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Lead researcher: Luciano Espósito Sewaybricker
Supervisor: Gustavo Martineli Massola
Institution: Work and Social Psychology Department, Institute of Psychology, University of São Paulo.
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Introduction

Happiness in Psychology and Positive Psychology

What we refer to as happiness has been a subject of debate for millennia. Influential thinkers such as Aristotle, Saint Augustine, and Kant proposed their ideas about happiness, shaping our understanding of what it might consist of. This contest of ideas across many actors and contexts has layers of complexity.

First, we can consider the complexity of the different natures of what has been proposed: while Aristotle associated happiness with virtue, Saint Augustine deemed it impossible in life and relative to God, and Kant, on the other hand, considered it entirely unattainable. Second, we can explore the linguistic complexity, as these three thinkers, for example, used different terms to refer to what we generically call "happiness": Aristotle spoke of eudaimonia, Saint Augustine referred to beatitudo, and Kant used glück.

Despite its complexity, the idea of happiness continues to captivate people across the globe, as aptly summarized by American historian Darrin McMahon (2006, p.xi) in the introduction to his book on the subject: "For how to write a history of something so elusive, so intangible – of this 'thing' that is not a thing, this hope, this yearning, this dream?"

Despite its historical intricacy, science—particularly psychology—approached this concept in the first half of the 20th century, incorporating it into large-scale social research efforts, such as those conducted by Gallup, Cantril, and Watson (cf. Newport, 2010; Cantril, 1965; Watson, 1930). By the late 20th century, the subject gained greater prominence. In 1973, Psychological Abstracts International began indexing "happiness" as a search term (Diener, 1984), and shortly thereafter, significant definitions of happiness were introduced (Diener, 1984; Veenhoven, 1984; Ryff, 1989). Nevertheless, publications on the subject remained relatively scarce within psychology.

It was only in 1998, with the emergence of the Positive Psychology (PP) movement, that happiness became a prominent topic (Snyder & Lopez, 2002). The foundation of PP is noteworthy not so much for the consistency of its objects but for its ability to attract research funding and disseminate findings. One element aiding these efforts is the strength of its mission or purpose. As psychologists Martin Seligman and Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (2000, p.5) wrote in an inaugural article on PP: "The exclusive focus on pathology that has dominated so much of our discipline results in a model of the human being lacking the positive features that make life worth living."

In their view, prioritizing the study of positive aspects of human beings—especially happiness—is more important and valuable. This, they argued, is the direction psychology as a whole should take to move beyond its secondary role in the scientific field: "Psychology came to see itself as a mere subfield of the health professions, and it became a victimology." (Seligman, 2002, p.4).

To fulfill this mission, two key requirements were established:

(a) the need to work with a clearly defined and measurable object, distancing itself from the abstraction of the philosophical domain (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, p.7);

(b) effective communication with the general population to amplify social transformation. This second requirement is exemplified in the ambition to construct a matrix of positive aspects: "Such a matrix would describe, for example, what kind of talents under what enabling conditions lead to what kinds of outcomes. This matrix would inform individuals' choices along the course of their lives (...)" (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, p.12).

In other words, the ultimate goal of Positive Psychology (PP) is to make the production of happiness possible (cf. Kingfisher, 2013, p.73; Diener, Lucas & Oishi, 2002, p.70; Seligman, 2002, p.7): "We believe that a psychology of positive human functioning will arise that achieves a scientific understanding and effective interventions to build a thriving in individuals, families, and communities." (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, p.13).

It is important to note that the goals and requirements of PP point to a neopositivist foundation for its scientific practices:

- Happiness can be "separated" from the complexities of human existence (such as inconsistencies and misunderstandings), treated as an isolatable object.
- All individuals, fundamentally, relate to happiness in a similar way (even if they are unaware of it).
- Scientific knowledge ("truth") can be applied to the real world without significant complications, as in the natural sciences.
- PP research increasingly approaches the idea of universal (or "true") happiness, which could be pragmatically applied to social life.

The anthropologist Francis McKay (2013) and psychiatrist John Christopher (1999) highlight a curious resemblance between PP's project—largely disconnected from recent psychological perspectives, particularly Cultural Psychology—and neoliberal logic. This resemblance lies in the foundational view of the autonomous, individualistic, and self-entrepreneurial subject. Responsibility for happiness, in this framework, rests solely with the individual. More specifically, as Lyubomirsky (2008) proposed, 40% of

happiness is within one's control. Happiness becomes a resource for other purposes, such as productivity, social and professional success, and physical and mental health (Binkley, 2011). Thus, happiness, as presented in PP, assumes the form of a valuable form of capital in a capitalist world.

Despite PP's extensive research efforts, its indicators fail to demonstrate the intended impact. Examples include the poor results of workshops focused on "positive" aspects (cf. Singal, 2021; Nickerson & Brown, 2015), the increasing consumption of psychiatric medications (Quemel et al., 2021), and the relatively high suicide rates in countries ranked among the happiest in the world, such as the Nordic nations (cf. Daly et al., 2011; Andrés & Halicioglu, 2010). Journalist Jerome Taylor pointed out this paradox in 2006, following Denmark's recognition as the "happiest country in the world" in a ranking conducted by the University of Leicester: "I'm not sure about these studies and I really wonder about the suicide rates in Denmark (...) I mean, is it that we're so happy we kill ourselves? I really wonder about that." (Taylor, 2006).

Structural Problems of Positive Psychology

> "As difficult as it may be to converge on a single definition of happiness, to be able to study it scientifically, we need to define and operationalize it. (Kesebir, 2018, p.9)

Although definitions of happiness proposed by pioneering researchers in the field, such as Ryff (1989), Diener (1984), and Veenhoven (1984), share neopositivist foundations, each definition is considerably distinct. These differences significantly impact Positive Psychology (PP) research, as the foundational concepts of the objects being studied are rarely examined in depth. Terms like happiness, well-being, psychological well-being, subjective well-being, joy, satisfaction, and flourishing are sometimes used interchangeably and other times as distinct concepts (Lyubomirsky, 2008).

Given the importance of these terms in PP, it is crucial to highlight the lack of rigor in the proposal of Subjective Well-Being (SWB) by Ed Diener, the American psychologist who formalized this concept, which has become one of the most significant in the field.

Within the prolific landscape of PP, the Subjective Well-Being (SWB) construct, systematized by Diener (1984) and defined as "an overall evaluation of the quality of a person's life from her or his own perspective" (Diener, Lucas & Oishi, 2018, p.1), or more recently as: "(…) the subjective well-being construct (the scientific concept for 'happiness') (…)" (Jebb et al., 2020, p.293), is perhaps the most frequently cited. A search on Google Scholar on October 28, 2021, showed that Diener's article Subjective Well-Being had been cited 18,989 times.

Despite the prominence of SWB, the blurred boundary separating it from other terms, such as happiness, is evident. This ambiguity is particularly clear in Diener et al. (1999, p.277):

"In 1930, Dodge wrote that theories of happiness had not advanced beyond those formulated by the Greek philosophers (cited in Wilson, 1967). More than 30 years later, Wilson echoed this sentiment, noting that only a few tentative theoretical postulates had been proposed to explain individual differences in [subjective well-being]. These postulates (which Wilson himself proposed in his 1960 doctoral dissertation) were as follows: (a) "The prompt satisfaction of needs causes happiness, while the persistence of unfulfilled needs cause unhappiness" (..) By examining the correlates of avowed happiness, Wilson hoped to identify which needs were of central importance to [subjective well-being]."

The justification for replacing "happiness" with "Subjective Well-Being" (SWB), as already present in Diener's 1984 article Subjective Well-Being, is weak, appearing more like a play on words than the delineation of a new and more consistent object of study. As Sonya Lyubomirsky (2008, p.316), another prominent PP researcher, confided, Diener's motivation seemed to be something else:

"Ed Diener, the most distinguished and most widely published researcher in the field of subjective well-being, told me once that he coined the term subjective well-being because he didn't think he would be promoted with tenure if his research were perceived as focusing on something so fuzzy and soft as "happiness"".

If Positive Psychology (PP) studies happiness or Subjective Well-Being (SWB) and what each of these terms entails remains a pressing issue, it has not been sufficiently investigated to avoid methodological problems. As social scientist Carol Graham (2009) points out, the ongoing plurality of concept-words carries a significant risk of treating distinct terms as synonymous (e.g., equating "happiness" with "SWB"). This is no small concern. A study led by psychologist Myles-Jay Linton et al. (2016) identified 99 tools assessing 196 distinct dimensions of well-being.

One emblematic case is the misunderstanding that the research of economist Richard Easterlin (1974) and that of economists Betsey Stevenson and Justin Wolfers (2008) present conflicting findings due to errors. Easterlin concluded that income increases happiness only to a certain point, whereas Stevenson and Wolfers found a continuous correlation between income and happiness. As Graham (2009)

explains, one reason for these divergent conclusions lies in the key terms used in their research methods. While Easterlin's studies relied on questions like "How happy are you with your life?" or "How satisfied are you with your life?", Stevenson and Wolfers used prompts like "Please imagine a ladder with steps from zero to ten; if the higher the step, the best possible life, on which step of the ladder do you personally feel you stand?" Different terms and methods likely indicate distinct objects of study.

Thus, PP's demand for objectivity (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, p.7) seems unrealized within its own movement, suggesting a possible incongruence between its mission and its object of inquiry. In my doctoral dissertation, which precedes this work (Sewaybricker, 2017), I argued that it would be more coherent to understand happiness as an inherently plural rather than universal object. Historical (cf. McMahon, 2006; White, 2009) and cultural research (cf. Freeman, 2015; Vigh, 2015; Jackson, 2011) supports this thesis, demonstrating significant diversity in conceptions of happiness.

For instance, a comparative analysis of the word "happiness" in dictionaries from 30 countries and across time, as well as in Webster's English Dictionary, highlights the variability of the term among different communities and over time within the same community (Oishi et al., 2013). Polish linguist Anna Wierzbicka (2004) examined the shifting meaning of "happiness" in English over time and its contrast with the French term bonheur. She observed that as happiness moved from philosophical discourse to political and everyday contexts, its meaning gradually transformed. Until about 1800, happy and happiness referred to something rare and attainable only by a few—an ideal. Few would experience true happiness. However, following the direction set by the United States Declaration of Independence, which framed the perception of happiness as an individual matter, the adjective happy came to denote a more common sensation, experienced in varying degrees.

Wierzbicka (2004, p.38) further notes that while this shift is not exclusive to the United States, it is particularly pronounced there: "(…) happy is not only uttered much more frequently than sad (roughly 3:1) and joyful (roughly 36:1), but also much more frequently than, for example, heureux is in comparable French listings (roughly 5:1)."

These careful analyses of words and their cultural and contextual relationships challenge the conclusion of Dutch researcher Rut Veenhoven (1999, p.176), who viewed happiness as central to human nature: "(…) individualistic society fits human nature better than a collectivist society does."

For Veenhoven, a prominent PP researcher, happiness should not be considered a complex object, resistant to precise evaluation. Instead, he argued, only that which can be precisely measured should be called happiness. In this view, the possibility of measurement defines the object, not the reverse.

Unsurprisingly, the object he delineates appears to privilege a specific socio-political context that aligns with quantitative assessments.

Happiness as the "Best Way to Live" and Teko Porã as a Challenge to Positive Psychology

Given the complexity of happiness and the internal issues within Positive Psychology (PP), an alternative path is to inquire about what unites such a plural and multifaceted discussion. In my doctoral dissertation (Sewaybricker, 2017), I asked how, despite its diversity, we can understand one another when speaking of "happiness." From this question, I proposed a broad definition of happiness that could encompass its various expressions: "Happiness is what a given person understands, at a specific moment, to be the best way to live, based on their dialectical relationship with the world." (Sewaybricker, 2017, p.167).

In this sense, speaking of happiness involves discussing what is understood as the best way to live. This discourse inherently carries several important characteristics: it is subjective, it requires the attribution of value, and it refers to the individual dimension while being socially mediated (linked to group, time, and space). Understanding happiness in this way highlights the intrinsic variability of the concept, the importance of the speaker (performativity), and the emphasis on a broad dimension of life. It is also important to note that this definition does not reject PP outright but considers it one of many representations of the "best way to live," albeit a particularly combative one that claims to be the "only truth."

Despite the well-documented lack of rigor in the use of PP's central concepts, the movement has grown significantly in importance over its more than two decades of research. Particularly notable is the recent convergence of PP and its leading scholars with the political field (cf. Lambert et al., 2020). Countries such as France, England, Bhutan, Northern Ireland, and New Zealand, as well as intergovernmental organizations like the OECD and the UN, have adopted PP research as a primary guide for shifting political paradigms (cf. Musikanski et al., 2019). Despite its weaknesses and underwhelming results, PP has made strides in its ambition to transform society.

This alignment of happiness with the political field underscores the urgent need to critically examine the limits of the concepts used by PP—particularly SWB and happiness—and the implications of their being "measured" and "promoted" in society. How capable is PP of encompassing the "best way to live" for marginalized groups excluded from political and scientific debates? Can indicators such as

Bhutan's Gross National Happiness (GNH) and the World Happiness Index, based on the Gallup World Poll, adequately represent all those they claim to?

To answer these questions, contrasting PP's conception of happiness with that of a group that views humanity and the world in a fundamentally different way appears promising. Such a comparison could more precisely reveal PP's limitations and the issues in its practical applications, while simultaneously enriching our understanding of happiness.

Indigenous Network-USP, Teko porã, and the direction of this research

In relation to the criterion of opposition to the happiness view of PP, Indigenous peoples seem to fully meet it. First, there are extensive studies on the complexities and particularities of various Indigenous cosmologies (cf. Viveiros de Castro, 2018) and the shocks provoked in dialogue with non-Indigenous people (cf. Guimarães, 2020). Secondly, Indigenous peoples are traditionally excluded both from politics and from universities (cf. Takuá, 2018; Alcantara & Sampaio, 2017; Blue Bird Jerningan et al., 2021).

In Brazil, some efforts have been made by universities to encourage Indigenous presence in the construction of more representative knowledge. This is reflected in initiatives such as Indigenous entrance exams already existing at universities like Unicamp and Ufscar. At the University of São Paulo (USP), in turn, since 2012, the Indigenous Person Support Network (Rede-USP) has been developed, a group for reflection and support of Indigenous causes and promoting dialogue between scientific and Indigenous knowledge, under the coordination of psychologist Danilo Guimarães (redeindigena.ip.usp.br/). It was thanks to the development of the Rede-USP over the past decade, solidifying its presence within the university and expanding its network of action with Indigenous communities, that a concrete opportunity for contrast between happiness for an Indigenous people and for PP emerged.

Within the relationships of the Rede-USP, the Guarani Mbyá people remain most present, either due to the importance that leaders of this people had in the foundation and development of Rede-USP or due to the proximity of many tekoha (villages) of the Guarani Mbyá to USP. The Mbyá represent one of the Guarani ethnicities (besides the Kaiowá and Nhandeva) that extend across regions of Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina, and Uruguay, and they recognize themselves through the same linguistic family, Tupi. The Mbyá number approximately 7,000 Indigenous people in Brazil (Grünberg, 2012), spread across different states, but most intensely present in the São Paulo region, including within the city of São Paulo itself.

Among the Guarani and in works about Guarani culture, it is not uncommon to find the expression teko porã, literally "a beautiful way of living," as a translation of happiness (cf. Siqueira & Santos, 2018;

Dalla Rosa, 2019). What, then, would be the similarities and differences between teko porã and SWB (or happiness) for PP? It should be emphasized, however, that although there are studies on happiness for Indigenous peoples (cf. Selin & Davey, 2012) and more specifically on teko porã, no research is known to take a broader concept of happiness as its foundation (as proposed in Sewaybricker, 2017). The lack of consideration of a comprehensive concept of happiness weakens any analysis or criticism: after all, is what was understood as happiness for a given people truly happiness, or could it be a new object? For example, can teko porã be considered a valid correlate for happiness for the Guarani?

From these inquiries and caveats, we can specify the challenges of this research as follows: is it coherent to translate teko porã as happiness? What are the differences and similarities between teko porã for the Guarani and SWB for PP? Could teko porã even be understood as a representation, for the Guarani, of the "best way to live"?

Method

The previous questions helped outline a work process in five macro stages. Here, I am adopting the concept of method by the German philosopher Martin Heidegger as "saying of the path" (cf. Schneider, 2012). In other words, presenting the method would ultimately be the opportunity to report the lived process rather than presenting a previously planned strategy, since the latter would always transform through the encounter with the real. Thus, the macro stages will only be mentioned at this point and will be better explored (contextualized and justified) in the subsequent (experiential-chronological) chapters of this report.

The five macro stages are: (1) theoretical deepening regarding teko porã for the Guarani Mbyá; (2) field activities primarily involving participation in the activities of Rede-USP; (3) semi-structured interviews with Guarani leaders; (4) analysis of the interviews inspired by Content Analysis (Bardin, 1977); and (5) final considerations regarding the contrast between teko porã and SWB/happiness for PP.

First Macro Stage: Free Review on Teko Porã - Would Teko Porã Be a Way to Refer to the Best Way of Living for the Guarani?

When asking whether teko porã would be equivalent to happiness, we encounter the misunderstanding that Levi-Strauss wrote about and the Brazilian anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2018) revived. It is a mistake to think that happiness and teko porã could be the same thing, that

is, to think that the two distinct expressions would refer to a similar object. Teko porã is not Happiness or Subjective Well-Being (SWB). This approximation necessarily involves a leap between worlds, as teko porã and SWB, or even happiness, refer to a distinct perceptive universe (with its specific rituals, myths, and ways of knowing). Presupposing a congruence would be a mistake and would generate a disconnect in communication between those who inhabit these worlds (cf. Guimarães, 2020, p. 20-24).

This starting point provides a simple answer to the question "Do PP happiness studies include teko porã?": no. But the questions we want to answer here, at the core, are different. It is not about understanding whether both notions are identical, but how similar they are; which characteristics of happiness (and subjective well-being) are shared with teko porã and whether the broader characteristic of happiness, dealing with the best way of living (Sewaybricker, 2017), is also shared by teko porã. Thus, we can seek to understand the extent of the current misunderstanding in PP and whether another approach, one that proposes approximations, would be coherent; an approach not to seek a universal concept, but an effectively broad concept (which acknowledges differences and allows for dialogue).

After contextualizing PP and the concepts of happiness and SWB in the introduction of this work, this chapter will present the notion of teko porã from the literature. This presentation will face the challenge of offering a perspective on how this object is presented in the debate, while also trying to outline a preliminary circumscription of teko porã (to be complemented by the interviews).

Separately, teko and porã mean something close to "being, condition, way of living" and "beautiful or good" (Sousa, 2018). But this "translation" is not so simple. The Guarani Mbyá poet Brígido Bogado, in his poetry book Ayvu'i (2009), exemplifies this difficulty when translating his work from Guarani into Spanish. In the text, teko porã is translated as "oración" (p. 14), "balanced life," "happy life" (p. 21), "the principle of life" (p. 25), "life" (p. 31). Still, curiously, Lígia Karina Martins de Andrade (2020), a professor of Spanish at the Federal University of Latin American Integration, who analyzes the author's work, chooses to refer to teko porã by another expression, "the good life." The anthropologist and Jesuit priest Bartolomeu Melià (2015, p. 7) warned researchers like me that teko porã is an expression widely discussed by many of the Guarani and other peoples of the Tupi-Guarani family, and thus it is not, consequently, "[...] a philosophy with narrow limits" (p. 7) and is an object "[...] more felt than philosophized" (p. 8). Even so, although the Guarani tradition does not make teko porã a well-defined "object," it is possible to seek and highlight its limits (even if broad) and the cosmology in which it is sustained. After all, if the Guarani speak of teko porã and recognize the semantic universe of the expression when they mention it, there is something we can illuminate in this investigation.

