GLOBALIZATION AND NEW ETHNIZATION OF MENTALITY

Antonio Sidekum

INTRODUCTION

A new universal ethnization of mentality is part of the fundamental features of present time, to wit, the phenomenon of economical globalization and the exclusive way of thinking. This phenomenon touches all aspects of human life and is inserted in a new perspective for our society. If we want to present the cultural behavior of present-day Brazilian people even in a superficial overview, we must consider the consequences of the major historical facts of the last centuries, which coincide with Modernity and reflect in the avant-garde trends of art history as well as in the revolutionary movements of Postmodernity.

On the one hand we presently see the phenomenon of technological innovation, the manipulation of plant and animal life which, together with the recent globalization of the economy, creates and imposes a new way of mental domination and impacts the creation of new social movements as an expression of rebellion and resistance. On the other hand, new left wing parties from the outset often feel condemned to failure because they are unable to manage the impacts of the economy and politics of the new world order, which for the most part are imposed by a fundamentalist hegemony.

Regarding its cultural past, Brazil has been perfectly inserted in the international political scene, strongly related to the mindset coming up with the beginning of Modernity. Brazil is “discovered” or “found” by Portuguese navigators in the beginning of the 16th century, an event considered a globalization process. This feat of the “discovery” and colonization is strongly accompanied by the belief of having discovered “the island of happiness”, so much dreamed of and looked for in the mythological and utopian mindset of the Middle Age. But since the discovery and subsequent establishment of colonial régime in Brazil, the culture of this paradisiacal land has always been marked and constituted by the superposition of various political and spiritual components. These elements can be listed as the basic features of the expansionist plan for the Spiritual Conquista undertaken by the Iberian Peninsula.

Catholic Christianity provided the élan behind the expansionist ideal, playing a sacred role in the new salvationist mission of the Catholic Church and which was then used to justify the establishment of an economical system based on slavery serving as a foundation for the European civilization of Modernity. The establishment of Brazil as a colony is a fundamental response to the model of European spiritual globalization, which then begins to be established by means of juridical and political powers.

101 Ph.D. in ethics (Bremen University, Germany). Professor of philosophy at Faculdades de Taquara – Faccat/RS, Brazil. Visiting Professor at Universidade Centro Americana – UCA, San Salvador, El Salvador. Director of Editora Nova Harmonia.
This new world order originates in and is sustained by the Counterreformation, which supplies an ideological framework leading, on its turn, to mercantilism and later to the Industrial Revolution and capitalism. The history of the enterprise called Brasil-Colônia is marked by historical contradictions inherent to colonialism and has become known for transposing conservative socio-juridical elements of the Iberian Peninsula. This guarantees and consolidates the process of domination and domestication of the minds throughout centuries and today favors the atmosphere of recolonization of the minds. This phenomenon is known as a renewed process of universal domestication of thought by means of the globalization of the economy and by the exclusive way of thinking.

This mentality is considered by some thinkers as one of the legacies of the old Roman Empire, which gave the Iberian Peninsula the status of a faraway colony in the last frontier. The Iberian Peninsula on its turn had a privileged geographical position within the Roman Empire for being considered the fringe and most remote frontier of the empire. This condition gave rise to a peculiar mindset. It is a distant frontier, not just by its geography, but mainly for being faraway from the Forum and the Law. It was also far away from the center where the strategic decisions were taken for the empire's political and military sphere.

The Iberian Peninsula was very far from the stage of insidious intrigues of power. This frontier condition allowed for, above all, the collusion of corruption and impunity. People did not live under the implacable eye and control of law and power, but lived as if in a state of grace. This was something like a state of firstlings, where everything is still to happen and to be done. In this sense even today one can chant: "There is no sin below the Equator".

Philosophy enters cultural history of Brazil through the back door. Above all, philosophy needs a thorough understanding of these scenarios that gave rise to the culture of impunity, of corrupt political mentality, domestication through cordiality habits and little seriousness cultivated by the new actors, the new citizens: Brazilians. This cultural status quo has the *venia* of a corrupt and imoral juridical system.

Philosophy in Brazil has always been far from its true social dimension, just like justice and human rights. Philosophy was not able to develop a basic questioning of the moral mindset developing in the country. It was unable to try a criticism of the system or to do self-criticism as an instrument of thought. Total dependence on the dominating ideological power is one of the features of the colonial legacy still present today. The history of philosophy in colonial Brazil is marked by Thomism and taught in colleges and seminaries for the education of the Catholic clergy under the auspices of Counterreformation. Only in the first years of the republic philosophical production gets started, mainly under the influence of Auguste Comte’s positivism and of Hegel's philosophy of right.

From the point of view of the history of ideas and of educational institutions, there is a special feature to Brazilian history: different from Hispano-American countries, there were no universities in colonial Brazil, nor during its time as an empire. In the end of the 19th century a few higher education centers were created, law schools and technical colleges, which later gave rise to Brazilian universities. These were founded as such in the first decades of the 20th century and underwent restructuring during the military régime since 1964, when the North American university model was introduced.

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Since then there was a rapid growth of private universities, many of them of exclusively mercantile nature, usually with low academic quality, very little scientific research, if at all. Chaos and penury in Brazilian universities have been heavily criticized, under the branding "university in a state of barbarism". Today most universities in Brazil are private, almost all of them are adapted to the total market model and to the principles of economic globalization. Under the tutorage of mission and belief inspired by the totalitarian and exclusive way of thinking they gather all of their personnel in management and academia for strategic planning under the ideology of total quality announced in a frenzy of sophisticated and fascist marketing.

However the colonization project for Brazil consisted not only of Portugal's expansionist policy for the overseas provinces and territories but also of the evangelism of the Gentiles and of the retrieved Ethiopian often leading to a difficult cultural synthesis. Cultures are confronted with the expansion and globalization of the West. The globalization process brings about a new boom of the economy by means of mercantilism, which will characterize the onset of Modernity that lasted for centuries.

