

BRAZIL'S ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION REFORMS AND THEIR EFFECTS ON
HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS: ADDRESSING CRITICAL REFLECTION
ON RACE AND RACISM

by

Lucas Lynch

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the

CENTER FOR LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2015

STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

This thesis has been submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for an advanced degree at the University of Arizona and is deposited in the University Library to be made available to borrowers under rules of the Library.

Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission, provided that an accurate acknowledgement of the source is made. Requests for permission for extended quotation from or reproduction of this manuscript in whole or in part may be granted by the head of the major department or the Dean of the Graduate College when in his or her judgment the proposed use of the material is in the interests of scholarship. In all other instances, however, permission must be obtained from the author.

SIGNED: _____
Lucas Lynch

APPROVAL BY THESIS DIRECTOR

This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

Dr. Patrisia Gonzales
Professor of Mexican American Studies

Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge my thesis advisor and mentor, Dr. Patrisia Gonzales, for first seeing promise in me and standing in as my advisor when I was having trouble with forming my committee. Dr. Gonzales was extremely valuable for providing her expertise and insight throughout the research and writing processes of my thesis. I would also like to thank the rest of my thesis committee, Dr. Kevin Gosner and Dr. Julio Cammarota, for their expertise and mentorship that has also informed my ideas along this journey.

I would like to acknowledge my long time Brazilian friend, Thiago Lourenço, for providing his experiences, encouragement, support, and valuable feedback for ideas contained in this thesis. Abraços, Amigo.

I would also like to thank my wife, Michelle Lynch, for her support throughout my thesis writing, her help with translations, and most importantly her encouragement to keep on working when I was ready at times to give up. Beijos, Meu Amor.

LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Figure 1.</i> Female “path” of human evolution	40
<i>Figure 2.</i> Line diagram of human evolution	41
<i>Figure 3.</i> Photo 1 of the activity on historic racism in the media.....	54
<i>Figure 4.</i> Photo 2 of the activity on historic racism in the media.....	55
<i>Figure 5.</i> Photo 3 of the activity on historic racism in the media.....	56
<i>Figure 6.</i> What we owe to Africans (p. 92 from textbook)	74
<i>Figure 7.</i> What we owe to Africans (p. 93 from textbook)	75

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3
LIST OF FIGURES	4
ABSTRACT	7
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	8
<i>Positionality</i>	8
<i>Background</i>	10
<i>Implications of the Racial Democracy Myth towards Inequality and Prejudice</i>	12
<i>The Role of the Black Movement in Education Reforms</i>	13
<i>The Role of the PNL D in Constructing Anti-racist Curriculum</i>	15
<i>Background of the Study</i>	16
<i>Relevance of the Study</i>	17
CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW	19
<i>The State of Past and Present Curriculum</i>	19
<i>The Role of Multicultural and Anti-racist Education in Brazilian Education Reforms</i>	22
<i>Implications for Freire’s Approach to Critical Pedagogy in Education Reforms</i>	25
<i>Examples of the Realities of Racial Identity in Brazil</i>	27
<i>Considerations for the Use of the Terms “Race,” “Ethnicity,” and “Ethnic-racial”</i>	28
CHAPTER III: METHODS	31
<i>Description of the Textbooks</i>	31
<i>Method, Coding Process, and Categories</i>	33
<i>Limitations of the Study</i>	37
CHAPTER IV: CONSTRUCTING RACE, EXPLAINING RACISM.....	38
<i>Constructing “Race”</i>	38
Example 1: Negating Race: “We are all equal”	38
Example 2: Beginning of Racist Thought, African Slavery, and the Slave Trade: “With the blessings of the church”	43
Example 3: Nineteenth Century Racism and “Scientific” Thought Explained and Critiqued: “Science and racism”	44
Example 4: The “Whitening” Ideology Explained.....	45
<i>Explaining Racism</i>	47
Admitting Racism.....	47
Example 5: Brazilian “Black Consciousness Day” and Black resistance discussed.....	47
Example 6: The Racial Democracy Myth Defined and Critiqued: “Does racism exist in Brazil?”	48
Example 7: “Interpreting” Racism	53
Example 8: Reflecting on Brazil’s “Disguised” Racism	57

Example 9: The Afonso Arinos Law and the 1988 Constitution – Confirming Racism in Twentieth-Century Brazil.....	59
Omitting Racism.....	60
Example 10: Reflecting on Slavery: the 2001 III World Conference against Racism, Xenophobia, and Related Violence – “Today times are different”	60
Example 11: Discussing Racism, Sidestepping Race.....	63
<i>Chapter Conclusion</i>	64
CHAPTER V: EXPLANATIONS AND REFLECTIONS ON CULTURAL AND ETHNIC/RACIAL MIXTURE IN BRAZIL.....	67
<i>Narrating Brazilian cultural and ethnic identity – “We are what we are, unclassifiable”</i>	67
<i>European, African, and/or Indigenous influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People</i>	71
“ <i>What we owe to Africans</i> ”.....	72
<i>African and/or Indigenous Influence on Brazilian people – “the presence of Black culture in our (Brazilian) culture”</i>	76
<i>African and Indigenous influence on Brazilian Nationality – Blacks and Indians: “Roots of Brazilian nationality”</i>	79
<i>Chapter Conclusion</i>	81
CHAPTER VI: CONFUSING RACE, DILUTING RACISM.....	84
<i>Implications for Substituting “Race” for “Ethnicity”</i>	84
<i>Examples of Substitution from the Textbooks</i>	86
<i>Chapter Conclusion</i>	88
CHAPTER VII: IMPLICATIONS	89
<i>Addressing Critical Reflections on Race and Racism</i>	89
<i>Recommendations for More Effective Anti-racist Curriculum</i>	91
<i>Concluding Remarks</i>	95
REFERENCES	97
APPENDIX A: Codebook	104

Abstract

Anti-racist legislation and education reforms for the past two decades in Brazil have required that curriculum in all basic education combat prejudice and racism and promote critical thinking of the nation's past and current ethnic-racial relations in an effort to construct a society that is more democratic, equal, and just. In response to the reforms, textbooks have been rewritten. This study analyzes one high school history textbook series that was approved by Brazil in 2012, and asks: How, and to what extent, do these new high school history textbooks address critical reflection on race and racism in Brazil? Using qualitative content analysis, I coded the above series for its attention in these matters. My findings reflect that though there are a number of cases where racism in Brazil was admitted, more explanation on the content on racism is needed, the content was too vague, or it lacked necessary details to make its analysis more informed for student reflection.

Chapter I: Introduction

Racism is not like race, a subject, the content of which can be investigated. It is like a religion, a belief which can be studied only historically. Like any belief, which goes beyond scientific knowledge, it can be judged only by its fruits, its votaries and its ulterior purposes.

-- Benedict, R. (1942). *Race and Racism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Positionality

I have emotional investment in this thesis. Upon my first travel to Brazil, and within the first few days, I was out with my girlfriend and two of her friends, a Black couple around my age. Over a beer or two and some live music, I was asked by the male in a solemn tone “Is it any better [for us] in the United States?” I assumed he meant Blacks (which indeed he did). Regrettably, given his tone and demeanor while asking the question (I really wanted to give him a decent answer), I could only say that “I don’t know, I’m not Black”. He seemed a little saddened by my inconclusive answer. After traveling around the country for a couple of months, I thought there were some definite similarities between Brazil and the United States regarding social stratification and racial inequality. Also, little things, like in a record store where I saw a section titled “Black music” made me wonder. When I told an older, White Brazilian woman I knew well that I was traveling to Rio de Janeiro for a few days, she asked in joking manner, “So, are you going to see the *mulatas* [mixed Black and White Brazilian women] there?” To me, these were some examples that could be related to racism or racist ideas, and the intersection with racialized concepts of the dark female body.

Upon my entrance into Graduate School, my first paper I wrote compared U.S. race relations with those of Brazil. It became apparent that the history and contexts of race, racism, and race relations were very different in both countries, and I have come to

the conclusion they are *not* comparable given their histories. I also immediately ran into sources that spoke about the “racial democracy myth” in Brazil. This romanticized myth of cultural and ethnic mixture (formulated in Brazil in the 1930s and 1940s) stressed Brazil’s lack of racial violence and racism and proposed that past relations between Africans, Indigenous peoples, and Europeans were more harmonious compared to race relations and racial violence of other countries, such as the United States. The myth’s focus on racial or ethnic harmony and widespread mixture seemed appealing to me, as opposed to the many stark racial divisions found in the United States and our history of racial violence and overt racism. However, the original conversation with my Black Brazilian friend has kept me skeptical and hesitant to accept that race or racism does not play a role in determining social interactions and racial inequality in Brazil. In particular, how could a Brazilian be conscious of his (Black) racial identity in a nation whose ethnic and cultural identity is built upon the belief in the mixture? Why would he ask if racial divisions or racism are any better in the United States than in Brazil?

The reality for me then, as I approach this research based on a confluence of factors: based on my further conversations with Black Brazilians; Brazil’s history of Indigenous and African slavery since the sixteenth century until abolition in 1888; the attempt to “whiten” Brazil through European immigration that came immediately after the abolition of slavery; formal state methods to marginalize Afro-Brazilian cultural practices in the early twentieth century; research on Black Brazilian social movements of the twentieth century; and the widespread racial stratification still experienced in Brazil—is that racism, prejudice, and racial discrimination in the nation are quite alive, in one form or another. Though in theory the myth of the racial democracy would seem to

provide a foundation for positive race relations and less division in the country (and I acknowledge this and hope it would be so), there are components of it that forget the realities of the nation's (above-mentioned) history and ignore the racial discrimination, inequality, and racism experienced there today.

This is my position. I expect it will have its critics, especially since it is written by a White male from the United States where the model of race and the history of race relations are quite different. I cannot escape from my own biases of my cultural upbringing in the United States and where it has brought me with this research. That is why I have chosen, in this thesis, to mostly use literature from Brazilian scholars on the subject and state legislation on race and racism in Brazil as a means to distance myself from myself and not put words or ideas into Brazilians that are not already there. Hopefully this method has limited my bias on ideas offered throughout this study, as well as informed the production of relevant recommendations or contributions on educating race and racism in Brazil.

Background

Recent education reforms in Brazil have required curriculum in all basic education to be rewritten to address and combat prejudice and racism, while raising questions about the nation's past and current ethnic-racial relations^{*1} (Brazil, 2004). These reforms also mandate that the new curriculum deconstruct discourses—such as “whitening” ideology and racial democracy myth²—and eliminate their associated concepts and ideas that are harmful to both Blacks and Whites* (Brazil, 2004, pp. 11-12).

¹ The asterisk denotes my translations of text derived from Brazilian Portuguese sources.

² For an explanation of the racial democracy myth, see the section of this chapter: “Implications of the Racial Democracy Myth towards Racial Inequality and Prejudice.”

One of the first laws signed by President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in 2003, upon his entrance into office, was Law 10.639/2003, that establishes new guidelines and pedagogical practices that recognize the importance of Africans and Afro-Brazilians in the national formation process* (SECAD, 2008, p. 14). Beginning with the election of President Lula, the federal government began redefining the role of the state in social transformation, recognizing disparities between Whites and Blacks in Brazilian society and positively intervening* (Brazil, 2004, p. 8). The textbooks analyzed in this study reflect a historical moment in President Lula's educational and social reforms to increase educational attainment for the Brazilian populace.

Law 10.639/2003, amended later by Law 11.645/2008 to include Brazil's Indigenous population, requires the teaching of Afro-Brazilian history and culture in all basic education, public and private* (Brazil, 2003). The law also states that the curriculum will include the history of Africa and Africans, Afro-Brazilian culture, the struggle of Blacks in Brazil, and their contributions to society, economy, and politics relevant to Brazil's history* (Brazil, 2003). For the first time, these education reforms are introducing the discussion of Brazilian ethnic-racial relations and racism into the classroom, topics which have often been silenced or disqualified by arguments that Brazil is a racial democracy* (Krauss & da Rosa, 2010, p. 862).

Given the aims of recent anti-racist reforms, my research will examine three Brazilian high school history textbooks from the same series for the attention given in combating racial prejudice and racism in Brazil. In particular, I will analyze content on Brazilian accounts of race and racism that connects to students' individual experiences and understandings of these social phenomena in Brazil. My research question is as

follows: How, and to what extent, do these new high school history textbooks address critical reflection on race and racism in Brazil?

Implications of the Racial Democracy Myth towards Racial Inequality and Prejudice

The racial democracy myth maintains that race relations between Blacks and Whites have been harmonious in Brazil despite the history of cruelty experienced during slavery and the racism and racial inequality that remains there today* (Krauss & da Rosa, 2010, p. 869). This discourse of unity between Whites, Blacks, and Indigenous peoples camouflaged hierarchies and discrimination constitutive of relations between Whites and non-Whites* (Brazil, 2008, p. 9). Publicized by the authoritarian state for the Brazilian nation and world from the 1930s to the 1950s, this romantic view of Brazilian race relations camouflaged racism and deep historic inequality lived by Blacks, Indigenous peoples, and Whites in Brazilian society* (Gomes, 2005, p. 58). This myth also framed Brazil as a country free of institutional and legal impediments for racial equality, where the nation offered equal opportunities for its citizens in all areas of public life independent of skin color* (Krauss & da Rosa, 2010, p. 869). Disregarding inequalities and prejudices that structure the social hierarchy, the racial democracy myth diffused the belief that if Blacks did not reach the same levels as non-Blacks, it was due to their lack of competency or interest* (Brazil, 2004, p. 12). This was explained clearly by the words of Nilma Gomes (2005):

If we follow the logic of this myth . . . that all races and/or ethnicities in Brazil are on equal socio-racial footing and have had the same opportunities since the formation of Brazil, this can lead us to think that unequal hierarchical positions

between each group are an inherent incapacity of the racial groups that are in disadvantage, such as Blacks and Indigenous peoples. In this way, the myth of the racial democracy acts as a fertile field for the perpetuation of stereotypes about Blacks, negating racism in Brazil while simultaneously reinforcing discrimination and racial inequality.* (p. 57)

Another implication of the myth is that it explained Brazilian society as a product of extensive racial mixing between Brazil's principal racial groups, the European (White), Indian (Indigenous), and African (Black) – which became a source of national pride in Brazil. Brazil's celebration of its mixed racial character is usually associated with the Brazilian sociologist and historian Gilberto Freyre (Sheriff, 2008, p. 89). Alberto (2009) wrote the following about Freyre's early 1930s work:

[Freyre] argued that a long history of intimate family relations dating back to the colonial period had softened Brazilian slavery, laying the foundation for a society with greater racial intermixture (*mestiçagem*), greater acceptance of African cultural influences, and greater racial tolerance than the United States—an attitude he would later call [though did not coin himself] 'racial democracy'. (p. 19)

Schools in Brazil play an important role in overcoming the myth of racial democracy, which silences debates against prejudice and racial discrimination* (Gomes, 2005, p. 60). Therefore, through the role of the educators, schools should build pedagogical practices and strategies to promote racial equality in the classroom* (Gomes, 2005, p. 60).

The Role of the Black Movement in Education Reforms

Education reforms are a result of the demands by the Afro-Brazilian community for their recognition, appreciation, and assertion of rights in education* (Brazil, 2004, p. 11). Law 10.639/2003 did not arise from nowhere, it is a result of years of fights and pressures of the Black Movement for non-Eurocentric and ant-racist education* (Cavalleiro, 2005, p. 15). Many twentieth century scholars, particularly those associated with the Black Movement, criticized school textbooks for their imagery, stereotypes, prejudice, and racism towards Afro-Brazilians.

One of the most important actions by Black Brazilian entities that affected the treatment of race relations in the educational sphere by the state was the “Zumbi of Palmares March Against Racism, for Citizenship, and Life” on November 20, 1995 in Brasília* (Santos, 2005, p. 25). Calling upon President Henrique Cardoso during the march, leaders of the Black Movement denounced racial discrimination and condemned racism against Blacks in Brazil* (Santos, 2005, p. 25). These leaders handed over to the President the “Program of Overcoming Racism and Racial Inequality,” which contained various anti-racist proposals in respect to education in Brazil* (Santos, 2005, p. 25). Some of the document’s most important requests in the educational sphere were the monitoring of school textbooks, school manuals, and educative programs controlled by the state and the development of permanent training programs for professors and educators that provide the ability to treat racial diversity correctly, identify discriminatory practices present in schools and the impact of these for Black children leaving and failing out of school* (Executiva Nacional da Marcha Zumbi, 1996, cited in Santos, 2005, p. 25). In regards to the benefits that the representation and acknowledgment of Blacks in education could produce, King-Calnek (2006) stated:

Afro-Brazilian activists and intellectuals contend that if education is to somehow be a means of bridging social inequalities, there is a need to revisit and redefine education, both its content and pedagogical methods, with the ultimate goal of empowering Afro-Brazilians so they are better equipped to negotiate their way through the dynamics that obstruct their full and equal participation in Brazilian society. Furthermore, they assert that Brazil's formal education system has failed its population of color and perpetuates racial inequalities. (p. 148)

The Role of the PNLD in Constructing Anti-racist Curriculum

Beyond discussing race relations in the classroom, Brazilian educators need to also provide anti-racist didactic material and auxiliary resources that professors can use that combat racial prejudice and discrimination* (Cavalleiro, 2005, p. 14). In terms of the production and evaluation of textbooks, action has been taken by Brazil in the attempt to ensure that textbooks and teacher materials are sufficient in regards to addressing Brazilian race relations and racism. Since the implementation of the DCNs in 2004 (and in accordance with set guidelines within the document), there have been specific guidelines for the production of school textbooks. Under the supervision of the Brazilian Ministry of Education and Culture (Ministério da Educação e Cultura, or MEC), the National Textbook Program (Programa Nacional do Livro Didático, or PNLD) and the National Program of School Libraries (Programa Nacional de Bibliotecas Escolares, or PNBE) evaluate new textbooks and teaching materials for their approach to cultural plurality and ethnic-racial diversity and corrects errors in works already published about Afro-descendent history, culture, and identity* (Brazil, 2013, p. 488). In particular, texts should positively promote the image of Afro-descendants and Afro-Brazilian culture,

giving visibility to their values, traditions, organizations, and socio-scientific knowledge* (Grupo de Trabalho Interministerial Instituído por Meio da Portaria Interministerial MEC/MJ/SEPPPIR, 2008, p. 33). The books should also approach the theme of ethno-racial relations, prejudice, racial discrimination and related violence, aiming at the construction of an anti-racist, just, and equal society* (Grupo de Trabalho Interministerial Instituído por Meio da Portaria Interministerial MEC/MJ/SEPPPIR, 2008, p. 33).

Background of the Study

This study will analyze one high school history textbook series that was approved by the PNLD in 2012 for use in Brazilian high schools. This was the top rated series by the PNLD in addressing the history and culture of Africa, Afro-descendants, and Indigenous peoples, which was one of over a handful of categories the books are measured against. In the context of the contents of Law 10.639/2003 (as noted above), the series (as well as 23 others) was evaluated for its “purpose in assuring” in its contents the study of the history of Africa and Africans, Afro-Brazilian culture, the struggle of Blacks in Brazil, and their contributions to society, economy, and politics relevant to Brazil’s history* (Brazil, 2003). To address one criteria particularly related to racism, the books were evaluated for their capacity to “Approach the theme of ethnic-racial relations, prejudice, racial discrimination, and related violence in order to construct an anti-racist, just, and equal society”* (PNLD, 2011, p. 135).

The *National Curriculum Guidelines for the Education of Ethnic-racial Relations and the Teaching of African and Afro-Brazilian History and Culture* (from now on referred to as the “DCNs”), approved by Brazil in 2004, is the overarching document that guides the development of and sets the requirements for new anti-racist curriculum.

According to the DCNs, one of the requirements for the curriculum is that it questions ethnic-racial relations based on prejudice and attitudes that express sentiments of superiority over Blacks* (Brazil, 2004, p. 12). Another requirement of the curriculum is the elimination of harmful concepts and ideas associated with the racial democracy myth through critical analysis and questioning* (Brazil, 2004, p. 19). As stated previously, my central question for this study is how and to what extent do these new high school history textbooks address critical reflection on race and racism in Brazil? Using qualitative content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) this study will analyze three high school history textbooks for nuanced approaches to complex racial dynamics in contemporary Brazil.

