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A **Sessão Internacional** é realizada pela **Superintendência de Relações Internacionais** com o objetivo de dar oportunidade aos estudantes de vivenciarem a experiência de apresentar trabalhos em inglês. A intenção é que os alunos se sintam motivados a participar de eventos internacionais. Ao apresentar a pesquisa em outras línguas nesse tipo de evento, há visibilidade nacional e internacional para o trabalho e para a instituição. A ação abre portas para colaborações científicas, por exemplo. A quinta edição da Sessão Internacional foi parte da programação do X Café Internacional da UEMA.

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**ALCHEMY OF POWER: PARADOXES OF AUTHORITARIANISM IN AMESTRIS
AND BRAZIL**

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INTRODUCTION

Fullmetal Alchemist, a manga written by Hiromu Arakawa, chronicles the journey of two young alchemist brothers, Edward and Alphonse Elric, in search of the mythical philosopher's stone. The story takes place in the fictional nation of Amestris, characterized by an authoritarian military regime, genocide of minorities, and the manipulation of science to consolidate power. These themes resonate with real historical periods, such as the military regime in Brazil (1964-1985), which also employed practices such as the centralization of power, militarism, and the instrumentalization of science to serve political interests.

This paper aims to analyze the similarities between the Amestris regime in Fullmetal Alchemist and Brazilian authoritarianism, highlighting points of convergence and showing how Arakawa's work transcends fiction by functioning as a universal political critique, capable of dialoguing with historical events and concrete socio-political contexts, such as those experienced in Brazil.

**METHODOLOGY**

The study employs a comparative analysis integrating Hannah Arendt's reflections on authoritarianism with fictional elements from Fullmetal Alchemist and historical records of the Brazilian military regime. The analysis examines key themes such as power centralization, militarization, minority repression, and the strategic use of science, contrasting their representation in the manga with documented practices in Brazil during the dictatorship.



RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In Fullmetal Alchemist - for didactic purposes, we chose to title the work under analysis FMA (Fullmetal Alchemist) - the head of state, called Führer King Bradley, rules Amestris with absolute military control, suppressing dissent and consolidating an authoritarian regime. In the same way, this military centralization is reflected in the Brazilian military regime (1964-1985), where the centralization of power in military leaders was consolidated, justifying militarization through the National Security Doctrine. According to Dalmo Dallari, "centralization is a fundamental characteristic of authoritarian regimes, because it eliminates plurality and concentrates decisions in a closed nucleus" (1991, p. 138).

The centralization of power in authoritarian regimes eliminates democratic participation, privileging force over dialogue. Hannah Arendt, when discussing the nature of totalitarian regimes, states that "authoritarianism is based on fear and blind obedience, excluding the active participation of the masses" (ARENDR, 2016, p. 89). Thus, both Amestris and Brazil illustrate how centralized regimes prioritize force over dialogue. A clear example occurs during the Ishval War, portrayed in the FMA manga, when Bradley decrees the extermination of the local population without consultation or significant opposition, consolidating his power through institutionalized violence. Similarly, in Brazil, Institutional Act No. 5 (AI-5), decreed in 1968, suspended civil rights and expanded the powers of the Executive, allowing arbitrary arrests and persecution of opponents. These actions illustrate how the centralization of power in authoritarian regimes, both in fiction and in reality, eliminates plurality and turns the state into a repressive machine.

From this perspective, the Ishvalite genocide is described as one of the cruelest and most emblematic episodes of the repression of minorities by the authoritarian Amestris regime. Under the pretext of preserving order and national unity, the Ishvalites, an ethnic and religious minority, were declared enemies of the state after an isolated incident. The government's response is brutal: the population is exterminated through a systematic war led by the army, with direct orders from the "Führer" King Bradley. This massacre not only eliminates a significant cultural group, but also serves as a demonstration of power, consolidating military authority and silencing possible dissent.

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Similarly, during the military regime in Brazil (1964-1985), indigenous peoples and Afro-descendants faced systematic persecution, especially when they organized themselves into resistance movements. Development projects, such as the construction of major highways in the Amazon, disregarded indigenous rights, resulting in forced displacement and violence against these communities. In addition, political opponents, many of them belonging to minority groups, have been silenced through arrests, torture and death. These acts reflect what Bobbio describes as the authoritarian logic of "neutralizing groups seen as internal threats" (2007, p. 213), using repression as a tool to guarantee the regime's hegemony.

In both Amestris and Brazil, the dehumanization of minorities serves the function of consolidating central power by creating internal enemies. As Hannah Arendt points out, totalitarian regimes turn these populations into "scapegoats", legitimizing repressive actions under the justification of protecting the nation (ARENDR, 2016, p. 151). Thus, the Ishvalites and minorities in Brazil become symbols of erased resistance and the violence necessary to sustain regimes that rely on fear and exclusion to perpetuate themselves.

In the manga Fullmetal Alchemist, alchemy is manipulated strategically to create biological weapons, such as homunculi, which represent an attempt by the Amestris regime to maintain its hierarchy and power. The use of science, in this case, becomes a tool of control, moving away from any altruistic or neutral purpose. This manipulation of alchemy reflects the attempt to transform knowledge into an instrument of political domination. Similarly, in Brazil, the military government used science for propaganda purposes, such as the secret nuclear program, which was presented as a symbol of progress and modernity. According to Dallari, "science, when subjected to authoritarian power, ceases to be neutral and becomes an instrument of propaganda and control" (1991, p. 172), illustrating how authoritarian regimes use knowledge to justify and consolidate their ideology, guaranteeing control over narratives and technologies.

The appropriation of science for political purposes also reflects the subordination of technical reason to the interests of the state, as described by Bobbio. For him, "the subordination of technical reason to the political interests of the state" (2007, p. 190) shows how totalitarian regimes co-opt science to create a façade of legitimacy. Thus, both in Amestris and in Brazil, science and technology are distorted from being instruments of development and innovation into forms of repression and social control. In Amestris, this is exemplified by the creation of homunculi, which represent the manipulation of alchemy to reinforce military supremacy and the regime's ideology, while in Brazil, the development of technological projects was used to hide authoritarian practices and justify internal oppression.

With regard to resistance, both in Fullmetal Alchemist and in Brazil, we see movements that seek to confront authoritarian regimes and expose their fallacies. The Elric brothers, as well as

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other characters, challenge the Amestris regime by fighting for justice, equality and the truth about what happened to the people of Ishval. In Brazil, resistance manifested itself in various forms, such as the struggle for Amnesty, which sought to bring to light the crimes committed by the dictatorship, and in cultural production, which became a way of subverting censorship and repression. Arendt states that "resistance is the active response to tyranny, marked by the courage to confront the status quo" (2016, p. 104), a view that applies to both contexts. Resistance, therefore, is not limited to direct actions of confrontation, but also includes symbolic and cultural forms of challenging power, destabilizing regimes and seeking to restore justice.

The struggle for justice in both scenarios highlights the importance of organized resistance as a way of challenging the legitimacy of authoritarian regimes. Bobbio points out that "authoritarianism is destabilized when confronted with organized resistance movements that challenge its legitimacy" (2007, p. 245). Thus, both in Amestris and in Brazil, resistance movements play an essential role in delegitimizing authoritarian power and paving the way for the reconstruction of a more democratic and just system.

The analysis shows how Fullmetal Alchemist and authoritarianism in Brazil share essential elements of authoritarian regimes. The centralization of power, the repression of minorities, the manipulation of science and resistance are aspects that transcend fiction and reality. According to Bobbio, "criticism of authoritarianism must be permanent, because it is sustained by the invisibility of its everyday practices" (2007, p. 311).

Ultimately, Hannah Arendt emphasizes that "freedom is not only the opposite of authoritarianism, but the essential element for overcoming it" (ARENDR, 2016, p. 209). This reflection highlights the importance of resistance and active confrontation for the reconstruction of democratic and inclusive societies.

CONCLUSION

The parallels between the authoritarian regime of Amestris in Fullmetal Alchemist and the Brazilian military dictatorship reveal key mechanisms of control, such as the centralization of power, militarization, minority repression, and the manipulation of science. These strategies highlight how authoritarian regimes use propaganda and violence to consolidate authority and suppress dissent.

Resistance, both direct and symbolic, emerges as a crucial force against these systems. The comparison underscores the enduring relevance of confronting authoritarian practices, whether through cultural or political mobilization, as essential to safeguarding democracy and minority rights. Fiction and reality together invite critical reflection on the persistence of these dynamics across different contexts.

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KEYWORDS: Authoritarianism, Fullmetal Alchemist, Military Dictatorship, Brazil.

**BLACK WOMEN SUBALTERNIZATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF
PAULINE BREEDLOVE IN *THE BLUEST EYE*, BY TONI MORRISON¹**

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INTRODUCTION

Toni Morrison is an Afro-American writer who is widely known by her depiction of black lives in America, mainly concerning how women have been treated and oppressed along the centuries, often without the permission of assuming their subjectivity as individuals. She wrote about the feelings that black women carried with them due to the forms of subalternization built by white culture and its related traits such as sexism and racial discrimination. Morrison explores those relations in her works and mastered a narrative form of her own, which is carried out by a triple judgment on her fictional characters: first, as human beings; second, as women; and third as blacks. This negative reality has persisted for generations and has been (re)produced because of white American supremacist ideology.

As the years have passed, Toni Morrison's literary production can be read as a means of knowledge about the lives of African Americans. Her works portray the possibility of travelling throughout the pages and understand what has been hidden or erased along American history. It can also be read as a privileged perspective that displays the ongoing struggles in order to reestablish black ancestralism and make it alive to their descendants.

As a way of turning Morrison's voice and work not part of American Literary academy, her work was considered unappropriated in the beginning of her career, when she first presented her draft of *The Bluest Eye*. Her novels discuss about the untold stories that follows Afro-American experience, especially those concerning black women. Morrison was known not only by her novels, but also by a number of theatrical plays, poems, songs and

¹ The Bluest Eye was the first novel of the African American Toni Morrison. She wrote about the discrimination that her main character, Pecola Breedlove, suffered just because of the color of her skin.

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children's stories. Now, seen as one of the most read authors in all the world, Morrison is a reference of force emanated by Feminine Black Writing.

Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* called our attention because of the mistreatment of black people, mainly due to the feminine black figures of Pecola Breedlove and her mother Pauline Breedlove. The representation of Pauline Breedlove as a mother consists a body of our discussion, as long as our look of her role as a “mommy” to the white daughter of her boss. Morrison represents through Pauline, the deepest deconstruction from herself attributed to racism, work oppression, low payment, and domestic abuse. As consequences for her are: a) loss of self-esteem; b) non-recognition of self-love, c) loss from herself, as a mother, as a wife and as a human-being.

Morrisonian production represents what the author, herself, wanted to listen about what occurred to her forebears, and this symbolizes an authentic work that comes from a genuine voice who speaks by herself and not by others' views. Spivak, in *Can the subaltern Speak?* points out the importance of discourses that came from the lower levels of society, to show resilience from oppression and to resist to marginalization and segregation. Spivak also alerts about the danger of having someone talking about others' history. So, Morrison's works are not only excellent literary achievements on their own, they are also a form of rescuing black narratives and experience by an authentic voice. Overall, it is a matter of affirming black ancestry instead of hearing to unauthentic discourses.

The present study is also guided by some of Franz Fanon ideas, mainly about the negative impacts that the loss of identity provokes in the lives of the oppressed. It is implicit in *The Bluest Eye* that Pauline loses her self-image because of the ways of oppressions that she encountered throughout her trajectory. The discussion of Fanon's book it is found that the white culture

The main objective of this study is to show the importance of Morrison's voice in *The Bluest Eye* as a pedagogical tool about the non-spoken in the African American history. The next objectives are considered specific: 1) To discuss about how white culture negatively influenced to black identity; 2) To point out the negative effects of racial oppression to black people and the under legitimization of their work; 3) To illustrate how segregation affected on the lives of black people and the way the build themselves as American citizens; 4) To call the

attention to the feeling of how to be a black mother in the American Society of the decade of 1930, reflecting in present life.

METHODOLOGY

The present study is carried out by bibliographical and exploratory research as a first step for writing out critical piece of work. In order to that we read books and papers based on the authors that discuss the untold around the Afro-American history. We consider that the writings that point out the basis of the African American history are the keys of our readings and a fountain to our research. Our object of study is the novel *The Bluest Eyes*. After the bibliographical research, our focus is analyzing Pauline Breedlove, the main character in Toni Morrison's novel. One important feature of the analysis is what was hidden from the eyes of society, mainly when oppression, sexism and racism became the ways of mistreat the other.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Our main analysis is in progress now. Our study invests in the idea of highlighting the way Toni Morrison uses part of African American history in order to adapt it to an accomplished narrative, contemporary novel. There is a constant need to refresh the discussion around the plans to control the others, especially when silencing the voice of Black People and of erasing their past establish a link to the past and to the present. This will always consist in somewhat to be studied and to be discussed as a way of showing the history that really happened. As seen below, it is observed how uncomfortable Pecola is to herself, she wants to be different.

It had occurred to Pecola some time ago that if her eyes, those eyes that held the pictures, and, knew the sights – if those eyes of hers were different, that is to say, beautiful, she herself would be different. Her teeth were good, and at least her nose was not big and flat like some of those who were thought so cute. If she looked different, beautiful, maybe Cholly would be different, and Mrs. Breedlove too. (Morrison, p.46, 2019)

Morrison calls our attention to the low self-esteem caused by the process of diminishing Black beauty and identity. We emphasize the importance to point out about the harms that racial discrimination provokes to self-identity.

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So, we also consider to discuss from the perspective of Feminine Black Authors as a way of keeping us near from ancestry and voice authenticity. Besides, the comments on how Black Feminism contributed to the growth of the recognition the black feminine intellectuality will add on our alignments in this work.

CONCLUSION

As long as black women had been conquering a position in various academical fields, it was observed from these same women the desire of empowering their voice through the world. Through the fights against segregation and civil rights, the Black Feminist Movement appeared as a light, trying to legitimate the voices that looked after an equilibrium for the civil, the political, the scientific, the academical, and the patrimonial rights between all women and men, in American society, to combat the injustices inherited from patriarchalism and sexism.

So, gradually, Afro-American feminine writers played an important role to tell about the real story of Black People, legitimating their identities and their voices, rebuilding what was taken from them along time and space. When we consider Pauline Breedlove our object of study we affirm that her character represents a victim from the untold in the fiction, but in reality, many Paulines truly exist.

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KEYWORDS: Oppression, Racism, Sexism, The Bluest Eye, Toni Morrison.

**BRAZILIAN THINK TANKS AND THE ULTRALIBERALIST AGENDA:
A CASE STUDY OF THE MEDIA COMPANY BRASIL PARALELO (2016-2020)**

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INTRODUCTION

"Imperialism, after dominating the market of material things, seeks to dominate the market of opinion and thus, once established, sets up its own press" (SODRÉ, 1966). This study proposes an analysis of the influence exerted by contemporary think tanks—research institutions focused on instructing the development of public policies—in shaping Brazilian public opinion. To this end, we selected as a representative of such organizations the media company Brasil Paralelo, which, in less than ten years, has become a leading example of the liberal tech-entrepreneurial sector's responsive potential to domestic political dynamics.

We believe that understanding the trajectory of Brasil Paralelo—from its purportedly “independent” founding to its later contracting by the Ministry of Education—is essential to recognizing the media trends of ultraliberalist and right-wing think tanks. An examination of the history of such entities further enables us to fully identify prospective supporters, sponsors, and clients, as well as their interests and expectations. This article will conduct a contextual analysis of key content produced by the company covering the timeframe of 2016–2020, employing comparative resources related to pioneering think tanks in Brazilian history, such as the IPÊS/IBAD complex.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology adopted for this study is based on documentary and bibliographic analysis. Initially, the concept of "think tanks" was defined based on James McGann's work *The Global Go-To Think Tanks*. Next, a historical analysis was conducted on the Institute for Research and Social Studies (IPÊS) and the Brazilian Institute for Democratic Action (IBAD), focusing on specialized literature, including *História da Imprensa no Brasil* (SODRÉ, 1966) and *1964: A Conquista do Estado* (DREIFUSS, 1981). Furthermore, an investigation was carried out on the production of *Brasil Paralelo* from its foundation in 2016 to 2020, with an emphasis on the civil society's and the Brazilian justice system's response to the content disseminated. To this end, a contextual analysis of related news was employed.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. THINK TANKS AND IPÊS/IBAD COMPLEX

A straightforward definition of think tanks (TT) could be:

“(...) organizations that generate policy-oriented research, analysis, and advice on domestic and international issues in an effort to enable policymakers and the public to make informed decisions about public policy issues.” (MCGANN, 2009, p. 69)

Assuming that synergy of expectations is a factor for the acceptance of state policies by its population (DAHL, 1971), think tanks would then be the institutions responsible for creating a “social lubricant,” an essential tool to reduce the inherent friction of the process.