In colonial Brazil a conservative mentality reigns supreme in politics, based on an obsolete notion of the State and on a Catholic Church determined by Counterreformation and by the clergy under the patronage system. These political and religious elements will contribute to the psychosocial traits still at work in the era of globalization of the economy, in the loosening of work rules used in large companies, in the new industrial development, in the systems of technological interconnections which transform the values of daily life without a critical appraisal of the projects of Modernity which are already entering Postmodernity.

We must however consider the phenomenon of social stratification: while part of the Brazilian people is already making its first steps towards Postmodernity, most people have not even assimilated or fully enjoyed the universal breakthroughs of Modernity. A typical example is the absence of the Enlightenment in drafting human rights, because the whole country was lacking schools, colleges and universities. Without an educational project in the classical sense of the Enlightenment it was difficult to create and sustain cells with emancipationist ideals in the full sense of the word.7

Contradictions emerge and become sharper regarding the rights of the native peoples, the countless indigenous nations. The paradigm of social and political exclusion was well emblematized at the year 2000 festivities, when political and ecclesiastical authorities celebrated the fifth centennial of Brazil's discovery by Portugal. Indian representatives were prevented from taking part of the political banquet and the Eucharist celebration, only managing to participate after breaking the official protocol of the religious ceremony. The original native people, erroneously called Indians, are the true owners of Brazilian land. But from the first years of the Conquista they were forced and condemned to live as strangers in their own native country, their religious practices being considered superstitions and polytheism,
i.e., they were condemned, and their languages prohibited for being barbaric and primitive. This situation presently is even more extreme.

Besides not recognizing the human dignity of indigenous peoples9, which means denying the other’s alterity, which is expressed by the Eurocentric imperialistic project of “I conquer, therefore I exist”, another chapter is added with no less tragic consequences, motivated by Eurocentric imperialism, which must be read as a historic violence, a crime against humankind. It is an authentic Holocaust: the slave trade from Africa to America. Slavery existed in colonial Brazil (1500-1821) and continued through its period as an empire (1806-1888). These peoples of various ethnic origins suffered doubly the terrible condition of being “the condemned of the earth”,10 because on the one hand they were condemned to slavery in a land which was not theirs, and on the other hand they had no access to the instruments that would warrant them human rights.

Many liberation movements resulted in clandestine quilombo settlements, like those which constituted the Palmares Republic. The Afro-Brazilian population suffers most under social exclusion, civil society showing hypocrisy that still nourishes racism with sophisticated nuances of dissimulation and philosophical justifications.

Besides these constitutive ethnic and cultural facts, so present in the circumstances in which Brazilian cultural ethos developed with indigenous and Afro-Brazilian people, we find on the one hand countless further elements of globalization starting with Modernity, like miscigenation and emerging peoples.11 This miscigenation is present all over art, architecture, language, culinary, popular culture and mainly in music: in the artistic diversity of samba as well as in the rhythm of capoeira dance-fight and Carnival, which shows a peculiar spatial dimension for the representation of popular imagery in its very existential reality. Carnival is always a great philosophical page for those who can do its hermeneutics of the way people express their worldview in the face of endless daily suffering, of the joys of life and of the other way of being, worshiped in the imagery of life.

This philosophical view of truth and of the language of the people remains distant from the activities of philosophers of absolute thought and of the exclusive way of thinking reigning in higher education. Philosophical contents of Carnival parades are very expressive, representing and dealing with life as it could be without oppression and violence. In this perspective there always are samba schools known as Acadêmicos do Samba in a response of ethical appeal motivated by social exclusion.

Carnival is made up of schools, but in real life a large part of the Brazilian population has no access to the luxury of a real conventional school. People belong to identity tribes, because in real life they have no political participation in actions deciding over life. Carnival is governed by what is “serious”. It deals with the deeply serious, that, which is serious in everyday life, not the “morbidly serious” handled by doctors of philosophy, like those followers of some tragic philosopher to be found in philosophical courses in universities. It is the “serious” which can only be captured by the irony present in Carnival's rhythm. This is the aesthetic source of the joy of living and of the erotic, this is the

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9 See Pero Vaz de Caminha’s letter. *Carta a El Rei D. Manuel*. São Paulo: Dominus, 1963. “Brown, naked, without anything to cover their shame. They had bows and arrows in their hands. They all came tense towards the boat...”


11 RIBEIRO, Dacy, op. cit.
requirement of Carnival: for at least one day every year people have the right to a period of time for simulating the image of the "serious" as if it were their time to do philosophy. Socrates’ irony in its fullness parades in majesty and luxury through the tropical avenues, free of malice and sin. For only one moment this brightness of grandeur and richness of life glows, for which the Carnival reveller prepares a whole year long. This moment will be celebrated in "luxury and joy", because people, even being poor, though happy during the Carnival parade, love the luxury of life and know that "only intellectuals love misery".12

In Carnival there is a world of ideas more perfect and better represented than "Plato's world of ideas". The language of samba is the epiphany of the inner world of each human being manifesting his and her mysteries, almost as in an experience from philosophical language: "you must silence about things you cannot talk about", not because this is part of analytic philosophy, but because it is Carnival, or the song Samba do Nego Maluco, the samba of the mad black man.13 Carnival's language has the samba-enredo, the story told in the song to be danced to, it can found in the school where all are scholars, and has metaphysics flowing in the unsustainable lightness of Carnival. Therefore samba is a philosophical fragment chanting and dancing that, which philosophers cannot express, and about which not even analytical thinkers can utter anything; but samba philosophy permeates this structure of Dasein and talks about "existentialism" and "historicity". And this is the "serious" in it. However all these elements are new and created out of control by the power of the metropolis over the colony, and are created apart from present-day totalitarian State.

These fragments interact in the outskirts of the Empire and are maintained by the trade of merchandise and visions coming from other Portuguese colonies in Africa or Asia. They are not the result of plain superposition or syncretism, but regional elements inserted in the universal aesthetic concept.14 All through the age of Modernity, this composition structures Brazilians’ national identity, whose philosophical elements are not always systematically

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13[16] [Translation] MAD BLACKIE

I was playing cards
a mad blackie appeared
had a big radio with him
playing a loud samba
and told the people this samba were mine.

