://g1.globo.com/brasil/noticia/2012/10/n-de-estrangeiros-que-moram-no-brasil-cai-154-em-10-anos-diz-ibge.html>. Accessed on May 19, 2016.

⁴¹ Cao 2010, 711

⁴² Globo. *Nome da bola é escolhido pela primeira vez por torcedores: Brazuca*. <http://globoesporte.globo.com/nome-da-bola-2014/noticia/2012/09/nome-da-bola-da-copa-e-escolhido-pela-primeira-vez-pela-torcida-brazuca.html> Accessed on April 22, 2014.

Perhaps due to its more encompassing nature than the other two options for the football name -- many Brazilians may not see themselves represented by *Carnival* or *Bossa Nova*, but they most probably identify themselves as Brazilians --, *Brazuca* won with 77.8% of the votes.

Other possible explanations regarding the choice of the name may lie in the fact that neither *Carnavalesca* nor *Bossa Nova* had the freshness of a term coined in the 1980s. Moreover, they both carried within them certain stereotypes of national (and, some might say, even regional) cultural elements. The term *Brazuca*, on the other hand, is rather neutral and closely linked to the whole of the country. Furthermore, as being a term to designate Brazilians living abroad, *Brazuca* fitted well within the international nature of the tournament – when the country was up to receive visitors from different corners of the globe.

Lastly, the use of a nickname instead of a more deep-rooted demonym (i.e. *Brazuca* instead of *Brazilian* or *Brasileiro/a*) would convey a romanticized and/or more intimate idea of Brazilian-ness in relation to its epistemological others (the developed world) - transmitting an idea of belonging, affection and/or friendship.

c) Fuleco: a Brazilian three-banded armadillo as the 2014 World Cup mascot

A traditional way of bringing about a sense of affection between the competition and its host with younger audiences is the creation of a mascot for the event. The first documented animal to be somehow related to sports mega-event was Smokey⁴³, a real-life Scottish Terrier, who was taken care of by some of the athletes while wandering

⁴³ Garcia, 2010.

around in the Olympic Village during the 1932 Los Angeles Summer Olympics becoming the first unofficial mascot of the games ⁴⁴.



Figure 3: FIFA World Cup Mascots from 1966 to 2010⁴⁵

Although Smokey became to be known as the first sport mega-event mascot, he differed from nowadays mascots in a variety of ways; he was not officially recognised, his image was not extensively used, and commercialised, as one of the game symbols and, more

⁴⁴ Pellizzoni *et al.* 2013.

⁴⁵ The Marketing Store Worldwide. *World Cup Mascots since 1966*.

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/tmsw/4678770718>. Accessed on December 11, 2018.

importantly, he was a real living being. Therefore, the first mascot, as we know nowadays, appeared on the 1966 FIFA World Cup in England. The World Cup Willie — an anthropomorphic lion wearing a jersey which was inspired on the Union Jack with the number sixty-six in a reference to the year in which the competition took place — was presented to the public through magazine pictures and a song on radio which had the following lyrics: “All dressed in red, white and blue. That is World Cup Willie, we all love him too. He is though as a lion and never will give up, that is why Willie is favourite for the Cup”⁴⁶.

After World Cup Willie — which (i) embodied the lion (one of the animals present in the British Royal Coat of Arms and also in the Football Association’s crest); (ii) had a set of characteristics that English people are traditionally recognised with since, at least, World War II, “he is though as a lion and never will give up”; and (iii) wore the national colours (“red, white and blue”) — most of mascots for the world cups (and also Olympic games) were somehow aimed to personify some of the host (imagined or desired) national characteristics.

Pellizzoni’s study on sport mega-events mascots came to the aforementioned conclusion insofar the criteria to the choice of a mascot is concerned⁴⁷. Therefore, the study has shown that the organising committees have presented a tendency to “translate some of the natural or cultural characteristics of the sport competition hosts, such as the local fauna, flora, or any other manifestation of the local folklore”⁴⁸. Moreover, another pattern in the creation of a mascot is the fact that whenever they happened to be an animal, a fruit, or even a futuristic creature, they all invariably are anthropomorphic.

⁴⁶ Donegan, 1966.

⁴⁷ Pellizzoni *et al.* 2013.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 91.

On September 17th, 2012, the 2014 World Cup official mascot was presented by FIFA⁴⁹. The mascot, an anthropomorphic Brazilian three-banded armadillo (*Tolypeutes tricinctus*) — otherwise known as Tatu-Bola (Ball-Armadillo) — was created by the designing company 100% Design. However, the idea of having an endangered animal as the competition's mascot as a means for its preservation was largely supported by Brazilian NGOs such as the *Associação Caatinga* - an association which has as its main goal the protection of the natural life of the Caatinga (a scrubland ecoregion in the Brazilian northeast).



Figure 4: Fuleco, FIFA 2014 World Cup mascot⁵⁰

⁴⁹ FIFA. *Official Mascot Introduced to the World*.

<http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/news/y=2012/m=9/news=armadillo-alert-official-mascot-introduced-the-world-1701431.htm>. Accessed on January 1, 2016.

⁵⁰ FIFA. *Official Mascot Introduced to the World*.

<http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/news/y=2012/m=9/news=armadillo-alert-official-mascot-introduced-the-world-1701431.htm>. Accessed on January 1, 2016.

Although the three-banded armadillo might not be the best-known specimen of Brazil's indigenous fauna as its natural habitat, the Caatinga, covers only 11% of the national territory, its behaviour and shape granted him an advantage over other Brazilian animals. Three-banded armadillos, also known as *Tatu-Bolas*, have the ability to roll their defensive armour into a ball shape, and they do it so when frightened. Their double-edged morphology – which, as its name Brazilian vulgar name suggests, combines the shape of an animal and a ball – seemed to be a good fit for a football competition's mascot.

The suitability of the Armadillo to become the Brazilian mascot can be explained by the fact that his morphology would grant it with a serious advantage over his predecessors. With the exception to 1990s Italian *Ciao* (a mix between a soccer ball and the Italian national flag), most of the world cup mascots had to be linked to the British sport by carrying a soccer ball with them. The Tatu-Bola has, nevertheless, a sphere already embed to its back as part of its personification.

Nonetheless, the fact that the *Tatu-Bola* is somewhat half-ball/half-animal has not refrained the Brazilian mascot from being portrayed carrying a soccer ball. As he is most often depicted in his “standing” position, a further link between the animal and the game had to be made and the ball was to be used.

However, the bond between the two was unprecedentedly intense in relation to the connection among world cup mascots and their respective soccer balls. Whereas many of the mascots are seen playing football while others can be seen looking straight to the ball and even holding it in their hands (i.e. 1998s *Footix* and 2010s *Zakumi*), the Brazilian mascot relation to the sport seems to be part of its very ontology. Such a deep-rooted relation is also expressed by its body language. The armadillo is often depicted as if he deeply attracted to the soccer ball: its eyes are clearly fixed on it, and the movement of his arms, raising the ball slightly over his head and to the centre of his own eyesight, makes one revisit the most famous Hamlet's scene while staring at the soccer ball.

Therefore, the distinctive connection between the three-banded armadillo and football dialogues with the idea that Brazilians are naturally gifted when it comes to the practice of the British sport. As we have seen, the idea that “the Brazilian player would already be born with the gift of an unmatched technique for the sport”⁵¹ has its inception in Freyre’s *mulatto*ness⁵². Such a socio-cultural characteristic would be an innate Brazilian trait that culminated in the belief that Brazilian football belongs within the realm of Dionysus⁵³ - where the artist becomes the piece of art⁵⁴.

Fuleco: Football and Ecology

On November 25th, 2012, the name of the three-banded armadillo was finally revealed. Fuleco - a portmanteau of the words *Futebol* (Football) and *Ecologia* (Ecology) - was the name chosen by an internet voting to decide the mascot’s name. In total, more than 1.7 million votes were registered. Fuleco received 48% of the votes, whereas Zuzeco — an amalgamation between *azul* (blue) and *ecologia* (ecology) — was the favourite of 31% of the voters and Amijubi — a combination between *amizade* (friendship) and *júbilo* (rejoicing) — finished last with 21%.

The name goes along with the idea of having an endangered species as the world cup mascot as a strategy towards its protection. Such a strategy may also have played a role in the selection of Zakumi — an anthropomorphised leopard (which is also a threatened species in South Africa). According to FIFA, the choice for the name “represents the way in which the FIFA World Cup can combine the two [football and ecology] to encourage people to behave in an environmentally friendly way. In voting for the name *Fuleco*, the Brazilian population has clearly demonstrated an affinity for both themes that the name epitomises”⁵⁵.

⁵¹ Gil 1994, 100-109.

⁵² Freyre 1962, 433.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Nietzsche 2000, 23.

⁵⁵ World Football Insider. *Brazilians Name their World Cup Mascot “Fuleco”*. <http://www.worldfootballinsider.com/Story.aspx?id=35438>. Accessed on April 22, 2014.

As it was noted by Pellizzoni, the design of Brazil's mascot as presented by FIFA differed substantially from the real-life three-banded armadillo. This is because Fuleco is "evidently more complex than the animal that it represents"⁵⁶ as some of his physical features - "its unnatural, distant and detached colour shades" as well as its "anthropomorphic shape" and "body posture"⁵⁷ – were altered in order to turn it into a more sympathetic and friendly figure⁵⁸. What is more, when it comes to Fuleco's detached colour shades, FIFA explained them by stating the following:

“The choice of colours in his design provided a clear link to the Brazilian national flag and referred to three of the strongest features of life in Brazil. The green shorts represent the lush tropical landscape, the yellow body tones illustrated the sunny climate and beautiful beaches, and the blue tints in the shell portrayed the sky and clear waters”.⁵⁹

Therefore, Fuleco embodies a series of possible Brazilian identity narratives. The enduring connection between the country and nature in its fullness, the willingness of Brazil to be internationally known as an environment responsible nation, the image of the land as a tropical paradise and the belief that its inhabitants have an innate talent for football are all part of the mythology that gave birth to the 2014 FIFA World Cup mascot.

The 2014 FIFA World Cup poster – the part makes the whole

Differently than in 1950, when Brazil's FIFA World Cup poster epitomised the country through the image of Rio de Janeiro's Guanabara Bay (see figure number 1), the 21st century Brazilian world cup committee presented the public with an attempt towards a more diverse representation of the country insofar the locality of the image within the poster is concerned.

In order to represent the competition in the country, the Brazilian design agency that created the logo - namely Crama Design Estratégico, from Rio de Janeiro - decided to

⁵⁶ Pellizzoni *et al.* 2013, 98.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ FIFA. *Fuleco – A mascot without precedent*. <http://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/marketing/brand/mascots.html>. Accessed on April 22, 2014.

make use of two footballers playing with a ball. The limbs were painted in green and yellow- the colours of the Brazilian national flag and together - against a white background – they give shape to the image of Brazil, as it is usually represented on a political map.

However, after a closer look at the poster, one can notice that the legs are formed by small drawings, or tesserae, representing cultural icons of different Brazilian localities as in a stain glasswork. Each one of these tiles alone would be representative of a particular region of the federation. Nonetheless, when they are put together they become a sort of *Brasiliana* that gives shape to the country as a single nation built on its cultural and geographical diversity.

Unlike the 1950 FIFA World Cup official poster, its 2014's counterpart does not solely acknowledge Brazil's different regional cultures by the exposition of the iconography of different Brazilian states, but -- by juxtaposing them and making them fill the lines which give shape to the country -- it also celebrates cultural diversity as an essential characteristic of Brazil's as a nation. As a matter of fact, such an indispensable role of Brazilian cultural diversity to the nation is strengthened by the fact that if one takes-off the local icons tesserae from the picture, the silhouette of Brazil is gone and all is left on the 2014 FIFA World Cup poster is a white-void.

Furthermore, one can notice that the tesserae representing different regional aspects of Brazilian culture are not necessarily set close to the region that they represent. For instance, Pernambuco's *Frevo* dancer icon is somewhat close to the region of Mato Grosso. The lines that delineate the state of Rio Grande do Sul are filled with a Baiana and Copacabana's Portuguese style pavements. This characteristic may add to the impression that the poster is displaying a culturally diverse country that is, nevertheless, well integrated. A country where the cultural practices of a given region are not confined within itself.



Figure 5: the 2014 FIFA World Cup poster⁶⁰

As a result, the poster of Brazil 2014 significance is twofold. On the one hand, it shows the role of football as a means of national integration as the most popular sport in virtually all of the country. On the other hand, it also seems aimed to convey the idea

⁶⁰ FIFA. *Official World Cup Posters from 1930 to 2018*. <https://www.fifa.com/worldcup/photos/galleries/official-world-cup-poster-from-1930-to-2018-2921795>. Accessed on December 11, 2018.

of a continental and diverse country where solid culture exchanges among its most diverse regions take place.

The 2014 FIFA World Cup local posters

Such diversity within the Brazilian cultural patchwork was not solely present in the 2014 FIFA World Cup main poster. As the previous editions of the FIFA World Cups of 2006 and 2010 - in Germany and South Africa respectively - official posters to each of the World Cup host cities were also exposed within the country. These posters were presented as valuable opportunities to the host cities to convey their geographical, social or cultural aspects to national and international audiences alike. They were exposed on FIFA's website and in strategic places in the respective host cities – airports, bus stations, terminals, main avenues and stadia.

The advent of such posters did not come out of a clear blue sky as a significant amount of money which was used in infrastructural reforms to receive the competition came from states and municipalities. It was thus natural that the hosting cities would show interest in any medium designed to give them an enhanced international exposure as a means to promote their local branding. As a result, these posters were designed to, on the one hand, work as domestic reminders of regional cultural heritages vis-à-vis a homogenous image of the nation and, on the other hand, to serve as valuable media for regional branding amidst (inter)national audiences as a means to attract tourists and investments.

Albeit their regional nature, the host cities posters have main recurrent elements – which are either part of a predetermined pattern that should be followed by all the host cities or were simply there as a symbolic reference to the socially constructed image of the nation from where regional narratives are negotiated. As a matter of fact, most of the local posters have shades of green, yellow and blue – the national colours and nearly all of them display a football ball somewhere in the frame (with the exception to Manaus, which makes use of a crossbar as a reference to the British sport). Whereas the former element - the national colours - are reminders of the nation in which the competition takes place, the latter – the elements linked to football – serve as an

expression of the event's nature and, on a second reading, as an indication of the sport's importance as a common passion within the whole of the country.

1. 2014 FIFA World Cup posters. The South-East host cities' posters

As we have previously seen, Brazil's South-East region is the most developed area of the country. The city of Rio de Janeiro was the capital of the country from 1763, when Brazil was still a state of the Portuguese Empire, until 1960. Whereas Rio de Janeiro was the political capital of the country for almost two centuries, the other South-Eastern 2014 FIFA World Cup hosts are the capitals of two of the most industrialized and wealthy states of the nation. What is more, São Paulo and Minas Gerais are also highly influential federal units in the nation's political affairs – and were even more so during the First Brazilian Republic in a period known as the Coffee with Milk politics.

Therefore, as an important part of the nation, the region has traditionally attracted immigrants from all over the country to its urban centres – being thus considered the better known and most cosmopolitan region of Brazil.

a) Host city poster – Rio de Janeiro, an icon of Brazilian-ness

The poster of Rio-2014 shares with the one of the 1950 FIFA World Cup the reference to one of the most important icons of the city (as well as of the country): the curvy lines of the Sugarloaf Mountain. The difference between the two posters lies on the fact that in the artwork for the 1950 World Cup the Sugarloaf worked as a symbol of the country as a whole, thus setting Rio de Janeiro as the country's epitome. In the posters for the 2014 FIFA World Cup, the mountain symbolic representation as one of the main elements on the posters was restrained to the city of Rio de Janeiro.

Nevertheless, the Sugarloaf is not completely absent on the 2014 FIFA World Cup *national* poster as the mountain appears in a rather small proportion as part of the tesserae that displays different regional iconographies that, together, make the whole of the country. Thus the difference on the use of the Sugarloaf as an iconography in 1950 and 2014 World Cup print material indicates both the diversification of the Brazilian iconography over the time and the evolution of the cultural representativeness of

different Brazilian regions within the social construction of Brazilian-ness - the latter can be explained much due to the advent of new media possibilities and of a more decentralised and liberal federative system in comparison to the one that preceded Brazil of 1950.

Other than the image of the Sugarloaf Mountain - which appears in green in the centre of the poster - one can easily notice a man balancing a football ball over his nape. Such a football trick, known as a neck stall, is rarely seen on professional football, being more commonly associated with FreeStyle Football – a sportive practice also known as “the art of doing tricks with a football”⁶¹.

Such a ludic and aesthetically appealing way of playing with the football ball is rather popular among *Cariocas* and it can be seen at Rio de Janeiro’s beaches as the locals amuse themselves by forming a circle and passing the ball to one another without letting it touch the ground. What is more, the image relates to the idea of *futebol-arte* (known abroad as the beautiful game) - a way of playing football that relies on personal skills, grace, creativity and an attacking mentality rather than collective tactics, physical strength and a defensive attitude. As we have already seen, such a way of playing the game is intimately linked to the Brazilian football culture and has its historical inception through the myth that Brazilians play football, and live their lives, in a more creative fashion than Europeans⁶².

Furthermore, Freyre’s narrative that Brazilians are more Dionysian in the way they play the game because of their ethnic miscegenation seems to be reproduced by Rio de Janeiro’s poster by the brown skin complexion and facial traits of the man performing the neck stall. The way he handles the ball contains several of the qualities named by Freyre as being analogous to Brazilian – or *mulatto* – football as “surprise, skill, cleverness, [...], individual brilliance and spontaneity”⁶³.

Moreover, the intimate relationship between *Cariocas* and football is also expressed by

⁶¹ Free Style Football Federation. *History*. www.thewffa.org. Accessed on April 4th, 2016.

⁶² Freyre 1962.

⁶³ Freyre 1938. *Apud*. Maranhão 2007, 514.

a tilted heart-shaped red aura around the hazel football player silhouette and his football ball. According to FIFA, the image is meant to symbolise the “love that the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro feel for the game”⁶⁴.

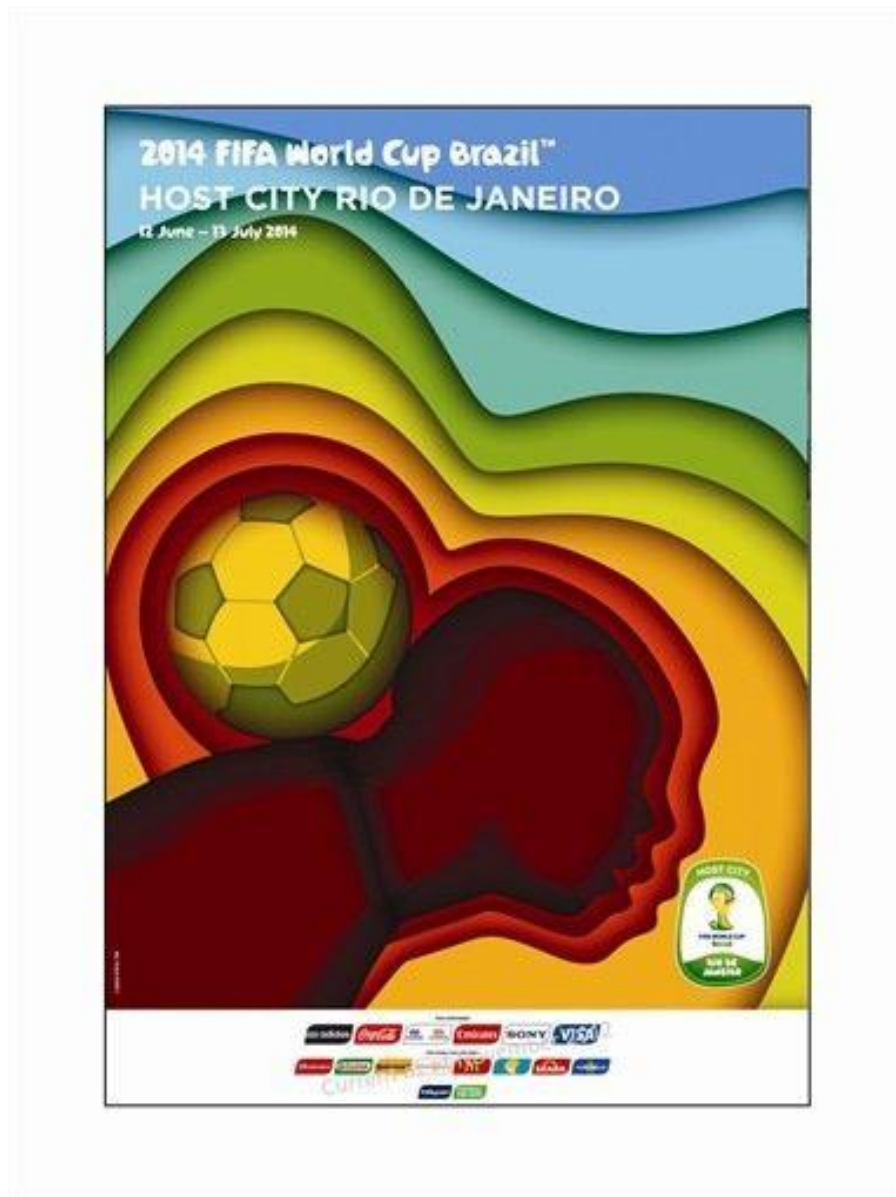


Figure 6: Rio de Janeiro 2014⁶⁵

⁶⁴ ”. FIFA. *Destination Rio de Janeiro*.

<http://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=1141/according-to-football.html>. Accessed on 2, April 2016.

“La silhouette d'un footballeur insouciant qui tient un ballon en équilibre sur sa nuque forme un cœur, qui symbolise l'amour des habitants de Rio de Janeiro pour le football”.

⁶⁵ FIFA. *Destination Rio de Janeiro*.

<http://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=1141/according-to-football.html>. Accessed on 2, April 2016.

The other colours are different shades of yellow, green and blue – six tonalities in total. Each of them represents an element of Rio de Janeiro: the yellow of the sand beaches and the sun; the green of the Sugarloaf and other Rio's mountain closer to the horizon; the blue of the sea and of the sky. Together they represent the city of Rio de Janeiro - and also serve as a representation of Brazil through the use of the national colours. They serve also as the utmost representation of a tropical and coastal Brazil as they almost instantly recall the internationally famous view of the Sugar Loaf and Rio de Janeiro's beaches.

Additionally, the position of the brown-skinned man playing football - and his heart-shaped red aura - in the core of Rio de Janeiro's colour pallet is rather evocative as one is lead to believe that football - as an evocation of the Brazilian Dionysian spirit - is the heart and soul of the city of Rio de Janeiro, and, as a consequence, of the twentieth-century narrative of Brazilian-ness.

b) Host city poster – São Paulo, the antithesis of a carefree Brazil

A heavily urbanised Brazil, in contrast with the country's typical portray as an exotic tropical land, is showed in the poster of São Paulo. The dichotomy of these two representations of Brazil - the former having São Paulo as its main icon, the latter having Rio de Janeiro as its epitome - has been around for about a century; at least since São Paulo's Modern Art Week when the Paulista vanguard intelligentsia saw urban centres "as the new cyanic centres of national life"⁶⁶, embracing the growing industrialisation of their state as an index of modernity and of their own identity.

As a result, one can notice these two Brazils being represented on the city poster of the two largest megalopolises of the country. While São Paulo is represented by its skyscrapers - almost completely covering the sky - Rio is characterized by its green mountains, yellow sand and turquoise sea.

⁶⁶ da Motta 1992a, 38.



Figure 7: São Paulo 2014⁶⁷

As a matter of fact, Paulistas have traditionally used the image of a *Tropical Brazil* as an antithesis to their own cosmology - modernity versus nature, industrial prowess versus carefree environment. This explains the massive presence of business towers and a chopper- a reminder of the fact that the city has the biggest helicopter fleet in the

⁶⁷ FIFA. *Destination São Paulo*.

<http://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=1047/poster.html>. Accessed on 4 April 2016.

world⁶⁸ - rendering to São Paulo an aura of modernization in a city where time often means money, and where everything seems fast-paced.

However, not everything in the poster of São Paulo is completely different than in Rio de Janeiro's one. The colours used on the two posters are about the same. The national colours - green, yellow and blue - replaced the expected grey shades of a large urban centre such as São Paulo. The red of the poster - which in Rio de Janeiro's poster more manifestly expressed passion by taking the iconic shape of a heart – also covers some of São Paulo's buildings.

Another element that is present in the clear majority (eleven out of twelve) of the host city posters is also present in the posters of the two largest Brazilian cities: the ball. However, differently than its carioca counterpart, the ball in São Paulo is not being handled by a skillful football practitioner, it is instead "floating on the air and running through the veins of the city, through its streets and through its uncountable buildings"⁶⁹ as if the whole atmosphere of the city was filled with football.

The population of São Paulo appearing in the frame seems to collaborate with FIFA's statement about the importance of football to the city. That is because the *Paulistas* appear in the poster with their arms raised up in the air and carrying flags as if they were in the stadium or watching a football match on a large screen in the city centre.

The fact that they are blue was, perhaps, an attempt to make the inhabitants of the city look homogenous without linking them to any possible ethnic background. An alternative possible reading to this fact is that the blue may relate to the uniform colour that factory labours traditionally wear. In order to support the latter reading, one may call attention to the historical role that industrialisation played in the construction of São Paulo's urban identity.

⁶⁸ The Guardian. *High above São Paulo's choked streets, the rich cruise a new highway*. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/jun/20/brazil>. Accessed on April 7 2016.

⁶⁹ FIFA. *Destination São Paulo*. <http://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=1047/poster.html>. Accessed on 4 April 2016. "Ce sport est inscrit dans les gènes de la ville, dans ses rues, dans ses immeubles, dans son atmosphère".

c) Host city poster – Belo Horizonte, modernist architecture in the uplands

Belo Horizonte's poster, designed by Mariana Hardy, displays a series of elements related to the city's iconography that overlap and form the shape of a football ball. According to Hardy, the main idea behind the poster is to show that Minas Gerais' capital is "a city where people meet, a city of hospitality that is very welcoming"⁷⁰.

Nonetheless, the poster supporting text goes beyond Hardy's above explanation. Elements such as the *Mineirão Stadium* and the modernist curves of the Church of *São Francisco de Assis da Pampulha* are reminders of Belo Horizonte's people "passion for football, great culture and the superb architectural lines of the city's buildings"⁷¹. One cannot overlook, however, the significance of the stadium and the church as representatives of cultural elements (football and Christianity) that are central to the idea of national unity.

As a matter of fact, the use of Christian symbols, as the church, in the posters for the competition in Brazil is seen – as a central element -- in two of the hosting cities posters, namely those of Belo Horizonte and Brasilia (Fortaleza also displays two churches in its poster, but they are displayed as secondary icons of the city). Curiously, both were designed by Oscar Niemeyer and are thus also representatives of what is known as the Brazilian modernist architecture. Such architectural style is seen throughout much of the representations of Brazilian edifices in the competition's visual material.

⁷⁰ "A ideia é que Belo Horizonte é uma cidade de encontro, de hospitalidade, muito acolhedora". Globo. *Copa do Mundo 2014 na tela: Belo Horizonte lança poster oficial*. Globo Esporte. <http://globoesporte.globo.com/mg/noticia/2012/11/copa-do-mundo-2014-na-tela-belo-horizonte-lanca-poster-oficial.html>. Accessed on February 29, 2016.

⁷¹ FIFA. *Destination Belo Horizonte, Poster*. <http://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=6783/poster.html>. Accessed on 29 February, 2016. "Cette cité est connue et appréciée pour son sens de l'hospitalité, sa passion pour le football, sa grande culture et les superbes lignes architecturales de ses bâtiments, qui se découpent sur les montagnes du Minas Gerais".

When it comes to colours of Belo Horizonte's poster - green, yellow, blue and red – they give the idea of a state which is a constitutive part of the federal republic but keeps its own particularities. That is because, Brazil's national colours (green, yellow and blue) are juxtaposed with red – which is the colour of the state flag central element.



Figure 8: Belo Horizonte 2014⁷²

⁷² FIFA. *Destination Belo Horizonte, Poster*.
<http://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=6783/poster.html>. Accessed on February 29, 2016.

It is important to note that the flag of Minas Gerais, which was adopted as the state emblem in 1963, is inspired on the Inconfidência Mineira, a movement that sought the formation of a Minas Gerais Republic - independent of the Portuguese crown and apart from the rest of Brazil. In 1789, Portuguese forces repressed the movement and executed their leaders. While some may understand the Inconfidência Mineira as a separatist movement that intended to form the independent Republic of Minas Gerais, many celebrate the insurgence's leaders as national heroes that conspired against foreign rule and the monarchy as a form of government. The disposition of red among the Brazilian national colours may thus collaborate with the latter understanding.

What is more, the colourful doves and flowers presented by the poster make allusion to the patterns found on the tiles within the Church of *São Francisco de Assis da Pampulha*. The reproduction of such tiles on Belo Horizonte's poster is said to "symbolise the balance between nature and art" and also work as "symbols of the welcoming reception that will be given to the athletes and football fans from all over the world when they arrive in Belo Horizonte"⁷³.

Finally, the hill's silhouette on the poster's background represents Minas Gerais mountainous topography in the upcountry. Showing a Brazil that is far from the tropical beaches of its vast coast and apart from its gigantic rainforests.

2. 2014 FIFA World Cup posters. The North-East host cities' posters

The Brazilian North-East was the first part of the country in which the Portuguese arrived and, as such, can be considered the cradle of Brazilian culture. Due to its climate and its proximity to Europe, it became a sugar production powerhouse (an industry in decline since the eighteenth century).

The city of Salvador is one of the oldest state capitals in Brazil and served as the seat for the Portuguese Colonial administration in Brazil until 1763. The capital of Bahia was also the first slave port in the Americas and is considered one of the main centres

⁷³ *Ibid.*, "Cette image symbolise l'équilibre entre la nature et l'art. Elle se veut aussi un signe de bienvenue adressé aux athlètes et aux amateurs de football du monde entier qui se rendront à Belo Horizonte".

of Afro-Brazilian culture in the country. The other World Cup 2014 hosts cities from the region – Natal, Fortaleza and Recife - are all important state capitals, with vibrant local cultures (reaching most of the country either through mainstream media or through the migration of their peoples to other regions of the nation) and – due to their exquisite coastal lines with white sand and turquoise water – have an year-round solid domestic and international tourism intake.

20:16

a) Host city poster – Natal, an abridged version of tropical Brazil

The city of Natal, in Brazil's northeast, has chosen the national flag colours, green, yellow and blue, to colour its poster. Its green - which is the poster main colour – is crossed by some white lines, bringing to mind the idea of a football pitch. Over the green football field, a blue ball moves fast as if it was recently kicked. A yellow line gives the impression of movement and speed, while a blue-man spread his arms slightly above his head. The movement is somewhat in-between the one of a person who is ready to embrace someone, or something, and the one of somebody who is celebrating something, perhaps a recently scored goal.

The juxtaposition of the Brazilian flag colours with the blue man spreading his arms is meant to, according to FIFA, “symbolise the Brazilian hospitality towards the largest football event in the world as well as the opportunities of economic growth, employment and cultural exchanges which are typically associated with the FIFA World Cup”⁷⁴.

Within the blue man spreading his arms one can see one of Natal's famous sand dunes, which also give the name to its stadium (which can be seen inside the blue football within the poster). The picture of the sand dune is in line with the touristic appeal that was given to the poster and give a sense of locality to the blue man, as if he would be

⁷⁴ FIFA. *Destination Natal, Poster*.

<http://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=21518/poster.html>. Accessed on August 11, 2015.

“Sur l'affiche, la silhouette d'un homme aux bras tendus et entouré des couleurs de notre drapeau symbolise l'accueil par notre pays du plus grand événement footballistique et les opportunités de croissance économique, d'emploi et d'échanges culturels qui vont généralement de pair avec la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA”.

the embodiment of Natal's "generous population" who "likes to give, share, welcome, embrace and celebrate"⁷⁵.

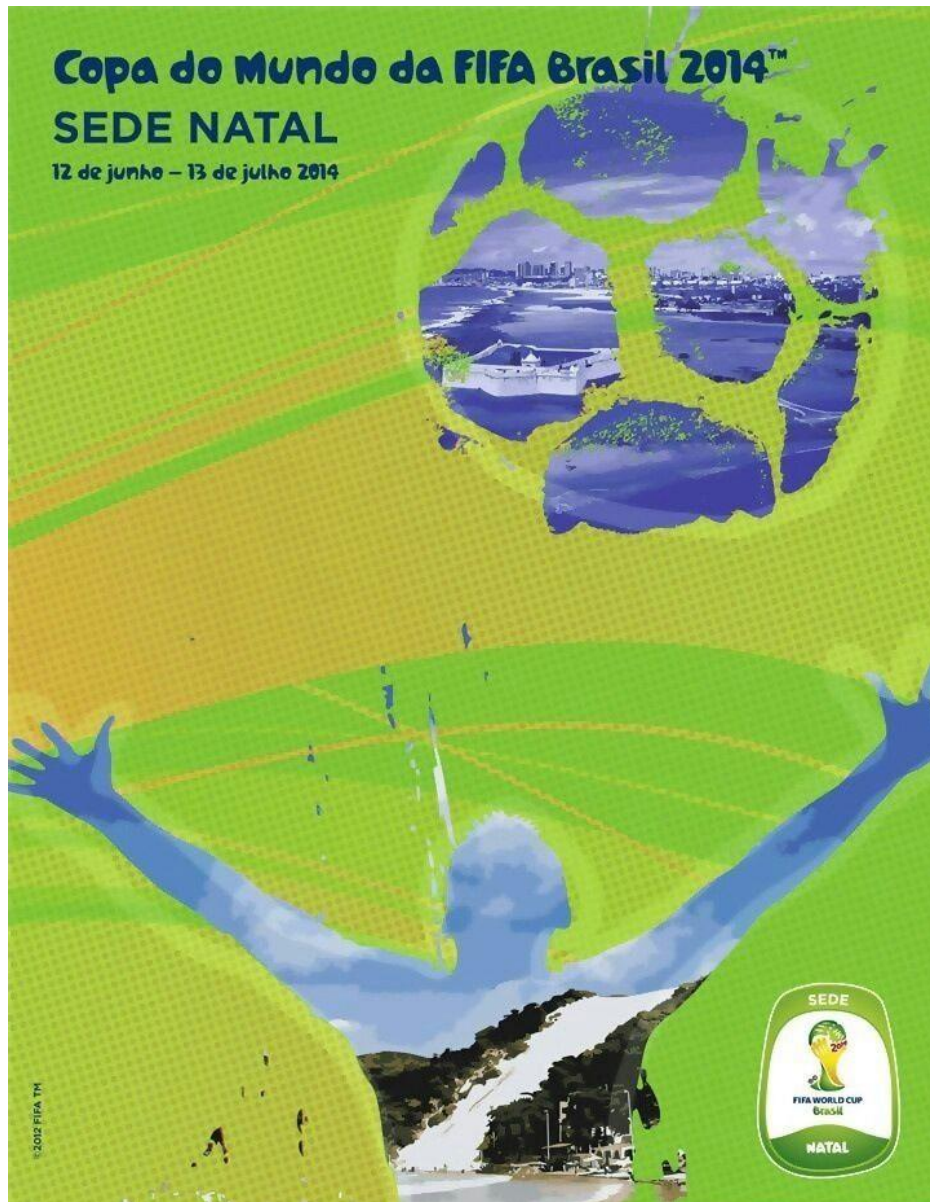


Figure 9: Natal 2014⁷⁶

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, "Natal (...) est une ville d'abondance dont la population généreuse aime donner, partager, accueillir, embrasser et célébrer".

⁷⁶ FIFA. *Destination Natal, Poster.*

<http://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=21518/poster.html>. Accessed on August 11, 2015.

Judging by the content of the photos selected to appear in the poster (i.e. a tropical beach and a sand dune), the increase of tourist inflow in the region during - and after - the competition seems to have been Natal's organising committee plan to get hold of the "economic growth" above mentioned as one of the main legacies of the event. That would explain why the organising committee of Natal, a city which is already known as one of the main touristic destinations in the region, described the city as the perfect example of "everything that makes the charm of our country (...) the green of the forests, the yellow of the warm sand and the blue of the crystal clear sea"⁷⁷.

Therefore, Natal made use of the well-established Brazilian international image – the one that sets Brazil as a tropical green paradise with plenty of lush sandy beaches – as a means to portray itself as an abridged version of the country as imagined abroad. What is more, the local committee avoided to present Natal as a modern and fast-paced city to portray it as considerably smaller than other well-known Brazilian urban centres such as Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Fortaleza, with the advantage of being closer to Europe⁷⁸, as means to attract tourists who expected to visit the Brazil which already existed in their minds.

b) Host city poster – Fortaleza, the *miamization* of the North-East

Fortaleza, the capital of the Northeastern state of Ceará, unveiled its 2014 FIFA World Cup poster to the public during a ceremony in the walkway in front of *Castelão* Arena. The stadium - which hosted a total of six matches during the World Cup finals, including two games of the Brazilian national team - appears on the poster background. Departing from its football pitch, a giant football ball heads to the sky, towards the zenith, as if it had been launched upwards. Within the ball, nine of Fortaleza's most famous monuments are represented inside of each of the nine football panels appearing in the frame.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, "Le vert des forêts, le jaune du sable chaud et le bleu de la mer cristalline: si le Brésil est le symbole de la richesse naturelle de notre planète, Natal est l'exemple même de tout ce qui fait le charme de notre pays".

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, "Sa localisation, à l'extrême pointe est du pays, en fait l'une des destinations américaines les plus proches de l'Europe".

According to Ceará's Special Secretary to the World Cup - Mr Ferruccio Feitosa - the poster portrays the importance of the FIFA World Cup 2014 to the local economy. "From the *Castelão* Arena, it will be possible that Brazil and the world get to know our natural beauty, our culture, and that Ceará will become increasingly strong within the national and international tourist circuit"⁷⁹.

On the foreground, one can see Fortaleza's sea and one of its beaches - as if the observer was on a boat overlooking the continent. Such an observer can also see that, at the beach, there are some people waving (or, perhaps, dancing), a few coconut trees, a beach umbrella and a deckchair. All these elements convey the image of an ideal tropical place – an inviting holiday destination for national and international tourists.

In spite of the tropical aura and laid-back atmosphere presented on the foreground, in-between the beach and the stadium one can see a thick layer of tall monochromatic dark-blue buildings. The monochromatic edifices on the poster symbolize the numerous recently-built glass-made skyscrapers on Fortaleza's seafront, which dramatically transformed the aesthetics of the city leading to a phenomenon known as the *miamização* (or *miamization*) of Brazil's northeast. Such a phenomenon is said to address a "desire to exhibit an emergent wealth" as a reaction to the stereotypical idea that the region is the "poor cousin of the nation"⁸⁰.

Therefore, these buildings – seen either as a representation on the poster or as physical structures on the shoreline - render to Fortaleza the aura of a modern tropical megalopolis. What is more, the decision of Fortaleza's poster designers to portray both the city's beach as well as its skyscrapers, or the images of an ideal tropical paradise and of a modern monochromatic city, endorses the ad hoc committee "desire to exhibit an emergent wealth. Nonetheless, according to FIFA, the fact that several of the most traditional landmarks of the city also appear on the poster background "evokes [the idea

⁷⁹ Diário do Nordeste. November 25, 2012. *Conheça as imagens que representarão Fortaleza e as demais sedes brasileiras na Copa de 2014.*

⁸⁰Sá Barreto and Medeiros, 2017. *Apud.* Jornal do Commercio. October 13, 2013. *Pesquisa da Fundaj apresenta um Nordeste Emergente*

of] a modern city, which - nevertheless - does not forget its traditions"⁸¹.

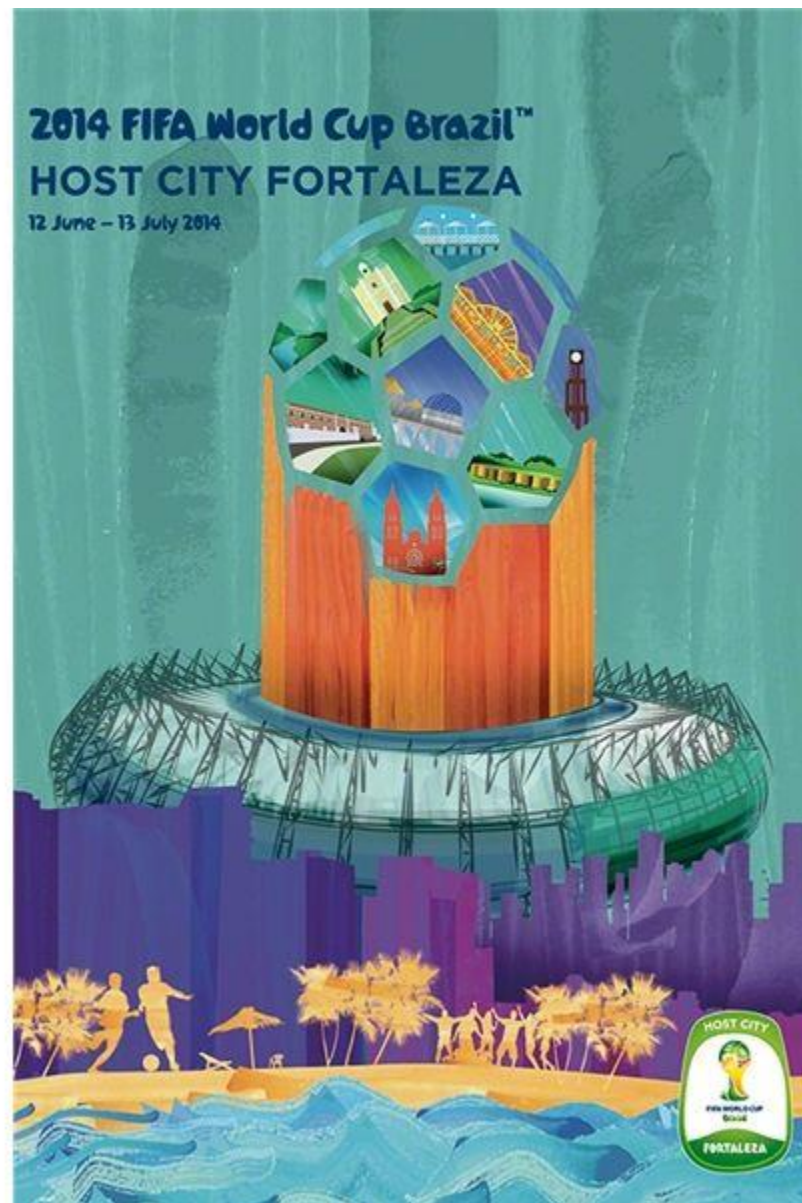


Figure 10: Fortaleza 2014⁸²

⁸¹ FIFA. *Destination Fortaleza*.

<http://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=11693/according-to-football.html>.
Accessed on March 1, 2016.