Relevance of the Study

High school is the final phase of basic education in Brazil, and where the individual consolidates the information and knowledge necessary for the exercise of citizenship* (SECAD, 2008, p. 52). The education of [Brazilian] ethnic-racial relations can increase attendance of Black youths in high school and enable dialogue with the knowledges and values of diversity* (SECAD, 2008, p. 52). According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, or IBGE) and the National Survey by Household Sampling (Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios, or PNAD) in 2007, 62 percent of White youths between 15 and 17 years of age attended school, while the percentage of Blacks was only 31 percent* (SECAD, 2008, p. 52). At age 19, only 33 percent of Blacks had completed high school, compared to 55 percent of Whites* (SECAD, 2008, p. 52).

This study is relevant for it has larger implications towards developing a Brazilian high school curriculum that supports racial equality and a more just and equal society. For those who do not go on to higher education, this may be their last chance to engage in critical dialogue with peers to promote values for diversity and equality in Brazilian society. These textbooks are some of the primary sources from which dialogues and knowledge are built for the students to reflect on race and racism in Brazil. Therefore, it is essential that these textbooks are analyzed in these domains to ensure that students receive the necessary knowledge and critical reflection to pursue the full benefits of the anti-racist education reforms.

Chapter II: Literature Review

The State of Past and Present Curriculum

Over the last few decades researchers in Brazil have found that the Black population has been caricatured and stereotyped in school textbooks* (Silva, 2005, p. 23). Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous cultures have been misrepresented and underrepresented in curriculum in Brazilian education, which reflects their marginalized position in society* (p. 149). Nascimento (2007) noted that when referencing the “Indian” and “African” in textbooks in the past, they have been talked about in the “past tense, as if the groups no longer existed or were not part of the country’s current reality” (p. 234). Blacks also have been “portrayed in positions of lower social status than Whites; as animal-like or physically stereotyped; or as protagonists of episodes in which social rules are transgressed, such as the disobedient child or the adult criminal” (Nascimento, p. 235). Munanga (2005) asserted that “conscious” educators know that when the history of Brazil’s Black population is presented in Brazilian textbooks, it is done so in a humiliating and mostly inhumane manner* (Munanga, 2005, p. 16). Felipe and Teruya (2014) found that textbooks that ignore the participation of Africans and Afro-descendants in the intellectual and material construction of Brazil still exist and are used in schools today* (Felipe & Teruya, 2014, p. 114).

Past school curriculum has also centered on European ethnocentric (or Eurocentric) narratives in which Afro-Brazilian history and culture usually appeared in a stereotyped form* (Pereira, 2008, p. 22). The pressure of Indigenous and Afro-descendent people to be recognized as communities that possess their own cultures and histories motivated the revision of these Eurocentric frameworks traditionally adopted in

the historic analysis of Brazilian society* (PNLD, 2011, pp. 20-21). Although Brazil is marked by ethno-cultural plurality, the Brazilian educational system has homogenized and silenced Indigenous and African influences in the country* (Azevedo, 2010, p. 142).

Recent studies (de Jesus, 2012; Oliveira and Duarte, 2014; Ponciano, Gebran & Luvizotto, 2011; Watthier and Ferreira, 2008) have argued that some new textbooks have not introduced a dialogue on race and racism in Brazil, and their treatment of Afro-Brazilian history and culture has not been adequate. According to a study done by Ponciano, Gebran & Luvizotto (2011) on elementary school history curriculum in São Paulo state, the proposals contained in the discipline of history did not reflect the actual situation of Afro-Brazilians in society; furthermore, the material did not provide a debate about cultural diversity, prejudice and racism and stated that Afro-Brazilian history and culture were treated “superficially”* (p. 111).

In another recent textbook analysis of a third year high school history series, de Jesus (2012) analyzed a chapter that covered the last decades of the twentieth century to the present. He found there was no mention of contemporary Black resistance in this chapter, and what was mentioned about Black resistance was restricted to the nineteenth century* (p. 162). In the final analysis, Jesus found that in an entire chapter, no reference was present regarding the Black population in the study of any of the governments over the time period, and that important events in national and international racial politics were not cited by the authors* (2012, p. 166). Additionally, although the text did not reference the Black population, images found in the chapter consistently displayed Blacks in conditions of poverty* (Jesus, 2012, p. 166). According to Jesus, in the textbook chapter analyzed, there was an “invisibilization” of Blacks and their participation in

social production, and an absence of the racial question* (Jesus, 2012, pp. 168-169).

Jesus believes that this could represent a deliberate attempt on the authors' parts to "erase" racial tensions that exist in Brazil* (Jesus, 2012, p. 169).

A study by Oliveira and Duarte (2014) analyzed six elementary school history textbooks, three pre-Law 10.639/2003 and three post-law, for describing their approach to the theme of African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture. In particular, the authors focused on how the history and culture of enslaved Blacks are summarized in each of these textbooks. Additionally, Oliveira and Duarte conducted a quantitative analysis on how much space was given to the themes of Afro-Brazilian history and culture in each textbook. Quantitatively, as measured by the number of chapters and pages dedicated to Afro-Brazilian history and culture, it was found that there was more emphasis in post-law textbooks on Afro-descendent history and culture than in those published before the law* (Oliveira & Duarte, 2014, p. 14). In both sets (pre- and post-law), it was found that a very specific focus was put on the abolition of slavery, without a larger range of contributions and new discussions about the topic* (Oliveira & Duarte, 2014, p. 14). Oliveira and Duarte stated that the textbooks remain "timid" in proposing a change that envisions the formation of a political and historical consciousness of diversity, a consciousness that is strongly shaped by diverse contributions of African origins* (Oliveira & Duarte, 2014, p. 14).

In a study on a high school Portuguese language and literature textbook, Wathier & Ferreira (2008) analyzed if the material valorizes the differences between races and offers reflections about ethnic-racial questions in Brazil (Wathier & Ferreira, 2008). In the analysis, it was observed that the majority of the curriculum focused on slavery in

Brazil, but little was mentioned about the contemporary racism and the importance of ethno-racial diversity in the history of Brazilian society* (Wattier & Ferreira, 2008, p. 82). According to the authors, there is a need for discussion that demonstrates everyday experiences of race relations that would allow for the possibility of reflection about ethnic-racial relations in Brazilian society today* (Wattier & Ferreira, 2008, p. 82).

In regards to the requirements set out in the new education reforms, there seems to be a recurrent issue in the aforementioned studies that have been done on history and language textbooks produced since the implementation of Law 10.639/2003. In all of the studies mentioned, there does not seem to be adequate attention given in textbooks to introducing questions on ethnic-racial relations and racial prejudice and discrimination as required by the DCNs. Additionally, it seems that most of the material regarding African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture ends with the end of slavery in Brazil, and not much attention has been given to deconstructing the myth of racial democracy and its associated ideas and concepts.

The Role of Multicultural and Anti-racist Education in Brazilian Education

Reforms

The methodology for this study is partly informed by works on multicultural and anti-racist education. Multicultural education proposes a rupture of pre-established models and hidden practices that within school curriculum produce an effect of colonization in which students of diverse cultures, social classes, and ethnicities occupy the place of the colonized and marginalized by a process of silencing their condition* (Pansini & Nenevé, 2008, p. 32). According to Silverio (2000), multiculturalism can be understood as a site of struggle around the reformulation of historical memory, national

identity, individual and social representation, and the politics of difference* (cited in Azevedo, 2010, p. 153).

Multicultural education has its critics who challenge the educational method's ability to attack racism from its source, namely Whites and the recognized (or unrecognized) privilege that they hold. On both multicultural and anti-racist education, Niemonen (2007) stated that:

Antiracist education emerged as dissatisfaction with, and is distinct from, multicultural education that emphasizes cultural awareness as the means to achieve racial harmony. Antiracist educators characterize multicultural education as a deracialized discourse that understands only superficially the processes that create and perpetuate racism. (p. 159)

As a set of pedagogical, curricular, and organizational strategies, antiracist education aims at promoting racial equality by identifying and then eliminating White privilege (Niemonen, 2007, p. 160). Eliminating racism also requires that whiteness is deconstructed and Whites understand they may have racist tendencies regardless of their beliefs towards non-Whites (Niemonen, 2007, p. 162).

Brazil is not completely unique in its history of race relations, models of race, and explanations of racial or ethnic mixture in the formation of the nation. Though other similar state ideologies of the past towards racial mixture are represented in Latin America, the case of Puerto Rico is a close example to Brazil in terms of the nation's shared history of African slavery, ideologies of whitening and racial mixture, and history of dismissing racism as an influential element that affects social relations and structural inequalities in the country. According to Godreau & Llórens (2010), in Puerto Rico

“Racial stereotypes and the stigmatization of blackness are sustained by a national ideology of *blanqueamiento* (whitening) that goes hand in hand with discourses of racial democracy and *mestizaje* or race mixture” (Godreau & Llórens, 2010, p. 26). Discourses and ideologies in Puerto Rico, similar to those experienced in Brazil, have represented Puerto Ricans as a mix of Spanish, Taíno Indian, and African heritages, and claim that Puerto Ricans have shed most of their African blood through racial mixing (producing individuals with lighter skin) (Godreau & Llórens, 2010, p. 26). Like Brazil as well, the ideology of racial mixture and the whitening model have been used by the elite to “exclude Blacks, deny racism, disregard demands based on racial identity, and offset blackness through the affirmation of degrees of whiteness” (Godreau & Llórens, 2010, p. 26). Additionally, like Brazil, Puerto Rico has often characterized racism as a problem of the United States, not of their own. Racism is often dismissed in lieu of the belief in racial mixture and diversity (Godreau & Llórens, 2010, p. 26).

A relevant study by Godreau & Llórens (2010) on Puerto Rican elementary (third grade) textbooks also deserves attention to demonstrate that these challenges in anti-racist education exist elsewhere in Latin America. As demonstrated with the above historic information on constructions of race and attitudes towards racism in Puerto Rico, the nation faces similar challenges to Brazil in educating citizens for a more inclusive, anti-racist society. On the teaching of race and racism in Puerto Rican third grade classrooms, Godreau & Llórens (over the course of a five-year study) analyzed conversations between teachers, teacher engagements with students on racism represented in classrooms, and were a part of the process of implementing anti-racist education measures in schools. One finding relevant to the study and the challenges of implementing anti-racist

curriculum were that teachers were ill equipped to face curricular flaws in social studies textbooks, such as the silencing, trivializing, and simplification of Puerto Rico's African heritage and the nation's history of slavery (Godreau et. al., 2008, cited in Godreau & Llórens, 2010, p. 28). Another finding was that textbooks that were used in schools relegated Blackness to the past or racial mixture was evoked as a contemporary characteristic of Puerto Rican identity (Llórens, 2005, cited in Godreau & Llórens, 2010, p. 28).

This study analyzes the textbooks under the assumptions and frameworks of critical pedagogy (defined below) and anti-racist and multicultural education. These educational methodologies and approaches provide insight for more inclusive education. Though the approaches differ, each approach has its merits towards inclusive and transformative education and deserves attention. Multicultural and anti-racist education, as well as critical pedagogy, seek societal transformation through education. This is done through educating student's awareness of their position in the world as a matter to change the world for the better. The analysis of antiracist education in this study is reflective of the global intellectual turn by scholars who are challenging dominant racialized narratives and deconstructing whiteness in Latin America and its implications for colonization in educational settings.

Implications for Paulo Freire's Approach to Critical Pedagogy in the Education

Reforms

According to Freire (1995), one of the most well-known authors on critical pedagogy, "If students are not able to transform their lived experiences into knowledge and to use the already acquired knowledge as a process to unveil new knowledge, they

will never be able to participate rigorously in a dialogue as a process of learning and knowing” (p. 385). Relating to Freire’s work, Lyons (2014) stated that “Education should raise the awareness of the students so that they become subjects, rather than objects, of the world . . . teaching students to think democratically and to continually question and make meaning from (critically view) everything they learn” (2014). However, Freire has been accused of not offering reflections or analyses of race in regards to the oppressed (Freire, 1995). North American educators have criticized Freire’s earlier works, and have argued that his focus on class relations through his analysis of the oppressed and oppressors has “failed to assign the appropriate weight to race as a fundamental factor of oppression,” and that Freire’s analysis on class oversimplifies the role that race has played in its historical location of oppression (Freire, 1995, p. 399). However, Freire has stated that without social class considerations, race cannot be understood, and “for to do one at the expense of the other is to fall into a sectarianist position, which is as despicable as the racism we need to reject” (Freire, 1995, p. 401).

In this study, race and racism is given preferential treatment in the analysis of social inclusion and exclusion, though class is an important variable to consider within Brazil as well. However, Freirean approaches in critical pedagogy are central to this study for the content—and student understandings of it—needs to be connected to students lived (personal) experiences in order to generate and make meaning from it.

Before moving on, it is necessary to revisit “whiteness” and consider Eurocentrism in processes to eliminate exclusion in education. Each element requires explanation in regards to how race and racism are maintained in models of racial dominance. According to Niemonen (2007), ‘Racism is an epistemology that privileges

Eurocentric values, beliefs, and practices. It is the normative framework that defines “whiteness” as the standard by which to evaluate others’ (p. 161). This standard, or the focus on Western epistemology or Eurocentric ideals as a basis for evaluating those of other origins in the world, is problematic as it reinforces beliefs that discount or demean other theories of knowledge. Anti-racist educators claim that “whiteness determines what counts as knowledge and that ignoring alternative epistemologies is racism at work” (Niemonen, 2007, p. 161).

Before moving further more information is needed on the complexity of race and racial identity in Brazil to provide context around the discussions of these topics in society there. The implications for the weight that racial categories and identity carry in Brazil, along with the belief in racial mixture (i.e. the racial democracy myth), is essential to understand in order to gain a nuanced perspective into how these identities play out in Brazilian society.

Examples of the Realities of Racial Identity in Brazil

Current and past Brazilian national censuses have identified five categories of race—*pardo* (brown -- Brazilians with a mix of different ethnic/racial origins), *preto* (Black), *branco* (White), *amarelo* (yellow or Asian), and *indígena* (Indigenous).

However, Brazilians in the past have complained that this system of racial categories was insufficient given the plethora of racial categories used in Brazil. According to a list drawn up in 1976 by the IBGE, 134 different terms were used by Brazilians to describe skin color (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, 1999, p. 386). Additionally, Brazilians have always considered racial characteristics such as hair texture, the shape of lips and noses, facial and body shape, as well as pigmentation of skin and hair (Brazilian

Institute of Geography and Statistics, 1999, p. 386). The multitude of racial categories used in Brazil demonstrates that Brazilians are acutely aware of physical differences based on skin color, and differentiate from each other as such.

One particular recent study demonstrates a number of aspects regarding racial identity in Brazil, more particularly the effects of imposed racial categories on school children and the categories' meanings to them. In a rural middle school in the state of Bahia in 2003, Baran (2007) investigated the imposition of a new system of teaching race that seemed to go against historic understandings of it there. This new "extreme" system of racial classification grouped all non-whites into the category of Black, or *negro*, which had been pushed by the Black Movement for decades in urban areas but had just recently reached this more rural area of Brazil (Baran, 2007, p. 383). Students that had long been labeling themselves along intermediate racial categories, such as *moreno* (brown) take offense, especially those that reject the term of "*negro*" as it is understood to mean "pure" Black and is associated with slavery and Africa (Baran, 2007, p. 384). Additionally, in Baran's research women with "hard hair" would go often to beauty salons to straighten it. Through straightening hair many women thought they might be categorized as "*morena*" rather than "*negra*" as "They were very aware of those for whom hair was the essential defining feature of a *negra* identity" (Baran, pp. 387-388). This example demonstrates Brazilians strongly consider physical characteristics in their conceptions of race; the stigmatization that the term *negro/a* has and its association with racism; and the tendency (or desire) to be recognized as having mixed racial ancestry versus a Black or African one.

Considerations for the Use of the Terms "Race," "Ethnicity," and "Ethnic-racial"

Within the DCNs a number of key terms for this study are defined, as well as their implications towards power, racism, and racial inequalities in Brazil. The DCNs explain that race “is often used in Brazilian social relations, to inform how certain physical characteristics such as skin color, hair type, among others, influence, affect and even determine the fate of individuals and social place within Brazilian society”* (Brazil, 2004, p. 8). Further, the use of the term “ethnic” in the expression “ethnic-racial” demonstrates that those tense relations are due to differences in the color of the skin and physical features as well as to African cultural heritage, which differs in values and principles than those of other ethnic origins, such as Indigenous or European ones* (Brazil, 2004, p. 8).

Smedley (1999) states that the terms “ethnic” and “ethnicity” are best used to analytically refer to a group that sees itself as possessing “distinct cultural features, a separate history, and a specific sociocultural identity” (Smedley, p. 31). Though she sees “race” as more rigid and permanent, based within a ranking order of innate biological difference, both racial and ethnic differences sometimes accompany each other and that “extreme ethnocentrism and race hatred often manifest some of the same symptoms” (Smedley, 1999, pp. 33-34). However, ethnic boundaries “can and do change more rapidly than racial ones; ethnicity is based on behavior that most people understand can be learned [or in other words, based in culture]” (Smedley, 1999, p. 34). Racism, in contrast, “is a belief in the biological determinants of cultural behavior—a critical ideological component in the concept of race” (Smedley, 1999, p. 33).

Smedley (1999) neatly captures how race can be understood, as a “way of knowing, perceiving, and of interpreting the word, and of rationalizing its contents that are derived from previous cultural-historical processes and reflective of contemporary

social values, relationships, and conditions” (Smedley, 1999, p. 15). Smedley believes “race” is a systematic worldview and can be understood by “examining how it was molded as an idea and an ideology through history” (Smedley, p. 35). These historic and ideological elements that shape ideas of race are explained in more detail below.

“Race” was born within the colonial context of European world expansion in the sixteenth until the nineteenth centuries (Smedley, 1999, pp. 26-27). From its inception it was a folk classification, a “product of popular beliefs about human differences” and a “cosmological ordering system” of peoples of dominating nations who sought wealth and power during the period of colonial expansion. (Smedley, 1999, pp. 26-27). Though race emerged as a folk phenomenon (as it had no basis in science or point of origin at the time) it began being associated in the mid- to late eighteenth century as a place for scientific investigations (and a way of categorizing what were already conceived of as inherently unequal populations) (Smedley, 1999, p. 28). In the nineteenth century race began to be seen as an inheritable, biological phenomenon built within a ranking system where outer physical differences represented inner (cognitive) realities—behavioral, intellectual, temperamental, and moral, as well as was indicative of cultural and behavioral capabilities (Smedley, 1999, pp. 27-28). Once structured in hierarchical terms, “All colonial peoples were seen as distinct races, all had to be ranked somewhere below Whites, and Europeans themselves were divided into racial groups and ranked among each other” (Smedley, 1999, p. 29). Late into the twentieth century, ideas built within these constructs of race (and racism itself) continued even with findings in biological sciences that have failed to confirm the existence of racial group differences (Smedley, p. 30). This study builds on these definitions and understandings of race and racism.

Chapter III: Methods

Description of the Textbooks

For the collection of preliminary data for my thesis, I coded a series of three Brazilian high school history books by Azevedo & Seriacopi (2012): *The First Humans until the Modern State*; *The Modern World and Contemporary Society*; and *From the XIX Century to Today*.³ Each book corresponds to a grade (or level) of high school. The books range from 300 to over 400 pages of student text and also have bibliographies and glossaries that define key terms used in the book. There are a number of units in each book, and chapters found within the units. Units open with a particular theme (for example, “Cultural Diversity” or “Liberty and Sovereignty”). The units then close by revisiting their theme in relation to the content that was covered in the chapters. Within chapters there is also content sections separate from the general content that emphasize certain focus topics. Additionally, throughout the series each Brazilian state has its own two-page section titled “Heritage and Diversity” that is highlighted.

Volume I: The First Humans until the Modern State

This volume covers:

1. The beginnings of humans in Africa; early civilizations (Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Chinese);
2. The rise of different religions (Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, etc.) and empires (Byzantine, Greek, Roman, Indian, etc.) around the world; and
3. The creation and formation of the modern state in Europe and colonial empires and monarchies around the world.

