



THE HISTORY OF EUROCENTRISM THROUGHOUT THE GOOGLE NGRAM PLATFORM

A história do eurocentrismo a partir da plataforma Google Ngram

La historia del eurocentrismo en la plataforma Google Ngram

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Abstract: The present paper analyses the history of the concept of Eurocentrism throughout Google Ngram's platform. We investigated the word in English and Spanish, creating two different and more general databases for this research. The goal here is to trace its different meanings throughout time. It is about the reasons for its social-time apparitions, trying to read the "historical climate" in different moments. The other qualitative prism relates to papers and books that used the word, seeking to compare different epochs and attributed meanings of Eurocentrism.

Keywords: Eurocentrism. History of concepts. Google Ngram. Postcolonialism.

Resumo: O presente artigo analisa a história do conceito de eurocentrismo a partir da plataforma Google Ngram. Pesquisamos a palavra em inglês e espanhol, criando assim dois bancos de dados a serem analisados. Tivemos como objetivo traçar os seus diferentes sentidos ao longo do tempo. Trata-se de entender as razões pelas quais dos primeiros aparecimentos da palavra por meio de uma leitura do "clima histórico" da época. O outro prisma qualitativo se relaciona à leitura de artigos e livros que se utilizaram da palavra ao longo do tempo, procurando, assim, comparar diferentes épocas e sentidos atribuídos ao conceito em questão.

Palavras-chave: Eurocentrismo. História dos conceitos. Google Ngram. Pós-colonialismo.

Resumen: El presente trabajo analiza la historia del concepto eurocentrismo a través de la plataforma Google Ngram. Investigamos la palabra en inglés y en español, creando dos bases de datos diferentes y más generales para esta investigación. El objetivo aquí es rastrear sus diferentes significados a lo largo del tiempo. Se trata de las razones de sus apariciones socio-temporales, intentando leer el "clima histórico" en diferentes momentos. El otro prisma cualitativo se refiere a los artículos y libros que utilizaron la palabra, buscando comparar diferentes épocas y significados atribuidos al eurocentrismo.

Palabras clave: Eurocentrismo. Historia de los conceptos. Google Ngram. Postcolonialismo.

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Introduction: theoretical and methodological considerations

The present paper analyses the history of the concept of Eurocentrism throughout Google Ngram's platform. What is Google Ngram? According to Lin *et al.*, Google Books Ngram Corpus "has enabled quantitative analysis of linguistic and cultural trends as reflected in millions of books written over the past five centuries" (p. 169). It is about a database of digitized books available on the Internet. According to Michel *et al.* (cited in Lin *et al.*, 2012), Google Ngram contains data from 8,116,746 books, or over 6% of all books ever published (Lin *et al.*, 2012, p. 170). The platform offers search tools in different languages. There are variations even for English where it is possible to realize research in various forms (American, British, fictional, etc.). We investigated the word in English and Spanish, creating two databases for this research.

Google Ngram does not show only term's or expression's publications over time. It also counts the number of times one used it in the works in this massive database (GOOGLE BOOKS, accessed on 15/07/2023). For the history of concepts, having such a magnificent available database means a revolution for the field.

What comes to mind when we write the word "Eurocentrism"? Does it have enough relevance to maintain a deeper investigative breath in terms of a temporal sense? On the other hand, are we dealing with a concept able to support a generical perspective regarding its significance? In addition, can Eurocentrism produce a polysemic meaning? Faced with such questions, the dialogue with the History of Concepts proposed by Reinhart Koselleck is of great importance:

Certainly, is possible to develop a history of language conceived as social history. Although, the history of concepts is delimited more strictly. The methodological specialization of the history of concepts expressed by words requires a foundation to distinguish the expressions 'concept' and 'word.' Even though the linguistic triangle is constituted by a 'significant' (designation), 'meaning' (concept), and 'thing' used in its most different variables, in the field of historical sciences, there is, from a pragmatic perspective, a subtle difference: the social and political terminology of the examined language knows a series of expressions that, because of criticism exegesis of the sources, one can characterize it as concepts. Every concept holds on to one word, but not every word is a social and political concept. Political and social concepts contain a concrete generalization demand, at the same time, they are always polysemic. Aware of that, understood always as words by historical sciences, pure and simple (KOSELLECK, 2006, p. 108, our translation).