From a national perspective, one of the most successful examples of a think tank was the Institute for Research and Social Studies, linked to the Brazilian Institute for Democratic Action (i.e., the IPÊS/IBAD complex). These organizations promoted the premise of neutrality and ideological apoliticism (DREIFUSS, 1981).

However, these institutions actually emerged as a response to the populist and generally left-wing politics of the Juscelino Kubitschek (IBAD, in 1959) and João Goulart (IPÊS, in 1961) administrations. Through the production and publication of articles,

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advertising campaigns, and editorials, the institutes operated in tandem, with “IBAD acting as a tactical center and IPES functioning as a strategic center” (DREIFUSS, 2006).

Figures 1 and 2 - Pamphlet of a candidate for state deputy from the National Democratic Union (UDN) and an anti-communist publication distributed by IPÊS in the pre-military coup period



Memorial da Resistência de São Paulo (1962-1963)

Furthermore, both were aligned with the defense of military and private sector interests. IPÊS, in particular, benefited significantly from the leadership of General Golbery do Couto e Silva and funding from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The main goal was to “persuade the media, the population, and certain politicians to defend the idea of neoliberalism, the end of an incipient welfare state” (VIDAL, 2024).

With the military coup in 1964, investigations against IBAD and the influence of foreign capital on Brazilian public opinion were quashed (SODRÉ, 1966), but the objective had already been achieved: to function as a social lubricant for the acceptance of the regime.

Figure 3 - The success of IPES/IBAD's operations was largely due to its decision making structure, coordinating multiple socio-political segments, ranging from class organizations—such as trade unions and cooperatives—to investigations into communist conspiracies within the military.



2. BRASIL PARALELO

Founded in 2016, the media company Brasil Paralelo (BP) defines itself as “a private company in journalism, entertainment, and education” with a mission to “revive good values, ideas, and feelings in the hearts of all Brazilians.” The company also claims to have no association with political factions or private investors, and its founding partners state that they began with an initial personal investment of R\$13,000 (BRASIL PARALELO, 2016).

The actual origin of the company's capital, however, is frequently questioned due to its rapid expansion. During investigations by the São Paulo State Board of Trade (JUCESP), BP was linked to an angel investor: Jorge Gerdau Johannpeter—former president of Brazil’s largest steel company, Gerdau Group—who was previously only listed as an advisor to the organization. According to the records, Gerdau had already contributed around R\$1.5 million in voluntary loans to the company (JUCESP, 2022), which demonstrates incompatibility with the narrative of independent media claimed by Brasil Paralelo.

In addition to Gerdau’s direct investments, he continues to serve on Brasil Paralelo’s advisory board, which includes executives and other figures from the financial sector—a situation quite similar to the investment boards of IPÊS/IBAD. Within their responsibilities, the advisors have, for instance, recommended BP’s image repositioning and disassociation from the Bolsonaro administration (COSTA, 2021). This suggestion seems to have been followed after the judiciary ordered the disclosure of BP’s bank, tax, and phone records during the Pandemic CPI in 2021.

The initial association with the government largely stemmed from the fact that, early in the Bolsonaro administration, the company signed a contract with TV Escola to air the documentary series “Brasil, The Last Crusade” (2017-2018) in celebration of the country's 200th anniversary of independence. The airing, in turn, was criticized by historians for its denialist and conspiratorial tendencies (ANPUH-SP, 2019).

Beyond historical revisionism, BP's credibility is also called into question due to its exorbitant investments in social media advertising, as it is currently the largest advertiser in the country on Meta platforms (NÚCLEO, 2023). According to Bourdieu, the media field is a space where its participants compete for symbolic power—essentially the ability to reshape or

preserve reality—by leveraging the resources they possess. In this context, Brasil Paralelo benefits from the ultraliberal agenda through its financial apparatuses, using them to legitimize conservatism as both an ideology and a system, as it serves the interests of the dominant class that envisions and sponsors it. (BOURDIEU, 1996)

CONCLUSION

Looking back at the actions of IPÊS/IBAD, it is possible to observe common characteristics between the complex and the Brazilian think tanks that would later emerge, such as 1) the connection with economic and/or military elites, 2) the defense of conservative ideals, and 3) the involvement in legal disputes with the Brazilian state (in that case, CPIs) over the accuracy and interests behind the disseminated information. The company Brasil Paralelo thus stands as a striking example of this shared set of factors.

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KEYWORDS: think tank; media company; far-right; ultraliberalism.

**BUMBA MEU BOI: WHEN CULTURE MEETS INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY
AND IMPACTS THE LOCAL ECONOMY**

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INTRODUCTION

The following research aims to present the importance of Maranhão's artistic manifestations, for example Bumba Meu Boi, and how their international recognition brought several benefits to the state, both in the diplomatic and economic fields.

The best-known manifestation, Bumba Meu Boi, is a cultural rite very loaded with symbolism, with ornate presentations surrounding the death and resurrection of an ox and filled with musical, choreographic, scenic and humorous expressions. The recognition of Bumba Meu Boi by the National Historical and Artistic Heritage Institute (IPHAN), as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, which took place on December 11, 2019, reinforces the image of a culturally diverse place not only in Maranhão, but also from all over Brazil, abroad; and in addition to providing an incentive for respect for cultural diversity, practicing groups can use this international recognition as an instrument to expand access to public cultural policies, as this entails, in addition to international recognition, increased profits in the country's economy, due to tourism.

The general objective of this summary is to spread knowledge about the contributions of these artistic manifestations to the state of Maranhão and Brazil, and to emphasize the importance of knowing the history and the various benefits they bring, thus leading to specific objectives, which consist of to draw people's attention to get to know the culture of Maranhão, publicize the good international image that Brazil has and the economic data driven by tourism due to the dances of Maranhão, in addition to seeking greater appreciation and incentives for this culture to be maintained alive.

METHODOLOGY

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This work used a qualitative methodology with research in articles and news websites, to have greater arguments and clarity in approaching the topic, and also a qualitative-quantitative methodology, using data from the Brazilian economy in order to convey the veracity of statistical information used.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Maranhão's cultural manifestations, such as Bumba Meu Boi, have a significant impact not only on the cultural field, but also on the state's economy. Currently, there are more than 400 Bumba Meu Boi groups in Maranhão, with around 90 located in the Grande Island region. These events drive several local production chains, from the production of the participants' elaborate costumes and the embroidery of the oxen's hides to the manufacture of the musical instruments used in the performances. During the months of June and July, when the festivities reach their peak, this cultural activity generates significant economic impacts. In 2019, for example, the June period injected around R\$76 million into the Maranhão economy.

The recognition of Bumba Meu Boi as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO, in 2019, was a milestone that revived the tradition. This honor helped combat the decline of the practice, which was facing difficulties due to the death of old bull masters and the lack of interest from new generations. This recognition strengthened local and national pride in the event, revitalizing youth interest and promoting greater international visibility.

Tourism also plays an essential role in promoting and impacting these cultural events. In 2023, Maranhão received 225 thousand tourists during the June period, a number that increased to 250 thousand in 2024. Among the visitors, the majority came from other states in Brazil, but there was also a significant presence of foreign tourists, around 3.47%, coming from countries such as Portugal, France, Nigeria and Chile. According to the survey, 20.14% of the total number of tourists interviewed came mainly for São João, and 17.36% intended to spend more than R\$700 during their stay in the state¹. The warm welcome at Marechal Hugo

¹ According to 2024 data from the Maranhão Tourism Observatory.

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da Cunha Machado Airport, with performances by Bumba Meu Boi, served as a sample of the rich local folklore, encouraging cultural tourism and reinforcing the regional economy.

Furthermore, the Maranhão government has invested in national and international fairs to publicize the state's cultural riches, awakening interest in tourism, especially during the June period. This strategy strengthens Maranhão's presence in the global tourist market and contributes to an increase in the flow of visitors, consolidating the state as a prominent destination in the Brazilian cultural calendar.

CONCLUSION

The Bumba Meu Boi transcends the artistic field and reaffirms its importance as an instrument of resistance, cultural diplomacy and fuel for the state's economic development. The recognition of this tradition as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO not only reinforced the pride of the participants, but also attracted international attention to the state's cultural richness.

The economic impacts, evidenced by the growth of tourism and the injection of resources into the local economy, highlight the potential of this tradition. The aforementioned data show that, in 2023 and 2024, Maranhão received an increasing number of tourists during the June period, generating significant movement in the production chain associated with the festivals, from the making of costumes to the reception of tourists.

Furthermore, the state government's efforts to promote this tradition internationally have consolidated Maranhão as a relevant destination on the global cultural calendar, demonstrating that the preservation of intangible heritage is an important path to strengthening cultural tourism.

With this, it was possible to realize that Bumba Meu Boi is not just an artistic expression, but also a portal of enchantment that connects the past to the future, revitalizing Maranhão's pride in its culture and promoting tourism and consequently the local economy.

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KEYWORDS: Bumba Meu Boi. Culture. Economy. Maranhão. Tourism.

CHINESE INFLUENCE OVER HOLLYWOOD: A SYMPTOM OF AMERICAN RELATIVE ECONOMIC DECLINE?

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INTRODUCTION

From its creation in the mid 20th century, the United States' movie industry has made a profound impact on culture and globalisation, but perhaps mainly on the world economy. However, its growth decelerated significantly in 2020, when, because of the pandemic, there was a considerable decrease in profits. Another country, even though it was also affected by global isolation, then surged ahead in the world film industry: China. Since this event, the Asian nation has taken much of the hegemonic cultural space that was occupied by the United States, going so far as to exert influence on the American film industry. Therefore, this work seeks to analyse in which way the United States' relative economic decline may give way to Chinese influence in the global film industry, endeavouring directly to answer the question: "Does Chinese influence over Hollywood represent a symptom of American relative economic decline?".

Given this context, the choice of the theme to be discussed was made from the perceived necessity to investigate the real motives behind the decisions of the Chinese State and how they affect the international economy, since the film industry possesses a high degree of influence over it.

METHODOLOGY

For the accomplishment of this analytical investigation, this work's methodology shall be based on the qualitative and bibliographical method of research, and so shall utilise the revision of selected articles and the analysis of data on economic development. It shall make use of inductive formulation, going from a particular case to a general tendency in order to

reach a conclusion, and deductive formulation, developing a deduction from the observed facts. In addition, this exploratory analysis seeks to lay bare the possible causes and consequences of the problem being studied.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

When comparing the growing Chinese movie industry with its faltering American counterpart, it's noticeable that the latter is progressively more beholden to the actions of the former. This influence is based mainly on the strength of the Chinese domestic market. Ever since it surpassed the American box office in 2020 (Desbordes et al, 2022), the distance between China's and North America's (US and Canada, not including Mexico) domestic earnings has only increased, with the difference between the two in 2021 being almost thrice that of the previous year -approximately three billion dollars in 2021 compared to one billion in 2020- (Statista, 2022). As such, American producers in Hollywood are financially incentivised to enter the Chinese movie market, a situation that had been occurring even before the Chinese box office became the largest, and therefore the most attractive to them.

The economic advantage provided by its domestic market presents the Chinese State with an opportunity to advance its geopolitical goals. The Chinese government, aware of Hollywood's desire to participate in the highly lucrative Chinese market, uses its total control over media distribution in the country to extract concessions from American producers, in exchange of allowing them access to the colossal Chinese box office. Since 1994, China has only allowed the exhibition of a select number of foreign films a year, organising this policy through a quota system administered by the National Radio and Television Administration (NRTA) -a state organ subordinate to the Central Publicity Department of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)-, which currently grants access to the Chinese market to only 34 foreign films each year (Ho; Rysman; Wang, 2022). Consequently, American producers who wish to have their movies shown in China, with all the financial benefits that entails, know they'll need to go through the CCP's selective criteria, encouraging them to modify their productions so as not to offend the Chinese government's sensibilities, and thus obtain a greater chance of having their movie chosen by the NRTA to make up the yearly quota of foreign films.

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A way for Hollywood to sidestep the Chinese quota is through co-productions. If a movie is co-produced with a Chinese investor, it is not subject to the numerical limitation of the 34 film quota. However, the NRTA still reserves the right to examine and reject the movie if it does not have actors, settings or themes compatible with the Chinese market (Ho; Rysman; Wang, 2022). As such, not only are they still under the influence of the CCP's ideological criteria, co-productions are influenced even more directly by the level of control an investor naturally possesses over a production. Since Chinese movie studios that participate in American co-productions are controlled by the Chinese State, being either supervised or owned outright by state organs, the Chinese government gains a direct path of influence into the production of American movies, exerting pressure for the inclusion of elements that beneficial to it or for the removal of those that are harmful. Countless American studios make frequent agreements of co-production with Chinese investors, such as Universal Pictures, Paramount Pictures, Lionsgate, and another 103 studios identified by Martin and Williamson (2022).

Therefore, considering the multiple ways through which China uses the power of its domestic market to influence the American movie industry, there is no lack of Hollywood films in which Chinese influence can be detected. An example of this is the movie *Red Dawn* (2015). Produced by the American studio Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, this remake of the 1984 movie of the same name needed to change its antagonists into something more modern, given that the Soviets, the original villains, were no longer relevant in the 21st century. China, viewed by many as the next geopolitical rival of the United States, was thus chosen to be the nation that invades the US in the film's narrative. However, according to the Los Angeles Times (2011), when *Red Dawn* was already in pre-production stage, the movie's distributors worried that an antagonistic portrayal of China could prevent the film's access to the Chinese market. Thus, they told the moviemakers to digitally alter the production in order to substitute any mention of China with North Korea, changing the film's antagonists once again.

CONCLUSION

In view of the above, it can be concluded that China currently has a considerable influence on the American film industry, caused by the relative economic decline of the

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United States when compared with Chinese growth. The advance of the Chinese domestic market and the increase in the country's domestic box office has presented China with opportunities to exploit American economic weaknesses, especially with respect to the movie industry. Therefore, the development of this work has shown the continuous growth of Chinese soft power in the face of the American film industry and global scenarios in general.

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KEYWORDS: China. Hollywood. Movie Industry. Soft Power. Global Economy.

**CULTURE DIPLOMACY AND SOFT POWER: NEW STRATEGIES FOR
PROJECTION IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

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INTRODUCTION

In the contemporary context, it has been observed a considerable change in the way that States establish their relations and which strategies have been used to gain more prominence in the international scenario. In the first half of the 20th century the prestige of a nation was way more tied to the concept of hard power encompassing economic aspects and the country's military arsenal and resources. However, from the Cold War period onwards the ideological propaganda is now being used on a massive scale and the economic and military power that once served as central criterion to the ascension of a nation, nowadays gave away to what is known as soft power.

Coined by Joseph Nye, this concept refers to the ability of a country to influence the behavior of the other agents of the international system through persuasion, which can rely on cultural aspects, ideological policies and construction of a positive national image. (OURIVEIS, 2013). The act of expanding the soft power is not configured solely as a governmental activity, but non-governmental agents as film industry and artists can also shape how a nation is perceived globally, thereby influencing States' efforts to achieve greater projection in the international system (ZAMORANO, 2016).

In this sense, cultural diplomacy emerges as an important ally in the process of expansion of the soft power. The political scientist Milton Cummins defines cultural diplomacy as "exchange of ideas, art, information and other aspects of culture among nations and their people in order to foster mutual understanding". From this perspective, it becomes evident that cultural diplomacy is an indispensable political strategy in a context where soft power is increasingly significant. This is because it can serve as an ideological mechanism to maximize

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international influence, as well as foster the formation of alliances through the identification promoted by these cultural exchanges.