³ The textbook series is written in Brazilian Portuguese. Throughout the rest of this study, all content from the textbooks (direct quotations or paraphrasing of content and titles) in the Portuguese language are my translations.

Unit themes covered in this book include: “The Force of Knowledge and Creativity,” “Urbanization,” “Rights and Democracy,” “Religious Diversity,” and “Sovereignty and the Nation State.”

Volume II: The Modern World and Contemporary Society

This volume covers:

1. Early civilizations in the Americas (such as the Aztec, Maya, and Incas);
2. The Spanish and Portuguese colonial period and colonial enterprises (such as slavery and the slave trade) and resource exploitation in the New World;
3. European intellectual movements and revolutions; and
4. Brazilian independence, and the First Kingdom and events during these time periods.

Unit themes covered in this book include: “Cultural Diversity,” “Work,” “The Fight for Citizenship,” and “Politics and Participation.”

Volume III: From the XIX Century to Today

This volume covers:

1. Imperialism and neocolonialism around the world;
2. Brazil under Dom Pedro II and the ending of slavery and the slave trade in Brazil;
3. Twentieth century European wars and revolutions;
4. The independence of African nations, the Brazilian Republic, the “Estado Novo” (“New State”), dictatorships in Brazil and Latin America and the return to democracy; and
5. New directions for Brazil.

Unit themes covered in this book include: “Land and the Environment,” “Science and Technology,” “Mass Communications,” “Violence,” and “Ethics.”

Method, Coding Process, and Categories

This series was chosen because it was rated the top rated series in evaluating textbooks against the requirement of addressing the History of Africa, Afro-descendants, and Indigenous peoples (PNLD, 2011, p. 23).

For this study, I used qualitative content analysis for my method. Though there are various definitions and approaches to content analysis (both quantitative and qualitative) in terms of what is measured or inferred from texts⁴, the approach I used of qualitative content analysis is based on the one offered by Hsieh and Shannon (2005). According to these authors, the definition of qualitative content analysis is “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). Additionally, according to the authors there are three main approaches in qualitative content analysis: conventional, directed, and summative (p. 1277). I used the last approach, where “a study using a summative approach to qualitative content analysis starts with identifying and quantifying certain words or content in text with the purpose of understanding the contextual use of the words or content” (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005, p. 1283). This approach focuses on latent content (versus manifest content), which refers to the process of interpretation of the content by the researcher (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005, pp. 1283-1284) where the focus is on “discovering underlying meanings of the words or the content” (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005, p. 1284). Manifest content analysis, on the other hand, refers to analyzing “for the appearance of a particular word or content in textual

⁴ See Shapiro & Markoff (1997) pp. 11-12.

material” (Potter and Levine-Donnerstein, 1999, cited in Hsieh and Shannon, 2005, p. 1283).

In terms of the summative content analysis method, I first coded for key terms such as race, racism, racial discrimination, ethnic and/or cultural mixture, etc. as well as analyzed the text around which these terms appeared. After several rounds of coding, I began to identify themes in relation to the content these terms appeared with and were used in, themes that I would further analyze in the textbooks.

I paid special attention to content that focused on race and racism in Brazil and student questions that would provoke critical thinking these topics. This method helps to demonstrate how the content might encourage critical thinking for the student readers in regards to the questions in the books. I am analyzing not just how race and racism are explained in these books, but also how the curriculum is asking questions that may cause critical reflection on the prevalence of racism in Brazilian society.

I also looked at material within the texts that related to and/or reinforced the racial democracy myth to readers. As noted in Chapter 1, the racial democracy myth has implications towards race and racism in Brazil. Therefore, it is important that content associated with the myth in the books is analyzed to understand how the books are framing the racial experience in Brazil or may be reinforcing ideas tied to racial or ethnic mixture there and, hence, the racial democracy myth.

I was able to generate some recurring codes, examples, or themes in the content in relation to the myth. For example, I initially created the coding category of “European, African, and/or Indigenous Influence in Brazil.” After a general review, I broke this category into three subcategories for each racial/ethnic group; “European Influence,”

“African influence,” and “Indigenous influence.” These subcategories were each split further into the following two categories; “Society, Culture, and People” and “Nationality.” See Appendix A for coding documentation.

Examples from the category of “Society, Culture, and People” encompass what European, African, and/or Indigenous groups have contributed to Brazilian society and culture and to the ethnic-racial mixture of these groups. For example, if it was stated in the content that a particular cultural practice of African or Afro-Brazilian origin is still practiced (and common) in Brazilian society or culture, this fell within this category. Additionally, the component of the category that addresses “People” is tied to examples in the books that further notions of ethnic and/or racial mixing between the three main Brazilian ethnic-racial groups (European, African, and Indigenous). These key codes for this part of the category were related to content that drove ideas of ethnic or racial mixing of the aforementioned groups and asserted this mixing is common to *all* Brazilians. For example, if it was stated in the book that all Brazilians have African or Indigenous heritage—as physically (in the blood)—this content was grouped under the “Society, Culture, and People” category. The other category I used, “Nationality,” relates to content found in the books that explains the Brazilian nationality as a mix of the above races/ethnicities and their cultural practices.

I broke the category of “Discrimination” into “Ethnic” and “Racial.” This was because “ethnic discrimination” and “racial discrimination” seemed to be used interchangeably in the same contexts. This has been a concern for some Brazilian authors and intellectuals towards scholars and educators who substitute the term “race” for “ethnicity” and implications this has for the Brazilian context, for this act may negate

entire histories, experiences, and identities of racial groups in Brazil. I also used the term “Prejudice” for its’ own category, which I broke down into “Ethnic” and “Racial” for the same reasons mentioned above.

My methodology included using the discussion questions to determine my general categories for coding. Based on the discussion questions and content, I determined which sections to focus the majority of my analysis within the chapters and units in the textbooks. In particular, I selected student discussion and critical thinking questions at the end of chapters and units or within particular chapters that could cause critical reflection on race and racism in Brazil. Additionally, I looked at questions that were geared towards content that spoke of cultural, ethnic, or racial mixture in Brazil. For example, material that related to ideas of African, Afro-Brazilian, or Indigenous influence in Brazilian culture or cultural and ethnic mixture in Brazil were selected for analysis. I grouped these examples into the coding category of “Critical Thinking.” These questions to students are essential in order to “deconstruct” (Brazil, 2004, pp. 11-12) the discourse of the racial democracy myth and cause critical reflection on its implications towards racial inequality or superiority in Brazil. Based on discussion questions, I then did another level of analysis to the relevant units in the textbooks.

This study is focused primarily on the portrayal of Afro-Brazilian groups and their relation with racism in Brazil, past and present. Though taken into consideration in the analysis of the text, Brazil’s Indigenous communities were mostly out of the scope of this study. However, in the analysis of the racial democracy myth—that narrates Indigenous peoples as an integral part of the formation of Brazilian society and culture along with Africans—the Indigenous of Brazil occupy a special place in this study.

Limitations of the Study

One particular limitation of this study is that I did not possess the teacher's manual for these books. The teacher's manual could have information to guide student understandings beyond what is provided in the student textbooks. This limitation could affect some of my conclusions that the material was incomplete in areas; however, this also puts the onus, as well as trust, on the teacher to have the knowledge and ability to educate the students on complex information on race, racism, and race relations in Brazil in the classroom. The teacher and his/her ability to facilitate discussions and further understandings of race and racism cannot be separated in whole from the discussion towards the development of anti-racist curriculum. However, taken as the sole resource for students to consider, the textbooks, as the primary driver for initial knowledge on race and racism, play a large role in determining student understandings of these topics and deserve critical analysis.

Chapter IV: Constructing Race, Explaining Racism

This chapter looks at material in the textbook series that is particularly related to content and student questions regarding race and racism. The manner in which race is being constructed in the text is of extreme importance to analyzing how race is being presented to students, which would influence their perspectives on the concept, and thus their understandings of racism. Critical thinking questions that relate to content that addresses racist practices and ideologies in the textbooks are also covered to demonstrate how racism in Brazil is being presented to students and offering possibilities and spaces for critical dialogues on the topic.

Constructing “Race”

The following examples in this section were selected to demonstrate how the books are narrating for students the concept of race and ideas associated with it and the implications these ideas have had with racist thought and racism through history. The focus of this section is on constructions of race and historic examples of racism found in the textbooks.

Example 1: Negating Race: “We are all equal”⁵ (Volume I, pp. 14-16). In the section titled “We are all equal,” the reader is presented with content to educate students on how race has been misunderstood in the past to be a biological phenomenon. The implications of the influence that social constructions have for race are not raised for students to consider. The authors write, “despite the [physical] differences observed between individuals, the human species is one” and that “in contrary to what many have affirmed in the past, people cannot be separated in races” (p. 14). Further in this section

⁵ Keeping with capitalization norms for Brazilian Portuguese, following words after the first word of a title are not capitalized.

it is stated the Human Genome Project found that variation in DNA between any individual does not reach 1 percent (p. 14). The authors describe physical variations (such as skin and hair color) in humans are described more as a product of history and environmental conditions, such as hot versus cold climates (p. 14).⁶

This introduction to ideas about race completely left out that the concept is a social construction. Instead the material focuses on proving that there are no biological races. The DCNs (that drive new curriculum production) define the concept of race. The DCNs state that the term “race” is to “be understood as a social construction resultant from tense relations through history between Blacks and Whites (many times simulated as harmonious) and should not be confused with the biological concept of the term” (Brazil, 2004, p. 8). The omission of the role that social constructions of race play—and the favoring of biological notions of race over social notions—in Brazilian society limits the students’ abilities to understand the importance this role has for race relations, racism, and racial inequality in Brazil.

⁶ For more content from the textbook (Volume I) on race and explanations on physical differences in reference to, see Appendix A, p. 104.

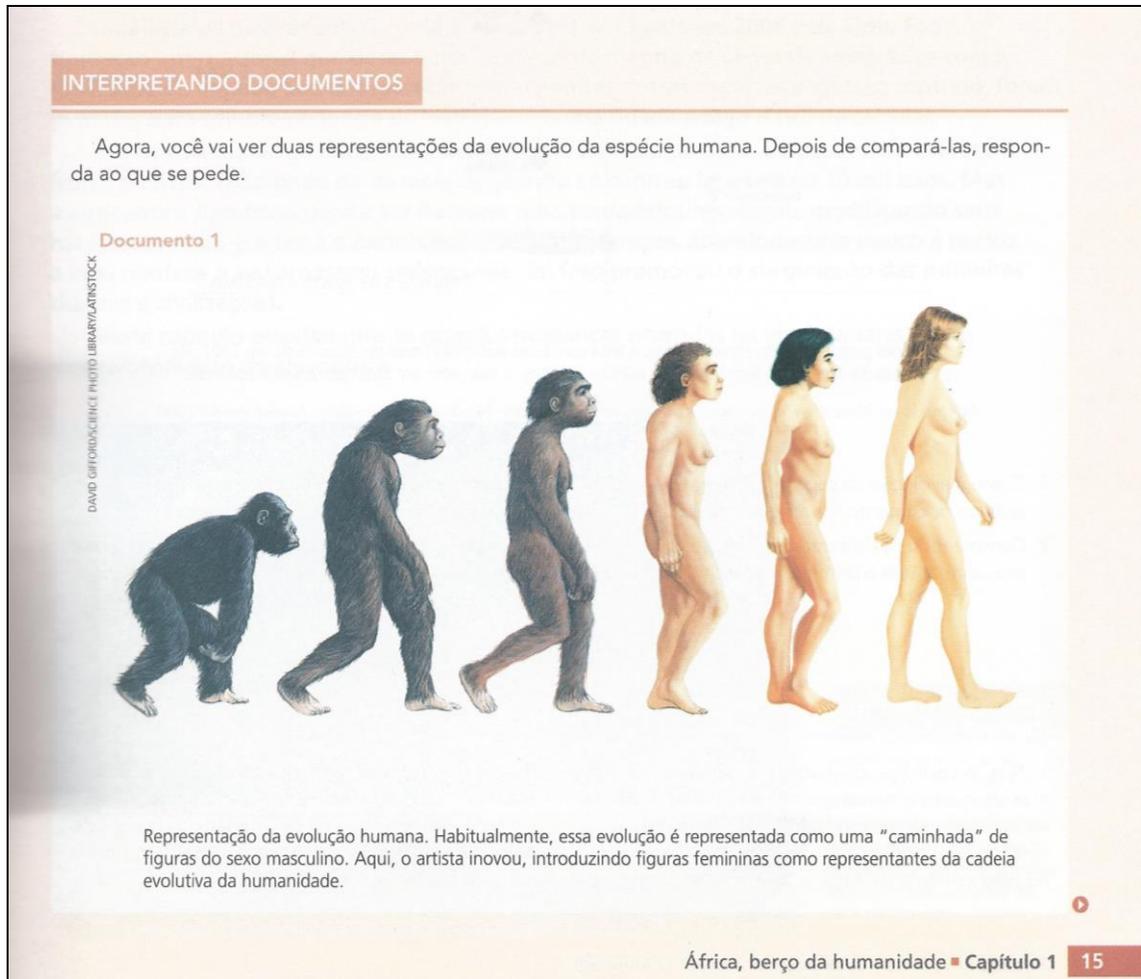


Figure 1. Female “path” of human evolution. Artistic representation of feminine figures as representative of the evolutionary path of humanity.

On the next page, in the section “Interpreting Documents” two images are presented to describe the evolution of humans. Document 1 is noted as an artistic representation of human evolution (p. 15). It is further stated under the representation that “Usually, this evolution is represented as a ‘path’ of the male sex. Here, the artist innovated, introducing feminine figures as representative of the evolutionary path of humanity” (p. 15). On the far left, the progression begins with a gorilla, but when it arrives at humans (of which there are three examples in the progression), the contemporary female at the far right has light brown, curly hair and is tall and with proportional body qualities. The woman in middle is shorter, has darker skin and black,

very curly hair. The more you move to the left the more African features the women have. The woman on the left before the australopithecine has dark skin, very curly African appearing hair, exaggerated facial and body features, is more muscular (almost appearing masculine) and is the shortest of the humans. This document could insinuate that the farther females (or humans) have “evolved” the whiter, taller, and more feminine they have become, as well as the most evolved female is phenotypically White, tall, proportional, etc.

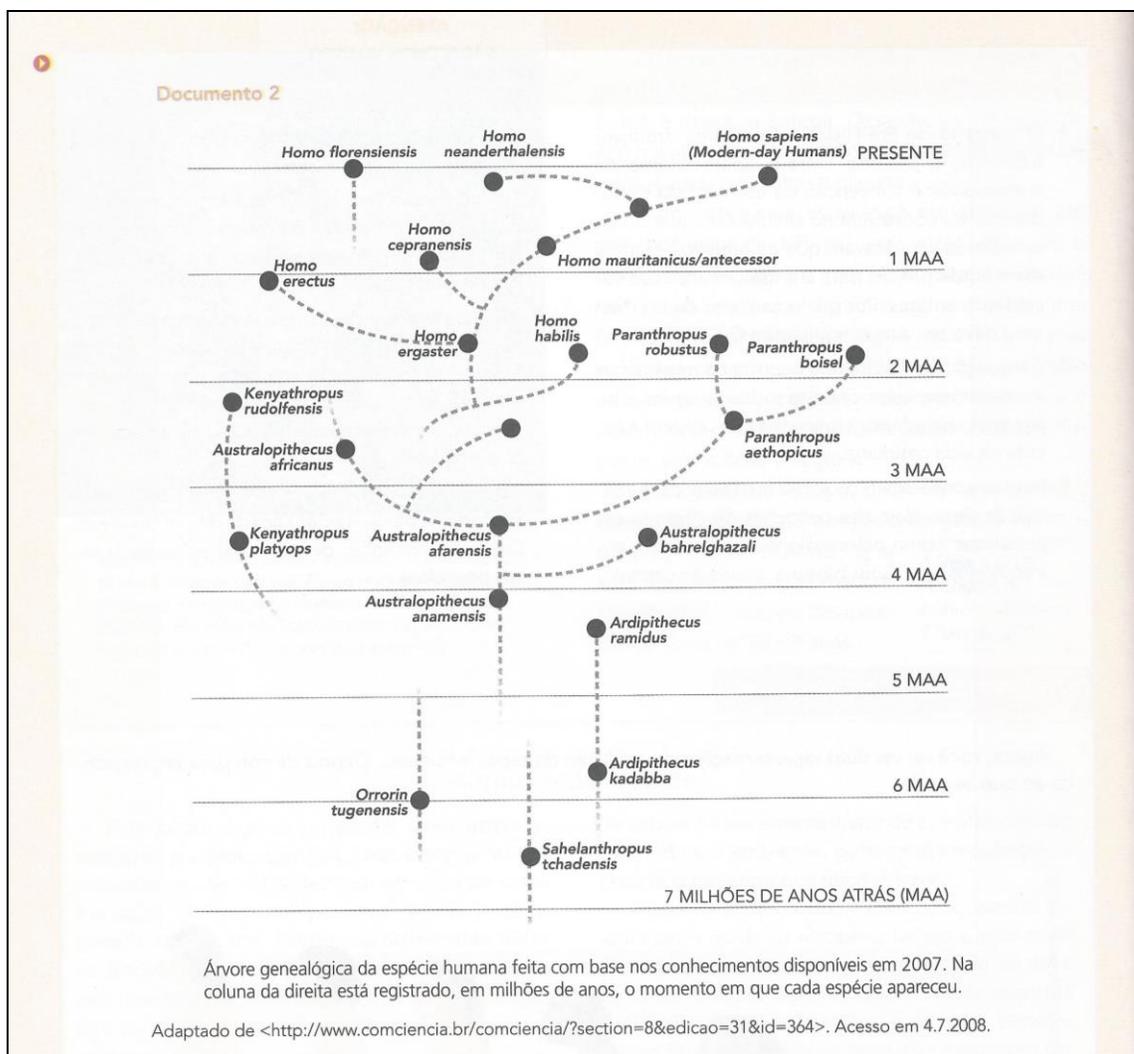


Figure 2. Line diagram of human evolution. This figure is a representation of the genealogical tree of the human species.

Document 2 is a more complex idea of human evolution, represented in a diagram with lines and points where each human species appeared, emerged, or diverged in history (measured in millions of years on the right hand side). Its description underneath states that this diagram is a “Genealogic tree of the human species based on knowledge available in 2007” (p. 16).

The students are then asked to compare the documents and answer 3 questions. Question 1 asks: “How is the evolution of the human species represented in Document 1 and 2?” Question 2 states that “Comparing the two, why can we affirm that the first does not correctly represent the actual knowledge about the human species?” Question 3 asks: “Can we say that document 2 represents the truth about human evolution? Justify your response” (p. 15).

None of the discussion questions focus on or stimulate any dialogue on race, though Document 1 has racial connotations. This is curious for though the prior page is focused on race, these questions do not arise for the students to think critically about. Though the student questions (and prior content from the chapter on the various species of early hominids until modern *Homo sapiens*) seem to ensure they understand that Document 1 is incorrect and that the evolution of humans has been a diverse and complex process, the questions do not seem succinct enough to draw out exactly why the first document is biased and incorrect (especially in regards to race) and how the picture itself could provoke racist ideas. The lack of discussion, context, and information on Document 1 and its implications for ideas of race and racism could limit the students’ abilities to think critically on the role it plays for understandings of race and racism.

Additionally, as noted in the Literature Review, this example is similar to what was noted by Nascimento (2007) on images depicting Afro-Brazilians in other textbooks that have been produced in Brazil in the past. To reiterate, Blacks (in textbooks of the past) have been “portrayed in positions of lower social status than Whites; as animal-like or physically stereotyped” (Nascimento, 2007, p. 235). In light of the lack of context given for the image—for example, its history and relationship with racism and racist ideas—in the textbook, it is possible that students could take the picture literally if they did not consider its implications towards racism.

The following examples in this section appeal more to how ideas of race and racism were born and proliferated in the world and in Brazil. This background information is necessary for this content forms a foundation for students’ understandings of race and racism and enables their critical reflection on the development of these ideas and their relationship with Brazil.