“Les textures et les touches utilisées rappellent une ville moderne, mais une ville qui n'oublie pas ses traditions”.

⁸² FIFA. *Destination Fortaleza*.

<http://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=11693/according-to-football.html>.
Accessed on March 1, 2016.

However, one might say that Fortaleza's local committee has unwillingly delivered a somewhat twisted message by placing together two elements that many tourists may consider antagonistic: the image of a tropical paradise and that of monochromatic skyscrapers, holidays and working days, tropicality and modernity. Moreover, some may have the impression that the colours and the vertical textures of the sky and the buildings add a certain unsettling feeling as if a storm is approaching the beach, thus ruining an otherwise pleasant sunny day.

Looking back to the beach for a moment, one can see two people playing Beach Soccer, a sport that embodies a series of Brazilian narratives, such as the country's tropicality and its inhabitants' innate creativity and love for football. The game has been played unprofessionally throughout the world for many decades, however, its inception as an organised sport with official rules recognized by FIFA can be traced to 1990s Brazil⁸³.

c) Host city poster – Recife, between *frevo* and Pernambuco's identity foundation myth

Recife's poster displays plenty of different colours over a background filled with an aureate light. The image's yellowness - which could be a reference either to Pernambuco's capital year-round sunshine or its sandy beaches - juxtaposed by rainbow-like colours helps to transmit "the essence of a seaside city filled with movement, art and happiness"⁸⁴.

In the centre of the poster, the image of a man who seems to be playing football and dancing *frevo* at the same time leaves a colourful rainbow-like trace behind his

⁸³ FIFA. *Histoire du Beach Soccer*.

<http://fr.fifa.com/beachsoccerworldcup/organisation/history/index.html>. Accessed on April 12, 2016.

⁸⁴ FIFA. *Destination Recife - Poster*.

<http://es.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=6099/according-to-football.html>. Accessed on June 13th, 2016. "El cartel de la sede de Recife destila la esencia de una ciudad costera llena de movimiento, arte y alegría".

movements. Within such multi-coloured arch left behind by the man's swirling motion, one can see "the main colours of the city that highlight its characteristic landscapes – which consist on bridges, rivers, boats and exquisite architecture, as well as a cacophony of carnivals"⁸⁵.

The idea behind the use of the "cacophony of carnivals" as an inspiration for the poster may have been an attempt by the local organising committee to capture the essence of the city festive season as well as of its traditional dance/rhythm. The inception of Frevo - a dance/rhythm where the performers execute difficult movements, sometimes jumping and landing on one single leg, while using an umbrella to keep their balance – dates back from the nineteenth-century when members of some carnival groups would adapt capoeira steps into altered *marcha* tunes played by military bands⁸⁶.

As a result, *frevo* - later known also as *Frevo-de-Rua* - quickly gave birth to different musical genres, developing itself to different such as *Frevo-Canção* and *Frevo de Bloco*⁸⁷. These variations, together with rhythms of other Brazilian regions, can be listened to during Recife's carnival.

But what is the significance of the man dancing *frevo* and playing football at the same time? According to the local organising committee, "the image shows a frevo dancer whose acrobatic movements are similar to those of the more skilled football players"⁸⁸.

As we have seen, the idea of the Brazilian cultural ethos influencing the way in which different peoples practice the sport is not new. Gilberto Freyre had already asserted that there was a certain mulatto-ness which was inherent to Brazilians that would influence the way Brazilians are and that it would be evident among Brazilian performing artists and, especially, amongst football players⁸⁹. Therefore, it does not come out as a surprise that the different generations of Brazilian national team players were later dubbed the

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Benck Filho 2008, 15.

⁸⁷ Lóssio and Pereira 2008.

⁸⁸ FIFA. *Destination Recife - Poster*.

<http://es.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=6099/according-to-football.html>. Accessed on June 13th 2016.

⁸⁹ Freyre 1962, 433.

“Samba boys”⁹⁰.

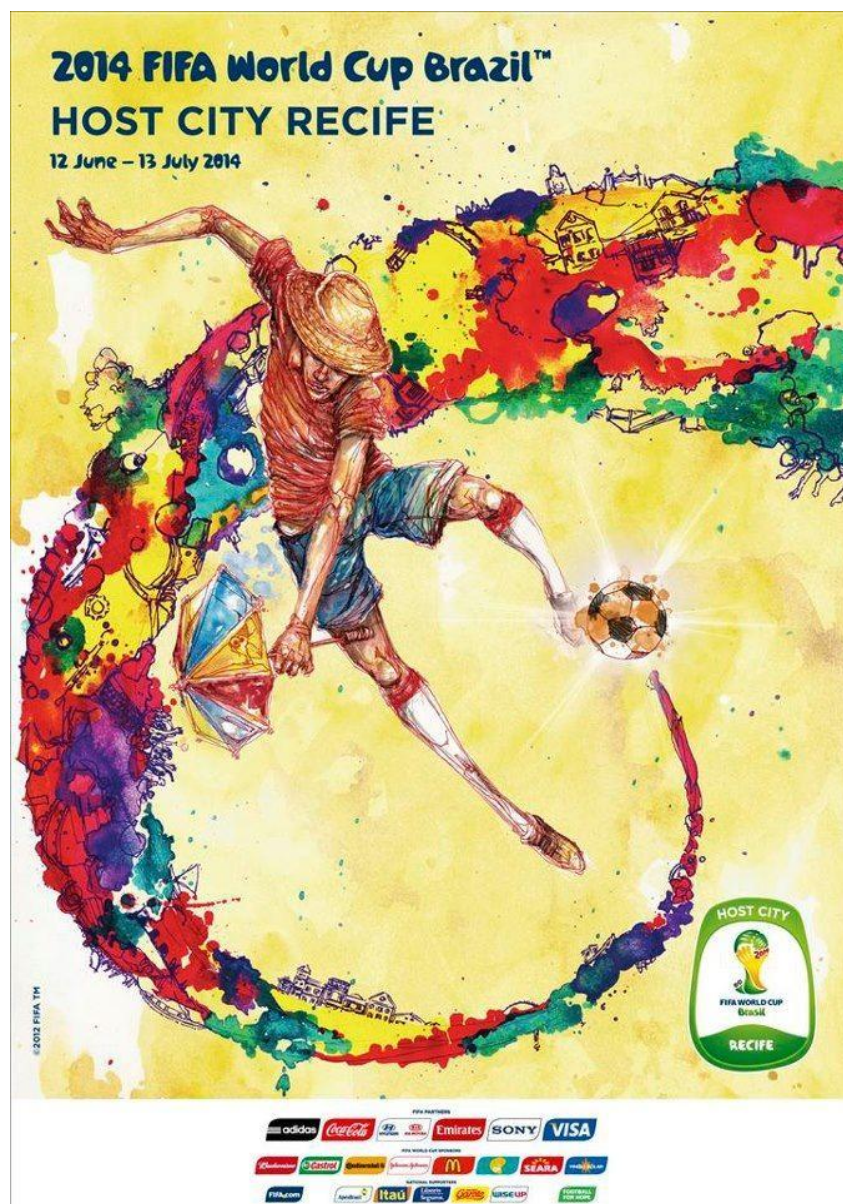


Figure 11: Recife 2014⁹¹

Since samba is considered as a national rhythm and that it has its roots within Afro-Brazilian culture, the concept of “Samba boys” dialogues also with Freyre’s hypothesis

⁹⁰ Karageorhis and Terry 2008, 4.

⁹¹ FIFA. *Destination Recife - Poster*.

<http://es.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=6099/according-to-football.html>.
Accessed on June 13, 2016.

of Brazilian football players being more creative and attack-oriented than European footballers because of their African (Dionysian) nature⁹². If one applies the same logic to Recife's poster, where a sort of a local version of the samba boys' myth is being negotiated, one can interpret the image as a tribute to the regional differences, and resemblances, of Pernambuco in relation to other parts of Brazil.

What is more, the footballer/dancer pale skin complexion and his orange and blue uniform - the colours of the Dutch national football team – serve as a reference to Pernambuco's identity foundation myth⁹³, that is to say, the victory over the Dutch occupation in the region during the seventeenth century. Such an occupation served as a milestone on the construction of a sense of Pernambuco-ness and Brazilian-ness through the defeat of a common enemy. Moreover, it is also said to have left its marks in the inhabitants of the region, as an extra dutch element added to the myth of the Brazilian founding races.

Nonetheless, as samba and *frevo* are rhythms that share a common Afro-Brazilian origin - and the narratives of *samba-boys* and *frevo-footballers* are both related to the Dionysian way of playing the sport (i.e. skill over discipline, grace and joy over firmness and power) – Recife's poster reinforces Freyre's perception that all Brazilians are psychologically mullattos regardless of their skin colour⁹⁴.

d) Host city poster – Salvador, the *Lacerda* as a symbol of modernity and urban integration

Salvador da Bahia's poster displays one of the city's main icons: the *Elevador Lacerda* (Lacerda Lift). Inaugurated in 1873, under the name *Elevador Hidráulico da Conceição*, the elevator was one of the firsts public lift in the world. What is more, its 63 metres of height made it, according to some sources, the highest lift (public or private) ever built up at the moment of its inauguration. Due to its status as *the world's first*, the lift quickly became one of the most famous icons of the city. As a result, the *Lacerda* set Salvador in the vanguard of urban transportation and was thus seen as a symbol of

⁹² Freyre 1962, 433.

⁹³ Schwarcz 2012, 158

⁹⁴ Freyre 1962, 432.

modernity to a city that had lost much of its economic prowess and national prominence due to the prohibition of the slave trade in 1850 and the consequent stagnation of its industry in relation to other parts of the country (as the South-East)⁹⁵.

In addition to its modern practical aspects (the lift was designed to quicken pedestrian movement and facilitate the transportation of goods between the lower and the upper part of the city), the aesthetics of the *Lacerda* was also celebrated as an example of modern - or European - architecture. According to Couto Mello, at first, the lift had a Baroque style. However, after a reform in 1930, the *Lacerda* assumed its current *art deco* incarnation - becoming “a representation of modernity in its aesthetic form”⁹⁶.

Other than being an aesthetic and functional symbol of modernity to a city that had been once the Governor-General of Portuguese South America, the *Lacerda* also became an icon of Salvador's integration. This is because the lift serves as a bridge-like apparatus connecting the upper (modern) Salvador to the lower (historical) part of the city. Moreover, once inside the lift, one can be taken in an upwards journey, of about 30 seconds, from where (s)he can observe touristic points of the city that could not be seen altogether from the hill's bottom.

Strictly observing the significance of the construction within the poster, one can see that the lift was turned into a goal. Inside the gigantic goal-like structure, an equally large football is portrayed in midair, as if a goal had just been scored.

⁹⁵ Macchione Saes 2007, 220.

⁹⁶ Couto Mello 2004, 51.

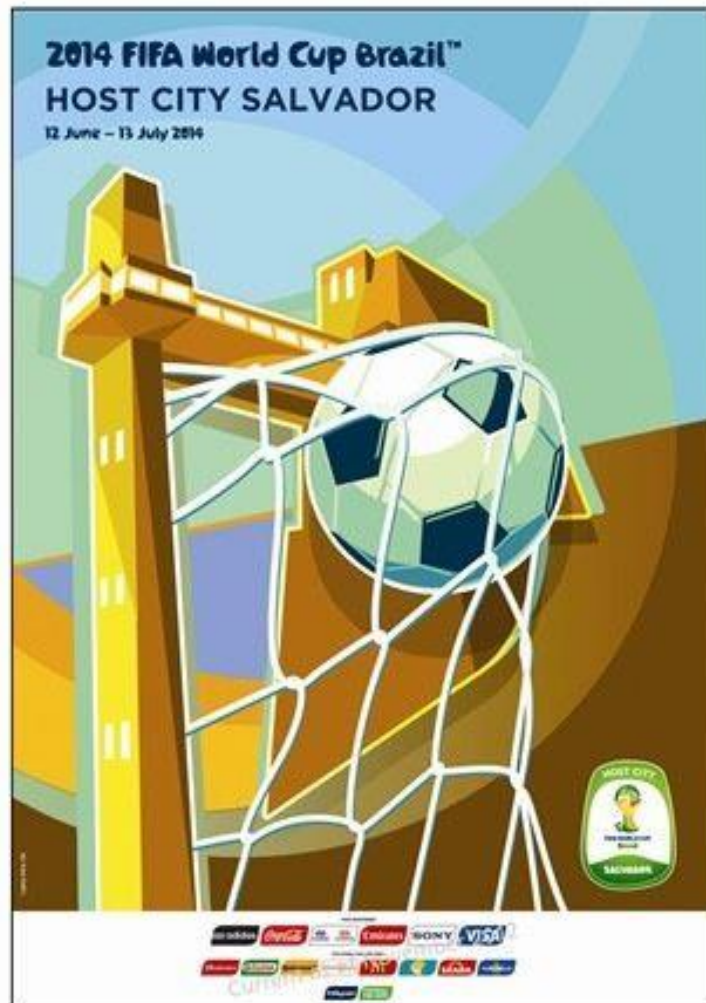


Figure 12: Salvador 2014⁹⁷

The fact that the lift was transformed into a goal - “the ultimate objective of a football match”⁹⁸- may be a reference to the expected world cup legacy. The visual aspect of

⁹⁷ FIFA. *Destination Salvador, Poster*.

<http://es.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=50071/according-to-football.html>. Accessed on June 2, 2016.

⁹⁸ FIFA. *Destination Salvador, Poster*.

<http://es.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=50071/according-to-football.html>. Accessed on June 2, 2016. “El póster muestra un balón que ha cruzado la línea de meta y se estrella en la red, lo que invariablemente es el objetivo último y más importante de un partido de fútbol. Puede ser en un estadio, con una portería de

the image, with football entering close to the angle formed by the goal's crossbar and the post, as if a “golazo por toda la escuadra”⁹⁹ - a beautiful goal for the entire squad - had just been scored, seems to portray the exact moment when the expected legacy of the competition starts to pay its dividends or when the competition achieves its climax in Bahia’s capital.

3. 2014 FIFA World Cup posters. The North and the Centre-West host cities’ posters

Home to the Amazon forest and to the Pantanal wetland, the North and the Centre-West of the country are the two least populated regions of Brazil. Due to such a demographic gap and to its distance from the Atlantic coast, they are often seen as the backcountry of Brazil. Nonetheless, whereas the former has a strong Amerindian population – which leaves its marks in the culture of the region – the latter received different waves of immigration from other Brazilian areas, particularly from ranchers and farmers from the South of the country, changing the customs of the inhabitants of the region’s countryside.

In 1960, President Juscelino Kubitschek moved the national capital from Rio de Janeiro to a recently built Brasilia in an attempted to decentralise the federal power and develop the region. Nowadays, Brasilia is not only the political capital of Brazil but is also one of the largest metropolia in the country, attracting people from all over the nation to the geographical centre of Brazil.

a) Host city poster – Manaus, an excerpt from the region’s exuberant nature

Manaus poster has a peculiarity of its own: it is the only one, among the posters of the of the twelve host cities not show a football ball. Here, the association with football is

verdad, o en una cancha de pequeñas dimensiones, o en la playa, o incluso en la calle, con postes imaginarios formados con piedras o zapatos. Puede ser un gol de penal, de chilena y hasta de tijera, pero para que un partido de fútbol sea completo necesita un gol. De todo esto surge este cartel, que contiene historia, belleza y un golazo por toda la escuadra”.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

done through a crossbar and the stands of recently built Amazon Arena. On the crossbar, two scarlet macaws (*Ara Macao*) rest at ease. If there is any action taking place in Manaus, it is going on elsewhere beyond the frame. Thus, the scene conveys a rare instant of slow-paced - almost static – idleness in a metropolis such as Manaus.

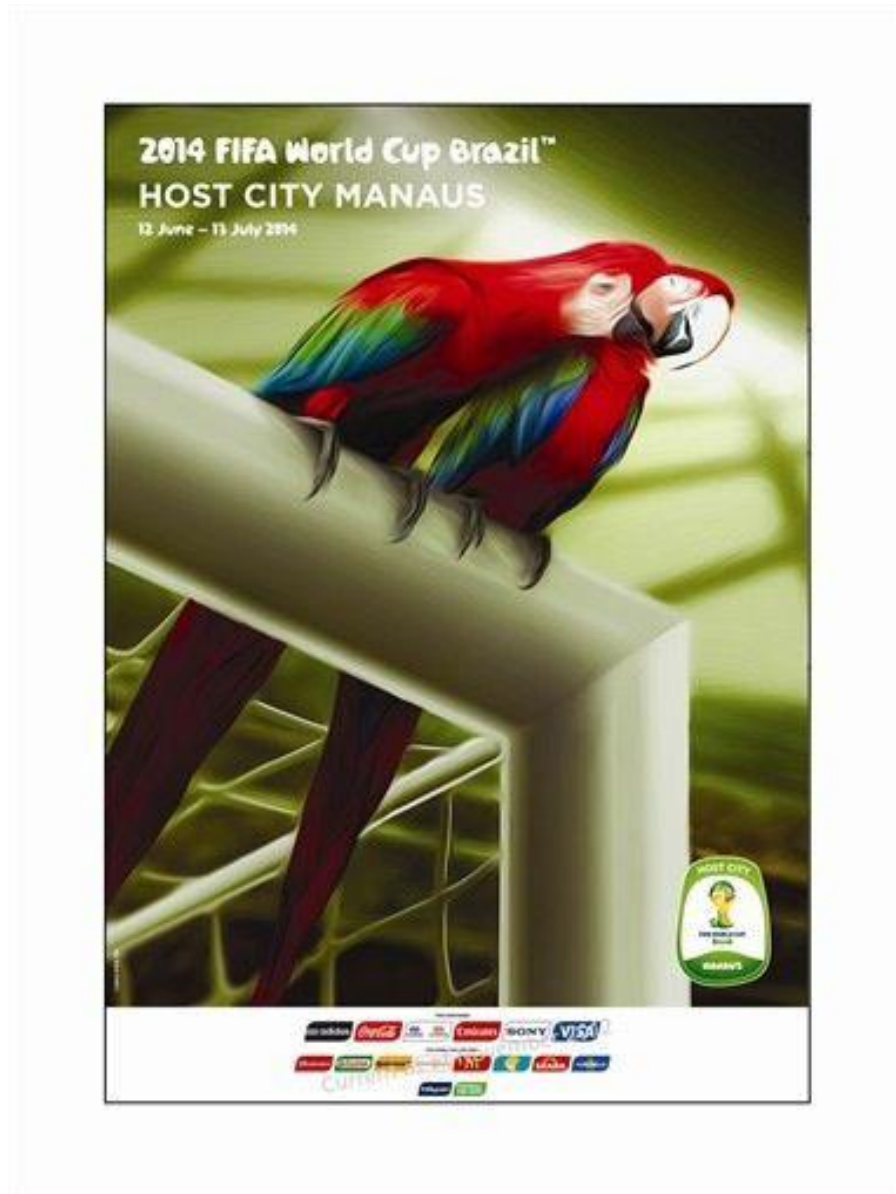


Figure 13: Manaus 2014¹⁰⁰

The scarlet macaws' body language, as if one is caressing the other, evokes a feeling of affection between two specimens of a species that usually mate for life. What is more,

¹⁰⁰ FIFA. *Destination Manaus*. <https://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=2037/>. Accessed on June 12, 2016.

the image of two birds resting peacefully on a football crossbar, works as a reminder of the environment in which the host city is situated: in the heart of the Amazon forest.

It is interesting to note that the scarlet macaws belong to the subfamily of *Arinae* which is otherwise known as *New World parrots*¹⁰¹. Native to the Amazon basin, the colourful plumage of these birds, combined with elements European royalty – crowns, robes, sceptres and so on¹⁰² - were used as a symbology to the Empire of Brazil (1822-1889) as a European monarchy within the tropics.

However, the use of multi-coloured birds as a representation of the country's exuberant nature was not exactly an invention of the Brazilian royal family. Since the European arrival, in 1500, Brazil has been imagined as a tropical land filled with exotic birds. That is why, in Europe, one of the first unofficial names of the land was Land of Parrots (*Terra dei Pappagalli*)¹⁰³. Such an association between the country and these animals dominated the portray of Brazil in the iconography of the sixteenth century¹⁰⁴.

The fact that, in the poster, we can see one of the symbols of a pre-modern Brazil, the macaws, resting at ease within a recently-built modern arena brings us the impression that two distinct worlds are united in Manaus – the Amazon, or the realm of nature, and the metropolis, a by-product of modernity.

Furthermore, the green light reflecting over the crossbar and the stadium's roof collaborates to the aforementioned idea that the Amazon Arena, in particular, and the city of Manaus, in general, are in harmony with the rainforest. What is more, the shape of Manaus Arena roof - emulating an Amerindian straw basket - as well as the local committee efforts to build an environment friendly stadium¹⁰⁵ seem to be aesthetical and functional efforts towards an environmentalist philosophy akin to that of the

¹⁰¹ Ericson, 2012.

¹⁰² Dos Santos 2003, 187.

¹⁰³ de Montalboddo 1507.

¹⁰⁴ Martins Teixeira 2009, 138.

¹⁰⁵ According to its official website, Amazon's arena has a on-site rain water recycling system, sewage treatment facilities and a system that produces natural ventilation within the stadium. Arena da Amazônia's official website. *A Arena*. <http://arenadaamazonia.com.br/o-projeto/a-arena/>. Accessed on April 8th, 2016.

Arcadian Ecology –i.e. the ecological philosophy which states “that man must learn to accommodate himself to the natural order rather than seek to overwhelm and transform it”¹⁰⁶.

Let us not forget that the Brazilian ecological approach to the Amazon forest has scrutinised by the international community for the past century due to the intense deforestation of the area. Hence, the use of images that would portray Manaus in balance with its own environment is an attempt towards characterising, to the international community, the city and the country as exponents of an Arcadian ecology philosophy - thus extending Brazil’s ecological position as an environmentally responsible country from the field of international diplomacy to the realms of popular culture.

b) Host city poster – Cuiabá, the gateway to the largest wetland in the world

FIFA begins the description of the poster of Mato Grosso’s capital, Cuiabá, by saying that it makes use of “lively colours to symbolise the happiness that comes with the world cup and the joy of the *Cuiabanos* in receiving the competition”. These colours – yellow, green, blue, red and brown – are, according to FIFA, “reminders of the union among people”. Moreover, these colours come in different shades forming a pattern of textures that give to action happening within the poster a sense of motion.

¹⁰⁶ Worster 1994, 76



Figure 14: Cuiabá 2014¹⁰⁷

In the case of the green texture, the vertical lines – which seem to be thicker than within the other colours – give the impression of growing bushes that somewhat bring to mind the type of vegetation that gives to the state of Mato Grosso its name¹⁰⁸. Moreover, one could interpret it as a reference to the celebrated nature of the region, as “Cuiabá is the

¹⁰⁷ FIFA. *Destination Cuiabá*.

<http://es.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=50053/according-to-football.html>. Accessed on June 12, 2016.

¹⁰⁸ Mato Grosso is the name of the northernmost state of Brazil’s centre-west. The word *mato* means *bush* in Portuguese, whereas *grosso* means *thick*. Mato Grosso thus could be roughly translated to “*thick bushes*” in English.

gateway to the largest floodplain in the world”¹⁰⁹ [the *Pantanal Matogrossense*].

One of Cuiabá’s poster central elements is the *Tuiuiu* bird. The presence of the animal - that is considered “the symbol of the Pantanal region”¹¹⁰ – works as a reminder of the touristic potential of the largest wetland in the world and as a further reference to the image of Brazil as a land “nature’s nation”¹¹¹.

A further - and yet more explicit - association between Cuiabá’s region and the sport is made within the football ball. In the centre of what seems to be the ball with which the Brazilian national team won the 1970 FIFA World Cup (the Adidas Telstar), one can see the shape of the state of Mato Grosso replacing one the ball’s hexagonal panels. The presence of the 1970 World Cup ball and the old-fashioned tinting style of the footballer - who is getting prepared to kick the ball - bring to the poster a rather nostalgic feeling.

Moreover, the skin complexion of the player reminds us of the 1950 FIFA World Cup poster. In both of the posters, the tanned legs could be reminders of the warm weather of the *tropical* Brazil - where Cuiabá is located - and/or of the ethnical mixture that took place in Brazil and gave birth to the country the 20th century’s myths of Lusotropicalism and Brazilian racial democracy.

However, the difference between the two images lies in the fact that in the 1950s poster the player seems to be stopping the ball with his boot’s cleats, in a movement that

¹⁰⁹ FIFA. *Destination Cuiabá*.

<http://es.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=50053/according-to-football.html>. Accessed on June 12, 2016. "El cartel de Cuiabá emplea vivos colores para simbolizar la alegría que la competición trae consigo y el regocijo de los cuiabanos. El fútbol está representado en la imagen de la pelota a los pies del jugador. El movimiento del balón y las formas que lo rodean recuerdan la unión entre las personas y el entusiasmo por el deporte, especialmente en el caso de la afición Pantaneira. Cuiabá es la entrada a la mayor llanura de inundación del mundo, el Pantanal Matogrossense, hogar del pájaro tuiuiu, el símbolo de la región del Pantanal y una de las características más destacadas del cartel. En el centro del balón se aprecia la silueta del estado de Mato Grosso, un sutil recordatorio de que su capital, Cuiabá, se prepara para albergar el certamen más importante de su historia".

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Dos Santos 2003.

suggests power and control. Whereas in the poster of Cuiabá 2014, the footballer seems to be ready to kick the ball forth, in a lighter and faster movement that was perhaps intended to make the ball travel in the same fashion of the Tuiuiú just above it.

c) Host city poster – Brasilia, modernist lines to a modernist capital

Brasilia was designed by scratched by a team of architects in the 1950s. Among them, the biggest icon of Brazilian modern architecture: Oscar Niemeyer. In 2014, Niemeyer's trademark curvy-lines were used to depict the city hosting one of the globe's largest sport events. On the background, the curvy-lines reveal another of the architect's creations: the cathedral of Brasilia. Meanwhile, in the foreground, a man is seen playing football.

Therefore, as in Belo Horizonte's poster, the two central elements on Brasilia's artwork are football and Christianity, making the representation of Brazil's capital intimately related to two of the cultural practices that may be considered nationwide in the country.

The representation of Brasilia as the country's capital is also made through the colours of the city in the poster. Brasilia's blue sky, bright yellow sun, green grass (as a reference to the vast green area of the city) and the white marble of its cathedral are also a reference to the Brazilian national flag, as all its four colours are present.

However, the significance of the poster colours goes beyond the aforementioned elements. The idea of the crossing among different ethnicities in the building of a Brazilian race is also present, as, according to FIFA, the “the colours of the player kicking the ball reinforce the multiple ethnicities that make up Brazilian society”¹¹². The presence of this multiracial-Brazilian person in the poster of Brasilia is not out of place insofar the internal migration to Brazil's capital is concerned. Built from scratch, the city has been settled by Brazilians of different corners of the country, making of Brasilia an ethnic and socio-cultural melting-pot.

¹¹² FIFA. *Destination Brasilia*.

<http://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=1143/poster.html>. Accessed on March 1, 2016. “Le footballeur au premier plan est composé de plusieurs couleurs, qui incarnent les différentes ethnies qui composent la société brésilienne”.

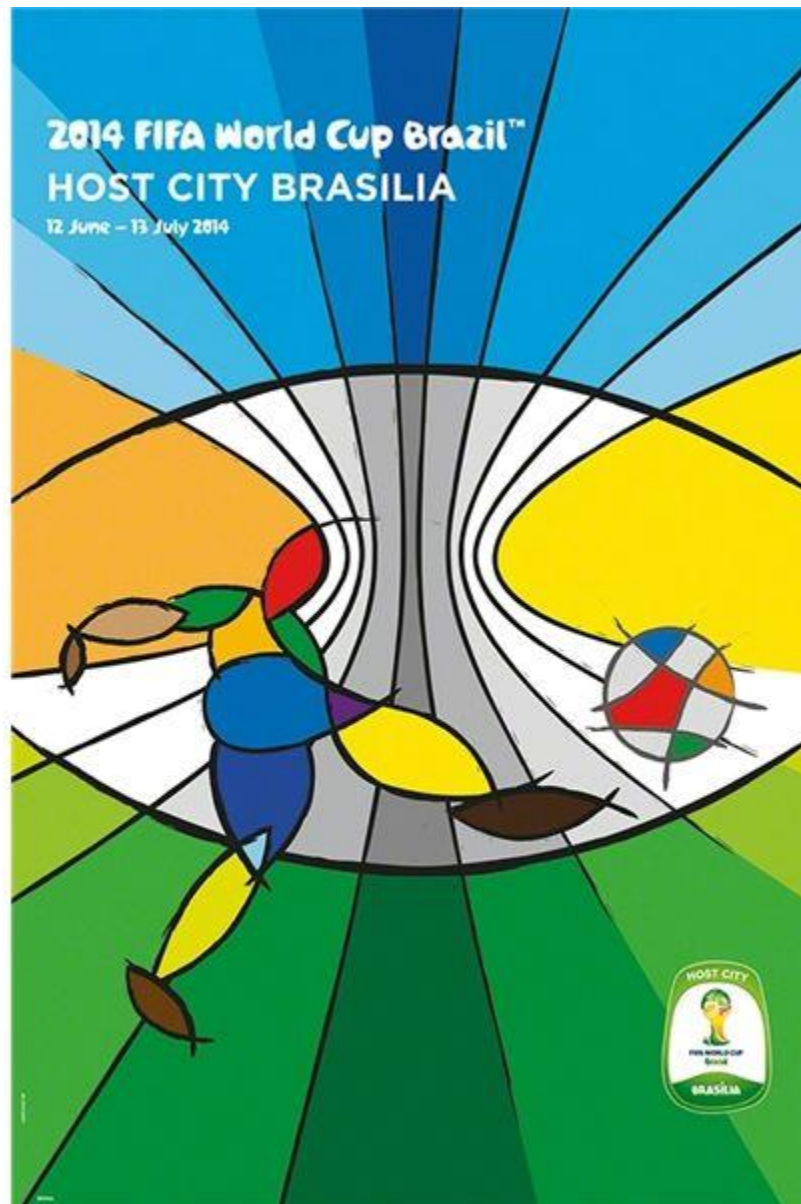


Figure 15: Brasilia 2014¹¹³

Nonetheless, FIFA proposes a further interpretation of the multi-coloured football player in the artwork. The different colours within a single body would also represent the “presence of teams coming from all over the world”¹¹⁴ to Brazil’s capital during the

¹¹³ FIFA. *Destination Brasilia*.

<http://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=1143/poster.html>. Accessed on March 1, 2016.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, “Ce mélange célèbre aussi la présence d’équipes venues du monde entier”.

world cup. All and all, during the 2014 FIFA World Cup, Brasilia was not solely the nation's capital, but one of the most important cities of the whole world insofar football fandom and media coverage are concerned.

Furthermore, the sun is also an important element on the depiction as it beautifies the nationally famous sky of Brasilia — which people of Brasilia tend to refer as “the sea of Brasilia”¹¹⁵, a reference to its aesthetically appealing colours that is said to compensate the capital's thousand kilometres distance from the shore. Moreover, the fact that the sun's movement - from sunrise to sunset – are both within the same frame brings the sense of (cyclical) time-lapse. This gives the impression that the elements presented by the poster – the Brazilian's passion for football, their devotion to Christianity and the representation of Brasilia as the centre of Brazilian civilisation – are meant to exist both in the future and the past - as if they were destined to endure for centuries to come.

A further element which collaborates to the give a mystic touch to the poster is the disposition of Niemeyer's curvy-lines. While the vertical lines converge right in the middle of the frame to form Brasilia's Cathedral, they continue to go downwards and upwards, spreading towards the corners, connecting the sky – the macrocosm – to Brasilia's soil. While - due to the fact that the sky and the ground are connected by Brasilia's Cathedral - one might understand such lines as a representation of God's blessing to Brazil and the mega-event taking place in its territory, other may recognise the composition as a whole as a sort of hourglass, or vortex, with its content midway downwards (or upwards) as if it was either stopped in time or displaying the importance of the moment to the nation.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* “Le fond représente la cathédrale de Brasília, un chef-d'œuvre architectural connu dans le monde entier, sous un ciel d'azur – "la mer de Brasília". Le jaune sur la droite symbolise le soleil levant à l'est ; à gauche, l'orange rappelle le couchant à l'ouest”.

4. 2014 FIFA World Cup host cities' posters – The South host cities' posters

Due to its geographical location and the history of Brazilian colonisation, the South is the region where the Brazilian border is traditionally imagined. What is more, the fact that the area shares its frontiers with Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay has played a role in the similarity between the costumes of the region's inhabitants and those of the aforementioned countries. The sub-tropical climate of its lands and the massive waves of European immigration that the South received until the twentieth century's first half have also made of the region an atypical part of the nation, often unknown to the foreign observer.

a) Host city poster – Porto Alegre, an afternoon at the margins of the Guaíba lake

It may have been a surprise to many that Porto Alegre - the southernmost capital of Brazil – has not alluded to the main cultural icons of its state (the Rio Grande do Sul). In spite of the crescent popularisation of the image of the *gaúcho* (a sort of South Brazilian cowboy), and his cultural practices – which were promoted much due to the creation of several *Centros de Tradições Gaúchas* (CTGs)¹¹⁶ throughout the country since Brazil's re-democratisation in 1980s¹¹⁷ - Porto Alegre's poster displays, instead, an afternoon at the margins of the Guaíba lake.

The lake is one of Porto Alegre's better known touristic attractions and, the sunset over its waters (represented in the poster by shades of orange and yellow), captivates the local population to gather around its margins at early evenings.

One of the most popular places to watch the sunset is nearby the *Usina do Gasômetro* (Gasometer Power Plant). Represented in blue - on the right-hand side of the poster - the building is an inactive powerhouse that was transformed into a cultural centre in the

¹¹⁶ Centro de Tradições Gaúchas (Centre of Gaúcho Traditions), better known simply as CTGs, are civil societies that seek to promote and preserve the folklore and the traditions of the southernmost state of the country: Rio Grande do Sul.

¹¹⁷ Oliven 2000.

early nineties¹¹⁸. Nowadays, the *Gasômetro Cultural Centre* has art galleries, movie theatres and a concert hall, and represents the historical industrial advances of the city in the early twentieth century as well as the region's cultural heritage.

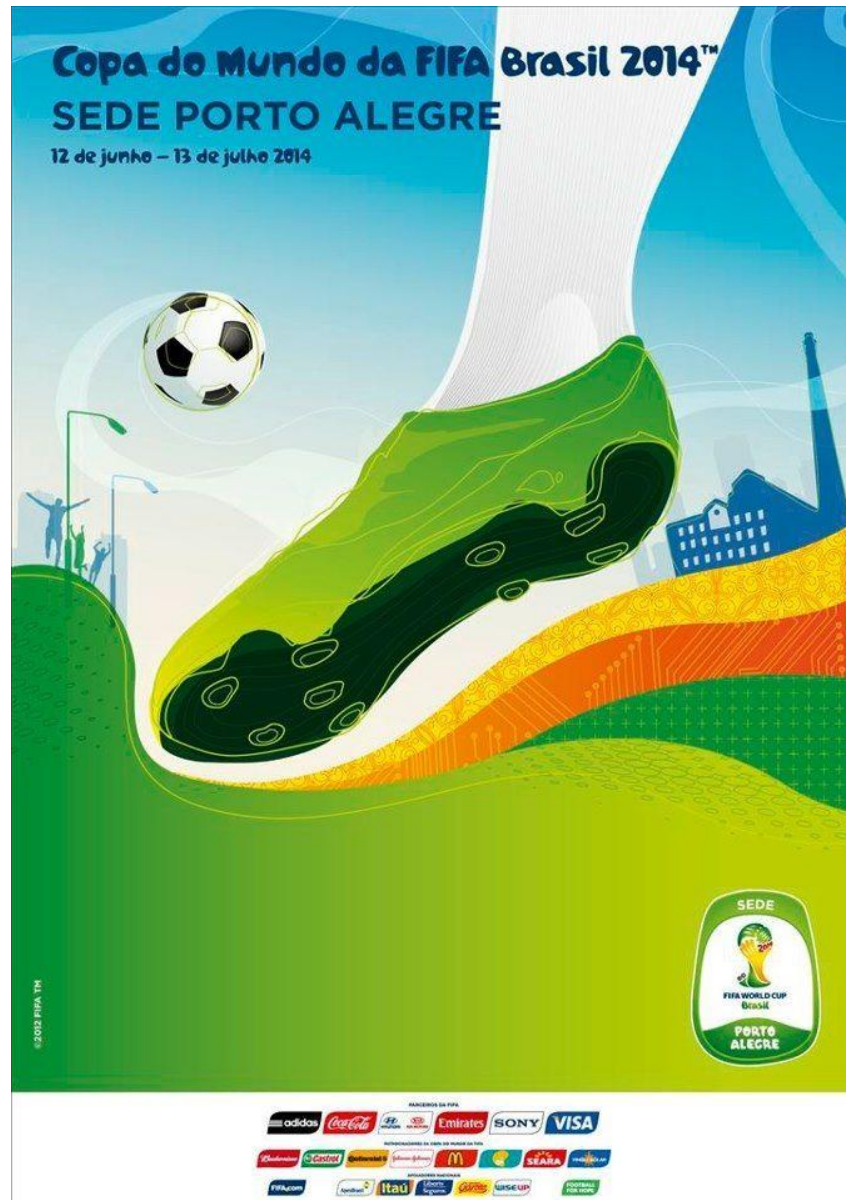


Figure 16: Porto Alegre 2014¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Prefeitura de Porto Alegre. *Usina do Gasômetro*.
http://www2.portoalegre.rs.gov.br/smc/default.php?p_secao=284. Accessed on April 12nd 2016.

¹¹⁹ FIFA. *Destination Porto Alegre*.
<http://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=1140/poster.html>. Accessed on April 12, 2016.

On the poster's foreground, one can see a football player kicking a ball over Guaíba. Such "an explosion of motion"¹²⁰ represents, according to FIFA, "the greatness of the FIFA World Cup as well as all the legacy generated by it, such as cultural enrichment, technological development and structural and economic prosperity"¹²¹. All these aspects would be "represented by the coloured bands that enhance the movement of the foot"¹²².

The disposition of the colour of these bands are somewhat inspired by the patterns of the Rio Grande do Sul's flag (green, red and yellow). The banner dates back from the Ragamuffin War (*Farrapos*), a revolt that took place from 1835 to 1845 and culminated with the unilateral proclamation of the Riograndense Republic (1836-1845). Nonetheless, the original red of the flag – which is said to symbolise either the "Republican ideal" or a "harbinger of resistance against domination"¹²³ - was turned into orange in order to characterise the aforementioned sunset over the *Guaíba*.

Over the left *Guaíba* bank, some football aficionados raise their arms in delight celebrating the arrival of FIFA World Cup to their city.

¹²⁰ FIFA. *Destination Porto Alegre*.

<http://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=1140/poster.html>. Accessed on April 12, 2016.

“L’image centrale d’un footballeur frappant dans le ballon et de l’explosion du mouvement rappelle la grandeur de la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA™ et l’héritage qu’elle génère, comme l’enrichissement culturel, le développement technologique et structurel et la richesse économique, qui sont représentés par les bandes colorées mettant en valeur le mouvement du pied”.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ Portal das Missões. *Os Símbolos do Estado Gaúcho, Brasão, Hino e Bandeira, sua origem*. <http://www.portaldasmissoes.com.br/site/view/id/1489/os-simbolos-do-estado-gaucha,-brasao,-hino-e-bande.html>. Accessed on 12 June 2018.

b) Host city poster – Curitiba, the pine tree as a token of a non-tropical

Brazil

During November 2012, the people of Curitiba chose between two options that would be the poster to represent the city during the 2014 FIFA World Cup. The options were a stylised Paraná pine (*Araucaria angustifolia*) with football balls replacing its pinecones (in a total of seven balls of different colours) and the image of football player drawn with black-and-white patterns of *petits pavés*, in a reference to the sidewalks of Curitiba city centre.

The comfortable victory of the latter, with 21.867 votes against 13.082, was explained by FIFA's website because of the special place that the pine "occupies in the hearts of the city's inhabitants"¹²⁴. The text goes on and briefly explains the local symbolism of Paraná's pine tree as well as its close relation to the city of Curitiba - which, in Tupi-Guarani, means "lots of pine nuts". Curitiba was named as such, explains the text, because the city used to be mostly covered by a forest of *Araucarias* when the first Portuguese creoles colonised the region, circa 1650. Although the forest was dramatically reduced due to wood extraction, some *Araucarias* can be still seen nowadays amidst buildings and sidewalks of Paraná's capital.

As a result, the Paraná pine does not solely "occupies a special place in the [Curitiba] inhabitant hearts", but it also symbolises the city itself through the etymology of its name as well as its indigenous flora. What is more, the local committee explains the idea of the *Araucaria* as the city's ultimate embodiment and its relationship with football as seen in the city's poster: "the Brazilian pine tree rises in the sky and open its pinecones as a trophy, as if the whole city made a toast to football"¹²⁵. Consequently, through the aforementioned sentence, one can thus understand that the *Araucaria* is analogous to Curitiba.

¹²⁴ FIFA. *Destination Curitiba, Poster*.

<http://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=35400/poster.html>. Accessed on February 27, 2016. "Il occupe donc une place spéciale dans le cœur des habitants"

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, "Le pin brésilien s'élève dans le ciel et déploie ses pommes à l'image d'un trophée, comme si la ville entière portait un toast au football".

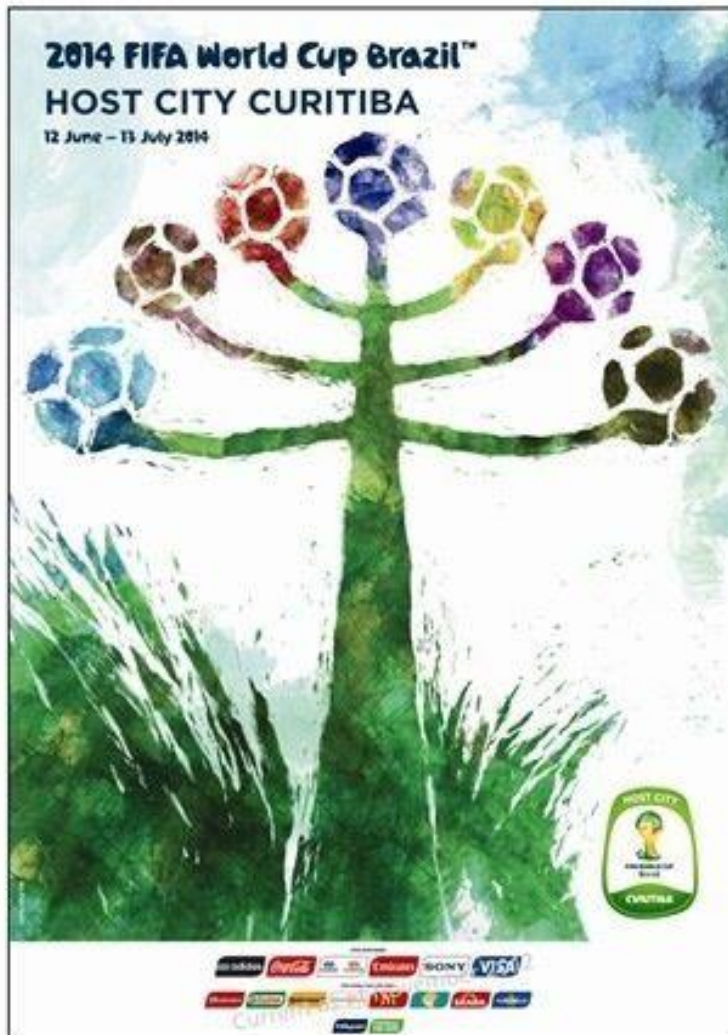


Figure 17: Curitiba 2014¹²⁶

In order to understand how a tree became the ultimate icon of the whole city, one has to look into the historical construction and symbolic significance of the *Araucária* and into the history of Paraná's capital. Other than its obvious link with Curitiba through the city's very etymology, Batistela explains that "the Paraná pine, as well as its pine nuts, became the main icons of a regionalist movement which took place after the state

¹²⁶ FIFA. *Destination Curitiba, Poster*.
<http://fr.fifa.com/worldcup/destination/cities/city=35400/poster.html>. Accessed on February 27, 2016.

political emancipation [from São Paulo], in 1853, and that has become popular by the end of the 1920s”¹²⁷.