Tight skirts appeared in the saloon
because of that Pharisee
I gave it to him
take one, take two
take this; that samba is yours.

I belong to jazz people
the tambourine never got to me
I don’t know this guy
I have a family, and this is not my samba.
(Chico Buarque) http://chicobuarque.letras.com.br/letras/121679/

14[17] The most common examples are those of baroque art, where we find Asian and African elements in church paintings, or images styled according to cultures brought by intercultural trade. The concept of syncretism in cultures should be seen as a dynamic process of interculturality, which are fundamental to define the frontiers of identity. Philosophy thus becomes contextualization.
formulated, but can be excavated in the difficult task of reading inscriptions of history, like the countless fragments composing the mosaic of present-day cultural identity.

Throughout its historical development the composition of Brazilian culture has been bipolar. This aspect has not been sufficiently studied and discussed under the aspect of ethics by philosophers and historians. In this cultural complexity we can find a new philosophical mode facing today's globalization of the world. This philosophical reading will be done by means of a unique hermeneutics, which reads the fragments of cultural identity through the prism of the logos’ pilgrim condition, which can also be way beyond Ulisses’ Odyssey or beyond the outbreak of Abraham’s faith on the path of the Word that will lead to the Promised Land.

Modern history of Brazilian culture shows a constant ethnization of philosophy and thought in general. Eurocentric thinking is installed in all social and political institutions. Classic philosophy is the philosophy of the “identical”, the philosophy of the “same”, of the totality permeating the history of Western philosophy from the pre-socratics to Hegel.15

1. PHILOSOPHY AND ETHICAL CHALLENGES

In the present circumstances we see education, social psychology and philosophy going through a new process of ethnization. The exclusive way of thinking of the total market is imposed on all layers of individual and collective life. The exclusive way of thinking is the new philosophy trying to justify the world system model.16

This imposition of the exclusive way of thinking by the new imperialism has seen some reactions from the people. They emerge from critical reflection on the absurd human condition created by the world system.

After these fundamental reflections we arrive at this central question: How do Brazilian people react to the ethnization of mentality brought about by the globalization of the economy, or to the different kinds of globalization impacting all segments of culture?

The matter is not simply a new expansion of the West in a colonialist process of civilization, but the domestication of individuals and communities by social changes, by technological changes that bring about a new way of life, and by the ideology of the exclusive way of thinking. Social yearnings and collective imagery are affected by comfort, which gives each individual a false experience of freedom and the illusion of independence. This is the difficulty in fully implementing the political project rooted in social movements and in the hard struggle against authoritarian régime and social exclusion, as we see it in the struggle against hunger and misery.

The media, substituting the role of traditional schools and churches, spreads these new features of human life, created by the organization process. The spread and consolidation of the new way of life are taken care of by the

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powerful communications media overcoming all frontiers and present in the life of all individuals. The media disseminate fascination among the people, making believe that an easier life is possible, free of the hardships to fulfill all aspirations, the only requirement being money for consumption and power.

In Brazil traditional culture is being widely eroded in a very ambivalent process. Social structure is being changed by the classical domination systems of neoliberalism and recent imperialism under the banner of economical and industrial modernization. However these new circumstances of violence by the exclusive way of thinking make, on the one hand, that many groups begin to have the courage for emancipation. With this emancipation new areas of peace are being called for, for instance on the countryside, on global level in the new social forums, in order to think the utopia that a different world is possible. On the other hand, traditional authorities try to preserve their privileged positions, taking advantage of large industrialization projects of transnational companies and of the IMF policies. Not just traditional elites would take over conservative power, but the emancipated groups themselves, often with revolutionary proposals originally, but once in power they adopt completely reactionary attitudes, surrounded by corrupt people, because the old values of oppression hide behind progress and social change. Therefore every politician must be corrupt in this situation.

In this situation of globalization philosophy tries a criticism of the ethnization of thinking and of the Weltanschauung, while many social movements arise as a reaction to the domestication of identity of their own mentalities. Some specific ethical aspects have to do with a democracy that can encompass all ethnic groups overcoming marginalization and social exclusion suffered for centuries of colonialism and imperialism. As a reaction to the circumstances of globalization they trigger deeper philosophical reflection.

Many philosophers in Brazil and Latin America in general enter a commitment to new cultural changes and accept engaging for the ethics of liberation. The issue of the life situation of the oppressed people has been raised in the reflections and debates of philosophical seminars and congresses. Although a few thinkers have a dictatorial discourse very similar to the time of military dictatorships, when philosophy was always close to the tribunals to justify totalitarianism in the universities, a great number of them, however, work on the issues of social exclusion, liberation, and interculturality. The main debates deal with national identity, human rights and political philosophy. Some issues have been revisited in studies, like the precariousness of democratic life in our countries. Democracy faces new challenges in the demands forwarded by indigenous people, like the Chiapas and the new movements that have arisen in Ecuador and Bolivia, the movement of the landless workers (MST) in Brazil. This is a remarkable fact: the people, i.e. the demos, begins to understand and think critically about democracy. Although the exclusive way of thinking imposes tough justifications for the world system of market and consumerism, a new political awareness arises with new prospects.