Therefore, this assignment is motivated by the relevance of this subject to the understanding of international relations in the current context. The general objective is to analyze the effectiveness of cultural diplomacy and soft power in the development of positive narratives and strengthening of links among States. The specific objectives include identifying the initiatives undertaken by countries, inferring, based on examples, the results achieved, and investigating how technology has been used to diffuse these new political strategies.

METHODOLOGY

It is worth noting that the methodology utilized to this project takes an explanatory approach, aiming to clarify the connection between the cultural aspect incorporated into contemporary diplomacy and the evolving dynamic of international policies. To this end, this search employs the perspectives of influential theorists, such as Joseph Nye to provide deeper insights into the subject. This study, mostly based on observation and documentary analysis, also contains a qualitative character.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

From the above, it can be inferred that the contemporary scenario demands a readjustment of the nations' foreign policy strategy, since that just military and economic power no longer guarantee a good image or position in the international system. In contrast, the use of cultural framework corroborates their positive projection and progress in gaining influence on the global stage. To support this thesis, it is appropriate to mention the example of countries such as South Korea and Russia, which illustrates both sides of this argument.

Russia, despite possessing vast financial resources and significant military power, does not prioritize the dissemination of its culture globally or the cultivation of a favorable national image. This lack of emphasis on cultural diplomacy complicates its efforts to establish a peaceful foreign policy.

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Conversely, South Korea has demonstrated success in applying cultural diplomacy. Even though not considered a major economic or military power, South Korea has effectively leveraged its cultural expressions – utilizing social media and other communication channels – to enhance its global image. This strategy has also contributed to the development of its national industries, particularly in the technology sector. (KAWANO, 2021).

However, it is also important to highlight that such strategies can also be used for neo-colonial purposes. Through mass communication and entertainment channels, already dominant countries, such as the United States, utilize their soft power to further disseminate their national values, thereby advancing efforts toward a global monopoly that disproportionately benefits major powers.

CONCLUSION

For that reason, it is unavoidable to recognize that globalization, combined with technological advances, has changed the dynamic of the power struggle that continues to dominate international politics. In the context of an increasingly interconnected world, ideologies and propaganda emerge as alternatives that are equally important – and, in some cases, even more efficient – than strategies based on coercive means.

From this perspective, based on the criteria demonstrated, it becomes evident that cultural diplomacy has advanced in the contemporary scenario. It enables countries previously marginalized by the international system to construct and share their own narratives from their unique perspectives.

However, it is necessary to analyze these strategies with a broad and critical lens, since although soft power is a projection strategy that generates less tension, when compared to hard power, it is also a resource that can be used as a symbolic cultural imposition.

Thus, the adoption of soft power and cultural diplomacy does not imply the abandonment of traditional political strategies but rather highlights the complementarity of these tools. By focusing on less repressive approaches, the international community takes a step forward in fostering more harmonious relations between nations.

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KEYWORDS: Culture. Diplomacy. International. Power. Strategy.

INDIA IN THE 21ST CENTURY: MULTILATERALISM AND STRATEGIC ALLIANCES AS A WAY TO RISE TO GLOBAL POWER ¹Thayze Raquel Ramos Lima, International Relations²

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INTRODUCTION

This research presents an analysis of India's rise as a global power, which is driven by economic growth, technological advances and a diplomatic strategy that seeks to expand its influence in multilateral forums and strengthen strategic alliances, especially with the United States of America (USA) (Thakker; Sahgal, 2019; Rodrigues; Ouriques, 2021). Thus, the general objective of this study is to explore India's rise as a global power and analyze its strategic relations with the US, considering the crisis of US hegemony and the new international dynamics. Specifically, it seeks to analyze India's economic and political rise on the global stage, examine the factors driving India's economic growth, such as internal reforms, technological innovation and industrial expansion; and assess India's growing political influence in international forums and multilateral organizations. So, the problem question of this research is: How is India's rise as a global power redefining its strategic relations with the United States and influencing the international geopolitical order, especially in the context of the crisis of US hegemony?

METHODOLOGY

This is a bibliographical study with a qualitative approach, focusing on content analysis. Articles and publications from the last 10 years were selected using the Scielo and Google Scholar databases. The selection of studies followed strict criteria of relevance and timeliness and thus content analysis, according to Bardin (2016), was employed.

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RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Indian economy has undergone a significant transformation since the early 2000s, with a growth model based on the expansion of the services and manufacturing sectors, as indicated by Banik and Padovani (2014). India has adopted a differentiated strategy to face the global financial crisis, supported by internal reforms and technological innovation, which have boosted economic growth and industrial expansion. This economic upswing is also underpinned by the robust development of the software industry, which is predominantly geared towards meeting US demand, as reported by Rodrigues and Ouriques (2021). The combination of internal reforms and growing external demand has helped India consolidate its global economic position. In the context of strategic relations with the United States, India has sought to establish a stronger alliance with Washington, despite the challenges, Silva (2014) notes that while India has been moving closer to the US to contain the Chinese rise, this relationship is complex and marked by tensions, such as sanctions related to the purchase of Russian defense systems and other trade frictions. Defense and security cooperation, as evidenced by Thakker and Sahgal (2019), has been a focal point, with the two countries conducting joint exercises and strengthening maritime security in the Indo-Pacific, although there are still elements of friction.

In addition, Carvalho and Gabriel (2015) point out that India uses its participation in BRICS to seek greater global insertion and strengthen its position in international institutions, such as the New Development Bank and the Contingent Reserve Arrangement. However, Ozekin and Sune (2023) point out that despite BRICS' counter-hegemonic aspirations, the group still faces significant challenges in terms of internal cohesion and institutionalization, which limits its ability to shape global norms and rules. The crisis of US hegemony and the rise of India are interlinked, with India positioning itself as a counterweight to US influence in the MENA region and beyond, as Silva (2017) and Silva (2014) point out that while the US has sought to strengthen ties with India to balance the growing influence of China, India is consolidating itself as an emerging power with a growing importance in the international order. Thus, it can be concluded that India's influence on the global stage is changing its relations with

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the US, as the country establishes itself as a crucial actor in a changing international scenario. The interplay between economic growth, strategic alliances and global influence outlines India's emerging role in the new world order.

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussions presented in this study, it is possible to state that India's rise as a power on the global stage is causing notable transformations in international relations, particularly in its interaction with the United States. With vigorous economic growth, sustained by internal reforms, technological innovations and an expanding industry, India has established itself as a significant player in the global context. This progress is due to a development model that combines the services and manufacturing sectors, with a special focus on the international market, exemplified by the software industry geared towards US demands. At the same time, India has implemented a diplomatic strategy aimed at increasing its influence in multilateral forums and strengthening strategic partnerships, in order to position itself in a relevant way in the dynamics of contemporary geopolitics.

It is also important to note that in its interactions with the United States, India seeks to establish a robust alliance, especially in the Indo-Pacific, where the strengthening of maritime security and the holding of joint exercises are aimed at containing China's growth. However, this strategic partnership is complex and presents some tensions. Aspects such as the purchase of defense systems from Russia and disagreements on trade issues have generated friction, making it difficult to achieve a completely harmonious alliance. However, collaboration in defense and security remains a central aspect of relations between the two countries, highlighting India's relevance to the US strategy of balancing Chinese influence in Asia and beyond. In addition to its collaboration with the United States, India has been prominent in other multilateral forums, such as BRICS, with the aim of strengthening its position on the global stage. India's participation in BRICS demonstrates its desire to promote a stance against hegemony and increase its representativeness in international institutions, including the New Development Bank and the Contingent Reserve Arrangement. Despite the difficulties in terms of BRICS' internal cohesion and the obstacles to its institutionalization, India's presence in these

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forums shows its commitment to a more multipolar world order, where it can exert significant influence.

Thus, the crisis of US hegemony and the rise of India are interlinked, suggesting a restructuring of the global order. While the US seeks to strengthen its ties with India as part of a strategy to counterbalance China's influence, India is establishing itself as an emerging power, with increasing geopolitical and economic relevance. India's rise appears to be a fundamental component in the new configuration of the world order, in which its importance will become increasingly significant in determining long-term international dynamics. Therefore, India's economic advancement, its strategic partnerships and its active participation in global forums shape its new and complex role in the evolution of the geopolitical landscape around the world.

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KEYWORDS: Alliances. Geopolitics. Multilateralism. Power. Relations.

**INTERNATIONALIZATION AT UNIVERSIDADE ESTADUAL DO MARANHÃO:
THE PRESENCE OF COLONIALITY IN ACADEMIC MOBILITY**

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Researching the internationalization process at the Universidade Estadual do Maranhão (UEMA) serves as a starting point to understand how international academic mobility operates within the institution and how coloniality is embedded in this dynamic. This exploration is grounded in the apparent lack of interest among the academic community in mobility directed toward the Global South. Thus, comprehending this dynamic primarily requires capturing and analyzing the academic community's perception of internationalization and mobility toward the Global South.

In this context, higher education internationalization, as defined by Jane Knight (2004), is a process that involves incorporating international perspectives into university missions while promoting collaboration and academic mobility—such as the presence of international faculty and students—on a global scale. It also encompasses integrating intercultural and global perspectives into the curriculum, fostering partnerships with institutions in other countries, conducting collaborative international research, and actively participating in global academic networks. Hans de Wit (2020) expands this definition by addressing challenges such as ensuring equitable access and avoiding the risk of internationalization becoming purely commercial or elitist.

Historically, it is evident that Eurocentric colonial values were deeply ingrained in the policies and strategies of internationalization that inaugurated the phenomenon of academic internationalization in Brazil in the early 20th century. This trend, as noted by Leal and Oregioni (2019), was influenced by the historical context and the predominance of the academic elite from the South-Central regions of Brazil in leading these efforts. At that time, the pattern of international academic partnerships marginalized the Global South, replicating

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the asymmetrical patterns of Brazilian international cooperation within academia, as argued by Laus and Morosini (2005).

Given that academic mobility serves as one of the fertile pillars sustaining the internationalization of higher education in Brazil and globally—directly benefiting faculty, students, and administrative staff, according to Stallivieri (2002)—it is possible to identify a conflict of ideals. This conflict emerges between the Eurocentric process of Brazilian academic internationalization and efforts to foster mobility grounded in relationships that aim to dismantle the legacy of coloniality.

Thus, coloniality within academia, as an influence on the internationalization of Brazilian and Maranhão higher education, may manifest in the academic community's perception of international mobility. This research explores how UEMA's organizational structure reflects these dynamics.

Main Objective

To investigate the internationalization process at UEMA as a consequence of the broader phenomenon of higher education internationalization in Brazil, aiming to understand how these developments shape the academic community's behavior toward mobility directed toward the Global South.

Specific Objectives

- To study and present the decolonial theory proposed by the Modernity/Coloniality authors;
- To investigate the phenomenon of higher education internationalization in Brazil;
- To understand the internationalization and mobility processes at UEMA;
- To examine the socioeconomic context of Maranhão;
- To analyze how internationalization and coloniality shape the academic community's behavior toward international mobility.

In addressing the concerns of this research, it is essential to begin from a broader and more complex context to fully comprehend the phenomenon. Following Netto's (2009) approach, the investigation takes an inverted path—starting with observable phenomena and

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employing theoretical and conceptual abstractions to understand their underlying determinations. This aligns with the Marxian method, where the interplay between theory and method allows the researcher to reconstruct, on an intellectual level, the essence of the studied object. According to Netto (2009), this essence is dynamic and can be analyzed using appropriate techniques.

This journey is further guided by the theoretical perspective of decolonialism, hypothesizing that coloniality of knowledge contributes to the academic community's disinterest in mobility toward Latin America. This hypothesis also considers Maranhão's socioeconomic and historical context and UEMA's institutional foundation. Within theoretically coherent frameworks, decolonialism is intertwined with historical and dialectical materialism. This methodological perspective accommodates cultural dimensions and aims to amplify subaltern voices. As Netto (2009) and Gonçalves (2019) argue, Marx's thought already reflects concerns aligned with "decolonial" perspectives, as he supported liberation movements in the colonies as a means to dismantle capitalism.

Drawing on Marxian principles and qualitative methods, the analysis of the aforementioned historical phenomena and processes relies on literature reviews and document analysis from UEMA's archives and the Superintendency of International Relations. Additionally, semi-structured interviews with university administrators and students are conducted, incorporating active and methodical listening to UEMA's academic community and potentially administrators from other institutions. These interviews aim to mitigate symbolic violence arising from the researcher's positionality, as suggested by Bourdieu (2008), to avoid distorted results.

These interviews help clarify UEMA's internationalization and mobility dynamics by assessing the academic community's interpretation of these processes. Participant responses provide an opportunity to identify traces of colonial thinking, as Lima (2016) notes that interpreting the academic community's perceptions is key to understanding their beliefs about the observed phenomena.

The research also incorporates a quantitative dimension through surveys designed to assess the academic community's opinions regarding international mobility to Latin America. This approach helps examine the hypothesis that challenges to UEMA's higher education

internationalization and international mobility are, to some extent, rooted in historical colonial structures.

As the research is ongoing, only the literature review and document analysis phases have been completed. Consequently, drawing conclusions at this stage would be premature. Nevertheless, the study aims to propose alternative pathways for demystifying higher education internationalization rooted in Eurocentric frameworks. This is particularly relevant for peripheral contexts like UEMA, where such frameworks often fail to address the colonial remnants that continue to shape society.

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KEYWORDS: internationalization. decolonialismo. international mobility. Marxismo.

**KOWLOON WALLED CITY:
A PARALLEL WITH THE PAST AND THE CURRENT URBAN PLANNING**

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INTRODUCTION

Visioning the nowadays concern for more modern urban complexes that accommodate the emergent overgrowing population, studies about past ways of living are crucial to acknowledge different ways of settlements when seeking improvement of them. This study addresses the impact that urban planning has on the standard of living, having a major impact on the health and well-being of locals. The Kowloon Walled City(KWC) was chosen to be the object of analysis in this research, contributing to exemplifying a society, that without following engineering and architectural norms, was, still, able to house many refugees of World War II and turn into the densest place known to earth. Following the work of José Lamas, about urban structure, a parallel is capable of being made regarding the right urban morphology and the system built in KWC. However, the citadel in analysis must be used as an example as well for its community sense, which, even with all the malfunctions of structure, made people fight for its perseverance when facing its demolition. Thus, this paper addresses the question: What lessons from historical self-regulating societies can help improve contemporary planned urban developments to address modern urban challenges?

METHODOLOGY

The methodology of this research will be qualitative, with a descriptive-exploratory approach. Using the theoretical framework explored in the book "Urban Morphology and City Design", written by José Lamas. The investigation will focus on a morphological study of the Kowloon Walled City (KWC) to understand the spatial dynamics and implications for the quality of urban life that this urban complex presented in the times when it was active. Through documentary analysis, we seek to uncover the complexities of the citadel, demystifying narratives and deepening knowledge about this metaphorical human anthill, which overflowed with a sense of community and disorganization. Through this work, we seek to reflect on the sense of community that was created within KWC and draw a parallel

between current urban notions, since, currently, there are several studies that attempt to create an urban complex that accommodates a large number of inhabitants and, the city in focus, was able to do this. However, it also seeks to criticize the ways in which this objective was achieved, since such complex put the lives of many at risk and did not comply with crucial structural standards for the establishment of a population.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Kowloon Walled City (KWC) grew organically, without planning or laws. The KWC complex was a labyrinth of streets, tangled wires, a place where buildings overlapped, streets that led nowhere or anywhere. Its history leaves us reflecting on the limits of urbanization and the consequences of a lack of planning. Located in Hong Kong, born as a Chinese military fort during the Song dynasty (960-1279), where a salt trade was managed, the citadel had around 700 inhabitants. Hong Kong was ceded to the British in the Treaty of Nankin, but the citadel remained under Chinese control, as a strategy to have a place of control to use as a supervisory point, which over time abandoned the idea leaving Kowloon without any responsible authority, turning it into a lawless land. At the beginning of the 20th century and with WWII raging, KWC became home to illegal immigrants, criminals and various other people on the fringes of society trying to escape the Japanese takeover of Hong Kong that began in December 1941. During World War II, the walls of Kowloon were removed, but the city was unable to grow horizontally, and expanded vertically. At the end of the 1980s, the city became the most densely populated in the world, reaching 50,000 inhabitants in an 0.026 square kilometers area.