The cultural characteristic of emphasizing oral and ritual communication leads us to assume the fundamental role of the elders (shamans) and more specifically the shamans (xeramõi and xejaryi) in teaching what teko porã consists of. Viveiros de Castro (2018, p. 50-51) reinforces that it is these community members, with the ability (both political and artistic, as he puts it) to connect with the spiritual realm and translate their experiences, who are essential in constructing the meaning of words and things.

"Teko porã is only learned through experience. For the Xeramõi Kuery and Xejaryi Kuery, even the youngest do not truly understand the good life, because it is necessary to experience it, to have the experience to reach that understanding" (Sousa, 2018, p. 138).

Although it is a complex notion, teko porã (this beautiful living, this prayer, this balanced life, this happy life, this principle of life, or this good living) is regularly debated in articles (cf. Andrade, 2020; Moraes, 2017; Dalla Rosa, 2019; Godoy et al., 2017; Melià, 2015; Takuá, 2018) and has been the subject of anthologies (cf. Neutzling, 2010) and reviews (Siqueira & Souza, 2018).

In this universe of debate on teko porã, it seems to be a consensus that speaking of it means referring to something desirable for life, something we would classify as good. Broadly speaking, the philosopher, indigenous to the Maxacalí people and one of the leaders of the Guarani Yvyrupa Commission, Cristine Takuá (2018, p. 6), writes that teko porã "is the representation of the good way of being and living." Bartolomeu Melià (2015, p. 7) seems to complement this idea by writing that this "representation of the good life" is felt in a particular way, being a state "fortunate, joyful, content, satisfied, happy, pleasurable, peaceful, and calm." Here, in the presentation by both authors, we have a general circumscription and sensory description.

Julia Gimenes (2021), leader of the Guyra Nhendú village in Maquiné-RS, helps us with an experiential presentation of the theme: "I speak of tekó porã, to live well. Because in any village, any territory, to live well, you have to think well, not be selfish, and not do bad things. If I want to live tekó porã here in my village, I must respect myself, not do bad things in the city or another village. That would not be tekó porã. I must take care of myself and my family, my village. If I want to show tekó porã, I have to respect and do good here in the village, that's what tekó porã is. There is also the way of speaking. If I speak well to you, but it doesn't come from my heart, it's not tekó porã either. What I'm thinking, what I'm doing in my daily life, that's what I have to share with you, then it's tekó porã. My mother taught me that. When I speak superficially, when it's not true, I'm being false, that doesn't work. Our God is watching

over us, whether we speak the truth or not, because He is always with us. That's why we can't speak lies. Everything has to be the truth. My mother said it, and I believe it to this day. I'll never forget."

In this passage, Julia Gimenes emphasizes the importance of learning from the elders (in this case, her mother) and also indicates other characteristics of teko porã. Moral conduct, expressed as the correct way to act, whether with members of the village, in the city, or in speech (honest and authentic), emerges as an act (cause) that promotes teko porã and is, at the same time, the very expression of teko porã. This alignment, so to speak, with morality implies not only alignment with oneself but also with others. For Guarani leadership, teko porã does not seem to be simply one thing or a collection of desirable things (such as a certain feeling or an event), but something that must align with deep aspects of the person who acts and with their surroundings.

If it was assumed that there are reasonably clear causes and perceptions of teko porã, Julia Gimenes seems to suspend this impression. Not that they do not exist, but they would not be exactly sufficient to indicate teko porã. Consistent with Amerindian perspectivism, what concerns the human being (as a species) overflows and involves other beings as well: to refer to the important synthesis of the anthropological turn, "unity of the soul and multiplicity of bodies" (Maciel, 2019). As Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2018, p. 54) wrote: "[...] there, where everything is human, the human is 'another thing entirely'." There seems to be, then, an intrinsic spatiality of teko porã that, from the perspective of one body, overflows toward a communion.

This communality of teko porã seems to favor the connection between this notion and another important theme dear to the Amerindian peoples: Bem Viver (Good Living). This deserves to be better analyzed and differentiated from teko porã.

Teko porã and living well (buen vivir)

The relationship between teko porã and what surrounds the person is commonly addressed in the literature on the subject. Melià (2015, p.7) writes, for example, that teko porã is "experiencing and living together" and further correlates it: "There is good living when there is harmony with nature and with the members of the community, when there is sufficient food, health, peace of mind. It is also fully possessed cultural identity, free from threats."

Although a causal relationship is not presented, likely due to the lack of intent to achieve this clarity, it is important to note the prevalence of "collectivist" aspects in the presentation of the role of context in teko porã. These "collectivist" aspects appear through words like harmony, balance,

community, and nature, and seem to highlight the opposition between the Guarani way of life and that of non-Indigenous people in industrialized society, as denounced by the prominent Yanomami indigenous leader Davi Kopenawa (2011): "Today, indigenous peoples are concerned and outraged because the white man destroys nature and indigenous lands without talking to anyone. [...] Removing the power of the land is removing the power of that which keeps us alive."

Based on Bartomeu Melià's work, Marcelo José Derzi Moraes (2018, p.78) wrote that teko porã would be a "way" of living without "hierarchy between man and nature and [without hierarchy] in human relations," and that, in this way of living, "individualism, a characteristic of capitalist societies, has no place, everything is thought of from the community, together with its relationship." Finally, Moraes concludes: "Teko porã opposes the 'good living' of capitalist Western society, which, in the name of a life based on consumption, destroys and dominates nature and other human beings."

This use of teko porã as a distinguishing marker between the Guarani way of life and that of Western industrialized societies seems especially relevant as both criticism and political positioning in the search for another way of living. It is not by chance, in this context, that teko porã is commonly translated into Portuguese as "bem viver" (good living) or Spanish as "buen vivir," as done by many of the authors previously cited (Melià, 2015; Moraes, 2018; Takuá, 2018; Godoy et al., 2017; Della Rosa, 2018; and Siqueira & Santos, 2018). But here there may be confusion (fusion) involving two distinct concepts.

The notion of bem viver gained strength alongside an important Latin American political movement that valorized and incorporated Amerindian cultures into governmental practices and actions in certain countries (Acosta, 2009). Expressions from various peoples, such as allin kawsay, suma qamaña, suma kawsay, ivi maräei, küme mogen, and teko porã were incorporated as part of this manifesto for a different way of living in society and synthesized into the expression "bem viver" (Acosta, 2009, p. 11).

"Teko porã, originating from communities that speak the Guarani language, in Quechua would be Sumak awasay and in Aymara, Suma Quamana, can be translated as 'good living,' which is opposed to the Western way of 'living well'" (LESBAUPIN, 2011) (Moraes, 2018, p.77).

On one hand, translating teko porã as bem viver works well to reinforce both the ethical nature of this expression and the distance between the life aspired to by the Guarani and that in industrialized societies. On the other hand, this translation seems problematic because it makes essentially collective a notion that, first and foremost, originates from the particular (the individual perspective). Teko porã seems to be a notion referring to the life of a person, whether in their actions, adherence to the moral

code, or sensations. It would not, therefore, be common to say that the tekoha (village) lives teko porã. That would sound strange. A more familiar way of expressing happiness would be to say that "a particular person is happy."

The onto-epistemological foundations present in Guarani cosmology suggest a notion of personhood intertwined with others and inseparable, contrasting with the more isolated notion of personhood in modern Western societies. Nevertheless, there remains a notion of the person as an individual occupying a particular space with their body, experiencing reality from their perspective, feeling and acting, possessing agency.

Curiously, a similar confusion arises in the debate on happiness and well-being (SWB) in Positive Psychology (PP). The individualistic nature of happiness/SWB did not prevent this concept from being transposed to the collective realm. Bhutan, an eastern country in the Himalayan mountains with a dominant Buddhist culture, finalized the development of the Gross National Happiness indicator in 2012 (Centre for Bhutan Studies, 2012); a collective indicator aimed at replacing Gross Domestic Product as the guiding measure for government policies. This would lead one to speak of the "happiness of the country Bhutan," which would be absurd in light of the historical debate on happiness (Sewaybricker, 2017). Given the intrinsic divergences in how each person perceives the best way to live, referring to collective happiness (such as that of a country) always leaves some people out. How could a country be happy if some of its people do not consider themselves happy?

Returning to the relationship between "teko porã" and "bem viver", I dare say that "teko porã", as an ideal way of living specific to a Guarani person, varies between individuals and over time (as reflected in the texts already cited). "Bem viver", on the other hand, would be an attempt to understand the "average" of these versions of "teko porã" and communicate them as a political positioning of a group (a community). "Bem viver" would be a sort of Gross National Happiness (GNH) for "teko porã". While "bem viver" and "teko porã" are directly related, they are not the same. Promoting "bem viver" or GNH would not guarantee "teko porã" or happiness, but would foster its experience, like fertile soil. If we consider that "bem viver" and GNH are good translations of the general and fundamental collective desires of the Amerindian and Bhutanese peoples, respectively, then these political projects function as fertile ground for people to live closer to their life ideals, whether they are named "teko porã" or happiness.

However, the parallel between GNH and "bem viver" offers another lesson: translating the collective average is not simple and may be potentially harmful for those far from it. The implementation of GNH in Bhutan is the result of a particularly problematic political project that began in 1972, with commercial opening, modernization, and the promise that the country would be guided by happiness.

Part of this process involved a policy called "One Nation, One People," which aimed to "strengthen culture" and "unify the Bhutanese people." For the Nepali ethnic minority, this resulted in significant problems. First, Nepali marriages were no longer legitimized by the state; in 1988, they were no longer considered citizens; and shortly afterward, Buddhist attire became mandatory. In 1990, about 100,000 of these Nepalis, who lived in the southern region of Bhutan, rich in hydroelectric energy and fertile land (critical to the country's modernization), were violently expelled to India and Nepal (Pellegrini & Tasciotti, 2014; Bhutanese Refugees, 2021; Davies, 2012).

In the case of "bem viver", the context is especially distinct, as it is a project that does not emerge from those in political power but from minorities. However, the case of GNH in Bhutan highlights the inevitable problem of homogenization. What are the consequences of considering expressions such as "allin kawsay", "suma qamaña", "suma kawsay", "ivi maräei", "küme mogen", and "teko porã" as synonymous? Furthermore, when we speak of "bem viver", we suggest an internal unity and harmony among Amerindian peoples that can echo the image of the "noble savage"; the idea that indigenous people live without internal conflicts within the group and without conflicts between groups, that there would be no divergent visions of how to live "teko porã", and that key expressions like nature, community, and harmony could equally translate the best way to live for different people and groups.

In contrast, conflicts are not uncommon. In the nearly two years I worked on projects for Rede-USP, I witnessed significant conflicts between villages and even within Guarani villages. In one of these conflicts, we had raised several thousand reais to support two villages in their food challenges, intensified by the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic. However, the decision to send basic food baskets or money to the villages elicited differing opinions and mistrust between the leaders involved. The conflict caused a delay in sending the urgently needed resources. In another situation, there was a significant difference of opinion between two key village leaders, one older and one younger. While the older leader believed that using the photo of a deceased elder was improper, as it prevented the spirit of the deceased from leaving the world of the living, the younger leader believed it was a beautiful tribute and a way to keep the deceased's teachings alive. In both situations, the decisions on the best way to act (live) were at stake.

Highlighting the distinction between "teko porã" as a personal concept and "bem viver" as a collective concept prevents this homogenization. The distinction helps avoid turning this important political project into a deceptive idealization, a sort of Shangri-La (which, historically, has even fueled the exploitation of indigenous peoples in the Americas): a promise of perfect life in society, with harmony between peoples, between the community, and with nature (regardless of what this harmony might mean). "Bem viver", in contrast, should not aim to include or enclose "teko porã". Instead, it seeks to build

a general vision of coexistence that takes into account the different ideas that fuel particular projects (which for the Guarani could be translated as "teko porã"). It presents the "average" resulting from a process that respects those who are part of the community, even if they are far from the average.

Teko porã and Territory

The stories shared by Marcos Tupã, Sílvio Karai Tukumbo, and Ailton Krenak illustrate a deeply spiritual and symbolic relationship the Guarani have with their territory. For them, territory is not just a physical piece of land but a sacred space intimately connected to identity, way of being (tekó), and well-being (teko porã). The territory is a place chosen through a divine message, a spiritual calling, directing the search for a space where life can unfold fully and in harmony with nature and the community. This sacred space, a tekoha (village), is not something to be negotiated or reduced to a utilitarian resource, as it often is in Western societies.

The concept of teko porã (living beautifully) is intertwined with the relationship to the territory, as living beautifully cannot be separated from the place where one is, from the Tekoá. In other words, the Guarani way of being is intrinsically tied to the space they inhabit. The idea of Tekoá (the place of being) is not just physical space but involves a spiritual and cultural connection, where the Guarani people live in harmony with the land and the spiritual beings who inhabit that territory.

In addition to this deep connection to the sacred space, territory for the Guarani also relates to two additional concepts: scarcity and utopia. Scarcity is manifested by the constant threats faced by Indigenous populations in Brazil: the loss of their lands, deforestation, invasions, and the destruction of their natural resources by extractivist and industrial activities. The case of the Brumadinho disaster, cited by Ailton Krenak, is a tragic example of this scarcity: the destruction of the Rio Doce, which represented not only a vital resource but also a fundamental element of the Krenak way of being and living in that territory, caused profound grief, as this destruction compromised their relationship with the land and their way of life.

On the other hand, utopia also plays a role in the way the Guarani view their territory. The dream of a sacred and ideal place, as narrated by Tupã, Silvio, and Ailton, represents a search for a location where harmony and the perfect way of life can be realized. This utopia is essentially a desire to preserve the Guarani way of life, where respect for the land and spiritual teachings manifest in daily practices and the organization of their villages.

Thus, territory, the tekoha, is not merely a physical space but an existential space deeply intertwined with spirituality, identity, way of being, and well-being of Indigenous peoples. Its protection and preservation are, therefore, not only political or economic issues but spiritual and cultural ones. The struggle for land, for demarcated lands, and for environmental preservation is also a fight for maintaining identity and living a full life in tune with the core values of each people

In addition to all these threats and insecurities, there is the problem that many of the lands granted to Indigenous peoples are not their dreamed-sacred territories. There are numerous examples of villages that had to abandon their territories for the construction of highways or other enterprises (Giovanaz, 2017). The construction of the Belo Monte hydropower plant, for example, involved the expropriation of 27 ethnic groups from the Xingú Valley (Silva & Mourão, 2018). This expropriation and the need to move to another territory that was not a dreamed one often leads to occupying a space insufficient to guarantee both the safety and food sovereignty of the village (Pro-Indian Commission of São Paulo, no date). One of the tekoha with which the Rede-USP is in contact, Tekoha Takuari (Eldorado-SP), is located in a territory previously dedicated to cattle ranching. Despite the size of the village's territory, the soil is not fertile for growing traditional Guarani foods, requiring a long process of soil restoration for the village to achieve both safety and food sovereignty.

Referring to the idea of tekoha, Melià (2015, p.8) writes:

"It is the place 'where we are what we are.' This physical and mental space is the condition for the possibility of teko porã, of the good life; this is what the colony has systematically endeavored to destroy through the usurpation of Indigenous territories, environmental destruction, private accumulation of goods, disintegration of the social system, and secularization of the elements of religious life."

Melià thus connects the "crisis" of Indigenous territory to the process of invasion and colonization by European exploiters (Andrade, 2020, p.85). This process, which has intensified with technological development in recent decades, is echoed by Juliana Mota (2017, p.64), a professor at the Federal University of Grande Dourados, who writes that the word tekoha "became emphasized by the Guarani and Kaiowá peoples starting in the 1970s, precisely due to the process of losing their ethnic territories to the expansion of agro-pastoral fronts." In other words, she reinforces the thesis that scarcity (or the threat to something) makes it more prominent in thought and discourse.

Building on Mota's thesis, we could think that the scarcity of sacred territory made it more present in the discourse about the Guarani ideal way of life (teko porã). Thus, it seems natural that since characteristics commonly associated with teko porã, such as harmony with nature, peace of mind, and health, depend on the territory occupied (which ensures the practice of customs and traditions, foods, and medicines), and as it becomes increasingly rare to occupy sacred territories, teko porã consequently holds a utopian dimension in the present (cf. Takuá, 2020). Teko porã refers to the way of living (happily) in a place that is no longer present (the tekoha indicated by the spirits). Mota (2017, p.65) seems to arrive at this same conclusion:

"Teko porã is the representation of the good news, the utopia of times that are other, that are solidaristic, fraternal, abundant, nostalgic, of living in freedom... The tekoha is imagined and reconstructed from the possibility of returning to teko porã (the good life) — or as one Guarani Indigenous teacher would say, 'living the good life,' only possible in the struggle to reclaim tekoha."

The meaning of this utopia toward which teko porã points could be characterized, according to Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (2018), as a "retrotopia." The ideal of life in teko porã is not the construction of something "new," but the recovery of an ancient way of life; a rescue of Guarani culture or a possibility of living as the elders did. Curiously, we can think that within this temporality, there is yet another difference between teko porã and bem viver. While teko porã points to the past and suggests a "retrotopia," Bem viver suggests a utopia in its more usual sense: a new proposal for an ideal place (to be built). In this difference, the temporal distance between teko porã and bem viver becomes clear again; bem viver is not teko porã.

Perhaps this important dimension of teko porã, the recovery (return) of the way of life in the sacred territory, is even clearer in the Guarani notion of "Land Without Evils" (yvy marane'ỹ). The Land Without Evils is an ideal place where spirits go after death and which, at the same time, is located somewhere on the planet. The Land Without Evils is thus both divine and earthly, and it also possesses a utopian dimension, as philosopher and doctor in theology Luís Carlos Dalla Rosa (2018, p.300) writes: the Land Without Evils is a "historical utopia."

The Land Without Evil (yvy marane'ỹ) and Teko Vaí

The expression yvy marane'ỹ, and its translation "Land Without Evils" or "Land Without Harm," is ancient in Guarani culture. Bartolomeu Melià (1990, p.33) found a record of the expression dating back to 1639. The fact that it remains present in Guarani discourse to this day highlights how important the

idea of the Land Without Evils is in the cosmology of this people. As Lígia Andrade (2020, p.85) suggests, the Land Without Evils influenced the nomadic nature of the Guarani, with the search for this place driving the Guarani to new locations.

French ethnologist Hélène Clastres (1978, p.60-61) tells of an early 16th-century expedition in which twelve thousand Guarani Indigenous people set out in search of the Land Without Evils. After nearly 10 years, in 1539, only three hundred Guarani remained and shared the story of the expedition with Spanish explorers after crossing Brazil and reaching the region of Peru. While the Guarani were frustrated by not finding their sacred land, the Spanish explorers were excited by reports of a region rich in gold and precious stones. The latter then set off in the opposite direction, in search of their own utopia, Eldorado.

