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Visualization and Representation of Social and Cultural Environment of Brazilian Slums – Favelas

Vizualizace a reprezentace sociálně kulturního prostředí brazilských
slumů - favel

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Declaration

I declare that the following BA thesis is my own work for which I used only the sources and literature mentioned, and that this thesis has not been used in the course of other university studies or in order to acquire the same or another type of diploma.

Prague, 30 May 2014

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on theoretical and empirical analysis of Brazilian favelas. In the first part the origin and development of favelas is outlined, including the contemporary public policy towards them. The main part of this thesis represents an empirical research focusing on visualization of culture by the children living in favelas. The data collection was based on the methodology of visual anthropology and the analysis of the drawings on social semiotic theory. Drawings made by the children from favelas in São Paulo with culture as their subject matter were collected during the fieldwork. On the basis of the kind of represented motif the drawings were classified into several categories which the author works with afterwards. Most of them depict motifs related to Brazilian culture and only few of them are directly linked to favela's culture. Based on these results, it is considered cultural elements perceived strongly by the children and components which in spite of their close connection to Brazil were omitted.

Keywords: favela, visualization of culture, children's drawing, culture, Brazil

Abstrakt

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá analýzou brazilských favel z teoretického i empirického hlediska. V první části nastiňuje vznik a vývoj favel, přičemž zmiňuje i současnou politiku vedenou vůči nim. Stěžejní částí práce je empirický výzkum zaměřený na vizualizaci kultury dětmi z favel. Sběr dat byl založen na metodologii vizuální antropologie, analýza kreseb pak vychází z teorie sociální sémiotiky. V rámci výzkumu byl sebrán soubor kreseb dětí z favel v São Paulu na téma kultura. Kresby byly rozřazeny vzhledem k jejich zobrazovanému motivu do několika kategorií, se kterými pak autorka pracuje. Většina z nich zachycuje motivy brazilské kultury, přičemž jen několik z nich má přímý vztah ke kultuře favel. Na základě těchto výsledků je pak spekulováno, které kulturní prvky děti vnímají v rámci jejich kultury jako nejsilnější a které naopak, i přes jejich silné sepětí s Brazílií, opomenuly.

Klíčová slova: favela, vizualizace kultury, dětská kresba, kultura, Brazílie

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1. Introduction

Brazilian shantytowns, in Portuguese called favelas, have been a significant issue since the end of the 19th century when the high influx of immigrants caused housing crisis, which resulted in a large expansion of slums throughout the country. Nowadays favelas are associated with a crime rate, poor housing, bad living conditions and they are considered dangerous areas of the cities. However, they are deeply rooted in the 19th century and thus they represent an inseparable part of Brazilian culture and late modern history of Brazil. Even though, that today a lot of favelas are pacified, so their dwellers live in safer place than before, the social problems as insufficient access to public services have still been afflicting them. This affliction, nevertheless, does not have an impact on residents of shantytowns only, but on the whole country since there are still a lot of favelas where these social problems bring about violence threatening the whole Brazilian society.

The subject matter of this thesis is a theoretical and empirical analysis of culture of favelas. Since such analysis of favela's culture would be extended and would be difficult to embrace it as a whole, in the thesis I focused on culture from a point of view of children living in the shantytowns. Thus the objective of this thesis is to analyse favela's culture through its visualization by the children.

The theoretical part of this thesis presents the origin and evolution of favelas, including the history of Brazil. It focuses especially on the period of abolition of slavery, as it is a component without which the slum's issue could not be fully understood. Apart from the history this part pursues government policy toward the shantytowns, which, concerning the upcoming events as the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the Rio 2016 Summer Olympics, is one of the main issues the Brazilian government deals with.

The empirical part is focused on the research undertaken among children in São Paulo's favelas, aiming at their representations of culture. The research was based on the methodology of visual anthropology using drawing as the main tool. The analysis of the drawings then was carried out on the basis of social semiotic theory, drawing particularly from the Gunther Kress and The Van Leeuwen's theory. In classification of the drawings and in attribution of cultural elements to them, culture is treated in terms of anthropological concept of culture.

2. The origin of favela

2.1 Abolition of slavery in Brazil

The origin of Brazilian slums is strongly related to the abolition of slavery in the 19th century as the former slaves were the ones who significantly contributed to the first founding of poor camps on the hillside in Rio de Janeiro, from which later the first settlement called *favela* emerged (Perlman, 2010, p. 24-25).

In the treaty from 1826 between Brazil and Great Britain the ban of transatlantic slave trade was one of the terms of this international cooperation. Nevertheless, the Brazilian parliament contradicted the conditions that Great Britain dictated, therefore the terms were not observed and the illegal importation of slaves was tolerated. A crucial change came with the enactment of the *Eusébio de Queirós Law* in 1850 that prohibited the importation of slaves, lasting from the 16th century. Notwithstanding the legal force of the law, it cannot be claimed that the slave trade was ceased as many smugglers cruised the sea, attempting to import the slaves from Africa. In 1851 about 3 000 Africans were disembarked on the Brazilian soil illegally (Duque-Estrada, 1918, p. 19-23). Considering that in 1828 the number of imported slaves was much higher, about 430 600 Africans, the *Eusébio de Queirós Law* was comparatively effective (Rodrigues, 1905, p. 27). After this act a lot of economic, political and social problems surfaced and came to the fore. Especially in the countryside there was a necessity to find an alternative for the slave work in order to keep economic growth, since more and more slaves were required in the extended *fazendas* (Brazilian farms) and plantations. By 1950 Vale do Paraíba, area with huge coffee plantations dependent on the slave labour, went through economic boom, nevertheless, by the law banning the transatlantic slave trade this growth declined rapidly. Moreover, prices of slaves rose and small *fazendas* could not have afforded to buy labour force to strengthen their production. That gave rise to division of the society that consisted of two parts, one comprising *fazendeiros* (Brazilian farmers) and being in favour of maintenance of the monarchy, the second endeavouring to abolish slavery (Fausto, 1995, p. 202).

The first considerable emancipation occurred in the late 1860s during the War of the Triple Alliance, when some slaveholders ceded their slaves to army in order to reinforce Brazilian troops in the war. According to the law from 1866, those slaves who survived were afterwards

liberated. However, the liberation only referred to African slaves who were imported to Brazil illegally (Fausto, 1995, p. 213-214).

Since 1870 gradually more slaves were manumitted, first in 1871 the *Lei do Ventre Livre* (Law of the Free Womb), signed by regent Dona Isabela, liberated the children of slave mothers who were born after the law came into force. Nevertheless, the children had to remain under the control of their mother's slaveholder till the age of eight. After that the slave master decided whether to set the children free and gain some indemnity from the state, or keep them as slaves, until they reached the age of 21 when they automatically become free citizens (Fausto, 1995, p. 217). "*After the law came into force, all, who will be born from a slave womb will be considered free and baptized, however, with a commitment to serve to their mother's slaveholder, women till the age of 18, men till the age of 21.*" (Moraes, 1917, p. 6)¹.

During the 1870s many emancipation groups that were supported by the emperor Pedro II. himself were arising over the whole country. Special cash boxes in order to collect money for slave redemption were established in all provinces and the old tradition that consisted of rewarding meritorious slaves with liberalization was restored too. In the next decade the abolitionist movement grew stronger, São Paulo became a centre of emancipation events and in the countryside the resistance to abolitionism was on the decline. Advertisements of slave auctions were removed from the newspaper of Bahia and in province of Ceará all slaves were freed in 1884, which clearly demonstrated the weakening in the countryside (Calmon, 1940, p. 298-299).

Another official liberation occurred in 1885 when the *Lei dos Sexagenários* (the Law of Sexagenarians), which set slaves that were over the age of sixty free, was signed (Calmon, 1940. p. 300). However, the emancipation was not immediate, thus the slaves had to serve their masters for a period of three years since the law had been enacted (NEP-DH, 1885). This, of course, could not have satisfied the abolitionists (Ribeiro, 1901, p. 384). By this act the Conservatives intended to stop radical abolitionism, nonetheless, their aim was not

¹Depois da publicação da lei todos os que nascerem de ventre escravo serão considerados livres e como taes baptisados, mas com a obrigação de servirem aos senhores de suas mães, enquanto não chegaram á idade de 18 annos, sendo mulheres, e de 21 sendo varões;..."

achieved. A great escape of slaves from *fazendas* (Brazilian farms) of São Paulo and ensuing rebellion broke out instead (Fausto, 1995, p. 217). About 10 000 slaves fled from *fazendas* to the forests of Santos, the city in the state of São Paulo, which shortly became a main refuge for them. It triggered a large havoc in the country. Some *fazendeiros* anticipating crises freed their slaves to prevent them from leaving plantations, thereby brought about anarchy in the countryside. The liberation proceeding district by district in Rio de Janeiro gave rise to chaos as well. This confusion largely contributed to the final steps toward the abolition of slavery in 1888 (Calmon, 1940, p. 300-301).

After all abolitionist efforts by 1887 it was possible to notice a rapid decline of slaves whose number decreased to 723 419, which means approximately 5 percent of all Brazilian population. That denoted a considerable change in comparison with the situation 15 years ago, in 1872, that year slaves represented 15 percent of all Brazilian population. The statistics show that the most radical change occurred between 1884 and 1887, when just in three years numbers of slaves were reduced by 517 387, that is 42 percent (Reis, 2000).

In January 1888 the government began to discuss a law which would completely abolish slavery. That time the emperor Pedro II. stayed in Europe to recover from a severe disease he had gone through recently, and so the regent Dona Isabela had to deal with affairs afflicting Brasil. Although the regent was aware that by signing of the law abolishing slavery she would risk the existence of monarchy, she supported this act (Calmon, 1940, p. 301). On May 13, 1888, so called *Léi Áurea* (Golden Law), which emancipated the rest of slaves in the country without compensation, was enacted. On the one hand this crucial action signified the end of the forced labour and freedom, on the other hand it initiated the disintegration of the empire at the same time. Hence the ensuing celebration all over the country was soon over (Graham, 1966, p. 136 - 137).

2.2 The situation of slaves after the abolition

The *Léi Áurea* was cause of decomposition of labour force since it liberated 700 000 slaves who still represented appreciable part of workers on the plantations and *fazendas* (Ribeiro, 1901, p. 384-385). In addition, the former slaves were disoriented as they were free but without any place to go and still on the margins of society. Many of them moved to the cities due to the decline of coffee plantations (Teixeira, 1994, p. 571) and some of them stayed on

the same *fazendas* or wandered the countryside. Even though, they were free workers who were given remuneration, their social situation was not sufficient for decent living (Graham, 1966, p. 137). In spite of the fact that the slaves were dispersed across the country and in each region their living conditions were different, it is possible to observe a common feature characteristic of postslavery Brazil, which was an impossibility of integration of former slaves to general labour market (Baronov, 2000, p. 173).

The abolition of slavery attracted a lot of Europeans to come to Brazilian cities. As the statistics state only between 1888 and 1890 about 304 000 foreigners disembarked in Brazil in order to find a better life (I.B.G.E, 2000). Along with an influx of foreign labour force, the European impact began to gain strength, which gave rise to manifestation of modernization in industry and growth of tertiary sector (Delgado de Carvalho, 1990, p. 85). A public transport system, sewer system, supply of water, electricity and other modern public services were established (Vaz, 1994, p. 582). Nonetheless, this rapid development of the secondary and tertiary sector did not change the agricultural character of Brazil. The countryside contended, besides troubles resulted from the proclamation of the republic or related to the coffee crisis, with social problems and significant part of rural population moved to the cities, especially to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, where the economic capital was cumulated (Carvalho, 1998, p. 85). Then the cities were naturally divided into several urban areas: commercial, residential and industrial (Vaz, 1994, p. 581-582).

It is possible to observe substantial rise of urban residents in Rio de Janeiro, where between 1872 and 1890 the growth of 244 679 inhabitants was noticed, which means that more than 520 000 people lived in the city by 1890. And in the next sixteen years total population of Rio de Janeiro increased to 811 443 dwellers (Teixeira, 1994, p. 571). However, for such an influx of newcomers the cities were not prepared. Lack of dwellings gave rise to founding of collective housing (*habitações coletivas*) (Vaz, 1994, p. 582).

2.3 Cortiços of Rio de Janeiro

Low income and high rents posed insuperable obstacles to labourers, who could not have afforded to rent a decent house to live in, hence they had to invent an alternative type of dwelling. In the first years of the republic, an occupation of so called *casas-de-cômodos* was quite widespread. This type of housing represented a various number of little houses which

could have been divided into several small rooms (Vaz, 1994, p. 583). The size of the tiniest rooms was 3m² and number of houses ranged from one to more than one hundred (Teixeira, 1994, p. 573-574). This particular type of dwelling is called *cortiço* (Vaz, 1994, p. 583). Although, *cortiços* were frequently built at the beginning of 1980s, the first buildings with identical organization and use were already created in 1950s and then especially in 1870 as the socioeconomic structure began to change (Teixeira, 1994, p. 572). It should be emphasized that dwellers of these houses were not composed only of former black slaves but also of immigrants and workers without qualification regardless of the colour of skin (Chalhoub, 1996, p. 7).

Apart from the division into many rooms, *cortiços* were distinguished by common rooms as bathrooms, courtyards and corridors, and in addition to that a common water tank was placed in the house. Especially, the courtyard served as a place where washerwomen, shoemakers or barbers used to work (Teixeira, 1994, p. 574, 576). *Cortiços* arose from modification of several houses or from building of new ones on the vacant estates. Construction of this collective housing became an advantageous activity for both parties – for property owners as well as for tenants (Vaz, 1994, p. 583). Due to the urban expansion *cortiços* were usually situated in the developed area near the city centre as middle-class people abandoned their old houses for the purpose of moving to modern residences. This fact can clarify the presence of poor houses in former areas typical of middle class (Teixeira, 1994, p. 573).

Problems as overcrowding of collective houses and a swift deterioration of hygienic conditions that happened simultaneously are ascribed to the huge current of low-class migration (Vaz, 1994, p. 584). It states that in 1890 *cortiços* provided shelter up to 25 percent of population of Rio de Janeiro, which corresponded to 125 000 inhabitants (Teixeira, 1994, p. 574). And just 35 415 buildings were available for 520 000 habitants, which averaged 14.7 persons per house (Benchimol, 1990, p. 181). This situation started to be unsustainable and the housing crisis reached its peak.

At the beginning of 1890s many infectious diseases as yellow fever, smallpox, malaria or tuberculosis spread in the poor neighbourhood, which resulted in high mortality rate. This weighty reality besides other things triggered state intervention. The Mayor Barata Ribeiro began to support businessmen to construct new buildings with hygienic facilities for the poor

in the inner city instead of *cortiços*. Furthermore, the government and the constructors tried to create a terrible image of poor housing and its dangerous impact on the rest of the city. The builders were given tax concessions as an encouragement for their work and contracts that would be advantageous for the both sides were signed (Vaz, 1994, p. 583-584). The conclusion of contract between the Municipal Counselor of Rio de Janeiro and constructor Carlos Sampaio epitomises this fact. Sampaio was supposed to extend two streets and built a tunnel through the hill called Livramento, which meant a destruction of so called *Cabeça de Porco* (Head of Pig), one of the largest and famous *cortiços* in Rio de Janeiro (Chalhoub, 1996, p. 54-55). More than one hundred little houses constituted this *cortiço* with a portal and an arcade decorated with a head of pig. In 1893 on January 26, this huge shelter, a symbol of poor housing, was demolished. The then sources differ in numbers of the dwellers that lost home by this act, the range oscillated between 2 000 and 4 000, and so it is hard to determine the exact number (Chalhoub, 1996, p. 15). In any case majority of these dwellers moved to Morra da Providencia, and thus became a constituent of arising favela (Perlman, 2010, p. 25).

Terxeira (1994, p. 555-556) points out a resemblance of Brazilian *cortiços* to *Ilhas do Porto*, a type of housing characteristic of lower class in Porto, in Portugal. This fact attests to cultural contact between these countries, which primarily Portuguese immigrants maintained even after Brazil gained its independence in 1822. This observation forms a hypothesis of Portuguese influence on urban planning and architecture.

2.4 Canudos

At the beginning of 1890s the cities were confronted by a lot of difficulties afflicting their inhabitants. However, the situation was not propitious to rural class in the countryside either, especially in the Northeastern Region of Brazil. The problems mainly arose from the transition of monarchy into republic and from the abolition of slavery. While the Center-South and the Amazonian North economically flourished, states economically based on the slave work as Bahia, Pernambuco or Ceará struggled with the changes that signified a radical intervention of their economy. Given this fact people from the region were supporters of the monarchy since the conditions were better for them in empire. In 1890 Salvador, as other large cities, had to cope with problems associated with an inflow of migrants from rural areas. Unemployment, drought and miserable quality of life depicted the situation in the capital of Bahia at the beginning of 1890s (Levin, 1991, p. 208-210).

At that time, peripatetic preacher Antonio Vincente Mendes Maciel later called Antonio Conselheiro (“Councillor”) wandered the wild landscape of Bahia, delivering a sermon on predominance of God, predominance of sin and exhorting to penance. Within his wandering appreciable number of people took sides with him. The group of supporters was composed of the landless, slaves and various people living in *sertão* (dry backland in northeastern Brazil) of Bahia, who intended to leave this harsh area on account of deficiency in fertile soils (Perlman, 2010, p. 25). As claimed by Graham (1920, p. 73) women also belonged among his followers, principally prostitutes and single mothers with their children. Antonio Conselheiro for some of his supporters personified the chosen one who protected them and showed them the right way. In 1893 Conselheiro and his company settled in Bahia, below the hill Morro da Favela where he founded a *fazenda* called Canudos, located close to the Vassa Barris River, which secured fertile soil. In three years the settlement turned into prospering commercial centre of the region (Ramos, p. 65, 1974). It states that Canudos society comprised 30 000 to 35 000 members (Barnett, 2004, p 59; Levine, 1991, p. 208), which indicates the popularity of way of life promoted by Conselheiro. Nevertheless, the prosperity of Canudos society did not appeal to landlords who had lost their labour force as a result of Canudos, a place where most of the workers congregated. The state was another dissenter endeavouring to disperse this thriving society since Conselheiro propagated monarchy. It is obvious that in the recently established Brazilian republic such a preaching could not have been tolerated just as sermon against the Catholic Church (Perlman, 2010, p. 25). It should be underlined that there are still speculations about the regime in the community, whether the society was primarily religious, compound of monarchists or social reformers. Regardless this fact, Canudos had to be destroyed because it denoted certain danger for the Republican Party (Madden, 1993, p. 5). The tension culminated in 1896 when the government initiated violent incursions that were to destroy the whole settlement. The fact of necessity of four campaigns to conquer the *fazenda*, clearly demonstrates how large and well-organized the society was. Canudos became an unbeatable fort that could not have been even overpowered. Even during the third intervention the commanding officer of the military action died, which triggered a violent antimonarchist manifestation (Levine, 1991, p. 213). The final stroke came in October 1897, when about 5 000 of soldiers under the leadership of Minister of War himself attacked Canudos, which was defeated (Calmon, 1940, p. 346). The soldiers demolished the whole settlement, throats of some Canudos habitants were slashed (Madden, 1993, p. 8) and women were sent to

brothels in Salvador (Perlman, 2010 p. 25). Antonio Conselheiro died of dysentery during the defence of Canudos (Perlman, 2010, p. 25), his body was exhumed and his head gradually displayed in the cities on the northeaster coast (Levine, 1991, p. 217).

2.5 The first favela

As mentioned earlier the conditions of living in Rio de Janeiro in the 19th century were miserable. People who could not afford decent houses occupied *cortiços* or built their own squatter settlements illegally. The first three settlements of this kind were found in 1881 and they were called Quinta do Caju, Mangueira and Serra Morena. All of them were built on the hillsides nearby the city centre (O'Hore & Barke, 2002, p 232). Mainly due to the hovels in which dwellers lived on the hillsides the settlements are considered the germ of contemporary favelas (Abreu & Vaz, 1991, p. 490). According to Bernardes' study (1958) on the impact of immigrants on fishing in the State of Guanabara (a former Brazilian state which was comprised of the city of Rio de Janeiro) the first dwellers, especially dwellers of the hillside settlement Quinta do Caju, were Portuguese and Spanish fishermen or owners of fish corrals. Since the beach of Caju represented a good location for fishing, shortly a lot of newcomers joined the settlement and the wooden hovels were spread throughout the hillside.

However, more significant occupation of hillsides in Rio de Janeiro occurred in the 1890s. There were several facts that contributed strongly to the expansion of poor camps. Primarily, the housing crisis gained strength, which caused that many people were looking for some alternative houses, where they could stay. Apart from this two military actions took place. First, from 1893 to 1894, the city was afflicted by an army revolt which was triggered by disputes related to the fall of the monarchy in 1889. Solving the problem of a cantonment, a provisional government gave rise to a new settlement on the hillside of Santo Antônio (Gama, McCloskey, & McCloskey, 1946, p. 296). They allowed soldiers to stay in the Convent of Santo Antônio located on the hillside with the same name in the centre of the city. Nevertheless, the convent was not satisfactory for all soldiers, hence the government gave them a permission to build shacks. Many people without shelter made use of this opportunity to construct their own hovels on the hillside illegally (Abreu, 1993, p.203). In 1897 already about 40 shacks were built on the hillside (Abreu & Vaz, 1991, p. 489).

The second military action affecting the housing in Rio de Janeiro was the war of Canudos. When the soldiers of the last military expedition to Canudos came back to Rio de Janeiro in 1897, they could have not found any place to stay because of the housing crisis and so they joined few dwellers, probably former residents of demolished *Cabeça de Porco*, who already had occupied another huge hillside called Morro da Providência. Nonetheless, the hillside became known as Morro da Favela as the military veterans of Canudos noticed certain resemblance between this hillside and Monte Favela, a hillside in Bahia backland close to Canudos (Abreu, 1993, p. 204). Some sources (Kok, 2005; Perlman, 2010; Vaz, 1994) claim that the resemblance concerned vegetation, precisely bushes called *faveleiros*, which were found on Morro da Providência, thus the soldiers called it Morro da Favela.

Even though, the shacks were intended as provisional houses for soldiers, soon, a lot of other people who did not have anything in common with army built their simple dwellings on the hillside as well. Thus, shortly, the temporary housing became a permanent one (Abreu & Vaz, 1991, p. 489). By the 1920s the name favela was related to all such settlements which consisted of shacks or another type of poor dwellings (Abreu, 1993, p. 204-205).

2.6 Urban reform of Rio de Janeiro

An important expansion of favelas arose at the beginning of the 20th century. Besides other things, this boom was noticeably encouraged by an urban reform between 1903 and 1906. The large influx of immigrants which had begun in 1880s continued to occur to the same degree at the beginning of the next century (IBGE, 2000). As the then President Rodrigues Alves and his government felt that the stimulation of Brazilian economy depended on immigrants, they considered it is necessary to rebuild and modernize the capital city of Brazil (Banchimol, 1990, p. 211). According to them, this was a way how to boost trade with the USA and Europe. Apart from the reason to create a well-developed city in order to make a good environment for business, there was a focus on improvement of sanitary conditions as well. Alves, immediately after his election as president in 1902, appointed an engineer Francisco Pereira Passos mayor of Rio de Janeiro (Kok, 2005, p. 7). Then, in 1903, he borrowed 8, 500, 000 pounds from British investment banking company Rotschild & Sons and in 1904 the redevelopment was initiated by Paulo de Frontin and his company (Banchimol, 1990, p. 2012-217). Besides the reconstruction of the bay there was an intention to build a huge avenue called *Avenida Central* which would connect the city centre and the Santa Luzia

beach. This idea emerged from the European urban planning, especially from the Parisian one, which had a significant influence on Pereira Passos, who had spent three years in Paris as an attaché (Banchimol, 1990, p. 192). The reconstruction meant a crucial city intervention. Many streets and buildings that were in the way of new avenue were destroyed, Kok (2005, p. 7) states that the demolition involved about 600 buildings. In spite of this fact, the government did not offer any alternative housing for the dwellers of the destroyed houses, which intensified the crisis.

In autumn 1905 the construction of 30 metre wide and 1 800 metre long avenue was finished and shortly it became a commercial and financial centre of the city. Then, in 1912, when Minister of External Relations Rio Branco died, the avenue was renamed after him to *Avenida Rio Branco*. Notwithstanding the fact that after the redevelopment Rio de Janeiro had a nice boulevard just in the centre and so the city architectonically approximated to modern European cities, the urban reform exacerbated then ameliorated the housing crises. It resulted in social segregation since the city centre turned into a fancy place where only bourgeoisie could have afforded to live (Banchimol, 1990, p. 230). Moreover, because of the urban reform and countless of Passos's decrees nearly 2 700 buildings were demolished (Kok, 2005, p. 52). This situation forced many people of lower classes to move to suburbia or to build shacks on the hillsides and more and more people were becoming dwellers of shantytowns. In 1910 just hillside of Santo Antônio comprised 1 314 wooden houses (Abreu & Vaz, 1991, p. 489). However, the building of new houses on the hillsides or in suburbia was impeded by Passos's decree from 1903 that stated many architectural and technical restrictions on construction of new buildings. Besides other things, the decree prohibited constructions of poor shacks on the hillsides which were already occupied and the building of new houses was allowed only on uninhabited hillsides. This was an initiation of a favela boom (Vaz, 1994, p. 587, 592).

2.7 The expansion of the favelas in Rio de Janeiro and Agache's urban plan

By 1910 more hillsides were occupied, namely, hillsides of Salgueiro, Vila Rica, Pasmado, Chapéu Mangueira, Pavão and others, and so the first wave of expansion of favelas began (Abreu & Vaz, 1991, p. 490). Nonetheless, a much more considerable expansion of these shantytowns started by 1920 and, soon, turned into uncontrolled growth. Around the same period the word *favela* became a generic term for all settlements comprised shacks and tents

(Abreu, 1993, p. 205). Despite the effort of hygienists to expel dwellers from Morro da Providência so as to sanitize the land, the populating of poor localities continued (Perlman, 2010, p. 27). Thus the cityscape of Rio de Janeiro started to change. The statistics demonstrate that by 1920 there were already 839 dwellings on Morro da Providência (IBGE, 1953, p. 7). The government reacted to the situation by issue of several zoning restrictions and building regulations. This was a way how to protect the beautiful developed part of the city and keep the fake image of Rio de Janeiro as a glamorous city at the same time. Nevertheless, in the late 1920s mayor Antônio Prado Jr. charged the French urbanist Alfred Agache to prepare a city plan which would make the city more coherent. In 1927 Agache even visited Morro da Providência to see the conditions and the way of living on the hills. After the inspection, horrified by the dreadful hygiene, Agache suggested demolition of favelas and in their place designed “[...] *organized neighbourhoods, each serving a clearly defined economic or sociological purpose, all tied together by a new, highly efficient system of roads and public transportation, and crowned by beautifully designed public gardens and recreational spaces.*” (Fischer, 2008, p. 42). Although, he was able to precisely identify the main problems which caused the origin and expansion of favelas as insufficient public transportation or high rents, he had a misapprehension for their dwellers primarily because of strong racial and social prejudice. This fact was demonstrated for instance in his solution relating to shantytowns located in the central part of the city and their residents. He planned a relocation of the workers’ housing far from the centre to the suburbia, which would have meant a loss of jobs for the workers since the access to the industrial area of the city would have been unfeasible for them. On the other hand, his plan also involved good ideas as a proposal of higher wages or a public social help for a low-income residents. However, regardless of how elaborated Agache’s plan was, his realization was thwarted when in 1930, in the same year as the new urban plan was published, Getúlio Vargas became a president and the plan was rejected during his administration (Fischer, 2008, p. 42).

