

## Abstract

The paper analyses the specific trends of the relations between social groups within Brazilian society. It applies C. Schmitt's concept of "the state of emergency" to assess the political [cultural, social] significance of Brazilian Carnival

What is it Brazil today? It is, first of all, the largest country in Latin America, the fastest growing economic giant, one of the leaders of the region, participant of BRICS. However, all these connotations do not affect one of the most interesting characteristics of the country, its particular social structure, which gives an opportunity to exist and stably develop the state, where the social differentiation is tremendous. Brazil is the state where ideas about economic growth successfully combined with the presence of favelas, where at the same time the idea of the absence of racial discrimination promotes and almost officially «the National Day of the Black Consciousness» celebrates, this is the country, finally, where there are two holidays of national unity - the official «Day of Patria» and informal «the Days of the Brazilian Carnival». In one paper it is practically impossible to catch all of the formation of the social system of the country, so I will focus only on the Brazilian Carnival as of a particular event, «state of emergency» in terms of Carl Schmitt, allowing to maintain the special social order, characteristic only for the Brazilian society.

In the title I used the term «nomos», which is not very popular now, however, it seems, that speaking about the specifics of the development of Brazil, this is the term which better reflects the complexity of social problems. In the framework of this concept, we can simultaneously connect the issue of the colonial and special social heritage

Carl Schmitt writes in his work «Nomos of the Earth» "... nomos is the immediate form in which the political and social order of a people becomes spatially visible – the initial measure and division of pastureland, i.e., the land-appropriation as well as the concrete order contained in it and following from it. ... Nomos is the measure by which the land in particular order is divided and situated; it is also the form of political, social and religious order determined by this process”

Such an approach, in the framework of the idea of nomos, in our opinion, allows a better understanding of the complex model of society, which has developed and continues to develop in

Brazil, because the seizure of the land, or of colonization is still one of the most important axes of the social structure of Brazil.

The peculiarity of the Brazilian social structure, in comparison with the neighbors on the continent, is in the existence of three levels of the social model. If the Spanish colonies, all was based on a clear pattern «colonizers -colonized», the Brazilian situation is always complicated by the presence of a third party - slaves, taken from the Portuguese Africa.

About 200 years passed since the announcement of the independence of Brazil, since the abolition of slavery passed more than 70 years, but the consequences of colonial and slaveholding system have a significant effect on nomos of the country up to the present time. Because during a long period the Afro-Brazilian people, the most disadvantaged part of the population, was not autochthonous and belonged rather to the colonizers, than to the colonized and had no right to the land. The domination of white colonizers was beyond dispute, of course, but of the oppressed group in Brazil is not limited to the Indians. The Africans brought from other Portuguese colonies were even lower on the social ladder than representatives of Indian tribes. Thus, unlike other states of Latin America, Brazil has formed a three-stage social system.

The idea of decolonization, which is still a pivotal one in other Latin American countries (for example, in Bolivia), in Brazil was in the background. There is a certain replacement of colonial discourse by the racial one, where the opposition colonizers/colonized replaced the opposition between the owners and the slaves, and subsequently the whites and the black. This problem became especially pronounced in the late 19th century, when almost at the same time slavery was abolished and Republic was proclaimed, and the question of racial discrimination became central in the complex system of the Brazilian social hierarchy.

During the 19 century the Brazilian Empire was a rather odd conglomeration of capitánias, united only by the idea of the Empire and the crown, and the issue of national unification was especially acute. The first question that Brazilian politicians and scientists asked themselves concerned rather the problem of identity. Who is a Brazilian? Already then it was clear that the idea of the American Indian the autochthonous population could not claim a leading role. An appeal to the European roots (especially popular in the early 20th century there was an appeal to the French Belle Epoque), as in the hearth of civilization, did not correspond to the idea of further formation of the Brazilian statehood, as this would violate the course towards the independence of the European countries. The third way, which Brazil chose, declared cross-breeding and mestizo as a special way of development of the Brazilian society. Thus, all that somehow could be associated with the mestizo population, by definition, started to gain symbolism of national unity.

