Volume 20 Issue 79
Originally issued as F8

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 20 Issue 8 Version 1.0 Year 2020
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

The Two Sides of the Citizenship in Republican Brazil: Racial Discourse and Popular Culture in the Construction of the Brazilian People

By Rebeca Fernandes Dias

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Keywords: *citizenship, first republic; racial discourse; popular culture; brazilian people.*

GJHSS-F Classification: *FOR Code: 160699*



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"The Brazilian people, for its lack of complete ethical integration, for its lack of strong culture and greatly spread, for its lack of traditions that had, in the path of history, prepared a proper, original, firm, secure feature is, as people - deducted some worthy qualities that it possesses - one of the most unruly and anarchical of the world." ***Silvio Romero***

"Social Movement is police issue"

Alfonso Pena

I. Introduction

The present work aims to deal with the process of formation of the idea of citizenship in the Brazilian reality that if formed since the First Republic. It is common to say that the Brazilian people watched the transition of Brazilian Empire to bestialized Republican Brazil, as Aristides Lobo had affirmed and that is characterized for a politic apathy, as complained Raul Pompéia. However, analyzing the society more sharply, from middle of century XIX, it is possible to identify a population that boiled and developed to beyond the European concepts and categories, proper forms of social and political belonging and relationship with the public thing (as the city, for example).

The Republic used to be conceived, over all, for its most enthusiastic propagandists, as the process of inclusion of the people in the politics - an incompatible regimen was being abandoned with the national sovereignty and entering itself a new system where the popular will would have a choice. As Lilia Schwarcz (2012, p. 19) affirms:

> "The Republic appeared enhancing citizenship and equality promises - a modernity that imposed itself less as an option and more as an obligatory and unavoidable stage. The great civilization model would be France, with its literary circuits, coffees, theaters and a longed urban sociability in other societies."

However, in this exact period, Brazil receives to beyond the liberal discourses of freedom and equality, racial theories that justified the social inequalities and hierarchies, from biological criteria said "scientific". Evolutionism, naturalism, social Darwinism will be absorbed by Brazilian intellectuals as lenses for interpreting the people and will circulate in society through the press and literature, creating roots in the common sense of a society whose hierarchical structures did not feel much swayed by the republican winds of an equal current.

But these discourses, that came from above and as in a draft they went down and they circulated in the society, will come across themselves with other forms of practices and discourses that constituted themselves in Brazilian ground, and that here they sprouted in function of the meeting of citizens, several desires, necessities, thoughts that crossed each other and mixed each other forming elements of identity and belonging - it was in the popular culture that they spread the roots of the people, the trunk of the Brazilianness, the flowers of a sometimes docile sometimes voracious resistance and the fruits of the possibility of a better future.

As well as Mikhail Bakhtin, in order to analyze the medieval and renaissance art, François Rabelais was used, by the advantage of being an author very connected to the popular sources, what would have determined its wealth, therefore it allowed him to resist to the rules and canons of the effective literary art since XVI century, the present work aims to enhance, beyond the discourses of an official Republic, the sources of the popular culture of the non-official republics as central elements for the construction of the idea of "Brazilian people" and citizenship (BAKHTIN, 2010).

II. The Brazilian People in the Mirror of the Racial Theories

It is not aimlessly that the concern of many theoreticians of the end of XIX century and the

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beginning of XX century will be to define this people, this nation accurately: who the Brazilian people is, which its characteristics are, what races compose it, which nature it is, its aptitudes, its talents, its physiognomy, its character, its potential for the progress.

In this republican context, after-slavery, with promises of a new world without hierarchies, with freedom and equality, however, racial discourses that based the division of the humanity from biological criteria of scientific nature emerge (therefore, in thesis, the objective is neutral).

According to Lilia Schwarcz, the racial problem will be the key of interpretation of the national problems, the language to understand the national singularity and to explain the inequalities. According to her, it thinks about a nation in biological terms and, in this direction, its reproduction can be regulated and esteem one future homogeneity.

Thus, in Brazil they citizenship of a liberal discourse is blended with the anthropology of a racial-biological determinism:

> "In the same context that it is found, in a liberal project the solution for its new politics configuration, it searches in the determinist theories and anthropological subsidies to transform social differences into fundamental biological barriers (...) Before the freedom promised by the abolition, the equality offered by the new Constitution (...) it seemed imperative to rethink the organization of this new country." (SCHWARCZ, 1993, p. 241)

Thus, the equality, fruit of political conquests, was denied on behalf of the nature for a great part of the Brazilian population, consisting of races seen as irremediably inferior or in a degree very below in the evolutionary-civilizatory scale.

