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PERCEPTIONS AND REFLECTIONS ON CULTURE, EDUCATION & DEVELOPMENT: THE WORLD INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' GAMES

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ABSTRACT

This study's objective was to analyze the first World Games of Peoples' Indigenous, from spectators who went to the event, indigenous and non-indigenous, to describe their perceptions of the games' political and social issues. The research followed the tradition of ethnomethodological studies and its qualitative perspective to understand how respondents interpret and build the social world. Findings indicate that the games brought the global community closer to the indigenous reality. Even so, there was a lack of autonomy in the formulation of the event by indigenous leaders. The possibility of the event serving to obscure the reality of the violence faced by indigenous peoples in Brazil was also present in the reports.

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INTRODUCTION

The first World Indigenous Peoples' Games (WIPG) took place in Brazil between October 23 and November 1, 2015. This event, designed by the Brazilians indigenous, had the Ministry of Sports's support, the Tocantins' state governments, and the municipal government of Palmas and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The WIPG emerged as a proposal for an international event, bringing together indigenous athletes from 25 countries in sports competitions and thematic forums to provide cultural exchange and discussions about the world's indigenous population's demands. Brazilian indigenous peoples are represented by 817,963 thousand individuals, from 305 different ethnicities and still keep 274 languages alive (IBGE, 2010). They are different peoples, each with its own cultural identity, manifestations, uses, traditions, customs, technological skills, social organization, rites, beliefs, philosophies, spiritualities, and peculiar traditional sports. After 13 editions of the JPI (the indigenous Brazilian games), the indigenous brothers Carlos and Marcos Terena thought about holding an international event. Subsequently, they expanded the discussions involving various segments, seeking the governmental support necessary to carry out the WIPG.

The primary purpose of this research is to analyze the WIPG through the point of view of spectators who attended the event, indigenous and non-indigenous, to describe the perceptions of these actors on political and social issues of the games. In the literature, we can find authors who have already studied Brazil's indigenous games and the JPI (Almeida & Costa, 2012; Baniwa, 2006; Nunes, 2014; Ferreira, 2015; Rocha Ferreira, 2011). However, texts on WIPG are rare. This work aims to contribute to studies on ethnic-racial relations and sports, especially for indigenous communities. We hope to contribute to the construction of a world that respects the original people and their culture, education, and development.

METHOD

The research followed the tradition of ethnomethodological research and its qualitative perspective to understand how respondents interpret and build the social world (Silva et al., 2015; Silva & Votre, 2012; Coulon, 1995; Garfinkel, 1967). We prioritized the following key concepts: practical actions, indexicality, reflexivity, accountability, and the member's notions (Coulon, 1995). The concept of practical actions concerns the idea that social reality builds on everyday practice by interacting with social actors. The indexicality tells us that knowing the circumstances of the statements

allows us to assign more precise meanings to the words, understanding that the expressions used by social actors in interaction show us indicial characteristics. These start to have a sense of the knowledge of the local context where they are producing. Reflexivity designates practices that at the same time describe and constitute the membership; that is, the actor, in the course of his ordinary activities, describes the society in which he lives and at the same time builds it (Silva & Votre, 2012). Accountability refers to the property of the actors' descriptions of reality, based on reflexivity, understanding it as the individual's ability to describe and build the reality. It must say that we consider as a member every person endowed with a set of procedures, methods, activities, *savoir-faire*, which make it capable of inventing adaptation devices to make sense of the world that surrounds (Coulon, 1995). Therefore, the association is only acquired when an agreement is reaching on the meaning of our actions.

We traveled on October 22 to Palmas/TO 2015, the host city of the first WIPG, to interview and participate in the event, making notes in a field diary. Despite being a whole central arena for WIPG was built, some events took place simultaneously at the Nilton Santos Stadium, at the Lutheran University of Brazil (ULBRA) stadiums, at the Battalion of the Military Police of Palmas (where played soccer matches) and Ribeirão Taquaruçú Grande (where performed the water tests). We focus on the Arena and the Nilton Santos Stadium activities, guiding us by the schedule previously posted on the official WIPG website¹. We participate in the most significant number of activities offered, and we know most of the facilities. We also follow the debates at "Oca da Sabedoria" (House of Knowledge), located inside the Arena. This study, submitted and approved by the ethics and research committee via Plataforma Brasil, received the number 1739829.

