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Capturing Brazilian society in movement: From cordiality to circulation and “spaces between” in

Maria Augusta Ramos’s *Futuro Junho* (2016)

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Abstract

This article analyses Maria Augusta Ramos’s 2016 observational documentary *Futuro Junho/Future June*, filmed in the Brazilian city of São Paulo in the lead-up to the 2014 FIFA World Cup. Taking as its starting point a connection, established by one of the film’s four main “characters”, or subjects, between Brazilian historian Sérgio Buarque de Holanda’s influential work on cordiality and the idea of circulation between public and private spheres, the article explores how circulation (economic, urban, media, and cultural) is portrayed in the documentary, as well as how it foregrounds both spatial and temporal movements. This is complemented by a discussion of the film’s own circulation through attention to critical reviews which have debated the film’s success in documenting, in a timely way, a national conjuncture characterised by crisis and conflict as well as unpredictability and rapid change. The article argues that by imbricating and intertwining multiple cultures of circulation, and by drawing attention to the varied economic and urban experiences of its characters and the spaces between them, *Futuro Junho* captures a Brazil in flux.

Keywords: Brazil, São Paulo, documentary, circulation, economy, urban mobility, crisis, cordiality, 2014 World Cup

For Pedro Meira Monteiro (2017: 146-148), the influence of Brazil’s past on its present (and therefore its future) and the intertwining of the private and public spheres in Brazilian society are central elements

of historian Sérgio Buarque de Holanda's discussion of cordiality as a key national trait in *Raízes do Brasil/Roots of Brazil* (1936). Monteiro also reminds his readers that *Raízes do Brasil*, like Gilberto Freyre's *Sobrados e mucambos/The Mansions and the Shanties* (1936) and the earlier *Casa-grande e senzala/The Masters and the Slaves* (1933), can be understood as a response to, or an attempt to make sense of, the upheavals and conflicts associated with growing urbanisation in the country at the time of writing (Monteiro 2017: 37). Similarly, for Brian Owensby, 1930s Brazil, when these influential works were published, was a period of "cultural and intellectual ferment" when their writers, and a "new urban reading public", were urgently concerned with "the question of what Brazil had been and was to be" (2014: 73). In arguing for the ongoing relevance of cordiality as a framework for analysing two contemporary Brazilian documentaries, João Moreira Salles' *Entreatos/Intermission* (2004), and Eduardo Coutinho's *Peões/Metalworkers* (also 2004), which focus on the "interplay of private and public" (Monteiro 2017: 149) in their portrayal of events of key significance for recent Brazilian politics,¹ Monteiro suggests that "It is as if the specter of cordiality, despite Buarque de Holanda's prophecies of its demise, were still haunting Brazilians, reconstituting itself in forms that may spring from other arts, beyond the written word" (Monteiro 2017: 148).

The concept of cordiality also rears its head in the documentary to be discussed in this article, Maria Augusta Ramos' *Futuro Junho/Future June* (2016), set in São Paulo in June 2014 in the lead-up to the city's hosting of the opening game of the FIFA World Cup. One of the documentary's four central "characters",² or subjects, offers the "hook" that allows the film to be considered under the auspices of the themes of this special issue, by using cordiality to open up a wider discussion about Brazil's direction of travel, at a time of uncertainty. Name-checking Buarque de Holanda's work whilst teaching

¹ The final stages of Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva's presidential campaign of 2002, and the strikes that took place in the metropolitan area of São Paulo in the 1970s, and constituted a key phase in the unravelling of the military dictatorship, respectively.

² Although these "characters" are real people, rather than fictional characters, the term character is used to reflect Maria Augusta Ramos' use of the equivalent Portuguese term "personagens" when talking about the subjects of her documentary films (see for example Belin 2016).

a class in which he discusses recent developments in the Brazilian economy, including recent processes of economic mobility as well as the population's attitudes towards the upcoming World Cup, economist and financial analyst André Perfeito proposes that cordiality “*não é um caráter positivo. A cordialidade, antes de tudo, é uma estratégia para o indivíduo *circular* numa sociedade onde público e privado se confundem*” (“is not a positive characteristic. Cordiality, above all, is a strategy used by the individual to *circulate* in a society in which public and private are blurred”; emphasis added).³ At the end of the same sequence, reflecting on the Brazilian economic conjuncture of 2014, he goes on to say: “Os dados econômicos mostram que a gente chegou num ponto de ruptura. Ou a gente volta para o antigo esquema, ou a gente vai para frente” (“The economic data show that we have reached a point of rupture. We either go back to the old way of doing things, or we move forwards”).

In these statements, although it is not the main thrust of what he is saying, André relates cordiality to the idea of circulation, and stresses the importance of movement, both spatial and temporal, for developing an interpretation of Brazil's situation. It is this tangent, from cordiality to circulation, that I adopt to guide my discussion of *Futuro Junho* in this article. As I will show, circulation is a particularly apposite lens through which to approach the film and its portrayal of contemporary Brazil, given the way that both the concept, and the film, connect movement in different spheres. In particular, *Futuro Junho* links two main arenas of movement – the economy, and urban mobility – which have been at the forefront of the national agenda in Brazil in recent years, as well as touching on media and cultural circulation. In analysing the documentary from the perspective of circulation, and building on a number of reviews and interviews where this theme has already been articulated (for example D. Oliveira 2016; Maia 2015; Couto 2016; Lodge 2015; A. Oliveira 2016), this article takes inspiration from two main sources, both of which, like Buarque de Holanda's reading of Brazil through cordiality, combine

³ All translations from Portuguese in this article are my own. In the film's own subtitles this is translated differently, as “Cordiality is not positive. It's above all a tool for people to live in a society where public and private are one”.

attention to space and time: firstly, it draws on recent scholarship on circulation in anthropology and urban cultural studies (Lee and LiPuma 2002; Boutros and Straw 2010); and secondly, it dialogues with an analytical framework oriented to capturing Brazilian society “in movement” proposed by Brazilian(ist) anthropologist Roberto DaMatta (1997), himself in dialogue with Buarque de Holanda and Freyre, alongside other authors. Crucially, as will be explored further ahead, DaMatta’s framework focuses on the connections and relationships *between* different spaces central to Brazilian life, and different temporalities, rather than only the spaces themselves.

Whilst both space and time are important in Ramos’s documentary, its title notably combines two significant temporal referents. In the film, “future June” refers to a specific type of financial derivative bought and sold by André and his colleagues,⁴ but when given greater prominence and wider application in the title, the phrase also highlights the film’s engagement with the idea of personal and national futures from the vantage point of June, a significant month in recent Brazilian history, as well as the idea of temporal “inbetweenness”. The June directly in question is that of 2014 when the footage was shot, but there are also inevitably echoes of the large-scale street protests of the preceding June, June 2013, an event which arguably voiced a crisis of circulation, and a crisis of the future, in Brazil on many different levels, as well as a nod to uncertain Junes to come, about which plans and gambles must be made. The foregrounding of the word “future” thus invites reflection not just about economic aspects of Brazil’s recent trajectory (where it has come from and where it is heading), but also about its sociopolitical direction.

