THE RACIAL DEMOCRACY IN BRAZILIAN POLITICS OF THE 21ST CENTURY

An analysis of racial relations and political participation during Lula da Silva's regime

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The population of the nation of Brazil is considered to be one of the most multi-ethnic populations in the world, if not the nation with the most ethnically diverse gene pool on the planet. Praised for being a democratic nation considered a racial democracy both within the nation as well as at the global scale, Brazil has gained the image of being a nation that is able to function as a society where all people, no matter what ethnic background they have, get equal opportunities to make something of themselves and better their lives, an almost "Latin" American dream if you will. Along with this image of being an ethnically diverse population, the nation of Brazil is believed to have been able to avoid the segregation experienced by so many other multicultural societies around them were not able to avoid. In spite of having excluded this dynamic of actively segregating people in the nation based on their ethnicity, it is clear that if one looks deeper into Brazilian society, prevalent institutionalised racism is still found at the expense of ethnic minorities and poorer communities. More often than not, the Afro-Brazilian community as well as other marginalised groups in Brazil tend to experience a lower standard of living in contrast to their European counterparts, as well as experience forms of racism and discrimination embedded in the values and policies put forward by the state. This racial dynamic will be further looked into throughout this study, paralleling the racial hierarchy introduced during the colonial era with how this has continued and continues to be demonstrated into the 21st century whether it be in the social, economic, or cultural aspect. Additionally, the institutionalised racism in Brazil as well as the disproportionate representation of Afro-Brazilians within politics will be further examined in relation to the theory of racial democracy. Though racism and racial discrimination were officially acknowledged as a national problem in 1996, it can be argued that measures to combat this problem were ineffective at the time and to some degree still are.

In spite of particular social and economic improvements made as a result of the implementation of the social programs and policies, social and economic disadvantages still plague many Afro-Brazilians and ethnic minorities in the country. In order to delve into these issues, the main question that is explored throughout this research is: How were Afro-Brazilians and other ethnic minorities represented during Lula da Silva's time as president in relation to the theory of the racial democracy? The constructed hypothesis claims that politics in Brazil during Lula da Silva's time as president had the intention of improving on the problem of racial discrimination among other obstacles, but furthermore during this time aimed to improve the racial representation within Brazilian politics.

In an attempt to analyse the research question, various concepts that concern the investigation are to be looked into further. These concepts include subjects such as identity, race, racism, and the concept of *negritude*, all of which have been analysed in the first chapter. The first chapter is initiated with theories surrounding the concept of race with the intent of exploring the construction and meaning of the term, marking the initial development of the term all the way back to the colonial era in Europe. Following the first concept of the idea of race, the concept of racism and racial discrimination are defined and discussed in regards to historical and social context. In general, the concept of identity is discussed, as this concept holds a considerable sense of importance in the context of a multicultural Latin America, let alone the multicultural and multi-ethnic makeup of Brazil. Additionally, there is a specific section that takes into account and discusses the topic of *negritude* as well as black identity as this allows the reader to further contextualise the racial inequality and discrimination experienced by the Afro-Brazilian community at the hands of the state and society in which they live.

In regards to the second chapter, the concepts explained and discussed from the first chapter are applied to the historical context of Brazil, chronicling a brief history from the era of colonialism until the early 20th century. Furthermore, the colonisation, discriminatory practices and unequal history, and further discrimination suffered by the black community in Brazil are explored in addition to the social and racial hierarchy that was implemented onto Brazilian society since the era of Portuguese colonisation in the 1500s. The legacies left by the Portuguese during their time as colonisers are revealed, including the racial hierarchy their influence helped shape after Brazil became an independent state, this influence being evidently shown through the construction of contemporary Brazilian culture. Additionally, the second chapter reviews the input of the Black Movement, a social movement imperative to the awareness of a conscious black identity that lobbied and continues to lobby for equality on behalf of the Afro community, as well as how this fits in with the political history of Brazil and the formation of a government designed to serve the newly Brazilian republic.

The final chapter relays the results of a case study season conducted in the city of São Paulo, Brazil, between November 2018 and February 2019. The results of this case study period includes qualitative and quantitative data gathered from a literary review, information gathered through semi-structured interviews with professors and experts in the designated topics studied, and an anonymous survey.

Chapter 1
RACE, ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY

1.1 Developing the concept of race

The concept and history of race not only in Brazil, or the world rather can be argued to be one that is incredibly intricate and considerably complex. Moreover, the definition of race is further complicated through its many layers and the difficulty in which the term can be defined. As such, it can be seen time and time again that the complexity of the term race is often grouped into a rather vague definition that fails to address the complexity. The term race is often used by scholars in relation to various notions, this being either race in relation to racial discrimination, racial oppression, or racial relations to give a few examples. For most scholars, the term race can be interpreted as a historically and socially sensitive subject to analyse.

Previously throughout history, the majority of people considered themselves to share a common identity. This common identity that people recognised themselves with was felt through a sense of belonging through sharing the same language, culture, or religion. It was only in the 1700s that society began to draw lines of distinction between themselves based on supposed 'biological' characteristics, or differences. During the development of overseas travel to the supposed "New World" by boat in the 1600s, coming into contact with other peoples required these travelling Europeans to reconsider their uniqueness. Moreover, having come into contact with such different peoples and cultures, the most prominent being the Native and African populations, made for an environment in which Europeans were compelled to think about their anthropological and ecclesiastical understanding of the world around them over. Ultimately, during that time, enslaving and colonising these newly found populations allowed for a manner in which Europeans could justify the conquests of their territorial exaltations.

The concept of race was first initiated in Europe as a means to help the Europeans understand and develop their relations in regards to new social groups. Along with class and nation, the identification of race was seen as a mode of categorisation that was used more often as Europeans tried to categorise themselves among the increasing contacts they had overseas, citing their physical differences (Banton, 1977: 13). Given that the region of Europe had industrialised earlier than the regions they had encountered and seemed to be a lot more powerful in terms of their position on the world scale, the people of Europe imposed their

social categories upon those in other regions that have for the majority incorporated them into their own (Banton, 1977: 13).

Furthermore, anthropologist Marvin Harris suggests that racial prejudice emerged as an ideological justification of the interest that European nations had in the profiting off of black labour (Banton, 1977: 14). In terms of tracing a true single source towards racial prejudice, this has not been found. On the contrary, it seems to be the case that consciousness of difference between races has grown slowly and that the nature of the phenomenon to which the label 'prejudice' is attached to has changed over the passage of time. Throughout history, it seems to be the case that people have always preferred those that look similar to them, and have had the nature to be leery of those that look different to them. As such, black had a negative connotation in Medieval Europe whereas white had a positive connotation, similar to the Arabic culture where black had connotations to acquired black slaves (Banton, 1977: 14). Moreover, with the creation of racial doctrines in the nineteenth century, anthropology played a very important role. Biologists from the seventeenth and eighteenth century believed that God created a limited number of species that were fixed and that each of these had its place in the divine scheme. With mammoth bones being found in North America, they believed that life first formed there, and as such all life forms after came to be in other areas, explaining their backwardness in comparison to Europeans (Banton, 1977: 15).

As time went on, numerous theories reflecting the concept of race emerged. One such concept that was critical in thinking of the idea of race was introduced between the years 1850 and 1870, which proved to be a critical time in the history of forming theories surrounding the subject. It was with this period in time that people saw the acceptance of race as a legitimate and justifiable mode of classification regarding comparative morphology (Banton, 1977: 63). Banton states that during the formative period of the years 1850 to 1870 the idea was introduced that as a result of inherited biological differences, certain groups of people would never be able to advance as far as others. It was the belief among Europeans that the divisions among themselves were insignificant when compared to the differences they perceived to have with the peoples they encountered during their overseas travels (Banton, 1977: 64).

1.1.1 Charles Kingsley's racial philosophy and the concept of nationalism

Particularly crucial to this sense of thinking was the figure Charles Kingsley, a church priest and university professor that heavily influenced the theories regarding race during the nineteenth century. In terms of the effort Kingsley put into developing theories surrounding the topic of race, it is recorded that he collected various works of sermons, literary criticisms, historical essays, popular science, and other similar works. In relation to the relevance Kingsley had in the development of theories surrounding the concept of race, it should be

known that he was a friend of Charles Darwin, and played a significant role in having people of the church accept Darwin's theory along with its implications (Banton, 1977: 64). Although Kingsley was considered a dear friend of Darwin and he accepted Darwin's theory on evolution, he met this with several weaknesses, accepting the theory of evolution with harsh judgement, sentimentality, and an erratic attitude, all the while having met this theory with racial pride (Banton, 1977: 64).

As Kingsley began to develop his own philosophy concerning the concept of race, it became clear that first and foremost Kingsley was concerned with social class and was heavily influenced in his ideology by the economic crisis and his being in direct contact with the rurally impoverished of England. As such, Kingsley wrote a placard in the year 1848 titled 'Workmen of England' in which he recounts the wrongdoing felt by the working class of England and subsequently relates this to a comparison of how black slaves must feel. Kingsley formulated:

> "We have been able to emancipate the black slaves, thank God; it would seem a consistent sequel to emancipate the white ones. Moreover, we forgot; there is an immeasurable difference between the two cases- the black slaves worked for our colonies, whereas the white slaves work for us. However, if as some say, self-interest is the underlying motivation of all actions conducted by humans, it is the question as to who will make the move to liberate the said white slaves, given that all classes seem to consider it in their best interest to keep them oppressed; all classes, despite confessing they are ashamed, do not hesitate to profit by the system which keeps them down" (1977: 67).

Furthermore, Kingsley expands on this train of thought regarding his racial philosophy and additionally states in a pamphlet that was later expanded and turned into a book called Alton Locke, tailor and poet: an autobiography and published in 1850 that:

> "The black is more like an ape than the white man- he is- the fact is there, and no notions of an abstract right will put that down: nothing but another fact- a mightier, more universal fact- Jesus of Nazareth died for the negro as well as for the white. Looked at apart from Him, each race, each individual of mankind, stands separate and alone, owing no more brotherhood to each other than wolf to wolf, or pike to pike- himself a mightier beast of prey- even as he has proven himself in every age" (1977: 67).

To put it in simple terms, Kingsley's philosophy concerning the concept of race can be formulated to state that he believed "men and races were unequal in nature but equal in the eyes of the Lord and that only by recognising this could man realise himself" (Banton, 1977: 67).

Additionally, it was during this time that historians Walter Scott, Edward Bulwer-Lytton, and French historian Augustin Thierry introduced the racial doctrine that nations were defined

by inherited racial characteristics and their conflicts were racial struggles, adding onto the inability of Kingsley to explain these inherent differences through divine reasoning. Kingsley was familiar with the aforementioned historians' work; however, his concern was not with conflict so much as with fusion.

Kingsley took from his forbearers the idea that the key groups were races and used this to construct a Christian philosophy of history, taking elements from the Old Testament record quite seriously (Banton, 1977: 69). As such, he believed that the human race came from a single pair but that the infantile innocence of the primary race faded away just as quickly as it does an individual child. Moreover, the story of man's expulsion from the Garden of Eden was the treaty for a belief in the deterioration of mankind (Banton, 1977: 69). Throughout Kingsley's life, he used the term 'race' indifferently to refer to all mankind and to particular parts of it. However, by the end of his career he claimed on one occasion that the order of four different races was put in such place to each contribute and denounce superstition of nature, and still that it 'remained for our, (in this case, the White European), race to bring science into act and fact' (Banton, 1977: 70). Furthermore, while explaining his racial philosophy Kingsley believed and preached that the White Europeans were a personally courageous race, stating that 'This earth has seen no braver men than the forefathers of Christian Europe…' and 'they were a practical hard-headed race, with a strong appreciation of facts, and a strong determination to act on them' (Banton, 1977: 70). Additionally, another passage worthy of being mentioned in which Kingsley's racial philosophy is displayed is that which was stated in an address to the Ladies Sanitary Association in 1859, where he states:

> "Of all the races upon earth now, the English race is probably the finest, and that it gives not the slightest sign whatsoever of exhaustion; and that it seems to be on the whole a young race, and to have above all, the most marvellous capability of adapting itself to every sort of climate and every form of life, which any race, except the old Roman, ever has had in this world..." (1977: 71).

Thus, showing his philosophy regarding the superiority that White Europeans held over all other races and displaying his admiration of such a race.

To sum up, it can be argued that in his prime, Kingsley was an impressive public figure. This can be argued due to his name being well known within the Church of England and for his being well known for opposing the Catholics, as well as his direct manner of preaching in combination with his moral earnestness which earned him the respect of protesters. It was the sceptics that first took on the name 'Kingsley' as a Christian name and it possibly could have been their missionaries that took this practice to the West Indies where the name Kingsley is quite popular. Kingsley's works Westward Ho! And others were sold out within two years of being introduced to audiences worldwide and his literary popularity is said to have had the greatest influence among the public (Banton, 1977: 85).