We composed the semi-structured interviews of two fundamental questions: What aspects can WIPG bring to the relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples? What negative elements can WIPG bring to the relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples? The research participants were 15 adult individuals, divided into two groups, five indigenous respondents and ten non-indigenous respondents, of both genders, chosen randomly among the event's spectators. The interaction with the study object occurred both in the interview situation and in the field diary record. The interviewees' pure responses, portray the participants' perspective in interaction with the event and experience it (Minayo, 2002). Therefore, we reiterate that the data, recorded in a field diary, were fundamental for analyzing the data collected via the interview. We observed interviewees' reactions, the public, the athletes, and their behavior, duly noted.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

After transcribing the answers, relevant and recurring themes emerged in the participants' statements. To facilitate the discussion, we divided the pieces into two categories: a) Points positives of the event; b) Negative points of the event. We constructed these categories from the two fundamental questions of the study. However, the subcategories emerged from the perceptions of respondents.

As for the category of WIPG positive points, we built the following subcategories:

1) Visibility of the indigenous population; 2) Visibility of the struggle of indigenous social movements; 3) Valorization of indigenous culture; 4) Cultural exchange.

As for the negative points category of WIPG, we have the following subcategories: 1) Lack of autonomy in the formulation of the event by indigenous leaders; 2) Possibility of the event serving to obscure the reality of violence that indigenous peoples face in Brazil.

The positive points

Category - 1) Visibility of the indigenous population.

Historically, indigenous people have been the object of multiple images and conceptualizations by indigenous and non-indigenous, deeply marked by prejudice and ignorance. The inhabitant's natives were the target of different perceptions and judgments regarding the characteristics, behaviors, capacities, biological, and spiritual nature.

We are 270 people, 170 languages, right, and we can show this to Brazil, right? That we have this difference, right? We respect others, too, like not everyone. We have this plurality that speaks, right? We are even discussing this at the national conferences of Indigenous Peoples. How and many people when he sees an indigenous, they see in a generalized way, right? For example, a white person does many things, right, it is terrible, right? Thus, we do not discriminate against all whites, right? Furthermore, when the indigenous does something terrible, no, everything is indigenous, so that is it, we try to bring it to society that we have respect has a people (Participant 12, Indigenous).

It seems reasonable to say that the wrong way of understanding the word 'Indian' comes from the colonists' claims who qualified indigenous languages, religions, and organizations as inferior to European ones. It was a colonizing thought that still belongs to many Brazilians, including being perpetuated in textbooks. In the memory of many Brazilians, the indigenous people would be 'lazy and primitive.' Society generically sees indigenous peoples with stereotypes. It is prejudiced, so this moment is perhaps a unique moment where the community sees the Indians with more value outside. This space sees the Indian as an obstacle to development and sees them as beggars. I do not know, the image is negative, so games have the function of making a positive exposure to these communities (Participant 5, Non-Indigenous).

Baniwa (2006) categorizes the non-indigenous population's view about the indigenous people in three distinct social perspectives: The romanticized view, the light as wild, and the idea of the indigenous citizen, holder of social rights.

The first concerns the old romantic vision, present since the arrival of the first Europeans in Brazil. It is the vision that conceives the indigenous linked to nature, protector of forests, naive, little capable, or incapable of understanding the white world with its rules and values. The indigenous would live in a society contrary to modern society. This vision, created by chroniclers, novelists, and intellectuals, continues to this day. He founded the whole tutelary and paternalistic relationship, institutionalized by the last century's policies, initially through the Indigenous Protection Service (SPI)² and, currently, through the National Indigenous Foundation (FUNAI)³. Here the indigenous are always perceived as a victim who needs a tutor to protect and support them.

Look, this is an excellent experience, not only here in Brazil, but we are receiving personalities from other countries. Other people who did not know indigenous peoples just heard about and saw the indigenous as exotic. Now, they can see as a citizen; this is a new experience that we are trying to adapt. I have to adapt to the life of the town. I have to learn to use, use the means of communication in the city. I have to learn the technology that exists in the city. If I don't follow this, I won't be able to interact. I won't have extensive interaction with society in the city (Participant 11 - Indigenous).

The second perspective is the view of the cruel, brutal, cannibal, savage, lazy, treacherous, and many other pejorative terms. This

2 [http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/servico-de-protecao-aos-indios-spi#:~:text=O%20Servi%C3%A7o%20de%20Prote%C3%A7%C3%A3o%20aos,nacional%20\(Oliveira%2C%201947\).](http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/servico-de-protecao-aos-indios-spi#:~:text=O%20Servi%C3%A7o%20de%20Prote%C3%A7%C3%A3o%20aos,nacional%20(Oliveira%2C%201947).)