Example 2: Beginnings of Racist Thought, African Slavery, and the Slave Trade: “With the blessings of the church” (Volume II, pp. 73-74). In Volume II we arrive at European encounters in Africa and with Africans in the fifteenth century and the beginnings of race and racism as we understand it today. In the passage “With the blessings of the church” in the book, it is discussed how these encounters had an influence on the development of race and racist ideas. According to Azevedo & Seriacopi (2012):

In European symbology of the Middle Ages, the color white was associated with day, innocence, virginity; the color black represented night, demons, sadness and the divine curse. This dichotomy between white and black, light and dark, was

transferred through Europeans for human beings when the Portuguese arrived in Africa in the fifteenth century . . . Therefore, the dark pigmentation of the skin was initially pointed as an illness or a deviation from normal. As Africans had physical traits, religious beliefs, customs, and habits different than that which predominated in Europe, European authors characterized Africans as beings situated between humans and animals. All of these Eurocentric views enabled Blacks to be considered culturally inferior and inclined to slavery.⁷ (p. 73)

The above ideas are explained further at the bottom of the page, in the box “Humanism and slavery.” Here, the Bible (both Old and New Testaments), intellectuals, and philosophers are discussed for their relationship with racism and attitudes that contributed to the enslavement of Africans and slave trade during the sixteenth century. The next page continues to explain how European Protestants and Catholics legitimized the trafficking and enslaving of Africans through “science,”⁸ morals and religion, as well as economic interests (pp. 73-74). After the chapter describes the mentalities of Europeans that supported the enslavement of Africans, it moves on to discuss the numbers of African slaves brought to Brazil, how Africans already practiced slavery when Europeans arrived to Africa, slave trafficking on a large scale, and how life was for African slaves crossing the Atlantic.

Example 3: Nineteenth Century Racism and “Scientific” Thought Explained and Critiqued: “Science and racism” (Volume III, pp. 34-35). In the chapter “Imperialism and neocolonialism,” European justification for the economic and

⁷ For more content from the textbook (Volume II) on the formulation of initial experiences of race and racism in the world, see Appendix A, p. 111.

⁸ The quotations the authors used around the term science reflect that they do not agree with the validity of the assertions that intellectuals proposed on science’s ideas and understandings of race at the time period.

geopolitical domination of Africa and Asia in the nineteenth century is described in the context of Europe's "civilizing mission." According to the text, the European civilizing mission was to bring Western and Christian values to the "primitives" and "barbarians" of these regions. The text then relates to a highlight section ("box") that describes the role of Social Darwinism and the effects intellectuals of this school of thought had on defining "superior" and "inferior" races.

In the textbooks, it is noted that Europeans considered themselves the most capable or superior race, with some European authors labeling the most inferior races as Jews and Blacks. Additionally, it is stated that these thinkers labeled miscegenation between Whites and Blacks in the Americas as a cause for the "degeneration" of these civilizations. The text then reverts to the very same content as in Example 1 ("We are all equal"), describing racial differences as a result of environmental conditions and cultural differences between people groups as results of socio-historical processes.⁹

Example 4: The "Whitening" Ideology Explained (Volume III, pp. 143-144, 146). According to the textbooks, the above idea of the degeneration of societies due to racial miscegenation [where in Brazil this process was strong] was adopted by members of the Brazilian national elite that believed this miscegenation was a reason for the backwardness of their country (p. 144). These ideas supported the ideology of "whitening" in Brazil that proposed with mortality of Blacks and the arrival of a great amount of White European immigrants, the ethnic composition of the Brazilian population would be predominated by lighter skin (p. 143). "According to some historians, it was at this time in Brazilian society that prejudice against Blacks and their

⁹ For more content from the textbook (Volume III) on the relationship between science and racism in the nineteenth century, see Appendix A, pp. 118-119.

descendants began to be seen by public powers and the elite as second class citizens” (Azevedo & Seriacopi, 2012, p. 143). The solution was to “whiten” the nation through large-scale European immigration to Brazil, which occurred from the last decades of the nineteenth century well into the 1900s. It is explained a few pages later that this whitening of the nation came along with state marginalization of Afro-descendant populations in Brazil. For example, an African-inspired form of martial arts (*capoeira*) and African religious practices were outlawed, as well culinary dishes of African origins were medically disapproved (p. 146).¹⁰

Along with the myth of the racial democracy, the DCNs require that the “whitening” ideology is “deconstructed” through analysis and critical questioning and that the ideas and concepts associated with the ideology are eliminated (Brazil, 2004, pp. 11-12). The books are relatively transparent with information regarding the whitening ideology and its associated beliefs and practices that marginalized Afro-Brazilians and Afro-descendants in Brazil. According to the textbooks, the history of whitening in Brazil is a principal event that influenced or promoted racist ideas towards Afro-Brazilian and Afro-descendant populations in the nation, as well as affected these groups’ statuses in society. I believe that there is adequate information for students to consider regarding the implications the whitening ideology had on Afro-Brazilian and Afro-descendant communities at that time period in Brazil. Though there are no particular student questions raised on the implications of the whitening ideology, the content on the history of whitening and the effects it had on the Afro-Brazilian population at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century conforms with the literature on

¹⁰ For more content from the textbook (Volume II) on Blacks in the beginning of the Republic and their experiences of racism, see Appendix A, pp. 121-122.

these topics regarding the ideology and its relationship with racism and racial inequality in Brazil.

Explaining Racism

Now that adequate context is set for student understandings of race and racism in regards to what they may have learned in the textbooks, this section is focused on using examples from the books that directly (or sometimes indirectly or in a vague manner) tie historic examples of racism to students' experiences of this element in Brazilian society. This section is split into two sub-sections, "Admitting racism" and "Omitting racism." The former relates to content that either explicitly or implicitly links racism to student everyday experiences of it in Brazil; the latter uses examples where the authors have seemed to omit information and the implications this has for student understandings of racism as it exists in Brazil today.

Admitting racism

Example 5: Brazilian "Black Consciousness Day" and Black resistance discussed (Volume II, pp. 85, 88). In Volume II slavery in Brazil during the early to mid-colonial period and African resistance to slavery and runaway slave communities (*quilombos*) are discussed. Along with the mentioning of the famous African *quilombo* of Palmares, the legend of Zumbi of Palmares is described for his resistance against colonial authorities during the late seventeenth century and his death at their hands on November 20th, 1695. (Azevedo & Seriacopi, 2012, p. 88). According to the authors, *quilombos* are spaces that ex-slaves have reaffirmed their cultural and ethnic identity and preserved their values, traditions, and religious beliefs of their nations of origin (p. 85).¹¹

¹¹ For more information and discussion from the textbook (Volume II) on Zumbi of Palmares, *quilombos*, and *quilombola* communities, see Appendix A, pp. 113-114.

In observation of Zumbi's death and what he represented, Law 10.369/03 names the 20th of November Brazil's "Black Consciousness Day." At the end of this passage, it is stated that this day in Brazil is a municipal holiday in many Brazilian cities, and "Attitudes like these have been of fundamental importance for Brazilian society to be aware of its social and ethnic inequalities that still complicate the construction of a true democracy [in Brazil]" (p. 88). This is an important connection made between past Black resistance in Brazil to modern Black activism and racial inequality today. Additionally, on the next page a passage on the racial democracy myth and statistics of racial inequality in Brazil are raised to encourage students to reflect on socioeconomic inequality in the nation in the face of the belief in racial equality and the myth. Though the following passage slightly addresses and critiques one component of the myth, namely the idea that there are equal opportunities to all Brazilians in the nation independent of race, it fails to link these inequalities to racism or racist practices in the country. Specifically, it critiques the myth and its narrative it produces that "camouflages hierarchies . . . constitutive of relations between Whites and non-Whites"* (Brazil, 2008, p. 9). However, it does not relate these inequalities to discriminatory practices. The next example addresses a highlight section on the racial democracy myth, affirmative action, and racial inequality in Brazil. As one can see, given the background of the implications of the myth provided in Chapter 1 of this study, there was a deficit of information in this section to critically address the existence of racism and racist practices in Brazil and their effects on racial inequality in the nation.

Example 6: The Racial Democracy Myth Defined and Critiqued: "Does racism exist in Brazil?" (Volume II, p. 89). Using socio-economic indicators of Blacks

and Whites in Brazil based on a two large Brazilian studies, this section challenges the narrative of the racial democracy on the grounds that it reinforces the ideology that there is equal access in Brazil to social and economic resources for Blacks and Whites, such as education, the job market, salaries, and government positions.¹² In the first sentence of the section “Does racism exist in Brazil?” it reads: “Although the 1988 Constitution affirms that all Brazilians are equal and have the same rights before the law, statistics prove that this equality is not verified when we compare the living conditions of Blacks with Whites.” The text continues to mention that two large-scale studies in Brazil released in 2007 help to “demystify” the prevailing idea that Brazil is a “racial democracy” (p. 89). After mentioning a number of statistics that demonstrate Blacks have less access to the above resources than Whites, the section reads: “Today, representatives of the Black Movement and diverse sectors of civil society defend the necessity to put in practice affirmative action with the intention to assure to Blacks equality of rights” (p. 89).

At the end of the section, a student activity is inserted to debate the implementation of racial quotas for Blacks in Brazilian universities, such as the University of Brasília and the State University of Rio de Janeiro. According to the passage, “This modality of affirmative action, that attempts to guarantee to Blacks expanded access to higher education, has provoked controversy. Some sectors of society oppose it; others are broadly favorable” (p. 89). The text then asks students to form

¹² According to the studies mentioned in the textbook, Blacks represent 47 percent of the population economically active in the country, but hold only 25 percent of the openings in the workforce of the 500 largest businesses of Brazil; only 17 percent of management jobs are occupied by Blacks and 3.5 percent of Blacks are in executive jobs; only .5 percent of executive jobs are held by Black women; and while 18 percent of Whites had completed a higher education degree at 30 years of age, only 5 percent of Blacks had achieved the same result.

groups with their peers and discuss the question of quotas for Blacks in universities. They are then asked to take a position (for or against quotas) and elaborate on three arguments that demonstrate the group's opinion/position. Then, in front of the class and under the guidance of the professor, students present their arguments and the class participates in a debate about the theme (p. 89).

According to Brazil's DCNs (2004), affirmative action programs are policies that seek the correction of racial and social inequalities in order to correct disadvantage and marginalization maintained by an exclusionary and discriminatory social structure* (Brazil, 2004, p. 12). In the glossary of Volume II, affirmative action is defined as "Compensatory measures adopted or induced by the state to combat the effects of racial, ethnic, religious and other types of discrimination. These measures are to promote equality of opportunity for all, enabling members of socially discriminated groups to compete in conditions of equality" (Azevedo & Seriacopi, 2012, p. 313). Additionally, according to the DCNs, these policies reflect a process of recognition of the social debt the state, society, and school has to the nation's Black population, and mandate that an explicit position is taken against racism and racial discrimination and the creation of affirmative action in different levels of Brazilian education* (Brazil, 2004, pp. 17-18). The DCNs also state that education systems, establishments, and professors are to drive the deconstruction of the of the racial democracy myth through critical analysis and questioning and eliminate its concepts, ideas, and behaviors that negatively affect both Whites and Blacks* (Brazil, 2004, pp. 18-19).

Based on the text, title, and the directive from the DCNs above, in this passage ("Does racism exist in Brazil?") there was a minimal amount of background information

presented on the racial democracy myth (see Chapter 1) that could cause students to critically reflect on the prevalence of racism in Brazilian society and the inequality that the myth protects. There was no space given to “deconstruct” the myth and the implications its ideas have towards racial inequality, the perpetuation of racism, and the spaces it robs for anti-racist dialogues. Instead, a debate on affirmative action was called for. As stated, the National Curriculum Guidelines (DCNs) promote affirmative action in all levels of Brazilian education. A debate on this topic indicates or calls for more information to adequately provide students with facts and information to inform their positions. While a knowledgeable professor could present this information and guide discussion that addresses the above topics, it should not be taken for granted by the authors of the textbooks that this will be done.

Additionally, arguments on the implementation of racial quotas in Brazilian universities are highly charged and cut through beliefs in the racial democracy myth, or a Brazilian color blind society. These arguments in the public sphere reveal that quotas are in direct challenge to the belief in the racial democracy. A short review of these arguments will shine light on how quotas, and supporters for or against them, reflect attitudes towards the reality of racial equality in Brazil and beliefs in the Brazilian racial democracy.

Since the implementation of racial quotas in Brazilian universities commenced in 2003 (using the State University of Rio de Janeiro as an example), there have been competing ideologies in Brazil (both on the left and right) that support or denounce the implementation of these quotas. In 2012, racial quotas were formally recognized by Brazil as President Dilma Rousseff signed into law a requirement that all federal

universities enact admissions based on racial quotas (Dávila, 2012, p. 4). According to the law, federal (public) universities are to match, in regards to student quotas, the demographics of the state that the university serves (Dávila, 2012, p. 4). However, public resistance to quotas remain. The majority of the resistance comes from students in private universities, Blacks who believe in the merit system, and professors (Paiva, 2012, p. 101). The implementation of quotas has opened a debate in the public sphere on “issues that have been denied either as part of our cultural background (the denial of racism), or our sociopolitical problem (the denial of inequality based on race)” (Paiva, 2012, pp. 101-102). One argument against quotas is that they will trigger racism in a society that has been believed by many to be color blind—which reveals those that have never suffered any form of racism—as well as will racialize social relations in a country where “race” really does not matter in the construction of identities (Paiva, 2012, p. 102). Those who support the quota system recognize that they are necessary in order to “tackle” the racial structural inequalities in Brazil (Paiva, 2012, p. 103). Accordingly, it “is a matter of social justice in Brazilian society to repair the damage caused to Blacks as the result of decades of structural restrictions to the public sphere” which is a belief that, in essence, defies the ideology of a color blind society (Paiva, 2012, p. 104). This also entails that in Brazil there has existed ‘a systemic exclusion of “non-Whites” from access to the social goods of the country’ (Paiva, 2012, p. 104). As can be seen, ideologies tied in the myth of the racial democracy are reflected in attitudes towards the realities of race and racial discrimination in Brazil, and discussions on racial quotas in Brazil have implications for attitudes towards race-based policy in Brazil.

Example 7: “Interpreting” Racism (Volume III, pp. 230, 243-244). In the third volume of the series, the textbook speaks to Black activism in Brazil in the twentieth century. In the example of the Black Brazilian Front in the book, it is stated by the authors that:

In 1931, representatives of the Black elite founded the Black Brazilian Front in São Paulo. Acting in the sociopolitical field, the Black Brazilian Front then became the most important entity of Brazilian Afro-descendants in the first half of the twentieth century. Above else, the group’s political actions were to combat inequalities between Whites and Blacks in the country. The Black Brazilian Front also fought against prejudice and discrimination of which Blacks were victims of in Brazilian society (*see the section Interpreting Documents*). (p. 230)

The section “Interpreting Documents” (that falls 13 pages later) that the text refers to is particularly vague in its attempts to describe the prejudice and discrimination experienced by Blacks in Brazil. The section presents three images (noted in book as photo 1, 2, and 3). The activity directs the students to look at the three versions of a photograph taken in 1931. They are told that version 1 is the original, version 2 is a photomontage based on the first and was found in an archive by a Brazilian researcher, and version 3 was the one actually published in 1931 that documents the event. Students are directed in the text to first observe the differences and then respond to the questions.



Figure 3. Photo 1 of the activity on historic racism in the media. Original photograph in the books taken during the event.



Figure 4. Photo 2 of the activity on historic racism in the media. Doctored photograph in the books based on the documented event.



Figure 5. Photo 3 of the activity on historic racism in the media. Actual photograph published for the event.

Question 1 asks the student if there “Is a difference between photo 1 and the other two?” and “If there is, what is this difference?” The student is then asked to raise a hypothesis to explain the difference. Question 2 asks the student to make an analysis of the organization of the photo, independently of the changes produced by the photomontage and consider the physical disposition of the people and the objective of the event. Question 3 asks, “In your opinion, are there similar practices that are still common in Brazil?” (p. 244).

The last question seems overly vague in its effort to connect the photo example to racism today in Brazil. Though this is a demonstration of a distinct example of popular racism found in twentieth century Brazil, the last question remains timid in its purpose of connecting racism of the past with students’ experiences with racism in Brazil today.

Instead of asking the student's opinion, it would be more direct and less opaque if the question also asked for examples of racist practices like these in Brazil today. If the Freirean approach in critical pedagogy were used in this example to describe racism today in Brazil in conjunction with the past, the question would likely have asked explicitly if students have experienced examples of this style of racism in Brazil today. Instead, the question leaves the matter up to opinion and misses the opportunity to relate students' everyday experiences of racism to the historical content presented in the book.

It is also worth noting that this activity is found in the unit "Mass Communications." Though this is a definite example of racism, it could have been more powerful to use this in another unit in the book that is more closely linked with the practice of racism and prejudice in Brazil outside the media, for example in the unit "Ethics," "Violence," or "Rights and Democracy." Based on the themes of each unit, the textbooks will often revert to the same time period as a unit before but address different topics in relation to the unit's theme. Admittedly, in Brazil the media (in advertising and soap operas) is often portrayed as a perpetrator of racial stereotypes (Gomes, 2005, p. 53), and addressing racism in this context seems to fit Brazilian debates on the subject. However, the fact that this dialogue is raised in the unit "Mass Communications," instead of the following unit on "Violence," (that covers some of the same time period) may lead students to think that racism today and in the past has mainly been confined to media channels, and may limit them to critically think about the relevance of racism to other aspects of Brazilian society.

Example 8: Reflecting on Brazil's "Disguised" Racism (Volume III, pp. 281-282). In the unit titled "Violence," racial discrimination, violence, and segregation in the

United States are explained (though in a cursory, haphazard way) through events and groups, such as the Klu Klux Klan, from the end of the U.S. Civil War until the present day. The book states that even though civil rights legislation was attained with the Civil Rights Movement, Blacks and Whites remain separated by deep social differences (p. 281). On the next page, there is a picture of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. addressing a crowd in Washington during his “I have a Dream” speech. The curriculum then changes the focus towards Brazil and makes the statement in a box titled “Your opinion” that “Although in Brazil segregationist laws do not exist, studies show that Blacks in our country suffer prejudice that manifests itself, for the most part today, in a camouflaged form. In what manner can you help to put an end to this situation of disguised prejudice?” (p. 282).

Similarly, the study by Ponciano, Gebran & Luvizotto (2011) found that in elementary school textbooks, the same example of the Civil Rights Movement and Martin Luther King, Jr. (in a section in the book entitled “I Have a Dream”) was used when talking about and relating to racism and race relations in Brazil (Ponciano, Gebran & Luvizotto, 2011, pp. 108-109). In the textbook of the 9th year of basic education (comparable to the 8th grade in the United States) under the theme “Racism in current society” Martin Luther King, Jr. and his “I Have a Dream” speech are discussed. According to the authors, it is clear in the textbook that U.S. history is being used to stimulate the Brazilian student to reflect on Brazilian social questions that are grounded in American reality (Ponciano, Gebran & Luvizotto, 2011, p. 109).

The Civil Rights Movement and Dr. King’s “I Have a Dream” speech is used in both cases as a base for students to reflect on race relations and/or racism in their own

country. As noted in the Introduction, comparing Brazil's (more harmonious) history of race relations to those of the United States has been a very common manner in which Brazilian intellectuals have perpetuated the racial democracy myth and framed race relations in their country. This continued tendency to narrate and juxtapose Brazilian race relations with those of the United States only furthers ideas that Brazil has been exceptional through history in race relations and lack of racism in the nation, as noted by Alberto (2009) in the section "Implications of the Racial Democracy Myth towards Racial Inequality and Prejudice." The continual use of this comparison does not seem to have any benefit to the students and their understandings of racism in Brazil, though in both cases the authors of the textbooks use examples of race relations and racism from the United States as a base for students to critically reflect on racism in their own country.