What could perhaps best highlight this philosophical reflection in Brazil is the discussion on how to integrate groups that are historically excluded from the political and economic system. Let us take the example of the African

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people and their descendants. This has often been the subject of Liberation Theology, mainly under the aspect of evangelism and acculturation.\(^{19}\)

The discussion about the ethnical issue lies within the tradition of Liberation Philosophy, which in Brazil gathers a significant number of professors and students of philosophy. According to Márcio Bolda da Silva it deals with the attempt to link the threefold base of the following assertion: "Liberation philosophy based on the historic social context establishes the possibility to ground and characterize a way of doing philosophy built on a horizon of understanding which is already given". This intends to say that the reality given is incorporated and articulated as the starting point for philosophical reflection. According to Bolda da Silva this intrinsic link gives rise to a philosophical mode that is strictly conjugated with the reality of the situation, an imperious link which gives it the prerogative of substantially being a "re-linked thinking", making philosophy "in context". For this reason we can perceive that liberation philosophy must be understood as a peculiar way of philosophizing about contextual historic reality. Liberation philosophy does its thinking starting with the situational, social, and historic sphere it comes from. Philosophy must be embedded in its horizon of contextual understanding; otherwise it would lack its foundation. Therefore it is necessary to define that the task of liberation philosophy is determined by a preliminary setting, the historic reality of the people, which is its object.\(^{20}\) Some of the main themes in the program of liberation philosophy are the premises of awareness building,\(^{21}\) of liberation ethics, of social justice and Human Rights in the era of globalization and social exclusion, as well as the dialogue with European philosophers of Discourse Ethics\(^{22}\) and of interculturality.

2. BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS, AFFECTIVITY, AND REASON

Bringing ethnic identity into philosophy implies raising the subject of recognizing the other’s alterity, so often denied in western philosophy. This historical philosophical debate stems from the first years of the Conquista. These debates are classical. Within Brazil's colonial culture, however, there has been another development related to the metropolis’ hegemony and authoritarianism, later continued by the reactionary and totalitarian elites in power. It has to do with the African ethnic groups and their descendents. We find few debates that could express the ideals of Enlightenment in Brazil. It is known that the discussion of the ideas forwarded by hegemonic philosophy in Brazil, according to Gislene Aparecida dos Santos,\(^{23}\) was used to justify the inferiority and negativity of black people.\(^{24}\) One needs to reread classical philosophy and the philosophy present in the total thinking of today, about how racism coins and molds our subjectivity and how we have to do tough and intense philosophical work of deconstruction in order to work out a positive identity of ourselves.

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19 Besides the debate between liberation theologians, traces can be found in the CELAM documents of Medellin, Puebla and Santo Domingo.  
21 See the approach of Paulo Freire on conscientization in his pedagogy of the oppressed.  
This deconstruction is always difficult because since mother’s womb we are subject to racist tenets and a racist social reality. Philosophy will introduce new paradigms like alterity and the condition of being excluded. Gislene Aparecida dos Santos says that oppression and discrimination of black women has been studied in many anthropological studies investigating violence suffered in colonial society all the way through violence in present-day society, in the form on sexual exploitation of the young black women, forced sterilization, frequent rape, and economic exploitation.

According to that author it is necessary to think about this constant violence practiced against women and about how all the fancy ideas about black women came up during slavery and continued today. This suffering follows silently along the paths of everyday life and in the epiphanies of eternal pain in faces suffering but in hope. This pain permeates all social classes. Not only the poorest ones refrain from talking about violence, like social exclusion affecting women in general, but also the not so poor, let’s say “intellectualized” women, will not talk about this, they prefer not to show conflicts they would rather not have.

According to Gislene dos Santos, when highlighting the condition of black women before white men in Brazilian society TV series develop an ambiguous image and meaning of it. In almost all TV series a black woman is directly related to a white man. Philosophy should ask why black people are treated this way. Should one not use a new philosophy around the ethnization of values underlying globalization? But this situation does not touch the meanders of a philosophical discussion as such. The absence of this discussion makes visible a wound not to be touched, which perhaps should be dissimulated by the allegation that desire has no color.

According to Gislene dos Santos the real difficulty is to think the relationship of black men to white women and to ask about how the media nurtures the erotic associations that could hide part of the violence practiced.

It is always easier to talk about violence of this relationship when shown in an evident way: rape, sterilization, the mutilation others inflict on black women, because in this case the perpetuation of racism comes through the action of the other, not through the action of black women. Things become difficult when Afro-Brazilian people become allies of the other in maintaining and nurturing racist ideas. It is difficult to talk about how much suffering all this can mean for black men and women. The issue is not plain desire. The issue is investigating and understanding how much suffering, self-denial, self-mutilation, submission, and projection can be contained in desiring a white man or woman in the way we live our affections.

An “archetype” is the principle or origin of behaviors that have become “universalized”. This suggests the following question: what could be the archetypes of the black female in racist societies? In Brazil there is a void in discussions on race regarding the fenomenology of affection. We believe this is the way knowledge and “serious” things should be produced and discussed: separating subject and object, reason and affection. This is part of an epistemological tradition which must be considered and overcome. On the other hand Gislene dos Santos believes that the causes raised by black movements in Brazil must gain more space in the public domain. This is basic in order to legitimate and establish human rights facing the process of market globalization and the exclusive way of thinking so prevalent in Brazilian society.
To the author it is fundamental only to talk about the construction of affection and the way it can contribute to psychic suffering of black women and men. The way in which racism was and is imagined and engendered in Brazil, the whole functioning of Brazilian society, requires that one take a look at, and do a deep reflection on what we define as being affection, because we all know that one of Brazilian myths is that of cordiality, affection and harmony. This certainly has consequences when one intends to make visible violence and oppression reining in society. In the specific case of black women and men we think that the issue is a lot more difficult and complex because we need to think about how racism impacts us, not just by the exclusion and violation of public spaces, excluding people from their full rights, but also of private and intimate spaces, when they are denied the chance to build a positive image and identity, to love another black person, to love ourselves.

In her book Mulher negra. Homem branco. Um breve estudo do feminino negro ["Black Woman. White Man. A brief study on black feminine"] the author discusses the limit of racism when it permeates the relations of "love" and desire.

Both racism and subjectivity do not have a significant forum in academia because many thinkers consider them to be non-philosophical issues; therefore one can say there is a kind of exclusion also regarding the debate on the phenomenology of national identity. The great challenge is to think the ethnic issue starting from philosophy, because in this field philosophy and pedagogy have the possibility to construct and dismantle the whole theoretical structure supporting racist principles and thus produce a new form for the construction of knowledge. In all of its history Brazilian society has shown social inequalities, not just in education, although school is its foremost instrument to reproduce and sustain the unjust status quo. Ethical identity is thought of in its mobility, and not preconceived and given in a fixed and universal manner.