3 <http://www.funai.gov.br/>

1 <https://www.facebook.com/Jogos-Mundiais-dos-Povos-Ind%C3%ADgenas-JMPI-2021-109577050456161/>

vision has also emerged since the arrival of the Portuguese, mainly through the economic segment, who wanted to see them extinct to take possession of their lands. The denominations and adjectives justify the massacre practices, such as self-defense and defense of the Portuguese crown's interests. Even today, this view by economic groups interested in indigenous lands and natural resources is the reality. Indigenous people are taxed by these groups as obstacles to their economic development, simply because they do not accept the capitalist market's unfair exploitation since they are of egalitarian cultures and do not cumulative. This vision results in all types of persecution and violence against indigenous peoples, especially against their leaders who work to defend their rights. The third perspective is by a more citizen-oriented view, which has become more amplitude in the last twenty years, which coincides with the most recent re-democratization process country. It started in the early 1980s, whose landmark was the promulgation of the Brazilian Constitution of 1988. We would say that it is the most civilized view of the modern world, not only about indigenous people but about minorities or socially marginalized majorities.

This view conceives the indigenous people as subjects of rights and, therefore, of citizenship. Moreover, do not is about typical, unique, and generic citizenship, but one based on specific reasons, resulting in differentiated and plural citizenship. Here indigenous peoples have learned the right to perpetuate their ways of life, cultures, civilizations, and values, guaranteeing access to other cultures, technologies, and world values. A positive point highlighted was the possibility of showing Brazilian society what is to be indigenous today, demystifying Brazil's existing caricatured image, seeking to expand the indigenous citizen's idea.

I think that Brazilian society is still so far from understanding indigenous people's role to respect the indigenous people to benefit these games. I believe this is to get to know this population more, right, because people are getting to know each other will breaking prejudices (Participant 2, Non-Indigenous).

We can say that indigenous people managed to overcome some difficulties. To recognize their humanity and freedom (right to non-slavery) and their ability (directly not to be tutelage) were rights conquered 'with great difficulty.' However, currently, they still need to face ethnic identity in the search for constitutional respect. In 2002, Brazil ratified Convention 169 on indigenous and tribal peoples of the International Labor Organization (ILO). The identity of indigenous peoples today is made through self-declaration and no longer assigned. However, the term 'Indian' (índio, in portuguese) has long been understood as a pejorative term by the indigenous. Some ethnic groups cannot yet be called that; they prefer that the word "Indian" be accompanied by an ethnic group to which they belong. For example, Kaingangue, Terena, Yanomami. Guarani-Kaiowá; this means affirming their indigenous status, but expressing that indigenous peoples are many and different.

In the words of some interviewees, indigenous and non-indigenous, we find the idea that WIPG can serve as a showcase to show the real image of indigenous peoples to non-indigenous society. In this way, demystifying the collective imagination and moving to the indigenous's vision as a citizen. *"A positive point for the national indigenous community is the visibility to see yourself in a more empowered, happier, and more participatory"* (Participant 3, Non-Indigenous). The WIPG seems to offer an opportunity to show the indigenous's new face to the non-indigenous, which is necessary not only for each people's identity issues but mainly for the search for respect before this part of the Brazilian society.

Category - 2) Visibility of the struggle of indigenous social movements

The indigenous peoples had only so-called traditional leaders, the chiefs or Tuxauas, whose function was to organize, articulate, and represent the village or the people before other peoples. They are

traditional leaders because they follow or comply with inherited conditions and rules from their parents or ancestors (Baniwa, 2006). The emergence of indigenous organizations has changed the configuration of the spaces of power present in the communities as new people have emerged, for example, the case with the leaders of indigenous organizations, teachers, indigenous health agents, and other indigenous professionals. Indigenous leaders, called political leaders or 'new leaders,' receive specific tasks to act about non-indigenous society. Generally, people who have not followed their own or traditional sociocultural processes to arrive at the post. They are the leaders of associations and communities, the political leaders, and the indigenous technicians. Although complementary, they are different from 'traditional leaderships,' both in choice or legitimacy process, and in the functions, they exercise (Baniwa, 2006).

The so-called traditional leaders have the role of representing, coordinating, articulating, and defend peoples' interests as a responsibility inherited from social dynamics in force. In turn, political leaders generally exercise specific functions. These include leaders of formal indigenous organizations or intermediaries and interlocutors between indigenous communities and regional, national, and international societies from an option by the white model. Therefore, non-traditional political leadership's choice depends on its ability to relate to the non-indigenous world, such as speaking the Portuguese language and possessing the right education level. In Brazil, there has been, since the 1970s, what we can call the Brazilian indigenous movement: a joint and articulated effort by indigenous leaders, peoples, and organizations aiming at a typical plan of struggle, as is the agenda for land, health, education, and other rights.