It is possible to observe a crucial change in the location of settlements between 1906 and 1920 and from 1920 to 1940. In the first mentioned period, the population of Rio de Janeiro grew by 346 430 people, from which approximately half of them settled in the suburbia. In the latter period, Rio de Janeiro added 606 268 habitants from which nearly 592 000 occupied the suburbia. These numbers clearly show that housing condition got worse and just a small number of people could have afforded living in the city centre in decent houses (IBGE, 1953).

O'Hore & Barke (2002, p. 232) even claim that in 1940 there were 116 favelas in the capital, which was 109 more than in 1900. Such a flow of new incomers into the capital, mainly in the late 1930s, above all arose from the agricultural crisis occurring, not only in the state of Guanabara, but also in the neighbouring states. The low degree of mechanization and the poor technical facilities resulted in bad health and physical conditions of the farmers who thereafter were not able to work on the *fazendas* any longer. Furthermore, the countryside was afflicted by drought and unsatisfactory transport system for agricultural products hindered the trade (Pino, 1998, p. 20). Vargas' promise of establishment of job opportunities in industry and social welfare, first of all, beckoned Brazilians from the surrounding states. The new incomers came to the city with a vision of a decent job and a chance of economic and social mobility, however, their expectations were fulfilled just in the first decade of the urbanization (Fischer, 2008, p. 51-54). As the influx of immigrants was not proportional to the job vacancies, the city economy did not keep up with the population growth either (Rios, 1974, p. 96). Soon, the new incoming flow of unskilled workers became so called subproletarians, workers used as cheap labour. These workers were usually short-term workers who mostly had jobs in construction, in domestic service or they did any kind of work where the employer could avoid providing social security and other benefits. Exceptionally they worked for the same employer more than one year and the amount of money they earned was hardly enough to survive (Pino, 1998, p. 19).

Even though, Vargas did not apply the Agache's blueprint, the rising numbers of favela during the 1930s forced him to promulgate the Building Code which extensively emerged from the legislation suggested by Agache. This Code from 1937 apart from another restrictions that limited construction of new buildings forbid the building of new favelas and the renovation or expansion of already existent ones at the same time. In addition, it regulated the material that could be used on the construction. In case of favelas a use of any permanent material was prohibited (Perlman, 2010, p. 27). Nonetheless, because of strong influx of people from rural areas such a housing regulation was hardly observed (O'Hore & Barke, 2002, p. 234). As the number of favela dwellers increased, the way of placing of the shacks on the hillsides changed. The new incomers set their dwellings in the upper part of the hills since the lower part was fully taken (Perlman, 2010, p. 27). However, they were far from the water supplies and from the city centre, hence many new squatter settlements were built alongside railroads or beaches which were close to the construction sites or close to the

middle class neighbourhood where most of the favela residents worked. The most populated area of the city was district of Méier in Zona Norte (Northern Zone) which turned into the most industrial developed part of Rio de Janeiro after World War II, thus a lot of jobs for lower class workers cumulated there. It resulted in a flow of the poor to favela called Jacarezinho located just in Zona Norte. In 1948 this favela comprised of 15 510 inhabitants living in 3 478 shacks (Pino, 1998, p. 34) and 20 percent of all favelas in the city were located in the Méier district. Industrial development of Zona Norte caused that in the 1940s the cityscape slightly transformed as the urban poor shifted away from the city centre to the periphery (O'Hore & Barke, 2002, p. 234).

Henrique Dodsworth, governor of the Federal District, took action against such a negative urban transformation that favela's boom inflicted. At the beginning of the 1940s he initiated a construction of so-called proletarian parks which were supposed to substitute favelas (Leeds & Leeds, 1977, p. 192–193). In 1942 the construction of the first such parks located in the city district of Gávea and Caju that met the conditions of a decent housing were finished. The parks of 500 wooden houses were situated in a nice location and social and health services as school, social work centre, nursery, medical centre or church were established there. However, shortly these relatively nice and clean settlements became even worse favelas. Since more people than the parks could have accommodated moved there building their own shacks, parks began to be a miserable and overcrowded place to live in. So, the idea represented just another unsuccessful attempt within this issue (Rios, 1974, p. 97–98).

As the favela expansion in the 1930s and 1940s gained strength, shantytowns began to be perceived negatively, not only by the politicians and hygienists who had to deal with them, but also by the general public. Nevertheless, already in the 1920's the first anti-favela campaigns appeared in the city press (Fischer, 2008, p. 41). Gradually, favela gained a lot of negative connotations associated with the poor hygiene, primitiveness and underdevelopment. Besides other things some new words emerged from the term *favela*. For instance an adjective *favelado* referred to the inhabitant of favela which is, currently, a pejorative expression, or a verb *favelizar-se* which means acquire an aspect or a condition of favela (Burgos, 2005, p. 190). Nowadays, due to the negative connotation that the word *favela* induces, it is more common to use words as *comunidade popular* (popular community) or *comunidade pobre or comunidade carente* (poor community) (Perlman, 2010, p. 29).

2.8 Favelas in the second half of the century

The next decade represented even more expansion of squatter housing since the rents of so called “working houses” supported by the government rose and even more people had to leave these dwellings and self-construct their own shanties. Moreover the population increase continued, which proves the fact that between 1950 and 1960 the average percent growth per year amounted to 3.34. The data of the census from 1950 clearly demonstrate an impact of the population increase on the city housing. In 1950 in Rio de Janeiro 58 favelas with 169 305 dwellers were found there, in ten years, there were 147 favelas with 335 063 residents (IBGE, 1968, p. 6).

Notwithstanding the fact that data above can indicate a political indifference to the poor housing in that period, several steps were performed for the purpose of decrease of the favela growth. Principally, several foundations and political organizations were founded in the late 1940s and during the 1950s. Nevertheless, the new actions were not as effective as the government had planned (Fischer, 2008, p. 70).

A foundation called Fundação Leão XIII, which was established in 1947 in order to create social centres, schools, clinics and basic urban services in the shantytowns, provided at least a little social improvement of favelas. But the foundation was not based only on pure selflessness, besides other things, it was supposed to serve as a control of infiltration of communist ideas among favela residents. As Partida Comunista (Communist Party) gained an appreciable support of the lower classes, the government were afraid of takeover by the communists. The election in 1947 showed that the concern of such scenario was justified since the Partida Comunista won many votes. Nonetheless, this way nearly 100 000 favela dwellers were under the control and influence of the foundation that was bounded to the catholic diocese of Rio de Janeiro (Leeds & Leeds, 1977, p. 198–200).

Another political organizations, Fundação da Casa Popular, established at the beginning of the 1950s, during the Vargas’ second administration, let build hundreds of housing units, and so it supported activity of Social Security Institutes, which since the 1920s had been building houses for the poor. Apart from the building activity the institutes provided a mortgage. The initiative, however, helped primarily the working class than the poor residents as the housing units were constructed in the suburbs far away from the places of work. Furthermore, the rate

of mortgage was quite high to be affordable to the poor, thus an option of building their own houses in favelas close to their employment was still more advantageous for them (Fischer, 2008, p. 70).

Serviço de Recuperação das Favelas, a political foundation created in 1952 declared that its aim is not to destroy favelas, but construct new houses close to the places where most of the poor were employed. This way the houses were supposed to pose a substitution of the squatter settlements. The fact that the poor housing came to the political fore with greater urgency than before was caused by an appearance of favelas in other parts of the country (Leeds & Leeds, 1977, p. 205). In Recife there were found *mocambos*, which were colonies of miserable huts constructed by fugitive slaves and later served as a refuge for the poor (Lira, 1994, p. 734). At the same time in the south of the country in Porto Alegre another shantytowns called *vilas de malocas* arose. Since that time it has been approached to favelas on the national level (Leeds & Leeds, 1977, p. 205).

In 1956 the Serviço de Recuperação das Favelas transformed into Serviço de Recuperação das Favelas e Habitações Anti-Higiênicas (SERFHA) but due to lack of funds its activity was not initiated until 1960. The institution focused on the consolidation of organization inside favelas and thereby gave rise to a creation of neighbourhood associations in 75 favelas in Rio de Janeiro. Despite its effectiveness, its activity was discontinued in 1962 by the governor of Guanabara Carlos Lacerda. The 1960s involved removals and eviction of many favelas that were carried out by Companhia de Habitação Popular do Estado de Guanabara (COHAB) (Fischer, 2008, p. 76-79). Most of the residents whose houses were demolished moved to the housing projects which were, however, isolated from the labour market, thus this solution had the same deficiency as all of the previous ones based on surrogate housing. This, apart from economic problems resulted in social problems either, due to the costs of transport and the time that took to get to work, men usually spent the whole work week in the inner city without return to home. Such a social strain caused that many families broke up (Leeds & Leeds, 1977, p. 205). Many of these resettled residents, therefore, sold their houses within the project housing and for the money they got, constructed new ones in another favela (Zaluar & Alvito, 1998, p.38).

Favelas were not razed just because of provide new and more sanitary housing but an essential role represented fact that the lands occupied by favelas was seen as convenient places for commercial purposes. That happened for instance to the land of the hillside of Posmodo where a construction of Hotel Hilton was planned (Leeds & Leeds, 1977, p. 220). Pino (1998, p. 23-26) describes a similar case that occurred to favela called Praia do Pinto. In the 1960s this favela, comprised of two former proletarian parks, was one of the most populated favela in the city. At the end of the decade over 15 000 people lived there. Nonetheless, regardless the fact that the dwellers of this settlement were counted among the poorest ones, in 1969 city administration decided to demolish it as s new apartment complex was supposed to be built up there, of course, not for the poor.

The increase of urbanization of the State of Guanabara ceased in the 1960s due to the establishment of Brasília, the new capital, that was built in 4 years during the presidency of Juscelino Kubitschek. And so the main flow of migration headed for Brasília in order to get a job in industry, which represented a significant developing sphere in newly-emerged city (Rios, 1974, p. 95). The rate of population growth in Guanabara between 1960 and 1970 remained nearly the same as between 1950 and 1960. In the latter decade the population swelled by 930 000, meanwhile, in the first mentioned period the growth amounted to around 1 000 000, which indicated the lower rate of migration to the formal Federal District. As the number of incomers was stabilized, the increment of favela's residents was even lower than in the period from 1950 to 1960. While the quantity of favela dwellers increased by 102 percent during the 1950s, in the 1960s it was only by 69 percent. In 1970 the overall number of favelas in the state of Guanabara was 565 065 with the total population of 4 315 746 (IBGE, 1971, p. 14, 53-57). Nevertheless, this growth decline did not arise only because of the decrease of newcomers, but also due to the Lacerda's administration and its radical approach to the favela issue.

The eradication continued in the 1970s, just in the first years of the decade, 62 favelas were demolished and over 100 000 favela dwellers were resettled (Perlman, 2010, p. 53). This action chiefly pointed at favelas located in the Zona Sul (South Zone) of the city since there was a plan to launch a new construction industry (Portes, 1979, p. 15). This intervention changed cityscape as the most of the residents of favelas moved to the remaining shantytowns in the different part of the city, instead of making use of the substitute houses. Thus, the

reduction of area occupied by shantytowns in the Zona Sul that was initiated in 1950s continued even in the next decades. Surprisingly, the decline was noticed in the Zona Norte, which, till this time, was the most populated area by favela. It can be given by the growing districts of the Zone Oeste (Western Zone) and the districts Barra and Jacarepaguá with large unoccupied plots whose price was quite low. This described shape of development has remained without changes till nowadays (Cavallieri & Vial, 2012, p. 7-8).

In the 1970s a great expansion of shantytowns appeared even in São Paulo, another large city of the country, so the Rio's housing crises lasting from the end of 19th century spread throughout Brazil (Saraiva & Marques, 2007, p. 13).

2.9 Favelas in São Paulo

Notwithstanding the fact that São Paulo has belonged to the economic centres of the country since the end of the 19th century, the local favela boom was not as extensive as in Rio de Janeiro. Favela of Vila Prudente, Vergueiro and Ordem e Progresso were the only largest favelas of São Paulo which were found there till the 1940s. The population of shantytowns did not represent more than 1 percent until 1970s, when the first considerable expansion was noticed. Meanwhile, in Rio de Janeiro, Salvador or Recife favela dwellers comprised 10 percent (Abramo & Taschner, 2003, p. 35). In 1973 the Cadastro de Favelas (Land Registry of Favelas) estimated that nearly 72 000 people lived in favelas in the then São Paulo (Bogus & Taschner, 1999, p. 160) whose total population was recorded at 6 600 157 people (Lloyd-Sherlock, 1997, 291). The number of favela residents at the beginning of the 1970s represented only 1.09 percent of the overall city population, however, in ten years there were 440 000 favela residents (5.18 percent of the city population) living in 80 535 dwellings. And at the beginning of the next decade 19 percent of São Paulo inhabitants lived in the poor housing conditions (Bogus & Taschner, 1999, p. 160).

The sudden expansion might have emerged from the fact that the city district of São Paulo was an industrial centre in the 1970s as it was accountable for 44 percent of national production. Therefore, a lot of workers came there to search for a job in an industrial area. In the 1980s it is already possible to observe a populating of the city peripheries since the poor were impelled to leave the city centre (Bogus & Taschner, 1999, p. 158). However, Lloyd-Sherlock (1997) does not consider the rate of migration as a main reason for such a boom of

favelas in the district of São Paulo. He points out that the studies on explanations of favela expansion should take the origin of new incomers into consideration. “*It is possible, however, that changes in the composition of migration have had some impact. If those who arrived in the 1980s were poorer, less educated and less accustomed to the city life, a higher percentage could be expected to reside in sub-standard accommodation*” (1997, p. 296). As he demonstrates, the largest number of the new incomers came from the Northeast, from one of the poorest regions in Brazil. In 1987 more than 56 percent of immigrants came from the Northeast region and in 1993 it was even nearly 61 percent (Lloyd–Sherlock, 1997, p. 294).

Soon, the fast growing economy of São Paulo divided the city into two contrasting parts as one group of people rocketed up the social ladder and the second one plummeted. Of course, the economic situation helped especially educated people from middle class who had an open field for their economic growth. On the contrary, for people of the lower class, mostly, without any qualification, the conditions deteriorated since there were not many well-paid jobs for unskilled workers. This fact was clearly shown in the cityscape. Meanwhile, the luxurious apartment complexes were built, only few hundreds of metres away there were shantytowns, sometimes without any basic social and hygienic service and with thousands of residents. And so São Paulo turned into the city of contrasts (Taschner & Bogus, 2001, p. 32).

According to the data of the census 2010 (IBGE, 2011), 1 998 favelas with 1 280 400 residents were found in São Paulo in that year. That means that around 11 percent of inhabitants of the city are considered favela dwellers.

2.10 Current situation of the Rio’s favelas

Currently, the Rio’s favelas are in the focus of politicians as the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Summer Olympics are getting closer. Since the 1980s when the cocaine trade became rampant, the drug trafficking has been afflicting many favelas as they represented a desirable place for a boom of such a business. Mainly the approaching international sports events compelled the state government to intervene in this issue. In 2006 together with Federal Government it was established a special police service called *Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora* (Police Pacification Unit), abbreviated UPP, whose main goal is to retake the territories which the drug traffickers have dominated. However, whether UPP’s activity has curtailed number of homicides is arguable (The World Bank, 2012, p. 22-23, 39). Frischtak and Mandel (2012, p. 3) indicate a decrease of homicides by an average of 10 to 25 percent

and a decline of robberies by 10 to 20 percent in the territories where UPP's units were placed. Thus, they regard the UPP's program as effective. Nonetheless, Cerqueira (2012, p. 9-13) perceives the issue from a different point of view. His study documents that as the number of homicides has decreased since the UPP's service was established, a number of deaths with indeterminate cause has increased. He observes that both the homicides and the deaths with indeterminate cause concern mostly youth about the age of twenty. Due to this relation believes that the people killed by indeterminate cause should be considered victims of homicide. If his contemplation was correct, the activity of UPP would not be as fruitful as Frischtak and Mandel (2012) assert.

Besides the pacification program of UPP's units many another actions have been taken in order to create an illusion of nicer cityscapes and prevent the tourists to see the poverty and the social exclusion. A similar situation occurred in Rio de Janeiro as far back as in the in the 1920s when the government, likewise, wanted to protect nice parts of the city from being infiltrated by the shantytowns. At that time the problem was solved by several building restrictions and by the Agache's plan whose intention was to resettle the favela residents far from the city centre. However, this time one of the resolutions made by Rio's Mayor Eduardo Paes was to build concrete walls around several favelas. The walls chiefly serve to keep the favela dwellers in one place and limit the favela growth (Perlman, 2010, p. 29).

However, it has to be mentioned that in addition to forced actions and programs there are several social projects trying to improve the miserable conditions in which many Rio's citizens still have to live. The best known project targeted on favela residents is called *Morar Carioca* (Live Carioca), which was launched in 2010. Its aim is to reurbanize all Rio's favelas till 2020 with the budget of R\$ 8 billion. The reshaping of landscape, infrastructure and dwellings takes place with a partnership with Instituto de Arquitetos do Brasil (Brazilian Institute of Architects) (Leitão & Delecave, 2011, p.7). The program has already been implemented in 55 poor communities, which represents roughly 2.5 percent of all such communities in Rio de Janeiro (Rio Prefeitura, s.a.). This fact, thus, compels to question about the completion of the project in due time.

2.11 Favelas throughout Brazil

In view of the fact, that favela is a phenomenon that has spread across Brazil, in every bigger Brazilian city this housing can be found. In 2010, it was estimated that around 15 868

shantytowns with 11 425 644 dwellers are found in the whole country, which corresponded to 6 percent of the overall population of Brazil (IBGE, 2011).

The largest areas occupied by favelas alias “*áreas de aglomerados subnormais*” (the area of subnormal agglomeration) occurred especially in the Northeast and in the Southeast of the country. In the latter mentioned 5 580 869 favela dwellers live in 8 804 favelas covering 56 290ha of land. The largest favela population in this region is found primarily in the cities as Belo Horizonte, São Paulo, Campinas, Guarulhos and Rio de Janeiro. In the Northeast Region 45 198ha of land is occupied by 4 025 favelas which serve as domiciles for 3, 198,061 people. In this region Fortaleza, Salvador and Jaboaão dos Guararapes are considered the largest centres of the poor housing (IBGE, 2011).

With regard of the Census 2000 it can be noted that the expansion has not been ceased. During the first decade of the 21st century favela population increased from 10.6 million to 11.4 million, on the other hand the favela population growth has not exceeded the population growth of the whole country. In this period the percentage increase of favela population amounted to 7.5 percent while the total population growth represented 12 percent (IPEA, 2013).

However, it is necessary to mention that the results of the censuses as for favelas should be read circumspectly since the identification of favelas do not have to be accurate. As mentioned earlier, the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE) classes favelas as “*áreas de aglomerados subnormais*”, which are defined as an agglomeration that “[...] occupy or occupied, in the recent period, a land of others (public or private) comprised of residences of crude structures, in general, arranged disorderly and densely; most of them needy public and fundamental services. To class it into a census sector, the subnormal agglomeration has to contain at least 51 dwellings² (IBGE, 2013, p. 364). Nevertheless, this definition can be a little bit misleading. Furthermore, these areas do not have to be measured out precisely because of their territorial frequent mixing or close borders with another territory of different settlement. “*Meanwhile in the areas as Rocinha in Rio de Janeiro and Paraisópolis in São Paulo the contrast of the neighbouring districts of regular social*

² [...] ocupam ou ocuparam, em período recente, terreno de propriedade alheia (pública ou particular) contendo residências toscas dispostas, em geral, de forma desordenada e densa; carentes, em sua maioria, de serviços públicos e essenciais. Para que se constitua em setor censitário, o aglomerado subnormal deve ter no mínimo 51 domicílios.

standards are easily to recognize, in other areas the limits are diffused and it is hard to identify them.”³(IBGE, 2013, p. 364-365).

The spreading of the poor housing during the 20th century clearly demonstrates that the phenomenon of favela was not only given by Rio’s historic situation in which the city was found at the end of the 19th century and in the first decades of the 20th century, but that it primarily had arisen from the lacking effective social politics. There has been an absence of a solution which would involve the point of view of favela residents and so would get to the heart of the matter. Together with the expansion throughout the country favelas became an interest of scientific research, too (Valladares, 2005, p. 119).

³ Se em áreas como a Rocinha, no Rio de Janeiro (RJ), e Paraisópolis, em São Paulo (SP), o contraste com bairros vizinhos urbanizados dentro de padrões regulares é facilmente perceptível, em outras, os limites são difusos e de difícil identificação.

3. Research design

3.1 The research

As mentioned before, research studies on Brazilian shantytowns started in the 1970s, when the phenomenon of favela was becoming a national political issue. At that time as the urban anthropology turned into a developed university branch, the urban poverty and the way of life of the inhabitants of Brazilian cities came to the fore of social and anthropological studies. Nevertheless, the studies in this area did not arise only from the interest of scholars, but from the political interest, too (Valladares, 2005, p. 119).

This research is oriented towards children's representation of culture. The main aim of the study is to analyze favela's culture through its visualization by children living in such Brazilian shantytowns. Attention is especially paid to the cultural elements to which the children attach the importance. As research techniques, observation, ethnographic interview and drawing, which represented the main tool of the research, were applied. The question "What is culture" was put to the children as a subject matter of the drawings.

Several research studies which involved favela children have been done, particularly, studies on the children's perception of favela as a space where they live. A research on this issue that is worthy of notice has been presented by Coelho (2011), who focused on the manners whereby children identify themselves with their environs in Rocinha, the largest favela in Brazil. Her research approach is very interdisciplinary as it based on the knowledge of anthropology, philosophy, architecture, urbanism, psychology and geography. Via four-month observation and local children drawings she mapped the places where children frequently play games, and described how they make use of particular space for the playing. She noticed that the children in Rocinha tend to play in places surrounded by nature, and this craving is even stronger in case of clash of drug traffickers and police, when the streets become unsafe. Apart from this, she also mentions the spatial borders that are perceived by children as the signals alerting the end of the safety. As her research demonstrates, such borders can be created by the adults who invent dreadful tales to discourage their children from getting closer to dangerous places. She concludes that children identify themselves with the specific place through the games, which constitute their being in the world. As the parts of Rocinha are different, the games vary too, thereby the children, notwithstanding the fact that they live in the same favela, may have dissimilar perception of the space or their life.

Another research which concerns favela children and their socio-cultural environment was carried out in the 1990s by Gouvea (1993). The research was based on observation of residents of favela located in the region of Belo Horizonte. Gouvea spent there more than one year observing everyday life of the residents, especially, values that were significant for the process of socialization of the local children. She focused on the values which children attribute to schooling and work and how these values are represented by them and their families. As family stands for one of the most relevant part of the process of socialization, Gouvea interviewed several mothers, who have a significant impact on this process. From the interviews the main values which the mothers attribute importance emerged: honesty, work, respect private property for boys, and sexual monogamy for girls. Concentrating on these values parents ignore the importance of gaining of proper education for their children, which would provide them with better qualifications and thus raise a chance to get a well-paid job. This way parents neither the children aspire to be skilled workers, thus the only employments that they take into consideration as their future occupation range from dustman, domestic worker, doorman to watchman. As the interview with the children shows, they perceive work as something necessary for surviving and they do not see another choice of the occupation than the ones mentioned above. Apart from the family as a crucial component in the process of socialization, she paid attention to the age groups which the children become members of when they are out of home without their mother's supervision. Gouvea assumes that these outside groups have negative impact on the values that parents endeavor to inculcate in their children. Through spending time within these groups children acquire survival strategies which are distinct from the ones that their parents teach them. They do informal jobs but they also perpetrate small crimes. Children neither parents perceive school like an institution which should prepare individuals for qualified job, but as an institution where the cultural habitus is taught. Parents expect that at school children will learn dissimilar values from the ones which they learnt from their sociocultural environment. This way, they will be able to stand outside of favela. Besides these things, she devoted substantial part of the study to the meaning which the children attach to the fact that they are favelados. Based on the interviews with children and the youths, it can be observed that children from favela see themselves in opposition to the children and the youths of middle classes. Meanwhile, they deem these children infantile and scared of their parents, they consider themselves autonomous, smart and independent. However, they experience the negative side of being favelado, too, as it is demonstrated in the statement of one of the youth: *"There is no point in studying, for people*

who are black, poor, favelado and ugly, school does not solve anything.”⁴ (Gouvea, 1993, p. 54).

3.1.1 Methodology

The research was conducted through a fieldwork with the role of researcher as a complete observer. The communication between the research participants and the researcher resided in presentation and explanation of the research and brief conversation with the participants about their interests. The explanation of the research was translated simultaneously from English into Portuguese for the participants and the individual talks were held largely in Portuguese. Children were carrying out the research task in the class together with their schoolmates and in the presence of the teachers and the researcher.

The research question is to analyse the children’s perspective of culture through their point of view by visualization of this subject matter. Visual methodology presents research methods which bring a different approach in ethnographic fieldwork. The visual representation can depict specific facts which the methods as observation or interview could not do. This way, a dissimilar view and outcome of the particular issues can be discovered (Pink, 2006, p. 16). In addition, the research methods of visual anthropology are fitting for various socio-cultural context and intercultural context alike, where the language barrier normally could cause considerable obstacle (Literat, 2013, p. 89). However, in some cases it is possible to encounter difficulties with a visual comprehension, since the representation, perception and mental set of various cultures and people of various ages are dissimilar, which can decrease understandability of the data (Gombrich, 1984).