The regionalist movement that Batistela refers to is called *Paranismo* – a movement that has its roots in the Historical and Geographical Institute of Paraná¹²⁸, or IHGP, created in 1900, and consolidate itself with the creation of the *Centro Paranista* (CP), in 1927¹²⁹. Both the CP and the IHGP collaborated with the establishment of a regional cosmology to a Brazilian area that was not politically autonomous until the nineteenth-century second half by using, among other narratives, the image of the Araucaria, which became the synthesis of Paraná’s cultural heritage, flora, climate, history and geography.

It is interesting to notice that the members of IHGP and, later, CP made use of the fact that Curitiba lies on a plateau located at 900 meters above the sea level to construct a narrative to a region that was somewhat overlooked by the Empire of Brazil for most of its history. Curitiba’s region was neither a strategic part of the country - as was the southernmost Brazilian state, Rio Grande do Sul, with its cattle production and its proximity to Argentinian and Uruguayan borders. Nor it was an important economic hub - as Minas Gerais, São Paulo or Recife - during the colonial and pre-republican period of the country. Much for these reasons, the boom of Paraná’s demographic expansion happened after the end of slavery in the country. Therefore, a large share of the state inhabitants circa 1900 were European immigrants and their decedents.

Such a fact was explored by the early twentieth century’s local intellectual elite to create *Paranismo*¹³⁰ - a movement that aimed to differentiate Paraná’s cultural heritage from the dominating national narrative. Therefore, the *Paranista* movement created a narrative that made use of the “positive crossing” between Amerindians, Portuguese and different waves of European immigrants (mostly Italians, Germans and Poles) that were still arriving in the city by the early nineteenth-hundreds. It is important to note

¹²⁷ Batistela 2012, 1.

¹²⁸ Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Paraná.

¹²⁹ Salturi 2009, 2.

¹³⁰ People from the state of Paraná are called *Paranaenses*, however the derivative of the 1920s regionalist movement is *Paranista*.

that, insofar the *Paranista* narrative is concerned, one of the pillars of the genesis of Brazilian people, as defined by the likes of Freyre and Von Martius, was left out of the equation¹³¹.

The symbolic annihilation of Afro-Paranaenses within the narrative of *Paranismo* is in accordance with the early twentieth-century mindset in a country that had abolished African slavery only a few decades earlier. Therefore, such claimed ethnical difference of Paranaense people in relation to most of the country was a matter of regional pride¹³² due to the belief of European superiority over other peoples – especially those coming from Africa.

Therefore, in Curitiba, the union of European and Amerindian peoples found a possible representation in the *Araucaria*. This was because: (i) pine trees are generally associated with mild to cold weather, as it happens in Europe and North America and, to a certain extent, in Curitiba; and (ii) its variation, the *Araucaria angustifolia*, is indigenous from the Southern Brazil highlands – is rarely found in the tropical part of the country or abroad. This lead to the understanding that Parana's pine, as a native specimen of the region, would somewhat represent the particularities of the region, being at the same time *local* and *European* - but dissociated from other peoples that are thought to come from warmer climates, such as Africans. As a result, the use of the *Araucaria* as a representation of Curitiba - as in the 2014 FIFA World Cup poster – works as a reminder of the narrative that sets *Paranaense* cultural heritage as a distinctive part of Brazil and of the globe.

2014 FIFA World Cup TV Opening

Next, in our content analysis of the 2014 FIFA World Cup audiovisual material, we will analyse the competition's television opening which was broadcasted throughout the world before the beginning of each match's transmission. The whole animation takes 50 seconds. Nonetheless, its last twelve seconds are destined to the presentation of the logos of the 2014 world cup and FIFA. The other 33 seconds were thus reserved to the pictorial presentation of the twelve host cities.

¹³¹ Camargo 2007, 12.

¹³² Batistela 2012, 4.

When it comes to the time of exposure that each city received, one can draw some similarities with the number of matches that each city hosted - with the exception to this relation on the North-Eastern hosting cities of Fortaleza, Recife and Natal:

Host City	Rio de Janeiro	São Paulo	Brasilia	Belo Horizonte	Salvador	Fortaleza
Number of Matches	7	7	6	6	6	6
Seconds on the TV opening	8	4	4	3	3	3 (shared)
Host City	Recife	Porto Alegre	Cuiabá	Manaus	Curitiba	Natal
Number of Matches	5	5	4	4	4	4
Seconds on the TV opening	3 (shared)	2 (shared)	3	2	2 (shared)	3 (shared)

Table 1: Distribution of football matches and seconds on the TV opening per city¹³³

The central role played by Rio de Janeiro within Brazilian imaginary and identity was thus also present in the 2014 FIFA World Cup TV opening. Such central position in the TV opening narrative - second only to football and the World Cup as a mega-event - was granted not solely due to Rio's time of exposure in comparison to other host cities, but also by its role as an element of narrative cohesion. Rio de Janeiro is the only city to appear twice in the video, both at its beginning and at its end. It is also the only city to have more than one *take* on the animation (Rio has four takes). Such a leading role among the other host cities was also reinforced by the fact that the opening's protagonist was set to be a *carioca* boy.

¹³³ FIFA TV. *2014 FIFA World Cup – Official TV opening*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JP67IM1LX-M>. Accessed on April 22, 2015.

The other cities to also get a large portion of the screen time were, respectively, São Paulo, Brasilia, Belo Horizonte, Salvador and Cuiabá. Aside of Cuiabá - that had a longer appearance much due to a continuous shot that arguably intended to show football as a cohesive element among Brazilian society as well as the wild and vast nature of the Brazilian countryside - all the aforementioned cities got at least three seconds being displayed alone in the animation and received six world cup matches each.

One might argue that the historical political stands of these host cities in the country, which lead them to play a more central role within the imaginary construction of Brazilian-ness in the country and abroad, may have been the basis to their large number of matches in relation to other hosts and their longer exposure time in the TV opening. Such a rationale would not be groundless, as São Paulo is the country's powerhouse, largest economy and biggest city, Brasilia is the country's federal capital, Belo Horizonte is the current state capital of a historical political force during Brazil's first republic (*República Café com Leite*) and one of the country's most populated states, and Salvador was once the centre of Colonial Brazil. Moreover, the very fact that all the city hosts are state capitals indicates that the political-historical importance of the cities was a determinant factor to the hosts' selection.

1. 2014 FIFA World Cup TV Opening – A quick glance into tropical and sub-tropical Brazil(s)

a) TV Opening, Rio de Janeiro. The Sugarloaf Mountain as geographical indication of the country

The first, and the last, city to appear in the video is the city of Rio de Janeiro. The narrative develops through the gaze of a little boy from a Rio's shanty town. At the beginning of the video, the boy is seen playing football in a favela that overlooks both the Sugarloaf Mountain and the Guanabara Bay. The iconic view of Brazil's most famous hill and bay, as viewed from the Corcovado Mountain, is rather similar to the one shown in FIFA 1950 World Cup poster – and many other earlier depictions of Brazil. Furthermore, its continuous presence throughout last century's Hollywood

films¹³⁴ about Brazil and Rio de Janeiro turned its image in one of the country's most famous images. Therefore, its presence in the first seconds of the animation is not merely aesthetic as it is also aimed to geographically situate international viewers.



Figure 18: the Sugarloaf in the 2014 FIFA World Cup TV opening¹³⁵

In the right-hand corner of the video, one can see a romanticised favela (shanty town) with vivid colours and fantastic structural lines. The decision of showing Rio de Janeiro's favelas as one of the main icons of the country may have been controversial. If - on the one hand - favelas have long exceeded their original meaning as dwelling last resorts to impoverished people and became not solely aesthetic peculiarities of the city but one of Rio de Janeiro's main symbols, their existence and representation - on the other hand - are also constant reminders of the inequality and poverty issues in Brazil.

Perhaps their sanitised representation was intended to work as a reminder of Brazil's early twentieth-first century socio-economical and political contexts. From 2003 - when

¹³⁴ The Sugar loaf and Guanabara's bay appear in Hollywood films such as "Flying down to Rio" (1933), "Now Voyager" (1942), James Bond's "Moonraker" (1979) and "Rio" (2011), to name a few.

¹³⁵ FIFA TV. *2014 FIFA World Cup – Official TV opening*.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JP67IM1LX-M>. Accessed on April 22, 2015.

the Worker's Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores) won the presidential elections for the first time with Luis Inácio *Lula* da Silva – the main social promise of Brazil's central government was the reduction of the poverty in the country. The claim that poverty has been tackled in Brazil as never before has certainly helped the Workers' party win the presidential elections of 2006 (when Lula got re-elected), 2010 and 2014, won by Lula's successor: Dilma Rousseff.

During this period - from 2003 to 2014, when the World Cup took place- social programs such as *Bolsa Família* (Family Allowance) and *Fome Zero* (Zero Hunger) were considered to be among the main achievements of the Workers' Party period ahead of the nation. Nevertheless, one should not forget Rio de Janeiro's State government decision to implement the controversial *Unidades de Polícia Pacificadora* (Pacifying Police Units) in the favelas of the city as a mean to enhance the safety in Rio's shanties during the mega-events.

One could thus assume that the whitewashed representation of the favelas was a way of showing a Brazil that was arguably becoming more socially inclusive. What is more, the fact that - in the romanticised favela - the houses are painted with the colourful patterns of the 2014 FIFA World Cup suggests the (rather disputed) idea that mega-events taking place in the city were intended to be catalysts for social change and should leave positive legacies to the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro's shanties.

A moment later, the point of view changes and one can see another of the country's main symbols: the sculpture of the Christ the Redeemer. In the frame's background, the 38 meters-tall Christ spreads his arms and is surrounded by middle-class buildings and the favela from where the boy is standing, reinforcing the idea that Rio de Janeiro is a city where rich and poor coexist living under a similar set of western values.

b) TV Opening, Brasilia. The nation's political capital becomes the centre of world football

The second city shown in the video is Brasilia, Brazil's capital, with its iconic *Praça dos Três Poderes* (Plaza of the Three Powers) taken by a crowd of football aficionados. The three powers that originally give the name to the public square are namely: (i) the

Executive (represented by the *Palácio do Planalto*), (ii) the *Judiciary* (epitomised by the Supreme Federal Court) and (iii) the *Legislative* (embodied by the National Congress). However, the only one to appear in the frame is the National Congress.

Therefore, the viewer is presented with a different version of the plaza where the *Palácio do Planalto* and the Supreme Federal Court are absent and two of cohesive elements of Brazil are present: the Christian faith, embodied by Brasilia's Cathedral, and football - represented by Brasilia's National Stadium. These two icons – football and Christianity - together with the *National Congress*, in the foreground, form a triad of elements that are arguably central to Brazil's unity as a nation (Brazilian central government, Christian values and Brazilian's passion for football).



Figure 19: Brasilia in the 2014 FIFA World Cup TV opening¹³⁶

The city of Brasilia is the first one in the animation to display the effects of the world cup in the country. Six balloons, with flags of nations participating in the competition, including the one of Brazil, overfly the country's central plateau. These balloons represent countries from six different continents and from five of the football

¹³⁶ FIFA TV. *2014 FIFA World Cup – Official TV opening*.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JP67IM1LX-M>. Accessed on April 22, 2015.

confederations¹³⁷ which are members of FIFA. The fact that they are all gathered in the sky of the Brazilian capital symbolises that, during the event, Brazil is undoubtedly the centre of the world's most popular sport.

In the same frame, there are people all over the plaza - even inside the reflecting pool - an image that Brazilians got used to associate to anti-government manifestations. as those which took place throughout the country, including Brasilia, before and during the competition. However, this time, the demonstration is of a joyful nature. The people in the image seem to celebrate football and the encounter of different cultures during the mega-event. Therefore, they have left aside the anti-World Cup sentiment and seem to have forgotten the generalised corruption that took place during the construction of the stadia for the event: feelings which motivated most of the protests in 2013 and 2014¹³⁸.

As the camera advances towards the stadium, the viewer can also see the National Museum, which was projected by the architect Oscar Niemeyer (as virtually all the other buildings present in this animation frame), in what could be a reference to a common cultural heritage of Brazilian people as well as of Brazilian modern architecture.

c) TV Opening, the South. A non-tropical part of Brazil

Next, in the animation, we have the two cities of Brazil's South that are hosting games of the 2014 FIFA World Cup: Curitiba and Porto Alegre. The state capitals of Paraná and of the Rio Grande do Sul are separated by about a thousand kilometres of land. However, in the animation, they are represented in a single frame with Porto Alegre, at

¹³⁷ The flag of the countries to appear on the balloons overflying Brasilia's sky are those of Australia, Costa Rica, Brazil, Spain, South Korea and Senegal. Together, they represent five out of the six confederations that are recognised by FIFA: the Asian Football Confederation (AFC), Confederation of African Football (CAF), the Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Association Football (CONCACAF), the South-American Football Confederation (CONMEBOL) and the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA).

¹³⁸ Goldblatt 2014.

sea level, on the foreground, whereas Curitiba - lying on a plateau at roughly nine hundred metres above the sea level - appears on the background.

The stadia, *Arena da Baixada* and *Beira-Rio*, occupy most of the right-hand side of the frame. Other touristic attractions of the cities, such as Porto Alegre's Guaíba Lake (*Lago Guaíba*), Curitiba's Botanical Garden (*Jardim Botânico*) and Oscar Niemeyer Museum (*Museu Oscar Niemeyer*) are also shown within the frame.



Figure 20: the South in the 2014 FIFA World Cup TV opening¹³⁹

The Administrative Centre of the State of Rio Grande do Sul (CAERGS) is also displayed. Its presence can be either attributed to its curvy and aesthetically appealing façade or by its symbolism as a representation of the Brazilian federative regime reach in a region that in the 19th century has had revolts of separatist character.

It is important to note that historically speaking, Brazil's south has been imagined as where the country ends¹⁴⁰. Although the Brazilian border spreads for more than sixteen-thousand kilometres and eleven states, the country boundaries located to the west were, until rather recently, virtually unpopulated. This made the culture of the Brazilian South

¹³⁹ FIFA TV. *2014 FIFA World Cup – Official TV opening*.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JP67IM1LX-M>. Accessed on April 22, 2015.

¹⁴⁰ Nedel 2007.

to be regarded as somewhat influenced by its neighbour - and Brazil's local *other* - Argentina. Such a distinction was enhanced by the massive European immigration between 1880 and 1930 in the region. These peoples that arrived in the South of Brazil have influenced its local cultures and altered its region culture, making the South to be identified as a Brazilian region with stronger European cultural roots.

As a result, according to the sociologist Ruben Oliven, the south of Brazil “is often seen as the non-exotic part of Brazil, with a strong European presence and, sometimes, having more things in common with Argentinian and Uruguayan areas”¹⁴¹. Therefore, some elements of such hybrid culture described by Oliven can be seen in the depiction of Curitiba as its indigenous vegetation – with its iconic *Araucaria* pine trees – being replaced by the geometrical Versailles-like garden of its *Jardim Botânico*.

However, even if one cannot see here the iconic pine trees which were present in the city's 2014 FIFA World Cup poster, the main idea behind the symbolism of the *Araucaria* as an icon to the region is conveyed in the television opening through the presence of Curitiba's nationally famous greenhouse. Both the *Araucaria* and the greenhouse are reminders of Curitiba's sub-tropical weather, which – during the winter – can bring the temperatures close to zero-degree Celcius. The distinctiveness of Curitiba's weather – characterised by its local flora and the need of a greenhouse in order to keep alive the native vegetation of other corners of Brazil - serves as a reminder of the fact that, differently than may be imagined abroad, a non-tropical Brazil exists.

Moreover, the façade of Curitiba's Botanical Garden's greenhouse - a 458 square metres building in metal and glass - had as its primary source of inspiration the 1851 London Great Exhibition's Crystal Palace¹⁴². Therefore, the greenhouse and the Versailles-like garden of Curitiba's *Jardim Botânico* - together with neoclassic façades

¹⁴¹ Oliven 2006, 9. “Ele frequentemente é visto como a parte não-exótica do Brasil, com uma forte presença européia e às vezes guardando mais semelhanças com áreas da Argentina e do Uruguai, países com os quais faz fronteira. Tudo isso está a indicar que há diferentes maneiras de fazer parte de um país do tamanho do Brasil, em que nem tudo é praia, samba e carnaval”.

¹⁴²Prefeitura Municipal de Curitiba. *Jardim Botânico*.

<http://www.curitiba.pr.gov.br/conteudo/jardim-botanico/287> . Accessed on September 28, 2015.

of Porto Alegre's *Santander Cultural* and *Usina do Gasômetro* - reinforce the link that is generally made between Brazil's South and European cultural heritage.

Even though the South was represented as a non-tropical and non-exotic part of Brazil, there are elements in the motion picture that link the cultures of the three southernmost states of Brazil — Paraná, Santa Catarina and the Rio Grande do Sul — to the rest of the country. These elements are the curvy lines of the Rio Grande do Sul's Administrative Centre and Curitiba's Oscar Niemeyer Museum, two examples of the Brazilian modernist architecture; the stadia painted with the world cup patterns as well as a football ball beside two kids and their mother, showing a country united through football; and the palm trees and the sailing boat over the Guaíba lake.

Furthermore, to reinforce the notion of a Brazilian cohesive society, the animation's designers have not to leave the south alone in the frame. As one can see in the upper corner of the video, just behind the plateau where Curitiba lays upon, a continuous landmass with different mountain belts and cities, one after the other, sustains the concept of a multi-cultural, yet united, Brazil. In the motion picture, the south is thus epitomised as one of the constituent parts of the whole of the nation.

2. 2014 FIFA World Cup TV Opening - A continuous shot from a fast paced metropolis to the backlands of the country

a) TV Opening, São Paulo. A modern megalopolis

As in its poster, São Paulo — the largest Brazilian city by the number of inhabitants and where the 2014 FIFA World Cup opening match took place on June 12th — appears in the TV opening as a concrete jungle with skyscrapers and several trees behind a wall. The vegetation may be a reference to the city's parks as *Parque Ibirapuera*, the biggest of them with about 550 acres. According to the official Ibirapuera's homepage, "the

park is often compared by foreigners to Ueno Park in Tokyo, Stanley Park in Vancouver, Hyde Park in London or Central Park in New York City”¹⁴³.

Such comparison is twofold: on the one hand, it is aimed to give an idea of the park dimensions and geographical location; while, on the other hand, serves to set São Paulo side-by-side with other prominent global metropolia. The assessment between São Paulo and the aforementioned cities was not made by the park’s administration without a reason. São Paulo is often seen as the Brazilian embodiment of the “city that never sleeps”. Therefore, as well as many of the other foreign metropolia that have received such a nickname, the Paulista capital identity lies on its economic strength as well as its inhabitants’ disposition to work hard and their fast-paced way of life.



Figure 21: São Paulo in the 2014 FIFA World Cup TV opening¹⁴⁴

The animation hence depicts the rhythm of the city as the point of view and the Paulistanos within the frame move faster than the almost static shot of the people from the previous scene.

On the background, many of São Paulo’s famous skyscrapers are displayed. Among them, the famous Martinelli building (*Edifício Martinelli*), with its remarkable orange

¹⁴³ Ibirapuera Park. *Ibirapuera Park*. <http://www.parqueibirapuera.org/ibirapuera-park/>. Accessed on September 29, 2015.

¹⁴⁴ FIFA TV. *2014 FIFA World Cup – Official TV opening*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JP67IM1LX-M>. Accessed on April 22, 2015.

bricks and 130 metres of height appears in the upper-centre of the video. The history of the building is interwoven with the history of the city, the state and also of the country. An Italian immigrant, Giuseppe Martinelli, who had arrived in Brazil in 1889 - the same year of the republic proclamation and one year after the slavery abolition – decided to construct the building. The Martinelli construction started in the 1920s - a prosperous period to São Paulo as the state had a solid economy after several decades of solid coffee exportation - and had several phases, gradually jumping from a 12-storey building to a 30 levels sky-scraper. During its construction, it is said that Martinelli became increasingly obsessed with the building's size and its execution and, by the day of its conclusion, in 1934, the structure was the tallest building in Latin America with 106 metres of height¹⁴⁵.

Just after its inauguration, Martinelli had to sell his creation in order to avoid bankruptcy. In the same year, the Italian government bought the Edifício Martinelli through the *Istituto Nazionale di Credito per il Lavoro Italiano all'Estero*. However, as in 1943, the Vargas regime confiscated all German and Italian propriety in Brazil as a result of the war declaration against the Axis during the Second World War, the building was then renamed *Edifício América*¹⁴⁶.

In 1947, Martinelli's building lost his title of “Brazil's tallest” to the Altino Arantes Building (*Edifício Altino Arantes*), also known as *Edifício Banespa* – seen just next to the Martinelli in the TV opening. The 161 metres-high building project was inspired by the Empire State building in New York - the highest manmade structure in the world by the time - and, like its American counterpart, it quickly became an icon of the cities where it stands¹⁴⁷. According to Sales, the construction of the art deco skyscraper after two world wars, the *crash* of 1929, the end of the Coffee with Milk politics, the end of Vargas' New State and the Revolution of 1932, was a way to the local elite “rebuild the ideal of *being Paulista*”¹⁴⁸ – “reflecting the ideology of the banking oligarchical, in the desire for Brazilian politics to be directed by Paulista leaders”¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁵ Prédio Martinelli. *História*. <http://www.prediomartinelli.com.br/historia.php>. Accessed on September 29th, 2015.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Sales 2014.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 92

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

In 1954, another skyscraper was built just a few metres away from both Martinelli's and the Banespa: the Banco do Brasil building (*Edifício Banco do Brasil*). All these buildings can be seen from the same street: the Avenida São João - an area which was considered for most of the twentieth-century the financial heart of the city.

The three buildings - Martinelli, Banespa and Banco do Brasil - appear side by side in the animation amidst other São Paulo's famous structures as the Octavio Frias de Oliveira Bridge (opened in 2008) and the *Edifício Itália* - inaugurated in 1965 and "considered a paradigm of the Brazilian architecture"¹⁵⁰. Such a conglomeration of skyscrapers and high structures displayed close to one another tells the economic history of the city and, at the same time, allows one to contemplate how Brazilian high building's architecture has shifted its source of inspiration throughout the twentieth-century - from France to the United States and, during the second half of the century, the advent of a Brazilian modern architecture that makes use of curvy-lines instead of straight angles. What is more, the depiction of São Paulo's skyline filled with iconic buildings that were considered modern when they were erected presents the viewer with a São Paulo that is the centre of modern Brazil from the early twentieth century to nowadays.

Additionally, the share of the TV opening reserved to São Paulo also brings a view of its inhabitants who watch a match of street football taking place on one of the city centre's cobblestones sidewalks (which are arranged in a pattern to symbolise the shape of the state of São Paulo). The two men seen in the scene have different skin colours. Here, once again, we can see a reference to the myth of the Dionysian character of Brazilian football as the dark-skinned footballer dribbles his adversary using dance-like movements for the delight of the staring crowd.

During the action, one of the men firmly kicks the ball making it travel westbound. São Paulo's fast pace influence over the scene goes on through the continuous shot that follows - leading the observer into a vertiginous incursion to the depths of Brazil.

¹⁵⁰ Fujioka 2006, 115.

b) TV Opening, Manaus and Cuiabá – Football arrives at the depths of Brazil

The green of the city of São Paulo's park gives way to the native vegetation of Brazil's Centre-West. Amidst forests, wetlands and scarlet macaws, Cuiabá can be seen as a middle-sized city in harmony with its natural environment: the Pantanal, the largest tropical wetland in the world¹⁵¹, an immense area somewhat overshadowed by its geographical proximity to the world's largest rainforest.



Figure 22: Cuiabá in the 2014 FIFA World Cup TV opening¹⁵²

The two largest buildings in the frame are the *Arena Pantanal* (built exclusively for the world cup) and the *Senhor do Bom Jesus Cathedral* - originally erected in 1745 and rebuilt in 1973. The fact that these buildings are the two most distinguishable edifices in Cuiabá's depiction reinforce the understanding that football and Christianity are central elements to the formation of Brazil as a nation.

Another equally meaningful aspect for the representation of Brazil as a cohesive country is the display of the land contiguity linking the economic heart of the country

¹⁵¹ Por 2012.

¹⁵² FIFA TV. *2014 FIFA World Cup – Official TV opening*.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JP67IM1LX-M>. Accessed on April 22, 2015.

to its countryside, connecting modern São Paulo to an almost untouched Brazil where the local fauna, as seen by the first Europeans to arrive in the sub-continent¹⁵³, still around. The camera goes further north, deeper in the forest, to arrive in the Amazon, where Manaus lies surrounded by rivers, the rainforest and natural life.

The portrayal of an Amazon filled with trees of different shapes and colours, with a vibrant fauna (represented by monkeys and a multi-coloured bird flocks) presents the narrative of a country that has occupied its interior without damaging its indigenous flora. Even if such portrayal is far from being accurate - as in the period between 2000 and 2010 an area of about the size of Uruguay (169,074 km²) was deforested¹⁵⁴ - such a narrative serves to show to foreign audiences that earth's largest rainforest is there still and it continues occupying a large share of the Brazilian territory and its inhabitants' imaginary.

As expected, once more, football is depicted through one of the world cup stadiums: the Amazon Arena. The golden-coloured stadium appears in the centre of the frame, surrounded by the green of the rainforest and the blue of the Amazon River and the sky. These colours, together with few white lines of the clouds, somehow evoke the Brazilian national flag.

The Amazon Arena, designed to resemble an Amerindian straw basket, gives the impression of either a birds nest or a jewel amidst the indigenous nature. What is more, the location on which the modern arena was build implies the far-reaching popularity of football. In a land that - not so long ago - could only be reached by its rivers navigation, in a days-long journey, the presence of a world-class stadium represents by itself a staggering achievement of man's determination to conquer nature.

¹⁵³ de Montalboddo 1507.

¹⁵⁴ Imazon 2013.



Figure 23: the Amazon in the 2014 FIFA World Cup TV opening¹⁵⁵

The circumstances on which the arena was built - facing difficulties during the Amazon rainy-season and having its structures shipped from Portugal, across the Atlantic ocean and down the Rio Negro to arrive, by water, in Manaus - reinforced the appraisal of those who saw the construction of the Arena as a great achievement towards the modernisation of the region. On the other hand, the costs of such an operation served as an argument for those who criticised its construction in an area where football games attendances rarely make above one thousand people¹⁵⁶.

According to one of the event organisers in Manaus, Eric Gamboa, the building of such a large structure as the Amazon Arena, is a sign that “history has turned a full circle for Manaus”. That is because - as he said to *The Guardian* - “in our last golden age, we built an opera house with plantation money. This time we are building a stadium and our money comes from industry”¹⁵⁷. In the 2014 FIFA World Cup audiovisual material, the *Teatro Amazonas* - which was built in 1896 to be a venue to European performing arts during the regions’ *Belle Époque* – was replaced by the Amazon Arena as the main icon of the city.

¹⁵⁵ FIFA TV. *2014 FIFA World Cup – Official TV opening*.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JP67IM1LX-M>. Accessed on April 22, 2015.

¹⁵⁶ The Guardian. *Brazil prepares for World Cup as criticism mounts over cost*.

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/09/world-cup-brazil-cost-mounts>.

Accessed on September 30th 2015.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

3. 2014 FIFA World Cup TV Opening – The North-East, in-between modern and traditional

a) TV Opening, Salvador – The Pelourinho as an icon of Brazil’s colonial past

The historical *Largo do Pelourinho* in Salvador was chosen to represent Bahia’s capital as well as Brazil’s colonial past. The city of *São Salvador da Bahia de Todos os Santos* was founded, in 1549, by the Portuguese. During the period that the city was Brazil’s colonial capital (1549-1763), Salvador’s uptown neighbourhoods - where Pelourinho is located - were rich districts populated by the Portuguese aristocracy. As a result, the area has “plenty of wealthy residential, religious and military buildings, exquisite examples of the colonial baroque and rococo architecture”¹⁵⁸.

In the animation, flags of different countries participating in the competition hung by a wire across the street like in a *Festa de São João* (a popular party of Portuguese Christian roots which is typically celebrated in the month of June – thus at the same period of the world cup’s group stage), bring about the idea of Brazil’s Portuguese heritage.

In the TV opening, one can see an example of the Brazilian baroque architecture in the *Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos* (Church of Our Lady of the Blacks’ Rosary). The church was progressively built throughout the 18th century, in a terrain donated by the King Dom João V, by the namesake brotherhood formed by African slaves who sought “a locale of their own to carry out religious rituals and social activities directed to the black”¹⁵⁹. As a result, from the date of its inception to

¹⁵⁸ Nobre 2013, 4.

¹⁵⁹ de Cássia 2001, 171.

nowadays, the church works as “an identification factor for Salvador’s black movements”¹⁶⁰ as well as a “venue where black cultural experiences are revived”¹⁶¹.

Nonetheless, the presence of a Catholic church built by African slaves is twofold. On its first level, it evokes two of the most significant ethnic groups in the built of Brazilian society, Africans and Portuguese. On a second reading, it represents the idiosyncrasies of a hierarchical colonial society in which enslaved Africans and Afro-Brazilians somewhat adopted the customs and religious beliefs of their oppressors, thus creating a miscegenated culture that, centuries later, would be considered part of Brazilian popular culture.

What is more, the choice for the depiction of the *Largo do Pelourinho* and the *Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos* as Salvador’s epitome brings to mind Brazil’s past. In fact, besides the presence of *Arena da Fonte Nova* and some other modern buildings at the background, everything in Salvador’s scene seems to have a nostalgic aura, strengthening the idea of a traditional/colonial Brazil. On the foreground, for instance, there are only two elements that are anachronistic to the colonial era of Brazil: a vintage bicycle going down the street and a twentieth-century CRT television set placed over a small chair in the middle of the street.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 177.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 165.



Figure 24: Salvador da Bahia in the 2014 FIFA World Cup TV opening¹⁶²

An unattended ladder, a half-painted wall and an almost deserted street, scarcely populated only by those who either follow the game by the TV set or rush to their places to do it so (as the man in the bike), shows the world cup hosts love for football. During the scene, the TV set falls as two men hug one another in the celebration of, what seems to be, a goal scored - possibly by the Brazilian national team- in the Fonte Nova Arena.

Brazilians passion for football is thus expressed, in the video, by the exuberant celebration of the scored goal. The audio collaborates to deliver such message by the sudden stop of its music, for just a fraction of a second, leaving the viewer only with the sound of a roaring crowd in reaction to a goal. At the same time, in the video, many appear in their windows to celebrate with their neighbours, portraying the goal scored by the *seleção* as the ultimate form of collective happiness and national euphoria - in what could be a possible explanation to the sentence “unidos num só coração” (united in just one heart), the only sentence that actually has a meaning which is heard during the TV opening.

¹⁶² FIFA TV. 2014 FIFA World Cup – Official TV opening.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JP67IM1LX-M>. Accessed on April 22, 2015.

b) TV Opening, the North-East - White sand and modern buildings representing three distinct capitals

Next to Salvador, the other three cities of the Brazilian northeast (Recife, Natal and Fortaleza) appear on the screen at the same time. All three of them were represented by replicas of their stadiums made of sand at the seashore.

The meaning of representing Brazil's northeast cities by a beach - with golden sand, palm trees and tanned people in a relaxing environment – is multifold. It (i) sets a common identity to an otherwise culturally diverse region of the country, (ii) advertises the Northeast as a touristic appealing destination, (iii) interacts with the West's “tropical fantasy”¹⁶³ of Brazil, that is to say, the fantasy that the country is “a relaxing place, far from everyday stresses”¹⁶⁴.



Figure 25: the North-East in the 2014 FIFA World Cup TV opening¹⁶⁵

Perhaps aware of the possible inferences of the latter aspect, the TV opening designers depicted modern looking buildings stretching all over the background, negotiating the view that modernity may be lagging within the tropics, and portraying a real

¹⁶³ Simai 2013, 24.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ FIFA TV. *2014 FIFA World Cup – Official TV opening.*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JP67IM1LX-M>. Accessed on April 22, 2015.

phenomenon that takes place in different Brazilian coastal cities: their miamization (*miamização*) – which is said to have its basis on the “desire to exhibit an emergent wealth”¹⁶⁶.

At the beach, people seem to move together in a sort of dance/fitness choreography while others play football. On the foreground, tanned bodies play foot-volley — a cross between football and volleyball invented in Brazil — a reference to, what Brazil’s Sports Minister Aldo Rabelo called the “innovative spirit of the Brazilian”¹⁶⁷ (FIFA, 2012). Such a spirit was otherwise dubbed Brazilian mulattism by Gilberto Freyre¹⁶⁸. Nevertheless, the crossing of two distinct sports as a mean to facilitate the practice of football in a sandy environment could also be seen as a cultural appropriation akin to the one which De Andrade referred to as a Brazilian characteristic in his manifesto¹⁶⁹.

4. 2014 FIFA World Cup TV Opening - The sixth world cup, a national dream

a) TV Opening, Belo Horizonte - a full *Mineirão* imagined differently

¹⁶⁶Sá Barreto and Medeiros 2017. *Apud.* Jornal do Commercio. *Miamização*. October 13, 2013. *Pesquisa da Fundaj apresenta um Nordeste Emergente*.

¹⁶⁷ FIFA, 2012. *Brazil 2014 slogan presented: All in one rhythm/ Juntos num só ritmo*. <http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/news/y=2012/m=5/news=brazil-2014-slogan-presented-all-one-rhythmtm-juntos-num-ritmotm-1641290.html>. Accessed on February 19, 2015

¹⁶⁸ Freyre 1938.

¹⁶⁹ De Andrade 1928.



Figure 26: Belo Horizonte in the 2014 FIFA World Cup TV opening¹⁷⁰

Belo Horizonte, the last city to be introduced in the video, is portrayed by an aerial view of a full *Mineirão* - the city's largest stadium - where a world cup match is going on. The stadium, second last to appear in the animation, was also the place where the Brazilian overwhelming defeat against Germany took place in tournament semi-finals. Due to the order in which the stadium appeared in the animation, its depiction – with a full-attendance and a TV helicopter overflying the arena – was meant to symbolise the very semifinal in which the aforementioned match took place.

Furthermore, judging by the representation of the host cities in the 2014 world cup, one would say that the Mineirão occupies a special place within Belo Horizonte's identity as the stadium is one of the only three football arenas to appear both in the TV opening as well as in the host cities posters (the other two are the Castelão, in Fortaleza, and the brand-new Arena da Amazônia, in Manaus).

¹⁷⁰ FIFA TV. *2014 FIFA World Cup – Official TV opening*.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JP67IM1LX-M>. Accessed on April 22, 2015.

b) TV Opening, Rio de Janeiro reappears - the final in the Maracanã stadium



Figure 27: the Maracanã in the 2014 FIFA World Cup opening¹⁷¹

The next image is, once more, the city of Rio de Janeiro in what seems to be the evening of the world cup's final match. The favelas and the exquisite Rio de Janeiro's coastline give way to what seems to be a densely populated middle-class neighbourhood close to the Maracanã stadium. On the foreground, a crowd of people stare at the country's largest arena, Brazil's modern coliseum. A place in which Brazilians hoped they would win their sixth world title and bury the ghost of 1950 FIFA World Cup's defeat against Uruguay, also known as the *Maracanazo*.

Amidst the crowd, the boy wearing the *seleção* jersey can be seen running in order to watch - from a hill outside the stadium- the last minutes of the final. He arrives just on time to see a yellow glooming light leaving the stadium and heading up the sky in what, perhaps, was intended to symbolise Brazil's sixth title. He stares at the glooming light in awe. At this moment the frame shows Brazil, and its stadia, from space. Glooming lights of different colours depart from each of Brazilian stadiums where the competition took place. At the end of the video, they all mingle in the sky giving shape to the FIFA 2014 World Cup logo. Football is thus, once more, portrayed as a Brazilian society's cohesive element.

¹⁷¹ FIFA TV. *2014 FIFA World Cup – Official TV opening*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JP67IM1LX-M>. Accessed on April 22, 2015.



Figure 28: the last seconds of the 2014 FIFA World Cup TV opening¹⁷²

5. 2014 FIFA World Cup TV Opening – Final considerations

a) *Unidos num só coração*, the TV opening song

During the whole video, there is a song being played. Using a music identification software, it was possible to determine that the song was composed by various artists (though the software does not name them). The song gathers many samba elements, such as the drums 2/4 tempo and the use of instruments such as the Cuíca - a sort of friction drum brought to Brazil by African slaves which is extremely popular among modern Rio's Samba schools.

The lyrics of the song are mostly meaningless. The listener is thus lead by different voices that, following the rhythm of the drums, form the song's melody. During its almost forty seconds of length at least three voices can be heard:

¹⁷² FIFA TV. *2014 FIFA World Cup – Official TV opening*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JP67IM1LX-M>. Accessed on April 22, 2015.

- 1) The first one seems to be a woman's voice - a cappella - that goes in a crescendo at the same time that the animation point of view zooms-in the video protagonist's face, preparing the atmosphere to what will follow in the video. Such an extract is repeated throughout the song over the drum beats and backing vocals, working as the *de facto* song chorus.
- 2) In what seems to be men's voices, there is a sort of interlude synchronised with the continuous shot showing Brazil's countryside - this part is later repeated as the backing vocals for the chorus.
- 3) The third piece of the melody is the only one in which the lyrics are meaningful: different voices, of what seems to be from Brazilian's of different genders and ages, sing in unison the lyrics: "*Unidos num só coração*" (united in just one heart).

The third extract is heard only once, a fraction of a second before a crowd can be heard in what seems to be the reaction to a goal scored by the *seleção* inside the stadium in Salvador da Bahia. During this part, the drums follow the rhythm of the voices. Such detail should not be missed as the same drum beats can be heard at the very end of the animation when the gloaming lights leave the stadia to form the 2014 FIFA World Cup logo. When this happens, no voice can be heard, the message is nevertheless delivered by the drum beats association with the lyrics of the third extract.

Even if the words *unidos num só coração* can be heard only once throughout the entire song, they are rather significant as they work as icebreakers to the animation climax. Once the words are pronounced, the roar of the crowds inside the Brazilian football stadia can be heard alongside noisy *cuícas* as in a carnival apotheosis.

Although the first meaning of the word "coração" (heart) in Portuguese is about the organ responsible for the blood circulation, its use conveying a second - more metaphorical - meaning is rather common in Portuguese. In Portuguese, as well as in many other languages, the heart is metaphorically understood as the place responsible for human emotional faculties or the headquarters of human affection. One thus might say that the idea conveyed by such lyrics, in this context, is twofold. On the one hand,

it can be understood as an appeal to Brazilian people embrace the competition with heart and soul, while – on the other hand – the song also characterizes Brazil, and Brazilians, as one people united by one single heart, or passion. In this case, the passion for football and the national team.

Lastly, in the attempt to decode the message of the song chosen to the TV opening, one should not completely ignore the political context in which the 2014 FIFA World Cup took place. Several months before the competition's kick-off, a series of protests against the competition and the Brazilian political establishment took place in virtually all Brazilian state-capitals. The idea of a nation united by football and the World Cup, in this case, would also serve the political agenda of the Brazilian ruling government.

b) 2014 FIFA World Cup TV Opening – The nation in 35 seconds

The 2014 FIFA World Cup TV opening portrayed a diverse country with different landscapes and cultures forming the whole of Brazil. In the previous pages, we have analysed how these localities have negotiated their images with the one of Brazil by showing its peculiarities and its similarities with other Brazilian regions. In the next few pages, we will analyse what were these common elements and how often they have appeared.

Throughout the video, there are plenty of recurring elements which are intended to portray Brazilian people, fauna, flora and cultural aspects. As expected in a FIFA World Cup finals TV opening, elements that link Brazilian culture to football and the competition itself are present in every single host city making it, unsurprisingly, the most present element on the video.

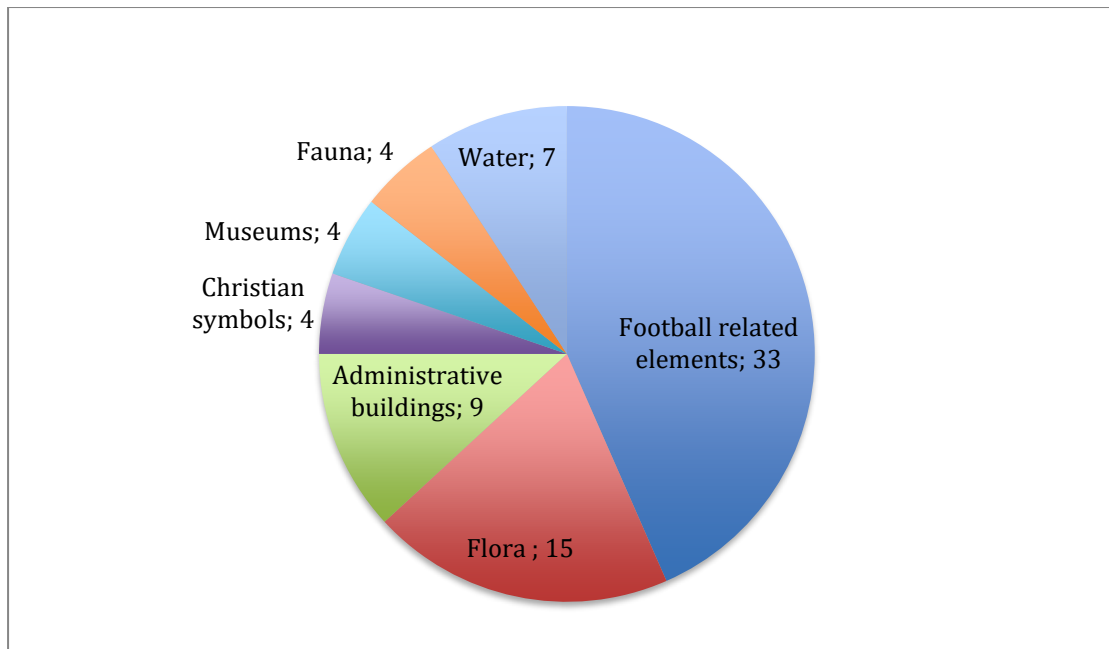


Table 2: Elements in the 2014 FIFA World Cup opening by number of appearances¹⁷³

Christianity is represented in the animation by the churches in Brasilia, Cuiabá and Salvador, as well as Rio de Janeiro's Christ the Redeemer statue. On the national level, it represents Brazil's as a predominantly Christian nation, having its people sharing, if not completely objectively, a subjective common set of values and costumes. Within the context of modern history, Christianity can be seen as a cultural trait that connects Brazil to European civilisation through the country's colonial past, thus depicting Brazil as a Western nation insofar as costumes, values and traditions are concerned.