It is difficult to assess what part of Kingsley's teachings may have presented in the larger picture of European racial thinking in the following decades, however, one could imagine that in an obscure and unphilosophical manner his works must have emboldened English people into thinking in racial categories in order to make sense of and understand history. Amusingly, the term 'race' suggested the hint that the sign lay in physical characteristics of the people, however, Kingsley was determined to persuade his audience that physical features were only a portion of a grander explanation. Kingsley's message was that moral causes were also a crucial part in any philosophy, summarising his doctrine in a manifesto: 'As a people behaves, so it thrives; as it believes, so it behaves' (1977: 85).

In regards to the construction of a peoplehood and nation, it is stated by Wallerstein that 'racial' categories started to settle around specific labels as the capitalist world-economy started expanding from its core location in Europe to periphery areas where production processes were increasingly common. As such, it became apparent that specific genetic traits varied between people, and these differences allowed for the setting of "races" and 'racial categories'. It should be noted furthermore that any racial categorisation made during this time was a social decision which in turn increased polarisation between peoples. Scholar W.E.B. Dubois, whose theories regarding race will be discussed in the next section, stated in 1900 that 'the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line'. What Dubois implied with this statement was the reality of a polarisation between White and non-white people (Wallerstein, 1991: 80). Moreover, it should be noted that the term race is not the only category of social identity that is used, but nation as well. The construction of nations is said to derive from the political structuring of the world-system, the states known to the United Nations all being creations of the modern world-system (ibid.).

As if these delineations were not enough, ethnic categories, or minorities, were created. It should be noted however, that in order for there to be minorities, there first needed to be a majority, which in this case referred to the white Europeans. Additionally, various analysts have noticed that for a long time, a minority-hood does not refer in particular to an arithmetically based concept, but rather refers to the degree of social power this group of people has (Wallerstein, 1991: 83). As such, the creation of such labels on certain groups of people within a state allowed for there to be one state, but several separate minorities.

1.1.2 DuBois: Race and Pan-African Identity

To continue with the preceding subject, it is of significance to mention the works and theories developed about the topic of race introduced by William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868-1963), arguably an essential figure in the discussion about race and eugenics in relation to the African identity. Du Bois began to challenge the modern idea of race that

emerged in Europe and the United States in the nineteenth century, becoming an emblematic figure in the understanding of the complexity of the idea of the non-Pan-African race. While Du Bois may have recognised obvious differences concerning physical features such as skin colour and hair, among other characteristics between black and white people, he gravitated towards explaining the difference in a race through taking a more socio-cultural and historical approach regarding the discussion about the idea of race, taking into account historical events which have affected the understanding of the difference between white and black people (Du Bois, 2013: 532). Rather, Du Bois challenged the 'scientific' notion of race, presuming that it was not physical differences, but rather social and cultural acts which had undoubtedly separated man into groups. In regards to the history of the movement of Africans in relation to the slave trade, Du Bois stated:

> There was the nineteenth century- a century of material prosperity, of systematic catering of human wants, that men might eat, drink, be clothed and transported through space. And with this came the physical freeing of the soul through the wonders of science and the spread of democracy. Such a century was the legitimate offspring of the eighteenth century, of the years from 1700 to 1800, when our grandfathers' grandfathers lived- that era of revolution and heart searching that gave the world George Washington and the French Revolution… thus we come back on the world's way, through three centuries of imperialism, revolution and commercial democracy, to two great centuries which prepared Europe for the years from 1600 to 1900- the century of the Protestant Reformation and the century of the Renaissance. The African Slave Trade was the child of the Renaissance (Ibid.).

Du Bois proceeds to argue that the African Slave trade is continuously perceived as an incident separate from general history, an incident which lasted ten years or a century at most, while in reality this era in history lasted well over three centuries. Moreover, the sentiment that fate of the entire continent of Africa was at the hands of Christian man-dealers is expressed, and Du Bois argues further that the state of the Negro civilisations in this region suffered, understandably, as a result of the pejorative interactions imposed upon these societies (ibid.).

Given the above statement, it can be seen how Du Bois refuses to categorise nor rank the different races into a hierarchy. Moreover, theories concerning the idea of race and ethnicity were questioned by multiple other academics including prominent figures such as Franz Boas and Fredrik Barth respectively for example, all of whose ideas will be explained further in the following section.

1.1.3 Additional theories regarding race: Franz Boas and Stuart Hall

As the twentieth century unfolded in the United States, the African American population was expanding, which in turn lead to an increase in what the idea of race held within itself and

what this meant in relation to race relations in the country as well as abroad. Franz Boas relays:

> On the whole it is much easier to find decided differences between races in bodily form than in function. It cannot be claimed that the body in all races functions in an identical way, but that kind of overlapping which we observed in form is even more pronounced in function. It is quite impossible to say that, because some physical function, let us say the heartbeat, has a certain measure, the individual must be White or Negro- for the same rates are found in both races (1940: 9).

Furthermore, Boas argues that the physical attributes that define a person's appearance are what singles them out in a setting which they look different, or on the other hand helps assign them to a group of people who share similar physical attributes. Boas additionally claims with the example of red-haired individuals that should they be segregated due to previous belief that all red-haired individuals had an undesirable character, they would not be able to escape their class no matter what their personal characteristics may be (Boas, 1940: 15). In further relation to the idea of racial antipathy, Boas states:

> If racial antipathy were based on innate human traits this would be expressed in interracial sexual aversion. The free intermingling of slave owners with their female slaves and the resulting striking decrease in the number of full-blood Negroes, the progressive development of a half-blood Indian population and the readiness of intermarriage with Indians when economic advantages may be gained by such means, show clearly that there is no biological foundation for race feeling (1940: 15).

It is evident that Boas focused his ideas concerning the topic of race through highlighting social constructions as attributes adding to racial relations in society as was viewed in North America. Moreover, Boas not only contradicted racial theories of that time but also introduced novel conceptions regarding the concepts of race and culture that ran opposite various principle beliefs within that context. It is important to mention that Boas's contributions to the academic debate about race were recognised as essential by the beginning of the twentieth century, furthering the debate on this topic.

About half a century further, scholars including the likes of Stuart Hall entered the academic debate surrounding the topic of race. While most of the scholars at this time linked social aspects to the idea of race, Hall was rather invested in linking the term 'race' to the Afro community. As such, it has been stated that the term 'race' is commonly associated with Caribbeans of African descent, whereas the term 'ethnicity' is applied to the Asian population. The use of the term 'race' supposedly describes the Afro-Caribbean experience more accurately, given that it emphasises the significance of skin colour, a scheme derived from biology. Hall manages to further his argument by stating that the concept of race is a

political and social construction with the result of exploitation and exclusion of a socio-economic power being racism (2003: 69).

1.1.4 Theories of ethnicity

In further understanding of the concept of race, the idea of ethnicity can be argued to play a crucial role in defining and understanding the categorisation of people based on their appearance and culture. As such, the concept of ethnicity, which is linked to that of race, will subsequently be discussed. A prominent figure in relation to theories relating to the concept of ethnicity is Fredrik Barth, who states the following in his work *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*:

> Ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the foundations on which embracing social systems are built. Interaction in such a social system does not lead to its liquidation through change and acculturation; cultural differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence (1969: 10).

In further explanation of ethnic distinctions and the boundaries set by ethnic distinction, Barth claims that to define an ethnic group is to group a population which share the characteristics of being largely biologically self-perpetuating, sharing fundamental cultural values, making up a field of communication and interaction, and having a membership which identifies itself and is identified by others as a distinguishable category from the same order (Barth, 1969: 11).

1.2 Developing the concept of race and identity in Latin America

Considering that the earliest development of the concept of race and defining of race took place in Europe, it would seem inevitable in the context of this thesis to discuss and analyse the introduction and development of introducing race in the region of Latin America after having been discovered by Europeans. In order to fully grasp this concept in the context of Latin America, it is important to distinguish between the conqueror and conquered in relation to the concept of race. Quijano does so by stating that:

> "the codification of the differences between conquerors and the conquered for the idea of race were distinct biological features that set some in a natural situation of inferiority in relation to others. This idea was conventional by the conquerors as the main constitutive element… It was on these bases that the population of America was classified, and later of the world, in this new standard of power" (2005: 117).

It is clear that by the statement made above that Quijano (2005) emphasises the importance of distinguishing the conqueror from the conquered, and how the concept of race as is known today was not particularly known previously in those standards. It might be the case that race was used to distinguish the differences between physical characteristics of people, however the added dynamic of power concerning the idea of race was not one that was applied before the discovery of the Americas and the native people living in the region by Europeans. Quijano further argues that social relations formed on the basis of race assisted in the production of new social identities in Latin America. In this case the new social identities referred to the newly formed identities of Blacks, Mestizos, and Indians, as the native population of the Americas, and subsequently the Europeans as the newly arriving settlers. Moreover, the geographical location in which people found themselves no longer just held the meaning of geographical location, but rather gained connotations of racialism in combination with the social identities and racial hierarchy imposed on the now multi-ethnic society in the region. As a result of this, the racial hierarchy reflected the position that each ethnic group fulfilled in the society, leaving the whites at the top and "natives" at the lower end of the hierarchy.

Interestingly, Graham recognises the thought that theories surrounding the topic of race in European, North American, and Latin American context that were developed beginning the mid-nineteenth century until the 1920s, in some cases even up to 1945, set the base for shaping public policies on several important issues (1990: 1). Moreover, the classification and ranking of humankind into inferior and superior races in the 1900s profoundly influenced the development of further sciences such as biology, ethnology, sociology and anthropology, as a result having these sciences shaped by an evolutionary paradigm to a certain extent. As European colonialism and the accelerated growth of the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century brought further indisputable proof of the validity of a system that categorised the supposedly primitive and undeveloped African or Indian at the bottom of the hierarchy and the "civilised" white European at the top (1990: 1). As a result of this imposed racial hierarchy, many social policies taking into account education, health, immigration and crime were formed with said dominant racial theories.

1.2.1 Race relations in Latin America

Given that race and identity in Latin America could be understood as quite complex due to the different ethnic groups residing in the region, one could argue that this complexity allowed for the region to develop different attitudes towards race and racial relations in respect to the attitudes adopted by their neighbouring regions. Lovell (1999) states:

> Race relations in Latin America were traditionally understood to be unlike those in the United States or South Africa. The contrast was based on Latin America's unparalleled recognition of

miscegenation among European, African, and indigenous peoples. Widespread intermixing of the population gave rise to a uniquely Latin American pattern of social differentiation in which racial appearance (phenotype) rather than origin was key (1999: 395).

1.2.2 Developing the concept of race in Brazil

For the developing nation of Brazil, the introduction of the concept of race as was constructed by Europeans, meant many things. Given that Brazil had received the largest amount of African slaves than any other country in the Americas, Skidmore (1990) argues that its legacy regarding race can be considered one of the most complex and interesting, yet often misinterpreted multiracial societies on the planet. This is argued on the basis that in contrast to the United States, a nation with a predominantly biracial structure, Brazil has had an extensive mixed-race transitional category that a historian from the United States has viewed as the foundation to perceiving current Brazilian race relations in the twenty-first century. As such, Skidmore (1990) describes the thoughts perceiving the topic of race in the late nineteenth century can be best understood as it was linked to the prevalent social ideology of the time, describing this relationship as twofold.

Brazilian thinkers of the time were preoccupied with thoughts about their past- questioning whether heavy miscegenation resulting in a racially mixed population would leave them to the fate of an eternally third-class nation in terms of status. As a manner to combat this, the nation of Brazil looked into how their ethnic formation had condemned them in an effort to find a solution. It was found that if the future had left any room to steer the nation into another direction, it was the job of social policies to fix this (Skidmore, 1990). The ideology that developed from this worry called for the secularisation of the state, including institutions such as schools, marriage, and cemeteries, the abolition of all restraints on individual freedom, and also the decentralisation of government. Surely, the most obvious restraint on freedom was slavery. With the complete abolition of slavery only taking place in 1888, there was a fixation on the thought of race, in particular in regards to blacks and mulattos, referring to mixed blacks. Before assessing these perspectives, it is important to be reminded of the social structure that Brazil held in 1870. It is important to note that by then, there had already been a large number of free Afro-Brazilians –the majority of them being mulattos, but black nonetheless. In regards to how these Afro-Brazilians were able to get free, anthropologist Gilberto Freyre, to be discussed in later chapters, along with Frank Tannenbaum have stressed the institutional and cultural factors, whereas Marvin Harris stressed the demographic context, claiming that the shortage of whites left no choice but for the environment to facilitate the emergence of free class of mixed bloods to work higher positions such as artisans and cattle herders.