This story, almost anecdotal, shared by Clastres, serves to illustrate, firstly, that utopias can be conceived in very different ways, and secondly, that the Land Without Evils has nothing to do with possessions and accumulation, being very different from a materialistic or consumerist utopia. Moreover, through the perilous journey of the twelve thousand Guarani, we can see that the Land Without Evils is a place for which this people is willing to sacrifice many things.

The Land Without Evils is connected to the spiritual world, as it is where souls go after death. Clastres (1978, p.30-32) highlights an ambiguity: it is the place where "good" souls go after death, but despite this, the dimension of "reward" is not very present in the Guarani cosmology. In another conversation with the chief of the Tangará village, Silvio, this ambiguity seems to be clarified. It is to the Land Without Evils that the souls of all Guarani go, implying that the soul of everyone is inherently good. However, it is important to highlight that the question of the soul's destiny in Guarani cosmology is more complex. Pissolato (2006) shares that in Guarani cosmology, it is understood that each person is inhabited by at least two souls, typically referenced in a duality involving a divine soul and an animal one. However, this duality appears in a particular way among the Mbyá. Pissolato (2006, p.211-212) shares:

"The distinction between two personal aspects for the Mbyá occurs only at death, when the condition of "living with the body" (guete reve) is lost, a moment often translated as that which divides the person into the "soul that goes" and the "(former) body that stays (on Earth)." In the words of Tereza da Costa: "Xeretekue opyta yvypy, xenhe'ë oo Nhanderu ápy" ("my ex-body stays on Earth, my soul goes to be with Nhanderu"). But this duality would already be present in the idea that, in addition to the soul, nhe'ë, living people also carry a "shadow," called ã, which would originate with death as the specter angue, ex-ã, that Cadogan defined as the "product of human mortality…" (Cadogan, 1959: 188). (...) Here, there is a contrast between what could be called the

"soul of the body," ã, visible as a shadow while the person is alive, and the other soul, nhe'ë, "which manifests through speech," typically considered the "spiritual soul" (Melià, Grünberg, and Grünberg, 1976: 248-249)."

The soul that has the potential to "go" to the Land Without Evils after death would thus be the one associated with the divine, nhe'e.

However, while divine, the Land Without Evils is also physical, as it is concretely located in the world and serves as a guide for many of the Guarani migrations, such as the expedition mentioned earlier. Clastres (1978, p.32) records several references to the physical location of the Land Without Evils: it is behind the mountains, beyond the sea, and sometimes to the east, sometimes to the west. In the documentary Caminhos Encobertos (Macruz & Guiral, 2020), Karai Mirim tells Karai Jekupe that beyond the stones of Pico do Jaraguá lies the Land Without Evils. Similarly, Silvio, during a meeting with members of the Rede-USP, shared that the Land Without Evils is beyond the sea, requiring great physical preparation and health for those attempting to reach this utopian place. In Silvio's account, Tupã, the son of Nhanderu, had been able to reach the Land Without Evils, but unfortunately, the Guarani today are weakened because they can no longer live as they once did, no longer eating traditional foods and no longer healing with forest remedies. Thus, one could think that someone living in true teko porã (the good way of life) would be more capable of reaching the Land Without Evils in life, while everyone would reach this destination in the spiritual realm (though some may be more deserving than others).

Poet Brígido Bogado (2009, p.28) wrote a poem called yvy marae'ÿ (Land Without Evils), in which the verses (translated by Andrade, 2020) mention both the tenuous relationship between life and death, as well as Tupã's aiding role in reaching the Land Without Evils. The verses go as follows: "Empty remained the seat of life / the breath of life that comes and goes / Father Tupã descended to Earth / to take the souls to infinity."

The simultaneous physical and spiritual nature of the Land Without Evils seems to indeed suggest a strong connection between life and death, between the here and the there.

Regarding its characterization, this entirely good place, belonging to both the divine and the physical, is described as "indestructible, where the land produces its fruits on its own and there is no death" (Clastres, 1978, p.31). Hélène Clastres goes further in her description, stating that in the Land Without Evils, "arrows spontaneously reach the prey." For the author, this would refer to the fact that in the Land Without Evils, there would be no need to work. Moreover, pleasures would be infinite, with

people able to dance and get drunk at will, and able to abandon many of the social rules that Guarani people live by (Clastres, 1978, p.67).

This last image of the Land Without Evils, of what is experienced there, deserves greater attention. The Land Without Evils is structured as an idea based on what it negates—evil. And given the importance of this theme for the Guarani, it is reasonable to think about the significance of this negation for the Guarani way of being, teko. Immortality, abundance of food and pleasures are not new ideas in utopian visions (Claeys, 2013), but the negation of important social rules is. Clastres (1978, p.67) talks about a sexual freedom in which even incest is not seen negatively, saying "give your daughters to whomever you want," as the carais said, in reference to the Land Without Evils. For Clastres, this place would present a counter-order to society: in society, people are born and die; in the Land Without Evils, they do not; in society, people need to work; in the Land Without Evils, they do not; in society, people need to attend to desires; in the Land Without Evils, they do not. This refusal seems even stranger when we examine an expression commonly used as the opposite of teko porã, teko vaí.

While teko porã represents the beautiful way of living, teko vaí represents the ugly way of living. Teko vaí is how one should not live, often illustrated by practices in the non-Indigenous world (Mota, 2017, p.65). When many live teko vaí, society becomes violent, destructive of worlds. Cristine Takuá (2018, p.7) writes that teko vaí refers to reckless consumption, individualism, lack of physical and mental health, and enslavement to desires (especially the abuse of alcohol and other drugs). This last point is particularly noteworthy, as it is a prevalent issue among Indigenous peoples in Brazil (Oliveira, 2013). However, according to Clastres' portrayal, in the Land Without Evils, it would be possible to indulge in sexual desires and what would be considered vices, such as drinking.

This counter-order creates a certain estrangement in the relationship between teko porã and the Land Without Evils: teko porã would facilitate reaching this place, the Land Without Evils, where one does not live teko porã, but rather a different form with aspects of its opposite, teko vaí. In light of this strangeness, Clastres (1978, p.68) concludes that the Land Without Evils would be the rejection of society as a whole and of the internal conflicts it generates (in the manner of Freud's Civilization and Its Discontents). For Clastres, the Land Without Evils "[is] a Promised Land on the very Earth, and yet it will not be a kingdom; on the contrary, it is the abolition of all forms of power." (Clastres, 1978, p.113).

Thinking in a somewhat different way than Clastres, it seems important not to lose sight of the fact that Utopia, as a "non-place," is always thought of in reference to an existing place (usually, the place where one lives). Thomas More (2003), who coined the term, wrote about the island of Utopia in contrast to the Kingdom of England. The imagination of the ideal place is based on lived experience. Thus, in the

work of Hélène Clastres, written in the 1970s, a period of intense threat to the Guarani territory, the contrast might no longer have been with Guarani society, but with that Guarani society "overrun" by the non-Guarani; it would be a contrast and a disillusionment with what human society might be. Perhaps in the past, for the twelve thousand Guarani indigenous people who set out in search of the Terra sem Males (Land Without Evil) in the 16th century, the description of this place would have been considerably different.

Gregory Claeys (2013), professor of history and political thought at the University of London, would probably not classify Terra sem Males as a utopia, since it does not describe in detail another social organization. In this sense, Terra sem Males would help us more in understanding the Guarani cosmology and what is most important, rather than constructing a coherent image of a specific location. More aligned with this position, Luís Carlos Dalla Rosa (2018, p. 300) writes: "The plot of 'living well,' as a project and reality of another possible society, is also the desire (utopia) of the 'Land Without Evil.'" (...) "The search for the 'Land Without Evil' ultimately suggests the very conception of 'living well,' the Guarani way of being (Ñande Reko or Teko porã)."

Although it does not seem to take into account the aspects raised by Clastres, Dalla Rosa points out that the truly utopian project (because it proposes a new social organization) would be the political project of living well; whereas the Terra sem Males would be a desire, perhaps even a more ancient desire than that which is pointed to by teko porã—a desire for a return to a mythical time when "[...] humans and animals were not yet different" (Lévi-Strauss & Eribon, [1988] 2005, p. 196).

Summary: what is said about teko porã in the literature?

The texts analyzed about teko porã point to an expected complexity: authors present some divergences (such as in translation, the way this notion is presented, and its relation to bem viver) and there is a lack of clear delimitation of the object. And, apparently, the absence of delimitation and the divergences are directly (and naturally) related. Following the literature on teko porã is a process similar to reading a metaphor or poetry. It speaks of something without much contour: it points in a direction, but without precision. The richness of this metaphor-poetry is indisputable, as we learn a lot about the Guarani and their cosmology. However, some questions remain in the air: are all these observed differences multiple expressions of teko porã, or are they misunderstandings from some of the authors? Is teko porã a feeling (as happiness is commonly spoken of), an evaluation of life (as Ed Diener proposed), an activity (like Aristotelian eudaimonia), or something else?

Another possibility, in fact, is that there has not been an attempt to delimit teko porã in the way a scientific object would be. Indeed, this intention (to scientifically delimit) does not seem to be very characteristic of the Guarani. This could explain the particular form (broad and vague) in which teko porã has been presented. We could think, then, that the desire to delimit teko porã is not Guarani, but mine (ultimately). There has been no need for such delimitation within the Guarani people, but outside of it, in the context of the growth of public policy (PP).

The four interviews, better contextualized below, will therefore help shed light on teko porã, both by better understanding the field of meanings of this notion and by seeking more precision in the direction pointed to by this expression.

Second Macrostage: Field research and definition of interview paths (participants and sample size)

The second macro-stage (2), which consisted of field research to approach the Guarani Mbyá people, involved an extended experience that culminated in interview invitations and the subsequent definition of the number of participants.

Here, we consider "field" as Spink (2003, p.28-29) presents it: "Field, therefore, is the argument in which we are inserted; an argument that has multiple faces and materialities, which happen in many different places. The places – for example, a fishing village – are part of the field just as much as the conversations (RIBEIRO, 2003) (...) the village is only a part of the territoriality of the field-theme. Likewise, we may be in the same village for other reasons, such as discussing political parties, health practices, or tourism." In this understanding, the field consists of thematic proximity, which may or may not occur based on a physical place. Thus, even in the face of mobility restrictions and face-to-face interactions due to the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic, the "field experiences" were possible and powerful, serving as an opportunity to participate in the Guarani Mbyá world and approach the field-theme (understood as "happiness for the Guarani Mbyá").

The actual approach to the Guarani Mbyá was mediated by the activities of the Indigenous People's Support Network of the University of São Paulo (Rede-USP). Right at the beginning of this research, still in October 2020, I became part of the Rede-USP team and gradually became involved with its various projects. My participation in Rede-USP was crucial for me to be introduced to Guarani vocabulary, understand some of my prejudices regarding indigenous peoples, and have the opportunity to work with the tekoha (Guarani villages) in some of their projects. Over time, I was able to establish trust bonds with members of the tekoha.

Initially, contact with the leadership was made via WhatsApp messages and video conferences (WhatsApp and Google Meet) to discuss, in general, the requests for help from the tekoha. These activities required a significant time investment and a complex network of support. In this regard, several of these actions are worth highlighting, such as raising funds for food in the tekoha Tangará (Itanhaém/SP) and Yyrexakã (Marsilac/SP), supporting the creation of T-shirts for the group of young leaders in the tekoha Guyrá Pepo (Tapiraí/SP), providing financial and on-site support for two nhemongaraí ceremonies in the tekoha Tangará, organizing knowledge-sharing meetings with leaders from the Tangará and Guyrá Pepo villages, and organizing a project for food sovereignty in the tekoha Takuarí (Eldorado/SP). Some of these activities were carried out in person, as in the second half of 2021, visits to the villages resumed with the decrease in SARS-CoV-2 contagion. Thus, taking the necessary health precautions, it was possible to visit the tekoha Tangará to attend the erva mate and honey ceremonies and the tekoha Takuarí for an in-person meeting about the food sovereignty project.

As I participated in these activities, with their successes and failures, the bonds with the spokespersons of the tekoha were strengthened and became more fluid. I can say that this process followed the gradual familiarity with the language and the way of being Guarani (nhandereko). An important milestone of this trust was the invitation to receive Guarani lessons from the chief of the tekoha Tangará, which I took weekly throughout the 2021 school year. It is very likely that this type of bond made it possible for some of the invitations made (to participate in this research) to be accepted.

Participants

Initially, it was established that the Guarani Mbyá people invited to participate should be over 18 years old, Portuguese speakers (even if with some difficulty), and recognized in their tekoha and by the Network as Guarani Mbyá leadership, regardless of whether they held formal leadership titles (such as cacique, xeramõi, or xexaryi). Given the difficulty in establishing strong connections with people who met these criteria, they were expanded in some situations. One such case was the invitation extended to a young Guarani Mbyá woman who is very active on social media, particularly Instagram. In her case, her "leadership" within the Guarani Mbyá has an expanded meaning, being an effective leader on social media or recognized as a "youth leader." However, upon receiving the invitation, she declined, stating that, due to the fundamental importance of teko porã, it should be the elders who speak about this theme. In another case, an invitation was made to a prominent Guarani writer who does not belong to the Mbyá

people. Given his recognized importance as a spokesperson for the Guarani and his ability to express complex themes, I considered his contribution valuable to this research. In this case, he accepted the invitation.

In total, invitations were extended to nine different people to participate in the research. These invitations were sent via email, WhatsApp, or Instagram, following the structure of the invitation message available in the appendices (APPENDIX B). Of the nine people invited, two did not respond to the messages, and two did not accept. The two who did not respond are prominent figures among the Guarani Mbyá, holding important roles as spokespersons and articulators with the Juruá (non-Indigenous people). They are likely very busy individuals with difficult access. As for the people who did not accept, they share a common characteristic: both are young leaders (around their early 20s). One of them explained her refusal by stating that the topic is relevant to the elders, while the other said she was too busy organizing and participating in indigenous mobilization events, preferring not to be interviewed. It was clear, however, that there was some discomfort, perhaps insecurity, with the idea of speaking about teko porã.

One of the invited individuals, the chief of an important tekoha in the state of São Paulo, preferred to be interviewed in person, which has not yet been possible. The other four invited individuals accepted the invitation and were effectively interviewed. The first two people to accept the invitation and be interviewed are members of the same tekoha, with the chief (Participant A) and his wife (Participant B), who is recognized as an important leader in the region. Another interviewed person is the aforementioned Guarani writer (Participant C); and finally, the fourth person is an important Guarani community leader in the region of the village (Participant D). Necessary precautions to preserve the anonymity of the interview participants were taken, and from this point on, they will be referred to as Participant A, Participant B, Participant C, and Participant D, following the chronological order of the interviews.

All contact with the invited individuals and participants followed the guidelines of the Research Ethics Committee with Human Beings (CEPH), and the invitations always included a link to the Free and Informed Consent Form (TCLE – APPENDIX A), with the possibility for participants to indicate their agreement by marking "agree" after reading it. Only after this "agreement" did the interviews take place.

Number of Participants

The initial goal was to interview at least 5 Guarani Mbyá leaders, which was not possible within the established timeframe and due to the difficulties I encountered in developing strong enough bonds to extend new invitations. It is worth remembering that the initial number of 5 interviews was proposed

to serve the purpose of providing an initial organization regarding the question: "What are the similarities and differences between teko porã and SWB/happiness?" This goal can still be achieved, although it would be desirable to continue this research with additional interviews.

Risks and Benefits

The risks associated with participation in the research were minimal, primarily relating to potential discomfort when answering questions, fatigue due to the interview's duration, and inconvenience related to the technology used. Participants were able to choose the time and mode of the interview and were comfortable enough to interrupt the interview whenever they wished. They did not express any discomfort with specific questions, though they did find some questions about the Guarani way of being unusual, as previously mentioned. More broadly, the interaction with participants and the care taken followed the guidelines set by the Federal Psychology Council (2019) and the Regional Psychology Council (2010). Both publications provide technical references for psychologists working with traditional peoples.

Regarding benefits, these can be divided into short- and long-term outcomes. The short-term benefit involves the enrichment gained from exchanging experiences with a juruá kuery (non-Indigenous person) and reflecting on a relevant topic like Happiness. All interviewees expressed gratitude for the opportunity to engage in dialogue, and two of them later reiterated, both in messages and in person, how much they had learned. The long-term benefit, yet to be fully assessed, pertains to the potential impact of this research on Brazilian public policies related to Indigenous communities and on broader research into happiness.

Third Macro-Stage: Preparation and Conducting of the Interviews

I can say that the third macro-stage (3), related to the interviews, was more erratic than initially planned. First, the process of scheduling video conference interviews was neither practical nor suitable for the participants. With just one exception (Participant C), the others needed several reschedules before the interview actually took place. In the case of Participant B, the internet connection quality frustrated two attempts to connect. We ultimately gave up on the virtual meeting and awaited an opportunity for me to be present in the tekoha to conduct the interview. Overall, the reasons for rescheduling from the

participants varied from forgetfulness, difficulty in obtaining a signal, and the need to attend to urgent matters within the tekoha at the scheduled interview time.

Secondly, the Semi-Structured Interview Guide (APPENDIX C) initially planned had to be substantially revised right after the first interview. In the original design, the interview would begin with questions about the participant's lifestyle, but this strategy seemed disconnected given the pre-established relationship between the participants and myself. When I asked these questions to Participant A, I noticed some discomfort and uncertainty on their part in answering questions that had seemingly obvious answers to me.

Similarly, the final part of what was initially planned for the interview also required adaptation. The initial intent was to reproduce the Gallup World Poll questions related to SWB (influenced by Ed Diener's theory) so that participants could answer them. These questions were meant to help reflect on the proximity of teko porã with existing translations of SWB and happiness for policy assessments (cf. Selin & Davey, 2012; Musikanski et al., 2019; Diener et al., 2018b; Lambert et al., 2020). The original questions from the Gallup World Poll, in English, are reproduced in APPENDIX D. However, it was already clear from the experience with the activities of Rede-USP, prior theoretical research, and what had been shared up until the first interview that the way of being Guarani was very disconnected from the Gallup World Poll's approach to SWB and happiness. Going through the fifteen questions at the end of the interview would likely have caused significant fatigue.

Thus, after conducting the interview with Participant A, the Interview Guide was substantially shortened, focusing on open-ended questions about teko porã and happiness, and leaving room for new topics that emerged during the individual conversations to be explored. Even with these reductions, the interviews ended up being substantially longer than originally planned (45 minutes in duration). The four interviews had an average duration of 73.5 minutes (with the longest being 100 minutes and the shortest being 49 minutes). The transcripts of the interviews are available in APPENDIX E.

Fourth Macro-Stage: Interview Analysis - Analysis Planning

After transcribing the interviews, the text document was sent to the interviewees so they could add, delete, or alter any part that they felt did not properly represent their perceptions. After this validation, the transcriptions were imported into the Atlas.ti software, which helps organize and categorize the text throughout the content analysis process. This analysis was conducted based on the method proposed by French psychologist Laurence Bardin (1977). The inspiration for this method, rather

than its direct application, arose due to the small number of interviews, making detailed coding and subsequent quantification less relevant, as Bardin originally suggested. A thematic analysis, considering the uniqueness of each encounter with the participants, was found to be more fruitful, allowing more room for abstraction. Nonetheless, the interviews were categorized to clarify the overall analysis and enable a comparative analysis between interviews.

