



Veronica Cristina Gomes Afonso

**I AM WHAT I AM or YES, WE CAN?
A comparative study on Individualism and
Collectivism in the American and Brazilian cultures**

DISSERTAÇÃO DE MESTRADO

Thesis presented to the Programa de Pós-Graduação em Estudos da Linguagem of the departamento de Letras da PUC-Rio as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Mestre em Estudos da Linguagem.

Advisor: Profa Rosa Marina de Brito Meyer

Rio de Janeiro
September 2016



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Bibliographic data

Afonso, Veronica Cristina Gomes

I am what I am or yes, we can? : a comparative study on individualism and collectivism in the American and Brazilian cultures / Veronica Cristina Gomes Afonso; advisor: Rosa Marina de Brito Meyer. – 2016.

156 f. : il. color. ; 30 cm

Dissertação (mestrado)—Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, Departamento de Letras, 2016.

Inclui bibliografia

1. Letras – Teses. 2. Interculturalismo. 3. Individualismo e coletivismo. 4. Cultura Americana. 5. Cultura brasileira. 6. Geração Millennium. I. Meyer, Rosa Marina de Brito. II. Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro. Departamento de Letras.

CDD: 400

This dissertation work is dedicated to my mother, Nina, who has been a constant source of support and encouragement during the challenges of graduate school and life. This work is also dedicated to my grandparents, Manoel e Maria Gomes, who have always loved me unconditionally and have made all the efforts to help me achieve my goals. I am truly thankful for having you in my life.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincere gratitude:

To my advisor, professor Doctor Rosa Marina de Brito Meyer, for the reliance, motivation and orientation throughout the preparation of this study. For showing me that I could go beyond my expectations.

To PUC-Rio, for the scholarship.

To the professors who participated in the Dissertation Board of Examiners, professor PhD Olenka Bilash and Professor Doctor Ines Miller, for their valuable contributions to this research.

To my mother, for the education provided and for showing me the right path.

To my husband, Thiago Oliveira, for the motivation and for the comprehension throughout the preparation of this work.

To my sister, Vanessa Afonso, who always motivate me and whose journey is also in the education field, making me proud of her achievements.

To my friends Gabriela Braga and Juliana Neto for the motivation in the hardest moments during the preparation of this study.

To my friend, Angela Zanga, who kindly revised this dissertation and provided many insights on it.

To the twenty volunteer informants and to those who indirectly participated in the data collection. This research would not be possible, hadn't it being for their help.

To my dear classmates and coworkers, for the friendship, motivation and support on the day of the defense.

Abstract

Afonso, Veronica Cristina Gomes; Meyer, Rosa Marina de Brito. **I AM WHAT I AM or YES, WE CAN? A comparative study on Individualism and Collectivism in the American and Brazilian cultures.** Rio de Janeiro, 2016. 156p. Dissertação de Mestrado - Departamento de Letras, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro.

The present study uses an intercultural approach and aims at identifying the presence of reactions related to Collectivism and Individualism in American and Brazilian societies regarding the teaching of Portuguese to English speakers. When we observe both cultures, we notice their norms, beliefs, values, behaviors, habits and the worldview that differ one culture from the other.

According to recent studies by Geert Hofstede (2010), the American culture is one in which people are concerned with their needs and their direct relatives' needs before anyone else's. They have a tendency of being more individualist, thinking about themselves first. In individualist societies, the members avoid sharing objects and duties at home, for instance. Also, they are concerned about their independence and thus, prefer to leave their parents' house while young. These cultures value pre-determined friendships, prefer to socialize at home with their friends, appreciate expressing their opinions regarding an issue, and experience other peculiarities that are presented in this study.

On the other hand, Brazilian society displays characteristics of a collectivist culture in which the members of a family are not only the direct relatives. This may include uncles, aunts, cousins, grandparents, the kids' friends, and the maid, among others. Individuals of a collectivist culture share the objects and the duties at home, are more open to new friendships, maintain harmony among people other than expressing their opinion in a discussion, meet their friends in public and present other general characteristics in which the necessity of the group prevails over the individual's needs.

In order to confirm or refute Hofstede's studies (2010) we distributed a questionnaire among ten Brazilians from Rio de Janeiro and ten Americans from

New York aged between 18 and 25 years old. The questionnaire is based on Hofstede's research (2010) as well as Roberto Da Matta's studies (1986). The questions raise topics related to the Individualism and Collectivism dimension.

Keywords

Interculturalism; Individualism versus Collectivism; Millennium Generation; American culture; Brazilian culture.

Resumo

Afonso, Veronica Cristina Gomes; Meyer, Rosa Marina de Brito. **I AM WHAT I AM or YES, WE CAN? A comparative study on Individualism and Collectivism in the American and Brazilian cultures.** Rio de Janeiro, 2016. 156p. Dissertação de Mestrado - Departamento de Letras, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro.

O presente estudo baseia-se numa abordagem intercultural para identificar a presença de reações de Coletivismo e Individualismo tanto na sociedade brasileira quanto na americana, com vistas ao ensino do Português como Segunda Língua para anglofalantes.

Ao observarmos ambas as culturas, constatamos normas, crenças, valores, comportamentos, costumes e visão de mundo que diferem uma cultura da outra. Em estudos recentes de Geert Hofstede (2010), a cultura americana é apontada como aquela em que as pessoas estão mais atentas às suas próprias necessidades e às de seus familiares mais próximos, ou seja, os pais e os filhos; elas têm uma tendência a serem mais individualistas e a pensarem nas necessidades da família direta.

Em culturas individualistas, uma família é constituída por membros diretos, ou seja, os pais e os filhos; em suas residências, não há uma tendência de se compartilhar objetivos e serviços; cada membro dessa família tem os seus próprios objetos e suas atribuições dentro da casa. Além disso, os membros das culturas individualistas preocupam-se com a independência e, por conta disso, há uma propensão por parte dos jovens a saírem da casa de seus pais.

Morar em um campus universitário ainda na adolescência é um exemplo dessa tendência na cultura americana. As culturas individualistas prezam pelas amizades já pré-determinadas, pela socialização em casa com os amigos íntimos e pela expressão das próprias opiniões, entre outras peculiaridades que serão apresentadas neste trabalho.

Por outro lado, a sociedade brasileira, ainda segundo o autor, manifesta fortes traços de uma cultura coletivista em que os membros de uma família são

aqueles além dos parentes diretos, incluindo os tios, primos, avós, a nora, o amigo muito próximo do filho e até, possivelmente, a empregada doméstica, entre outros. Indivíduos de cultura coletivista compartilham bens e serviços, são mais abertos a novas amizades, preferem manter a harmonia do que expressar as opiniões. Encontram-se com os amigos mais em público do que em casa, entre outras características em que a necessidade do grupo prevaleça sobre a necessidade de um único indivíduo. É interessante pensar, porém, que muitos americanos e brasileiros não se englobam dentro das culturas individualista e coletivista, respectivamente.

O objetivo deste trabalho, é, portanto, comparar e analisar ambas as culturas e, dessa forma, verificar em que circunstâncias o americano se comporta de forma mais coletivista e em que situações o brasileiro se revela mais individualista. Dessa forma, também é objetivo deste trabalho confirmar ou refutar os índices encontrados nos estudos interculturais de Geert Hofstede (2010). Tais diferenças de comportamento social podem causar dificuldades comunicativas entre falantes do português do Brasil e do inglês norte-americano.

Para a nossa análise, utilizamos questionários em que dez americanos nova-iorquinos e dez brasileiros cariocas comentam qual comportamento ou reação teriam em determinadas circunstâncias e situações construídas para a pesquisa. Esses participantes são jovens entre 18 e 25 anos que conhecem pouco sobre a outra cultura aqui apresentada, justamente para que não haja interferência nos nossos resultados.

O questionário e a análise de dados baseiam-se nos estudos de Hofstede (2010) e Roberto Da Matta (1986). Diferentemente do previsto pelas hipóteses e confirmando os objetivos, verifica-se que as reações de alguns participantes não correspondem às particularidades de sua cultura propostas por Hofstede. Acreditamos que essas diferenças se dão pelo fato de termos entrevistado jovens entre 18 e 25 anos, o que corresponde à geração Millennium.

Esse dado, portanto, torna-se relevante uma vez que Hofstede, em sua pesquisa, entrevistou profissionais mais experientes no mercado de trabalho e de idade mais adulta; assim, nossa pesquisa traz a questão para o momento histórico

atual, contemplando, portanto, a realidade etária da maior parte dos aprendizes do Português como Segunda Língua.

Palavras-chave

Interculturalismo; Individualismo e Coletivismo; cultura americana; cultura brasileira; geração Millennium

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List of Abbreviations

Q: Question

PL2E: Portuguese as a Second language (for foreigners)

IBM: International Business Machine

PDI: Power Distance

MAS: Masculinity versus Femininity

UAI: Uncertainty Avoidance

LTO: Long-Term Orientation

IND: Indulgence versus Restraint

IDV: Individualism versus Collectivism

Introduction

In this research, we aim at identifying how the Individualism versus Collectivism dimension is expressed in both American and Brazilian cultures. It is known that living in a globalized world demands from individuals to not only possess a Second Language domain, but also understand that cultures are different. Because of that, there is a significant variety of people who think and behave in different manners. Cross-cultural studies, referred in this work as Interculturalism, aim at observing, analyzing and describing peculiarities inherent to the many cultures in the world. The Individualism versus Collectivism dimension measures the tendency of a culture to be more individualistic or collectivist.

During the process of learning a second language, an individual is usually concerned with the vocabulary, the sounds, the pronunciation of the words, the intonation of a sentence, the grammar and other structures of the language that are relevant to communicate efficiently. However, many learners do not think about the culture that embeds that language.

Cultural awareness helps the individuals not only understand the logic that exists within a language, but also comprehend reasons why people from other countries do not follow the same behaviors as they do. Important pillar concepts such as space, raising children, values, friendships, beauty, religion, gender, self and language are characteristics that all cultures present.

Globalization and the Internet have made the world smaller. Nowadays, individuals from every part of the world can interact easily. During this interaction, individuals put into practice their cultural background, as they would in any other conversation. However, when people from different countries and cultures communicate, they may notice and yet not understand why the other individuals are saying or doing something a certain way.

In a business meeting, for instance, British people might arrive on time or even before the scheduled time. On the other hand, Brazilians might arrive on time

or fifteen minutes late. This is not rude in their social environment as fifteen minutes is a tolerable lateness for an appointment in Brazil. The British participants of the meeting may in turn think that Brazilians have little commitment as they arrive late.

In general, people from Latin America understand that their family consists of mother, father, children as well as cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents and any other relative. This is called the extended family and more details about this perspective are provided in chapter three (Cf. 3.1.4). Conversely, North Americans usually recognize their immediate family, the parents and the children only, the so-called nuclear family (Cf. 3.1.4). For them, the other relatives are also considered part of their family, but not part of their immediate family.

Therefore, we understand that, in some cultures, individuals have two perspectives on family: the nuclear and the extended family. On the other hand, in other cultures, the extended family is the main viewpoint.

If we compare American and Brazilian cultures, for instance, we realize that not only the concept of family is different, but also the notions of identity, raising children, preferred places for socialization, friendships, the preference (or not) for sharing objects and the duties among family members and coworkers, the concept of an attractive company to work at, and the importance given to speaking one's mind. As such, individuals from different cultures may have some issues while trying to interact among each other.

Geert Hofstede (2010) (Cf. 2.1.2), a cross-cultural researcher and theorist, developed his studies on the characteristics and peculiarities of the many cultures in the world. Hofstede (2010) identified six dimensions that comprehend, compare and classify such cultures: Power Distance, Masculinity versus Femininity, Uncertainty Avoidance, Long-Term Orientation, Indulgence versus Restraint and Individualism versus Collectivism. In our research, we will focus on Individualism and Collectivism.

In recent studies, Hofstede (2010) supports that on a scale from zero to hundred of the IDV dimension, Americans reach ninety-one as individualistic people. The individualist culture is presented as the one in which the people have

nuclear families, are concerned with their own needs rather than the group's needs, prefer to socialize at home, keep predetermined friendships, avoid sharing objects and duties and appreciate speaking their mind.

In the same study, Hofstede concludes that Brazilians score thirty-eight percent of the same dimension, which means that Brazilian society tends to be more collectivist than individualist. Therefore, Brazilians are understood as being basically the opposite of Americans regarding the Individualism versus Collectivism dimension: they have extended families, are more concerned with the group's needs, prefer to socialize in public, appreciate voluntary friendships, share objects and duties and maintain harmony among people.

According to Roberto Da Matta (1986) (Cf. 2.1.4), there are two symbolic places of interaction - "the Home" and "the Street" - that constitute the basic concepts concerning Brazilian culture. According to the Brazilian anthropologist, "the Home" is a place where Brazilians understand and respect the fact that each family member's identity has its importance and meaning. At home, the individual belongs to that family and is of great significance, which means that despite his/her strengths and weaknesses, the individual will be loved and will have the necessary support to live.

It is not a physical place, but a moral place: sphere where basically we find fulfillment as human beings who have a physical body, and also a moral and social dimension. Thus, in the house, we are unique and irreplaceable. We have a unique place in a web of relationships marked by many important social dimensions, such as gender and age.¹ (My translation)

On the other hand, in "the Street", the same members do not have significance as they are just one individual among many others who challenge one's comfort zone. The abilities or the limitations one may have do not matter in the street. The society judges and punishes those who do not follow established

¹ Não se trata de um lugar físico, mas de um lugar moral: esfera onde nos realizamos basicamente como seres humanos que têm um corpo físico, e também uma dimensão moral e social. Assim, na casa, somos únicos e insubstituíveis. Temos um lugar singular numa teia de relações marcadas por muitas dimensões sociais importantes, como a divisão de sexo e de idade.¹ (Da Matta, 1986, p. 20)

patterns and rules; it puts pressure on the individuals to achieve goals considered important for social status acquisition. Furthermore, the Street is where insecurity and law prevail, and individuals must respect the authorities who are no longer the parents.

Here, the ruler is not the father, brother, husband, wife, kinship networks and friendship that consider us as a person and a friend. Instead, the command is given to the authority that governs with the law, which makes everyone the same in order to disallow and even exploit mercilessly.² (My translation)

Since the members of each society behave in different ways depending on where they are interacting and with whom they are communicating, the main goal of this work is to analyze not only Americans' and Brazilians' behavior in some given contexts, and also what they think about their own cultures. Afterwards, we aim at comparing the results with the ones presented by Hofstede.

In order to conduct our research, we created a questionnaire with sixteen topics related to and based on the Individualism versus Collectivism dimension. The questionnaire was distributed among ten Americans and ten Brazilians between eighteen to twenty-five years old. We observed and analyzed their answers and compared our results with the data presented by Hofstede in his research at the IBM company (Cf. 2.1.2).

We verified that some of our results are similar to the ones presented by Hofstede. Other results, however, display some differences in comparison to the data found in the Hofstede's IBM research, and we believe this is due to the age of our respondents. Because of that, we included a sub item (Cf. 2.1.3) in chapter two in order to discuss about the Millennial generation.

Finally, we associate the Individualism and the Collectivism with a song by Gloria Gaynor and with Obama's Victory Speech. By analyzing both discourses

² Aqui, quem governa não é mais o pai, o irmão, o marido, a mulher e as redes de parentesco e amizade que nos têm como uma pessoa e um amigo. Ao contrário, o comando é dado à autoridade que governa com a lei, a qual torna todo mundo igual no propósito de desautorizar e até mesmo explorar de forma impiedosa. (Da Matta, 1986, p. 26)

we could find, relate and compare some peculiarities with characteristics present in the American culture.

1.1

Motivation and justification

A broad view about culture and Interculturalism was presented in the course entitled *Aspectos Culturais do Português como Segunda Língua*³ given by Professor Doctor Rosa Marina de Brito Meyer at PUC-Rio in the first semester of 2014. This course was the first motivation for this research, as I realized that understanding cultural traits is an important aspect of communication and interaction among people from different societies.

The course entitled *Intercultural Competence and Second Language Acquisition* taught by Professor PhD Olenka Bilash from the University of Alberta, Canada, and a visiting professor at PUC-Rio then, was also a motivation for this research. The professor not only discussed the process of learning and acquiring a second language, but also inspired us to think about cultures and to develop our intercultural competence.

In both courses, there was a continuous incentive for the students to observe and study cultures as well as to analyze the intercultural communication processes, which included culture shock and misunderstandings among those interacting.

The last factor that inspired me to conduct this research was an experience of teaching the Portuguese spoken in Brazil and Brazilian culture at the State University of New York at New Paltz. My stay in New York broadened my view of American culture. I was able to compare it to Brazilian culture by using the tools provided by the professors mentioned above.

³ Cultural Aspects of Portuguese as a Second Language

Living in the state of New York for a year and observing Americans' values, behavior, beliefs, points of view and habits, improved my intercultural competence and increased my curiosity about studying the differences between American and Brazilian cultures.

This work is intended to use the skills acquired in my classes in Brazil and developed through empirical observation of facts in the United States in order to compare Brazilian and American cultures. Thus, we aim at contributing to the teaching of Portuguese as a Second or Foreign Language by displaying some differences between both cultures identified in the scope of the Individualism versus Collectivism dimension.

1.2

Hypothesis

While I was living in the state of New York and teaching Portuguese and Brazilian culture there, I observed that Americans are aware of their social obligations and tend to think about the collective. In traffic, for instance, they are civilized: in general, they wait behind the school buses when these are stopped; they park in the proper area respecting the limits of the spot; they avoid driving in the left-hand lane when they are going at a slow speed; and other attitudes that take into account the common good.

On the other hand, Brazilians do not usually respect the pedestrians, park on the sidewalks when they do not find spots, throw garbage on the roads, do not always indicate the maneuver they will do, they honk as soon as the traffic light turns green in order to call the front drivers' attention, they also honk in front of hospitals and schools, and act in similar manners that seem not to be preoccupied with the other individuals around them.

In Hofstede's (2010) research, the Americans scored ninety-one percent in the IDV dimension against thirty-eight percent scored by the Brazilians. In other

words, according to the theorist's studies, Americans tend to behave in a more individualistic manner whereas Brazilians tend to be more collectivist.

This incongruence caught my attention while taking the *Aspectos Culturais do Português como Segunda Língua* course with Professor Rosa Marina at PUC-Rio. Through discussions, the professor would point out traits raised by the theorist, but she would also contrast them to some aspects related to American culture. Therefore, my hypothesis at the beginning of this work was that we would find divergences between our results and Hofstede's. In some given contexts this hypothesis was confirmed, but in others we found similar results to the ones described in Hofstede's theory.

1.3

Objectives

The general objective of our work is to identify how the Individualism versus Collectivism dimension is expressed in both American and Brazilian cultures.

Our first specific objective is to characterize situations in which Americans behave correspondingly to the Individualist extreme. We also aim at characterizing situations in which Brazilians behave correspondingly to the Collectivist pole. These two first objectives are in accordance with Hofstede's theory, which states that Americans score ninety-one percent in the IDV dimension against the thirty-eight percent scored by Brazilians.

Secondly, it is also our goal to identify situations in which Americans tend to be more collectivist; and identify situations in which Brazilians are tend to be more individualistic. These two goals, however, oppose Hofstede's results.

In addition to these specific goals, it is also our objective to present a contribution to Portuguese as a Second or Foreign Language teaching. We believe that cultural issues must be discussed during classes in order to raise cultural awareness among students.

So, in short, the goals of this research are:

- Overall objective: to identify how the Individualism versus Collectivism dimension is expressed in both American and Brazilian cultures;
- Specific objectives:
 - to characterize situations in which Americans behave correspondingly to the individualist extreme.
 - to characterize situations in which Brazilians behave correspondingly to the collectivist pole;
 - to identify situations in which Americans tend to be more collectivist;
 - to identify situations in which Brazilians tend to be more individualistic;
 - to present a contribution to Portuguese as a Second or Foreign Language teaching.

Finally, it is not the purpose of this study to offer didactic material such as exercises, PowerPoint slides, handout or any other teaching material. Our intention is to reflect upon issues related to both American and Brazilian culture and motivate researchers, teachers and authors to create their own approach to the topic being raised in this work.

1.4

Relevance

International citizens who come to Brazil have expectations regarding Brazilian culture. Some of them believe that Brazilians are very welcoming and friendly. Others believe that Brazilians are lazy and rude because they are seen as never being on time. These are stereotypes that people will confirm or refute when those people arrive in the country based on their individual experience.

Stereotypes can sometimes lead to misinterpretation, as well as culture shock. According to Bennett (1998, p.6), stereotypes are problematic in intercultural communication:

Stereotypes are problematic in intercultural communication for several obvious reasons. One is that they may give us a false sense of understanding our communication patterns. Whether the stereotype is positive or negative, it is usually only partially correct. Additionally, stereotypes may become self-fulfilling prophecies, where we observe others in selective ways that confirm our prejudice. (BENNETT, 1998, p.6)

Our research aims at reflecting upon the Individualism versus Collectivism dimension within both the American and the Brazilian societies. Based on that reflection, we intend to present a contribution to the Portuguese as a Second or Foreign Language teaching. Consequently, this study becomes relevant as it raises cultural awareness and it encourages researchers, teachers and other education professionals to develop their own approaches to this matter.

1.5

Organization of this research

This work is divided into five parts. The first one is the introduction. The second chapter presents the theoretical and methodological foundations for this study. This chapter includes the concept of interculturalism, Hofstede's theory and its six dimensions, a summary of the new generation entitled 'Millennials', Roberto Da Matta's "the Home" and "the Street" concepts and the method of the data collection.

The third chapter consists of data analysis, as well as considerations on the results found. The fourth chapter displays the final considerations of our research and in the fifth chapter we present the references that we have used throughout this study.

Afterwards, we include the attachments that constitute of questionnaire in both English and Portuguese versions, each participant's answers, a text that displays an opinion on Brazilian culture and a Hofstede's announcement on a social media a week after the submission of our study. We could include that new information in the final version of this research (Cf. 4).

Theoretical and Methodological Foundations

As presented in chapter one, this work aims at analyzing the individualist and the collectivist behaviors in both Brazilian and American societies according to the definitions proposed by the intercultural theorist Geer Hofstede (2010)⁴ (Cf. 2.1.2). The author gathers characteristics inherent to both cultures such as behaviors, assumptions, values, and others. Regarding the Individualism and Collectivism dimension, Hofstede argues that in some cultures the members of the society are more concerned with the individual's needs whereas in some others, the groups' needs are precedent.

The goal of our work is to use Hofstede's studies as the main basis for our analysis focusing on the Individualism and Collectivism dimension throughout our discussion. This dimension will also be referred to as the IDV dimension in this work (Cf. 2.1.2.6).

Besides that, in order to achieve our objective, we also use Roberto Da Matta's (1986) concept of "the Home" and "the Street" in which the theorist explains the difference found in Brazilians' behavior when they are inserted in the two distinct contexts, the home and the street. This means that depending on which context Brazilians are inserted, they can be more inclined to individualism or more inclined to collectivism (Cf. 2.1.3).

Stereotypes and generalizations are also two different important concepts to this research (Cf. 2.1.1). The first regards the perception that some individuals from other cultures have regarding another culture. The beliefs that there are animals in every part of Brazil, or that during the Carnival every women go top-less are two stereotypes about the Brazilian culture. It is definitely not common to find wild animals in the urban area and top-less in forbidden in the country.

⁴ This work is based on the most recent study of Geer Hofstede (2010) entitled Cultures and organizations: the software of the mind. Sometimes, the year of his work is not mentioned throughout our text because the 2010 study presents the theory we are based on.

On the other hand, the generalizations are based on observation and they inform people about general social, cultural and historical characteristics about that country. Someone who comes to Brazil and sees how happy Brazilians are during the Carnival might say that Brazilians love the festival. This is a generalization based on an observation, however it is important to understand that there are also some Brazilians who do not like the Carnival.

Generalizations are relevant to this research as we observe and analyze the answers provided by our twenty informants. We also extend their thoughts and compare them to some observation of ours in order to establish a general idea of both American and Brazilian cultures.

Finally, we establish a relation between culture and language in order to show the importance of this study to the teaching of Portuguese as second or foreign language.

2.1

Theoretical Foundations

In this chapter we describe the main concepts that serve as the basis for our analyses in this work. As we are concerned with some Brazilian and American cultural aspects, we understand that our primary purpose in this chapter is to elucidate what interculturalism is.

2.1.1

Interculturalism

Individuals from different cultures have distinctive norms, beliefs, assumptions, values and behaviors, and thus, understand the world around them from different perspectives. Because of those distinct points of view, there is a tendency to discriminate against what is different from what they think and

believe. What is unusual sometimes is not accepted, or it can be seen as something wrong.

Interculturalism proposes to explore these peculiarities of each culture, to compare the differences among many cultures and to predict how individuals behave in certain contexts as well as how they, in general, deal with prompt situations.