The early visual tools used in the fieldwork represented mainly photography and ethnographic film. Especially the film technique has been very popular among anthropologists for a long time. This preference largely emerged from the anthropologists’ captivation by the new visual recording media, which enriched the range of the visual tools. Another reason for the domination of the ethnographic film as a research tool that Banks and Morphy (1997, p. 4) emphasized is the cheap lightweight video technology, which has been developed in recent years. Moreover, video as a publicly distributed medium enabled the public to take a look at

⁴ Adianta estudar não, pra gente que é preto, pobre, favelado e feio a escola não resolve nada.

distant cultures and anthropological fieldwork. This visual sharing of knowledge about different cultures considerably raised interest in anthropology, since it represented more attractive way to familiarize the public with the anthropological findings (Collier & Collier, 1967, p. 151). The popularity of ethnographic film also arose from the fact that video camera depicts data faster and with the exact time order than the written description (Hockings, 1995, p. 336-337). These visual techniques brought a new perspective on the anthropological research and the data generated by them became very useful in the study of culture at a distance as for instance Ruth Benedict applied. Notwithstanding, they could not avoid criticism. The critical reactions are particularly directed at the cultural bias with which anthropologists recorded the data, especially in the late of the 19th century (Banks & Morphy, 1997, p. 6-7).

The beginning of photography and film to collect data dates back to the late of the 19th century. Initially, camera was used by anthropologist as a new developed mechanical research tool, nonetheless, shortly as a video camera technique was improved, film prevailed over photography (Banks, 2002, p. 8). Already in 1989 it is possible to notice an early anthropological use of video camera as a recording tool during the expedition to the Torres Straits Islands. Nevertheless, photography was still an important medium employed in the anthropological fieldwork as it is proved in the works of great anthropologists as Franz Boas, Bronislaw Malinowski or Margaret Mead (Pink, 2006, p. 5-8). Turning video camera into the most used visual technique in the 20th century, other mediums for depiction visual data were overshadowed (Banks & Morphy, 1997, p. 5).

3.1.2 Research Technique

There are several techniques which are commonly used in the research based on the visual methods. The most employed ones are especially video and photography, however, for this research the technique of participatory drawing was applied. Although, the technique of free drawing was already used in the fieldwork within Navajo children by Leighton and Kluckhohn (1947), still, this method is not as explored as the non-participatory methods of visual anthropology encompassing mechanical tools (Literat, 2013, p. 85). Nevertheless, drawing always has been copiously employed in psychology and psychotherapy (Theron, 2011, p. 19). Despite the fact, that in anthropology there was a significant predominance of ethnographic film, several fieldworks were effectuated on the basis of drawings and paintings.

Apart from the one realized by Leighton and Kluckhohn, it is worth pointing out a research carried out by Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead in the 1930s. They left to Bali in order to study Balinese character, however, as they noticed Western-style paintings made by Balinese peasants, they turned their attention to the research of these pictures and their creators. At the end of the fieldwork they collected over 1200 paintings (Geertz, 1994, p. 1). Cora DuBois was another anthropologist, who used this technique. In her fieldwork in the late of the 1930s on the island of Alor she focused on Alorese culture and, besides other techniques, she employed a technique of drawing for the research of the local children (DuBois, 1944).

Nonetheless, as the participatory communication theory was brought to the fore in the 1970s, the participatory visual methods became more used in the fieldworks (Literat, 2013, p. 85-86). In comparison with the anti-participatory visual techniques, the participatory ones give an opportunity to participants to communicate via their own visual voice, which enables to explore the subject matter from the participants' own perspective (Gauntlett, 2007, p. 107). Thus, there is only low risk that the recorded data would be depicted from the researcher's point of view. However, by using participatory methods it is easier to incline to false interpretation or over-interpretation of the collected data (Literat, 2013, p.93). According to Gauntlett (2007, p. 125) another benefit of these methods is the extra time that the participants gain by making image or video, thereby they can think more deeply about the research matter. The response then can be more nuanced and authentic. He argues that “[...] *The brain certainly can rise to the challenge of dynamically generating instant answers to an interviewer's questions, but it is not always likely that these responses will be wonderfully expressive, meaningful or 'true' to the interviewee's more precise feelings*“ (Gauntlett, 2007, p. 185). This is not, of course, considered a benefit in the research based on spontaneous action. Finally, it should be emphasized that no matter which medium is chosen for given research, any of them served for data collection cannot embrace the complete meaning (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 19).

The participatory drawing is a technique which is used primarily in the research involving children and the youth. There are several reasons for that. First, children are familiar with drawing as it is a common activity, which they practise ordinarily and so they can feel more comfortable with the research task. Second, children, especially at a young age, sometimes do not have an adequate linguistic capability to express themselves verbally, however, they are

able to represent their thoughts and emotions visually (Literat, 2013, 87-89). By the visual illustration children's hidden problems and concerns can be brought to light and come to adult's attention (Mitchell, 2006, p. 62). Furthermore, this technique can represent an enjoyable activity for children and so it can keep their enthusiasm and attention for the duration of the research (Literat, 2013, 87-89). Even though, drawing is predominantly deemed a non-stressful way how to research children, it can get some of them into embarrassed situation. They can be shy to show their drawing to other people or feel shame of their drawing skills (Mitchell, 2006, p. 70). The participants' possibility to have an input into the research and take part, and thus to bridge the gap between researcher and participant, is the main purpose from which participatory framework has emerged (Young & Barrett, 2001, p. 142). In case of research with children it is important a bridging of age distinction and status dissimilarity. This makes a research more ethical, since the missing of hierarchy between researcher and participants gives rise to equality among persons engaged in the research, which can contribute to the fact that children feel more comfortable with the situation (Literat, 2013, p. 88). As children are considered sensitive studied subjects, it is crucial to observe ethics. Hence anonymity and privacy should be respected and a public display of the drawings ought to be well considered, too (Mitchell, 2006, p. 69).

From the recent researchers who have paid attention to children's drawings Mary Stokrocki, who observed children's art in Brazil, can be mentioned. Via several children drawings on particular theme she endeavoured to demonstrate an impact of sociocultural influences on the children representational ability. Aside from focusing on the process of making, composition and the content, she also made a comparison between Brazilian and American children drawing technique (Stokrocki, 2000).

In this research a question "What is culture?" was put to the children. For the representation of the task they had the use of a standard A4 sheet of paper and coloured pencils, nevertheless, some children decided to draw their picture only by pencil. There was not any specific amount of time for the drawing, but mostly it did not last more than 40 minutes. As children were carrying out the task sitting next to each other, some of them copied the drawing from their neighbour. Each child produced only one drawing, which then handed in to the researcher.

3.1.3 Place of the research

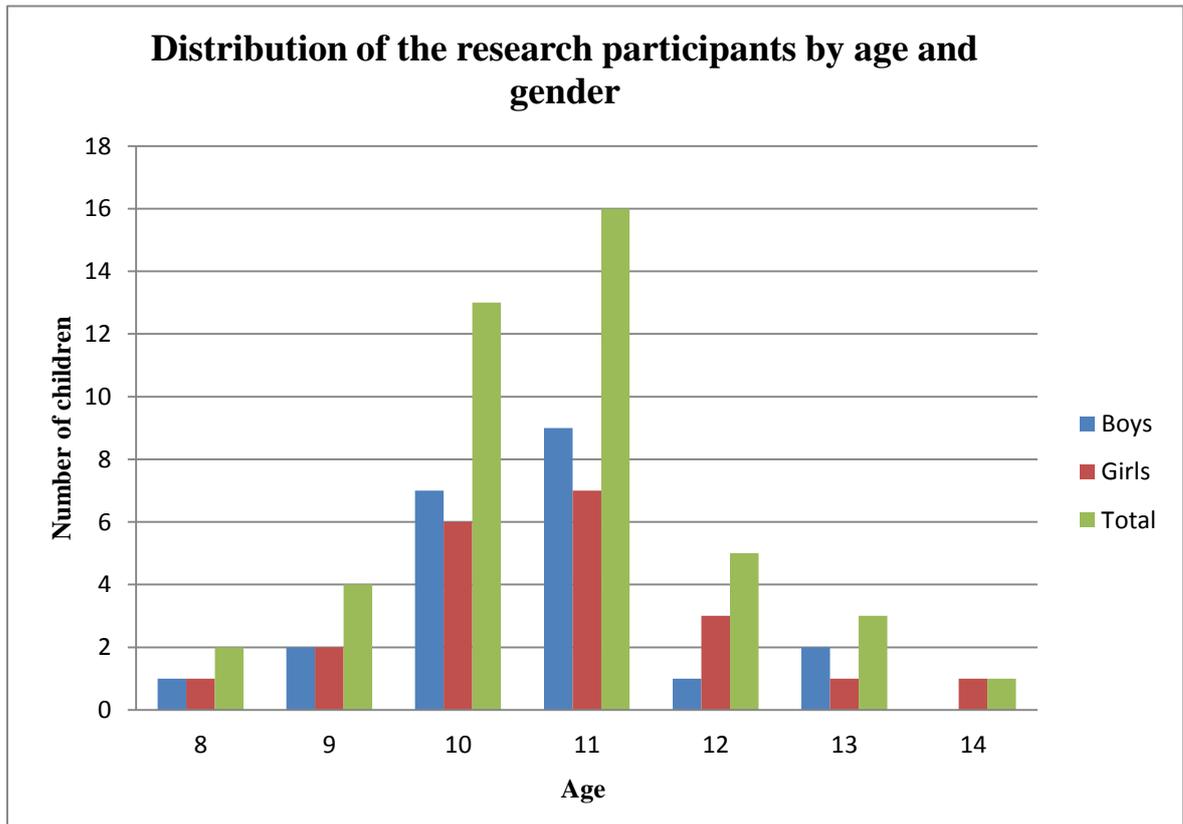
The research was carried out during August and September 2013 in three various pacified favelas of São Paulo. In the poor community in Jardim João XXII in the western district Raposo Tavares, in favela Monte Azul in the southern part of the city and in the poor community in Diadema, a municipality of São Paulo state. Its realization was enabled especially thanks to organization *Cidadão pró Mundo*, which permitted the research activity during its work with children. *Cidadão pró Mundo* is a non-government organization, which provides English classes in the poor communities. The organization is comprised of 9 units, from which 6 is located in São Paulo and 3 in Rio de Janeiro. The main aim of the organization is to improve the level of education and qualification of people in such areas, where the access to education is worsened. The classes are held straight inside the community in local schools and are available for all people over the age of eleven, giving preference to the individuals whose family income is low. Nevertheless, in the units where the research data were collected this age limit was not fully observed (see Table 1). Apart from teaching English, the volunteer teachers who conduct the classes with children also focus on the mood and mental state of the students. The leadership of *Cidadão pró Mundo* is comprised of open-minded and creative people and so the organization's activity is very fruitful and there is even still effort to extend it to as many communities as possible. The choice of the locations from the research was determined by the attendance of children in the particular units. Communities located Jardim João XXII, Monte Azul and Diadema were only units where children attended the classes.

3.1.4 Research participants

The research participants were children attending those English classes in three various units in favelas in São Paulo. The children age ranged from 8 to 14 years, however, there were only a few children at these marginal ages. Most of them were at the age of 11 and 10. The gender distribution was nearly equal, only number of the girls slightly prevailed by two. Additional and accurate data are represented below in Table 1 and Graph 1. The average age is 11.2 years and median is 11. The research involved 42 children, majority of them living in the same district in which the unit was located.

Table 1 - Distribution of the participants by the unit, age and gender

Unit	Total	Research participants								
		Age							Sex	
		8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Male	Female
João XXII	16	-	1	5	5	5	-	-	10	6
Monte Azul	11	-	2	1	8	-	-	-	5	6
Diadema	17	2	1	7	3	-	3	1	8	9
Total	44	2	4	13	16	5	3	1	23	21



Graph 1 - Distribution of the research participants by age and gender

4. Data analysis

For the data analysis an approach on the basis of social semiotics was used. Social semiotics can be characterized as a theory which endeavours to describe and understand the process of people's production and communication of meaning in concrete social surroundings as family or another social institution within which the production and communication are occurred, affecting by the institution's conventions, habits and beliefs. It focuses on the fact how cultural, social and psychological history of sign-makers influences process of representation with respect of a given specific context (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 266). Besides other things, social semiotics is often perceived as the theory of semiotics, whose concepts and methods stand in opposition to structuralist semiotics (Van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 2). For social semiotics the term *code* is not the key word as it was for Paris school structuralist semiotics, but the *resource* is conceived as a main term here (Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001, p. 134). Van Leeuwen defines resource as "*the actions and artefacts we use to communicate, whether they are produced physiologically – with our vocal apparatus; with the muscles we use to create facial expressions and gestures, etc. – or by means of technologies – with pen, ink and paper; with computer hardware and software; with fabrics, scissors and sewing machines, etc.*" (Van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 3). Each semiotic resource works differently for different people and groups and has its own cultural, political and social history which is still shaping (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 112). The preference also was given to this term over the term "sign" to prevent an impression that signifier is pre-given and not influenced by its use. In the social context, where all the past and potential uses of the resource take parts, rules and constraints shape and regulate the way in which particular semiotic resources can be used (Van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 3-4). Precursor of this idea was Russian linguist Valentin Voloshinov, who argues that a sign cannot be separated from its social context, since it is not possible for the sign as an element of social intercourse to exist outside of it. According to him, the sign is determined by social purview of specific time and specific social group. Thus, social interactions form the sign (Voloshinov, 1973. p. 21). It is indispensable to emphasize three kinds of sign: icon, index and symbol. The first type of sign, the icon, shows analogy or similarity of the signifier to the signified. In the index relation between the signifier and the signified is causal, it turns attention to the object, but it does not directly describe it. The last one, the symbol, signifies its meaning by association of ideas or fully arbitrary and conventional relation between the signifier and the signified (Peirce, 1994, p. 171).

Another significant term in social semiotics, which is linked to the resource, is a *semiotic potential*. It refers to the range of meanings and possibilities of using of a given semiotic resource for purposes of communication (Van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 4-5). Message is the smallest semiotic form of concrete existence, whose meaning is constituted by social process occurred in *semiotic plane*. Then in another plane, so called *memetic plane*, representation takes place. Production and reception of the meaning is influenced by conditions which determine who can produce and who can receive meanings. These conditions are prescribed by a set of rules comprised of *logonomic system*. These logonomic systems are visible in society and taught and supervised by social agents as for instance teachers, parents, priests etc (Hodge & Kress, 1988, p. 4-6).

The analysis of drawings will be based on terminology used by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006). First important terms for the representational meaning are the *represented participants* referring to the places, things or people depicted in the image, and *interactive participants* which represent image-producers or image-viewers. The images can be narrative or conceptual, thus there are narrative representations and conceptual representations. In the analysis predominantly relation between interactive participants will be considered. The interactive participants are represented by people who are producers and viewers of the images, and so they are the ones who interpret their content within social institution that regulates this meaning making process. Sometimes both the producers and the viewers do not have almost any information about each other, since the producers do not know the audience for which the picture had been created and the viewers do not know the image-producer, all they can see is only the picture itself in the way how someone presents it to them. If there is a division between the context of production and the context of reception, for comprehension of picture by the audience is necessary to depict it within defined conventions and values that should be in conformity with the values and beliefs of a given social institution within which the image is produced. The attitude of viewers towards images may be shaped by various key factors, in analysis factor of distance will be mainly considered (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 47-48, 114-116).

Social distance is usually known as a component of everyday social interaction which is determined by social relations that people hold to each other. Nevertheless, this can also be depicted in images. The distance there is expressed by the size of frame of shots. The

terminology of film and television can be applied to this purpose. In the image of the close shot it is possible to see only head and shoulders of the subject, if there is even less than can be seen, it is a very close shot. The medium close shot represents the subject from the waist upwards, the close medium shot then from the knees. In the medium long shot the whole figure is seen, in the long shot only half of the height of the paper is occupied by the figure and in the very long shot it is even less than that. It is possible to say that the longer distance is depicted the more impersonal relation is between represented subject and viewer (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 124-129).

Modality, a reality value which is another important issue within representation of images, is the last term which will be included in analysis. It was derived from the linguistic theory, in which modality is the truth value or credibility of statements about the world. Modality judgments always depend on the particular social group for which the image was intended, since each social group is defined and constituted by diverse complex of practices that has significant impact on the consideration what is real. Rate of correspondence between the representation of an object and how the object is seen by naked eye is considerable for naturalistic modality. This rate may be influenced by many factors: colour, contextualization, depth, brightness, representation of pictorial details and illumination (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 154-163).

4.1 Analysis of the drawings

There are several main themes that children frequently depicted in their drawings. It is possible to classify them into following categories: music, sport, Rio de Janeiro, countryside and nature and motifs which refer to cultural diversity. Naturally, not all the drawings fall into these categories and thus such drawings were marked as unclassified, nevertheless, they will be taken into consideration in the analysis as well.

For clear arrangement to each drawing in analysis was assigned a number, which together with other information about the authors and theme of the drawings, is stated in Table 2. The pictures are numbered in order of appearance in the text.

Table 2 - Overview of the analysed drawings

N°	Sex	Age	Category
#1	Male	11	Music
#2	Female	8	Music
#3	Male	13	Music
#4	Male	13	Music/Sport
#5	Male	10	Sport
#6	Male	10	Sport
#7	Female	13	Sport/Music/Unclassified
#8	Female	12	Rio de Janeiro
#9	Male	8	Rio de Janeiro
#10	Male	11	Rio de Janeiro
#11	Male	9	Countryside and nature
#12	Male	11	Countryside and nature
#13	Female	11	Countryside and nature
#14	Female	9	Countryside and nature
#15	Male	11	Countryside and nature
#16	Female	11	Cultural diversity
#17	Female	11	Cultural diversity
#18	Male	11	Cultural diversity
#19	Female	10	Unclassified-carnival
#20	Female	9	Unclassified-store
#21	Female	10	Unclassified-ballet
#22	Male	12	Unclassified-capoeira
#23	Female	12	Unclassified-Festa Junina

4.1.1 Music

Music was the most frequently represented theme by the children in the research. It was depicted in various forms, however, singers of pagode and motifs of funk music were the most often rendered components of this category.

Music is relatively strong element in Brazilian culture. Many times in Brazilian history songs became symbols or forms of some political and social protests as it occurred for instance in the 1920s when the samba song *A favela vai abaixo* turned into a protest song which represented struggle against poverty and social exclusion in Rio de Janeiro (Fischer, 2008, p. 16-17). Music has been considered a merging component which can unite people of different social classes and ethnicity. Within many musical genres that arose in Brazil, samba is perceived as the most famous one, mainly due to the fact that it is significant component of Brazilian carnival. The roots of today's samba are dated back to the beginning of the 20th century. In 1917 the carnival hit *Pelo telefone* became a first samba song which formulated a basic form for the other songs of this genre. However, as samba turned into a significant part of the carnival, the genre rapidly succumbed to commercialization. This was mainly caused by *escolas de samba*, samba schools which gather and prepare dancers for the carnival performance, and in the 1980s a creation of *sambadrome*, a special place where samba parades are held, even strengthened the popularization and commercialization (Chasteen, 1996, p. 30). Pagode, a musical genre which children drew, was a reaction to that situation. Nevertheless, pagode has its roots at the end of the 19th century when the carnival components started to form. It represented an event related to festive party with a lot of food, drinks and improvised samba that was spread within Afro-Brazilian communities of Rio's suburbs and favelas. Nonetheless, pagode as a musical genre was created later during the cultural movement originated in Rio's working classes that chiefly criticized the new form of samba. As a result pagode, a new musical genre, arose. It was a mixture of modified instrumentation and modern sound with samba traditional elements that were trickled away in the course of the 20th century. Soon, it became a very popular musical style even among white middle classes. However, in the 1990s another samba musical genre with the same name was created and prevailed over the traditional one. By romantic lyrics and electric instrumentation the modern pagode is closely related to international pop-music than to the version based on the traditional components. Thus, two musical genres called pagode exist at the Brazilian music field, but their popularity is not equal. The newer one is much more commercialized via

media, while the traditional pagode is maintain largely within black and mixed-race working class neighbourhoods (Galinsky, 1996, p. 121-136).

As the instruments used in both types of pagode do not significantly differ, in one case it is not possible to say with certainty whether the represented musicians are singers of traditional or modern pagode. This drawing will be analysed below. In the second case the drawing (#1) depicts musician of pagode there is no speculation about it thanks to a short written description accompanying the picture, which explains what the drawing represents. The child drew arrows which lead from each depicted component in the drawing to the short caption and thus, he gave clarity to his piece of work. Nevertheless, the caption which labels the represented singer as “cantor de pagode” (singer of pagode) it is not the element which enables the recognition of type of pagode. The crucial element which does it is two names which the child put into brackets behind the main caption. The names “Revelação” and “Alexandre Pires” referred to the well-known band and the singer of modern pagode. The main attribute that is found in the drawing and refers to pagode is the *pandeiro*, a typical samba instrument, which the singer is holding in his left hand. As there is a range of samba musical instruments and the child did not draw another attribute of pagode apart from *pandeiro*, it can be concluded that he perceives this instrument as one of the main element of pagode. The child drew the singer with a headwear that looks as a cap sideways, which may be a reference to Alexandre Pires and other singers of pagode who sometimes wear hats, however it is not typical attribute of singers of this genre but rather of funk singers. Thus it is likely that the child mixed the attributes from these genres together as both of them are very popular in Brazil. In the drawing, apart from the singer, there are represented two other elements related to Brazilian culture. The first one that is situated on the left side of the table is labelled by the caption “acarajé”, which is a typical Bahian meal which probably African slaves brought to Brazil. Next to the bowl represented acarajé there is a dish with a caption “feijoada”. This is another meal characteristic for Portugal and its former colonies. The child drew a cooking pot that is a typical dish in which feijoada is mostly made. Despite the fact, that in the picture there are participants which do not refer to the music, the drawing was classified under this category, since the size of singer’s representation is relatively large in comparison with the representation of the other participants.

Concerning the second drawing (#2) it is not possible to recognize which type of pagode is rendered. In comparison with drawing (#1), this one is colourful and the only captions found in this drawing are “Cultura brasileira” (Brazilian culture) and “Show de samba” (Samba show). However, in the first mentioned caption is spelling mistake as the letter “l” is missing. As will be shown further, spelling mistakes in the word “cultura” frequently occurred. The drawing constitutes of the blue stripe and three musicians who are found above it. It is not clear what the blue area can mean. It may represent the sea, which could be a symbol of Rio de Janeiro where pagode is a very popular genre. On the other hand the fact that the participants are standing straight on the grey line which bounds the blue area can indicate a stage floor, or it may be just a representation of any surface to connote that the musicians are not standing in vacuum. Each of the musicians has his own role. The one on the left side is holding *cavaquinho*, a small string instrument in a shape of guitar typical for samba music, and, next to his head, several notes are drawn in order to represent the sound of music. The participant depicted in the middle is probably a singer as it may be concluded from the microphone situated in front of him. The last one is holding a *pandeiro*, the instrument which was also rendered by the other child, hence there is an assumption of the relatively strong association of this instrument with samba music.

Another motif which was represented by children is Brazilian funk music. Notwithstanding the fact, that this musical genre is called funk, in fact, it is more related to American hip-hop than funk (Sneed, 2008, p. 60). Since the 1950s Brazil has been under relatively strong cultural influence of the USA and cultural elements spread to Brazil rapidly. In the 1980’s funk and rap came from the American streets to Brazilian favelas and black neighbourhoods as these genres were considered by youths as music that is not culturally exclusive. Thus, people of low classes fast identified with it and funk transformed into distinguished form from the American one (Magladi, 1999, p. 314-316). Most of the funk songs are based on heavy, bass-driven electronic beats or Miami bass and on loudly singing which sometimes veered toward yelling (Sneed, 2007, p.220). However, sometimes elements of traditional Brazilian music as capoeira, axé or forró are parts of funk songs as well (Sneed, 2008, p. 60). As the funk music is constituted of various music styles, a range of themes which the funk musicians sing about is multifarious, too. On the one hand their lyrics are about violence and raw sexuality and on the other they involve peace, romance and faith in God. Nevertheless, due to the lyrics appealing to violence they are officially banned, therefore it is prohibited to play

funk songs for instance in stores or on the radio (Sneed, 2007, p. 220-221). Besides these things, funk has its slang, dress style and, especially, its own peculiar sexualized dance. The important urban cultural events held in favelas are Rio's funk parties called *bailes funk*. Every week these parties attract hundreds of poor young people for whom these events are very important since they unite them with other people of the same class, with the same problems, and furthermore, the strong lyrics help them find courage to surmount the harshness of their lives. However, the parties are financially supported by favela gangsters, which causes a police alertness over them.

Funk motifs were depicted by two thirteen year-old-boys. While, one of them put the funk motif into a broader context, the other represented funk rather by textual form without any other pictorial element. The latter (#3) ruled a frame to which set a colourful writing "FUNK". Probably the colours were chosen randomly as funk is not associated with any of them. The relevant constituent of the whole picture is the writing in the lower part "Deus é meu juiz, Jesus é meu advogado" (God is my judge, Jesus is my lawyer). However, there is an incorrect spelling of the word "juiz", which should be spelt "juiz". Apart from the fact, that this quotation appears in various forms across the Christian world, it is a part of lyrics of many funk songs, too. The most famous funk singer who put this quotation into his song *Vida Bandida 2* (Thug Life 2) is called Mc Smith. Currently, he is on trial due to his involvement in drug trafficking, which he also reflects in his songs. In that song, which is about criminal life in Rio's favela, his interpretation of the quotation literally sounds "*Porque Deus é meu juiz, Jesus cristo, advogado*" (Because God is my judge, Jesus Christ, a lawyer). Even though, the writing in the picture is not completely identical with the Mc Smith's lyrics, it can be assumed that the boy referred by it either to this particular singer or to general lyrics of funk songs.