The lack of urban planning and the growing population led to an extremely overcrowded and unhealthy environment, with buildings built irregularly, overlapping each other, and connected by narrow streets. A traditional morphological study of KWC is practically unfeasible, the main reason being the city's constant mutation, which defied any kind of consistent mapping and analysis of the region. The city was growing organically, like a huge anthill, with buildings being built more cheaply, which attracted people to live there, and expanding randomly, without any kind of planning.

Figure 1 - Streets in Kowloon Walled City



Wikipedia (2018)

Despite the great difficulty, some aspects of its morphology are well known: The extreme verticalization, with its tall, narrow buildings towards the sky. Labyrinths of passage, the walkways connected different buildings, often inside the buildings themselves. Traditional streets were practically non-existent, replaced by narrow, dark passageways. Residents adapted their living spaces in creative ways, making use of every inch of space. For that, Kowloon Walled City remains a fascinating case for architects, urban planners and sociologists. The city is an extreme example of how a lack of urban planning and population pressure can lead to chaotic and unsustainable results.

KWC was demolished in 1993 due to poor conditions and international pressure. The lack of urban planning, the proliferation of irregular construction and the absence of basic infrastructure had turned the city into an unhealthy and dangerous environment. Hong Kong's international image was negatively affected by the existence of this chaotic enclave. The demolition of the city marked the end of a unique and challenging way of life, but it also represented an attempt to improve the quality of life for Hong Kongers and to redeem the city's image. The site where Kowloon Walled City once stood is now a public park, a symbol of transformation and the search for a brighter future. The city's history serves as a reminder of the challenges of urbanization and the importance of urban planning to ensure a dignified life for all.

According to the World Health Organisation (WHO), quality of life is the way one perceives the life around them, in the context of culture, values and systems that the individual is into. In an urbanistic view of the matter, the basic needs and the physic ambience, regarding the urban landscape, are crucial to having a healthy style of living. To achieve this objective, it depends on the availability of hospitals, basic sanitation systems, urban mobility, among others. The Kowloon Walled City (KWC), as mentioned before, portrays an one-of-a-kind human anthill, where all the buildings are connected as one, leaving space for little to no ventilation and sunlight.

The parallel between the vertical complex of the “city” and the requirements to accomplish a good standard of living are pretty narrow. As can be seen in the civilian traffic, according to “The Paradox of Kowloon Walled City: Architectural Anomaly and Social Microcosm” (2024, pg.10), a city’s image must be built with the population daily needs in mind, defining districts, paths and landmarks, since the creation of a space without those in the plan can affect directly the psychological of the residents of that area. The KWC was built without those plans in mind, directly affecting the sense of time, the psyche, the physique and the general health of the locals. For instance, it had multiple maps, made by empiric knowledge of the residents, because it was an interligated complex where one location could be reached by countless routes, differing from person to person. However, it did evolve according to the population needs, caring for the industry within the KWC, for example. Yet, there were still urbanistic problems and elements that distressed a good standard of living,

but, the fact that such a dense population could fulfill its commercial needs, without a governmental figure, demonstrates the strong community sense Kowloon Walled City had.

Figure 2 - Kowloon Walled City alleyway



Wikimedia Commons (1993)

CONCLUSION

A study regarding the Kowloon Walled City (KWC) history is much needed nowadays since plans to solve the super lotation of urban sites and the consequential verticalization of the city are constantly being researched. Analyzing an organic urbanism as KWC, which built such a strong community sense, without a governmental figure or standard laws, is indeed crucial when trying to create a new communal living urban space. Because the Hong Kong antique verticalized city complex showed how the society can evolve by itself, filling it's own needs and creating a strong society even with all the urban mismanagements that affected a standard quality of life, such as: little to no sunlight exposure, poor ventilation, absence of green areas and so on. Of course that the KWC should be seen as an anomaly, once it was the most densely populated city known until nowadays and because it was a huge threat to society's well-being, but, despite this, it worked as a society and was able to be home to many

World War II refugees. For this reason, making a global impact changing the way urban planners and architects view metropolitan constructions. Thus, it's observed that society yearns for a community sense of belonging, meaning that no city complexes without the capacity to evolve and fill the population needs will ever be able to reach full quality of life, meaning that further urbanization plannings should .

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KEYWORDS: Kowloon Walled City. Morphology. Quality of life. Urban Planning.

**OBSTACLES OF THE CONSOLIDATION OF EXTENSION IN TECHNICAL
CONSULTANCY ON ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM COURSES IN BRAZIL**

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INTRODUCTION

The student movement is an organization that dates back to 1901, with the creation of the Federation of Brazilian Students, almost 100 years after the first higher education course was established in Brazil (1808). With industrial advancement and the growing urbanization of cities, access to university, which was previously limited to the wealthiest and most important people in society, became more accessible, although not as significantly, and contributed to the social mixing of classes. The first decade of the 20th century was marked by the increase in the number of schools and universities throughout the country, which resulted in the collective organization of young people and the 1st National Student Congress in 1910. (UNE, 2015).

With the Revolution of 1930, a movement led by Getúlio Vargas that aimed to prevent Júlio Prestes from taking office and end the dominance of São Paulo over national politics, the country began to experience a politicization that encouraged young people to organize themselves even more, with the purpose of achieving better conditions for themselves and for future generations. As a result, the 1930s were marked by the emergence of some entities to support the student struggle, such as ENEBA (National Executive of Fine Arts Students), in 1932, and UNE (National Union of Students), in 1937.

ENEBA underwent two name changes, the first in 1953, to ENEA (National Executive of Architecture Students), and the second in 1988, to FENEA (National Federation of

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Architecture Students), as it is still known today. FENEA, which is specifically aimed at meeting the needs of architecture and urban planning students in Brazil, has not changed its operations or its objective of improving teaching and education, despite name changes during its history as a student organization. (FENEA, 2015).

This article was made with the goal of analysing the context of the extension in technical consultancy inside brazilian universities, on the area of architecture and urbanism, bringing the history of the brazilian education as a justification for the obstacles of its own application, besides its social and cultural deterrents.

METHODOLOGY

As methodology, we made a research focused on historical documents from the student organizations UNE (National Union of Students) and FENEA (National Federation of Architecture and Urbanism Students), and on previously conducted research on the difficulties faced in public education in Brazil. Relevant extension projects in public universities of architecture and urbanism were also analyzed, with the aim of highlighting their difficulties and different experiences, according to the region and the context in which they are applied.

FENEA'S ACTING ON CONSULTANCY EXTENSION

In short, university extension is a bridge that connects the society to the university, sharing information and knowledge that contribute to quality education, along with teaching and research. These extensions can be carried out in a variety of different ways, using different methods that help to achieve the specific result of each one, in addition to being linked to different organizations and projects, from private companies that have funds for their advancement to socially excluded communities (FENEA, 2006).

Given the lack of specific attention and the precariousness of public education aimed at the area of architecture and urbanism, the qualified application of this activity becomes the duty of the faculty and the students themselves, which reinforces the need for student organizations to work on implementing extracurricular extension projects. Therefore,

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FENEA's activities in Brazilian universities are extremely important for their appreciation and for the academic education of students, considering that its projects were and still are instruments for consolidating the practice in architecture and urban planning.

One of the main examples of extension in technical consultancy applied within universities is the EMAUs, defined by FENEA as a “Model Office of Architecture and Urbanism”. The EMAU is a student entity that, through collective work and the exchange of experiences in different areas, enables the implementation of extensions responsible for embodying urban integration, through intervention projects that connect communities to the use of their public spaces, while at the same time allowing architecture and urbanism students to have direct contact with their profession and with the sociocultural and economic reality around them. In addition, the EMAUs are distinguished by the active participation of students in all stages and processes of their projects, responsible for defining their objectives and means of achieving them according to their particularities (FENEA, 2006).

Another example is the Extension Laboratories, which, unlike the EMAUs, are coordinated by the university faculty, and not by students, who participate only as interns, volunteers or scholarship holders. These projects involve teaching, research and extension, the basic triad of the university, and also provide students with access to the reality of their future profession, helping with their academic and practical perception of the area. The work carried out by both extension models is considered illegal, as there is no legislation regulating it, but academic motivation and supervision by professors make these extensions acceptable, even if not under the law (FENEA, 2006).

HIGHLIGHTED EMAUS IN BRAZIL

According to FENEA's EMAU Map, there are 56 EMAUs registered throughout Brazil, divided into three categories: active; in creation/idea/activation; and inactive/no information. 37 of these are located in the South and Southeast regions, divided into public and private universities, while only 12 of them are in the North and Northeast regions, which also have states without EMAU records, such as Piauí and Amapá. This data exposes the economic and social disparity between the regions of Brazil, which have developed in

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different ways throughout history, as a consequence of actions of inequality that began in the Colonial Era and that are still reflected in the academic functioning of each region today.

The majority of these active EMAUs have similar objectives, which are: to promote interaction between the academic environment and society; and to bring architecture to social classes that cannot afford the costs of a formal company. However, their individual projects may vary, depending on the needs of the community in which they are located and the academic objective they intend to achieve. Examples include: EMAU Solar, which operated at FAU of State University of Maranhão between 2013 and 2019, and with plans to be reactivated by LAHPUR (Academic League of Housing and Urban Planning) in 2025; EMAU Mosaico, which operates at FAU of the Presbyterian University Mackenzie since 2003; and EMAU Curiar, which operates at FAU of the Federal University of Bahia since 2011.

Based on the analysis of the operation of these EMAUs, it is observed that EMAU Mosaico has a superior structure over the others, since it operates within Mackenzie University, which is a private institution, and provides much greater resources for the operation of its extension projects. The others, which are federal and state-run, face structuring difficulties due to a lack of public investment, which in some cases even leads to the closure of the project.

This is the main obstacle to the consolidation of extension in technical consultancy, given that, for its competent execution in public universities, financial assistance from educational agencies is necessary, which, in many cases, focus on other projects, such as research and events, sidelining this practical learning model. In addition, it is common to have difficulty in obtaining external investments from NGOs, communities and public agencies, which results in a lack of support in the execution of these extensions. Another factor is the lack of training and/or interest of teachers in helping to open and operate these activities, for various reasons, such as little free time available or low expectations in the progress process. All of these obstacles, in addition to other more specific ones, depending on each educational institution, make it impossible to carry out extension activities in public universities in Brazil, which, for the most part, lack these projects.

CONCLUSION

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University extensions are important means of connecting college students to their professional community, allowing students to create connections, acquire more practical work experience and make them better prepared for the job market and their social role. Colleges have a duty to promote and invest in extensions through their professors, in addition students should be interested and seek out these extensions for greater general professional training. In fact, especially in the public sector, extensions are lacking due to the poor infrastructure of many universities across the country, which lack connections with the private sector and public investment..

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KEYWORDS: Extension; Technical consultancy; Architecture and urbanism; FENEA.

RUSSIAN STRATEGIC CULTURE: RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR AND THE ROLE OF CULTURE

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INTRODUCTION

Over two years ago, in the early morning of February 24, 2022, the president Vladimir Putin was announcing in a televised speech the beginning of a so-called “special military operation” to be carried out by Russian forces in Ukraine, after ordering troops into separatist eastern Ukrainian regions days before. The world was shocked, however, tensions in the region date back centuries, as stated by Marco Antonio de Freitas Coutinho (2023), the conflict is seen as a consequence of the process of building the national identities of the Slavic peoples in general and the formation of the Russian and Ukrainian states in particular.

In the first East Slavic Estate — Kievan Rus — dating from around 862 to 1240, the peoples who gave birth to the current Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian language shared the same geographical space, as well as linguistic and economic ties. Similarly, from 1922 to 1991, Ukraine had been a state part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which marks almost 500 years of a shared history and opens the door to an approach that considers historical roots and seeks to understand the role of culture in the conflict Russia-Ukraine. Therefore, important authors in the field will be used with the goal of better understanding the correlations between culture and warfare, when analyzing the Russian strategic culture as an important factor to be played in the dynamics of the war in Ukraine.

METHODOLOGY

This article has as methodological basis the use of bibliographical research on the subject, including academic articles, current news and relevant publications, in particular the book “A History of Warfare” by John Keegan; works by Marco Antonio de Freitas Coutinho; Elias Götz and Jørgen Staun; John Mearsheimer; and Denis Yurchenko. From these sources,

it was possible to obtain data, historical information and opinions from experts, allowing the development of a thesis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

According to John Keegan (1993, p. 387), culture is nevertheless a prime determinant of the nature of warfare. For him, culture is a great determinant of how men conduct themselves and it is the richness of the human's culture which allows them to accept their undoubted potential for violence but to believe nevertheless that its expression is a cultural aberration (1993, p. 4). Under this perspective, in a context where culture and war have always been intimately linked, it is possible to begin to understand the conditions that made the Russian invasion of Ukraine logical and possible.

For Elias Götz and Jørgen Staun (2022, p. 482-483), strategic culture is defined as a set of discursive expressions and narratives related to security-military affairs, which are shared by a country's political leaders and elite. For the authors, there are two primary strands in the Russian strategy: a deep sense of vulnerability to external attack and a feeling of entitlement to greater power status, watching Ukraine's drift toward the West as a major threat to Russia's status as a great power. In short, the influence over the post-Soviet space becomes a matter of political survival and defense, as a way to express its power.

Under the first characteristic, the author John Mearsheimer states that Ukraine serves as a buffer state of enormous strategic importance to Russia and great powers are always sensitive to potential threats near their home territory (2024, p. 5). The vast Russian territory marked by long borders and the record of several invasions during history creates a sense of insecurity, making of great importance the control of key areas and the observance of the influence of the West. In this sense, Ukraine occupies a role of importance since several invasions of Russia from the West came across Ukraine and it is where the historical epicenter of Russian civilization has settled (GÖTZ; SATUN, 2022, p. 486).

As for the quest for great power status, there's an existential matter for Russia. It has been made believe that the country needs to establish and to maintain the status as a superpower in order to exist, however, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia has retained only a limited sphere of influence, regionally. Overall, Russia portrays itself as a

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major victim of an unbalanced international order and seeks to exercise its believed right to be a bigger power in the system, as it can be seen in the conflict Russia-Ukraine.

Under this logic, the enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is considered one of the main causes of the Ukrainian crisis for going against the main principles of the Russian strategic culture. According to John Mearsheimer, the United States and its European allies share most of the responsibility for the crisis, since Russian leaders have made it clear that it would not stand by while their strategically important neighbor turned into the bastion (2014, p. 1). The expansion of NATO to the East including countries bordering Russia — Lithuania, Latvia and Finland — is established as a great threat to Russia's security and defense.

As an example, during the December 15, 2021, meeting at the Russian Foreign Minister, the US Party received a draft treaty containing a list of demands to lower tensions. This document included a request of guarantees that Ukraine would never enter NATO and a withdrawal of US forces in East Europe, expressing a clear Russian ambition to preserve its status and maintain its influence over Eastern Europe — an attempt of agreement which was never accepted.

CONCLUSION

Thereby, Russia is respecting its own logic when it decides to invade Ukraine, following the characteristics of its own strategy culture: the sense of vulnerability of an external attack and the quest for great power status. The invasion of Ukraine on February 24 is the result of a long chain of reactions, in which culture plays an important role, explaining the causes and circumstances of the decisions made by leaders of State, considering a threatened Russia with enemies in its backyard conditioned by the sense of insecurity and its own ambition.

As stated by John Mearsheimer (2014, p. 12) ten years ago, the United States and Europe allies had a choice to make: continue their current policy, which will intensify hostilities with Russia and devastate Ukraine in the process, or switch gears and work to create a prosperous but neutral Ukraine. The author was right about the destruction, but perhaps it is not too late for better choices on both sides.

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KEYWORDS: Russia-Ukraine war. Strategic culture. Foreign Policy.