Our perception of reality (what a word!) may be assisted if we can wear someone else's shoes for a moment—if we can see how he or she views some issue in a way very different from how we see it. Let's take, for example, the differing view-points of Finns and Spaniards on legality and illegality. (...) Finn consistently making expensive telephone calls for which she need not pay will ultimately fall victim to her own inherent sense of independence, not least because she is building up a debt to her friend in Finnish Telecom. The Spaniard, on the other hand, would phone Easter Island nightly (if he could get away with it) with great relish and unashamed glee. (LEWIS, 2006, p. 22)

According to Lewis (2006), Spaniards and Finns tend to think in a different manner. In a situation as the one described above, they would probably be in trouble if they needed to interact with each other. They would not understand each other's behaviors, as they would consider them impolite, rude or even offensive.

The intercultural approach intends to support not only the interaction but also the integration among cultures, showing that it is possible for individuals to live together by respecting each other's values, beliefs, behaviors, assumptions and any different point of view they may have.

The notion of culture can be understood as the one related to a nation's culture. It can also be related to the cultures of many small groups that exist within the same society. Holliday (1999:237) distinguishes both paradigms of culture as “large culture” and “small culture” as it follows:

This *large culture* paradigm is by its nature vulnerable to a culturist reduction of ‘foreign’ students, teachers and their educational contexts. In contrast, a *small culture* paradigm attaches ‘culture’ to small social groupings or activities wherever there is cohesive behavior, and thus avoids culturist ethnic, national or international stereotyping. (HOLLIDAY, 1999, p. 237)

In the same society people can belong to different cultures. In Rio de Janeiro, for instance, someone who lives by the beach has a different culture from those who live in less privileged places. This is also true for people of different religion, social class, skin color, age, gender and other characteristics that represent diverse realities to the members of the same society.

Small culture is thus a dynamic, ongoing group process which operates in changing circumstance to enable group members to make sense of and operate meaningfully within those circumstances. When a researcher looks at an unfamiliar social grouping, it can be said to have a small culture when there is a discernible set of behaviors and understandings connected with group cohesion. (...) Small culture is thus 'the sum total of all the processes, happenings, or activities in which a given set or several, sets of people habitually engage'. (HOLLIDAY, 1999, p. 248)

In our research, however, we focus on large cultures, as this paradigm is a key tool for the teaching of Portuguese as a second language, and any other language. Within one course, it would not be practicable to teach students of Brazilian Portuguese about the many cultures that exist in the Brazilian society. According to Holliday (1999: 239), "school classroom, teacher and other education (small) cultures can extend beyond the boundaries of larger cultures (of say nation) where they are related to international education cultures."

Bennett (1998:2) presents the "Levels of Culture" in which is included not only the international but also the domestic cultures in two levels: the "High Level of Abstraction" and the "Lower Level of Abstraction".

According to interculturalist, the "High Level of Abstraction" sustains that "the qualities that adhere to most (but not all) members of the culture are very general, and the group includes a lot of diversity. At this level of abstraction we can only point to general differences in patterns of thinking and behaving between cultures". By contrast, "(...) at a 'Lower Level of Abstraction', more specific groups such as ethnicities can be described in cultural terms." (Bennett, 1998, p. 3)

Bennett (1998:3) also affirms that "cultural difference at high level of abstraction provides a rich base for analyzing national cultural behavior". Therefore, we take into consideration the relevant studies of Small Cultures.

However, the high level of abstraction seems to be more pertinent to the aims and scope of our research.

In order to find out the peculiarities of each culture, we must be aware of generalizations as they become necessary depending on how and where this knowledge is applied. This is important because by observing and analyzing what is general to a culture, we have a relevant base of information about that culture.

When teaching Portuguese as a second language or as a foreign language, for instance, students generally do not know about Brazilian culture, or at least, they know very little about it. When PL2E⁵ teachers have significant data about the culture and know how to apply it in the classroom, students feel less anxious regarding the new world they are learning about and they understand the language by making comparisons to its culture.

However, we should not forget that an individual from a specific society can show different behavior, values, assumptions, beliefs and the like, from other people of the same society. Thus, this individual does not practice, believe in or agree with some or all of the peculiarities of that culture. This means that generalizations contribute to Portuguese or any other language lesson, as we have mentioned before, but that generalizations are not the universal rule to the society.

People are diverse within the family, society, religions and any group. Moreover, even though the individuals have similar beliefs, assumptions and values, this does not mean that a whole nation will think and see the world around them exactly in the same way. Lewis (2006, p. 24) exemplifies this concern more clearly as follows: “Stereotyping is dangerous, but generalizing is a fair guide at the national level. A particular Dane may resemble a certain Portuguese, but a Danish choir or soccer team is easily distinguishable from its Portuguese equivalent. Generalizing on national traits breaks down with individuals but stands firm with large numbers.”

Lewis also explains the importance of understanding other cultures in a globalized world. According to the author, it is important for an individual to

⁵ PL2E – *Português como segunda língua para estrangeiros*: Portuguese as second language (for foreigners).

understand the way people from other cultures think and interact. This awareness may help one be successful in any kind of business relations.

In a world of rapidly globalizing business, Internet electronic proximity and politico-economic associations, the ability to interact successfully with foreign partners in the spheres of commercial activity, diplomatic intercourse and scientific interchange is seen as increasingly essential and desirable. (LEWIS, 2006, p. 28)

Moreover, Lewis supports the need for categorizing cultures. According to the author, when individuals raise their intercultural competence they comprehend issues they were not aware of before. Thus, they can adapt to the reality of individuals from different cultures.

The need for a convincing categorization is obvious. It enables us to: predict a culture's behavior, clarify why people did what they did, avoid giving offense, search for some kind of unity, standardize policies, and perceive neatness and *Ordnung*⁶. (LEWIS, 2006, p. 29)

Interculturalism aims at encouraging people to think about their own cultures as well as other cultures as to recognize differences between them. Its purpose is also to assist individuals in interacting, in socializing, and in communicating with people from distinct nationalities. This way, people will have a better relationship with each other in a multicultural company, at a college with international students and professors, within extended family members who are from other countries, among friends from different cultures, and in many other contexts.

Interculturalism is beneficial once it clarifies a culture with more details, explains behaviors, presents patterns and justifies how some of a society's systems works. The moment individuals become aware of those issues, the more likely they will know what to do in order to respect the differences and avoid offense.

⁶ According to the author, "a world governed by *Ordnung*, (*is*) where everything and everyone has a place in a grand design calculated to produce maximum efficiency". (Lewis, 2006, p. 111)

2.1.2

The Geert Hofstede Theory

Geert Hofstede's study main goal is to help people from different cultures understand the reasons why individuals have certain behaviors, assumptions, values and the like. In order to achieve this objective it is important to demonstrate to people that their values are just one of many ways of seeing the world around them. Once individuals understand that, it becomes easier for them to comprehend that what the members of other cultures do or think is not necessarily wrong. It is, indeed, a divergent way of observing the world. Given these points, not only can problems at work be avoided, but also embroiled issues that connect with world problems can be eased.

In his book *Cultures and Organizations: the software of the mind*, Hofstede (2010) proposes six cultural dimensions. Throughout his book, Hofstede analyzes and compares cultures by showing which attitudes individuals would have in certain situations.

His study is the result of extensive research done at the International Business Machine (IBM) company in the eighties. The questionnaires used in the research presented questions that were based on the dimensions proposed by the author. The answers provided by the interviewees were analyzed, and based on the results, Hofstede calculated rates from zero to hundred for the observed nations. The theorist proposed six dimensions: the Power Distance Index, Masculinity versus Femininity, Uncertainty Avoidance Index, Long Term Orientation versus Short Term Normative Orientation, Indulgence versus Restraint and Individualism versus Collectivism.

The researcher rated each culture in accordance to these dimensions and summarized the information in a graph. On his website, it is possible to not only generate a graph of the six dimensions for each country, but also to compare up to three nations and see their dissimilarities. *Figure 1* shows a graph that compares Brazilian and American culture in each dimension proposed by Hofstede.

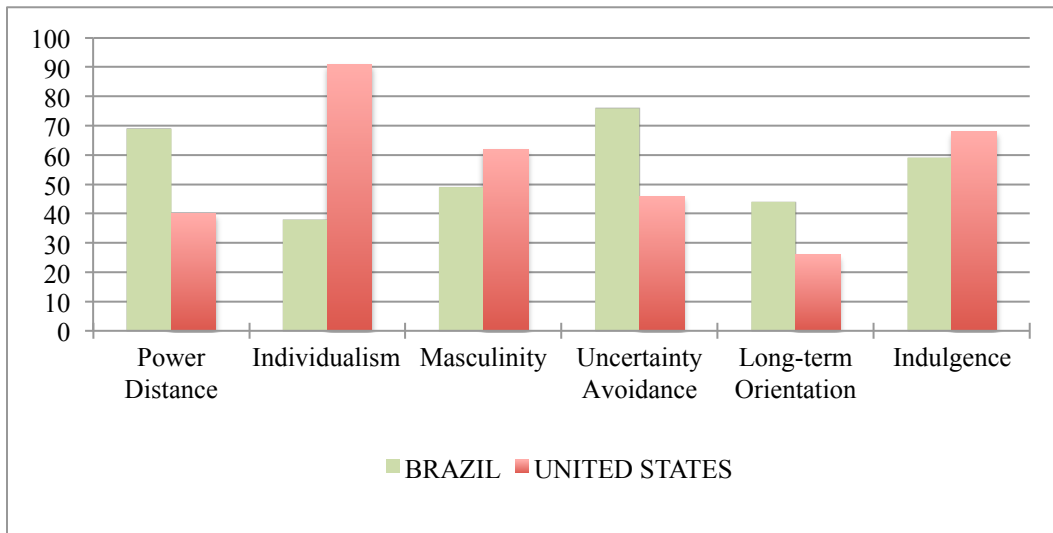


Figure 1

In short, Brazilian culture, in general, has more power distance, is based more on short-term orientation, is more indulgent and avoids uncertainty more than what is usual for American culture. On the other hand, Americans are more individualistic and are based more in masculinity than Brazilians.

Besides this data, more detailed information about Hofstede's theory and about the cultures can be found on his website. In the following sections, an overview of each of the six dimensions is presented. As this work aims at observing and analyzing both American and Brazilian cultures through the Individualism versus Collectivism dimension, the IDV is emphasized in order to clarify the ideas that will guide this study.

2.1.2.1

Power Distance Index (PDI)

In some societies, less powerful members expect and accept the unequal distribution of power among individuals. In other societies, the same less powerful

groups expect power to be distributed in a fair way. If not, people demand an equalization of that distribution.

Inequality results in hierarchy, which is supposed to be followed and respected by individuals at companies, at schools, at home and in any other social environment. The members of society are understood to have more or less power than others.

According to Hofstede (2010), the inequality is present in any society, even in those where the PDI is low.

There is inequality in any society. Even in the simplest hunter-gatherer band, some people are bigger, stronger, or smarter than others. Further, some people have more power than others: they are more able to determine the behavior of others than vice versa. Some people acquire more wealth than others. Some people are given more status and respect than others. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p. 54)

A society that has a high PDI is one in which less powerful members accept the unequal distribution of power among the members. Moreover, members of this society do not ask for a justification. A society that presents a low PDI, however, is one in which less powerful members demand power to be distributed equally.

Brazilian society's PDI rate is sixty-nine, which is higher than the average fifty. This means that Brazilians who have less power tend to understand and accept other Brazilians being in a higher position. All individuals have a place in this hierarchy. This power can be defined by the amount of money someone owns, the position someone has at a company, the influence someone has on politics, and the like. Power holders have more benefits and Brazilians, in general, accept this hierarchy with little hesitation and without asking for justification. The power is clear and understood by the members.

American society's PDI rate is forty, which means that hierarchy is also a concern in the United States, but not as much as in Brazil. In American culture, each individual is unique and because of that, each person influences the others. Americans, however, do not necessarily influence other individuals because of

wealth, position at work or any other privilege. Americans are motivated by the society to be unique individuals and due of that they can express how powerful they are because of their intellect.

All things considered, the Power Distance Index is the dimension that demonstrates how members of a society deal with unequal power distribution. All societies are unequal, some more than others. Those whose PDI is high consist of individuals who accept and do not question the unequal distribution of power. Other cultures present a low PDI because the distribution of power is fairer, and thus, members do not feel they need to claim any issue.

2.1.2.2

Masculinity versus Femininity (MAS)

According to Hofstede's theory, a society can be considered masculine when the individuals praise some peculiarities related to masculine traits. People are more concerned with real facts, success, competition, heroism, achievements, assertiveness, material rewards, among others. It is a society that is more concerned with getting straight to the point when it comes to achieving something.

On the other hand, a low score on this dimension means that members of the society are inclined to care about others and also about the quality of life. Individuals seek cooperation, care for the weak people, think about process before success, social rewards, work respect and approval by society. Standing out is not the focus for the members of this society.

A society is called masculine when emotional gender roles are clearly distinct: men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success, whereas women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. A society is called feminine when emotional gender roles overlap: both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p. 140)

Brazil scores forty-nine in the MAS dimension which means that the country has both masculine and feminine characteristics inherent in its culture. The United States rates sixty-two which means that American culture is more associated with the importance of competition, of material reward, of assertiveness, and of achievements.

2.1.2.3

Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI)

The UAI dimension aims at measuring how members of a society feel threatened by uncertain, ambiguous and unpredictable situations. It is not possible to predict the future, but the way members of a society deal with uncertainty differs from culture to culture. Hofstede affirms that in order to control this anxiety, technology, law and religion alleviate the fear of uncertainty. Besides anxiety, other feelings such as nervousness, low self-control and lack of patience motivate the uncertainty avoidance.

All human beings have to face the fact that we do not know what will happen tomorrow: the future is uncertain, but we have to live with it anyway. Extreme ambiguity creates intolerable anxiety. Every human society has developed ways to alleviate this anxiety. These ways belong to the domains of technology, law, and religion. Technology, from the most primitive to the most advanced, helps people to avoid uncertainties caused by nature. Laws and rules try to prevent uncertainties in the behavior of other people. Religion is a way of relating to the transcendental forces that are assumed to control people's personal future. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p. 189)

Believing in a religion, for instance, is a strategy to relieve anxiety. Religious people do not know what the future holds for them. Thus, they need their religion's belief in order to have answers. They trust what is being said in the doctrine, they trust the person who teaches them and they believe in the principles being taught. By doing that, they decrease the level of their anxiety, as they have

no other solution. These individuals need to live with the unknown, the uncertain and the ambiguous.

The uncertainty avoidance is also present in the work environment. In some companies, for instance, the boss needs to clearly show the employees what they have to do. If the boss does not tell the employees their job description, they probably will not know what to do next. However, in other companies, the boss explains the job description on the first day of work and does not need to repeat the employee's tasks anymore.

The first peculiarity mentioned is more common among individuals who belong to a culture in which the UAI is high. Another characteristic to those employees is that they generally do not innovate because they are afraid of making mistakes or doing a job that does not aggregate. They avoid giving their opinion and just do what they are supposed to.

Brazil rates seventy-six in the UAI dimension against forty-six rated by the United States meaning that in Brazil people are less comfortable with uncertainty than individuals in the United States. Brazilians need rules, procedures and details about issues in order to avoid confusion or uncertainty, otherwise they feel exhausted, frustrated and anxious dealing with situations they can neither handle nor understand. In a culture in which the UAI is high, what is different is dangerous. American society displays a lower UAI rate. Thus, Americans generally take more risks and feel more comfortable with the unknown than Brazilians.

2.1.2.4

Long Term Orientation versus Short Term Normative Orientation (LTO)

The main goal of this dimension presented by Geert Hofstede is to identify which social groups give more importance to future rewards, such as the economy, education, optimism, and which groups value more traditions and norms, which

means that they are strongly connected to their past. This dimension is defined as below:

(...) long-term orientation stands for the fostering of virtues oriented toward future rewards—in particular, perseverance and thrift. Its opposite pole, short-term orientation, stands for the fostering of virtues related to the past and present—in particular, respect for tradition, preservation of “face”, and fulfilling social obligations. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p. 239)

In a short-term orientation culture, for instance, students attribute their success to luck. In a long-term orientation, students attribute their success to effort and failure to lack of effort.

Brazil rates forty-four in this dimension and the United States rated a lower number, twenty-six. This means that both cultures honor tradition preservation and old customs and practices. Social spending and consumption, and nationalism are other two characteristics of the short-term orientation cultures.

2.1.2.5

Indulgence versus Restraint (IND)

Societies that are indulgent tend to give more freedom to their individuals. People can have fun with less rules, generally exhibit their positive feelings more often than the negative ones, are optimistic and outgoing, are less moderated, usually describe their health as ‘very good’ one. The members of an indulgent culture generally have more kids, practice exercises, have less cardiac problems and tend to use the Internet more than the individuals in the restrictive societies.

People from restrictive societies believe that they can enjoy life but need social rules in order to do it; everybody has to respect and follow them. They are more concerned with organization, formality, solidarity and harmony. They give importance to leisure, but it has to be controlled. According to Hofstede’s theory, indulgence and restraint are explained as follows:

Indulgence stands for a tendency to allow relatively free gratification of basic and natural human desires related to enjoying life and having fun. Its opposite pole, restraint, reflects a conviction that such gratification needs to be curbed and regulated by strict social norms. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p. 281)

In this dimension Brazil scores fifty-nine and the United States score sixty-eight. With this scenario, we understand that both societies are concerned with leisure and norms, but Brazilians pay less attention to rules, whereas the Americans prefer to follow them.

2.1.2.6

Individualism versus Collectivism (IDV)

In individualist societies, members' needs are generally more important than the whole group's needs. Individuals are more concerned with themselves, such as their favorite work environment conditions, the avoidance of sharing objects and duties, the emphasis on the nuclear family other than the extended family, the need to speak one's mind, and any other peculiarity in which the individual's needs prevail over the group's.

Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after him- or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onward are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p. 92)

In a collectivist society, on the other hand, the individual is more concerned with the group's interests other than one person's. This means that when a child has an opinion that differs from his/her family's point of view, s/he might reconsider thinking about the issue. A family member who is unemployed might get financial assistance from other family members and no one feels uncomfortable

with the situation. Finally, from a very young age, kids are motivated to share their toys and simple duties at home because the idea is to help each other, and not to focus only on one's desires.

In terms of percentage, Brazilian culture rates thirty-eight percent on a scale from zero to hundred in the IDV dimension, representing a culture with collectivist features. The opposite is true with American culture, which scores ninety-one percent for the IDV, meaning that Americans are more individualist than collectivist.

According to Hofstede (2010), the IDV is the dimension in which it is possible to measure the degree of the individual's self-perception. On the collectivist side, the self belongs to a group and has to consider its insinuations. On the individualist extreme, even though the self belongs to a group, it does not have to be concerned with the groups' interests as it does with its own.

The fundamental issue addressed by this dimension is the degree of interdependence a society maintains among its members. It has to do with whether people's self-image is defined in terms of "I" or "We". In Individualist societies people are supposed to look after themselves and their direct family only. In Collectivist societies people belong to 'in groups' that take care of them in exchange for loyalty. ("What about the USA?", 2001)

Other practical peculiarities of the individualist society are that people tend to avoid sharing objects at home and at their work as well as the duties they have to perform. People prefer to speak their mind even though this may cause an embarrassing situation (the goal is not to embarrass anyone, but to clarify and aggregate positive ideas to a discussion); people prefer to leave their parents' home very early, and also, children are motivated to see themselves as 'I' in the world, which does not mean that they are selfish, but that they are concerned about their own needs, still respecting the group's interests.

Collectivist people, on the other hand, prefer to maintain harmony during a conversation even if they disagree on what is being said, they do not care about sharing objects with family members, friends, classmates and colleagues. They

consider relatives, close friends and any aggregated person as part of their family, constituting this way, their extended family. Children are raised seeing themselves in terms of 'we' and this does not mean that the group's interest is the most relevant issue, but it has to be taken into account when the individual makes a decision.

In our research, we have made up a questionnaire that consists of multi-choice questions as well as two discursive ones. They are all based on the IDV dimension and present topics related to common situations in people's daily routines. In the multi-choice questions we present options that contrast typical behavior of both individualist and collectivist poles so that the informants have to choose the answer that best describes their behavior, way of thinking and beliefs.

In this work, we use the IDV dimension as the main concept to analyze the collected data. Our expectation is that we will find similar results to what Hofstede found in his extensive research. Nevertheless, we do not deny the fact that our informants are different from the ones who participated in Hofstede's studies.

While his participants were all adults, professionals and had important positions at the multicultural IBM company in the 80's, our participants were teenagers and young adults who were still doing their undergraduate courses. Some of them did not have experience at a full time job and some of the informants still had financial support from their parents when they participated in this research. Because of that, we might find dissimilarities in our participants' answers in comparison to the ones found in Hofstede's research.

While analyzing the data collected from the questionnaires answered by Brazilian informants, we have also based our observation on Roberto Da Matta's (1986) studies. The theorist contrasts common Brazilian behavior and attitudes in two main symbolic contexts in Brazilian society: the first entitled as "the Home", and the second, "the Street". Da Matta's theory and this contrast will be explained in more details in the next subsection.

2.1.3

Roberto Da Matta's Home and Street concepts

Roberto Da Matta is a Brazilian anthropologist that currently teaches at the *Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro*. The theorist main goal is to describe Brazilian culture through one of his most discussed concepts, “the Home” and “the Street”, he explains how Brazilians behave differently in those two symbolic places. Besides Hofstede's IDV dimension, the concept of “the Home” and “the Street” also guides us throughout our data analysis, more specifically during the analysis of the Brazilian informants' answers.

Before discussing Da Matta's concept, it is important to understand that “the Home” and “the Street” are symbolic places. The home is the place in which people have their identities. They belong to a family and they are classified by their age, gender, personality and role in that group. At home, people learn values, beliefs and the accurate matters according to their family's principles and standards.

Because of that, there is a connection among those who live at home as they share those common criteria among other issues. Thus, they tend to be more affectionate, welcoming, loyal, respectful and trustworthy. For Brazilians, the home symbolizes a unique space in which each individual has a name, a function, an importance, and thus, a meaning to that group of people who cohabitate there.

But if at home we are classified by age and sex as, respectively, older or younger, and men and women - and here we have social dimensions that are probably the first we learn in Brazilian society - at home we are also defined to what all the "honor", "shame" and "respect" determine. I refer to the filial and familial love that is extended to friends, for whom the doors of our homes are always open and our table is always set and plentiful. The combination of all this helps us, Brazilians, have a perception of our residences as unique places, exclusive spaces.⁷ (My translation)

⁷ Mas se em casa somos classificados pela idade e pelo sexo como, respectivamente, mais velhos ou mais moços e como homens e mulheres — e aqui temos dimensões sociais que são provavelmente as primeiras que aprendemos na sociedade brasileira —, nela somos também determinados por tudo o que a “honra”, a “vergonha” e o “respeito”, esses valores grupais, acabam determinando. Quero referir-me ao amor filial e familiar que se deve estender pelos compadres e pelos amigos, para

Da Matta also presents the opposite context, The Street. He argues that in this social space, the individuals do not hold any specific meaning for others who are also present in this symbolic space. Individuals do not have names, functions and any importance as they would have in their homes. There are no bonds that connect these people. On the street, individuals have different assumptions, viewpoints, attitudes, morals, ideals and performances. Others who are in the street do not realize all of these issues. “The Street” represents a space of danger and loneliness.

On the street there is, theoretically, no love, no consideration neither respect nor friendship. It is a dangerous place, as shown by the painful and complex ritual we do when our child goes out alone for the first time, to go to the movies, to a night club or to school.⁸ (My translation)

Finally, when comparing both spaces, “the Home” and “the Street”, Da Matta suggests that both of them work as a balance. What an individual can have in one space, s/he might not find in the other space, and vice-versa. “In Brazil, the House and the Street are like the two sides of the same coin. What is lost on one side, it is gained on the other side. What is denied at home - such as sex and work - is offered on the street.”⁹ (My translation)

Da Matta’s study helps us throughout conducting data analysis from the Brazilians’ answers to our questionnaire. Even though we want to focus on Individualist and Collectivist behaviors and attitudes, we understand that Brazilians can present divergent mindsets from what we are expecting because of the concept of “the Home” and “the Street”. Moreover, this concept enriches our study as it displays a more detailed view on Brazilian society and culture.

quem as portas de nossas casas estão sempre abertas e nossa mesa está sempre posta e farta. A conjunção de tudo isso faz com que nós, brasileiros, tenhamos uma percepção de nossas moradas como lugares singulares, espaços exclusivos. (DA MATTA, 1986, p. 20)

⁸ Na rua não há, teoricamente, nem amor, nem consideração, nem respeito, nem amizade. É local perigoso, conforme atesta o ritual aflitivo e complexo que realizamos quando um filho nosso sai sozinho, pela primeira vez, para ir ao cinema, ao baile ou à escola. (DA MATTA, 1986, p. 20)

⁹ No Brasil, casa e rua são como os dois lados de uma mesma moeda. O que se perde de um lado, ganha-se do outro. O que é negado em casa - como o sexo e o trabalho -, tem-se na rua. (Da Matta, 1986, p.25)

Due to the fact that we are observing and analyzing behaviors and attitudes of some Brazilians and Americans in certain given contexts, we understand that it is not only important to take into consideration which city the informants are from, but also how old they are, and consequently, which generation they belong to. Regarding the cities they are from, ten participants are from Rio de Janeiro and the other ten are from New York. (Cf. 2.2.1)

Considering the fact that Hofstede interviewed adults who were employees at a multinational company and we aim at contrasting our results with the ones presented by the theorist, we understand that it is relevant to state that our informants are teenagers and young adults between eighteen to twenty-five years old (Cf. 2.2.1), and also to describe the Millennial generation, which consists of individuals who were born between the eighties and the nineties. Millennials present diverse points of view about work, quality of life, marriage, and religion. In the following subsection, we will deepen our awareness of issues concerning this generation that differentiate it from the past ones, and thus, improve our understanding on this matter.