Following Bardin's (1977) structure, the content analysis of the interviews began with the pre-analysis of the material (cf. Silva & Fossá, 2013). During this stage, a floating reading of the interviews was conducted, primarily aiming to limit the scope of the investigation. For this, I sought to separate what in the interview served as an introduction or rapport from what was objectively part of the interview (with the goal of understanding the meaning of happiness and teko porã). For example, in this stage, besides separating the rapport, the initial part of the interview with Participant A, which referred to questions later disregarded in the Interview Guide, was excluded.

In the next stage, the exploration of the material (cf. Fossá, 2003), I delved into the transcriptions to shape the analysis process. Initially, I defined the central themes of the interview: "Happiness," "Teko porã," and "Land Without Evil," so that each block of text (the discourse of the interviewees) could be categorized as relating to one or more of these themes. However, an initial reading of the interviews quickly revealed that it was necessary to complement these three central themes with at least two others: "Teko Aí and Teko Vaí" and "Deeper Topics." The first encompassed two Guarani terms that are opposite or complementary to teko porã (roughly, something like unhappiness and pleasures); the second encompassed various topics that were deepened in the interviews (such as nature and sacred rituals), but which were not linked to any of the other themes within the text blocks.

After defining the five central themes—"Happiness," "Teko porã," "Land Without Evil," "Teko Aí and Teko Vaí," and "Deeper Topics"—the challenge was to establish internal categories within each theme to organize the plurality of meanings related to each. For instance, an interviewee might speak of happiness as something desirable or undesirable, as something that leads to happiness or as a sign of happiness. Each of these "ways" of talking about happiness could be categorized distinctly, even if they were dealing with the same "theme," happiness.

This categorization process began with an initial free creation based on the meanings within the text blocks. The result was a universe of over 80 categories, which were subsequently synthesized (grouped by similarity) until the final number of 34 categories and subcategories. Notably, due to the large number, the categories and subcategories related to the theme "Teko porã" and "Deeper Topics" were organized into two distinct levels (called categories and subcategories). For example, one of the categories

under the theme "Teko porã" was "Analysis." This, in turn, was broken down into two subcategories: "Measurement" and "Recognition," which helped differentiate parts of the transcriptions. On the other hand, the theme "Land Without Evil" was organized only into categories, while the themes "Happiness" and "Teko Aí and Teko Vaí" did not have any subcategories, with the theme itself serving as the organizing element for the transcription sections.

The set of themes and their respective categories, as well as the frequency with which they were marked in the interviews, are presented below.

Figure 1. Proportional frequency of categories

#	Temas: categorias	Frequência proporcional
9	Felicidade:	
11	Teko Aí e Teko Vaí:	
6	Teko Porã: análise	
62	Teko Porã: componente	
17	Teko Porã: descrição	
19	Teko Porã: relação	
47	Aprofundamento: temas gerais	
14	Aprofundamento: visão de mundo	
2	Terra sem Males: alimentação	
4	Terra sem Males: fé	
1	Terra sem Males: local	
3	Terra sem Males: ojepotá	
6	Terra sem Males: raridade	
201	Total	

Source: authors

The categories of the themes "Teko porã" and "Aprofundamento" and their respective subcategories are listed below:

Figure 2. Details of the subcategories of the theme "Teko porã"

Categorias e subcategorias do tema "Teko Porã"

Teko Porã: análise
mensuração
reconhecimento
Teko Porã: componente
ação
alimentação
aprendizado
comunidade
família
moralidade
natureza
sagrado
sentimento
serenidade
Teko Porã: descrição
importância
melhor forma de se viver
raridade
Teko Porã: relação
felicidade
terra sem males
tradução

Source: authors

Figure 3. Details of the subcategories of the "Deepening" theme

Categorias e subcategorias do tema "Aprofundamento"

Aprofundamento: temas gerais
saúde
serenidade
alimentação
amigos
espiritualidade
família
natureza
nhandereko
Aprofundamento: visão de mundo
juruá
pessimismo

Source: authors

The relative proportion and frequency of each theme, category, and subcategory can be observed in the "treemap" below (generated in Atlas.ti software). In this image, the area occupied by each item is proportional to the ratio between its frequency and the total number of theme and category identifications (201).

Figure 4. "Treemap" of themes, categories and subcategories
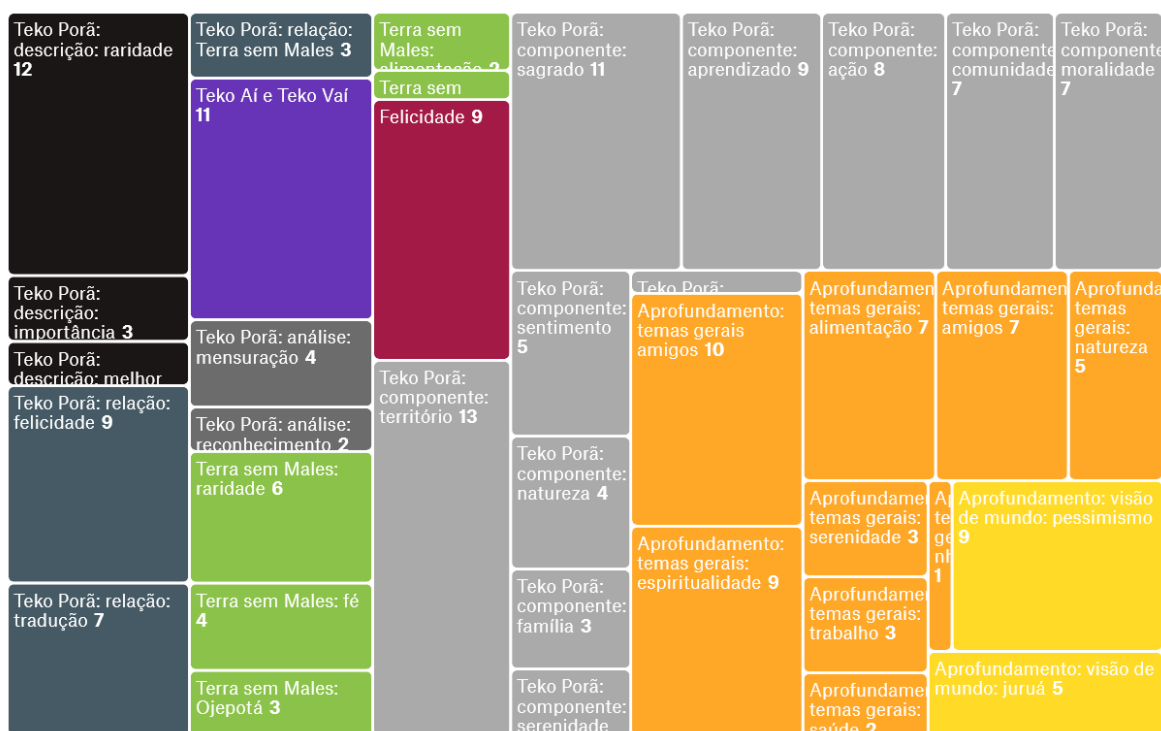
Source: authors

It was from the identification of themes and the categorization of the interview contents that the final stage of the method, inference and interpretation, was carried out. As Bardin (1977) presented, this is the fundamental stage for Content Analysis, as the objective is not simply categorization and quantification of the text blocks, but to reach the antecedents of language from them. In other words, in Content Analysis, the focus is not on the word itself, but on what leads to the use of one word or another and the conditions under which these contents are produced (cf. Henry & Moscovici, 1968). At this moment, the subjectivity of the researcher in seeking relationships and formulating hypotheses is crucial (cf. Bardin, 1977, p.20).

For the completion of this stage, it was important to recall that the participants discussed (throughout the interview) complex topics (happiness and teko porã in particular) that are not necessarily organized in concepts. Therefore, presenting and comparing these themes constituted a goal in itself for the participants and, later, for me during the analysis. Specifically regarding the stage of inference and interpretation, it was necessary to frequently triangulate information between my experience at Rede-USP, the interview contents, and the theoretical research related to happiness, *SWB*, and teko porã, so that I could first approach the participants' point of view when they dealt with these themes (Viveiros de

Castro, 2018, p.72). Only from this approach would it be possible to glimpse and propose a minimally relevant concept of teko porã.

Thus, the interview analysis process allowed for the accumulation of more and better objective evidence (Bauer & Gaskell, 2002) regarding the collective and living construction of Teko porã among the Guarani. My role, after this analysis, is similar to the one expressed by psychologists Waldir Bettoi and Lívia Simões (2002, p.613) about the role of the researcher in light of semiotic-cultural constructivism: to select the available elements and propose a new translation of reality, a "plausible and coherent" translation of what is perceived.

> "(...) theories arise from the co-constructive activity of the researcher and the research participants, an activity that, from the outset, cuts off options and proposes a way of seeing the nature of reality. From this perspective, what is sought in the research activity is not the guarantee of fidelity and precision in portraying an objective external reality, but new ways of apprehending aspects through which reality manifests itself in the empirical event. Therefore, the issue of fidelity and precision gives way, in the theoretical-methodological level, to the issue of plausibility and coherence in the co-construction by the researcher regarding the meaning of the empirical reality, which, in a dialogical movement, acts in the theoretical reconstruction. The goal of population representativeness, in this case, gives way to the search for possible ways in which human diversity manifests itself in the search, by the subjects-actors, for 'solutions' to issues that arise in the situational contexts of the research."

Thus, I did not treat an analysis that confines teko porã to happiness or **SWB** (or vice versa), but one that builds connections that enrich both. In a way, it would be proposing that teko porã becomes "more" teko porã through its relationship with happiness/**SWB** (and vice versa). In other words, that the reflection on the "best way of living" gains complexity from the analysis instead of narrowing down.

Interview Analysis

Teko porã

As already mentioned, the importance of teko porã became apparent in the reactions of the guests to participate in this research. Whether through refusals to participate or reactions of surprise, the feeling of great responsibility regarding the topic was clear. Even so, the interview was an important opportunity to better gauge this importance. One example can be seen in the words of Participant B: "For us, teko porã is everything, for me, for us, it's everything" (Participant B), and another in those of Participant A: "Teko porã? Wow! Teko porã is a global word... let's say, a sacred word" (Participant A). Also, in the words of Participant D, who summarized that teko porã means feeling "a greater force than the universe" (Participant D). "Being everything," being a "global and sacred word," being an immeasurable force all seem to indicate the greatness and scope of teko porã. It pertains to life as a whole and may even transcend it.

Thus, if one of the doubts that motivated this research was to understand whether teko porã could be understood as referring to the best way to live for the Guarani, the answer appeared to present itself both in the bibliographical research and in the interviews. Teko porã would refer, in the participants' view, to a life that stands out from others; a good life, but especially good when compared to all other possibilities of a good life. In the words of Participant A: "Teko porã already brings that way of living well, a way of living better, with that tranquility, it's within that word teko porã... So teko porã brings everything. A better way of you living, seeking that way of living well, of getting along with things, everything is already there, there in teko porã." (Participant A) Although in their words both "a way of living better" and "that way of living well" are mentioned, it seems clear that what is being referred to is a life that stands out qualitatively.

If teko porã was presented as so important and related to the best way of living, it is not surprising that it was also presented as rare. As Participant A explicitly stated, "few people enjoy this condition." (Participant A). In the participants' view, this rarity was explained by a few different reasons (which will be further explored later), but the most frequently mentioned was the human condition itself. "We try to make teko porã. The best for people, for the children themselves, but it never works out, for the relatives as well. I understand that. It's not just for people, we also have to do the right thing for God. But we are human, we have our flaws. And even if we do the right thing, there's always our flaw, in teko porã, in the spiritual. I speak of our culture, even if we do the right thing, that pleases God, there's always this flaw once in a while." (Participant B) "I am seeking this teko porã. I always seek it every day, but we have our flaws, because we are flesh and bone, we are human beings. There's no perfection here in the world. Here on earth, there is no perfection." (Participant A) The association between teko porã, its importance, and its rarity was often explained by the religious or sacred dimension. But, as presented in the theoretical

discussion, this doesn't seem strange. For a religious people, it is very likely that the best way of living takes on a divine form (named perfect) and moves away from what we, human beings, can achieve in life. This, for example, was part of the reasoning of Plato in Ancient Greece and Saint Augustine in Ancient Rome. However, in the case of teko porã, there is something different, at least in comparison with Plato and Augustine. While teko porã was referred to as rare and related to divine perfection, it was also mentioned as being earthly and achievable. As Participant A himself explains: "But through all this difficulty that we face today, the most important thing we have is always to remember Nhanderu. To fulfill, obey the teachings. This is what we still practice today. It's about going to the prayer house, practicing the teachings, so these are big things, that is teko porã." (Participant A) Faced with an imminent paradox, something must be noted: if earlier the idea of teko porã was treated as something to be achieved (perfection, or the "best possible life"), in the previous sentence it shifts to refer to a way of conduct ("go to the prayer house, practice the teachings"). Realizing this complexity of teko porã helps us reflect on its simultaneous rarity and factual nature. On the other hand, it raises doubt about what this idea precisely consists of.

What is teko porã?

The question of what teko porã consists of, raised at the beginning of this research, is not unfounded when it comes from the field of happiness, which is supposedly broader. Talking about happiness, whether by laypeople or experts, involves delving into ambiguous and contradictory pluralities. Is happiness an emotion or some emotions? Is it an evaluation made about one's own life or by someone else? Is it the result of certain deeds, such as achieving goals? Thus, special care is needed regarding teko porã so that it doesn't follow a similar path, becoming an idea that could mean anything (a multiplicity of disorganized perspectives) or nothing (in the sense of the emptying of its value due to the multiplicity).

Earlier, we saw teko porã presented as something to be achieved (impossible or very rare) in terms of a perfect life or the best way of living. But we also saw that this relationship with what is to be achieved is not enough to explain teko porã. Teko porã is not reduced to what is achieved, but, seemingly, to the entire process and the actions required to achieve it. As Participant A said, when responding to the question about what this concept would be, teko porã could be thought of as a "path": "The Shaman talks about a narrow path. What is a narrow path? A narrow path is one that few people walk on, because it is very difficult to walk this path without malice." (Participant A).

At another point in the interview, Participant A himself revisits the metaphor and introduces, simultaneously, another layer of teko porã: straying from the path does not necessarily take one out of teko porã.

"You yelled at your son, you hit your son, you spanked him, it was a mistake, there's no way to escape it. You yelled at your wife, you argued with your wife, it was a mistake. But never forget Nhanderu. The most important thing is to apologize, ask for forgiveness, say: 'Look, Xeru', Xeru is my father. 'Look, Xeru, I ask forgiveness for that situation where I made a mistake. I am flesh and bone, I am flawed, I can't escape that.' That's it, that's the most important thing. This is also teko porã, it doesn't need to be 100%, because there's no way, every day we make mistakes, we fail. But we must never forget to ask for forgiveness. This is already teko porã. You can't think: I made a mistake, I'm not in teko porã. No, you are in teko porã, you are on the narrow path, you're still there, on that path." (Participant A)

At first glance, it might seem contradictory that teko porã is a path, but it is also what is beyond the path (the deviation, the mistake), but the contradiction dissipates when the journey begins to include the learning process (and, consequently, teaching). In this sense, the journey could be understood as a little broader than previously (to include the error), or the journey could be thought of as a long path that includes maturation. In other words, what might seem like being "outside" teko porã would actually be an earlier part of the journey that includes certain mistakes, that embraces our human (imperfect) condition. More importantly, in both cases, is that the final point (the correct, the perfect) is taken as a reference. If someone makes a mistake but does not apologize or recognize their mistake, they will not be in teko porã.

Thus, taking the metaphor of the path and its complexities, we can extrapolate some considerations about the nature of teko porã. As a path, teko porã would not have as its main characteristic a physical sensation, whether it is an emotion or a feeling. In the words of Participant B, teko porã would be something "given" in the sense of a transmitted knowledge:

"Because if they hadn't given us the teaching, we wouldn't be on this path today. But since they gave us this teko porã, giving us this path, knowing, passing it on to the children, the grandchildren, the younger ones, teaching people. So we are very grateful for that." (Participant B).

This path, which is taught, as referred to by Participants A and B, is there (somewhere) for us to try to approach in the best way we can, but without certainty that we are truly walking it. This path, mapped out in our experiences and relationships, would have its own "life," independent of any particular person: the path is there to be walked, even if no one is walking it. As Participant B stated, and I emphasize the obvious here, teko porã is an abstract path. Before being a concrete path, teko porã is a path indicated by certain knowledge; it is an idea. This knowledge, which "opens" the teko porã path, in turn, is especially fluid in an oral culture like the Guarani, making this walking in teko porã at least uncertain. We are not sure if we are on the path, if we have strayed, or if we are simply at an earlier part of it.

Extrapolating a little further, now from the understanding that teko porã is knowledge that opens a certain path, we can think that, if the path points to the "best," the knowledge will be of a moral type: there is a clear attribution of value that distinguishes the best from the worst, the right from the wrong. The conduct related to teko porã, whether to seek the path or stay on it, seems entangled in Guarani morality. Thus, when talking about teko porã, a certain conduct will probably be indicated. But, this conduct will be indicated in a somewhat uncertain way, leaving space for learning, persistence, and requiring another valuable aspect for the Guarani: faith.

It seems clear, up to this point, that the sensation does not appear as a central component of teko porã, differentiating this idea, for example, from the common usage of "happy" in the United States ("I'm feeling happy with my job"). For the interviewees, what would be the most relevant (or necessary) components for teko porã?

Action in teko porã

As previously mentioned, if teko porã refers to a path, it is expected that the participants talk about the action of "walking it." In this sense, active verbs such as "to act" and "to do" were frequent, reinforcing the idea that teko porã is not lived passively. It is not something that someone receives by luck or gift (very different from, for example, "feeling well-being"). In the words of participant D:

"Teko porã is actions. They are actions that we do, and through actions, we do things in various ways." (Participant D)

The actions actively taken, therefore, are fundamental to teko porã. But these are not just any actions, clearly. As participants A and B shared, we can think of these actions as moral actions:

"But teko porã is doing the right thing for others." (Participant B)

"Teko porã would be a word for living concerned with many things. Teko porã is a way of living day to day; teko porã is without malice, in many situations (...) Teko porã is this, a path without malice." (Participant A)

By acting correctly, without malice, a person would approach teko porã.