Brazil's federative organisation is displayed by the governmental buildings in Brasilia and Porto Alegre. Whereas in the former, the buildings symbolise Brazil's central government, in the latter, the Administrative Centre of Rio Grande do Sul and the twin towers (the Rio Grande do Sul's Public Ministry headquarters) represent the relative autonomy of Brazilian states in relation to the central government. All the buildings – but those of Porto Alegre's twin towers - are samples of Brazilian modernist architecture.

¹⁷³ FIFA TV. *2014 FIFA World Cup – Official TV opening*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JP67IM1LX-M>. Accessed on April 22, 2015.

When portraying Brazilian architecture, it is virtually impossible not to depict the work of Oscar Niemeyer - the main icon of the country's modernist architecture. During the 35 seconds in which Brazil is portrayed in the motion picture, one can see different architectural styles ranging from Brazilian baroque to neoclassical, from art deco to modernism. However, no other architect had so many of his creations depicted in 2014 FIFA World Cup TV opening as Niemeyer: ten buildings (i.e. six buildings of *Esplanada dos Ministérios* plus the National Congress as well as two museums and a cathedral).

Such a predominance among Brazilian architectural icons may be closer to reality than one might have imagined. For more than sixty years - from the late 1940s to his death in 2012 - Niemeyer was Brazil's number one architect when it comes to monuments' projects, a fact which rendered him the nickname, sometimes also meant as a criticism, of *escultor de monumentos* (sculptor of monuments).

As "all buildings are products of social and cultural conditions"¹⁷⁴, the repetition of a given architectural style within the 2014 FIFA World Cup promotional material - left alone the fact that many of the edifices were designed by one single architect - convey to the competition's audience the idea of a cohesive nation, or civilisation, united by the socio-cultural and artistic aspects of her people.

Contrasting with modern manmade Brazil, the animation shows a country with an exuberant wilderness. With numerous references to Brazil's nature - including beaches, hills, rivers, birds, monkeys and green cities - the motion picture makes reference to nature in virtually every single frame. From the dreamlike image of Guanabara's bay to the final aerial image of a blue and green Brazil, the television opening conveys the idea of a Brazil as a country "of a bewildering abundance"¹⁷⁵ where "nature is always in a state of climax"¹⁷⁶.

Moreover, after seen the depiction of Brazil as a country where modern buildings are surrounded by trees and green parks and where cities are erected in the heart of

¹⁷⁴ Vale 2008, 3.

¹⁷⁵ Zweig 1941, 82.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

rainforests and tropical wetlands, one is left with the impression that Brazil may just have found the harmonious balance between development and environmental preservation - a deed that many modern countries have fallen short to accomplish.

What is more, the representation of local nature, by the depiction of a given region fauna and/or flora, is used both as an element of distinction and interrelation between different Brazilian regions. As a matter of fact, the Amazon region rainforest seems to be interconnected with Pantanal's wetlands with both appearing in the same continuous-shot of the video. By the same token, the Brazilian Atlantic forest is a central unifying element of Brazilian flora as it can be spotted over Rio de Janeiro's hills, within São Paulo's park, in the city of Salvador and next to the beach that symbolises Brazil's Northeast.

In the South of the country, one can see the Atlantic forest close to Porto Alegre's Guaíba lake and at the basis of the plateau on which the city of Curitiba is located. Its presence in the region is, however, shared with subtropical specimens. Whereas in Porto Alegre one can see a palm tree next to an *Ilex paraguariensis* (a Yerba mate tree), in Curitiba the vegetation is characterised by a Versailles-like garden and the presence of a greenhouse that protects the tropical specimens of other Brazilian regions of the city's cold weather.

All and all, vegetation is represented as a major cohesive element of the Brazilian landscape as it is the only element, other than football, to appear in all the scenes of the TV opening. As we have previously seen, such a connection between Brazilian and nature dates back from its colonial period and was reinforced by the Brazilian monarchy during the nineteenth-century as a means to forge a distinct identity for the country in relation to other Western civilisations¹⁷⁷.

Other iconic elements that date back from Brazil's early days to appear in the TV opening are Brazilian birds and monkeys. Whereas the former appear in Rio de Janeiro, in the first scene of the animation, as well as in the Amazon forest, the latter appears twice: once in-between the city of São Paulo and Brazil's wetlands, and other in the

¹⁷⁷ Dos Santos 2003, 187.

Amazon forest. It is interesting to note that birds and monkeys are also dominant elements of Brazil's iconography since the sixteenth century¹⁷⁸.

When it comes to the moment in which the country is being depicted in the animation, the hosting of the 2014 FIFA World Cup collaborates to convey the image of Brazil's as a modern nation within the tropics, and thus a constituent part of the developed-West. The flags spread across the country, representing all the thirty-two nations qualified to one of the largest mega-events in the globe, suggest that, between June and July 2014, Brazil was the centre of the world.

c) 2014 FIFA World Cup TV Opening – the animation protagonist as the embodiment of the nation

Among all the characters to appear in the animation, one stands out. The mulatto boy from a Rio's favela, wearing the seleção jersey and carrying a football ball, is one of the narrative's cohesion elements - appearing both in the first and in the second to last frame of the motion picture - as well as the animation's protagonist (having more seconds on screen than any other character).

The boy's miscegenated ethnic background fits well into the narrative of the quintessential "Brazilian race"¹⁷⁹. What is more, the fact that he comes from an impoverished neighbourhood in Rio de Janeiro may be understood as an attempt to convey the idea that hosting the world cup was a decision taken for the benefit of the whole of Brazilian society. Nevertheless, as one may note that the boy is never seen inside a stadium, one is inclined to think that any benefit that boy may have with competition is of second order (i.e. the festive atmosphere on the streets, possible social legacies and so on).

¹⁷⁸ Martins Teixeira 2009, 138.

¹⁷⁹ Freyre 1973, 271.



Figure 29: the 2014 FIFA World Cup TV opening protagonist¹⁸⁰

Furthermore, the protagonist's young age and the fact that he comes from a shantytown also convey the idea of innocence and hope for a better future and can also be understood as an attempt to represent Brazil's long-lasting identity as the country of the future. As we have seen, such a representation of the country dates back, at least, since the late nineteenth century expositions¹⁸¹. Within such a narrative, Brazil is generally portrayed as a young country with plenty of latent potential to become a major global player. What is more, the idea that Brazil is the country of the future became increasingly popular throughout the twentieth century¹⁸² and, in the early twentieth-first-century, due to Brazil's rapid economic growth, Brazil started to be seen as a member of the what could a new world order (the BRICS), leaving the impression that this foreseen future had finally come true.

¹⁸⁰ FIFA TV. *2014 FIFA World Cup – Official TV opening*.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JP67IM1LX-M>. Accessed on April 22, 2015.

¹⁸¹ Comissão do Brazil para a Exposição Universal 1867 and Comissão do Brazil para a Exposição Universal 1876.

¹⁸² Zweig 1942.



Figure 30: the TV opening protagonist as the personification of the nation¹⁸³

It was in this context that Brazil was selected to host both the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics - which were to be *rites de passage*¹⁸⁴ intended to consolidate Brazil's image as "a first-class country"¹⁸⁵. Such a rite de passage feeling can be experienced in the second to last scene of the animation when a yellow gloaming light leaves the Maracanã in what seems to symbolise Brazil's sixth world title. The facial expression of the TV opening protagonist when he stares at the gloaming light, the magical sunset in the background (where the light seems to come from different corners), give the scene a magical aura as if Brazil's much-awaited future had finally arrived. What is more, at the beginning of the video, when the frame zooms-in one of the boy's eye, one can see a Brazilian flag being reflected on his iris. The absence of a flag in front of him, as shown in the previous take, supports the interpretation that the

¹⁸³ FIFA TV. *2014 FIFA World Cup – Official TV opening*.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JP67IM1LX-M>. Accessed on April 22, 2015.

¹⁸⁴ Van Gennep 1981.

¹⁸⁵ Da Silva. 2009a . "It wasn't possible that we wouldn't have in the 21st century the chance that we didn't have in the 20th century(...) Today is a day to be celebrated, because today our country left the echelon of the second class countries and became a first class country. (...) And I think that the world has finally recognised that this is time and the turn of Brazil. (...)We have conquered an absolute citizenship, no one doubts anymore of our great economy, of our great society". Lula da Silva interview to Rede Globo moments after the announcement that the 2016 Summer Olympics will take place in Rio de Janeiro.

TV opening authors wanted to use the protagonist as an embodiment of the nation and its promising future.

The 2014 FIFA World Cup opening ceremony

On 12 June 2014, the FIFA World Cup opening ceremony took place in Sport Club Corinthians Paulista's Arena, in the city of São Paulo. 62,103 people watched it in the stadium and hundreds of millions followed it through live television. To direct both the 2014 FIFA World Cup opening and closing ceremonies, the Italian artistic director Franco Dragone and the Belgian choreographer Daphné Cornez were hired by the organising committee. According to the 2014 FIFA World Cup Brazilian committee¹⁸⁶ the presentation was made of four acts: (a) the first one was about Brazil's natural resources, such as rivers and local flora; (b) the second act was about Brazilian people and its cultural diversity; followed by (c) a representation of football in Brazilian society; and (d) a final musical act where the Brazilian singer Cláudia Lette would be joined by two North American artists of Latin American ancestry, Jennifer Lopez and Armando Pérez (also known as Pit-bull), to sing the official song of the event: *We are one (ole ola)*.

According to Cornez, the ceremony was designed to show the "Brazilian treasures to the world". "Dance is one of the treasures of the Brazilian people, which has different origins; the vegetation is one of the great treasures of Brazilian nature, with a large diversity, and the other treasure is football, which reflects joyfulness"¹⁸⁷.

a) 1st act: Brazilian natural resources and flora diversity

As the ceremony starts, a massive light-emitting diode ball is at the centre of the football pitch - it glows in green, yellow and blue, welcoming people from around the world in several languages (Portuguese, Spanish, French, German, English, Italian, Japanese, Arabic and Russian). Its position in the centre of the action, its colours and its

¹⁸⁶ Portal da Copa. *Copa do Mundo 2014*. www.copa2014.gov.br. Accessed on April 22, 2015.

¹⁸⁷ Exame. June 11, 2014. *Cerimônia de abertura da Copa do Mundo mostrará tesouros brasileiros*.

welcoming messages in different languages express the unifying character and global reach of the sport and competition, and the role of Brazil as the tournament host.

Various dancers in turquoise enter the venue representing Brazilian rivers. The native vegetation of Brazil follows, representers of Araucárias (trees which indigenous of Paraná region, in southern Brazil) walk alongside Amazon's Vitória-Régias as well as bromeliads (abundant in the country's east), brackens and hybrid fuchsias - known as Brinco-de-Princesa (one the symbols of the southernmost Brazilian state, Rio Grande do Sul), representing the diversity of Brazilian flora spread throughout the country. Such flora variety denotes, in the words of Zweig, the "bewildering abundance"¹⁸⁸ of Brazilian nature.

However, up to this point — without the complementary acts that would contextualise the ceremony, showing the viewer that the narrative develops itself in a chronological way, from before human presence in the continent to nowadays Brazilian *civilisation* — one may have had the impression, akin to the one that the visitors to the Brazilian pavilion in Paris 1889, that Brazil was "*une grande planation*"¹⁸⁹.

Nevertheless, for Brazilians from different parts of the country and familiar with the local vegetation, who were thus able to identify the elements on the actor's costumes, the representation of their local flora side-by-side with tropical water lilies or subtropical Araucária pine trees designates the immensity of their country and its diversity of biomes.

The first act ends with the arrival of the first humans in Brazil as Amerindians can be seen paddling-up the rivers made by the dancers who are dressed-up in turquoise. On a first reading, such a representation seems intended to pay tribute to the first Brazilian inhabitants. The fact that they are moving up (or down) the rivers show that, due to their nomad nature, they were the first ones to spread throughout the land. The movement of the Amerindians throughout the land thus delivers to the audience the

¹⁸⁸ Zweig 1941, 82.

¹⁸⁹ Ory 1999, 85.

idea of an early national integration, dating back to the pre-Colombian history of the continent.

In spite of the fact that the Amerindians were the first humans to be represented in the opening ceremony, they appeared on screen for about ninety seconds. During this short period, their role in the narrative structure was to work as a cohesive element that closes the first act, *Brazilian nature*, and the storytelling component that anticipates what the next act will be about: *Brazilian people*.

Whereas in the first act they are the only humans to appear on the scene, the lack of any direct or indirect reference to them in the second act, which was reserved to the display of the diversity of Brazilian culture (or civilisation), is somehow symptomatic of the absence of the land natives - or any possible Amerindian contribution - on what the ceremony organisers considered to be Brazilian national culture.

Moreover, their role in the ceremony as a transitional element between the first act, *Nature* (or fauna and flora), and the second act, *People* (or civilisation), sets them right in-between these two groups - that is to say - in the role of uncivilised or primitive people, whose culture is endangered and its very existence can be barely noticed in the formation of *modern* Brazil.

What is more, the fact that they are portrayed moving through a river adds to the feeling that Amerindians played a transitory role within country's history as well as that they were nomad peoples, intimately linked to nature and used to be spread out all over what today is Brazil. Such sort of portrayal was often seen in Amerindian representations of the nineteenth century, such as the *Indianism*, and was recurrently displayed by the Brazilian Empire during the nineteenth-century world exhibits¹⁹⁰.

Therefore, their position as a cohesive element between the two acts as well as their complete absence in the presentation of Brazilian cultural diversity (i.e. the second act) reinforces the idea that the Amerindians are often relegated to a secondary role in the construction of the nation (i.e. Brazil's mythological first inhabitants). Hence, in as

¹⁹⁰ Barbuy 1996, 221.

much as in their romantic representations in the nineteenth-century literature and visual arts, the 2014 FIFA World Cup Amerindian is confined in the past, in the pre-Cabralian Brazil or in the country's early colonial history. Thus, according to such a narrative, as almost extinct peoples, the Indians have no role to play in the nation's future.

The first act takes 5 minutes and 23 seconds.

b) 2nd act: Brazilian people and its cultural diversity

After the Amerindians leave the scene together with the dancers dressed as different specimens of local flora, other performers enter into the stage dressed as different types of Brazilian musical instruments. Each of these instruments represents different Brazilian folk rhythms: the *reco-reco*, the *apito de samba* (Brazilian whistle) and the *pandeiro*, for example, are broadly used in Samba and Batucada, whereas the accordion also epitomised by the dancers, is used, for example, in both the Southern Gaúcho Music (*Música Nativista*) and in the Northeastern *Baião*.

The next ones to join the scene are the dancers representing Brazilian people coming from different corners of the country. In line with the previous display of Brazilian flora, the presentation of Brazilian people is also focused on the diversity of the nation. In order to portray such a cultural variety, the dancers are dressed-up with different traditional regional clothes and dance to local folk music; therefore, *Gaúchos* danced to *Música Nativista*, Pernambucanos danced to *Frevo*, *Baianos* to *Samba de Roda*, and various Northeastern people to *Coco do Sertão*.

The last group to perform is the one formed by *Capoeiristas*. They represent a common past to most of Brazilian regardless of their region of origin, that is to say, the struggle of the Afro-Brazilians for freedom and their perseverance against acculturation and racial hatred. The representation of the historical Afro-Brazilian through the image of the *Capoeirista* is something rather recurrent in modern Brazil. The reasons for the popularity of such a depiction are multifold: on the one hand, it prevents the explicit recollection of the inhuman conditions in which Afro-Brazilians were forced to live in during most of Brazilian history. On the other hand, it works as an expression of their struggle against their oppressors.

What is more, the duality of Capoeira as a martial art disguised as an acrobatic dance may still lead the observer to different readings over its significance. Like the slave masters who were made believe that the curvilinear movements of the oppressed were African dance-steps while those who were subjugated were actually training to defeat their oppressors in combat, the Dionysian nature of Capoeira – with its alluring movements – may also conceal its martial nature from the modern observer. Therefore, if left out of its historical context, the festive display of *Capoeira* may not work as a surrogate for the representation of the Afro-Brazilian struggle against oppression.

By being included in the dance act, Capoeira is once more disguised as a ludicrous practice, as a celebration, instead of a mean of self-defence and struggle against oppression. It is needless to say that the portray of the Afro-Brazilian influence into Brazilian modern culture is essential to the understanding of Brazilian society. However, one might say that the decision not to make any reference to the conditions in which Afro-Brazilians took part in the nation's development is a quick fix to an old trauma somewhat akin to the late nineteenth century universal exhibition whitewashed reports – which were aimed to convince foreign audiences that the African slaves lived under good conditions in the Brazilian Empire ¹⁹¹.

Going back to the opening ceremony, just after each of the aforementioned groups has finished giving to the public a sample of their cultural traditions, the tune becomes somewhat a mix of many Brazilian rhythms. At this time, all the groups mingle on the scene. Therefore, *Gaúchos* dance with *Frevo* ballerinas; meanwhile Capoeira performers take *Coco do Sertão* dancers by the hand and so on. They all dance together as the competition's motto invitation to do it so: “*juntos num só ritmo*” (*all in one sole rhythm*). They dance together for while and then separate again in order to get back to their respective group - showing that the diversity and heterogeneous cultures, as well as the integration among them, form the whole of the country.

¹⁹¹ Comissão do Brazil na Exposição de 1867, 29.

c) 3rd act: Football as a global unifier

The third act begins with a straightforward reference to football. Kids dressed as referees show red cards to the dancers. The latter group is thus obliged to leave the field to sixty-three boys and one girl from local football clubs' formation centres. The sixty-four children are dressed with the colours of the 32 teams playing the 2014 FIFA World Cup finals and represent the notion of union through sport - and, more precisely, Brazil as a worldwide arena to the practice of football.

So Brazil is represented as the world's most popular sport Mecca, a place that has captivated the dreams of international football fandom for four years insofar the FIFA World Cup calendar is concerned; and, perhaps, has also fascinated the same public much longer than that due to its national team success on the international scene.

At this moment I would like to open a short parenthesis in this chapter discussion. Although our study is not centred on gender, we could not fall short to briefly address a matter that could be subject to future research. Among the sixty-four children dressed with the colours of the thirty-two nations taking part at the 2014 FIFA World Cup final, the only girl representing one of the 32 nations was one of the two dressed in the Brazilian uniform.

Although she had a prominent position among the other sixty-two Brazilian kids, who were to represent foreign nations, her gender was underrepresented in this part of the ceremony in an overwhelming 1 to 63 ratio. One could thus point out that such underrepresentation in this very part of the ceremony goes along with the underrepresentation of women in the sport. FIFA started to organise the Women's Football World Cup only in 1991 - more than sixty decades after the first men's competition. In the country that is the object of our study, the Brazilian Football Confederation (CBF) organised the first official women's football competition (*Taça Brasil de Futebol Feminino*, nowadays known as *Copa Brasil de Futebol Feminino*) in 1983. The competition has been taking place sporadically since then much due to the fact that, throughout its history, the competition has attracted little media attention. Such a scenario, as well as low attendance in the stadiums and the little investments on

the sport, makes the athletes work in a near amateur level¹⁹² whereas men, on the top leagues, receive more than one hundred times the minimum wage in Brazil¹⁹³.

Going back to the opening ceremony unfolding, the kids play football alone for a short while, and then form a circle around the ball (that now displays the Brazilian national flag). They open the circle and, from the other end of the pitch, a paraplegic man wearing a robotic exoskeleton – developed by the Brazilian neuroscientist Miguel Nicolelis – gives the opening kick of the World Cup. The meaning of this movement is twofold, it may show the Brazilian advances in the social inclusion of handicapped people and, on the other hand, it may represent the scientific and technological advances of a country that aims to join the concert of developed nations – idea which was arguably boosted by the idea of the BRIC countries emergence in the past few years.

The third act is the shortest one; it takes only 3 min and 35 s, less than half of the second act.

d) 4th act: All in one rhythm

The ball finally opens itself up, taking the shape of a blooming flower - and the fourth and final act starts. The Brazilian pop singer Claudia Leitte emerges from its core and starts singing Ary Barroso's *Aquarela do Brasil*. The song written by Barroso in 1939, during the pinnacle of Vargas' years, acclaims the qualities and greatness of Brazil and its people through its lyrics. *Aquarela do Brasil* was recorded by many artists in Brazil and abroad arguably becoming one of the most famous Brazilian songs worldwide. The song is also recognised as the inception of a music genre known as 'samba-exaltação' (exaltation samba) - a genre made of "extensive melody and lyrics of patriotic themes, whose musical emphasis lays on orchestral arrangements, including symphonic

¹⁹² Folha de S. Paulo. *Considerado amador, futebol feminino leva atletas a jogarem sem salário*. <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/treinamento/2013/06/1294068-considerado-amador-futebol-feminino-leva-atletas-da-selecao-a-jogar-sem-salario.shtml>. Accessed on November 5, 2015

¹⁹³ Rede Record. *Veja os maiores salários entre os astros do Brasileirão*. <http://rederecord.r7.com/pan-toronto-2015/fotos/veja-os-maiores-salarios-entre-os-astros-do-brasileirao-30072015#!/foto/1>. Accessed on November 5, 2015.

resources”¹⁹⁴. Moreover, *Aquarela do Brasil* (internationally known simply as *Brazil*) is said to have served as a propaganda piece to the Vargas’ ultranationalist New State and its ‘*Brazilian Brazil*’¹⁹⁵ or, to say the least, it “radiated the official spirit of time”¹⁹⁶ - the spirit of exaggerated nationalism and national culture homogeneity.

The song changes to Armando Perez’s ‘We are one (ole ola)’, as the children representing the participant countries of the 2014 FIFA World Cup are joined by Brazilian flora and Brazilians of different parts of the country. At the same time, Jennifer Lopes and Armando Pérez emerge from the luminous ball core to join Claudia Leitte in the song.

The narrative of the ceremony and the lyrics of the song seem to imply that this is the moment when Brazil meets the world and the world meets Brazil - becoming just “one”, as in Perez’s lyrics - for the occasion of the twentieth FIFA World Cup. Therefore, insofar the opening ceremony is concerned, this is the end of its liminality period, when the historical narrative presented by the opening ceremony catches-up with the world beyond itself, setting both allegory and reality within the same act.

The 2014 FIFA World is now officially and ritually opened. The opening ceremony thus ends with dancers of the four acts, and a good share of the audience present in the tribunes, dancing “all in one rhythm”, united by music and football, as in a metaphor to the games as well as the country as viewed by the organisers of the event.

The fourth and final act takes 4 min and 35 s and the whole FIFA 2014 Opening ceremony lasts for 21 min and 28 s.

2014 FIFA World Cup Closing Ceremony

Thirty-two days later, in the 13th of July, the final took place, as in 1950, in Rio de Janeiro’s Maracanã stadium - making it the second stadium in history to receive two

¹⁹⁴ Marcondes 1977, 684-5.

¹⁹⁵ Furtado Filho 2009.

¹⁹⁶ Paranhos 2003, 107.

world cup finals. In spite of the support of Brazilian football aficionados, Brazil was out of the Cup after a historical defeat in a 7-1 match against Germany. This made the 2014 FIFA World Cup end without any game of the seleção played in the country largest sports' venue.

a) The World Cup within Rio de Janeiro's carnival cosmology

In spite of Brazil's defeat in the football pitch, the event went on as scheduled and a party-like ceremony took place in Rio de Janeiro on July 13th, 2014. The closing ceremony involved fewer people than the opener and was 3 minutes and 30 seconds shorter¹⁹⁷ (17 minutes and 58 seconds long) than the previous one. It was also more centred in Rio de Janeiro's culture and football than the one organized a month before, which made TV Globo sports commentator, Galvão Bueno, find it more '*Brazilian*' than the opening ceremony¹⁹⁸.

Such a view that regards the closing ceremony closer to what one may expect as the representation of Brazilian-ness may find an explanation on John MacAloon's theory about the difference between opening and closing ceremonies in mega-events. According to the author, as rites of closure, the closing ceremonies tend to work as attempts towards the "re-aggregation with the normative order"¹⁹⁹. Hosting nations are thus generally more inclined to negotiate their image during the opening ceremony, making of mega-events closing festivities rituals that bring the image of the nation a bit closer to its pre-existing image.

Such a return to the normative order of the closing ceremony was granted by (a) the replacement of the large luminous ball, present in the opening ceremony, with a huge carpet with the Brazilian flag at the centre of the field and (b) the substitution of the

¹⁹⁷ The closing ceremony lasted 17 minutes and 58 seconds long, whereas the opening one lasted 21 minutes and 28 seconds.

¹⁹⁸ Rede Globo de Televisão, 13 June 2014.

¹⁹⁹ MacAloon 1984, 254.

dancers representing the diversity of Brazil by two hundred members of the samba school *Grande Rio*.²⁰⁰

The ceremony started with the 200 members of the samba school *Grande Rio* playing and/or dancing samba. There were four large dummies which symbolized “fundamental feelings linked to football: passion, solidarity, freedom and diversity”²⁰¹. A moment later, thirty couples of Mestre Sala and Porta-Bandeiras, symbolizing the thirty countries already out of the competition, entered the pitch holding their respective flags.

The last couple of Porta-Bandeiras and Mestre-Salas to enter were those from the two World Cup finalists, Germany and Argentina. Differently than the other nations represented, the Mestre-Salas symbolizing the two countries wore the uniform of their respective national teams. The two men, who were also holding football balls, walked into the central circle of Maracanã stadium and were joined by a different Porta-Bandeira wearing a golden dress and weaving an equally golden banner. The goldenly dressed Porta-Bandeira seemed to represent the cup itself. The men started to show their skills with the ball close to the woman embodying the World Cup, in a metaphor based both on Brazilian carnival traditions, where the *Mestre-sala* woos the *Porta-bandeira* throughout the street parade, and on the symbolism of a World Cup final, where two nations dispute one sole cup.

b) The final musical act, “a celebration to *latinidade*”

As the samba stops, the concert of Carlinhos Brown - an Afro-Brazilian musician wearing Amerindian headdress - and the Colombian singer Shakira starts. Together, they sing Shakira’s *La La La (Brazil 2014)* - a modified version of the Colombian singer’s *Dare (La La La)*, featuring new lyrics made especially for the event and the participation of Brown.

²⁰⁰ Acadêmicos do Grande Rio. *Grande Rio fará show no encerramento da Copa do Mundo*. <http://www.academicosdogranderio.com.br/site/destaques/grande-rio-fara-show-encerramento-da-copa-brasil/>. Accessed on November 13th 2015.

²⁰¹ Rede Globo, June 13th, 2014.

Such a new version of the song was released in May 2014, only two months after the competition took place, and was considered the second theme song for the 2014 FIFA World Cup. The song was also included in the competition's official album, *One Love, One Rhythm*. The members of Grande Rio take part in the music, dancing and/or playing the percussion to the song.

Shakira and Brown are soon joined by other Brazilian celebrities – Ivete Sangalo and Alexandre Pires – and other Latin-American musicians: the Mexican guitarist Carlos Santana and the Haitian rapper Wyclef Jean.

They sing Santana's and Wyclef's song *Dar Um Jeito* (We Will Find a Way). The lyrics of the song are about hope in spite of poverty and union in a celebration: “we celebrating and then we are waving all our rags. We are all united even though with different flags. We are all one voice, one heart, one soul once we set that goal”. The fact that the song is performed only by Latin-American artists conveys the idea that the 2014 FIFA World Cup is a festivity meant to unite all nations – but especially those of Latin-America.

Their performance goes on with a mixture of Brazilian popular songs and newly composed songs to the event, covering most of the ceremony and was, in the words of Bueno, “a celebration to *latinidade*”²⁰². The idea of Brazil as a constituent part of Latin America was present in the opening and closing ceremony with the presentation of Brazilian musicians alongside singers related to the Latin American community. A possible interpretation of the message intended to be delivered by the 2014 FIFA World Cup organizers is that Brazilian-ness would be made of a patchwork of regional cultures unified by common cultural aspects, such as a common language and history as well as the passion for football and music. In turn, Brazilians would be part of an even larger cultural group: the Latin Americans. Finally, the organizers arguably wished to deliver the message that, during the 32 days of World Cup, all these groups or subgroups would be unified to the rest of the world in just ‘one rhythm’, the one football and Brazilian

²⁰² Rede Globo de Televisão, June 13, 2014.

joie de vivre.

Near to the end of the closing ceremony, dozens of dancers with their faces painted with different countries' national colours entered the pitch and, once more, as in the opening ceremony as well as in the World Cup slogan, the party ended by all dancing in one rhythm. At its very end, the samba-enredo *Peguei um Ita no Norte* fades out as Ary Barroso's samba-exaltação *Aquarela do Brasil* fades in. For 6 seconds, the lyrics "Brazil, Brazil" are sung in unison by the presents at Maracanã stadium as the 2014 FIFA World Cup closing ceremony ends.

Chapter 5. *A New World* – The image of a modern Brazil in the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Olympics

Only two years after hosting the 2014 FIFA World Cup, Brazil was to receive the first Olympics within South America. Differently than in the FIFA event, the games were mostly centred in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Therefore, during the competition, the former federal capital was once again Brazil's most important city in so far the world's attention was concerned. Rio de Janeiro thus arguably became, as many times in the past, the embodiment of the whole of Brazil and of a good share of the South American sub-continent. As a result, the city was to convey not solely the socially constructed image of the country but also retell the nation's historical narratives as well as its shared values and aspirations for the future.

Rio de Janeiro 2016's bid

On October 2, 2009 - after more than three years after the city had launched its official candidature to host the Games of the XXXI Olympiad and the XV Paralympic Games - Rio de Janeiro emerged victorious during the 121st IOC Session, held in Copenhagen, Denmark. In Copacabana, Rio de Janeiro, the celebration of such an outcome reminded that of an off-season carnival or a Brazilian FIFA World Cup victory¹. In Copenhagen, the reaction of the Brazilian Olympic to the announcement was nothing short to the popular commotion at Brazil's most famous beach, after all, it was the first time in history that a South-American city had been chosen to host the games.

Brazil had already tried to host the games on several occasions in the past. The first Brazilian attempt dates back to 1927 when the nomination for the Games of the XI Olympiad was launched during the 25th IOC Session in Monaco. As a result, the city of Rio de Janeiro was the only non-European city to manifest its interest in hosting the 1936 Olympics. Nevertheless, perhaps due to the Economic crises of 1929 and its

¹ Época. *Rio vai sediar as Olimpíadas de 2016*.
<http://revistaepoca.globo.com/Revista/Epoca/0,,EMI96469-15228,00-RIO+VAI+SEDIAR+AS+OLIMPIADAS+DE.html>. Accessed on July 27, 2018.

effects on the Brazilian coffee-based economy, Rio de Janeiro did not officialise its candidature during the 28th IOC Session in Berlin².

It took more than seventy years so that Brazil would formalise another attempt to host the games³. In spite of the fact that the history of the Olympic movement in Brazil is intimately related to its army, with most of the early Brazilian Olympic athletes coming from the military force, the second Brazilian bid to host the games was presented in the 1990s, a few years after the end of the military rule in the country. According to Rubio, President Collor de Mello played a central role in the inception of the project that would support Brasilia's candidature to host the Olympics of 2000 as a means to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the new Brazilian capital and the 500th jubilee of the country's discovery⁴. Nonetheless, the city later withdrew its bidding after it became evident that the project presented "serious flaws"⁵.

In all the subsequent bids - with the exception to that of the 2008 Olympics when no Brazilian city presented its candidature - Rio de Janeiro was appointed as the Brazilian champion during the IOC sessions that defined the next Olympic cities. Although the city was the favourite of the independent committee formed to decide which Brazilian city should bid for hosting the 2012 Olympics⁶, Rio de Janeiro was not shortlisted by the IOC in any of its attempts until the 121st session, in which was decided that the city was to host the Games of the XXXI Olympiad.

a) Rio de Janeiro as the first South American Olympic city

Rio de Janeiro's candidature to 2016 had a strong emotional appeal based on the fact that no Olympics had yet been hosted in South America and surfed on the optimistic verve based on the fact that Brazil's booming economy had faced the 2008 global

² Rúbio 2010.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ UOL Esporte. *Sonho Olímpico brasileiro já custou mais de 180 milhões em 5 candidaturas*. <https://esporte.uol.com.br/ultimas/2009/09/28/ult58u1669.jhtm>. Accessed on July 27, 2018.

⁶ UOL, Outra Cidade. *Como era a proposta de São Paulo para realizar os Jogos Olímpicos*. <http://outracidade.uol.com.br/como-era-proposta-de-sao-paulo-para-organizar-os-jogos-olimpicos/>. Accessed on 27, July 2018.

financial crisis somewhat unaffected. On the top of that, Rio’s enduring urban problems - such as safety and security, the current state of the sports venues and the travelling distances within the city - were compensated by solid government support and commitment and the possible legacies of the games to Rio’s inhabitants.



Figure 31: Distribution of Olympic games by continent⁷

All these aspects were part of the IOC Working Group criteria to shortlist four cities to further voting which would finally decide which city would host the 2016 games. The Cariocas received an average grade of 6.4 out of 10 - which was lower than Tokyo (8.3), Madrid (8.1), Chicago (7.0) and Doha (6.9), but higher than Prague (5.3) and Baku (4.3)⁸. Although Rio de Janeiro finished fifth, the city was still shortlisted as Doha “small population, lack of facilities and planned Games dates outside of the IOC’s desired window (...) [may have been considered by the IOC] obstacles too large to accept”⁹.

⁷ Around the Rings. *After victory version of the presentations map of Olympic host cities*. <http://www.aroundtherings.com/gallery/view.aspx?id=578>. Accessed on November 22, 2016.

⁸ IOC 2008, 107.

⁹ Games Bids. *IOC bends rules when selecting 2016 Olympic Bid Shortlist*. <https://web.archive.org/web/20080607070718/http://www.gamesbids.com/cgi-bin/news/viewnews.cgi?category=1&id=1212598324>. Accessed on July 27th 2018.

b) The leaders of the four finalist nations lobby for their cities

Finally, a few days before October 2, 2009, representatives of the four finalist nations head to Copenhagen. Japan's prime minister Yukio Hatoyama and King Juan Carlos of Spain were confirmed to be in the event supporting Tokyo and Madrid respectively. Brazil's president Luis Inácio Lula da Silva also expressed his willingness to support Rio de Janeiro's candidature during the 121st IOC Session. The presence of these heads of states, motivated US president Barak Obama to pay a short five-hours-visit to Denmark's capital, thus becoming the first serving president of his country to lobby the IOC in person¹⁰.

Whereas President Obama speech reminded of the United States' central role on the international scenario, urging the IOC delegates to give the country the chance to "inspire it once more"¹¹ and of the fact that Chicago is "a city that knows how to put on big events"¹² - "from its first World's Fair more than a century ago to the World Cup [they] hosted in the nineties"¹³; President Lula da Silva stressed the fact that among all the top ten world economies of the time as well as among the four finalists to host the 2016 Olympics, Brazil was the only country which had not yet hosted the games:

"For the others, it will be only another Olympics. For us, it will be an opportunity without precedents. It will enhance Brazilians' self-esteem, it will consolidate recent breakthroughs and it will stimulate further advances. This bidding does not belong only to us, but to the whole of South America, a continent with almost 400 million men and women and with about 180 million young people. A continent that, as we have seen, has never hosted an Olympics.

¹⁰ The Guardian. *2016 Olympics: Barack Obama on the team as Chicago boosts its bid*. <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2009/sep/28/2016-olympics-barack-obama-chicago>. Accessed on 27th July 2018.

¹¹ The Telegraph. *Barack Obama 'disappointed' at Chicago's loss in 2016 Olympic Games race*. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/olympics/6256319/Barack-Obama-disappointed-at-Chicagos-loss-in-2016-Olympic-Games-race.html>. Accessed on July 27, 2018.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

It is time to fix this unevenness. (...). It is time to lit the Olympic cauldron in a tropical country, in the most beautiful and marvellous city: Rio de Janeiro”¹⁴.

When it comes to the representation of the country, Lula da Silva’s speech tackles not solely the tropicality of Brazil but also the joie de vivre of its people:

“For South America will be a magical moment, and for the IOC it will be an opportunity to feel the warmth of our people, the exuberance of our culture and the sun of our happiness. (...). Rio Olympics will be unforgettable as they will be filled with the passion, cheerfulness and creativity of Brazilian people”¹⁵.

What is more, President Lula da Silva also addressed Brazilian society as a multi-cultural melting-pot, reinforcing the twentieth-century narrative that describes Brazil as a racial democracy. Moreover, by describing the country as such, Lula also set the tune of the message that we would later see during the 2016 Olympics:

“We are a people in love with sports, in love with life. Looking at the five rings of the Olympic symbol, I see my country. A Brazil of men and women of all the continents: Americans, Europeans, Africans and Asians. All proud of their origins and even prouder of being Brazilians. We are not only a mixed people, but a people that love to be mixed. That is what makes our identity”¹⁶.

c) Rio emerges victorious

After the end of its speech, President Lula Da Silva was said to have “upstaged his counterpart [President Obama] to snatch a historic victory for Rio”¹⁷. In spite of the so-called Obama factor, Chicago was eliminated already in the first voting round. Tokyo was the next to went out of the competition. With two of the favourites gone, Rio de

¹⁴ Da Silva, 2009b. *Discurso de Lula na defesa do Rio de Janeiro para o Comitê Olímpico*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZOzSrWWpL-w>. Accessed on July 27, 2018.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ The Telegraph. *Brazil’s weeping President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva revels in 2016 Olympics vote*. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/olympics/news/6257463/Brazils-weeping-President-Luiz-Inacio-Lula-da-Silva-revels-in-2016-Olympics-vote.html>. Accessed on July 27, 2018.

Janeiro and Madrid went to the final voting round with a slight advantage to the Brazilian former capital that has received 46 votes against 29 of its Spanish rival in the second round.

Minutes before the winner announcement, the official videos supporting each of the two finalists candidatures was once more broadcasted. Madrid's video portrayed a dynamic European capital, with a vibrant Spanish culture and with plenty of museums, classic architecture and famous works of art. Rio de Janeiro's video was somewhat closer to nature, showing a city that shares its spaces with green hills, white-sand beaches and turquoise waters and in which its inhabitants make use of such a natural set to practice sports. Comparing the two videos is interesting to note that both cities carried a strong impassioned Latin element. However, Madrid - as a European city - was portrayed as a cradle of Latin civilisation with its fine arts museums and opponent architecture, whereas Rio de Janeiro, the South America contender, as an exuberant and modern tropical city amidst forest and seascape.

After the presentation of promotional videos of the two finalists, IOC president Jacques Rogge announced Rio de Janeiro as the host of the 2016 Olympic Games, having won against Madrid by 66 votes to 32. A few moments after the announcement which caused a strong commotion on Rio 2016's team in Copenhagen and on a big share of the population in Brazil, President Luis Inácio Lula da Silva - visibly moved by the IOC decision - said the following to a major Brazilian broadcaster:

“It wasn't possible that we wouldn't have in the 21st century the chance that we didn't have in the 20th century(...) Today is a day to be celebrated because today our country left the echelon of the second class countries and became a first class country. (...) And I think that the world has finally recognised that this is time and the turn of Brazil. (...)We have conquered an absolute citizenship, no one doubts anymore of our great economy, of our great society”¹⁸.

At this moment, for those who listened to Da Silva's words and saw the reaction of Brazilian crowds on Copacabana beach, there was a feeling that - in a few years - Brazil

¹⁸ Da Silva, 2009 a. *Rio 2016- Comemoração da Vitória. Entrevista com Lula*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ytiBIE5cTj0>. Accessed on July 27th 2018.

would finally have its rite of passage¹⁹ to its promised future as a protagonist in the global scene.

Rio 2016's logos

Even before IOC's final decision to grant Rio de Janeiro with the 2016 Summer Olympics, the Brazilian Olympic Committee had to think about an official logo for Rio de Janeiro's official candidature. As an Olympic logo has "to reflect local culture – but at the same time be universally understood"²⁰, the image of the internationally-known Sugarloaf Mountain was chosen to epitomise the city of Rio de Janeiro once again.

a) Rio 2016 bidding logo – a heart-shaped Sugarloaf Mountain as a symbol of passion

Rio's logo for the 2016 Olympics bidding process was designed by a carioca agency called Soter Design, which won a competition made by the Brazilian Olympic committee. The logo - which shows the famous Sugarloaf Mountain assuming a heart-shaped and green-coloured designed with the blue of the sea and the yellow of sun surrounding the mountain and forming a larger hearth - carried the national colours and was in accordance with Rio's candidature motto: "live your passion". Underneath the drawing, "rio 2016" was written with Rio in lower case and an upside-down exclamation mark replacing the "1" of 2016.

According to Anna Soter, from Soter Design, "the heart-shaped Sugarloaf Mountain represents the undisputed Brazilian's passion for sports. The exclamation mark replacing the number one renders the logo the perfect representation of Cariocas' expectation and thrill caused by the opportunity of hosting the games"²¹. To the president of the Brazilian Olympic Committee, Carlos Arthur Nuzman, the logo "communicated masterfully the nature of Rio de Janeiro. What is more, it translated

¹⁹ Van Gennepe 1981.

²⁰ Gelli, Frederico. 2016. In B. Hurley Designs. *Taking a closer look at the Rio 2016 logo*. <http://bhurleydesigns.com/2016-rio-logo/>. Accessed on July 28th, 2018.

²¹ *Ibid.*

energy, joy, and the characteristic of being welcoming without distinction of race or culture²².



Figure 32: Rio 2016's bidding logo²³

b) Rio 2016 official logo – the Sugarloaf Mountain also becomes an icon of multi-culturalism

As the image of the Sugarloaf Mountain is one of the main icons of the city of Rio de Janeiro as well as of the whole of Brazil, it was only natural that it would also make to the official logo of the competition once Rio was selected to host the event. Therefore, the mountain - the utmost representation of a tropical, coastal and exuberant Brazil -

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Memória das Olimpíadas. *Logomarca da aspiração do Rio aos jogos 2016 é apresentada durante prêmio Brasil olímpico.*
http://memoriadasolimpiadas.rb.gov.br/jspui/bitstream/123456789/769/1/2007_12_17_COMITE_RIO_Logomarca_jogos_2016_apresentada_premio_Brasil_olimp.pdf.
Accessed on July 28, 2018.

was the central element of the logo created by *Tatil Design de Ideias*, from Rio de Janeiro, which won the competition against the drawing from other 139 design studios in September 2009²⁴.