Consideration of the idea of time, or timing, in this article additionally allows a connection to be made between the content of the film and its critical reception on its release in a later June, June 2016. At that stage, reviewers weighed up whether the documentary showed foresight in documenting and

⁴ According to the *Oxford Dictionary* (n.d.), “futures” are “contracts for assets (especially commodities or shares) bought at agreed prices but delivered and paid for later”.

prefiguring the national crisis that had become entrenched since its making, or whether it rather appeared dated because too much had shifted and changed in the time elapsed. Combining an analysis of how circulation is portrayed in *Futuro Junho*, and a discussion of the film's own circulation, I argue that the documentary can be understood as an attempt to capture Brazilian society in movement, and to stimulate reflection on the obstacles or stumbling blocks to that movement. Befittingly, this is a portrait that resists fixing or fixedness, but which shines a light on a moment of flux, without a predictable or predetermined destination or endpoint.

Cultures of circulation as subject matter: urban, economic, media, cultural

As the director has stated in an interview, *Futuro Junho*'s four central characters are all explicitly linked to movement (D. Oliveira 2016). André, already mentioned in the introduction, is associated with economic circulation through his professional life (namely “o movimento do mercado financeiro” (“the movement of the financial market”) (idem), and the other three have disparate occupations covering different economic sectors, as well as making their living from urban mobility.⁵ Anderson dos Anjos works in a car factory, Alex Fernandes (henceforth Alex F) is a metro worker and trade unionist, and Alex Cientista (henceforth Alex C) is a motorcycle courier.⁶ As in all Ramos's films, the approach is observational – there are no interviews, but rather the camera follows the documentary's subjects around at work and at home, and often in transit, as well as capturing their interaction with family, friends and work colleagues. The film also includes footage related to the protagonists' involvement in the sphere of media and cultural circulation, as well as itself making limited use of archival footage from both mainstream media and digital activist media. The choice of characters, so central to Ramos's

⁵ During a mini-residency at Queen's University Belfast in October/November 2017, which included a screening of *Futuro Junho* at the Queen's Film Theatre, Ramos told me that she specifically wanted the film to be built around male characters, of a similar age (35–40), who were also parents/husbands, and who had had substantial professional experience under a left-wing government.

⁶ In the shorter-length version of the documentary produced for Dutch television channel vpro, one of the co-producers of the project, only three characters were included: André, Alex F, and Anderson.

documentary practice (Avellar and França 2013; Belin 2016), thus establishes the film's thematic focus on circulation, and foregrounds the concept's applicability across different domains.⁷

The emergence of circulation as an analytical construct is itself the result of such a linking of domains. An influential article on the topic by Benjamin Lee and Edward LiPuma, developed “on the anthropological edges of academic cultural studies” (Boutros and Straw 2010: 3), takes inspiration from economics, and that discipline's identification of circulation as a key concept for understanding contemporary globalization. Lee and LiPuma (2002: 192) thus call for cultural studies researchers to “[rethink] circulation as a cultural phenomenon, as what we call cultures of circulation”, arguing that circulation “must be conceived as more than simply the movement of people, ideas, and commodities from one culture to another”, but rather “as a cultural process with its own forms of abstraction, evaluation, and constraint”. Circulation has also been a popular concept among researchers working on urban topics in communication studies, for whom it has constituted “an important point of contact between that discipline and the broader enterprise of urban cultural studies” (Boutros and Straw 2010: 5). In this article, I will focus specifically on Lee and LiPuma's call for the concept to be used in the development of “cultural account[s] of economic processes” (2002: 192), aiming to show that *Futuro Junho* can be understood as such an account, because of the way it portrays a national economic crisis through the interactions and movements of four individuals in a given urban area.

Although circulation is the central plank of the analysis in this article, and the term will thus be repeated throughout the discussion, other related terms are used where appropriate – such as “movement” and “mobility” – to refer to a specific type of circulation, or a specific context for circulation. As suggested above, circulation is an umbrella term that is flexible enough to encapsulate

⁷ The choice of exclusively male residents of São Paulo as protagonists of the documentary has drawn some attention. Ramos has commented on this in interviews (e.g. Ristow 2016), saying that although gender was not the main focus of *Futuro Junho*, it was a conscious decision to choose male characters, noting also that most of the film's crew was female. Nonetheless, in relation to the film's thematic focus on urban circulation, it is worth considering how this approach may have coloured the film's portrayal, given recent research findings on the gendered nature of mobility in São Paulo (Lima 2016).

the different types of movement portrayed in *Futuro Junho* – economic, urban, cultural, and media – but which also draws attention to the wider cultural context and implications of such movements, and how they relate to each other as part of the same conjuncture. Opting to frame the discussion in terms of circulation is not an attempt to elide the rich body of work and theoretical discussion that has gone on, for example, in relation to related terms such as “mobility” (Sheller & Urry 2006; Crang 2002; Cresswell 2010). However, as pointed out by Boutros and Straw,

While movement and mobility are still concepts *du jour* in the discourses of the social sciences, circulation can provide both a model and a conceptual vocabulary for understanding the continual movement-in-tandem of human and machine, object and subject, not as rigidly defined dichotomies but as continually “unpacked” (or sometimes packaged up) categories that shape the character of the city. (2010: 10)

The preference for circulation as the main term here thus reflects the cultural studies orientation of the discussion, and the attempt to combine the analysis of circulation as subject matter, in a film with a strong urban orientation, with attention to *Futuro Junho*’s own movement in the world. In this sense, I follow an approach that uses circulation as a framework for linking the “meaning” of cultural texts to their “motion” (Edwards 2016; see also Holmes 2017a, 2017b).

The pairing of economic and urban circulation in *Futuro Junho*, Ramos’ first and so far only documentary set in São Paulo,⁸ was the result of two different interests, which were combined in a project seeking to connect public and private spheres: “o desejo de falar de São Paulo e o desejo de falar dessa questão econômica através de indivíduos, de como isso afeta a vida dos indivíduos” (“the desire to talk about São Paulo and the desire to talk about this economic question through individuals, about how this affects the lives of individuals”) (Belin 2016). Befitting its status as Brazil’s financial and industrial capital, São Paulo was chosen as the place from which to generate a reflection on the neoliberal economy (D. Oliveira 2016); it is also a pertinent setting for a reflection on urban mobility given the

⁸ Ramos’ best-known films, her “Justice trilogy” made up of *Justiça/Justice* (2004), *Juízo/Behave* (2007), and *Morro dos Prazeres/Hill of Pleasures* (2013), have focused on Rio de Janeiro, although she has also made films set in Brasília (her hometown) and in Holland, where she attended film school and has had a home for many years.

city's reputation for traffic jams. As Rolnik and Klintowitz have noted about São Paulo, “o trânsito e seu impacto na vida da cidade se constituem inegavelmente como uma das grandes ‘questões’ da cidade” (“traffic and its impact on the life of the city are undeniably one of the big ‘issues’ of the city”) (2011: 89). In addition, as will be explored in more detail below, the city was also the site of the first protests of June 2013, which were triggered by discontent about urban mobility and the rising cost of bus fares.