As presented, an important part of this conduct is shown by the elders, by the family, and in the exchanges of wisdom at the Casa de Reza (House of Prayer), and is solidified (but not crystallized) in the form of nhandereko (the Guarani way of being). In the words of participant A, not participating in Guarani traditions would distance someone from teko porã:

"Maybe I can follow my customs according to the tradition, but there is something wrong happening that I am not fulfilling, so I am not following teko porã." (Participant A)

When we think about the moral value of teko porã, it may seem natural to consider the community in the attribution of value to actions. This would give a sense of collectivity to teko porã. This kind of reflection is very common when talking about non-capitalist, non-industrialized societies or communities. However, it is interesting to notice that the participants presented a special complexity when addressing the "other" in teko porã. For example, participant B mentioned that teko porã can be lived even if others do not recognize their action as good:

"When you do everything teko porã. But even if the person is not grateful for what you did, for you, you are doing something good. So, you feel happy (...)." (Participant B)

Along the same lines, individual agency in relation to teko porã was often mentioned. One of the ways this agency was addressed, more obviously in relation to "action," is the emphasis on the ability to achieve teko porã through effort:

"Yes, you have to try." (Participant B)

"Always strive. Correct. Correction is also part of teko porã. Seek to correct the mistake. This is teko porã. Try not to repeat it." (Participant A)

In other moments, the individual dimension of teko porã was presented more explicitly, as in participant D's statement:

"But, like I said before, I think teko comes from the actions of each one of us." (Participant D)

From participant A:

"Teko porã depends on you." (Participant A)

Or from participant C:

"People must do things to make others happy, but we don't have to make others happy, we have to live well." (Participant C)

In a brief reflection, it might seem strange that teko porã is so closely linked to both the community and an almost "meritocratic" idea ("it depends on you"). Participant B, for example, in contrast to the previous quotes, emphasizes especially the importance of others by repeatedly using the verb "to please" (twelve times throughout the interview):

"So, now, for people, it's the same thing. Try to please others, you have to be a good person, know how to receive people, talk to people, not treat people badly. So that's it, teko porã is like this." (Participant B)

"And I always said: you don't need to work a fixed salaried job to earn. If you want to do teko porã, you work as a volunteer, doing good for people. Everything you do is teko porã for others, without charging anything. I like doing this." (Participant B)

If the role of others or individual agency in teko porã does not seem to be presented harmoniously throughout the interviews, we could delimit two "types" of teko porã: a more individualistic teko porã and a more collectivist one; one with greater emphasis on personal autonomy and another oriented more towards the other's perspective. However, this categorization would lead us to the problem, pointed out by Viveiros de Castro (2018, p. 68), of compartmentalizing a particular idea in light of its complexity. That is, faced with apparent inconsistencies, we might separate the phenomenon into neatly coherent blocks instead of acknowledging our ignorance regarding the phenomenon being investigated (not being able to bear its complexity). Most likely, we are dealing with ignorance here. Thus, we could invest in other lines of thought, such as considering that the divergence in the interviewees' discourse comes from different points of view (or perspectives) on the teko porã "path." These wouldn't be different versions but attempts to present a complex object from the place where they experience it.

Complexity seems to indeed be a part of teko porã. Participant C, who had mentioned that we should seek to live well instead of trying to make others happy, also referred to the role of his wife in teko porã. It's worth noting that, for participant C (and also for participant B), the words happiness and teko porã were used synonymously:

"My wife is my happiness, so this place will become happy because of her. If it weren't for her, I would try to go back to another forest." (Participant C)

A possible interpretation of this seemingly ambiguous complexity seems to be offered by participant D. When responding about what it means to act correctly, he says:

"So this also has two sides: there are people who give you something you want with a big smile, and as soon as you leave, that person who gave you the big smile, behind your back, talks about many things. This is a good person, but not completely. And there's another one who gives you a big smile and often takes from their plate to give to you and says: 'there's none left for me, but Nhanderu is watching, and I will succeed.' This is the total teko porã that people have. The way we live with people, we create this moment for each of us. This is the good, beautiful nhandereko. The life we create for ourselves, for our family. This is how I understand it." (Participant D)

The presence of others in teko porã does not essentially mean "pleasing them." I wouldn't do something to please others, but I would do it because it is the right thing to do. Being generous and sharing

with other community members, for example, is important, but not sufficient: there must be internal alignment between the person and the act. Acting correctly ("you gave with a big smile...") without genuinely wanting to perform the act ("... but behind your back, they say many things") is not part of teko porã.

This relationship between moral conduct and feeling resembles Aristotle's understanding of virtue. For the Greek philosopher (Aristotle, 1962, 1104b21-24), virtuous conduct is achieved after much practice and can only be classified as such when there is satisfaction from the one acting virtuously. If there is no satisfaction, the act would merely be the mechanical reproduction of a moral code. One would do the right thing without inhabiting it. Virtue is not about the act itself, but about intention, and consequently, participation in the construction of the moral code. Something similar seems to operate in teko porã.

At another point in the interview, Participant A, who had previously stated that teko porã "depends solely on you," seems to offer another meaning for the recurring action in the pursuit of teko porã:

"This is not the teko porã path. Teko porã is when you make a mistake, fail, and ask for forgiveness. This is teko porã too. Teko porã is not just for the one who practices teko porã. A person can make mistakes but is on the teko porã path because they never forget to ask for forgiveness, to go to the House of Prayer, reflect, speak to God, to the spirit. Through this prayer, we ask for forgiveness for the day we made a mistake." (Participant A)

It is important to highlight the expression "Teko porã is not just for the one who practices Teko porã." It's worth remembering here that perhaps a greater emphasis on individuality or phrases that refer to a meritocratic spirit may result from the interview being conducted in Portuguese rather than in Guarani. The juruá language may favor the construction of phrases more familiar to juruá traditions.

In any case, it is important to note that none of the participants used the collective to explain or exemplify teko porã. For instance, phrases like "the community lives teko porã" or "we achieve teko porã" were not used. In this sense, teko porã seems to be lived individually, although the components of this relationship—between the person and the teko porã path—are intensely permeated by phenomena understood as collective: learnings, the practices and experiences of Nhandereko, the validation of the "path," and religious practices. We could think, in line with this perception, that in the end, teko porã says something about the individual's relationship with the "teko porã" path. In other words, there is a

reference to the person in the idea of teko porã, but the "person" is understood in a distinct ontology. The reference to "person" or human being, in Amerindian ontology, is far from being seen as an isolable unit (let alone an autonomous one) (Viveiros de Castro, 2018). This may explain the apparent ambiguity in dealing with the individual-collective dimension in teko porã.

A final observation about the relationship between action, the individual, and the collective: if the emphasis of teko porã were essentially individualistic, as, for example, the idea of happiness is in Positive Psychology, it would be strange that it is so rare. If teko porã truly depended only on "you," why would it be so rare? It is precisely because of this individuality that Positive Psychology seeks to uncover the "secrets" of happiness (much more easily than if happiness were multifaceted) and present with great clarity the actions that promote it.

How to Perceive Teko Porã? The Sensation, the Sacred, and Measurement

As presented thus far, teko porã is a concept too complex to be easily delineated or for a cause-and-effect process to be traced. Still, questioning the "boundaries" of this concept (what seems to separate it from other ideas) seems relevant. In this sense, one question that opens a space for reflection is about the perception of teko porã. Being such a complex concept, how would one know if they are (or if someone else is) walking this path, if they are approaching it?

Certainly, what is felt in the body is a relevant indicator. This is clearly shown in Participant B's statement: "For me, I am well in everything, well with my family, well with my child, well with my mother, well with my father, well in the Opy'i. All of this is Teko porã. I am feeling well." (Participant B). It is also evident in Participant C's words: "Teko porã is when a person feels good." (Participant C). As previously suggested, in parallel with Aristotle's idea of virtue, the good feeling ("feeling good") would be an important indicator that correct conduct is also aligned with intention.

However, the feeling, supposedly the epitome of the individual dimension, does not seem to be understood in an ordinary way. As Participant B clarified when asked about what this "feeling" is: "You will never feel good alone, I know you feel good alone, as if you were alone, but no. You feel good because you are feeling good with others, with your children, with your wife, so you feel good." (Participant B). In other words, the "feeling good" is always a "feeling good with" others.

What is felt in teko porã, then, would not be a simple feeling that is readily classified as "good" (as opposed to "bad"), depending only on some introspection. It would not be, as is commonly presented utilitarianly by Positive Psychology, about feeling more pleasure and less suffering. As Participant D

responded when asked how we perceive teko porã: "You feel it in your heart that you did something through the strength of Nhanderu, which is so great that it is a force greater than the universe." (Participant D). What is felt as a sign of teko porã approaches the ineffable, something like an oceanic feeling (cf. Paiva et al., 2004). One feels in the heart the alignment with Nhanderu, one feels in the body something that goes beyond the individual.

It does not seem strange, therefore, that the speeches about teko porã from the interviewees substantially involved the divine (sacred) dimension. What is felt is not a simple feeling, but a feeling that overflows. As Participants A and D summarize: "So this is the teaching of teko porã, the sacred path, the path without malice" (Participant A); "So, everything about teko porã, as I said, is related to spirituality." (Participant D).

The origin of the teko porã "path" is divine, associated with Tupã, sent by Nhanderu to Earth to teach us. As Participant A described:

"Let's talk about Tupã. Tupã is the god, that figure whom the god Nhanderu sent to teach, to give the teaching to the children. So this is teko porã. When he stayed here on Earth, he passed on all these teachings to the peoples, to the brothers, to the children. There are few people who could achieve it because the path is narrow. Not everyone could walk that path." (Participant A).

The idea of teko porã, therefore, would be a product of divine work, and thus, walking this path would also be divine (or represent our approach to the divine).

Teko porã is felt, but it is felt on a divine register, a register that is difficult to explain or name. Perhaps this is why the feeling is part of teko porã, yet it is far from sufficient to live teko porã. The feeling is both an indicator (a sign that one is living teko porã) and necessary (for moral conduct) for teko porã. But this only if the feeling is understood within a particular ontology, not as a feeling "enclosed" in a body, resulting from electrical impulses and hormones. For this reason, despite its importance for teko porã, it was never said that teko porã would be a feeling (unlike what is commonly heard about happiness).

The divine relation of teko porã naturally associates it with Guarani rituals and ceremonies. Practicing actions understood as sacred by the Guarani brings one closer to teko porã. As Participant C shared:

"Sometimes at night, we go to the House of Prayer. That moment is when we go to talk to God; we feel happy because every time we go to the House of Prayer, we feel the strength of Nhanderu,

and for us, that is our greatest happiness. We feel this force, it's not just saying, 'I'm going to the House of Prayer.' No, it's feeling the force. And when we are smoking the pipe, we feel the force, and we can't explain it, we just feel it." (Participant C).

This contact with the divine, through traditional practices, allows the Guarani to transcend the momentary feeling (joy or sadness), placing teko porã in another frame of reference: "We believe in Nhanderu, and he is everywhere. That's why we use the pipe so much, because the pipe makes us feel strong. When we're happy, we smoke, when we're sad, we smoke. And the pipe is our happiness." (Participant C).

If action in relation to the divine favors (living) teko porã, the sharing of this practice also seems to support it. On the one hand, this collective power is clearly evident (in its negative sense) in the difficulty mentioned about living teko porã outside the village (in the city), as will be further explored later. On the other hand, this power becomes evident (in its positive sense) in the accounts of the participants' experiences, as in Participant C's:

"I arrived yesterday from a city called Morretes, where we went to participate in a shamanic ritual, with participation from the Huni Kuin Indians from Acre. They were singing their songs, and I was dancing with my wife, dancing and smoking, and people felt like they were with us. And this also made us happy. Because we know that people from outside, Juruá, believe. And when we're smoking, they feel a very strong energy, and later they came to tell me that when they were smoking, they felt a great force. And that's good! Because when people also believe in the strength of Nhanderu, it's important for us, it's not preaching religion, we believe. And if people feel happy and joyful, we also smoke. Because there are people who say, 'Oh, the Indians are smoking pipes, it's the devil's work.' We've heard that a lot, and we feel happy when the person feels happy and is smoking beside us." (Participant C).

Acting with others seems to reinforce the perception that one is in or close to teko porã. However, if we remember that there is no certainty in teko porã (due to its abstract dimension), we could rephrase the previous statement and frame it within the religious discourse itself: being with others and acting with others strengthens faith and trust that one is on the right path. As Participant A explained:

"The believer is the one who practices these teachings, these examples that Tupã once taught. You don't need to go to church to learn this, you don't need to be an evangelical, follow the church, those signs. It's only within yourself that you practice. You have faith, that belief is already teko porã." (Participant A).

Knowing the path and knowing whether one's action is correct inevitably involves the faith of the Guarani. If one does not trust what is understood as the "path" teko porã, it is not possible to live teko porã. How could one act correctly if they do not trust what is correct? Or how could one live the best possible way without knowing what is best? Teko porã, therefore, requires faith.

Thus, both feeling and faith are combined with action as important elements of teko porã: faith in the knowledge of what is right and wrong, and in the traditions of the people; a feeling that transcends the body and, consequently, the individual; and the action that aligns these dimensions and is enhanced in communion. Given this, another question that triggers this research can be revisited: is it possible to measure teko porã? Is it possible to evaluate the degree of someone's proximity to this path? Would the gradation of teko porã be part of the Guarani discourse in the same way happiness is in the current discourse of the Juruá?

When asked about these aspects, the participants were categorical in saying that measuring teko porã would not make sense. In the words of Participant C: "The measure, no. The important thing is, for example, to ask if he is happy in the place where he lives. Then he will speak. I live here and I don't like it, I would like to move to another place. There is no percentage, there is only him saying whether he likes it or not." (Participant C). This same opinion seems to be shared by Participant D, when he said, "No, there wouldn't be [a way to measure teko porã]." (Participant D). Recalling the story in which he helped a "doctor" get better, he made it clear that both the question and the answer regarding the measurement of teko porã were strange: "This doctor said: aren't you going to measure? I said: no, it is not necessary. (...) You don't need to say, just count here inside" (while gesturing by placing his hand on his chest - Participant D).

The alignment between faith, feeling, and action would not be concretely evidenced to the point of being measured with any relevance. All the participants demonstrated this by being puzzled by questions regarding the measurement of teko porã. In the following excerpt from the interview with Participant B, the strangeness of saying something other than living or not living teko porã is clear:

"Why would I say more or less? (...) If I am sick, I feel sad because I lost a relative far away, or because I am not feeling good today because my brother is sick, my little grandson is in the

hospital. But when I'm fine, I say I'm fine. There's no more or less. I'm fine, I'm happy. If someone asks, I will always say that." (Participant B)

How is teko porã learned?

As we've seen so far, the perception of teko porã is not obvious. The variations in understanding the path and its destination require, to some extent, faith. However, even though teko porã is not obvious, concrete, or measurable, this does not mean it is anything. The path is the result of knowledge that, as knowledge, is learned and taught. Therefore, the processes of teaching and learning teko porã (who teaches, how it is taught, where it is taught) are relevant for understanding this complex idea further.

In this regard, it is possible to identify three main learning paths in the participants' discourse: action (and its repetition), life in community, and the elders. Repetition, which has been mentioned in previous excerpts, indicates the experiential and difficult-to-verbalize character of teko porã: it is important to repeat so that adjustments can be made, so that behavior can be judged and corrected based on what was felt. As Participant A said, "I am seeking this teko porã. I am always seeking it every day." (Participant A).

The guidance on how one should act and how to evaluate that action is learned from two special sources: the other members of the community and, in particular, the elders. There is a general tendency in the participants' discourse that the elders are the oldest members of the village. In a culture with a strong oral transmission influence, the elders would be closer to the knowledge originally transmitted by Tupã. In Participant B's words:

"I learned more from my parents, my mother, my grandparents. (...) My late grandfather, my grandmother also, she passed away here. I always talked a lot with her, especially with my grandmother. She always taught me this, to do good to people and not to do bad things that don't please people. You have to know how to recognize. But that's how she taught me." (Participant B)

Participant A also mentioned the strong influence of the family nucleus: "The practice of teko porã is this. Follow all the teachings of our own parents, our mothers (...) but after we get older, we might stray from the teachings our parents passed on to us." (Participant A). In this last case, it is interesting to note that even though the knowledge about teko porã was passed down, it is still necessary to repeat and

correct behavior so that someone does not stray from the "path." In other words, learning about teko porã formally does not guarantee teko porã, nor does acting correctly and being on the "path" guarantee it. In other words, not all elders would necessarily be wiser. Teko porã must be a concern throughout one's life.

In addition to the family, the community as a whole is mentioned as a source of knowledge about teko porã, especially during gatherings at the Casa de Reza (whether for specific ceremonies or the recurring meetings that take place there). In these meetings, there are significant exchanges of knowledge between community members, especially among those recognized as leaders in the village, whether politically or spiritually (chiefs and chiefesses, xeramõi and xejaryi):

"First, we learn at home, because our mother, parents, and grandparents talk to us, so we learn at home, from home to the Casa de Reza. In the Casa de Reza, we learn from everyone. From the Xeramõi who comes from the Tekoha. Xejary who comes from another Tekoha. Like last night, there was a little conversation there, where the Xejary spoke, and I also spoke a little. Another Xeramõi spoke too. So they talked about what is good to do and what is not good. It was kind of like giving a lesson to us." (Participant B)

The mention of the community's role in teaching and learning teko porã is particularly interesting because it introduces a more clearly bidirectional (or rather, multidirectional) dynamic than in the family case. While in the family, it is the elders who teach the younger ones, in the case of the Casa de Reza, the responsibility is shared by everyone. When Participant D spoke about this, he reinforced the idea that teko (way of being) is influenced by everyone's actions. In other words, if someone does not act guided by teko porã, they will end up influencing others not to do so.

"You act in a way, perhaps not good, and that already creates a way for everyone. If in my youth I killed someone, I fought, then I'm already creating a Teko for myself, and I'll be remembered for that. And I might even die, and people will say: when he was alive, he did that. So it creates... so Teko needs to be taught from an early age to the children, our children, so that our children have it and respect Teko." (Participant D)

However, as the excerpt also shows, despite the shared responsibility for teko, it is the elders (who will teach "from an early age to the children, our children...") who have the responsibility to guide

teko porã. The importance of the elders and wise ones in the teaching and learning of teko porã was not a consensus among the participants. We could think of this divergence in terms of verticality and horizontality in the teaching-learning of teko porã. In other words, the more vertical the teaching-learning process, with less space for dialogue or debate, the clearer the hierarchy of what is part of or not part of teko porã (the conduct becomes clearer).

For some (especially Participants A and D), those who possess and transmit teko porã are the elders and spiritual leaders. According to Participant D, as the excerpt below indicates, knowing and being able to transmit teko porã depends both on lived experience (the elders) and spiritual gifting:

"There are Catholics, Evangelicals, who have different knowledge, but they all work to acquire this knowledge through reading, from the holy Bible. And in the M'bya indigenous culture, this is passed on orally, not from a Xeramõi standing up and saying that they learned this value of spirituality through reading or that someone taught them. Many times, this knowledge is passed on as well, but it is different from knowledge that is shared, taken from a book, from the Bible. So, it is different for a Xeramõi, a knower, a healer, to have this gift of knowledge, even in relation to traditional medicine. So, they pass on this knowledge maybe to a family member who is close or has a different perspective. (...) Then Nhanderu, through revelations or the ritual prayer Nhee, the person's good spirit speaks to them." (Participant D)

In the excerpt above, it seems that not just anyone could (or should) speak about teko porã. The knowledge involved in this important subject is specifically a subject for the xeramõi and xejaryi (spiritual leaders).

Participant A, who had previously highlighted the importance of their family unit in the teaching of teko porã, reported the existence of another form of verticality regarding this subject: an important written record:

"I saw a Guarani Bible, there is also an evangelical constitution within the Guarani indigenous peoples, called Cristianismo Decidido. So, this constitution has the Bible written in Guarani, which talks about God, about the peoples. They talk a lot about Teko porã too. They give teachings, which are passed down from generation to generation." (Participant A)

Still, despite being a written record, generationality appears as fundamental, as this document and its teachings are passed "from generation to generation."