2.1.4

The new generation: the Millennials

In his research, Hofstede (2010) had access to a large survey database of values, assumptions, feelings and behaviors of people from fifty different countries. In total, he interviewed over 100,000 employees from the multinational corporation IBM. The participants were surveyed twice every four years. The employees were all professionals who had been working for the company for a given amount of time.

We realize that the employees were all professionals in the market place, they were professionals from the same company and had to follow company policies and culture. They were not young adults.

In Hofstede's research, the participants with these features served in identifying peculiarities and differences in many cultures, and thus, the research resulted in the six dimensions proposed by the theorist.

However, by observing the new generation of Americans and Brazilians, we realize that some of these young people's actions, values, way of thinking and beliefs are different from their parents' and grandparents' generations. The difference can be reflected within their actions.

Men and women currently aged 18-33 have more college degrees, are more diverse, and more likely to live in urban centers than past generations of the same age. And Millennials are less likely to be military veterans, less likely to be married, and less likely to be working. ("How Millennials today compare with their grandparents 50 years ago", 2015)

Some other characteristics arise if we deeply analyze the Millennials' features and compare them to some previous generations. According to a new poll from the Pew Research Center, Millennials, in comparison to their parents and their grandparents, have more access to education, have entered the labor force in tough times and they are twice as likely to have never married.

In this recent poll they realized that not only men but also women are also the most educated generation of people to date. The study compares the Adult Millennials (ages 18-33) to the Silents (ages 69-84), to the Boomers (ages 50-68) and to the Gen Xers (ages 34-49). Regarding the fact that Millennials have more access to education, the poll presents the following:

(...) Among Silent generation women, only 7% had completed at least a bachelor's degree when they were ages 18 to 33. By comparison, Millennial women are nearly four times (27%) as likely as their Silent predecessors to have at least a bachelor's degree. Educational gains are not limited to women, as Millennial men are also better educated than earlier generations of young men. About 21% of Millennial men have at least a bachelor's degree, compared with only 12% of their young Silent counterparts. These higher levels of educational attainment among those ages 18 to 33 suggest that Millennials, especially Millennial women – while not currently ahead of Gen Xers and Boomers in 2014 – are on track to be our most educated generation by the time they complete their educational journeys. ("How Millennials today compare with their grandparents 50 years ago", 2015)

Besides education, the poll displays other six main differences and evolvement of the Millennials generation. We aim at observing only two features: millennials in the work force and their perspective of marriage.

Regarding the labor force, Millennials have faced the Great Recession, making it more difficult for them to find good jobs, with attractive salaries and motivating benefits.

It's been tough going in the job market for Millennials, who entered into the workforce during the nation's deepest recession in decades. While other generations have faced tough employment markets as they entered adulthood, as some Boomers did during the 1981-1982 recession, the labor market recovery for Millennials has been much less robust following the Great Recession. ("How Millennials today compare with their grandparents 50 years ago", 2015)

Another issue related to the Millennial adults is that they do not desire to get married soon. The main reasons are that they are not financially prepared, and this may be due to the fact that the job market reality has not been positive. Secondly, they have not found an adequate person. The last reason is that they believe they are still too young to get married.

About seven-in-ten Millennials (68%) have never been married, and those who are married have put marriage off until their later adult years. In 1963, the typical American woman married at 21 years of age and the typical man wed at 23. By 2014, those figures climbed to ages 27 for women and 29 for men. (...) When asked the reasons that they have not gotten married, 29% say they are not financially prepared, while 26% say that they have not found someone who has the qualities they are looking for and an additional 26% say that they are too young and not ready to settle down. ("How Millennials today compare with their grandparents 50 years ago", 2015)

Because of these diverse ways of thinking, we have hypothesized that the Millennials might have a distinct perspective from previous generations. This, therefore, displays changes from one generation to the other, resulting in an evolvement of culture.

In order to verify if Millennials have changed enough that we would find indicators in culture, we opted to interview twenty teenagers and young adults in our research. In order to be better organized and have fair results, we had ten

American and ten Brazilian participants between eighteen and twenty-five years old. They were all chosen randomly and had little to no contact with the other culture being discussed in this study.

The Americans had little or no contact with Brazilian culture, and vice versa. The lack of awareness of the other culture will help us neutralize the results. By observing the new generation of Americans and Brazilians we may or may not have different results found in Hofstede's research as our interviewees are still studying in college, are starting to work in the market place and do not have the experience nor a background similar to the IBM employees.

2.2

Methodological Foundations

Our research is based on a mixed method with both qualitative and quantitative approaches. We have opted to make use of the first perspective, as it is our goal to provide insights regarding the issue being raised. It is understood that Americans are individualistic people whereas Brazilians tend to be more collectivist. However, there are some situations in which the roles change. Americans can be very concerned with the group's needs and Brazilians can behave in a more individualistic way depending on the context.

In order to raise awareness on which circumstances Americans and Brazilians are more individualist or collectivist, we gathered information about their behavior in daily situations. The qualitative approach assisted us while observing these social facts as well as the participants' attitudes. According to Goldenberg (1997:18), "The social facts are not susceptible of quantification once each of them has its own meaning, different from the others, and this requires that each situation has to be comprehended in its singularity."¹⁰ (My translation)

¹⁰ "Os fatos sociais não são suscetíveis de quantificação, já que cada um deles tem sentido próprio, diferente dos demais, e isso torna necessário que cada caso concreto seja entendido em sua totalidade." (GOLDENBERG, 1997, p.18)

In order to develop ideas and look deeper into this matter, qualitative research is an approach that helped and guided us to gain understanding on Individualism versus Collectivism in both American and Brazilian cultures.

We also base our study on the quantitative approach as we present and manipulate numerical analysis of data collected through a questionnaire. Numbers are presented throughout our work in order to show tendencies and to make comparisons to Hofstede's data.

The ethnography is an additional approach that was used in our study when the objective is to make a deep description about a particular group of people and their behavior in specific situations. During our investigation of the participants' behaviors and attitudes, we analyzed the answers chosen and provided by them in our questionnaire. The whole analysis was made based on Hofstede's theory, and subsequently, our results were compared to the one's found by the theorist.

2.2.1

Limitations

The twenty informants who participated in our research are of the same age group, between eighteen to twenty-five years old. They have similar social background: Americans were of middle class and Brazilians were of raising middle class or of middle class (this distinction exists in the Brazilian sociopolitical and economic reality). Regarding educational backgrounds, most of respondents are undergraduate students and few of them already have their bachelor's degree. Ten of the informants are from New York and the other ten participants are from Rio de Janeiro. I have chosen Brazilian participants who have little contact with the American culture and American participants who have little or no contact with the Brazilian culture. This way I believe that they would be free from outside influence while answering the questions.

Some of the American respondents speak other languages other than English such as: Spanish, French, American Sign Language, German and

Japanese. Some of the Brazilian participants speak English, Spanish and French other than Brazilian Portuguese.

Among the American and Brazilian informants, some are men and some are women. However, the participants' gender and the exposure to other languages were not taken into consideration throughout our analysis, as the data explored in this research was enough to reach our established goals.

At the beginning and also during this study there was not an ethics committee at PUC-Rio and because of that, the informants have not signed a formal document in which they would authorize the use of the information provided by them in the questionnaire. However, all of the informants were guaranteed that their identities would not be disclosed. It was also agreed that some of their personal information such as age, schooling level, nationality, family origin and languages spoken as well as the answers provided in the questionnaire would be revealed.

Lastly, it is relevant to inform that we have followed PUC-Rio's layout and specifications for formatting and publishing this dissertation. PUC-Rio's manual entitled *Normas para apresentação de teses e dissertações*¹¹ is mentioned in the references of our study.

2.2.2

The data

Our questionnaire is based on the general standard that Hofstede established in order to differentiate both extreme poles on the IDV dimension. The questionnaire presents sixteen questions in which fourteen are multiple-choice ones. There are also two discursive questions, one in the beginning of the questionnaire as a warm up, and the second at the end of it. The main objective is to collect data from the interviewees and verify whether it is collectivism or individualism that guides their lives.

¹¹ Norms for presentation of thesis and dissertations.

Our informants are teenagers and young adults between eighteen and twenty-five years old that do not have much contact with the other culture being studied in this research. This means that we have interviewed Americans that had low or no contact with Brazilian culture, and Brazilians that had little or no contact with American culture. This is a key principle to our research, as the participants are not meant to be influenced by the other culture social facts.

In our questionnaire, the situations are all contextualized and we have made up situations in which the informants are meant to answer how they would interact, react and behave not only at their homes with their families and friends, but also at the university and at work with classmates and coworkers, respectively.

All the questionnaires were sent to the participants by e-mail or by social media. It took them a few days to send the questionnaires back (about three to four days). The Americans took longer to respond because, at that time, they had their finals at college and needed to focus on their studies. There was no face-to-face interaction between them and the interviewer.

2.2.3

The questionnaire

Our questionnaire presents sixteen questions in which fourteen are multiple-choice ones and the other two are discursive questions. The main idea is to raise data on the following topics: ideal work environment, sharing objects and duties, children being raised in terms of 'I' and 'we', extended and nuclear family, harmony and exposure of opinions, predetermined and voluntary friendships and socialization in public or at home.

The fourteen multiple-choice questions present two answers each. One of the options is related to the Collectivist pole and the other one to the Individualist extreme. For each question, we counted how many participants from Rio de Janeiro chose the answer related to collectivism and how many chose the one related to individualism. We did the same with the answers provided by the

participants from New York. At the end, we checked if the Brazilians and Americans chose more answers associated to individualism or to collectivism. We compared our results to the ones presented in Hofstede's research.

The two discursive questions aim at gathering more information about the participants' opinions on their own culture and on the type of families they have in their culture.

In these discursive questions, some Brazilians presented answers in which their arguments were not so clear. This could be because Brazilians have a more circular digressive prolix language, which means that in Brazilian Portuguese there is a tendency to make sure that what someone understood from a question is really what is being asked. As long as someone is sure about the question topic, this person can discuss deeply about the matter.

For Americans, answering these discursive questions was not an issue as Americans tend to be more straightforward in their thoughts and answers making use of a linear direct language.

Concerning that notion, Meyer (2016:77) supports Bennett's concept of linear and digressive languages (1998:3) which describes that: "Languages may be regarded as linear or digressive. In a linear language, such as English, the statements follow the standard "topic – focus", while in a digressive language, as its name suggests, there is a whole set of digressions that can occur between topic and focus: "topic – d1 ... dn – focus."¹² (My translation)

We provide more details about the answers to the discursive questions in the data analysis in the next chapter (Cf. 3.1.4.1) and (Cf. 3.2). In the following pages we present the English version of the questionnaire used in our study. The questionnaire is also found in the attachments of this research in both languages.

¹² As línguas podem ser consideradas como *lineares* ou *digressivas*. Em uma língua linear, como o inglês, os enunciados seguem o padrão "tópico – foco", enquanto em uma língua digressiva, como o próprio nome sugere, há todo um conjunto de digressões que podem ocorrer entre tópico e foco: "tópico – d1 ... dn – foco". (MEYER, 2016, p.77)

Dear interviewee,

Thank you for participating in my research. You will find below 1 question about the American culture, 14 multiple-choice random questions and 1 question about the American family.

Before answering each question, please, reflect upon your routine and your interaction with friends, classmates, parents and relatives. The answer's truthfulness and accuracy is very important to this research. Your identity will not be disclosed.

Thank you!

Interviewee profile

Name: _____

Gender: _____

Age: _____ (between 18 and 25 years old)

Schooling level: _____

Nationality: (☐) Brazilian (☐) American

Family cultural/linguistic/geographic origin: _____

Do you speak other languages? Which ones?

1. Warm up:

Do you consider your culture collectivist or individualist? Why?

Regarding your professional life, would you prefer to have a job which:

2.

<input type="checkbox"/> would provide you with free time for your family and your personal life.	<input type="checkbox"/> would provide you with a work environment with good physical conditions (good ventilation, lights, adequate space to work.)
---	--

3.

<input type="checkbox"/> would provide you with opportunities to develop your professional career (training, learning environment), etc.	<input type="checkbox"/> would provide you with certain freedom to adopt your own working method
--	--

4.

<input type="checkbox"/> would provide you with opportunities in which you could make use of your own abilities in that field	<input type="checkbox"/> would provide you with challenges.
---	---

Write here any comment about something you consider important to be mentioned regarding questions 2, 3 and 4. (optional)

5. In your work, the use of objects, food, audio-visual equipment (TV, radio, computer), etc. is:

- a. individualized - each person uses what belongs to him/her, exclusively ()
- b. shared - everybody uses everything, indifferently ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned: (optional)

Regarding your family/personal life:

6. For you, YOUR family consists of:

- a. your parents and siblings only ()
- b. your parents, siblings, relatives and people who are very connected to the family somehow ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

7. When you were a child and used to play with your friends:

a. each of you would prefer to play with your own toys ()

b. you would all share the toys ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

8. At the university, you:

a. prefer to keep the old friends ()

b. prefer to make new friends ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

9. Regarding your family, most of the time you

a. tend to share the same opinion they have about moral and political issues ()

b. tend to have different opinion from them ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

10. In the traffic, when someone cuts you off in a way that almost causes an accident, you:

a. hurl insults at the driver ()

b. you get annoyed, but prefer not to argue ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

11. In your house, the use of objects, food, audio-visual equipment (TV, radio, computer), etc. is:

- a. individualized- each person uses what belongs to him/her, exclusively ()
- b. shared - everybody uses everything, indifferently ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

12. What about the service at home: cooking, laundry, house cleaning, etc.?

- a. individualized - each person does what he/she has to do for him/herself only ()
- b. shared - everybody does everything, taking roles and maybe, helping each other.
()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

13. You generally meet your friends

- a. at clubs, nightclubs, bars ()
- b. in your house or in your friends' house ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

14. You generally meet your classmates/coworkers

- a. at clubs, nightclubs, bars ()
- b. in your house or in your classmates'/coworkers' house ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

15. In your opinion, when do you think someone has to leave his/her parents' house?

- a. when he/she goes to college ()
- b. when he/she turns 21 ()
- c. when he/she has money to do so()
- d. when he/she finds a good job()
- e. when he/she gets married ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

16. Do you think there is any characteristic about the American Family that you would consider interesting to be mentioned and added to my research? Which one?

Thank you!

Veronica Afonso

2.2.4

Method of Data collection

In the warm-up, the Q1¹³ asks for the informant's opinion on his/her own culture whether s/he considers it individualist or collectivist. This way, we can already have an idea of the participant's point of view in the beginning of the questionnaire.

Afterwards, we verify whether what they think of their culture matches with their other answers in the questionnaire. The following multiple-choice questions 2, 3 and 4 are associated with the job environment. According to Hofstede (2010), the free time for personal life, freedom to adopt one's own working method and the challenges work may provide are options directly related to individualism.

This way, when Brazilians or Americans choose those answers, we understand that they behave in an individualist way. However, if the informants are more concerned with the work environment physical conditions, the opportunities to develop their professional careers and opportunities to use their own abilities they are more connected to the collectivist way of thinking.

Q5, Q11 and Q12 are about the habit (or not) of sharing objects and duties not only at home, but also at work. According to Hofstede's theory, when the individuals opt to share objects or tasks they present a behavior common to the collectivist pole. If they prefer not to share, they are more individualist people.

Q7 raises the topic about children in terms of 'I' and in terms of 'we' and in Q8, predetermined versus the voluntary friendships is the topic being raised. According to Hofstede's theory, those who answered that they would prefer to play with their own toys in Q7 are more individualist people. The same is true if the participants answered that they would prefer to make new friends at the university in Q8. On the other hand, collectivist individuals prefer to keep the old friends and to share toys when they are kids.

¹³ From now on, the letter Q will be used to replace the word 'Question'.

In Q6 and Q9 we aimed at knowing whether the participants take into consideration only their nuclear family or the extended family as well. In Q10, our goal is to verify if the informants prefer to maintain harmony or if they prefer to speak their minds about an issue being discussed. According to Hofstede (2010, p. 91):

In most collectivist societies, the “family” within which the child grows up consists of a number of people living closely together: not just the parents and other children but also, for example, grandparents, uncles, aunts, servants, or other housemates. This is known in cultural anthropology as the *extended family*.

Those who answer that they have extended families and that they prefer to maintain harmony in a conversation are more concerned with the group’s interests over their own, showing a collectivist view.

In both Q13 and Q14 we aim at checking if people prefer to socialize in public or at home. These two questions are similar, differing only because one is regarding friends and the other regarding classmates and coworkers. Based on Hofstede’s research we understand that Collectivist people prefer to socialize in public whereas individualist ones prefer to socialize in their homes.

In Q15, participants are supposed to choose between five options on when they consider it a good time to leave their parents’ home. Hofstede (2010, p. 91) argues, “The purpose of education is to enable children to stand on their own feet. Children are expected to leave the parental home as soon as this has been achieved.” People from individualist cultures are concerned about leaving their parents’ home as soon as possible while for collectivist cultures this is not an issue.

In all of the multiple-choice questions, participants found lines for them to write extra comments if they would like to deepen their points of view or if they have any other concern.

The last question is a discursive one and it aims at eliciting what sort of information about American/Brazilian family they consider important to be mentioned in our research.

Finally, throughout the analysis of the Brazilian participants’ answers we make use of Da Matta’s concept of “the Home” and “the Street” (1986). Da Matta

shows in his theory that Brazilians tend to act in a more collectivist manner when they are at home with their extended family. However, there is a greater tendency to be individualistic when they are outside their houses interacting with people they do not know or have low contact with.

In the next chapter, we analyze all the data collected from the questionnaire based on Hofstede's Individualism versus Collectivism dimension and Roberto Da Matta's concept of "the Home" and "the Street".

Data Analysis

During our data analysis we expected to find results similar to the ones that Hofstede (2010) presented in his theory. We have used the Individualism versus Collectivism dimension in order to verify whether the new generation of Brazilians and Americans are either collectivist or individualist. According to Hofstede's theory, when we compare both nationalities in terms of the Individualist dimension, Brazilians correspond to thirty eight percent of it while Americans resemble to ninety-one percent. Therefore, the results reveal that Brazilians are more concerned with the collective and Americans, the individual itself.

3.1

Individualism versus Collectivism in the data analysis

Brazilians tend to think more about the community in general than to the individual's specific needs. As presented in chapter two, (Cf. 2.1.2.6) a collectivist society prefers to make its choices based on what is interesting to all members of the group, or at least, to most of them. "In collectivist societies, in which most of the world's population still lives, one conceives as oneself much more as belonging to a community, whether this be ethnic, regional, or national, and one's sense of identity derives mainly from that group affiliation." (Hofstede, 2010, p.23)

According to the author's theory, as collectivist people, Brazilians prefer to share objects at their house or at work as well as to share the duties they have to perform; their conception of family includes the relatives and all of those people who participate in the daily routine of the house such as friends, neighbors and the like. Children learn from a young age that they are part of this group and that they have to share, consult and be involved with the family throughout their lives.

Harmony among members and non-members must be kept and socialization generally occurs in public places as collectivist people appreciate being enclosed by people instead of being alone in their homes.

On the other hand, individualist people, such as Americans, are concerned with their individual characteristics and this prevails over the interest of the group. The feeling of being a member of a group is not as important as it is to the collectivist people. “Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after him or herself and his or her immediate family.” (Hofstede, 2010, p.92)

In order to verify whether the new generation of Brazilians and Americans follow the Individualism and Collectivism dimension norms that were previously established by Hofstede (2010), we have analyzed the answers provided by the twenty informants in our research. The questions were about sharing objects and duties with others, the work environment, the family, the children in terms of ‘I’ and ‘we’, the harmony among individuals, friendships and socialization. Henceforth, the reader will find more details about our questionnaire analysis.

3.1.1

Work Environment

In this section, we analyze questions 2, 3 and 4 of our questionnaire. They are about the work environment and focus on eliciting from the interviewees what they think an ideal job would be.

It is important to mention that Q1 is a warm-up in which our objective is to understand the informants’ opinion about their own culture regarding the Individualism and Collectivism dimension. Q1 was skipped for now because we intend to analyze it at the end of this chapter, as it is a discursive question. Our goal is to use those answers to culminate our data analysis.

Questions 2, 3 and 4 are based on the work goal items that Hofstede (2010) inserted in his survey. With the answers provided by some IBM company

employees from all over the world, the author came to the conclusion that individualist and collectivist people have different opinions about an ideal job.

According to his research, individualist people give relative importance to a job in which they have (1) personal time, (2) freedom and (3) challenges. To the collectivist people instead, the important issues related to a good job are the (4) trainings provided by the company, (5) the physical conditions of it and (6) the possibility of deliberately using their use of skills at work.

If the IBM employees in a country scored work goal 1 as relatively important, they generally also scored 2 and 3 as important but scored 4, 5, and 6 as unimportant. Such a country was considered individualist. If work goal 1 was scored as relatively unimportant, the same generally held for 2 and 3, but 4, 5, and 6 would be scored as relatively more important. Such a country was considered collectivist. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p.93)

In pursuance to contrast both poles, we developed the following question “Regarding your professional life, you would prefer to have a job in which...” and the respondent had to choose between two answers: one related to the individualist pole and the other related to the collectivist one. We present below a graph that summarizes the answers given by the American and Brazilian informants.

Answers to the multiple-choice questions		Individualist pole		Collectivist pole	
		Brazilians	Americans	Brazilians	Americans
Work Environment	Question 2	9	9	1	1
	Question 3	2	4	8	6
	Question 4	3	2	7	8

Figure 2

Q2 juxtaposes the free time the job provides and the good physical conditions that the company has such as good ventilation, lights, adequate space to work and the like. According to Hofstede’s (2010) studies, a person who is more concerned with the collective might score the last option as important once the individual sees the work environment condition a significant issue to the company

staff. On the contrary, a person who belongs to an individualist society might choose the free time as their best option.

The answers analyzed in our questionnaire, however, indicate a different result from what we were expecting. Just one out of ten Brazilians scored the good physical condition of the company an important issue. All the other nine Brazilians chose the free time for family and for personal life as their best alternative.

The same fact was found in the Americans' answers, as nine out of ten Americans preferred the free time the work provides other than the good physical condition the company might offer. What we understand from this scenario is that the Brazilians and the Americans who participated in our research are more concerned with their own needs rather than to the needs of the company staff.

We have used the same question previously mentioned: "Regarding your professional life, you would prefer to have a job in which" to Q3 and Q4 as well. In Q3, the respondents had to opt between a job that provides opportunities to develop their professional career with trainings and a learning environment or a job that provides certain freedoms to adopt their own working method. The first option refers to what collectivist society members would elect, and the second alternative about the people's own working method is an expected answer from an individualist person.

Brazilians scored the first option as the most important one as eight out of ten Brazilians said that they prefer a job that gives them opportunities to develop their professional career. Similarly, most of the interviewed Americans prefer the professional development as well. Only four out of ten Americans scored the freedom to adopt their own working method as an important characteristic of an ideal job. Thus, the result of item three indicates that Americans were not so concerned with the individual trait as we were expecting.

Finally, we have analyzed the answers in Q4 in which Americans and Brazilians had to choose between a job that provides opportunities in which they could use their own abilities or a job that provides them challenges. The first alternative concerns the collectivist pole, whereas the second regards the individualist one.

In this Q4, not only the Brazilians, but also the Americans scored the second alternative as the most important trait in an ideal job. Only three Brazilians and two Americans out of the twenty informants said that a job that provides them some challenges would be an interesting place to work at. As it was shown above, the Americans were as concerned to a peculiarity related to the collectivist pole as the Brazilians were.

Given these points, we observed that when it comes to free time for family and personal life, the Americans and Brazilians who participated in this research scored this attribute as important for an ideal job. It seems that the improvement of quality of life is more relevant to the good physical condition the company might offer. In this case, both Americans and Brazilians were more concerned with the individual's needs.