Modernity constructs a proper idea of citizenship - it is not anymore the participation in the subjects of polis of selectmen of a static social structure as in the Antiquity; nor the relationship of belonging between the man and the city of the medieval communitarianism anymore, in which each one occupies a place in the preset order and withholds a status within the social body. The modern citizenship, or rather bourgeois, estimates a new social model (because in the medieval social order these bourgeois ones were not inserted) - a society of independent individuals, endowed with subjective - and politics - rights a centered and rational State, even producing of laws that assure and delimit such rights. In this mission statement, all the men (equality) are individual-citizens, who if integrated in the politics to make their rights valids (freedoms).

In Brazil, however, even with the end of the slavery regimen and the necessity to insert itself in the modern civilization process, it was drawn over the society of autonomous individuals of the Modernity a new project of inequality and hierarchy. If, as Louis Dumont affirms, "it is true that the hierarchy is a universal necessity", then "(...) it will be disclosed in some way, under occult, shameful, pathological forms with regard to the opposing ideals in vigour." (1992, p. 299).

As very well the author, Roberto DaMatta (1997, p. 201), points:

> "Everything leads to the belief, then, that the relationships between our modernity - which becomes certainly under aegis of the egalitarian and individualistic ideology - and our complementary and holistic morality (that seems placing in hierarchy, complementary and holistic) are complex and tend to operate in a circular game. Strengthening the axle of equality, our skeleton that places the hierarchy does not disappear automatically, but it strengthens and it reacts, inventing and discovering new ways to keep itself."

Louis Dumont suggests that the individualistic and igualitário discourse of liberalism would not be so distant from the determinists racial discourses. In the same way Domenico Losurdo places himself. The author in his study on Liberalism, "Controstoria del liberalismo" points that liberalism and racism emerge in a twin labour. This author considers a rereading of liberalism that ends with the myth that its path was only marked by the conquest of rights (of the civilians to the politics). The community of the free ones aimed to affirm these rights for the exclusion of many others. The exclusion pervaded the liberal tradition since its beginning. It gets clear not only taking in account the exclusion of the colonial populations, but the exclusion of the sacrum space of the freedom of layers of the population in the countrysides of the countries that proclaimed themselves empires of the freedom, like England and the United States. The Liberalism coexisted the slavery of the black people, the dizimação of the aboriginals and the semislavery of the poor classes whose destination, many times, was the death or the confinement in total institutions. What Losurdo aims to show is that liberalism does not affirm itself, in spite of these facts, but all of them are interlaced with the liberal project.

Which contours, then, does the European model of modern-bourgeois citizenship, tied with liberalism, acquire in Brazil? It is about a rigid model, unique and universal, as assumed by its main idealizers? In order to think about citizenship it is necessary to think about the "people". Trying to transplant this European quadrant in Brazil, many foreigners will affirm, as the French Louis Couty, that "Brazil does not have a people" (CARVALHO, 1987, p. 10).

But they were not only the foreigners that conceived in a negative way the Brazilian people. Brazilian intellectuals, as Silvio Romero, permeated by the racial theories of the time, will make sufficiently pejorative and pessimistic diagnosis of the Brazilian population.

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For Silvio Romero, in Brazil, everything is indiscipline, emptiness and starvation. The socioeconomic development is precarious, on account of the nature of its population, contrary to entrepreneurship, to the individual initiative, essential in the capitalist model. These would have been harmed, according to the author, by the climate (extreme heat), by the incapacity of the three races (the servility of the black, the laziness of the indian and the authoritarian narrow-minded genius of the Portuguese) that they would have formed them and historical factors related the politics. For him "We have a morbid population, of short life, less prone to illness and and full of sorrow in its bigger part" (ROMERO, 1979, p. 90). Still.