Figure 33: Rio 2016's official logo²⁵

What is more, other than the obvious central role played by the Sugarloaf Mountain, Rio de Janeiro 2016 official logo inherited different aspects of its predecessor. The use of the Brazilian national colours - yellow, green and blue – symbolising respectively Rio de Janeiro's (and Brazil's) sun, forests and sea is, for instance, an element which is explicitly present in both logos²⁶.

Nevertheless, the idea of racial and cultural tolerance - presented by the candidature's logo through the presence of a multi-coloured heart - was conveyed by the image of

²⁴ B. Hurley Designs. *Taking a closer look at the Rio 2016 logo*. <http://bhurleydesigns.com/2016-rio-logo/>. Accessed on July 28, 2018.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

three people of different colours holding hands and collectively hugging Rio's most famous mountain. Other than the aforementioned symbology, the fact that three characters on the logo are holding hands also works an expression of the union through sports. Additionally, the hug suggests the need for a more evenly-balanced relation between men and nature.

According to *Tatil Design de Ideias*, the logo “had to translate the Olympic and Carioca's spirits”²⁷. Therefore, the company said they searched - in the works of artists, musicians and architects - references to create visual metaphors to define something without showing it. As a result, the logo is based on four pillars: “contagious energy, harmonious diversity, exuberant nature and Olympic spirit”²⁸. As the latter pillar undoubtedly relates to the Olympic spirit, one can easily attribute the former elements – i.e. “contagious energy, harmonious diversity and exuberant nature” - to the way *Tatil Design de Ideias* – as well as the committee formed to judge the best logo for Rio's 2016 – understands the Carioca's spirit. As we have previously seen, each of these elements is the core of several Brazilian nationalistic narratives that lead to the understanding that Brazil is a racially tolerant nation with an exuberant nature and a jubilant population.

c) Rio 2016 Paralympic logo – an innovative multi-sensorial heart

In order to avoid opening a new competition to define a new logo to Rio 2016 Summer Paralympic Games, the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) invited the winners of the Rio 2016 logo's competition, *Tatil Design de Ideias* to create a new emblem. The IPC wanted a logo that would be “connected to the Olympic brand and have the same strength of Rio 2016's Olympic logo”. Therefore, the concept of a heart-shaped logo - which was also present in the candidature's emblem to express – among other things – the passion of Brazilian people towards life and sports - was reused by in the Rio 2016 Paralympic logo.

²⁷ Comité Régional Olympique et Sportif d'Ile de France. *L'histoire du logo Rio 2016*. <http://www.crosif.fr/lhistoire-du-logo-rio-2016/>. Accessed on July 30, 2018.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

According to the design company, the idea of using a heart came as a means to “communicate similarities rather than differences. [Of communicating] what we all have in common, what exists within everybody”. As a result, an abstract heart mixed with the infinite symbol became Rio 2016’s Paralympic mark. The concept of associating a heart with the infinite symbol came up as a means to communicate everlasting energy and the capacity of “reinventing oneself, gaining energy to transform”. What is more, the logo’s aesthetics are closely related to the curvy-lines of Oscar Niemeyer’s architecture and the round silhouettes of Rio’s landscape.



Figure 34: Rio 2016 Paralympics’ logo²⁹

Additionally, the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Paralympics logo carried an innovation which was not seen before in its precedent events: it was designed to be a multisensory symbol. The logo was thus produced also in three-dimensional shape versions which

²⁹ Paralympic.org. Rio 2016 Paralympic games. https://www.paralympic.org/rio-2016/schedule-results/info-live-results/rio-2016/eng/zz/engzz_general-general-schedule.htm. Accessed on December 12, 2018.

carried different textures so that visually-impaired people could also interact with the mark.

“Abraço” (Hug) - the London 2012/ Rio 2016 handover ceremony

On the evening of August 12, 2012, an estimated 750 million people watched the closing ceremony of the Games of the XXX Olympiad³⁰, also known as London 2012. The event took place at London’s Olympic Stadium and lasted more than three hours. As per usual, part of the closing ceremony was reserved for the traditional Olympic flag handover – from London to Rio de Janeiro - and to the theatrical introduction of next city to host the Olympics (which was directed by Brazilian film directors Carlos Hamburger and Daniela Thomas³¹ and counted with the participation of 225 musicians and dancers³²).

Therefore, at around 23:20 local time, the Olympic flag was lowered by the sound of the Olympic anthem³³. It was then given to London’s mayor, Boris Jonhson, who – following the protocol – waved the flag in the air and passed it to IOC president, Jacques Rogge. The flag was once again waved and it was then handover to Rio de Janeiro’s mayor, Eduardo Paes, to the excitement of the Brazilian athletes in the stadium. Mr Paes held the Olympic flag while the Brazilian national flag was raised with the tunes of the Brazilian national anthem. At this moment, green and yellow lights illuminated the Olympic stadium. At this moment, the eight-minutes ceremony, in which Rio 2016 promised to “present the country’s cultural diversity, through its musical rhythms, dances and other demonstrations from different regions”³⁴, was ready to its kick-off.

³⁰ International Business Times. *London Olympics 2012 Closing Ceremony: Where to watch live*. <https://www.ibtimes.co.uk/london-olympics-closing-ceremony-where-watch-live-372750>. Accessed on August 2nd 2018.

³¹ The Telegraph. *Olympic closing ceremony: spectacular end to the Games will celebrate 50 years of British pop*. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/olympics/9469312/Olympics-closing-ceremony-spectacular-end-to-the-Games-will-celebrate-50-years-of-British-pop.html> Accessed on August 6th 2018.

³² Rio 2016 2012, 23

³³ Estadão. *Confira como foi a cerimônia de encerramento dos jogos de Londres*. <https://esportes.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,confira-como-foi-a-cerimonia-de-encerramento-dos-jogos-de-londres,915532>. Accessed on August 2, 2018.

³⁴ Rio 2016 2012, 23.

a) Renato Sorriso, the embodiment of a Dionysian Brazil

The Olympic flag handover ceremony was followed by a few seconds of silence and complete darkness. Then, three spotlights converged to a given point within the arena. A man – an Afro-Brazilian dressed-up with an orange street cleaner’s uniform holding a broom – seemed to enjoy his fifteen-seconds of fame, taking the opportunity to show some samba steps to the world. The man playing the cleaner is Renato Sorriso, “a real street cleaner from the Rio Sambadrome who became a cult hero when he was filmed dancing while he swept the streets [of Rio de Janeiro]”³⁵. He is soon stopped by a British security guard who desperately tries to take the street cleaner out of the scene so that the closing ceremony can go on. The British authority is nonetheless captured by Sorriso’s spell and – “disarmed by a Carioca embrace”³⁶ - starts to follow his samba steps. Clumsily at the beginning, he soon learns how to dance the Brazilian rhythm.

The scene is filled with a wide variety of social connotations. The first meaning - as Sorriso ends up by dragging the bouncer to his world and not the opposite - is that of the subversion of predetermined hierarchical orders: European/South-American; white/black; warranted law employee/everyman, etc. A second meaning is that of friendship, tolerance and cultural exchange as the guard eventually forgets the dogmatic nature of his profession and, taken by curiosity and empathy, joins a foreigner in his dance. A further inference resides on the Freyrian reading of Nietzsche’s duality of Apollonians and Dionysians. Sorriso representing the Dionysian drive that Freyre said to be characteristic of the Brazilian (or mulatto) culture - “in which the person is prominent and shines”³⁷ - and the security guard the one who, at first, embodies the Apollonian nature of Europeans, “in which personal action is mechanised and subordinated to the whole”³⁸.

Nonetheless, the aforementioned myriad of social connotations, expressed by the first minute of Rio 2016 preview in London 2012’s closing ceremony, cannot be understood

³⁵ Tzanelli 2014, 18.

³⁶ London 2012 2012, 39.

³⁷ Freyre 1962, 433.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

without its underlying context: the fact that a country from South America, a region that has been historically known for its underdevelopment and its peripheral position within the world system perspective³⁹, was to host Earth's most important mega-event within four years. Therefore, Sorisso is not solely the embodiment of certain socio-cultural aspects of Brazilian-ness. He is there to represent the nation itself. He is thus the symbol of a subaltern Brazil that does not go unnoticed anymore, the expression of a nation on the spotlight and of a people that is ready to present itself to the world.

Rio 2016's performance goes on as several mulattas enter the scene with refashioned carnival outfits dancing alongside Sorriso and the English security guard to the resonant sound of a Samba School percussion. The samba suddenly stops and Brazilian singer Marisa Monte enters the scene singing Heitor Villa-Lobos' *Bachianas Brasileiras n° 5*.

b) Villa-Lobos and Yemanjá: the representation of a syncretic nation

Villa-Lobos, according to some "the best known and most significant Latin American composer of all time"⁴⁰, was considered by Gilberto Freyre a "*socio-musician* (...)" [who was] not only Carioca, not only from the South but a *Pan-Brazilian* who understood the most remote *Brazils*"⁴¹. His *Bachianas Brasileiras* are known as a well-succeeded modernist attempts to create erudite Brazilian music through the synthesis of European classics and Brazilian folk aesthetics⁴². They should, however, be seen "in relation to their ethos, to the characteristics of their epoch, though the spirit of their era – the Vargas' Era: the age of giving Brazilian aesthetics to everything that was not originally Brazilian, including the European music of Bach"⁴³.

The idea of fusion among different cultures resulting in something Brazilian is also presented by the role played by Marisa Monte during her performance. Her enhanced stature, her long white-dress (with its bottom made of turning umbrellas) and the slight

³⁹ Wallerstein 2004.

⁴⁰ Wright 1992. 4.

⁴¹ Freyre 1982, 10.

⁴² Dudeque 2008.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 154-155.

wave-like sound that her steps generate were part of her characterisation as *Yemanjá* – the Goddess of the Sea.

Originally known as the Mother of Waters, or *Yemoja*, in the Yoruba religion, her adoration arrived in Brazil through the South-Atlantic slave trade (1533-1851). In the country, the deity was syncretized with Christian beliefs (with Our Lady of Navigators and Our Lady of the Conception, for example) as well as with idols of the Tupi-Guarani's mythology (namely with *Y-îara* or *Iara*: The Lady of Waters)⁴⁴. Worshipped within Brazilian *Candomblé*, she is also revered by a good share of Brazilians of different sets of beliefs at the country's coastal line during the New Years Eve festivities⁴⁵.

The character played by Marisa Monte – the embodiment of a syncretic Lady of the Waters who sings one of the masterpieces of the fusion between Brazilian folk rhythms and classic European music – seems thus to also be the deific incarnation of a Pan-Atlantic ethos as well as of Brazilian-ness and Brazilian modernity as defined by the likes of Freyre and De Andrade.

c) Manguebeat as a contemporary incarnation of *Antropofagia*

The presentation of Brazil as a cultural miscegenated nation continues after *Yemanjá* leaves the scene as a group of futuristic Amerindians, wearing green-glowing headdresses and necklaces, walk into the centre of the act. They are soon joined by carnival drummers and maracatu performers. As each of the groups enter the scene, the song changes from Villa-Lobos' Bachianas to ritualistic Amerindian tunes and then to Chico Science's version of *Maracatu Atômico*⁴⁶ (Atomic Maracatu) sang by Bernardo Santos (better known as BNegão).

Originally an exponent of the 1960s and 1970s cultural movement called *Tropicália* - which was “a pastiche of diverse styles, both new and old, national and international [...] a rereading of the tradition of Brazilian popular song in light of international pop

⁴⁴ Rabelo Câmara 2009.

⁴⁵ Walker 2002.

⁴⁶ *Maracatu Atômico*, composed by Jorge Mautner and Néilson Jacobina in 1974.

music and vanguard experimentation”⁴⁷ – Science’s version of *Maracatu Atômico*, played during the presentation, turned the song into a *Manguebeat* hit. The style, which emerged in Recife during the early 1990s, makes a twofold reference to the mangrove regions of the metropolis: the place in which lower classes dwell and a fertile ecosystem. The *Manguebeat* is thus “a cultural ecosystem as rich and diverse as a mangrove [...] born from the fusion between electronic music and regional [North-Eastern] rhythms”⁴⁸.

Hence, the two incarnations of Maracatu Atômico are somehow the outcomes of two Brazilian rhythms based on the crisscrossing of national/regional rhythms with international influences. Therefore, the presence of ultra-modern Amerindians, dancing alongside Maracatu performers and samba drummers, is not completely out of place as - according to Galinsky - “both *Tropicália* and *Mangue* make use of the modernist Brazilian concept of *Antropofagia* [...] in which foreign elements are ‘cannibalized’ in Brazilian art and recontextualized within local frameworks”⁴⁹.

It is important to note that Maracatu, which lends its name and meaning to the song *Maracatu Atômico*, is an Afro-Brazilian popular manifestation that dates back to the seventeenth century. It is said that the Maracatu emerged in Recife’s region as a ritualistic ceremony which served to crown the “kings and queens of Congo” – the elected chiefs among the enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants in Brazil – which, along the years, became intimately linked to the Candomblé faith⁵⁰.

As a result, while the Maracatu designates a local Afro-Brazilian manifestation that dates back from the Post-Cabralian occupation of the region that nowadays is known as Pernambuco - thus characterising a cultural practice that relates, at the same time, to regionalism, tradition, religion and to a subaltern group – the adjective *Atômico* denotes something which is universal, modern and scientific. Thus, the allegory of *Maracatu Atômico* serves as an expression of *Manguebeat* (as well as of *Tropicália*) as musical

⁴⁷ Dunn 2014, 3.

⁴⁸ Tesser 2001, 50.

⁴⁹ Galinsky 2013, 2.

⁵⁰ Maracatu.org.br. Breve história. <http://maracatu.org.br/o-maracatu/breve-historia/>. Accessed on August 2, 2018.

genres which, in a sense, rendered “[Brazilian] tradition more modern and the modern more traditional”⁵¹.

d) Capoeira, Malandragem and the construction of a multi-ethnic Brazil

After a bit more of 40 seconds of *Maracatu Atômico*, Mangubeat gives way to an equally short presentation of Capoeiristas. As Rio-2016 preview seems to happen in a loose chronological order, displaying the Amerindians’ arrival in Brazil, followed by other ethnic groups, once more the exhibition of capoeira worked as a surrogate to the visual representation of the African people struggle against slavery. Nonetheless, as during the 2014 FIFA World Cup opening ceremony, capoeira was once again portrayed out of context, as an Afro-Brazilian dance rather than as a martial art.

During the capoeira performance, the Brazilian singer Seu Jorge – “in a Malandro-style suit”⁵² - enters the scene singing Wilson Simonal’s *Não vem que não tem* (something like “Don’t even try” in a free translation) a samba/MPB that became one of the main hits of the 1960s movement called *Pilantragem*⁵³. As the capoeiristas leave the centre of the stage, the spectacle develops from a performing demonstration of Brazilian society into a display of Rio de Janeiro’s urban culture. Pairs dressed in Samba de Gafieira outfits enter the scene, referring to the traditional Rio de Janeiro rhythm – a local adaptation developed in the 1940s so that Cariocas could dance to samba within the city’s ballrooms⁵⁴.

During the song, Seu Jorge is joined by the Brazilian top model Alessandra Ambrósio. After a few seconds, Sorisso takes Ambrósio by the hand and also dances with her. Simonal’s song is followed by Clara Nunes’ *Canto das Três Raças* (Chant of Three Races) while several dancers, dressed in all-white uniforms, enter the scene carrying multi-coloured cardboards. Nunes’ samba was released in 1976 – shortly after the beginning of the gradual political opening advised by President Geisel in 1974 that

⁵¹ Galinsky 2013, 4.

⁵² London 2012 2012, 39.

⁵³ For more about *Pilantragem*, see Alves Afonso Ferreira, Gustavo 2007.

⁵⁴ De São José 2005, 112.

envisaged a slowdown in forms of repression and censorship⁵⁵ - and carries a strong dissonant voice about the Brazilian myth of the three founding races. While the song does not deny that the Brazilian nation was formed by Amerindians, Africans and Portuguese, it goes against the popular belief that these three peoples originated a joyful nation. Nunes thus denounces the fact that “nobody heard a sob of pain in the chant of Brazil”⁵⁶ caused by the oppression and exploration of its Amerindians, Afro-Brazilians and labouring class populations. Making a “song that should be a song of joy to sound like a sob of pain”⁵⁷.

While the song is played, the group dressed in all-white uniforms work into the cardboards until they become the physical representation of the world-famous Copacabana’s sidewalks. Hence, the soundtrack choice to the symbolic construction of one of Rio’s most visited upper-middle class neighbourhoods denounces the ethnic-social inequalities of Brazil. Curiously, none of *Canto das Três Raças*’ lyrics were heard in the Olympic stadium as the reference to the song was made only through its non-lexical chorus, granting that such a social critic went through unnoticed by the vast majority of the ceremony viewership - especially among international audiences – and that the narrative of Brazil as a racial democracy remained intact during the ceremony despite the somewhat concealed social critique.

Once the cardboard illustration of Copacabana’s sidewalk is fully unfolded over the scene, the song once more changes. Gilberto Gil’s samba *Aquele Abraço - That Embrace* in English- starts to be sung by Marisa Monte, Seu Jorge and Bernardo Santos. The lyrics *O Rio de Janeiro continua lindo, o Rio de Janeiro continua sendo*” [The Rio de Janeiro still beautiful. The Rio de Janeiro continues to be], and so on, pay tribute to the next Olympic host by describing its welcoming civil society. The words may be

⁵⁵ Napolitano 2010.

⁵⁶ Nunes 1976. *Canto das Três Raças*. “Ninguém ouviu um soluçar de dor no canto do Brasil. Um lamento triste sempre ecoou desde que o índio guerreiro foi pro cativo e de lá cantou. Negro entoou um canto de revolta pelos ares no Quilombo dos Palmares onde se refugiou. Fora a luta dos Inconfidentes pela quebra das correntes, nada adiantou. E de guerra em paz, de paz em guerra, todo o povo dessa terra, quando pode cantar, canta de dor. E ecoa noite e dia, é ensurdecador. Ai, mas que agonia o canto do trabalhador. Esse canto que devia ser um canto de alegria soa apenas como um soluçar de dor.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

also understood as a suggestion that, in 1969 (the year in which Gil wrote the song), the city Rio de Janeiro continued to play a central role in the country, as “although the city was no longer the federal capital (...), it continued to be its beating-heart”⁵⁸.

During the song, a man dressed in a grey jacket and a Panama hat walks to the centre of the scene while Sorriso goes on his direction. The two men embrace one another during the song chorus. Then, the mysterious man takes off his jacket and hat revealing seleção’s number 10 jersey – the one which he used to wear during Brazil’s football brighter days. Edson Arantes do Nascimento, better known as Pelé, reveals himself only a few seconds before both the song and Rio’s handover ceremony end. Sorriso hugs Pelé, giving the football star a “warm and welcoming embrace”⁵⁹ – the way Brazilians welcome their friends. At this moment, several fireworks burst in the sky of London.

Rio 2016’s: *A New World - Modernity makes it to the Olympic slogan*

Ever since Seoul 1988’s “*Harmony and Progress*”, the subsequent Olympic cities have elaborated mottoes that should summarize in a few words the events’ goals and/or how they should be remembered. Before Rio 2016, the world had seen six different Olympic cities mottoes. They were: Seoul-1988: *Harmony and Progress*, Barcelona 1992: *Friends Forever*, Atlanta 1996: *The Celebration of the Century*, Sydney 2000: *Share the Spirit*. Athens 2004: *Welcome Home*, Beijing 2008: *One World, One Dream*, and London 2012: *Inspire a Generation*⁶⁰.

It is interesting to note that the many of the Olympic cities mottoes seem to either allude to the idea of union through sport or that of a better future, aspects that are the idealistic basis of the Olympic games. More interesting so is the fact that the first Olympic city motto, that of Seoul 1988, “Harmony and Progress” seems rather close in meaning to the Brazilian flag motto. Both display “progress”, which can also be understood as modernity, as an ultimate goal, however, their idea of modernity is based on different cultural perspectives. Therefore, although harmony’s meaning may slightly overlap the

⁵⁸ da Motta 2000, 1.

⁵⁹ London 2012 2012, 39.

⁶⁰ BBC. *London 2012: Olympic mottoes of previous games*.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-17741405>. Accessed on July 31, 2018.

significance of order, one should take into account the different cultural contexts under each of the mottoes were created. Whereas in Brazil, the motto “Order and Progress” was inspired on European positivist ideals embraced by the nineteenth-century Brazilian political elite, “Harmony and Progress” is a motto that drinks from the Confucian principle of harmony, which is rather present on East Asian cultures⁶¹, especially in South Korea, where the *Taegeuk* appears as the central elements of its national flag.

As the games of Rio de Janeiro were the first ones ever held in South-America, there was a certain expectative to know whether the Brazilian Olympic Committee would mention such a fact on the Olympic slogan or would keep its content close to the one of Rio candidature (i.e. *Live your Passion*). On June 14, 2016, fifty-two days before the opening ceremony, Rio 2016 finally unveiled the competition’s official motto: *A New World*. The motto was revealed, with the presence of IOC president, Thomas Bach, in a ceremony at Olympic Park in Barra da Tijuca.

On first reading, one is inclined to think about the strong symbology of the games to Brazil as a *rite of passage* as the word *new* automatically conveys the notion of rupture with a previous order, with the past. As Rio 2016 were the first games of the South-American continent, the motto also brings to mind one of the early names of given to Earth’s Western hemisphere: *Mundus Novus*⁶².

What is more - given the context in which the city of Rio de Janeiro won the bid to host the games (in a period in which the Brazilian economy had gone through the 2008 Financial Crisis somewhat undamaged) as well as the political connotation that such a victory assumed (i.e. as if the Olympics were a Brazilian triumph over the nations of the developed west) - the motto may suggest that the country’s longstanding stall on its advancement towards its promised future was finally gone.

Tellingly enough, this would not be the first time that the (Brazilian) future was declared to have finally make it to the present. As a matter of illustration, one may recall

⁶¹ Zhang, Lin, Nonaka *et al.* 2005.

⁶² Vespucci 1916.

the words of the Baron of Sant'Anna Nery at the introduction to the Brazilian guide to Paris 1889: "We can say that the giant of South America, asleep for a long time, has finally woken up with the desire of making things anew: *jam novus nascitur ordo*"⁶³⁶⁴.

In order to explain what this *new world* is about, the committee to the 2016 Rio Olympics has presented the slogan within a short video - of about a minute – containing images of Olympic and Paralympic athletes, children and Brazilian people as well as the following written manifesto:

"Building a new world. With new eyes, new examples, new heroes. Making new friends, creating new families. Breaking down barriers. Respecting one another, what is different, alternative – celebrating what is new. Promoting gatherings, mixtures, unity – peace can be one step away, right there! Surprising with new gestures. Adopting new attitudes: all you need is the desire to change. Because life is movement, passion, transformation. Together, we can transform the world. And this victory will be for all of us."⁶⁵

Therefore, the idea of a *New World* as presented by Rio 2016 is that of a world which is still in construction. However, such a new period is to be different from the modern world as we have previously imagined. The appeal to a revised version of the modern project is expressed already in the manifestos' beginning "[b]uilding a new world, with new eyes, new examples, new heroes"⁶⁶.

What follows is a sort of explanation of how such a new world would be better than the world that we live in nowadays. A more tolerant world, with united people and no social barriers: "respecting one another, what is different, alternative – celebrating what is new. Promoting gatherings, mixtures, unity"⁶⁷.

Hence, Rio 2016's slogan was not solely the expression of a nationalist historical

⁶³ "*Jam novus nascitur ordo*" translates from Latin into English as something as "now there is a new order".

⁶⁴ Sant'Anna Nery 1889. XV. "On dirait que le géant de l'Amérique du Sud, assoupi pendant si longtemps, se réveille enfin, animé du désir de tout refaire à nouveau: *jam novus nascitur ordo*."

⁶⁵ Rio 2016. *Rio 2016 Official Slogan, "A New Word"*.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5wzBKcukvmY>. Accessed on August 1, 2018.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

narrative, but also a declaration of how Brazil may collaborate to the construction of an alternative version of the modern project – in the building of a more multi-cultural tolerant and peaceful future.

Olympic rituals in green and yellow

In the realm of Olympic symbology and nationalist narratives, a successful way of expressing the country's *volksgeist* and its contribution to the modern project is to adorn the classic Olympic rituals into something closer to the nation's cosmology. Even more so, when two of the most iconic rituals of the modern Olympics - namely the torch relay and the lighting of the Olympic caldron - seem to somewhat mimic one of the historical narratives that gives substance to the Eurocentric concept of modernity, the one that sets modern Europe as the direct inheritor of the world-spirit (*Weltgeist*) that was once present in Greece and Rome⁶⁸.

a) The torch relay – a ritualized bond between ancient Greece and Rio de Janeiro

According to Dussel, “the unilineal diachrony Greece-Rome-Europe is an ideological construct that can be traced back to the late-eighteenth-century German romanticism”⁶⁹, being thus “a conceptual by-product of the Eurocentric *Aryan model*”⁷⁰. Not surprisingly, the first games to introduce the torch relay tradition were those of Berlin-1936 which were under the *Geist der Zeit* of German ultranationalism.

Therefore, as we have previously seen, a good share of the practices within the Olympic torch ceremony seem to function as a meta-narrative to the *Weltgeist*: as (a) the torch being lit by the sun, “as if there was a continuity between men's microcosms and the universe macrocosms”⁷¹; (b) the image of light been taken from Ancient Olympia ruins (which also symbolises Ancient Greece as a whole) to the nation where the Olympics are held, as well as the torch relay along the way, symbolises the long path travelled by

⁶⁸ Hegel 2001, 120.

⁶⁹ Dussel 2000, 465.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 466.

⁷¹ Fernández Peña and Ramajo Hernandez 2014, 712.

the *spirit* from the centre of the classical world to one of the centres of the modern one; and (c) the particular design of the torch and the caldron, the *spirit*'s new recipients, reflecting the cultural heritage of the people whose nation is hosting the event. The latter tradition rendered every single Olympic torch and caldron different than their predecessors, thus “domesticating” such universalist traditions⁷².

The ceremony of the Olympic flame lighting for the XXXI Olympiad took place at the ruins of the Temple of Hera in Ancient Olympia on April 21st 2016. As per usual since Berlin 1936, the ceremony was filled with nostalgic ritualistic elements that invoked the traditions of classical Greece. Among these traditions, the ceremony is performed by modern-day Greek women dressed-up as ancient Greece “vestal nuns”. According to Cahill, “in ancient Greece, vestal nuns (or vestal virgins) dedicated their lives to guarding the sacred Olympic fire”. Nowadays, a Greek actress performs the role of a vestal nun high-priestess who “kneels near the temple of Hera and draws a pure flame from the sun’s rays”⁷³. From there, the flame lights a clay-made urn that, moments later, ignites the first Olympic torch - which has a classic Greek design. Then, the actress portraying the vestal virgin passes the Olympic fire to the first torchbearer, the Greek artistic gymnast Eleftherios Petrounias. He kneels while his Rio-2016 Olympic torch is touched by the vestal nun’s flame in a gesture that symbolic bridges two millennia.

As soon as the symbolic temporal connection between classic and modern Greece is completed, the physical journey between Olympia and Rio de Janeiro starts. About 12,450 torchbearers – 12,000 from Brazil and 450 from Greece – covered more than 38,000 kilometres from Greece to Brazil by land and air between April 21st, 2016 and August 5th, 2016.

In Brazil, the Olympic torch relay started in the federal capital, Brasilia, on May 3rd, 2016 and naturally finished in the Maracanã stadium, in the city of Rio de Janeiro, on August 5th of the same year. The Olympic flame went to all Brazilian states, covering a total of 36,000 kilometres – 20,000 km by land and 16,000 km by air.

⁷² Hogan 2003, 106.

⁷³ Cahill 1998.

Nonetheless, the time period in which the Olympic torch relay took place in each of the Brazilian federal units was rather dissimilar. The southeastern states of São Paulo (eleven days), Rio de Janeiro (ten days) and Belo Horizonte (eight days) were the federative units in which the relay took place for a longer period. On the other end of the spectrum, Sergipe, Alagoas, Tocantins, Amapá, Roraima, Amazonas, Acre, Rondônia, Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul were the states in which the Olympic flame went the fastest. Each of these states received the torch for a single day, always in their capital cities.

If we look at the amount of time spent in each of the Brazilian regions, we see that the South-East – the wealthier and most populated part of Brazil – had the Olympic flame for a record total of 32 days, making an average of 8 days per South-Eastern state. Nevertheless, when deciding the amount of time spent in each of the Brazilian regions, the gross domestic product seems to have prevailed over the size of the population. That would explain why the 3 states of the South had 16 of their cities visited (an average of a bit more than 5 cities per federal unit), whereas the Olympic flame went to only 22 cities of the 9 states of the North-East (an average of 2.44 cities by state).

When it comes to the Olympic torch relay, size does not necessarily matter – especially if the area is largely uninhabited. Brazil’s North - which covers 45.2% of the country’s territory but it is home to only 8.1% of its population – had only 8 days of the relay in its 7 states (a bit more than a day per federal unit). By the same token, the Centre-West – expanding across 18.86% of Brazil and having about 8% of the nation’s inhabitants living in it – has had (with the Federal District) a total of 7 days of torch relay in its 4 federal units (an average inferior to 2 cities per federal units).

Region	N. of Days	Days/States average	GDP Participation ⁷⁴	Population (Millions) ⁷⁵	Area (Km2)
South-East	32	8	54%	84.465.579	927.286

⁷⁴ IBGE. 2013a.

⁷⁵ IBGE. 2013b.

South	16	5.33	16.8%	28.795.762	575.316
North-East	22	2.44	14.2%	55.794.694	1.556.001
Centre-West	7	1.75	9.7%	14.993.194	1.612.077
North	8	1.14	5.4%	16.983.485	3.869.637

Table 3: Number of cities visited by the Olympic torch relay by Brazilian regions⁷⁶

According to the IOC, in Brazil, the torchbearers were “recommended by the general public as ‘everyday heroes’ who represent the best of Brazil and who make a difference in their community”⁷⁷. Therefore, the possibility of carrying the Olympic torch was a way of paying tribute to police officers, fire-fighters, school teachers and so on whose efforts were recognised as essential to the community.

During the relay, there was much discussion in Brazilian media about who would be the last person to carry the torch and ignite the Olympic cauldron at Maracanã Stadium on August 5th, 2016. Brazilian football legend, Edson Arantes do Nascimento – better known as Pelé – was deemed the favourite among the press to be the one to ignite the cauldron. However, the footballer had to decline the invitation because he did not “have the physical conditions to take part in the Olympics opening”⁷⁸.

The chosen athlete was Athens-2004 marathon bronze-medal Vanderlei Cordeiro de Lima. Winner of two Pan-American Games marathons (Winnipeg-1999 and Santo Domingo 2003), De Lima became world-widely known due to an incident in which he was halted and grappled by a spectator when he was near the 35 km mark of the 2004-Athens marathon. At the moment of the attack, De Lima was leading the race. His performance, however, seemed to be compromised by the event and he finished the

⁷⁶ IOC. *Rio 2016 Torch Relay*. <https://www.olympic.org/rio-2016-torch-relay>. Accessed on July 5, 2018.

⁷⁷ IOC. *Rio 2016 Torch Relay*. <https://www.olympic.org/rio-2016-torch-relay>. Accessed on July 5, 2018.

⁷⁸ ESPN. *Sem Condições Físicas, Pelé não acenderá pira Olímpica no Rio de Janeiro*. http://www.espn.com.br/noticia/619359_sem-condicoes-fisicas-pele-nao-acendera-pira-olimpica-no-rio-de-janeiro. Accessed on June 22, 2018.

marathon in the third-place. After the race, De Lima said to proud of himself because his performance was the result of very hard work and that he was happy to be on the podium no matter what happened⁷⁹.

In the same evening, Vanderlei was presented with the Pierre de Coubertin medal “in recognition of [his] exceptional demonstration of fair play and Olympic value”⁸⁰. In Brazil, the story of the former farm worker who became an Olympic hero made the headlines and De Lima became a symbol of sportsmanship, bravery, resilience and perseverance against successive hardships⁸¹. Therefore, the choice of giving him the highest honour of Brazilian sport instead of other Brazilian golden medalists or sports celebrities sets the aforementioned attributes ahead of fame and victory, serving as an inspiration for next Brazilian generations to achieve their goals.

b) The Torch – a Janus-faced flambeau revealing Rio’s natural marvels

On July 4th, 2015, a little less than a year before the torch relay ceremony started in ancient Olympia, the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Summer Olympics torch was unveiled in a ceremony with the presence of president Dilma Rousseff and the Brazilian Olympic Committee head Carlos Arthur Nuzman. To select the torch design, a panel formed by “eleven members recognised for their expertise in product design or their contribution to the Olympic Movement”⁸² reviewed the submission of seventy-six different Brazilian design agencies. The agency which created the design of the selected torch was the creative studio Chelles & Hayashi from São Paulo⁸³.

Following the long-lasting tradition of crafting a torch that should embody the cultural

⁷⁹ International Association of Athletics Federations. *Vanderlei de Lima – The story of a man that goes beyond one strange incident*.

<https://www.iaaf.org/news/news/vanderlei-de-lima-the-story-of-a-man-that-g>. Accessed on June 22, 2018.

⁸⁰ IOC. 2004. *Lima Vanderlei receives the Pierre de Coubertin medal*.

<https://www.olympic.org/news/lima-vanderlei-receives-the-pierre-de-coubertin-medal>. Accessed on June 22, 2018.

⁸¹ Francisco 2007.

⁸² International Olympic Committee. *Rio 2016 unveils innovative Olympic torch*.

<https://www.olympic.org/news/rio-2016-unveils-innovative-olympic-torch>. Accessed on August 22, 2016.

⁸³ *Ibid*.

heritage of the nation whose nation is hosting the event, the Rio-16 carried several elements of the Brazilian cosmology. However, most strikingly, the Brazilian torch carried a major innovation: when unlit, it looks completely white if it was not for five small grooves around it. Nonetheless, once the torch is lit by the Olympic fire, these grooves open up as the torch expands - from its original size of 63.5 cm to 69 cm high - thus unveiling the national flag colours (yellow, green and different shades of blue).

Other than standing for the colours of the national flag, each of these colours also symbolised Brazil's exuberant nature as a tropical country: the yellow of its tropical sun, the green of its mountains, the blue of its sea⁸⁴. What is more, the city of Rio de Janeiro is represented by the torch not solely by the tropical and coastal aspect of the torch, but also by the shape of its grooves.

As a matter of fact, once it is open, the wavy patterns on its top remind us of the Sugarloaf Mountain and the wavy patterns on its bottom allude to the world-famous Copacabana's beach sidewalks. The blue of the sea and the yellow scorching sun above all these iconic elements complete the composition that reminds us of one of Rio de Janeiro's most famous postcard, the one of the Sugarloaf Mountain as seen from Copacabana beach.

The use of the Sugarloaf Mountain in the torch - which happens to also be the inspiration to the games' logo – also comes as an answer to “the need for a holistic, totalizing and interconnected vision among the different elements of communication and image [of the games] (ceremonies, torches, mascots or logos) ”⁸⁵.

⁸⁴ Dolzan 2015.

⁸⁵ Fernández Peña 2016, 126.



Figure 35: Rio 2016's Olympic torch (unlit and lit shapes)⁸⁶

The torch and, for that matter, the logo thus pay tribute to the iconographical tradition - which started as soon as Brazil was elevated from its colonial status⁸⁷ - of having Rio de Janeiro's gneiss-granites, "these huge rounded masses of naked rock rising out of the most luxuriant vegetation"⁸⁸, as being one of the main national icons, analogous to both Rio de Janeiro and Brazil.

What is more, the fact that the torch remained white when unlit and, once in contact with fire, it opened its grooves in order to display each of the national colours, representing different features of Brazil's landscape, may be seen as a metaphor to the idea that the Olympic flame, and the Olympics, are there to unveil Brazil's riches, or

⁸⁶ Rede de Esporte. *Conheça a tocha dos jogos Rio 2016*.

<http://www.rededesporte.gov.br/pt-br/noticias/conheca-a-tocha-dos-jogos-rio-2016-revezamento-passara-por-todas-as-regioes-do-brasil>. Accessed on December 11, 2018.

⁸⁷ Martins 2010.

⁸⁸ Darwin 1840, 32.

even its untapped potential, to the world.

In addition, two supplementary features in the very composition of the torch collaborated to the already established practice of keeping traditional aspects of the Olympic set of rituals and values while adding some national tailor-made elements to it. As a means to give continuity to the Olympic cosmology, the torch was crafted as if knitted with tinny triangles which, according to their designers, should represent the three Olympic values of “excellence, friendship and respect”⁸⁹. Moreover, according to Maass, “these values are the foundation upon which the Olympic Movement blends sport, culture and education for the betterment of human beings and humankind”⁹⁰.

Furthermore, all the Olympic torches utilised in the relay from Athens to Rio de Janeiro were made from recycled aluminium⁹¹, an aspect intended to collaborate to the narrative of Rio-2016 as being the *green games* as well as to the one that Brazil is an environmentally friendly nation that keeps seeking a creative solution to modern problems.

c) The Cauldron - a low polluting manmade sun is revealed in the Maracanã

The confection of the Olympic cauldron also seems to have had such a narrative behind its guidelines. In order to comply with them, Anthony Howe - an American kinetic sculptor - created an Olympic cauldron which was much smaller than its predecessors, thus having a relatively lower CO2 emission rate than those from other Olympics. For the sake of its brightness, its small size was compensated by several small round-shaped mirrors held by different rings of rotating bars. The fire reflected by the structure made the cauldron look like a pulsating-sun that lit the Maracanã stadium during the opening ceremony. Other than being a metaphor for the role of a creative industry behind sustainable development - after all, the Olympic cauldron was as bright as other

⁸⁹ Dolzan 2015.

⁹⁰ Maass 2007, 28.

⁹¹ International Olympic Committee. *Rio 2016 unveils innovative Olympic torch*. <https://www.olympic.org/news/rio-2016-unveils-innovative-olympic-torch>. Accessed on August 22nd 2016.

versions of it but it polluted less - Howe's sculpture was also an allegory to the image of Brazil as a tropical nation.



Figure 36: Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympic Cauldron⁹²

What is more, the sculpture added a further sense of continuity to the cauldron ignition ritual. As we have seen, ever since Berlin-1936, the Olympic cauldron is lit by the fire made out of the sun shining over the ruin of ancient Olympia. Therefore, the cauldron rituals traditionally attempt to go further beyond the games peculiarity as “temporal markers throughout the history of modernity”⁹³, as they reach to both the classical world and to the metaphysical universe. In the case of Brazil's cauldron, the light not solely concludes its physical and ritual journey from ancient Olympia to modern Rio de Janeiro, but it also symbolically completes its metaphysical crossing from the

⁹² Yahoo! Sports. *Mystery solved: Why Rio Olympics' cauldron is so tiny*. Accessed on December 11, 2018.

⁹³ Dayan and Katz 1992, 102.

Olympian sun, “the universe macrocosms”⁹⁴, to the manmade one which illuminates the Maracanã stadium.

d) The Olympic medals’ design

The principle of branding Rio 2016 as the *green games* was also extended to the Olympic medals making. According to the IOC, Olympic medals are given to the winners since the first Olympic games of the modern era, in Athens 1896. The nowadays tradition of presenting the first with gold, the second with silver and the third with bronze medals started in Saint Louis, 1904. On 1928, the medals became standardized, “on one side, there was the traditional design of the goddess of victory, holding a palm in her left hand and a winner’s crown in her right hand. On the other, an Olympic champion was carried triumphantly by the crowd, with an Olympic stadium in the background”⁹⁵. In Munich 1972, however, a new trend began. Nike, the goddess of victory was kept on the one side, but the host country started to tailor-make the motif on the other side to fit-in the ongoing game’s theme.

In the case of the Olympic medals to Rio 2016, the reverse carries Rio’s logo – which is based in the depiction of the Sugarloaf Mountain - surrounded by the traditional Olympic laurel leaves. According to the IOC, this design “celebrates the relationship between the strength of Olympic heroes and the forces of nature”⁹⁶. However, the most important aspect that differs Rio-2016’s Olympic medals from their precedents is their environment-friendly composition as the silver and the bronze medals were made using 30 per cent recycled materials and the ribbons made of 50 per cent recycled PET. As for the gold medals, which are said to be “purer than ever”, they were produced mercury-free, and “make use of recycled raw silver (...) coming from leftover mirrors, waste solders and X-ray plates”⁹⁷.

⁹⁴ Fernández Peña and Ramajo Hernandez 2014, 712.

⁹⁵ IOC. *Olympic Medals*. <https://www.olympic.org/olympic-medals>. Accessed on July 9, 2018.

⁹⁶ IOC. *Rio-2016 Olympic Medals*. <https://www.olympic.org/rio-2016-medals>. Accessed on July 9, 2018.

⁹⁷ IOC. *Rio 2016 medals*. <https://www.olympic.org/rio-2016-medals>. Accessed on July 10t, 2018.

Tom and Vinicius, two anthropomorphic mixtures of Brazilian fauna and flora as Rio 2016 mascots

Following the trend that started with *World Cup Willie* in the 1966 FIFA World Cup in England, the organisers of the 1968 Grenoble Winter Olympics came up with *Schuss* – “a little man on skis in the position to which his name alludes”⁹⁸ – as the mascot for the games. Four years later, *Waldi* – a multi-coloured dachshund – became the first official mascot in the history of the Olympic Summer Games in Munich 1972.

As we have previously seen, most of the mascots for the Olympic games and the FIFA World Cup are intended to personify some of the host (imagined or desired) national characteristics⁹⁹. In the case of Rio de Janeiro 2016, *Vinicius* – a mix of different Brazilian animals – and *Tom* – the anthropomorphic combination of varied Brazilian trees¹⁰⁰ – were intended to represent “the diversity of the Brazilian people and culture, as well as its exuberant nature”¹⁰¹.

While they were made by the Brazilian *Birde Produções* after several selection stages, their names were chosen by the general public – among *Oba and Eba* and *Tiba Tuque and Esquindim* – paying tribute to two of the most prominent Bossa-Nova names, the composers of *Garota de Ipanema*: Tom Jobim and Vinicius de Moraes.

The fact that they were named after two of the most famous Brazilian musicians abroad was celebrated by the president of the Brazilian Olympic Committee, Carlos Nuzman: “other than representing the Brazilian fauna and flora, our mascots now are also connected to the best of our music”¹⁰².

⁹⁸ IOC. *Grenoble 1968 Mascot*. <https://www.olympic.org/grenoble-1968-mascot>. Accessed on July 10, 2018.