On the other hand, in Q3 and Q4, Brazilians and Americans scored professional development and their own use of skills as significant matters other than the freedom and the challenges their occupation at the company can provide. It seems that the new generation from both nationalities expect to work with more learning opportunities inside the company and make use of those skills and abilities to bring benefits to the company, and consequently, to the employee itself. The freedom to adopt their own working method and the challenges at work have not attracted the interviewees as much.

3.1.2

Sharing (or not) resources, objects and duties

Sharing resources, objects and duties among members of a group is another peculiarity of the collectivist people. They generally share belongings such as food, audio-visual equipment (TV, radio, computer), clothes, and objects at a house and at work. Also, people share duties and chores that have to be done at home. The leader of the house, for instance, sets the rules and tells the children what each of them has to do.

Resources and land are also shared, especially if one member of the family is not in the financial condition to buy land (in order to build his/her house). In Brazil, it is very common for relatives to share land with each other and build their houses in the same place. This way, one family lives in a house, but just beside their house is where the grandparents of the family live. Still on the same land, there may be other houses that belong to relatives of the same family. This is what we call the extended family and this issue will be treated in one of the following sections (Cf. 3.1.4).

It is important to mention that this may not be the reality within big cities such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In these cities (and depending on the neighborhood) people generally live in apartments and not in houses.

Collectivist individuals also share their resources meaning if one family member has a good job (and thus, a good income) s/he might help the other members of the family who are not in good financial condition. It is completely acceptable to expect that the one who works and earns a good salary will help the other members financially. This does not mean that when the unemployed family member gets a job, he/she will pay the money back to the relative who helped him/her. It is also very common for children to pay their parents' rent and they do not expect to be paid back. This support is seen as financial help and perhaps also recognition for all the parents' efforts while raising their children.

In collectivist societies, family members see this as an obligation: to help the other members while they do not have a good job. On the contrary, in an individualist society this is unusual. The family motivates the children since childhood to have their own money, and thus, their independence. If a child borrows money from his/her parents, he/she will have to pay them back. This, as we have seen before, is not so common in a collectivist society.

The loyalty to the group that is an essential element of the collectivist family also means that resources are shared. If one member of an extended family of twenty persons has a paid job and the others do not, the earning member is supposed to share his or her income in order to help feed the entire family. (...) In individualist cultures, parents will be proud if children at an early age take small jobs in order to earn pocket money of their own, which they alone can decide

how to spend. (...) Boys and girls are treated as independent economic actors from age eighteen onward. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p.108)

In our research we focused on questions that would elicit the informants' point of view regarding sharing objects and duties, but not regarding sharing resources. We did not want to focus on that for two main reasons. First, because we did not know how personal this issue could be to the interviewees. In our questionnaire we ask sixteen personal questions and discussing resources could be very intimate, and thus, uncomfortable.

Secondly, we avoided considering resources because our main empirical experience while observing Americans and Brazilians was regarding sharing objects and duties. Because of that experience, we expected that Americans prefer to avoid sharing their objects and food with their friends, coworkers and family. Also, they would prefer to have their own duties at home, they would not like to keep changing the duties they have to do. On the contrary, our expectation was that Brazilians prefer to share not only the objects and food but also the duties they have to do.

We have asked three questions about sharing or not objects and duties. Q5 focuses on the use of objects at work, Q11 focuses on the use of objects at home, and in the last one, Q12, we ask about chores at home such as cooking, laundry, house cleaning, and the like. For all three questions, the participants had two alternatives. The first was related to an individual use of objects or individual performance of the service at home. The second option was related to sharing objects or sharing the duties. We present below a graph that summarizes the answers given by American and Brazilian participants.

Answers to the multiple-choice questions		Individualist pole		Collectivist pole	
		Brazilians	Americans	Brazilians	Americans
Sharing (or not) resources, objects and duties	Question 5	5	2	5	8
	Question 11	1	5	9	5
	Question 12	2	3	8	7

Figure 3

In Q5, eight out of ten American informants said that at work the employees use all the objects indifferently. In Q11, fifty percent of the Americans said they share the objects with their family members at home against the same percentage of the interviewees who said they do not share any item.

Finally, in Q12, seven out of ten Americans scored the second alternative which says that the service at home is something shared by the family members: everybody does everything, taking roles and helping each other.

With these results, we understand that Americans prefer to share objects at work with their coworkers and they also prefer to share the duties at home, presenting a behavior that is more related to a collectivist culture. Regarding sharing the objects at home, half of the participants of this research would behave in a more collective way, and the other half, in an individualist manner.

The Brazilians answered the same questions about sharing objects and duties. As we have mentioned before, our expectation was that the respondents from Brazil would choose the alternatives related to the collectivist pole. This was fulfilled in Q11 and Q12. In Q11, only one Brazilian said that the use of the objects, food, audio-visual equipment and others is individualized at home.

In Q12 we found a similar scenario in which only two Brazilians affirmed that the service at home is also individualized. It is interesting to mention, however, that one of these two Brazilians wrote an extra comment saying that the service in his/her house is individualized because his/her mother is the one who does everything by herself: “Actually, my mom is the one who does more (things).”¹⁴ (My translation) Finally, in Q5, fifty percent of the Brazilians said that at work they share the objects and the other fifty percent said that they do not share anything.

As shown above, we estimated that we would find results similar to the ones presented in Hofstede’s research. This was true with the answers provided by the Brazilians in Q11 and 12. In Q5, half of the Brazilians chose the collectivist option and the other half chose the individualist one, showing that they are not always thinking about the group.

¹⁴ Na verdade, minha mãe é quem mais faz. (Annex 2, B10)

When we observed the Americans' answers we also realized that in terms of sharing objects and duties at home, they prefer to distribute the chores with the family members as well as food, audio-visual equipment and other resources. One of them wrote an extra comment saying that sharing the devices, for instance, "makes it easier to hang out with each other. We all share a TV and game consoles, etc." (Annex 2, A6)

Another American participant said that when it comes to food they ask for permission to eat it: "We will often ask for permission for some things such as food before indulging in something somebody else bought" (Annex 2, A2). And a last candidate said that at home he would share objects and food with the family members, but in his apartment on the university campus he would not: "With my parents, we share things, but in my apartment (with four other housemates) we all use own stuff" (Annex 2, A8).

Regarding Q12, while one Brazilian said that the service would be individualized because only his mother would do the chores at home, 1 of the Americans said that each family member would do their laundry, but everybody is supposed to do certain duties when needed: "Everyone has to help feed the dog, do the dishes, clean the kitchen." (Annex 2, A4)

We have analyzed Q 2, 3, 4, 5, 11 and 12, questions specifically about the work environment and sharing resources, devices and chores at home. Different from Hofstede's research, our questionnaire answers present a scenario in which Brazilians sometimes are not as collectivist as Hofstede found. Also, and maybe more surprisingly, Americans demonstrated that they have some behaviors and points of view that falls along the collectivist pole.

Hofstede did his research based on the opinions and points of view of several IBM employees. We believe that this is what makes the difference when we compare our results with his. Our audience consists of young adults aged between eighteen and twenty-five years old from New York and Rio de Janeiro cities. They are undergraduate students and some of them were just included in the labor market. This might be a reason for finding different opinion from the

participants of Hofstede's research who were all managers and very experienced employees in the market.

3.1.3

Children in terms of "I" and "we"

The structure of the family that people are born into is another issue related to both individualist and collectivist societies. A person raised in a family that inclusively consists of parents and siblings only is part of a small group that we call "the nuclear family". However, in some cultures people consider grandparents, aunts, cousins, uncles and any aggregated person their immediate family. This is called "the extended family" and it is common in collectivist societies (Cf. 3.1.4).

The first group in our lives is always the family into which we are born. Family structures, however, differ among societies. (...) A minority of people in our world live in societies in which the interests of the individual prevail over the interests of the group, societies that we will call *individualist*. In these, most children are born into families consisting of two parents and, possibly, other children; in some societies there is an increasing share of one-parent families. Other relatives live elsewhere and are rarely seen. This type is the *nuclear family* (from the Latin *nucleus*, meaning "core"). (...) In most collectivist societies, the "family" within which the child grows up consists of a number of people living closely together: not just the parents and other children but also, for example, grandparents, uncles, aunts, servants, or other housemates. This is known in cultural anthropology as the *extended family*. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p.91)

Children sometimes have different ways of interacting with family members depending on whether they are part of the nuclear or extended family. When born into a nuclear family, children understand that they are part of a small group and their individual characteristics tend to emerge and they see themselves as "I". The family interests and opinions are important, but the individuals' needs prevail. The nuclear family and the children being raised in terms of "I" are common in the individualist societies.

Children from such families, as they grow up, soon learn to think of themselves as “I.” This “I,” their personal identity, is distinct from other people’s “I”s, and these others are classified not according to their group membership but instead according to individual characteristics. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p.91)

However, when children are born into an extended family, they see themselves as part of a big group meaning that they see themselves as part of “we”. This way, children develop reliance on the family members and this connection among family individuals becomes paramount. This kind of loyalty in the family is more common in collectivist societies in which the individual’s interests are important, but they have to somehow be in accordance with the opinion of the whole family.

When children grow up, they learn to think of themselves as part of a “we” group, a relationship that is not voluntary but is instead given by nature. (...) The “we” group (or *in-group*) is the major source of one’s identity and the only secure protection one has against the hardships of life. Therefore, one owes lifelong loyalty to one’s in-group, and breaking this loyalty is one of the worst things a person can do. Between the person and the in-group, a mutual dependence relationship develops that is both practical and psychological. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p.91)

In order to verify whether our informants were more inclined to either an individualist or a collectivist culture when thinking about children in terms of “I” or “we”, we proposed one question in which they had to think about their childhood and how they would play with their friends and their toys. The first option regards the individualist society and it states that each child would play with his/her own toy. On the other hand, the second option stated that the child would share his/her toys with the other kids, exemplifying a child’s behavior common to a collectivist culture.

As we have mentioned before (and according to Hofstede’s studies), our expectations were that Americans would lean on the individualist behavior while the Brazilians would stand with the collectivist one. We present our results illustrated in the following graph:

Answers to the multiple-choice questions		Individualist pole		Collectivist pole	
		Brazilians	Americans	Brazilians	Americans
Children in terms of "I" and "we"	Question 7	3	0	7	10

Figure 4

In our research, the total amount of Americans interviewed said that when they were children, they would prefer to share their toys with their friends. This means that even though the new generation of Americans belongs to a more individualist society, our informants were more inclined toward a collectivist behavior in their childhood.

Two Americans wrote extra comments after answering Q7. One of them wrote the following sentence: “I was poor, and my friends and I did not have much. So we would share most everything” (Annex 2, A10). From this, we can infer that the person was more inclined to the collectivist behavior when s/he was a child because this person needed to behave that way otherwise s/he would not play. Sharing toys with the other kids was a solution in order to play in a time of poverty.

Another American participant said, “It depends who you’re playing with and at who’s¹⁵ house” (Annex 2, A4). This person chose the collectivist option, which says that children would share their toys with the other kids. However, from reading the comment, we can understand that the person emphasizes that s/he would not share the toys with the others depending on the circumstances, demonstrating a more individualist behavior. Or perhaps they are just cautious with their objects as children are generally not very careful.

Regarding the interviewees from Brazil, seven out of ten respondents answered they would share the toys, against 3 Brazilians who said they would play

¹⁵ The respondent meant ‘whose’.

with their own toys without sharing them with their friends. Thus, when analyzing and comparing the answers from both cultures, we see that there is a distinction from what was found in the IBM research. Brazilians and Americans demonstrated that they were inclined to the collectivist behavior, which is usually related to Brazilian culture, as it is a collectivist society.

Conversely, all the ten Americans who participated in our research answered that they would share their toys, demonstrating that when it comes to sharing objects throughout childhood, American children are not so concerned with the individual “I”. It is not impossible that this “I” and “we” issue might be more prominent in some other instances, contexts or situations that we have not explored in our questionnaire.

What we can understand to this point is that the new generation of Americans and Brazilians show different behavior and points of view from what we found in Hofstede’s studies. In the next section, we will discuss the expectation that individualist and collectivist people have in regards to children leaving the parents’ home. Subsequently, we will discuss the extended and the nuclear families more deeply.

3.1.4

Extended versus nuclear family

In this section we will continue discussing families in both individualist and collectivist cultures. We will focus on the peculiarities within the extended and the nuclear family. This topic relates to the previous subchapter in which we presented the children in terms of “I” and “we” (Cf. 3.1.3). Children who are born into a family that consists of parents and other siblings only belong to a nuclear family and see themselves as the individual “I”. On the other hand, the children, who are born into families in which the parents and the aggregated people are also

considered part of the family, belong to an extended family and see themselves as part of “we”.

The relationship between the individual and the group, as with other basic elements of human culture, is first learned in the family setting. (...)The child who grows up among a number of elders, peers, and juniors learns naturally to conceive of him- or herself as part of a “we,” much more so than does the child in a nuclear family. A child of an extended family is seldom alone, whether during the day or at night. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p.106)

In an extended family, the individual is concerned about the whole group’s interests, needs, behavior and point of view. The individual takes all of those issues into consideration when s/he needs to make decisions. This occurs because of the importance of loyalty to the group.

In the collectivist family, children learn to take their bearings from others when it comes to opinions. Personal opinions do not exist: opinions are predetermined by the group. If a new issue comes up on which there is no established group opinion, some kind of family conference is necessary before an opinion can be given. A child who repeatedly voices opinions deviating from what is collectively felt is considered to have a bad character. (...) The loyalty to the group that is an essential element of the collectivist family also means that resources are shared. If one member of an extended family of twenty persons has a paid job and the others do not, the earning member is supposed to share his or her income in order to help feed the entire family. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p.108)

Instead, when children learn in terms of “I”, they understand and respect the other family members’ opinions, behavior, point of view and their needs. Nonetheless, the individual’s own needs prevail over other member’s interest. This way of thinking is praised in individualist societies once the person shows that s/he is independent and an opinion maker.

In the individualist family, on the contrary, children are expected and encouraged to develop opinions of their own, and a child who always only reflects the opinions of others is considered to have a weak character. The behavior corresponding with a desirable character depends on the cultural environment. (...) In individualist cultures, parents will be proud if children at an early age take small jobs in order to earn pocket money of their own, which they alone can

decide how to spend. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p.108)

In order to verify if Americans and Brazilians would answer the questions with either the individualist or the collectivist view, we asked two questions in which the participants needed to think about what “family” means to them. Q6 asks the participants whom their families consist of. Two distinct answers were presented: one related to the collectivist view and the other related to the individualist one.

Someone with a more collectivist view would answer that his/her family consists of his/her parents, siblings, relatives and others who are connected to the family somehow. A person who is more inclined toward the individualist society would answer that his/her family consists of his/her parents and siblings only.

We expected that the Brazilian informants would consider parents, siblings, other relatives and the aggregated people as part of their family. When it came to the American respondents, most of them said that they would consider parents and siblings as members of their family. We present below a graph that summarizes the answers given by the American and Brazilian informants. It is important to mention that not only the information about Q6 is provided, but also the data related to Q9 that will be discussed shortly.

Answers to the multiple-choice questions		Individualist pole		Collectivist pole	
		Brazilians	Americans	Brazilians	Americans
Extended versus nuclear family	Question 6	2	3	8	7
	Question 9	2	7	8	3

Figure 5

As illustrated, eight out of ten Brazilians scored the answer with the collectivist point of view against only two respondents who said that their families consist of parents and siblings only. On the other hand, seven out of ten Americans scored the answer that states the collectivist point of view, which means that most

of the Americans affirmed that they have extended families against only three Americans who said that they have nuclear ones. This data demonstrates that the American participants who represent the new generation of Americans are more prone to the collectivist pole.

Beside the answers provided, some participants included extra comments. One of the American respondents explained the reason why his point of view is of a collectivist culture, saying “This is due to the fact that my father is of an Italian origin, so we still practice many of those traditions” (Annex 2, A7). Another American stated the following: “We consider close family friends like the actual family, and before my grandma passed away, she lived with us” (Annex 2, A4). As we can observe, the informant affirms that not only close friends, but grandparents are also considered part of the family.

An American who affirmed that he has a nuclear family explained his point of view in the following comment: “In reference to relatives outside of my parents and siblings, I would refer to them as extended family. I think that phrase is rather indicative of the general feeling. There’s no animosity among us, and I love them dearly, they are just not quite as closely connected to me” (Annex 2, A2). What we can infer from this participant explanation is that he sees the two types of family: his siblings and his parents are part of his nuclear family, and his other relatives are part of his extended family. This indicates that he has developed a perspective about his family structure; one family consists of members who are very connected to him while the other consists of relatives that he really loves but are not so close to him.

Hofstede (2010) proposed that collectivist people consider their families as extended ones, taking into account everyone who is connected to the family somehow. Regarding individualistic people, they would consider only those very close to them as their nuclear family and others would be considered relatives.

One of the Brazilians who answered that he has an extended family commented that he considers a member of his family only the “*parentes de*

primeiro grau”. This is a common expression in the Lusophone world to refer to relatives of the same extended family who were born from a direct relative. The expression has a similar meaning of “first cousin”, “second cousin” and “third cousins” in English.

The following example clarifies the idea of “parentes de primeiro grau”: Barbara has a cousin called Sandra. Her cousin Sandra has a daughter called Martha. Barbara can say that Sandra is her cousin as well as she can say that Martha is also her cousin. However, in Brazil, people make a distinction. The word for cousin in Portuguese is *prima*. So Sandra is Barbara’s “*prima de primeiro grau*” and Martha is Barbara’s “*prima de segundo grau*”.

Literally translating “*primeiro grau*” and “*segundo grau*” mean “first” and “second degrees”. In Portuguese, we have relatives of *primeiro*, *segundo* and *terceiro graus* that respectively mean first, second and third degrees. It is related to the layers of relatives. According to Meyer (2002, p.1): “We are extremely attached to the family and the cousin of the cousin of my cousin is undoubtedly...my cousin. And will visit me the next time he is in Rio. And I will not feel invaded!”¹⁶ (My translation) This expression is very common in Portuguese.

When the Brazilian informant said that he considers as his extended family only the *parentes de primeiro grau*, he meant that he considers only the direct relatives, but not the ones who come after. It is also important to mention that *parentes* does not mean “parents”, but “relatives”.

Still discussing the nuclear and the extended family, in Q9 we prompted participants to choose whether they tend to share the same opinion about moral and political issues with their families or if they tend to have different opinions from members of the same group. As indicated in the previous graph, eight out of ten

¹⁶ Nós somos extremamente apegados à família e o primo do primo do meu primo é, sem dúvida ... meu primo. E vai me visitar na próxima visita ao Rio. E eu não vou me sentir invadida! (MEYER, 2002, p.1)

Brazilians said that they share the same opinion, which is a common characteristic of a collectivist culture. Likewise, seven out of ten Americans affirmed that they have a different opinion from their family members' views, which is common to an individualist society.

Regarding Q9, one Brazilian and one American wrote comments about the question. The Brazilian agreed that most of the time she shares the same opinion with her family and commented: "We do not always have the same opinion about politics, but I understand their point of view."¹⁷ (My translation)

The American, on the other hand, agreed that he has a different opinion from his family, and said that due to this fact, it is difficult to have an agreement on politics with his family: "I am more socialist than a majority of my family who is extremely conservative. It makes things very difficult for me because politics are very important" (Annex 2, A6) All in all, we found the results of Q9 are in agreement with the ones found in Hofstede's research. In the following subsection we will focus on Q16 in which the respondents were to write their opinion about either the typical American or Brazilian family.

3.1.4.1

American and Brazilian families according to the respondents

In order to obtain more information on the participants' opinions of what makes an "American family" or a "Brazilian family", we have included Q16 in our questionnaire. The interviewees could insert any information related to the American or the Brazilian family that they would consider interesting to be mentioned and would add to our research. Americans wrote about their own family, and Brazilians did the same for their family. They were, however, not

¹⁷ Nós nem sempre temos a mesma opinião sobre questões políticas, mas eu entendo o ponto de vista deles. (Annex 2, B1)

supposed to give an opinion about the family of the other culture.

A portion of the Brazilian participants commented on the following topics regarding the Brazilian family: family meaning within the culture, the way Brazilian families enjoy sharing good moments together and the dynamics of the family (that is to say, the modern family not consisting of mother, father and children only, but of single parents or homosexual parents, and any other structure that is not in accordance to the so called traditional family).

Americans mentioned the following topics related to the American families: the difficulty of thinking about a typical American family, the individual or collectivist way of doing things separate or together with the family and the dynamics of the modern family, an issue that the Brazilian respondents raised as well.

Two Brazilians discussed what they think the Brazilian family means. One of the participants affirmed that families in Brazil nowadays are different from ones in the past and that the meaning of family in Brazil is different from the meaning of it in other cultures. According to him, family means more for Brazilians than for other people:

Nowadays, the Brazilian family is not as it used to be before. It used to consist of a father, a mother and the children. Nowadays we have a reality that goes beyond that traditional module and due to that we see the real value of a family, its union and the importance of a family to someone, not only in Brazil, but anywhere else. However, I believe that the meaning of family in Brazil is even stronger than in other countries.¹⁸ (My translation)

Another Brazilian participant said that the families in Brazil are welcoming and family members like to share great moments with other relatives. To do so, they even forget current problems in order to really have a great time together.

¹⁸ Hoje a família brasileira não é como há alguns anos atrás, que era composta de um pai, mãe e filhos. Hoje obtemos uma atualidade que vai além da tradição, e a partir disso vemos o valor da família, a união, a importância que a família tem, não apenas no Brasil, mas creio que o sentido de família no Brasil seja mais forte do que nos outros países. (Anexo 2, B6)

The Brazilian family, in general, is more welcoming. The family members like to reunite all the relatives on important dates (mothers' day, birthdays and anniversaries, Christmas and the New years). In those dates, they forget the problems and the issues around them in order to have a great time with everyone. The Brazilian family also enjoys getting together on Sundays in order to have lunch together or make a barbecue. They divide themselves into small groups: the men watch soccer matches and like to talk about it. The women like to talk about fashion, old memories and about the other people's lives. The Brazilian family likes to celebrate the good moments, to smile, to hug and to welcome people.¹⁹ (My translation)

Given these points, we can understand that the Brazilians' opinions about their own culture are in accordance with Hofstede's research results. Brazilians tend to be more collectivist than individualist and because of that they consider it important to get together with their relatives even if they have to forget their problems in order to celebrate. They enjoy being together not only on specific dates such as holidays, but also on the weekends in order to socialize with relatives.

They have extended families and take all the members' opinion about a topic into consideration in order to have their own opinion as well. They might disagree sometimes, but they try to understand the way the others think. Brazilians believe that the family structure has been changing and "traditional families" are not so common as it used to be before. However, even though Brazilians have different family structures nowadays, the respect, the union and the value are the same as it used to be.

The Americans who participated in our research also enriched it by displaying their opinion about what it is to be an American family. One of them agreed that even though there are many individualist culture peculiarities that are

¹⁹ A família brasileira, em geral, é muito acolhedora. Costumam, por muitas vezes, unir todos os parentes em datas específicas (Dia das mães, aniversários, Natais e fins de ano) esquecendo dos problemas que as cerca, para com o outro compartilhar os momentos. A família brasileira é também aquela que em sua maioria se une nos dias de domingo para fazer um almoço ou para um churrasco, e em grupos eles se entendem, homens na maioria para assistir ou conversar sobre futebol e mulheres para conversar sobre moda, lembranças antigas ou sobre a vida alheia. A família brasileira gosta de comemorar, de fazer dos momentos celebrações, de sorrir, de abraçar e de acolher. (Annex 2, B1)

related to American culture, there are some families that do not follow these patterns established by the Individualism dimension. The informant affirmed the following: “A lot of things are individualized, but we also share a lot of things as well. I know many American families don’t eat dinner together, but my family always does.” (Annex 2, A3)

Two other American participants referred to the differences that exist among American families. As the United States is a country with many immigrants, it is important to consider that people have their own culture inside their houses within their families, though they are immersed in American culture. One of the respondents said:

I think that there really isn’t anything such thing as the “typical” American family. In the United States there is such a mix of different people and cultures, it’s hard to say that there is one type of American family. For example, my friend was born and raised in the United States and considers herself American, however, her whole family is from the Dominican Republic. Clearly her home life and family is not like mine at all. Also, I believe like in many countries, the family home life has SO many different factors to consider. Like, economic status, which can affect every aspect of someone’s life. If you are from an upper class family, the neighborhood you live in, the people you meet, and your responsibilities are completely different from someone else who also considers themselves as the American family. (Annex 2, A4)

As noted, the respondent is concerned about the differences that exist between her family, which seems not to have direct connection to other cultures, and those families that have. A family with a different cultural background might continue doing its usual activities. Members may continue behaving the same way as they did in their country of origin, even if they are immersed in a culture that does not follow the norms that they are used to.