In short, "Brazil had economic 'space' for free persons of colour- unlike most of the American South, where poor whites pre-empted these positions" (Skidmore, 1990: 8).

Evidently, it seems that although Afro-Brazilians and mulattos were free in the eyes of the law, they were not treated as equal by all of society. The following section will look further in depth at how the theories of race discussed in this section allowed for the emergence of racial discrimination to take place.

1.3 Racial discrimination

As theories and concepts surrounding the subject of race and identity have been discussed previously, the subject of racial discrimination seems logical to follow the introduction of race. In regards to discussing racial discrimination, theories developed by various scholars who have explored the subject of racism and racial discrimination will be looked at in further detail. In regards to the role that race plays in projecting racism, scholars such as Benedict claim that such racism produces the objective reality of race at the given time in the context of any historical moment (Viswesaran, 1998: 74). Though Benedict further believed that social expressions of race conflict were secondary complications in relation to the discussion of differences between people, stating that the discussion centred fundamentally on differences in class relations or economic deprivations, scholars such as Boas and Montagu argued that the discussion surrounding race could not be separated from negative value, subsequently always implying some form of racism (ibid.).

To discuss in further detail the understanding racism in the eyes of Jewish scientist Montagu, it is interesting to note that she found the mere implication of race to be understood as racism. Montague found that conceptualising race as a separate concept could be seen as racist in itself and subsequently advocated to abolish the term of race altogether (Viswesaran, 1998: 74).

One other such scholar who can be argued to be fundamental in the discussion of race and racism is Banton, who stated that the term racism was first used as a "means to identify the doctrine that basically affirms that race decides culture" (1977: 156). Banton elaborates that the term racism in this sense was introduced in the 1930s and further states:

the words 'racism' and 'racist' were used by people who wished to attack doctrines of inequality and so, within the circles within which they were employed, they acquired strongly pejorative connotations which may help explain the recent attempt to extend their application (ibid).

Similarly, Hall argues that racism finds its roots "from a rigorous application of... the premise of historical specificity" (Hall, 1996, in Meek, 2007: 103). Hall explains:

> Though it may draw on the cultural and ideological traces which are deposited in society by previous historical phases, it always assumes specific forms which arise out of the present- not the past- the conditions and organisation of society (ibid.).

As a result of this, Hall claims that racism can be interpreted not necessarily as attitudes of racial superiority, but rather that different forms of racism allowed for the production of different effects of racism (Viswesaran, 1998: 78). Similarly, it is recorded by Paul Gordon Lauren (1988) that ideologies of race as were developed in the West until the nineteenth century tended to focus on the inequality of human races and build on this theme. Lauren further states:

> Building upon prejudices dating back to antiquity, the ideologies sought to provide new systematic and scientific proof that the superiority or inferiority of people was determined by organic, inherited, biological differences of race. In the resulting hierarchical arrangement, whites appeared at the top, blacks at the bottom, and those of other skin colors somewhere in between (1988: 44).

Moreover, in an attempt to explain institutionalised racism, Banton states:

> Institutional racism relies on the active and pervasive operation of anti-black attitudes and practices. A sense of superior group position prevails: whites are better than blacks, therefore blacks should be subordinated to whites (1977: 157).

It is this racist attitude that permeates society on both an individual and institutional level that makes the racism institutionalised, and which James M. Jones states promote racial inequity within society (Jones, 1997).

Scholar M. Wieviorka states that in terms of race and racism, it was in the 1960s when a renewed form of racism appeared within society. In regards to the role that race played in this renewed analysis of racism, Wieviorka claims:

> Race is no longer perceived as being fundamentally the discourse and the practice of those who want to exploit or dominate individuals or groups in the name of their pretended racial, biological attributes, and here, it doesn't matter whether these attributes are real or imagined. To put it differently, racism is not only, or at least, no longer principally analysed from the universalist point of view of the dominant considering the other as inferior, as was particularly the case with colonialism. Then racism was used, if not to destroy the other, then to subordinate him or her to the colonizer's conception of progress and modernity. Racism now is more and more analysed as a differentialist logic of action, in which the racist

considers the other as irreducibly different because of cultural attributes that forbid him or her to find his or her way of integrating in the society where he or she lives (1998: 70).

Furthermore, racial discrimination as a related topic is defined by Blank et al. (2004) in the following way; Blank et al. state that racial discrimination demonstrates itself at various levels, ranging in exhibition from obvious and intentional, to subtle and vague in the way that racism is presented or exhibited. Moreover, racial discrimination can be exhibited not only at the personal level, but at an institutional level as well. An example of such institutional racism can be found in the act of racial profiling, which discriminates against a specific group of people when looking at crimes committed and who would be responsible. It can be seen that racial profiling takes place in many domains of life and arguably in many places around the world, let alone societies which are multicultural and multi-ethnic at the slightest.

Moreover, Blank et al. state that while racial discrimination take place at the personal and institutional level publicly takes place in certain areas, it has become increasingly unwelcome to practice such behaviour. As a result of this, the racial discrimination that does take place has managed to take on more subtle and covert forms. Subtle forms of racial discrimination at the institutional level often go undetected, most times having to do with legal processes and statistical discrimination. As will be discussed in the next chapter, certain types of discrimination can be considered more difficult to identify and may demand new data to further develop new means of investigation (Blank *et al.*, 2004). The following section will look at identity and identity theories in order to put the concept of race and racial discrimination into context when speaking of identity and identity politics, as well as how this plays a larger role in the theoretical framework.

1.4 Developing the concept of identity

It is no secret that the concept of identity plays a critical role in many actual debates surrounding the field of politics and political science. As such, it can be said that when speaking of identity in the cultural sense, it is of importance to acknowledge the significance that having an identity can mean for certain individuals. When speaking of the significance a cultural identity can have not only an individual, but an entire group of people, Shepherd et al. (2018) note:

> A positive cultural identity can provide an individual with a sense of belonging, purpose, social support & self-worth (1). This process may occur through an attachment to a cultural group whereby belief systems, values, obligations and practices shared and reinforced by in-group members (2) (2018: 1).

Moreover, the significance of having a cultural identity has proven to have positive effects, enhancing self-esteem and promoting resilience among other benefits (ibid.). Campbell (2000) notes that for societies which are made up of various cultural groups, the phenomenon of belonging to more than one cultural group is no longer a phenomenon. However, in some instances it is still possible to identify oneself as belonging more to one particular cultural group than to another within the nation based on the cultural identity one might assume. Campbell subsequently states:

> These cultural identities are not mutually exclusive, but cumulative layers, where the immediate cultural context determines which layer is relevant at any particular time (2000: 32).

As such, in a nation such as Brazil where the population is considered to consist of multiple cultural identities, it would seem evident that these given cultural identities hold a significance to how Brazilians present themselves in such a multicultural society. With respect to the concept of (cultural) identities, the following section will look at identity and how this evolved for the black population of Brazil, as well as how this relates to modern day identity politics in the country.

1.4.1 Black Identity in Brazil

Crook and Johnson state that in terms of black identity in Brazil, the influence of African culture is embedded in various aspects of life. Ranging from language, to religion, to cuisine and more, the influence that this culture has had on everyday Brazilian society is very much visible to the majority of people in the nation. Crook and Johnson further state:

> Deriving initially from highly diverse African civilizations- including Sudanese (Yoruba, Ewe, Fon, Fanti-Ashanti), Bantu (Abunda, Cabinda, Benguela), and Islamicized (Hausa, Mandingo, Nupe) civilizations- this influence has over time been adapted, dispersed, and transformed into cultural practices now seen as characteristically Brazilian (1999: 1).

Examples of cultural practices that stem from African influence mentioned above are said to have resisted, survived, and evolved, along with the Afro-Brazilian identity. Moreover, these cultural practices and sense of identity is said to have done so in the face of political and social repression and economic marginalization both during and after slavery (ibid.).

In the present day, the racial hierarchy established during the colonial era by the conquerors is arguably still reflected in many Latin American societies, including Brazil. Mitchell-Walthour (2018) describes how Brazilians have modelled their society through often comparing themselves to those in North America, however that their society is racially stratified as peaceful, given that the state encouraged racial mixing. In contrast to popular

belief though, many scholars including Mitchell-Walthour herself aim to challenge the myth of "racial democracy", as race relations are evidently characterised on basis of exclusion, adding onto the fact that dark-skinned people continue to have disadvantages whereas light-skinned people reap the benefits of privilege (2018: 7). Moreover, renowned sociologist Edward Telles claims that during the nineteenth century, the idea that Caucasians were biologically superior to non-white people on the racial hierarchy was being justified through science and eugenics, placing mulattos in the middle, though being considered degenerate, and blacks on the bottom of this hierarchy (2006: 26).

Furthermore, the concept of 'racial whitening' managed to become a debate among scholars during the nineteenth century, given that elites believed a white population would emerge through racially mixing blacks and mulattos with genes from white Europeans. In the present day, as was mentioned previously, the white population in not only Latin America, but the world still holds supremacy in regards to social policies and power.

In regards to what this imbalance of equality means for not only African diasporas in the United States, but also in Latin America, the institutionalised racism can be argued to have been incorporated into the ideology of the multi-ethnic societies. As such, in regards to racism and the effects of this, Wieviorka explains:

> "Other manifestations of this phenomenon –violence, prejudice, discrimination...– they do not ignore; however, the principal battle is a political one and quite general. However, an idea is imposed progressively: If the objective is to push back racism, it is not enough to fight head-on, in the ideological and political sphere, against political forces that embody it. You need to fight hand to hand against all its manifestations. In this way, the issue of discrimination (which, incidentally, is not reduced to racism, and concerns also, for example, to sexism) takes off, and the concern extends for the concrete struggles against it in all fields: employment, work, schooling, health, housing, leisure, etc." (2014: 156).

1.4.2 Developing the idea of Negritude

Domingues (2005) explains the history and development of the term negritude by claiming that the concept originated when African students in Paris developed a heightened sense of identity based on their blackness as a result of coming to the realisation of how much of a Eurocentric society they were living in. As a result of this realisation, this increased sense of racial consciousness evolved including a willingness to engage in actions to recover the cultural identity of black people. The result of this heightened sense of racial consciousness was the rise of a movement that focused on the collective African identity which had the objective of transforming their position in society to a more favourable one than was at the time, as well as give the connotation and association of being 'black' a more positive meaning.

Logically, with the rise of identity politics and an increased sense of racial awareness, a new concept focusing on the pride of maintaining a sense of pride in African identity has risen, this being negritude. On the subject of negritude, Crook and Johnson explain on the layers regarding the concept of negritude:

> To be sure, negritude must not be construed in absolute terms as an ideology, doctrine or philosophy. It cannot be monolithic or monopolitic, as Senegal's Leopold Sedar Senghor wanted it to be. However, that does not mean that negritude is dead and buried. Even if, out of shame, despair, a desire to be *civilized* and to rise gloriously to the paradise of Eurocentric universalism, we wanted to bury it in our psyche, the realities of our lives will not allow us that privilege... In my opinion, it is a question of realities, relevance, and responsibilities: the realities of racism; the relevance of struggle and revolution; the responsibilities of everyone claiming to represent the black race. Of course, it all begins with the acceptance of one's blackness (1999: 176).

Moreover, the concept and movement of negritude, though initially developed by Africans in Europe, gained traction and popularity among other African diasporas across the world as the movement gained increased recognition. As such, the movement of negritude consequently expanded from being a movement that in the beginning started as one that celebrated black consciousness through art forms into a movement that also incorporated the importance of a Pan-African consciousness among all Africans worldwide including people that identified as having a black identity outside of Africa. The questions posed during the Negritude movement subsequently entailed matters predominantly concerned with topics such identity and the place of Africans in the racial and social hierarchy in the world. Scholars such as Cesaire famously asked the questions: "Who am I? Who are we? What are we in this white world?"

Further leaders of this movement, most notably French Guianese poet Damas and the aforementioned French poet, politician, and playwright Cesaire were dissatisfied with how the previously colonised nations viewed black identity and sought to change this into an identity worth being proud of and one that was worth fighting for in terms of gaining respect and recognition. As time would have it, the movement of negritude became increasingly political and cultural in nature as the leaders of this movement sought to achieve their goals in transforming the identity of the African diaspora into one that had positive connotations in contrast to the negative connotations it had and fought to be seen as equals in regards to the perception they had with the European population in the countries colonised by the French (Diagne 2018).