As already noted, reviews of *Futuro Junho* have highlighted the prominence of circulation in the documentary, and particularly urban circulation. Words such as “mobilidade” (“mobility”), “jornada” (“journey”), “deslocamento” (“travel”), “trafegar” (“to move around”), “trajetória” (“trajectory”), and “congestionamento” (“congestion”) are prominent in commentary on the film. Overall, the documentary is dominated by footage of vehicles of different kinds, whether static or moving, and punctuated by shots of traffic on key São Paulo thoroughfares like the Minhocão, the Avenida Paulista, as well as the highways that run alongside São Paulo's rivers, known as the Marginal Tietê and the Marginal Pinheiros. Overall, *Futuro Junho* covers extensive ground in São Paulo,⁹ including multiple locations in the city centre, the metro workers' union headquarters in the eastern neighbourhood of Tatuapé and the Itaquera football stadium further east (host to the opening game of the World Cup), the urban periphery neighbourhoods of southern São Paulo where Alex C lives (Jardim Ângela), and performs as a spoken word artist (Chácara Santana),¹⁰ and the Volkswagen factory in the municipality of São Bernardo, to the

⁹ The intense engagement with São Paulo (in this case, not just the city but also the wider metropolitan area) brings *Futuro Junho* into dialogue with other films, both documentary and fiction, that attempt to portray São Paulo as totality, such as *São Paulo, Sinfonia da Metrópole* (Adalberto Kemeny and Rodolfo Rex Lustig, 1929) and *São Paulo: Sinfonia e Cacofonia* (Jean-Claude Bernardet, 1995). *Futuro Junho*'s focus on urban mobility also resonates with a strong theme of past cinematographic representations of the city, as seen for example in Luís Sérgio Person's 1965 fiction film *São Paulo Sociedade Anônima* (Pinazza and Bayman 2013: 18), whose main character works for Volkswagen, as well as Walter Salles' 2008 feature *Linha de Passe* about four brothers from the São Paulo periphery, one of whom is a motorcycle courier (Pinazza and Bayman 2013: 98). More recently, movement has provided a conceptual framework for the analysis of films about São Paulo, such as in Andrew Rajca's recent “rhythmanalytic” discussion of *A Via Láctea* by Lina Chamie (2017); also of relevance here is Lucia Sá's (2008) discussion of the representation of São Paulo in different cultural forms. The inclusion in *Futuro Junho* of Alex F, a trade union activist, and the footage of the metro strikes, also suggest a potential link between Ramos's film and other documentaries about industrial action in São Paulo, and its national significance in the path towards redemocratisation, such as Leon Hirszman's *ABC da Greve* (1990) and Eduardo Coutinho's *Peões* (2004), the latter studied by Monteiro through the lens of cordiality, as already mentioned.

¹⁰ <https://guia.folha.uol.com.br/bares/variados/bar-do-ze-batidao-chacara-santana.shtml>

south of São Paulo, where Anderson works. Privileging images of circulation emphasises the scale of the film's chosen urban setting, the prominence of "(im)mobility" in its everyday routines (Rolnik and Klintowitz 2011), and the diversity of ways in which mobility is experienced by residents of São Paulo.

Aerial images shot from a helicopter open the film,¹¹ with street-level congestion audible, but not yet properly visible. Financial analyst André is first shown in his car, alone in traffic, with the sounds of a protest in the street outside only reaching him in a muffled, muted way. When he goes out to dinner and a classical concert with his girlfriend, he avails of the services of a *manobrista*, or valet, to park his car at the restaurant; when he attends the opening game of the World Cup at the end of the film, however, he travels by metro with fellow fans. Anderson, employed in the car industry, is shown working on the production line at the Volkswagen factory, repeatedly inserting rubber seals around the edges of car window recesses. He arrives home in the dark, walking past his own rather ancient looking Volkswagen parked outside as he enters the house; shortly afterwards, his partner gets up and travels to her workplace on a crowded metro train. In a later sequence, we see Anderson going through the turnstiles at a bus terminal, shedding more light on his commute.

Courier Alex C weaves his way between lines of cars and buses on his motorbike to make deliveries to different buildings around the city, negotiating reception desks and varied security mechanisms designed to impede the free and unimpeded flow of strangers and outsiders, considered potential risks (Caldeira 2001), including a metal cage at the entrance to one apartment building through which he hands a parcel to a doorman. We also hear that a colleague of his has recently died in a traffic accident, reminding us of the risks of this line of work. The metro strike led by Alex F and his colleagues, and the associated confrontations between activists and the police within stations and on the street, contribute to greater tailbacks (tailbacks that are reported on the radio, and measured in kilometres). The disruption caused by the strike is also represented by a sign posted on a closed barrier

¹¹ See Cwerner (2006) for more on helicopters as a mode of transportation in São Paulo.

at a metro station. Sometimes, street protests – a vestige of 2013 – literally stop the traffic. The perceived discrepancy between investment in public transport and investment in World Cup infrastructure, identified by activists and protesters, is signalled by Alex’s vest bearing the words “Transporte padrão FIFA” (“FIFA standard transport”). As Alexandra Boutros and Will Straw tell us, “circulation is not simply something that happens to the city, nor it is even something that happens exclusively in the city. Rather, the city is itself constituted by circulation”. Ramos’ portrayal of São Paulo in *Futuro Junho* both illustrates this characteristic of cities, and is itself constituted in the same way, by circulation. As well as showing different experiences of movement, the film reveals how impeded circulation in the city signifies tension, conflict, unresolved urban and social issues and inequalities.