The second representation of funk (#4) combines more elements than just the ones related to Brazilian funk. Dominant feature of the drawing is a mountain whose peak lies in the upper part of the right side and it is partially covered by several clouds. Another feature concerns weather conditions is the rising/setting sun whose significant part is hidden behind the mountain. A little figure on a board is depicted in the upper part of the mountain. As the boy said this figure represents a snowboarder. To emphasize this fact he drew a lane which most likely represents a board track that the snowboarder is leaving behind. The components which

stand for funk are depicted as if they were inside the mountain. In the left part straight under the line representing the hillside there is a stage with a human figure standing on it. There are several signs which indicate that music which is performed on the stage is funk. The most important one is a text next to the figure. "*Mais amor e menos recalque*" (More love, less repression) is a name of a popular song of funk singer called MC Daleste. The reason that the boy decided to make reference to this concrete funk singer may emerge not only from his popularity among Brazilian youths but also from the fact that he had been murdered a month before the initiation of the research. The figure is another obvious funk element as it represents a funk singer wearing a cap, which is a typical attribute of funk singers. In the writing "*Deus*" (God) in the lower part of the stage it is possible to see some connection between God and lyrics of funk songs since they often refer to faith in God. The writing is bounded from the both side by "\$", a sign, which is commonly known as a sign for U.S. Dollar, however, it is used for Brazilian current as well. Thus, it can symbolize money, another issue which is pointed out within funk and which many funk fans have to deal with. On the right side of the picture the last element referred to funk is placed. Approximately in the middle of the mountain the name of the funk song is written again, but with bigger letter, which makes it much more visible than the one depicted within the stage. As this drawing represents more themes, it does not fall under only one of the given categories. It is interesting how the boy rendered so much different themes, one strong related to Brazilian culture, whereas the other absolutely distant from it. However, the reason why the boy mixed such two dissimilar topics, remain unclarified as no relation between them was found.

Summing up the results of this category, it can be concluded that both of the genres that children depicted belong to the music styles which are relatively popularized in today's Brazil. This may be ascribed to the influence which media has on children. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that both the genres are typical Brazilian and so it may be argued that the national music holds important position among children. That can be even more supported by the fact that children drew not a single drawing that would depict non-Brazilian musical genre. If they did not draw pagode or funk, they mostly depicted music in general form without any reference to specific style. Only in one case a singer of popular Brazilian music is found in the drawing. However, as it is depicted in relation to countryside, especially to Bahian *sertão*, this picture #12 will be analysed later within category "Countryside and nature". The preference of depiction of funk can emerge from the fact that the children come

from the environment from which funk arose and where is the most popularized. This cultural surrounding may greatly influence them, which in case of funk may have a harmful effect since funk singers, who are mostly engaged in criminal life, can be followed by children. According to frequent representation of culture in relation to music, it can be inferred that music stands for a considerable cultural part of children's life.

4.1.2 Sport

Several children depicted in their drawings some kind of sport. Football, Brazilian national sport, was the most rendered motif. Football stands for a sport which Brazilian loves and definitely it is a significant part of their culture. Moreover, football has its part even within integration of immigrants into Brazilian society (Bocketti, 2008, p. 276). Apart from that, this game is popular across the social classes as there is no need for special equipment to practice it. Even in favelas whose urban structures are not so developed, there is always at least a simple football pitch or a space where it is possible to practice, hence many professional Brazilian football players come from working classes (Lopes, 2000, p. 241). Besides football, the children drew skateboarding and already analysed snowboarding (#4).

The children represented football in their drawings in the same manner. All of them drew a football pitch with goals on each side, thus these pictures look alike without any considerable differences. Slight distinction lies in a depiction of goalmouths and other lines constituting the pitch. Only in one case (5#) there is a ball in the middle of the pitch, otherwise any other participants are not represented.

Even though skateboarding is not popular to the same degree as football, still, it is regarded as the sport that is practised plentifully in Brazil. There are many good Brazilian skateboarders who are famous within the world skateboarding scene. According to the chief editor of the Brazilian skateboard magazine *Tribo* Fabio Bolota (2012), this sport whose roots date back into the 1960s is widespread in the country, claiming that there are approximately 3 million skaters. Especially São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro stand for the centre of this sport, nevertheless, each other bigger city has its own skateboarding scene.

The fact that skateboarding is fairly popular and spread among Brazilians, it is evident from the number of drawings which depicted football and skateboard motifs. The number of

pictures represented football prevails only by one. In one case skateboarding is depicted as the constituent of bigger whole together with other three separated elements, in the second case this sport occupies the whole drawing without any other non-skateboarding components. Skateboarding in the latter picture (#6) is depicted in a similar way like football is. As the children depicted football via pitch, this boy did it likewise, only with using of convenient “pitch” for skateboarding, a skateboard ramp. The ramp is a dominant element occupying a significant part of the picture. On the left side of the ramp a skateboard going down is depicted, which can be regarded as a crucial element in terms of clarifying of what is found in the picture. Besides the ramp, the boy represented weather with the sun and two blue clouds above the ramp.

As mentioned above, the former picture (#7) is comprised of several parts. The girl divided her drawing into four frames of different size, putting smaller in the upper part, bigger in the lower part. She placed the skateboard motif into the left bigger frame. The other frames are occupied by individual drawings of books, music and museum. According to these themes and the placement of the frames bordering particular pictures it may be concluded that there is not any significant interconnection between them and the skateboard motif, apart from the fact, that they fall under the topic “culture”. There is a certain resemblance in the depiction of skateboarding to the representation of former drawing (#6) as a ramp is found here as well. Nonetheless, this ramp is not represented entire, but it enters into the drawing from the unknown. The element which makes the considerable difference between this and the former drawing (#6) is a presence of human figure, a skateboarder. Meanwhile in the picture #6 there is only a skateboard, in this drawing the girl drew not merely a skateboard but a skateboarder, too. From the skateboarder’s haircut typical for girls it may be inferred gender of the figure. However, since there is no other woman attribute, it is not possible to pinpoint sex of the figure with certainty. The skateboarder is depicted smiling and going down on the skateboard to the edge of the ramp. Besides this motif, another one is rendered in the same frame. The writing “ROCK!” that is underlined and stressed by exclamation mark was put in the upper part of the frame above the skateboarder. There can be seen a reference to music which is an important part of skateboarding. Regarding skateboarding as freestyle sport in which any boundaries do not exist, not even its music is tied with conventions. Nevertheless, at the beginning of formation of skateboarding subculture punk and rock stood for mainstreams in music listened by skaters (Brisick, 2004). Thus it suggests itself that the writing which girl

placed into the drawing can have such a reference. But there is an eventuality that the girl did not have any knowledge of history of skateboarding and she simply wanted to stress that this sport is related to music in general. In any case it is possible to claim that the writing was intended as a straight link to skateboarding and not as a reference to music generally, since the theme of music is already depicted in another frame in the drawing.

In conclusion, it is worth noticing that despite the fact, that the children represented sport, most of the drawings are not depicted dynamically, children gave preference to static depiction instead. It also should be mentioned that nearly all drawings involving sport motifs were drawn only by boys. Despite the fact, that Brazil is often considered “football country”, the interest in football is not gender equal. Even in Brazil this sport is grossly tied only to men, while most of women are likely disinterested in that. This can be observed in the distribution of gender of the drawings’ producers within this category (see Table 4). None of the girls depicted football and the rate of representation of sports by girls is low in general. Only one girl produced a drawing (#7) pertaining to this category, nevertheless, her depiction of skateboarding constitutes just a part of the drawing and thus this motif is not as highlighted as in the drawings in which it is represented separately. But in comparison with other drawings of this category (#5 and #6) as only one she placed one more element into her drawing. Such an element is the music, which is not a straight part of the given motif, nonetheless, it is somehow related to the theme. It should be emphasized that the children who depicted football did not place any writing into the pictures as the children who rendered pagode or funk did. This fact may be surprising since boys usually have their favourite football players or at least they support a concrete team. Especially in São Paulo where rivalry among teams and their fans is quite substantial, this missing representation of personal preference can be considered uncommon. Another interesting fact is found in the numerousness of its rendering. Although football is regarded as the most popular Brazilian sport, the numerousness of its depiction is equal the overall numerousness of the representations of other sports. Thus the dominance that football holds within sports in Brazilian culture cannot be observed in the children representation.

4.1.3 Rio de Janeiro

Another theme depicted in the drawings was places related to Rio de Janeiro. In this category any large diversity of motifs cannot be found as the children drew only two motifs. Precisely,

they drew the two most famous places of Rio de Janeiro that may be regarded as symbols of the city: Christ the Redeemer and Sugarloaf Mountain.

The place that the children often represented is Christ the Redeemer. The enormous statue of Christ with open arms gazing down at the city from the top of Mount Corcovado is an emblem that is probably the most associated with Rio de Janeiro and with the whole Brazil. However, this heroic sculpture is not perceived as one of the Brazilian cultural symbols only by the rest of the world, but it is considered alike even by Brazilians. This can be seen in production of reproduction of the statue in large quantities. Christ is represented in graffiti art and also in sand statues and even on human bodies as some people let the statue's portrayal tattoo. Even though the statue represents Christ, a religious symbol, each person perceives it differently. For instance for people of favela Santa Marta that is located straight under the statue its meaning is dissimilar to meaning of people from other social classes, residence and sociocultural background (Bowater, Mulvey & Misra, 2014).

In spite of the fact that the appearance of the sculpture is invariable, it is interesting how each child drew it in a little different way. Two drawings of various depictions will be analysed here. The first picture (#8) which will be examined represents Christ the Redeemer from distance. Mount Corcovado with the statue is placed in the centre of the drawing, surrounding by two orange areas in which wavy lines lie, each on the one side, and by blue area that occupies the upper half of the drawing and extends as if behind the statue. The slightly orange areas may be read variously as there is not any determinative component which would make the significance clear. They can stand for beach as the used colour is not so much distance from the colour of beach and the areas border with the blue area which could represent the sea. Then the two grey wavy lines can be analysed as sand dunes, however, this is only a hypothesis which is not based on any supported facts. But in case of this conjecture, level of modality of the drawing would be low as such depiction would not correspond with the reality. Nonetheless, this latter objection is not so fundamental since the children might not attach details to the context in which the main object is represented. Thus, to the fact that in reality the background of the statue is comprised of green hills, behind which the sea extends, cannot be assigned much importance. The blue area, as it was already said, may be the sea, however, since the area occupies the whole upper part of the picture, it can give the impression of the sky. Mount Corcovado is depicted like a green hill that towers over the little

ones which lie along each side of it. Obviously, these little hills are supposed to indicate the ones surrounding Mount Corcovado. These little hills are uncoloured, only their shapes are depicted by pencil. As Christ the Redeemer is depicted from distance his likeness is not portrayed in detail, especially his body, which is represented seamlessly without any rendering of the clothes or fingers. As during the year the statue is several times illuminated by various colours according to event which is celebrated, it is hard to say whether the used orange colour refers to some specific illumination or the child wanted the statue to approximate to reality by using this concrete colour. The most detailed element of the statue is the head. The child drew Christ with black hair and depicted the main features of his face as eyes, nose and mouth. The object placed on his forehead can be interpreted as the Crown of Thorns and such explanation was the only one that was found. Nevertheless, Christ the Redeemer is not sculpted with the Crown of Thorns. This can signify that this component the child borrowed from portrayal of Christ in religious images.

The second depiction of the statue (#9) is much less colourful than the previous one. On the other hand this drawing is more detailed and comprised of various participants but without surrounding landscape. The stairs which lead to the plinth on which Christ is standing is only depicted part of Mount Corcovado. The stairs remained uncoloured like the whole statue with the plinth and the fence around it, from which may be concluded that the uncoloured parts stand for the concrete or other building materials. The dominant feature of the picture is indisputably the statue whose way of depiction is very specific. Notwithstanding that this child represented the statue more elaborately, the whole modality is fairly low. In contradistinction to the drawing #8 this one depicts Christ clothing represented by the boy in his own way that is fairly distinct from the real one. From the neck there is a line led down to the plinth, which gives the impression of division of the robe into two parts, chiefly, in the lower part. Head is the most elaborated and the most peculiar part of the whole statue at the same time. The manner in which it is rendered does not correspond with the manner of representation of Christ the Redeemer and other typical portrayal of Christ either. Probably the most distinguished components of his head are ears and the hat. The ears are fairly enormous in consideration of size of his head and the way in which the hat is put on it gives the impression that quite dissimilar person to Christ is depicted. Thus it is convenient to ask whether the child really intended to draw Christ the Redeemer. Although the peculiar representation of the head does not correspond with reality, there are still other components

supporting the conjecture that the child's intention was to depict the famous Rio's monument. Apart from the stairs, there is the fence surrounding the plinth and the posture of the statue and another component which buttresses the surmise is the little figure depicted on the left from the plinth standing with his back to the viewer. The figure represents likely a tourist taking picture of the statue, which indicates that the statue is a frequented place. Such a statue is in Brazil only one, Christ the Redeemer. Besides the elements related to the famous statue, two other represented participants that do not have any direct connection to the statue, are found in the drawing. On the right side there is a bird whose coloration quite clearly makes reference to Ara, a parrot typical of Brazil which inhabits Amazon rainforest. The second participant is represented above the Christ's right arm. Despite the fact, that the depiction is not as evident as the one concerning Ara, it may be assumed that the participant stands for a hang glider from several reasons. First, the shape of the rendered object on which a person is fastened resembles hang glider's wings. Another considerable element supporting this surmise is the black line drawn across the person's body. That may represent a control bar which pilots hand to. The last fact is that in Rio de Janeiro practice of hang gliding is fairly popular, mainly by tourists, therefore a lot of companies offering this experience reside there and the hang gliders are often seen above the city.

Within this category only one child depicted a motif that is not related to Christ the Redeemer. This boy drew another dominant feature of the city, Sugarloaf Mountain. In Portuguese called *Pão de Açúcar* is a 365 metre high hill situated by Guanabara Bay and adjoining Mount Urca (Morro da Urca). Sugarloaf Mountain is famous for the cable car connecting it with Mount Urca. The cable car was constructed in 1912 and it was the first cable car in Brazil and the third in the world. The origin of the mountain's name is related to several versions, nevertheless, the most popular one says that producers of sugar cane used to store the sugar in a shape which resembled the mountain. Nowadays it is one of Rio's symbol and frequently visited place in the city (Cia Caminho Aéreo Pão de Açúcar, s.a).

The drawing depicting Sugarloaf Mountain (#10) is imaginarily divided into two parts, one representing the mountain, other the sea. Sugarloaf Mountain is not rendered entirely as the right side of it seems to be disappearing into the unknown. Taking into consideration the colours it can be concluded that only a peak of the mountain is depicted. This conclusion supports the fact that in reality the green vegetation covers only a peak of the mountain and

the rest of it is nearly a bare rock, which is indicated with the brown colour. The child put a red writing “Pão de Açúcar” above the mountain in parallel with the grey line shaping the peak, thus there is no speculation what is actually represented. The mountain and the sea are divided by grown stripe, which could mean a certain boundary between them and thereby the child might have wanted to indicate the end of the rock and beginning of the sea.

From the monotony of motifs of the drawings in this category it may be inferred that Christ the Redeemer is definitely a significant element linked to Brazilian culture by the children. The fairly low modality of the drawings depicting the statue of Christ may be caused by the fact that the children do not come from Rio de Janeiro and thus their projection is distorted. In the first analysed drawing (#8) it can be observed the effort to represent Christ since even one more attribute characteristic for him was placed into the drawing. On the contrary in the picture #9 the typical attributes related to Christ and his appearance are missing, which may be also explicated by low age of the author of the drawing and their dim awareness about visual aspects of religious characters. However, the silhouette and the environs are close to reality, which indicates some knowledge about the statue appearance, nevertheless, lack of awareness about which character the statue actually represents. Surely, it cannot be ascribed to the child’s deficient drawing skills as the other components are drawn with accuracy. This drawing as only one within this category depicts more elements than just the dominant one. The parrot which the boy placed into the picture is definitely linked to Brazilian fauna thereby he made reference rather to Brazil in general than to Rio de Janeiro. On the contrary the rendered pilot of hang glider is possible to be read in association with the city as it is a frequently practised sport there. Although the children do not come from Rio de Janeiro and perhaps they have never been there either, via the drawings they express quite strong relation between culture and Rio de Janeiro.

4.1.4 Countryside and nature

Despite the large number of drawings falling under this category, only three various motifs can be classified here. This arises from the fact that majority of drawings of this category represent the same motif. The three motifs which were depicted are *fazenda*, landscape and beach.

Agricultural production is a very important sector in Brazilian economy as it composes 5.5 percent of Brazilian GDP (CIA, 2013) and gives employment to almost 16 percent of Brazilians (CIA, 2011). Hence a lot of farms are spread over the whole country and such an expansion strengthens the countryside culture, which composes a substantive part of national Brazilian culture. One of the most significant cultural element within the countryside culture is music, which will be illustrated with one of the drawing below. Besides other things, farming has always occupied an important role in Brazilian history, especially in association with sugar cane and coffee plantations and slavery. It is even possible to claim that *fazenda de café* (coffee farm) represented a considerable place in national Brazilian identity, since there are several holidays and ceremonies related with coffee.

The first drawing #11 that will be analysed in this category can be considered a depiction of *fazenda*. Despite the fact that the drawing is fully uncoloured, it may be derived that there are several elements which indicate that conjecture. The base on which nearly all participants are placed is comprised of vast plain descending to the left side. The dividing of the plain to the three parts, one rising from the previous one, makes a distant perspective. The representation of the little sheep that are grazing on it proves that the surface represents grassland. The conclusion that the little animals may depict sheep emerges from the way of drawing of their body. Especially, the body of the sheep which is put between the others represents this fact in the most visible manner. There may be a speculation if the others animals are sheep or not as their rendering is not as clear as the placed in the middle. Nevertheless, it is possible to assume that the animals represent some kind of farming animals since they are on the farm. On the right side from the animals a simple house is depicted. The house is rendered from the side so that two sides of the building were visible, which is quite typical of children's drawings of houses. However, the size of the building is not obvious since the little size of the animals and descending grasslands indicate that the distance between the viewer and the participants is large. Thus the size of frame's shot can be called very long shot. This shot does not exactly enable to determine the purpose of the house for that is intended but considering the fact that it is situated on the grassland where sheep are grazing, it may be presumed that it is a house where employers or owners of the farm live. A representative of flora is definitely the tree rendered on the left side. With the respect to perspective it can be said that the tree is the closest rendered participant to the viewer. If the perspective was observed, the animal drawn next to the tree would be regarded as animal of short stature because it is significantly

smaller than the other animals represented in larger distance. Nonetheless, the probability of compliance with the rules of perspective is very low with respect of the young age and drawing skills of the child. The only one participant depicted in the upper part of the drawing is the sun straight above the tree.

A further drawing #12 depicts four themes, three falling under this category. The particular little drawings are not framed as they are in the drawing #7, but the certain separation is indicated by the distance between each other. Every of these depictions are labelled by caption and in the left upper corner is the writing referred to what the author of the drawing thinks about culture. “Para mim a cultura veio do nordeste” (For me culture came from Northeast) explicitly expresses the boy’s opinion. Each motif he drew somehow makes reference to the Northeastern Region and, apart from the theme of dance, all of the represented motifs are related to nature or countryside, too. The picture in the left upper part of the drawing renders a musician, namely Luiz Gonzaga as the caption shows. Even though, that this motif is connected with music, there are several facts which link this musician with nature and countryside. Luiz Gonzaga was a singer and reformer of Brazilian popular music who came from Northeastern Region. As a young boy he left his family farm and after some time he settled down in Rio de Janeiro, where he fully dedicated to music. His music reflexes northeastern society and culture, which is definitely connected to natural conditions of that region, especially to *sertão*, dry and inhospitable northeastern backland often included in his song’s lyrics (Santos, 2004). The boy rendered Luiz Gonzaga with his three typical attributes, with an accordion, hat and glasses. The accordion was an instrument characteristic for his music and the hat was a part of his traditional northeastern clothes. The glasses are not as strongly related to him as the previous attributes, nevertheless, he quite often concertized wearing them. The figure is depicted with one of his feet lifted off the ground, which indicates a figure’s slight movement, but the way in which the musician’s feet is rendered is very peculiar since such a pose is unnatural. Another part of the whole drawing is marked by the caption “Produção de animais” (Animal production) and represents two animals that are not easily recognizable. Concerning the caption it may be supposed that the animals are some kind of farming animals. The animal depicted in bigger size can be considered a cow as there are features resembling this animal. One of these features is the coloration. On the body of the animal there is a spotting pattern of variously distributed black patches, which indicate that the animal is piebald. The fact that cow’s hair is often coloured this way supports the surmise

about the meaning of the drawing. Besides this, the manner of rendering of the ears, mouth, hooves and shape of the body more or less responds to appearance of a cow. The second animal that is depicted in smaller rendition does not have clear features that would clarify which animal it stands for. The only similarity with the other picture is the hooves and the way of depiction of the mouth. The black hair, body's shape and its ears that may be stood for horns are very confusing elements mixed together, so it does not enable to determine the identity of this farming animal with certainty. In the Northeastern Region cattle farming is very extent and so the association with the picture is evident. The last motif representing an element of Northeastern culture is a drawing accompanied with the caption "Açudes" (Dams) and with the word "Rios" (Rivers) in the bracket. Here the caption is crucial since the drawing is hard to identify. The picture probably represents a river in whose middle is indicated some barrage. The Northeast of Brazil is the area with the biggest concentration of dams in the country since this region has been afflicted by frequent drought (Rebouças, 1997).

The next subclass of this category is representations of landscapes, most of them evincing similar characteristics. This subcategory is definitely the largest one as nine drawings belong to it. It should be noticed that this theme was depicted predominantly by girls. Only two boys depicted some type of scenery. One of them drew the similar landscape in the same way as the girls, the second one depicted different type of landscape and thus the manner of his rendering is distinct from the rest of the drawings, which look alike. This resemblance can be ascribed to the fact that especially the girls sitting next to each other could copy from each other. However, this not may be generalized since some of these drawings come from different schools and classes. An element which all of these drawings have in common is the sun. In all pictures the sun is depicted in some manner, in majority of them it is shining between the clouds. The way of depiction of the sky in general is the most similar component connecting all of them. Another feature is representation of tree. Six out of seven drawings rendered by the girls depict a tree, mostly standing on the side of the paper and with some kind of fruit in their treetops. Not all of them represent fauna, but if they do, they represent birds or butterflies. The rest of the features little differs, nonetheless, they remain to be very resembling to each other. The significant distinction is in presence of human figure as it was not a common component for all the drawings depicting landscape.

Two drawings of this subcategory represented by the girls from different schools were chosen for the analysis. The first one #13 fully corresponds with the first mentioned common feature since the sky is comprised of the sun surrounded by two blue clouds. The lower part of the drawing is slightly distinguished from the common pattern. As the only girl she placed the tree in the middle of the picture, however, the way of its depiction is in accordance with the form of the others. The house put on the left side from the tree is a unique element of all of those drawings. The house is drawn in the similar manner as the house in the drawing #11, however, this one is coloured and, apparently, the entire door is not rendered. A rendering of surface is missing so only the border of the paper can be regarded as some kind of base of the ground. The whole drawing bears the caption „Cultura“ that was supposed to be „Cultura“ (Culture), nevertheless, for children the consonants “r” and “l” is easily mistakable.

The second girl's representation #14 of landscape involves both of the common characteristics. Apart from the clouds and the sun, birds are another element drawn in the sky. They are rendered behind each other in simple way without any details. Even though the tree corresponds with the general pattern, a dissimilarity can be found here. Two of the tree fruits are falling down, so a rendering of movement was added to this depiction. The tree may be regarded as a considerable component of the picture since it is the only represented participant which is coloured. Another constituent of the drawing is the figure placed in the middle between the tree and the flowers. The long hair of the participant indicates that it stands for girl or woman. The rendering is not so much detailed, thus it is possible to recognize the eyes, mouth and the shape of the clothing. In her right hand she is carrying a small basket, which can indicate figure's intention to pick up the tree fruits. On the right side of the figure four flowers are rendered, however, as there are not coloured their recognition is not unequivocal. Despite this fact, it may be assumed that the two flowers on the right side have the shape of rose. Above the blooms of all of them short wavy lines are drawn. It is not clear what these lines can mean. They may be considered some smell of the flowers, nonetheless, the way of the representation stands more for some vapours. The tree, figure and flowers are depicted on uneven surface, each of these participants standing on one of the little surface elevation.

As mentioned above one of the boy's drawing (#15) singles itself out for its different theme. He drew a beach instead of the landscape typical for the previous drawings. Representing a beach, the picture refers much more to Brazil, which could not be seen in the other rendering

of landscape. Beaches are definitely connected to Brazil as there are a lot of them that are famous across the world and majority of Brazilians love spending time by the sea. One third of the drawing is comprised of the beach where four green parasols and two chairs under of each one are placed. Little spilling waves are represented with several bold blue wavy lines. Close to the shore five people are bathing in the sea and only their heads and shoulders are depicted. Due to their hair it may be supposed that all of these swimmers are men. Apart from the hair, the boy drew eyes, nose and a smile on each face. The sea is occupying the rest of the upper part of the paper.

To summarize this category it may be claimed that the drawings most related to Brazilian culture are the representations #11, #12 and #15. They as the only ones render the elements associated with Brazil. On the contrary, the landscapes depicted largely by girls do not make reference to Brazilian culture, however, half of the drawings refers to a culture since they render cultural landscape. Nevertheless, in four of them any element referring to cultural landscape cannot be found, thus these pictures do not fit in the anthropological definition of culture. Even though that Brazil is a rich country in terms of flora and fauna diversity, any of the natural remarkableness attracting also a lot of tourists is not depicted in the drawings, which could mean that rendering point to the unspecific nature. The gender imbalance in this category may be ascribed, as Megumi Iijima (Iijima et al., 2001) claims in her research focusing on sex differences in children's drawings, to the tendency of girls to draw flowers, birds, butterflies and human motifs. From the themes of drawings belonging to this category it may be concluded that within Brazilian culture the farms are significant element to which many others for instance music is linked. As picture #12 highlights Bahian culture, it can be observed that in Brazil regional culture is quite important.

4.1.5 Cultural diversity

Drawings that point out some cultural diversity or involve elements referring to culture of other countries fall within this category. Only three drawings depict such motifs.

The first such a drawing #16 is uncoloured and its dominant component represents a large house, again rendered in the same way as the houses in the drawings #11 and #13. That what classifies this drawing to this category is the writing "Escola Mundial" (World School) placed on the lateral side of the house, since it can be considered a reference to some cosmopolitan

thinking and education. However, this meaning cannot be found unequivocal, since “Escola Mundial” can make reference to popular Brazilian children’s soap opera called *Carrossel*. In the soap opera children attend “Escola Mundial”, therefore there may be a possibility that the picture refers to this serial. Nevertheless, since in the drawing any elements connected to *Carrossel* are not found and, furthermore, the age of the girl does not fit into the main age range of the audience. Under the writing two flowers are depicted, which can be assigned to the already mentioned tendency of girls to depict such motifs and on the left side from the house there is a female figure. The girl did her best to render the figure in detail. To emphasize that the figure is a female she placed a hair clip ribbon into the figure’s long hair, highlighted long eyelashes, eyebrows and lips. She also represented the clothing in detail, especially the sleeves and the shoes. Nevertheless, such a particularity is missing in depiction of the hands. Besides other things, the posture of the arms is unusual as well. A backpack is placed next to the female figure, which makes reference to the depicted school and to the fact that the girl is a student. Weather is rendered with the sun and in the sky four birds are depicted in simple undetailed manner.