Example 9: The Afonso Arinos Law and the 1988 Constitution – Confirming Racism in Twentieth-Century Brazil (Volume III, pp. 295-296). Another example that touches on racism in Brazil is the mentioning of the 1988 Constitution outlawing the practice of racial discrimination. Readers are also informed that the move to outlaw racial discrimination dates back to 1946, where Black Brazilian leaders held national conferences with the goal of making racism a crime in the nation. They persevered in 1951 when Congress enacted the Afonso Arinos Law that classified racial discrimination as a penal misdemeanor. It is then stated that though that the Law "failed to combat racial discrimination from the front" (being that racial discrimination was only classified as a "mere" misdemeanor) its creation "demonstrated for society that – contrary to what many had claimed – ethnic discrimination and racial prejudice exist in Brazil."¹³ (p. 296)

¹³ For more content from the textbook (Volume III) on racism, the 1988 Constitution, and the Afonso Arinos Law, see Appendix A, p. 123.

The above examples of the Afonso Arinos Law and the 1988 Constitution's classification of racial discrimination as a crime in the books directly address Brazil's relationship with racism. Though this is an important step made, example 8 had taken a step backward, noting that racism (or racial prejudice) in Brazil today is somehow "camouflaged" or "disguised." According to Gomes (2005), like Apartheid in South Africa and racial conflicts in the United States from the 1960s to the 1980s, this type of racism is exists in Brazil, "though is generally camouflaged by the media"* (p. 52). Through supporting the sentiment that racism in Brazil is camouflaged (using the United States and racial segregation as the example), the textbook authors could further beliefs that Brazil is exceptional and overt racism is not experienced there. However, as noted by Gomes (2005), this sentiment has been perpetuated by the media and is not correct given the reality of racism in Brazil. This, and other examples, could affect student understandings of the pervasiveness of racism in Brazilian society today.

Omitting Racism

Example 10: Reflecting on Slavery: the 2001 III World Conference against Racism, Xenophobia, and Related Violence – "Today times are different" (Volume II, p. 80; Volume III, p. 44). In the section "Time to reflect" a discussion related to events at the III World Conference Against Racism, Xenophobia, and Related Violence in South Africa in 2001 is raised to students. The debate asks whether Europeans should pay reparations for centuries of enslavement of Africans, and if European countries involved with colonization pay a form of compensation for the "evils" caused by slave trafficking and the exploitation of work of African slaves (p. 80). The authors then state that European representatives reacted angrily to the proposal. The following question is

then posed to students about the possibility of reparations: “In your opinion, is this claim fair, or should the actions committed through centuries be set aside, considering that today times are different?” (p. 80) The chapter ends with this question, but leaves the reader with an idea that the effects of slavery are lost today and with the implicit idea that that racism has been overcome, being that “times are different.”

This same conversation and call for debate on the conference arises once again in Volume III, though there is more context and detail provided. The focus is once again on if reparations should be paid to Africans for their suffering due to slavery, slave trafficking, and neocolonialism in Africa. It is stated that the majority of African countries supported compensation with financial reparations, however the president of Senegal stated that: “A check cannot compensate for blood spilt.” The students are asked, in groups, to debate if financial and material reparations can be a form of compensation for slavery. They are also asked to make a summary of arguments brought up during class after the debate (p. 44). This discussion is framed in the effects of African slavery and neocolonialism and how these have shaped the position of African populations today. However, in this section it would have been powerful to raise a discussion on the effects of slavery and neocolonialism towards Indigenous peoples as well, and how these historic processes have influenced their position in Brazil today.

Since this content falls after the colonial period of Brazil and the atrocities of African slavery presented in the books, this point in series seems appropriate to ask this question. Given that more context is provided in the book prior to the debate, it seems that in this example the student would have a deeper understanding of the implications that reparations have in the context of the enslavement, trafficking, and exploitation of

African peoples. In contrast to what was found by Oliveira and Duarte (2014), as noted in the Literature Review, this textbook series had a vast amount of content related to the negative treatment of Afro-Brazilians or Blacks after the abolition of slavery in Brazil. By mentioning the difficulties that Blacks faced in Brazilian society after abolition, such as the cultural and social marginalization they faced towards the end of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth (as noted in Example 4 of this chapter) and a number of examples of racism experienced in twentieth century Brazil (see examples 5-9 of this chapter), it could be assumed that there is enough context given for students' considerations of racism in recent history. However, as I will demonstrate below, Brazil's relationship and participation in the above international conference on racism and racial discrimination was not mentioned, which has implications towards understanding the prevalence of racism in Brazil and motivations for affirmative action policies there in the early 2000s. By omitting Brazil's participation in the conference and the necessary details to understand how influential it was for Brazil and the nation's relationship with race relations and racism, the text leaves a gaping hole where necessary details are lost for student reflection.

The above conference, and Brazil's participation in it, was extremely influential in the anti-racist government policies and legislation to come (among them were Law 10.639/2003 and 11.645/2008), such as affirmative action and racial quotas in Brazilian universities. According to Htun (2004), preparations for the III World Conference on Racism in 2001 "provoked national soul-searching on racial inequalities [in Brazil]. By the time the conference actually occurred . . . the country was ready for a change in orientation. Pledges made at Durban served as the catalyst for a cascade of [following]

affirmative action policy announcements [in Brazil]” (Htun, 2004, p. 62). At the conference, international commitments were made by Brazil towards affirmative action in all forms of education to combat racial prejudice and discrimination * (Brazil, 2004, p. 12).

The oversight, or possibly outright omission, by the authors of these textbooks to mention Brazil’s connection with racism and the pledges made at the conference towards implementing affirmative action policies in education is extremely detrimental to students’ understandings of Brazil’s relationship with racism. The involvement and impact of the conference on Brazil’s orientation and position on racism in the country was not mentioned for students to consider. This lack of information presented to the students could limit their understandings of the prevalence of racism in Brazil as well as the state’s formal stance on affirmative action. This weakens the unit’s effectiveness to promote critical thinking on the existence of racism in the nation today. If the authors had been more willing to engage with or open discussions on the impact of the conference on Brazil’s relationship with racism, this passage could be much more powerful to provoke critical thinking on the subject for students to consider.

Example 11: Discussing Racism, Sidestepping Race (Volume III, p. 34). The next example from the series is a student activity that discusses racism, prejudice, and discrimination as well as connects these issues to contemporary Brazilian society and people groups. According to the text, “Although many times understood as synonyms, the terms racism, prejudice, and discrimination have different meanings” (p. 34). The activity asks the students to research and write about the terms, then return to their group and discuss the subject. Finally, together in their groups students are to discuss and make

a list of the social or ethnic groups they consider to be the “principal victims of these practices in Brazil” and the manifestations of these practices. They are then directed to elaborate proposals to the class that could “impede the perpetuation of these practices in society” (p. 34).

This is an explicit example in the series that has students consider racism and racist practices in Brazilian society and groups who are the principal receivers of prejudice, racism, and discrimination. Further, the example presents racism in Brazil as a fact; it does not question it. However, it does not use the term “racial group.” Instead, the authors chose to use “social or ethnic groups” that are the principal victims of racist, prejudicial, and discriminatory practices. This omission or act of substituting terms has implications towards understanding racism in Brazil, as we will see in Chapter 6 of this study. It is also not a unique example in the series; there are a plethora of other similar ones found in the texts.

However, as I will demonstrate in the next chapter, the tendency for the authors of the textbooks to display African and Afro-Brazilian cultures as separate from a shared, national, and homogenous culture has implications for their exclusion from, and membership in, the Brazilian nation.

Chapter Conclusion

There are some general points that can be deduced from the presentation of race and racism in the textbooks. First and foremost, in general the material portrays a concise picture of how racist ideas developed around the world and in Brazil, yet fails to sufficiently connect this material to present-day racism in Brazil. Ideas such as a Brazilian “disguised” or “camouflaged” prejudice that “times are different” today in

regards to the footprint slavery has left could contribute to mentalities that are indifferent towards racism in Brazil.

Secondly, the omission of important events in Brazil's trajectory towards anti-racism policies (affirmative action and education reform) causes a deficit of information from which students could draw from to make sense of their nation's relationship with racism. In the case of the racial democracy myth, not enough context was provided on the myth, its implications, and role in limiting anti-racist mobilization and discourse. There simply was not enough information in the passage on the racial democracy myth that addresses critical reflection on its relationship with racism.

However, some of the material from the history texts relating to race and racism could be viewed positively. For example, the content *is* addressing items such as the whitening and racial democracy myth discourses. In the case of the whitening ideology, ample evidence and history was provided for students to reflect on how elite beliefs in "whitening" that nation promoted racist ideas and practices that negatively affected Black Brazilians. The addressing of this history is a positive step for the textbooks towards fulfilling the requirements of the anti-racist reforms. However, there was no content that connected the whitening ideology to contemporary racism in Brazil. Since this was mentioned in the textbooks to be the first, most influential process in Brazil that caused the proliferation of racist ideas and racial prejudice in Brazilian society, the question could have been asked to students if mentalities (or derivatives of them) tied to the whitening ideology still exist in Brazil. These omissions or deficits of information and student critical thinking content on Brazilian race relations and racism in the country

have considerable implications for a holistic picture on how race relations, race, and racism manifest themselves and cause inequality in Brazil today.

The next chapter discusses critical thinking content and text within the books that reinforces racial, ethnic, or cultural mixing in Brazil and how this material contributes to ideas associated with the racial democracy myth. It also covers how, throughout the textbooks, there is a tendency to narrate a national, shared, and homogenous Brazilian culture that is made up of African and Indigenous cultural artifacts, but at the same time narrate a multi-ethnic and pluricultural dimension of Brazilian society. This confuses paradigms of the ethnic and cultural constructs that define Brazilian society. Is Brazil a multi-ethnic and pluricultural nation or are Brazilians still ethnic/racial hybrids of European, Indigenous, and African origins? The manner in which the textbooks are narrating both of these ideas simultaneously could confuse students on the implications that either of these ideas have towards power and racial equality in Brazil.

Chapter V: Explanations and Reflections on Cultural and Ethnic/racial Mixture in Brazil

In a number of areas in the textbooks, it is apparent that attempts are being made to demonstrate the influence of Indigenous and African culture on “Brazilian culture,” “our culture,” or the “Brazilian nationality.” This begs a question: “What *is* Brazilian culture/Brazilian national culture exactly?” Though the series mentions there are different regional cultures in Brazil based on the groups that live in each (Indigenous, European, African, etc.), there seems to be an idea that there exists a shared national culture that every Brazilian is tied to.

Additionally, there remains a definite line stressed throughout the books that emphasizes a monolithic Brazilian culture in which its remnants are made up of Indigenous or African cultural artifacts. This is apparent in areas where different cultures, races, or ethnicities are introduced. In many of these cases, their contributions towards “Brazilian culture” fall within the areas of music, food, or art. In this case, ethnic, racial, or cultural groups become their own entities, separate from what may be the “mixed” aspect of Brazilian culture. In a way, this could insinuate that there is a homogenous Brazilian culture, but Indigenous and Afro-Brazilian cultures and ethnicities that exist today are separate from it. These ideas that are presented also reflect a tendency to romanticize distant cultures that are no more, but stress their influence on the hybrid Brazilian culture experienced in Brazil today.

Narrating Brazilian cultural and ethnic identity – “We are what we are, unclassifiable” (Volume II, pp. 8, 68-69). Before going into the example at the end of the unit, “Cultural Diversity,” it is first worth noting how the textbooks explain certain

topics such as “cultural diversity” and “ethnocentrism.” In the opening of the unit in Volume II, Azevedo and Seriacopi (2012) state:

Look around you: human beings are different from one another. People exist that are tall and short, round or pulled [meaning East Asian] eyes, with very diverse tones of skin, etc. These differences, also, are not limited to physical characteristics. People also have habits, customs, religious beliefs, and distinct views of the world. The same within a country, differences exist. In Brazil, for example, northeasterners, southerners, and northerners have very diverse cultural traditions and habits. The entirety of differences give us the name *cultural diversity*; which is one of the largest riches of human societies. This plurality is resultant of the accumulation of experiences and processes of learning throughout time. Great conquests of humanity have resulted with the exchange of experiences between people of diverse cultures. However, many people insist in seeing the world according to their own culture, and they consider their way of life the most correct. For these people, different habits and customs are absurd practices, funny and even immoral. This attitude is called ethnocentrism and could culminate in wars and even in the extermination of one people over another.

(p. 8)

In the closing section of the unit, documents are presented that focus on three ideas:

1. ethnocentrism is the cause of confusion between cultures and the value for cultural diversity (as represented by a passage of the anthropologist Claude Lévis Strauss);

2. Brazilians are a mix of many different races/ethnicities and thus “unclassifiable” (as represented in the song lyrics by a prominent Brazilian artist);
3. and globalization has brought forth identities that span neat, singular cultural identities and instead introduces the idea of “hybrid identities.” These hybrid identities are composed of a number of different ethnic, tribal, cosmopolitan influences in a region (urban South Africa as the example) and a person may be a combination of a number of different identities (pp. 68-69).¹⁴

This seems like a productive way to present cultural diversity. However, the song “Unclassifiable” furthers the idea that Brazilians are a mix of different cultures and races or ethnicities. This is demonstrated in the song lyrics printed in the volume, a few of which I will discuss here. Here, a portion of the song “Unclassifiable” by the prominent Brazilian artist, Arnaldo Antunes, is covered:

Which Black, which White, which Indian what?

Which White, which Indian, which Black what?

Which Indian, which Black, which White what?

Which Black White Indian what?

White Indian Black what?

Indian Black White what?

¹⁴ For more content from this textbook section (of Volume II) and its relationship with cultural and ethnic mixture in Brazil and the construction of hybrid identities, see Appendix A, pp 107-110.

here [in Brazil] we are *mestiços*¹⁵ *mulatos*¹⁶

*cafuzos*¹⁷ *pardos*¹⁸ *mamelucos*¹⁹ . . .

. . .

we are what we are

unclassifiable. (p. 68)

In the song lyrics there are no commas between the various terms for Brazilians of mixed racial origins signifying that *all* Brazilians, no matter what their racial background, share a history of miscegenation between European, African, and Indigenous peoples. In other words, according to the song, all Brazilians are racially mixed. Along with the content that describes hybrid identities, this content could lead students to think they are a mix of all three races/ethnicities, which furthers the component of the racial democracy myth of widespread racial and cultural mixture in Brazil.

The construction of Black identity (or blackness) in Brazil has been a complex process* (Brazil, 2004, p. 15). In Brazil it is possible that some people with lighter skin and European physical features, by virtue of a Black parent, designate themselves as Black; while others with African physical traits identify as White* (Brazil, 2004, p. 15). In Brazilian history, the term “Black” was used pejoratively by slave owners when referring to their slaves, a sentiment that carries the same negative sense today in Brazil (Brazil, 2004, p. 15.) However, the Black Movement reassigned this term with a positive

¹⁵ Brazilians with mixed European, Indigenous, and/or African heritages.

¹⁶ Brazilians with mixed Black and White heritages.

¹⁷ Brazilians with mixed African and Indigenous heritages.

¹⁸ Literally, “brown.” The IBGE uses this term (as well as four others: Black, White, Indigenous, and Yellow-or Asian) or racial category in the national census. According to the IBGE, the category of *pardo* denotes Brazilians with a mix of different ethnic/racial origins, or Brazilians of multiracial origins.

¹⁹ Brazilians with mixed European and Indigenous heritages.

and political sense, using phrases from the 1970s to the 1990s such as “Black is beautiful!”, “100 percent Black!”, and “Black, the color of the Brazilian race!”* (Brazil, 2004, pp. 15-16). Beyond having racial connotations, the use of the term Black and the idea of a “Black” identity have been historically, culturally, and politically constructed.

While many Brazilians use the term “*pardo*,” or “brown” (which in the census means racially mixed, multiracial, or *mestiço*), significant numbers also identify as “*preto*” (which in the census means “Black,” another term for Afro-Brazilians). As seen in the studies on racial identity and racial classification (as seen in the Introduction in the section “Examples of the Reality of Racial Identity in Brazil”), racial identities and categories based on skin color, history, and racial mixing in Brazil are commonly witnessed in Brazil. While the tendency to identify along color lines or racial physical characteristics exist in Brazil, this is juxtaposed in the textbooks with the tendency to narrate a shared, mixed identity in terms of racial or ethnic mixture that is common to all Brazilians and that serves as a base for Brazilian identity.

This idea is supported further with a number of examples in this chapter that address how the curriculum constructs or reifies ideas that Brazilians are racial/ethnic hybrids. This has implications for the furthering of the idea of the racial democracy myth, which according to the DCNs, the curriculum should instead be deconstructing through critical analysis and questioning. Instead of promoting ideas of a pluricultural and multi-ethnic society, the authors of the books have decided to insinuate Brazilians “are what [they] are, unclassifiable” (p. 68).

European, African, and/or Indigenous influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People

All of the examples from this section are from the same chapter of “Slavery and resistance” in the unit “Labor” in Volume II. To demonstrate how the series presents the idea of African and Indigenous cultural mixing in Brazilian society and culture or historic racial/ethnic mixture in the population itself, a number of illustrative examples from the books were selected for this section. The following text is from the introduction to the chapter “Slavery and resistance” where it is stated by Azevedo & Seriacopi (2012) that:

Africans, as we have seen, were brought to Brazil starting in the sixteenth century, at the beginning of the colonial period. They belonged to different groups, spoke diverse languages, had various habits and customs, and held different technical, agricultural, and scientific knowledge . . . the great personal, familial, and cultural exchange between Africans and their descendants and the population that lived [in Brazil] left deep marks in the Brazilian way to be and live. (p. 81)

In this introduction to the chapter, African groups and their cultural practices are attributed to the formation and formulation of Brazilian identity and culture. Taking the ideas of the cultural and familial “exchange” between Africans and those present in Brazil when they arrived (implicitly denoting Europeans) presented in the above passage, the next examples illustrate how either Afro-Brazilian and Afro-descendant or Indigenous groups have defined, influenced, and shaped Brazilian society, culture, and people.

“What we owe to Africans” (Volume II, pp. 92-93). The section “What we owe to Africans” highlights African contributions towards Brazilian society and culture. In the first sentence, it is stated by Azevedo and Seriacopi (2012) that innumerable examples illustrate the Black “presence” in the formation of Brazilian society (p. 92). The authors go on to mention a number of Black, brown, mulatto, or Brazilians of

African descent and their contributions towards Brazilian culture and society. The following examples of this from the textbook are listed below. Each example is from a beginning of a paragraph in this section that denote Afro-Brazilian contributions to society, politics, culture, sports, music, etc.:

Many of our dances have African origins . . .

Blacks and browns also played – and continue to play in an increasing way – a role featured in the cultural and political life of Brazil . . .

Many Blacks led revolts against slavery . . .

In the fight against discrimination, prejudice, and racism in the second half of the twentieth century, one of the names featured was Abdias do Nascimento [a prominent Black Brazilian activist] . . .

Blacks and mulattos also marked Brazilian literature and thought . . .

More Blacks and browns included . . .

Among sports, many football players of African descent have become national idols . . . (pp. 92-93)

Figures 6 and 7 (below) are the extracted pages (92 and 93) of this passage from Volume II of the series. Notice the layout of the page(s): the box of text separate from the general content, the heading of the passage “Past-Present,” and photos of various prominent Afro-descendants in Brazilian history.

Homens do mar

Os escravos foram majoritariamente enviados para o trabalho nas zonas rurais. Entretanto, a mão de obra cativa não ficou restrita ao campo. Segundo o historiador Luiz Geraldo Silva, muitos africanos escravizados exerceram atividades ligadas ao mar. Enquanto alguns atuaram como pescadores, outros foram obrigados a trabalhar como marinheiros, fazendo o transporte de mercadorias para a África e a Europa.

Na capitania de Pernambuco, escravos canoieiros desempenharam importante papel no processo de integração das vilas e cidades. Utilizando os rios da região, eles transportavam pessoas do Recife para Olinda e vice-versa e levavam água e mercadorias para os lugares de difícil acesso.

Também foi intensa a participação de escravos na pesca da baleia, uma das principais atividades econômicas da colônia portuguesa na América entre o século XVII e o início do século XIX e praticada ao longo de quase todo o litoral. Derretida, a gordura de uma única baleia produzia quase 7 mil litros de óleo, utilizados na iluminação das casas e na produção de argamassa para fixar os blocos de pedra nas construções.