SOFT POWER - CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

This extended abstract aims to explore how soft power, and the culture industry are intertwined, demonstrating how countries and global actors use these mechanisms to exert influence and win adherence to their values, policies and ways of life. The analysis of these two tools together offers a critical view of how power on the international stage has been transformed, showing that, in the contemporary world, power is not only exercised through force, but also through the ability to attract and win over minds.

In this way, the concept of soft power is discussed from the point of view of theorist and writer Joseph Nye, highlighting how a country's culture, political values and ideologies play a central role in building this type of power. In this way, this concept joins that of the culture industry - which treats culture as a commodity, with the aim of generating profit and, at the same time, exercising social control - developed by the philosophers of the Frankfurt School, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer.

Thus, this paper aims to deepen the understanding of the intersection between soft power and the culture industry, analyzing how these two forces collaborate to shape contemporary international power.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology adopted in this work will be based on qualitative and exploratory research, using a combination of bibliographic and documentary sources, with the aim of analyzing the concept of soft power and its relationship with the cultural industry in the context of international relations. The research will be structured around the analysis of academic books, scientific articles and reliable sources from specialized websites, which will allow for an in-depth understanding of the themes and their interconnections.

SOFT POWER

Joseph Nye, theorist of the concept of “soft power” and author of *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (2004), points out that culture is one of the main sources of soft power, as it influences the perception of a country's values. The concept emerged in the 1980s, but its practice had been observed for a long time. A historical example can be seen in the rise of the Catholic Church in the Roman Empire, which expanded its power without the use of weapons, only through faith. However, this strategy could not sustain itself and involved alliances that often went against religious principles, generating popular discontent. Thus, hard power - which in this case refers to the use of force, i.e. violence and weapons to exert domination over different peoples - proved to be ineffective in the long term, since it was done against the will of a people; soft power - conquering through ideologies, such as faith - proved to be more effective. However, as soon as these ideologies began to mix with hard power - such as the alliances made by the church with political leaders - there was resistance from the masses.

Thus, according to Joseph Nye, soft power:

It's the ability to get what you want through attention, not coercion or erasure. It arises from the attractiveness of a country through its culture, its politics and its ideals. When you get others to admire your ideals and want what you want, you don't have to spend a lot on political incentives and sanctions to move them in your direction. (JOSEPH, 2005, p.31)

In this logic, over the years the use of hard power has become something condemned by the international community, since with the advancement of debates on human rights, using war as a form of conquest brings the implication of not obeying these rights, corroborating that a nation begins to be isolated from the international community, that is, waging a direct war today requires the abdication of several international connections, as is the case in the Ukrainian War, in which Russia is undergoing several sanctions, such as its withdrawal from the European Union. Swift¹.

¹ The main function of this system is to enable the exchange of banking information and international financial transfers.

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In this way, the Cold War period was one of the times when soft power was used the most, since there was no direct battle between the US and the Soviet Union, but various means were used to convey the idea, both internally and in their foreign policies, that the ideology of each of the two countries was “the right one”. Thus, the cultural media became a strong ally for each nation, in that through advertisements, songs, films like Captain America, which brought the idea of an American hero fighting a secret agency that wanted to dominate the world, were artifacts to sell an idea on both the domestic and international scene about the promotion of an ideology, that is, using only economic and political factors was not and is no longer enough to promote hegemony.

CULTURE INDUSTRY

The concept of the culture industry debated by Frankfurt School philosophers Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer argues that in capitalist society, cultural production, once an art form, is now treated as a commodity. Instead of being created for reflection or creative expression, culture is now mass-produced with the aim of generating profit. Much of this has happened due to the countless technological advances that today enable people to have access to diverse cultures and thus be targeted to become buyers of various cultural elements.

An example of this transformation of art into a product can be seen in the advancement of the Hollywood industry, in which the idea of a perfect American life, the so-called American Way of Life, is transmitted through the screen in many films, so that different cultures are influenced by a culture other than their own, Because viewers look to these elements as a way of escaping their routine, they find themselves influenced in the way they dress, in what they listen to, in their consumption patterns, which favors the internationalization of various brands such as Coca-Cola, Nike and Disney, and in this way the individual is influenced by various cultural values that are different from their own.

Thus, from the moment the state starts to use the mechanisms of the Cultural Industry, it turns its ideals from just a means of leisure into a policy capable of influencing different societies in their consumption patterns, but also in the way they act socially, and what is seen as outside the bubble of this industry is analyzed as socially “weird”. Therefore, Adorno and Horkheimer (1985) say that culture not only helps to curb barbaric instincts, but also helps to prevent revolutionary instincts from being aroused.

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Therefore, the tool of soft power has become a great ally, so that countries today can use coercive tools, such as the culture industry, to propagate their ideologies in their international and domestic policies, winning over followers to their way of life and consumption.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The research reveals how soft power and the culture industry are intertwined as tools of influence in international relations. Soft power, according to Joseph Nye, is a strategy of attraction and persuasion, exemplified by the use of the United States during the Cold War, which spread its ideals through films and music. The research also explored Adorno and Horkheimer's concept of the culture industry, highlighting the transformation of culture into merchandise and its role in social control, shaping behavior and values through the media.

Therefore, the research suggests that power on the contemporary international stage is built not only through military or economic strength, but also through the ability to attract other countries through cultural and ideological values.

CONCLUSION

The research has shown that soft power and the cultural industry are interconnected and essential strategies for building power on the contemporary international stage. By highlighting how soft power works through cultural and ideological attraction, it became evident that nations, such as the United States, use culture as an instrument to promote their values and expand their global influence; and by analyzing the concept of the culture industry, it was possible to see how culture becomes a commodity, not only generating profit, but also shaping social behaviors and attitudes. Therefore, the study highlighted the importance of understanding these forms of power, which, unlike military force, operate through more subtle but equally effective means in promoting ideologies and building hegemonies.

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KEYWORDS: Cultura. Ideologia. Soft Power. Política.

**THE AFRICAN INFLUENCE ON CULTURAL MANIFESTATIONS IN THE STATE
OF MARANHÃO, BRAZIL**

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INTRODUCTION

This study aims to analyze the influence of African culture on the cultural manifestations of the state of Maranhão, such as music, dance, clothing and religious traditions, which have their origins in centuries of combating slavery in Brazil, since its colonization in 1530, when the African diaspora occurred. The debate on this phenomenon is important to understand the historical origins of the cities present in the state and, through the analysis of the relationships that gave rise to the miscegenation of the Brazilian people during colonization, to answer the question: how does Afro-Brazilian culture influence the formation of the cultural identity of Maranhão?

METHODOLOGY

This study consists of bibliographical and documentary research that analyzes the creation and practices of historical-cultural manifestations of African origin present in Maranhão, so much so that it was necessary to use metadata and research tools available on the internet. The research included analyses of articles, sources from historians and university studies to delve deeper into the unique characteristics of the cultural manifestations in question.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the tourism promotions made by the Government of São Luís from Maranhão, the holding of popular demonstrations with African roots by traditional communities, especially during festive periods, is included in the city's official program of attractions, in order to value and preserve the history, customs and religious beliefs that are related to afro culture. The mixing of cultures in the state occurs to the detriment of the diverse religious practices that remained present in the form of resistance throughout the years of colonization of Brazil, a time when enslaved black people were not allowed to practice their religious beliefs freely

Black territories mark the places of black memories, from the various spaces where black people work in cities to the spaces dedicated to their cultural manifestations, which include, in addition to everyday cultural practices, practices of black resistance to slavery and racism. Black territories are the spaces where cultural practices of African origin have been preserved and where positive black identities have been constructed. (ZUBARAM E SILVA, 2012, p. 136, our translation).

Some of these symbols and manifestations of resistance were used as a way of fighting against oppression and violence in the sugar mills, and remain as everyday practices to this day, such as Capoeira and dreadlocks. Capoeira, in turn, was a form of fighting practice carried out by black people to face persecution by those known as “captains of the woods”. Dreadlocks, which were once used because of a religious belief, are now seen as very common aesthetic ideals in Maranhão, influencing the stereotype of what a Reggae musician (a style of popular music from Maranhão) would be.

About religions, Umbanda, despite being considered very different from Candomblé, is known only in Maranhão for its intersection with Mina (a place of worship for the cult of African origin), which despite the lack of similarity in some aspects of their cults, have similar elements with regard to the elements of the Mina drum. The insertion of these cultures by slaves, who disseminated them in secret, due to the religious imposition of the time, transformed them into one of the largest religions in the state, and was of extreme importance for the formation of the cultural identity of Maranhão.

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Figure 1 –Procession of the Orixás of Umbanda in São Luis, Maranhão



source: Maranhão Government website, 2024

Some of the most well-known cultural manifestations include: Dança do Coco, present on sugarcane and cattle farms; Tambor de Crioula, recognized in 2011 as Brazilian Intangible Heritage for its representation in female dances that tell about fertility; and Bumba Meu Boi, also considered Intangible Heritage of the Brazilian people, for its manifestation of undefined origins, but which has African and European cultural elements through religion. The inclusion of all of these in public events and festivities throughout the year means that the legacy of traditional peoples has their customs preserved through celebrations with dance and typical foods, with São João being the main example.

Figure 2 –Tambor de Crioula Rosa de São Benedito: immigrants from the group created by Paulo Lobato from Maranhão



source: website of the Universidade Estadual de Minas Gerais, 2019

Current cuisine, in turn, is heavily influenced by black slaves who worked in the kitchens of their masters' homes, since, unlike Europeans, Africans had a strong presence of seasonings and other methods of preparing food as a differential, a fact that generated changes in the state's gastronomic practices. Among the list of typical foods present in the daily life of Maranhão are: Cuxá rice, Maria Izabel rice, fish stews, shrimp pies, sururu, vatapá, pirão, angu, moqueca and farofa. The presence of these plates in the state's daily life is only possible thanks to the African culture that was disseminated and preserved by their ancestors over the years in Maranhão, as explained in the Information Booklet of the Maranhense Gastronomy Museum.

Figure 3 - Spices, seasonings and herbs used in African cuisine



source: article about African cuisine on the website “Mundo a Bordo”

CONCLUSION

This study shows the importance of Afro-Brazilian culture for maintaining the customs of a people and preserving the historical memory of traditional communities that were marginalized in the past. The feeling of pride of practitioners in propagating their beliefs during demonstrations is something that provides cultural movement in the state of Maranhão, since they offer historical knowledge to those who are unaware of the origin of the music, typical foods and religious practices present in the daily lives of the local population. Therefore, preserving and sharing the beauty of these demonstrations in Maranhão is originally a symbol of resistance and of extreme importance to value this state so rich in culture.

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KEYWORDS: Culture. African culture. Cultural manifestations. Maranhão.

**THE EFFECTS OF WORLD WAR II ON FASHION: Transformations, Restrictions,
and New Trends**

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INTRODUCTION

The Second World War brought significant changes to fashion, both as a reflection and as an agent of social transformation. The period was marked by material shortages, technological advancements, and shifts in gender roles, which reshaped clothing design and consumption. While Europe faced scarcity and isolation, the United States took the lead in creating its own identity, promoting sportswear as the foundation of its aesthetic. In the post-war era, fashion continued to evolve, mirroring the political and economic changes of the 20th century. This study explores the conflict's impacts on women's clothing, geographic influences, and the consolidation of American fashion, while analyzing its evolution as a reflection of social transformations.

METHODOLOGY

The research was conducted through an exploratory bibliographic review of sources addressing the history of fashion and cultural studies. A qualitative approach allowed for the examination of the war's impact on fashion from various perspectives: material, social, political, and cultural. Emblematic cases were highlighted, such as the role of haute couture in Paris and the development of the "American Look." Additionally, movements and changes following the conflict were analyzed to understand the war's ongoing influence on 20th-century fashion.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

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World War II brought significant changes for women, particularly regarding work and fashion. With women entering the traditionally male-dominated sectors like industry and agriculture, there was a growing need for more practical and functional clothing, leading to the popularization of trousers and uniforms. These changes reflected the evolution of gender roles and the increasing social and economic independence of women.

Fashion faced challenges due to material shortages, as wool and silk were redirected to the war effort, prompting the adoption of synthetic fabrics like rayon. Designs became simpler and more utilitarian, featuring straight cuts and functional lines that symbolized women's adaptability and resilience. The creativity and simplicity of wartime clothing represented women's response to the restrictions of the period.

While men fought on the frontlines, women used simple accessories like scarves and costume jewelry to express optimism and resistance without sacrificing elegance. Military elements, such as structured cuts and defined shoulders, were incorporated into women's fashion, highlighting strength and authority. These elements symbolized the crucial role women played in society during the war.

The war redefined femininity, solidifying practical styles that proved women could be both elegant and functional. This transformation influenced their reintegration into the workforce after the conflict and fueled feminist movements. Thus, World War II fashion became a symbol of gender equality, reflecting societal changes and reinforcing fashion as a tool for identity and adaptation.

GLOBAL FASHION TRANSFORMATIONS DURING AND AFTER WWII: GEOGRAPHICAL INFLUENCES AND CULTURAL INTEGRATION

During and after World War II, geography and cultural exchanges played pivotal roles in shaping global fashion trends. In Europe, fabric shortages and isolation led to minimalist designs, while the United States, unaffected by the war's devastation, developed a distinct fashion identity focused on practicality and simplicity. Designers like Claire McCardell

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introduced styles such as jersey dresses and two-piece sets, which resonated with the evolving roles of women during the war. As France, the former leader in haute couture, struggled, American fashion flourished.

Technological advancements and mass production further accelerated the rise of American fashion. The use of synthetic fabrics like nylon made clothing more affordable, and the popularity of sportswear prioritized functionality over formality. This democratization of fashion represented a shift away from formal European styles and solidified American influence. Post-war, designers such as Bonnie Cashin and Anne Klein continued this trend, and the global adoption of jeans highlighted the lasting impact of American culture on fashion norms.

In Korea, World War II also reshaped fashion. Korea, especially during the era of its ancient dynasties was characterized as a relatively isolated country. However, this did not negate the fact that it had always been in contact with other cultures: it was invaded by Mongol peoples and situated between China and Japan throughout its history.

During Japanese imperial rule, Korean women were forced to adopt not only Japanese styles, but to change their names and ways to live, because the imperialist ideology of Japan obliged them so. But the end of the war brought Imperial Japan down, and, as a consequence, the country left Korea to be divided between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the U.S., that brought the division of Korea and consequently, western influences, particularly from the U.S. and the affluent women known as “Shinjas,” who had studied abroad, helped integrate Western fashion into Korean culture. The U.S.-occupied region embraced American ideals and aesthetics, further blending Korean and Western styles in clothing and beauty.

World War II catalyzed a global cultural integration in fashion, with regional adaptations reflecting broader cultural exchanges. Europe’s minimalist designs contrasted with the American emphasis on practicality and innovation, while Western influences extended to regions that seemed so difficult to reach like Korea. These trends highlighted how the war facilitated a more interconnected and globalized fashion identity..

THE EVOLUTION OF FASHION AS A MIRROR OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGES IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Throughout the 20th century, fashion reflected social and political transformations, translating the values and challenges of each decade into clothing styles. From the early-century transition from haute couture to prêt-à-porter to the democratization and global accessibility by the century's end, fashion evolved alongside society.

“Fashion as we know it is relatively new. In ancient times and the Middle Ages, clothing styles remained virtually unchanged for a century. Fashion transformations began accelerating during the Renaissance, as Western civilization discovered different cultures, customs, and attire.” (FRINGS, 2012, p. 4)

Defining moments, such as the 1920s, symbolized women's liberation, while the 1940s showcased adaptation to the austerity of wartime, with practical garments inspired by military uniforms. In the 1960s, fashion became a symbol of rebellion, with youth driving radical changes through miniskirts, synthetic fabrics, and protest messages. This decade emphasized the influence of civil and cultural movements, introducing political identity elements and ethnic references. By the 1980s, “power dressing” embodied capitalist ideals and the rise of women in the workforce, while luxury brands solidified fashion as a status symbol, marking the globalization of the fashion market.