Answering the second question, the History of Concepts provides essential tools for our research. Having Koselleck as one of its references, it works with the semantic capacity of one term and its aggregative potential of other concepts to make sense for its interpretation. According to the author:

the permanence processes, transformations, and innovations are diachronically comprehended throughout the series of meanings and uses of a specific term. Under a possible history of concepts, the fundamental indignation about the altering processes, transformation, and innovation guides to a deep structure of meanings that maintain cover-up and precipitate mutually. Meanings can become social and historically relevant if the history of concepts can be isolated and highlighted as an autonomous discipline. When following its methods, the history of concepts provides indicators of social history (KOSELLECK, 2006, p. 107).

In this sense, Eurocentrism is a concept understood in the research field of intellectual history and the history of concepts. The goal here is to trace its different meanings throughout time. In addition, we worked with synchronic and diachronic dimensions to understand the political, ideological, and cultural significance embodied in this theoretical perspective. With the timeline provided by Google Ngram and the theoretical tools offered by the history of concepts, it is possible to think about social history and the history of ideas.

The methodology of this work consists of analyzing the concept of Eurocentrism on a qualitative and quantitative basis. It is about the reasons for its social-time apparitions, trying to read the "historical climate" in different moments. The other qualitative prism relates to the reading of available papers and books that used the word, seeking to compare, in that way, different epochs and attributed meanings of Eurocentrism. We used every document available to read on the website. From a quantitative perspective, the graphic shows when the concept had its peaks and downhills. Also, it has an estimative of how many quotations in each historical moment in the English and Spanish databases.

The Spanish language

One can divide the history of *eurocentrismo* into five different time clippings, represented by growing "peaks": 1) Between 1899 and 1948, a period of incipient mentions; 2) The 1949 gap, with a "mini-boom" of quotations; 3) The 1960 era, the first growing curve,

reaching its first peak in 1978; 4) Between 1979 and 1993, represented by a continuous growing; 5) In addition, finally, between 1994 and 2005, the last great peak of the concept.

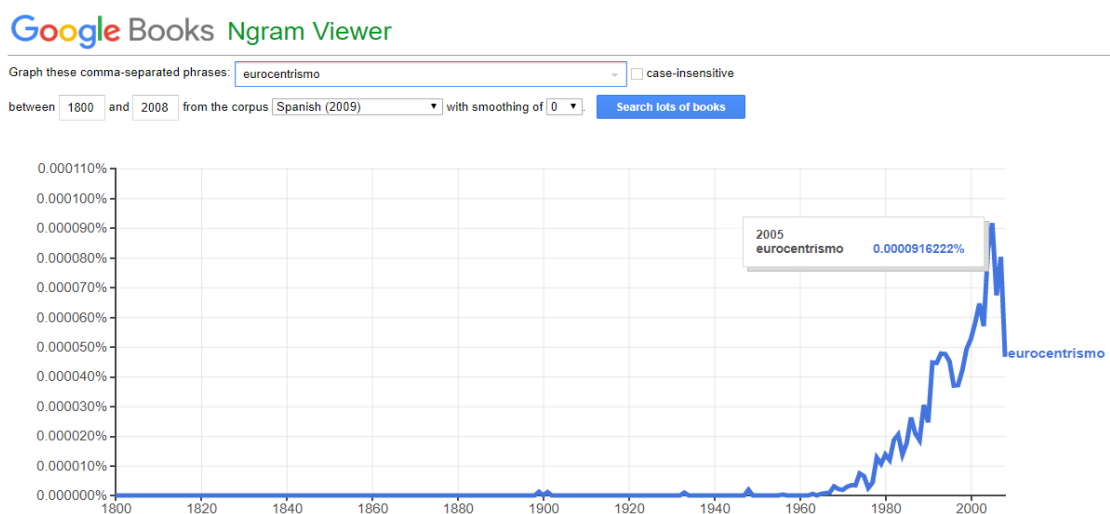
To our surprise, during the entire first half of the 20th Century, the word *eurocentrismo* had low intellectual reaching. Between 1800 and 1948, it appeared about five times. The year 1948 presents a peculiar fluctuation, cited around 81 times. Nevertheless, the Google Ngram platform provides no available publications from that year.