It is difficult in practice to separate or disentangle urban circulation from economic circulation in *Futuro Junho*, revealing how imbricated these dimensions of circulation are, as well as the film’s intention to suggest the flows and blockages of the neoliberal economy, or “circulatory capitalism” (LiPuma 2017: 1), through attention to physical movement. However, the movement of the economy is itself indicated on several occasions through shots of dynamic digital screens, such as those on desks and walls at André’s workplace, announcing the rise and fall of the market through rows and columns of flashing numbers, or a São Paulo Commercial Association “taxometer” in front of which Alex C parks his motorbike during deliveries in the centre of São Paulo.¹² The economy is discussed in dialogue too; for example, in a meeting at André’s workplace when a colleague comments on difficulties in the car industry, saying he is not surprised nobody is buying cars, since prior incentives mean that the city is already full of new cars. At the Volkswagen factory, Anderson participates in meetings and conversations with a trade union representative who recounts how he is trying to protect jobs despite a

¹² This automated counter, visible on the wall of a building in *Futuro Junho*, shows the rolling total of all taxes collected by federal, state, and municipal governments. It is also available online at <https://impostometro.com.br/>.

challenging scenario (a record number of unsold cars at the factory and at linked car dealerships), and secure the best models for the factory to work on in the future, in the context of a transnational company and market. In a kitchen table scene, Alex F, recently dismissed from his job in the São Paulo metro, and about to become a father, discusses the high price of nappies with his partner and another couple. Similarly, during a funeral plan saleswoman's visit to his house, Alex C expresses reservations about signing up because he has recently bought his house and is already committed to mortgage payments that consume most of his monthly salary, with his wife's wages from her job in health insurance sales going towards living expenses. As these examples suggest, the portrayal of economic circulation in the film's footage of its four characters is often linked to the idea of personal futures. As one review suggested, the film seems to be implicitly asking a question of each of its characters, regarding the future that lies ahead (A. Oliveira 2016).

A third dimension of circulation – media and cultural circulation – is also present in the film but has not enjoyed the same level of interest in reviews. Engagement with the media, and communication more broadly, forms part of the film's portrayal of its characters, and on several occasions its camera work draws attention to the construction of media images, as well as arguably to its own status as an audiovisual construction of reality. For example, when André appears on local television discussing the economy, we see him in three perspectives: first a medium close-up of him speaking followed by a “listening shot” of two journalists, also in medium close-up, then a shot of the interview from within the editing suite, over the shoulder of the editor, with “preview” and “program” screens visible, and finally André responding to a question from the journalist, in *plan américain* with the studio backdrop and infographics behind them, in footage that is likely similar to how viewers watching the programme at home would see it. Given the importance of the media, and television specifically, for constructions of national identity in Brazil (Porto 2011), and the debates about the role of the media in coverage of the

2013 protests and the recent Brazilian crisis more broadly (Jiménez-Martínez 2017), the inclusion of media circulation in *Futuro Junho*, alongside other forms of circulation, is important in composing its multi-layered portrait of a particular time and place. It also, once again, shows how imbricated the different types of circulation are, given André's discussion of economic circulation in the media.

During a court hearing about the metro strike, attended by Alex F, the first image shown is of television cameras at the back of the room, filming the proceedings.¹³ Later, after a plenary meeting at the union, when members vote to stop the strike, Alex gives an interview to a journalist from Agence France-Presse, a nod to the international media interest in Brazil – including issues relating to urban mobility – in the period around the sporting mega-events (Jiménez-Martínez 2017; Bailey et al. 2017). Beyond the mainstream media, there is an allusion to other media circuits when André mentions social media, in a heated discussion with his parents about public spending and the World Cup, an arena in which opposition to FIFA's patenting of the expression "samba-pagode", referring to a type of Brazilian music, has been expressed. Characters are shown using smartphones, and telephones also feature more generally, in sequences shot at the car factory and in Alex F's office. The film's brief inclusion of footage of street protests produced by activist collective Mídia Ninja, as listed in the credits, points to the emergence of a wider spectrum of media producers in the context of the June 2013 protests, and the importance of digital technologies in circulating material before, during and after the protests (Stalcup 2016; Bittencourt 2014; d'Andrea and Ziller 2016).

It is in the portrayal of Alex C that cultural circulation comes particularly to the fore, also linked to urban circulation. As already mentioned, Ramos's film follows its four characters in both professional and domestic settings. Alongside footage of Alex working as a motorcycle courier, he is thus filmed

¹³ Footage of court hearings has, of course, featured strongly in Ramos's justice trilogy and particularly in her films *Justiça* and *Juízo* (for more on this see Harrison 2017; Rosenberg 2016). Her latest film, *O Processo/The Trial*, focuses on the 2016 impeachment hearings in Brazil's Senate against the then president, Dilma Rousseff.

doing construction work on the *laje*, or roof, of his home in an urban periphery neighbourhood,¹⁴ for instance, and taking his epileptic son to be examined at a local public health clinic where the doctor warns him that it will be a long wait before his son can be seen by a specialist. Two sequences focus specifically on his role as a cultural producer in peripheral cultural circuits, for Alex C is also a spoken word artist who presents his work at the literary *saraus* (soirées) organised by cultural movement Cooperifa¹⁵ at the Bar do Zé Batidão since 2001.¹⁶ In footage of a performance by him included in the film, the bar is packed and crowds spill out onto the pavement outside. Wearing a Cooperifa t-shirt, Alex C recites a piece of work with explicit spatial and temporal references, entitled “Brasil, quinto milênio” (“Brazil, fifth millennium”). Beginning “América Latina, Brasil / Quinto milênio, século vinte e um / São Paulo, Zona Sul / Jardim Ângela, periferia” (“Latin America, Brazil / Fifth millennium, twenty-first century / São Paulo, South Zone / Jardim Ângela, periphery”), it refers by name to specific neighbourhoods, illustrating the “territorial affirmation” that has been a feature of different genres of cultural production from the Brazilian urban periphery in recent decades (Ramos 2007; Carvalho Lopes 2009; Peçanha do Nascimento 2009; Holmes 2016).

As anthropologist Teresa Caldeira has pointed out, circulation, or the “right to circulate freely and appropriate the whole city” (2015: 132), has itself been a key concern of peripheral cultural production in São Paulo in this period, whether in “marginal literature” (Peçanha do Nascimento 2009) initiatives like Cooperifa or other practices like graffiti, parkour,¹⁷ and rap. For Caldeira, such activity “has [...] been producing new imaginaries that circulate in autonomous and nonregulated ways, imaginaries that crystallized on the streets and that express some of the great inequalities and social tensions that constitute the metropolis” (2015: 134). Indeed, Buarque de Holanda himself made indirect

¹⁴ See James Holston’s work on the importance of “autoconstruction” in the São Paulo periphery (1991; 2009).

¹⁵ <http://cooperifa.com.br>

¹⁶ For more on the *saraus*, and the importance of mobility in this cultural movement, see the work of Derek Pardue and Lucas Amaral de Oliveira (2018).

¹⁷ Parkour is an activity which involves running, jumping and climbing around the urban environment (Oxford Dictionary n.d.b.).

reference to circulation in a (rather pessimistic) passage foreshadowing such tensions, writing: “In Brazil, where the primitive type of patriarchal family dominated for a long time, urbanization—which results not only from the growth of cities but also from the growth in the means of communication, thus attracting vast, rural areas into the urban sphere of influence—caused a social disequilibrium with lasting effects” (2012: 116). Caldeira’s observations about the contemporary links between circulation, cultural production, and social mobility again reveal how attention to circulation, and its deployment as metaphor, can serve as a means of exposing entrenched differences and inequalities in Brazilian society.