By the century's end, fashion had democratized, with prêt-à-porter dominating the market and technology revolutionizing production and distribution. The internet enabled global access to diverse styles, uniting cultures and redefining consumption. Thus, beyond reflecting social and political changes, 20th-century fashion became an active force in shaping new cultural norms and values.

Fashion throughout the 20th century mirrored societal and political transformations, adapting to changing values and challenges. From the flapper era's liberation to wartime practicality and post-war femininity, each decade reflected evolving gender norms. Later, countercultural movements and globalized luxury redefined fashion as both a personal and political statement. The century ended with democratization and technological advancements, showcasing fashion's ability to influence and respond to global shifts in identity and values.

CONCLUSION

As a result of what had been previously discussed in the present work, it can be said that the war redefined fashion, making it a direct reflection of social, economic, and cultural changes. Women's emancipation was one of the main drivers of this transformation, leading to more functional and symbolic clothing. American fashion emerged as an independent creative force, while the post-war era brought greater cultural integration and technological innovation. As a mirror of 20th-century transformations, fashion proved to be an adaptive and resilient tool, solidifying itself as an expression of new global identities and demands.

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**THE HISTORY OF BRAZIL'S INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES:
ITS IMPORTANCE AND ITS SITUATION IN THE WORLD CONTEXT**

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INTRODUCTION

The general objective of this work is to research and conceptualize intelligence agencies in Brazil over the years, how and why they were created, in addition to their importance for the nation. In this context, the research aims to present in a more brief and summarized way what intelligence organizations are and their importance for Brazil, in addition to their association with the context of international relations, facilitating the assimilation of the understanding of what intelligence agencies are in Brazil and their importance.

METHODOLOGY

This is a study based on information, research and analysis of articles to reference the concepts of the topics covered and how they relate to each other. It is, therefore, a descriptive study that seeks to analyze and interconnect all intelligence and information agencies up until the creation of the current Brazilian Intelligence Agency, based on articles and publications made on Brazilian government websites and other information sites. Based on research and reflections, the relationship between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Brazilian Intelligence System was analyzed.

INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES IN BRAZIL, CONCEPTS AND IMPORTANCE

Para saber como os órgãos de inteligência foram formados e como funcionam e atuam, é preciso primeiro definir o que é atividade de inteligência e depois o que é segurança nacional. Assim, atividade de inteligência pode ser definida como sendo especializada, realizada de forma ininterrupta, com a finalidade de produzir conhecimento de interesse de uma

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organização ou instituição e sua proteção contra ações diversas. Segurança nacional, tem um conceito amplo, tendo como objetivo a proteção suprema e incondicional do território brasileiro, não lidando apenas com tropas e armas, mas também em meios de produção de alimentos, energia, medicamentos, entre outros.

BEGINNING OF INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY IN BRAZIL TO THE PRESENT DAY AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

The formal beginning that marks intelligence activity in Brazil was in 1927 with the creation of the National Defense Council, the first national defense body linked to the intelligence area which exists to this day and whose function is to serve as a consultancy for the President of the Republic. in matters related to national sovereignty and the defense of the democratic State, one of the components of the National Defense Council and the Minister of Foreign Affairs since the body is related not only to its work in Brazil but also how it is seen in the international environment in relation its defense, security and positioning in relation to wars in other countries.

With the creation of the National Defense Council, the Federal Information and Counterintelligence Service was created on September 6, 1946, which, despite having the role of an intelligence service since the mandate of Eurico Gaspar Dutra, was only actually set up ten years later by order by then president Juscelino Kubitschek, the service was created to support the National Security Council with data on “extremist ideologies”. The President created the organization under pressure from the US government and the military who feared the popularization of communism in the nation. During the period of existence of the SFICI, the body became known for its delirium in distrusting who could or could not be considered an enemy of the “democratic rule of law”. It was then monitored mainly by left-wing associations, political or otherwise. Data was also collected on the president's political rivals.

On March 31, 1964, during the military coup, the Federal Information and Counter-Information Service was invaded. As there was no resistance from its members, the SFICI was then replaced by the National Intelligence Service, which will be analyzed below. On June 13, 1964, two and a half months after the coup, a national intelligence service was created. The objective of the SNI was to advise the president of the republic and set up a

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surveillance state over the political system and society. The unit was created and commanded by Golbery do Couto e Silva, whose name was approved for the position by the Senate. He took office on June 25 and in his speech he called on the population to collaborate with the national intelligence service, in addition to reaffirming his commitment to the president of the republic. He also declared the SNI as the ministry of silence, since the public would not have access to the investigations. The investigation network of the national intelligence service was extensive. There was a central agency in Brasília that coordinated all the information from the regional agencies in the major capitals. However, the services were not limited to the capitals. Offices in many cities also collected information that was organized in Brasília and any that was not used went to an archive. In addition to the agencies, there were secretariats that followed a model similar to that of the United States Central Intelligence Agency, which operated as follows: the secretariats organized the functioning of the SNI and divided the information by specific themes and areas of activity. There were five secretariats: the administrative secretariat handled expenses and bureaucracy; the political secretariat monitored the activities of parliamentarians throughout the country, both their party life and their private life; the economic secretariat observed economic agents and the market situation inside and outside the country; the ideological secretariat monitored movements considered subversive, that is, those that opposed the dictatorial regime of the time; and the psychosocial secretariat monitored the activities of schools and churches, schools and other segments of society, and especially the cultural area, considered an ideological battlefield in the Cold War.

It was also during this period that General Humberto de Alencar Castelo Branco created, in 1965, the intelligence course at the Escola Superior de Guerra (Superior War College) with the purpose of better selecting those who would form part of the agency. In addition to the ESG, the National School of Information was also created in 1971 with the objective of training staff with a special focus on the National Intelligence Service. The SNI was canceled during the government of President Fernando Collor shortly after his election, replacing the institution with the Intelligence Department of the Secretariat for Strategic Affairs (DI/SAE) of the Presidency of the Republic. It was then during the government of Itamar Franco that the Department was elevated to the status of Subsecretariat of Intelligence. In 1999, nine years after the end of the National Intelligence Service, the Brazilian Intelligence Agency was created during the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso,

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which exists to this day with the main purpose of investigating real and potential threats, as well as identifying opportunities of interest to society and the Brazilian State, and defending the democratic rule of law and national sovereignty.

The agency is a direct administrative body that is part of the Presidency of the Republic. Furthermore, ABIN is monitored by external control exercised by the National Congress, which has a joint committee of senators and deputies for this purpose, named Joint Committee for Control of Intelligence Activities. Another characteristic is that ABIN's positions are filled through public selection processes, and in relation to the positions, some former employees of the intelligence agencies that preceded it are still part of the organization, especially the National Intelligence Service, which was created during the military dictatorship and ended with the government of President Fernando Collor de Mello in 1990. ABIN is headed by a director-general who has his headquarters in Brasília, to whom twenty-six regional administrations, located in various states of the federation, are subordinate. Not only in Brazil, but the agency also has representatives abroad, such as Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Peru, Colombia and Venezuela; Mexico and the United States; South Africa; France, Portugal, Italy and Germany; India, Jordan, Japan, China and Russia also have representatives in Australia.

Another interesting issue to be addressed is the role of the Itamaraty in the Brazilian Intelligence System, which is why the agency is of great importance to Brazilian diplomacy. The Itamaraty works together with the Brazilian Intelligence Service to define foreign policy actions, and this intelligence agency also works to protect sensitive and strategic information of the Brazilian state. Although the Itamaraty works to assist Brazilian intelligence agencies, there is a disagreement regarding the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Brazilian Intelligence System, a problem related to the image of “secret agents” in diplomacy, since throughout history secret diplomacy was one of the factors that intensified the tensions that led to the First World War, in addition to the fact that intelligence agents also served as a form of persecution of dissident groups of the Brazilian state during the military regime, something that still occurs today in autocratic regimes. Nowadays, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs values public diplomacy as a form of democracy and social participation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Many times the idea we have of intelligence agencies is mistaken due to the Hollywood vision, with the analysis of this text and research it is possible to know how intelligence services began until their current scope and how this relates to international relations through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

CONCLUSION

In light of such research, reflections and analyses, it is possible to conclude that intelligence activity aims to provide knowledge about an organization or institution and its protection against various actions, while national security aims to provide the majority and unconditional protection of Brazilian territory.

In relation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Brazilian Intelligence System acting in favor of the protection and development of the nation, there are still problems related to the so-called “secret agents”, but they still value public diplomacy as a form of social participation.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PAJUBÁ DIALECT IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN LGBTQIAPN+ IDENTITY IN CONTEMPORARY BRAZIL

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INTRODUCTION

This article aims to discuss the role of the *pajubá* dialect in constructing an LGBTQIA+ identity—and consequently a queer identity—in contemporary Brazil. To do so, it is necessary to review what this complex human expression entails and how this subjectivity behaves when referring to a group so marginalized in Brazilian society: the community of trans and travesti individual.

Therefore, it is extremely important to examine what this form of expression called *pajubá* was and what it has represented and continues to represent today for society, particularly regarding its role in shaping the subjectivities of the community that uses it for self-expression. Additionally, we must consider how the sum of these individualities contributes to a sense of identity within the Brazilian queer community.

METHODOLOGY

This present academic search was developed by analyzing other researches from educational institutions all around Brazil using Scholar Google. Reading and comprehending articles, master's and doctoral thesis about how the *pajubá* dialect builds identity feelings among LGBTQIA+ people in Brazil since the 60s.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Above all, it is worth noting that the LGBTQIAPN+ community has been undergoing transformations, consequently becoming one of the most significant social movements in Brazil. In this context, the language and customs of this social group are increasingly integrated into various segments of society, especially the *pajubá*—or *bajubá*—language, which remains

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etymologically unfamiliar to many but is deeply embedded in people's daily lives. The *pajubá* language can be considered a linguistic code of the LGBTQIAPN+ population, rooted in a historical and linguistic memory shaped by various processes throughout Brazilian history.

By analogy to this line of thought, language develops subjectivity, identity, resistance, self-worth, and learning, enabling the conception of both individual and social identity. This, in turn, results in a socio-historical and sociolinguistic memory. In this context, the *pajubá* language, used by travestis and transgender women in Brazil, according to *Aurélia* (2006)—the first gay dictionary in Brazil—known as *Bajubá* (a variant popularly recognized as *pajubá*), is based on African languages applied in *candomblé*, rooted in Yoruba-Nago culture. Initially, it was used by travestis in the streets and in *candomblé* communities, later expanding to the broader community.

Furthermore, due to the dissemination of the *pajubá* dialect by travestis, it underwent a process of acculturation over time. Etymologically, *pajubá* is a union of various Yoruba-Nago ethnic-linguistic groups and other languages. In this sense, Brazilian linguistic Yeda Pessoa Castro states that “Yoruba is a unique language formed by regional dialect groups, centered in southwestern Nigeria and the former Kingdom of Ketu, traditionally known in Brazil as Nago” (Castro, 1983, p.3, our translation). Within this context, the linguist also relates African languages to Brazilian Portuguese, aiming to emphasize the linguistic diversity present in Brazil, which originates from the languages brought alongside enslaved peoples from the African continent during colonial Brazil.

(...) vocabulary of African origin occurring at different sociocultural levels of speech in Bahia, which is widely recognized as the largest center of African influence in Brazil, and within the morphological structure of certain African languages. This vocabulary, as revealed by linguistic evidence, pertains to languages or groups of languages spoken in Brazil during the era of slavery. (CASTRO, 1983, p.1, our translation)

Accordingly, it is observed that religious *terreiros* play a significant role in transmitting these dialects and, acting as a form of cultural and linguistic resistance to preserve the memory of various religious practices and customs, also serve as a space of refuge for LGBTQIAPN+ individuals, especially transgender women and travestis. Alongside the process of religious syncretism practiced by enslaved Africans, we see the emergence of the *pajubá* language, a dialect characterized by its lack of gender inflection, unlike Portuguese (e.g., "*o menino*" or "*a menina*") or Spanish (e.g., "*chico*" or "*chica*"). In *candomblé* doctrines, the flexibility of

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masculine and feminine is accepted, contrasting with the rigidity of Christian traditions. Consequently, the fusion of community acceptance and religious syncretism has led to *pajubá* being considered a common dialect shaped by other languages.

In summary, *pajubá* is a language that incorporates linguistic elements from African languages brought by enslaved Black people to colonial Brazil. This language was formulated to facilitate communication among individuals from different African regions. Thus, the systematization of this language strengthened the dialect and its associated culture, serving as a form of identity affirmation for communities living on the margins of society and who continue to face violence. From this perspective, we also note another historical episode in which *pajubá* was used as a form of resistance by travestis, this phenomenon occurred during the military dictatorship in 1964.

But after all, what is identity? This question has deeper roots and is much older than we tend to think. (Butler, 1993a) states that “identity is a necessary error”. However, what she meant by this remains a highly relevant issue, as even with advances in discussions about human subjectivity, there is still no foundation to guide this debate.

Nevertheless, what is crucial here is to engage in this discussion. Identity, as understood here, is a sum of all social, psychological, and historical contexts that shape human subjectivity. Therefore, identities are processes that every human being experiences throughout their life, building a repertoire. “Identities are always constructed and shaped by multiple practices of categorization and regulation, making them fluid, heterogeneous, political, and even paradoxical” (Cohen, 1997; Lovaas & Jenkins, 2007,our translation).

“It is only by considering identities as multiple, processual, political, open, and unstable that other forms of subjectivities and existences can emerge” (Souza, 2017,our translation).

Moreover, there is another aspect to consider when discussing identity: performativity, as it is ultimately the expression of human subjectivity. However, abstraction is entirely susceptible to behavioral patterns and social rules, while also being constantly subject to other forms of human interpretation. This combination serves as a powerful and influential shaper of identity and, consequently, human performativity.

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Therefore, performativity functions as a network of rewards and punishments that assigns and affirms a power linked to the performed action, which occurs and operates through discourse. (...) Performativity, in turn, is not a singular act performed by a subject but the temporal condition for the subject to exist. In other words, it is the process through which the subject is constituted as a subject by the reiteration of norms. (Souza, 2017, p.316,our translation)

From this perspective, performativity can be enacted in various ways within a society, one of which is language. Language can be used as a tool of resistance for marginalized groups in different contexts of oppression. “I observe that travestis have been part of Brazilian history for centuries and have always faced violence from a conservative, sexist, and transphobic society” (Figari, 2007,our translation).

It also becomes evident that, in defending themselves against State oppression, these marginalized individuals created a defense system that served both self-protection and the protection of those who, unfortunately, shared the same lifestyle in the suburbs of large cities: prostitution. They were forced to endure inhumane conditions for survival while simultaneously risking their lives. “When a marginalized class feels attacked in its way of speaking, thinking, and acting, it is evident that its defense system will be activated. Consequently, it will seek alternative ways to escape the invisible universe to which it belongs”(Barroso, 2017,our translation).

Moreover, it is insightful to consider that, beyond this dialect serving as a symbol of strength for what would become the LGBT community, it was and continues to be an identity mechanism both for those who did not identify with the cis-heteronormative norms of the socio-political context of the Military Regime and for the generations who continued to use this language after the end of the regime, up to the present day. “Thus, *Bajubá* is characterized as a personal language and linguistic identity; it became a form of preservation, camouflage, and resistance to facilitate communication” (Trevisan, 2018,our translation).

It is important to remember that the beginning of the Military Dictatorship (1964) predates the spark of the Stonewall Inn riot (1969) in New York.

Amidst this process of struggle and confrontation, one event often receives special prominence, sometimes even being mythically defined as the founding moment of the LGBTI+ movement: the riot that took place at the Stonewall Inn bar in New York City,

United States, which began in the early hours of June 27 and 28, 1969. (LELIS, 2019, p.02,our translation)

CONCLUSION

Therefore, after this analysis, it is possible to affirm that *pajubá* is a fundamental element for the perpetuation of the identity of queer people and for the unity of the Brazilian LGBTQIAPN+ community. In other words, this language served as a foundation for the lives that resisted the Military Dictatorship, when there was barely any sense of community among bodies that did not conform to the social norms of the time.