In this perspective Liberation Philosophy contributes greatly to the development of a new reflection starting from the paradigm of ethnic alterity centered in eroticism, pedagogy and politics. Liberation Philosophy tries to redimension the debate on human rights in the face of globalization and the exclusive way of thinking. Philosophical reflection as liberating praxis is inspired by the pedagogical and philosophic method of Paulo Freire, pervaded by reflection on popular wisdom. Freire's conscientization method and the paradigms of liberation philosophy were born during the authoritarian régimes in Latin America and are today of unique significance for being fundamental elements for a critical stance against the new ethnization of philosophy through the rapid cultural changes we are going through.

3. GLOBALIZATION AND THE NEW ETHNIZATION OF MENTALITY

Cultural change is an irreversible process in Brazilian society, because Brazil is an important player in the international scene. Cultural change brings about enormous transformations in the way of thinking and general social behavior. This can be seen mainly in consumerism and social relations, in criminality, trivialization of evil and superficial treatment of fundamental human values. This process results from rapid globalization going on within society. When the intent to safeguard traditional values is counteracted by new "universal" values implanted by present
globalization, human fragility becomes evident while seeking national identity. This reaction is justified in order to avoid the installation of those values of the international total market destroying the innermost sanctuaries of identity values. Part of the criticism is still alive, essayed by the Theory of Dependence as a factor guiding political experience in the face of the more powerful countries which have the pretension of dictating political and economical norms to the others and continue erecting walls around the new wealth. A new critical theory would be a new moral guidance in order to administer the cultural, social, economic and political reality of the country in order to face the new forms of colonization implemented by technology and by the manipulation of the total market. Political philosophy curiously develops a new theory of solidarity based on the Theory of Dependence, being however directed to the countries of the South. Not as a return to the past, but as a way to think future prospects, recovering popular wisdom and the chances to establish programs in order to overcome common problems: hunger, lack of housing, health and education systems.

This is the perspective in which liberation philosophy must be considered in Brazil. It reflects about alternatives to rescue the population from the new alienation process imposed by worldwide globalization. New prospects are created and developed for moral authenticity and politics, seriously dealing with the issue ever forgotten by philosophers: the study of gender and Human Rights.

In which sense can one express being different and show identity? Would the Week of Modern Art of 1922 not create the social and psychological expression of Brazilianity? How does the Brazilian people think the new world, the other as absolutely other emerging in the context of the ethical world essayed by postmodernism? Our anthropophagy and phagocytation of an identity in an old social body, in a land that will be known as such: "Brazil, country of the future?" How will it be possible to conceive of a metaphysical reality? Because actually art will be an ontological bridge of the identity. The is the subject of tropicalism understood as a reaction against the forces which by denial want to bury the existential values of the framework of Brazilian identity.

Along the Modern Age philosophy has been marked by a process of identity maintenance based on the cogito and on subjectivity, which could be made explicit by egology and egocentrism. This concept touches the issue of what constitutes Greek thought: the discourse on logos and barbarism. Another process derived from this egocentrism shows up in excluding proportions in culture or civilization; we call it Eurocentrism. For centuries of expansionism, impositions and cultural domination egocentrism has destroyed, mainly in other civilizations, the principle of identity, excluding from the world of its logic all those who did not think within the Western logos.

Along these paths philosophy becomes tradition and faces cultural diversity. This multivariate cultural confrontation is embedded in the game of political conflict. This cultural process can be seen in the convergence of the multiple civilizational elements developing in miscigenation and in the worldview, becoming elements that are deeper than syncretism. These elements will constitute Brazilian identity. Philosophy has always been the transposition or

transplantation and domestication of Counterreformation and to this day maintains a distance from people's reality. Philosophy officially turns around a "neutral" Dasein, lacking both hunger and eroticism.

To a considerable extent we have accompanied the development of the issues identity and interculturality, which allowed Cultural Diversity to be recognized in the academic debate. This happened through developments in anthropology and education. The main hermeneutical reformulations about the sources of these areas happened in the last decades thanks to a new method of historical research. On the one hand there are the countless challenging dimensions of using oral history and, on the other, the introduction of the concept of alterity in philosophy and literature, so often discussed in the tradition of hermeneutical philosophy. These categories are mainly used to justify the various forms of recognizing the absolute alterity of the Other.

If the absolute alterity of the other person and his/her cultural tradition were not recognized, ethical experience would be a chapter in the ontology of dialectical materialism and in economical ontology. Meanwhile the goal is to overcome dialectical materialism by historical materialism. The subject would recognize the other as an equal, as somebody more powerful or less skillful; depending on that, it would do his calculations and establish that relationship which would be most convenient. Power would be like an agreement and a form of submission. Interculturality, due to the paradigm of Cultural Diversity as a hermeneutical method for understanding the cultural ethos of the historic subject, i.e., due to subjectivity as such and the object of historical research, deals however with understanding that which has not been said yet. Its deals with finding a paradigm for world understanding where the actors of history move as subjects in understanding the ontic limitation of the world. In teleological perspective actuality is understood as the continuous presence of the relationship of unity and multiplicity in the construction of a protagonist subjectivity as a conscious agent transforming history. The difficulty lies in a safe interpretation, because the hermeneutical method as such involves extreme subjectivity and a lot of relativity. Cultural Diversity is guaranteed by Human Rights:

"The defence of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative, inseparable from respect for human dignity. It implies a commitment to human rights and fundamental freedoms, in particular the rights of persons belonging to minorities and those of indigenous peoples. No one may invoke cultural diversity to infringe upon human rights guaranteed by international law, nor to limit their scope." (Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, Art. 4)

In this hermeneutical perspective by invoking Human Rights one could consciously ask how we interpret the world, i.e., question how we account for our attitudes, for our cultural representations and for our intercultural imagery.