The end of the 1940s was a changing period in Latin America. The setting of Keynesian and Developmentalist ideas is from this post-war period, into a context where the so-called "underdeveloped" countries created their protectionist development strategies. The referred period was of great political boiling, where Latin America was under nationalist governments. Had this context of regional/nationalist affirmation influenced the rise of the range of *eurocentrismo* as a concept? Was this a way to consolidate an otherness perspective between Latin America and Europe?

The gap of 1949 is curious. Unfortunately, the Ngram does not offer publications for this specific period, making the semantic analysis even more difficult. Nevertheless, answering the questions above in this work stage is impossible. Perhaps its answer will come in future investigations.

After 1949, *eurocentrismo* "mutes". It only shows up again in the 1960s, although with a less volume but more constant increase. In this period, there is the first notable growth of Eurocentrism as a concept.

Graphic 1-Google Ngram (Spanish)



Source: https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=eurocentrismo&year_start=1800&year_end=2008&corpus=es-2009&smoothing=0. Accessed on 15/07/2023.

It is worth asking the reasons for this small growth, followed by no publications in the field. There are some hypothesis for this: 1) it could be an error in the processing of the site's algorithm. 2) If the use of the term is proven, it would be pertinent to verify the reasons why it did not gain notoriety; and 3) it would also be important to analyze who was the first recorded case to use the term. We will not explore these assumptions in this article, but it is important to mention them for future investigations.

The word *eurocentrismo* starts to "take off" in the 1960s. During that period, the world watched the struggles for national liberation of the former African colonies and the beginning of the Cuban Revolution. Also, it was the moment of harsh battles in Southeast Asia, especially in Vietnam. The world watches the consolidation of new national cultures and, consequently, questions European colonial power and its scrambles in the Tricontinental regions (Asia, Africa, and the Americas). According to Robert Young (2010), it is the first active force of a *postcolonial theory*.

Sartre's existentialist liberation literature and the struggles for the liberation of Algeria also gained weight in this period. Furthermore, it influenced the struggles against apartheid in South Africa and the occupied territories by Portuguese forces (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Cape Verde). As proposed by Frantz Fanon, it is, thus, the consolidation period of a national culture of the *Wretched of the Earth* (FANON, 2004).

The year 1968 also shows an enormous reference volume compared to previous moments. In 1968, there are twenty-four quotations for Eurocentrism. One of the West's most remarkable cultural and political events, the political and intellectual grammar from the Cold War checkmated during the protests of Parisian May 1968. Zizek and Badiou consider 1968 a breakthrough phenomenon that one can categorize as a political-intellectual “event” (ZIZEK, 2017; BADIOU, 2012). It was the era of *poststructuralism*, where new theories, hypotheses, and perspectives produced new interpretations of reality.

Entering more specifically in the sources, the *Estudios de Sociologia Contemporanea* (1963) of Cuban sociologist Roberto Daniel Agramonte y Pichardo is one of the available works by Ngram. After a further search of the author, it was almost impossible, due to reading restrictions from Google Books, to access the specific text about the concept of Eurocentrism. We did not even find his work on digitally legalized websites. To not abandon this intellectual reference, We searched for other texts by the same author from the same period. We found a Paper in JSTOR called *La Sociologia en Latinoamerica*, from July 1960.

In this twenty-nine page article, Roberto Agramonte (1960) makes spatial clipping the central element of his sociology. It is necessary to consider national sociology – i.e., Latin American – indisposed to “imitations”. To affirm this thinking, Agramonte utilizes Cuban thinker Jose Martí to defend this presumption. The “Apostol” – a mention to Martí – understood different social dimensions, alongside them the “universitarismo y el europeísmo” [universality and Europeanism], one of his works’ central themes (1960, p. 220).