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THE LIMITS OF THE INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION IN RELIGION

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INTRODUCTION

This expanded abstract seeks to analyze the complexities of the limits of international intervention in religion, considering the creation of the secular state and the increase in religions with different practices and precepts. This has resulted in state interference in religious expressions, generating conflicts and wars. Religious freedom is a fundamental right, according to Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which guarantees the freedom to have, not have or change one's religion. Despite this right being universally recognized, discussions and attacks on religious freedom persist. In the secular state, the separation of state and church protects religious freedom from abusive intervention, guaranteeing the doctrinal autonomy and self-determination of religions. The aim of this study is to discuss the limits of international intervention in religious matters.

METHODOLOGY

Our work was built on a bibliographical survey of collections of articles, through the analysis of these sources it was possible to understand the object of study for the development of the text in question.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

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Émile Durkheim, in his book *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, developed a general theory about religion in which he understands it as something purely social, transcending individuality and playing a fundamental role in influencing individuals. For him, religious phenomena are categorized in two areas: beliefs and rituals, and all religions possess a classification based on the sacred and the profane, regardless of their specific form. Thus, they represent reflections of the social structure of society, since it is organized around practices and rituals that determine what should be respected (the sacred) and what is considered ordinary (the profane).

Therefore, it is necessary to also understand the trajectory and evolution of religious freedom, which over time has undergone a series of changes reflecting in the philosophical, political, and social spheres. In Antiquity, religion was strongly tied to the figure of the State, and religious manifestations were seen as means of political cohesion, which led to various religious persecutions during the Roman Empire, where Christian protest groups were heavily persecuted, and their practices were renounced.

The Enlightenment was the most fundamental period for the formulation of religious freedom as we know it today, since the lack of concept of religious tolerance motivated thinkers such as John Locke, Voltaire and Rousseau to consider religious freedom as something private and personal to the individual, and the State should not interfere in the religious life of citizens, nor impose an official religion or use it to oppress the people. John Locke (1690) argued that it was necessary to respect the differences between all beliefs in order to achieve a stable society.

The 20th century saw religious freedom reach the peak of its evolution so far, being institutionalized worldwide, added to important documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) by the UN, and the Vienna Conference (1993), which affirmed religious freedom as an inalienable right.

Thus begins the discussion on the principle of international non-interference in the internal affairs of States, since this fundamental concept of international relations is directly

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linked to the sovereignty of States and the principle that each country must be responsible for dealing with its own internal conflicts and issues, and there can be no interference from other countries or even international organizations. As described in the United Nations Charter (article 2, paragraph 7), no state has the right to intervene in the internal affairs of another state.

In the geopolitical context, this principle of international non-intervention is constantly put to the test when we are faced with situations involving religious conflicts, religious persecution or violations of human rights based on beliefs, which implies that the international community has a duty to act in favor of the protection of human rights. According to MacCulloch (2011), any and all attempts to impose external norms when it comes to religious issues must be carefully analyzed and balanced with the sovereignty of the State.

When discussing religious freedom, we are not exempt from talking about something that follows it. Religious intolerance has been presented throughout the evolutionary timeline of religion, and it is true to say that all religions have suffered some type of persecution regarding their beliefs in the world. The wave of aversion to religions of African or Islamic origin, known as “Islamophobia”, has been growing at an alarming rate. A clear example of this is the case of the Uighur Muslim minorities in China, where this ethnic group faces severe religious persecution, systematic abuse and human rights violations. The Chinese government tries to eradicate the Muslim religious identification of this group by sending them to re-education camps and is forced to revoke their religion, identity and culture for the benefit of the State.

In view of the facts presented, it is concluded that religious freedom is complex and explores several layers and dynamics of societies, having multiple interpretations and meanings, thus making each one interpret it in the way they want, and this does not always guarantee that they will be positive interpretations that do not violate any fundamental human right. It is also not limited to just an opportunity to choose or not a religion to follow, but is

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also inserted into the layer of individual freedom and collective rights, the essential role of the State, and treatment of religious manifestations within the pluralist context.

Human rights and state sovereignty have been the subject of intense debate in recent decades, especially since the Second World War. The progress of human rights is putting significant pressure on the traditional concept of state sovereignty, leading to a reassessment of its limits and role in the international system.

On the one hand, human rights represent an important achievement in protecting individuals against possible abuses by states. The internationalization of human rights after the Second World War led to the emergence of various treaties and international bodies dedicated to their protection, such as the United Nations, the Organization of American States and the European Union. On the other hand, state sovereignty remains a fundamental principle of the international system. States still retain a large margin of freedom to manage their internal affairs, as long as they do not violate fundamental human rights. The international protection of human rights does not completely eliminate the competence of states in domestic matters, but rather seeks to balance sovereignty with shared responsibility for the protection of human rights.

CONCLUSION

In view of the arguments presented, the debate on religious freedom in the international context involves various complexities and opinions, but it is essential that the right to religious freedom is respected, especially with the international treaties that protect this individual right. In this way, international intervention must be limited to internal state issues, without violating human rights or using personal, economic or territorial pretexts to intervene in countries with predominant religions, thus avoiding conflicts. Thus, respect for religious freedom must be seen not only as a basic right, but as a form of mutual respect.

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**THE PHENOMENON OF UBERIZATION AND NEW FORMS OF
PRECARIZATION OF WORK RELATIONSHIPS**

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INTRODUCTION

In the early decades of the 21st century, the phenomenon of work uberisation emerged as an advanced form of precariousness, characterised by the dominance of control and flexibility without labour guarantees. In this model, prevalent on digital platforms, work is conducted without formal contracts, predictable hours, or guaranteed rights. The term “uberisation” is derived from Uber Technologies Inc., a technology company that popularised this format. The impact of this transformation on labour relations is significant, particularly in Brazil, where a considerable number of workers engage in this mode of service provision

Uber defines itself as a technology company, rather than a transportation company, operating a platform that connects drivers to users via applications. According to the company, it merely facilitates the connection between partner drivers and customers, without providing formal employment or owning the vehicles, thereby shifting the risk and costs onto the workers.

This shift in labor relations transforms service providers into freelancers, challenging the traditional concept of employment. The promised flexibility replaces financial stability and alters the professional profile, affecting social security and the culture of long-term work. Furthermore, it transcends borders and sectors, representing a global transformation that impacts various aspects of modern life, with economic, social, and cultural repercussions. Understanding this phenomenon requires an analysis that considers these multiple dimensions and their consequences for the contemporary economy.

METHODOLOGY

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To understand the phenomenon of uberization within the context of Brazilian dependent capitalism and its multiple determinants, we adopted various methodological procedures from the broader field of social sciences. In this sense, we conducted a conceptual survey of the phenomenon of uberization from the perspective of neoliberalism. The research was enriched with documentary data on labour legislation, regulatory acts, and statistical data from IBGE, as well as consultations of podcasts, interviews with experts, and reports from national media outlets between 2014 and 2024. This variety of sources provided an updated and diverse perspective on the uberization of work. The study is structured into four chapters.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The concept of uberization has been widely discussed in Brazil by various authors, providing definitions that help to understand its complexity. According to Abílio (2017), uberization refers to a new form of management, organization, and control of work, in which the worker becomes a readily available workforce, without guaranteed rights, bearing their own costs and risks. This phenomenon, driven by digital platforms, brings profound changes to labour legislation, the configuration of companies, and control mechanisms, such as algorithmic management.

The phenomenon of uberization represents a significant change in labour relations, with many workers becoming autonomous service providers on digital platforms. This shift brings modifications to social security in work and employment. Uberization redefines the dynamics of work, challenging entrenched paradigms and reconfiguring the traditional relationship between employer and employee. This model's flexibility impacts not only the financial stability of professionals but also the cultural conception of work and career itself. The narrative of a linear, long-term career is replaced by flexibility, which promises individuals the ability to customize their working hours according to their personal needs.

According to Abílio (2017), uberization also transforms the worker into a "nano-entrepreneur-of-the-self," an individual who appears autonomous but remains subject to new forms of control, lacking the guarantees of a formal contract. Although this flexibility offers the promise of freedom, in reality, it implies a lack of protection and security. Furthermore,

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the increasing automation, mediated by algorithms, amplifies the forms of control over the workforce.

By presenting itself as a new form of organization specializing in the management and control of work, uberization characterizes itself as a global trend through digital platforms and platform work. This phenomenon has deep roots, being embedded in the economic and technological transformations that preceded the digital age. The "innovation" introduced by algorithmic management represents a significant evolution in how work is organized, monitored, and controlled.

According to Antunes and Filgueiras (2020), uberization also represents the mediation of work through digital platforms that connect client demand to workers via applications. This phenomenon extends beyond Uber, encompassing sectors such as domestic services, deliveries, hospitality, healthcare, education, freelancing, and more. It is a consequence of the economic and technological transformations that have occurred over the past few decades, associated with neoliberalism and the increasing flexibility of labour relations.

Moda (2020) notes that platform-based work, such as that of delivery workers, emerges as a means of subsistence in contexts of unemployment and poverty. In the absence of adequate social protection networks, many individuals are compelled to accept precarious jobs as a way to ensure their own survival and that of their families.

It is important to emphasize that there is a multiplicity of terms to define the transformations in the world of work. Terms such as gig economy, platform economy, sharing economy, crowdsourcing, on-demand economy, uberization, crowd work, and digital work represent the diversity of terminology concerning the contemporary nature of work (Antunes & Filgueiras, 2020, p. 30).

Antunes and Filgueiras (2020) emphasize the importance of identifying the common characteristics present in expressions and phenomena related to work and how these impact the nature of labor relations. They highlight four key aspects: 1) online interactions between producers and consumers, as well as between workers and companies; 2) the use of applications or platforms for access to computers or mobile communication devices; 3) the integral use of digital data associated with the organization and management of this activity; and 4) relationships formed by demand, which are linked to the production of a specific

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product and lack legal protection to ensure their continuity. The authors stress the importance of recognizing the fundamental characteristics that define the nature of labor relations in the digital age, including online interactions among different social actors in the labor market, the use of digital technologies for communication, data management, and demand-driven labor relationships.

CONCLUSION

This study identifies uberization as an advanced stage of labor exploitation, characterized by the introduction of new forms of precariousness in the configuration of companies and in methods of control, management, and appropriation of work. Under this model, workers face the loss of fundamental labor rights, highlighting a process of flexibilization and deterioration of these rights over time. Through literature review and theoretical analysis, this thesis underscores the need for critical reflection on the transformations in the world of work brought about by uberization within the field of Social Sciences. The concluding remarks reiterate the urgency of rethinking worker protection policies in the digital age, challenging narratives that normalize labor exploitation, and emphasizing the necessity of collective actions in pursuit of fairer and more equitable labor relations.

The complexity and various dimensions of work uberization stand out. Uberization does not merely signify a change in the organization of work; it also represents a redefinition of professional expectations and identity. Workers experience a duality between increased flexibility and control over their time, while simultaneously facing instability, a lack of social protection, and economic uncertainty.

Digital platforms, which organize the algorithmic systems of the uberization phenomenon, employ advanced information and communication technologies to reshape labor relations. These platforms coordinate the interaction between the supply and demand for work, establishing a new regime of control and supervision, where algorithms frequently monitor, evaluate, and determine compensation and working conditions.

The challenge lies not only in analyzing but also in organizing and mobilizing for a future where work and workers are valued beyond their capacity to generate capitalist profit.

It is crucial to consider how these regulatory demands reflect the tensions between the labour market liberalization promoted by neoliberalism and the need for protection and regulation of workers.

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KEYWORDS: uberization; workers; platforms; precarization.

**THE RISE OF FAR-RIGHT MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE AND THEIR IMPACT ON
MULTILATERALISM: ERODING COOPERATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY**

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INTRODUCTION

Europe has been undergoing profound structural changes in its political landscape over the past decade. Far-right parties have gained significant traction, often fueled by rising anti-immigration sentiment and Euroscepticism. This shift has been partially driven by the influx of illegal immigration routes that surged in the early 2010s (Council of the European Union, 2024), alongside increasing dissatisfaction with the European Union's policies (European Commission, 2024).

Parties such as Poland's Law and Justice (PiS), Hungary's Fidesz, Italy's Brothers of Italy, and the Netherlands' Party for Freedom (PVV) exemplify the growing influence of far-right movements, many of which have transitioned from opposition parties to key government actors, implementing policies that prioritize nationalist agendas. Notably, nearly every European nation has seen the rise of an ultra-nationalist faction climbing the electoral ladder in the last decade, with the potential to assume power in the near future.

This continental rightward shift has significant implications for Europe's role in multilateral institutions such as the European Union and the United Nations. Most far-right parties openly promote anti-EU agendas, viewing the European Union as an encroachment on national sovereignty and an obstacle to implementing their nationalist policies. By fostering division and undermining the cohesion necessary for effective multilateralism, these movements threaten the stability and future of Europe's cooperative institutions.

This abstract seeks to examine the impact of far-right movements on multilateral engagement at a regional level. How do the policies and rhetoric of these movements alter the

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dynamics of international cooperation, and what are the potential consequences for Europe's collaborative frameworks? By identifying common trends and exploring their implications, this analysis aims to offer a deeper understanding of the political and institutional shifts reshaping Europe.

METHODOLOGY

The study starts with documentary research, gathering survey statistics (Statista, 2023; European Commission, 2024) and infographics (Council of the European Union, 2024) to base the conclusions. Employing the inductive method, it uses real cases (Riegert, 2023) to reach broader assumptions about the European scenario.

In that sense, the study takes a descriptive approach to the subject, reflecting on the repercussions the problem could generate.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Ultra-nationalism has historically emerged as a response to profound structural crises, providing a seeming escape for nations grappling with instability. In the aftermath of World War I, ultra-nationalist ideologies gained traction in countries like fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, fueled by economic devastation, social unrest, and a perceived loss of national identity. These movements capitalized on public discontent, offering simplistic, populist solutions to complex problems while fostering exclusionary and authoritarian policies.

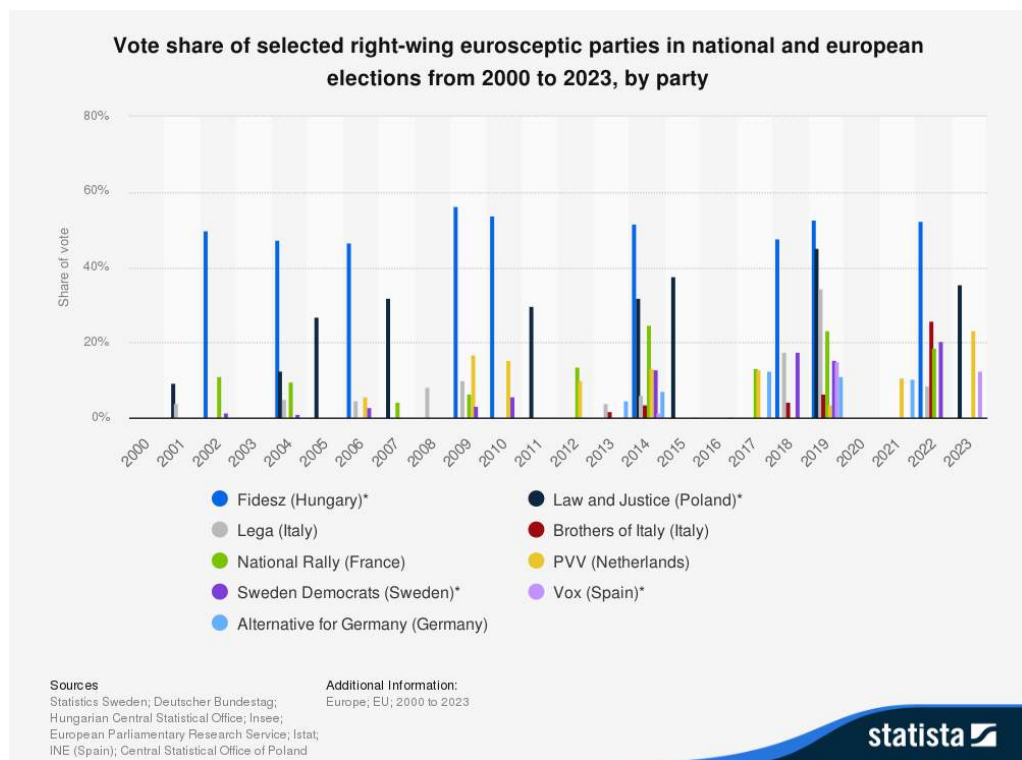
Today, Europe faces a different but equally transformative challenge: the migration crisis. The unprecedented influx of migrants and refugees since the early 2010s (Council of the European Union, 2024) has tested the continent's political, social, and economic systems. Ultra-nationalist movements have seized this moment, framing migration as an existential threat to national sovereignty, cultural integrity, and economic stability. This rhetoric has resonated with many citizens, particularly in regions where economic stagnation and unemployment persist.