Enquanto pescadores livres eram contratados para arpoar a baleia em alto-mar, os escravos trabalhavam nas armações, ou seja, nos grandes galpões onde o animal era retalhado e extraída sua gordura (sobre a presença dos negros na sociedade brasileira veja a seção *Passado presente* abaixo).



Nesta pintura a guache do francês Thiery (1765), feita com base em um quadro do holandês Frans Post (século XVII), um africano (ou afrodescendente) escravizado impulsiona seu barco com o remo, deixando a costa do Recife, na capitania de Pernambuco, para pescar no mar aberto.



Passado presente

O que devemos aos africanos

Inúmeros exemplos ilustram a presença negra na formação da sociedade brasileira. Muitas de nossas danças são de origem africana. É o caso do samba; do carimbó, típico do Pará; do coco, dança de roda do sertão e do litoral nordestinos; do maracatu, muito encontrado no Nordeste, sobretudo em Pernambuco; e do jongo, batuque de terreiro comum em cidades do Sudeste e que, em 2005, foi declarado patrimônio cultural imaterial do Brasil pelo Iphan.

Um dos folguedos mais tradicionais da Bahia é o afoxé, dança-cortejo associada ao candomblé – religião de origem africana – que utiliza instrumentos oriundos da África como o agogô e o atabaque, como vimos na seção *Olho vivo*, nas páginas 86 e 87. São instrumentos igualmente africanos introduzidos no Brasil o berimbau, a cuíca e o xquerê, entre muitos outros.

Na culinária, diversos pratos típicos dos portugueses e dos índios foram modificados pela mão africana, que introduziu o azeite de dendê, a pimenta-malagueta – típicos da cozinha baiana – e o quiabo, e criou muitos pratos, como o quiabebe, o vatapá, a farofa, o mingau, o bobó, o abará, a pamonha, a canjica, a moqueca de peixe.

Em 2005, o ofício das baianas que produzem e vendem acarajé em tabuleiros também foi declarado patrimônio cultural imaterial do Brasil. Em 2008, outro legado de origem afro-brasileira obteve a mesma declaração: a capoeira.

No campo léxico, os africanos deixaram a sua marca incorporando à língua portuguesa palavras como cachimbo, moleque, banana, quitanda, fubá, minhoca, batuque e outras.

Negros e pardos também desempenharam – e continuam a desempenhar de forma crescente – pe-

Figure 6. What we owe to Africans (p. 92). This figure is an illustrative example of the text layout.

pel de destaque na vida cultural e política da sociedade brasileira. Na região das Minas Gerais, entre os séculos XVIII e XIX, Chico Rei – líder de uma irmandade de negros libertos – e *Chica da Silva** – famosa por ter comprado a alforria de muitos cativos – são alguns exemplos. Já Antônio Francisco Lisboa, o Aleijadinho, filho de uma escrava, consagrou-se como um dos maiores arquitetos e escultores brasileiros de todos os tempos.

Diversos negros lideraram revoltas contra a escravidão. Pedro Pedrosa, por exemplo, foi um dos cabeças da Conjuração Baiana, em 1798 (veja o capítulo 20); Luíza Mahin, Agostinho e Ambrósio estiveram à frente da Revolta dos Malês, na Bahia (tema tratado no capítulo 25); e Manuel dos Anjos Ferreira, Raimundo Gomes e Cosme Bento das Chagas foram participantes destacados da Balaiada, no Maranhão (abordada no capítulo 25). Outros ficaram famosos por sua luta pela abolição, como o jornalista José do Patrocínio, o tribuno Luís Gama e o engenheiro André Rebouças. Na luta contra a discriminação, o preconceito e o racismo na segunda metade do século XX, um dos nomes de destaque foi o de Abdias do Nascimento.

Negros e mulatos marcaram igualmente a literatura e o pensamento brasileiro. Esse foi o caso de Machado de Assis, que muitos consideram o maior escritor brasileiro de todos os tempos. Negros e pardos eram ainda o escritor Lima Barreto, os poetas Auta de Souza e João da Cruz e Souza, além do jurista Rui Barbosa e do geógrafo Milton Santos. Atualmente, o escritor carioca Paulo Lins destacou-se no panorama literário nacional com a publicação de *Cidade de Deus*, livro que deu origem ao filme de mesmo nome, um dos maiores sucessos do cinema brasileiro.

Entre os esportistas, muitos jogadores de futebol de ascendência africana tornaram-se ídolos nacionais, como ocorreu com Leônidas da Silva, o Diamante Negro, nos anos 1930; Tomás Soares da Silva, Zizinho, nos anos 1950; Manoel Francisco dos Santos, Garrincha, entre os anos 1950 e 1960; e Edson Arantes do Nascimento, Pelé – que brilhou de 1958 a 1974 –, eleito o atleta do século XX. No século XXI, destacam-se Robson de Souza, o Robinho, Ronaldinho Gaúcho e muitos outros.

*Veja os filmes *Xica da Silva*, de Carlos Diegues, 1976, e *Chico Rei*, de Walter Lima Jr., 1985, e o documentário *Pelé eterno*, de Aníbal Massaini, 2004.

Negros eram também Adhemar Ferreira da Silva, medalha de ouro em salto triplo nas Olimpíadas de 1952 e 1956, e João Carlos de Oliveira, o João do Pulo, recordista mundial e medalha de ouro em salto triplo nos Jogos Pan-Americanos de 1975, 1977 e 1979.

No campo da música popular, são inúmeros os compositores e instrumentistas de origem negra que foram fundamentais para a criação de gêneros musicais como o chorinho e o samba. Um deles foi Alfredo da Rocha Viana Júnior, conhecido como Pixinguinha, figura exponencial do chorinho na primeira metade do século XX. Outros nomes de origem negra a se destacar na música popular brasileira são os de Dorival Caymmi, Luís Gonzaga, Ataulfo Alves, Clementina de Jesus, Agenor de Oliveira (Cartola), Nelson Sargento, Paulinho da Viola, Gilberto Gil, Milton Nascimento e muitos outros.

RICARDO CORREIA/EDITORIA ABRIL



Envergando a camisa da seleção brasileira de futebol, Robinho deixa para trás um zagueiro durante partida com o Japão pela Copa do Mundo de 2006, na Alemanha.

ANÔNIMO/COLEÇÃO PARTICULAR/ARQUIVO DA EDITORA



Retrato do poeta negro João da Cruz e Souza. Nascido em 1861, em Desterro, atual Florianópolis, capital de Santa Catarina, e filho de escravos alforriados, Cruz e Souza é considerado o maior poeta simbolista do Brasil. Morreu em 1898.

Esclavidão e resistência ■ Capítulo 7 93

Figure 7. What we owe to Africans (p. 93). This figure is an illustrative example of how images depict prominent Brazilian Afro-descendants in the history of Brazil.

The “we” in the title seems to insinuate that the African is the “Other” in Brazilian society, or at least at some point was, and there is some type of assumed “we” in Brazil. The “we” could be Brazilians, or the country itself—it is not clear. As stated in the introduction to this chapter, when racial, ethnic, or cultural groups are mentioned it is usually done alongside an assumed, inferred, and implicit homogenous Brazilian culture. By creating the African as the Other in comparison to the assumed homogenous Brazilian culture, the text narrates Afro-Brazilians as outsiders to this shared national culture. With this in mind, we move to the next example, found on the following page in the chapter.

African and/or Indigenous influence on Brazilian people – “the presence of Black culture in our (Brazilian) culture” (Volume II, pp. 94-95)

On the next page in the same chapter, two of some of the foremost intellectuals who provided the basis for the racial democracy myth and its proliferation are quoted. The text begins as follows: ‘Introduced by force in the Brazilian territory, Africans and their descendants exercised a fundamental role in the formation of our society. About this role, the Anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro confirmed: “the Black is the most creative component of Brazilian culture and that who, with Indians, singularize our people the most”’ (p. 94). The next sentence introduces Gilberto Freyre to the text, stating: ““Every Brazilian” wrote the Sociologist Gilberto Freyre in his book *Casa Grande e Senzala*, “even the White, of blonde hair, brings in their soul, when not in soul and body (...), the shadow, or at least a mole, of the Indian or Black”’ (p. 94).

This passage seems to mimic ideas related to the racial democracy myth, where all Brazilians have African and/or Indigenous heritage. Ribeiro’s quote likens to the

cultural component of the myth (the historic cultural mixing between the European, Indian, and African), where Freyre's quote emphasizes racial mixture of "every Brazilian," where they have at least a minimal heritage of the Indian or Black either in their soul or body. It was stated by the PNLD, in reference to the approved textbooks, that: "We can affirm . . . that historiographic views that ignored the ethno-cultural plurality of Brazilian society and explained the formation of Brazilian nationality through the "synthesis of three races: Whites, Blacks, and Indigenous" have already been abandoned"* (PNLD, 2011, p. 21) The "synthesis," or ethnic and cultural mixing of the three races (as stated in the Introduction) is one of the central theses of the racial democracy myth. The propagation and proliferation of the myth masked historic and ongoing violence experience in Brazil. As stated in the section "Implications of the Racial Democracy Myth towards . . ." in my Introduction, the myth has (a) offered that past race relations between Blacks and Whites have been harmonious, despite the history of cruelty experienced during slavery and the racism and racial inequality that remains there today* (Krauss & da Rosa, 2010, p. 869) (b) camouflaged hierarchies and discrimination constitutive of relations between Whites and non-Whites* (Brazil, 2008, p. 9) and (c) camouflaged racism and deep historic inequality lived by Blacks, Indigenous peoples, and Whites in Brazilian society* (Gomes, 2005, p. 58). As seen in this study, the contesting of disparate racial identities in Brazil does not denote that there are Brazilians that are not racially mixed, for there is a significant population of Brazilians that are. However, it also does not mean that there is no racialized experience in Brazil.

The quotes from the history text by Freyre and Ribeiro on the historic racial and cultural mixture experienced in Brazil would support the thesis of the racial democracy

myth. In this case, and in others to follow in this study, it does not seem like the myth has been “abandoned” at all. Though the textbooks—by mentioning various examples of African, Afro-Brazilian, and Indigenous cultures and peoples—demonstrate the pluricultural and multi-ethnic dimension of Brazilian society, there is also a tendency to view Brazil as having a monolithic, national culture. As stated in the introduction of this chapter, this is often seen in scenarios in the books where non-White ethnic groups are presented outside “Brazilian culture,” “our culture,” or the “Brazilian nationality.” This confuses the ethnic or cultural paradigms that the new curriculum, the Black Movement, and the National Curriculum Guidelines are attempting to quell in favor of describing Brazilian society as multi-ethnic and pluricultural.

On the page following the quotes by Ribeiro and Freyre is a summary of the chapter, which includes a number of questions on the previous content. One particular question is related to Black contributions to Brazilian culture. The prompt asks students to “Identify at least three manifestations that characterize the presence of Black culture in our culture” (p. 95).

Again, it is curious that “our” culture is seen separate from “Black” culture. It could be the case that the text is relating to historic African cultural influences that have penetrated into national culture. However, it is not clear. The question also takes on a racial dynamic and relates it to culture, and it provokes the question: “What is Black culture exactly in Brazil?” This tendency to narrate Black culture alongside an idea of a hegemonic, culturally and ethnically mixed Brazilian society could reinforce a type of dominance over, or separation of, the Black Brazilian population from the national culture. While this could provide public spaces for anti-racist mobilization, in a way, it

could also stigmatize Afro-descendant groups in Brazil and narrate them outside of the national Brazilian culture – of which they are a component of as well. In other words, this material is, at best, an example that could reinforce dominance or exclusion, and at worst is racist on its own merits. If the textbooks inherently support the racial democracy myth through its narration of a shared, mixed national identity, this could limit anti-racist mobilization and mask racial hierarchies by contributing to the belief in Brazilian racial democracy. The reinforcing of the ideology of racial democracy has implications of supplanting racial discrimination for a shared community, or national identity.

Nascimento (2004) stated that the lack of a strong Afrocentric movement in Brazil has been “due to a series of historical circumstances leading to a unique configuration of . . . an ideology that turns domination into democracy and launches the quest for national identity into a permanent search for the simulation of whiteness.” (p. 861) This search for the simulation of whiteness has implications towards the “hegemony of whiteness” in Brazil, which according to Nascimento the best way to counteract is by “making available references capable of sustaining the articulation of non-Western, non-White identity” (Nascimento, 2004, p. 875). However, this begs a question: what does this (White) hegemonic Brazilian culture look like? Moving to the next section, we find clues in the books as to what constitutes this nationalistic culture.

African and Indigenous influence on Brazilian Nationality – Blacks and Indians:

“Roots of Brazilian nationality” (Volume III, pp. 285-286)

Before moving into the particular example from the textbook that explains Brazilians (and Brazil) and the influence of its racial/ethnic groups on national identity, it is important to mention the page prior that describes the relationship of nationalistic

discourse in Latin America in terms of these nation's ethnic constructs and mixed racial identities. According to Azevedo & Seriacopi (2012):

In the beginning of the twentieth century, many Latin American countries succumbed to a wave of nationalism that reached people of all social stratas. This wave had its start in Mexico, after the revolution of 1910 (see chapter 9) where it spread through the rest of the continent.

Nationalists rejected foreign influence and defended the appreciation of Latin American culture in its diverse manifestations – culinary, literature, painting, music, dance, etc. They also celebrated miscegenation between Whites, Blacks, and Indians that gave origin to the population of the continent. (p. 285)

On the next page, the Black and Indian are presented once again as major groups that formed the Brazilian nationality (p. 286). The text does this through the reference of two prominent modernist Brazilian authors of the 1920s, who “exalted the national roots and forming elements of [Brazilian] nationality, above else the Black and the Indian” (p. 286). In the next sentence, Getulio Vargas' first reign as President (1930-1945) is punctuated by his important role in the recognition of Brazil's African roots, where it is mentioned he showcased African-influenced cultural practices such as Carnival and popular music of the time [e.g. Samba] to the outside world as symbols of Brazilian national culture (Azevedo & Seriacopi, p. 286). Though this could promote ideas of inclusion towards Indigenous and Afro-Brazilian peoples through its nationalistic paradigm, these efforts were mainly superficial if we carefully analyze the racial democracy myth, its history and relationship with racism in Brazil, and the racial inequality that remains in the country.

Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen the continual references to African and Indigenous influences when describing Brazilian culture, society, and nationality. Though new anti-racist curriculum is required to include African, Afro-Brazilian, and Indigenous contributions to Brazilian society and culture (where throughout the series there are numerous accounts), there is also a tendency to narrate the above ethnic-racial groups alongside an assumed mixed, national, and homogenous culture. The latter idea, which mimics the idea of the racial democracy, competes with the former that emphasizes a pluricultural and multi-ethnic Brazilian society.

The curriculum also vacillates between ideas of multiculturalism and cultural hybridity when referring to the ethnic and cultural makeup of Brazilian society and people, which could confuse student understandings (depending on what racial or ethnic background they come from) of where they may fit in the national picture, or in terms of the meaning of the content itself, could relegate students outside of this picture as well. Are *all* Brazilians a mix of European, African, and Indigenous heritages? What is meant about the “presence” of Black culture in Brazilian culture? What is “Black” culture? *Who* is indebted to (or “owes”) African-descended Brazilians for their contributions to Brazilian society and culture? The ambiguity, lack of information, and possibility of the curriculum to create ideas of dominance, exclusion, or inclusion here is important to emphasize. If some groups fall outside Brazil’s national model of cultural and ethnic mixture, what is their place in society? To add to this discussion, some more additional information on the racial democracy myth, or ideology, is needed for more understanding of how anti-racist racial politics (e.g., the racial democracy myth) of the past remain to

complicate efforts to make Brazil a more inclusive society to all of its racial or ethnic groups.

The ideology of racial democracy in Brazil, which negated the existence of racial categories based on biology and instead focused on ethnic and cultural mixing for its thesis on the development of the Brazilian people, effectively eliminated the topic of racism from the national scene (Nascimento, 2004, p. 862). The myth also severely limited the space for public anti-racist discourse in Brazil, deeming those who spoke out against racial discrimination and racism (e.g., the Black Movement) racists themselves who, in the process of doing this, embraced biological notions of race, distinct from the version of race created by the state. In this way, according to Nascimento (2004) the myth has:

created a taboo identifying the unmasking of its antiracist pretense as a reverse racist attack on antiracism. This phenomenon has an effect of supreme importance to the maintenance of the status quo: It robs those excluded of the legitimacy of their protest against discrimination, placing on their shoulders the onus of the very racism that operates their exclusion. (p. 870)

However, the above is not merely a historic synopsis of the effects that myth has had in Brazil. The myth continues to be taken at face value by many Brazilians without question or critique. According to Sheriff (2008) “Many Brazilians, particularly those of the middle class, continue to echo Freyre's pronouncements: ‘How can we be racist when so many of us are mixed?’” (p. 89) This question is at the core of those Brazilians who take the myth, as a reflection of their society, as a sociological truth of the nation. Fry (2000) has stated that he finds it “difficult not to side with those who resent attempts to

interpret the ‘Brazilian model’ or ‘Brazilian sociological intelligence’ [in terms of their belief in the racial democracy] as fundamentally erroneous” (Fry, 2000, p. 111). The textbooks reinforce the tendency to re-present this myth as a fact, or truth. Whether the myth can be confirmed or not (in terms of the extent of racial mixture in Brazil) is not the question at stake. It is whether this myth is one of exclusion, of which Blacks in these books are narrated outside what many take for granted as a truth, which could reinforce their exclusion in society today. This is not to say that the myth and the belief in mixture is inherently to blame for racism in Brazil, but the manner in which the myth limits discourse on racism is what is concerning. In the next chapter we find examples in the text that confuses the concepts of “race” and “ethnicity.” This recurring tendency dilutes or confuses the importance that ideas of race (and racism) have in Brazil, and could limit student understandings of past racism and the sources of racial inequality in Brazil.

Chapter VI: Confusing Race, Diluting Racism

This chapter introduces the manner in which “race” is conflated with “ethnicity” in the texts and the implications this has for understandings of the above concepts and their relationship with racism, prejudice, and discrimination in the Brazilian context. Moreover, the choice for either term, depending on its context, can negate or affirm an entire racial or ethnic group’s history and experience(s) with racism, prejudice, and inequality. Later sections within this chapter provide context for these issues with explanations and examples from the textbook. First, however, it is necessary to understand some general implications and ideas associated with the terms ethnic and racial within Brazil.

Implications for Substituting “Race” for “Ethnicity”

Scholars, intellectuals, and members of the Black Movement stress the importance of using race and the implications that substituting race for ethnicity has in historic, political, social, and racial experiences of Blacks in Brazil. In the Brazilian context, scholars frequently use the term ethnicity as a substitute for race* (Munanga, n.d.). Brazilian scholars who substitute the term race with ethnicity do so in an attempt to escape the complexities of using the term race* (Müller, 2009). In the intellectual field, many professionals avoid the term race so as not to be prisoners to the sentiment of superior and inferior races, and instead use the term ethnicity (Gomes, 2005; Krauss & da Rosa, 2010). This act of substituting is problematic, however, for it “destroys the hierarchical relationships between different cultures”* (Munanga, n.d.). It may also not make any difference, for racism is an ideology that may live in more “comfortable lexicons” such as “ethnicity” or “cultural diversity”* (Munanga, 2006). Additionally,

Orlando, Ferreira, Couto, & Watthier (2008) believe that the term race continues to have great importance in Brazilian society and is a concept that needs to be studied “for it conserves that what was socially, culturally, and historically constructed of a determined ethnic group,” and, in the case of Afro-descendants, still has great significance* (Orlando, Ferreira, Couto, & Watthier, 2008)

For those of the Black Movement the use of the term “race” is still significant in explaining identity in Brazil and the racial experience there. According to Gomes (2005) intellectuals and members of the Black Movement in Brazil do not adopt the term “race” with its biological meaning, instead utilizing the term “ethnic-racial” to demonstrate that they are “considering the multiplicity of dimensions and questions that involve the history, culture, and life of Blacks in Brazil”* (Gomes, 2005, p. 47).