Indigenous peoples today cannot be invisible. They must be active participants; it is not that an environmentalist. It is not that an anthropologist comes to say to indigenous peoples: no, you have to stay there isolated, you cannot be in the city otherwise, you will end up having access to addictions. Like? When will the Indian go learn to defend yourself? That's why I always say. We have to know today the use of the pen too, today the bow and arrow is no longer providing conditions for the people to fight and understand? We have to sit in schools today, as long as we don't lose our cultural, linguistic identity, customs, you know? If I acquired the city habits, it doesn't mean that I lost my identity, much more, adapting (Participant 11, Indigenous).

This articulated indigenous movement, supported by its allies, managed to convince Brazilian society and the National Constituent Congress to approve in 1988 the advanced rights indigenous peoples in the current Constitution. This same indigenous movement fought for human rights respected and guaranteed, having achieved important advances in demarcation and regularization of indigenous lands. This movement fought for indigenous peoples' educational policy to be radically changed as to their philosophical, pedagogical, political, and methodological principles, resulting in so-called education differentiated indigenous school systems. This system allows each indigenous people to define and exercise within the school, the teaching-learning processes, and the production and reproduction of traditional and scientific knowledge of collective interest. The Districts Special Indigenous toilets' implantation, still under construction and improvement, is another relevant achievement of the Brazilian indigenous movement (Baniwa, 2006). We can highlight among the strengths of the WIPG the greater visibility of indigenous social movements' struggle, including starting from themes addressed in the opportunity forums for the event. This fact is based on the responses of some of the interviewees.

Today's politicians think differently from indigenous peoples, mainly on the demarcation of our lands. Moreover, these games here we are even bringing isolated demonstrations; it was also talked about by the Xavantes, that we also need to be guaranteeing our rights that are violated. People being massacred there, like the Guarani Kaiowá, being killed by farmers, shooters, understood? Militias their region, and then we are here in a consensus that we may be changing the conception

of these deputies, right? Even because it has this, a menu project PEC⁴215, which speaks of this genocide, right, because, for us, to take the land is to be killing our future generations. The staff has to understand that we are a growing people, within a limited land. Furthermore, the worst thing about this PEC 215 is that in addition to not demarcating indigenous areas, reduce the ones already demarcated. For us, it is the worst thing that can happen. We have no education without our land. We have no health without the land. We don't have infrastructure without the area, so the motherland is everything for us (Participant 12, Indigenous). From this perspective, I believe that the moment we live in Brazil, you know, historical and persistent genocide concerning indigenous peoples. I think it is an ideal moment to give visibility to this fight daily (Participant 1, Non-Indigenous).

The indigenous cause is a historical struggle and almost invisible to the Brazilian population's eyes and needs more exposure. The fact is that Brazilians indigenous are looted, hunted and killed since the 'discovery' of Brazil by European colonists and today the indigenous represent less than 0.4% of the population (Naudascher, 2014).

It may be that there is a positive agenda about the games, not only the question of games but other issues that are dealt with in the parallel forums here, right? So, right to land, education, health, gender, women, there is a forum of women in there, so, if not with the sport. (Participant 4, Non-Indigenous).

Since the 1950s, State sees indigenous like a target inevitable and gradual integration into society. We ratify these words by raising the creation issue, in 1910, of the Indian Protection Service (SPI), currently the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI). This entity ensures that this transition takes place without conflict, wherein the end, the indigenous would become integrated, indistinct amid other Brazilians. Today, FUNAI is no longer a tutor; the SPI acted to represent indigenous people before the law. The tutoring state is the one that decides for the Indians and, under the pretext of taking care of them, keeps them under control (Cohn, 2013). When creating the SPI, the idea of indigenous territories, places in which indigenous people could continue their customs under the protection (or control) of the State. The SPI was also responsible for defining who was indigenous or not.

The most significant advance in this context was or creating the Brazilian Constitution of 1988, which recognized the indigenous people's right to their lands and full citizenship. According to Cohn (2013), this legal advance can only occur due to the indigenous mobilization and its performance with allies in the Constituent Assembly. Despite some advances, some demarcated lands, we need to think that when the 1988 Constitution, Brazil would have five years to demarcate all lands indigenous peoples, which has not yet occurred. We can follow news on how this land is being threatened by hydroelectric projects, construction and asphaltting of roads that cross them, through mining projects, cattle ranches, and other national 'breakthrough' intentions. There is a bill in the Senate, PEC 215. It was created in 2000 without consensus among parliamentarians. In 2015, the ruralist bench managed to put the proposal back on the agenda. The substitute presented, which brings together other attached proposals, prohibits expanding already demarcated areas and makes it difficult to recognize new territories. The text also includes a time frame in which indigenous and "Quilombola" (people of African origin founded Brazilian hinterland settlement)⁵. Some demonstrations took place during the event and focused on the PEC 2015 embargo. This event caused videos and explanatory texts to spread on social networks about Brazilian society's critical debate.