Another participant presented a similar argument in which she affirms that the American family has borrowed characteristics from other cultures and thus, it is hard to point out specific peculiarities about the American family:

I think the concept of an American family has borrowed aspects from so many other cultures that it would be impossible really pin point a specific characteristic

belonging solely to “American” families. In the past, the ideal American family is the white picket fence and living the “American Dream. (Annex 2, A5)

Another American informant said “the idea of family has changed so much in the U.S. within the last decade or so” (Annex 2, A7). This probably converses with what the following American participant stated about the dynamics of an American family. One of them said the following:

I think the characteristics of single parent families versus “traditional” families should be explored, for instance there are many different dynamics of what a family consists of for some people and exploring the differences in that in American and Brazilian people would be interesting, I think. (Annex 2, A8)

Still regarding the topic about the American family, one last interviewee argued:

Maybe like what your family looks like or what kinds of parent dynamics you have (mother/father, father/father, mother/mother, single parent, live with people other than your parents, etc.), because every family is so different and there is not one ideal family or way to head a household. (Annex 2, A6)

In summary, the Americans agree that the families in the United States have different structures as well as diverse cultural backgrounds and thus, do not necessarily follow the pattern of what would be the traditional American family. Because of that, for instance, we can not expect a Latin-American family living in the United States to have the same behavior, values, religion, expectations and beliefs, as the ones an American family with a far connection with another culture would have.

Regarding the Brazilians, they understand that some of the families in Brazil also have different dynamics from what would be called the traditional family in terms of its structure (the father/mother/children pattern), but they also affirm that they can have a general idea about the Brazilian family by saying that it is welcoming, it has a strong meaning to Brazilian culture, the members of this extended family enjoy being together with each other spending the good moments, and even though there is the new family structure, the important issue for Brazilians is to respect each other and to maintain the union and the family values.

3.1.5 Children leaving their parents' home

In individualist and collectivist cultures, the parents expect their children to move out at a certain time of their lives. Generally, in the individualist society, the children are expected to leave when they start college. In the collectivist societies, however, there is less pressure on children to start living on their own.

In individualist cultures, most children expect, and are expected, to move out of their parents' home and live on their own when they start pursuing higher education. In collectivist cultures, this is less the case. Euro-barometer survey data across nineteen relatively wealthy European Union countries show that whether young people use the argument "can't afford to move out" is a matter of collectivism, not of national wealth! (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p. 108)

In our questionnaire, Q15 aims at asking the participants when they think it is a good time to leave their parents' home. They were to choose one of five answers. The options for this Q15 were: a. when the person goes to college; b. when the person turns 21; c. when the person has money to do so; d. when the person finds a good job and e. when the person gets married. The box below summarizes the answers that Brazilians and Americans scored.

Leaving the parents' house					
Question 15	A	B	C	D	E
Americans		1	8	1	
Brazilians			6	1	3

Figure 6

According to Hofstede (2010), Americans are expected to leave their parents house when they start higher education at a university. However, due to financial issues, it has been difficult in the United States for teenagers and young adults to have their own independence. Now, Americans sometimes finish their undergraduate courses and go back to their parents' house.

I personally know some Americans who feel frustrated because they are almost in their thirties and are still living with their parents. They do not feel comfortable with the situation and say that it is really hard to be as independent in the U.S. as their parents were in the past.

Among the five answers to choose from, eight out of the ten American participants said that they would rather leave their parents' house when they had the money to do so. As we saw previously, this data differs from what Hofstede found in his research. We should again take into account that the participants of Hofstede's research were all adults and important professionals at IBM. For these people, it was probably not as difficult to become independent as the financial reality was not, overall, as much of an issue a few decades ago.

Only one American said that he would live by his own when turning 21 and another affirmed that he would do so when he finds a good job. For this Q15, there were also two extra comments coinciding with the answers most of the Americans provided. One of the Americans affirmed that "In the U.S. it has become increasingly difficult to leave your parents' house" and another American participant said: "Jobs and money are hard to come by. If you can have support until you can live on your own, that may be best right". We understand that they believe it is easier to take advantage of the time they are in their parents' house in order to find good jobs (and thus good financial condition).

Regarding the collectivist culture, there is no pressure on teenagers and young adults to leave the parents' house. In those cultures, the parents' house is a place in which the children are invited to stay as long as they wish. In Brazil, for example, one can choose to live forever with one's parents. Also, if someone chooses to live with their parents, they do not need to pay rent. Generally, if the child is working, he or she can help the parents by paying one of the utility bills such as light, telephone, water, and the like.

Another characteristic is that if people do not live in big cities, the children as well as their parents can live on the same land but in different houses. Sometimes, even the same house is shared for all the members of the extended

family. This is a topic that will be discussed more deeply in the next section, when we refer to nuclear and extended families.

Among the Brazilian participants, six of them said they would leave their parents' house when they had the money to do so. Three of the Brazilians said they would do so when they got married, and just one Brazilian said he would leave his parents' house when he finds a good job.

As we can see, Americans and Brazilians agree regarding the moment they might leave their parents' house. This does not match with the results found in Hofstede's research. According to his analysis, members of individualist cultures would expect the children to leave their houses when they start college. However, what we found is that this new generation of Americans would prefer to stay at their parents' houses for enough time to organize their financial situation.

On the other hand, what the theorist says about collectivist cultures is affirmed by our Brazilian participants, as they also say that they would leave their parents' house when they had the money to do so. Ultimately, we understand that even though the young Americans and Brazilians who participated in our research have the same opinion, there is more pressure on the Americans. They understand that they have to leave as soon as possible and become independent. The same does not seem to be true with young Brazilians.

3.1.5.1

Da Matta on the Brazilian family and the concept of Home

As has been noted, the members of a family in Brazilian society tend to take into consideration the needs and interests of the group rather than the individuals' own concerns. Brazilians share objects at home, their tasks, their personal items (such as clothes and shoes) and their food. It is still common to hear the question "Servido?" in some places in Brazil. The expression is used when people are about to have lunch or a snack and would like to know if the person close to them would like to have some. On public transportation, for instance, if

one Brazilian individual is very close to another and s/he has just opened a packet of cookies, this person will ask the other one if s/he would like to have some, even if they have not met before.

Among friends, when a girl realizes that her friend liked her clothes or shoes, she might say “está à disposição” which means that whenever her friends needs or wants to, she can borrow her clothing, shoes and outfits.

At work, the act of sharing things is also true. Also, while raising children, Brazilians are always concerned with the group and due to this, kids grow up thinking about the collective as well. When it comes to extended versus nuclear families, Brazilians tend to consider their relatives as the people who are very close to the family “A Débora é uma irmã para mim!” one may say, meaning that someone is almost a sister to him/her. Probably, Débora is a very nice person and behaves and helps her friend in a way that she deserves to be considered part of the family.

Moreover, based on what we have observed in our analysis, when it comes to leaving the parents’ house, Brazilians do not seem to consider a failure the fact of not leaving their parents’ home as soon as they finish high school. Brazilians tend to stay at their parents’ home as long as they wish or at least, as long as they can until being able to afford living on their own.

Regarding this perspective Brazilians have on family as seen above, the main theoretical premise behind “the Home” concept presented by Da Matta (1986) is that at home it is established that the members must live in harmony over any issue or circumstance (Cf. 2.1.3). Moral values are predominant and might be shared by everyone in the family. Discussions and disagreements may be avoided, but if they happen, they must be resolved as soon as possible: “This way, the house definitely establishes a loving space where harmony should reign over the confusion, competition and disorder.”²⁰. (My translation) Still about this issue, the author declares that:

When we speak of "home", we are not referring simply to a place where we sleep,

²⁰ Assim, a casa demarca um espaço definitivamente amoroso onde a harmonia deve reinar sobre a confusão, a competição e a desordem. (DA MATTA, 1986, p. 23)

eat or use to be sheltered from the wind, cold or rain. But we are referring to a space deeply totalized in a strong moral.²¹ (My translation)

With all things considered, we understand that “the Home” is a place in which the family members have to be in accordance and harmony with each other, even if this means relinquishing their points of view and recognizing that the opposite opinion is better for the family as a whole. This, however, is not applied on “the Street” where confrontation, competition and individuality take the foreground.

In summary, and according to Da Matta (1986), the two symbolic places complement each other: “The street offsets the house and the house balances the street.”²² (My translation) In the next subchapter, maintaining harmony versus speaking one’s mind is a topic that will be described and analyzed. The aim is to deepen our awareness of how Americans and Brazilians defend – or do not defend – their points of view.

3.1.6

Maintaining harmony versus speaking one’s mind

When we think about differences between collectivist and individualist cultures, we also take into consideration the way individuals behave in a situation in which they have the power to maintain harmony among people involved in a certain context. They can speak their minds, even if they sound rude or impolite, or not.

Usually in collectivist societies, people tend to maintain harmony when there is a situation that can lead to awkwardness amongst the group. This means

²¹ quando falamos da “casa”, não estamos nos referindo simplesmente a um local onde dormimos, comemos ou que usamos para estar abrigados do vento, do frio ou da chuva. Mas - isto sim - estamos nos referindo a um espaço profundamente totalizado numa forte moral. (DA MATTA, 1986, p. 20)

²² A rua compensa a casa e a casa equilibra a rua. (DA MATTA, 1986, p. 25)

that collectivist people avoid confrontation, disagreement, or conflict. They choose words in order to sound less offensive and thus, avoid divergences.

In a situation of intense and continuous social contact, the maintenance of harmony with one's social environment becomes a key virtue that extends to other spheres beyond the family. In most collectivist cultures, direct confrontation of another person is considered rude and undesirable. The word *no* is seldom used, because saying "no" is a confrontation; "you may be right" and "we will think about it" are examples of polite ways of turning down a request. In the same vein, the word *yes* should not necessarily be inferred as an approval, since it is used to maintain the line of communication: "yes, I heard you" is the meaning it has in Japan. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p.107)

Furthermore, Da Matta (1986) supports that political discussions are generally avoided at home, and if inevitable, members of the family avoid discussing it at home. These kinds of dialogs generally mean confrontation, which confuses the space of "the Home" and "the Street".

Similarly, the political discussions that reveal and indicate individual positions and discordant opinions from the members of a family are banished from the table and intimate rooms, especially the rooms. If they are inevitable, they certainly take place in verandas and yards, marginal places of the house, since they are between the inside of the house (which reveals equal substance and viewpoints of people living there) and the street: the outside world that is measured by the "struggle", by competition and cruel anonymity of individuals and individualism. That is why at home and in the Brazilian family code, there is a tendency to always produce a conservative discourse, where traditional moral values are upheld by the elders and by men.²³ (My translation)

Therefore, opinions that indicate an individuals' perspective on a issue that might contrast with the other family members' opinions should be avoided inside the house. They may cause some discomfort among family members. Those discussions might be taken outside the house or even to "the Street" where direct

²³ Do mesmo modo, as discussões políticas, que revelam e indicam posições individualizadas e quase sempre discordantes dos membros de uma família, estão banidas da mesa e das salas íntimas, sobretudo dos quartos. Se elas são inevitáveis, transcorrem certamente nas varandas e quintais, locais marginais da casa, posto que situados entre o seu interior (cujo calor revela a igualdade de substância e de opiniões das pessoas que ali residem) e a rua: o mundo exterior que se mede pela "luta", pela competição e pelo anonimato cruel de individualidades e individualismos. Dai por que, em casa e no código da família brasileira, existe uma tendência de produzir sempre um discurso conservador, onde os valores morais tradicionais são defendidos pelos mais velhos e pelos homens. (DA MATTA, 1986, p. 23)

confrontation and competition are normal.

On the other hand, in individualistic cultures the direct speech is not seen as confrontational to people involved in the same context, but as an authentic and sincere way of expressing one's opinion and points of view. The straightforwardness of one's speech and differing opinions (regarding the situation) imply an understanding of a fact or a constructivist analysis about the topic being discussed.

In individualist cultures, on the other hand, speaking one's mind is a virtue. Telling the truth about how one feels is characteristic of a sincere and honest person. Confrontation can be salutary; a clash of opinions is believed to lead to a higher truth. The effect of communications on other people should be taken into account, but it does not, as a rule, justify changing the facts. Adult individuals should be able to take direct feedback constructively. In the family, children are instructed that one should always tell the truth, even if it hurts. Coping with conflict is a normal part of living together as a family. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p.107)

All things considered, we understand that Brazilians, as collectivist people, generally try to maintain harmony in situations that may cause any discomfort, while Americans would rather state their opinion on a topic or a situation. This does not mean they are being impolite. For an individualist society, it is reasonable to say what one thinks as long as this person respects others' opinions. The people involved in the situation understand that there are different points of view and that they can share what they think. All opinions are respected.

In our questionnaire, we asked the twenty participants what their reaction would be if they were cut off in traffic in a way that the maneuver could potentially cause an accident. The first answer was that they would hurl insults at the driver, while the second stated that they would get annoyed, but would not argue. The results for this Q10 are found in the following table:

Answers to the multiple-choice questions		Individualist pole		Collectivist pole	
		Brazilians	Americans	Brazilians	Americans
Maintaining harmony versus speaking one's mind	Question 10	3	5	7	5

Figure 7

As shown above, seven out of ten Brazilian participants said that they would get annoyed, but would not argue. On the other hand, five of the American informants said that they would not argue while the other five said they would hurl insults at the other driver.

Among the Brazilians, two of them wrote an extra comment to Q10. The first one answered that he would get annoyed, but would not argue, stating: “Actually, I scold the person mentally.”²⁴ (My translation) The other Brazilian participant who said she would hurl at the driver also affirmed: “Besides the fact that I neither drive nor have a car, I answered this question thinking about myself in the position of a passenger. I think that saying some affronts relieves the stress.”²⁵ (My translation) Both of the Brazilian informants agreed that they would feel better saying, at least mentally, some insults to the other driver.

Regarding the Americans, five of them also wrote extra comments to Q10. The American respondents who said they would hurl insults at the driver affirmed the following: “The insults would not be heard by the driver” (Annex 2, A5), “To myself though, I don’t make a scene” (Annex 2, A3) and “They can’t hear me” (Annex 2, A4). What we understand from this then, is that these informants would avoid conflict and would not hurl insults at the other driver, but they would do so for themselves, knowing that the other driver would not listen to them.

Hurling insults inside the car could be a way of relieving stress caused by

²⁴ Na verdade, eu o xingo mentalmente. (Annex 2, B10).

²⁵ Apesar ‘deu’²⁵ não dirigir e não ter carro, respondi na posição de carona. Dizer alguns desaforos alivia o estresse. (Annex 2, B1).

the situation, which is similar to what the two Brazilian respondents said. The other two Americans who wrote extra comments stated the following: “I do not confront the driver, but I definitely use profanities words toward him” (Annex 2, A7) and “Sometimes, people do things they don’t realize when they drive, and it doesn’t make the situation better to be angry or rude to them. Just be patient and keep driving, get over it!” (Annex 2, A6). In the first comment, the participant agrees with the other people’s responses, but the second expresses the importance of avoiding conflicts as drivers make mistakes without realizing it.

In short, besides the fact that the Brazilians were more inclined to the collectivist pole and the group of American participants scored fifty percent for each pole, most of the participants in total agreed that even if they would hurl insults at the driver who cut them off in traffic, they would do it in a way that the driver would not hear them. This could be in order to avoid confrontation or to relieve their stress at the moment.

We conclude that both groups of respondents are concerned with avoiding direct confrontation, though some of the participants would say things inside their cars so as to feel less irritated by the situation. In short, the Brazilian participants were more inclined toward the collectivist behavior, whereas half of the American informants answered along the collectivist pole and the other half, on the individualist one.

3.1.7

Predetermined versus voluntary friendships

In this subchapter, we discuss the way individualistic and collectivist people make their friendships. In collectivist cultures, for instance, it is common to keep the old friends and maintain friendships with those who are close to the family. Collectivist people do not need much to make new friends as they belong to the extended family, in which very close friends become intimate, and thus, are

part of their lives. “In the collectivist society, there is no need to make specific friendships: who one’s friends are predetermined by one’s family or group membership.” (Hofstede, 2010)

In the individualistic societies, people tend to make new friends because they want to interact beyond their nuclear family, choosing to find and select their friends. This way, they expand their social network. Regarding the individualistic societies and friendships, Hofstede (2010) states that:

In the individualist society, relationships with others are not obvious and prearranged; they are voluntary and have to be carefully fostered. The values at the individualist pole of the integration dimension describe conditions for the ideal voluntary relationship. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p.115)

With these issues in mind, a question about what kind of friends the participants would prefer to have or keep was included in our questionnaire. Q8 states the following: “At the university, you () prefer to keep the old friends or () prefer to make new friends”.

With this question, we were able to see if the participants were more interested in keeping old friends, as a collectivist person would probably do, or if they preferred to make new friends, which is a behavior more usual to an individualist. The results for Q8 are found in the following graph:

Answers to the multiple-choice questions		Individualist pole		Collectivist pole	
		Brazilians	Americans	Brazilians	Americans
Predetermined versus voluntary friendships	Question 8	5	5	5	5

Figure 8

American and Brazilian participants do not seem to prefer one or the other ways of making friends. Fifty percent of the respondents from both cultures said that they prefer to keep the old friends, and the other half said they prefer to make new friends at the university.

Some respondents wrote extra comments for Q8. Most of them agree that

despite the fact that they prefer one way of friendship, it does not mean that they do not agree with the other option: “I form long-lasting friendships, but that doesn’t mean I’m not open to new ones” (Annex 2, A9) and “Old and new friends are equally important and provide one with different, but valuable life lessons” (Annex 2, A7). A Brazilian said: “Gosto de permanecer com os antigos, mas fazer novas amizades também. A gente sempre troca experiências com os novos amigos. Também acho legal receber os alunos novos na faculdade”²⁶ (Annex 2, B1) Therefore, if those people prefer to make new friends, it does not mean that they do not keep the old ones, and vice-versa.

One of the participants added that he makes new friends through his old friends: “I don’t make new friends as often as I hang out with old friends, but I do make new friends through my old friends. It is a sort of collaboration of friendships” (Annex 2, A2). Another participant said he enjoys making new friends at university: “Uni²⁷ is a good place to meet new people who share similar interests” (Annex 2, A10) and one last person said that she enjoys both forms of friendship, but she values the old ones the most: “I enjoy meeting new people, but if I make a lasting relationship. I value that over meeting someone new” (Annex 2, A3).

According to Hofstede’s research, Americans prefer to select and make new friends while Brazilians prefer to keep old ones. However, the participants’ answers in our research indicate that Americans and Brazilians appreciate both ways of making and maintaining friendships in the context of a university.

²⁶ I like to keep the old friends, but I enjoy making new friends too. We always share experiences with new friendships. Also, it is nice to welcome the new students at the university.

²⁷ The participant meant “university”.

3.1.8

Socialization in public versus socialization at home

The way individuals socialize in society is also an issue that Hofstede (2010) incorporates in his research. According to the theorist, countries in which the culture is collectivist, people prefer to socialize in public places whereas in individualistic cultures, people would rather meet in the home.

Eurobarometer survey data for nineteen wealthier European countries show striking differences in the extent to which people claim to “visit a restaurant or bar daily”: in the more collectivist cultures, this form of socialization is much more normal. In individualist cultures, people prefer to meet at home, if at all: “My home is my castle” is a saying from individualist Britain. (HOFSTEDE, 2010, p.109)

In order to collect more data about the socialization in both American and Brazilian culture, we have included two questions related to this issue in our questionnaire. Q13 asks about the place individuals prefer to socialize with their friends, whereas in Q14 we ask about the ideal place they would prefer to socialize with their classmates or coworkers.

The difference between ‘friends’ and ‘classmates’ or ‘coworkers’ leads us to understanding why people tend to have a more intimate relationship with friends than with people who study or work with them. We believe that the difference can reveal details about both cultures in terms of socialization.

For Q13 and Q14 we have the same answers and respondents had to choose if they would prefer to meet their friends and classmates or coworkers at clubs, nightclubs or bars, or if they would prefer to meet these people in their own home or in their friend’s or classmate’s/coworker’s home. We present below a graph that summarizes the data that was collected in our research. In order to understand the following information it is important to understand that individualistic people prefer to socialize at home, and collectivist individuals prefer to socialize in public.

Answers to the multiple-choice questions		Individualist pole		Collectivist pole	
		Brazilians	Americans	Brazilians	Americans
Socialization in public versus socialization at home	Question 13	5	8	5	2
	Question 14	2	2	8	8

Figure 9

The majority of Americans who participated in our research answered that they prefer to socialize with their friends at home. However, 8 out of 10 Americans said that they prefer to socialize with their classmates or their coworkers at public places. Some of the Americans who said that public places are better for socialization with friends, coworkers and classmates wrote extra comments explaining why they would prefer to socialize outside of their houses. “Generally, I meet my friends at work more than anywhere else” (Annex 2, A5) and “Houses are deeply personal places. I would not invite a coworker to my home unless they were also a friend.”(Annex 2, A10)

It seems that the Americans reserve their home for their friends, but not for those people who they do not have an intimate relationship with, such as coworkers or classmates. The following quote also supports this view: “When we first meet someone, it’s usually in a place that is kind of impersonal, since you don’t really know the person, you want it to be in a mutual place. But then, for me at least, if you really hit it off and become friends, it would be somewhere a little more intimate, like at the house where you can just hangout.” (Annex 2, A4)

Finally, a participant who said that she prefers to meet her friends at home also affirmed that: “I prefer smaller and quitter settings like someone’s house or apartment.” (Annex 2, A6) Accordingly, we can interpret that Americans behave in an individualist manner when they socialize with their friends because they prefer to do it at home. However, when it comes to socialization with coworkers and classmates, that is, people who they do not have an intimate relationship with,

Americans prefer to socialize in public places in order to avoid taking them to their home, as the home is a very personal and familiar place.

Regarding the Brazilian respondents, fifty percent of the informants said that they would prefer to meet their friends at home and the same percentage said that they would prefer to meet friends in public places. In Q14, a majority of eight out of ten Brazilians prefer to socialize with coworkers and classmates in public places. None of the Brazilians wrote extra comments.

We thought about displaying these two contexts because we have noticed that some individuals tend to behave differently depending on how intimate the relationship is. The results we found indicate that Brazilians prefer to socialize in public places with people they do not have intimacy with, and that they can go either to their house's or to public places when it comes to socializing with friends. Therefore, our Brazilian informants responded accordingly to a collectivist cultural norm.

Conversely, Americans prefer to socialize with their friends at home or at someone else's house, which is expected, as this kind of socialization is a characteristic of individualistic people. However, when it comes to socializing with coworkers and classmates, Americans opt for a more collectivist way of behaving and prefer to socialize in public. This is probably because they do not feel comfortable inviting someone that they do not have a deep relationship with to their home.

In the next subchapter, we aim at deepening our study by presenting and analyzing the respondents' point of view of their own culture in regards to the Individualism versus Collectivism dimension.

3.2

New Yorkers and Cariocas by themselves: Individualist or collectivist people?

Besides analyzing how the Brazilian and American participants behave, think and socialize in order to understand if they are more inclined to either the individualist or collectivist pole according to the IDV dimension, our research is also concerned with the respondents' opinions about their own culture. Because of that, our questionnaire included Q1, in which they were prompted to write whether they consider their culture to be more collectivist or individualist and explain why. The results are found in the following box:

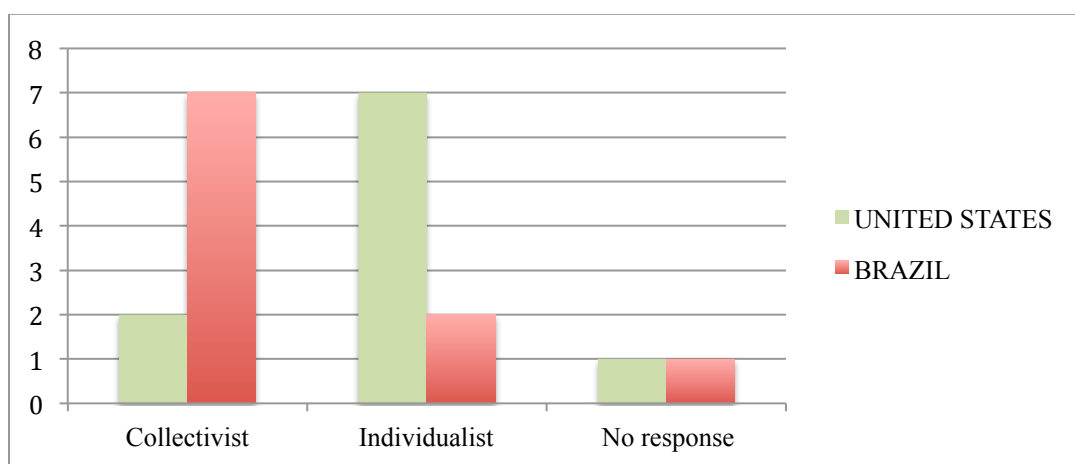


Figure 10

Among the ten Brazilian participants, seven agreed that Brazilians are collectivist people versus two who agreed that Brazilians are individualistic. One of the respondents did not present an opinion. Regarding the American informants, seven confirmed that Americans are individualistic people while two argued that Americans are collectivist. One of them did not answer this question either. Given these points, most of the Brazilian respondents think that Brazilians are collectivist people and most of the American participants believe they are individualist people.