⁹⁹ Pellizzoni *et al.* 2013.

¹⁰⁰ IOC. *Rio 2016 Mascot*. <https://www.olympic.org/rio-2016-mascot>. Accessed on July 10, 2018.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Brasil 2016. *Mascotes Olímpicos e Paralímpicos já têm nome*. <http://www.brasil2016.gov.br/pt-br/noticias/mascotes-olimpicos-e-paralimpicos-ja-tem-nome-vinicius-e-tom>. Accessed on July 11, 2018.



Figure 37: Vinicius and Tom, Rio 2016 Mascots¹⁰³

Giving continuity to a tradition that started in Moscow-1980, the games of Rio de Janeiro also had two mascots, one for the Olympics and another for the Paralympics. While *Tom* – the mascot for the Paralympics, a mixture of the Brazilian flora – is said to “be ever growing and overcoming obstacles”¹⁰⁴, *Vinicius* embodies the Olympic motto – *Citius, Altius, Fortius* – within the (Brazilian) animal kingdom. “It counts with the agility of the felines, the *gingado* of the monkeys and the lightness of the birds”¹⁰⁵, writes the Brazilian official page to the event.

Agility and *gingado* are definitely attributes that one would associate with a Brazilian sports person, especially those that practice capoeira or play what Freyre called mulatto-football¹⁰⁶. Nonetheless, what defines Rio mascots is the fact that they are miscegenated animals and that such miscegenation granted them with the best of each species.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Freyre 1938.

It was not the first time that Olympic mascots paid tribute to the diversity of the hosting country fauna. In Sydney 2000 – for example – *Syd*, *Olly* and *Millie* (respectively a duck-billed platypus, a kookaburra and an echidna anteater) were based on the diversity and exotism of Australian fauna¹⁰⁷. In Rio-2016, *Vinicius* and *Tom* are not solely the anthropomorphic combination of different Brazilian species, but they are also, in many ways, superior to each of the animals or plants that took part in their genesis. Therefore, *Vinicius* and *Tom* symbolise the narrative of Brazil as a land of exuberant nature since they embody the narrative of Brazilian racial and cultural *métissage* as a means of ethnic and national improvement, an account close to those which were presented by the likes of Gilberto Freyre.

Rio-2016 Opening Ceremony

a) What should the message be?

As we have seen, hosting the Olympics is a matter of international soft power and national pride. This understanding was naturally shared by Rio 2016 Olympic committee and was expressed by the designation of the Rio Olympics five pillars: “technical excellence, transformation through sport, the growth of the Olympic and Paralympic movements, Brazil’s global image and memorable celebrations”¹⁰⁸. Amongst these pillars, two of them relate directly to the Olympic ceremonies. Therefore, they were central to Brazilian plans “at a time when the country is assuming a leading role in the international arena”¹⁰⁹. What is more, the ceremonies should play a major role in one of the planned main legacies of the games, namely the “increase in the self-esteem of citizens of Rio and of Brazil”¹¹⁰.

In the 2014 FIFA World Cup opening ceremony Brazil kept its traditional instance as

¹⁰⁷ IOC. *Sydney-2000 mascots*. <https://www.olympic.org/sydney-2000-mascots>. Accessed on July 10, 2018.

¹⁰⁸ Rio 2016 2012, 2. Emphasis added by the author.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

a diverse country, which is home to an exuberant flora and a joyous people¹¹¹. What is more, the idea of a diverse and tolerant society was also explored by Rio de Janeiro 2016 presentation in the Olympic Handover Ceremony during the closing ceremony of London 2012. Therefore, one may have expected to find a similar message in Rio 2016 opening ceremony. Considering the content found in the most diverse Rio 2016 audiovisual material – from mascots to emblems and from Olympic torches to the competition’s official slogan – one may expect that Rio’s opening ceremony would be an attempt to expand the 2014 FIFA World Cup narrative: from ethnic diversity to racial and sexual tolerance and from nature in its original form into environmentalism and the drive for sustainable development.

Naturally, the idea of (re)using the narrative of Brazil as a tolerant nation during the 2016 Olympics did not come out of the clear blue sky. Rio 2016 committee felt that, internationally, the 2010s was the right period to revive the image of Brazil as a progressive country. By the same reason, the IOC also decided that the games of the XXXI Olympiad would be the first ones in history where transgender athletes would be allowed to compete without prior gender reassignment surgery¹¹². To show support to the IOC’s decision and to endorse the narrative that Rio’s games were to be also remembered as the Olympics of tolerance, the transgender fashion model Leandra Medeiros Cerezo was invited to carry Brazil’s placard, leading the host country athletes into the Parade of Nations.

Additionally, Rio-2016 was also the first games to have an Olympic refugee team. The decision came to “act as a symbol of hope and peace for refugees worldwide and [to] bring attention to the magnitude of the refugee crisis”¹¹³. As a result, ten athletes – originally from Syria, South Sudan, Ethiopia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo – competed as a single team under the Olympic flag.

¹¹¹ Malanski 2016.

¹¹² IOC 2015. *Consensus Meeting on Sex Reassignment and Hyperandrogenism*. Available at

https://stillmed.olympic.org/Documents/Commissions_PDFfiles/Medical_commission/2015-11_ioc_consensus_meeting_on_sex_reassignment_and_hyperandrogenism-en.pdf. Accessed on March 2, 2018.

¹¹³ IOC 2016. *Refugee Olympic team to shine spotlight on worldwide refugee crisis*. Available at <https://www.olympic.org/news/refugee-olympic-team-to-shine-spotlight-on-worldwide-refugee-crisis>. Accessed on March 2, 2018.

When it comes to the environmentalist character of Rio-2016's legacy, the International Brazilian Committee gave to each of the eleven thousand athletes present in the Parade of Nations the seed of a native Brazilian tree and a cartridge of soil. The idea was to plant them in Deodoro (west zone of Rio) just after the games, making what would be the Athletes' Forest. The fact that, as by December 2017 (sixteen months after the end of the games), the forest had not yet been planted due to "lack of investment"¹¹⁴ shows that, in the creation of nationalist narratives such as the one for the Rio Olympics, there is often a significant difference between discourse and practice.

When it comes to the sentence above, before we start our Rio 2016 analysis, it is important to note that rather often national narratives – especially those presented by quasi-official accounts - do not live up to their reality. In the past sections, we have seen that, on numerous occasions, several Brazilian governments have benefited from different interpretations of the nation so to gain ground on the international scene. Therefore, one may point out that – despite governmental efforts such as the creation of an institute of biodiversity conservation in 2007 (the ICMBio¹¹⁵) - in the period between 2000 and 2010 an area of about the size of Uruguay (169,074 square kilometres) was deforested within the Amazon biome¹¹⁶.

By the same token, Henriques argues that, in Brazil, "the black population is subject to an intense inequality of opportunities"¹¹⁷. According to the 2016 national census, three out four people living in poverty are non-whites and only 12.8% of this population have access to tertiary education, while 26.5% of those who considered themselves as *whites*

¹¹⁴ Globo 2017. *Promessa olimpica, 'Floresta dos Atletas' ainda nao saiu do papel no Rio*. Available at <https://g1.globo.com/rj/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/promessa-olimpica-floresta-dos-atletas-ainda-nao-saiu-do-papel-no-rio.ghtml>. Accessed on March 2, 2018.

¹¹⁵ The Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation (ICMBio) was created by the Brazilian Ministry of Environment in 2007 as an exclusively institute in charge of the management and protection of the Brazilian conservation areas. The organization was named after the environmental activist Chico Mendes, assassinated in 1988

¹¹⁶ Imazon 2013.

¹¹⁷ Henriques 2001, 46.

on the national survey made to the university¹¹⁸.

b) The Rio 2016 Opening Ceremony takes place in the Maracanã

On August 5, 2016, Rio de Janeiro's opening ceremony finally takes place in the Maracanã stadium. Directed by a team of Brazilian film directors, screenwriters and choreographers formed by the likes of Fernando Meirelles, Daniela Thomas, Andrew "Andrucha" Waddington and Deborah Colker, the theatrical presentation of Rio 2016 was significantly cheaper than its late predecessors – costing only about ten per cent of its English counterpart, London 2012¹¹⁹.

To compensate for the recurrent budget cuts caused by the Brazilian economic crisis, Rio 2016 would have to focus on "originality rather than luxury"¹²⁰. Film director Leonardo Caetano, who was also part of the ceremony team, stated that "we will spend less, but we compensate with creativity, rhythm and emotion"¹²¹. The opening ceremony would thus also have a strong degree of the narrative of Brazilian-ness – the idea that creativity, rhythm and emotion are valuable tools to overcome everyday problems in Brazil – in its own making. What is more, the ceremony would also have a strong idealised character as Creative Director Fernando Meirelles explained that the ceremony shows a vision of Brazil and "what [he] hopes it [Brazil] will become"¹²². According to the media guide distributed to the press before the kick-off, "Brazil's ceremony will focus on the future, celebrate togetherness and reach beyond the country's borders, speaking to the planet as a whole"¹²³.

¹¹⁸ Agência Brasil 2016. *IBGE: negros são 17% dos mais ricos e três quartos da população mais pobre*. Available at <http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/geral/noticia/2016-12/ibge-negros-sao-17-dos-mais-ricos-e-tres-quartos-da-populacao-mais-pobre>. Accessed on January 19, 2019.

¹¹⁹ Bloomberg. *Rio Olympics ceremony to cost 10% of London's lavish event open*. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-09-22/rio-olympics-ceremony-to-cost-10-of-london-s-lavish-event-open>. Accessed on August 14, 2018.

¹²⁰ Inside the games. *Rio 2016 promise original ceremony despite low budget*. <https://www.insidethegames.biz/articles/1030407/rio-2016-promise-original-olympic-opening-ceremony-despite-low-budget>. Accessed on August 14, 2018.


¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² CBC. *Rio Olympics organizers: Olympic opening ceremony will be cheap*. <http://www.cbc.ca/sports/rio-olympics-organizers-opening-ceremony-will-be-cheap-1.3239309>. Accessed on August 14, 2018.

¹²³ Rio 2016a, 7.

To do it so, Meirelles tells us, the ceremony has three main pillars: “the garden, a protected environmental area. Brazilians, a people who accept others, and joy”¹²⁴. To deliver such a message to the world, Rio 2016 put more than 1,400 volunteers on the pitch of Maracanã stadium in a giving moment of its opening ceremony. In total, the Rio 2016 opening ceremony counted with about 5,000 volunteers, 300 artistic producers, 200 professional dancers and 500 percussionists¹²⁵. It is estimated that the show was watched by about 3 billion people around the globe¹²⁶.

c) Rio-2016: Crafting a symbol of peace, tolerance and environmentalism

The aforementioned sun-like Olympic cauldron and the shape-shifting torch were not the only Brazilian Olympic symbols that carried out innovations to transmit a message of environmentalism to the world. At the very beginning of the opening ceremony, before the official presentation of the president of the International Olympic Committee, Mr Thomas Bach, the national anthem execution and the actual dramatization of the Olympic ritual, a round-shaped icon was projected onto the centre of the Maracana Stadium’s pitch. The symbol, made by the Brazilian cartoonist Ziraldo Alves Pinto exclusively for Rio-2016, is similar to the peace symbol () – also known as Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament icon. However, in the Brazilian version, the icon is upside down, painted in green and with ten leaves growing from the V shape at the top of the symbol, thus looking like a tree.



¹²⁴ Viva. *The opening ceremony documentary of the Olympic games Rio 2016*. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2xk2tJ1j3GA>. Accessed on August 14, 2018.

¹²⁵ O Globo. *Abertura dos Jogos Reunirá 12 mil atletas e 5 mil voluntários*. <https://oglobo.globo.com/rio/abertura-dos-jogos-reunira-12-mil-atletas-5-mil-voluntarios-19848864>. Accessed on August 17, 2018.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*



Figure 38: Rio 2016's peace and ecology icon¹²⁷

The peace symbol () was created in 1958 by the British designer Gerald Holtom to be used in an anti-nuclear weaponry march in London. Holtom's inspiration came from the drawing of "an individual in despair, with hands palm outstretched outwards and downwards in the manner of Goya's peasant before the firing squad"¹²⁸. Later, he also realised that the drawing also conveyed the idea of the letters N and D, as if they were made through the use of the flag-signalling (semaphore) alphabet - therefore, something like a ^ (N) and a I (D) - standing for Nuclear Disarmament (ND). The juxtaposition of the semaphore representation of the two letters, within a circle symbolising Earth, resulted in the nowadays well-known .

However, it is said that, later in life, Gerald Holtom "came to regret the connotation of despair and had wanted the sign inverted" as "peace was something that should be

¹²⁷ *Rio 2016 Opening Ceremony*. Available on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N_qXm9HY9Ro&t=2845s. Accessed on August, 24, 2018.

¹²⁸ Westcott 2008. *World's best-known protest symbol turns 50*. *BBC news*. March 20. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/magazine/7292252.stm. Accessed on October 20, 2016.

celebrated”¹²⁹. That is exactly what Ziraldo and Rio-2016 have done with his peace and ecology icon. By inverting it, they have symbolically turned despair into celebration. Therefore, beyond the unequivocal connotation of a tree inside the planet Earth symbolising the idea of ecology and peace - or environmental friendliness and tolerance - a deeper contextualised reading of the Rio-2016’s icon leads one to understand that the two aforementioned practices are the answers for turning hopelessness into triumph and happiness.

What is more, by using one of the most well-known symbols of political activism of our time as the basis to the creation of an icon of its own, Rio-16 was able to send an immediate message to its audience. Since its creation, the peace symbol has been used as a counterculture icon to promote the end of wars, the end of the apartheid and to promote women’s and gay rights¹³⁰. It has thus been used as a symbol of hope and change to the same extent as it was used as an icon of peace. Therefore, the symbol is also an invitation to defy the status quo and build a better future, an invitation to a peaceful revolution. In the case of Rio-16, the symbol was transformed to emerge as an appeal to build a greener and more tolerant tomorrow.

Therefore, one may say that the exposition of Ziraldo’s icon during the ceremony may have intended to (a) send a message in a shorter period of time, as pictorial representations are designed to do so, (b) to convey the idea of peace and tolerance, as the first meaning of its early model did, (c) to transmit the idea of status quo changing, based on the historical activist uses of the original symbol, (d) to bring the idea of turning despair into celebration and hope, by subverting an undesired aspect of the symbol created by Gerald Holtom, to (e) represent the message of environmentalism presented by the opening ceremony and, finally, to (f) be used in future manifestations sharing the same goal as the Rio-16 Olympic opening ceremony.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Kolsbun 2008.

1. Rio-2016 Opening Ceremony: from immemorial times to a pre-Cabralian Brazil

The ceremony starts with the presentation of Rio's promotional video, called *Rio de Janeiro is by vocation an Olympic city*¹³¹, in which Cariocas of different walks of life can be seen practising sports in the most diverse settings of Rio de Janeiro, in a mixture of metropolitan and natural landscapes, displaying the State capital as "a city where nature and the urban coexist harmonically"¹³². The song in the video is Gilberto Gil's *Aquele Abraço* (the same song that closed Rio's presentation in London four years earlier, which we have analysed some pages ago) sung by Luiz Melodia.

Then, several performers enter the scene carrying large silver sheets and to the sound of Marcos Valle's *Summer Samba*, they make wave-like patterns in the middle of the stadium. These patterns were inspired in the long tradition of Brazilian geometric art, "from cave paintings, through indigenous patterns to the geometric abstractions of modernism"¹³³.

Seconds later, the same performers start the countdown to the beginning of the ceremony. Each number, starting in 9 and finishing in 1, is digitally projected over the volunteers as if they would be following from the sky. As a reaction to each number falling, the performers start a chain reaction from the core to the periphery, as if the numbers had fallen into a water pool or the sea.

When the countdown is over, fireworks burst in the sky forming the word: "RIO". The performers leave the scene, and the aforementioned Peace and Ecology icon is projected into the centre of the pitch. Moments later, as per usual, IOC president Thomas Bach is announced in the stadium. Then, Brazilian singer Paulinho da Viola sings and plays the national anthem, accompanied by a string orchestra, over an all-white half-globe that serves as scene and reminds of Oscar Niemeyer's project to the Brazilian National Congress in the country's capital.

¹³¹ Rio 2016 2016a, 9.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 10.

Meanwhile, the Brazilian flag is raised by Rio de Janeiro's Environmental Police Command – the choice of giving to the environmental police the honour of raising the national flag was a strong sign of the content that would follow throughout the ceremony. Once the flag is raised, the first act is about to start. The act has the environment as a cohesive element representing a period that goes back to prehistory to, then, gets to our time

a) Genesis: “Pindorama: The Birth of Life”

The Rio 2016 Summer Olympics theatrical first act starts with the formation and transformation of Pindorama, the land portion that is nowadays known as Brazil. According to the organizing committee of Rio 2016, “the Tupi-Guarani called this territory Pindorama, the land of Palm trees. The mythical land free of all evils. Four million indigenous inhabited the region until the *invasion of Pindorama*, or as we say, the *discovery of Brazil* by the Portuguese”¹³⁴.

The theatrical presentation thus starts showing the formation and transformation of the landscape from a desert-like soil to an exuberant woodland in green and yellow patterns - symbolising, respectively, the local flora and fauna.

Such a transformation develops from a lifeless void that starts to be washed up by the recently formed ocean while flashing lights and thunder sounds give the idea of an intense activity in Earth's atmosphere. Suddenly, the storm stops. The ocean retreats, leaving plenty of microorganisms behind. They reproduce and start penetrating into the soil. Plastic and metal structures walk onto the scene, symbolising land invertebrates - the first inhabitants of Brazil. These creatures were made by artist Roger Titley, who also made the puppets used during the 2010 FIFA World Cup ceremonies¹³⁵.

The biological activity on the soil intensifies, finally forming endless green rhizome systems that will physically sustain the trees that begin growing upwards forming the rainforest, which is represented by a horizontal string supporting several green

¹³⁴ Rio 2016 2016a, 14.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

filaments that hang vertically. Finally, countless yellow butterflies were projected on the green strands. The formation of nature, “the representation of the immemorial origin of all civilisations”¹³⁶, is, therefore, epitomised in the first scenes of the opening ceremony. Nature thus replaces the lifeless void of the first scene, in what could arguably be a reminder of the miracle of life and also of its frailty.

Interestingly, Rio’s 2016 representation of the genesis of the land that is called Brazil seems closer to the scientific version of the origin of life on Earth than such representations during the handover ceremony of London 2012 and that of the 2014 FIFA World Cup. Whereas in 2014 a vast diversity of Brazilian specimens emerged in the Arenas Corinthians Stadium *ex nihilo*, in 2012, the syncretic figure of Yemanjá, embodied by the Brazilian singer Marisa Monte, preceded the arrival of different peoples to Brazil, characterising an *ex Deo* origin to Brazilian society as well as the *folk* tone of the presentation.

Contrarily to its forerunners, Rio 2016 assumed a more scientific instance in relation to the planet from its beginning, the one that, in a few seconds, shows nature’s development throughout the ages, transforming a desert land into a green paradise. Perhaps such a decision was made as means to prepare the viewer to a sequence of scientific graphs that would later appear in the ceremony as an appeal to reduce CO2 emissions and as an alert for the need for a more balanced relationship between humans and nature. In addition, the fact that invertebrates and seedlings appear in the theatrical dramatization of Brazilian history as the first inhabitants of the land puts them side-by-side with human beings as different pieces of the natural world – having thus the same rights to exist in the planet.

b) Amerindians, the first known humans to arrive in Pindorama

The performance goes on with the sudden scattering of the yellow butterflies. They were seemingly scared by something. The moving shadow of a much larger animal, projected on the green-lit filaments that symbolise the forest, seems to be the reason why the butterflies have dispersed. It appears to have wings and it sings a song of its

¹³⁶ Dos Santos 2003, 187.

own. As it approaches the forest, one can see that the shadow is actually formed by a group of several Amerindians marching into the depths of Brazil in a perfectly straight line.

According to the organising committee, the cast comes from Parintins – a city in the middle of Amazon forest where the traditional folklore festival *Bumba Meu Boi* takes place every June. Although the original story of *Bumba Meu Boi*, which served as an inspiration to the festival, is a folk tale with a social undertone and was created by people of mixed origins, the fact that most of the inhabitants of the Amazon region are of Amerindian descent seems to have been the reason for their selection. Therefore, “the 72 dancers represent here their indigenous heritage”¹³⁷.

The movements of the Amerindians mimic the motion of flying birds, their wings moving in almost perfect synchrony. Giving the Amerindian “inconstant soul”¹³⁸, expressed by Father Vieira in the seventeenth-century, one could assume that, at this moment, the group of Amerindians presented in the ceremony becomes one single entity, one single bird. Due to the music they sing and the way they move, the Amerindians represented in the scene seem to be in a sort of ritual, where they intend to embody the flying animals which they have just seen – perhaps in an attempt “to surpass their human condition”¹³⁹.

After, they stop mimicking the butterflies and get back to their human mindset. They move delicately and quickly through the woodland - as if they were part of it. They soon are spread out all over the forest/pitch, which represents the whole of Brazil. Their geographical distance makes them split into three different groups. In this part, we can see a reference to theory - present in Von Martius' essay¹⁴⁰ in 1853 - that all the Amerindians that speak languages based on the Tupi-Guarani family tree were once part of the same ethnic group.

¹³⁷ Rio 2016 2016a, 14.

¹³⁸ Vieira 1657.

¹³⁹ Vivieros de Castro 2002.

¹⁴⁰ Von Martius 1956.

c) Amerindians and nature, a well-balanced relationship

Each of these three tribes starts to manipulate the local nature. However, despite the Amerindian use of the flora, we can see that the trees still green and well preserved. Their motion and singing suggest that they are still within a sort of ritual, however this time the birds are no longer the spirits within their vessel - now the woodland seems to be their grail.

Soon after, the tribes mingle for a while, carrying the green-lit vertical-hanging filaments, representing the local flora, with them. As they run to opposite directions, the strands become overlaid in a wicker basket fashion- representing both Amerindian handicraft and the patchwork of their cultures. They soon start to move in circles, interlacing the strands at their top. Their coordinated movements give shape to three gigantic *ocas* (the typical Brazilian Amerindian communal dwelling structures).

Although Amerindians use wood and leaves to build their *ocas*, their impact on the forest was rather small as their dealing spaces were shared¹⁴¹ and they used the natural resources in a rather sustainable way. During the ceremony, the organising committee, made it clear that the Amerindian ecological footprints were minimum through a metaphor with their physical footmarks on the forest soil: while the Amerindians walked, the ground became temporarily yellow. However, soon enough, it became green again - representing the harmonic relationship between men and nature (a much sought-after ability nowadays).

2. Rio-2016 Opening Ceremony - the dawn of *Brazil*

Suddenly, thunders are heard, and flashes of lightning are seen in the Maracanã. The three bands of Amerindians seem to be disturbed by the coming storm, running in different directions and dismantling their *ocas* (in a reference to the impact that the Portuguese arrival had on the locals). At the same time, three Portuguese Caravels appear on the horizon - representing the arrival of the thirteen ships of Pedro Álvares Cabral's fleet in 1500.

¹⁴¹ Pardi 1993.

As a matter of fact, the Portuguese Caravels captains' body language over the forecastle deck - higher than all the others, with their arms widespread - give an idea of the Portuguese glory during the Age of Discovery (between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries). However, by depicting enslaved Africans as the sources of power moving the Portuguese ships, the Rio-2016 opening ceremony team made clear that such a glorious past also had a darker side. The message was akin to the understanding that states that the European explorations, territorial expansions and colonisations, which fuelled western modernity's development, were only achieved with the oppression of different ethnic groups, such as the Africans and Amerindians¹⁴².

Going back to the representation of the latter in the ceremony, after a moment of confusion with the Portuguese arrival, the Brazilian natives reorganise themselves, recovering from their musical hiatus and re-establishing their *ocas*. When they do it so, each of the Caravels, with Portuguese and Africans inside, start to be surrounded by the filaments that compose the Tupi-Guarani huts. One would say that such a scene configuration seems to be an allusion to the Brazilian Indian desire towards the other, and its subsequent *incorporation*, as a mean to broaden their humanity: as expressed by Oswald de Andrade's *Cannibal Manifesto* in 1928¹⁴³.

Such a reading is strengthened by the further development of the act, as when the *ocas* finally fully surround Brazil's newcomers, the cameras start focusing on the first interactions between Portuguese and Amerindians. Whereas the former appears to be uneasy, holding his arms back, with his feet almost motionless on the ground; the latter seems rather active and curious, moving quickly and seeking a different angle to stare at the stranger.

A further reading onto the multi-ethnic encounter within the *ocas* may lead to the narrative of the inception of Brazilian people as expressed by Von Martius¹⁴⁴, in the nineteenth century, and, in the 1930s, by Freyre¹⁴⁵. In this scene, Portuguese, Africans and Amerindians are seen sharing the same environment for the first time, the one that

¹⁴² Mignolo 2005a.

¹⁴³ De Andrade 1928.

¹⁴⁴ Von Martius 1956.

¹⁴⁵ Freyre 1986.

is the original habitat of the latter group; Brazil. Therefore, from this moment, they all become Brazilians, insofar as the *ocas* represent Brazil as the physical and spiritual (multi-cultural) space of the Amerindians.

After this brief but meaningful moment inside the *ocas*, the members of the three Brazilian ethnic groups depart to different directions. As the Portuguese depart from the scene, heading towards the land exploration, they immediately leave behind them a trail of *development* onto the woodlands, permanently changing the environment. The Africans leave with Portuguese; however, they will quickly come back with rudimentary machines to create large plantation fields. The Amerindians, however, stay for a while longer, holding the green strands while still singing, keeping on their traditions for a while longer, until they finally stop to sing.

a) “Geometrization”: The beginning of Brazil’s Anthropocene

The harmonic relation between men and nature is broken by the Portuguese arrival. Their crossing of the newfound land leaves behind a trail of deforestation. The clearing of the native flora is increased by the workforce of Africans, enslaved by the Portuguese, working in the newly made fields of Brazil. At this very moment, nature, as *phusis*¹⁴⁶, starts to be moulded into *poioumena* (artefacts)¹⁴⁷ at an unprecedented pace and scale.

The organising committee addresses this moment as the way in which Brazilian civilization, like many others, came into being: “we took from the land all that it had to give. We know that this is not unique to Brazil. Everywhere else in the world the process of civilization left the same marks”¹⁴⁸. Therefore, for Rio 2016 Rio Committee, throughout modernity, nature was seen as the departure point of civilization – leading to the indiscriminate exploitation of Earth’s natural resources.

As nature starts to be transformed in a permanent manner, *Pindorama*, the land of palm trees, a region in its *Aetas Aurea*, becomes Brazil, a region at the dawn of its

¹⁴⁶ Derrida 1981.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Rio 2016 2016a, 16.

Anthropocene and a nation which is subject to modernity - and thus to its darker side, coloniality.

According to Larrain, “the idea of progress was totally foreign to the Indian cultures. Their world was turned to a controlled by the past. Life was continual warfare and sacrifice but was not going towards an open and unknown future; it was dominated by tradition. Time was conceived as cyclical and repetitive”¹⁴⁹.

Therefore, until the Portuguese arrival, the Brazilian natives were not familiar with western dynamics as the accumulation of capital and the use of money as a medium of exchange. Moreover, they were also unaffected by the modern project and the feeling that one has to be “always a step or two ahead of the pursuers, always forging onwards just a little bit quicker than the chasers. And always promising that the morrow will be better than the now. And always keeping the promise fresh and unsullied, since the morrow will forever be a day after”¹⁵⁰.

Most importantly, the peoples of Pindorama did not feel compelled to chase an ambition which was alien to them. Unfortunately for them, as well as for the Africans who were brought by the Portuguese to turn forests into large sugarcane plantations, the Europeans who conquered the land did not share their mindset, so Brazil became an underdeveloped colony where “the local elites (...) sought to embrace ‘modernity’ while Indigenous, Afro, and poor Mestizo peoples got poorer and more marginalized”¹⁵¹.

b) The elephant in the room addressed, the dramatization of slavery in Brazil

The act goes on with the clearing of the native flora by the workforce of Africans, enslaved by the Portuguese, working in the newly-made fields of Brazil. The Afro-Brazilians were seen in shackles, working to the exhaustion with rudimentary machines, transforming a large part of what was once rainforest into large sugarcane

¹⁴⁹ Larrain 2005, 44.

¹⁵⁰ Bauman 1998a, 23.

¹⁵¹ Mignolo 2005a, 58.

and coffee plantations to the benefit of white men. Such a scene thus depicts a great Brazilian history taboo: the explicit depiction of slavery in the country.

Therefore, differently than the *symbolic annihilation* and/or *trivialization* of slavery¹⁵² by the imperial organising committees of the nineteenth-century World Exhibits – which avoided the pictorial representation of slavery in the country and provided extremely brief sanitised reports about the conditions in which enslaved Afro-Brazilians lived in the country – and the recurrent decision to depict the historical Afro-Brazilian struggle through the image of capoeiristas (as in the handover ceremony in London 2012 and the opening of 2014 FIFA World Cup), the architects of Rio-2016 chose to openly address such an atrocious chapter of Brazilian history.

Through the scene, the Rio de Janeiro 2016 committee has hence depicted the long-lasting suffering of different peoples unwilling brought to a distant land as a reminder of how ethnic intolerance can lead mankind to widely condemn practices. What is more, the representation also gave to these same peoples the credit as the main responsible for the nation's economic development for more than three centuries.

In spite of the apparent good intentions of the opening ceremony team, there is much discussion within academia as to whether explicitly representations of slavery are desirable. Dos Santos tells us that two of the major Afro-Brazilian museums¹⁵³ chose rather not to show images of abuse or slavery, thus they “rejected official narratives concerning the past, and focus on the heroes who resisted slavery in quilombos and other free contexts”¹⁵⁴. According to the sociologist, “although narratives and representations of slavery may be filled with good intentions, they can equally produce a deep feeling of embarrassment among those who identify themselves with the victims”¹⁵⁵.

On the other hand, one may advocate that the depiction of slavery may still be necessary in order to bring the subject forward in an attempt to gradually mend the still ongoing

¹⁵² Eichstedt and Small 2002.

¹⁵³ Namelly Museu Afro-Brasileiro in Salvador and Museu Afro-Brazil in Sao Paulo.

¹⁵⁴ Dos Santos 2008, 166.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

social effects of racial oppression. The backers of such a position may argue that “the history of slavery ‘is not merely a painful part of our shared past’ that evokes powerful emotions about trauma, violence, and oppression; it also raises highly charged but necessary discussions about racial justice, healing, and reconciliation”¹⁵⁶. Nevertheless, a further study to measure to what extent, and in which contexts, if any, representations of slavery can serve to denounce the past - and prevent it to happen in the future - without causing distress to the part of the audience which closely relates to the people depicted within historical dramatizations, as well as in other forms of representation, still needs to be undertaken.

c) Brazil, a large melting pot

Following the ceremony narrative, the expansion and diversification of Brazilian agriculture, as well as the end of slavery in the country, started to attract different waves of immigrants to the country. Contrary to what one may have expected, the groups of immigrants depicted in the ceremony were not those coming from European countries, but from the Middle East and Japan.

Between 1884 and 1933, the country received almost four million immigrants¹⁵⁷, most of them coming from Italy, Portugal, Spain and Germany¹⁵⁸ attracted by strong incentives¹⁵⁹ - an outcome of the new republic strategy to *modernise* the country and whiten its population¹⁶⁰. Japanese and Syrian/Turks¹⁶¹ were, respectively, the fifth and the sixth largest groups to migrate to Brazil during this period.

In spite of it, Rio 2016 opted to show the two latter groups as representative groups of Brazilian immigrants. Such a decision might have been influenced by the determination of presenting Brazil as a nation as diverse as possible. Thus, showing once again

¹⁵⁶ Bright, Alderman and Butler 2016, 1746.

¹⁵⁷ 3.963.599 people immigrated to Brazil between 1884-1933. IBGE 2000, 226.

¹⁵⁸ Between 1884-1933, 1.401.335 Italians, 1.145.737 Portuguese, 587.114 Spaniards, 154.397 Germans, 142.457 Japanese and 93.727 “Syrian/Turks” immigrated to Brazil. *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Comissão do Brazil na Exposição Universal de Vienna 1873 1873, 239-240.

¹⁶⁰ Skidmore 1969.

¹⁶¹ Syrians and Turks were registered by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics as one single ethnic group.

Europeans, which had already been represented by the Portuguese in the Caravels, may have been considered redundant for the message that the ceremony committee wanted to convey. In such a way, during the opening ceremony first act, the public witnessed the dramatization of the arrival of different peoples coming from different corners of the globe such as Africa, Asia, Europe and the Middle East, showing that Brazilian society is the result of a great melting pot of peoples and cultures.

A further reading on why these two groups were represented in the ceremony lie on the timing of the event. The ongoing Syrian war and the subsequent refugee crisis in Europe may have been determinant factors to opt to pay homage to Syrian immigrants (and refugees) in Brazil. It is worth remembering that Rio 2016 was the first Olympics to have a Refugees Team and that the local committee saw the event as an opportunity to show Brazil as a tolerant and welcoming nation.

What is more, when it comes to the depiction of the Japanese immigration to the country - although it is undeniable that the Nikkeis have left their mark into the cultures of certain parts of the country, especially within the state of Sao Paulo - its representation might as well have been a tribute to the next Olympic games in Tokyo 2022.

3. Rio-2016 Opening Ceremony: The Building of Contemporary Brazil

a) “Metropolis”: the development of urban Brazil

The ceremony goes on and one can see the impacts of the end of slavery in the country and the growth of a salaried middle-class in the country. These factors collaborate with the formation of small urban centres, powered by commerce and the industrial modernisation of the country. The urban centres are represented by different grey squares amidst the agricultural and husbandry farms. As one of these urban centres is zoomed in, showing a complex puzzle of grey geometrical forms from where high monochromatic structures are digitally erected, the thousands of years voyage from natural to modern Brazil is complete.

The whole dramatisation, in which a digital blue ocean gives way to a green-lit forest over Maracanã's pitch that, in turn, was completely replaced by different luminous grey shades, takes about seventeen and a half minutes. The representation of the modernising process of Brazil (that is to say, from the sixth minute of the first act, when the land starts to be modified with the Portuguese arrival - who brought with them the idea of capital accumulation, progress and modernity) has a total length of about eleven minutes.

The impact of industrial and urban development on Brazilian soil, according to the dramatisation, is done in the latter two-thirds of the act. The amount of time spent on the dramatization of Earth's terraforming, the first humans' arrival in Brazil, the European *discovery* of the continent and the subsequent transformation of nature into urban areas is thus disproportionate in relation to the period of time that each of these events actually lasted (i.e. in the ceremony, the formation of natural Brazil is much shorter than the formation of its modern counterpart).

The Rio de Janeiro Olympics opening ceremony committee has thus, rather understandably, focused on elements that are closer to its viewership cosmology, such as the societal and environmental changes that lead to the formation of modern Brazil. Nonetheless, the fast pace in which these transformations take place – characterized by the landscape constant changes caused by the European's arrival - contrasts with the almost stationary scene of Pindorama. One may thus say that Rio 2016 opening ceremony presents the audience with modernity's predatory effect over nature.

b) The expansion of Brazilian urban culture

According to one of the ceremony directors, Andrew Waddington, in the first act's second part the goal was to portray "Brazil as was presented to the world in the 1950s and 1960s"¹⁶². As we have previously seen, the rupture between the first and second

¹⁶² Viva. *The opening ceremony documentary of the Olympic games Rio 2016*. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2xk2tJ1j3GA>. Accessed on August 14, 2014.

session of the ceremony's first act is done when one of the urban agglomerations on the Brazilian landscape is zoomed-in and the "city turns into the Brazilian metropolis"¹⁶³.

The ceremony's dramatization shows the metropolis being erected *in the making* while three groups of dancers - one of six and two of five - dressed in pink uniforms acrobatically jump from a building to the next. The buildings are digitally erected on the ground of Maracana stadium, one after the other, as in a chain effect. The dancers, who run the edges of each building's roof-top and then jump onto the next – as if they were *traceurs* and *traceuses*¹⁶⁴ (the practitioners of the extreme sport called parkour¹⁶⁵). Sometimes, the acrobats have to wait until the next building is finally erected. Therefore, one may say that the dancers symbolize both the never-ending crave for modernity and the creative energy that generates innovation.

The option of using parkour as a representation of modernity's development seems to support the idea that the concept of social and technological progress work as an encouragement to the pursuit for further achievements, leading thus to innovation and further development. According to Saville, "[i]n parkour places are 'done' or mobilised in tentative, unsure, ungainly and unfinished ways which can be characterised by a kind of play with architecture. (...) [which] is contingent upon an array of fears"¹⁶⁶. Nonetheless, in this case, "fears can manifest differently, not only restricting mobility but in some cases encouraging imaginative and playful forms of movement"¹⁶⁷.

As "one might see parkour as an overcoming of social space (and its various constrictions and inhibitions of desire, its "stop" and "wait" signs) through the interplay of body and material barriers"¹⁶⁸, the representation of Parkour during Rio's opening ceremony can also be seen as a metaphor to the country's societal advances.

The three groups of urban acrobats arrive at the end of the digitally erected scene and face a physical structure representing even higher buildings within the Brazilian

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Geyh, 2006.

¹⁶⁵ Parkour, from the French *parcours*, has its inception in France during the 1980s.

¹⁶⁶ Saville 2008, 891.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ Geyh 2006, 9.

metropolis. There, they meet a much larger group of *traceurs*. The groups mingle together and continue to follow their path amidst the Brazilian urbs. The act develops into a contemporary dance performance where the dancers interact with the physical structures that embody the facades of Brazilian buildings. Such a degree of interaction with the city, where the performers are seen defying the laws of physics by dancing on vertical walls, shows that the new generations of Brazilians, native to the cities, are well-integrated with their physical space.

After the contemporary dance performance, the dancers start to move down several white blocks from the roof-tops, building a wall at the ground level. The music changes to Chico Buarque's *Construção* – a song from 1971 that tells the final hours of a construction worker until his death, described at the end of the song. The song is perceived as a social critique towards the dehumanization of the construction worker within a capitalist society, in which he is treated almost as a machine, and where his attempt to recover his humanity leads him to his death¹⁶⁹. The choice of this song by the ceremony's architects reminds us thus of the human consequences of rapid development and capitalist greed.

Once the wall is finished, the same workers disassemble it revealing one of the most iconic creations of a Brazilian, Alberto Santos-Dumont's *14 Bis*. The biplane was the first heavier-than-air airplane to flight outside the United States of America, and, at the time, in 1906, was considered to be the first successful plane in human history¹⁷⁰. In 1908, however, the Wright brothers claimed that their *Wright flyer* had preceded its Brazilian counterpart in almost three years. Santos Dumont, however, expressed his doubts and discontentment about the controversy:

“What Edison, Graham Bell or Marconi would say if, after they had presented the public with the light bulb, the telephone and the wireless telegraph, another inventor appeared with a better light bulb, a telephone or a wireless telegraph saying that he had it made before them? (...). To whom humanity's own air navigation through the heavier-than-air? To the Wright brother's experiments, made hidden away, (...) or to the Farman, Bleriot and I, whose demonstrations were all made in front of scientific commissions in broad daylight?”¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Napolitano 2003, 120.

¹⁷⁰ L'Illustration. *14 BIS*. October 27 1906. *Apud*. Santos Dumont 1918.

¹⁷¹ Santos Dumont 1918.

In spite of the claims that the Wright brothers have also made a public demonstration of their airborne *Flyer 3* on October 4, 1905, at Huffman Prairie, Ohio¹⁷², Santos Dumont's 14 Bis is still widely accredited in Brazil as the first heavier-than-air plane to ever fly. What is more, according to Barbosa Fraga, the Vargas regime (1930-1945) collaborated to the elevation of Santos Dumont to the category of national hero, who has "made Europe bow to Brazil"¹⁷³, as a way to establish a military tradition to the recently created Brazilian Air Force¹⁷⁴.

Controversies aside¹⁷⁵, the depiction of Santos Dumont and his most famous invention during Rio 2016 opening ceremony pays tribute to Brazilian creative *genii* and sets the country as part of the modern era's technological vanguard.

Back to the ceremony description, the 14 BIS replica takes-off the Maracanã Stadium through the use of wires. The scene is followed by a short movie showing a digitally inserted 14 BIS flying over nowadays Rio de Janeiro.

Naturally, the Maracanã is the first of Rio's postcard to appear in the frame, followed by the Metropolitan Cathedral of San Sebastian (*Catedral Metropolitana de São Sebastião*); the recently inaugurated Museum of Tomorrow (*Museu do Amanhã*), which was developed as part of the city's port area renewal, an Olympic legacy; the Guanabara's Bay; the Sugarloaf Mountain (*Pão de Açúcar*); the Corcovado Mountain, with Christ the Redeemer on its top; several of Rio's beaches and many of its Southside neighbourhoods, as Copacana and Ipanema.

¹⁷² Wright Brothers Aeroplane Company. *The Case for Santos Dumont*. http://www.wright-brothers.org/History_Wing/History_of_the_Airplane/Who_Was_First/Santos_Dumont/Santos_Dumont.htm. Accessed on August 22, 2018.

¹⁷³ Part of the song "Santos Dumont" written by Eduardo Neves in the early twentieth-century and re-arranged by Heitor Villa-Lobos in the 1940s to be played during the *Hora da Independencia*. See Fraga 2014.

¹⁷⁴ Fraga 2014.

¹⁷⁵ BBC. *Vamos reivindicar a caipirinha X Irmãos Wrong: 14-Bis reabre disputa nas redes sociais*. https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-36995015?ocid=socialflow_twitter. Accessed on August 2, 2018.

c) Bossa Nova, Modernist architecture and top models - “Brazil goes International”

When Ipanema iconic night sky appears in the frame, Antonio Jobim’s international hit *Garota de Ipanema* (1962) starts to be played in the Maracanã. The success of *Garota de Ipanema* was such that it was translated into several languages (as English, French, German and Italian)¹⁷⁶, becoming not solely one of the most iconic *Bossa Nova* songs but also the second most recorded music in the world¹⁷⁷.

The rhythm emerged in the 1950s and 1960s Rio de Janeiro and is considered to be “the amalgamation of American Jazz and Brazilian Samba”¹⁷⁸. On the social level, *Bossa Nova* “marked the first time in the history of Brazil that the Brazilian middle class genuinely responded to an indigenous musical form [Samba]”¹⁷⁹. What is more, according to the opening architects, Bossa Nova is internationally seen as the quintessential Brazilian modern music in so far it fits what could be considered the so-called Dionysian aspect of the nation: “through architecture, music, painting and literature, Tom Jobim, Vinicius de Moraes, Oscar Niemeyer, Burle Marx and Jorge Armado, among others, create the image of a cool, sensual land with its beaches, music, colours and curves”¹⁸⁰.