Participant C, however, indicated a slightly different perspective on the teaching of teko porã. For him, the emphasis on oral tradition, which is foundational to Guarani culture, produces differences in discourse about various topics. Therefore, it would be normal to have fluidity when speaking about teko porã. In fact, Participant C was the only one among the four participants who felt comfortable discussing the topic. The others expressed feeling a great responsibility and, at times, a certain incapacity, to address such an important issue.

"Yeah, I think everyone will speak differently. Our stories are never the same because when one Guarani tells a story and another Guarani tells the same story, but in a different way. There is no true story, they are all the same, but each one explains it differently. They add something. Oral history is like this, it's repeated. Because it keeps evolving as the storyteller tells it. For example, a story that sometimes changes. And when we have contact with other Teko porã, we have to change some things, otherwise, I'm just going to speak badly to change. And oral history, when I tell it to people, changes something. If it's in the village, sometimes each person changes something, it's normal. No problem." (Participant C)

Thus, oral tradition would introduce a different criterion for speaking about (and teaching) teko porã: the gift of speech. The ability to teach teko porã would relate more to the ability (gift) of communication than to age. Even the relationship with the sacred could be understood differently. The gift of speech would be a type of relationship with Nhanderu that is considerably different from being a xeramõi or xejaryi. Spiritual leaders are such because they are in a certain kind of dialogue with the divine; whereas the person with the gift of speech possesses it due to having received grace. It is the result of a relationship that could be seen as occasional with Nhanderu. The difference, therefore, is that in the second case, even a child (as in the case of Participant C's child) could teach teko porã.

"Some people are shy to speak and throw it to someone else: 'Talk to the elders.' But in reality, they are avoiding the topic, they are shy. But when someone has the gift of speech, they speak. My son, when he starts to speak, and I give it to him to speak, people are impressed. We believe that speech is a gift from Nhanderu. He gives this gift to us to speak." (Participant C)

The narratives of the participants about the teaching and learning of teko porã indicate that there is a shared responsibility in the community to guide and adjust behaviors, which, in turn, must be repeated, analyzed, and constantly improved. However, the knowledge that governs action comes from distinct sources, each with varying degrees of influence (verticality-horizontality). For all participants, the elders hold a distinct place, but the strength of their influence is not consensual. This influence can be stronger or weaker, more or less directive about what teko porã consists of. This difference in opinion, characterized by the differences between the accounts of Participants A and D and Participant C, may reflect a tension (or adjustment process) involving Guarani culture, with its ancestral traditions, and the juruá culture, which is considerably less respectful of the elderly. In any case, it is important to highlight that it is the spiritual dimension that legitimizes the place of speech in the discourse of all participants. Whether through the gift of speech, the closeness of the teachings of Tupã (elders), the knowledge of the Guarani Bible, or the discourse of spiritual leaders, it is the spiritual dimension that ensures the value of what is spoken about teko porã.

Is it possible for a Guarani to live teko porã outside the tekoha? The importance of territory

Up until now, I have analyzed some important characteristics of teko porã in the participants' discourse related to action and the sacred: the relationship between someone and teko porã is one of constant mobility (whether it is the person or the concept of teko porã that changes), and thus requires constant effort (action); the legitimacy and value of what is spoken and done about teko porã come primarily from the sacred.

Not separated, but closely tied to this is the idea of space, or rather, what is understood as territory for the Guarani. Adding the idea of territory-space to the discussion is not unusual, as every action and discourse materializes in a specific place. In this sense, it was interesting to notice that the idea of "place" is not indifferent to teko porã, but is profoundly connected, particularly, to the spiritual world. Even though I had been exposed to different translations of teko porã in the literature, especially those presented by the poet Brígido Bogado, I was surprised by Participant C when he presented a new (to me) translation of teko porã:

"Teko porã... Teko for us means the place. So for us it's a beautiful place, so every place we live we have to feel comfortable, and if we feel comfortable, that's teko porã, a place where we feel happy. (...) Teko is like place, and Tekoha could refer to the village. Teko means our territory,

where we live, that place. Teko porã, a beautiful place, the place where we live. Because in the city there are villages, we have Tekoha." (Participant C)

This translation of teko as "place" is not a consensus, as Participant A expresses: "Teko is a way, a way of being." (Participant A). However, if we understand (once again) this difference not as an "error" or "divergence", but as distinct meanings that present the complexity of the same concept, the intertwined relationship between the way of being and the place of being becomes central. In fact, by considering teko as "place," Participant C concretizes the metaphor of teko porã being a "path." As the following excerpt indicates, if a person does not feel they are living teko porã, they will leave in search of another place where they can feel better. Searching for the narrow path of teko porã would be directly linked to finding a place to live.

"For example, when I was at Krukutu, during the time I lived there, I felt good, so for me, that's teko porã. As I said, there are people who don't like the place and leave, and teko porã is that, the place where a person feels good. If they don't feel good, they'll change to another place. And this is common, they have to feel spiritually well. If they feel it, they stay; if they don't, they leave." (Participant C)

The relationship between place and teko porã (as, in some way, a better way of being) was deepened by the participants when they answered the question, "Is it possible for a Guarani to live teko porã outside the tekoha?" For Participant A, teko porã would be possible "regardless of the place you are in. What matters is practicing teko porã, wherever you are. You don't need to be in the community to practice teko porã. You can practice it everywhere you are." (Participant A).

Participant B's perspective echoes the idea that it is theoretically possible to live teko porã outside the tekoha, though she acknowledges that it would be more difficult:

"I don't know, because I've never lived in the city. But from my perspective, I think it's possible, right? I think it's possible. If you want to live teko porã, you don't go to parties, you don't go to bars, you stay to yourself, always thinking about Nhanderu, always thanking him. You don't need to go to the Opy'i every night, every moment. You can thank him anywhere. So that's teko porã, and you can live it in the city alone, with a companion, or with someone else. But it's hard, I'll tell you the truth, it's really hard, even here in the village." (Participant B)

Despite the possibility, in theory, of living teko porã outside the tekoha, in practice, the difficulty seems to verge on impossibility. Participant C, exploring his opinion on the question, helps us understand the concept of teko as simultaneously a place and a way of being. The place where one lives regulates the way of being, especially when contrasting such different places as the "forest" and the city:

"In the village, we can live with or without money. The indigenous person doesn't have money, but when he gets there, he has a hunt, materials to make a pipe, and with that, he has happiness. In the city, he can't. I was talking about this earlier, you go to the village, here it's different, but when I was there, I had things like gasoline and gas... And everyone buys gas, which used to cost 80, but now it's 100. Well, if before we bought gas, fine, it lasts two months, for us it's normal to go to the woods, cut wood. For us, it doesn't change anything. Happiness is knowing how to survive without this great need for money, which in the city, people work, work, and keep buying everything but never get ahead." (Participant C)

Participant D was more emphatic in saying that it wouldn't be possible to live teko porã in the city. The justification for this response was similar to Participant C's: the city transforms the way of being:

"No, because, for example, Tekoha and all the residents there live in a community, with collectivity. And often, the many things we do are collective, some in the mornings, lunch, a simple chimarrão—we are there to share. The use of Petyngua, a Petyngua passes through many and it's a moment to share. And outside, outside the Tekoha, for example, I'm here in the city now, there's a giant wall there, but there's a little door and a row, and each door has a resident. And often, these neighbors don't know each other, some people who moved in, bought a property, rented, don't know each other, and many will say that when this neighbor needs help, they'll say no. Each little door is a house, families with individual thoughts. So one family with a nicer, more structured house has more money than the other. That's the difference. And in one of these little doors, a Guarani will enter too, and he'll say: there's a Juruá there, another Juruá there, here's my door, I'm here. And it will also have individualistic thinking and won't practice teko porã. And when they go to the villages, they will have a different mindset and often disagree with the way their relatives are living, and they'll recall, because they already have another understanding." (Participant D)

The idea of teko porã as the best way to live for the Guarani presupposes a universe of practices, relationships, and sensations thought within a specific space. This space would be, thus, the space of the Guarani; a space that enables and potentiates certain practices and relationships while disabling and discouraging others. It would be the appropriate space where the way of being is realized. Given this, it is not surprising that this place is one with a forest (and from the forest):

"So, for us, happiness is having space to live peacefully, without contact with others, because people think that the indigenous person should have contact. No, our contact is with our people, the people in the village. And this is the way we live happy and peaceful. Because in the traditional villages, we go and cut wood, we make traps, we make wooden planks. We have houses made of palm, things like that, which for us is happiness. (...) So, this silence, which isn't about speaking with people, silence means a lot, because we don't need to talk, we can be there, concentrating, observing things, the song of the bird, the noise of the forest, that's happiness for us, we try to feel happy." (Participant C)

Teko porã, territory, and forest

So what would this place be where teko porã is most likely? As the previous excerpts and the contrast with the city seem to highlight, the description of this place suitable for teko porã points to elements (beings) of the forest. More explicitly, Participant C shared: "And I lived my whole life, even though I was an educated person, I lived in the woods, in the forest, so for us the forest is happiness. This is Tekoha. So Tekoha is all that place we live. We choose the place to live, for me Tekoha is the entire territory where we feel happy." (Participant C)

Participant A complements this idea by pointing out that feeling "happy" in relation to nature and the forest means living from it and living with it: "The relationship with nature? It's living from it. Living with nature, living with nature and the nature remaining through human practice. That's respecting nature, that's a big issue, a big concern we have today, which is to live from nature, and nature depending on you. To be within Teko porã, you must respect nature. Because nature has spirit." (Participant A). Therefore, it is not merely proximity to nature, but a way of life dependent on it.

It is important to emphasize that here, I am following Viveiros de Castro (2018, p.xx) and seeking to avoid the opposition between nature and culture. When I mention nature (and when the participants mention nature), I am not referring to a primordial relationship devoid of culture. Obviously, this is not

the case. There is no way to have a relationship with nature (regardless of how it is understood) without cultural and symbolic elements shared between people. This is the case, for example, when the participants indicate a universe of physical-spatial elements directly related to the spiritual dimension. Nature and the sacred seem to be indistinguishable.

> "When we go, for example, you will need to use this nature, you always have to ask permission from the spirit. Because these natures have spirit. From the stone, the forests, the animals, everything you need from nature, you ask the protector. He is a protector of the animals, as we have a creator. These natures of various elements have their spirits, their ancestors. So that's why it's important to respect nature. Because without it, we are not capable either, we need water. It's life." (Participant A)

> "Because I like the forest, the forest for us is very pleasant, we feel a different force, it's spiritual." (Participant C)

There are dialogues with beings that, in the positivist scientific ontology, would seem strange, such as, for example, talking to a stone. But this exchange of listening, speaking, care, etc., is fundamental in the Guarani cosmology. And, remembering the fundamental role of the sacred for teko porã, it makes sense to understand that nature-spirit is both a provider and a guide of teko porã.

> "Because imagine, the stone that has been there for millions of years, the spirit that has been there saw all the events of the various generations of humans. The spirit of the stones saw them all, knows everything that has happened since the beginning. For years and years it witnessed those generations and generations of humanity. It witnessed all generations for humanity. So we must, we must respect it as it is also an elder, it is also immortal. Here in the world, there are also immortal spirits, so we must respect it as well." (Participant A)

The city, lacking these elements of the forest and surrounded by human inventions (and not creations of Nhanderu), would be poor in relations with the spiritual world and, consequently, poor in teachings about teko porã. On the other hand, the proper place of the Guarani, the place of teko porã (as Participant C said, "For me, Teko porã is a place in itself") does not materialize in a space marked on a map with well-defined boundaries.

The territory of teko porã is one of relation, and as a relation, it is movement. It would be something close to how juruás (like me) usually think about relationships with people: we learn from certain people, take care of certain people, are cared for, live intensely, and eventually part ways to live new relationships. Even if we try to maintain a crystallized relationship, it will not remain so. In this sense, the Guarani and their nature-spirit relate to transience, after all, the Guarani are traditionally a people of great territorial mobility.

The Land Without Evil and Contemporary Pessimism: Topos, Utopia, and Dystopia

If teko porã is related to the present place inhabited by nature-spirits, the Land Without Evil refers to an absent place inhabited by non-embodied spirits. "Teko porã is this place we can see. And the Land Without Evil is the place we cannot see, but we believe in it." (Participant C). This absent place, the Land Without Evil, is therefore rare to reach, reserved for those who live or have lived lives closer to the ideal.

> "(...) When people arrive, I often hear many speaking of Yvy Porã, which is the Land Without Evil, and for us to reach it... Because it exists, especially for the elders, and it's not for just anyone, it's for the healers, the Xamõi, Nhande Karai, meaning, I am a learner, and who knows, one day I will become a Xeramõi, and through my actions, I will reach this sacred space, this land. I will reach it (...) And this with spirit, with the body." (Participant D)

Returning to the metaphor of the path, we could think of the Land Without Evil as what lies beyond the endpoint of teko porã; the Land Without Evil would be the place where the "best way of living" is fully realized. If teko porã is the correct path, the path of duty, taking the "best life as a reference," the Land Without Evil has nothing beyond itself as a reference. Perhaps this is why Clastres (1978) suggested that the Land Without Evil is a place opposed to social obligations: with nothing beyond itself, there would be no external ideal guiding actions; for perfect beings, why would a moral code be necessary? The Land Without Evil would ultimately be a place of original existence. For us, who do not inhabit this place, it is up to us to "guess" what a life without this morality guiding actions would be like.

In any case, as long as it is not reached, the idea of the Land Without Evil serves as a powerful way to reinforce teko porã (as they share the same path). The idea of the Land Without Evil strengthens correct conduct, good habits, and values to be cherished. A significant difference, however, lies in the degree of complexity between living teko porã and living in the Land Without Evil. Like a challenging path, the

number of people able to traverse it decreases as the distance advances. While many can live teko porã, either by taking it as a reference or effectively following part of the path, a much smaller number would be able to complete the entire journey and cross the endpoint.

However, the metaphor of the path might give the impression that the Land Without Evil is more clearly defined than it appears in the participants' discourse. Although it is uniformly referred to as a place, this place (which exists beyond the "arrival") is presented in different ways among the participants. One example is the reference to the Land Without Evil as a place one goes after death:

"We Guarani say that when we die, we go to a place, a place that Nhanderu created for us. So we die and go to this place called the Land Without Evil. That's why we always go to the House of Prayer to ask for strength and to thank Nhanderu for being there too (...) This was a teaching the shamans always passed down, that one day we will die and go to this place. So, we contemplate the Earth but also contemplate this place where we will go when we die." (Participant C)

As a post-life place, the Land Without Evil represents an absence from the earthly "plane" and can only be contemplated through spiritual practice. It is worth noting that this utopian post-life concept differs from the afterlife of other religions because it is not consistently presented as conditional upon one's conduct in life. For the participants, the Land Without Evil is simultaneously for those who lived teko porã and for everyone after death.

The Land Without Evil is also described as a place that exists on Earth, a real location that can be reached. As Participant A explained:

"In the context of the Xeramõi, there is still a Land Without Evil here in the universe, which we call Earth. It's near us, here on the island, by the sea. We don't see it; we don't perceive anything because these people, these small gods, passed through here. They became ill there, on those islands we call the Lands Without Evil." (Participant A)

What might seem like opposition, contradiction, or incongruity can instead be understood as the particular complexity of the idea of the Land Without Evil. This place is not either spiritual or earthly but both. The Land Without Evil synthesizes the earthly and the spiritual, merging topos (place) with utopia (simultaneously a "good place" and a "non-place"). Through this connection, the Land Without Evil reinforces moral conduct while remaining non-meritocratic (unlike the juruá concept). The discourse

around the Land Without Evil aligns with the notion that the body is individual, but the spirit is shared (cf. Viveiros de Castro, 2018, p. 35-37); moral acts enable a person to reach the Land Without Evil, but upon death, their spirit joins Nhanderu's realm in communion with other spirits (of humans, plants, animals, etc.).

However, the Land Without Evil demands strong faith, as Participant C's statement—"The Land Without Evil is the place we cannot see, but we believe in it"—indicates. Belief in this place, given its rarity, is essential. This faith manifests both in the perseverance of action and in religious practice. Participant A sheds light on the first aspect, while Participant D explains the second:

"They faced all the difficulties, just like we face today, but they never gave up on that dream, that goal, and they managed to reach it." (Participant A)

"I say that if one day I become a Xamõi or a Xeramõi, even that doesn't guarantee I'll reach the Land Without Evil because there are many passages to go through to get there, to reach the peak and enter the Land Without Evil. So, through actions, it's connected to spirituality. Maybe I won't make it with both body and soul, body and spirit, to that Land Without Evil. Why do I say this? Maybe I won't because I've messed up quite a bit here (...)." (Participant D)

Faith in these two senses—perseverance in actions and spirituality—brings one closer to teko porã and, consequently, to the Land Without Evil. This connection is evident in the previous quotes and becomes clearer in Participant A's response about the relationship between teko porã and the Land Without Evil:

"There is a very strong relationship. Because it was through this teko porã that Nhanderu Mirim managed to cross the ocean, this sea, in the flesh, with body, flesh, and bone. They managed to cross this ocean after years of seeking this goal through teko porã." (Participant A)

As previously mentioned, the Land Without Evil (Terra sem Males) is always presented as a kind of absence, an absence that suggests rarity. As Participant D pointed out, it is not enough to have a spiritual connection and become a Xeramõi; one must have lived in the best possible way. Similarly, as Participant A explained, it is not enough to be healthy; one must be extraordinarily strong to overcome the physical obstacles leading to this island. In this sense, the absence of the Land Without Evil seems

amplified by the current context in which the Guarani live. Across all interviews, there was a general sentiment that life is harder today than it was in the past.

"But it has been decades since a Xeramõi has reached [the Land Without Evil]. But when they don't arrive there with body and spirit, they arrive only with the spirit." (Participant D)

"Now we, this generation, and the other generations that came after, have not been able to do so anymore. The world is so cruel that we can't even pursue it. But through all these difficulties we face today, the most important thing we have is to always remember Nhanderu. To follow, to obey the teachings. This is what we still practice today: going to the House of Prayer, practicing the teachings, and that alone is a great thing, it is teko porã. But we can no longer go beyond and seek that salvation, which is to become an immortal god. There are many gods who achieved immortality. Certainly, these little gods, whom we call Nhanderu Mirim, passed through here, lived here, built families, and became immortal. So, for us, they are also Nhanderu. They became protectors of life, protectors of Nature, of everything that is nature. They also protect." (Participant A)

When speaking of the Land Without Evil, therefore, participants are not only discussing topos (place) and utopia, but they also refer to a kind of dystopia (the "bad place"). If topos could be thought of as the place embodying the Guarani way of being (tekoha), it seems increasingly distant from the Land Without Evil (or utopia). The place where the Guarani live today, marked by challenges like lack of land demarcation, invasions, destruction, and many other actions that have deprived them of living as their ancestors did, begins to resemble a form of dystopia. Yet, it is a dystopia distinct from what the city represents. In the city, the way of being is so different that even practicing faith becomes difficult. Without faith, the Land Without Evil and teko porã themselves cease to be guiding references for life, losing their significance.