Next drawing #17 renders the globe. The way of the representation clearly shows the child’s mental map of the geographical world. The girl used four various colours for her drawing, each one referring to something else. The two areas opposite each other, one in the lower part, the second in the upper part of the globe, are coloured blue colour that is slightly different from the one which represents the sea. Concerning the location of these areas it may be argued that they refer to Antarctica and The Arctic. The darker green was used for the large four areas that obviously stand for the continents. Even though, their shapes do not correspond with the real ones, according to their position it is possible to find out which continents the girl depicted. Only from the green area that probably represents Europe is not evident whether Asia is a part of this territory as well or the child did not distinguish between them or she did not take Asia into account. Nevertheless, according to the length of the continent whose borders are shorter than the upper border of Africa, it can be assumed that the area represents only Europe. From the depicted shape it arises that the girl’s image of that continent is far away from reality as only the vertical rendering more or less observes it. Under Europe is drawn Africa whose shape is more realistic and it may be even said that its representation is the most accurate of all of them. This fact can have an association with African cultural roots in Brazil. These roots considerably influenced Brazilian culture and

perhaps this culture closeness causes that children's familiarity of Africa is better than of the other both culturally and physically more distant continents. A significant error in the shape of Africa is the right upper tip, which does not belong to Africa but it can be regarded as a part of the Arabian Peninsula. However, in the girl's mind Africa and this peninsula grew together. In spite of the fact, that South America is the girl's homeland continent, its rendering is not as exact as it could be. Its shape more likely resembles the outline of Brazilian borders. That gives the impression that the girl perceives Brazil as the only country in South America, which may emerge from the fact that Brazil is the largest state with a significant role in the continent. Apart from this, children's contact with other countries is not as common and frequent as for instance in Europe, since travelling to other states is affordable only to wealthy Brazilians. Other depicted continent is North America. In the drawing there is not any indication of connection of North America with South America, thus Central America and Mexico are missing. The shape is the most resembling to the outlines of the USA and Canada, nonetheless, State of Alaska neither Greenland with other islands belonging to Canada fit into this shape. Asia is not a single continent which is not rendered, since Australia is probably missing, too. Maybe due to Australia's small size and its certain isolation that is caused by its large distance from the other continents the girl did not depict it. Nevertheless, this absence of Australia cannot be claimed with certainty as there are three little islands rendered by the bright green, one of them not being represented entire. This island could stand for Australia since its position more or less corresponds with reality. It seems that the islands were placed randomly just to draw some hence it is almost impossible to identify them.

Drawing #18 is related to culture of another country, exactly to Great Britain. The picture is drawn only by pencil and merely only one represented participant is found there. A tall building that stands for Big Ben as the caption above it indicates. The tower is placed on the grey line which represents ground and anything else is not depicted in surrounding. Thus the boy represented only the clock tower without the building of Westminster Palace which is part of. Element that refers to London Big Ben the most is definitely the clock, notwithstanding it is not rendered in fully right way. The boy depicted the clock face with Roman numerals as it is in reality. Nonetheless, the order of the numbers is not correct since they are nearly randomly placed there. The boy probably did not know the Roman numeral properly, however, he had a rough about their appearance. Even the number of the numerals is not right as only ten numerals find there and some of them are depicted more times. The

hands are drawn in the position showing three o'clock. The whole tower, apart from the roof, is covered by little uneven squares that can be a representation of windows or maybe building materials. The roof has a shape of triangle and on its top some object which could be considered an antenna is placed, but with respect to the real appearance of Big Ben it may be assumed that this antenna represents a spire of the tower. Last but not least it should be noticed that the caption "Big Ben" is not the only writing in the drawing. There is another one below this one which, however, is not as visible as the second one. Moreover, the first letter of the writing is not clearly identifiable, it can stand for the letter "v" or "l". In the first case, this word would not signify anything in Portuguese either in English, but in the second case the writing would stand for English word "loser" which, concerning the fact that the children were drawing the pictures during English classes, is not pointless. Nevertheless, in any case this writing probably does not make any reference to the drawing itself.

Based on the analysis it can be inferred that these three drawings show three various representations of culture which do not have anything in common with the culture of their authors. It can be claimed that pictures #16 and #17 refer to culture in wider meaning as in both of the girls' depictions the motif "world" is found there. Whether via a rendering of world school which makes association with some global thinking and consciousness or thereby a depiction of the globe in order to emphasize that culture is a worldwide phenomenon. The drawing #18 makes reference straight to the particular culture. The choice to depict British culture element may be signified that the boy sees culture in opposition to his own. That may be even more emphasized by the fact that he chose a culture which is fairly distant from Brazilian one. To sum up, it is possible to argue that all of those children with their drawings went beyond the borders of their own culture.

4.1.6 Unclassified

Into this category all drawings depicting a theme which was not represented frequently to create an individual class fall. Thus various drawings find here, however, almost all are related to Brazilian culture. Several representatives of this category will be analysed below.

A theme which was, maybe surprisingly, depicted only once is carnival. A seasonal celebration which is definitely connected with Brazil, especially with Rio de Janeiro, and accompanied by samba parades which are known over the world. However, the drawing #19

does not depict this celebration in the manner that would make the recognizable without any caption. The lower of the drawing is comprised of the stripe in which few blue squiggles probably indicate the sea. Above this stripe another one can be found, which is wider and uncoloured and is bordered by another blue stripe from the top. It may represent some thick surface since a female figure is depicted there. As almost all previous depicted figures this one also is rendered smiling with the main features of the face. The only significant difference is that the face and skin are coloured pale orange to represent a colour of skin. The arms are rendered stretched out, which taking into consideration that the drawing depicts carnival can give the impression that the girl is dancing. The body is rendered nearly without the waist as in that part of the body the dress is too much tight. To the right side of this second stripe a lower part of rectangle intervenes. Although its significance is not obvious, however, there is an assumption what it can stand for. It is possible to talk about picture in picture as in the rectangle there is another drawing. This little drawing is divided into three parts, the lower part being the largest one. The upper part is crucial as a writing “Feliz Carnaval” (Happy Carnival) with an added small heart placed there. This writing is essential for the understanding of the drawing. In the next part under this one a big chair and a little female figure are drawn. For such a depiction only one explanation was found. The chair can be regarded as a throne for so called Children Carnival Queen who is elected every year during the carnival. The figure of the girl then may represent the queen herself and the green lower part then acquires its meaning in association with the throne since the part of the thrones usually comprises of decorated surroundings including the ground. The decoration is often harmonized with nature and so the green colour chosen in this case is appropriate. Nevertheless, this assumption cannot be claimed with definiteness as there are not enough depicted elements that would confirm it. Besides other things, it may be speculated whether the drawings have something in common or they represent two separated pictures.

Another theme that cannot be classified within the categories is depiction #20 of one of Brazilian clothing chain stores of average selling price. The whole drawing has a caption „Cutura Brasileira“ which is supposed to be „Cultura Brasileira“ (Brazilian culture), nevertheless, as already mentioned children have difficulties when writing the word “cultura” correctly. From the writing it can be concluded that the girl automatically linked the assigned theme “culture” to Brazilian culture. Her drawing is comprised of a straight line on which the store and two figures are set. The store is represented with a rectangle whose major par is

coloured bright green. The only part of the house which is blue is the wings door with writing „puxe“ (pull) on each side. Above on the rectangle is another large writing “Rener” which is the name of Brazilian clothing store, however, the right spelling is “Renner”. Two female figures are standing next to the store. Their rendering is simple with the typical face features and hair, with stretched arms and feet turned into one side. The only dress and face are coloured elements of the figures, however, for each of them different colour was used. The girl’s face depicted closer to the store is pale orange, whereas for the face of the second girl dark brown was used. Thus this is one of a few representations of the whole set of drawings that distinguishes the colour of skin of the represented figures.

Next unclassified drawing #21 represents a ballet dancer. The ballerina was depicted in the middle of the stage surrounded by red curtains. She is rendered in the ballet position as she is standing on tiptoe meanwhile she is doing a side leg lift with the second leg. Nonetheless, the arms are depicted in peculiar way since they are drawn in one stroke which gives impression of elbow joints’ absence. Moreover, this arm’s position is not typical of ballerinas. Her face as the rest of the skin is coloured pale orange and the most highlighted face feature is definitely the eyebrows. The black round spot placed on the left side of her head represents a topknot typical for ballet dancers. The clothing is comprised of violet dress and ballet shoes whose lacing is depicted with the three violet crosses on each shin. According to the number of attributes linked to ballet, it can be said that the level of modality of this drawing is relatively high. This drawing was probably created because of the girls’ interest in ballet and the fact that she used to practise it as she said, which explains why she exactly represented ballet in her drawing. Already mentioned level of modality is also remarkable for the fact that she had never seen a live ballet performance.

Another theme which is characteristic for Brazilian culture is capoeira. As it represents a combination of dance, acrobatics, philosophy and martial arts, the classification to some particular category would be complicated and thus it was labelled as unclassified. The origin of capoeira is not definite, nevertheless, three various versions may be take into consideration. The first one, which is stated as improbable (Assunção, 2005), claims that capoeira has fully of Brazilian origin as the indigenous ethnic Tupí-Guaraní introduced it. The second version assumes that runaway slaves became practise capoeira in their refugee villages and the last one sees the roots in Africa, especially in Angola. In any case capoeira changed a lot over the

decades and so today's social context and cultural meaning is different. But even this contemporary meaning is not united since there are regional differences which arise predominantly from the cultural struggle between Bahia and Rio de Janeiro. So the history of capoeira differs from each region as all of them attach importance to something else according to what fits to the concrete regional history. Hence Cariocas, inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro, see as an important fact that in their city there is a significant continuity of capoeira and that Rio is the city that spread it to the other regions. Meanwhile people from Bahia claim that this kind of martial art came from Salvador, the capital city of the region, and lay stress on distinguishing between Angolan and regional capoeira, whereas Cariocas do not assign an importance to that. Nevertheless, such difference of interpretation also depends on social classes and backgrounds from which particular interpretation emerges. Thus capoeira represents a cultural element whose perception changes across the society. Only fact which all agree on is the period from which capoeira became to practise in Brazil since it is verified by historical documentation that claims that it was introduced approximately by the beginning of the 19th century. Nowadays, the characteristic element for all types of capoeira is a musical instrument called *berimbau* that looks as a bow and accompanies the game. Besides this one, other instruments as *agogô*, *pandeiro*, *atabaque* and *reco-reco* are traditionally used. A form of capoeira was considerably changed during the first half of the 20th century when a lot of new acrobatic movements were invented by famous capoeira Rio's master Bimba, who apart from this, spread the game across the social classes to which his own academy contributed. Even though, that today's capoeira was transformed since the Bimba's era, still, the majority of components emerged from his style. In the 1990s even several women became to practise capoeira, however, it is still regarded as largely man game (Assunção, 2005).

The drawing #22 which represents capoeira is drawn quite accurately. In the drawing seven male figures are depicted from which two are fighting in the middle and the rest is surrounding them playing the *berimbau*, singing or supporting the fighters. The little wavy lines may signify a beach where capoeira is often practised. The circle in which fighters demonstrate their skills is usually comprised of surrounding people, however in the picture it is rendered by the circle made probably in the sand, which is not common. Apart from the male figures, next to the circle some kind of outwear with a *berimbau* is placed. As the fighters and one onlooker are shirtless, it can be supposed that it belongs to one of them. Two figures on the right side are playing the *berimbau* whose sound is represented via two notes

next to each musician. Since this drawing is rendered in details, both of them, although they are doing the same thing, are drawn differently. Only elements that are the same are the clothing and a big nose, ears and only four toes which can be found in depiction of all the figures. The other features of the head and facial mimics differ. The one who is more distant from the viewer has his mouth closed and his *berimbau* is not as stretched as the *berimbau* of the second one and the position of their hands distinguishes, too. It has to be mentioned that the bigger modality of the instrument is found in the depiction of this figure. The other musician has the *berimbau* more open and he is holding it in the straight position unusual for playing the instrument. His mouth is open as he is probably singing. On the opposite side of the circle are placed other two male figures who are sitting on the ground both in dissimilar positions. The one sitting with his feet in front of him is depicted without a t-shirt. His body is rendered in details as six pack and other muscles are visible. His head is turned into the other figure and his left arm is pointing to the fighters. The figure next to him is kneeling with left arm stretched across his body and with his right one behind his right ear, which is a peculiar position. His face is slightly coloured by pencil which indicates the dark colour of his skin. He is wearing a shirt as the musicians which is not usual a piece of clothing for capoeira. Mostly fighters as men around are shirtless or they wear vests. The clothing of the lower part is comprised of long loose pants with a belt made of wool whose colour shows the fighter's attained level. They are normally barefoot and all the parts of the clothing should be white. Another not quite common thing for capoeira is the sitting position since people in the circle usually are standing and playing the instruments or clapping. The last figure who is not participating in the fight but watching it is placed further from the circle unlike the others which gives the impression that he is only a passer-by, nevertheless, the similar clothes make him pertained to the group. He is one of a few figures throughout all analysed drawings who is depicted from behind. As already mentioned he is wearing resembling clothes, exactly the long pants and shirt, and his raised arms are spread into the sides. The two fighters are depicted in the combat position as one of them is kicking his leg straight to the chest of other who is in backward dodging the blow. So they are ones of a few human figures depicted by children in the research who represent dynamic figures. In the drawing the fighter are the only ones who are depicted with belts on their pants, which is unusual since during the performance of capoeira the men around customarily have their belts fasten on their trousers as well. The upper part of their body and their arms are shredded, which refers to the good physical condition with which the fighters have to be endowed to do all the strenuous

acrobatic movements. As the rest of the figures even the fighters are depicted with big round noses and their mouths are open, obviously to draw a breath. The little drops around their hands and legs probably represent sweat, which shows how the whole drawing is depicted complexly attaching importance to the smallest details. Due to this fact it is interesting that the boy left out thorough depiction of fingers and toes. This drawing is focused only on the elements which are directly related to capoeira and thus it can be claimed that it is somehow pulled out of context as any other participants like weather that is commonly depicted in the other pictures are not represented.

The last representative of the drawings from unclassified category is a picture #23 depicting *Festa Junina*. It is a catholic celebration of nativity of Saint John the Baptist which, albeit, the day falls on the June 24th, celebration parties take place a little before that day and they continue until the end of the month. *Festa Junina* has several characteristic components that are significant during the celebration party. One of them is a dance called *quadrilha*, which is related to countryside and rural life and is chiefly accompanied by concertina, triangle and *zubamba*, a type of Brazilian drum. Apart from this music linked to *quadrilha*, the celebrations are predominantly linked to musical style called *forró*, music originated in Northeastern Brazil. For instance Luiz Gonzaga's music (musician who was depicted in the drawing #12) is one of the most played music during the parties. Another important element is food. Food is always comprised of typical agricultural products cultivated in Brazil as corn, peanuts, sweet potatoes or cassava. These crops represent the basic for the particular regional dishes eaten during the parties (Rangel, 2008).

The drawing depicted *Festa Junina* with two essential elements strongly linked to the celebration. The first one represents the colourful decorated pennant flags in the upper part of the picture since such a decoration is common for the celebration. The girl used for their colouration only three various colours, which is not a lot as they are usually multi-coloured. Above the decoration there is the writing "Festa Junina". The second one is the popcorn cart on the right side. Popcorn as a product of corn is plentifully sold and consummate during the festivity, moreover, such small popcorn carts are also common on the streets in Brazilian cities. The cart is rendered with two cross wheels and a little counter on which two full popcorn boxes are found. The upper part of the cart is orange and writing "Pipoca" (popcorn) is put there. Besides these participants, two human figures and a tree are drawn. The figures

are rendered almost in the same manner. As the figures are not coloured and the way of depiction is really simple, it makes the impression that they do not represent the significant components of the drawing. The tree is placed on the left side and the way of rendering fits in the group of the drawings of landscape. The position of the tree and its green treetop with red fruits are typical features for that group of pictures.

Based on the analysed drawings above, it can be concluded that the drawings found in this category are labelled as unclassified not due to some extraordinary theme but therefore that their numerousness is not sufficient to create their own category. It is interesting that some of the typical themes linked to Brazilian culture or to a culture were depicted only once, whereas for instance drawings of landscape with trees and birds which does not have direct relation to culture were represented several times. As each representation depicts a unique theme, no comparison of techniques or represented participants can be made. However, some general elements can be compared throughout the categories, which is interpreted below. Except those analysed pictures another motifs as the Brazilian flag, graffiti, books, car and a city were appeared as well. That means that this category includes ten various themes in total, which is ten various representations of culture which have the same importance like the classified ones. It can be argued that the unclassified drawings fill in the particular categories and together form a unit.

5. Results and interpretation

5.1 Themes of the children's drawings

It can be concluded that overall 15 various themes were drawn as a respond to the question "What is culture". Five of them were depicted many times and thus it was possible to group them into the particular categories and analyse them within them. This enabled to make a comparison between each other and thus observe the repeated elements from which it could be found which components the children perceived as substantive in the rendered motif. Even though, this comparison could not be realized with the unclassified drawings, still, there are several facts that may be taken into consideration within the overall interpretation. Apart from gender, age or number of depictions, techniques and manners of rendering can be a part of the comparison through the categories as well. Nevertheless, before the overall interpretation, each of these categories should be interpreted with respect to gender, age, represented motif and a style of depiction.

5.1.1 Music

Music was represented seven times and so it was the second most numerous depicted theme. Three motifs were repeated: pagode, funk and music in general. Pagode was rendered by two children of different sex and age, which shows that samba music is not bound only to certain age or sex as it was possible to observe in case of funk. Both drawings represent pagode via depiction of musicians with instruments. Although there is a range of the instruments used by pagode musicians, in both of those pictures *pandeiro* was found, whereas other instruments were omitted. The only exception was *cavaquinho* that was possible to find in the drawing #2. Therefore, there is an assumption that *pandeiro* was an attribute to which the children assign importance within this motif. Funk was rendered by two thirteen-year-old boys, thus by the oldest children involved in the research. This fact concerning the characterization of funk is not startling. Even though, mainly due to the funk parties held in favelas and the adolescent girls who perform funk dance in the favela streets, the children find the way to funk early. The depictions little differed, however the considerable similarity was the reference to concrete singer or song which both of the boys made. That may point to the fact that funk puts emphasis on the lyrics and their meaning. Meanwhile, one boy represented it only by writing, the second one added a little rendering of a stage with musician, so here the manner of depiction of music through drawing a musician was the same as in the drawing #1 and #2.

The last motif of music not referring to any particular genre was depicted twice via rendering of radio. The fact that children chose for the depiction of music the same motif is interesting as each of the children came from different school and so any copying could not occur. In both of the depictions captions “Music” or “Musica” (Music) were also placed. Thus all of the drawings related to music included some writing or caption that referred to the represented participants and so music was definitely a category with the biggest number of such pictures. That, besides other things, can emerge from a need of the children to emphasize certain genre or favourite musician. Nonetheless, despite the written descriptions the children did not leave out rendering of attributes typical for certain motif. Exactly half of these drawings were depicted separately from other motifs, the rest was always drawn together with some other motifs which were almost in all cases somehow associated with the motif of music. Either music was represented as one of many cultural elements as it was in the drawing #7 or together with a component with to which music can be associated like in the drawing #1. Eating feijoada is a part of many pagode shows and so some relation could be found there unlike the drawing #6 where any such a relation was not observed. In this category boy’s depiction prevailed by two, nevertheless, there was the same number of the coloured drawings made by boys and made by girls. Besides that, each motif also had at least one coloured representative. Age distribution differed since there was a range from 8 to 13 years. The children who represented the pagode were the youngest ones, whereas funk was drawn by the oldest ones. Four drawings of this category were plainly related to Brazilian culture, where only two of them were linked to general culture elements.

Table 3 - Overview of motifs of category “Music”

Motif	Number of depictions	Sex		Average age	Use of colours		Presence of writing
		Male	Female		Male	Female	
Pagode	2	1	1	9,5	-	1	2
Funk	2	2	-	13	1	-	2
General music	2	1	1	12.5	1	1	2
Total	6	4	2	11.7	2	2	6

5.1.2 Sport

Six children depicted some motif related to sport which means the same frequency as in case of music. The dominant theme was football as it was rendered three times which was the biggest number of representation with the same motif. As mentioned above all drawings depicted football via football pitch and goals, thus thereby only stable participants. That may have arisen from the fact that it was the good way how simply and comprehensibly represent football. Neither any writing was placed into these drawings, which implies a reference to football as to sport generally. However, depictions of skateboarding varied, especially, by the rendering of a figure in one of them and by diversity of colours used in the pictures. While the boy used several colours in his drawing #3, the girl drew it only by pencil and put a writing there. Representation of snowboarding was quite atypical motif, particularly, when it was put in the same drawing as funk. Despite the presence of writing in this picture, in this category this criterion was not taken into consideration since the writing clearly referred to funk motif and not to snowboarding. This category was gender imbalanced since it involves only one girl's depiction, which may be caused by the fact that football and skateboarding that are considered important components of Brazilian culture are predominantly male sports, thus the girls might not have such a strong relation to them. Number of drawings with writing was much smaller than in previous category but on the other hand there were more coloured drawings mainly due to the football depictions as green colour is one of the attribute of this sport. In comparison with the category of music average age was little bit lower here, nonetheless, the age range was not so significant since the lowest age was 10 and the highest 13. Overall, five represented drawings were in relation to Brazilian culture.

Table 4 - Overview of motifs of category "Sport"

Motif	Number of depictions	Sex		Average age	Use of colours		Presence of writing
		Male	Female		Male	Female	
Football	3	3	-	10.3	3	-	-
Skateboarding	2	1	1	11.5	1	-	1
Snowboarding	1	1	-	13	-	-	-
Total	6	5	1	11.2	4	-	1

5.1.3 Rio de Janeiro

The research involved overall four representations that made reference to Rio de Janeiro. The diversity of motifs within this category was the smallest one as it included only two various themes. A clearly predominant one was Christ the Redeemer since three out of four depictions rendering this Rio's prominent. Notwithstanding the general low modality, all of the representations of Christ were recognizable, largely due to well-known position of the statue that was kept in all drawings. Apart from this, any of the children did not leave out representation of Mount Corcovado that was another essential element making the recognition easier. In two cases the colouration was limited to Mount Corcovado and the rest of the drawing remained predominantly uncoloured. The size of frame of two of them corresponded with indication of medium long shot as it is only possible to see the whole Christ and the mountain either but not the surrounding. To see the surrounding enabled only drawing #8. Sugarloaf Mountain was depicted only once which can be startling as it pertains to considerable places of Rio de Janeiro as well. In contrast to the pictures of Christ the Redeemer in this drawing a caption was placed. As there was not any need for that in the previous drawings, in this case it was fairly appropriate as there was not any essential attribute which would guide a viewer to the right recognition. The overall average age of this category was lower which can be one of the factors of low modality but there are other conjectures about it. As mentioned earlier, the children did not come from Rio de Janeiro and perhaps they have never visited it, thus the inaccuracy can emerge from this fact, too. As in the previous category as in this one only one girl's depiction could be found. With respect to the fact that the whole category referred to Brazilian city all of the drawings made reference to Brazil.

Table 5 - Overview of motifs of category "Rio de Janeiro"

Motif	Number of depictions	Sex		Average age	Use of colours		Presence of writing
		Male	Female		Male	Female	
Christ the Redeemer	3	2	1	10.3	2	1	-
Sugarloaf Mountain	1	1	-	11	1	-	1
Total	4	3	1	10.5	3	1	1

5.1.4 Countryside and nature

Countryside and nature was the most extensive category of classified drawings as eleven depictions fell under it. In spite of the large number of drawings, just three motifs were involved here. The one that was probably most connected to Brazilian countryside was the motif of *fazenda*. Farms and countryside comprise an important part of Brazilian culture, albeit only two renderings of this motif do not indicate this fact. Meanwhile, one of them represented farm directly, the other one depicted it thereby several motifs referring to countryside. In the drawing #11 captions were placed above each little picture, whereas the drawing #12 did not include any. Both of the drawings depicted farming animals which represented the main attribute of farms whose depiction made the recognition easier. Colouring was not found as only pencil was used in both cases. Motif of landscape which was largely comprised of grass with a tree, sun, clouds and alternatively other few elements was represented eight times which was the largest number of depiction of the same motif. Stokrocki (2000) who carried on a research based on drawings of Brazilian children claims that frequent depiction of scenery as landscapes and beaches can emerge from the tendency of people in São Paulo spending their holidays in nature. However, the question is if such a habit is common among people living in favela and thus this hypothesis is relevant. But it can arise from a desire to leave the “concrete jungle” how São Paulo is sometimes called and spend some time in nature. Further explanation can be drawn from the observation made by Coelho (2011) in her research mentioned above. She found out that children of Rocinha tend to play in places surrounded by nature, which proposes another clarification of this plentiful representation of landscape. One of the additional features that did not belong to the group of the features represented in each landscape drawing was a human figure. Half of the pictures rendered female figure, apart from one where a couple with a heart was seen. As previously stated this probably arises from the tendency of gender depiction. Therefore it is interesting to observe the only drawing within this motif which was drawn by boy. The elements found in the picture fitted in the group of common feature and only additional feature was colourful blooms on the grass and it was also only depiction of a landscape which was drawn vertically. This resemblance, besides other things, may result from the fact that he was sitting between two girls who were rendering the motif of landscape, thus there is a possibility of copying. Among elements drawn in the representation of landscape any direct Brazilian component could not be observed and so the drawing may be regarded as representation of culture as it is known from the anthropological definition. However, not all of them complied with the

features to be classified as depiction of cultural landscape falling under the group of drawings rendering a culture. In four of them nothing what would indicate a human activity and so would represent cultural landscape was found. In addition, no caption was placed which would mark some concrete landscape or region. Therefore, there is a possibility that the children drew random drawings without taking into consideration the assigned theme. The last motif within this category was a depiction of beach, which in contradistinction to landscape drawings, had much stronger association to Brazil and its culture. In this category there was the most considerable representation of girl's depiction across the categories. All of the girls depicted the same motif, which showed the girl's tendency to render nature, moreover in colourful way. *Fazenda* was the only rendered motif which did not have any coloured representatives. The average age was similar to the previous category and the age oscillated between nine and twelve. In consideration of findings mentioned above it can be said that three drawings were related to Brazil, four to culture in terms of anthropological concept of it and the rest represented rather opposition to culture than they would involve it.