Capturing the movement of Brazilian society through interaction and “spaces between”

Whilst fellow anthropologist Roberto DaMatta is not himself directly or explicitly concerned with circulation, he nonetheless emphasises the need for engagement with the “movement” of Brazilian society, broadly understood, and this allows his work to be brought into dialogue with the scholarship on circulation cited in the previous section. Instead of focusing on any kind of essence or dualistic oppositions in his approach to understanding and interpreting Brazil, as often advocated in approaches to the country (Barbosa 2000: 49), DaMatta proposes that scholars should look instead at connections and relationships between different elements of that society (Barbosa 2000: 49; Sinder 2001: 414). As he writes (DaMatta 1997: 25), “Descobrir essas conexões é ter de estudar a sociedade brasileira de modo aberto, sendo capaz de captá-la em seu movimento. E o seu movimento é sempre no sentido da relação e da conexão” (“Discovering these connections means having to study Brazilian society in an open way, capable of capturing it in movement. And its movement is always about interrelation and connection”). For DaMatta (*idem*), attention to connections (between people, between spaces) offers a route to a more nuanced and sensitive exploration of the complexity of Brazilian society, permitting one to “ver melhor as oposições, sem desmanchá-las, minimizá-las ou simplesmente tomá-las como irreduzíveis” (“see

better the oppositions, without dismantling them, minimizing them, or simply taking them as irreducible”). DaMatta is thus interested in the “in-between spaces of the nation”, which represent “a space of negotiation between identities and differences” (Sinder 2001: 418). The author himself credits the influence of Buarque de Holanda’s sensitivity to interrelations here, citing the historian and sociologist’s own quoting, in *Raízes do Brasil*, of lines by fifteenth-century Portuguese poet Sá de Miranda which conclude “o bem todo jaz no meio” (“All good lies in the middle”) (DaMatta 1997: 26; Buarque de Holanda 2012: 86).

Two elements which particularly interest DaMatta, and which also feature strongly in *Futuro Junho*, are the house and the street. Here the reference to Freyre is clear, and explicitly acknowledged by DaMatta (1997: 16). In DaMatta’s approach (1997: 57), the house is associated with “calma, repouso, recuperação e hospitalidade” (“calm, rest, recovery and hospitality”), as well as with love. The street, on the other hand, is the opposite, associated with people, and government, and always full of fluidity and movement. As such, it can be considered a potential source of danger. As well as the characteristics of each space, DaMatta draws attention to instances of movement between the two spaces as being particularly significant, arguing that these are moments of contact not just between two spaces, but also two types of temporality (1997: 60).¹⁸ Similarly, writing about circulation in an urban context, Boutros and Straw emphasise the entangling of time and space in the concept, stating “Things do not just move through (or around) the city but are accumulated and sedimented over time. People do not simply move through the city in predictable ways but sometimes coalesce into momentary and temporary collectives” (2010: 11). *Futuro Junho* presents footage both of predictable and routine patterns of circulation in São Paulo, and of circulatory contexts that can be considered exceptional or unusual, associated with the processes set in motion by June 2013, as well as the specific conjuncture in the lead-up to the 2014 World Cup.

¹⁸ For DaMatta, each society has its own grammar of spaces and temporalities (1997: 36).

There is a strong parallel between DaMatta's interest in the sites of interconnection and negotiation in Brazilian society, and Ramos's concern with making interaction the basis for her films. If characters are at the heart of her films, as already mentioned, then the selection of compelling and relevant subjects is an entry point to capturing interactions which are revelatory or insightful. In the case of *Futuro Junho*, rather than direct interaction between the four main characters, who are each approached independently, the film focuses on interaction between each of them and people who form part of their domestic (or private) and professional (or public) circuits. As the director has stated, “‘Futuro Junho’ mesmo é todo baseado nessas interações, um com o outro e consigo mesmo, seus desejos, frustrações, insatisfações, como ele externaliza isso no decorrer do filme, na medida em que ele conversa com outros” (“‘Future June’ itself is completely based on these interactions, between one character and the other and between characters and themselves, their desires, frustrations, dissatisfactions, how a character externalises this over the course of the film, as he speaks to other people”) (Belin 2016).

Although *Futuro Junho*'s careful montage constantly makes linkages between its four characters, as cogs in the same economic and urban circulatory systems, the focus on the “house” and “street” of each man reveals disparity, and difference. As Carla Maia has suggested, going back to the Buarque de Holanda reference made by André, and the idea of cordiality as a means of navigating a society where public and private overlap, the film alternates between “situações públicas (entrevistas, discursos, aulas, manifestações, julgamentos) e aquelas da intimidade familiar” (“public situations [interviews, speeches, classes, demonstrations, court sessions] and those in the intimate family realm”) for each character (2015: 140). For a reviewer in *Variety*, attention to these paradigmatic spaces of Brazilian society, the house and the street, proves fruitful in *Futuro Junho*, which “captures telling physical and conversational interactions in the private sphere, while offering viewers a long view of fractious public

activity” (Lodge 2015). In his analysis of *Entreatos*, Monteiro similarly argues that Salles’ film (which portrays a protagonist with an existing public profile, unlike the São Paulo residents chosen by Ramos) “suggest[s] that behind the scenes interactions in private spaces may reveal that which later appears in the public sphere”. For Monteiro, this exemplifies the ongoing pertinence of cordiality as a framework for understanding Brazil, but also “the trend in contemporary documentary to blur the lines between public and private, between personal and collective history” (Monteiro 2017: 151).

There is a similar blurring in *Futuro Junho*, and I argue that it is precisely the focus on circulation that allows DaMatta’s “in-between spaces”, the flows and interconnections between public and private spheres, to become part of the fabric of the film via its montage, in the interweaving and juxtaposing of material about each man. This montage of movements suggests connections and parallels, and also disparities and potential tensions. The following section explores whether the meaning of the whole is greater than the sum of the parts in *Futuro Junho*: in other words, whether a broader study of the nation emerges out of the combination of these four individual stories and trajectories from São Paulo.

Viewing the national conjuncture from São Paulo

Despite *Futuro Junho*’s status as a film about São Paulo (or a film about the economy, viewed from/through São Paulo), several critical reviews of *Futuro Junho* have understood it as a portrait of “o Brasil inteiro” (“the whole of Brazil”) (Redação Divirta-se 2015). As Rajca has noted (2017: 88), it is unusual for São Paulo, rather than Rio de Janeiro, to “stand in both figuratively and materially for ‘Brazil’ in popular cinema”, although it is worth remembering Lúcia Nagib’s (2004) posing of the question “Is this really Brazil?” about Beto Brant’s 2002 São Paulo crime thriller *O Invasor* (*The Trespasser*). Based on an analysis of reviews and of the film itself, and despite its inclusion of

documentary-style images of São Paulo's urban periphery, Nagib found that *O Invasor*'s portrayal of alienation in the context of late capitalism was more indicative of a transnational, rather than a national conjuncture. She concluded, thus, that the São Paulo of *O Invasor* was not "really Brazil".