> "(...) The Brazilian people, for its lack of complete ethical integration, for its lack of strong culture and greatly spread, for its lack of traditions that had, in the path of history, prepared a proper, original, firm, secure feature is, as people - deducted some worthy qualities that it possesses - one of the most unruly and anarchical of the world." (ROMERO, 1979, p. 90)

As a consequence of a nation without a form and without fruitful and original qualities, it would had been in Brazil, according to Romero, weak politics, reduced to the petty politics. For Romero, the Brazilian people tends to be directed tutored, without talent and taste to govern itself.

For this Brazilian intellectual, the Brazilian Republic and the constitutionalism were lamentable and they did not reproduce the will of the people, seen by him as weak and unruly. For the author we import politics forms of the exterior, without effectively understanding them, using them without advantage and dexterity:

> "(...) the practical and the uses of the parliamentary constitutionalism had never laid in a track in this country in aspirations, impulses and necessities of the people. Our constitutionalism, although giving some benefits to the country, did not pass of a comedy, whose roles were distributed to a limited number of actors and whose performance a great part of the nation not even in a dreamed mirage attended (...) Under such fragile armors, the indiscipline, the disrespect, the levity of the Brazilian genius almost without tethers, had produced its workmanship of destruction, and we arrive at the point in which we found the revolution of 15 of November of 1889." (ROMERO, 1979, p. 127)

III. An Authoritarian Republic and a Contrary Citizenship: Dangerous Class

It is realized then, that in the period of consolidation of the First Republic it corresponds to a phase in which the National State was acquiring new molds, as well as its right and its own society. This one passed for intense transformations, in face of the end of the slavery, the insertion of the wage-earning work, the appearance of a marginal population consisting of former-slaves who ended occupying the peripheral areas of the cities, the process of the urbanization and the appearance of great urban centers, with highlighting to Rio De Janeiro and São Paulo.

The cities had grown thanks to the flow of immigrants and others that left the agricultural activities (as the free slaves). The city was an open field to craft, commerce, small backyard factories. It lacked specialized man power, but manual worker of low qualification was left, enlisted between the poor and immigrant people, who crowded each time more the marginal urban regions (FAUSTO, 2009, p. 285–290).

The slaves, who had always represented a threat in the imperial government, had continued being seen with distrust, therefore free they directed themselves from the countryside to the cities, joining themselves to the immigrants and implying a population swell whose consequences were terrible conditions of habitation and hygiene and an excess of cheap man power. The number of unemployeds grows and intensifies the process of social exclusion. This population contingent ends being labeled for the elite as *dangerous classes*: "thieves, prostitutes, tricksters, deserters of the Army and of the Navy and of the foreign ships, gypsies, peddlers, rag-pickers, servants, maids of public distributions, mouse pickers, receivers of trams, bootblacks, horse drivers, florists, bookie, players, receptors, juvenile delinquents (...) capoeiras." (CARVALHO, 1987, p. 18)

According to Sidney Chalhoub, the blacks, since the end of the slavery had become preferential suspects. The organization then of the relations of work in the new reality of the free work will be supported in the idea of generalized suspicion (already used by Eusébio de Queiroz), represented in the term "dangerous classes", that legitimizes the use of a continuous repression - the State (in the measure that the blacks are not more under the judge and the whip of their masters) calls for itself each time more the function of social control of the workers and maintenance of the order.

The social problems start becoming evident and demanding of actions of a State that gradually starts to compromise in "governing the men". According to Marcos Cézar Alvarez (2003), all the new politics, social and economic conjuncture that consolidates with the end of the slavery and announcement of the Republic demand the creation of new forms of coercion and violence that they compelled to the wage-earning work - these classes, obviously, were the preferential target. The most common contraventions of the time as disorder, vagrancy, drunkenness and game – according to José Murilo de Carvalho (1987, p. 18), these corresponded to 60% collected prisons to the House of Detention in 1890 – they demonstrate the attempt

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exactly to fit these layers of the population in the molds of the laboring standard, the citizen in the modern-bourgeois quadrants.

The republican citizenship was sufficiently restricted. The political participation, with the reform of 1881, when introduced the direct elections, had already been significantly reduced with the requirement of literacy - from 10% the participation went to 1%, growing after the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic to 2%. There was, therefore, an evident distinction between civil society and politic society (passive and active citizenship) (CARVALHO, 1987, p. 44). What happens is that beyond the impossibility to implement politic rights, great part of the population, labeled with the stigma of "dangerous classes", saw its civil rights constantly scoffed by a supposedly neutral scientific speech, but that made possible and legitimized practices authoritarian of significant violence. Thus, in the practice, they were simply not seen as citizens, not active, nor passive. The hierarchic social structures of the slavery society had not been dissolved, had just gained new coloration, only had been reformulated and they had been kept from other practical speeches and, as the doctor-bathroom/hygienist.