Table 6 - Overview of motifs of category "Countryside & culture"

Motif	Number of depictions	Sex		Average age	Use of colours		Presence of writing
		Male	Female		Male	Female	
Fazenda	2	2	-	10	-	-	1
Landscape	8	1	7	10.4	1	6	-
Beach	1	1	-	11	1	-	-
Total	11	4	7	10.4	2	6	1

5.1.5 Cultural diversity

The smallest group was comprised of drawings whose motifs extended beyond national Brazilian culture or referred to some multiculturalism. Only three drawings pertained to this category and it is possible to talk about two various motifs which were mentioned above. In two drawings certain reference to more than one culture may have been observed. In the drawing #16 the reference resided in the writing on the wall of depicted house which labelled the building as world school. In this motif some cultural tolerance and awareness may be found. In the depiction #17 a main element was the globe thereby the girl made a clear link to cultural diversity. Although the girls depicted the same motif, each of them rendered in

dissimilar manner and thus any common characteristics could not be found. Another motif falling into this category referred to British culture. This drawing was a single one which explicitly pointed out an element of non-Brazilian culture. From the fact that the boy represented Big Ben an assumption that he perceives culture as monuments and visited tourist places, may arise. All of these drawings were rendered by children at the age of eleven, however, no substantial conclusion can derive from this fact as eleven was the most frequent age of the children in the research. In two cases (drawing #16 and #18) writing was placed and only in one case (#17) the depiction was coloured. From the character of this category itself it is obvious that any Brazilian elements were found in the drawings.

Table 7 – Overview of motifs of category “Cultural diversity”

Motif	Number of depictions	Sex		Average age	Use of colours		Presence of writing
		Male	Female		Male	Female	
Multiculturality	2	-	2	11	-	1	1
Big Beg	1	1	-	11	-	-	1
Total	3	1	2	11	-	1	2

5.1.6 Unclassified

The unclassified drawings depicted ten various motifs from which six were related to Brazil. Notwithstanding that some of the motifs appeared frequently, they were not classified to individual category since the drawings were created on the basis of copying. In fact, only one representative of such motifs was included to the total number of depicted motifs, however, within interpretation of other criteria, even the copied drawings were involved. This occurred in the motif of car, when one of the boys in the class said loudly what he would draw and the boys surrounding him began to render the same thing. Moreover, this motif is specific only for this class since in any other car was not rendered. The other copying did not happen so apparent, however, the girls were sitting next to each other and both of them depicted the motif of book, which was drawn almost in the same manner. Nevertheless, in this case, in contrast to the previous one, it is not possible to say which girl was the one who copied it. Other themes of the drawings pertaining to this category were depicted only once, and so they were unique. As representations rendering some Brazilian components are considered the ones depicting themes of capoeira, the fashion store Renner, carnival, graffiti, the Brazilian

flag and *Festa Junina*. Among the drawings with no direct reference to Brazil themes of ballet, city, car and book may be classified. Even though, there was not such a predominance of the gender, due to boy's copying, diversity of themes depicted by boys is negligible. Only three motifs out of ten were rendered by boys, whereas girls depicted the rest, which means seven motifs. Besides that, from the themes that boys represented, only one (capoeira) was related to Brazil, meanwhile four of girls' depictions were directly linked to that. These themes were carnival, *Festa Junina*, the Brazilian flag and graffiti, which is a typical street art found in neighbourhoods of São Paulo, where even a special graffiti style was created. Other motifs not involving Brazilian cultural elements referred to culture as it is understood in anthropological concept of this notion. The imbalance of number of motifs depicted by boys and by girls may give impression that that girls produced more varied themes, however, they did not render such a number of various motifs within the categories as boys did. Thus, in fact, boys' diversity of motifs prevailed by one. Besides the gender imbalance, there was another one in number of coloured drawings. Almost all girls, apart from two, coloured their pictures, whereas only two boys used colours and not only pencil. Putting writing into drawings was often within this category.

Table 8 - Overview of motifs of category "Unclassified"

Motif	Number of depictions	Sex		Average age	Use of colours		Presence of writing
		Male	Female		Male	Female	
Capoeira	1	1	-	12	-	-	-
Car	5	5	-	10.4	2	-	1
Carnival	1	-	1	10	-	1	1
City	2	1	1	10	-	1	1
Ballet	1	-	1	10	-	1	-
Book	2	-	2	11	-	2	1
Festa Junina	1	-	1	12	-	1	1
Flag	1	-	1	10	-	1	1
Graffiti	1	-	1	14	-	1	1
Store	1	-	1	9	-	1	1
Total	16	7	9	10.8	2	9	8

5.2 Brazilian and non-Brazilian motifs

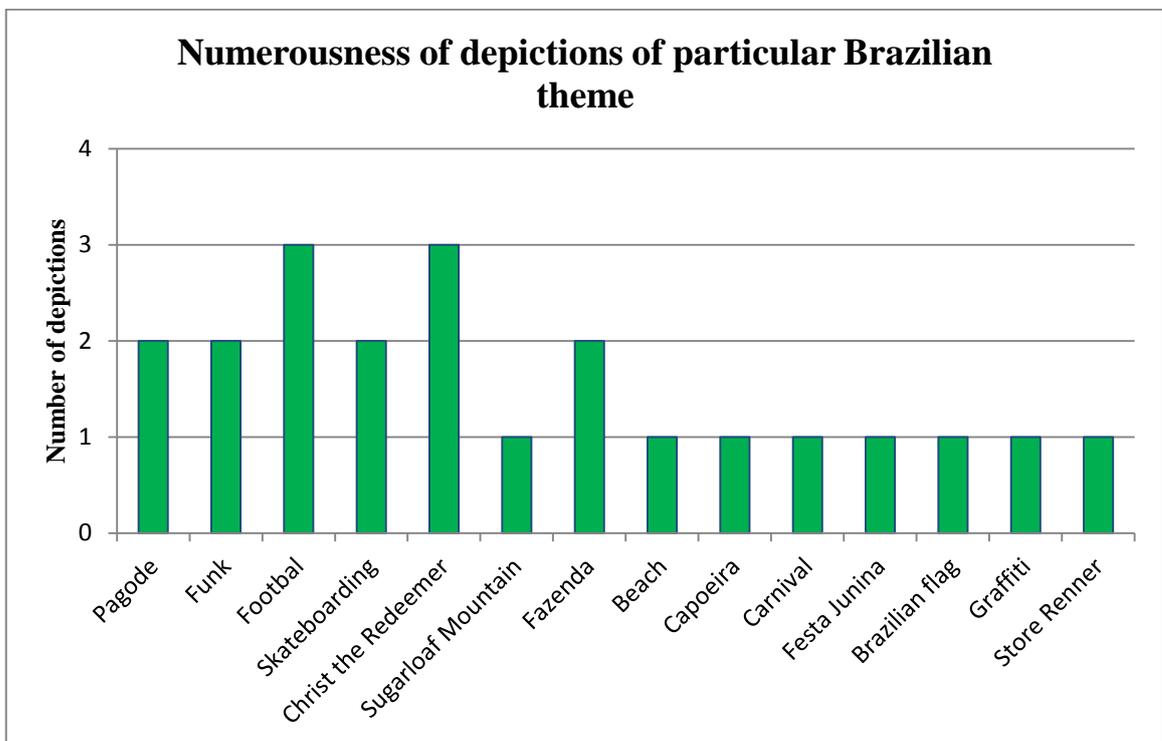
Overall 23 subject matters were depicted, which indicates a large diversity of the children's perception of culture. There were 20 drawings involving Brazilian motifs and 22 which did not have any direct relation to Brazil. Two drawings (#4, #7) then represented both of the motifs together, which caused discrepancy of total number of children in Table 1 and overall number of depictions of all themes in Table 8 as these two drawings fell into more categories. In Table 8 the basic overall data about the drawings and their authors are included. Each of the criteria in the table is interpreted below.

Table 9 - Overview of themes of all categories

Theme	Number of depictions	Sex		Average age	Use of colours		Presence of writing
		Male	Female		Male	Female	
Music	6	4	2	11.7	2	2	6
Sport	6	5	1	11.2	4	-	2
Rio de Janeiro	4	3	1	10.5	3	1	1
Countryside & nature	11	4	7	10.4	2	6	1
Cultural diversity	3	1	2	11	-	1	2
Unclassified	16	7	9	10.8	2	9	8
Total	46	24	22	10.9	13	19	20

However, if the occurrence of obvious copying in two cases is taken into consideration and such motifs are regarded as an idea and representation of only one child, the number of drawings with non-Brazilian motifs will decrease by six. So in fact there was a predominance of Brazilian motifs. It may be possible to observe such predominance in case of themes, too. Those which engaged Brazilian culture predominated by five. While there were fourteen themes concerning Brazil, only nine representations depicted non-Brazilian themes. The numerousness of rendering of particular theme can be seen in Graph 2 and Graph 3. Christ the Redeemer and football were the most depicted motifs within the representations connected to Brazil. It can be said that these two elements are definitely associated with Brazil and are

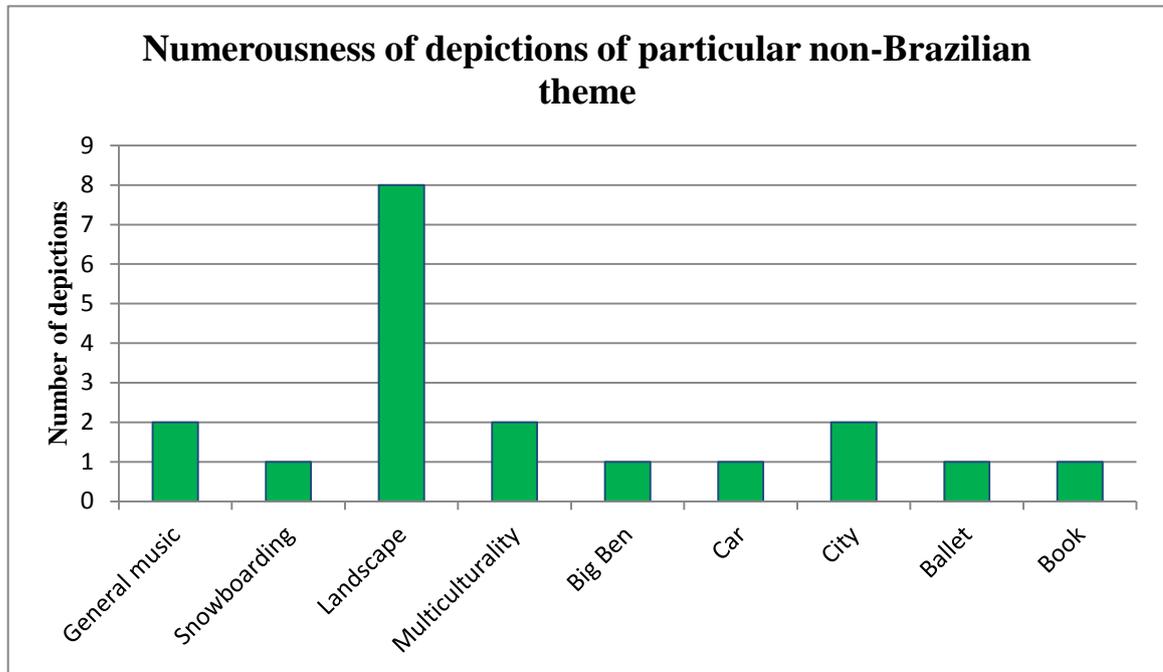
worldwide well-known. Nevertheless, the ones like pagode, Brazilian funk, skateboarding and farming whose frequency of rendering was smaller by one are not as extensively known as the previous one. In contrary some of familiar Brazilian cultural elements as for instance carnival or capoeira were not depicted as much as it could be expected. Although the component of carnival as samba was represented there, the direct reference was done only once. On the whole, the children drew chiefly old traditional cultural elements as pagode, capoeira, carnival, *fazenda* or *Festa Junina* and city's monuments as Christ the Redeemer and Sugarloaf Mountain. Both of the sports, graffiti and the fashion store can be considered as components of modern culture. The flag of Brazil then can be read as a kind of opposition to the drawings in the category "Cultural diversity" since the rendering of national flag exclusively refers to Brazil and gives the impression of some patriotism.



Graph 2 - Numerousness of depictions of particular Brazilian theme

If culture is understood in broad terms as all meanings, behaviours and any human creations that is characteristic for set of people, within non-Brazilian motifs all depictions somehow referred to culture, apart from already mentioned four drawings represented landscape that did not depict any cultural element. Occurrence of the copying makes the interpretation little harder as the copied motifs cannot be regarded as objective depictions. Therefore, even in Graph 3 only one original depiction of car was included and the same was applied in case of

rendering of book. Thus, there was the largest frequency of representation of landscape which was following by themes of music, multiculturality and city. Since culture is so general notion, as such itself offers many motifs through which is possible to represent it and hence there is no wonder that many themes were rendered only once.



Graph 3 – Numerousness of depictions of particular non-Brazilian theme

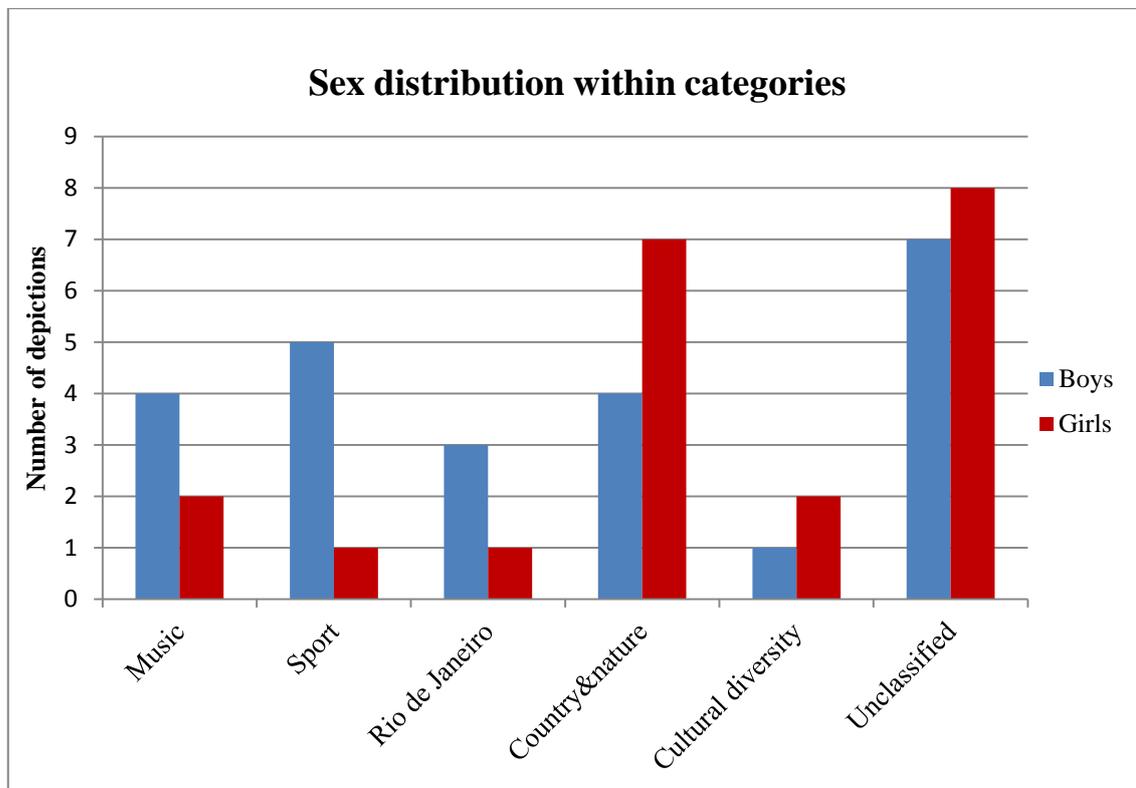
Summing up the motifs of the drawings several things should be pointed out. First, it is surprising that football was depicted football only three times as it is a very popular sport among boys as old as the ones who research involved. This enthusiasm was expressed by the fact that some of the boys were wearing football shirts. Another fact that should be emphasised is a minimal reference to São Paulo, thus the city where the children lived, and larger number of depictions of Rio de Janeiro. Only picture which could be related to São Paulo was the one rendering graffiti. As said above graffiti is a popular street art there. The frequent representations of Rio can be inferred from the fact that most of the cultural elements come out of this city than from São Paulo. Brasilia as the capital was not represented either, which can be caused by the fact that it is a newly built city which does not have much relation to Brazilian cultural roots. Besides other things, despite a strong cultural influence of US in Brazil, only one American component was found in the drawings. That element was popcorn represented as a part of *Festa Junina*. The last finding that should be also mentioned is negligible number of depictions of food. Brazil has many national dishes and yet only two

drawings (#1 and #23) rendered some kind of food. It is already stated popcorn in drawing #23 and traditional Brazilian dishes acarajé and feijoada in drawing #1.

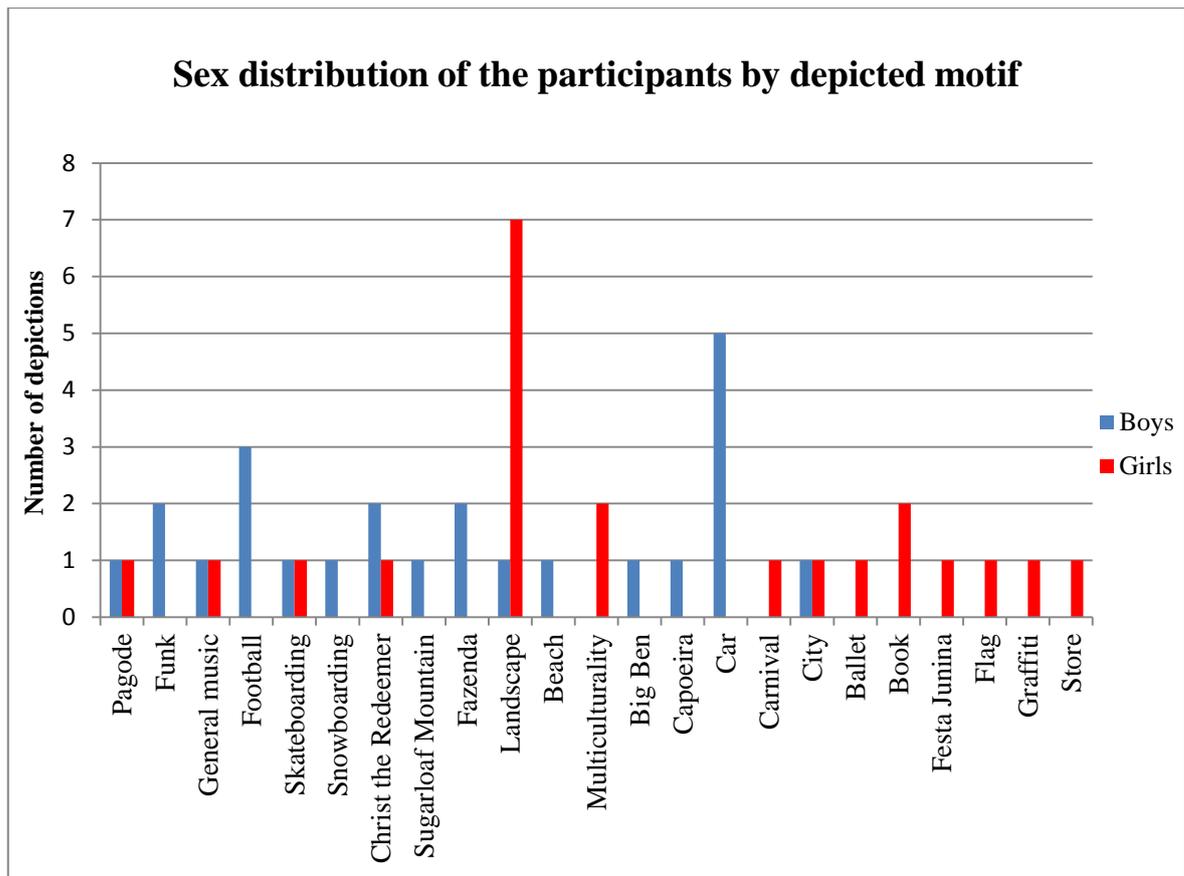
5.3 Depictions according to gender

It may be argued that all categories had balanced number of depictions by boys and girls. An exception was a category with drawings rendering sport where only one girl's depiction could be found. This perhaps arises from the fact that boys are more interested in sport than girls. Notwithstanding that sex imbalance in other categories was negligible, within concrete motifs in categories predominance of one gender was more frequent. For instance boys rendered Brazilian motifs more often than girls. Meanwhile in boys' depiction they were found fourteen times and in girls' depictions only eight times. Another obvious imbalance was in the depictions of cars, which can be ascribed again to the copying, but on the other hand it should be also considered that only boys were involved in this imitating, albeit the girls might have been inspired by that as well. Apart from the rendering of cars, the disproportion occurred in representations of landscape, too, which was already explained by specific gender tendency in drawing. According to Iijima (Iijima et al., 2001) another sex difference may be seen in the use of colours. She claims that boys tend to use more dark and cold colours, whereas girls incline to use light and warm colours. Within the drawings involving in the research the finding concerning boys' preference to depict motif by dark colour, respectively with pencil, could be observed. On the whole, eleven boys drew their pictures that way, meanwhile only three such drawings were found in set of girls' depictions. The hypothesis about using cold and warm colours cannot be objectively verified here since the Iijima's research was focused on free drawings, which means that there was no concrete subject matter that children were asked to render. On the contrary in this research some limits were set as there was a particular subject matter which the children should depict, therefore they did not draw motifs which they normally would have rendered as if there had not been any assigned task. So in many cases they had to use particular colours to credibly represent the motif. Because of that several girls used in their drawings cold colours as they depicted motif that required using of such colours. As the drawings representing landscape contained features that were resembling to the ones which Iijima described and any indication of depiction of culture was not found there, they could be regarded as free drawings. Nevertheless, even if they were treated as free, they would not observed the Iijima's conjecture of using colours since only in one of them prevalence of warm drawings can be seen. On the other hand what is kept is the claim that

girls use large variety of colours compared to boys. If boys coloured the drawings they usually used about three various colours, sporadically some of them used more, while girls normally used four and more crayons, especially in drawings of landscape a lot of varied colours were used even in the depiction of landscape drawn by the boy. Besides this, girls used often many shades of one colour unlike the boys, who did not distinguish between particular shades. Among sex differences in drawing Iijima also adds a prevalence of depiction of human figure by girls. However, this it did not apply for this set of research drawing since there was not found any considerable predominance in that.



Graph 4 - Sex distribution within categories

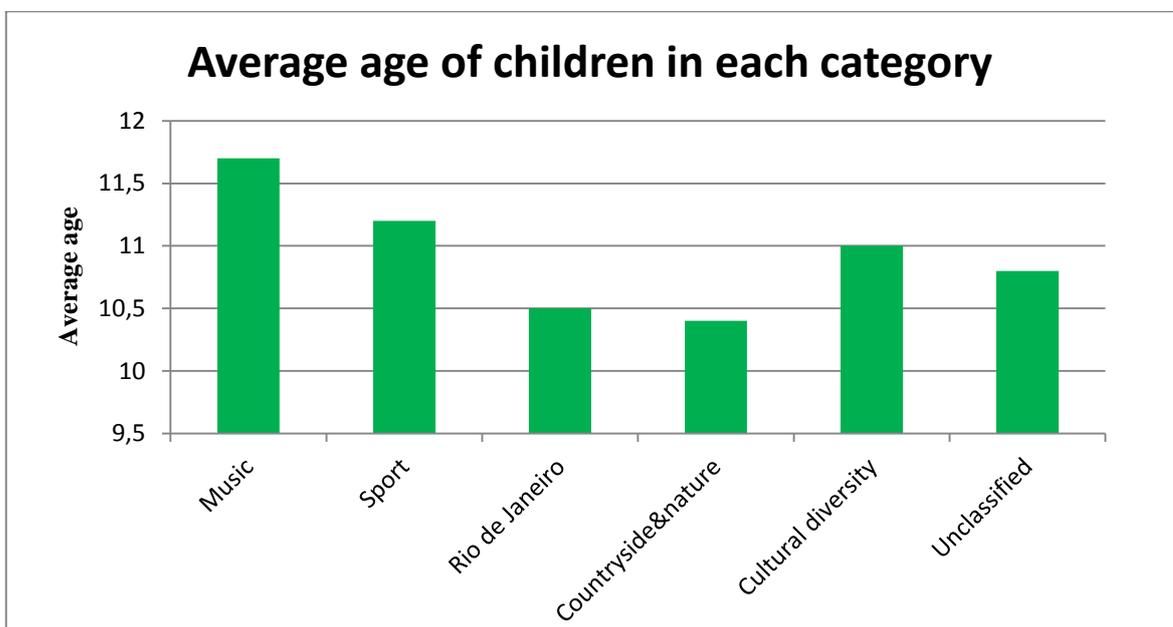


Graph 5 - Sex distribution of the participants by depicted motif

5.4 Depictions according to age

As Graph 1 shows there was not almost any difference in age composition of boys and girls and thus average age of each sex was nearly the same, too. The boys' average age was 10.7 and girls' one was 10.8. The children's age ranged between eight and fourteen, which means a relatively significant age gap, nevertheless it may not be argued that it would radically reflect it into the theme and manner of the depiction. Children of various ages rendered varied themes and thus it was not possible to relate only one age group to one concrete category. However, in some cases it was possible to link a particular age to specific motif. This could be clearly seen in the category "Music". Two marginal ages met there, which was showed in the difference of represented themes. An eight-year-old girl drew musicians of pagode, thus referred to samba that is not connected to any concrete age group. Together with the other child who depicted the same motif, their average age was 9.5, which represented the smallest average age throughout the categories. In contrast two thirteen-year-old boys rendered the motif of funk, thereby made reference to a relatively rough style of music, which,

nevertheless, corresponded with their age. Similar asperity may be observed in the depiction of graffiti by a fourteen-year-old girl. As both kinds of art are somehow related to illegality, the older children were probably attracted by that. Concerning individual categories the lowest average age could be found in the category “Countryside and nature”. This lower age was not caused only by early age of the children depicting the motif of landscape as it can be supposed, but the average age of the children rendering *fazenda* is low, too. Besides other things, it may be argued that modality of the drawings did not depend on the age of the child as the level of modality was diverse through the age.