Agramonte stays in Martí to trace sociology in the Latin American context. He utilizes autochthonous and original perspectives to disprove the so-called “europeísmo” In the words of the Cuban liberator from the end of the 19th Century, it was necessary to break with this ideology. After all, a good Cuban is not a “stilt and eyeglass sociologist who sees his land on the edge of the English crystal” (AGROMONTE, 1960, p. 221, our translation).

Throughout the article, Agramonte (1960) builds a briefing on Latin American sociologies and a survey from indigenous sociology, which emphasizes ethnic and racial issues, not only for Native Americans but also for African descent populations. Nevertheless, would the opposite of Eurocentrism conceive a Latin American substance of thinking? Would it create its own “national science”?

The year 1978 shows the concept's first growth curve. In this period, the number of quotes of the word was of 124. Compared to 1968, it represents a 516% of growth usage.

Coincidentally, in that year, Edward Said (1978) published *Orientalism*. Throughout this work, he uses the word *eurocentrismo* only four times, all in the first chapter. The word here assumes the categorical attribute quality to describe the ideological element from Eastern science developed in the West, an intellectual tool used to establish the domain of non-European peoples. The anthropological awareness of Orientalism as science comes from distinction, basically structured by a "Eurocentric anthropocentrism" (SAID, 1978, p. 111).

The end of the 1980s and the 1990s also showed a rise in publications. Raised to an analytical category status for the first time, Eurocentrism has a specific work made by Samir Amin, his *Eurocentrismo: crítica de uma ideologia* (1989). It was a time of a conflicted social context, marked by the "beginning of the end" of the Soviet Union and United States polarization. According to Amin (1989):

Eurocentrism is a culturalism in the sense that it proposes the existence of cultural fixations shaped by historical trajectories from different peoples, irreducible to each other. It is thus antiuniversalist because it is not interested in discovering eventual general laws of human evolution. Although it presents itself as one universalism in the sense that it proposes to everyone, the Western model mimicry as the only solution to the challenges of our time. Eurocentrism is not a sum of inverse prejudices, mistakes, and ignorance from Westerners about others. After all, these are not as serious as the inverse prejudices of non-Europeans toward Westerners. However, it is not banal ethnocentrism, a single testimony of limited horizons that no people worldwide have surpassed. Eurocentrism is a uniquely modern phenomenon where its roots do not go further than Renaissance and its wide circulation in the 19th Century. It constitutes a dimension of culture and ideology from the modern capitalist world (AMIN, 1989, p. 9, our translation).

Amin (1989) abandons the idea of Eurocentrism as a cultural-only phenomenon linked only to a simple silencing of untold and misunderstood histories. If one can approach Amin to Jorn Rusen, Eurocentrism is about practical guidance in time established by a sense of projection. It interferes directly with the form and content of human historical consciousness content that, by the way, should be global (2001).

Western culturalism defines Europe as a historical example to be "supposedly mimicked" (AMIN, 1989, p. 13). This perspective would strongly link to a contradictory universalism: on the one hand, it tries to impose a homogenous worldview about the progress of humankind; on the other, it proclaims a praise to the difference. It is the making of an unreachable fragmentation by those countries and peoples not into the historical example of the

actual world production system – i.e., capitalism and its ideological garment, “the liberal utopia” (AMIN, 1989, p.13).

The “universal” has its genesis in Hellenism, a “Foundation Myth”, shadowing the importance of Egypt to ancient Greek philosophy. It also produces the abandonment of other civilizational cultures that were part of it, although “silenced” to a more considerable or lesser degree in school textbooks and our historiographical culture. The universal presents them as a disjointed and scarcely integrated historical phenomenon throughout time.