The hygienism corresponds to one of the fields that allow the intervention of the State, even to beyond the protection of the individual rights. This speech "falls as a glove" to legitimize interventionists practices for a State that affirms itself as liberal, but is pressured by a series of questions, as the phenomenon of the urbanization, population growth, unemployment.

Rio De Janeiro, for example, searching to fit in the molds of civilization and modernity of Europe, promotes innumerable politics of urban planning and measures of health directed to the hygienic cleaning of the population (whose more emblematic example was the forced vaccination in 1904, that gave cause to the Revolt of the Vaccine). Problems of water supply, sanitation and hygiene had been aggravated from the end of century XIX (CARVALHO, 1987, p. 19). The city was the focus of many epidemics as yellow fever, smallpox, malaria, tuberculosis.

The poor strata then, constituted in significant way of the former-slaves added the immigrants, occupied areas sufficiently central of the city, living in unhygienical and unhealthy conditions; they were collective, very precarious habitations, called "tenement houses", preferential scene for the emergency and dissemination of epidemic illnesses, according to sanitarian speech.

The advertisement of a hygienical and aesthetically beautiful city (to the European molds, certainly), in the speech of the elites praised by the sanitarian speech, shocked itself drastically with the presence of these tenement houses, seen as focus of illnesses, where the people lived in promiscuous and dirty way (in the physical and moral sense).

Associated to the measures of mayors molded in the sanitarian speech, that legitimized the gradual destruction of the tenement houses, the arrival of the ways of collective transports, as the train and the tram, it contributed for the expulsion of the poor classes for it to be out of the center, propitiating the occupation of the periphery of the city and the mounts, where they will consist, at the beginning of century XX, the famous slum quarters of Rio De Janeiro.

Pereira Passos demolished houses that were occupied by the poor populations in the clienteles of Espirito Santo and Santo Antonio to open streets (for the construction of Avenida Central, about three a thousand houses had been demolished, occupied by numerous families); he determined the use of the asphalt stone pavement in streets of the center and other regions; he commanded the construction of Avenida Beira Mar and commanded many other workmanships of beautifying of the city, as the famous Municipal Theater (ABREU, Maurício de Almeida, 2011, p. 63; CARVALHO, 1987, p. 24).

So famous as or more famous than him in the history of the Carioca "purefying" beautifying was mayor Barata Ribeiro who, in 1893, commanded the destruction of one of the most important tenement houses of the time: the Tenement house Head of Pig, that sheltered around two to four thousand people, as the analyzed source (CHALHOUB, 1996, p. 15). An enormous repressive apparatus was mounted to run its destruction and many important authorities (many of which talked about the tenement house as "hut of rowdies") of the time had made themselves presents for the fact (the mayor himself, the policy chief, the municipal engineer, the secretary of the General Inspectorship of Hygiene, among others); the press in its majority praised the decision of the mayor.

From the analysis made with regard to the parliamentary debates of the time, Chalhoub evidences a trend: that the ideal citizen is identified as the good worker, that one that gets to accumulate; thus, the idleness becomes one of the worse addictions of an individual, and that one that lives in the poverty is because he is not apt to the work, therefore, loaded of addictions and as consequence a danger for the and good diligent society. The chain is closed in a circle: poor person - addiction - evildoer - danger: thus, the poor people are dangerous (1996, p. 22).

As Jose Murilo de Carvalho affirms, in the Brazilian Republic it circulated an intense compound of ideas, a "ideological hangover", in the words of Evaristo de Moraes cited by him: liberalism, positivism, socialism, anarchism (1987, p. 24). Although this gooseberry gourd of the crazy republican consolidated itself to legitimize and to rationalize a series of practices, official or rebellious, with regard to the poor classes, the republican power took an essentially authoritarian and violent bias.

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And this huge violence with regard to the tenement houses is explained by the fact they are seen as the granary of the dangerous classes and its destruction is perceived as a form of establishment of the order, of the security and of the health of the city, once they were seen as "permanent focus of deleterious infections of the public health" (1987, p. 24).