While the song is played by Antonio Jobim’s grandson, Daniel Jobim, Brazilian top model Gisele Bündchen makes of Maracana stadium’s pitch her catwalk. She slowly walks alone, in a silver dress, for about one hundred metres, personifying Jobim’s muse, Helo Pinheiro, the real-life *Girl of Ipanema*. According to the creative director Fernando Meirelles, Bündchen’s slow catwalk was actually too slow, which meant a “short homage to Tom Jobim had to be dropped at the last second”¹⁸¹.

¹⁷⁶ Rocha 2013.

¹⁷⁷ The Guardian. *Helô Pinheiro: The Woman from Ipanema*.
<https://www.theguardian.com/music/2012/aug/01/helo-pinheiro-girl-from-ipanema>.
Accessed on August 22, 2018.

¹⁷⁸ Moreno 1982, 132.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 133.

¹⁸⁰ Rio 2016a, 25.

¹⁸¹ The Telegraph. *Gisele Bündchen starring role in Rio Olympics Opening*.
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/08/10/gisele-bundchen-messed-up-starring-role-in-rio-olympics-opening/>. Accessed on August 13, 2018.

Her slow progress also somewhat altered the understanding of the trail that of curvy lines she supposed to have left behind her, as they actually have appeared in front of her. Rio 2016 committee explained the act as the following: “Gisele leaves a long trail wherever she goes, her delicate lines become Niemeyer sketches, some of his iconic works are drawn on the stage of the stadium: the little church of Pampulha, Casa das Canoas, Museum MON, and Brasilia Cathedral”¹⁸².

Gisele Bündchen’s trail of curvy lines that take the shape of Niemeyer’s sketches reminds of one of the architect’s most famous statements: “I am not attracted to straight angles or to the straight line, hard and inflexible, created by man. I am attracted to free-flowing, sensual curves. The curves that I find in the mountains of my country, in the sinuousness of its rivers, in the waves of the ocean, and on the body of the beloved woman”¹⁸³.

As we have previously seen, it was precisely Niemeyer’s “sensual curves”, the curves of the beloved woman, the curves left behind by Bündchen on the scene of the Maracana stadium, that rendered Niemeyer’s modernist architecture into the greatest example of Brazilian-ness in architecture – being thus considered as a *Dionysian*, or *Mulatto*, expression applied to structure’s design ¹⁸⁴. Therefore, whereas, internationally, Tom Jobim’s *Garota de Ipanema* is perhaps the best known Brazilian song and Bündchen is arguably the most famous Brazilian model to date, Niemeyer’s work is, without a doubt, the biggest expression of Brazilian modern architecture.

What is more, nationally, Niemeyer’s work is somewhat the symbol of national integration. Having his work spread-out throughout the country, ten of his creations, in different corners of the nation, were represented in the 35 seconds of the 2014 FIFA World Cup TV opening. In the Olympic opening ceremony, four sketches were shown: the little church of Pampulha, in Belo Horizonte; Casa das Canoas, in Rio de Janeiro; Museum MON, in Curitiba and Brasilia Cathedral, in the federal district.

¹⁸² Rio 2016 2016a, 21.

¹⁸³ Niemeyer 2000, 62.

¹⁸⁴ Philippou 2013, 11.

Thinking on the ethnic-racial aspect of the act, Bündchen does not fall into the stereotypical Brazilian phenotype as imagined by Freyre¹⁸⁵ as an index of Brazilian ethnic diversity. On the other hand, the fact that Bündchen is one of the highest paid top models in history and that she was chosen to represent the beauty of Brazilian women may serve as an indication that in Brazil, as well as in the Western world, there is still a certain bias when comes to defining which physical features may be deemed as beautiful or desired.

The whole act, that starts with Santos Dumont flight over Rio de Janeiro's upper-middle-class Southside – showing the most iconic postcards of the city – and ends with Bündchen's catwalk, embodying Jobim's *Girl of Ipanema*, conveys the image of a romanticized Brazil: the one of Rio de Janeiro's wealthy Southside. It thus shows the image of a city of Rio de Janeiro, and also of a Brazil, which is often seen in postcards and in advertisements to attract tourists. The fact that the 14 BIS overflies an early evening Rio de Janeiro transmits an aura of nostalgia and tranquillity to the city, such a peaceful atmosphere – away from the urban chaos and the social problems of Rio's Northside – is enhanced by the image of Bündchen's stroll and Jobim's music.

4. Rio-2106 Opening Ceremony - Favelas: The cultural epicentre of a multicultural nation

Nonetheless, the organizers of the opening ceremony did not overlook Rio de Janeiro's working-class culture – which is also present in the city's Southside, over the hills: “[a]bove Ipanema, a pulsating energy rises. It is the voice of the favelas. It is popular culture. Any history of pop will tell about the same origin: it is from the poorest, the most underprivileged neighbourhoods, that the rhythm, songs and dances moving the planet originate”¹⁸⁶. The ceremony organisers thus acknowledge that popular music around the world has common origins, the poorest areas. In Brazil, these areas are crossroads where Afro-Brazilian and Western cultures often meet.

¹⁸⁵ Freyre 1973, 271.

¹⁸⁶ Rio 2016. 2016a, 22.

Seconds after Bündchen completes her path across the scene, Ipanema gives place to Vidigal. Cidinho & Doca's *Rap da Felicidade* (1995) starts to be played and the metallic structure - which had just represented middle-class buildings – becomes the illustration of a favela through the use of light projections over the edifice.

Despite its name, *Rap da Felicidade* is widely recognised as one of the earlier and most known hits of a Brazilian musical genre known as *Funk Carioca*. The rhythm - which, according to Palombini, “derives from a variety of hip-hop known as *Miami Bass*”¹⁸⁷- has its roots in the 1970s and 1980s *bailes black*: popular parties organised in Rio favelas that attracted up to a million and half thousand people from the suburbs per weekend¹⁸⁸.

Curiously, *Rap da Felicidade*'s lyrics denounce the violence in Rio's favelas, asking an answer to the authorities:

“I just want to be happy, walk peacefully in the slums where I was born. (...). My dear authority, I no longer know what to do with so much violence. I'm afraid to live. Because I live in the slums, I am often disrespected. Here, sadness and joy walk side by side. I pray for my protective saint but I'm interrupted by machine gun shots. While the rich live in a big, beautiful house the poor is humiliated, dumped in the favela. I can't stand this wave of violence anymore. I only ask the authority a little more competence”¹⁸⁹.

Although the part of the song which more explicitly denounces the reality in the slums is not sung during the ceremony, it is interesting to note that the track was included in the opener as a means to give voice to a part of Rio de Janeiro that is often overlooked by the government, the Brazilian middle-class as well as the tourists visiting the city. Even more interesting is the fact that the song lyrics ask the authorities a more efficient action to fight violence in the area, a fact that one may understand as a government's

¹⁸⁷ Palombini 2009, 37.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁸⁹ “Eu só quero é ser feliz, andar tranquilamente na favela onde eu nasci. (...). Minha cara autoridade, eu já não sei o que fazer com tanta violência eu sinto medo de viver, pois moro na favela e sou muito desrespeitado. A tristeza e alegria aqui caminham lado a lado. Eu faço uma oração para uma santa protetora, mas sou interrompido à tiros de metralhadora. Enquanto os ricos moram numa casa grande e bela, o pobre é humilhado, esculachado na favela. Já não aguento mais essa onda de violência, só peço a autoridade um pouco mais de competência”.

message to those who disapprove the polemic occupation of Rio's slums by Pacifying Police Units (UPPs) in the years that preceded the games.

Although *Bossa Nova* and *Funk Carioca* have their origins and their niche in the two ends of Rio de Janeiro's social spectrum - the former being associated with the city's upper-middle-class Southside and the latter with the city's suburban scene - the origins of both genres can be outlined as the adaptations of foreign influences into the local scene.

Such an anthropophagic nature of the Brazilian ethos¹⁹⁰ is further explored in the opening ceremony, which also characterises Rio's favelas as the epicentre of Brazilian popular culture. The songs that followed were samples of different Brazilian music genres and sub-genres and were performed by famous Brazilian artists such as Elza Soares, Zeca Pagodinho and Marcelo D2. The latter two make a sort of duel between *pagode* and *rap*, symbolizing the diversity of Carioca pop music¹⁹¹, which has as its final prize the preference of the whole community.

a) "POP: Empowerment" - the juxtaposition of capoeira and rap

After Zeca Pagodinho and Marcelo D2 presentation, the female rappers Karol Conka and MC Soffia (who was only twelve-years-old in the evening of the presentation¹⁹²) start their performance, a mashup of Capoeira song and a rap about (black) women empowerment: "look and listen to this black girl. Focus only on the empowerment, respect our fight and our movement"¹⁹³, the two rappers sing.

In the centre of the scene, a single capoeirista starts a *kata*¹⁹⁴ which, due to the music that is being played in the background and the idiosyncrasies of the Afro-Brazilian

¹⁹⁰ De Andrade 1928.

¹⁹¹ Rio 2016 2016a, 23.

¹⁹² Dailymail. *When moment comes I will be really nervous.*

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3725196/When-moment-comes-ll-REALLY-nervous-Meet-MC-Soffia-little-rapper-12-steal-tonight-s-Olympics-Opening-Ceremony-BILLION-people-one-proud-mum.html>

¹⁹³ Rio 2016. 2016a, 24.

¹⁹⁴ "Kata: An exercise consisting of a sequence of the specific movements of a martial art, used in training and designed to show skill in technique". Collins dictionary.

martial art, resembles a dance. The beauty of his movements is amplified by several augmented projections of his own frame surrounding his body.

At first glance, it seems that the creative directors of Rio 2106's opening ceremony - as it was done in London 2010 handover ceremony and in the FIFA 2014 World Cup opening presentation - were using capoeira as a, more sanitised, surrogate to the image of the suffering of Afro-Brazilians during the pre-Republican era.

Nevertheless, the ordeal of enslaved Brazilians was already explicitly addressed in the first act. Therefore, a second reading of the performance leads to the understanding that - by the juxtaposition of capoeira and rap - the ceremony committee may have intended to demonstrate that the musical genre is also an expression of empowerment in a world which is still filled with racial and gender biases. Therefore, nowadays, rap would play a similar role to the one played in the past by capoeira: a means to fight for social justice.

b) “POP: Disputes”: A message for tolerance and peace

The party goes on as several dozens of dancers enter the pitch. They are initially divided into two blocks, separated by the projection of two large squares on the scene. They seem to represent different communities and to simulate different war dances, antagonising the other group (dancers of “cavalhadas, fire battles, maracatu, bate-bola, bumba-meu-boi are among them. They are dances full of energy, performed with spears, swords, balls, fire”¹⁹⁵). These squares are further divided into four parts, and then seven. The projection of a large hand slaps the blocks, dividing them into countless fragments. “The vigor of these dances, reshaped by contemporary music speaks of disputes that have ceased”¹⁹⁶.

Suddenly, the members of the communities performing the war dance see themselves mixed with a wide variety of peoples as they are joined by a multitude of other

Kata. https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/kata_1. Accessed on August 23, 2018.

¹⁹⁵ Rio 2016. 2016a, 25.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*.

performers. The members of different communities are no longer territorially divided, they are now co-existing in the same physical space with the newcomers and their old rivals. Tensions seem to rise as each group attempts to outweigh their counterparts by imposing their musical rhythm, symbolizing a moment in which “not only in our country but about the world, where differences and intolerance seem to have intensified and we are witnessing increasing tension”¹⁹⁷.

In order to prevent a fight of happening, the party is quickly put on hold for a few seconds by the premeditated intervention of the Brazilian artist Regina Casé, who sends the message: “stop fighting, we are here today to look for our similarities and, mainly, to celebrate our differences. Here is to diversity”¹⁹⁸.

Casé’s brief speech close to the end of the act is meaningful in so far as it is addressed to different audiences. On the domestic level, Brazil - a highly hierarchical society which has historically attempted to be seen as a “racial democracy” - is undergoing one of its most delicate moments in modern history with the political crisis which culminated with the impeachment of president Dilma Rousseff, an event that critically divided its population. In the international sphere, the refugee crisis in Europe also raised questions regarding multiculturalism due to the “fear of cultural, religious and ethnic differences”¹⁹⁹.

c) “POP: Tropical Nation” - País Tropical and the myth of Brazilian cordiality

Following Casé’s message of peace and tolerance, Jorge Ben Jor enters the scene with his internationally famous *País Tropical* (1969). The song was also sung during the 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup closing ceremony and, as we have discussed in the previous chapter, has been criticized due to the nationalist content of its lyrics in a period in which the military dictatorship in Brazil was at its pinnacle²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Rio 2016 Opening Ceremony*. Available on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N_qXm9HY9Ro&t=2845s. Accessed on August, 24, 2018.

¹⁹⁹ Holmes and Castañeda 2016, 12.

²⁰⁰ Chaves 2010, 300.

Therefore, it is worth to note that the song brings the idea of compliance with Brazil's *status quo* by setting a common identity to Brazilians and exalting the myth of their cordiality²⁰¹. On the international level, the fact that the song was set just after Casé's speech, in which she asked for more peace and tolerance in the world, reinforces the interpretation that Brazilians – “a people who accept others” according to the ceremony director²⁰² – should inspire other peoples into having a more tolerant approach towards different cultures. On the national level, however, the song arguably works as an attempt to reunite Brazilians of different socio-political backgrounds into a more peaceful (apolitical?) stance towards their society.

5. Rio-2016 Opening Ceremony - “After the party”: A warning to the world

The second act starts tackling another social issue of worldwide importance: global warming. The performance starts with an Afro-Brazilian boy wandering on a seemingly deserted city in a near dystopian future. The setting of the deserted metropolis is made by a nearly empty white-scene filled with several glass cubes epitomizing modern buildings. The boy walks alone through the buildings. Due to his age, he seems innocent and should not be accounted for the green-less state of the world.

As soon as the act starts and the boy enters the scene, two voices are heard through the speakers. A man and a woman have a dialogue about the world situation: “Have you noticed what is going on?”, asks the man. “What do you mean?”, replies the woman. - “I have news for you”. - “Are they good or bad?”. The directors of the spectacle gave the answer to the first of the questions to the press present in the stadium through the ceremony's media guide: “The way in which human society organizes itself has had a profound impact on the balance of life on Earth. Some effects are irreversible”²⁰³.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² Fernando Meirelles. Viva. *The opening ceremony documentary of the Olympic games Rio 2016*. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2xk2tJ1j3GA>. Accessed on August 14, 2014.

²⁰³ Rio 2016 2016a, 28.

a) CO2 Emissions, Global Warming and its consequences

A series of short videos follow to explain how mankind has left the planet in such a state. Each of these videos is preceded by a warning-like title in red and black, adding a sense of emergency to the situation.

The first video, “CO2 Emissions”, consists of a computer model made by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) featuring the amount of carbon dioxide emissions on the planet over a year. Through the animation, one can see that the most pollutant countries are located in the northern hemisphere, especially from those nations that are considered to be modern and well-developed, which seems to confirm the logic that modern men privilege fast industrial development over the planet’s well-being. The dialogue between the unnamed man and woman continues and they let the audience know that the large amounts of carbon dioxide released into the atmosphere are an aftermath of the indiscriminate use of fossil fuel.

In the second video, “global warming”, a graphic with the planet’s average temperature rising in more than one degree Celsius from 1852 to 2016 is shown. In this graphic, one can also notice the evolution of the temperature increasing pace in the past thirty years. The third and fourth ones - “melting of polar ice cap” and “sea level rise”- show the regions of Amsterdam, Dubai, Florida, Shanghai, Lagos and Rio de Janeiro under water. These three computer-based animations were arguably intended to show that global warming is everybody’s problem, regardless of one’s social class, religion, ethnicity, geographical location or ecological footprint.

After this series of short videos, the camera once again frames the boy who still wanders over the deserted ground, amidst several modern and colourless buildings. He suddenly stops, and kneels close to a seedling – the only plant on the whole white and desolated Maracanã stadium. As he touches it, seemingly caring for the plant, the seedling starts growing again – making green rhizomes reappear over the otherwise desert scene.

b) The Flower and the Nausea – summarizing Rio-2016’s message

Another video starts almost simultaneously with a poem from the Brazilian modernist writer Carlos Drummond de Andrade. The video has about three minutes in length. On

the screen, images of germinating seeds and blooming flowers are followed by scenes of men and women from around the globe working on the reforestation of the planet. It is interesting to note that almost the totality of these men and women seem to come from the developing nations of Latin-America, Africa and Asia. The selection of these countries works as a reminder that European nations have already exhausted most of their forests in order to achieve their degree of development, much due to their “crude forestry technics”²⁰⁴.

What is more, the architects of the event expressed their concerns about the uneven relation that modern and underdeveloped countries have in relation to global warming and its consequences: “while the countries in the Northern hemisphere are the biggest producers of greenhouse emissions, the countries in the Southern hemisphere will suffer the consequences most”²⁰⁵.

Carlos Drummond de Andrade’s poem, *A Flor e a Náusea* - which is read by the actresses Fernanda Montenegro (Portuguese voice) and Judi Dench (English voice) while the aforementioned video is shown - goes as it follows:

“A flower has sprouted in the street.
Busses, streetcars, still stream of traffic, steer clear. A flower still pale has
fooled the police.
It is breaking through the asphalt.
Let’s have complete silence.
Hold on all business.
I swear that a flower has been born!
Its colour, it’s uncertain.
It is not sharing its petals.
Its name isn’t on the books.
It is ugly but really is a flower.

I sit down on the ground of the nation’s capital at five of the afternoon and
fondle with my fingers this precarious form.
It’s ugly, but it is a flower.
It broke through the asphalt, tedium, disgust and hatred.”²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ Wallerstein 2011, 44-45.

²⁰⁵ Rio 2016. 2016a, 29.

²⁰⁶ Drummond de Andrade 1945.

“Uma flor nasceu na rua! Passem de longe, bondes, ônibus, rio de aço do tráfego.
Uma flor ainda desbotada ilude a polícia, rompe o asfalto. Façam completo silêncio,

The poem was published as part of the book *A Rosa do Povo* (The people's rose) and was written between 1943 and 1945, thus during World War II and under the nationalistic authoritarian regime of Getúlio Vargas – a period of history marked by human intolerance in the world and heavy industrialisation in Brazil.

Therefore, the poem – especially the extract that was selected to be part of the ceremony – is an ode to nature, life, tolerance and human struggle. The fact that a flower broke through the asphalt shows its life force, its will to live despite the grey manmade world around it. It also represents the modern concept of human civilisation as a menacing force against nature, as the flower should not be there, breaking the asphalt, resisting the traffic and the hardship of bitumen, but it needed also “to fool the police”, go against the establishment, as the flower was not supposed to be there, breaking the street.

Further to its environmentalist message, the poem is also an expression of peace and tolerance. For the poet, it does not matter how ugly the flower may be considered, not the fact that it cannot be classified within the current taxonomy. For him, what matters is that it is a flower and, as such, it should be admired, even more so because it has grown in such conditions, overcoming “tedium, disgust and hatred”. Thus, through the presentation of a Brazilian poem that celebrates nature's strength and grace as well as humans' capacity to respect and care for what is different, the ceremony committee encapsulates, at the end of the opening ceremony theatrical piece, two of the most important messages of Rio-2016.

paralisem os negócios, garanto que uma flor nasceu. Sua cor não se percebe. Suas pétalas não se abrem. Seu nome não está nos livros. É feia. Mas é realmente uma flor. Sento-me no chão da capital do país às cinco horas da tarde e lentamente passo a mão nessa forma insegura. Do lado das montanhas, nuvens maciças avolumam-se. Pequenos pontos brancos movem-se no mar, galinhas em pânico. É feia. Mas é uma flor. Furou o asfalto, o tédio, o nojo e o ódio.”

c) “A Simple idea that helps a lot”: environmental friendliness

After the display of the reforestation scenes and the reading of *A Flor e a Náusea*, one can see images of forests once again in their natural state - showing that environmental friendliness is indeed the solution to the problems displayed in the previous video. At the end of the short movie, the camera travels up a small river flowing down amidst trees and ends up over a hill that overlooks the city of Rio de Janeiro.

The inclusion of the image of Rio de Janeiro as an arboreal metropolis at the end of the sequence is a reminder of the green cityscape of the place where the games are about to start. Moreover, by showing the city of Rio de Janeiro after a series of underdeveloped nations’ images in which their populations are taking actions to reduce climate change, the opening ceremony committee conveyed the idea that Brazil is one of the leaders of the underdeveloped world and emergent nations in relation to environmental issues insofar as its long-lasting association with nature and recent diplomatic efforts to moderate global warming are concerned.

It is important to note that such a view is also expressed on the ceremony’s media guide:

“The Amazon Rainforest is the world’s largest rain forest with over five million square kilometers. Seventeen European countries could fit in its territory. Its rivers represent the largest reserve of fresh water in the world. Brazil has had great success in the fight against deforestation: in the last decade decreased by 80%, and the commitment is to reach zero deforestation in another decade”²⁰⁷.

The theatrical presentation of Rio 2016’s opening ceremony ends with the displaying of the same symbol that had appeared in its very beginning. Rio 2016’s peace and tolerance icon thus served as an interconnecting and encapsulating element to the whole presentation. As a result, the opening ceremony presented nature and tolerance as fundamental components to humankind existence and answers for two of modernity’s main issues: interpersonal prejudice and the unbalanced relation between man and its environment .

²⁰⁷ Rio 2016 2016a, 14.

Rio 2016 Closing Ceremony

On the evening of August 21, 2016, the Rio de Janeiro 2016 closing ceremony took place. The ceremony was lead by Rosa Magalhães, Alê Siqueira and Abel Gomes²⁰⁸, who replaced Fernando Meirelles, Daniela Thomas and Andrew Andrucha, the creative directors of the opening ceremony. Whereas Meirelles, Thomas and Andrucha were all film directors, Magalhães is an eight-time winner of the Carioca Carnival championship scenographer and Siqueira is a musician who won three Latin Grammy awards²⁰⁹.

Such a selection has thus naturally influenced in the closing ceremony content. According to the Rio 2016 Olympic ceremonies chief-manager, Leonardo Caetano, the closing ceremony was designed to be “more festive [than the opening]. The atmosphere of regional festivals gains more body. Carnaval will play a bigger role, with a tribute to street carnival”²¹⁰. The closing ceremony was also meant to considerably shorter than the opening one, lasting three hours (equally divided in performing and protocol presentations)²¹¹.

“Countdown” - Alberto Santos Dumont starts the party

The presentation started with a short black-and-white video – “a collection of historic images from the Gaumont Pathé archives”²¹² - paying homage to the Brazilian inventor and powered-flight pioneer Alberto Santos Dumont. As in the opening ceremony, Tuca Andrada played the role of Santos Dumont in the theatrical presentation²¹³. Differently than in the opener, this time, the artist playing Santos Dumont did not “fly” in his 14-Bis. He instead briefly looked at his wristwatch while a tic-tac was heard in the

²⁰⁸ Rio 2016 2016b, 43.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ Folha de S. Paulo. *Cerimônia de encerramento terá tributo a festas regionais e Carnaval*. <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/esporte/olimpiada-no-rio/2016/08/1804200-cerimonia-de-encerramento-tera-tributo-a-festas-regionais-e-carnaval.shtml>, Accessed on August 29, 2018.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² Rio 2016 2016b, 11.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

Maracanã Stadium followed by the image of a wristwatch and the countdown to the start of the ceremony. The link between the aviation pioner and the wristwatch is a reference to the fact that Santos Dumont popularised its use among men when Louis Cartier created attached a watch to a leather wristband so that the Brazilian could tell the time when flying one of his aircrafts²¹⁴.

a) “Olympic wings” - Rio de Janeiro, a tropical Olympic city

Birds are the first vertebrates to be represented in the closing ceremony as dozens of men and women enter the scene dressed as macaws. The spectators are thus invited to see the city from the perspective of birds, “flying around the city landmarks”²¹⁵. Together, these birds start taking the shape of different well-known Rio de Janeiro’s landmarks such as the Carioca Aqueduct (also known as Lapa Arches), Christ the Redeemer as well as the Sugarloaf Mountain and its iconic cable car. The landmarks formed by the birds are embellished and complemented by the projection of colourful lights depicting the sun, the sea, some palm and flowers. The two last shapes formed by the birds are, respectively, Rio-2016’s logo and the Olympic symbol - “a symbol of unity amongst people”²¹⁶.

Tellingly, the city of Rio de Janeiro in particular – and Brazil in general – was depicted once more as a land of a lavish tropical flora and a colourful fauna. As we have previously seen, the country has been portrayed as such since the first reports following its *discovery* by Europeans in the sixteenth century. The enduring relationship between colourful birds, Brazil and Rio de Janeiro was more recently explored by the animations

²¹⁴ Guler, Gannon and Sicchio 2016.

²¹⁵ Rio 2016 2016b, 12.

²¹⁶ Olympic Channel. *Rio 2016 Closing Ceremony*.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ssc5eLjLoMQ&t=4379s>. Accessed on August 29, 2018.

Rio and *Rio 2*. Interestingly, the music of the act is performed by the group *Barbatuques*, who were also the authors of the latter movie soundtrack²¹⁷.

Such a well-established vision of the country – having Rio de Janeiro as its main epitome - is reinforced by the portrayal of Rio de Janeiro’s most famous landmarks, such as Christ the Redeemer and the Sugarloaf Mountain. Therefore, the depiction of Rio-2016’s logo mark and the Olympic rings at the end of such a presentation conveys the notion that the image of the city will henceforth be also linked to the event. Therefore, hosting the games entered the pantheon of things that Cariocas can brag about their city. Rio de Janeiro being thus the first South-American city to enter the selective hall of *Olympic cities*.

b) “Carinhoso” - The history of Rio de Janeiro culture entwined with the history of Vila Isabel’s Samba

After the traditional announcement of IOC’s president, Thomas Bach, Martinho da Vila - accompanied by three of his daughters and one grand-daughter - enters the scene. The four of them sang *Carinhoso* (by Pixinguinha and João de Barro, 1917) and *Pastorinhas* (Noel Rosa and João de Barro, 1934). This part of the show is said to pay tribute to the early twentieth-century Rio de Janeiro’s samba pioneers who met at the neighbourhood of *Vila Isabel*, in Rio de Janeiro’s Northside²¹⁸. The choice of having Martinho da Vila, a carioca singer and composer who begun his career in the Unidos da Vila Isabel samba-school, to interpret the songs of Noel Rosa, Pixinguinha and João de Barros reinforces the message that this section paid tribute not solely to the songs’ composers and singers but to the current inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

²¹⁷ Rio 2016 2016b, 12.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

The federative republic characterized by the execution of the Brazilian national anthem

After the presentation, the audience in the Maracanã stadium was asked to stand-up for the Brazilian national anthem. The national flag was brought by the most successful Brazilian tennis player in history, Maria Esther Bueno. While the flag was raised, as in the opening ceremony, by Rio de Janeiro Environmental Police Force, the national anthem was sung by a children's choir formed by 27 kids coming from the 27 Brazilian federal units (26 states plus the federal district): a way of expressing both “the renewal of life”²¹⁹ – as so does the Olympics through its four-year periodicity²²⁰ - and the fact that the Olympics did not only belong to the city of Rio de Janeiro, but to the whole of Brazil²²¹.

Interestingly, the song was sung almost completely *a cappella*. The only instrument that could be heard was a drumming dictating its rhythm. On the one hand, this brings to mind the idea of samba, the most popular musical genre from Rio de Janeiro, a rhythm that is considered to be nationwide and has its roots in Afro-Brazilian traditions. On the other hand, the fact that drumming is essentially associated with the concept of rhythm - as well as that each Brazilian state is being represented by a different voice in the choir and that they all sing alongside with the beat of percussion - brings to mind the message presented by the 2014 FIFA World Cup slogan, the one that addressed union through music and sport.

The idea of national union addressed by the choir composition was made explicitly through the light projections over the scene. In the beginning, the children sang side by side, as in the traditional choir formation. Later, they spread over the centre of Maracanã Stadium's pitch. When they do it so, small green and yellow shards are projected flying around the scene. During the national anthem second-half, the green and yellow shards get together, forming the Brazilian national flag. Each one of the kids, who wore white

²¹⁹ Rio 2016 2016b, 15.

²²⁰ Coubertin 1956, 53.

²²¹ Rio 2016 2012, 23

clothes, stand on the exact position of the stars within the flag. As we already know it, each of the stars originally represents different Brazilian states and the way they are arranged is intended to represent the sky of Rio de Janeiro at the moment of the Republic proclamation, on November 15, 1889²²².

c) Carmen Miranda, the biggest Brazilian Hollywood star

After the national anthem execution, a performer dressed as Carmen Miranda starts singing the Brazilian choro *Tico-Tico no Fubá* (José Gomes de Abreu, 1917). Miranda, a Portuguese-born Brazilian, was one of the main samba singers of Brazil during the 1930s. She achieved international fame in the late 1930s when she began starring Broadway musicals and Hollywood movies, becoming one of the most well-known celebrities in the US²²³. She was also responsible for the creation of an important symbol of national identity, the stylized *Baiana* outfit, with a “high turban, plenty of necklaces and colourful trinkets”²²⁴.

Therefore, Miranda arguably became one of the most famous Brazilians of the twentieth-century first half, representing not only the country but also Latin-American women²²⁵ - characterised in the movies as ladies “moved by their passion and instincts”²²⁶ - in a period in which the US sought to have closer cultural and political exchanges with other American countries, an outcome of the Franklin Roosevelt’s Good Neighbor policy (1933-1945).

²²² Paul 2000, 255.

²²³ Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. May 30, 1988. *On trail of Miranda Museum*. Available at <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1129&dat=19880530&id=QNVRAAAAIBAJ&sjid=320DAAAIBAIAJ&pg=5213,8791143&hl=en>. Accessed on August 30, 2018.

²²⁴ Da Costa Garcia 2004, 10.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

As the first and better-known Brazilian Hollywood star, Miranda popularised the image of the country abroad in an epoch when not much was known about Latin America and Brazil. The Olympic committee choice of making the flag-bearers of each participating country enter in the Maracanã stadium to the sound of *Tico-Tico no Fubá* brings back the memory of the first time that international audiences listened to samba and got in contact with Brazilian popular culture. If more than seventy years ago, Brazil made to the world through the voice and image of Carmen Miranda, in the evening of Rio 2016 closing ceremony, the world symbolic went to Brazil under the same tunes.

1. Rio 2016 Closing Ceremony - “The art of the people”, the long history of Brazilian creativity

After the athletes of all participating nations entered the Maracanã Stadium together - symbolizing the union through sport - and the IOC presented its new *Olympic Channel*, the Rio 2016 second act started. While its first act focused on Rio de Janeiro’s landscapes (with the display of famous touristic sites) and popular music (telling the history of samba from its early days in *Vila Isabel* until its international popularisation when Carmen Miranda made to Hollywood), the second act tells the history of North-Eastern popular art – from thousands of years ago to nowadays.

a) The people from *Serra da Capivara*, the first records of human self-awareness in the Americas

The theatrical presentation of the Rio-2016 closing ceremony restarts with the representation of a female archaeologist wandering with her lantern in an otherwise dark place. She wears a blue shirt, khaki hat and trousers - reminding the classic uniform of western archaeological explorations into the depths of non-Western regions. The woman is the representation of the Brazilian archaeologist Niede Guidon, a world-renowned scientist famous for both by her archaeological findings in *Serra da Capivara* - which shed some controversy on when the human arrival on the American continent

took place- and her efforts to preserve the area, which was later turned it into a national park.

The projection of back and red lights reproduces the cave paintings found in *Serra da Capivara* – “one of the most important archaeological sites for understanding the history of humankind in the Americas”²²⁷. In the light projections depicting the art inside the caves of *Serra da Capivara*, one can see *positive* handprints as well as the drawing of animals, such as deers, capybaras and lizards. These projections started moving as if we went back on time, back to when the animals that inspired the cave painters were still alive.

In order to give an idea to the viewer how old the civilisation that hunted these animals and painted these caves was, the ceremony committee made use of the projection of a pre-historical flying Pterosaur. Although men and dinosaurs have never coexisted, such an over-exaggeration was arguably made in order to differentiate the ancient people of Serra da Capivara from the inhabitants of the Pre-Cabralian Brazil in relation to the chronology of their existence.

According to Guidon and Pessis, the rock paintings in Serra da Capivara National Park may be older than 20.000 years old²²⁸, which debunks the so-called *Clovis-first* theory that states that the oldest signs of humans in the American continent are found near Clovis (in the USA)²²⁹, which are about 10.000 years old.

Beyond the discussion of where were found signs of the first Americans, there is also the debate of which region of the continent has the oldest cave paintings. This is a worldwide phenomenon, an article recently published on Nature proved that the cave paintings in Sulawesi, Indonesia, are - at least - as old as cave paintings found in Spain²³⁰, which were believed to be the oldest ones in the world.

²²⁷ Rio 2016 2016b, 21.

²²⁸ Guidon and Pessis 2009.

²²⁹ Lahaye, Hernandez, Boeda, *et al.* 2013.

²³⁰ Aubert, Brumm, Dosseto *at al.* 2014.

It is important to note that the importance of this type of archaeological research is not contained only within the realms of archaeology and human history, but it is also present on the nationalistic level as countries take pride in having the most ancient signs of human genius. One may understand that the dawn of art also denotes the dawn of humanity or the inception of the *World Spirit*²³¹ in so far the cave paintings are one of the first records of human self-awareness, the moment that humankind separates itself from nature.

The performance goes on with the entrance of several dozens of performers carrying panels of different shades of orange. They move to traditional Guarani songs which make reverence to *Nhanderú*, “considered the Guarani people’s god”²³². Moreover, using their panels, they make different entwined shapes and patterns that look like recurrent Amerindians’ motives and handicrafts. Therefore, despite of the fact that it is not yet known whether the Amerindians that inhabited Pindorama were direct descendants of the ancient civilisation of *Serra da Capivara*, the Olympic committee opted to use a Guarani song because they have arguably assumed that their culture would be closer to the Pre-Colombian Amerindians than that of modern men and women. The fact that the depiction of *Serra da Capivara* people is accompanied by a choir of Guarani children singing a song that makes reference to the Guarani god *Nhanderú* – “who does not have mother nor father, who is the beginning of the world”²³³ – works as an expression of the land’s temporality.

Therefore, through the presentation of *Serra da Capivara*’s paintings and handicrafts, as well as the performance soundtrack, the closing ceremony stresses the fact that Brazil has an ancient past that precedes in several thousands of years the arrival of the first Europeans in the sixteenth century. Close to the end of the presentation, the performers momentarily stop the depiction of the *Serra da Capivara*’s handicrafts to form the message *Rio 2016* – thus conveying a feeling of continuity between the ancient civilisation and modern Brazil.

²³¹ Hegel 2001.

²³² Rio 2016 2016b, 21

²³³ Teixeira de Menezes 2010, 148.

b) “Lace-Making”: A sample of a deep-rooted popular art

The display of the nation goes on with the exhibition of different regional cultures of Brazil’s North-East. The first presentation shows Baianas working as lace-makers (*rendeiras*), a cultural practice rather present in the region. The song that goes with the performance is *Mulher Rendeira*, or Lace-Maker Woman, one of the most famous *xaxados*. The song is believed to tell the love story between the folk-hero Captain Virgulino Ferreira da Silva, also known as *Lampião* (the most celebrated of *cangaceiros*), and his wife, Maria Gomes de Oliveira, known as *Maria Bonita*²³⁴.

The *cangaços* were groups of *social bandits* that existed in the rural areas of Brazil’s North-East at the end of the nineteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century. Even before his death, *Lampião* became a national myth as a sort of noble bandit, akin to the figure of Robin-Hood, a symbol of a rebellion against the dominant classes in an impoverished region of Brazil²³⁵. Therefore, *Mulher Rendeira* can be understood both as a tribute to lace-making women due to its lyrics and a ballad of social struggle, due to the social context in which it became popular²³⁶.

c) Bringing clay to life - the importance of North-Eastern diaspora to the construction of the nation

The exhibition of North-Eastern popular art goes on with the performance of *Grupo Corpo*, a dance company from the South-Eastern city of Belo Horizonte. The presentation, a contemporary piece of *baião*, “pays tribute to the North-Eastern culture, with figurines that valorised the culture of *sertão* (the region’s backcountry)”²³⁷.

²³⁴ Galvão 2004.

²³⁵ Chandler 1978.

²³⁶ Galvão 2004, 380.

²³⁷ O Contorno de BH. *Grupo Corpo foi BH no Encerramento das Olimpíadas*. <http://www.ocontornodebh.com.br/index.php/2016/08/22/grupo-corpo-foi-bh-no-encerramento-das-olimpiadas/>. Accessed on September 1, 2018.

The music played during the presentation was inspired in Luis Gonzaga's *Asa Branca*, a song based on old *folk* ballads of the region which tell the story of suffering migrants who are forced to abandon their homeland due to its enduring drought. Asa branca, or picaruzo pigeon (*Patagioenas picaruzo*), is a bird that flies away from the *Caatinga* region as soon as it feels that the dry season is coming. Therefore, according to Gonzaga and Pereira, the bird "symbolises the exiled's sadness and loneliness for having to leave his home, but, at the same time, his resilience and hope to come back to its beloved land"²³⁸.

During *Grupo Corpo* presentation, one could see the silhouettes of men and women dressed as *sertanejos* slowly moving through the contraction-cracked dryland of North-east backlands as if they were migrating to a more prosperous place. When *Grupo Corpo*'s performance ends, the light over these people gets brighter and one can see that, in fact, they epitomize clay-made figures as those popularised by Pernambuco-born *Mestre Vitalino* (Vitalino Pereira dos Santos).

Mestre Vitalino's clay models became internationally famous, inspiring popular as well as classical artists and made it to a number of museums in Brazil and abroad, including the *Louvre* in Paris²³⁹. In spite of his fame, *Vitalino* died of smallpox, a disease which already had a vaccine at the time, when was still poor and illiterate²⁴⁰. His art has, however, inspired dozens of new artists in the region, becoming an icon of *Sertanejo* culture.

The contemporary presentation of *baião* gives way to a traditional performance of *forró* when several men and women dressed as a *Mestre Vitalino*'s dolls – namely those that depicted *Lampião* and *Maria Bonita* - start dancing with their respective partners.

²³⁸ Gonzaga and Pereira 2007, 30.

²³⁹ Chagas 2010, 9.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

According to Quadros Junior and Volp, the modern *forró*, also known as *Forró Universitário*, has its origin in different North-eastern rhythms such as *xote*, *baião* and *xaxado* and made its way to Brazil's South-East in the 1990s²⁴¹.

Therefore, the second ends the narrative of the historical development of North-Eastern popular art by telling how modern Brazilian society was deeply influenced by a region that served as both modern Brazil's historical cradle and an important national cultural hub. What is more, it also acknowledged the importance of North-Eastern diaspora to the construction and integration of the nation.

2. Rio-2016 Closing Ceremony - Time to say goodbye

The second act ends and it is followed by the display of a video showing some of Rio 2016 highlights with Villa-Lobos *Bachianas Brasileiras n° 5* on the background, the traditional men's marathon victory ceremony, a tribute to Rio-2016's volunteers, the Olympic flag handover, Tokyo-2022 presentation and official speeches.

a) The landscapes of Burle Marx and the music of Tom Jobim as examples of highbrow Brazilian art

The third act starts soon after IOC's president, Thomas Bach, declares closed the games of the XXXI Olympiad. Several artists dressed as Brazilian flora specimens to the sound of Tom Jobim's *Children's Games* (of the album *Stone Flower*, released in 1970). The performers make a series of designs as if they were flowers in a large garden. Among these compositions, the internationally known wave-pattern of Copacabana's promenade – a way of communicating with the international public and of praise its designer, the Brazilian landscape architect Roberto Burle Marx – a vanguard artist whose work made use of sinuous shapes and native Brazilian vegetation²⁴².

²⁴¹ Quadros Junior and Volp 2005, 129.

²⁴² Rio 2016 2016b, 36.

b) Extinguishing Rio 2016's Olympic flame – the end of a cycle

The artists dressed as Brazilian plants stop dancing as the first drops of a light-projected rain get merged with the drizzly weather of Rio de Janeiro. At one end of the stadium, over a little stage set in front of the Olympic cauldron, Brazilian singer Mariene de Castro starts singing Marisa Monte's *Pelo Tempo Que Durar* (For as long as it lasts), a song about the end as a transformation cycle. During de Castro's presentation, an artificially-made shower starts pouring down over her simulating a heavy tropical rainfall. Rio-2016 Olympic cauldron - which due to the moving structure attached to it looks like a radiating sun within Maracanã Stadium - also gets caught by the rain and is extinguished by it.

Seconds later, close to where the Olympic flame was, several green and yellow threads are lifted characterizing the growth of a huge tree. The same water which had extinguished the fire was used to begin a new life – which is celebrated by the fireworks that burst in the sky.

As a result, the use of elements as a scorching sun, a pouring rain and a growing tree fit well both Rio 2016's environmental message and Brazil's tropical cosmology. What is more, the idea of the end as a necessary stage for a new beginning is presented through Marisa Monte's song and the whole symbology of a life cycle. As a country which has the largest share of its territory within the tropics, many regions of Brazil do not undergo the seasons in the same way that sub-tropical and temperate zones do. Closer to the equator, the periods of the year are usually reduced to two: the dry and the rainy seasons. Thus, by extinguishing the Olympic fire with an equatorial shower, the closing ceremony committee has once more fashioned an Olympic tradition within Brazilian aesthetics - such as the country's tropicity and its long-lasting symbolic relation with the natural world.

c) A final act, the world becomes Rio's Sapucaí

After the Olympic flame was extinguished and the embodiment of a gigantic tree was raised on the stadium symbolizing the end of Rio 2016 Olympics, there was time still for a rather Carioca finale. Members of the *Cordão do Bola Preta*, one of Rio's oldest

Carnival blocks, stepped onto the football pitch singing *Cidade Maravilhosa* – an ode to the natural beauty of Rio de Janeiro. They were soon joined by several members of Rio’s most traditional samba schools, from *Mestre Salas* and *Porta-Bandeiras* to percussionists and dancers.

One of the *Mestres Salas* is Renato Sorriso, the first person to appear in the London/Rio de Janeiro handover ceremony four years earlier. Once again, he is seen escorted by a Brazilian-top model, Izabel Goulart. Sorriso is thus a cohesive element between the beginning and the end of the XXXI Olympiad, almost as if he is the embodiment of the nation and his Dionysian character.

The Samba repertoire, which had begun with traditional marches of Rio’s street carnival, quickly develops to a Samba school medley which evoked the biggest hits of the city’s carnival from 1971 to 2016. The atmosphere in the Maracana stadium was thus transformed from a rather emotional extinguishing of the Olympic flame into a Dionysian exposition of Brazilian carnival – as if the worldwide viewership was taken from the Maracana into the *Sapucaí* – as Rio’s sambadrome is known.

To complete the setting, a Carnival float – typical of Rio’s Carnival parade - entered the scene with *mulattas* minimally dressed with flamboyant plumes. The float featured two gigantic Macaw birds and several colourful plants that, once again, evoked the symbolic link between Brazil and exuberant nature. Close to the end of the transmission, the athletes join the scene and blend with the samba school members in a massive carnival festivity. The broadcast ends, but an aerial view of the stadium shows that, in Brazil, the party still going on²⁴³.