The symbol of this mestization became the Carnival. Brazilian carnival in the form in which we know it today, emerged in the early 20th century. Before that, even though the carnival processions took place on the territory of Brazil, they were nothing more than religious processions. Not without reason in one of the most famous Brazilian manifestos «Manifesto of Pau-Brasil», writer and philosopher Oswald de Andrade says that «Carnival in Rio is a religious event of our race», stressing at once not only the existence of a separate «Brazilian race», but also that it has its own specific culture, where this uniqueness is practically already something sacred. Thus gradually the carnival procession in Brazil began to acquire political importance, as if breaking the reality which had been created by the Portuguese discoverers. The carnival becomes a symbol of a new ideology, a new religion, a new race, a new state, and it is important that it has become a recognized symbol almost immediately both inside Brazilian society and in the whole world.

Of course, the world's recognition of Brazilian carnival contributes to its sustainability. Today this is a holiday, as well as the opportunity to remind the world about oneself, and a profitable business. However, the importance of the carnival in the Brazilian society is not limited to these obvious things. The carnival, in our opinion, is the backbone of social practice in the context of growth of social inequality and at the same time the rigid hierarchy of the Brazilian society. Carnival here appears as the exclusion of nomos, which helps to maintain this nomos, and thus again reproduces it.

In fact, several of carnival days completely turn over the whole socio-political system of Brazil, is a complete rupture of the system. Brazil enters the state of «national emergency», when all those who are on the lower levels of the Brazilian society become the central figures. At the same time the «emergency situation» remains a part of the nomos - this is a temporary end to the political order, where the key concept is the immediate. This temporary exception to the norm, the possibility of a temporary termination of the existing political and legal order becomes the basis of the existing and newly playing nomos. The opportunity to implement temporary «revolution on the beach» gives the lowest layers of a feeling of power, even for a small period of time. This annual break in the system, this temporary «revolution» allows all social groups to feel their participation in the life of Brazil and in the event, which is a symbol of the country, recognized by the outside. The point here is not about the state of emergency, declared by the sovereign, but about the state of emergency as a regular practice, generated by the specificity of the nomos. Thus the days of the Carnival as the period of annual temporary redistribution of power becomes the most important element of the Brazilian nomos. «Carnival,” M. Bakhtin writes quoting Goethe, “is the time when people feel themselves a master of the feast» . Opportunity for the lower strata of society be the masters of the main holiday of the country is

the concession, which supports the most complex social system, provides a sense of real inclusion of all layers of the population in the political life of Brazil. What is, however, the Brazilian specificity? After all, any carnival procession, as clearly shown by Bakhtin, is based on a temporary change of the social and political hierarchy, «who was nothing, it becomes all».

The specificity of Brazil is the carnival, when power does not disappear completely, and only goes to the background. This is an annual inclusion of the social groups, which are completely excluded from the socio-political system for the rest of the year.

The protagonists of Brazilian Carnival are the Samba schools. These are not only dance schools. The famous Brazilian anthropologist Robert DaMatta writes about it: «we are talking about a well-established name for a group of uneducated people living in the favelas in Rio de Janeiro, systematically persecuted by the police». The people from favelas practically are not controlled by the state authorities, excluded from the political life of Brazil, living separately and according to their own laws. It is known that the favelas are the center of criminal groups engaged in drug trafficking, banditry and other crimes. Samba schools maintain relative stability in the favelas, and they provide some semblance of order and justice, even though very specific. For example, it is possible to note “Olodum”, which is a Carnival group and non-governmental organization at the same time, a part of Afro-Brazilian movement. Olodum appeared at the beginning of 1980 as the music group, but almost immediately his action acquired a anti-racial character. Olodum received a world fame after recording the music video with Michael Jackson «They Don't Care About Us». The video was shouted in the favelas and the order during the shooting, according to rumors, was provided by the criminal bands. This duality management system, official structure and favelas criminal bands, distinguishes Brazil from neighboring states. The Criminal structures exist as a second shadow echelon of political forces, which, of course, is problem for the State. Last two years the Brazilian government is trying to control the region of favelas, it has some progress. But how much time the state will be able to save your success, this is a question, because despite of the role of Getulio Vargas government in the creation of the Samba school, later the authorities could not keep control in this area.