1.4.3 Negritude as politics

In further regards to the idea of Negritude and the expansion of this movement in the political arena, it is important to note that Cesaire pushed for increased consideration towards the needs and inclusion of the African communities that were present in a predominantly white European society. As such, Cesaire insisted that the black community was in need of organisations "made for them, made by them, and adapted to ends alone that they could determine". Furthermore, during his time as one of the only politicians of African descent in the 1950s, Cesaire advocated for the promotion of an "African variety of communism" in order to avert the pitfalls of Africans falling into the routine of injustice and inequality. Another critical thinker of the Negritude movement, Senghor, pressed for the idea of a form of African socialism that would be understood under a new interpretation of the Marxist ideology, justifying this through claiming that the Marxist ideology could truly inspire the African doctrine of socialism and that the Marxist ideology of socialism was a natural development for African societies and cultures (Diagne 2018).

Nonetheless, when considering the achievements and barriers that the Negritude movement has managed to achieve and overcome, it is clear to see that the arguments presented by those in favour of the movement concerned the philosophical displacement of the Afro descendant fabricated by Europeans. As such, the following chapter will further discuss the historical and cultural context, supported with concrete dates and examples of the evolution of racial relations and political participation within the nation of Brazil.

Chapter 2
BRAZIL, A WORLDLY MELTING POT: A CONTEXTUALISATION

2.1 An era of Colonisation

In the year 1494, the Treaty of Tordesillas was signed by both Spain and Portugal in an attempt to resolve a growing conflict between the two countries and the lands being explored by the consequent conquistadors, or in today's terms, conquerers. The Treaty of Tordesillas encompassed the agreement that while the conquistadors of Spain would be able to explore one side of the demarcated lines drawn on the map, that the conquistadors of Portugal would be able to explore the other side of the demarcated lines. As such, the Tordesillas meridian was placed roughly 2000 kilometres, or what was at the time referred to as 370 leagues[1], west off of the Cape Verde islands located off of the west coast of Africa. In this agreement, Spain received the rights to all the newly explored and undiscovered lands in the region west of the marked line, where in contrast Portuguese conquistadors had to stay on the east side of the marked line. Furthermore, it was agreed upon that neither Spain nor Portugal would take up land that at the time was in the hands of Christian rule. As time would have it, the Portuguese conquistadors ended up colonising the area that we currently refer to as Brazil in the year of 1500 (Rea, 2018: 21).

2.1.1 The arrival of the Portuguese on Latin American soil

As was previously mentioned, it is recorded that the Portuguese first landed on the soil of Latin America in the year 1500. After their arrival on the shores of Brazil, the conquistadors captured and enslaved the native population with the intent of exploiting their labour for the sugar economy which was expanding at the time. Unfortunately for the Portuguese, with their arrival and exposure of diseased not previously known, a large portion of the native population they enslaved died due to this exposure of diseases as well as wars waged in interest of fighting for their land. Consequently, Portuguese conquistadors began to look elsewhere for populations to exploit as a supply of labour. As a result of this, Portuguese conquistadors looked to the region of Africa. It was during the middle of the sixteenth century that the Portuguese conquistadors began to capture Africans and transport them over the Atlantic with the intent of using them as slave workers for the sugar economy. It is

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[1] A league is a unit of length that was used in Europe and the Americas during this time.

estimated that by the year 1850, when the slave trade had ended, approximately 3.6 million Africans had been transported as slaves in 300 years' time (Telles, 2006: 24).

2.1.2 Colonial Settlement

The use of the term 'colonisation' is one that is often a heated debate, considering the negative connotations the word carries in relation to people and their land. In previous times, colonising certain areas and lands could have been viewed as a way to exert demographic rule in an attempt to avoid undeniable conflicts. In other circumstances, the colonisation of land was done so that it could serve the purpose of being a place of imprisonment, or even exile in some cases, as was the case with St. Helena, famous for being the location of exile that Napoleon Bonaparte died on, along with other islands, an example of this being Coiba Island in Panama. Nevertheless, for the framework regarding this paper, the colonisation imposed on territories of Latin America by the Portuguese will be classified as mercantile-based possession of territory.

Elaborating on the idea that the hegemonic structure of colonial society in Brazil consisted of a hierarchy which benefitted the coloniser, it was apparent that this structure specifically benefitted the European male. Social scientists have used the term *pigmentocracy* as a means to describe societies and social structures in which the social status and wealth of people within these societies are determined by skin colour, usually with the idea that the lighter skinned someone is, the wealthier and higher up in these societies they can be ranked. Up until this present day, pigmentocracies can be found all over the world, from the Americas all the way to South-East Asia, these often being characterised by the light-skinned population enjoying the highest social status, followed by the slightly darker-skinned population generally holding the middle status, with last but not least the black-skinned population who can usually be seen at the bottom of the pigmentocracies (Rea, 2018: 22).

2.1.3 The Business of Slave Trade

In regards to how lucrative the slave trade was for Portuguese colonisers, it is documented that the Portuguese explorers first came across the territory of Brazil in 1500, subsequently declaring this land as part of the Empire adhering to the Portuguese kingdom. In mercantile fashion, sugar plantations were established in the North-eastern region of Brazil approximately halfway through the 1500s and eventually, colonists took over the Indigenous peoples in the area. Portuguese settlers at the time would make the local indigenous inhabitants work in labour intensive conditions, required in order to maintain the quality of the plantation fields and reap the maximum amount of product these fields would produce. The Portuguese settlers, colonisers and religious settlers alike, would use various ways to overpower the native peoples, however a number of them managed to escape these

plantations and fled to the less well explored interior of the country. The majority of the Indigenous community that was enslaved who were unfortunate enough to escape these conditions soon started suffering from certain diseases that Europeans had managed to bring with them. Consequently, the Portuguese colonisers concluded on the belief that the native Indigenous peoples were too weak to work on plantations. As a solution to this problem, the Portuguese crown, who had been involved in the Atlantic slave trade since the mid-15th century, began importing African slaves from the west coast of Africa.

In further context of the slave trade, it is important to mention that African slaves were initially transported to Brazil in the 1530s with the intent of increasing the sugar economy. It was in the 1550s when the management of sugarcane plantations became better organised and the transfer of African slaves grew more rapid to complement the rapidly growing economy. As a consequence of the expansion of this economy, the system in which sugar cane production was found upon became solely dependent on the exploitation slave labour forced upon African slaves. One could argue, this period in history is when the long and contentious history regarding slave trade began between the continent of Africa and the country of Brazil, as Portuguese and Brazilian settlers operated along the Slave coast negotiating slaves from the Togo to Nigeria.

As time progressed, the number of slaves being imported from Africa to Brazil increased at a dominant rate, increasing from approximately 1000 slaves being imported per year in the 16th century up until a maximum of 60.000 slaves being imported alone, this having been recorded in 1848 (World Bank, 2012). Throughout the years 1550-1855, an approximate number of 4 million slaves of African origin were imported to Brazil. It should be noted that the exploitation of African slaves was made almost effortless due to the fact that these people had no protection from the Sate or the church. It is of no surprise that the Portuguese colonisers settled in Brazil viewed these Africans as racially inferior, this idea of racial superiority gaining validation in the 19th century (Rea, 2018: 24).

2.2 Labelling Colonial Society

In further detail of the concept of pigmentocracies, it is important to note the history of labelling those in Latin American societies during the colonial era. As such, it can be argued that it was inevitable that the Europeans who colonised Brazil would apply their racial thinking in an attempt to categorise the society in which they found themselves and differentiate themselves from the "other" people making up this multi-ethnic society. Andrien comments on the notion of labelling colonial society:

> Colonial social labels such as Indian, *mestizo*, Spaniard, and black were markers of caste, an identity assigned at birth that largely remained fixed throughout a person's lifetime. Most

Europeans thought that social position should remain unchanging, and in the Spanish Indies, for example, elites believed that an Amerindian tributary should remain one until death… Likewise, someone of African ancestry would be given a label of colour, whether slave or free. (2002: 65).

One could argue that through the establishment of labelling those within the colonial society based on race, an establishment of a racial hierarchy within this society would be inevitable. Additionally, it should be noted that the racial hierarchy imposed on Latin American societies would be one where the white European would inevitably be placed at the top of the scale where in contrast, much as was reflected in everyday life, the African slaves and *Indios* would be placed at the bottom, given that that was what they were viewed as, less worthy and a source of human labour. To further elaborate on the concept of labelling, the amount of names or labels that Afro-Brazilians received and arguably still receive in the 21st century are astonishing, given that they receive names such as *mulatto*, *moreninho* (little dark one), *feijãozinho* (little black bean) and *crioulinho* (little creole). Interestingly all these names have a diminutive, yet the number of blacks in the nation of Brazil is evidently larger than any other country in Latin America (Crook & Johnson, 1999: 18).

Moreover, as time passed, it seemed as though colonial elites became increasingly interested in the idea of maintaining a sense of "purity of blood", otherwise referred to as *limpieza de sangre*, using this as a way to prove that their ancestry and bloodline had not been damaged or contaminated with the blood of Jews or Muslims who had converted to Christianity, often referred to as *moriscos* or *conversos*. Furthermore, this idea of pure blood can be argued to have been an obscure concept, given that the process of racial mixing or *mestizaje* was widespread and effectively clouded perceptions of a pure collective identity (Andrien, 2002: 66).

2.3 The position of Afro-Brazilians after the abolition of slavery

As is well known throughout the world, or perhaps news for some, Brazil was the last nation-state in the world to end slave traffic and abolish the act of slavery. The profit that was made off the backs of slave labourers allowed for the funding of large-scale European migration with the intent of whitening Brazilian society. From the year 1850 onwards the massive influx of Africans was replaced by the massive influx of European immigrants, mainly arriving from countries of Southern Europe with special regard to Italy, and these European immigrants began to work as tenant farmers. The law that allowed for the abolishment of slavery itself, known as the Golden Law, or *Lei Áurea* in Portuguese, subsequently the job opportunities that were meant for former slaves. Of course, these slaves received no reparations for the forced labour and exploitation. Rather, former slave owners expected

compensation for the loss of labour as an effect of the law that freed their slaves (Crook & Johnson, 1999: 33). In regards to the situation that Afro-Brazilians were now faced with, Crook and Johnson further note:

> Without reparations of any sort, those who were freed from colonial slavery still had to face the fact that European immigrants, especially in the South and Southeast, held almost all of the jobs in a growing free market. This fact owed much to the racist thought consciously elaborated by the intellectuals of the First Republic, which attributed the country's technological backwardness to black and Amerindian labour. In other words, the abolition of slavery, in the form it took place, did not really have the goal of freeing black workers. Its true purpose was to free white elites from a society in which blacks and browns would become an unquestionable majority (1999: 33).

After Brazil became a republic, Afro-Brazilians went from being enslaved to being marginalised, and from the start of the Republic, blacks began to pile up in the outskirts, and, later, favelas of the core cities of Brazil (ibid). In regards to the prospect of job opportunities available for Afro-Brazilians at the time, it should be taken into consideration that the freedom acquired from the law abolishing slavery did not better the situation in which Afro-Brazilians found themselves per se. Rather, the majority of the black population continued to work in the agricultural sector. Crook and Johnson further note:

> The transition from slave labour to formally free labour did not mean the generalization of wage labour in Brazilian agriculture (1999: 63).

The primary years of free labour within the nation of Brazil were subsequently characterised by a cultural dispute concerning ethnicity as a result of the immigration of further Europeans and Asians in the region, coupled with continuing discrimination at severe levels against descendants of African and Amerindian origin. An example of such discrimination can be seen through the fact that in multiple cities in the state of São Paulo, Afro-Brazilians were only permitted to walk on designated streets in designated areas. Moreover, these Afro-Brazilians were banned from going to clubs designated for whites only as well as social events in the same regard. Various companies did not accept black labour, and discrimination based on race was and arguably is still evident in jobs of specific public sectors.

2.3.1 The Racial Democracy

In search of a way to define the racial dynamics of Brazilian society, various scholars attempted to theorise this dynamic of a multiracial society in a newly independent nation. As such, the theory of racial democracy was developed. The version of the theory of racial democracy that Gilberto Freyre put forward was seen as the main interpretation for

explaining the dynamics of Brazilian society for more than 50 years after its formulation, yet by 1990 it was falsified as post-modern discourses introduced by French and American universities made their way to Latin America. As a result of this, the academic debate regarding racial issues and racial inequality transcended from academic departments. Scholars consequently started debating about the truth regarding the national image Brazil presented to the world as being a melting pot of different cultures and people. One such scholar, Marilena Chauí, argues that the drive of unity was a tool incorporated by oppressive governments in the past, in contrast to using the tool of diversity (2001). Furthermore, Chauí defines a democratic society as that of one consisting of multiple social groups, with each group retaining distinct features and having their own best interest at hand. As such, Chauí argues that in order to overcome racial and social inequalities in Brazil, it is of great concern that the state recognises these different racial and social groups and constructs effective policies in their best interest in order to find a way in which it might help redeem the state for the former atrocities it had enforced upon these groups in the past.