²⁴³ We later discovered that the party “ended with confetti and a firework show”. Rio 2016 2016b, 40.

Conclusion

As not one person can claim to fully comprehend such a vast country as Brazil in its utter essence, in its almost inexhaustible social contrasts and in its perpetual development of collective and personal experiences, one's grasp of Brazil as a nation is often grounded on a myriad of narratives and representations. Nonetheless, these accounts do not come out of the blue clear sky, they are often the product of the recycling of several pre-existing narratives; which, in turn, reflect historical dynamics containing domestic and international socio-political conjunctures. The hosting of international mega-events, such as those analysed in this thesis, is thus an exceptional opportunity to remember, select and combine some of these narratives, constructing thus an updated national image of the country – a revisited national identity televised to billions of people around the globe.

In this thesis, we have identified numerous ethnic-racial and socio-geographical accounts from where the nation has been imagined. Many of these narratives were used by the organising committees of the FIFA 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Rio Olympics. From the romantic narratives of *Indianism* to the idea of a *mulatto* and racist-free nation - and from the representation of the Empire as a *Latin American* kingdom within the tropics to the discourse of a republic politically engaged on reducing CO2 emissions and lessening the effects of global warming - Brazil's representations in these events have been often negotiated through the tension between the existing image of the country – a combination of enduring nationalistic narratives from the past centuries - and the way the nation would like to be currently perceived by its epistemological others.

As an idiosyncratic audience, modern Western society plays a central role in the construction and reproduction of collective memories of Latin American countries as Brazil on, at least, two ways. In an objective manner, on the way these countries want to be perceived by its historical others, those powerful, wealthy and well-developed

nations which have the passkeys to the select club of global players, and consequently, the access to soft power benefits that come with such membership. In a subjective fashion, in so far these countries have historically called the modern project shots, and therefore what is desirable and what is not, what is useful and what is obsolete, what is modern and what is outdated.

In this thesis first chapter, *Collective Identities and Mega-Events: Concept and Method*, we have come to the understanding that international mega-events - such as International Expositions, Olympic games, and FIFA World Cups - are world-wide arenas from where modern nations can exhibit their traditions as well as their social progress. Hosting these global events are nevertheless seen as extraordinary opportunities to the displaying of national ethos as well as the hosting civilisations' advances towards modernity and their (past or prospective) contributions to the further development of the *World Spirit*.

Therefore, in spite of the differences in nature and content, the aforementioned mega-events have traditionally shared the displaying of a Janus-faced narrative of the nation. Such historical account - which, in the cases of the World Cup and the Olympics, is usually presented by the hosting country in opening and closing ceremonies and, in the case of the World Exhibits, by all the participating nations - is often shaped by the country's *spiritual principle*, which is generally subaltern to modernity in so far modernity plays a central role in how a common future is imagined as well as in how a nation's history is remembered.

Nonetheless, we have seen that some nations were not completely satisfied to follow a standardized – and sometimes not entirely compatible with their societies - model of modernity. Thus, through Olympic ceremonies, many host nations have also attempted to portray their own versions of the modern project – not only presenting narratives of their own, connected to their local and national histories, but also their own sort of revisited modern project: the tension between their ethos, political agendas, current global trends and national possibilities.

We have also seen that regionalisms and nationalisms are but different power structures

within modernity/coloniality as the gradual cultural adjustment of societies that get into logic of coloniality - by embracing a good share of what comes from the colonial matrix of power as a token of modernity - is met, at the local level, by similar forms of acculturation: the assimilation and/or imposition of cultural practices originating from the ruling regions and/or classes within a nation. Regional and national identities can thus be two competing forces within the construction of a nation-state.

As it is the case for nationalisms, regionalisms also depend on the creation of regional narratives to support the claims of a social-constructed homogeneous identity. Therefore, narratives that support an imagined community - either regional or national - often resort to symbolic representations as easy-accessing reminders of their social essence. Representations of the nation and the regions thus come into being through the materialisation of a signified, which may have a correlation with a historical narrative and/or may be of assistance on producing a historical account. Either way, such signified is often based on difference; as it is difference – as in the contrast between lightning and dark sky - the driving force that divides, that discontinues, the epistemological rupture which leads to the concept of a region, a nation, a word or anything else that is subject to representation.

In chapter number two, *Progress: Brazilian-ness within Modernity/Coloniality*, we have discussed how successive generations of intellectuals and artists have contributed to the creation of different ethnic-racial and socio-geographical narratives to the nation by taking into account cultural trends considered to be modern in the Western world.

We have also evaluated how some of these narratives were built in order to create the narrative of a unique national Brazilian *spirit*. - the justification of the nation as such - while other accounts have attempted to reconnect Brazil with Europe through its Portuguese heritage. Either way, it became clear that these narratives were generally created through the juxtaposition of Brazil and Brazilians in relation to the West, through the take of how the nation fitted within the modern project, of how it could collaborate to modernity's development and of how Brazil could keep its headway towards a utopian and *absolute* modern age.

We have seen that, more often than not, such narratives were used according to the

interests of Brazil ruling classes, showing little or no regard to whether they would benefit the populations depicted by them or whether the account was somewhat close to these people's living experiences. In many occasions, large segments of the Brazilian population were completely erased or were reduced to immaterial accounts in symbolic representations of the nation due to domestic elites concern with its image abroad - an evidence of both the western racial bias as perceived by the Brazilian ruling classes and of the observer's role on the presentation of the self.

When it comes to Brazil's representation as a physical space, the country has been extensively portrayed as a tropical and exotic land, home to colourful birds and to a exuberant vegetation. Whereas these attributes initially helped the Brazilian monarchy to distinguish itself from other European houses, it soon served to advertise the country as an Earthly paradise - filled with natural potential, only lacking European immigrants to transform it into a first-rank white(r) nation.

While the idea of the natural world as a surrogate to the European classical past helped the Brazilian monarchy to surf on literary and artistic romanticism in order to promote the country abroad, the early republic had to face an already well-established scenario where - due to scientific inquiries about the origins of mankind and civilisation - nature lost much of its romantic inference, being increasingly considered the departing point of the *Spirit* evolution and thus a token of both Brazil's societal immaturity and its untapped industrial potential.

About a century later, with the re-democratisation of the country in 1988 - and the subsequent adoption of a more progressive agenda concerning different populations of the nation and the country's biomes - Brazil altered its political instance in relation to the protection of its ecoregions and to the lands inhabited by indigenous populations. In order to consolidate and internationally diffuse the nation's concern with the Amazon deforestation and the effects of CO₂ emissions in the atmosphere, the country hosted the 1992 Earth Summit - which also became a milestone on Brazilian international affairs as the country started seeing these meetings as international arenas from where the nation could display itself as an important global player through its position as an environmentally responsible emergent economy - as well as one of the leaders of the developing world. As a result, with the advent of an international agenda that

recognized the need for the adoption of an environment-friendly relation between modernity and nature, Brazil saw in its intimate link with the natural world an opening to captivate international audiences and to play its role as a promising modern nation.

Still in chapter two, when it comes to the evolution of ethnic-racial narratives for the nation, we have seen that Brazil has historically negotiated its image in relation to its historical others - Western Europe and, later, the United States - in accordance, or in reaction, to socio-cultural trends that, in a given epoch, were widespread in the West. Therefore, Brazilians have thought of themselves – as well as their countrywomen and countrymen - as *Latin* Americans (South Europeans relocated in a tropical environment), as descendants of a noble and great indigenous civilization, as the outcome of the mixture of three distinct races and/or as a mulatto *Dionysian* people living in an imaginary racial democracy.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the independence of the country, Brazilian elites attempted to differentiate their image from the Portuguese through the exaltation of their alleged Amerindian heritage. Therefore, they embraced a local version of European romanticism – also known as Indianism - as a national narrative. Such a national narrative was present in works of art sent to national pavilions in international expositions in Europe. As a result, the Brazilian intelligentsia portrayal of naive and romanticised Amerindians – like their representation in the Indianism - symbolically reduced the real people - who still existed, and still existing to date - to mythical figures living in an idealised past.

Therefore, although the nineteenth-century academic and artistic elites have presented the Amerindian as a determinant factor to the construction of Brazilians unique heritage in relation to their European counterparts, they also expressed their belief on, what for them was, the unavoidable Amerindian fate: as medieval knights – obsolete noble characters who were not able to contribute with, or even endure, the modern project - native Brazilians were also faded to die out and disappear absorbed by modern civilisation.

Such a belief lead to the overestimation of the mythological native while the real people were marginalised. This tendency may be attributed to the impossibilities of the Empire

in conceiving a grey-zone in-between two of the possible alternatives to the Amerindians populations within the country: their integration or extermination.

Amerindians - as members of a culture that was alien to crucial traits of Western modernity such as the idea of progress and wealth accumulation - served modern men as sort of reverse looking glasses: their characteristics that were opposite to those of modern cultivated men worked as reminders of Western society's flaws and virtues. Therefore, Amerindian narratives were used by modern men in order to make a point about their own characteristics through the presentation of dualities (i.e. Amerindian/European, savage/cultivated, free/restrained, noble/greedy, shameless/decent and so on). As a result, such a mythical Amerindian image – noble, pure and strong but marginal to western society - also helped the country to expose itself as an Eden-like paradise, which was still somewhat untouched by western men and thus still had plenty of fertile lands to be cultivated. The combination of these elements helped Brazil to present itself on the nineteenth-century international expos as the land of the future, mostly virgin, awaiting European arms to become one of the world greatest nations.

Nonetheless, we have also seen that, in spite of the enduring racial bias towards non-European peoples, Brazil - as a land filled with several indigenous peoples, colonised by the Portuguese and populated by Africans – always had in miscegenation a central element on the construction of its society. That is why the Historical and Geographical Brazilian Institute awarded Von Martius' monograph - in which he defended the thesis that Brazil's history was the history of the union between three distinct peoples – making of it a model of how Brazilian history should be written.

Other than that, through the assertion that these peoples were put together by the spirit of history so to attain *the most sublime ends within the world order*, Von Martius put forward a historical/philosophical counterargument capable of turning the cultural and ethnic mixture of Brazil - that many considered to be an obstacle to the country's development - into a matter of national exceptionalism and pride – fomenting the idea that Brazil was (*is?*) the land of the future.

This narrative (or promise) came about again in the 1920s when the fast industrial development of the state of São Paulo, supported by its coffee production, led part of its artistic and intellectual elites to adopt modernism both as an aesthetic movement and as a metaphysical stand from which the future of the nation should be embraced with enthusiasm. Such a movement culminated with the advent of a manifesto – metaphorically based on the Anthropophagic ritual of the Amerindians - that expanded the account that Brazilians are a racially miscegenated people to a narrative in which their endless curiosity towards the *other* and will to seize and subvert the cultures of different societies were key to the development of a Brazilian-fashioned modernity. As a result, on an international level, the Anthropophagic manifesto subverted the hierarchical relation between coloniser/colonised, symbolic setting Brazil in the vanguard of modernity precisely because it understood the country as an arena where different peoples and ideas met - a sort of a pan-cultural melting pot that pushed the boundaries of the human experience - taking mankind onwards. On an ethnic-symbolic level, Anthropophagy somewhat redeemed the image of Amerindians on the construction of the nation: they were no longer the opposite of civilisation, nor they were fictional characters time-locked on a mythical past. They came to be regarded as fundamental pieces of Brazilian society. Therefore, whereas in Indianism the natives were noble and mythical characters who were faded to slowly disappear absorbed by the modern project, the Anthropophagical Amerindian, with his inherent curiosity towards the other and its never-ending drive for multiculturalism, became Brazil's key to modernity.

With the end of World War II, the idea of a miscegenated Brazil gained further ground. Authors as Gilberto Freyre - who defended the thesis that Brazil was a *sui generis* nation due to the fact that the Portuguese were more prone to blend with other peoples than its imperial counterparts - became increasingly popular in the Lusosphere. Freyre's theory that - due to the ethnic mixture of the Brazilian type - racism in the country was lighter than elsewhere in the western world led to the narrative that the country was home to a racial democracy. Such a belief was embraced in Brazil as proof that the nation was, at least morally, ahead of most of the developed world - setting Brazilian society within modernity's first row.

In chapter 3, *Order: Brazilian-ness within Brazil and beyond*, we have seen how a country the size of Brazil managed to avoid the faith of its *Spanish American* neighbours through the development of a series of national narratives and, occasionally, through state intervention. We have also built an outline of the socio-political and historical reasons that have led some cultural practices to be regarded as examples of *national culture* while others remained defined as *regional traditions*.

Putting it differently, we have sought the origins of Brazilian-ness within Brazil. We have thus learnt that the establishment of a Brazilian identity started with the arrival of the Portuguese court to the city of Rio de Janeiro in the early nineteenth century and was further developed by the hatred against common enemies, usually foreigners. Among them, the Portuguese, members of a socio-economic elite; the Dutch, considered as invaders in Pernambuco; the Argentines, traditional local commercial and military competitors; and the Paraguayans, largely advertised by the Brazilian empire as an uncivilised people who challenged Brazil's territorial sovereignty.

Whereas the aforementioned peoples were considered to be Brazil's first antagonising groups, the original outsiders who defined who were the insiders, the primary *them* who defined the *us*; on a national level the *Cariocas*, the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro, the former national capital and emanating source of a so-called *Brazilian* culture, gradually became an important epistemological *other* to the populations of a wide range of Brazilian regions.

Rio de Janeiro's preeminence within the idea of a Brazilian ethos can be explained by a number of factors. Among them, the city's importance as the political and economic centre of nineteenth-century Brazil. Rio de Janeiro was thus the organic centre of the country not solely because it accommodated most of the Brazilian political institutions but also because it was the place where peoples of different corners of the Empire met and mingled. Another important factor that it is worth mentioning is that Rio de Janeiro was the seat of many national institutions, as the National Museum and the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute (IHGB). If, on the one hand, the latter was responsible for the creation of a national narrative that would separate the country from its former coloniser, on the other hand, it also served the imperial agenda of political

centralization after a series of important separatist revolts that took place in the country between 1835 and 1845.

As a reaction to IHGB's regional bias towards Brazilian history, it was natural that the elites of other Brazilian regions would create their own historical and geographical institutes so to create their particular historical narratives and iconographies. These institutes aspired to develop a historical account of their regions and their importance to the historical fabric of the country. In order to achieve their goals, they crafted their own regional myths that often sought to break away from the main national narratives endorsed by the Empire.

Ever since the advent of the federative republic in 1889, the two forces behind the republic proclamation expanded their political influences. On the one hand, the military - which sought a rather centralised, homogenous nation and had gained political ground as an outcome of the Paraguayan War (1864-1870) - ruled the country during the period known as the Sword Republic (1889-1894). On the other hand, the local elites of different Brazilian states, which were decisive for the fall of the Empire, gained more governmental autonomy and increased their political influence in the country. Such a scenario led to the Coffee with Milk politics in Brazil (1894-1930) - a period in which the states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais defied Rio de Janeiro's position as the main economic and political force of the nation and culminated with the revolution of 1930. As a result of the uprising, Vargas put an end to the first republic's liberal-oligarchic political culture and, through a *coup d'état* in 1937, initiated a nationalist-authoritarian rule known as *Estado Novo* (1937-1945).

With the advent of a new constitution, Vargas reduced the political autonomy of Brazilian states. What is more, the creation of a Department of Press and Propaganda - an official organ which censored artists, musicians and journalists that were considered unpatriotic - helped on the promotion of a "national culture" centred on Rio de Janeiro's cultural scene. The national-authoritarian characteristic of Vargas' rule, as well as his desire of creating a homogenous Brazilian identity with little or no room to regionalisms, shows how the state and the army have used their influence and authority to develop a homogenising Brazilian identity, which was rather close in character to that of Brazil's former capital.

As Vargas saw in mega-events as strategic occasions to promote his *modern* Brazil, such Rio-centred Brazilian-ness was advertised in national expositions, such as the *1938 Exposição Nacional do Estado Novo* in Rio de Janeiro, and in international exhibitions, such as the *1939 New York World's Fair*. These are explicit examples of how mega-events can be used to promote a given regime political agenda.

As Europe was being rebuilt after the second world war, Brazil was selected to host the 1950 FIFA World Cup. Although the Estado Novo had officially ended five years prior the competition kick-off, Rio de Janeiro kept its dominant role within Brazilian-ness. This was reflected by the number of the matches – especially those of the *seleção* – played in the city and in the display of Guanabara Bay and the Sugarloaf Mountain in the competition's print material.

A possible explanation to the constant appearance of the the panorama of the Guanabara Bay and the Sugarloaf Mountain in many of the pictorial representations of Brazil is that, throughout the centuries, the landscape of the city of Rio de Janeiro became the uttermost icon of the country's urban centres because it combined a somewhat modern architecture with the exuberance of its curvy green hills and the tropical-ness of its sandy beaches. Therefore - through such a blend of European heritage, tropical fantasy and exquisite scenery – the view of the Guanabara Bay with the Sugarloaf Mountain on its background became analogous of Rio de Janeiro, as, internationally, Rio de Janeiro became analogous of (urban) Brazil.

The militaristic spirit of the age and the homogenising characteristic left by the *Estado Novo* was observed also in the 1950 FIFA World Cup *initial solemnities* – the forerunner of nowadays opening ceremonies. A military band played the opera of Carlos Gomes, *O Guarani*, based on José de Alencar's foundation myth in which the union between a Guarani man and a Portuguese virgin epitomised the dawn of Brazilian people - leaving other groups, such as the Afro-Brazilians and the first generations of the millions of immigrants that replaced the unfree labour force – out of the equation during the presentation.

In chapter number four, *All in one Rhythm – Audiovisual representations of Brazilian*

national and regional identities in the 2014 FIFA World Cup, we have used several of the national narratives that we have identified on chapters two and three to analyse the print material, audiovisual content and ceremonies of both 2013 FIFA Confederations Cup and 2014 FIFA World Cup. Our goal was to identify which of these national narratives were used and how they have been revisited. What is more, we have also analysed how the 2014 FIFA World Cup host cities have portrayed their regions and how they negotiated their images with different understandings of Brazilian-ness.

In the first aspect of our analysis (i.e. how the nation was portrayed during the period), we have seen that the 2014 FIFA World Cup, its catchphrase *juntos num só ritmo* – or *all in one rhythm* - seemed to be the essence of the competition's promotional material as it was directly, or indirectly, present in the 2014 FIFA World Cup's official logo, posters, ceremonies and TV opening through the idea of a Dionysian Brazilian-ness and, of course, football as cohesive forces that hold the cultures of different Brazilian regions together.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that, perhaps, those who - during the 2013 Confederations Cup - have been tuned to the news about the civil unrest caused by generalised corruption and the excessive expenditures with the competition's new arenas may have seen such catchphrase under a different light from those who focused mostly in the unifying aspects of worldwide mega-events and sport.

What is more, the idea of Brazil as a constituent part of Latin America was present in the opening and closing ceremony with the presentation of Brazilian musicians alongside singers related to the Latin American community. A possible interpretation of the message intended to be delivered by the 2014 FIFA World Cup organisers is that Brazilian-ness would be made of a patchwork of regional cultures unified by common cultural aspects, such as a common language and history as well as the passion for football and music. In turn, Brazilians would be part of an even larger cultural group: the Latin Americans. Finally, the organisers arguably wished to deliver the message that, during the 32 days of World Cup, all these groups or subgroups would be unified

to the rest of the world in just ‘one rhythm’, the one football and Brazilian/Dionysian *joie de vivre*.

The comparison of the audiovisual material of the FIFA World Cups of 1950 and 2014 has served as a practical method to understand the progression, regression or transition of Brazil towards different political agendas. Therefore, the analysis of the promotional material, as well as the opening ceremonies of these events, brought us dichotomies that have been central to the construction of Brazilian identity throughout the country’s history. One of these dichotomies is present in the duality between modernity/coloniality, as Brazil, as well as other emerging nations, has used the participation and the hosting of mega-events as means to reclaim its status as a modern and developed nation. A further duality lies on the tension between the national and the local – such duality is not solely due to Brazil’s continental size, but also to the fact that the architects of the republic proclamation in 1889 (i.e. the Brazilian army and local elites) have had different plans to the country and its states for most of the country history as a (federative) republic. Through the analysis of how two events of same nature (FIFA World Cups), organised in the same country (Brazil), however, separated by 64 years of history, we unveiled how two distinctive ruling political agendas lead the organisers to portray the country and its people accordingly.

As we have seen in chapter 3, from 1930 to 1945, Getúlio Vargas – inspired by right-wing political doctrines of the time – crafted a homogenous national identity through the exclusion of cultural singularities of different Brazilian regional groups. Such nationalistic and authoritarian symbolic construction of Brazilian-ness endured until the 1980s when the country saw a revival, regional identities with the end of the military rule and the consequent re-democratization of the country. The democratic governments of nowadays Brazil, on the other hand, have had their discourses in accordance to the twenty-first-century progressive ideals of cultural diversity and social representation. Therefore, as representational arenas of Brazilian-ness to local and foreign audiences, the 1950 and 2014 FIFA World Cup ceremonies were also symbolic constructions of the collective self – *We* – to the epistemological others – *They*.

Separated by a 64 years time span, the narratives presented by both of the events were filled with symbolic constructions based on paradigms of modernity (or, one might say, *progress*) which influenced the organisers' view over unity (a way to achieve *order*). That is to say, the evolution of the idea of what is to be a modern state in relation to a country's cultural uniformity, or diversity, influences the country's political structure, and therefore the role that different regions of Brazil have in the construction of Brazilian-ness or, at least, on the degree that such diversity is displayed.

This comes to explain the different approaches to Brazil, as a representation, on the official World Cup posters. In 1950 the epitome of the country was the Guanabara Bay, in Rio de Janeiro; whereas, in 2014, the local committee explored the view that the part makes the whole by using nationwide aspects, such as its political map and national flag colours combined with cultural and geographical icons of each region of the country to represent the whole of Brazil. The same differences in principle are present in the opening ceremonies. In the 1950s, Brazil – which was still influenced by the nationalism promoted by the *Estado Novo* – the main actors of the opener were members of the national army, playing a song that represented the birth of Brazilians as a people who supposedly share the same forefathers. On the other hand, the opening of the 2014 FIFA World Cup represented Brazil through its civil society, coming from different corners of the country with their own music, flora and folklore.

Beyond the field of international and domestic socio-politics, a further explanation to the differences between the two World Cups when it comes to the representation of the country are the idiosyncrasies of sports mega-events (prior the advent of satellite television and Internet), tourism (before the popularisation of long-distance flights) and of a pre-information age international community. These elements may also have contributed to restraining the representation of Brazilian culture – and most of the matches – to a single location during the 1950 FIFA World Cup.

When comes to the portrayal of Brazilians as a people, the opening ceremonies of the

two FIFA World Cups presented rather conservative views over the groups that are deemed the ethnic mainstays of Brazilian-ness. While the 1950s *initial solemnities* seemed to mirror the Brazilian stance of the nineteenth-century world exhibits by making use of a romantic national foundation myth - in which Amerindians and Portuguese were regarded as Brazilians forefathers and the Afro-descendants were ignored and left out of the equation – the 2014 opening ceremony depicted these three groups in a stereotypical manner through the use of narratives constructed in the two last centuries.

In 2014, Afro-Brazilians were represented by a group of *Capoeiristas*. At first, such a decision appeared to be a sensible one as it seemed to be intended to represent a common past to most of Brazilians regardless of their region of origin: the struggle of their Afro-Brazilians ascendants for freedom and their perseverance against acculturation and racial hatred. Nonetheless, the context in which the *capoeiristas* have made their performance – in a dance act amidst other *folk* dance performances - gave a second meaning to the act. *Capoeira* was thus once more disguised as a ludicrous practice, as a celebration, instead of as a means of self-defence and struggle against oppression. Therefore, one might say that the decision not to make any reference to the conditions in which Afro-Brazilians took part in the nation's development - focusing instead only in the Dionysian features of the dance and not in its rational ground for existence as a martial art - is a matter of *trivialization* of the Afro-Brazilian colonial wound.

As for the theatrical representation of the Amerindians in the 2014 FIFA World Cup opening ceremony, they were depicted as a transitional element between the first act, *Brazilian nature*, and the second act: *Brazilian people*. Whereas in the first act they are the only humans to appear on the scene, the lack of any direct or indirect reference to them in the second act, which was reserved to the display of the diversity of Brazilian culture (or civilisation), is somehow symptomatic of the absence of the land natives - or any possible Amerindian contribution - on what the ceremony organisers considered to be the Brazilian national culture. Therefore, their role in the ceremony as a

transitional element between the first act, *Nature* (or fauna and flora), and the second act, *People* (or civilisation), sets them right in-between these two groups - that is to say - in the role of uncivilised peoples, belonging to a bygone era in which mankind and nature coexisted in harmony, whose very existence can be barely noticed in the formation of *modern* Brazil.

The depiction of Amerindians in the 2014 FIFA World Cup thus seems to drink from the romantic narrative of Brazilian Indianism, which was often used by the Brazilian Empire during the nineteenth-century world exhibits and also appeared during the Estado Novo and the Second Brazilian Republic. Moreover, one may note that, in 2014, the Amerindians were portrayed paddling up a river, conveying the understanding that, as nomad peoples, they spread out all over what today is Brazil. Consequently, much like the statues of the 1889 Paris Exposition in which Tupi-Guaranis were represented as the embodiments of national rivers, their depiction in 2014 also delivered to the audience the idea of an early national integration, dating back to the pre-Colombian history of the continent.

In the second aspect of our fourth chapter analysis – the one in which, through the content analysis of their posters, we evaluated how the 2014 FIFA World Cup host cities have portrayed their regions and how they have negotiated their images with different understandings of Brazilian-ness – we have identified three main categories from which the host cities attempted to differentiate (or not) their images from the dominant national narratives: (i) their landscapes, (ii) their people, and (iii) their flora and fauna.

When it comes to the posters, several cities were represented as tropical paradises, with sandy beaches and/or green environments. As a matter of fact, the coastal cities of Natal, Fortaleza and Rio de Janeiro were depicted through their seashores, while the cities of Cuiabá and Manaus made reference to their ecosystems (Pantanal and the Amazon forest). By the same token, the cities of Belo Horizonte and Porto Alegre were also characterized by their landscapes. The former through the hills of the upcountry, where Minas Gerais capital is located, the latter through its lake, an outcome of its lowlands. In spite of their geography, these two cities – the capitals of two states that, in the past, have tried to become independent from the rest of the country – have used

the colours of their regional banners in combination with those of the national flag as a mean to illustrate their regional heritage as a constituent part of Brazilian-ness.

On the other hand, São Paulo distanced itself of the recurrent idea of Brazil as a land of leisureliness and exuberant nature as it opted to show its modern skyline as a sign of its socio-economic development. The city of Fortaleza chose to keep a certain degree of *tropical* Brazilian-ness (that is to say, the laid-back tropical paradise aspect) mixed with the idea of a *modern* Brazil (showing to be a fast-paced well-developed metropolis) in its visual depiction.

On the ethnic-racial level, whereas the city of Natal depicted a supra-racial man through the reproduction of his silhouette filled with the blue of its sky, Rio de Janeiro drank from the Freyrian narrative of the Dionysian mulatto by representing a mixed-race football player with inherent art-like football skills. Nevertheless, the cities of Brasilia and Cuiabá – through the representations of multi-coloured men - brought about pan-racial football players, avoiding thus any omission and conveying a sense of multi-ethnic rainbow-like Brazilian society in contrast with the narrative of a single-coloured mulatto nation.

The representation of the city of Curitiba – in the south of the country - is a curious example of the nullification of the twentieth-century Brazilian narratives of race and tropicality. As we have seen, some cities have distanced their images from the idea of a coastal/tropical or green/equatorial Brazil, whereas others represented their populations as being somewhat different from Freyre's prototypical Brazilian *mulatto*. Curitiba – through the recycling of early twentieth-century *Parananismo* – did both: it showed the existence of a sub-tropical (and somewhat cold) Brazil which, much due to its weather, has a particular vegetation and indirectly insinuated that the region has experienced colonisation differently than other parts of the country.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that - in order to differentiate itself from the idea of a tropical Brazil - the city of Curitiba made use of the same genre of elements that are usually used on narratives that aim to depict the nation. Thus, the recurrent symbology of a cold/European Curitiba vs a tropical/mulatto Brazil expressed by the contrast of sub-tropical and tropical flora. Therefore, albeit the fact that the

representation of Curitiba regional identity was somewhat made as a rejection of tropical Brazilian-ness, the ways of representing the nation and this specific region are not far apart in so far the categories of the featured symbols in the 2014 FIFA World Cup material are concerned.

In our thesis last chapter, *A New World - the image of a modern Brazil during the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Olympics*, we have analysed the games' ceremonies (handover, opening and closing), logo marks (of the bidding process, of the Olympics and Paralympics), motto, mascots and other tailor-made ceremonial devices (e.g. medals, torch, cauldron and so on). We have done it so to understand which historical nationalistic narratives were selected and/or renegotiated in order to give to Rio de Janeiro – and thus to Brazil - a modern aura as well as to give to *modernity* a Brazilian (and thus also Carioca) touch.

When it comes to the discussion about which regional aspects were brought forward as *Brazilian culture*, the 2016 Olympics have naturally strengthened the already central position that Rio de Janeiro plays within Brazilian-ness. If the 2014 FIFA World Cup attempted to show a culturally and geographically diverse country, the very fact that the games – the first in South America - took place in Rio de Janeiro showed that, at least on a symbolic level, the city continues to be the beating heart of the nation.

During its closing ceremony, efforts were made to show the cultures of other parts of the country – especially that of the past centuries regional cultures of the Brazilian North-East (as in the *Lace Making* and *Bringing Clay to Life* sessions). Nonetheless, the portray of these cultures paid tribute to a traditional Brazil, ranging from the Colonial period until the mid-twentieth-century. On the other hand, Rio de Janeiro epitomised *modern* Brazil through the depiction of the city as a cosmopolitan metropolis surrounded by green hills and golden beaches as well as the melting pot where different cultures meet - giving birth, for example, to Samba and Bossa Nova.

The Sugarloaf Mountain once more appeared as the most prominent icon of Carioca-ness and Brazilian-ness. As in the 1950 FIFA World Cup poster, the green-curved hill sitting by the seaside was the source of inspiration to many of Rio 2016 designers whenever the local committee needed a symbol to epitomize the games, the city and

the country. As a result, the Sugarloaf Mountain was depicted on the Olympic torch, the medals and in the logomarks made to the games - corroborating with the already well-established international view of the country as a green, tropical and exuberant nation and of Rio de Janeiro as a city where civilization and nature co-exist.

As we have seen, the Olympics have been used as a soft power boosting event by different nations, which used the games to display their past contributions to modernity as well as occasions in which the modern project could be refashioned in accordance to their own international interests and ideologies. As a result, the narratives of Brazil as a multicultural nation (an idea that has been around, at least, since the mid-nineteenth century, with Von Martius' *Como se deve escrever a História do Brasil* and was strengthened in the twentieth-century much due to the popular appeal of essays such as Freyre's *The Masters and the Slaves* and De Andrade's *Manifesto Antropófago*) and as a land that is intimately linked to nature (present since the early sixteenth century European reports on the newfound land) were central to the 2016 Rio Olympics audiovisual content in so far they could be refashioned as the country's contribution to the western world in the twenty-first century.

One could easily assume that - Brazil being an emergent Latin-American country - Rio-2016 organisers found it inappropriate to portray the nation as a global superpower or as an inheritor of European classical traditions – especially if one takes into account that the Olympics are a European (re-invented) tradition which have been held by many global powers. Rio 2016 organising committee chose instead to seek in Brazil's historical account elements that could be used on the construction of a narrative that would somehow set the nation into modernity's first row.

Rio-2016 thus showed - through the adaptation of Olympic rituals as well as through its opening ceremony - that Brazil could contribute to the modern project tackling two of modernity's central issues: ethnic intolerance and environmental degradation. Through the theatrical presentation of a historical narrative that indicated that Brazil learned from its past mistakes - as the subjugation of other peoples based on the belief

of racial superiority and the disregard for the natural environment - the games made an international appeal towards tolerance and environmentalism as a way to build a more compassionate and liveable future.

Such an appeal to a different future was expressed through Rio 2016's ritualistic apparatuses (Olympic torch, cauldron, medals), mascots, opening ceremony and so on. Nonetheless, its role as the central message of the games was uttered by Ziraldo's peace, tolerance and environmentalism symbol (a sort of alternative icon of the games, freed from nationalistic constraints in its symbolism, which was designed to also be used on occasions that are unrelated to the competition) and the very motto of the event. The motto *A New World* can be understood as the expression of a nationalist historical narrative (i.e. the *land of the future*), but also a declaration of how Brazil - through the internationalization of several domestic narratives that link the national spirit to multiculturalism and exuberant fauna and flora - may collaborate to the establishment of an updated version of the modern project; the one in which peace reigns between different nations and social groups as well as between humankind and nature.

It is interesting to note that the idea of representing Brazil as a nation with qualities that may be of use to build a better world - instead of as a country that has already played a central role in the modern project, or as a state that is currently in a global leading position - seems to be somewhat interrelated with the narrative of Brazil as *the land of the future*. After all, the future is a white sheet: the time where everything is possible as well as the historical period that is beyond men's grasp - being thus outside the limits of Eurocentric historiography.

As we have seen, such an appeal for a better future is largely based on a myriad of historical national narratives that meant the promotion of the myth of Brazilian exceptionalism in relation to its European counterparts. While the association between Brazil and nature was brought about almost instantly due to the contrast between the exuberant nature of its tropical rainforests and Europe, the narrative of the land as a sunny melting pot where the cultures of three continents met was gradually embraced from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.

In the twentieth century, the latter narrative developed into why these cultures mingled

so successfully – whereas elsewhere in the American continent they were supposedly kept somewhat segregated. The explanation came with socio-anthropological theories (e.g. *Lusotropicalism*) and through manifests (*Antropofagismo*) that celebrated the multi-cultural drive of the peoples that inhabit the country. In the opening ceremony of Rio 2016, as in the accounts of Van Martius and Freyre, three peoples were represented as playing a prominent role in this process: the Amerindians (through the narrative of their ontological impulse to expand their human condition), the Afro-Brazilians (and the account of their Dionysian character) and the Portuguese (who were responsible for bringing these peoples together).

It is important to note that the theatrical depiction of the Amerindians in Rio 2016 opening ceremony differed from that of the 2014 FIFA World Cup. Whereas in the latter its organisers adopted a more commonly used representation of Amerindians, akin to the one presented by Indianism and by the Brazilian Empire during the nineteenth-century Universal Expositions (that is to say, the one which implies that their time is long gone), the Rio-2016 committee based its narrative on Anthropophagical Brazilian natives, protagonists of Brazil as a nation that is open to all cultures and as a ethnic melting pot where modernity is free from xenophobia and racial hatred.

On top of that, the Rio-2016 ceremony committee has also attributed to Amerindians a second feature that, in their understanding, would be the solution to another major modernity setback: their well-balanced relation with nature. The fact that they elected these two elements (tolerance towards the other and sustainable development) as Brazil's main contributions to the modern project (or, in a Hegelian term, to the evolution of the *Spirit*) has: (i) fulfilled the Olympic tradition of opening ceremonies displaying of what were, are or could be the hosting country collaborations to western society; (ii) portrayed Brazil as a country on the modernity's vanguard insofar the two aforementioned elements are concerned; (iii) presented a (more responsible and inclusive) revisited version of the modern project and; (iv) redeemed the image of Amerindians as peoples who may collaborate to western society by inspiring the adoption of certain practices and behaviours which are prerequisites to the establishment of a more peaceful and sustainable era.

The members of the other main ethnic pillar of Brazilian society - the Afro-Brazilians

– were represented as the origin of the Dionysian national character. Creative, joyful and with a passion for dance and music, they were portrayed as the powerhouse behind Rio de Janeiro’s popular culture. In London 2012, Renato Sorriso arguably embodied the whole country when he taught an English bouncer how to take it easy and enjoy the moment making use of his samba steps, cordiality and a good sense of humour.

In Rio-2016, a similar message was delivered in the depiction of post-1888 Afro-Brazilians. They have been portrayed as the beating heart of Brazilian music through their love for rhythm and percussions as well as for their drive for combining musical genres to create something unprecedented and electrifying. Rio 2016 thus extracted the football element from Freyre’s narrative of a *Mulatto* Brazil – central to the origins of the concept and in part of the 2014 FIFA World Cup audiovisual material – and focused more on other equally important elements of the narrative: music and performing arts.

When it comes to the representation of the conditions in which they have arrived in Brazil and lived in the land until they were no longer enslaved, the Rio 2016 opening ceremony differed from the traditional approach in relation to their depiction. In the nineteenth century, the organising committees of the Brazilian pavilions practised the symbolic annihilation and/or the trivialization of the ongoing slavery in the country. Thus, avoiding the topic and, when a reference to such a condemned practice was unavoidable, referring to it through whitewashed reports of their living conditions and through the generosity of their oppressors. Already in the twenty-first century, the 2012 handover ceremony as well as the 2014 FIFA World Cup opening ceremony indirectly represented the Afro-Brazilian struggle for freedom through the display of *capoeiristas*. Nonetheless, Rio 2016 went beyond such a representation and addressed the elephant in the room through the explicit theatrical depiction of pre-1888 slavery in Brazil.

On the one hand, the unambiguous theatrical portrayal of slavery in the ceremony may be understood as a way to raise awareness on the historical inequality between people of African and European descent in Brazil - thus serving to mobilise popular support towards positive actions in the country. On the other hand, its explicit depiction may not always be desirable as, during our research, we came across with reports of museums that have decided to change the content of their exposition on slavery due to the negative emotional effects that the plain representation of the harshness underwent

by pre-Republican Afro-Brazilians caused on their descendants and/or people that identify as being part of the same ethnic group.

As the debate on the representation of slavery on exhibitions, ceremonies and other media is an ongoing issue within academia (whose members are far from having an undisputed answer on the matter), this part of our thesis may develop to a postdoctoral research which would not solely focus on the historical evolution of its portrayal on mega-events but also on their reception among Afro-Brazilians.

As a matter of fact, due to the interdisciplinary character of our research as well as the limitations on our scope, this thesis may be complementary - or serve as the basis - to a handful of studies. Although we have not included gender as a central element on our discussion on the representation of Brazilian-ness in mega-events, we came to realize that there are plenty of material that, if analysed, could contribute to bring about a more holistic view over the discussion on the country's national identities and be of value to the field of gender studies (concerning subjects such as intersectionality, the relation between gender and nation identity and so on). By the same token, we have not focused on reception. Therefore, this thesis could serve as a complementary reference to those interested in how mega-events have influenced the ways in which Brazil, Brazilians and Brazilian-ness are seen abroad.

In spite of its limitations, this dissertation has contributed to the field of Brazilian studies in as much as it connected different national narratives with the development of the nation's socio-political and cultural history in order to contextualise its representation on recent mega-events taking place in the country. As a result, it also contributed to the discussion on the historical representation of Amerindians, Afro-Brazilians and of the myth (or promise) of Brazil as *the land of the future*. Furthermore, through the analysis of mega-events that put various regional identities side-by-side, we presented the reader with a singular view of how local and national organising committees currently delineate the part and the whole of the nation.

Last but not least, by setting the modern project into perspective and contemplating mega-events as international arenas in which countries not solely exhibit their advances towards modernity but also use them as a means to influence the international

community on how modernity should be understood, we have given our two-cents contribution to the fields of Olympic and Decolonial studies.

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Récits du Brésil - Représentations de l'identité brésilienne dans les méga-événements internationaux - les cas de la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA 2014 et des Jeux olympiques d'été de 2016

Résumé

Dans cette thèse, nous analysons comment les commissions d'organisation de la Coupe du Monde de la FIFA 2014 et des Jeux olympiques d'été 2016 ont utilisé ces méga-événements pour négocier l'image du pays et de ses habitants en utilisant la tension entre les récits historiques nationaux et les modèles idéalisés de ce qu'on attend d'un pays moderne et de sa position sur la scène internationale. Premièrement, nous avons identifié et discuté une série de récits nationalistes qui - au cours de différentes périodes de l'histoire du Brésil - ont été élaborés comme des moyens de contextualiser le Brésil et les Brésiliens au sein de ce que l'Occident considérait comme moderne. Cependant, sachant qu'il existe de nombreuses façons différentes de vivre et de représenter une nation continentale regorgeant de contrastes régionaux comme le Brésil, nous contextualisons également la représentation des cultures de différents *Brésils* dans les récits dominants de la *brésilité*. Une fois ces récits nationalistes et régionalistes définis, nous avons pu les identifier dans l'analyse du contenu du matériel audiovisuel de la Coupe du monde de 2014 et des Jeux olympiques de 2016 - par exemple, dans les affiches, des logos, des mascottes, des cérémonies, etc. L'adoption, le rejet ou la négociation de ces récits dans les cérémonies mentionnées nous indique non seulement comment les architectes de ces événements ont compris et projeté l'image de la nation à l'étranger, mais aussi comment ils ont révélé leurs perceptions à propos de la *brésilité* et aussi de la modernité. En outre, l'analyse a également exposé les points de vue des comités d'organisation sur le rôle que jouent les cultures des différentes régions du Brésil dans leurs idées sur la nation, ainsi que leur compréhension de la façon dont différents peuples qui habitent le pays - tels que les descendants de portugais, africains, amérindiens, etc. - ont contribué à la formation de la nation.

Mots clés : brésilité, représentation, nationalisme, régionalisme, méga-événements.

Narratives of Brazil – Brazilian Identity representations in International Mega-Events – the cases of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics

Abstract

In this thesis, we have analysed how the organising committees of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics have used these mega-events to negotiate the image of the country and its inhabitants through the tension between historical national narratives and idealised standards of what is expected from a modern nation in relation to the world scene. To do it so, firstly, we have identified and discussed a series of nationalistic historical core narratives which - in different periods of Brazilian history - were crafted to contextualise Brazil and Brazilians within western modernity. Nonetheless, as we understand that there is a myriad of different ways of experiencing and representing a continental nation filled with regional contrasts as Brazil, we also have contextualised the representation of the cultures of different Brazils within dominant narratives of Brazilian-ness. Once we have delineated such nationalist and regionalist narratives, we were able to identify them in the content analysis of the audio-

visual material of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics such as posters, logos, mascots, ceremonies and so on. The adoption, rejection or negotiation of these narratives in the aforementioned ceremonies do not only tell us how the architects of these events understood and projected the nation's image abroad, but also unveiled their perception of Brazilian-ness and modernity. What is more, the analysis has also exposed the organising committees' judgment of the role that the cultures of different regions play in their idea of the nation as well as their understanding of how different peoples – as the Luso-Brazilians, the Afro-Brazilians, the Amerindians, etc - have contributed to the formation of the nation.

Keywords: *Brazilian-ness, representation, nationalism, regionalism, mega-events.*

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