In this narrative perspective, there is a synchrony between silence and the compliment of difference, mainly because, in its view, there is the abandonment of the entirety. Dialoguing with Rusen (2001) avoids the vision that privileges the view of the tree to the detriment of the forest, prejudicing, inclusively, an *intercultural view* (RÜSEN, 2001) of history. According to Amin:

The recognition, since the beginning, of the diversity of human cultures constitutes a triviality that evidence conceals the conceptual difficulty in catching its nature and its reaching. So, where are the borders in space and time of a particular culture? Under which fundamentals define its singularity? For example, can one talk nowadays of a European culture that embraces all the West although its different linguistic expressions? If that is so, will it be included in Eastern Europe, notwithstanding its political and social regime, Latin America, notwithstanding its underdevelopment, and Japan, although its non-European historical roots? Can one talk about the only Arab culture, of the only Black African culture, of India? What does one have to resign from these entirety conceptualizations and conform to observe the specificity of constitutive subgroups of these great groups? After all, who detains this endless gear of provincial singularity? And what is the pertinence of observed differences and their explanatory force on social evolutions? (AMIN, 1989, p. 21, our translation).

Amin (1989) works with the dilemma of reified products of historical representation. After all, to what extent can one contest the State's narrative capacity if the description and intellectual definition crave a holistic horizon as epistemological activities searching for the mere “crystallization” or “invention”?

If the “provincial singularity” is the only powerful tool of metanarratives’ critique, which are the critical instruments left for us to establish a reflection on their impact? To what extent the provincial singularity is also a discursive strategy of Eurocentrism as a cultural force, looking for the “exoteric”, the “oriental”, and the “other” in everything that is not part of itself?

To what point are the anti-reifier singularity and anti-global not the affirmation of Eurocentrism as an “exceptional universal” and, therefore, a superior “singular”?

Moving forward in our timeline, one can find diverse materials throughout the 2000s, which central analysis axis is the critical reflection on *Eurocentrismo*. It is the period of a vast amount of publishing of the *decolonial* panorama, a Latin-American intellectual group. Professors Anibal Quijano, Walter Mignolo, and Enrique Dussel are the founders of this movement. It is a perspective that understands the term in the context of self and the *production of otherness*.

In 1993 they published one of the group's most important books: collectanea of chapters from diverse Latin-American authors called *La Colonialidad del Saber: eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales: perspectivas latino-americanas*. According to Google, the word was described, only in this work, 81 times. In one book, *eurocentrismo* appears more than during the 1950 and 1960s in Spanish. Is it possible to say that the volume of uses of the concept represents the “rising of the category” to the historical concept status for the intellectual field?

In many occasions where the term has meaning through the specific text, we highlighted some statements made by Anibal Quijano in his *Colonialidad del poder, Eurocentrismo y America Latina (1993)*. According to Quijano (1993), the conquest of America started a new power pattern in the world system in the 15th Century. The Portuguese and Spanish centered invasions fundamentally on a phenotypic division to force a new translation for the division between rulers and ruled. There is a clear separation between the conquerors of the original peoples and the conquered. This phenotypic division materializes one of the main taxonomical eurocentric categories: the indigenous being. It would provoke a fundamental homogeneity to impose the conquering project through violence and exploitation:

[The conquerors] oppressed as much as they could, that is to say [,] in different means according to the cases, the forms of knowledge production from the colonized, your production patterns of sense productions, the symbolic universe, expression patterns, and the objectification of subjectivity (QUIJANO, 1993, p.126). [our translation]

After all, this dominance would provide feedback on the new division of labor instituted in the continent. In this sense, According to the Peruvian professor, world capitalism started with the conquest promoted by the *Racial Division of Labor*. Such division would generate,

therefore, intrinsic ethnocentrism of the *coloniality of power*. After all, with the instituted phenotypic division, the ideological promotion would occur by the domination of the ruling classes – the conquerors – of a “sense of natural superiority”. Latin America gave birth to a eurocentered power, a paradigm generated by formulated binarisms through the culture domination system.

The conquest made a binary knowledge, established in a Manichaeic way, the interpretation of cultures based on a staggering vision between civilized and primitive. The incorporation of cultures happens through this paradigm and produces two myths: 1) Europe as a reaching image, opposed to the “savage men in the state of nature”; and 2) a racial distinction between being European and non-European. Both myths strengthened evolutionist and dualist scientific paradigms (QUIJANO, 1993, p. 211).