Moreover, additional scholars researching the social structure in Brazil called for 'reparation policies', which were created in an attempt to raise attention of one's racial identity and additionally relieve racial inequality. Scholar Bernardino does not oppose the argument that affirmative actions are designed to adapt issues regarding the black population in the nation, rather on the contrary that these affirmative actions are proven efficient in the redistribution of wealth and positions of power in the short term (2002). Bernardino further claims that had it not been for the implementation of affirmative action, the change in social structure would have been postponed and the Brazilian elite would have stayed in power longer. Moreover, Bernardino also argues that the consolidation of affirmative action with universalist public policies resulted in positive change, an example of this being the expansion of access to education for every Brazilian, or so was the intention.

2.4 The Emergence of the Black Movement

The marginalisation, discrimination, and humiliation that the Afro-Brazilian community faced at the hands of the free society which was undeniably still a production of colonial attitudes eventually could not continue without response. As such, during the early 20th century, 1920 to be exact, a dynamic black press emerged on behalf of the Afro-Brazilian community, followed in the 1930s with the emergence of the *Frente Negra Brasileira*. The Frente Negra Brasileira, or Black Brazilian Front, led mass demonstrations against racism and the social exclusion of the Afro-Brazilian community and remained the largest organisation of the Black Movement in the Republican period, spreading throughout the nation of Brazil with an accumulation of over 70,000 members. With such a large number of

supporters of the movement, it would be of no surprise that the FNB had a noticeable impact (Crook & Johnson, 1999: 33).

In order to understand the Black Movement in full, it is argued that one must understand how certain practices and devices of discrimination have persisted and stayed employed by the dominant powers to destroy the racial and cultural identity of blacks. "The destruction of identity generates subordination and reinforces the idea of the black as a negative type who is ethnically and culturally inferior" (Crook & Johnson, 1999: 24). Moreover, the discriminatory values that perceive the Afro-Brazilian community as inferior and whites as superior deny the clash which denies the dichotomy between superior and inferior (ibid.). Furthermore, the contemporary Black Movement in Brazil is said to have been created by blacks who have experienced this process of destruction of racial identity, but who have also assimilated and incorporated all of the paradigms developed in society in relation to individual blacks, with fundamental deformations (Crook & Johnson, 1999: 27). In regards to the general objectives of the Black Movement at the time, it is further noted by Crook & Johnson:

> One of the primary objectives of the Black Movement is the systematic denunciation and struggle against the genocide practiced against blacks in its different forms: the murders committed by the police; the subhuman conditions generated by the total lack of access to the most elementary conditions of survival; the sterilization of black women; the mental genocide practiced through the stigmas and prototypes that destroy blacks' self-esteem and dignity. Racism and discrimination are common facts, yet the Black Movement has not achieved a cohesive organization that would prepare it for oppositional action in defence of the black community. (Crook & Johnson, 1999: 28).

In an attempt to make a noticeable difference in bettering the quality of life for Afro-Brazilians, the Black Movement ventured into the domain of politics, which will be analysed and discussed in the following section.

2.4.1 The Black Movement- Political Participation and Representation

From the initial phases of establishing itself as a movement, the Black Movement viewed various issues relating to the black population as important in bettering the social framework for the nation. Various scholars claim that a fundamental point in time for the Afro-Brazilian in relation to political activity was the year 1888 when slavery was officially abolished, as well as the year 1889 when the nation of Brazil declared itself a republic and Afro-Brazilians who were slaves were declared free people. Within a year, the black population was meant to be seen as the equivalent of the white population in terms of social status, as free citizens with equal rights and treatment. In reality, this change in social

structure was not as easily accepted as was initially thought. Instead, it was regarded as a particularly challenging moment for the black population as they were suddenly inserted into a society where the white population was extremely dominant in the racial hierarchy. In the realm of politics, the need for accurate representation of the population was needed, as the black population now had equal rights and demanded equal treatment on paper, however this proved difficult to achieve as the government still consisted of mainly the elite, which in turn consisted of white members (Domingues, 2008).

The Black Movement engaged in action for accurate representation in the government, lobbying for more people of African descent to take a part of the government and in order to fight for the interests of the Afro-Brazilian population. It is of great importance to understand that political activity in Brazil is for the majority in the hands of the white population, which could be argued to para reflect the attitudes and views of Brazilian society and who they feel is most apt to represent them in the government, however on the other hand it can be argued to still be a lasting effect of the history that Brazil has in regards to power dynamics and race. It is furthermore of importance to understand the significance of this power dynamic as for a society of which the majority (approximately 53%) consider themselves as *preto* or *pardo*, the representation of Afro-Brazilians and other ethnic minorities in the government chamber of deputies has never exceeded 3%, this statistic being as recent as in the government chamber of deputies in 1995-1999 (Bailey, 2009: 69). Within state politics, the MNU presented itself as a political movement and party that employed a leftist political perspective, however also had an ideology that could be considered "radical racialism" described as being a white vs black focal point. This party was unfortunately not very successful at its most successful peak, however it can be argued to have shaped the image of identity politics and representation further in Brazilian politics in the 21st century (Bailey, 2009: 72). Social movements continue to operate as a means for political change in the hope of social emancipation and throughout times when politics appear volatile, provide an outlet for those who fight for representation and democracy.

In regards to helping shape the racial democracy Gilberto Freyre described throughout his works, it is important to note that the nation suffers not due to the shortcomings of the political system, but that the gravest hindrances towards fulfilling a racial democracy are of a social nature. Reiter and Mitchell argue:

> Weak state structures cannot explain the much broader problem of extremely distorted and skewed processes that characterise the daily interactions and communications that occur and characterise Brazilian society and the interactions between society and the state (2010: 20).

Moreover, it is of interest to note that in the grand scheme of political participation and representation, the changing racial dynamics and attitudes in claiming black identities as

more beneficial than in the past has resulted in an increasing number of Afro-Brazilians identifying as such. The Afro-Brazilian identity that is pushed and promoted by black activists has arguably resulted in the increased voting of black politicians by Brazilians identifying as *preto* or *negro*, in contrast to Afro-Brazilians that identify in other colour categories (Reiter & Mitchell, 2010: 37). Nevertheless, despite the state's recognition of Afro-Brazilians as a racial group and the fact that Afro-Brazilians amount to half the Brazilian population, they still to this day are being underrepresented in electoral politics, at the most obtaining 4% of the electoral chamber in the 21st century.

2.5 Identity Politics in the Latin American Context

The political scene in Brazil cannot be examined without looking at the context in which it arises, meaning that, examining identity politics from the moment it appeared up until the present day concurrently in the local, regional scene as global. It is no secret that the region of Latin America is the most violent and unequal in the world, in both the social and territorial sense. Latin America additionally includes very distinct national phenomena not just out of the educational and cultural aspect, but also in regards to the indicators for social and economic development. As such, the World Bank cites Latin America as the region with the highest inequality in regards to the aspects of distribution of income, services, distribution of goods, and access to health, among other aspects (Stallivieri, 2007). Even though the region has been making strides of improvement in the recent decades, socioeconomic inequality and poverty are still the trademark of Latin America, whose variety in development levels and well-being of the people are quite noticeable (OEI, 2010). This being said, the socioeconomic inequality experienced by the majority of the region can be attributed to the history and long-standing legacy of inequality that has plagued the region since the beginning of the colonial era, and with the most vulnerable ethnic groups tending to consist of the Afro diaspora and indigenous population, it is of great importance to acknowledge the fact that these ethnic and social groups lack the opportunities to better their socioeconomic standings on their own in order to improve their social and economic positions on their own. As such, identity politics offer the chance to better the interest of these vulnerable ethnic and social groups through lobbying for their best interests, leading to the argument that with an improved presence in politics, perhaps there would be an improved sense of standard of living.

In Brazil, identity politics plays a major part in raising awareness and fighting for the rights of the marginalised ethnic and social groups in the country. In effect, the presence of social movements regarding the Afro-Brazilian community are common to see as well as the desire for improved representation within electoral politics of the nation. In regards to Afro-Brazilians politicizing their blackness and the patterns in which they vote during elections,

there is a limited amount of literature available. It is known however, that during the elections of 2002, Afro-Brazilians fiercely voted for President Luiz Inácio da Silva, the first president to be voted from a leftist political party. It is important to note that while da Silva is not of Afro-Brazilian descendence himself, the majority of Afro-Brazilians who voted for Lula did so because they identified with him in respect to the social class he came from, or in some cases, his "perceived racial background" (Reiter & Mitchell: 2010, 40). In respect to voting patterns, it is noted that the highest probability of voting for a politician descending from African heritage in Brazil is among *pretos*, however it is important to acknowledge that in this context, *preto* refers to the colour black rather than a racial category. As such, those who identify as *pretos* generally tend to be more racially conscious of their blackness in contrast to Brazilians who identify differently (Reiter & Mitchell: 2010, 48). Reiter and Mitchell further state:

> Underrepresentation is due to the fact that not all Afro-Brazilians identify as a black (*negro*) racial group. In claiming blackness by identifying as *negro* or as the colour black (*preto*), Afro-Brazilians' colour consciousness manifests itself in support of black candidates (2010: 49).

It is predicted however, that as an increasing number of Afro-Brazilians identifying as *preto* and embracing their blackness, an increase in the number of elected Afro-Brazilian politicians will occur, and hopefully a better balanced scale of representation in the government lobbying for the interests of such a large ethnic group in Brazil.

2.6 The Political System in Brazil

Explaining the political structure in Brazil can be considered a complex and complicated task due to the history of its becoming, for lack of a better term. As such, this section will examine in depth the evolution of the Brazilian political system and its structure in recent history. Certain concepts will be cleared up and the racial composition of the Brazilian political system in recent history will also be presented. Within the nation, the right to vote was acknowledged in 1889, when the republic became a democratic institution and employed characteristics of such type of governance. Even if the right to voting was previously acknowledged as a basic right, Brazil was a colony and in effect power was in the hands of the elite where power was in the hands of few rather than in the hands of society until after the Vargas era, which took place after a coup led by then to become leader Getúlio Vargas. Mass parties developed during the period of competitive politics between 1945-1964, after the dramatic state intervention under the Estado Novo of Vargas (von Mettenheim, 1995: 45). After the importance of political participation was acknowledged in a social environment, the nation of Brazil strived to let its citizens determine who they were to be governed by. Unfortunately, given Brazil's history with instability and political crises this

sense of democracy faltered once more. After Vargas's government and subsequent step-down from power there were years of populism. In 1964, as a response to the breakdown of democracy a military intervention and subsequent dictatorship took place that lasted for over twenty years (von Mettenheim, 1995: 47). After years of struggle in the military dictatorship, it was the internal weaknesses more than anything that contributed to the fall of military governance (von Mettenheim, 1995: 55). What followed the years of military governance would be the rise and demise of multiple party systems. It is further recorded by von Mettenheim concerning the transition to democratic rule and party systems:

> Competitive party and electoral politics not only informed public opinion and voter choice after 1974, it also produced the values, beliefs, and judgments that scholars believe permit democratization (1995: 218).

In regards to the constant fluctuation and instability of the state of politics and the performance of the government in Brazil, von Mettenheim records that Brazilian democracy is not dysfunctional as a result of voters being ignorant or poorly educated, but rather that this instability stems from change being limited to long-term constraints, or as a result of political parties being weak in presence or delivery of promises made (1995: 226).

Nonetheless, for the sake of this thesis, the ground breaking political system that took power in the beginning of the 21st century, the Partido dos Trabalhadores, or Worker's Party, with Luiz Inácio da Silva serving as president will be discussed along with the supposed achievements this party has had in creating a more equal society in Brazil.