These indigenous protesters understood that the event presented worldwide media exposure and made fair use of the situation.

For us, indigenous people's games are the time to remember the encounter with our old people, to claim our rights, the question of our education, and the social issue of indigenous people today in Brazilian society. It makes us stronger, more united. It is a moment that brings together to show our culture and experience within our community. Because each person has its custom, each person has its way of life and has a responsibility to preserve its culture, preserve the environment, and preserve its cultural identity. These games also remind us of this, which we can claim from our Brazilian government to protect our culture, preserve our environment, our land (Participant 13, Indigenous).

Category - 3) Valorization of indigenous culture

Culture has a multitude of definitions. We will adopt as a reference, for this work, three fundamental conceptions of understanding culture approached by Canedo (2009): ways of life that characterize a collectivity works and practices art, intellectual activity and entertainment, and human development factor. The first conception defined culture as a system of signs and meanings created by social groups. It is produced through the social interaction of individuals, who elaborate their ways of thinking and feeling, and build their values, manages their identities and differences and establishes their routines (Canedo, 2009). On this conception, Chauí (1995) draws attention to the need to expand the concept of culture, taking it in the sense of collective invention of symbols, values, ideas, and behaviors, to affirm that all individuals and groups are beings and subjects cultural. The intangible cultural heritage is valued: the ways of doing, the oral tradition, the social organization of each community, customs, beliefs, and manifestations of culture popular that go back to the forming myth of each group.

I see that from the WIPG, communities will have the opportunity to interact with society, to have a better impression than really, of how co sees their culture. Moreover, how we still value how we like to have this contact? Because they don't have this notion within the communities, within villages. They don't know how we see them here, and within the games, they will have this notion. They have this notion that people value their culture (Participant 2, Non-Indigenous).

The second conception is endowed with a more restricted view of culture, referring to works and practices of art, intellectual activity, and entertainment, seen above as an economic activity. This dimension does not occur in the plan of the individual's daily life, but in specialized, in the organized circuit. In the relationship between culture and market, two distinct processes take place: the commercialization of culture, when cultural activities are conceived with a view to mass distribution and, consequently, the generation of commercial profit; and the merchandise of the culture, which occurs through the attribution of symbolic value to everyday objects. Even the characteristics of a particular place's cultural values or people can be transformed into salable goods for tourism or locus for audiovisual production. Seen from this angle, culture is seen as propulsion factor or resistance to economic development (Canedo, 2009).

I think games can bring out a little more to know this indigenous culture globally, very cool to bring this diversity. However, the games are not covering all indigenous diversity here from Brazil and other countries, right? I think there's a lot more for us know (Participant 7, Non-Indigenous).

The third conception of culture highlights the role that it can take as a factor of social development. Under this perspective, cultural activities occurred with diverse socio-educational. It is precisely within this conception that we find the importance of exaltation of culture in the WIPG. Indigenous cultures have retained their uniqueness in the face of the modern world, even without isolation.

4 PEC 215 (Proposed amendment to the Constitution n. 215)<https://www.camara.leg.br/proposicoesWeb/fichadetramitacao?idProposicao=14562>

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<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quilombo#:~:text=Os%20quilombos%2C%20no%20passado%2C%20constitu%C3%ADram,em%20todo%20o%20continente%20americano.>

They maintain oral tradition and rituals as an artistic manifestation and link with nature and the supernatural. The awareness of one's own culture is itself a liberating act, insofar as it overcomes the feeling of inferiority in the face of oppressive culture (Baniwa, 2006).

I think it can help with cultural interaction. Why don't we here in the city don't have much access to indigenous culture, so I think this can bring out, you know, their culture, customs, the way they live and make us understand some things, right, that we don't understand. I think it's learning, culture is learning. I think essential for that reason, growth not only highlighted them as a people, as a race but also to increase our knowledge too (Participant 10, Non-Indigenous).

The indigenous people present were very proud when demonstrating their culture to the audience current with typical dances into formal moments and non-formal spaces. In both cases, the public was amazed, and the indigenous people were happy to be valued for their culture (Field diary, 2015). Demonstration games, consisting of traditional and specific games to each ethnic group, also made the indigenous people show with a little more pride in their customs. The importance of WIPG is beyond demonstrating the strength, skill, speed, agility, compliance with rules, but rather in cooperation, respect, and joy of participants. Besides typical dances and games, other cultural aspects were also very valued by the audience, such as handicrafts and body painting.