According to Google Ngram, between 2005 and 2007 was the peak moment of *eurocentrismo*. The only available website to analyze its definition was Professor Jorge Juan Lozano Cámara’s blog called *clases de Historia*, an undergraduate at Granada University in Spain. Eurocentrism is in a glossary with a definition similar to the ones made in a dictionary.

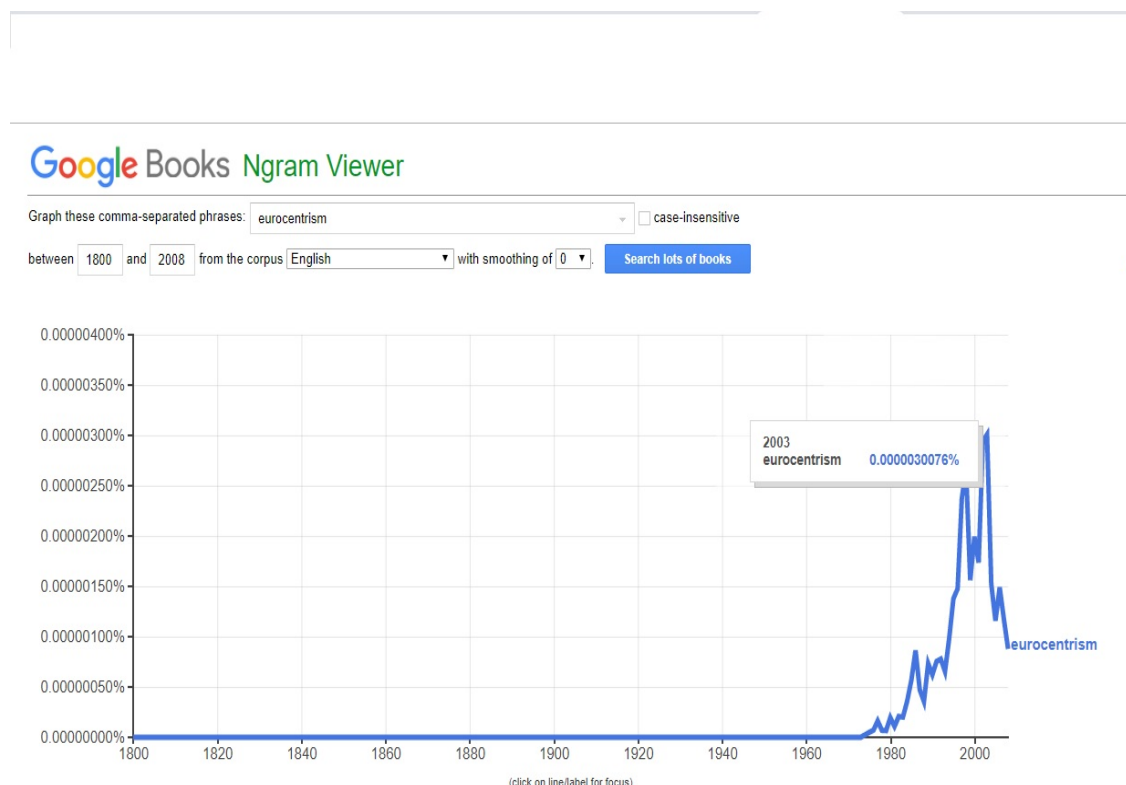
The tendency supports that social and cultural values from Western Europe constitute patterns or universal models. Under this consideration hides the unknowing and the disdain of other cultures. In the 19th Century, followed by the initial traditions in predecessor centuries, the European imperialist powers tried to impose a scale of values supposedly superior to the submitted peoples. The latter included some millennial cultures, such as the Chinese and the Indian.