3.2.1

The American culture by New Yorkers

The informants were to explain why they think their culture is either more collectivist or individualist. The reasons written by the participants in the questionnaire display more data related to this issue. Most of the American respondents believe that their society is individualist and they evaluate this common behavior as a negative issue.

Some of the informants from the United States affirmed that the members of their society are self-centered individuals. “The United States, in my opinion, has become an increasingly individualist society. (...) Americans have become extremely self-involved; to the point where they only care about themselves.” (Annex 2, A7) Another participant claims that the individual’s needs prevail over the group’s needs in American society. “I consider my culture to be individualist, because everyone is mainly focused on themselves and what they have to do to better themselves as a person, and not what betters the general public as a whole.” (Annex 2, A8)

Another participant related that self-centralism to the American dream by stating the following: “Individualist, certainly. American culture values the self-sufficient, self-made individual more than anything. That, in essence, is the American Dream - any individual can build themselves a life.” (Annex 2, A2) Moreover, according to one of the respondents, the fact that Americans are self-centered individuals is a clearly negative issue for her “Americans are very self-centered, and it’s really unfortunate.” (Annex 2, A6)

Additionally, one interviewee agrees with the claim made by some American respondents so far (that Americans are self-centered), but despite this, she also believes that Americans take their families into consideration even when they behave in an individualist manner. The participant comprehends that the self-centralism extends to the family of the individual. In other words, the individual is the core of the nuclear family and not only his/her needs, but also his/her family’s and social circles’ interests are prioritized over the interests of other members,

families and social circles of the same society. Still, according to this participant, the self-centralism is a negative matter.

I consider American culture to be very individualist, but I don't think it's a good thing. People here are largely concerned with themselves and their own family/social circles and seem to have a very us-versus-them attitude. It's rare to see people helping strangers. (Annex 2, A9)

The next participant discusses not only the self-centered attitude, but also the pressure from the capitalist system, and probably from society in general, on Americans to be independent and, thus, to be self-made people.

I think my culture is more individualist. The main focus is generally personal gain. While family is important, our capitalist system teaches us to make money for ourselves first. It is up to the individual to choose his or her own path, and it is chosen mostly for personal gain. (Annex 2, A3)

One last American respondent, who affirmed that his society is individualist, comprehends the individualism and collectivism dimension as if it were a subject related to politics. Thus, he states that collectivism is associated with communism in the United States, and as the country is based on capitalism concepts, collectivism would probably be neither accepted nor possible. "No doubt it is individualist. Collectivism is associated with communism here, which has a generally bad rep here. Also, our culture doesn't have a strong notion of the common good so that too." (Annex 2, A1)

As we have presented and considered the IDV (Cf. 2.1.2.6), the Individualism versus Collectivism is a dimension in which it is possible to measure the degree of the individual's self-perception taking into consideration the group one is inserted in. In both poles of the dimension, for instance, the self belongs to a group and has to consider its insinuations. Therefore, the dimension is not related to politics neither in Hofstede's theory nor in our research.

Differing from the opinions that we have analyzed so far, two other American respondents supported reasons that try to explain why Americans could be considered collectivist. According to one participant, American society is

collectivist because its members belong to a community and have to respect and follow the rules imposed by the State.

I'd like to think it's an individualist culture but when you really think about it, America has a collectivist culture. We belong to the community, the government, the state... In the end we are just a number. We do what the government says we should and can do and we get punished for the opposite. We pay when they tell us to pay. We rely on what is provided by them. Our rights are given to us by the government, and the ones we fight for we fight against them. I wish we could say we live for ourselves but I just don't think that's the case. Every decision we make affects the community and vice versa. (Annex 2, A4)

She explains that because Americans are in a society in which they have to follow rules and are to respect the system and its policies, they belong to a collectivist culture. She also argues that what one person does can affect the whole group. That, in essence, might be the general norm in any civilized country; however, this idea should not necessarily correspond to what the IDV dimension is really concerned with.

As we have been considering this research, benefits at work, sharing resources, objects and duties with family members and colleagues at work, children being raised in terms of 'we', focus on extended family, maintaining harmony and socialization in public are some of the collectivism characteristics. Nevertheless, none of those collectivist peculiarities are related to the rules and laws imposed by the State.

Another American respondent affirmed that even though he lives in the United States, his culture is collectivist because his family is from another country. "Since I am from a Japanese family, but live in America, I would consider myself a collectivist one." (Annex 2, A10) He was more concerned with his background culture than American culture itself.

Families that move to another country may continue to practice their original culture. Although they have their own norms, they are still influenced by other practices and traditions that are typical within their new country. Family members interact with people in the new society, at work, at school, on public

transportation, at the stores, etc., so may practice different habits outside the home, but generally maintain their traditions when inside.

We have analyzed nine out of ten questionnaires answered by the American respondents (one of them has not presented an opinion on Q1). Most of the American participants agree that Americans belong to an individualist society. Some of them argue that this occurs because there is pressure on people to be independent and self-made individuals. This aligns with Hofstede's results in his research in which American society displays ninety-one percent in the IDV dimension (inclined toward the individualist extreme).

Few of the participants said that Americans are collectivist people, and those who did, either used a conception of collectivism (that does not correspond to what Hofstede describes in the IDV dimension) or they were thinking about their family specifically, rather than thinking of American culture as a whole (or at least, about the New Yorker family culture). In the next subchapter, we observe and analyze the answers provided by the Brazilian respondents on Q1 on their opinion of the Brazilian culture.

3.2.2

The Brazilian culture by Cariocas

The concept of Individualism versus Collectivism was not clear to the Brazilian respondents. Most of the American participants' answers were straightforward regarding the topic, however. When we analyzed the Brazilians' answers, however, we noticed that they presented arguments that were not associated with the IDV dimension.

Among the ten informants, six believe that Brazilian culture is collectivist, but do not present a clear idea concerning collectivism; one believes that Brazilians are individualist, but she does not present a clear argument either. One supports that Brazilians are individualist with a clear argument and one respondent supports that Brazilians are collectivist, but are turning into individualistic. One of

the participants did not answer Q1. The responses are organized in the graph below according to the IDV dimension and according to the arguments presented:

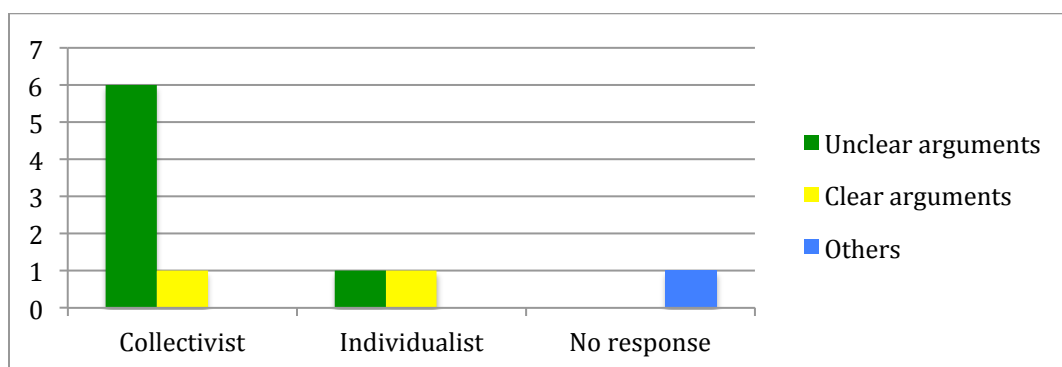


Figure 11

The six respondents who declared that Brazilian culture is collectivist presented diverse arguments while defending their point of view. Two of them argued that Brazilian culture is collectivist because it is a mix of distinct cultures: “Collectivist because we are the union of different cultures reunited in a place full of diversities.”²⁸ (My translation) and a second one declared: “Collectivist because it is a mix of different cultures.”²⁹ (My translation)

Other two informants stated that Brazilian culture is collectivist because relationships among individuals in this society depend and rely on each other. Despite the general statement, this is in accordance with what Hofstede argues, however the following respondent’s argument contradicts what she previously said. She declares that Brazilians are collectivist individuals, but at the same time she states that they are selfish, without deepening her arguments considering collectivism. Therefore, we considered her argument unclear:

I consider it collectivist because of the dependence on others, but I also think that Brazilians are selfish and a little bit pushed by the immediacy. They are concerned about my house, my life, my work... It is a very complex question. We rely on

²⁸ Coletivista, pois somos a união de culturas distintas reunidas em um estado repleto de diversidades. (Annex 2, B2)

²⁹ Coletivista, pois é uma mistura de várias culturas diferentes. (Annex 2, B7)

each other but we are also selfish. This is not so bad though, because we have our autonomy somehow.³⁰ (My translation)

On the other hand, her opinion is in accordance with the concept of the Home and the Street that Da Matta (1986) presents in his theory. At home, the individuals are unique and irreplaceable. They have their social and moral values whereas on the Street the same individual is just another person without any significant distinction.

It is not a physical place, but a moral place: sphere where basically we find fulfillment as human beings who have a physical body, and also a moral and social dimension. Thus, in the house, we are unique and irreplaceable. We have a unique place in a web of relationships marked by many important social dimensions, such as gender and age (...) at home we are also defined to what all the "honor", "shame" and "respect" determine. I refer to the filial and familial love that is extended to friends, for whom the doors of our homes are always open and our table is always set and plentiful.³¹ (My translation)

Moreover, the main theoretical premise behind “the Home” and “the Street” concept is that “the Home” offers to its members accurate and adequate traditions, food, habits, values, morals and any other peculiarity inherent to that group. For individuals who live and share the same space these traits are suitable. This is also true for the members themselves and their animals and plants. All of these elements present an important and unique meaning.

(...) when we speak of "home", we are not referring simply to a place where we sleep, eat or use to be sheltered from the wind, cold or rain. But we are referring to a space deeply totalized in a strong moral. (...) Everything, after all, that is the space of our home is good, beautiful, and is mostly decent. Even our plants are lusher than those of neighbors and friends. (...) This way, the house definitely

³⁰ Eu considero coletivista pela questão da interdependência, apesar de considerar os brasileiros um pouco "egoístas" e um pouco movidos também pelo imediatismo. Estão sempre preocupados com a minha família, a minha vida, o meu trabalho... É uma pergunta muito complexa. Somos interdependentes, porém egoístas. De certa forma não é ruim por termos uma certa autonomia individual. (Annex 2, B3)

³¹ Não se trata de um lugar físico, mas de um lugar moral: esfera onde nos realizamos basicamente como seres humanos que têm um corpo físico, e também uma dimensão moral e social. Assim, na casa, somos únicos e insubstituíveis. Temos um lugar singular numa teia de relações marcadas por muitas dimensões sociais importantes, como a divisão de sexo e de idade. (...) nela somos também determinados por tudo o que a “honra”, a “vergonha” e o “respeito”, esses valores grupais, acabam determinando. Quero referir-me ao amor filial e familiar que se deve estender pelos compadres e pelos amigos, para quem as portas de nossas casas estão sempre abertas e nossa mesa está sempre posta e farta. (DA MATTA, 1986, p. 21)

establishes a loving space where harmony should reign over the confusion, competition and disorder.³² (My translation)

Despite of the fact that respondent B3 believes Brazilians are more collectivist people; she also believes that Brazilians are selfish. They are only concerned with their own family, life and work. However, all things considered, more importantly is the Brazilian perspective that differentiates both symbolic places. At home, Brazilians get “(...) a type of super citizenship that terribly contrasts to the total absence of recognition existent in the street.”³³. (My translation)

Another respondent is in agreement with the previous participant, stating: “Collectivist, as the interpersonal interactions are the sustenance of a culture like ours, not only in the political environment, but also in the economic and social contexts. (My translation)”³⁴ As observed, these last responses present arguments related to the mixing of different cultures, the interdependence among individuals and interpersonal relationships within society.

These arguments do not necessarily refer to the IDV dimension. Some basic premises of collectivism are that individuals are more concerned with the groups’ interests rather than their own interest. Members prefer to maintain harmony over speaking their minds and presenting different opinions; they prefer to share objects and chores rather than individualizing the items and tasks at home and at work; they raise their children in terms of ‘I’ rather than in terms of ‘we’; they prefer to socialize in public rather than at home; as well as other peculiarities in which the mutual needs are taken into consideration (Cf. 2.1.2.6)

³² (...) quando falamos da “casa”, não estamos nos referindo simplesmente a um local onde dormimos, comemos ou que usamos para estar abrigados do vento, do frio ou da chuva. Mas - isto sim - estamos nos referindo a um espaço profundamente totalizado numa forte moral. (...) Tudo, afinal de contas, que está no espaço da nossa casa é bom, é belo e é, sobretudo, decente. Até mesmo as nossas plantas são mais viçosas que as dos vizinhos e amigos. (...) Assim, a casa demarca um espaço definitivamente amoroso onde a harmonia deve reinar sobre a confusão, a competição e a desordem. (DA MATTA, 1986, p. 23)

³³ (...) uma espécie de supercidadania que contrasta terrivelmente com a ausência total de reconhecimento que existe na rua. (DA MATTA, 1986, p. 23)

³⁴ Coletivista, já que as relações interpessoais são a base de uma cultura como a nossa, atuando tanto no meio político quanto no econômico e no social. (Annex 2, B8)

Along similar lines, other two respondents claim that Brazilians are collectivist individuals because traditions and values within Brazilian culture are taught over generations within society and family. Also, it is stated that these values may be good for the majority of Brazilian society “Collectivist, because the culture that I have was passed to me over the society that I live in as well as over the interaction with my family, mainly by its teachings and traditions.”³⁵ (My translation) A similar argument is presented:

Collectivist, because I value the traditions, not only the family ones, but also the ones related to the culture of a country or of some peoples. They might be good and appropriate to the population, and not only to one or two individuals. I appreciate a firm and secure culture with ethics in order to guarantee the common good.³⁶ (My translation)

Therefore, the consensual view seems to be that collectivism is related to topics that consider any kind of interaction, relationship and dependence among individuals; the mix of diverse cultures within a society; and the hereditary manner that the tradition is passed from the parents to the children. Nevertheless, “in the Collectivist societies people belong to ‘in groups’ that take care of them in exchange for loyalty.” (Hofstede, 2010, p. 28) Collectivism is more related to the meaning that an individual cultivates within an in-group as well as the loyalty each member of this in-group can offer, rather than other topics raised by the last informants.

Besides the six respondents who agreed that Brazilians are collectivist people without presenting clear arguments that would support their point of view regarding the IDV dimension, one informant declared that Brazilians are collectivist citizens, but that they have been turning into individualist ones. She argues that the marketplace and public university entrance exams in Brazil have

³⁵ Coletivista, pois a cultura que eu tenho foi passada através da sociedade onde eu vivo, e também no convívio da minha família, com ensinamentos e tradições. (Annex 2, B6)

³⁶ Coletivista, pois valorizo as tradições, sejam elas familiares ou da própria cultura do país ou de alguns povos. Que sejam boas e próprias para toda a população e não somente para um ou dois indivíduos. Prezo por uma cultura firme, segura e com boa ética para garantir o bem de todos. (Annex 2, B4)

been increasing competition among Brazilians, and, thus, making them more individualist.

I believe that Brazilian culture is collectivist because we are always concerned with other people, family, friends, and many of our decisions are made according to the will of our family, for example. But I also think that the job market and the public universities entrance are so competitive that make Brazilians become more individualistic by longing for these things just for themselves. (My translation)³⁷

The respondent believes that Brazilians are collectivist people, but in some situations or contexts, there is pressure on people to reach their goals such as getting a good job or getting accepted into good colleges. Competition among people has risen and they have become more individualistic, as they have been focusing on their own needs only.

Among the Brazilian informants only two argued that Brazilians are individualist people. One of them said that he believes the culture is individualist because he himself tends to prioritize himself. “(...) I believe it is individualist, because I am used to spend the most part of the time alone and I have a very bad habit of prioritizing myself.”³⁸ (My translation) Perhaps he understands that if he behaves this way, other members of Brazilian society probably do too. Nevertheless, it seems that the respondent sees Individualism as a negative attribute when he mentions, “I have a very bad habit of prioritizing myself”.

According to Hofstede (Cf. 2.1.2.6), the Individualism is not a negative, rather, it is a way of interacting in society, emphasizing one's self. This means that the individual prefers to be independent; to contribute at work with his/her ideas, intellect and knowledge; to understand the world by observing him/herself; to try to develop him/herself as an individual within society; to focus more on the nuclear family rather than a family with members who do not participate in his/her daily routine; to socialize at home as it is comfortable, safe, and thus, welcoming

³⁷ Eu acredito que a cultura brasileira é coletivista pelo fato de estarmos sempre preocupados com os outros, com os familiares, com os amigos, e muitas das nossas decisões são tomadas de acordo com a vontade da nossa família, por exemplo. Mas eu também acho que o mercado de trabalho e a entrada em universidades públicas são tão competitivos que fazem com que os brasileiros se tornem mais individualistas por almejam essas coisas apenas para si. (Annex 2, B1)

³⁸ (...) creio que seja individualista, pois costume passar a maior parte do tempo sozinho tenho um péssimo hábito de priorizar a mim mesmo. (Annex 2, B10)

to friends; to speak his/her mind, not to be rude, but to aggregate benefits to the discussion; and other peculiarities that are more concerned with the individual's needs.

Still regarding the Individualism pole, another respondent defended that Brazilians are individualist citizens, but his argument does not present clear ideas regarding the Individualism versus Collectivism dimension. He declares the following: "(...) Individualist. I think the Brazilian society cares much about the image it displays more than anything else. Brazilians like especially to show how we are super nice people, supportive, etc. This is very ironic, in fact."³⁹ (My translation)

Whether Brazilians care or not about their image as nice people is not an issue related to IDV. Therefore, the argument presented by this last participant is unclear and it does not support her point of view about Brazilians being Individualist people. One informant did not present an opinion in Q1.

Americans have clear understanding of the Individualism versus Collectivism concept. Due to that, they were able to present suitable arguments to support their point of view. Most of them believe that Americans are individualistic people as they are concerned with the individual's own gains.

On the other hand, despite of the fact that Brazilians do not have a well-defined comprehension of the IDV dimension, they believe that Brazilians are collectivist individuals. Most of them could not present satisfactory arguments while defending their points of view. One of the Brazilian informants, however, declared that Brazilians are collectivist people, but she also argues that Brazilians have been turning into individualist people because of the competition within the current Brazilian society.

By observing and analyzing these issues in our data analysis and taking into consideration the methodological foundations for this work, we intend to contribute a reflection toward Portuguese as Second Language Teaching, as well

³⁹ (...) Individualista. Acho que a sociedade brasileira se importa muito mais em manter aparências do que qualquer coisa, inclusive, manter as aparências sobre sermos um povo super gente boa, solidário etc. Isso é muito irônico, na verdade. (Annex 2, B5)

as raise cultural awareness on the Individualism versus Collectivism dimension within both American and Brazilian culture in the following subchapter.

3.3

Our contribution to the teaching of Portuguese as a second language

International students who come to Brazil in order to learn Portuguese will probably be advised by their classmates, friends and teachers that Brazilians are welcoming, hospitable and collectivist people who are always ready to help. While deepening their awareness on Brazilian culture they will understand that these are characteristics inherent to Brazilians. However, while living in Brazil they might experience situations in which Brazilians do not think about the collective as it is expected.

Teachers and Portuguese textbook writers can benefit from this research as we offer reflection on Individualism versus Collectivism in American and Brazilian society. Moreover, we raise cultural awareness based on situations common to daily routines in both cultures. By reflecting upon issues discussed in our research, professionals related to language teaching and interculturalism will be able to develop didactic material for their students.

Teachers can refer to common practices in the Brazilian society. It is not uncommon to see a Brazilian, for instance, throwing trash out of the car window polluting streets and roads. Also, after the sunset in Rio de Janeiro, specific small trucks are used on the beaches in order to carry the garbage that Brazilians left on the sand. This demonstrates that Brazilians are not as collectivist as we expect.

This behavior is not typical to every Brazilian, but the act of throwing garbage on the street can be seen in Brazilian society. But why do Brazilians throw garbage in the trashcan at home, but do not care about doing the same on the street? The answer probably corroborates with the concept of “the Home” and “the Street” (Cf. 2.1.3). People “on the Street” are not as significant and relevant as the

ones “at Home”. It seems that it is important to keep the environment clean at home, but not on the street.

Parking on sidewalks, handicap spots and senior parking is not uncommon in Brazil. Individuals usually park on these places with the excuse that they will leave soon. This way, they believe no annoyance will be caused to any person who may need the spot. By doing that, Brazilians do not demonstrate preoccupation with the collective. They are just concerned with their needs. The figures below illustrate some individualist behavior in Brazilian society.



Brazilian Individualist behavior 1



Brazilian Individualist behavior 2



Brazilian Individualist behavior 3



Brazilian Individualist behavior 4

However, Brazilians demonstrate collectivist behavior and attitudes when they assist their family members financially, build their houses on the same land of their parents' house, help people involved in disasters or donate food for poor people and feed homeless animals.



Brazilian Collectivist behavior 1



Brazilian Collectivist behavior 2



Brazilian Collectivist behavior 3



Brazilian Collectivist behavior 4

On the other hand, Americans, in general, avoid throwing garbage on the street and in any other public place; while driving they stop and wait for kids to leave the school bus; they respect lines and do not try to cut people in; and they also have other attitudes that express how they respect the collective.

International students who come from cultures that are considered individualist and learn that Brazilian culture is collectivist might get thoroughly confused once Brazilians present some individualist behavior. Also, if students are from an individualist culture and they are used to collectivist behavior in their society they might question why they are considered individualist people.

After all this reflection, we believe that working with dialogs and activities, showing pictures, videos, promoting a debate and enriching the lesson with a discussion on these facts help students understand differences between both cultures. This way, they learn how to deal with situations in the Brazilian context.

Therefore, we aimed at contributing to the teaching of Portuguese as second language in this research. Throughout our analysis, we raised awareness on Individualism versus Collectivism in both societies. We believe that it is

important to demonstrate to international students that Brazilians are collectivist people.

However, Brazilians also take into account the fact that their family and family circles are more important than people who do not belong to these groups. Activities, images, texts, videos, debates, dialogs, comic strips, TV commercials and series that can promote reflection on these peculiarities may assist teachers and Portuguese textbook writers to better approach those nuances in class and in their didactic material.

Final Considerations

In this research, we have analyzed the Individualism versus Collectivism dimension within American and Brazilian culture (Cf. 2.1.2). In order to do so, we distributed a questionnaire with sixteen questions in which the respondents were supposed to choose the option that would best describe their attitude or behavior towards a given situation or context.

In total, twenty informants participated in our research: ten Americans and ten Brazilians. The Americans were from New York and had little to no contact with Brazilian culture. Likewise, the Brazilians were from Rio de Janeiro and had little contact with American culture. All the participants were between eighteen to twenty five years old.

We have created contexts and situations to our questionnaire based on some of the IDV dimension peculiarities described by Hofstede (2010) (Cf. 2.1.2.6). The IDV pillar concepts such as: work environment, sharing objects and duties, raising children, family, maintaining harmony versus speaking one's mind, friendships, socialization and leaving the parents' home served as the main basis for our data analysis. Our questionnaire consisted of fourteen multiple-choice questions and two discursive ones. The results gathered from the multiple-choice questions are found in Figure 20 in the following page.

Q2, Q3 and Q4 were about work environment. The goal of the three questions was to verify whether the participants were more inclined toward the individualist pole or the collectivist extreme in the work environment. In Q2, Brazilians and Americans were more individualist, and in Q3 and Q4, Brazilians and Americans were more inclined to collectivism.

Americans and Brazilians tend to prefer a job in which they have more time for family and their personal life, which is a peculiarity of individualistic people. They also prefer jobs that provide them with opportunities to develop their

professional career as well as opportunities to make use of their own abilities. These two last characteristics are inherent to the collectivist pole. Then, we conclude that Americans and Brazilians equally tend to be collectivist in the work environment.