Carnival, of course, is not the only holiday in Brazil, where the policy of inclusion plays such an important role. In fact, there is a specially holiday the so-called «National day of the black consciousness», who take place 20 of November. The principal sense of it is «recall the suffering of blacks who fought for their social rights throughout the history of Brazil». However, the scale of the Carnival is more important, because it provides the possibility of simultaneous recognition of all cultural groups in the country in a single action. Another Brazilian unity's holiday is above-mentioned «Day of Patria» (the Independence Day, celebrated on 7 September) and it is accompanied by the official solemn parade. Very often this «Day of Patria» is

compared with a Carnival, emphasizes the hierarchical structure of the first and some of the randomness of the second, but this is not correct. The carnival procession is hierarchical, but here hierarchical structure is based on a different principle - the leading role is played here by the Samba school.

It is necessary to note, that the carnival situation of inclusion is created by Brazilian political elites consciously. Of course, the state budget receives a lot of money from Carnival and for the State it would be economically advantageous to take under his wing, the entire organization of the carnival with its colossal incomes (each year about 760 thousand of tourists come to carnival in Rio). However, whether this is beneficial politically? The carnival allows to solve two problems of the country at once – a cultural recognition and a partly redistribution of goods. This double direction is very interesting phenomenon, because these processes seem mutually exclusive in its most. The decision of problem of redistribution should proceed from the principle of equality, and the problem of recognition supports the idea about the exceptional characteristics of some groups. It is not possible, of course, to say that thanks to the Carnival the most serious economic problems in Brazil can be solved, some opportunities of the income for the favela's residents also cannot be completely omitted. I mean all this situation is more consequence of the development of the Brazilian Nomos that a part of the conscious policy of the state. The Carnival more supports the Brazilian statehood than the state has a serious impact on the Carnival.

The existence of such structures allows Brazil to exist as a whole without the risk of a «social explosion», and the days of carnival in this context take a completely new political significance. It is the days of inclusion of the policy of excluded social groups. Thus here we are not talking about tolerance, it is rather a complete, although with time constraints, rejection of the existing standards and the hierarchy of absolutely opposite values.

Hence, the essence of Brazilian nomos is a harmonious combination of the two worlds, which are formed in the country gradually. These are the world of the middle and upper classes and the world of the class practically excluded from the political life. The deep economic gap that exists between these social groups supports this duality of nomos, a duality which was laid in the period of colonization and entrenched in the period of slavery. In this sense, Brazil is a vivid illustration of the ideas of the leading contemporary philosopher Giorgio Agamben, who, speaking about the state structure, referred to the importance of the availability of some of the excluded groups, the existence of which supports sovereignty of the government. It is the favelas where those live who are «in fact, simply set outside the law and made indifferent to it but rather abandoned by it, that is, exposed and threatened on the threshold in which life and law, outside and inside, become indistinguishable». As has been said before, the favelas are practically not

controlled by the state and there the government legislation has a very weak legitimacy. Thereby the political and social system acquires the binary, polarized nature. However, this duality does not lead to a bloody jacquerie, and that is not, in my opinion, due to the achievements of Brazilian social policy (in fact, fairly modest). In many ways, as it seems, it is the carnival which plays a significant role to support the political and social system. The carnival becomes a key event, which, temporarily breaking the existing political order, creates a basis for strengthening of the state system. The carnival is a kind of source of legal localization, ensuring the constant reproduction of nomos of the country.

It is the carnival that allows the «second» world of Brazil to have the opportunity to declare about yourself, get involved in the political scheme. The Carnival gives the opportunity to manifest themselves to each separate social group, whether the movement of the indigenous Indians or the poor of the favelas. The carnival parade, as DaMatta writes, avoids the daily hierarchical system and places the group in a state of «free competition», this is why the hierarchy of the carnival appears. Thus, strange as it may seem at first glance, the carnival in Brazil is not some sort of anarchic breakthrough of political and social problems to the surface of the social life. Quite the contrary, this is the time when the other system, also rigidly hierarchical, occupies a leading position in the country, not in contrast to the state, but as its reverse side. Carnival time is a period of the state of emergency, which gives the opportunity to let out the energy of all the «excluded persons», the energy, which is accumulated in the course of the year. This splash gives the opportunity to avoid serious social upheavals, revolutions, jacquerie, allowing Brazil, one of the most problematic countries in terms of the social distribution of wealth, be at the same time one of the most successfully developing states of the region.

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