Further, members of the Black Movement have not abandoned the term ‘race’ when referring to the reality of racism experienced by the Black Brazilian. They claim that to substitute the term race for ethnicity “does not resolve, in practice, that racism exists there or alters the intellectual understanding of racism in Brazil”* (Gomes, 2005, p. 47). Additionally, Müller (2009) notes that the term ethnicity is inadequate for referring to the Black population of Brazil, for they do not share the same culture, language, religion, etc.* (Müller, p. 62).

In the glossary of Volume III, the term and concept of miscegenation (*miscigenação*) is defined as “A crossing between people of different ethnicities; the same as *mestiçagem*.” This is interesting, for normally the term miscegenation refers to individuals of mixed-race origins. However, the deployment of the concept of “ethnicity” instead of “race” in the text’s definition of miscegenation matches the

convoluted, distorted, or confused manner in which these terms are used in different contexts in the textbooks. This is especially the case when the books use ideas such as Brazil's "Black" ethnic group, "ethnic" prejudice or discrimination when referring to Brazil's Black population, or the "ethnic" mixing of Black, Indigenous, or White groups in Brazil.

Examples of Substitution from the Textbooks

Though the textbooks under discussion contain a plethora of examples of using the term "ethnic" in place of "racial," I will highlight a few that demonstrate the tendency to confuse these two terms as well as use them incorrectly. "Ethnic discrimination" is only explicitly explained (as a heading in the text) towards the middle of the Volume III, though the term is used in this and the prior two volumes many times. In this section it is done while explaining the "whitening" process in Brazil in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when African immigration to the nation was stopped and European immigration was promoted by the state as a way to culturally and racially "whiten" the nation. In the first few sentences, the authors state that: "Following European and North American racist doctrines, these people [the Brazilian elite that defended the "whitening" of the population] believed that, by natural mortality of Blacks and the arrival of a great amount of White immigrants, the ethnic composition of the Brazilian population would be predominated by lighter skin"²⁰ (Azevedo & Seriacopi, Vol. III, 2012, p. 143).

One can see that skin color is being used to refer to particular racial groups in the context and process of whitening in Brazil (through the promotion of European immigration and the limiting of African) and the goal of this process was altering the skin

²⁰ For more content from the textbook (Volume III) on whitening in Brazil, see Appendix A, pp. 119-121.

color of the nation. Instead of using “racial composition,” the term “ethnic composition” appears. This is confusing or incorrect for a couple of reasons, both within and outside the Brazilian context related to ideas, histories, and social constructs of race or ethnicity in the nation, as noted above. If the textbooks were to explain and use the idea of the term “ethnic-racial” (as defined by the DCNs in the Literature Review) this would make the material much more clear when relating to race and/or ethnicity or racial and cultural groups found within Brazil.

The following examples illustrate the textbooks’ tendencies to use race and ethnicity interchangeably and the implications this has for understanding race, racism, prejudice, and discrimination in Brazil. In Volume III, when speaking of Blacks in the beginning of the Brazilian Republic in 1890, the text describes some difficulties Blacks faced in the early years after the abolition of slavery (1888). In this section, it speaks to these difficulties, but it also mentions the Black press and what it did for the Black population, namely that “Through valorizing the Black, these means of communication ended up playing an important role to strengthen the bonds of ethnic identity” (Azevedo & Seriacopi, Vol. III, 2012, p. 146). In this example, the authors use the racial category of Black, but later they speak of the Black population as having an “ethnic” identity. In the text here, it is also stated that these newspapers were “a space to defend . . . ethnic equality and the right of the Black to have access to education” (Azevedo & Seriacopi, p. 146).²¹ This sentence states that the Black population is an ethnic group as well. These two examples could be taken to mean that all Blacks in Brazil recognize themselves to be

²¹ For more content on the Black press in the textbook (Volume III) in the early twentieth century, see Appendix A, p. 121-122.

of the same entity, that they share the same culture, or that they share a similar ethnic identity.

Chapter Conclusion

The implications in the textbooks for the use of either of these terms are significant. Depending on the context, the use of ethnicity instead of race may negate entire histories and identities of racial groups in Brazil. To use the term ethnicity instead of race also may dilute the importance that race plays (and has played) in Brazilian society. Additionally, substituting race for ethnicity in the textbooks, possibly in the effort to dilute or soften the subject matter, only limits the possibilities for understanding racism and opening dialogues on its manifestations in Brazil.

Chapter VII: Implications

Addressing Critical Reflections on Race and Racism

According to the *National Curriculum Guidelines for the Education of Ethnic-racial Relations and the Teaching of African and Afro-Brazilian History and Culture*, there remains a persistent ethnic-racial ideal in Brazil that emphasizes whiteness and principally values the nation's European cultural heritage, while ignoring or placing minimal value on Indigenous, African, Asian, or other cultures* (Brazil, 2004, p. 13). As stated in the Introduction, this high school history series (that was among over twenty others) received the highest marks in addressing Afro-Brazilian, African, and Indigenous history and culture. In the case of this series, there was a great amount of content describing religious, cultural, and historic elements of Brazil's Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous groups found in the books and their importance in the development of Brazilian society and culture. Though the books somewhat addressed this critical component of the reforms, the books fall short in addressing in full some of the guidelines' stated aims. According to Article 2 of the DCNs (Brazil, 2004):

the legislation constitutes guidelines, principles and foundations for the planning, implementation and evaluation of education, in order to promote the education of active and conscious citizens . . . and construct positive ethno-social relations for a democratic nation.* (p. 31)

Eliminating racism and racist attitudes and mentalities, constructing a society that is more democratic, and promoting positive ethno-social relations will not be done solely through the recognition of different cultural or ethnic groups in Brazil. The curriculum needs to also confront the methods by which Indigenous and Afro-Brazilian groups are

marginalized or subordinated by the dominant culture and the power dynamics and relations between them. Promoting cultural awareness is not enough to eliminate racist and prejudicial ideas; the books need to admit what groups may be among the privileged, or provide examples/case studies of those who may be the current oppressors of subordinate racial or ethnic groups in recent history. Returning to Chapter 4 and the content on the racial democracy myth (Example 6, pp. 48-52), if there is so much racial inequality in Brazil between Blacks and Whites in education, the job market, salaries, and government positions, why is this so? How can this be explained? From Example 8 in the same chapter, we find that there is a “camouflaged” or “disguised” prejudice against Blacks found in Brazil, but the text does not identify what practices in Brazil may be indeed prejudicial themselves, or who may be holding prejudice of Blacks. As referenced in the Literature Review, according to the Watthier and Ferreira (2008) there is a need for discussion in textbooks that demonstrates everyday experiences of race relations that would allow for the possibility of reflection about ethnic-racial relations in Brazilian society today* (p. 82). If the authors of the textbook series were to fully engage with students on matters of ethnic-racial relations in Brazil that continue to affect the nation, the material would be much more effective towards building understandings of the nation’s relationship with racism and the prevalence of racism in Brazilian society.

Returning to Chapter 4 once again, as noted in Example 10 (pp. 60-63) there remains a reluctance to address contemporary ethnic-racial relations and Brazilian racial politics as a means to provoke student reflections on racism in Brazil. Similar to the study by Jesus (2012) (see pp. 20-21) who found that important recent events in national and international racial politics were not cited by the authors in the textbooks analyzed

(Jesus, 2012, p. 166), this study found that material was missing on these subjects as well (in reference to Brazil's participation in the 2001 international conference on racism in Durban). In order for students to understand that racism is a salient problem in Brazilian society, the material needs to address how racism today, not just in the past, affects and/or reinforces inequality in the nation and compromises the construction of a more democratic society. As the books currently stand, there is far too much ambiguity and deficits of information for any concise or explanatory picture of racism in Brazil.

Recommendations for More Effective Anti-racist Curriculum

Education reforms in Brazil, often referred to as multicultural or anti-racist, need to fully live up to both of these names to receive their intended benefits. Before I conclude, I will offer how these two different approaches, if used to their full potential, could make these history texts more effective in eliminating racism in Brazil.

To reiterate once again, multicultural education proposes a rupture to established models and practices in school curriculum that produce an effect of colonization where students of various ethnicities, cultures, or social classes occupy the place of the colonized and marginalized by silencing their condition* (Pansini & Nenevé, 2008, p. 32). As seen in this study, Blacks in Brazil have occupied the place of both the colonized and marginalized in Brazilian education of the past. This has been done through silencing their condition vis-à-vis the racial democracy myth, that has both limited anti-racist mobilization and deracialized discourse related to inequality in Brazil. The fight for or against the depiction of Brazil as a racial democracy, of which the text attempts to debunk in one place but at the same time reiterates in others (in terms of the nation's universal "mixed" cultural and ethnic character), is of extreme importance and in need of

revisiting in the textbooks. If textbooks continue to narrate Brazil's national identity as fundamentally mixed, then singular ethnic, racial, or cultural identities (such as the state of being Afro-Brazilian or Indigenous) will continue to be excluded from the national picture.

In reference to the textbooks, simply making cultural groups visible—which the curriculum succeeds at to a certain extent—may not be enough to provide an analysis of how to understand a certain group's colonized or marginalized state in society. As stated in the Literature Review, antiracist education aims at promoting racial equality by eliminating White privilege and deconstructing whiteness (Niemonen, 2007, pp. 160, 162). Though the books do provoke critical thinking on the existence of racism in Brazil in some areas, they do not explicitly link this particular racism to any (dominant) racial or ethnic group in Brazil, much less White Brazilians. However, the books did not have trouble identifying Whites in the United States today and in U.S. history as the principal exactors of violence and racism on Blacks and other marginalized racial or ethnic groups.

New textbooks need to directly address what groups may be among the privileged, or those who may be the current oppressors of subordinate racial or ethnic groups. In the case of this series, in critiques of contemporary racism in Brazil, no particular group was named as a perpetrator, only particular groups who were the receivers of racism. If true change will come in Brazil in terms of racial equality, it will not be until Brazilians admit themselves that there are embedded privileges and biases based on skin color, class, and ethnicities. Pursuing the full benefits of multicultural and anti-racist educational methods could be a means of doing this.

Another look at the maintenance of White hegemony in Brazilian education (da Silva, 2014) also deserves attention in order to expand the possibilities for anti-racist education. Da Silva's (2014) interesting research on children's and adult literature and texts in education offers particular insight into how to combat racism and their tendencies to reinforce White hegemony and Eurocentrism. In order to combat these effects, da Silva states that:

the great challenge consists of reworking these discourses by incorporating other visions of the world. It is a matter in particular of transcending the hierarchies involving Whites and Blacks, and notably the normative perception of whiteness, the idea that the norm for humanity is to be White which, silently, insidiously and unceasingly keeps up its hegemony. (p. 178)

Da Silva (2014) also states that it is not the case that Brazilians need to assess the blame to other Brazilians on racist tendencies, for "racism is an ingrained part of us and the way we express ourselves" (da Silva, 2014, pp. 177-178). Instead, Brazilians need to face the issue and open a critical mind, and not hide the problem as it is so often done (as a way of maintaining power) (da Silva, 2014, pp. 178).

As a last point, I offer how the proper use of the terms "ethnic" and "racial" could inform students of how the use of these terms and their implications towards power and inequality in Brazil may reinforce negative race relations and attitudes towards racism in the country. In the area of addressing the use of "race," "ethnicity," and "ethnic-racial" the books have not aligned with the DCN's guidance on how to define or conceptualize these terms. The DCNs are very explicit in how these terms should be conceptualized and referenced (as noted in the Literature Review). The terms "race," "ethnicity," and

“ethnic-racial” (as defined in the DCNs) are used to demonstrate the importance that physical features, as well as culture, history, power relations, and social stratification have, and have had, in differentiating people groups and their relations with each other in Brazil. With the hyphenation of the two terms (forming “ethnic-racial”), the National Curriculum Guidelines call for education content that demonstrates how race and ethnicity interact and intersect with each other. The social, political, or cultural meanings that these terms carry and how they relate to the Brazilian context are important for developing an accurate understanding race and racism in Brazil. The ideas that stem from these concepts and the concepts themselves need to be carefully presented to students, and in the examples analyzed in of this textbook series, they are not. The result is a confusing product that at times creates an ahistorical conceptualization of race and ethnicity that undermines an understanding of the operation of racism in Brazil (Gomes, 2005; Krauss & da Rosa, 2010). The concepts, intellectual understandings of them, and relevance to power and inequality in Brazil are of extreme importance to address in textbooks. If the subject matter on race and racism continues to camouflage racial hierarches in Brazil (Brazil, 2008), race is supplanted by ethnicity (Müller, 2009; Munanga, 2006), or content on racism and racial activism in Brazil is distorted (Gomes, 2005), this may have detrimental consequences to create social inclusion and conscious and responsible citizens. The General Curriculum Guidelines for Basic Education (Brazil, 2013) outline some of the intents for basic education in Brazil, namely that it:

informs or creates more social inclusion, grounds values for liberty, social justice, plurality, solidarity, and sustainability with the ultimate plan of the development

of subjects and citizens conscious of their rights and duties for social transformation. (p. 152)

Misinformation or a lack of information, as mentioned above with the confusing use of race or the absence of content that would gear critical reflection on racism, will likely do exactly the opposite. It will allow for an atmosphere that creates more misunderstanding that will uphold the status quo. This is the direct opposite of the aims of Brazilian basic education, which have been induced to create an atmosphere of inclusion in the country.

Concluding Remarks

The focus of this study was on how race and racism in Brazil was being explained and critiqued for students in a high school history textbook series. Though there are cases where racism is admitted, in many places it was not. Where it was included, more explanation was needed for student reflection on the reality of racism in Brazil. Especially in cases that related to racism in contemporary Brazil, the content was either too vague or lacked necessary details to make its analysis more informed. Admittedly, if teacher's manuals had adequate subject matter to address the above issues, and if teachers themselves were adept at addressing them in the classroom, the analysis here may be partly skewed. However, much of the analysis in this study refers to the flawed trajectories of the content itself as a source, and leads one to believe that any effort the teacher would have to facilitate understandings on these matters would initially begin with error. Additionally, if there is a large emphasis on the teacher to address these issues as the sole resource for students (if we remove the texts in full from the discussion), the requirements and trust put in the teacher to facilitate the subject matter is another

perceived challenge of the anti-racist education reforms. The level of knowledge high school teachers are required to have on these complex matters, as well as their ability to avoid their own biases and facilitate various activities on these subjects, is of principal concern for the success for anti-racist education reform in Brazil (Brazil, 2004).

Though the subjects contained in this study are nuanced and complex for Brazil (much less any other country that deals directly with these challenges), if the curriculum, and in particular for this study the textbooks themselves, do not advance or provoke critical thinking, these anti-racist reforms will likely fall short in their attempts to produce potential change of student's evolving attitudes and understandings towards race and racism in Brazil. If this trajectory continues, and if Brazilian educational institutions do not demand textbooks that more effectively address racism, provoke deeper analysis, and offer critical subject matter for the students to consider in regards to racism and prejudice, these topics of race and racism may be absent for students to reflect upon, and the reform's efforts to construct a more democratic, just, and equal society will likely only be in name.

References

- Alberto, P. L. (2009). When Rio Was Black: Soul Music, National Culture, and the Politics of Racial Comparison in 1970s Brazil. *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 3-39.
- Azevedo, G. C., & Seriacopi, R. (2012). *Historia em Movimento: Dos primeiros humanos ao Estado moderno* (Vol. I). Sao Paulo, SP, Brasil: Editora Atica.
- Azevedo, G. C., & Seriacopi, R. (2012). *Historia em movimento: O mundo moderno e a sociedade contemporanea* (Vol. II). Sao Paulo, SP, Brazil: Editora Atica.
- Azevedo, G. C., & Seriacopi, R. (2012). *Historia em movimento: Do Seculo XIX aos dias de hoje* (Vol. III). Sao Paulo, SP, Brasil: Editora Atica.
- Azevedo, C. B. (2010). Desafios e perspectivas de um currículo de história promover das relações étnico-raciais no Brasil. *Cadernos do CEOM*, 141-161.
- Baran, M. D. (2007). "Girl, You Are Not Morena. We Are Negras!": Questioning the Concept of "Race" in Southern Bahia, Brazil. *Ethos*, 383-409.
- Brazil. (2003). *110639*. From planalto.gov.br:
http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/2003/110.639.htm
- Brazil. (2004). *Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais para a Educação das Relações Étnico-Raciais e para o Ensino de História e Cultura Afro-Brasileira e Africana*. Brasília: Ministério da Educação.

- Brazil. (2008). *Proposta de Plano Nacional de Implementação das Diretrizes curriculares Nacionais da educação das relações Étnico-raciais e para o ensino de História e cultura Afro-Brasileira e Africana – Lei 10.639/2003*. Ministério da Educação.
- Brazil. (2013). *Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais da Educação Básica*. Brasília: Ministério da Educação.
- Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics. (1999). What Color Are You? In R. M. Levine, & J. J. Crocitti (Eds.), *The Brazil Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (pp. 386-90). Durham: Duke University Press.
- Cavalleiro, E. S. (2005). Introdução. In S. A. Santos, *Educação anti-racista : caminhos abertos pela Lei Federal nº 10.639/03* (pp. 11-18). Brasília: SECAD.
- Da Silva, P. V. (2014). One More Story: Racial Relations and Stereotypes in Brazilian Literature. *Diogenes*, 168-180.
- Dávila, J. (2012). Brazilian Race Relations: A Changing Context. *The Latin Americanist*, 1-10.
- Felipe, D. A., & Teruya, T. K. (2014). Cultura afro-brasileira e africana nos currículos da educação básica. *Revista Educação e Linguagens*, 114-126.
- Freire, P. (1995). A Dialogue: Culture, Language, and Race. *Harvard Educational Review*.
- Fry, P. (2000). Politics, Nationality, and the Meanings of "Race" in Brazil. *Daedalus*, 83-118.

- Godreau, I. P., & Llórens, H. (2010). 'Pulling Up Myths from the Root:' Designing and Implementing an Anti-racist Curriculum about the African Heritage for Third Graders in Puerto Rico. *Practicing Anthropology*, 26-31.
- Godreau, I., Cruz, M., Franco, M., & Cuadrado, S. (2008). The Lessons of Slavery: Discourses of Slavery, *mestizaje* and *blanquamiento* in an Elementary School in Puerto Rico. *American Ethnologist*, 115-135.
- Gomes, N. L. (2005). Alguns termos e conceitos presentes no debate sobre relações raciais no Brasil: uma breve discussão. In *Educacao anti-racista : caminhos abertos pela lei federal n 10.639* (pp. 39-62). Ministério da Educação.
- Grupo de Trabalho Interministerial Instituído por Meio da Portaria Interministerial MEC/MJ/SEPPPIR. (2008). Proposta de Plano Nacional de Implementação das Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais da Educação das Relações Étnico-raciais e para o Ensino de História e Cultura Afro-Brasileira e Africana – Lei 10.639/2003.
- Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. (2005). Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 1277-1288.
- Htun, M. (2004). From "Racial Democracy" to Affirmative Action: Changing State Policy on Race in Brazil. *Latin American Research Review*, 60-89.
- Jesus, F. S. (2012). O "Negro" no Livro Didático de História do Ensino Médio e a Lei 10.639/03. *História & Ensino*, 141-171.
- King-Calnek, J. E. (2006). Education for Citizenship: Interethnic Pedagogy and Formal Education at Escola Criativa Olodum. *The Urban Review*, 145-164.

- Krauss, J. S., & da Rosa, J. C. (2010). A importância da temática de História e Cultura Africana e Afro-brasileira nas escolas. *Antíteses*, 857-878.
- Lloréns, H. (2005). *Fugitive Blackness: Representations of Race, Art and Memory in Arroyo, Puerto Rico*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut.
- Lyons, J. (2014). *The Educational Theory of Paulo Freire*. From NewFoundations: <http://www.newfoundations.com/GALLERY/Freire.html>
- Müller, L. (2009). *Educação e diferenças : os desafios da Lei 10.639/03*. Cuiabá: EdUFMT.
- Munanga, K. (2005). Introduction. In *Superando o racismo na escola* (pp. 15-20). Brasília: SECAD.
- Munanga, K. (2006). Algumas considerações sobre “raça”, ação afirmativa e identidade negra no Brasil: fundamentos antropológicos. *REVISTA USP*, 46-57.
- Munanga, K. (n.d.). *Uma abordagem conceitual das noções de raça, racismo, identidade e etnia*. Retrieved December 4, 2013 December from Inclusão Social: <https://www.ufmg.br/inclusaosocial/?p=59>
- Nascimento, E. L. (2004). Kilombismo, Virtual Whiteness, and the Sorcery of Color. *Journal of Black Studies*, 861-880.
- Nascimento, E. L. (2007). *Sorcery of Color : Identity, Race, and Gender in Brazil*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Niemonen, J. (2007). Antiracist Education in Theory and Practice: A Critical Assessment. *The American Sociologist*, 159-177.