Graph 6 – Average age of children in each category

5.5 Manner of depiction

Several common findings were discovered in the children’s way of depiction. Overall 19 drawings contained human figure, mostly only one in a drawing, depicted in static position and from a frontal view. Only in drawings #9 and #22 there were human figures depicted with their backs to a viewer or in profile. Majority of figures were not rendered in detail, hence it was in several cases difficult to determine whether the depicted figure was a female or male. Common features which distinguished the gender were the haircut and the clothing. Human figures who were regarded as female figures were represented with long hair and dress, however, even this was not always determinant to recognize the sex of the represented

participant. Since long hair does not represent only a female feature, such difficulties with the recognition were, chiefly, in cases when figure was depicted with long hair but without typical female dress and without any other female feature either. As already said only a negligible number of children distinguished colour of skin. Most of the coloured figures had pale orange skin which can be considered light. Only three children (#2, #20, #22) instead of use of orange or pale orange coloured figure's skin brown or grey. Besides other things, it is curious that most of figures are rendered without ears, which is justifiable in cases when the figure had long hair but in depiction of figures with short haircut this missing element disturbed a modality of human body. Only three children out of eleven who depicted the figures in such way that the ears should be visible did not leave out this organ. This can arise from the fact that ears do not represent a significant feature of person's appearance. Apart from the manner of figure depiction, it is worth noticing that substantial part of the drawings was represented horizontally. While 35 children drew the motifs horizontally, only nine children decided to draw it vertically. Within the horizontal a proportion of boy's depiction to girls' one was almost the same, however, in vertical depiction there was a predominance of boys' rendering by six. This disproportion could be influenced by the theme they drew and its spatial requirements, but several times it was possible to observe that the same motif was represented vertically by boy and horizontally by girl. Such drawings appeared in the category "Rio de Janeiro" and "Countryside and nature". Christ the Redeemer was depicted by two boys vertically, whereas the girl chose the horizontal rendering. In the second category this differentiation is seen even better as seven girls drew landscape in horizontal way and the only boy did it oppositely. Thus the hypothesis about gender preference of vertical and horizontal depiction suggests itself, nevertheless, any fundamental conclusion about this finding cannot be drawn, since there are not enough evidences which would verify the theory. In general, the modality of the drawings was low, however, mostly it was satisfactory to recognize a given motif.

5.6 Writing in the drawings

Overall, twenty drawings contained some kind of writing. Most of these writings represented a short caption of a given object or a title of the drawing, nonetheless, there were a few other rarely used ways of presence of the text. In the first case the writing was a part of the depicted motif, which means that the child put it there to observe the real representation of it. In drawings #16, #20, #23 and in depictions of graffiti and the Brazilian flag, which were not

among analyzed drawings, the writings comprised one of the component needed to render given motif with accuracy. Another type of using writing was found in drawing #3, in which the single text represented the whole picture as any other drawn participants were not presented. The last manner is related to drawing #12 where the boy used the text for explanation of his own opinion about Brazilian culture, thus apart from representation of the subject matter with drawing, he also put there a textual explanation of what and why he depicted. Lastly, it should be mentioned that six writings of authors of various ages were written with a spelling mistake.

5.7 Conclusion of the research

The main goal of this research was to analyse how the children from favelas perceive culture from their point of view via visualization of subject matter. The task was to draw a respond to the question „What is culture“. Various themes which were depicted by children show that there is a large range of their ideas about culture. From the number of depicted drawings containing elements of Brazilian culture it is possible to conclude that the children associated culture with their national culture more than with the general cultural elements included in the anthropological concept of culture. The most numerous theme connected to Brazilian culture was sport, more precisely football and skateboarding, which could be caused not only by their popularity in Brazil but by the facility of practising these sports as there is no need for any special use of equipment either place. Moreover, both of the activities are outdoor sports, thus the children are in contact with them more than with others. The second frequent depicted theme was music, which represents a significant part of Brazilian culture. A lot of specifically Brazilian genres exist there and the importance which is assigned to them is demonstrated during various religious and other celebrations. This significance can be observed in numerousness of depictions of this motif. With the same number of rendering pictures of elements related to Rio de Janeiro were found. The prevalence of representation of Christ the Redeemer proved that the statue is a cultural symbol which is not linked to Brazilian culture only by foreigners but by Brazilians as well. As a subject matter that is definitely connected to the environment in which the children live a motif of funk is regarded. It could be claimed that this motif represents a cultural element which is the most related to favelas of all depicted motifs. The fact that that it was depicted only twice may signify that majority of the children do not regard it as a representative component of Brazilian culture. The possibility of ignorance of this music genre by other children can be excluded since during classes the

children were interested in the fact whether the researcher is familiar with this kind of music. On the other hand, their interest in it proves that, albeit, they did not depict the motif of funk, they associated it with the culture.

Apart from Brazilian motifs, motifs which do not have any closer relation to Brazil and favela either were also depicted by the children. If the copied drawings do not involve, depictions of landscape will dominate this group of drawings. In relation to this, it should be mentioned that even in the research of Stokrocki (2001) seven girls out of ten depicted some kind of scenery as a respond to the task to draw their favourite activity. However, only two of them depicted landscape, the rest gave preference to rendering of beach, which is a considerable difference in comparison to this research in which the proportion between these two motifs was opposite. Nevertheless, the both research papers indicate the obvious girls' tendency of drawing such pictures. Apart from the depictions of the landscape, the number of representatives of each motif was generally lower than in case of motifs related to Brazil, which did not enable expressing any preference that the children within these motifs had. But besides of the landscape there was a slight prevalence of music and depictions referred to cultural diversity. Without considering the copied drawings, 17 drawings made a reference to cultural elements. Overall, there are 11 percent of cases of obvious copying, nevertheless, it may not be excluded that the rate of occurrence was actually more frequent.

Concerning gender and age differences in thematic choice and the manner of rendering, it is possible to highlight several facts. The most significant disproportion between genders was noticed in category of depiction of sport and in the category "Landscape and countryside". Overall, boys rendered more drawings with Brazilian motifs than girls, whereas girls, particularly, because of the large number of depictions of landscape, dominate representations of non-Brazilian motifs. Boys on the other hand did not represent the stereotyped images or so called "school art" images. Apart from this, they definitely gave preference to depiction by dark colour, predominantly only by pencil, meanwhile girls used much more colours and more shades. In rendering of human figures in 84 percent of those cases the fact that boys depict male figures and girls female figures was observed. Overall, no specific motif can be assigned to particular age group as majority of motifs were depicted by children of various ages, nonetheless, in few cases the age distribution of some concrete motif or category differed little more from the others. Such motif was funk that was depicted by older children

and category “Countryside and nature” whose average age as the only one was under 10.5. The manner of depiction was not influenced by age as the level of credible representation of a given motif did not depend on age as on the drawing skills of a particular child.

There were several depicted features which were not affected by age or gender either like for instance some lack of details in representations of figures, prevalence of human figures rendered from frontal view and with orange pale skin or the small number of figures in dynamic position. Another common feature was putting caption or any other type of writing into drawings for better specification that children actually draw.

Based on the results, it can be concluded that the children’s perception of culture is mostly perceived in the terms of their own national culture, however this is not exclusive as some pictures depicted quite distant motif from Brazilian culture. It should be emphasized that even the children came from favelas, thus from lower classes and their quality of living conditions might be lower, it may be argued that there were hardly any features which would indicate this fact. As one of the indicators the depiction of funk and the occurrence of spelling mistakes, especially in the drawings of older children, which can be perceived as a certain feature of a low level of education that the children from favelas usually have, may represent. Nevertheless, since there is no comparison with drawings rendered by children from other social backgrounds and classes, this is not possible to say with certainty. No matter from which classes, environment or social background the children come, their own personal experience is always somehow reflected in their drawings.

5.8 Discussion

It is indispensable to mention several limitations of the research results and some suggestions of further research. As one of the main limitations of the research may be regarded a language barrier which did not enable to discuss directly the research task with the children hence it had to be translated for them. Besides other things, this barrier hindered to establish closer contact with the children and so gain clearer view on their representations. Deeper interviews with the children would probably have made some points of analysis clearer since some interpretations of the drawings were based on only conjecture, especially the ones whose content was not clearly readable.

Another matter which did not enable deeper drawing analysis was the fact that it was not known as specific favela from which the children came. It was possible to determine the main favela or area where the children lived, however, as in each area where the schools were situated there were several various smaller favelas, accurate residence of the children could not be stated. This limited the involvement of specific sociocultural influence to the concrete analysis and interpretation of the children's drawing. Even though, the interpretation worked on the general presumption that favela's living conditions are not good and local sociocultural environment is distinguished from the one which children from higher income families in São Paulo live in, still, there is a different quality of life in each favela. Every shantytown has diverse level of safety, urbanization, public services or local transportation which substantially influences local living. If this information would have been known and involved in the analysis, another point of view could have been put into the interpretation of the drawings.

Last but not least there was a limitation of subjectivity which was reflected into the interpretation but also into the creation of categories. The formation of the categories was based on researcher's judgment who, in fact, by the creation of these classes determined what the drawings represent. In the interpretation there could be some features to which certain amount of importance was unintentionally attached more than to others.

It can be concluded that in spite of all limitations, the research has brought important findings into a given issue, nevertheless, more research studies on this subject matter is necessary in order to extend the knowledge of Brazilian children's perception of culture. Especially, some comparative research studies would contribute to validate the results and extend findings on this issue. To determine the perception of culture of children from favela with better accuracy, it would be worth researching children's drawing on this subject matter in distinguished social classes and social-cultural environment, nonetheless, it would not be pointless to carry out a similar research among children living in favelas in different Brazilian city, too.

6. Conclusion

The purpose of my thesis was an analysis of sociocultural environment of Brazilian favelas through children's drawing. Summing up the theoretical and empirical analysis that was carried out several conclusions can be drawn.

First, as the theoretical part of the thesis shows, the favela's issue has been quite problematic since it originated. A lot of problems derived from the unsatisfactory politics which was not able to effectively react to this newly-emerged phenomenon and bring any fruitful solution that would have resolved this national issue. Nowadays it represents a serious problem, which the politicians make an effort to moderate, nevertheless, notwithstanding that some actions were taken to ameliorate the situation there are still many shantytowns whose living conditions cannot be considered acceptable for permanent residence. If the policy towards favelas does not radically change, the social problems related to them will even more afflict not only their dwellers but the whole Brazilian society.

Other crucial conclusions derived from the outcomes of the research. The results clearly demonstrated that the children mostly perceive culture in relation to their own national culture. Not only Brazilian motifs were depicted in the drawings, however, the prevalence of them was relatively significant. Within representations of Brazilian culture from the number of the same rendered themes it can be inferred that the children most frequently emphasized the importance of sport, especially the motif of football. Besides football, with the same numerousness of depiction a motif of Christ the Redeemer was found. Thus these two motifs were concluded from the outcomes as the strongest elements of Brazilian culture perceived by the children.

A further inference arisen from the outcomes is that the children do not take into account their local culture (favela's culture) as in the drawings any considerable references to their sociocultural background were not found. Only one represented motif that is directly and strongly linked to favela's culture was funk music that was, nonetheless, comprised of only a small number of drawings. Thus it was showed that the children more significantly perceive national culture than their local culture, which, besides other things, demonstrates certain patriotism. The origin of favela has deep historic roots and so the shantytowns have been

forming alongside the national culture, which explains the tendency of depiction of more national cultural elements.

Nonetheless, in order to fully validate these conclusions more research studies focusing on culture through children's representation and their point of view is necessary. Chiefly, studies focusing on Brazilian children from other social classes would enable to compare the drawings and bring new findings that could contribute to this subject matter. Further interesting results could be brought from research studies carried out among children living in favelas in other Brazilian cities. This could make possible to observe some potential changes in themes depicted by the children depending on particular region of the country. Notwithstanding that the outcomes cannot be considered definitive and broadly applicable, the research paper introduces the given subject matter and represents certain stepping stone for further exploration and analysis. Besides other things, employing research technique of drawing that is not commonly used in ethnographic fieldwork might bring a little different point of view into the field of this research subject.