What draws our attention is the giving form of the content. In the beginning, it was a purely academic dimension, whereas, in 2007, it is a popular- historical-narrative, able to be understood in a "short and simple" text, such as a dictionary entry. Furthermore, the giving historical sense of the concept is fundamentally cultural. After all, according to Professor Cámara’s entry, *eurocentrismo* is the “values” and the “disdain” of European culture to the others. In this sense, would it be possible to say that the peak of usage of *eurocentrismo* is its diffusion in common sense, even though the intellectual one? It abandons the idea of being a "strange word" to assume the interpretative need for practical guidance in time. If this entry becomes a tool for teachers in the educational field, it would be, in a certain way, also useful for their students.

The English language

In English, the word *Eurocentrism* has a considerably smaller volume of bibliographical quotations. In comparative terms, it has three times fewer occurrences than in the Spanish language. Furthermore, its ascendant curve and peak are from slightly different historical times. According to Ngram – approximately between 1975 and 1986; 1992 and 1997; and 1999 and 2003, the last ascendant curve, as shown in the graphic:

Graphic 2- Google Ngram (English)



Although in a smaller volume, one can see that English and Spanish graphics have growth similarities until the 2000s. The concept operates in an ascendant movement between the 1980 and 1990s. The difference between them is in the fall, noticeable with a larger emphasis on the occurrences from English and less abrupt in Spanish. The decline of the word in English is around 41 percent, compared to its peak in 2003 (approximately 410 citations) and its fall in 2008 (171) – the last year available in Google Ngram Database.

When analyzing some documents inside de Database, we had our attention to the 1982 document made by UNESCO in partnership with the National University of Mongolia, the

Different Theories and Practices of Development. The goal is to gather some intellectuals from different parts of the globe to offer “new concepts and theoretical frameworks” (GATLUNG, PREISWERK & WEMEGAH, 1982). The meaning of *Eurocentrism* is in a specific article by Johan Gatlung, Roy Preiswerk, and Monica Wemegah called *Development centered on the human being: some West European perspectives*. In this article, *Eurocentrism* is proper ethnocentrism from European culture, which the premise is to locate itself as a collective subject with a “superior culture” once that *Eurocentrism* “is followed by the claiming of universalism: European values should be valid in every part of the world” (GATLUNG, PREISWERK & WEMEGAH, 1982, p.83).

Eurocentrism is a historical phenomenon of a major cultural vision. The authors do not go through more widened perspectives from different social sciences. One can infer that being or not Eurocentric is an ethical issue, i.e., from the “point of view”.

In the 2000s, Turkish historian Arif Dirlik (1999) shows certain skepticism on the culturalist conceptualization of *Eurocentrism*. *Dirlik’s Is There History after Eurocentrism? Globalism, Postcolonialism, and the disavowal of history* (1999), the author works with the paradox of *Eurocentrism* as an analytic category. This perspective centers the critique on the cultural viewpoint of giving *Eurocentrism* a meaning, seeking to liberate new narratives, “fragmented and marginalized” of global domination, and a “historicist project of modernity”.

This line of critique follows the epistemological approach from the *Subaltern Studies*, popularly known as part of Postcolonialism. According to Dirlik (1999), Postcolonialism separates the dimensional cultural from political and economic notions, fundamental elements of combustion of the modern Eurocentric project. In this sense, *Eurocentrism* must be understood as a fundamental historical phenomenon to maintain a modernity project defended by central capitalist countries – the United States included. According to the author, the Eurocentric project materializes by EuroAmerican domination: “EuroAmerica are everywhere, from global structures to daily economic practices” (DIRLIK, 1999, p. 10). Furthermore, the author offers his critique on culturalism as a method of standing against *Eurocentrism*:

If Eurocentrism understood as a cultural phenomenon is insufficient as a critique of EuroAmerican domination of the world, which was hardly just a 'discursive' domination but has been embedded in structures of power, the power of Eurocentrism itself is not to be grasped without reference to these same structures. This is not to say that culture and discourses are insignificant, but only to reiterate that they are insufficient as explanations of the world; the separation of culture and discourse into realms apart from the material is itself very modern. For the same reason, to argue for a reconnection of culture and discourse to the materiality of everyday life is not to argue for a return to an earlier privileging of political economy but rather to open new ways of thinking about the connection under contemporary circumstances – which implies also rethinking the connections that were repudiated under the regime of modernity (DIRLIK, 1999, p. 11).