According to Urias Tsuney' wa, body painting is more than a fashion: each has a meaning, each brings the cultural baggage of a people. The picture represents something, says something. My people paint themselves totally for the war; our picture is in black and red. I would look for the person and ask why he is painting yourself. The picture is a manifestation and a means of showing that those people exist and live⁶. We see non-indigenous people delighted with diversity and wealth maintained between different native peoples. They somehow want to be part and learn more about the rich indigenous culture. They painted the bodies, bought handicrafts, took many photos, and applauded the games and dances performed with great enthusiasm. Local and national media also valued this culture, covering part of the games or showing articles about some facts related to the event or indigenous customs (Field diary, 2015). Some respondents reported this perception and also highlighted this positive aspect.

So, here we are more recognized, more valued. It also serves to we can show more of our culture, the culture of our people. However, our pride is independent of the white man's thinking (Participant 14, Indigenous). On the positive side, I believe that 'they' can have a vision of what we are. Unfortunately, what happens on social media and everything, right, television, and reportage, is a negative image. It is not an image that really what we are, and here we have the opportunity to show our culture and show what we are, so this is important for me is here (Participant 13, Indigenous). He is valuing the non-indigenous man, he recognizes, and the indigenous peoples have this contact. We are getting to know better; they feel more critical within our society because they felt excluded for a long time. It is a way of including them in our coexistence (Participant 3, Non-Indigenous).

We believe that, for the Brazilian Indians, the obviousness of being an essential generator of culture, recognized by the media, for its historical importance in the formation of the Brazilian population has been of great value for these peoples. For non-indigenous Brazilians, contacting many of the ethnic groups that make up the indigenous population was an opportunity to promote and value the ancestral culture of a country that still walks to recognize a part of his identity, which has been systematically destroyed and inferior.

Category - 4) Cultural exchange

Despite this increased awareness, it did not guarantee cultural diversity preservation and contributed to obtaining more incredible notoriety. According to the UNESCO report (2009) on cultural diversity, we can say that to understand the challenges inherent to cultural diversity, it is necessary to discuss some theoretical needs and policies that diversity tends to raise. According to the spirit of consensus enshrined by the Mexico City Declaration on UNESCO Cultural Policies (1982), the report suggests the definition of the term culture. This definition has the merit of not adopting an overly restrictive and not to focus on a particular aspect to define what characterizes it. A challenge to achieve respect for cultural diversity has to do with the characterization of constitutive elements of cultural diversity. In this regard, the concepts of culture, civilization, and peoples have different connotations depending on the context, for example, scientific or political. While the idea of cultures evokes entities that tend to define themselves about others, the term civilization refers to cultures that affirm their values or worldviews as universal and assume an expansionist attitude towards others that do not share them. According to the UNESCO concept, we must understand the civilization as an ongoing process towards the reconciliation of all cultures in the world based on recognizing their equal dignity, within the framework of an ongoing universal project.

Another difficulty pointed out by the report is related to the relationship between cultures and change. It was almost seven decades of the twentieth century to understand that cultures are entities transformed. Until then, there was a tendency to consider remaining virtually unchanged and that their content through different channels, such as education or initiation rites of various types. Nowadays, culture as a process: societies are changing according to their paths. Therefore, it is necessary to define policies that provide a positive exaltation of these cultural differences. Instead of entrenched in closed identities, groups, and people to come in contact, discover in the distinction an incitement to continue to evolve and change. We can highlight among the positive points of the WIPG the cultural exchange between the diverse peoples participating in the event. Through the WIPG, possible to explain to the indigenous communities of Brazil the existence of indigenous people in other continents and promote these different peoples' integration and cultural exchange. Regarding cultural exchange and its importance, many responses addressed this as a positive point of the WIPG.

A positive point for the international indigenous community is to know that they are not alone, that so out there, there are others alike. With questions similar, I think this is very cool; you know that you are not alone (Participant 4, Non-Indigenous).

Well, many peoples know each other. For example, they met before de Brazilian Constitution 1988, when 1987 started, you know, several groups. On the grounds of Brasília, in front of National Congress; this also happens here, although many groups to repeated, already have this relationship, with the Latin groups, Americans, and elsewhere is a unique relationship. Hence, it is positive in this sense (Participant 6, Non-Indigenous).

In addition to exchanges between indigenous peoples, we can also highlight the dialogue with the non-indigenous population. Many volunteers and even the spectators who came in contact with the indigenous people enjoyed this cultural exchange.

This exchange of experiences is lively, the non-indigenous, the whites are curious to play, right? To get to know, sometimes painting touches the skin, sometimes feels the feathers that are part of the headdress. For example, it is an exchange of experience, and the indigenous people also want to know some things that white people used. They are not. They have doubts about us, as well as we have doubts about them. I think the exchange is positive (Participant 6 - Non-Indigenous).