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Appendix

Appendix 1 Analysed drawings

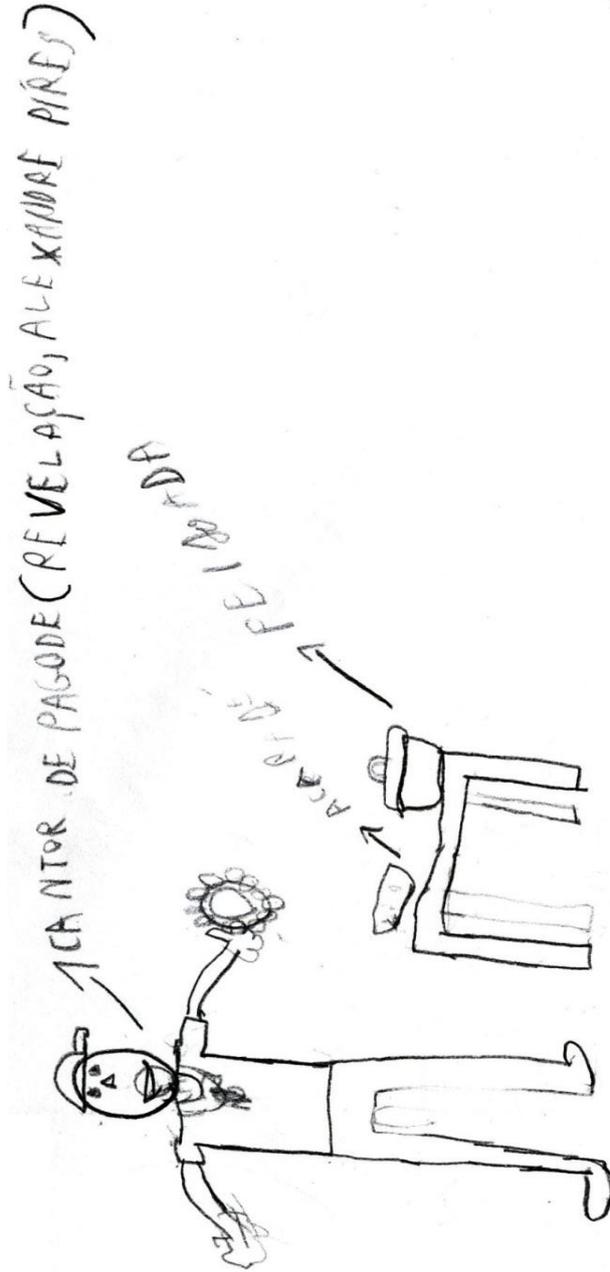


Fig 1 - Drawing #1 of pagode

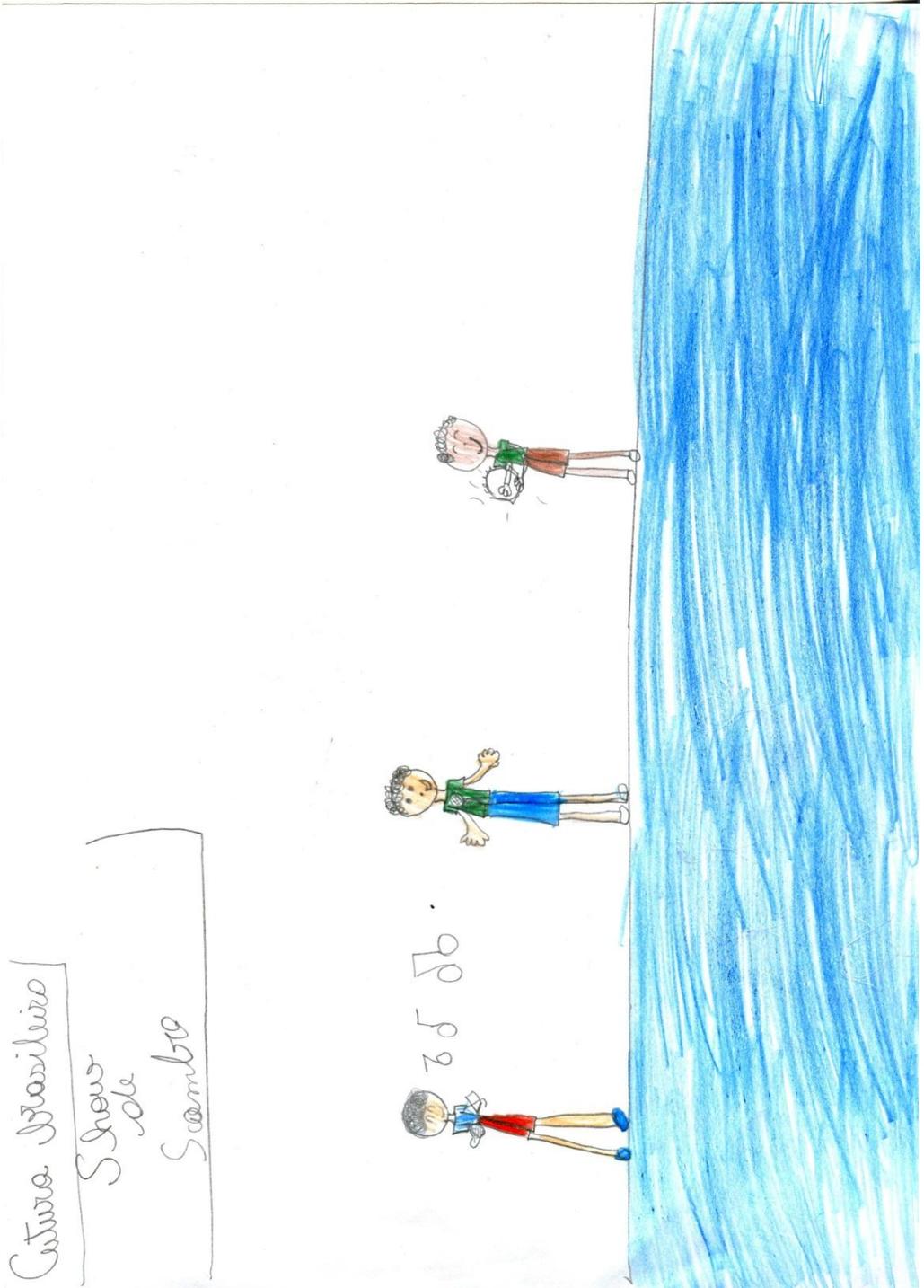


Fig 2 - Drawing #2 of pagode



Fig 3 – Drawing #3 of funk

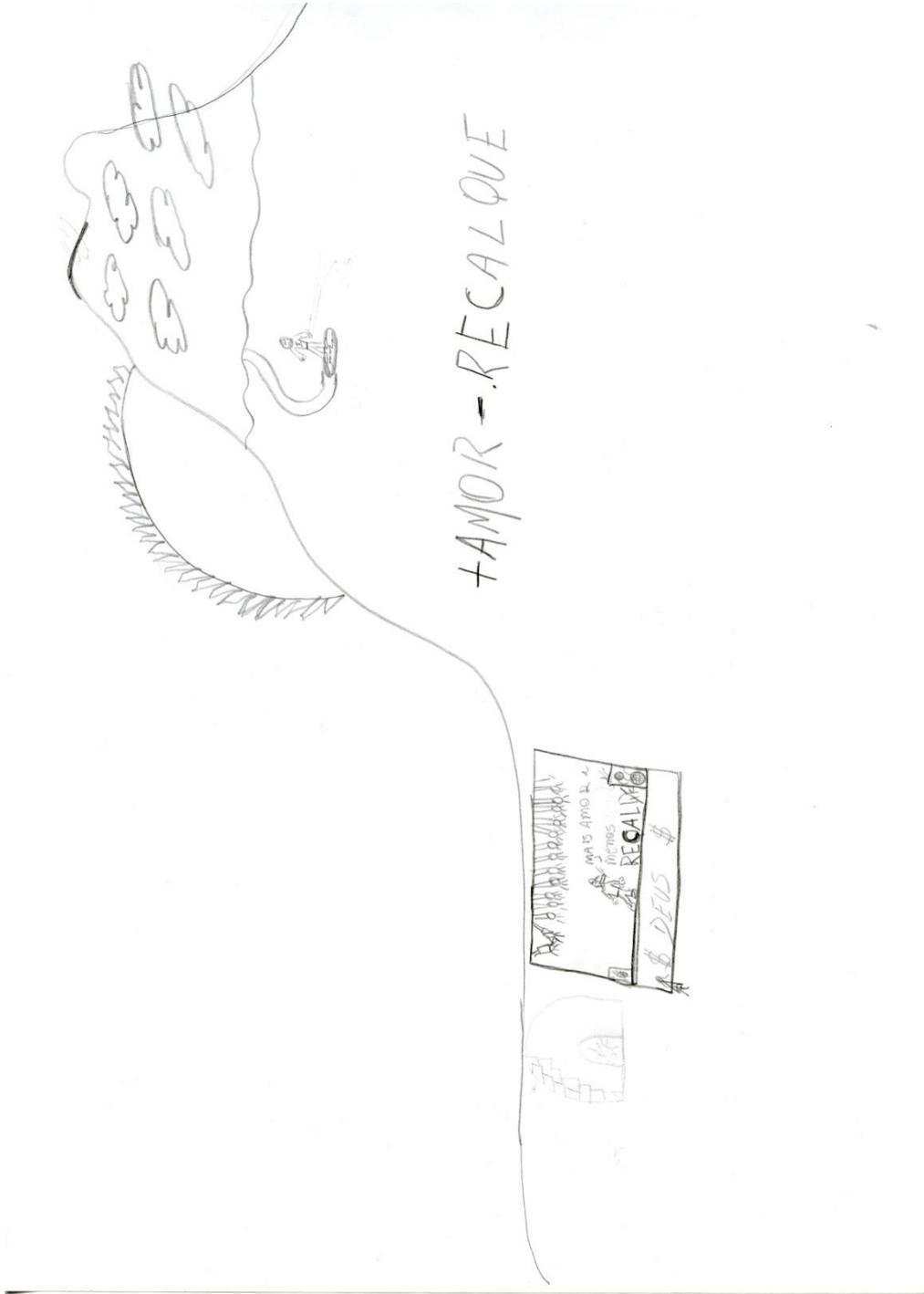


Fig 4 – Drawing #4 of funk/snowboarding

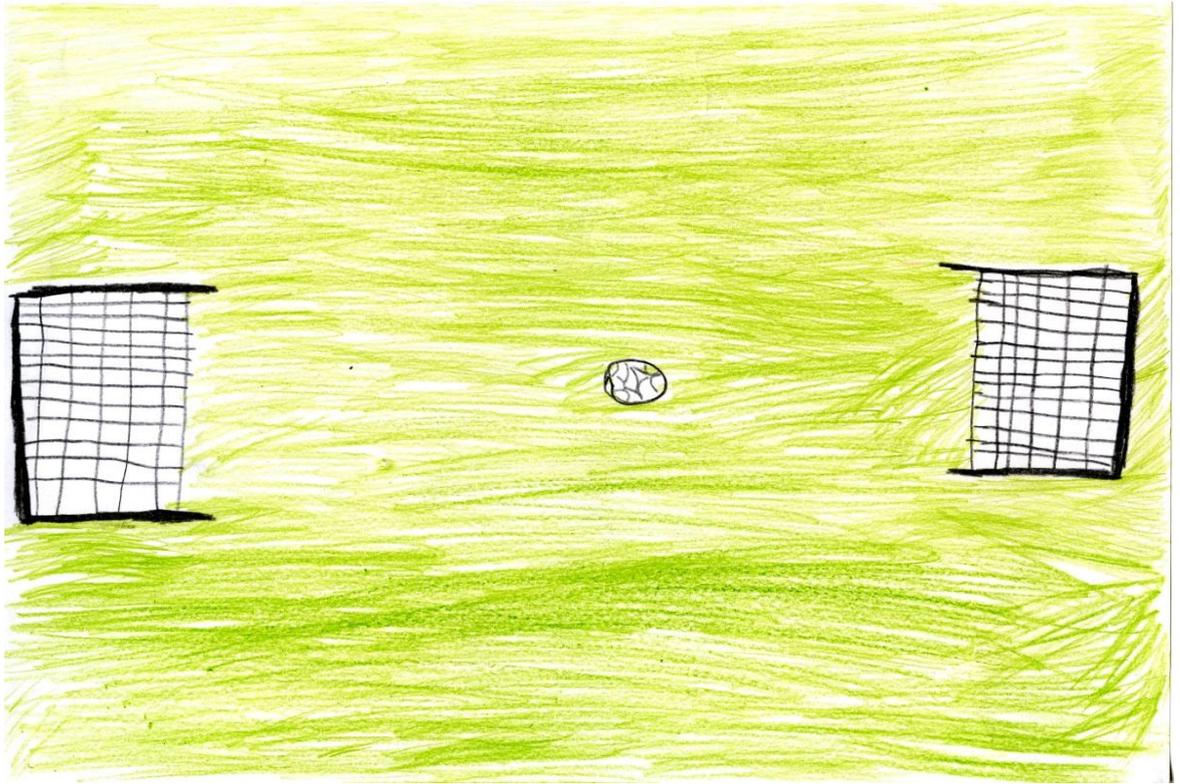


Fig 6 – Drawing #5 of football



Fig 5 – Drawing #6 of skateboarding

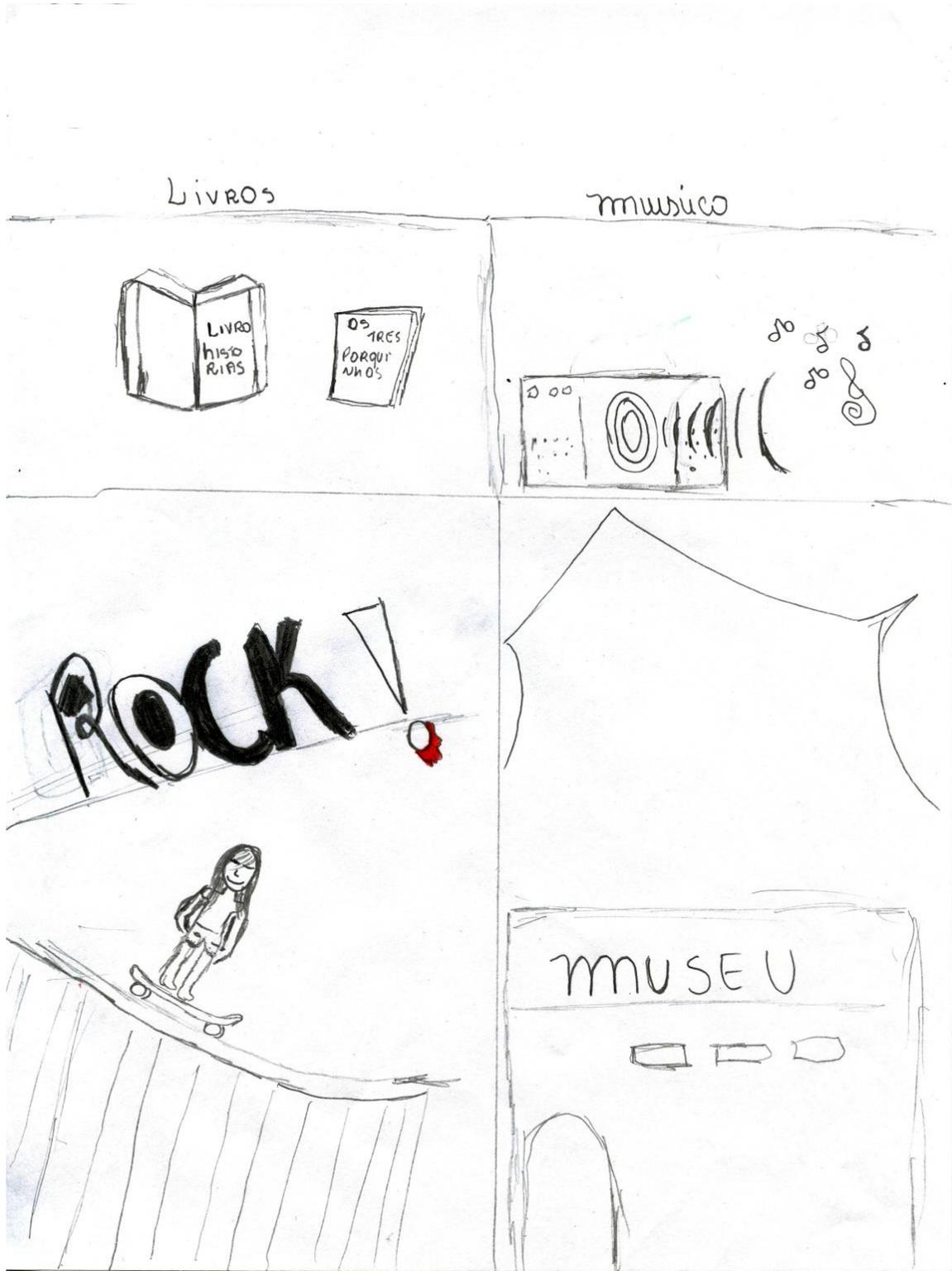


Fig 7 – Drawing #7 of skateboarding/music



Fig 8 – Drawing #8 of Christ the Redeemer



Fig 9 – Drawing #9 of Christ the Redeemer



Fig 10 – Drawing # 10 of Pão de Açucar

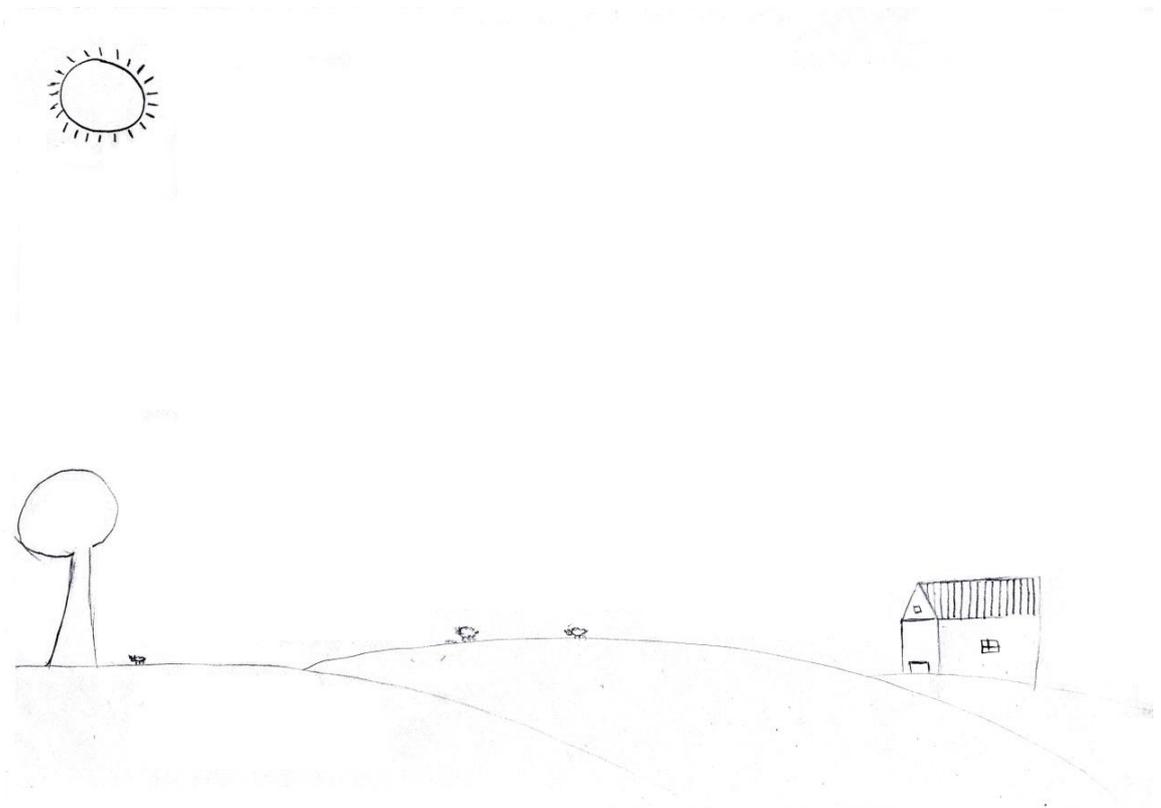


Fig 11 – Drawing #11 of fazenda

Para mim a cultura não do presidente)



MUSICA

DANÇA



PRODUÇÃO DE ANIMAIS



AÇUDES
(rios)

Fig 12 – Drawing #12 of fazenda



Fig 13 – Drawing #13 of landscape

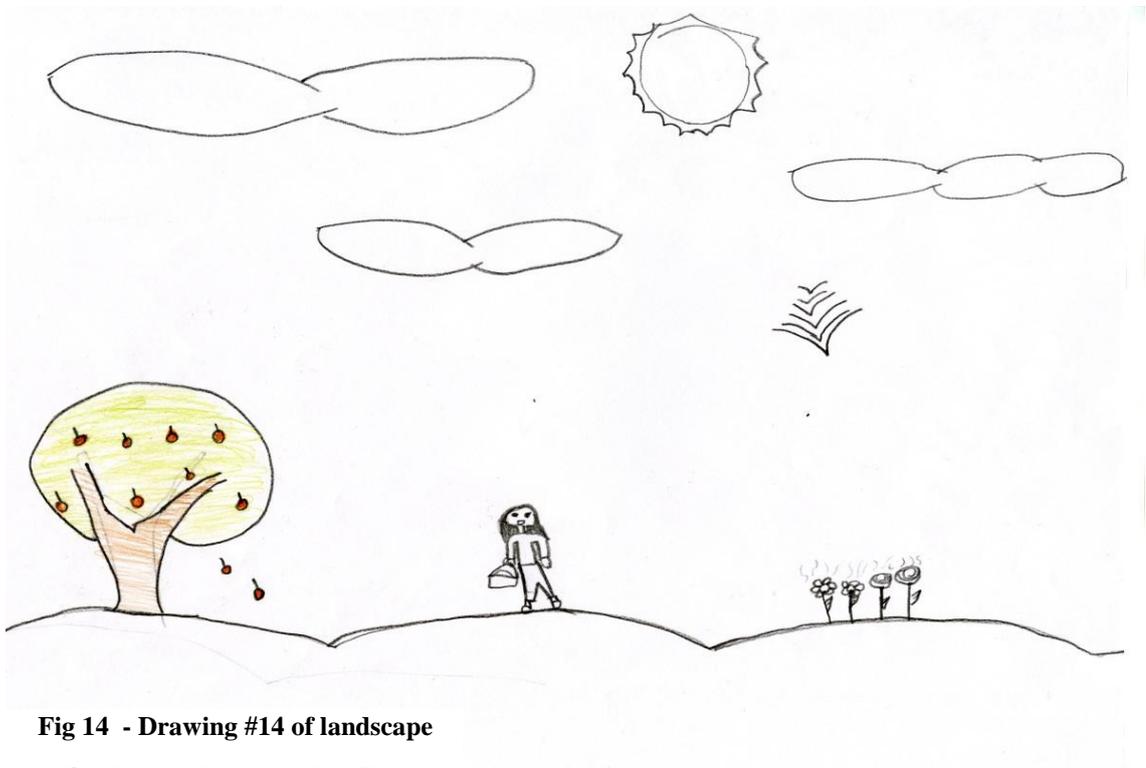


Fig 14 - Drawing #14 of landscape



Fig 15 – Drawing #15 of beach



Fig 16 – Drawing #16 of world school



Fig 17 – Drawing #17 of the globe

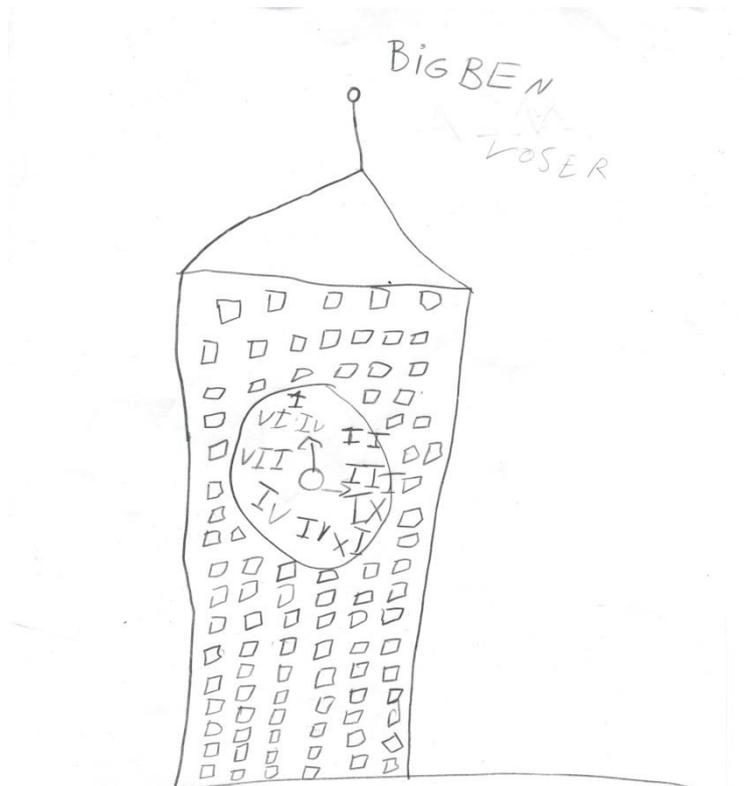


Fig 18 – Drawing #18 of Big Ben

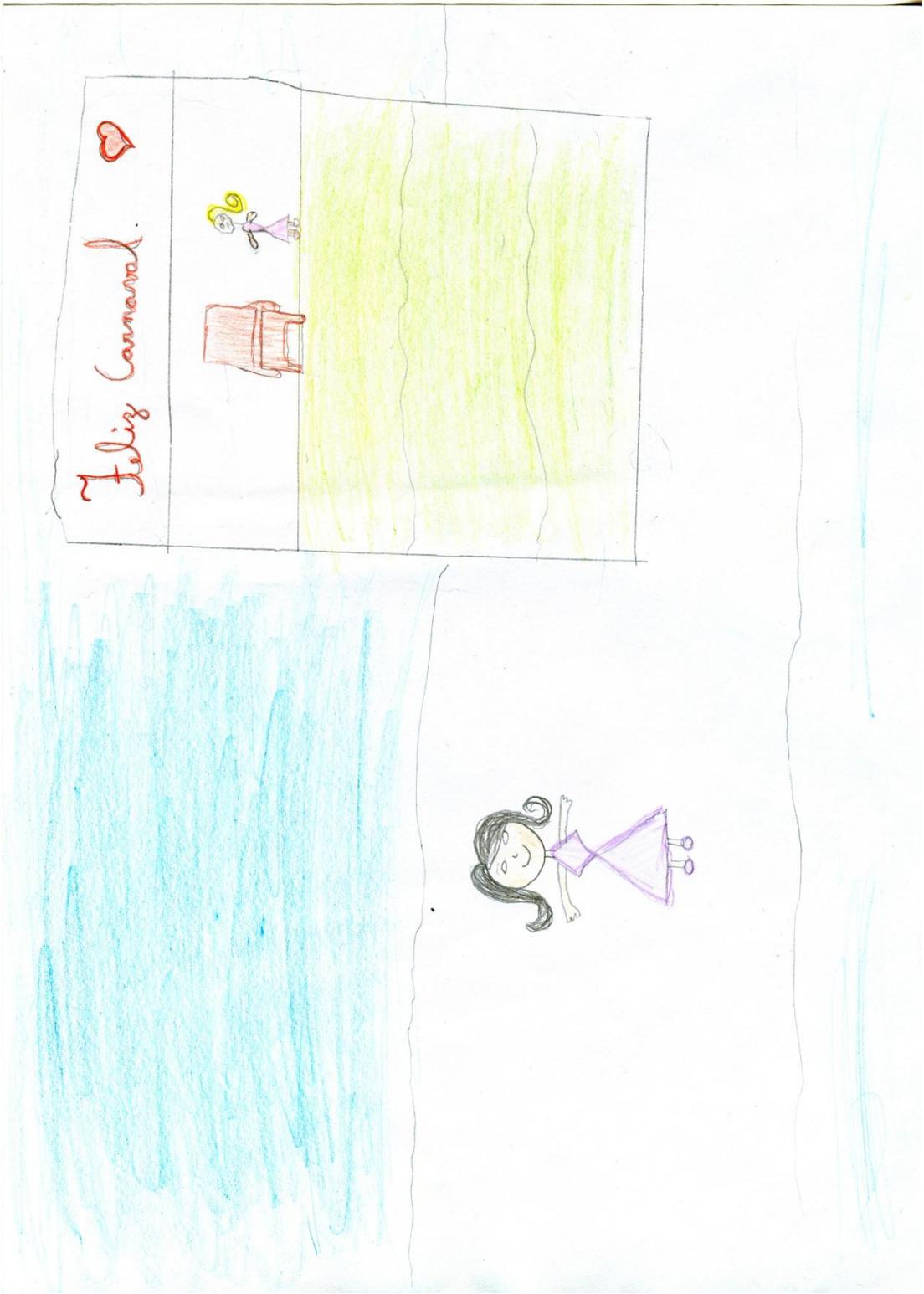


Fig 19 – Drawing #19 of carnival

Cultura Brasileira

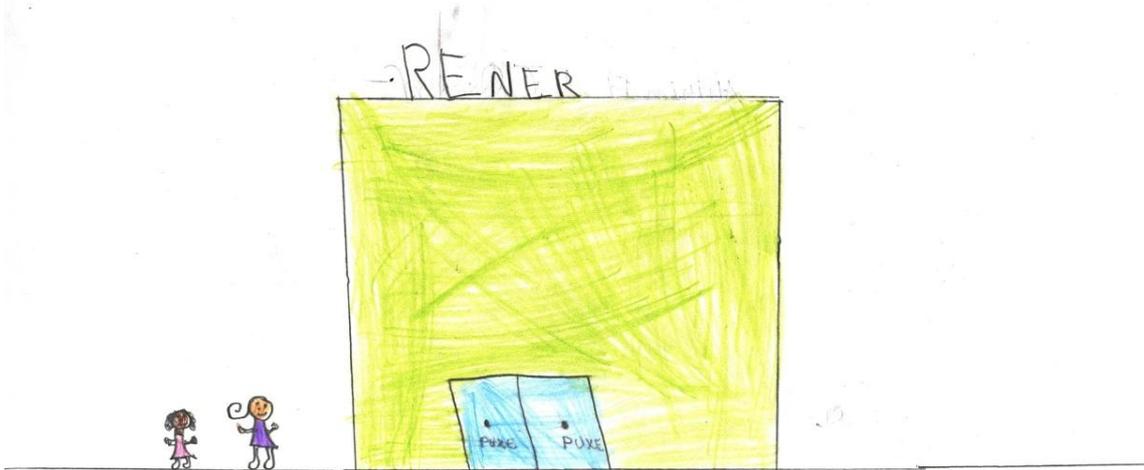


Fig 20 – Drawing #20 of the store Renner

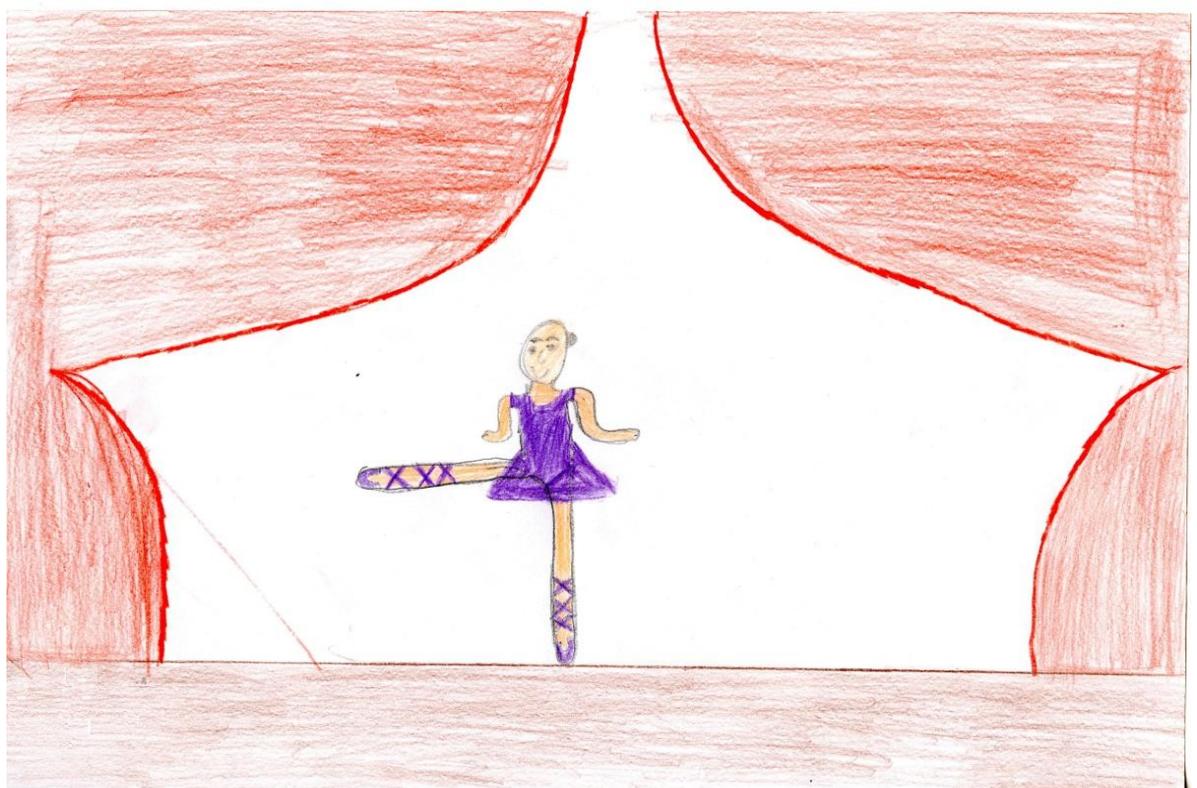


Fig 21 – Drawing #21 of ballet

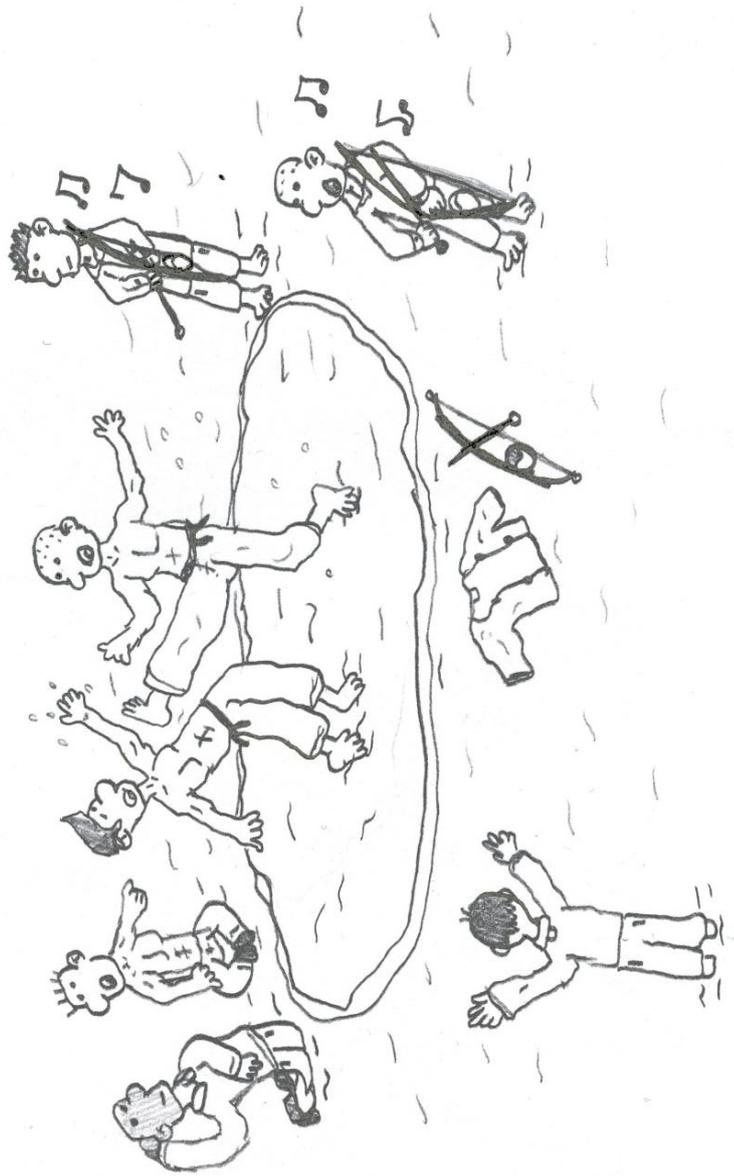


Fig 22 – Drawing #22 of capoeira

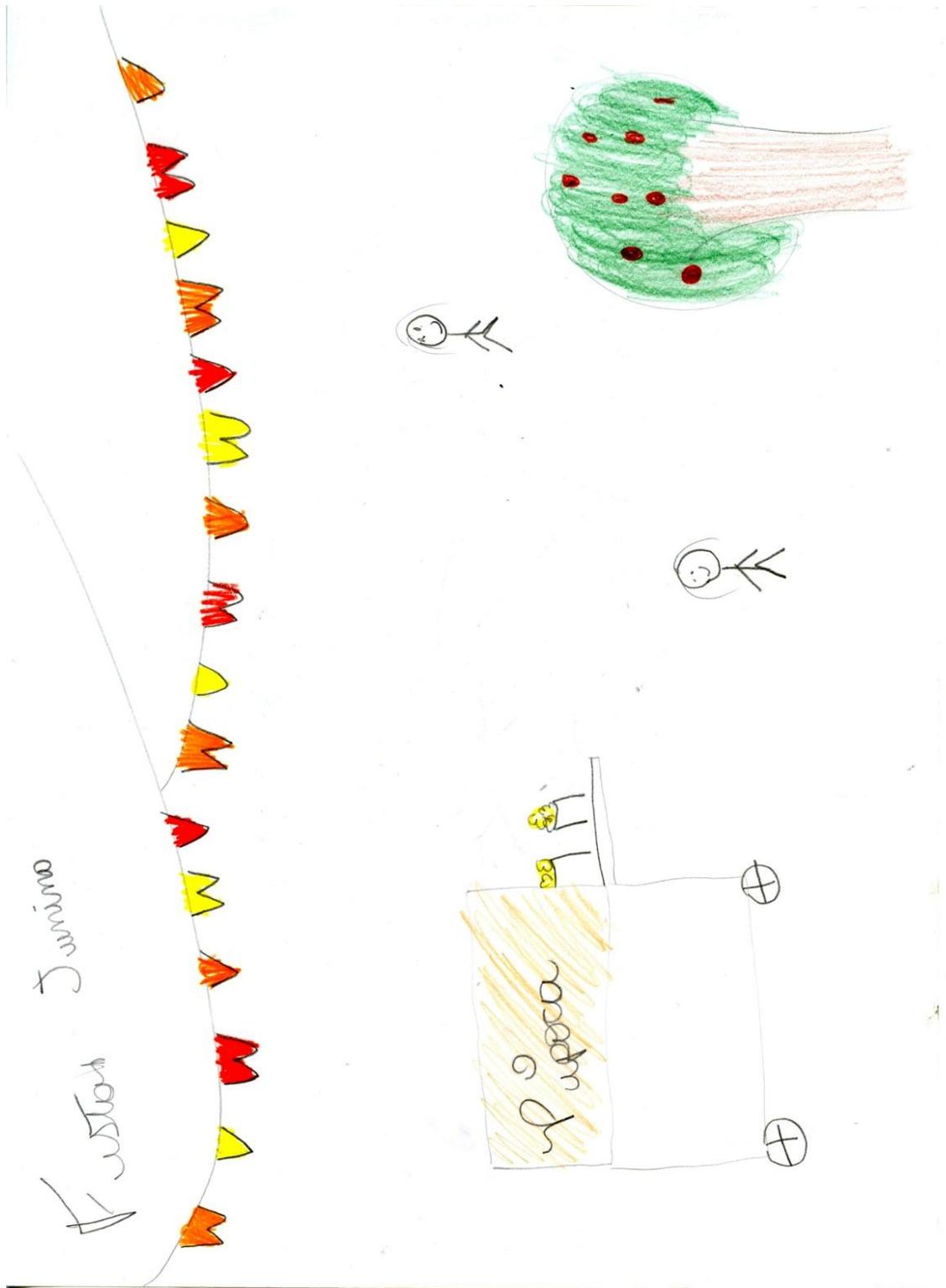


Fig 23 – Drawing #23 of Festa Junina

Appendix 2 Pictures taken during the fieldwork



Fig 24 – English classes in the unit João XXII.



Fig 25 – English classes in the unit Monte Azul



Fig 26 – English classes in Diadema



Fig 27 – Favela Monte Azul