There is an awareness derived from practical knowledge about the historic deficit suffered in the traditions and in the philosophy of cultural diversity. This is one of the frequent experiences we make in daily life within the historical praxis in which we share life and historic worldviews through ethical relations with the other. One should cultivate this practical knowledge in a reflexive manner and with a project for the organization of our cultures alternatively from the standpoint of the other, so that the universe of cultural diversity becomes an active quality in our cultures. The vision of Cultural Diversity and interculturality will imply a quality of affirmation of the human being as a historical being, who expresses himself in cultural spaces and differences. This concept denotes an indispensable historical conception of culture. Culture is developed in a space with definite contextual conditions as open processes containing the principle of
treatment, interaction and trade with the other. Cultures are always processes at the frontier. In the innovative perspective this frontier is a basic experience of being on a continuous pilgrimage. This is not a frontier marking off one's own territory, drawing the limit between the own and the alien as a limit marking the end of the own and the beginning of the alien, thus leaving the alien at the other side of the frontier. This is not the role of philosophy facing today's globalization. This frontier is produced and established within the very soul of our cultural identity. The other is within, not outside our cultural context. This is the fundamental principle of recognizing Cultural Diversity in ethics and education.

Recognizing Cultural Diversity requires a fundamental hermeneutical instrument in order to understand the grasp of present-day globalization and will serve as a proposal to face the great problems of retrieving our identity and guaranteeing respect for Human Rights. The fundamental impact has to do with politics and the economy. This impact is found fundamentally in the social structures and in the values of present-day society, which is always changing fast, either really or virtually.

4. CULTURAL CHANGE AND THE EXCLUSIVE WAY OF THINKING

Beyond all that we have to consider that, in the aspects referring to Brazilian society, there still is a modus vivendi of accepting domestication from globalization, which welcomes ethnocentric thinking present in multiple forms of aesthetic experience; there is however a trend to become free of the imposition of the world authority on the exclusive way of thinking. In political experience this has been a constant in the last years. Ethnocentric thinking has a double face also in Brazil. On the one hand it emphasizes cultural plurality and ethnic diversity, considering cultures as a treasury and source for a renaissance of a society fully engaged in the defense of Human Rights; on the other hand it cannot overcome the difficulties of age-old social exclusion present in Brazilian society.

There are also possibilities of accepting the proposals for ethnization of the way of life and culture of consumerism in general as a process of cultural change. The transformation of the contemporary world shows a special phenomenon, which is the fast change of political culture, whose theories try to explain the new modus operandi of socioeconomical institutions. Social, economic conditions and the practice of cultural traditions as well as unpredictable facts become relevant, but they do not influence mechanically the political action. In present-day democracies reforms are not common, usually a strong institutional conservatism prevails. This state of affairs in democracies is due not to institutional factors but is the result of calculation by political actors, mainly by means of casuistical manipulation of the political power balance. Changes are meanwhile possible for the citizen demanding urgent needs. When politics plunges into a crisis of governability there will be awareness for change. Fast transformations start to appear on the institutional horizon with the beginning of a dialectical process asking for political justice. Institutional reform demands dialectical learning of the political process, which installs and seeks a rational solution for the difficulties hindering the assimilation of the consequences of reform. This proposal of institutional learning is sustained by the idea that the political actors will have to change their concepts and paradigms of manipulating aspects of the institutional system and they will feel influenced by a high degree of historical conscience which may emerge through the political system to which they are
closest culturally or geographically, or by entering an agreement which takes into consideration the community of real communication which by its dialectical character will be understood through the foundational change at its structural and pragmatic role models considered to be historical because they respond to the challenges of establishing new reaches of justice.

If on the one hand institutional conservatism and reactionary norms make us expect that the evolution of democratic political systems will develop different patterns of negotiation and balance of conservative power, on the other hand the proposal of institutional cultural learning will point to a transformative convergence of political reality mainly in the effort to overcome dialectically institutionalized violence.

The study and discussion about cultural change and the urgency of transformations considered congruent with institutional change imply an analysis suggesting that culture be understood as a process of idea development and historical transformation. Thus the great and fast economic and political transformations also introduce radical transformations in social and juridical values, and mainly in moral values based on the rising awareness about the new circumstances of human life. These changes may happen just by the sheer occurrence of globalization phenomena and due to the era of uncertainty due to the impossibility of a revolution.

Social change mainly by derivation of the civilizational process is always inherent to political and educational conflicts. Economic change is always faster than the political and juridical institutions. The representations of the collectivity about the reality of individuals influence the aspirations for structural changes. The character of collective action limits individual and collective identity established by the social actors involved in the actions defined, having political repercussions through the harmony of unity in the multiplicity, and an intercultural character.

For the most part of the 20th century world politics featured a bipolar power distribution through the Cold War, but with the collapse of real socialism the worldwide process of economy globalization gets started, and with this new globalization a new alignment of the international political power consolidates the prevalence of the exclusive way of thinking, characterized by the rupture of the existing social contract in most countries. The main subject and actor in these international relations is the nation-state where the institutions are established that will dictate the rules of the game in the economy, in politics, in cultural, social and juridical life. In this new national space which still is defining physical, geographical frontiers new challenges of political justice are happening. Taking as a reference the "fall of the Berlin wall" and as paradigm the "end of history", rather conceived as the end of utopia, the new world order points to a new teleology of globalization, which appears almost in an eschatological sense and under the ethics of the principle of free market spread all over the world in behalf of the hegemonic powers under the leadership of the United States and of the members of G-7, i.e., those countries with high technological development and concentration of economic power.

International relations based on diplomacy of good neighborhood, respect, and recognized self-determination are replaced by economic alliances dictated by the International Monetary Fund without creating and respecting a more democratic culture of economic policies. International politics suffers the imposition of the free market doctrine
supported by the ideology of the exclusive way of thinking. This same discourse is based on the free trade doctrine and has been promoted by rightist ideologues, now being completely assimilated and used by left politicians. The right finds ever better possibilities of loosening state functions and laws, directing economic policy to the benefit of the great transnational capital.