Great part of the population, therefore, realized itself denied to the participation in the politics life. It was not only excluded of this, but also literally/physically of the proper city, being gradually dislocated for the periphery or for the high part. As a consequence, as José Murilo de Carvalho affirms "the city was not a community in the politics direction, it did not have the feeling of belonging to a collective entity." (1987, p. 38).

IV. Popular Participation in Politics: One Extra Official Practice

Romero diagnosed a significant distance between people and official politics. Jose Murilo de Carvalho verifies this phenomenon. According to the author in 1894 only 7% of the potential electorate participated of the elections, that is, 1,3% of the population. The law objectively restricted great part of the population, but exactly that small parcel that made use of the politician rights opted to not accomplishing them (1987, p. 85).

The corruption in the politics moved away the interest for the participation. This also was conceived in a pejorative way, as José Murilo de Carvalho affirms, "the republican citizen was the delinquent joint with the politicians; the true citizens remained themselves away from the participation in the government of the city and the country." (1987, p. 89).

The popular enrollment in politics happened more in face to the State, that is, the people did not feel part of this, but saw it as an hampering for the accomplishment of its rights and freedoms. Thus its political participation happened "out of the official channels", as accomplishment of big fights, political strikes (several had occurred from 1902 to 1920, highlighting the total strike of 1917), and uprisings.

Lilia Schwarcz (2012, p. 54–57) indicates as symbols of the popular resistance to a forced, artificial modernization and based on the exclusion, the Uprising of Canudos, Juazeiro and of the Contested. With messianic and popular character also they demonstrate a spirit that longed for belonging relations and searched to accomplish alternative republics to the official, where the citizenship was a disturbance and in definition concept, whose contours generally left out of its quadrant great part of the population.

Great part of the population, excluded and kept out of society, when established some relation with the State, the last represented itself, many times, by means of the police that accomplished this relation through invasive practices inhaled by violent and authoritarian dynamics (despite justified by a scientific speech, as the sanitarian one). This was the case of the Uprising of the Vaccine, of 1904. E for this reason the present work confers special attention to it. This uprising was emblematic, therefore it associated some elements of this crazy mixture that it was the construction of a ideology of citizenship in Brazil.

It reflects the context of the urban reforms, of the dissemination of the social medicine and consolidation of the hygienical-sanitarian speech. On behalf of the public health, visits and recommendations were made, over all, in the poor areas (houses of one room and tenement houses) and to prevent the resistance of its inhabitants, who had their houses invaded, searched, many times demolished or they had that to leave for disinfection, the police made itself present.

The uprising came out on account of a legal requirement about the obligatoriness of the vaccine against smallpox. There was resistance inside of the National Congress itself, represented in the figures of Lauro Sodré in the Senate, Barbosa Lima and Alfredo Varela in the Chamber, as well as in the press as Jose Murilo de Carvalho registers, highlighting periodicals as Correio da Manhã and Commercio do Brazil.

It was formed the League against the Obligatory Vaccine, led by Lauro Sodré, Jansen Tavares and Vicente de Souza. The uprising took the streets and materialized itself in the protest shout "Let the police die! No the vaccine" (CARVALHO, 1987, p. 101). The police reacted violently and in the agitated days of the uprising even the army was set in motion: some people had been imprisoned, spanked, there were shot exchanging, they had formed barricades, had broken gas combustors and cut electric wires, columns of broken gas lamps, houses and public buildings and private buildings were depredated. The uprising literally spread for the city of Rio De Janeiro, boasting fire.

Although it must have the due caution to define itself, the profile of the rebels, for the imprecision of the sources, José Murilo de Carvalho indicates that it was characterized for its spalling, varying the constitution of the multitude according to the stage of the uprising. But it can be said that it was composed by laborers, traders, students, military, juvenile delinquents, integrants of the dangerous classes.

The uprising was used for politicians grumblers with the Republic of the farmers, corrupt and aristocratic, but what in fact woke the spirits of the population was the entailing of the obligatoriness of the vaccine with a connotation of moral character - the invasion made possible by the speech of the health did not give only in the objective direction, but much more in the subjective direction - placed it to the test of honor of the family chief, when they compelled the children and

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wives to undress for the application of the vaccine (that was made in the arm, but strategically started to be divulged the possibility of being carried through in the thigh). A true advertisement against the vaccine became appealing to "the dangers" this, whose text appealed, over all, for this sexual-moralist bias.