Futuro Junho's physical and temporal situatedness as an observational documentary, the result of "techniques [that] anchor speech to images of observation that locate dialogue, and sound, in a specific moment and historical place" (Nichols 1991: 39), arguably allows for a more convincing connection to be made between São Paulo and the nation, albeit one offering a view of Brazil that is strongly urban, south-eastern, and organised around male protagonists. Whilst transnational aspects of the Brazilian economy are included in *Futuro Junho*, such as its dependence on China (addressed through André's girlfriend's account of her visit to a shipyard in Espírito Santo state and her conversation with its Chinese construction manager), the presence of transnational corporations such as Volkswagen (not a novelty in itself), in whose São Bernardo factory Anderson works, and the effect on the national economy of hosting international mega-events, the film's in-depth and intimate focus on four characters allows it to engage with specific features of Brazil's recent growth that were much debated in the country (and which are also mentioned by André in the sequence where he refers to cordiality). Notable among these is the growth of the so-called "emerging middle class", or "C class" embodied in the character of Alex C.¹⁹ There was extensive discussion both in the media and in academic publications about how to define this group, whether the mobility it experienced was purely economic and/or social, and the sustainability and consequences of its growth (Scalon and Salata 2012; Klein et al 2018). An article published in 2018 (Klein et al 2018), notes that even as this group of the "previously poor" (the term preferred by the authors) has slipped from prominence in recent years, its status will continue to invite debate and reflection, "owing to the current economic crisis and austerity policies effectively

¹⁹ For a previous documentary focusing on this social group in São Paulo, see *Família Braz: Dois Tempos* (Arthur Fontes/Dorrit Harazim, 2010).

halting or reversing socioeconomic ascension, the flexibility of the category, and the as yet unknown future that will shape how we see the past” (91). *Futuro Junho* expresses this same uncertainty regarding what is to come, for all of its characters.

Another episode from recent Brazilian history explored in the film, from its setting in São Paulo, is the Brazilian protests of 2013, and the processes they set in motion. As I argued in the introduction, with reference to the title *Futuro Junho*, June 2013 is a key backdrop to Ramos’s film, filmed a year later. While there were precursors in student protests for free public transportation held in other Brazilian cities like Salvador and Florianópolis in 2003-2005 (Alonso and Mische 2017: 150), the first small-scale protests of June 2013, that went on to spark demonstrations nationwide, were about proposed increases to bus fares in São Paulo. Although the protests subsequently became a means of voicing frustration about multiple causes and issues, beginning with the heavy-handed police response to those protests, and expanding to include a diversity of grievances (Holston 2014; Conde and Jazeel 2013), with different issues coming to the fore in different cities (Sotero 2014), *Futuro Junho* can be understood as a portrait of one of the causes of the street demonstrations of 2013, which Alonso and Mische have termed “unsolved urban problems” (2017: 148) – and, as the imbrication of urban and economic circulation in the film suggests, “unsolved economic problems”. In this way, *Futuro Junho* documents a moment, early in the current crisis in Brazil, when urban circulation had come to the fore as a problem, and when economic growth was beginning to slow.

For Caldeira (2015), circulation has taken on a special political and economic significance in São Paulo in recent years, and as a thematic lens, it provides insights specifically into the tensions and contradictions of the model of growth promoted by the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) during its time at the helm of the federal government. Identifying “traffic, mobility, and the price of public transportation” as “triggers” for the 2013 protests in São Paulo (2015: S130), and echoing Alonso and Mische above,

Caldeira argues that the 2013 protests “problematized the city” (2015: S133). She attributes this scenario to the PT government’s option “to promote consumerism as a mark of social mobility” through “incentives and subsidies for the acquisition of individual cars” (2015: S130). The result was “impossible traffic and a permanently congested city” (2015: S130). Comparing the city of today to that of the 1970s and 80s, she suggests that urban mobility or circulation has become one of the “signifiers of poverty” in a contemporary city characterised by “better infrastructure, mass communication, democracy, less violence, and broader access to consumption” (2015: S135). Writing before 2013, and focusing on the temporal aspect of mobility, Rolnik and Klintowitz draw on official data for 2008 from several different sources, to show that journey times were slower, and average journey times longer, in buses than in private cars, concluding that “a crise da mobilidade [em São Paulo] é muito mais aguda para os usuários do transporte coletivo – a população de menor renda, usuária cativa e histórica dos meios coletivos” (“the crisis of mobility [in São Paulo] is much more acute for users of public transport – the lower income population, a captive and historic user of collective means of transport”) (2011: 90). In its dual focus on the economy and São Paulo, *Futuro Junho* tries to unpick these unsolved economic and urban problems through showing how they made themselves felt in the routines of four individuals, and how the private can shed light on the public, the personal on the national. The film thus reveals how a national conjuncture was experienced from São Paulo, Brazil’s biggest city.

Flux and reflux: Debating the nation, debating *Futuro Junho*

As already stated, temporality was a key concern of Buarque de Holanda’s in *Raízes do Brasil*, and as Owensby observes, metaphorical movement, and an aversion to the ideal of linear progression towards a European ideal of modernity, was central to the author’s understanding of Brazil’s national trajectory:

Sérgio Buarque’s larger point seems to have been that history in Brazil could not be thought of in terms of a smooth transition from premodern to modern. Nor could it be thought of in terms of the

negative version of that transition – a place that remained stuck in the premodern. Time’s various registers bled into one another and co-existed for long periods according to what SBH called the ‘law of flux and reflux’ – *fluxo e refluxo* – a concept derived from his reading of Vico’s idea of *corsi e recorsi* (roughly, historical cycles). (Owensby 2014: 77; emphasis in original)²⁰

Buarque de Holanda thus proposed cordiality, a trait born of and in the Brazilian context, as a conceptual tool for thinking about the country’s past, present, and future (Owensby 2014: 90), or, as Monteiro puts it, “a fiction that reminds us how the republican present in Brazil has not completely shed the ties binding it to the colonial past” (Monteiro 2014: 146). This theme of time and its different registers, part of *Futuro Junho*’s subject matter and signalled in its title, has also been prominent in the film’s own circulation, as it has been interpreted in the context of debates about the state of the nation, Brazil’s recent trajectory of emergence and crisis, and the uncertain future ahead.

If there were still strong echoes of June 2013 when *Futuro Junho* was shot, those reverberations were continuing to make themselves felt in June 2016 when the film was released, if anything more strongly. Writing in 2016, journalist Catherine Osborn has suggested that 2013 was “the moment the country’s political order actually began to unravel”; for journalist and columnist Eliane Brum (2016), the effects of 2013 would be felt for a long time to come, and could not be ignored: “Entre 2009 e 2016 aconteceu muita coisa. Mas aconteceu principalmente 2013. Se há algo que não vira passado facilmente é 2013, o incontornável que tantos querem contornar” (“Between 2009 and 2016 a lot happened. But the main thing that happened was 2013. If there is something that will not go away easily it is 2013, the unavoidable that everyone wants to avoid”). The idea of Brazil finding itself at critical juncture, caught between past and future, is signalled in *Futuro Junho* in André’s remark cited in the introduction to this article, about going backwards or forwards.