Answers to the multiple-choice questions		Individualist pole		Collectivist pole	
		Brazilians	Americans	Brazilians	Americans
Work Environment	Q2	9	9	1	1
	Q3	2	4	8	6
	Q4	3	2	7	8
Sharing (or not) resources, objects and duties	Q5	5	2	5	8
	Q11	1	5	9	5
	Q12	2	3	8	7
Children in terms of "I" and "we"	Q7	3	0	7	10
Extended versus nuclear family	Q6	2	3	8	7
	Q9	2	7	8	3
Maintaining harmony versus speaking one's mind	Q10	3	5	7	5
Predetermined versus voluntary friendships	Q8	5	5	5	5
Socialization in public versus socialization at home	Q13	5	8	5	2
	Q14	2	2	8	8
Leaving the parents' house					
Question 15	A	B	C	D	E
Americans		1	8	1	
Brazilians			6	1	3

Figure 20

Q5, Q11 and Q12 were about whether or not Brazilians and Americans prefer to share objects and duties at home and at work. In Q5, half of the Brazilians were more inclined to the individualist pole and the other half, to the collectivist one. The Americans, however, were more collectivist. In Q11, the Brazilians presented a collectivist behavior and the Americans were fifty percent for both

sides. Finally, in Q12, most of the participants from both cultures chose the collectivist option to represent their attitudes.

In terms of sharing objects and duties at work and at home, Americans tend to be more collectivist. In general, they prefer to share objects with their coworkers. At home, there is a tendency to share the tasks, but when it comes to sharing objects, half of them declared they do and the other half said that they do not share.

Concerning the Brazilians, half of them stated that they share the objects at work and the other half said that they do not. At home, however, they tend to share not only objects but also chores with their relatives. Brazilians also presented a collectivist behavior concerning this topic.

Q7 was about the viewpoint on raising children. Most of the participants from both cultures were more inclined to the collectivist extreme, as they understand that children are raised in terms of 'we' in their culture.

In Q6 and Q9 we aimed at observing the respondents' attitudes and behaviors regarding the extended versus the nuclear family. In Q6, most respondents from both cultures opted for the collectivist answer. However, in Q9 the Brazilian informants were more inclined to the collectivist pole against the majority of the American participants who preferred the individualist one.

Q10 intended to verify whether the participants would prefer to maintain harmony throughout a discussion or to speak their mind, even if their opinion could cause embarrassment. Most of the Brazilians were inclined toward a collectivist end, and the Americans were distributed equally: half towards collectivism and the other half toward individualism.

Q8 proposed a reflection on friendships and the participants needed to think of whether they would rather have predetermined friendships or voluntary ones. In individualist societies, friendships are voluntary whereas in collectivist cultures, the friendships are predetermined. Half of the participants from both cultures said that their friendships are predetermined and the other half declared that their friendships are voluntary. Thus, there is no clear evidence if Americans and Brazilians tend to be more collectivist or more individualist in this case.

Q13 and Q14 expect participants to state whether they prefer to socialize at home or at public places. The idea of my home is my castle belongs to the individualist pole in which the individuals prefer to socialize inside their houses, as they are comfortable and in a safe place. On the other hand, socializing in public is common among collectivist people.

The only difference between Q13 and Q14 is that the former is related to socializing with friends while the second refers to socializing with classmates and coworkers, that is to say, people that they do not have a lot of intimacy with. In Q13 (concerning socialization with friends), half of the Brazilians declared that they prefer to socialize at home and the other half, in public places. Most of the Americans, however, prefer to socialize at home which a typical individualist behavior.

Q11, in which the topic about socialization with coworkers and classmates is raised, not only Americans but also Brazilians declared that they prefer to socialize in public places, behavior common among collectivist people.

Most of the answers provided by the Brazilians referred to a collectivist pole, which corresponds to our expectation. However, foreigners who come to Brazil may agree or not with the fact that Brazilians are seen as collectivist people.

An American who lived in Brazil wrote an article in which he mentioned thirty-nine reasons that made him hate the country. Two of these reasons were analyzed and discussed in our research. The American stated that Brazilians do not care about the people who do not belong to their circles and that they do not respect the environment either:

Os brasileiros não têm consideração com as pessoas fora do seu círculo de amizades e muitas vezes são simplesmente rudes. Por exemplo, um vizinho que toca música alta durante toda a noite (...) Os brasileiros não têm respeito por seu ambiente. Eles despejam grandes cargas de lixo em qualquer lugar e em todos os lugares, e o lixo é inacreditável.⁴⁰ (Annex 3)

⁴⁰ Brazilians do not have care about people outside of their circle of friends and often they are simply rude. For example, a neighbor who plays loud music all night (...) Brazilians have no respect for their environment. They dump large loads of rubbish anywhere and everywhere, and the waste is unbelievable.

Other reasons are listed in that article and they represent the negative experience the writer had in Brazil. His arguments illustrate how confused an international student or visitor can get as soon as s/he sees and experiences situations as the ones listed by the writer. Because of that, it is important that teachers and Portuguese textbook writers stimulate reflection and raise awareness on these characteristics of the Brazilian culture.

Unexpectedly, the American participants' answers were also mostly related to the collectivist pole. This contrasts with Hofstede's theory as the author states that Americans score ninety-one percent in the IDV dimension.

Concerning the incongruence between the Americans' answers and the results found in the theorist's research, it is important to mention that Hofstede's interviewees were not only adults, but also employees at the IBM company, meaning that they were professionals who had been already inserted in the market place in the eighties.

Conversely, our participants were young adults between eighteen to twenty-five years old. Some of them did not have a full-time job by the time they answered the questionnaire, and they were either undergraduate students or had their bachelor's degree. Therefore, we understand that the participants' profile marks a clear distinction and should be raised in this study.

Because of that, we deepened our analysis of the Millennials generation and realized that it presents many aspects that differ one generation to the other. Taking this reflection into account and concerning all the data gathered we have concluded that the new generation of Americans tends to be more collectivist than individualist (as the previous generation was).

A week after the submission of this dissertation, Hofstede announced in a social media that he had conducted a new and extensive research among sixty thousand individuals in sixty countries. The research was not available at that time, but Hofstede informed that the United States has become more collective since the last research in 2010. This supports what we have concluded in our study about the American culture: there is a tendency for Americans to become more collectivist

individuals. We have inserted Hofstede's announcement in the attachments of this research.

The respondents who participated in Hofstede's research of 2010 lived in a world that was listening to the song "I am what I am" song, a hit single from the eighties by Gloria Gaynor. At that time, people were following and supporting the individualist thought described in the song.

Therefore, it might have represented the mindset of a generation that would be more concerned about the individual's own gains and interests:

I am what I am / I am my own creation (...) It's my world that I want to have a little pride in / My world and it's not a place I have to hide in / Life's not worth a dam / 'Til you can say I am what I am (...) I am what I am / And what I am needs no excuses / I deal my own deck / Sometimes the ace, sometimes the deuces. (*I am what I am*, 1983)

On the other hand, the respondents who participated in our research are young adults who have been raised during the development of a new nation. This new face of the United States would not classify the different ideas as negative ones, but would rather accept the diversity congregate the members of the country. This collectivist sense is presented in the Barack Obama's victory speech (2008):

It's the answer spoken by young and old, rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, gay, straight, disable and not disabled, Americans who sent a message to the world that we have never been just a collection of individuals or a collection of red states and blue states. We are, and will always be, the United States of America. (Barack Obama's victory speech, 2008)

In the same speech, the American president mentions his family in a manner that we can infer peculiarities inherent to the collectivist conviction. "And while she's no longer with us, I know my grandmother's watching, along with the family that made me who I am. I miss them tonight. I know my debt to them is beyond measure."

From this, we can assume two concerns: the first is that it seems that the president includes his grandmother as his immediate family, which goes against

the individualist traits. For Americans there is a difference between the extended and the nuclear family, however, the importance given to the grandmother and to other relatives who have already died presents a different perspective from what was observed previously in Hofstede's theory.

Secondly, the significance of belonging to a family and the importance of the family while raising their children are also concepts that are embedded in the president's speech. The Millennial generation has been raised with these pillar concepts common within a collectivist culture, and thus, the "Yes, we can" has been becoming stronger in American society and consequently, in the Americans' behavior and attitudes.

In the beginning of our research, we hypothesized that there was some incongruence between Hofstede's theory and some American behaviors. The citizens from the United States seem to be concerned with the collective, though this opposes with Hofstede's research results. Therefore, we aimed at characterizing the situations in which Americans are individualistic as well as the situations in which they tend to be more collectivist. This way, we believe we would corroborate or refute what was stated in the theorist study.

These characterized situations were also applied to Brazilians with the same goals in mind. We intended to learn if Brazilians were either collectivist or individualist in given contexts. Afterwards, our objective was to present a contribution to the Portuguese as a Second Language Teaching. The intention was not, however, to present didactic material, but to offer reflection, cultural awareness and motivation for teachers, researchers and other professionals related to the language teaching and interculturalism fields.

In this research, we have not explored and taken into consideration the limitations presented in chapter two (Cf. 2.2.1). We have neither emphasized nor explored the respondents' gender, for instance. We believe that for future research, scholars interested in developing studies in the Interculturalism field could improve the ideas presented in this research focusing on the respondents' gender as well as on other characteristics that would enrich the cross-cultural studies.

Other possibilities for future research would be inviting participants from other social classes, educational backgrounds, religions and cultures. Researchers can compare their studies with our dissertation or also with other studies in the field and verify if cultures have been changing over the years and maybe predict some possible new changes for the future.

How will the new generations behave in the work environment? How will they behave in a multicultural classroom? Is technology bringing the individuals together or is it separating people? Is technology unifying cultures? Is globalization going to unify cultures so that we will not have individualistic nor collectivist people, but individuals who follow same behaviors and beliefs? These are some inspiring questions and also an invitation to continue our study and to improve intercultural research.

With all things considered, we understand that we have corroborated our hypothesis; followed our objectives; presented suitable methodological foundations; observed, analyzed and deepened the data gathered and presented a contribution to the Portuguese as a Second Language Teaching. In short, we have fulfilled our expectations and hope this work encourages other researchers to enrich even more the PL2E studies.

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Annex 1 - Questionnaire English Version

Dear interviewee,

Thank you for participating in my research. You will find below 1 question about the American culture, 14 multiple-choice random questions and 1 question about the American family.

Before answering each question, please, reflect upon your routine and your interaction with friends, classmates, parents and relatives. The answer's truthfulness and accuracy is very important to this research. Your identity will not be disclosed.

Thank you!

Interviewee profile

Name: _____

Gender: _____

Age: _____ (between 18 and 25 years old)

Schooling level: _____

Nationality: (☐) Brazilian (☐) American

Family cultural/linguistic/geographic origin: _____

Do you speak other languages? Which ones?

1. Warm up:

Do you consider your culture collectivist or individualist? Why?

Regarding your professional life, would you prefer to have a job which:

2.

() would provide you with free time for your family and your personal life.	() would provide you with a work environment with good physical conditions (good ventilation, lights, adequate space to work.)
--	---

3.

() would provide you with opportunities to develop your professional career (training, learning environment), etc.	() would provide you with certain freedom to adopt your own working method
---	---

4.

() would provide you with opportunities in which you could make use of your own abilities in that field	() would provide you with challenges.
--	--

Write here any comment about something you consider important to be mentioned regarding questions 2, 3 and 4. (optional)

5. In your work, the use of objects, food, audio-visual equipment (TV, radio, computer), etc. is:

- a. individualized - each person uses what belongs to him/her, exclusively ()
- b. shared - everybody uses everything, indifferently ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned: (optional)

Regarding your family/personal life:

6. For you, YOUR family consists of:

- a. your parents and siblings only ()
- b. your parents, siblings, relatives and people who are very connected to the family somehow ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

7. When you were a child and used to play with your friends:

- a. each of you would prefer to play with your own toys ()
- b. you would all share the toys ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

8. At the university, you:

- a. prefer to keep the old friends ()
- b. prefer to make new friends ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

9. Regarding your family, most of the time you

- a. tend to share the same opinion they have about moral and political issues ()
- b. tend to have different opinion from them ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

10. In the traffic, when someone cuts you off in a way that almost causes an accident, you:

- a. hurl insults at the driver ()
- b. you get annoyed, but prefer not to argue ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

11. In your house, the use of objects, food, audio-visual equipment (TV, radio, computer), etc. is:

- a. individualized- each person uses what belongs to him/her, exclusively ()
- b. shared - everybody uses everything, indifferently ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

12. What about the service at home: cooking, laundry, house cleaning, etc.?

- a. individualized - each person does what he/she has to do for him/herself only ()
- b. shared - everybody does everything, taking roles and maybe, helping each other.
()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

13. You generally meet your friends

- a. at clubs, nightclubs, bars ()
- b. in your house or in your friends' house ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

14. You generally meet your classmates/coworkers

- a. at clubs, nightclubs, bars ()
- b. in your house or in your classmates'/coworkers' house ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

15. In your opinion, when do you think someone has to leave his/her parents' house?

- a. when he/she goes to college ()
- b. when he/she turns 21 ()
- c. when he/she has money to do so()
- d. when he/she finds a good job()
- e. when he/she gets married ()

Make a comment about something you consider important to be mentioned:
(optional)

16. Do you think there is any characteristic about the American Family that you would consider interesting to be mentioned and added to my research? Which one?

Thank you!

Veronica Afonso

Annex 1 - Questionnaire Portuguese Version

Caro entrevistado,

Obrigada por aceitar participar da minha pesquisa. Abaixo, você vai encontrar 1 questão sobre a cultura brasileira, 14 questões múltipla-escolha, e 1 questão sobre a família brasileira.

Antes de responder cada questão, reflita sobre seu dia a dia e sua interação com amigos, colegas e familiares. A veracidade das respostas é muito importante para a pesquisa. Sua identidade não será divulgada.

Obrigada!

Perfil do entrevistado

Nome: _____

Gênero: _____

Idade: _____ (entre 18 a 25 anos)

Nível de escolaridade: _____

Nacionalidade: () brasileiro(a) () americano(a)

Origem cultural/linguística/geográfica da família:

Fala outras línguas? Quais?

1. Aquecimento:

Você considera a sua cultura coletivista ou individualista? Por quê?

Quanto a sua vida profissional, você gostaria de ter um trabalho que:

2.

<input type="checkbox"/> te proporcionasse um tempo livre para a sua vida pessoal ou familiar	<input type="checkbox"/> te proporcionasse um ambiente de trabalho com boas condições físicas (boa ventilação, iluminação, espaço adequado para o trabalho, etc.)
---	---

3.

<input type="checkbox"/> te proporcionasse oportunidades para se desenvolver como profissional (treinamento, aprendizado de novo conhecimento)	<input type="checkbox"/> te proporcionasse uma certa liberdade para que você pudesse adotar seu próprio método de trabalho
--	--

4.

<input type="checkbox"/> te proporcionasse oportunidades que em que você pudesse fazer uso de suas habilidades naquela área.	<input type="checkbox"/> te proporcionasse desafios
--	---

Sobre as questões 2, 3 e 4. Escreva aqui um comentário sobre algo que você considera importante mencionar:

5. No seu trabalho, você prefere que a utilização dos recursos seja:

a. individualizado - cada um usa o que é seu, exclusivamente ()

b. compartilhado - todos usam tudo, indiferentemente ()

*Recursos: alimentos, equipamentos audiovisuais (televisão, rádio, computador), etc.

Comentário sobre algo que você considera importante mencionar:

Quanto a sua vida pessoal/familiar:

6. Para você, a SUA família compreende:

a. apenas seus pais e irmãos ()

b. pais, irmãos, parentes e possíveis agregados ()

Comentário sobre algo que você considera importante mencionar:

7. Quando você brincava com seus amigos ...era criança, (questão do grupo)

a. preferia brincar sozinho com seus brinquedos ()

b. preferia brincar em grupos de amigos compartilhando os brinquedos ()

Comentário sobre algo que você considera importante mencionar:

8. na universidade, você:

a. prefere manter-se com amigos antigos ()

b. prefere enturmar-se os novos estudantes da universidade ()

Comentário sobre algo que você considera importante mencionar:

9. Em relação a sua família, na maioria das vezes

a. você tende a compartilhar a opinião deles sobre questões morais e políticas ()

b. você tende a ter opiniões diferentes das deles ()

Comentário sobre algo que você considera importante mencionar:

10. No trânsito, quando alguém corta você de maneira que quase provoque uma batida, você:

a. diz alguns desaforos para o motorista ()

b. fica chateado(a), mas prefere não discutir ()

Comentário sobre algo que você considera importante mencionar:

11. Na sua casa, a utilização dos alimentos, objetos, equipamentos audiovisuais (televisão, rádio, computador), etc. é:

a. individualizado - cada um usa o que é seu, exclusivamente ()

b. compartilhado - todos usam tudo, indiferentemente ()

Comentário sobre algo que você considera importante mencionar:

12. E quanto aos serviços: comida, lavagem de roupa, limpeza da casa, etc.?

a. individualizado - cada um faz o seu, exclusivamente ()

b. compartilhado - todos fazem tudo, indiferentemente ()

Comentário sobre algo que você considera importante mencionar:

13. Você geralmente se reúne com amigos:

- a. em clubes, boates, bares ()
- b. na sua casa ou na casa de um deles ()

Comentário sobre algo que você considera importante mencionar:

14. Você geralmente se reúne com colegas de trabalho/classe:

- a. em clubes, boates, bares ()
- b. na sua casa ou na casa de um deles ()

Comentário sobre algo que você considera importante mencionar:

15. Em sua opinião, quando você acha que um indivíduo deve sair da casa de seus pais?

- a. quando vai para a universidade ()
- b. quando completa 21 anos ()
- c. quando tem dinheiro para isso ()
- d. quando encontra um bom emprego ()
- e. quando se casa ()

Comentário sobre algo que você considera importante mencionar:

16. Você acha que há alguma peculiaridade sobre a família brasileira que seria interessante acrescentar na minha pesquisa? Qual?

Muito obrigada!

Veronica Afonso

Annex 2 - A1

Code A1

Gender	Male
Age	20
Schooling level	College
Nationality	American
Family origin	Puerto Rican/Honduran
Languages	English and Spanish

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9		x
Q3	x		Q10		x
Q4	x		Q11	x	
Q5		x	Q12		x
Q6		x	Q13		x
Q7		x	Q14		x
Q8	x		Q15	C	

*Blue cells representing the options related to Individualism. Strategy for comparison.

Q1 No doubt individualist. Collectivism is associated with communism here, which has a generally bad rep here. Also, our culture doesn't have a strong notion of the common good so that too.	Q16 No answer.
---	--------------------------

Extra Comments:

No extra comments.

Annex 2 - A2

Code A2

Gender	Male
Age	21
Schooling level	Undergraduate
Nationality	American
Family origin	American
Languages	English and Spanish

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9	x	
Q3	x		Q10		x
Q4		x	Q11		x
Q5		x	Q12	x	
Q6	x		Q13		x
Q7		x	Q14	x	
Q8	x		Q15	B	

*Blue cells representing the options related to Individualism. Strategy for comparison.

Q1 Individualist, certainly. American culture values the self-sufficient, self-made individual more than anything. That, in essence, is the American Dream - any individual can build themselves a life.	Q16 No answer.
--	--------------------------

Extra Comments:

Q2, Q3 and Q4. I consider it important to one day have a job that allows me to grow as a person, while allowing for the freedom necessary to fully enjoy life.

Q6. In reference to relatives outside of my parents and siblings, I would refer to them as extended family. I think that phrase is rather indicative of the general feeling. There's no animosity among us, and I love them dearly, they are just not quite as closely connected to me.

Q8. I don't make new friends as often as I hang out with old friends, but I do make new friends through my old friends. It is a sort of collaboration of friendships.

Q11. There are certainly boundaries to sharing everything. We will often ask for permission for some things such as food before indulging in something somebody else bought.

Annex 2 - A3

Code A3

Gender	Female
Age	20
Schooling level	Junior (3 rd year) in college
Nationality	American
Family origin	Italian/Germany/Poland
Languages	English and French

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9		x
Q3	x		Q10	x	
Q4	x		Q11	x	
Q5		x	Q12	x	
Q6		x	Q13		x
Q7		x	Q14	x	
Q8	x		Q15	C	

*Blue cells representing the options related to Individualism. Strategy for comparison.

Q1 I think my culture is more individualist. The main focus is generally personal gain. While family is important, our capitalist system teaches us to make money for ourselves first. It is up to the individual to choose his or her own path, and it is chosen mostly for personal gain.	Q16 A lot of things are individualized, but we also share a lot of things as well. I know many American families don't eat dinner together, but my family always does.
---	--

Extra Comments:

Q2, Q3 and Q4. I would like to be able to grow in my field, by learning new things and by using my own knowledge to succeed. The ideal career would allow me appealing benefits including time off.

Q8. I enjoy meeting new people, but if I make a lasting relationship, I value that over meeting someone new.

Q10. To myself though, I don't make a scene.

Q11. We have a community desktop computer and we all share a TV in the living room although each bedroom has its own TV.

Annex 2 - A4

Code A4

Gender	Female
Age	23
Schooling level	Undergraduate
Nationality	American
Family origin	German, Irish, French, Swedish, Polish, Danish (I do not practice these languages/cultures)
Languages	English, Spanish and American Sign Language

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9	x	
Q3	x		Q10	x	
Q4	x		Q11		x
Q5		x	Q12		x
Q6		x	Q13		x
Q7		x	Q14	x	
Q8		x	Q15	C	

*Blue cells representing the options related to Individualism. Strategy for comparison.

<p>Q1</p> <p>That's a good question. I'd like to think it's an individualist culture but when you really think about it, America has a collectivist culture. We belong to the community, the government, the state... in the end we are just a number. We do what the government says we should and can do and we get punished for the opposite. We pay when they tell us to pay. We rely on what is provided by them. Our rights are given to us by the government and the ones we fight for we fight against them. I wish we could say we live for ourselves but I just don't think that's the case. Every decision we make affects the community and vice versa.</p>	<p>Q16</p> <p>I think that there really isn't anything such thing as the "typical" American family. In the United States there is such a mix of different people and cultures, it's hard to say that there is one type of American family. For example, my friends was born and raised in the United States and considers herself American, however, her whole family is from the Dominican Republic. Clearly her home life and family is not like mine at all. Also, I believe like in many countries, the family home life has SO many different factors to consider. Like, economic status, which can effect every aspect of someone's life. If you are from an upper class family, the neighborhood you live in, the people you meet, and your responsibilities are completely different from someone else Who also considers themselves as the American family.</p>
--	---

Extra Comments:

Q2, Q3 and Q4. At this point in my life, since education is so expensive in the united states, I would want a job that pays good Money after graduation.

Q5. We consider close family friends like the actual family, and before my grandma passed away, she lived with us.

Q7. It depends Who you're playing with and at "Who's" house. (whose)

Q9. Me and my family tend to have similar views, but even if we don't agree, we are very supportive and respectful of each other.

Q10. They can't hear me.

Q11. Being that I still live at home with my parents and siblings, things in the house are shared, however, everyone in the house has their own computers and T.V in their rooms.

Q12. We do our own laundry, but everyone has to pitch in with chores around the house that are shared within the family. Example, everyone has to help feed the dog, do the dishes, clean the kitchen.

Q13. When we first meet someone, it's usually in a place that is kind of impersonal, since you don't really know the person, you want it to be in a mutual place. But then, for me at least, if you really hit it off and become friends, it would be somewhere a little more intimate, like at the house where you can just hangout.

Q14. I would make the same comment for this one as in the same previous question.

Annex 2 - A5

Code A5

Gender	Female
Age	25
Schooling level	Senior
Nationality	American
Family origin	German, British, Austrian ancestry but I don't speak the languages
Languages	English and Spanish

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2		x	Q9		x
Q3	x		Q10	x	
Q4	x		Q11	x	
Q5		x	Q12	x	
Q6		x	Q13	x	
Q7		x	Q14	x	
Q8		x	Q15	C	

*Blue cells representing the options related to Individualism. Strategy for comparison.

Q1 No answer.	Q16 I think the concept of an American family has borrowed aspects from so many other cultures that it would be impossible really pin point a specific characteristic belonging solely to "American" families. In the past, the ideal American family is the white picket fence and living the "American Dream".
-------------------------	--

Extra Comments:

Q10. The insults would not be heard by the driver.

Q13. Generally, I meet my friends at work more than anywhere else.

Annex 2 - A6

Code A6

Gender	Female
Age	21
Schooling level	Senior - College
Nationality	American
Family origin	Irish/German
Languages	English, German and American Sign Language

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9		x
Q3		x	Q10		x
Q4	x		Q11		x
Q5		x	Q12		x
Q6	x		Q13		x
Q7		x	Q14		x
Q8		x	Q15	C	

*Blue cells representing the options related to Individualism. Strategy for comparison.

Q1 Individualist. Americans are very self-centered, and it's really unfortunate!	Q16 Maybe like what your family looks like or what kinds of parent dynamics you have (mother/father, father/father, mother/mother, single parent, live with people other than your parents, etc.), because every family is so different and there is not one ideal family or way to head a household.
--	---

Extra Comments:

Q2, Q3 and Q4. I need an opportunity in my workspace to be able to use my own strategies and methods to work. I like having freedom of flexibility.

Q9. I am more socialist than a majority of my family who is extremely conservative. It makes things very difficult for me because politics are very important.

Q10. Sometimes people do things they don't realize when they drive, and it doesn't make the situation better to be angry or rude to them. Just be patient and keep driving, get over it!