As José Murilo de Carvalho (1987, p. 133–136) evidences, this uprising assumed catarse aspects. In the truth, the targets of aggression of the multitude represented in some way, the government, the State, therefore this was not only the enemy of the time, but one constant adversary of the people, who only took knowledge of this in terms of repression and on behalf of the protection of a small layer of the population - the elite. To the people the warranting public services of the social rights did not arrive; the arms of iron of the policy arrived, that on behalf of the urban cleanness and beauty made the daily labor detail in the streets of the city. In the words of the author:

> "Since the beginning, and each time more, the main targets of the popular rage, express either through words, either for action, they had been the public services and the representatives of the government, in special way the components of the repression forces. The multitude attacked coachmen, carters, lamp lighters; destructed trams, wagons, combustors of illumination, telephonic and telegraphic lines; it tied stations of the transport company and gas tanks. Mainly, it booed the minister of Justice, insulted the police chief, shot against the commander of the Police Brigade, gave incessant battle against the police and the civil guard, attacked quarters and ranks of police. The reaction to the vaccine serves to unchain a much more vast and deep protest (...) the enemy was not the vaccine itself but the government, in particular the forces of repression of the government (...) the action of the government meant attempt of invasion of space until then saved by the criminal action. The way to implement the obligatoriness threatened to intervene with almost all the circumstances of the life"

According to Carvalho still, "for the most part of the time the people dedicated to its participative energies and its capacity of organization in other activities. Of the government it wanted mainly that it left it in peace." (1987, p. 90). Action was not demanded or searched to influence in the routes of the politics, but it was longed to establish limits to beyond which the State could not penetrate, invade, intervene.

V. Another Citizenship Way: The Popular Culture

However, the Brazilian historical experience, over all analyzed from the popular layers and from the culture, demonstrates that even so in the texts of the liberal laws the spread speech is satisfied it the European molds, in the daily one of most of the Brazilian population had constructed others practices of belonging, integration and relation man-community, man-city (citizenship, therefore). As Jose Murilo de Carvalho points "(...) there was more in the politics than simply a bestialized people." (1987, p. 13).

This feeling of belonging then emerged in other circumstances of the life, of social and religious nature, as in the popular parties (1987, p. 13). In Brazil, the popular culture is a great source to understand the relation of the collective Brazilian people with/the public one, therefore it surpasses the quadrants of a bourgeois-European model where this relation happens necessarily including the figure of the State. In Brazil, great part of the population was not enclosed by this, was not part of the great Republic. However, the people did not leave to establish other types of relations of collective belonging with - the other small republics constituted themselves, and the tenement houses are sufficiently emblematic in this direction - typically Brazilian ones are the republics to beyond the European modern molds; a focus not only of epidemics, as the sanitarian speech, but also of resistance and searches in a life way to beyond the state of arms of iron.

In face of the model city, clean, hygienist, with great avenues, constructed in the standards of *belle epóche, à la Paris*, bubbled the brasility of the popular culture of the tenement houses, where the first collective, express identities had been forged in the carnival and the soccer:

> "In Small Africa of the Health, the culture of black Muslim came from the Bahia, its music and its religion were fertilized in the new environment, creating carnival farms and invented the modern samba. A little later the soccer, sport of the elite, was also appropriated by the kept out of society and it was transformed into mass sport." (CARVALHO, 1987, p. 41)

The modern citizenship that is born with the generality of the law, inevitably, assumes Brazilian contours. The only moment where the Brazilian assumes the face of modern citizen - that it is the individual universalized for the equality of rights - is exactly in the carnival, where the differences get mixed up and all become equal, but not before the law and the order, but yes before the party and the clutter. The carnival party person is the Brazilian citizen.

Of the side of the Brazilian Republic and the official culture a forced and artificial process to be modernized, to whiten themselves, to make themselves rich, to higyenize themselves, to moralize themselves, to make themselves european-like, where the citizen standard is the white, worker, of healthful body and candy soul ; of the other side, the strength of the popular culture, where the brasility was formed spontaneously, mixing the races, the languages, the sexes, the religions, the rhythms, the sweats and bloods - a blended collective was formed and colored, of creative soul and callous and bombing body.