Pessimism and Happiness for the Juruá

As the previous excerpt seems to have made clear, there is a sense of pessimism (in the sense of anticipating a future worse than the present) that runs through the discourse of the participants in this research. Interestingly, although the words teko porã and happiness are not clearly distinguished

throughout the interviews, the perspective of decline is closely related to the understanding that the juruá (non-Indigenous people) have of happiness (in its common sense). The difficulty of living teko porã or reaching the Terra sem Males (Land Without Evil) is directly linked to a world that favors the happiness of appearances, the valorization of money, and that, simultaneously, seduces the Guarani.

Before specifically addressing the view participants presented about happiness for the non-Indigenous, it is important to provide a greater dimension to the pessimism reported. Participant A, speaking about the Terra sem Males, said:

"It's what the Xeramõi seek, but it's so difficult because all the evil here on Earth prevents it from happening. It happened only rarely even for our ancestors, so imagine today? In our history, in our Guarani context, very few people managed to achieve this goal. Since our ancestors. But it has become even more difficult today with all these things happening in our world, bad things that we can't resist. So we face greater difficulty in achieving this goal." (Participant A)

Explaining why it is especially difficult to reach the Terra sem Males, he referred to health and, more concretely, the diet of the Guarani:

"People in the past were pure people; from birth, they ate pure foods, sacred foods. They didn't eat salt, sugar, or fat, only the foods revealed by Nhanderu. And through this, they managed to grow old with a pure body, pure blood, pure soul. It was in this condition that people in the past could achieve that goal. (...) The Guarani were not born to die; we were not born to leave our body on the Earth. Today, in this cruel world, we Guarani can no longer maintain our bodies to achieve our goal." (Participant A)

If in the past it was possible to have a strong and healthy body to reach the Terra sem Males (in life) by consuming true foods, today, this perspective is no longer possible. Indeed, diet (the "true" foods discussed in theoretical considerations) was one of the main elements used to compare the past (better) with the present (worse). While Participant A described the dietary habits of the ancestors, Participant C highlighted the problems with contemporary eating habits:

"So people should have a differentiated diet with food. Today, I eat in restaurants, and that's why the ancients, the Guarani, managed to reach these lands without evil. (...) We notice that young

people in the village are bigger today, and it's because of city food. Everything they eat has hormones. You buy beans—it has [chemicals]. You buy meat—it has [chemicals]. You buy pasta—it has [chemicals]. Everything packaged has it because it was all produced with chemical production, and that also makes things grow. A girl who was 10 years old already had breasts, and we looked, like, wow, in the past, in the villages, only at 13 years old. Now it's all happening because of hormones causing this development. And this is happening to the Indigenous too because we buy a lot from the city." (Participant C)

We can observe from these excerpts that changes in diet have drastically altered the Guarani's perception of their bodies and health. Inevitably, these bodily changes impact community practices, whether religious or otherwise. However, this pessimism expressed by the interviewees extends beyond just these physical transformations. While the Guarani bodies are no longer like those of their ancestors, this issue is compounded by the presence of new and constant objects of desire that lead them to pursue what is less meaningful. As Participant D explained:

"That's why it's so hard these days for us to get close, at least close to Teko porã, to the Terra sem Males. Because we are confronted with everything we want. More and more, we want new, more expensive things. And that's how it happens. In all Guarani society as well." (Participant D)

The problem with what becomes desirable (or what is difficult to avoid desiring) lies in its disconnection from Guarani history. In the case of food, the connection or disconnection depends on whether the food is spiritually inhabited (sent by Nhanderu) or not (produced by human engineering). A similar dynamic seems to apply to desires: desiring something with history, spirit, and "truth" versus desiring something artificial, disconnected from Nhanderu, and "false." Participant C described the problem of desire as an excessive emphasis on status:

"And for the white man's world, it's the opposite. For them, happiness and the first thing they think about is status. So the first thing a father thinks about is the future of his child. To make him happy, the first step is to put him in school, to study. And for the man of the city, it's money, because without money, he can't do anything. (...) Sometimes kids, young people, go to school, and I had to put clothes on them. And sometimes a person doesn't have a cent to buy a snack but is chasing after a nice pair of sneakers, some clothes, to show others they're well-dressed. And

for happiness, it's trying to show others something you're not. And that's not good. When we're in the Opy'i [prayer house], everyone goes however they are—barefoot, in shorts—nobody in the village is worried about their clothes." (Participant C)

For Participant C, concern with status is therefore concern with something false, belonging to the realm of appearances devoid of content. This appearance (false, empty, or lifeless, we might say) becomes the goal of happiness for the juruá—"to show others something you're not"—which is very different from teko porã: "That's not how it is. Happiness is feeling good as you are, in these clothes. With ourselves." (Participant C)

In Participant A's words, the emphasis on appearances leads to a type of good (whether a feeling, possession, or similar) that is fleeting and often carries negative consequences. In contrast, teko porã would be both the cause and consequence of a more stable life (serene and confident, to borrow the expression from Luís Claudio Figueiredo, cf. Sousa, 2018, p. 109):

"Happiness there, the juruá couldn't separate it; they mixed everything together. The juruá says happiness is everything—it's money, women, partying, celebrations, family—all mixed up, all in one ball. Success, success in life—it's everything. But for us, there's this separation, this division. (...) I'm happy because I'm healthy; none of my children are sick. I'm healthy, I'm happy even without money. I'm going through my difficulties, I'm making an effort every day, but I'm not sad, no, I'm happy because I'm healthy. I'm doing well with my family, and I'm not lacking health to work—that's happiness. [But for the juruá,] you're happy, all happy, because you have money, you're not lacking anything, but soon it will end. Or you're happy because you're at a party, at a celebration, but soon you'll get into a fight. And the consequence—what will it bring? You'll kill someone, or they'll kill you. So, that's not happiness. Is that happiness? It's not! But the juruá says it is." (Participant A)

The emphasis on appearances, objects, and actions devoid of history or spirituality is aptly captured in the concern with money, which lacks intrinsic value. This is evident in Participant D's discourse, which presents an idea of happiness (for the juruá) that is deeply tied to the possession of money:

"Nowadays, it's no longer like that because it seems that happiness has everything to do with finances, with money. If someone doesn't have money, they get sick. And I see this, and many

times I say: oh dear, today I have to work simply to keep the bills up to date. So, as the song says: money was made and spread around the world, and life is just about dining with money. So, it spread, living until a certain age, constantly working just to save a little money and that's it. (...) That's how it is. And for society in general, and even more so for the juruá, having money is already happiness." (Participant D)

When Participant D said, "for society in general and even more so for the juruá," he seemed to reinforce the idea that the valorization of money has already infiltrated Guarani culture (albeit less intensely than in the juruá), representing a distortion of their way of being: "In the past, my grandfather leased land to the juruá. The juruá would clear the land to plant crops, and at harvest, they would sell and share the money with the people. But now it's no longer like that; people think more about themselves." (Participant B)

The closer the Guarani are to the city—or the city is to the Guarani—the harder it becomes to escape the necessity of money: "Why are there so many problems in the city? There's that crowd under the bridges, in the streets. If you don't have money, you'll be unhappy. As long as you don't have money, you're unhappy." (Participant C)

Unlike life in the forest, where one grows and hunts food, in the city, one can only eat if they have money: "Because the most important thing is eating; having food, we manage the rest of life." (Participant C) Thus, the concern with appearances (represented in the juruá idea of happiness) seems contradictory to important aspects of teko porã. Appearances do not require repetition, constant adjustment, experience, coexistence, spiritual care, alignment between actions and the heart, or the strength of Nhanderu. It is sufficient to simply seem something. This seeming, as mimesis (of something that it resembles), involves no connection or communion.

Finally, it is important to note that when participants, amidst their pessimism, refer to the (almost) impossibility of teko porã, they are pointing to a fundamentally problematic issue: the loss of faith, which is a central element of the Guarani way of being. Seen as particularly difficult to cultivate in the city, faith also appears increasingly challenging to maintain in the Guarani topos: "Unless the current crisis we're in improves, we'll continue in this way. Because there's no other way out, there's no escape. Where would we escape to? Running isn't an option, so we must face this challenge." (Participant A)

Perhaps faith, in the end, is the best evidence of teko porã: to believe in and trust teko porã is, in itself, to already be walking its path.

A Brief Observation on Teko Vaí and Teko Aí

For one of the participants (Participant A), the notion of teko porã was complemented by the concepts of teko aí and teko vaí. However, for other participants, the understanding was different and closer to what Cristine Takuá (2018) presented. In other words, while Participant A seemed to perceive three categories of "ways of living" — a better one (teko porã), a worse one (teko vaí), and one with ambiguous elements (teko aí) — for the others, the existence of this third "way of living" was unfamiliar. The confirmation and explanation from other participants were essential to my analysis because I felt I had not fully understood what Participant A was trying to convey (perhaps due to a lack of familiarity, prior knowledge, or any of countless possible reasons).

Participant B, for example, when asked about teko aí, said she did not recognize the term. She instead preferred to explain teko vaí: "Everything wrong! If you are living teko vaí, you drink, you smoke — none of this pleases others. Nhanderu will not be pleased with what you are doing because it is not good. It is not good for your health. Teko vaí leads nowhere." (Participant B)

This explanation aligns closely with Takuá's description (2018, p. 7), who defines teko vaí as: "The Bad Life, present in unrestrained consumption and the peculiar tendency toward voluntary servitude, where many live as slaves to their desires. It is present in wars, individualism, pollution of rivers, impoverishment, depression — in short, in various situations that drive humans into an incessant quest for a 'Better Life,' under the illusion that material possessions, comfort, and luxury will bring the delicate and profound satisfaction of the experience that penetrates one's very being and state of existence, as when Bem Viver is achieved through daily actions in Life."

Thus, my initial idea that teko vaí and teko aí would open fertile semantic ground did not come to fruition in the analysis of the interviews. Nevertheless, these concepts are noted here, perhaps to germinate in future work.

Final Discussion

Structural Similarities and Differences Between Teko Porã and Subjective Well-Being (SWB)

A challenge that permeated this research was the issue of whether it is coherent to relate teko porã to non-Indigenous concepts. This challenge was not simple, as it involved substantial differences in cosmologies and the fact that teko porã does not present itself as a well-defined concept (something

typical of oral traditions of teaching and learning). The latter point, in particular, warrants more attention because the comparison between teko porã, happiness, and SWB requires a minimum of boundaries delineating each object. Thus, since teko porã is presented in many different ways, would it be problematic to try to draw (or identify) pieces of its boundary?

From this research, it seems that the answer to this question depends on the perspective from which it is viewed. For the Guarani, for example, there does not seem to be any interest or direct benefit to their way of life in drawing the perimeter of teko porã. This action could even be seen as an aggression depending on how it is presented and used. A teko porã defined as a concept would not be the same as that of the daily Guarani life; it would not be the same as narrated in the interviews. On the other hand, when viewed from the perspective of public policy development, a clearer definition would help to perceive the plurality of the lifestyles involved in these policies. From a third perspective, that of psychology or science in general, a better definition of teko porã could serve to expand the "world" of this research field: it would give researchers a "reflection of ourselves in which we do not recognize ourselves" (Maninglier, 2005, p. 773-774). Consequently, it would require a reformulation of its foundations. Thus, the careful search for boundaries seems legitimate, even though, in a sense, it transforms teko porã.

The first step taken toward defining the boundaries of teko porã was considering whether this notion is or is not a Guarani reference to the "best way of living." Although it is quite common to find references to teko porã as a good or "better life," it seems to me that the meaning of the notion is more aligned with a life that is hierarchically superior to other possible lives. For example, Cristine Takuá (2018, p.6) wrote that teko porã "is the representation of the good way of being and living," but a "good way" would not be equivalent to other good ways; rather, it seems to be the "good way" in its moral sense: the good way is the correct way of living. In other words, the life referred to in teko porã is the best one. This became clear through the importance of the theme for the Guarani (leading to a certain nervousness in speaking about it or refusal to participate in the research), in responses during interviews, and in the subtext of works referring to teko porã. Thus, as a reference to the "best way of living," teko porã aligns with the modern Western tradition of happiness, even though specific research on SWB suggests that it refers to what is good:

"Once scientists began to study subjective well-being, they focused less on trying to decide whether it is, in fact, the most desirable of all states, which was usually considered to be a philosophical question beyond science. Instead, they emphasized understanding the antecedents and consequences of subjective well-being, assuming that it was good regardless of whether it

was the highest good. Thus, the question was no longer whether happiness is the summum bonum, the highest good, but what causes this state and whether it produces outcomes that are seen as desirable." (Diener, 2009, p.1)

In any case, stating that SWB differs from the philosophical tradition of happiness and teko porã in terms of referring or not referring to the best way of living is not simple. This is because, although it is said that SWB does not concern the "best life," the results of research tend to be presented as if they do. The titles of books by another important founder of Positive Psychology, Martin Seligman, make this clear. One of his books is titled Flourish, and the other Authentic Happiness: Use Positive Psychology to Realize Your Full Potential. It seems logical to suppose that a person who flourishes or realizes their full potential is living a life perceived as the best.

The second step in defining the boundary of teko porã was to understand whether this notion, like happiness and SWB, pertains to someone specifically. In other words, is teko porã something that belongs to an individual, or is it something collective? Is it the teko porã of a person or of a village? In general, it was possible to perceive a unity in the reference to teko porã as pertaining to an individual, although sometimes (both in literature and in interviews) the role of the community in teko porã is mentioned. However, this role pertains to the transmission of teko porã, not its experience. When referring to the experience of teko porã, it is about the person: it is the person who lives teko porã, or does not. Thus, another similarity identified between teko porã, happiness, and SWB is that these expressions refer to an individual.

However, special care is needed regarding this similarity. When we speak of "person" in the modern Western tradition, this seems quite clear, even obvious: the person who knows and is known always undergoes a process of distancing and differentiation: the person constitutes a unit. The person "[...] knows themselves objectively when they are able to see themselves 'from the outside,' as a 'this.'" (Viveiros de Castro, 2018, p.50). Therefore, there is a quality of separability-autonomy in the person-individual. In Amerindian cosmology, which involves teko porã, the process of the person knowing and being known is reversed. It is a process of personifying and revealing a "maximum of intentionality" in what surrounds the person. It is as if a certain "spreading out" of the subject toward the world is necessary. A person knows more and is known better the more they are involved with what transcends their body (Viveiros de Castro, 2018, p.50-51). In any case, despite this "spreading out," the concept of a person with agency is present in Guarani cosmology, and it is to this that teko porã is directed. After all, as Viveiros de Castro (2018, p.51) writes, "Indians are perfectly capable of adopting the 'physical' and

'functional' attitudes (Dennett, 1978) in their daily lives [...]". Elements presented here, such as moral conduct, the lived experience of the Guarani way of being, sensations, and health, continue to refer to the person (Guarani), not the community.

Thus, although the different objects analyzed here pertain to the person, this idea is taken in very different ways. Teko porã has a vector from the person to the community, while SWB has a supposedly "self-sufficient" vector, from the person to themselves. What is pointed to in teko porã is traditional communal life; what is pointed to in SWB is the personal project. For this reason, the idea of evaluating teko porã is taken in a completely different way from how happiness and SWB are approached in Positive Psychology. Although teko porã pertains to the individual, it is inherently tied to other beings and the context. In contrast, happiness and SWB can be understood independently of what occurs around the person: it is, after all, confined to its individual subjective dimension. As psychologist Ed Diener (1984, p.543) wrote in the work that introduced the concept of SWB (in English, SWB), "Nevertheless, as measurement and other work proceeds, the most scientifically useful concepts [of SWB] will be those that can be measured and show, within a theoretical framework, interesting relationships to other variables."

In Positive Psychology (PP), happiness and SWB are influenced by context, but the individual is able to control these variables or act independently of them (Lyubomirsky, 2008). As Martin Seligman proposed (along with many other psychologists from PP), practicing an optimistic outlook on life can promote SWB even in a terrible situation, such as that of a soldier in a war zone (American soldiers in Afghanistan, in this case) (cf. Singal, 2021). In other words, ultimately, as subjective instances of an individual, SWB and happiness in PP depend solely on the person. For this reason, it is not strange at all to ask someone if they are happy or if they feel well-being. Furthermore, as an incremental project, as mentioned earlier, it is not unusual to ask about happiness or SWB on a numerical scale. One can be more or less happy, one can have more or less SWB.

On the other hand, answering the question "Do you live teko porã?" would be more complicated. Answering this question requires consideration of the surroundings, others, the context, the territory. Teko porã would thus be more ethically implicated than is proposed for SWB or happiness in PP. We can think that, although it is an idea related to an individual, answering about teko porã would (at least in part) belong to the community. What is felt in the body (health, pleasure, strength) would be a trace of teko porã, but not its confirmation. For example, the confirmation from the elders would be important to say whether someone lives teko porã or not; the state and health of the community and nature would be fundamental to evaluating teko porã. It would be somewhat incoherent to expect a numerical, quantitative evaluation of teko porã, as the participants in the research made clear. Saying, "From zero to

ten, I am (I am) seven teko porã" makes no sense. Teko porã would be closer to an "all or nothing"; either one lives it, or one does not.

After these two fundamental comparisons (dealing with the best way to live and being specific to the individual), the difficult task of defining what teko porã is remained. Definition, as already mentioned, is complex and requires care. Thus, the metaphor presented by one of the research participants was very valuable, as it presents a less rigid perimeter: teko porã is a path. Exploring this metaphor and using it as a reference for analyzing the other interviews provided some details about teko porã.

As a path, teko porã has a direction; one walks toward something. This idea of direction was understood more specifically as a moral north. The path of teko porã is the path of acting correctly, of acting well. Those who act well in specific situations are in teko porã, but those who act consistently well live teko porã. This morality that regulates the path of teko porã is, in turn, steeped in Guarani religion and spirituality, as it directly dialogues with traditional life (as it was lived, especially by the ancestors) and is explained by the religious cosmological universe. The reference for the path of teko porã was, after all, given by Tupã, the messenger of Nhanderú; participation in religious rituals and contact with things that possess spirit (such as true foods) are crucial for living teko porã.

Learning the way

Thus, the teaching and learning of teko porã is directly tied to Guarani religious life. Whether through the ritual practices already mentioned, contact with the elders (who are closest to Nhanderú), wisdom passed down by those who have received gifts from Nhanderú (such as the gift of communication or of hearing spirits), or the relationship with nature and the spirits inhabiting it, the knowledge of the correct way of living is transmitted. We can also think that the legitimacy of those who speak about teko porã comes from this religious universe. This is likely why some people didn't feel comfortable being interviewed; and why spiritual leaders, from the start, are more respected to speak about teko porã. This "reputation" for speaking about teko porã is considerably different from the one for speaking about happiness or SWB, which, in a sense, comes from academic credentials. However, since both happiness and SWB are treated as individual subjective experiences, everyone is legitimized to report and speak about "their" happiness or "their" SWB.

But the learning of teko porã is not limited to just listening and speaking. Since teko porã is a path, it is expected that the act of walking (the action) be central to this concept. During the interviews, it became clear that action holds importance in two distinct senses. First, action is essential as a process of

potent learning: one acts, evaluates their mistakes, seeks to correct them, and acts again. In this sense, it was interesting to hear from participants that making mistakes is part of the teko porã path. In other words, the correct way of living does not equate to the perfect way of living. One can make mistakes in teko porã, as long as the person understands the correct conduct, recognizes their errors, and asks for forgiveness from Nhanderú. One must try and repeat in search of correct actions, but it is not the correct action itself that necessarily constitutes teko porã.