The enormous and rapid transformations touching all senses of contemporary society like a terrible storm pouring out in torrents and gushes a new redemptive order for humankind, breaking out in a way beyond all predictability by social and political sciences, announcing a state of orphanhood of any utopian thinking, guide the bases of ideology. There are the negative effects provoked by a not always enlightened, often fundamentalist left, besides ideological paradigms due to the loss of time and orientation in the social sciences, and habits which often are obscure and unable to respond to the real images and ideas in the heads of people. With the outbreak of the new world order critics come up with a prophetic role of exhortation and with terrifying analyses and prognostics, like Immanuel Wallerstein writing on post-liberalism, or the analyses by Milton Santos in his book *Por uma outra globalização* [For a different globalization].

In all public administrative layers and universities a new ideology is introduced -- neoliberal ideology -- whose method is a definitive discourse on strategic total planning with the fallacies of the discourse of total thinking. The totalitarian line of the exclusive way of thinking is spun under the mantle of tendencies called postmodern or neoliberal and has universal influence, being present in all facets or shambles brought about by postmodernism, in which the human being is not anymore understood by his dimension as carrier of historical conscience. This limits the possibilities for a greater number of alternatives for political action in order to overcome the great challenges imposed by misery and unilateral nature of the new worldwide political economical model also called world system. Much beyond the discourse of strategic planning the new model builds up its efficacy on top of conservative techno-scientific postulates conceived by philosophers obliged to the world system.

Globalization derives from a new set of cultural structures and processes and mainly from political action embedded in the world system marked by constant exchange of goods, which sustain international political economy. Companies are transnational and sometimes have a powerful constitutive autonomy, often exceeding whole countries in assets, due to their economic power, threatening economic and social stability. Transnational companies deal all over the globe, looking for economic advantages and being supported by a segment of the local country's political base. They obtain their advantages by having norms and regulations flexibilized by the nation-state, exercising imperial power over nations. Domination is exercised by capital and by loosening labor laws.

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Business corporations become global through political measures and through their transnational nature. Thus their competitiveness is not limited to one country or region, but achieves worldwide level with powers to manipulate international politics. Dominion over a country or region is enhanced by local lack of means to compete with transnational economic power. In this perspective a new form of class struggle appears, bringing about an uncertain future for workers affected by the policies of the transnational businesses.

With economy globalization a new vision and culture of business administration prevails over the environment, where, on the one hand, global corporations dispute the market and achieve a moralizing power over their rivals using multidimensional structures and often privatizing biodiversity in whole regions or countries. Demoralisation, which is the erosion of a single form in order to define the principles of morals, is also used for political changes in the institutional environment. The focus of the total quality discourse tries to change the culture and rearrange the institutions for a new business policy oriented to a full response to the foreign market, the so-called transnational market. Due to the existence of such an unstable and uncertain environment public administration gets to the point of using techniques of private businesses, aiming at a better performance; thus public administration faces the challenges of rationalizing production for efficiency. Technical and administrative tiers are reformulated, as well as the institutional organization.

In the state of the transnational companies an interdependence has developed questioning above all the premises of the advantages they can have by controlling economic and human resources within the limits of an economic organization with great political power. This decision is made through the control that develops when establishing a political power for bargaining and over profit destination. This measure changes completely the traditional business structure and the procedure to accept members in a society of actions; the nature of the company is more horizontal due to the variety of financial investments, overmatching organizations with multiple shareholders.

Organizations are governed by asymmetries of power within themselves. Fundamental in this is the discourse for strategic planning through the new paradigm of cultural vision, through the inputs of political power and through the articulation of knowledge and information about the total market. These elements lead to fast changes in the culture of institutional power. On the one hand one must accept the fact that globalization, together with economical and political changes, brought about very diffuse cultural changes, like a revision of capitalist needs, a devaluation of the dignity of organized human labor, which has had universal rights conquered in hard struggles along the last two centuries, and on the other hand, the devaluation of human dignity, denying the right to work and rendering the human being useless, creating a society of uncertainties, where the social inequalities between wealthy and poor gets ever deeper both locally and between the blocks of countries powerful in technology and economy.

Considering the reality of the Brazilian people in the face of the new way of thinking and of the transformations brought about by globalization we can stay that cultural processes are not unchangeable realities as alleged by the hegemonic neoliberal model. As we all know, globalization has reached all levels of individual life and mainly social
life. This process is irreversible and will not always imply an understanding that a neoliberal economy is necessary, or that politics, culture and society be strictly consolidated in the neoliberal model. There are many other possibilities conceived in the imagination of the people seeking alternative models. Globalization allows do think over the great strategies that used to be applied in the construction of civil society. An example is the subject multiculturalism and interculturality, when it refers to the economic model, which is always confirmed by the intended universality of the exclusive model of macroeconomic management. The same thing can be said about the integration and universality of values for the integration of nations. Macroeconomic management contains uncertainties, collapses of regional economies and financial crises at every moment.

Popular culture intuitively notices new processes of transformation in civil society and makes explicit the limitations of rationalist and scientific culture in the face of pluralistic manifestations. Transformation of civil society requires methodical innovations in the analysis of the concrete historical situation. The economic model will be challenged by interests which are not concentrated in the producers of the global market, but is directed to the possibility that a different world is possible. A rational political economy concentrated on studying the interests of the global and totalitarian market as producer of a dialectics of rationality and irrationality, also as it considers the individual in its analysis, never takes into consideration the structures and multiple interactions of human groups and their influence in the development of society.

CONCLUSION

New sociocultural bases will be needed which enhance development and bring about new structural and strategic changes which, on their turn, allow for innovative creationS and strategies for the dynamics of social structures. It will be the development of a civil society that takes into consideration the aspects of its historical tradition and the new processes of social change, like a strategy for a policy oriented to social justice.

An example of that would be widening local political participative budget communities as well as creating a social audit that would allow for a greater political co-responsibility both on the side of those governing and of the citizens in all activity strata of civil society. This is the way one conceives the establishment of citizenship. This new social structure will develop a new political critical thinking to be adopted by the collective in the construction of alternatives for a new human society necessary for convergence within diversity, of a new culture: the culture of solidarity with which one could face the new domestication of the minds used by the philosophy of the total thinking of globalization.