2.6.1 A Shift in Power: the Rule of the PT

Regarding the political system in place during the era of Luiz Inácio da Silva in the 21st century, it is important to keep in mind that after years of power being in the hands of parties that would be considered still of the elite, it was the first time that the PT, or the Worker's Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores) had such an overwhelming majority of votes during the elections. The Worker's Party was first launched in 1980 under the ideology of democratic socialism, and banded with movements lead by traditional left-wing parties such as the PCB, or Brazilian Communist Party (Partido Comunista Brasileiro), standing for the interests of the working class and the average Brazilian, or in any case rejecting the image of the elite and siding with the majority of the Brazilian population. The Worker's Party can be therefore argued to have emerged as a need for people, rejecting political models that the Brazilian society regarded as decaying, opting to reflect ideologies of unionism and anti-Stalinism in regards to unifying the nation from the socioeconomic perspective. In response to the economic growth that occurred at the time in Brazil as it became an emerging economy at the world stage, a new middle class emerged in the largest cities of the nation and it was this

class of people were dissatisfied with the unions in place that they had as options, as they were bound to the assistencialist model which was linked to Vargas's administration and intensified during the military dictatorship era. Poor standards of living and actions conducted by the working class outside of the union structure resulted in various strikes, and this in turn contributed to uncertainty regarding the military dictatorship (Puzone 2019: 25).

In regards to now ex-president Inácio Lula da Silva being elected as the first president in Brazil stemming from the Worker's Party and coming into power at the year of 2003, it is important to acknowledge the fact that while Lula da Silva performed extremely well in legitimacy, the main reason for his overwhelming amount of support did not come from the fact that he shared the ethnicity of the majority of Brazilians at the time. In contrast, it was the image and life story of Lula da Silva that resonated well with the majority of Brazilians who voted for the Worker's Party. As such, Reiter states that the point is that Afro-Brazilians in particular who voted for Lula da Silva did so because they identified with his social class, or, in some cases, his perceived racial background (2011: 40).

2.6.2 A Racial Democracy reflected in implemented policies and attitudes

Considering the affirmative actions that were implemented in the political agenda of Lula da Silva in the 21st century, it is of importance to evaluate these policies and how effective they were in promoting racial equality and upholding the idea of a racial democracy within the nation. As such, it is of great importance to examine what types of policies were implemented and what outcomes or goals these programs had, as well as considering how effective these policies ultimately were in raising the standard of racial equality and getting rid of racial discrimination and prejudice, among other aspects that the Afro-Brazilian community fight for. Feres Júnior et al. (2011) have stated that while Lula da Silva's regime may have been the first to implement social programs with the intent of combatting racism and racial discrimination in the nation, it was the Cardoso administration (1995-2003) that first acknowledged the issue of racism and racial discrimination as an actual problem within Brazil, however given the socioeconomic background that Cardoso came from himself it would be safe to say that while his administration may have acknowledge there was a problem with racism and racial discrimination, it was not necessarily taken as a very serious problem in the eyes of this administration. It should be noted that while in office between the years 1995 and 2002, the Cardoso administration launched a program called the *Second National Plan on Human Rights* with the provision of having race-conscious affirmative action take place, however Congress never approved of this plan and as such, even if Cardoso intended on enforcing race-affirmative action, these plans never came to fruition. Subsequently, the first administration to successfully implement race-affirmative action would be during Lula da Silva's reign as president (Feres Júnior et al., 2011). The following

section will assess specific race-affirmative actions that were implemented during this era and will conclude with the outcome of whether or not Brazilian society improved in becoming a true racial democracy with equal rights for all citizens, no matter their background.

In regards to the understanding of affirmative action being implemented for Afro-Brazilians and other ethnic minorities in this instance, the issue of how affirmative action is interpreted by Afro-Brazilians should be addressed. Reiter notes:

> Although affirmative action is intended to provide some level of redress for past discrimination and its continuing effects, it is also meant to ensure that qualified candidates are not excluded merely because of their race (2011: 125).

Moreover, affirmative action is generally understood by Afro-Brazilians to be synonymous with the policies of quotas, which to an extent is viewed as problematic as it is considered a blunt manner to try and include Afro-Brazilians into Brazilian society, however it is an effort nonetheless.

2.6.3 Efforts towards an equal society

With respect to the efforts put forward by the regime of Lula da Silva during his time as president in order to improve the living standards and perception of Afro-Brazilians and the indigenous communities of Brazil, one would find that there are many programs that can be cited that were implemented in an effort to improve the quality of life for all Brazilians no matter their ethnic or socio-economic background in this period of Brazilian politics and their political agenda. Examples of programs that aimed to improve the quality of life for those in impoverished areas include initiatives such as the Fome Zero programme, the Bolsa Família program, and arguably the most important act of affirmative action implemented during Lula da Silva's regime, the action policies in implementing racial quotas for universities in an attempt to increase the opportunities of Afro-Brazilians who might want to pursue higher education but are not able to as a result of their economic background, and as a result of this would follow higher education in order to pursue a higher standard of living for the communities if implemented well (Feres Júnior et al. 2011). Additionally, as previously mentioned another program implemented by Lula da Silva's regime, the Bolsa Família program, which was implemented as a program that encouraged impoverished families to open bank accounts, enrol their children in school and get medical care to increase their standard of living with the incentive of increased financial benefit could be considered a successful policy towards integrating Afro-Brazilians and other communities in poverty towards Brazilian society and help them come out of poverty. The following chapter will look at a period of fieldwork conducted in the city of São Paulo, Brazil, and attempt to answer the

central question of this thesis: "How were ethnic minorities represented during Lula da Silva's time as president in relation to the theory of racial democracy?"

Chapter 3
LULA DA SILVA'S BRAZIL: A TRUE RACIAL DEMOCRACY?

3.1 Methodology

For the purpose regarding this chapter, a number of research techniques were employed. The main findings for the research in this chapter were achieved during the time frame set apart for fieldwork during the course, and was managed between the months of November 2018 and January 2019 in the city of São Paulo, Brazil, with an extra month until February for the purpose of obtaining extra interviews if they were not completed in Brazil on time. Upon successful scheduling after responding to my emails, I managed to obtain an interview with professor of Sociology at the University of São Paulo, Sedi Hirano, and thereafter Ricardo Alexino Ferreira, educator of the journalism department at the Escola das Artes e Comunicação in São Paulo as well as Dennis de Oliveira, also of the Escola das Artes e Comunicação in São Paulo. The semi-structured interviews became a discussion in which subjects relating to identity politics were discussed as well as the theory of racial democracy in relation to and in reflection of the state of politics during Lula da Silva's time as president. Moreover, during these interviews perspectives about the current political climate were discussed as an extension or consequence of the Lula administration on behalf of the participants interviewed.

Following these interviews, several other meetings were scheduled, these interviews taking place with similar professors engaged with topics related to this research as well as people working with topics related to this research. A semi-structured interview was conducted for the candidates Pedro Jaime, Ivan Sequeira, Rafael Balseiro Zin, and Danilo de Paiva Pescarmona.

Furthermore, a questionnaire concerning the perception of Brazil as a multiracial democracy with people of all backgrounds having equal rights was completed by 30 adults more or less, made up of approximately 50% males and 50% females of different racial backgrounds and between the ages of 25-35 living in the city of São Paulo, Brazil. As such, I conducted these questionnaires over the Internet as it would be on an anonymous basis and would allow people to rank the given statements with their true perceptions without fear of being judged for their view on racial relations in Brazil.

Additionally, supporting data and information was obtained through literary research taking into account works written by scholars that focus on Afro-Brazilian behaviour and participation in politics, as well as the perception of equality within the society of Brazil. The knowledge collected throughout the duration of the fieldwork period will be shared and examined in this following section, ranging from subjects such as the perceived racial hierarchy among the people, representation in the media of Afro-Brazilians and political participation amongst the Brazilian population. Additionally, subjects such as race and national identity will be looked at.

3.2 The perception of the racial democracy among the scholars

Though certain social policies were implemented with the intent of creating a more equal society, results from the interviews conducted with various professors and scholars who have extended knowledge about the racial relations and socio-political climate in Brazil would say otherwise. During an interview with two of these people, Ricardo Alexino Ferreira and Dennis de Oliveira to be exact, Ferreira claimed that in regards to the treatment of Afro-Brazilians in respect to how they are viewed, he stated:

> In the social and economic perspective, Afro-Brazilians to this day are still perceived and associated with poverty and crime, given that several Afro-Brazilians are persecuted each day, or die from police brutality enforced upon them[2] (R.A. Ferreira, interview with the author, 2018).

In the opinion of de Oliveira, regarding the perception of Afro-Brazilians in the common Brazilian society, when asked the question if there was a presence of identity politics in Brazil, he stated:

> The problem with calling the state of politics regarding identity strictly identity politics was to simplify such politics to only incorporate affirmative action based on markers of inequality and racism[3] (de Oliveira, interview with the author, 2018).

Moreover, with the cultural and political history regarding race and racism that plagues Brazil, it is still common for Afro-Brazilians to be put in certain spaces in Brazilian society, more often than not still at the lesser end of the social hierarchy, this being demonstrated through the position most Afro-Brazilians hold in the job market and with the persistent under-representation within the political arena (Mitchell-Walthour, 2018: 68). Furthermore, the representation of and for ethnic minorities in Brazil in the cabinet still have

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[2] Own translation from Portuguese.
[3] Own translation from Portuguese.

not succeeded more than 4%, where demographics state that over half of Brazilian society identify with being mulatto or *preto*, even stating they are of Afro-Brazilian descendants (Ferreira, interview with the author, 2018).

In assessing the effectiveness of the policies implemented during the presidency of Lula da Silva, one might be inclined to be in favour of the policies and its attempt to equalise members of Brazilian society and in a sense level the opportunities for Afro-Brazilians and indigenous communities in Brazil, however when assessing the results of such policies the effectiveness does not seem as great. Instead, one might consider the idea that by having created the program of Bolsa Família for example, a system of dependency on the government for cash transfers may have been created, as well as opportunities for fraud in some cases, and thus as a policy it may be effective in the short term in uplifting communities out of poverty, however the longevity of such a policy might be less effective due to the cycle of dependency it creates for being an easy way to obtain finances for these communities. Additionally, the media stated that the conditional cash transfer program of Bolsa Família was a form of clientelism and that people voted for the PT solely due to the fact that they were recipients of cash on behalf of participating in this program (Mitchell-Walthour 2018, 216). Interestingly, this idea that the Bolsa Família program, which was started as a program that would help lift those who applied out from under the poverty line was viewed by the media as a clientelistic transaction for votes, further instigated the idea of racializing political events in regards to elections and votes, resulting in potentially suppressing a sense of improving racial relations within Brazilian society.

In regards to assessing the effectiveness of the policy of racial quotas for example, the idea of saving spaces for those who normally would not have the chance to get a higher education due to lack of finances is one with a lot of promise as it would be a chance to create equal opportunities for those who are mentally capable of obtaining a higher education and in effect obtain a better job uplifting the standard of living for that individual and their family, as has been proven to be quite successful since its implementation. Nonetheless, even with the implementation of such policies the position that the majority of Afro-Brazilians find themselves in creates a cycle of disadvantages due to the socioeconomic position they are born into and arguably have been placed into still as a visible effect of the racial hierarchy set in place during the colonial period.

In regards to the perception of race and racism within Brazilian society from the local's perspective, the questionnaire that was completed by 30 Brazilians between the ages 25-35 in the working class revealed interesting perspectives in regards to how equal of a society Brazil is. While the statement "Brazil is a multi-ethnic nation" scored relatively well with a 9.6 out of 10 and the statement "Brazil is proud of its ethnic diversity" scored with an average of 9.8 out of 10, the statement "Criminality in Brazil is normally associated with Afro-

Brazilians" scored high with a 7.6 out of 10. This could be argued to be a revealing score given that in combination with information obtained during the interview with Alexino Ferreira regarding the status and media coverage of Afro-Brazilians, this group is still shed in a negative light creating a biased perspective of Afro-Brazilians further oppressing them for example. Interestingly, when discussing the image of Afro-Brazilians with Hirano, he stated that the image constructed of Afro-Brazilians and Brazilians in general is one that seems to be sexualised within the media quite often, and reasons that the origin of such perception of Brazilians is owed to the culture. In the opinion of Danilo Pescarmona, the perception and position of Afro-Brazilians and other ethnic minorities in Brazilian society today can be argued to still be a continuation of slaves and slavery, owing this to the jobs and position the Afro-Brazilian community occupy in the social and racial hierarchy to this day (Pescarmona, interview with the author, 2019). As such, the following section will discuss the obstacles still faced in the attempt to create a true racial democracy and what problems still plague Brazilian society in regards to race and racism.

3.3 The perception of the racial democracy among the working class population

As was mentioned previously, a questionnaire was filled in by 30 anonymous people between the ages of 25-35 that were living in the city of São Paulo in regards to their perception of racism, views and beliefs about ethnic minorities in Brazil, and their perception of the racial democracy in Brazil in accordance with the description provided by Gilberto Freyre. When conducting these questionnaires, it was interesting to see that while most of the respondents, 24 out of 30 in this case, agreed strongly with the statement that Brazil is a multiracial and multi-ethnic society, when faced with the statement "Brazil is proud of its ethnic and cultural diversity", the responses were quite mixed. That is to say, while 11 out of 30 disagreed to an extent, while 10 out of 30 agreed, leaving 9 out of 30 respondents saying they neither agreed or disagreed with the statement. One could argue that this perspective reflects the thought that Brazil as a nation likes to portray itself as a nation proud of its racial and ethnic diversity, however when considering the perspective of the average Brazilian, the pride in this aspect of the Brazilian image is faulty.