In a second sense, action is central to aligning what one knows with what one does. Acting correctly without knowing that one is acting correctly or without believing that it is the best conduct does not constitute teko porã. As one of the participants mentioned, it is important that there is an alignment between what one does and what is in their heart.

The importance of feeling in Teko Porã

The idea of "acting according to your heart" brings us closer to the relationship between teko porã and perception. However, it's important to note a fundamental difference between perceiving what is important for teko porã (the perception of its causes) and perceiving that one is living teko porã (the perception of its effects). In the case of teko porã, what is perceived does not seem to have a clear or unequivocal role as a cause or an effect. For example, is good health a cause or an effect of teko porã? Is it a necessary step to achieve the path, or is it already evidence that one is on the path? Furthermore, could a perception serve both roles?

One reason for the diffuse nature of perception in teko porã might be related to the role of action. If, in some sense, teko porã is an action ("living the path" or "walking"), then action becomes both the cause and the effect of teko porã ("I act to reach the path," but I also act to "walk the path"). Consequently, what is perceived while acting would have this dual function.

A second reason for the complexity of perception in teko porã might stem from the insufficient nature of words to refer to what is fundamental in this concept. For instance, when Bartolomeu Melià (2015, p.7) wrote that teko porã is experienced in a "venturous, joyful, content, and satisfied, happy and pleasant, calm and tranquil" manner, he seemed to be referring to the effects of teko porã. However, this reference seems not very useful for circumscribing the notion itself: while it is broad (many adjectives), it is insufficient to delineate its main effects. Teko porã can be lived in many other ways. Moreover, someone claiming to live teko porã because they perceive themselves as "venturous, joyful, content, satisfied, happy, pleasant, calm, and tranquil" seems to follow a logic closer to the Positive Psychology (PP)

framework, rather than that of the Guarani. Trusting that one lives teko porã ultimately depends on faith. It is not about being certain that one lives teko porã (as an instrument for evaluating SWB or happiness would suggest), but having religious-spiritual confidence that one lives it. Expressions like "perceiving what is in the heart" or "perceiving the strength (greater than the universe) of Nhanderú" are examples of vague, broad perceptions that require faith to be expressed with confidence by the one who feels them. Furthermore, the perception of faith in teko porã can be considered in terms of its communal nature: the stronger the faith (belief), the more people share it. Teko porã clearly depends on collective experience.

Thus, perception in teko porã plays a very different role from perception in Positive Psychology research. In PP, the concepts of SWB and happiness are reduced to perceptions (allegedly) so precise that they can be quantified and compared among individuals. But this does not mean there is consensus within PP on perception. The Dutch psychologist and pioneer in happiness research, Ruut Veenhoven (1984), concluded, for example, that researching happiness beyond a rational evaluation of one's life would be confusing. Although subjective, the rational evaluation of one's life would be "less" subjective than assessing feelings. Curiously, the ultimate goal of PP would be to achieve this subjective dimension without depending on the individual: identifying brain markers (effects) of SWB or happiness. This would be a way to finally define perception in such a way that it could be identified in its natural state, before (supposedly) any linguistic interference from the individual experiencing it.

Temporality in Teko Porã and in Positive Psychology

The concept of teko porã also contrasts with Positive Psychology (PP) in terms of temporality. In the tradition of PP, happiness and Subjective Well-Being (SWB) are future-oriented, seen as incremental projects: one can always be happier or have more SWB, and we must "pursue" this project as an "inalienable right" (as presented in the U.S. Declaration of Independence). Even when recent PP research delves into practices like mindfulness, which emphasize "being in the present," the aim is still the gradual increase of happiness or SWB. It's something like: "be more present to have more SWB in the future."

Tekô porã, on the other hand, is rooted in the past and the present. The past appears in the way the tradition seeks to retrieve practices from the elders. It is not about crafting a new project, but living an old one. However, this past to which tekô porã refers is circumstantial, influenced by the time of threat and chaos that the Guarani live in today. In other times (hundreds of years ago), tekô porã may not have been seen as a retrieval, but rather as a direct orientation to the present. For example, Bartolomeu Melià (2015, p.8) wrote about the impressions of the first explorers of the Guarani: "Of the first Guarani known

in 1504 on the coast of Brazil, the French captain Binot de Gonneville said that 'these Indians are simple people who ask for nothing more than to live a simple life, without much work, living off hunting, fishing, and some roots they plant.'"

The ideal way of being Guarani emphasizes the routine, repetition, and existing rituals. Macena, a professor from the Indigenous Education and Culture Center of Jaraguá, highlighted the importance of repetition and daily life for the Guarani during a meeting at the Institute of Psychology at USP in 2016: "The ritual happens every day because we speak Guarani, nhande reko is every day" and "there is no future, the future is something you imagine. The future is today" (cited in Sousa, 2018, p.105-106).

The ritual and routine of the Guarani may not be exclusive to them, as non-Indigenous people also have their rituals and routines. The difference, however, which seems to place teko porã closer to the present and further from the future, is the irrelevance of incremental projects. Tekô porã is not part of a project to become more or different than what one is but rather to live what one already is, from what one already knows (the way of being Guarani). As Flaviana Rodrigues de Sousa (2018, p.106) wrote in her master's thesis: "The Guarani seek the good life in the present, through relationships that give meaning today, and not only as a future longing that is yet to come."

Due to teko porã's emphasis on the present, routine, and already-existing rituals, it is not surprising that words like balance, harmony, and equilibrium are part of its "grammar." In contrast, the grammar of SWB and happiness in PP often includes words like development and growth. Tekô porã has more to do with preservation than construction, and this is evident in the Guarani's relationship with the territory and the forest: what they seek and fight for is to preserve the spaces they occupy and the forest they still have to interact with.

Land without Evil, living well, and utopia

The relationship between teko porã and the "Terra sem Males" (Land without Evil), as well as the concept of "well-being," reveals further contrasts with Western notions like those explored in Positive Psychology. While teko porã does not have a clear orientation toward the future, the metaphor of the path does suggest a direction and, potentially, a destination. This duality operates through a complex relationship between ideal and factual existence. The ideal place to be reached is the Terra sem Males, a concept deeply embedded in Guarani spirituality. It is a place that is almost impossible to reach during life but can be attained spiritually after death. However, the pessimism present among the Guarani (with

ample reasons for such) distances Terra sem Males from any tangible, attainable goal in life. Its impossibility excludes it from the horizon of an incremental life project.

On the other hand, Terra sem Males remains a moral and spiritual reference for current behavior. It is less about a literal arrival in time (especially during life) and more about a guiding principle for how one should act today. The moral and spiritual role of Terra sem Males is fully embodied in the present moment.

In contrast, the concept of "well-being" (often confused with teko porã) is more aligned with political and collective development. It is a generalization of various ways of living, used to advocate for political and social changes conducive to those lifestyles. "Well-being" implies a new and better social configuration, aiming to achieve a utopia. This distinction between teko porã and well-being is crucial: while teko porã refers to the ideal way of living, it is specific to the Guarani people and varies between individuals and over time. In contrast, "well-being" attempts to understand the "average" of these diverse expressions of teko porã and communicate them as a social project.

Well-being can be seen as a type of generalization or composite of teko porã that becomes a framework for promoting societal development. However, well-being and teko porã are related but not identical. Promoting well-being does not guarantee teko porã or happiness, but it facilitates the lived experience of these ideals for many people. If well-being is considered a good translator of collective desires for life, these political projects could create fertile ground for individuals to live closer to their ideals, whether they refer to teko porã or happiness.

An important difference between teko porã and well-being lies in their evaluation. While evaluating teko porã would be meaningless—since its subjective nature is not meant to be assessed— well-being is inherently evaluative. The assumption is that well-being is not a perfect representation of individual visions but rather the best possible consensus among these visions for social development. If the aim is an improvement and there is a collective "agreement," then the evaluation and measurement of well-being becomes not just justifiable but desirable.

Teko porã and living well: dreaming of new worlds

The relationship between teko porã and "well-being" highlights significant differences in how the ideal way of living is conceptualized and pursued within Guarani culture compared to the frameworks of Positive Psychology (PP) and industrialized modern societies. While teko porã represents a deeply spiritual and culturally embedded notion of the best way to live, it is shaped by distinct elements, such as its

temporal orientation, the understanding of the person, cosmology, and validation of its practice. These differences make it difficult, if not impossible, to measure teko porã in the same way as modern well-being concepts, especially through standardized tools like the Gallup World Poll.

However, these unique features of teko porã should not be seen as obstacles to broader worldviews; instead, they should serve to enrich and expand them. As Aílton Krenak (2020) emphasizes, it is essential for us to nourish the dreams of new worlds that allow us to live better. When these dreams are shared collectively, they transform into projects or utopias, such as the vision of bem viver (the good life), which becomes all the more crucial in our current times. This notion of bem viver, as a collective project for social and cultural transformation, serves as a necessary response to the challenges of contemporary society, providing an alternative to the individualistic and linear trajectories of well-being often promoted in modernity. By integrating diverse conceptions like teko porã, these collective dreams can help us create more holistic, inclusive, and sustainable futures.

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Academic Products and Activities Performed

Throughout the 18 months of research, the following products were delivered:

1. **Presentation** of the paper *"Contrast between Mbyá Guarani's Teko porã and Positive Psychology's Happiness"* at the **"2020 International Indigenous Research Conference"** organized by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (New Zealand), co-authored with Leandro Gonçalves and Pâmela Santos.

2. **Presentation** of the paper *"What is Subjective Well-Being? A critical analysis of Ed Diener's article, Subjective Well-Being"* at the **"Social Psychology Conference – Multiple Angles of Well-Being"** organized by the University of Helsinki, co-authored with Gustavo M. Massola.

3. **Published** the article *"Against Well-Being: A critical analysis of the approximation between happiness and well-being promoted by Positive Psychology"* in the **History of the Human Sciences** journal, co-authored with Gustavo M. Massola.
   https://doi.org/10.1177/09526951221114733

4. **Published** of the article *"What is Subjective Well-Being? A critical analysis of Ed Diener's article Subjective Well-Being"* to the **Psicologia & Sociedade**, co-authored with Gustavo M. Massola.
   https://doi.org/10.1590/1807-0310/2022v34258310-en

5. **Presentation** of the paper *"Mbyá Guarani's teko porã: an indigenous perspective on wellbeing and obstacles to measure it"* at the **"Wellbeing Research & Policy Conference 2022"** organized by the Wellbeing Research Centre at the University of Oxford, to be held from July 6-8, 2022, co-authored with Gustavo Massola and Danilo Guimarães.
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hGOqKaVo6Y8

Throughout the 18 months of research, the following activities were carried out:

1. **Offering the course** *"Psychology of Happiness: multiple dimensions, science, and ethical-political implications"* for the postgraduate course in Psychology (University of São Paulo) in the 1st semester of 2022.

2. **Participation in activities** of the **Indigenous Person Support Network at USP** since October 2020.

3. **Participation in the activities** of the "Community-Based Tourism" and "Food Security and Sovereignty" groups of the Indigenous Person Support Network at USP. In addition to the

occasional meetings of each group and the weekly meetings of the Network-USP (nhemboaty), the main activities developed during the 18-month period were:

- ○ Support and participation in two **nhemongaraí** in the Tangará village (Itanhaém/SP).

- ○ **Crowdfunding campaign** for food purchases for the villages of Guaviraty (Iguape/SP) and Tangará (Itanhaém/SP).

- ○ **Crowdfunding campaign** for support for food sovereignty actions in the Takuarí village (Eldorado/SP).

- ○ **Development of a food security and sovereignty project** in the Takuarí village (Eldorado/SP).

- ○ **Organization of nine virtual meetings** for knowledge exchange between members of the Network-USP and leaders from the Tangará (Itanhaém/SP) and Guyrá Pepó (Tapiraí/SP) villages.

Appendix A - Free and Informed Consent Term

TERMO DE CONSENTIMENTO LIVRE E ESCLARECIDO

Eu, Luciano Espósito Sewaybricker, pesquisador de pós-doutorado do Instituto de Psicologia da Universidade de São Paulo, estou realizando uma pesquisa intitulada de "O limite da felicidade na Psicologia Positiva e a melhor forma de se viver para uma comunidade Guarani", sob a supervisão do Prof. Dr. Gustavo Martineli Massola, docente do Departamento de Psicologia Social e do Trabalho do IP-USP. Essa pesquisa tem como objetivo conhecer aquilo que é considerado felicidade em uma comunidade Guarani para, então, compará-la com a felicidade comumente estudada na Psicologia.

Para tanto, gostaria de te convidar para participar nesta pesquisa, respondendo algumas questões e conversando sobre o que compreende ser felicidade, o que considera ser a melhor forma de viver e aspectos da cultura Guarani. Esclareço-lhe ainda que o tempo estimado de sua participação é de 45 minutos.

Enquanto pesquisador responsável, eu me comprometo a seguir a Resolução CNS 96/1996, relacionada à Pesquisa com Seres Humanos, respeitando o seu direito de:

1- Ter liberdade de participar ou deixar de participar do estudo, sem que isso lhe traga algum prejuízo ou risco;

2- Manter o seu nome em sigilo absoluto, sendo que o que disser não lhe resultará em qualquer dano à sua integralidade;

3- Interromper a participação na pesquisa caso se sinta incomodado(a) com a mesma;

4- Responder as questões levantadas pela pesquisadora em local, horário e data em que possa se sentir mais confortável;

5- Garantia de receber resposta a alguma dúvida durante ou após a entrevista.

Esclareço-lhe que ao participar dessa pesquisa, há risco mínimo de incômodo com as perguntas que lhe serão feitas, uma vez que essas tratam de aspectos pessoais, mas positivos sobre sua vida. Sinta-se à vontade para escolher a tecnologia de sua preferência para a entrevista (que ocorrerá por videoconferência) e também o momento mais conveniente para você. A qualquer instante você poderá interromper a entrevista, sentindo ou não qualquer tipo de desconforto ou incômodo.

Além disso, caso você tenha qualquer tipo de custo para participar na pesquisa ou decorrente dessa participação, eu me comprometo a ressarcir o montante da maneira que lhe for mais conveniente (transferência bancária ou valor em espécie). Da mesma maneira, caso sofra qualquer dano decorrente

de sua participação na pesquisa, também me comprometo a indenizá-lo(a) de acordo com a resolução 466/12, item IV. 3h.

Suas informações pessoais (nome, telefone e e-mail) serão armazenadas apenas durante a realização da pesquisa e serão tomadas todas as medidas necessárias para que seja mantido o sigilo durante e após a realização desta.

A sua participação nesta pesquisa será muito importante para que possamos compreender se as atuais aplicações políticas da felicidade excluem comunidades indígenas. Após o término da pesquisa, eu me comprometo a lhe enviar uma cópia dos resultados alcançados.

Deixo meu telefone e e-mail para contato: (11) 99630-7651; luciano.sewaybricker@gmail.com e o endereço do Departamento de Psicologia Social e do Trabalho do IPUSP: Avenida Professor Mello de Morais, 1721 - Butantã, São Paulo - SP, 05508-030. Caso queira obter mais esclarecimentos ou informações sobre o estudo e sua participação, basta entrar em contato.

Caso tenha alguma dúvida específica em relação à ética da pesquisa, você pode entrar em contato diretamente com o Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa com Seres Humanos (CEPH-IPUSP) através do telefone 3091-4182, e-mail ceph.ip@usp.br ou do endereço Av. Prof. Mello Moraes, 1721, Bloco G, 2º Andar, sala 27.

Este Termo de Consentimento Livre e Esclarecido será emitido em duas vias, sendo que uma via ficará em poder do pesquisador e a outra será enviada para você por WhatsApp ou por e-mail.

Grato pela atenção

Nome:

Telefone:

E-mail:

☐ Declaro que, após convenientemente esclarecido pelo pesquisador Luciano Espósito Sewaybricker e ter entendido o que me foi explicado, consinto em participar do Projeto de Pesquisa "O limite da felicidade na Psicologia Positiva e a melhor forma de se viver para uma comunidade Guarani".

Appendix B - Structure of the Invitation Message

Nhande ka'aruju, [participante].

Desde o fim do ano passado eu tenho feito uma pesquisa no Instituto de Psicologia da USP sobre as diferenças e semelhanças entre a ideia de felicidade dos jurua kuery e a de *teko porã* para os Guarani *Mbyá*. Se você aceitar, eu gostaria de te entrevistar para ouvir o que pensa sobre esse assunto e também para que eu possa conhecer mais sobre o modo de vida Guarani *Mbyá*. Essa entrevista tem uma duração prevista de cerca de 45 minutos. Se você aceitar, eu te mandarei mais informações sobre a pesquisa.

Ha-evete!

Luciano Sewaybricker

Appendix C - Semi-Structured Interview Guide

General Questions:

1. **Tell me about yourself.**

   (Who are you? What is your story?)

2. **Tell me about your community.**

   (What is the history of your people?)

3. **What is a typical day like for you?**

4. **Which of these activities would be part of your ideal day? Which ones would not?**

5. **What are the most important things in your life?**

6. **What are the most important things for your community?**

7. **Who are the most important people to you? Why?**

8. **What does happiness mean to you?**

9. **How happy are you? Why?**

10. **Is it possible for a Guarani person to be happy outside of teko?**

    (Teko refers to the traditional way of life or lifestyle in Guarani culture.)

11. **What words do you use to refer to the best way of living?**

    (Tell me about them.)

12. **What do you consider to be the best way to live?**

Apêndice D - Gallup World Poll questions

1) All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Use a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 is dissatisfied and 10 is satisfied.

2) Did you experience anger during a lot of the day yesterday?

3) Did you experience depression during a lot of the day yesterday?

4) Did you experience enjoyment during a lot of the day yesterday?

5) Did you experience happiness during a lot of the day yesterday?

6) Did you experience sadness during a lot of the day yesterday?

7) Did you experience stress during a lot of the day yesterday?

8) Did you experience worry during a lot of the day yesterday?

9) Now, please think about yesterday, from the morning until the end of the day. Think about where you were, what you were doing, who you were with, and how you felt. Did you learn or do something interesting yesterday?

10) Now, please think about yesterday, from the morning until the end of the day. Think about where you were, what you were doing, who you were with, and how you felt. Did you smile or laugh a lot yesterday?

11) Now, please think about yesterday, from the morning until the end of the day. Think about where you were, what you were doing, who you were with, and how you felt. Were you treated with respect all day yesterday?

12) Now, please think about yesterday, from the morning until the end of the day. Think about where you were, what you were doing, who you were with, and how you felt. Would you like to have more days like yesterday?

13) Please imagine a ladder with steps numbered from 0 at the bottom to 10 at the top. Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder would you say you personally feel you stand at this time, assuming that the higher the step the better you feel about your life, and the lower the step the worse you feel about it? Which step comes closest to the way you feel?

14) Please imagine a ladder with steps numbered from 0 at the bottom to 10 at the top. Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom of the

ladder represents the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder would you say you stood 5 years ago?

15) Please imagine a ladder with steps numbered from 0 at the bottom to 10 at the top. Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder would you say you stand in the future, say about 5 years from now?