Q11. Sharing things makes it easier to hang out with each other. We all share a TV and game consoles, etc.

Q12. My mom does laundry for everyone in the house, though I typically do my own.

Q13. I prefer smaller and quieter settings like someone's house or apartment.

Annex 2 - A7

Code A7

Gender	Male
Age	25
Schooling level	Currently working on my master's
Nationality	American
Family origin	European descent
Languages	English and Spanish

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9		x
Q3		x	Q10		x
Q4	x		Q11		x
Q5	x		Q12		x
Q6		x	Q13	x	
Q7		x	Q14	x	
Q8	x		Q15	C	

*Blue cells representing the options related to Individualism. Strategy for comparison.

Q1 Individualist. The United States, in my opinion, has become increasingly individualist society. It has gone beyond the American people only caring about those living in our society. They don't even do that. Americans have become extremely self-involved; to the point where they only care about themselves.	Q16 The idea of a family has changed so much in the U. S. within the last decade or so.
--	---

Extra Comments:

Q5. I would say that it is more individual, but some things are shared.

Q6. This is due to the fact that my father is of Italian origin, so we still practice many of those traditions.

Q9. Some of us share similar ideas, but my father for example is very conservative, so we very often have a difference of opinion.

Q10. I do not confront the driver, but I definitely use profanities toward him.

Q15. In the U.S. it has become increasingly difficult to leave your parents' house.

Annex 2 - A8

Code A8

Gender	Female
Age	21
Schooling level	College
Nationality	American
Family origin	Germany
Languages	English and French

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9		x
Q3	x		Q10	x	
Q4		x	Q11	x	
Q5	x		Q12	x	
Q6	x		Q13		x
Q7		x	Q14	x	
Q8		x	Q15	D	

*Blue cells representing the options related to Individualism. Strategy for comparison.

<p>Q1</p> <p>I consider my culture to be individualist, because everyone is mainly focused on themselves and what they have to do to better themselves as a person, and not what betters the general public as a whole.</p>	<p>Q16</p> <p>I think the characteristics of single parent families versus “traditional” families should be explored, for instance there’s many different dynamics of what a family consists of for some people and exploring the differences in that in American and Brazilian people would be interesting, I think.</p>
--	--

Extra Comments:

Q11. It depends on the person/situation, I personally don’t like other people using any of my things but there are some communal items (TV, some kitchen goods, maybe food) that can be used by more than one person. It all depends on the dynamic of the living situation. With my parents, we share things but in my apartment (with four other housemates) we all use our own stuff.

Annex 2 - A9

Code A9

Gender	Female
Age	25
Schooling level	College
Nationality	American
Family origin	Third Generation American
Languages	English and a little Spanish

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9	x	
Q3		x	Q10		x
Q4	x		Q11	x	
Q5		x	Q12		x
Q6		x	Q13		x
Q7		x	Q14	x	
Q8	x		Q15	C	

*Blue cells representing the options related to Individualism. Strategy for comparison.

Q1 I consider American culture to be very individualist, but I don't think it's a good thing. People here are largely concerned with themselves and their own families/social circles and seem to have a very us-versus-them attitude. It's rare to see people helping strangers.	Q16 No answer.
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Extra Comments:

Q8. I form long-lasting friendships, but that doesn't mean I'm not open to new ones (I definitely am).

Annex 2 - A10

Code A10

Gender	Female
Age	25
Schooling level	Bachelors
Nationality	American
Family origin	Japan
Languages	English and Japanese

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9		x
Q3		x	Q10	x	
Q4	x		Q11		x
Q5		x	Q12		x
Q6		x	Q13		x
Q7		x	Q14	x	
Q8		x	Q15	C	

*Blue cells representing the options related to Individualism. Strategy for comparison.

Q1 Since I am from a Japanese family, but live in America, I would consider my culture collectivist.	Q16 No answer.
--	--------------------------

Extra Comments:

Q5. Somewhat both, the computers we do our work are considered individual (though they belong to the office), but the other equipment is shared.
Q7. I was poor, and my friends and I did not have much. So we would share most everything.
Q8. Uni* is a good place to meet new people who share similar interests. (University)
Q14. Houses are deeply personal places. I would not invite coworkers to my home unless they were also friends.

Annex 2 - B1

Code B1

Gender	Female
Age	22
Schooling level	Undergraduate
Nationality	Brazilian
Family origin	Brazilian
Languages	Portuguese and a little English

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9	x	
Q3	x		Q10	x	
Q4		x	Q11		x
Q5	x		Q12		x
Q6		x	Q13	x	
Q7		x	Q14	x	
Q8		x	Q15	E	

*Pink cells representing the options related to Collectivism. Strategy for comparison.

<p>Q1</p> <p>Eu acredito que a cultura brasileira é coletivista pelo fato de estarmos sempre preocupados com os outros, com os familiares, com os amigos, e muitas das nossas decisões são tomadas de acordo com a vontade da nossa família, por exemplo. Mas eu também acho que o mercado de trabalho e a entrada em universidades públicas são tão competitivos que fazem com que os brasileiros se tornem mais individualistas por almejarem essas coisas apenas para si.</p>	<p>Q16</p> <p>A família brasileira, em geral, é muito acolhedora. Costumam, por muitas vezes, unir todos os parentes em datas específicas (Dia das mães, aniversários, Natais e fins de ano) esquecendo dos problemas que as cerca, para com o outro compartilhar os momentos. A família brasileira é também aquela que em sua maioria se une nos dias de domingo para fazer um almoço ou para um churrasco, e em grupos eles se entendem, homens na maioria para assistir ou conversar sobre futebol e mulheres para conversar sobre moda, lembranças antigas ou sobre a vida alheia. A família brasileira gosta de comemorar, de fazer dos momentos celebrações, de sorrir, de abraçar e de acolher.</p>
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Extra Comments:

Q2, Q3 and Q4. Acho relevante comentar que todas as opções de todas as questões (1,2 e 3) seriam quesitos que gostaria de obter no âmbito profissional, mas marquei ao que mais me atrairia no

trabalho.

Q5. Acho que recursos de mídia (televisão, rádio e jornal) poderiam ser compartilhados, mas há recursos que são muito pessoais, como alimento (que nem todo mundo obtém a mesma alimentação) e computador (que muitos obtém arquivos muito pessoais). Como não concordei com todos os recursos serem de utilidade pública, optei marcar o individualizado.

Q7. Principalmente, brincar com os vizinhos na rua de pique-pegas, pique-bandeira ou pique-esconde.

Q8. Gosto de permanecer com os antigos, mas fazer novas amizades também. A gente sempre troca experiências com os novos amigos. Também acho receber os alunos novos na faculdade.

Q9. Questões políticas nem sempre, mas compreendo o pensamento deles.

Q10. Apesar de eu não dirigir e não ter carro, respondi na posição de carona. Dizer alguns desaforos alivia o estresse causado.

Q11. Exceto celular.

Annex 2 - B2

Code B2

Gender	Female
Age	21
Schooling level	Undergraduate
Nationality	Brazilian
Family origin	No answer
Languages	Portuguese and English

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9	x	
Q3	x		Q10		x
Q4		x	Q11		x
Q5		x	Q12		x
Q6	x		Q13	x	
Q7	x		Q14	x	
Q8	x		Q15	C	

*Pink cells representing the options related to Collectivism. Strategy for comparison.

Q1 Coletivista, pois somos a união de culturas distintas reunidas em um estado repleto de diversidade.	Q16 No answer.
--	--------------------------

Extra Comments:

Q2, Q3 and Q4. Crescer dentro da empresa, por meio de desafios e oportunidades, sem falar na importância do bom ambiente de trabalho.

Annex 2 - B3

Code B3

Gender	Female
Age	21
Schooling level	Undergraduate student
Nationality	Brazilian
Family origin	No answer
Languages	Portuguese, Intermediate Spanish and Basic English

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9		x
Q3	x		Q10		x
Q4	x		Q11		x
Q5	x		Q12	x	
Q6		x	Q13	x	
Q7		x	Q14		x
Q8		x	Q15	C	

*Pink cells representing the options related to Collectivism. Strategy for comparison.

<p>Q1</p> <p>Eu considero coletivista pela questão da interdependência. Apesar de considerar os brasileiros um pouco "egoístas" e um pouco movidos também pelo imediatismo. Estão sempre preocupados com a minha família, a minha vida, o meu trabalho... É uma pergunta muito complexa. Somos interdependentes, porém egoístas. De certa forma não é ruim por termos uma certa autonomia individual.</p>	<p>Q16</p> <p>No answer.</p>
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Extra Comments:

No extra comments.

Annex 2 - B4

Code B4

Gender	Male
Age	18
Schooling level	Undergraduate student
Nationality	Brazilian
Family origin	Brazilian
Languages	Portuguese and a little English

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9	x	
Q3	x		Q10		x
Q4	x		Q11		x
Q5	x		Q12		x
Q6		x	Q13		x
Q7		x	Q14	x	
Q8	x		Q15	C	

*Pink cells representing the options related to Collectivism. Strategy for comparison.

Q1 Coletivista, pois valorizo as tradições, sejam elas familiares ou da própria cultura do país ou de alguns povos. Que sejam boas e próprias para toda a população e não somente para um ou dois indivíduos. Prezo por uma cultura firme, segura e com boa ética para garantir o bem de todos.	Q16 No answer.
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Extra Comments:

No extra comment.

Annex 2 - B5

Code B5

Gender	Female
Age	21
Schooling level	Undergraduate
Nationality	Brazilian
Family origin	Brazilian
Languages	Portuguese and English

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9	x	
Q3		x	Q10		x
Q4	x		Q11		x
Q5	x		Q12		x
Q6		x	Q13	x	
Q7		x	Q14	x	
Q8	x		Q15	D	

*Pink cells representing the options related to Collectivism. Strategy for comparison.

Q1 Do meu ponto de vista, individualista. Acho que a sociedade brasileira se importa muito mais em manter aparências do que qualquer coisa, inclusive, manter as aparências sobre sermos um povo super gente boa, solidário etc. Isso é muito irônico, na verdade.	Q16 No answer.
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Extra Comments:

Q2, Q3 and Q4. Um trabalho que me dê tempo livre para vida pessoal ou familiar. Prefiro q a utilização dos recursos seja individual.
Q10. Eu não dirijo, mas eu preferiria não discutir.

Annex 2 - B6

Code B6

Gender	Male
Age	19
Schooling level	Undergraduate
Nationality	Brazilian
Family origin	Brazilian and European
Languages	Portuguese and Spanish

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2		x	Q9	x	
Q3	x		Q10	x	
Q4	x		Q11		x
Q5		x	Q12		x
Q6		x	Q13		x
Q7		x	Q14	x	
Q8	x		Q15	E	

*Pink cells representing the options related to Collectivism. Strategy for comparison.

<p>Q1</p> <p>Coletivista. Pois a cultura que eu tenho, foi passada através da sociedade onde eu vivo, e também no convívio da minha família, com ensinamentos e tradições.</p>	<p>Q16</p> <p>Hoje a família brasileira não é como há alguns anos atrás, que era composta de um pai, mãe e filhos. Hoje obtemos uma atualidade que vai além da tradição, e a partir disso vemos o valor da família, a união, a importância que a família tem, não apenas no Brasil, mas creio que o sentido de família no Brasil seja mais forte do que nos outros países.</p>
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Extra Comments:

No extra comments.

Annex 2 - B7

Code B7

Gender	Female
Age	24
Schooling level	Undergraduate
Nationality	Brazilian
Family origin	From Padua in Rio de Janeiro
Languages	Portuguese

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9	x	
Q3		x	Q10		x
Q4	x		Q11		x
Q5		x	Q12		x
Q6		x	Q13		x
Q7	x		Q14		x
Q8		x	Q15	E	

*Pink cells representing the options related to Collectivism. Strategy for comparison.

Q1 Coletivista, pois é uma mistura de várias culturas diferentes.	Q16 No answer.
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Extra Comments:

No extra comments.

Annex 2 - B8

Code B8

Gender	Female
Age	19
Schooling level	Undergraduate student
Nationality	Brazilian
Family origin	Brazil
Languages	Portuguese and English

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9	x	
Q3	x		Q10		x
Q4	x		Q11		x
Q5	x		Q12		x
Q6	x		Q13	x	
Q7		x	Q14	x	
Q8	x		Q15	C	

*Pink cells representing the options related to Collectivism. Strategy for comparison.

Q1 Coletivista, já que as relações interpessoais são a base de uma cultura como a nossa, atuando tanto no meio político quanto no econômico e no social.	Q16 No answer.
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Extra Comments:

Q15. Sem dinheiro, os itens 'a', 'b' e 'e' não representam uma independência (essa é caracterizada pela saída da casa dos pais, para mim).

Annex 2 - B9

Code B9

Gender	Female
Age	19
Schooling level	Undergraduate
Nationality	Brazilian
Family origin	Northeast of Brazil
Languages	Portuguese and French

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9		x
Q3	x		Q10	x	
Q4	x		Q11		x
Q5		x	Q12		x
Q6		x	Q13		x
Q7		x	Q14	x	
Q8		x	Q15	C	

*Pink cells representing the options related to Collectivism. Strategy for comparison.

Q1 No answer.	Q16 No answer.
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Extra Comments:

No extra comments.

Annex 2 - B10

Code B10

Gender	Male
Age	24
Schooling level	Undergraduate
Nationality	Brazilian
Family origin	Brazil
Languages	Portuguese and French

Questions	A	B	Questions	A	B
Q2	x		Q9	x	
Q3	x		Q10		x
Q4	x		Q11	x	
Q5		x	Q12	x	
Q6		x	Q13		x
Q7	x		Q14	x	
Q8	x		Q15	C	

*Pink cells representing the options related to Collectivism. Strategy for comparison.

Q1 Não sei exatamente o que quer dizer esta pergunta, mas creio que seja um pouco individualista. Pois costumo passar maior parte do tempo sozinho e tenho um péssimo hábito de priorizar a mim mesmo.	Q16 No answer.
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Extra Comments:

Q6. Parentes de primeiro grau somente.
Q10. Na verdade, eu o xingo mentalmente.
Q11. A TV é uma para todos.
Q12. Na verdade minha mãe é quem faz.

Annex 3

Norte-americano causa polêmica ao criar lista explicando porque odiou o Brasil

29 de janeiro de 2015 por Jéssica Chiareli

Um homem estado-unidense que morou 3 anos em São Paulo publicou uma lista em seu blog com os motivos pelos quais odiou o Brasil depois que voltou para os Estados Unidos. Talvez, tenha se tratado apenas de um choque de culturas, com as qual ele não conseguiu lidar muito bem.

Mas é inegável que essa história pode ter contribuído para alimentar uma visão bastante negativa do nosso país, que já é bastante estereotipado nos países estrangeiros. Veja a lista publicada pelo norte-americano e entenda porque ela causou tanta polêmica:

1. Os brasileiros não têm consideração com as pessoas fora do seu círculo de amizades e muitas vezes são simplesmente rudes. Por exemplo, um vizinho que toca música alta durante toda a noite... E mesmo se você vá pedir-lhe educadamente para abaixar o volume, ele diz-lhe para você ir se fu... E educação básica? Um simples “desculpe-me”, quando alguém esbarra com tudo em você na rua simplesmente não existe.
2. Os brasileiros são agressivos e oportunistas, e, geralmente, à custa de outras pessoas. É como um “instinto de sobrevivência” em alta velocidade, o tempo todo. O melhor exemplo é o transporte público. Se eles veem uma maneira de passar por você e furar a fila, eles o farão, mesmo que isso signifique quase matá-lo, e mesmo se eles não estiverem com pressa. Então, por que eles fazem isso? É só porque eles podem, porque eles veem a oportunidade, por que eles querem ganhar vantagem em tudo. Eles sentem que precisam sempre de tomar tudo o que podem, sempre que possível, independentemente de quem é prejudicado como resultado.
3. Os brasileiros não têm respeito por seu ambiente. Eles despejam grandes cargas de lixo em qualquer lugar e em todos os lugares, e o lixo é inacreditável. As ruas são muito sujas. Os recursos naturais abundantes, como são, estão sendo desperdiçados em uma velocidade surpreendente, com pouco ou nenhum recurso.
4. Brasileiros toleram uma quantidade incrível de corrupção nos negócios e governo. Enquanto todos os governos têm funcionários corruptos, é mais comum e

desenfreado no Brasil do que na maioria dos outros países, e ainda assim a população continua a reeleger as mesmas pessoas.

5. As mulheres brasileiras são excessivamente obcecadas com seus corpos e são muito críticas (e competitivas com) as outras.

6. Os brasileiros, principalmente os homens, são altamente propensos a casos extraconjugais. A menos que o homem nunca saia de casa, as chances de que ele tenha uma amante são enormes.

7. Os brasileiros são muito expressivos de suas opiniões negativas a respeito de outras pessoas, com total desrespeito sobre a possibilidade de ferir os sentimentos de alguém.

8. Brasileiros, especialmente as pessoas que realizam serviços, são geralmente malandras, preguiçosas e quase sempre atrasadas.

9. Os brasileiros têm um sistema de classes muito proeminente. Os ricos têm um senso de direito que está além do imaginável. Eles acham que as regras não se aplicam a eles, que eles estão acima do sistema, e são muito arrogantes e insensíveis, especialmente com o próximo.

10. Brasileiros constantemente interrompem o outro para poder falar. Tentar ter uma conversa é como uma competição para ser ouvido; uma competição de gritos.

11. A polícia brasileira é essencialmente inexistente quando se trata de fazer cumprir as leis para proteger a população, como fazer cumprir as leis de trânsito, encontrar e prender os ladrões, etc. Existem Leis, mas ninguém as aplica, o sistema judicial é uma piada e não há normalmente nenhum recurso para o cidadão que é roubado, enganado ou prejudicado. As pessoas vivem com medo e constroem muros em torno de suas casas ou pagam taxas elevadas para viver em comunidades fechadas.

12. Os brasileiros fazem tudo inconveniente e difícil. Nada é simplificado ou concebido com a conveniência do cliente em mente, e os brasileiros têm uma alta tolerância para níveis surpreendentes de burocracia desnecessária e redundante. Brasileiros pagam impostos altos e taxas de importação que fazem tudo, especialmente produtos para o lar, eletrônicos e carros, incrivelmente caros. E para os empresários, seguindo as regras e pagando todos os seus impostos faz com que

seja quase impossível de ser rentável. Como resultado, a corrupção e subornos em empresas e governo são comuns.

13. Está quente como o inferno durante nove meses do ano, e ar condicionado nas casas não existe aqui, porque as casas não são construídas para ser hermeticamente isoladas ou incluir dutos de ar.

14. A comida pode ser mais fresca, menos processada e, geralmente, mais saudável do que o alimento americano ou europeu, mas é sem graça, repetitivo e muito inconveniente. Alimentos processados, congelados ou prontos no supermercado são poucos, caros e geralmente terríveis.

15. Os brasileiros são super sociais e raramente passam algum tempo sozinhos, especialmente nas refeições e fins de semana. Isso não é necessariamente uma má qualidade, mas, pessoalmente, eu odeio isso porque eu gosto do meu espaço e privacidade, mas a expectativa cultural é que você vai assistir (ou pior, convidar amigos e família) para cada refeição e você é criticado por não se comportar “normalmente” se você optar por ficar sozinho.

16. Brasileiros ficam muito perto, emocionalmente e geograficamente, de suas famílias de origem durante toda a vida. Como no #16, isso não é necessariamente uma má qualidade, mas pessoalmente eu odeio porque me deixa desconfortável e afeta meu casamento. Adultos brasileiros nunca “cortam o cordão” emocional e sua família de origem (especialmente as mães) continuam a se envolver em suas vidas diariamente, nos problemas, decisões, atividades, etc. Como você pode imaginar, este é um item difícil para o cônjuge de outra cultura onde geralmente vivemos em famílias nucleares e temos uma dinâmica diferente com as nossas famílias de origem.

17. Eletricidade e serviços de internet são absurdamente caros e ruins.

18. A qualidade da água é questionável. Os brasileiros bebem, mas não morrem, com certeza, mas com base na total falta de aplicação de leis e a abundância de corrupção, eu não confio no governo que diz que é totalmente seguro e não vai te fazer mal ao longo prazo.

19. E, finalmente, os brasileiros só tem um tipo de cerveja (aguada) e realmente é uma porcaria, e claro, cervejas importadas são extremamente caras.

20. A maioria dos motoristas de ônibus dirige como se eles estivessem tentando quebrar o ônibus e todos dentro dele.

21. Calçadas no meu bairro são cobertos com urina e cocô de cães que latem dia e noite.
22. Engarrafamentos de Três horas e meia toda vez que chove.
23. Raramente as coisas são feitas corretamente da primeira vez. Você tem que voltar para o banco, consulado, escritório, mandar e-mail ou telefonar 2-10 vezes para as pessoas a fazerem o seu trabalho.
24. Qualidade do ar muito ruim. O ar muitas vezes cheira a plástico queimado.
25. Ir a Shoppings e restaurantes são as principais atividades. Não há nada pra fazer se você não gastar. Há um parque principal e está horivelmente lotado.
26. O acabamento das casas é péssimo. Janelas, portas , dobradiças , tubos, energia elétrica, calçadas, são todos construídos com o menor esforço possível.
27. Árvores, postes, telefones, plantas e caixas de lixo são colocados no centro das calçadas, tornando-as intransitáveis.
28. Você paga o triplo para os produtos que vão quebrar dentro de 1-2 anos, talvez.
29. Os brasileiros amam estar bem no seu caminho. Eles não dão espaço para você passar.
30. A melhor maneira de inspirar ódio no Brasil? Educadamente recusar-se a comer alimentos oferecidos a você. Não importa o quão válida é a sua razão, este é considerado um pecado imperdoável aos olhos dos brasileiros e eles vão continuar agressivamente incomodando você para comê-lo.
31. As pessoas vão apertar e empurrar você sem pedir desculpas. No transporte público você vai tão apertado que você é incapaz de mover qualquer coisa, além da sua cabeça.
32. O Brasil é um país de 3º mundo com preços ridiculamente inflacionados para itens de qualidade. Para se ter uma ideia, São Paulo é classificada como a 10ª cidade mais cara do mundo. (New York é a 32ª).
33. A infidelidade galopante. Este não é apenas um estereótipo, tanto quanto eu

gostaria que fosse. Homens na sociedade brasileira são condicionados a acreditar que eles são mais "viris" por saírem com várias mulheres.

34. Zero respeito aos pedestres. Sim, eles não param para você passar. Na melhor das hipóteses, eles vão buzinar.

35. Quando calçadas estão em construção espera-se que você ande na rua. Alguns motoristas se recusam a fazer o menor desvio a sua presença, acelerando a poucos centímetros de você, mesmo quando a pista ao lado está livre.

36. Nem pense em dizer a alguém quando você estiver viajando para o EUA. Todo mundo vai pedir para você trazer iPods, X-Box, laptops, roupas, itens de mercearia, etc. em sua mala, porque eles são muito caros ou não disponíveis no Brasil.

37. A menos que você goste muito de futebol ou reality shows (ou seja, do Big Brother), não há nada muito que conversar com os brasileiros em geral. Você pode aprender fluentemente Português, mas no final, a conversa fica muito limitada, muito rapidamente.

38. Tudo é construído para carros e motoristas, mesmo os carros sendo 3x o preço de qualquer outro país. Os ônibus intermunicipais de luxo são eficientes, mas o transporte público é inconveniente, caro e desconfortável para andar. Consequentemente, o tráfego em São Paulo e Rio é hoje considerado um dos piores da Terra (SP, possivelmente, o pior). Mesmo ao meio-dia podem ter engarrafamentos enormes que torna impossível você andar mesmo em um pequeno trajeto limitado, a menos que você tenha uma motocicleta.

39. Todas as cidades brasileiras (com exceção talvez do Rio e o antigo bairro do Pelourinho em Salvador) são feias, cheias de concreto, hipermodernas e desprovidas de arquitetura, árvores ou charme. A maioria é monótona e completamente idêntica na aparência. Qualquer história colonial ou bela mansão antiga é rapidamente demolida para dar lugar a um estacionamento ou um shopping center.

Annex 4

Hofstede's announcement in a social media a week after the submission of this dissertation (Cf. 4)

6:56 PM

 **HOFSTEDEinsight - powered by itim international**

September 8 at 11:16am · 🌐

More exciting news.

We have conducted an extensive study with our partner, [MediaCom Global](#), on consumer behaviour among 60 000+ respondents in 60+ countries.

This study will help us to understand how modern consumers behave and will highlight any shifts in culture that may have happened since the last research.

Some exciting preliminary results show traces of a new dynamic: the US as a whole has become more collective since 2010.

Stay tuned. Much more to follow with this exciting new study.

[#theculturefactor](#)

<http://ow.ly/MbDx3041gee>



The Power of Culture

Culture is a hidden force that can make or break just about ...