In synthesis, *Eurocentrism* would be the form we give life to spatial or temporal concepts. The contemporary landmark of this historiographical reasoning is noticeable in the dominant post-Second World War historiographies, where important premises would be Enlightenment and History as a human science. This historical phenomenon created a modernity project that, in five centuries, made the concepts of capitalism, production relations, markets, modes of production, imperialism, Nation-States, national, classes, gender, races, ethnics, religious forms, individualistic method, etc. Dirlik (1999) portrays the EuroAmerican as the “founding father” of this Eurocentric structure.

If the project of EuroAmerican domination was made by Eurocentric bases, on the other hand, *Eurocentrism* produced the objective conditions for great historical transformations, such as revolutions, as well as relocated societies in new spaces and times. Nevertheless, even if such transformations occurred in this encompassed perspective, EuroAmerican values would remain superior, consolidating a Eurocentric hegemony as the main rule.

In the comparative perspective, Eurocentrism faces radical epistemological differences about the form in a historical phenomenon. Suppose we access a culturalist critique from Norwegian authors, suggesting that the combat against the Eurocentric would be made through "the respect and valorization of different and non-European cultures." In that case, there is a dialectical-materialist critique based upon the political and economic analysis to generate the cultural and social conditioning in the global sphere, such as defended by Dirlik (1999).

In synthesis, *Eurocentrism* is a term faced as a type of “cultural corpus”. On the other hand, one can see it as a “project of global domination” defended by Dirlik (1999) or Amin (1989). There are, methodologically saying, distinct ways to operate the sense of the concept

throughout time. There is not necessarily a univocal form to interpret it historically. It is a flaming concept in plain dispute from an intellectual point of view.

Conclusions

The history of Eurocentrism as a concept intermingles with the clashes between structuralist perspectives inherited from a plural historical materialism field; and in an epistemology centered in culture and, in a larger sense, self-proclaimed as poststructuralist, consolidated through the theory of the subjects.

One can detect an epistemic change after 1968. While such a socio-intellectual event questioned the bipolar world order, it also ruffled its critique of the so-called dogmatic models of interpretation of reality, strongly attached to Marxist structuralism. After this period, the word *Eurocentrism* increased in usage. Something also in synchrony with the rise of studies related to the understanding of culture and, thus, unattached to the then-dominant Marxist field.

One can also seek to understand why there is a discrepancy between the volume of Spanish and English recurrences. We were not able to identify or create any hypothesis about this indicator, leaving it to further investigations.

Google Ngram presents some gaps inherent to the making of the platform. One can visualize the graphics, although many digital sources are restricted to reading. Also, it can repeat publications. For example, the work of Edward Said *Orientalism*, originally published in English, but only available to read at the Google Books platform in its Spanish format. Therefore, it presents a lack of precision. On the other hand, the tool can be useful to make some historical inferences. It helps us to think about the creation of concepts throughout time, presenting a volume timeline of a certain concept usage. If used properly, it is a useful tool for history teaching in different levels -academic and in schools as well.

Resuming the initial reflections in this article stated by Koselleck, one can say Eurocentrism assumes the role of a historical concept, once wide and polysemic, when trying to elaborate its semantic sense. The polyphony embraces intellectuals from the many diversified national territories. The cited representatives are from Norway, Palestine, Egypt, Peru, Argentina, Mexico, the United States, England, Spain, Turkey, etc. It also embraces, as analyzed, different theoretical and epistemological dimensions to comprehend its sense.

Eurocentrism is a concept inserted in the intellectual dispute in a historical sense. The exponential growth of its use during the second half of the 20th Century, and the beginning of the 21st Century, shows the necessity of diverse authors to understand the term. Lastly, it is a

concept that does not operate with a unison semantic, relying on complexity and wideness, which includes the autonomous study and the search for a more restrictive, from the epistemic point of view to a wide and encyclopedic definition.

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