The parallels between the two periods are striking. Just as post-World War I instability provided fertile ground for authoritarian ideologies to flourish, contemporary challenges -

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such as globalization, migration, and social inequality - are now fueling the resurgence of far-right movements across Europe. A key factor amplifying this trend is Euroscepticism, which has become a cornerstone of far-right rhetoric. By portraying the European Union as a distant, overreaching bureaucracy that undermines national sovereignty and fails to address local concerns, these movements have successfully tapped into public frustration. This blend of anti-immigration sentiment and anti-EU narratives has created a powerful platform for ultra-nationalists, enabling them to consolidate power and undermine democratic norms across the continent.

Figure 1 - Vote share of selected right-wing eurosceptic parties in national and european elections from 2000 to 2023, by party



Statista (2023)

As illustrated by data from Statista (2023), Eurosceptic parties have experienced a notable increase in electoral support since 2010, marking a clear departure from previous decades. This surge aligns closely with the European migration crisis, highlighting how far-right and Eurosceptic narratives have leveraged public discontent over immigration.

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This growing political influence of Eurosceptic parties is not limited to rhetoric but is also reflected in governance, where their anti-EU agendas directly challenge the bloc's unity. For instance, Poland's Supreme Court has persistently refused to implement rulings issued by the European Court of Justice (ECJ), despite the binding nature of these judgments as stipulated by EU treaties. This defiance primarily stems from disagreements over judicial reforms introduced by the ruling Law and Justice Party (PiS), which the ECJ deemed incompatible with EU principles on judicial independence (Riegert, 2023).

Since 2021, Poland has accrued fines exceeding €360 million due to noncompliance with ECJ directives (Riegert, 2023), such as the demand to dismantle the Disciplinary Chamber of its Supreme Court, which has been accused of undermining judicial autonomy. This standoff underscores a broader challenge: Eurosceptic parties frequently prioritize national sovereignty over collective EU obligations, jeopardizing the enforcement of shared policies and judicial standards. Such actions not only strain intra-EU relations but also weaken the bloc's capacity to present a united front in global diplomacy and multilateral decision-making.

Consequently, it has become evident that far-right parties pose a significant threat to multilateralism. Their agendas often include direct opposition to supranational institutions like the European Union, which they perceive as infringing on domestic autonomy. This undermines the cohesion required for effective multilateral governance, particularly in areas like migration management, climate policy, and economic integration. By rejecting or defying international agreements and rulings, such as Poland's disregard for European Court of Justice decisions, far-right parties weaken the trust and collaboration necessary for sustaining robust multilateral frameworks.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the rise in support for the European far right in recent years is not an isolated event but rather a pattern influenced by various factors, such as the refugee crisis in Europe and the economic crisis. These crises push the population to choose candidates who pledge to curb immigration and reduce dependence on the European Union, with Euroscepticism as their primary ally.

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The growing strength of the far-right represents significant changes in Europe, particularly for multilateralism, as ultra-nationalist parties view the European Union as detrimental to state sovereignty. As these movements gain momentum, they risk undermining democratic dynamics and multilateral cooperation across Europe.

Therefore, it is essential to understand the political shift this growth brings to the social context. Without mutual efforts to counter ultra-nationalism, the progress in cooperation and the welfare that emerged with the creation of the European Union could be dismantled.

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KEYWORDS: Euroscepticism. Multilateralism. Far-right. Politics. European Union.

THE THIRD SECTOR AND ITS COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, THROUGH THE USE OF ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

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INTRODUCTION

Initially, this paper proposes the theme of analyzing the Third Sector and its cooperation linked to environmental and technological issues, through Artificial Intelligence, and seeks to elucidate how this sector is comprehensive both in the areas in which it can operate and in its development axes, which can provide long-term benefits to the societies that employ them. Certainly, based on this conjecture, the words of Araújo, Mendonça and Paula highlight what this Third Sector would be:

According to Tozzi (2017, p. 10), “the Third Sector has several terminologies to identify an entity”, and this thought goes against the insecurity provided in relation to the term, due to this heterogeneity regarding the concept. It is then evident that “Third Sector” is a comprehensive concept, but with a common focus within all the organizations that comprise it, to produce services that generate benefits to society without aiming for profit or political benefit. The background of the Third Sector is solidarity and the democratization of relationships. However, efforts are being made to transfer technology from the private sector to the Third Sector (TENORIO, 1999). (Araújo and Mendonça, 2023, p. 5)

Certainly, based on this spectrum, the Third Sector can easily insert itself into the environmental sphere, seeking to collectively and efficiently provide its development and protection, since, as the authors explain, there is the issue of democratizing relationships, and when talking about the Environment, we are talking about a subject of collective interest and scope that connects societies as a whole (Paulo and Siqueira, 2024), and the transfer of technology. Specifically, in this area, the use of Artificial Intelligence by the Third Sector can be used, as Artificial Intelligence can act for various purposes and assist in obtaining efficient tools in the different areas in which it can be used (Mendonça and Rates, 2020), analyzing how the impacts generated by this action can help to control and circumvent problems that cause the compromise of green areas, local fauna and flora and even permanent destruction of

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ecosystems, something that will consequently negatively impact future generations (Paulo and Siqueira, 2024). In this way, the text seeks to build the perception of the proposed theme within these segments and collaborate in the generation of coherent scores regarding the relationship between the Third Sector, Environment and Artificial Intelligence.

METHODOLOGY

This work used the bibliographic research method, starting from the analysis of articles, periodicals and news, which corroborate the perception of the segments treated in the summary. The purpose of this analysis seeks and uses the contextualization of the Third Sector, Artificial Intelligence and the environmental issue with the objective of pointing out how the cooperation of this sector in the environmental area can be expanded using technological bases, bringing with it efficient actions that collaborate for a promising future for the next generations.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Certainly, the Third Sector can incorporate several segments within societies, since it presents itself through NGOs, Associations, Cooperations, and it has been noted that one of the necessary steps to bring the issue of the Environment and the use of Artificial Intelligence into this segment, respectively as a point of development and as an ally, is that there must be collective awareness, both directly and indirectly, about the current context in which the environment finds itself (Paulo and Siqueira, 2024), as well as the context of what Artificial Intelligence would be and how it can be used responsibly. Occasionally, in this regard, it is interesting to note that the actions generated when the Third Sector employs Artificial Intelligence have a dynamic and mitigating character in relation to the environmental issue, while Mendonça and Rates observe that:

However, even though uncertainties permeate artificial intelligence and its future impact, what it currently causes in the different spheres of a country is already certain. The exponential growth of the economy and the impact that artificial intelligence can cause, according to a report by the World Intellectual Property Organization ¹²: "AI can improve weather forecasting, boost crop yields, improve

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cancer diagnosis, predict an epidemic and improve industrial productivity´´ [free translation], impressed international bodies, since the ease of communication is infinitely greater (Mendonça and Rates, 2020, p.258.)

In fact, as the authors point out, the use of Artificial Intelligence can manifest itself in several areas, ranging from the health sector to the economy, and within the environmental agenda this characteristic is of utmost importance, since, as already pointed out, it mitigates the dynamism that the Third Sector demands of its relationships. Furthermore, consequently, within this connection one of the main points is that Artificial Intelligence can be used as one of the pillars of the Third Sector for the consolidation of sustainable practices, collaborating with environmental development and protection, as well as Sustainability in its different spheres. Since, resuming, according to Araújo and Mendonça:

According to Carvalho (2006, p. 30), "sustainability is the tool that directs the analysis of management in Third Sector organizations towards internal approaches and approaches to the connection of entities with their environment." Borger (2006) confirms the idea that it is necessary to recognize that the decisions and results of the activities of organizations reach a much broader range of social actors than the main actors involved. Consequently, in order to improve institutional performance in relation to previously defined goals, it is necessary to discuss how management is discussed in Third Sector organizations. (Araújo and Mendonça, 2023, p. 11)

Following this reflection, it should also be pointed out that the Sustainability factor is linked to the axes of economic, environmental and social development, based on responsibility for resources that, perceptibly, are not unlimited, and which therefore require efficient and balanced management within the panorama in which they are inserted (Costa; Gómez; Silva, 2011). Because of this, when the authors discuss the issue of management within Third Sector organizations, they do not refer only to positions defined and distributed among their components, but also to resources, such as Artificial Intelligence, that they can generate, manage, distribute and use collectively, aiming at awareness and adoption of the agenda that they seek to emphasize.

Therefore, cooperation between the Third Sector, through AI, in environmental development and protection is possible and is linked to the issue of the correct use of the means that will be employed to consolidate it, seeking to harmonize them with the other agents, managers and the collective that the Third Sector welcomes, which makes up this process, emphasizing the economic, environmental, social opportunities, and the

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commitments that this process can entail for individuals who are and operate in different social spheres.

CONCLUSION

In general, this summary emphasized how Third Sector cooperation on environmental issues can occur using Artificial Intelligence. Notably, from the observations of the texts used to compose the work, it was found that awareness about the studies and use of Artificial Intelligence in different social contexts is growing. Thus, the cooperation proposed by the presented theme is viable and can be sustained as new scientific investigations are established and endorsed. In addition, because it is a topic of significant transversality to various issues, both the Third Sector and Sustainability, since this can be a point of focus and extension for the Third Sector to develop through the use of Artificial Intelligence, were influenced by the interactions and opportunities that this scenario can present and help to compose.

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KEYWORDS: Artificial Intelligence. Environmental Issues. Third Sector. Sustainability.

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**WHERE ARE THE WOMEN? UNPACKING THE BARRIERS TO FEMALE
REPRESENTATION IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**

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INTRODUCTION

This paper seeks to investigate the naturalized discourses on gender identities that reinforce binary stereotypes of masculinity and femininity and perpetuate mechanisms that exclude women from leadership positions in International Politics. Primarily, it presents data that confirms the under-representation of women in international political processes, as a starting point for understanding the mechanisms that perpetuate this dynamic of exclusion. Subsequently, based on the incorporation of gender perspectives in International Relations, the social and political structures that perpetuate gender hierarchies in power relations are examined, highlighting the interconnections between the dynamics of international politics and masculinist logic. Finally, the relevance of incorporating gender perspectives into the processes of formulating equitable policies that take into account the performative character of gender identity in order to promote structural change is exposed. The deductive method was used and the research procedures were bibliographic and documentary.

METHODOLOGY

The research is conducted through a systematic review of concepts and theories by authors such as Simone de Beauvoir, Judith Butler and Charlotte Hooper. The method used is deductive, based on the hypothesis that the exclusion of women from decision-making in international politics is a structural phenomenon perpetuated by historically established gender constructions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

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The under-representation of women in international political processes is a fact that can be seen in reality. According to the United Nations Campaign for Gender Equality (2024) report, only 27 countries are currently led by a woman, a modest increase from just 18 countries a decade ago, and 107 countries have never had a woman leader. Globally, the representation of women in parliaments is 27% and parity is not expected to be achieved for another 39 years. The most significant difference in women's political representation is found at the highest levels of power. In order to confront the reality of women's exclusion from decision-making spaces at (inter)national level, some political initiatives and women's movements in some Western societies are driving the growing production of analytical literature on the position of women and a significant development of the agenda and concepts studied in various academic disciplines, especially those linked to the social sciences (Halliday, 1994).

This context paved the way for the development of Feminist Theory as a consistent and consolidated approach to the theoretical research agenda in International Relations. With origins dating back to the 1970s, feminism is consolidated with the thematic specificity of studying the place of women in international politics (Pecequillo, 2016). Feminist theory provides the basis for collective actions of intervention and resistance, with the aim of promoting more just and more equitable social and political relations. However, some initial conceptualisations need to be established beforehand, as Judith Butler rightly points out:

Indeed, one ought to consider the futility of a political program which seeks radically to transform the social situation of women without first determining whether the category of woman is socially constructed in such a way that to be a woman is, by definition, to be in an oppressed situation (Butler, 1988, p. 523)

In this sense, it is an incomplete task to produce equitable policies without taking into account the processes behind the definition of gender. The instability of the concepts of woman, femininity or, more precisely, gender was one of the main criticisms leveled at the feminist movement in the second half of the 20th century. In their book *Gender Trouble*¹, Judith Butler states that feminists are concerned about the possibility of not being able to define gender in a determinate and stable way, a problem that arises precisely because gender

¹ BUTLER, Judith. *Gender Trouble*, 1999. p. 27

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is not a determinate and stable category. When Simone de Beauvoir claims that “one is not born, but, rather, becomes a woman”², she is suggesting that gender is a category socially constructed over time and in this constitutive process - performative acts - it takes on different meanings within the limitations of the historical notion of what it means to “be a woman” or “be a man” (Butler, 1988).

Just like any other concept, gender also has a very specific social function: to differentiate bodies. By distinguishing bodies and classifying them as male or female, the concept itself creates a system in which differences are produced in inequalities. According to Charlotte Hooper (2001), the construction of gender identity is organized in a hierarchical process, and the male privilege of occupying the top of this hierarchy is called Masculinism. The masculinist logic that governs society is perpetuated beyond the domestic sphere and is also manifested itself in international politics, where not only is male representation dominant, but the performativity of the male archetype is also required as a condition of legitimacy.

This brings us back to the data highlighting the under-representation of women in international politics. Although women's rights to political participation have been reaffirmed through international agreements, women's voices are still absent from decision-making processes in all regions of the world. One of the barriers to women's participation in international politics is the dichotomy between the domestic and the international, which reinforces the historical association of femininity with the domestic sphere. This binary logic positions the international arena as a “naturally” masculine space, thereby excluding the presence of women. Another barrier includes the resistance of political parties to include women as leaders or candidates. In addition, women often have less access than men to the resources needed to get nominated for a party or to run for election (UN Women, 2024). In addition, within the political arena, behavioral traits considered appropriate and essential for political success are still stereotypically masculine. Even when some women manage to overcome these barriers and reach positions of international political leadership, they are not

² BEAUVOIR, Simone de. *The Second Sex*, 1949.

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free from being victims of violence. According to the report *“Invisible” Violence, Visible Harms* (2022), violence against women in politics is:

any act of, or threat of, gender-based violence, resulting in physical, sexual, psychological harm or suffering to women, that prevents them from exercising and realizing their political rights, whether in public or private spaces, including the right to vote and hold public office, to vote in secret and to freely campaign, to associate and assemble, and to enjoy freedom of opinion and expression. (UN Women, 2022, p. 15)

Direct institutional discrimination against women is perhaps the most intense and violent barrier. The systematic process of excluding women from decision-making spaces creates an environment in which even those who reach them face the silencing of their voices. This perverse context perpetuates gender-based violence by denying visibility to the perspectives of those who have been violated. Overcoming these barriers requires a conscious effort to question the reified conditions of gender and create new possibilities that ensure women's full participation in all spheres of public life, including international politics.

CONCLUSION

In light of the above, it is clear that gender is an indispensable tool in the process of analyzing the mechanisms that exclude women from the decision-making processes of international politics. The feminist approach to International Relations has been dedicated to challenging the masculinist structure that shapes contemporary international politics and, through an overview of concepts and theories, to opening up ways of thinking about new forms of doing politics. In the light of the concept of gender as a performative act, it is possible to see that some conceptions of gender are reified and naturalized and translated into processes of exclusion of certain bodies from certain spaces. However, because they are constituted perceptions, they are consequently capable of being constituted differently. If equal opportunities policies want to achieve effective results, they should consider adopting this conception as a basis for developing strategies to transform the current scenario of exclusion, taking into account the performative nature of gender identity, the possibility of questioning its reified condition and constituting a new one.

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