Moreover, in regards to the aspect of racism within the nation and the view that is perceived of Afro-Brazilians and ethnic minorities along with the lack of representation they receive within media and politics, it is clear that Afro-Brazilians receive mainly negative attention. This claim is supported by the statements previously mentioned by R.A. Ferreira, but also through the fact that 14 out of 30 people agreed strongly with the statement that crime is mainly associated with Afro-Brazilians. Interestingly, 10 out of 30 people disagreed with the

statement that "the media fight against discrimination and racism within the country". Moreover, when confronted with the statement "Brazil is as racist as the other countries in the region, it is interesting to note that while the majority of the respondents agreed with this statement, when faced with the statement that "the market in Brazil deepens racial segregation, 7 out of 30 respondents agreed, while 11 out of 30 respondents strongly agreed.

When considering the presence of Afro-Brazilians and other ethnic minorities within the government, the following statement was posed; "Brazil deserves greater racial diversity in the Cabinet of Ministers". 13 out of 30 respondents strongly agreed with this statement, leading to the conclusion that while the general public believes that the nation deserves greater and more accurate racial representation within politics, the reality is yet to come.

Taking into account Inácio Lula da Silva's administration during his time as president, it is interesting to note that when confronted with the statement "The Lula da Silva governments have achieved a greater presence of racial minorities in politics and public institutions", 17 out of 30 respondents agreed strongly. Furthermore, when responding to the statement "The standard of life for Afro-Brazilians improved during Lula da Silva's time as president", 15 out of 30 people agreed or agreed strongly, leading to the conclusion that during his regime, greater racial representation was indeed achieved and the standard of living for Afro-Brazilians and other ethnic minorities improved.

In relation to the theory of racial democracy, it is interesting to note that when faced with the statement "The theory of racial democracy is only political propaganda, but not a reality in Brazil", 11 out of 30 respondents disagreed. Additionally, the statement "Brazil is a country organised on the basis of the theory of racial democracy" was answered by 17 out of 30 people who agreed strongly, leading to the conclusion that while the theory of racial democracy may be outdated, the perception of the social and racial organisation of people in Brazil is still largely based around the idea of race. The following section will look at the obstacles still faced regarding racism and underrepresentation of ethnic minorities in relation to Brazilian society.

3.4 The obstacles still faced

Amidst conducting the interviews with several professors of the University of São Paulo and experts on the subject of equality and representation in Brazilian society, a question regarding the social and racial hierarchy was posed: Can we speak of a version of identity politics in Brazil? The majority of the professors answered this question stating that while there was definitely a scenario of identity politics, it was in the interest of each respective group and not so much in the interest of bettering society as a whole. Additionally, when this

question was asked, one stated that the need for identity politics in Brazil stemmed from the racial hierarchy that was put in place during the colonial times, but was modelled in the 20th century after the racial hierarchy that was prevalent in the United States and continued into the current day and age in Brazil (Hirano, interview with the author, 2018).

With relation to the question "What factors contribute to the discussion of identity politics?", many professors answered stating that factors such as social movements and affirmative action have contributed to the discussion of identity politics, furthermore being a result of the dissatisfaction experienced among ethnic minorities who feel discriminated against in this day and age in Brazilian society. Moreover, electoral politics seem to play a role in furthering identity politics as well as bringing awareness to the causes which social movements fight for on behalf of the ethnic minorities (R.A. Ferreira, interview with the author, 2018). In the context of social movements and the significance this has on the activity of electoral politics, it is believed that the causes that the Afro-Brazilian community protest for stems from a deeper root, the injustices faced stemming from the treatment the Afro-Brazilian community has faced since the colonial era, as well as being one of the more recent nations to abolish slavery of this ethnic group of people (ibid.). In the opinion of Ivan Sequeira, the most important factor which plays a role in the discussion of identity politics is not that of social movements, but the role of education and the power that comes from having an education. Sequeira claims that the essence of having the opportunity to an education is a basic right and that due to the fact that not all Brazilians get this opportunity, this hinders the discussion on equality and opportunity in relation to the discussion of identity politics as well as hinders the possibility for adequate representation within electoral politics in the nation (Sequeira, interview with the author, 2018).

When asked which ethnic and social groups in Brazil needed more attention and protection within the political agenda with regard to human rights violations and injustices, it was initially thought that with all the circumstances and injustices that ethnic minorities in the nation faced, the answer would simply be the ethnic minorities and vulnerable communities. In the opinion of the majority of respondents, it was not only the ethnically marginalised groups such as the Afro-Brazilian community and indigenous community that needed more protection and attention under the guise of politics, but namely the LGBT community and women, seeing as how the effects of the macho culture within the nation has created a culture in which violence against these vulnerable groups has arguably been normalised (de Oliveira, 2018; Pereira, 2018; Ferreira, 2018, et al., interview with the author, 2018).

Additionally, with the questionnaire that was shared amongst 30 Brazilians that gave their perspective regarding the perception of racial inequality and racial stereotypes, it was interesting to see that when answering anonymously, the average score for the statement "Brazil will never have an Afro-Brazilian president", though 18 out of 30 people responded

saying they disagreed, 7 neither agreed or disagreed, with 5 people agreeing with the statement, which if expanded still accounts for a sixth of the average population having the perception that Afro-Brazilians will never hold positions of power.

In regards to stereotyping and media coverage of Afro-Brazilian communities, Alexino Ferreira stated in an interview that while the media coverage of Afro-Brazilians still shows the crimes committed in the favelas for the majority, the police brutality committed against these Afro-Brazilian communities is comparable to black genocide (Ferreira, interview with the author, 2018). Mitchell-Walthour further states that in regard to police brutality in Brazil, an anomaly which is not considered new to the nation, the mobilization against it demonstrates how this problem is understood in racialized and class terms. With coverage of large events, police brutality towards low-income Afro-Brazilian communities was exposed. Mitchell Walthour states:

> In 2008, Police Pacification Units (UPPs) were implemented to "pacify" communities by going into favela communities that were viewed as highly dangerous and criminal. These heavily armed unites came into communities in military gear. The devastating effect was that many innocent Afro-Brazilians were killed (Mitchell-Walthour 2018: 220).

In response to these acts of police brutality, the public outrage pressured the local government to take the cases seriously, sparking multiple social movements by citizens against police brutality as well.

Further in light of the attention brought towards the issue of police brutality in Brazil and the extrajudicial killings committed against predominantly Afro-Brazilians, it has become the focal point for current black activism and is considered to have a profound impact on racial discourse as it emphasizes not only a link with African descendants as a larger racial group but also is transnational and intersectional in its scope, having the potential to span across over to other nations where the Afro communities are being disproportionately killed, the United States being an example in the 21st century (Mitchell-Walthour 2018: 221). In regards to the obstacles still faced by Afro-Brazilians in general, Crook and Johnson formulate succinctly: "Brazilian society owes blacks social justice, political participation, economic opportunity, and cultural emancipation" (1999: 18).

In the opinion of Rafael Balseiro Zin, the social movements and activism that are started by Afro-Brazilians and ethnic minorities in an attempt to increase their visibility and resistance against the institutionalised racism they face are for good reason, and he too believes that Afro-Brazilians are owed justice from society (Zin, interview with the author, 2019).

3.5 Brazil as a racial democracy in the 21st century?

When asked the question "In what way can we understand the contemporary Brazilian society under the theory of the racial democracy as interpreted by Gilberto Freyre, many of the respondents answered with a similar statement. "Brazil as a racial democracy in the words of Gilberto Freyre, never was. Brazil until now is still not a racial democracy. In politics, who is Afro-Brazilian that can make a difference? No one."[4](Pereira, interview with the author, 2018). Similarly, in the opinion of the respondents of the survey, when posed with the statement that the theory of the racial democracy is nothing more than political propaganda and that this theory does not reflect the reality of Brazil, 11 out of 30 gave the score 2, indicating that they did not agree. Moreover, These results along with the response of Sequeira show that though Brazil tries to brand itself as an ethnically equal society, the reality is far from it.

As was confirmed during the elections in 2018 and starting 2019, Jair Bolsonaro was elected president with the Social Liberal Party. Though a completely new party, the rhetoric and discourse associated with the Social Liberal Party is renowned for being one of great conservatism and arguably contains a large amount of controversy in regards to human rights of the Afro-Brazilian population and other vulnerable groups (Paiva Pescarmona, interview with the author, 2019). The rhetoric of hate and violations that Bolsonaro's administration plans to impose at the cost of the rights of the most vulnerable communities in Brazil has rocked half the nation and ignited backlash to the highest degree, one of the most significant during the elections being the "#EleNão" campaign.

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[4] Own translation from Portuguese.

CONCLUSION

The concept of identity in Brazil is one that is quite complex, as can be seen throughout this paper, and the term itself carries a significant value to many, given that the identity one carries can be argued to determine how one perceives and understands themselves, as well as how they are perceived by others in their society. Moreover, identity is a concept which has many layers, and as such it cannot be defined by one characteristic, whether this be skin colour, biological characteristics, or ethnicity. In regards to the theory that Gilberto Freyre put forward about an all-inclusive national identity concerning citizens of Brazil and how no matter one's ethnic background, they would be seen and treated as equal, it is clear through the research and arguments demonstrated in this paper that the reality of a racial democracy is far from achieved.

Throughout the nation of Brazil, the concept of identity is linked to not just appearance, but also to historical, cultural, economic and social status. As such, the significance of socio-economic status in relation to ethnicity is one that cannot be overlooked when examining identity throughout the state. During interviews with professors of the University of São Paulo, it was brought to light that the racial hierarchy established during colonial times was clearly still evident in the 21st century, and that the discrimination against and underrepresentation of the Afro-Brazilian community in politics is visible in the eyes of Brazilian society. To combat this racism and lobby for appropriate representation, it is quite common to see Afro-Brazilians protesting against the injustices they face whether this be on the news, on the streets, or through social media and dialogue. In aid of these protests, an increasing number of Brazilians tend to identify as being Afro-Brazilian or at least having Afro-Brazilian descendants, hoping to increase the awareness of the presence of Afro-Brazilians and the need for better representation within not only daily life, but in politics as well. As such, the increasing amount of people identifying with the black community empowers the community further to fight for their rights and against the discrimination they face on a regular basis, especially with the lack of representation they receive in the realm of politics which arguably has the power to better the circumstances for many Afro-Brazilians.

Afro-Brazilians throughout Brazil have faced arguable difficulties and obstacles regarding their access to resources, regardless of whether they are economic or social resources, since the declaration of Brazil as an independent nation. Even during Portuguese rule, Afro-Brazilians who were brought into the country as slaves faced obstacles. On the other hand, the white citizens of European ancestry were placed at a higher rank and thus had easier access to resources needed to make a better life. In regards to the idea of racial democracy,

the thought of a nation whose population is constructed of about 50% Afro descendants and currently increasing in percentage, the representation and interests of these communities has always been underrepresented and considered throughout the creation of policies that would supplement the promotion of equal rights and equal perception of Brazil's citizens. The lack of equality between Afro-Brazilians and others is hence reflected in the domain of politics, where there has never been adequate representation exceeding 4% in cabinet, the labour market, where Afro-Brazilians are constantly employed in low-rank jobs, and police brutality for example, where there are talks of a black genocide and use of extended force against this particular group of people. As such, the Afro-Brazilian community has arguably continuously experienced more discrimination than any ethnic group in the nation.

The Afro-Brazilian community can for the majority be found at the bottom of the social and racial hierarchy, therefore they are for the majority found at the bottom of the economic scale as well. The large amount of Afro-Brazilians that live in poverty reinforce the creation and maintenance of the cycle of poverty for this particular ethnic group, however, with the emergence of the Black Movement in Brazil, a movement created by scholars and political activists of mainly Afro-descendants, pressure to improve racial relations and the racial inequality experienced by Afro-Brazilians has resulted in the implementation of affirmative action to combat these issues further. The Black Movement moreover rejected the theory that Gilberto Freyre put forward about how Brazil is a racial democracy and that racial relations between all Brazilians are peaceful and democratic, lobbying for a social reform that takes into account the fact that Brazil is a multicultural and multi-ethnic nation and society. Consequently, Lula da Silva's administration started to sponsor various social programs and policies that combat racial inequality and discrimination with the intent that racial relations and the problem with racial inequality would improve.