In the words of the naturalism of Aluízio Azevedo (2011, p. 26) there is the picture of this alternative republic to the official one:

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> "And in that marshy and smoky land, in that hot and slimy humidity, it started to go deep, to heat, to grow, a world, an alive thing, a generation, that seemed to sprout spontaneous, right there, of that gloomy soil, and to be multiplied as larvae in poop (...) and by the side Miranda scared himself, opposite, uneasy with that brutal exuberance of life, filled with earth of that implacable forest that grew to it next to the house, underneath the windows, and whose roots, worse and thicker than serpents, mined for all part, threatening to break the soil around it, cracking the ground and shaking everything."

As José Murilo de Carvalho (1987, p. 39) points, the tenement house of Botafogo, portraied by this author, was "a small republic with proper life, proper laws, detainer of the unwavering loyalty of its citizens (...) There they worked, they amused, they partied, they had sex mainly and, they spoke of the other people's life and they fought.". Its biggest enemy was the police - against it all the internal differences were decided and as the author comments, "It is deeply ironic and significant that the popular republic of the tenement house was judged violated, defeated, when the representative of the official republic entered there.".

The valuation of the popular culture as an important niche to rescue a positive vision and the specificity of the Brazilian people in reaction to pessimistic theories connected the evolutionism and social darwinism, sufficiently en vogue at the time, according to Martha Abreu and Carolina Dantas (2007, p. 143), already started to appear at the beginning of the XX century. They defend that some authors from the end of XIX from the beginning of XX century (as Silvio Romero, Afonso Arinos, Olavo Bilac, Guilherme de Mello, Francisco Pereira da Costa, Alexina de Magalhães Pinto, Cornélio Pires, Henrique Silva, Coelho Neto themselves):

> "They had considered a form of thinking about Brazil that also was part of that literacy universe, as much as the based condemnatory affirmations in the racial theories. Thus, they had offered a way (...) to the debate on the role of the Africans and its descendants in the nation, exactly at a moment where it was in game the establishment of the criteria of citizenship under the new regimen, that is, the proper politics definition of the young Brazilian Republic."

In the neighborhood of the Health in Rio De Janeiro, where they agglomerated poor blacks and immigrants, full of tenement houses, candomblés, maltas of capoeira, affirms Olavo Bilac, "the three races are mixed in the samba, as in a crucible (...) the samba is, - if you allow me the expression - a species of coffee pot, where they enter, separate, the dark coffee and milk, and from where it gushes out, homogeneous and clearly harmonic, the hybrid coffee with milk." (BILAC, 1906)

Mentioning the folklore and the songs that they heard in its infancy in Sergipe, confesses Romero, "Everything that I feel of the Brazilian people, all my brazilianism, all my nativism comes mainly from there. Never more I could pull out it of soul, for later more came to know the defects of our people, that are also my defects." (apud SOUZA, 2007, p. 52).

Romero confers significant importance to the folkloric studies and considers the popular culture the authentic national culture, where the Brazilian specificities will consist, to draw itself, what it does not leave of being contradictory with its racial-determinist reading of the Brazilian people.

The analysis of Romero as for the relation between popular culture and politics is interesting. In his vision it there is an absence of the politic thematic in the popular culture and considers, then, this phenomenon a symptom to the marginalisation of the population with regard to the politic process. In his words:

> "The uncultured masses, that are the ones that produce the folklore, had been never found imprisoned among us of great general passions, of that they shake of high below the soul of the peoples. Aloof of all and any co-participation in the management of its destinations, had become accustomed to see the manipulated national businesses to the capital for the group used to this since the primary times." (1943, p. 162)

If the official politics ignores the people, the popular culture, according to Romero, answers to this with its indifference. In his opinion, this distance finishes still going deeper in the distance between real and official Brazil, represented for the elites and marked by the lack of originality and imitation of European models.

Although in its opinion the popular culture does not portray the politics, it it reflects, in the most original possible way, the national identity and its racial formation, characterized for the process of integration and miscegenation.

Romero is an emblematic author of its period. It portraits the ideological contradictions of the time, the distress and anxieties of a nation that thought about formation: on one side the construction of the people for the racial, imported and new speech in the mixed tropics, on the other side by the popular culture, source of originality and creativity, a dialectic mixture of races whose synthesis would tend to result in something good. As Lilia Schwarcz (2012, p. 63–64) affirms:

> "(...) a series of representations concerning the national element coexisted many times in a tense way. If some theories detached the apathy and the degeneration of the mestizos, stories of travellers and storytellers highlighted what they assigned as pure and country way of life, image that in turn, opposed to the sanitarians that, as we saw before, recognized in them a sick and decayed Brazil".