In June 2016, only two months before Brazil would host its second sporting mega-event in the sequence (the Rio Olympics), the national crisis portrayed in *Futuro Junho*’s footage had therefore

²⁰ Vico is Italian Enlightenment philosopher Giambattista Vico.

deepened. The Brazilian economy was experiencing a deep recession (Allen 2016), and the political scenario had become divided and heated. With impeachment proceedings underway since late 2015 (Venturini and Ducroquet 2016), due to allegations of fiscal impropriety, Brazilian president Dilma Rousseff had been temporarily suspended from office in May 2016. Her impeachment would subsequently be confirmed on 31 August 2016.²¹ Anti-corruption task force Operation Car Wash had been operational since March 2014, though it had gathered pace in 2015 (Watts 2017), with a staggering number of Brazilian politicians implicated, accused, and arrested including Eduardo Cunha, the driver of the Rousseff impeachment proceedings. Reflecting on the pace of change, revelations, and reversals of fortune since the awarding of the Rio Olympics in October 2009, Brum (2016) wrote: “Como o tempo desta época é acelerado, 2016 olha para 2009 como um passado remoto” (“Since the pace of change in this epoch is speeded up, 2016 looks back at 2009 as if it were the distant past”). For her, the far-reaching and multi-dimensional political and economic crisis raised crucial questions about the nation and about national identity, as well as affecting how time was experienced.

The above-mentioned mega-events also meant something very specific for Brazil, famously or notoriously known as “the land of the future”. The refrain originated in the title of a 1941 book by Austrian writer Stefan Zweig, which has subsequently been absorbed into Brazilian popular culture as a way of referring, often ironically, to a national potential always seemingly out of reach (Eakin 2015; Sadlier 2008). This potential has again been subject to debate in Brazil during the recent period of growth and emergence followed by crisis (Romero 2011). For a time in the not too distant past, it became common to read that it seemed finally to be becoming, in the words of historian Marshall Eakin, “the country of the present”, a country “capable of sustained economic growth, with mass participatory politics, and able to spread the benefits of economic growth and democracy to tens of millions of citizens” (2015: 13). Brazil’s selection as host of two sporting mega-events was understood by some as

²¹ Ramos’s latest film, *O Processo*, which premiered at the Berlinale in February 2018, is about the impeachment process.

the international rubber-stamping of the attainment of a national future, playing to both domestic and foreign audiences perceived as having doubts about the country's potential and capacity. As former president Lula said in his speech on hearing that Rio had been awarded the 2016 Olympic Games, "Nós tínhamos que provar a competência de fazer uma Olimpíada. (...) Esse país precisa ter uma chance. Não é possível que esse país não tenha, no século 21, a chance que não tivemos no século 20" ("We had to prove our ability to put on an Olympic Games (...) This country needs to be given a chance. It is not possible that this country will not get, in the twenty-first century, the chance we did not have in the twentieth century") (Brum 2016). Later in the speech, he stated: "Tem de comemorar porque o Brasil saiu do patamar de um país de segunda classe e se tornou um país de primeira classe" ("We need to celebrate because Brazil has left the ranks of second-class countries and become a first-class country") (idem). In Brum's analysis of this speech and of this moment, "A Olimpíada, assim como a Copa do Mundo, foram sonhadas como apoteoses do eterno país do futuro que finalmente havia chegado a um futuro glorioso" ("The Olympics, like the World Cup, were dreamt of as the apotheosis of the eternal land of the future which had finally reached a glorious future") (idem). Ramos's *Futuro Junho*, released in 2016 but made in 2014, similarly reinforces the idea that things did not quite work out as planned, or dreamed. The temporal reference in the film's title, therefore, as well as referencing a specific calendar month, directs attention to a juncture when the idea of a less rosy future became visible, when an upwards or forwards trajectory was publicly interrupted, questioned, ruptured. A moment of reflux, to use Buarque de Holanda's terminology, a break in what had been portrayed as a linear progression.

A number of reviews have suggested that *Futuro Junho*'s release two years after its filming in June 2014 was timely, in other words that it helped to process the origins of the current crisis, allowing viewers to look back with hindsight at a period when tensions and problems with Brazil's emergence were beginning to make themselves felt in both public and private spheres. As critic José Geraldo Couto

(2016) wrote, “Quem quiser conhecer melhor o Brasil destes tempos confusos ganhará muito se assistir a esse filme. A ‘normalização do caos’ (...) poderia ser seu segundo título” (“Someone wanting to gain better knowledge of the Brazil of these confusing times would gain a lot from watching this film. The ‘normalisation of chaos’ (...) could be its second title”). The film also recently appeared on a list of “Dez filmes para sobreviver à crise brasileira” (“Ten films for surviving the Brazilian crisis”) (Fonseca 2016).

Several reviews – in *Blogdoc* (2015), *Folha de S.Paulo* (Starling Carlos 2016) and *O Globo* (Ristow 2016) – have asked specifically whether *Futuro Junho* feels dated given the rapid pace of change in the years between its shooting and release. These reviewers conclude it does not. For *O Globo*, this is because it “apresenta uma reflexão que envolve, acima de tudo, a identidade nacional - tema ainda mais concreto nos atuais tempos de conturbação política” (“it presents a reflection which involves, above all, national identity – a topic that is even more concrete in the current times of political upheaval”) (Ristow 2016), and for *Folha de S. Paulo*, the film “revela mais sobre nosso presente do que conseguem os especialistas” (“reveals more about our present than the specialists do”) (Starling Carlos 2016). The adjectives “sociological” and “anthropological” have been used more than once in reviews of the film, despite the director stating that it was not her intention “fazer um estudo sociológico” (“to undertake a sociological study”) (Mertin 2016). Nonetheless, for site *Vertentes do Cinema*, the film is “acima de tudo um estudo antropológico, político, econômico e social sobre a contemporaneidade do Brasil” (“above all an anthropological, political, economic and social study about contemporary Brazil”) (Duque 2015). For *Variety*, it offers “a rigorous sociology lesson without one iota of teacherly rhetoric” (Lodge 2015). Such commentary suggests that even if not the director’s intention, *Futuro Junho* can be considered to be in dialogue with the Brazilian tradition of “essays of national interpretation”, whose “field of vision encompasses the past, present, and open-ended future in a single continuum, as if we

were navigating on a current without knowing where it carries us” (Monteiro 2017: 183, 184).