As such, with the initiation of Lula da Silva's regime in 2003, the intent for increased racial equality was set in motion through the implementation of various policies and programmes that aimed to increase equality and better the living standards for those in poverty. However, when speaking with professors of the school of Communications and Arts, they noted that while the intent was there, the programmes did not particularly serve to better the lives of Afro-Brazilians in the long run. Dennis de Oliveira and Ricardo Alexino Ferreira further stated that as long as the government did nothing against the extrajudicial killings of Afro-Brazilians in the streets, preventing a black genocide, nor consisted of a more accurate representation of the nation within the cabinet, racial equality is not considered a promised accomplishment.

Scholars in Brazil came to the conclusion that the result of racial mixing from the colonial era left Brazil to be a nation full of racially ambiguous people, and therefore a nation and society free of racism and racial discrimination. As a result of this revelation, Brazil branded itself as

being a nation where everyone, regardless of ethnic background or social status, had equal opportunities and was seen as an equal citizen, leading to the concept and idea of being a 'racial democracy'. However, though the few elite still buy into the idea that Brazil is a racial democracy, it is evident in the attitudes and institutionalised discriminatory practices that minority groups, with specific regard to the Afro-Brazilian community still experience discrimination and prejudice.

In regards to quality of life, it is evident that Afro-Brazilians suffer the consequences of racial inequality on multiple fronts. The amount of Afro-Brazilians living under the poverty line in contrast to their white counterparts is significant, and when resorted to support themselves through crime the racial prejudice is strong in the way the police handle the prosecution of such crimes. With the statement "The whites in Brazil commit as many crimes as other ethnic groups but have a lesser probability of being imprisoned" the average score was 7.5 out of 10, yet the statement "Criminality in Brazil is generally the responsibility of Afro-Brazilians" scored 4.6 out of 10. Moreover, the opportunities available for Afro-Brazilians in contrast to other ethnic groups can be argued to be disproportionate starting from the standard of life they have been given to begin with.

In the 21st century, the implementation of affirmative action is controversial for many Brazilians, as it is in particular a subject of debate among other scholars and academics as to whether or not it can be considered effective in improving the problems of racial discrimination and inequality in the nation. Advocates for affirmative action claim that its implementation acknowledges the problem of racism and racial inequality and should therefore be continued to be implemented, as well as the fact that the implementation of affirmative action allows for the ability for Brazilian society to modernise their values and in fact does help provide equal opportunities to those who may not have the chance to excel in life otherwise. On the other hand, opponents of affirmative action state that policies and quotas are difficult to implement due to the varying degree of Brazilians who identify and are actually of Afro descent, leading to the idea that some may identify as such purely to benefit from the interests that are meant for minority groups. Nonetheless, no matter what side advocates for what, the ongoing debate on such topics has established grounds to discuss the problem of racial inequality in the country in more depth.

The policies and programmes that the administration of Lula da Silva had implemented with the intent of bettering the lives of Afro-Brazilians and other minority groups has without a doubt helped address the problem of racial inequality, however it has helped address the problem of racial inequality to a certain degree and can be argued to have been measures which attempted to realise the idea of a racial democracy through providing a basis for equal opportunity for all Brazilians despite racial, social or economic class. Though the famous program of Bolsa Família helped thousands, if not millions of Brazilians in obtaining better

financial security, it also created a sense of dependency on the government benefits in order to financially sustain families who were recipients of the funds, not to mention the increasing tensions between social groups regarding the receiving of such funds and the fraudulent activity, the majority of recipients being of Afro-Brazilian descent and can be seen from two perspectives. One could view the achievements of this program to have lifted many out of poverty, however due to having been lifted out of poverty through this program, many Afro-Brazilians can be argued to have become dependent on the program in order to provide income, therefore overly relying on a social program for income rather than investing in human capital and providing the desired returns in the form of increased value in human capital. Moreover, even though Lula da Silva's administration intended to improve racial relations and better the living standards of minority groups in order to uphold and reach the *aspired* view of the racial democracy, it is evident that the presence of Afro-Brazilians in the cabinet lobbying for the interests of these minority groups was still heavily underrepresented.

Lastly, it is important to emphasise that the issue of racial discrimination and racism in the nation is one that has been embedded into Brazilian society since the era of colonialism, and that although several centuries have passed, the legacy of colonialism and the ideologies of race and racial hierarchy are still present in not just Brazil, but worldwide, making the issue of racial discrimination and racism a discussion for the world scale, and arguably being the root for the lack of corresponding representation in politics throughout the history of Brazil. It cannot be stressed enough that for a country of which over half the population identify as being or at least having Afro-descendants, the fact that representation within the cabinet has never exceeded 4% is a number that really shows how little of a chance the Afro-Brazilian community has in determining the course of action they can take in order to improve their standard of living at the state level, in reality if there is no adequate amount of people lobbying for the interests of the Afro-Brazilian community and other ethnic minorities, improvement is difficult to achieve.

To finally answer the research question of "How were ethnic minorities represented during Lula da Silva's time as president in relation to the theory of the racial democracy?", one could say that in reality though the intent was there, nothing significant was achieved in terms of representing ethnic minorities in a better light, in quality or quantity of representation in the government. It may be so that Lula da Silva's administration attempted to improve the standard of living and create a more equal society for every Brazilian, as a result perhaps improving the representation that these ethnic minorities deserved among the population, however as was explored throughout this research, the roots of racism and racial discrimination run deep and have been embedded in Brazilian society and its values. As such, one would be inclined to say that there are still many steps to go if Brazil wants to realise the idea of racial democracy that they had created for themselves, however with the efforts put

forward by Lula da Silva's administration, the start was made. The real question is if the improvement in representation of ethnic minorities, with special regards to Afro-Brazilians, will come as a result of seeds planted during Lula da Silva's administration in the form of affirmative action and policies or whether the newly elected administration of Jair Bolsonaro will allow for the representation and presence of ethnic minorities to flourish or languish back to almost nothing, respectively giving these ethnic minorities a place in the racial hierarchy similar to during the colonial era, continuing the legacy of racial underrepresentation and discrimination.

Appendix 1: List of Interviewees				
Interviewee	**Affiliation or role**	**Discussed topics**	**Date of interview**	**Duration**
Bart van Bergen	Employee at the Consulate General of São Paulo interested in race and racism in Brazil	- Race - Discrimination	4-12-2018	20 minutes
Sedi Hirano	Professor of Sociology at University of São Paulo	- Racial hierarchy - Sociology	4-12-2018	41 minutes
Ricardo Alexino Ferreira	Professor at School of Communications and Arts, journalist	- Racism - Stereotype - Negritude - inequality	7-12-2018	13 minutes
Dennis de Oliveira	Professor at School of Communications and Arts, journalist	- Racism - Negritude - Inequality	7-12-2018	19 minutes
Pedro Jaime	Professor at the Central University FEI	- Negritude - Racism - Inequality	18-12-2018	24 minutes
Ivan Claudio Sequeira Pereira	Professor at University of São Paulo/School of Communications and Art	- Identity politics - Negritude	20-12-2018	14 minutes
Rafael Balseiro Zin	Sociologist	- Identity politics - Representation - Negritude - Racial discrimination	14-1-2019	30 minutes
Danilo de Paiva Pescarmona	Psychologist	- Identity politics - Race - Racism - Slavery	15-1-2019	22 minutes

APPENDIX 2: SURVEY							
RELAÇÕES RACIAIS E A PARTICIPAÇÃO POLÍTICA NO BRASIL							

Número de formulário		**Data**			**Sexo do informante**	**H**	
						M	

A seguir aparecem diferentes frases sobre as relações raciais no Brasil. Marque o grau pessoal de acordo o desacordo segundo a seguinte escala:

1 = totalmente em desacordo	2 = em desacordo	3 = nem de acordo nem em desacordo	4 = de acordo	5 = totalmente de acordo

Marque uma opção só. A informação fornecida é anônima. Obrigado por sua colaboração

1. Brasil é um país multirracial e multiétnico	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**0**	**0**	**1**	**5**	**24**
2. A raça brasileira não existe	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**9**	**3**	**6**	**3**	**9**
3. O verdadeiro brasileiro é o afro-brasileiro	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**14**	**8**	**3**	**0**	**5**
4. A sociedade brasileira é orgulhosa da sua diversidade racial e étnica	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**4**	**7**	**9**	**5**	**4**
5. A diversidade racial no Brasil tem a ver principalmente com os afro-brasileiros	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**3**	**7**	**12**	**4**	**4**
6. Todos os grupos raciais no Brasil têm um grau de racismo internalizado	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**4**	**5**	**11**	**4**	**6**
7. A diversidade étnica no Brasil tem a ver principalmente com os indígenas	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**4**	**3**	**6**	**3**	**14**
8. No Brasil, branco significa rico e preto significa pobre	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**6**	**8**	**9**	**2**	**5**
9. A criminalidade no Brasil é normalmente associada aos afro-brasileiros	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**3**	**2**	**4**	**7**	**14**
10. Na verdade, a criminalidade no Brasil é normalmente responsabilidade dos afro-brasileiros	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**3**	**2**	**2**	**6**	**17**

11. Os brancos no Brasil cometem tantos delitos como os outros grupos raciais, mas têm menos probabilidade de serem aprisionados	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**16**	**4**	**5**	**1**	**4**
12. O mercado de trabalho no Brasil oferece as mesmas oportunidades a todos os grupos raciais	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**2**	**2**	**5**	**6**	**15**
13. Os matrimônios entre brancos e afro-brasileiros são frequentes e comuns no Brasil	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**17**	**3**	**4**	**4**	**2**
14. A diversidade racial do país está claramente representada nas diversas instituições do Estado	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**4**	**5**	**10**	**4**	**7**
15. Os afro-brasileiros são os melhores representantes do patrimônio artístico e musical do Brasil	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**15**	**3**	**7**	**3**	**2**
16. Os afro-brasileiros são os melhores representantes do patrimônio esportivo do Brasil	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**3**	**2**	**18**	**5**	**2**
17. O sistema educativo do Brasil luta contra a discriminação racial	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**2**	**4**	**14**	**6**	**4**
18. A mídia no Brasil luta contra a discriminação racial	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**10**	**8**	**9**	**2**	**1**
19. A luta contra a discriminação racial no Brasil é uma bandeira dos movimentos sociais só	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**11**	**5**	**10**	**2**	**2**
20. O mercado no Brasil aprofunda a segregação racial	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**3**	**2**	**7**	**7**	**11**
21. Brasil é tão racista como os outros países da região	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**2**	**4**	**6**	**7**	**11**
22. Sem a presença dos afro-brasileiros e dos indígenas o Brasil seria provavelmente um país muito chato	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**4**	**3**	**6**	**7**	**11**
23. Sem a presença dos afro-brasileiros e dos indígenas o Brasil seria provavelmente um país muito mais desenvolvido	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**4**	**0**	**4**	**4**	**18**

24. Se os afro-brasileiros fossem mais responsáveis, teriam maior presença nas universidades	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**19**	**2**	**7**	**1**	**1**
25. Brasil nunca vai ter um presidente afro-brasileiro	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**21**	**5**	**1**	**2**	**1**
26. Brasil precisa ter um presidente afro-brasileiro, seja homem ou mulher	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**16**	**2**	**7**	**1**	**4**
27. Os governos deveriam garantir uma maior presença de afro-brasileiros nas instituições públicas	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**1**	**2**	**10**	**2**	**15**
28. Os governos de Lula da Silva conseguiram uma maior presença de minorias raciais na política e nas instituições públicas	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**0**	**3**	**5**	**5**	**17**
29. O nível de vida melhorou para os afro-brasileiros e as minorias étnicas durante os governos de Lula da Silva	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**5**	**0**	**10**	**5**	**10**
30. Brasil merece maior diversidade racial no gabinete de ministros	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**4**	**1**	**7**	**5**	**13**
31. Brasil é um país organizado em base à teoria da democracia racial	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**0**	**2**	**5**	**6**	**17**
32. A teoria da democracia racial é só propaganda política, mas não uma realidade no Brasil	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**7**	**11**	**9**	**1**	**2**
33. Na sociedade brasileira o conceito de democracia racial é bem conhecido	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**1**	**3**	**3**	**6**	**17**
34. A representação adequada dos afro-brasileiros e as minorias étnicas é importante para a sociedade brasileira	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**13**	**10**	**4**	**2**	**1**
35. Nos últimos anos, a representação institucional dos afro-brasileiros e as minorias étnicas na câmara/no governo está melhorando	1	2	3	4	5
Number of respondents	**1**	**1**	**3**	**5**	**20**

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