According to author, in the stilt houses, in cafuas of Chapada da Diamantina, in the northeastern's mocambos or straw houses it was formed a proper caboclo society, where doctor knowledge did not arrive and developed a knowledge of established popular cure in house made prescriptions, grass, portions and until magic; where the religiosity reigned, mixing diverse

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influences and disclosing in a sweet Catholicism, making the collective masses, processions and prayers to integrate in the daily, spiced the parties that interrupted the work and constituted a diverse temporality of the one of the cities, where the calendar was marked for the personal experiences (SCHWARCZ, 2012, p. 65).

VI. Conclusion

The present article aimed articulate elements that had turned around the great question that then occupied the republican imaginary in the end of the XIX century and beginning of the XX century: "Who after all was the Brazilian people"

While the intellectuality asked this question, the people was constituted in the daily basis of the cities and the fields, in the figures of capoeira, trickster and country people, before a State where "the government of the men" materialized itself in the monitoring of the police, the intervention of the doctors and the pessimism of racial speeches, duly imported and adjusted to a crossbred society that build its identity from proper models of belonging relations and, therefore, citizenship. It was built in the tenement house, where,

> "The rumor grew, condensing itself; the zum-zum of every day was accented; dispersed voices already highlighted, but only one compact noise that fills all the tenement house. They started to purchase in grocery stores; quarrels and arguments; outbursts of laughter and plagues were heard; they did not even speak, they screamed. It was felt in that sanguineous fermentation, in that one thriving gluttony of tripping plants that dive the vigorous feet in the black mud and nutrient of the life, the animal pleasure of existing, the triumphant satisfaction to breathe on the land." (AZEVEDO, 2011)

On the other side, it was built the official citizenship of the European model, in the great avenues and boulevards of the cities duly remodelled and cleaned; in the bars, houses of tea, balls and halls frequented by the elite meticulously dressed to the Frenchman style, in process of whitening guaranteed for the protection of the lace parasols and of arranged crossings; in the reading of the naturalistic romances that described the man since its biological constitution.

The walls of a slavery society had been knocked down, but in the real Brazilian Republic, from its blocks of rocks new social barriers were built - two worlds, two peoples were built, as Romero (1979, p. 57–60) denounced:

> "Brazil goes through an illusionism phase. Fascinated by an optimism, cheap for who exerts it and very expansive for who the pays it, here it is that we do not take the least care to the deplorable misery in which nine tenths of the population drawn. Panen et circenses... These, being said between parentheses, at least gave us, beyond the pagodeira, the bread… the ones from now give only the avenue and… the defalcations (...) It's taken, before more nothing, the teaching of Napoleão III, type of bizantino monarch in full XIX century: the force, the progress, the power, the opulence of a people walks indissolubly connected to boulevards and avenues in the Capital. Double advantage is taken soon: the barricades are disabled and the masses get fascinated with the flaring façades. They invent Haussmans (...)"

Nonetheless, as it evidences Lilia Schwarcz (2012, p. 65):

> "In the neighborhoods of the modernist republican project it survived and it recreated another type of communitarian experience. If the increasing urbanization implied the exclusion of wide sectors of the society - that seemed inadequate ahead of the new project, - it was from the pleas of popular matrix that another side of the nation was revealed, equally true."

There is, in the construction of the idea of the Brazilian people, then, two circulating and parallel processes: on the side of the Brazilian Republic and the official culture a forced and artificial process to be modernized, to whiten themselves, to make themselves rich, to higyenize themselves, to moralize themselves, to make themselves european-like, where the citizen standard is the white, worker, of healthful body and candy soul ; of the other side, the strength of the popular culture, where the brasility was formed spontaneously, mixing the races, the languages, the sexes, the religions, the rhythms, the sweats and bloods - a blended collective was formed and colored, of creative soul and callous and bombing body. Both had circulated from top to bottom and from bottom to top, in a process of formation of the idea of Brazilian people, integrating the imaginary one of a nation that searched an identity and the affirmation of the citizenship.

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