Nonetheless, there are also reviews which take a less positive view of the time elapsed between the film being shot and it being released, concluding that too much has changed and happened in the intervening years, which is not captured in the film. For *Veja* magazine’s São Paulo edition,²² for example, the film “chega tardiamente aos cinemas” (“arrives late to the cinemas”) (Barbieri n.d.). As well as being “já datado” (“already dated”), it is considered to be “tendencioso, arrastado e pouco relevante” (“biased, slow, and not very relevant”) (idem). For the *Cinema em Cena* section of the *Carta Capital* website, the film’s strength, namely that of presenting a detailed and multi-faceted portrait of a specific time and place, is also a flaw. It is “born dated”, because of the sheer pace and extent of political, social and economic changes which have taken place in Brazil since 2014. For the review’s author, rather than offering a portrait of contemporary Brazil, *Futuro Junho* is thus closer to a “time capsule” (Villaça 2015). However, continuing with this analogy, it is exactly the film’s ability to collect and package up key components of a past moment, and make them available for interpretation in the future present with the benefit of distance, as that moment continues to reverberate, that provided the basis for understanding the film as timely, in the positive reviews.

Two final montages: Brazil in (re)flux, Brazil in movement

Two sequences at the end of *Futuro Junho* are illustrative in considering what the film contributes to debates about Brazil in eventful and rapidly changing times. The first combines footage of how each of the film’s protagonists experienced the opening game of the World Cup, when it finally came. The second, which closes the film, returns to the thematic focus on circulation which opened the film. For Maia (2015: 140) the editing of the sequence about the World Cup shows how the PT’s slogan of Brazil as “o país de todos” (“everybody’s country”) contrasts with a “contundente fragmentação e

²² *Veja*, a popular weekly news magazine, is known for its opposition to the PT (Hunter and Power 2007: 12; Clausen 2012).

desigualdade” (“widespread fragmentation and inequality”) in practice. Reinforcing his role as a cultural agent, Alex C is shown setting up a projector outdoors, on a street in his urban periphery neighbourhood, where he will later watch the game on a large screen with family and neighbours. André, who has tickets to the game, travels to the stadium by crowded metro, with friends and other fans (many dressed in yellow and green), and joins in a rendition of the national anthem. He is also shown with beer in hand outside the stadium, talking to his parents on the phone as a helicopter flies overhead (he speculates it is carrying Dilma Rousseff), and inside with the game in progress. Anderson, at work at the Volkswagen factory, repeats his routine task of fitting rubber seals inside window recesses, before stopping briefly to watch the game, alone, away from the production line (previous sequences have told us that the union’s request for the workforce to have time off to watch the game has been rejected). Alex F is back on the streets, trying to avoid police violence at a demonstration, and exhorting someone, whether Ramos’s crew or one of the many journalists/media activists present, to “Filma isso aí, gente!” (“Film that, people!”) when a man carrying a backpack is grabbed by the police, apparently unprovoked. As the *Hollywood Reporter* has noted, “Ramos relegates football to the background” in *Futuro Junho*, and even when football is more directly addressed, as in this sequence showing the four characters in public settings, the director “does not offer the contrived montage of the beautiful game bringing everyone together in spirit” (Tsui 2015), such an important component of national identity in Brazil. At a moment stereotypically associated with unity in support for the national team, there is in fact fragmentation, diversity of experience, tension, frustration, and a sense of other more pressing issues. This recalls Brum’s assertion that the Brazilian ideal of a shared identity built through the harmonious and peaceful conciliation of diversity and difference resoundingly fell apart in the aftermath of June 2013 (2016).

In the closing sequence that follows, composed of night-time images, the focus returns to the routine of movement, and obstacles to movement. Urban circulation is prominent, and as throughout the

film, there is a juxtaposition of different contexts and experiences of mobility. André is shown smoking in his car, alone again as at the beginning of the film. There are more of the recurrent traffic jams that have appeared throughout. Alex C weaves in and out of traffic on his bike, filmed face-on and in close-up. We see three lines of people walking along a passenger tunnel in the metro, and crowds waiting on a platform for a train (including Alex C's partner), as well as passengers inside a carriage (including Alex F). The camera films out of the side window of a moving train, capturing other trains going past, in the same and in the opposite direction. The film's final image is the view from the driver's cab of a train, as it travels forwards into the darkness, with cars and buses visible over a barrier on a road to the right. The screen fades to black and the sound of the train's movement continues as the credits begin.

As Dorrit Harazim wrote in an interview with Maria Augusta Ramos published in *piauí* magazine in 2007, “Há sempre algo de errante, de deliberadamente inconclusivo nos roteiros e personagens escolhidos por Maria Augusta” (“There is always a sense of errancy, of a deliberate inconclusiveness in the screenplays and characters chosen by Maria Augusta”) (Harazim 2007). This errancy – a word with roots in the idea of movement – rings true for *Futuro Junho*. The film does not settle on or stop at an answer, solution, or a destination, a clear sense of the future for its subjects, or for Brazil, but rather invites the viewer to participate in critical reflection on the micro and macro conjunctures, via its subtle meditation on economic and urban circulation. In an interview, the director articulated this openendedness, but also the potential contribution and motivation of a work seeking to document a moment still in progress: “Mas é claro que não apresento uma solução. Não faço filme para isso. O que existe é a compreensão emocional e artística de um momento em que ainda vivemos” (“But of course I don't present a solution. That is not why I make films. What I offer is the emotional and artistic understanding of a moment we are still experiencing”) (Ristow 2016). In the epilogue to his book about *Raízes do Brasil* and its ongoing relevance today, Monteiro similarly identifies an errancy and a lack of

a clear roadmap for the future in Buarque de Holanda, arguing that the author's essay, published in the 1930s but still widely read today, "is an example of a text that breathes precisely whenever it oscillates, going to and fro, delving into paradox" (2017: 205).

Viewed from 2018, the explicit emphasis on movement in 2014's *Futuro Junho* can be understood figuratively as a way of approaching the ambiguity, uncertainty, and ambivalence of contemporary Brazil, the lack of certainty about outcomes, destinations, futures, whether individual or national. A similar sentiment is expressed in an edited collection about June 2013, entitled *Brasil em movimento* and published in 2004. The back cover of the volume signals the multiple meanings of the term "movement" in its application to Brazil: "Os ecos e as lutas das ruas ainda se fazem ouvir e funcionam aqui como uma espécie de fagulha a partir da qual se pode abordar criticamente *uma nação que está em pleno movimento*" ("The echoes and struggles of the streets are still being heard and function here as a kind of spark to set off a critical approach to *a nation that is in full movement*") (Borba et al. 2014; emphasis added). Through imbricating and intertwining multiple cultures of circulation, and by drawing attention to the varied economic and urban experiences of its characters and the spaces between them, between the public and private spheres they frequent, and between temporal registers of past, present, and future, *Futuro Junho* does indeed capture Brazil in flux (and reflux).

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