Regarding the non-indigenous population, the organization tried to separate the stands from the sports arena in indigenous and non-indigenous, which hampered a little interaction. Still, non-formal

spaces, such as craft fairs, spontaneously made the communication happen (Field diary, 2015).

Among the different ethnic groups was perceived greater interest of interaction. Some games of demonstration (games in which an ethnic group presented a game characteristic of its people) occurred with guests from other ethnic groups. Many Indians who do not speak the same language interacted and exchanged utensils and even clothes. They appeared to be very excited and eager for these exchanges. It is essential to say that there could be a more significant interaction if there stayed together. Foreign natives did not stay in the same place as Brazilians. Foreign natives only arrived at the stadiums during their games, resulting in little time for exchanges with Brazilians. (Field Diary, 2015).

One of the people interviewed talked about this issue:

Suppose you put the organization in an enclosed space, divided into participation in two closed spaces. In that case, the public in another area, where none of these four has access to the debate, and none of them found, so there is no real construction. What exists is producing an event that tends to be commercialized, which tends to be popular in the media sense, right, accessible to the media, but emptied of meanings and opened contents (Participant 13, Indigenous).

In the first JPI, we observed much more traditional indigenous practices. A predominance of sport has been noticed, non-indigenous corporal practice in the national event (Pinto, 2009). We will need to observe the next editions of world events to determine if this sporting process will also occur in the WIPG.

The negative points

Category - 1) Lack of autonomy in the formulation of the event by indigenous leaders. A weak point to be highlighted is the interference of non-indigenous in WIPG's organization. Since the beginning of building the idea of promoting this event, the initiatives, even from the Terena brothers, always had to seek non-indigenous government approval and thus be controlled by entities and persons distant from these peoples' reality. Much of what was thought and agreed did not materialize. We could observe significant changes in the event's organization in terms of athletes' basic structures up to sports rules presented (Mendes, 2015; Vereador, 2015; Dolejsiova, 2016).

The structural and organizational problems caused by the lack of consultation with indigenous people were apparent to the spectators. The song played all the time was 'Every day it was an Indian day' (Baby do Brasil). Often this song drowned out the sounds coming from the tribes presented themselves (Field diary, 2015).

In the only food court in Vila dos Jogos, food was industrialized and unrelated to the indigenous culture and the local culture. We asked for an employee as the bidding process for space rental. She says businesspeople have rented it from out of town. Despite the interest of local traders, including those who exhibit their products at the famous fair in Palmas, the amount charged was not viable for small traders (Field diary, 2015).

At the entrance to the fair held by SEBRAI, a curious fact: two white models, dressed from 'indigenous,' they received visitors, instead of the organization hiring real indigenous people. The event was once again out of character as an indigenous event (Field diary, 2015).

This same perception indigenous autonomy gap in the organization impelled that the event fits within the models of Eurocentric culture; we verified well portrayed in the words of some interviewees:

Negative, I think it can be, at times, interference from the man himself, the not indigenous, white man, right? Also heard that some people like, by delimiting how the games work, sometimes the football match, bound in 2 times of 30 minutes each, in the

final 2 of 40 minutes. IS how do they play? Does it work that way here? Alternatively, the sale of handicrafts there at the world fair for indigenous crafts is in booths super organized, with a standardized pattern. However, each ethnicity has its style. It's not the way they sell it. It's not the way they're used to doing that, whether they want to or not, no matter how much people say that the interference is minimal, or that there is no interference, there is interference. Still, I hope you stay here only, that you don't, you know, that you don't leave here, that you don't take anything like that (Participant 8, Non-Indigenous).

2) The event can obscure Brazil's violent reality because of the spectacularization in the indigenous image. Another relevant issue addressed refers to the lack of common sense on the part of the government. It shows a commitment to financially support indigenous games while ignoring the lack of financial resources, genocide, and other diverse problems that these peoples face, mainly to territorial disputes with agribusiness entrepreneurs.

This concern was widely commented on in the interviews conducted, especially by the indigenous population.

I think there is a great danger that this event will obscure the reality of violence that indigenous peoples have faced, like that, right? The indigenous movement spoke that several peoples said, including the Guarani-Kaiowá, who are in the most dramatic situation today, was a community that expressed repudiation, etc. (Participant 4, Non-Indigenous).