In the new Brazilian social movements one could highlight the attempt to build an alternative model to the neoliberal hegemonic project by means of strategies and practices of resistance like the solidarity networks, in order to accept cultural and ethnic diversity and create a social policy aiming at social justice. Social movements are decisive for social balance, pointing to political justice in all dimensions. The rise of social movements supported by technological instruments of social communication has allowed for a reorientation in the resistance against the impositions by worldwide hegemonic systems. Information and communication technology are strong instruments for social, economic and political change in emerging societies. These resources make possible the creation of permanent communities and
social forums for the discussion of social reality. It is fundamental to know how the media can be used to help create new means for social change and a critical conscience.

The new social movements in Brazil develop rather like networks of ethical interpellation, not so much as organizations aimed at claiming rights, but giving rise to new social actors and critical roles in the identity of communities. Thus the new social movements create informal networks between individuals and social organizations, making up a new social identity. For the resolution of sociopolitical conflicts, from the point of view of political philosophy, the new social movements act like forces resisting systemic pressures tending to social conformism. These new alternative cultural codes are opposed to domination. The new collective identities emerge with the new action processes transforming civil society.

The new social movements must take into consideration the great differences within the social composition. They claim fundamental human rights and the right to cultural diversity. Therefore some philosophic institutions begin to deal with the whole range of fundamental human rights. Philosophy thus recovers its role in developing historical conscience as it considers the political elements in guiding social movements. Political changes start with the pressure of many social movements, like for the improved recognition of rights derived from ethnic origin, as in the case of Afro-descendants and indigenous peoples. Social movements create a new form of political and cultural philosophy based on sustainable development. Intercultural philosophy takes into consideration the study of gender and ethnics demanding the right to self-development and self-realization in full freedom. This sustainable human development requires a policy for the creation of jobs and for the maintenance of social welfare as a form of social justice. This widens the concept of Human Rights, which deals not only with political and civil demands, but also to economic and social transformations in the population. A cultural revolution is necessary in order not to simply accept the rules of new capitalism threatening lawful society through neoliberalism. This transformation is necessary in order to rebuild the communities’ identity through mechanisms of self-management and in order to bring solidarity to life, based on sacred moral values which can be respected in the fullness of human dignity, thus giving new life to communities. With this proposal the human being will be the center of philosophic and ethical reflections.

An ethical critical method requires creating coherent participative activities in the communities with central power. This coherence will permit political and economic sustainability. Political philosophy finds elements for its reflection in the variety of community experiences which show solidarity, living affection and subjectivity revealed in love and desire.

The development of political awareness will imply participating in local and regional community decisions enhancing commitment and responsibility by distributing tasks to individuals regarding management of collective goods and renewable resources in order to ensure the maintenance of an environmental policy.
The development of political awareness is important for the responsibility of the individual as a citizen, who needs sufficient premises for a stance against corruption and impunity, elements inherent to the globalization of the total market economy.

The goal of government must be human promotion, giving people a better access to educational and informative cultural goods. To liberation philosophy the essential in democracy is that people have more access to knowledge and information warranting their effective participation in the country's political life. International agreements must be evaluated according to their contributions to the eradication of hunger and poverty. Implementing this project requires institutional transformation with a new political culture: the culture of ethics.

Liberation philosophy turns to the development of a political conscience aimed at a stronger participation of citizens in governmental decisions, that they be actors in solving local problems, creating conditions necessary for adequate government. Due to the globalization of economy and the creation of the total market, economic weakness is a reality accompanied by the fragility of juridical and political institutions. In this sense political philosophy tries to reflect about democratic experience in order to overcome with justice the institutional crisis and to give the citizen a greater participation in the country's political decisions. This will allow for a balanced economic and social development in the various regions.

Political philosophy sets the challenge of the citizen’s political apprenticeship in creating a rational solution for the country's present problems, thus opening the path for projects warranting a future with more social justice, the existence of political institutions in so far as they be the result of long-term negotiations with the various economic and political actors, trying to adapt the globalization models to the conditions of national development.

In Brazil philosophy has recovered a special reference in the movements of great social transformations emerged after the collapse of the Berlin Wall. Numerous philosophy seminars discuss the ethics of discourse emphasizing Human Rights. New categories are added to philosophy's nomenclature: the revolt of the oppressed and excluded, cultural identity and existential values. These are forms of democracy incubators. In fact many intellectuals have engaged in political activity in order to create a more participative democracy. Strong criticism against autocracy has been forwarded in order to attain a fuller democracy. The juridical system however has the great deficiencies in overcoming impunity and the economic-juridical model that allows for the chasm within the population, where a few become richer and richer, and the majority increasingly poor and miserable.

We understand that new forms of flexibility in political institutions will take up the concerns of the people in the face of uncertainty deriving from the total market. Financial crises show us that it is necessary to create mechanisms for a new hermeneutics of juridical norms needed in the face of globalization. This would be a philosophical demand in the ethical guidelines of universities, which should absorb this inflow of people's uncertainties.
The philosophical challenge created by globalization will not be any more the establishment of a global market, but to think over the global and exclusive way of thinking forced upon all individuals of all economic strata. It is not philosophy's task to halt the advance of the total market, but to think about the consequences global markets produce for culture and human life; above all the challenge will be to find better government alternatives for communities, humanizing political and economic institutions so that they can satisfy the demands of people's ideas and imagery. Regarding Brazil's cultural duplicity, we are fair, but our institutional structures allow for the worst social injustices of the world system; we are cordial, but an extremely greedy and violent people; we have a liberationist educational discourse, but our educational system does not meet the lowest standards; we are democratic, but the law of corruption and impunity reigns supreme etc. This demand takes on a character of justice, harmony and equilibrium. In this way the domestication of mentalities could be overcome. However the intrigue of silent rebellion will remain as the great challenge to philosophy on the horizon of Brazilian cultural identity.

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