I think these games had to be in a village, mainly I think it has to be in a town because the community doesn't take anything, this whole structure going to stay in Palmas, got it? We will not get a real one back. The people won't, don't have this structure, right? It was good that these 3,000,000 spent, invested in indigenous communities' health, invested in our education if each community could take the transport, the boat, right? We can be because this is public money, we come, do the whole event, people clap for us, we need to show our culture, but society is also essential, you know. Mainly politicians see that we have to bring some benefits, right, sometimes when we go to the games and come back on these buses, it's risky until you have an accident, right? (Participant 12, Indigenous).

So, if on the one hand, the country says: look, we do have a cultural wealth, and that is necessary, and at the same time uses as an argument that to increase or to maintain economic wealth, money. The sustainability of the economy is needed to compromise the natural wealth, and consequently, the peoples who live in this nature are in a contradiction in a massive crisis. So, what is negative here is the behavior of the Brazilian government that says who wants to promote himself as a defender of human rights, diversity, and indigenous peoples, in a terrible context, of reactionary, anti-democratic policies and that goes against the natural heritage (Participant 14, Indigenous).

Many people thought of this contradiction precisely and refused to participate in the games. The Krahô, from Tocantins indigenous people, were the first to report non-participation in WIPG. It confirmed through the letter of n. 03/2015 sent to the articulator of the WIPG, Carlos Terena, informing the Union of Caciques Krahô. According to the website Connection Tocantins⁷, the chiefs justified that the event organizer does not respect the indigenous people and that the event organizers use the indigenous people's name and image to promote themselves. Like the Krahôs, the Apinajés did not participate in the WIPG either. The secretary of the association União dos Apinajés, from the Tocantins, Antônio Veríssimo Apinajé, confirmed in an interview to the connection website the Tocantins on September 23, 2015, that ethnicity does not participate in the WIPG

⁷ <https://conexaoto.com.br/2015/09/14/apos-decisao-do-povo-kraho-em-nao-participar-do-jmi-apinajes-sao-convidados-e-aceitam-comite-intertribal-diz-nao-haver-impasse>

(Rodrigues, 2015). Within this context, another consequence would be the possible character of exploitation of the image of the Brazilian indigenous by entrepreneurs and government officials, often reinforcing stereotypes. We found these concerns in the statements of some interviewees:

What is the indigenous peoples' idea that we learned there in textbooks if we think about Brazil? Yes, that whole image. What worries me is this imaginary, to the detriment of including the indigenous struggle. The struggle of indigenous peoples, not only here in Brazil but around the world [...] what concerns me is this spectacular character, with this image of folklore, because it is not folklore, right? They are native peoples! Therefore, we must have all this respect for cultural diversity (Participant 1, Non-Indigenous).

According to Almeida (2011), the knowledge of a society characterized by a culture of significant events is essential to realize that sport occupies a prominent place in the production of shows for the masses. Mobilizing feelings and sensitivity, the sport-spectacle attracts consumers to large sporting parties and, therefore, their products. The Market and the State reinforce the notion that sport is an effective means of transmitting social inclusion values and taking advantage of it to achieve its objectives. The eminently capitalist logic of increasing economic capital, from the exploration of cultural goods, involves producing a distinct cultural capital, permeated by competitive relationships. It understands that there may be financial exploitation of heritage cultural events in the JMPI, arising from the event's structuring, which arouses the interest of a non-indigenous public and provides excellent cultural industry (Almeida, 2011).

Conclusion

The research subjects pointed out the potentialities of the WIPG, the global community's approach to indigenous reality, and the reconciliation of indigenous people worldwide. They showed appreciation in the exchanges and demonstrations of these cultures' wealth, with their specificities, understanding them as something higher than separate identities. However, it cannot ignore that the interviewees also pointed out issues negative: a) Lack of autonomy in the formulation of the event by the indigenous leaders and b) The possibility of the event serving to obscure the reality of violence that indigenous peoples face in Brazil. Despite this, the WIPG was as an excellent opportunity for multi-ethnic meetings, a space conducive to the verbalization of demands of the different peoples of the world, who experience problems similar to those faced by Brazilian indigenous peoples and still have a global exposure character the search for the necessary social support.

WIPG are one of the essential steps to understand the movement culture of indigenous peoples of the world. These traditions tell us a lot about the human relationship with our home: the planet. Forgotten, silenced, surrounded by the fullness of their life, indigenous peoples have a lot to collaborate with the perspective of a more conscious and collaborative society. The indigenous movement culture elements must be better known, described, analyzed, disseminated, and incorporated by the community. In the same way that some indigenous peoples incorporate aspects of the movement culture of non-indigenous peoples in their heritage, they also need to develop their appearance beyond their borders. It is too early to say whether the social and political expectations of the event studied were successful. Observing and collaborating with the next editions of the JMPI and monitoring the legacy are questions that encourage us to continue on this path.

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