Oliveira, P. R., & Duarte, A. R. (2014). Livros didáticos de história no contexto da 10.639- algumas contribuições e discussões para análise de materiais didáticos e os resultados pós-lei. # *Tear: Revista de Educação Ciência e Tecnologia*, 1-17.

Orlando, A., Ferreira, A., Couto, F., & Watthier, L. (2008). Os estereótipos do negro presentes em livros didáticos: uma análise a partir dos Parâmetros Nacionais. In *PEAB – Projeto de estudos afro-brasileiros: contexto, resultados de pesquisas e relatos de experiências* (pp. 61-74). Cascavel.

Paiva, A. R. (2012). Citizenship, Racial Equality and Affirmative Action Policies. *The Latin Americanist*, 91-109.

Pansini, F., & Nenevé, M. (2008). Educação multicultural e formação docente. *Currículo sem Fronteiras*, 31-48.

Pereira, J. S. (2008). Reconhecendo ou construindo uma polaridade étnico-identitária? Desafios do ensino de história no imediato contexto pós-Lei 10.639. *Estudos Históricos*, 21-43.

PNLD. (2011). *Guia de livros didáticos : História 2012*. Ministério da Educação, Secretaria de Educação Básica.

Ponciano, D. D., Gebran, R. A., & Luvizotto, C. K. (2011). História e cultura afrobrasileiras no currículo de história do 6º ao 9º anos da rede oficial do estado de São Paulo. *Rev. Teoria e Prática da Educação*, 103-112.

- Potter, W.J., & Levine-Donnerstein, D. (1999). Rethinking validity and reliability in content analysis. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 258-284.
- Programa Nacional do Livro Para o Ensino Médio. (2008). *Catálogo do Programa Nacional do Livro Para o Ensino Médio: História*. Brasília: Ministério da Educação.
- Santos, S. A. (2005). A Lei nº. 10.639/03 como fruto da luta anti-racista do movimento negro. In *Educação anti-racista; caminhos abertos pela Lei Federal nº. 10.639/03* (pp. 21-37). Brasília: SECAD.
- SECAD - Secretaria de Educação Continuada, Alfabetização e Diversidade. (2008). *Plano Nacional de Implementação das Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais para Educação das Relações Etnicorraciais e para o Ensino de História e Cultura afrobrasileira e Africana*. Ministério da Educação.
- Shapiro, G., & Markoff, J. A Matter of Definition. In C. W. Roberts (Ed.), *Text Analysis for the Social Sciences*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Sheriff, R. E. (2008). Embracing Race: Deconstructing Mestiçagem in Rio de Janeiro. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*, 86-115.
- Silva, A. C. (2005). A desconstrução da discriminação no livro didático . In *Superando o racismo na escola* (pp. 21-37). Brasília.
- Silvério, V. R. (2000). O multiculturalismo e o reconhecimento: mito e metáfora. *Revista Brasileira de Cultura*, 83-100.

Silverio, V. R., & Trinidad, C. T. (2012). Há algo novo a se dizer sobre as relações raciais no Brasil contemporâneo? *Educação & Sociedade*, 891-914.

Smedley, A. (1999). *Race in North America : origin and evolution of a worldview*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Wattier, L., & Ferreira, A. (2008). Uma análise das temáticas que permeiam o material didático: a influência da discussão da diversidade étnico-racial na formação da identidade dos alunos. In *PEAB – Projeto de estudos afro-brasileiros: contexto, resultados de pesquisas e relatos de experiências* (pp. 75-88). Cascavel.

APPENDIX A: Codebook

Volume I: *The First Humans until the Modern State*

Text	Code	Page
<p>We are all equal Black, white, or brown; round or pulled [meaning Indigenous or Asian-appearing eyes] eyes. Straight, curly, or coarse hair. Physical variations between human beings are immense, however science has proved: despite differences observed between individuals, the human species is one.</p> <p>The definitive proof of this fact was found in 2003, when scientists of the Human Genome Project concluded the genetic sequence of 94% of human DNA. Through analyzing the formative genes of physical characteristics, scientists have observed that the differences of genetic sequences between two individuals is less than 1%.</p> <p>The variations found-like the color of skin or eyes, for example-are results of the evolutionary process of the human being in the necessity to adapt to their environmental conditions in which they lived.</p> <p>According to scientists, the course hair of Blacks, for example, emerged as a form of protecting the scalp of people that lived in regions with a hot climate. This type of hair forms a layer of air between the scalp and the environment, protecting the head from a large incidence of solar rays.</p>	Race	14
<p>Closing the Unit – Rights and Democracy Document 1 - Report</p> <p>Democracy became a synonym of liberty and justice. It is, at the same time, an end and an instrument. It contains, basically, a series of procedures for the access and the exercise of power, but it is also, for men and women, the result of these procedures. In this perspective, democracy is not only a method to elect who governs, but it is also a form of constructing, to guarantee and expand liberty, justice and progress, organizing the tensions and conflicts generated through fights of power. (...)</p> <p>Latin America has reached electoral democracy and its basic liberties. Now it is about to advance in democracy of citizenship. The first gave us liberties and the right to decide for ourselves. It traced, in many of our countries, the border between life and death. The second one, today full of shortages, is what strives us to make our rights</p>		149

<p>more effective. It is what permits us to pass from electors to citizens. It is what utilizes the political liberties as a lever to build a civil and social citizenship. For women and men, democracy generates expectations, hopes, and disappointments because it contributes to organize our lives in society, assure our rights, and permit to improve the quality of our existences. Democracy is much more than a government regime, it is mixed with our own life. It is more than a method to elect and to be elected. Its subject is not only the one who votes, it is the citizen.</p> <p><i>-- A democracia na America Latina – Rumo a uma democracia de cidadas e cidadaos.</i></p>		
<p>Document 2 (comic strip title: “Smile: you are being framed”) My description of the comic strip: The comic strip shows a tall White police officer with a large machine gun confronting a Black “funk (a type of Brazilian rap that typically comes from favelas) “bandido” (literally “thief”), with a shirt that is titled as such. The Black individual is also dressed in street clothes. It has six panels of narrative.</p> <p>Scene 1: Police officer (PO): “Hands up! You are under arrest” Funk Bandido (FB): “Why?”</p> <p>Scene 2: PO: “We have transcripts of all your telephone calls!” FB: “But...I don’t have a telephone!”</p> <p>Scene 3: PO: “We have spied on your computer, we have the relationship of Funks Bandidos that you gather through the internet!” FB: “I don’t have a computer.”</p> <p>Scene 4: PO: “We tracked your cards and broke the secrecy of your bank accounts!” FB: “I’ve never had a card or a bank account”</p> <p>Scene 5: FB: “EU SO POBRE!”</p>		<p>149</p>

<p>Scene 6: PO: “And, you know how many years in prison that will cost you?”</p> <p>Questions: Question 1) With the opening text of this unit as a base and Document 1, why can you affirm that democracy does not come down to political rights to elect the governors of a country? What is the expanded sense of democracy? Question 2) What is the social criticism in the cartoon of Angeli (author). Question 3) Reread the narrative of Document 1 and the cartoon of Angeli. In following, write an essay relating to the concept of social democracy with the problem of social inequality in the world. Question 4) In your opinion, how can you and your colleagues of the class contribute to expand the democratic process in Brazil?</p>		
<p>The term Yoruba refers to a group of people united by linguistic and cultural links, like the efas, ijexas, egbas, among others, settled in ancient times in sub-Saharan Africa – more accurately, in the junction between the forest and the base of Niger river.</p> <p>At the end of the eighteenth century, after conflicts, wars and defeats, many Yorubas were brought as slaves to the Americas, principally to Bahia (where they were called “nagos”) and to Cuba.</p> <p>In both places, their culture and religion, mixed with other influences, are still kept alive until today.</p> <p>The Yorubas in Brazil</p> <p>Brought to Brazil as slaves during various centuries, the Yorubas left deep marks on Brazilian culture and society. From their influence, still today they practice the cult of the Orixas of candomble, like Xango (god of thunder and lightning) and Iemanja (goddess of the sea).</p> <p>They also were responsible for the introduction of musical instruments like the atabaque and the agogo.</p> <p>In cooking, they introduced plates like vatapa and acaraje, among others.</p>	<p>European, African, and/or Indigenous Influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People</p>	<p>177 - 178</p>

<p>The expression Bantus designates diverse African peoples whose languages have a common origin. The term, therefore, has a linguistic connotation, not ethnic. According to specialists, the Bantus originated in lands located today on the border of Cameroon and Nigeria. During the colonial and period of Empire in Brazil (1500-1889), millions of Bantus were brought as slaves to Brazil. Like what happened with the Yoruba, many characteristics of Bantu culture can be found in the base of Brazilian culture. Congadas, maracatus, jongos, sambas de umbigada, lundus, simpatias, mexinhas, rezas, diverse words and musical beats are some of these cultural manifestations.</p>	<p>European, African, and/or Indigenous Influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People</p>	<p>178</p>
<p>Organizing Ideas Question 7 The Yorubas played a significant role in the formation of Brazilian culture through religious, musical and culinary elements, among others. Make a summary of the principal characteristics of the Yoruba civilization.</p>	<p>Critical Thinking – European, African, and/or Indigenous influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People</p>	<p>179</p>

Volume II – *The Modern World and Contemporary Society*

Text	Code	Page
<p>Look around you: human beings are different from one another. People exist that are tall and short, round or pulled eyes, with very diverse tones of skin, etc. These differences, however, are not limited to physical characteristics.</p>	<p>Race</p>	<p>8</p>

<p>People also have habits, customs, religious beliefs, and distinct views of the world. The same within a country, differences exist. In Brazil, for example, northeasterners, southerners, and northerners have cultural traditions and very diverse habits.</p> <p>The name given to this set of differences (The entirety of differences give us the name) is <i>cultural diversity</i>; which is one of the largest riches of human societies. This plurality is resultant of the accumulation of experiences and processes of learning observed throughout time. Great conquests of humanity have resulted from the exchange of experiences between people of diverse cultures.</p> <p>In 2001, UNESCO approved the Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity that considers diversity <i>the heritage of humanity</i>.</p> <p>However, many people insist in seeing the world according to their own culture, and they consider their way of life the most correct. For these people, different habits and customs are absurd practices, funny and even immoral. This attitude is called ethnocentrism and could culminate in wars and even in the extermination of one people over another.</p> <p>In this unit, we will see how the disrespect of the Europeans to the culture of the people that lived in the American continent in the sixteenth century provoked one of the largest genocides in the history of humanity. Internal civilizations went extinct and much of the knowledge of these peoples disappeared forever.</p>	Ethnic Discrimination	8
<p>Start to converse</p> <p>1) What do you understand by culture? Cite examples of different cultural manifestations that you know.</p> <p>2) How do you usually react to cultures and values very different from yours?</p>	Critical thinking – Ethnic Discrimination	8
<p>Time to reflect</p> <p>One of the factors that contributed to the destruction of Indigenous societies on the American continent was the incapacity of Europeans to believe Amerindians as equal human beings, but with different customs and cultural values. Today, is cultural diversity between people of different countries respected or does there exist people that try to impose their values on others? Overall, what is the image Europeans and North Americans have of Latin American peoples?</p>	Critical thinking – Ethnic Prejudice	67-68
<p>Cultural Diversity - Closing the unit</p> <p>Document 1: Essay - Ethnocentrism</p>	Ethnic Discrimination	

<p>[It seems] that the diversity of cultures is rarely showed to men as it is: a natural phenomenon, resultant of direct or indirect relations between societies; It's seen in this always a kind of monstrosity or scandal. [...] The oldest attitude [...] is in to repudiate pure and simple the cultural, moral, religious, social, and aesthetics forms that are the furthest away from those with whom we identify. "Habits of the barbaric", "in my land it is different", "we should not allow this", etc. – many coarse reactions that translate the same shiver, the same revulsion on ways to live, believe or think that they are strange to us.</p> <p>-- Levi Strauss, C. (1976). Race and History. In <i>Structural Anthropology II</i>. Rio de Janeiro: Tempo Brasileiro, p. 333.</p> <p>Document 2: Music - "Unclassifiable"</p> <p>Which Black, which White, which Indian what? Which White, which Indian, which Black what? Which Indian, which Black, which White what?</p> <p>Which Black White Indian what? White Indian Black what? Indian Black White what?</p> <p>here we are <i>mestiços mulatos</i> <i>cafuzos pardos mamelucos . . .</i> . . .</p> <p>we are what we are unclassifiable.</p> <p>. . .</p> <p>-- Antunes, A. (1996). CD <i>O Silencio</i>. BMG.</p> <p>Document 3: Essay – Global culture or hybrid identities?</p> <p>The movies and TV shows produced in the West, which dominate the world media, tend to launch a series of politics, social and economic agendas that reflect a vision of the world specifically Western. Some worry that globalization will conduct the creation of a "global culture", in which the values of the richer and more powerful – in this case, Hollywood cinema studios –</p>	<p>European, African, and/or Indigenous Influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People</p>	
--	---	--

<p>superimpose the power of habits and local traditions. According to this perspective, globalization is a form of “cultural imperialism”, in which Western values, styles and perspectives are spread in a very aggressive way that suppress other national cultures.</p> <p>Other authors, on the contrary, associate the process of globalization to a growing differentiation in which gives respect to cultural forms and traditions.</p> <p>Despite those who insist in the argument of cultural homogenization, those authors claim global society is characterized nowadays side by side by the coexistence of a great cultural diversity. Added to local traditions are sets of additional cultural forms from foreigners, giving to people many options to choose a life style.</p> <p>We will watch the fragmentation of cultural forms, and not the formation of a unified global culture. Old identities and ways of life with roots in cultures and in local communities are going to give room to new forms of “hybrid identities”, composed by elements of different cultural origins. This way, a Black and urban citizen of South Africa today can remain strongly influenced by the traditions and cultural perspectives of his tribal roots, but simultaneously adopt a cosmopolitan taste and life style – in clothes, leisure, free time, etc. – which result in globalization.</p> <p>-- Giddens, A. (2007). <i>Sociology</i>. 5th Ed. Lisbon: Fundacao C. Gulbenkian, pp. 64-65.</p>		
<p>Reflect and respond</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) For Claude Levi-Strauss, what characterizes cultural diversity? 2) How do people commonly react against cultural diversity, according to Claude Levi-Strauss? Would you react in the same way? 3) In your opinion, what was the intention of Arnold Antunes in his song “Unclassifiable”? 4) What relation can be established between Levi-Strauss’ text and Arnaldo Antunes’ song? 5) Make a summary of ideas contained in document 3 about the relationship between globalization and culture. 	<p>Critical Thinking – Ethnic Discrimination</p> <p>Critical Thinking - European, African, and/or Indigenous Influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People</p>	

<p>In European symbology of the Middle Ages, the color white was associated with day, innocence, virginity; the color black represented night, demons, sadness and the divine curse. This dichotomy between white and black, light and dark, was transferred through Europeans for human beings when the Portuguese arrived in Africa in the fifteenth century.</p> <p>At this time, European intellectual circles found themselves under the influence of humanist thought. Despite this, many people did not understand or accept ethnic diversity existent between Europeans and Africans. Diverse theories allegedly “scientific” were formed to explain the differences.</p> <p>Therefore, the dark pigmentation of the skin was initially pointed as an illness or a deviation from normal. As Africans had physical traits, religious beliefs, customs, and habits different than that which predominated in Europe, European authors characterized Africans as beings situated between humans and animals. All these Eurocentric views were made that Africans could be considered culturally inferior and able to be enslaved ...</p>	Race Racism	73
<p>Organizing ideas</p> <p>1) In the sixteenth century, European societies already knew slavery as a historical phenomenon. What European worldview contributed to justify slavery in masse of Africans by Europeans?</p>	Critical Thinking - Racism	79
<p>Time to reflect</p> <p>In 2001, South Africa had the 3rd World Conference against Racism, Xenophobia, and Intolerance, organized by the UN. In the occasion, African organizations demanded that European countries involved with colonization pay some type of compensation for evils caused by slave trafficking and the exploitation of work of African slaves. European representatives reacted angrily to the proposal. In your opinion, is this claim fair, or should the actions committed through centuries be set aside, considering that today times are different?</p>	Critical thinking – Racism	81

<p>Chapter 7 Slavery and resistance Beyond the flavors and nutrition, these dishes have a characteristic in common: they were all introduced into our gastronomic culture by Africans. They created for the first time these dishes and many others that today make part of the Brazilian diet. Africans, as we have seen, began to be brought to Brazil in the sixteenth century, in the initial period of colonization. They were people that belonged to different groups, spoke different languages, had varied customs and habits, and held different technical, agricultural, and scientific knowledge. As we will see in this chapter, this great cultural, familial, and personal interchange between these Africans and their descendants and the population that lived here left deep marks in the way to be and live of the Brazilian people.</p>	<p>European, African, and/or Indigenous Influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People</p>	<p>81</p>
<p>Over the course of almost four centuries that slavery lasted in Brazil – see the following box -, a human being with the color black began to be synonymous with slave and began to be regarded as a commodity. As property of the slave master, he could be sold, rented, bonded, borrowed. His children already were born as slaves and were required to work at an early aged.</p>	<p>Racism</p>	<p>82</p>
<p>Warning necessary [box at bottom of page] The treatment delivered to enslaved Africans in the Portuguese colony, as well as their resistance to slavery, varied a lot, as well as a one region to another over time. The data presented in this chapter has only a general approach. You should not deduce from the lecture that the information utilized applies in a homogenous form to all slaves throughout the four centuries of the Portuguese colony. It is necessary to consider that there existed variations, throughout the entire time period. Beyond this very panoramic approach, you will see, in the next chapters of Brazil, specific situations lived by Africans and Afro-descendants in diverse times of our history.</p>	<p>Racism</p>	<p>82</p>
<p>Once in the Brazilian territory, the colonizers divided [Africans] into two categories: two <i>bocais</i>, that combined the recently arrived – either Bantus or Sudanese -, that did not know the culture of the Portuguese, and <i>ladinos</i>, acculturated Africans, that understood the language of the colonizer. There were also the <i>crioulos</i>, who were descendants of Africans born in the colony.</p>	<p>European, African, and/or Indigenous Influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People</p>	<p>83</p>

<p>The <i>quilombo</i> was a space in which ex-slaves reaffirmed their cultural and ethnic identity, searching to cultivate and preserve values, traditions and religious beliefs of their nations of origin, in Africa (look in the section <i>Olho vivo</i> in the following page)</p>		85
<p>In 1978, representatives of the Unified Black Movement chose the figure of Zumbi dos Palmares as a symbol of the fight of Blacks against oppression and the date of his death – November 20 – to celebrate Black Consciousness Day. Today in many Brazilian cities, this date is a municipal holiday. Attitudes like these have been of fundamental importance for Brazilian society to notice social and ethnic inequalities that still complicate the construction of a true democracy in our country (see the section Past-present, following).</p>	Ethnic Discrimination	88
<p>Past-Present Does racism exist in Brazil? Despite the 1988 Constitution affirms that all Brazilians are equal and have the same rights before the law, statistics prove that this equality is not verified when we compare the living conditions of Blacks with Whites. A study released in 2007 by the Ethos Institute and Ibope Intelligence helps to demystify the vigorous idea that Brazil is a “racial democracy”. According to the study, although Blacks represent 46.6% of the population economically active in the country, they hold only 25.1% of the openings in the workforce of the 500 largest businesses of Brazil. Beyond this, Black workers are, in majority, in low-ranking jobs. Analyzing the ethnic composition of higher ranking jobs and higher paying jobs, the study found that only 17% of management jobs are occupied by Blacks and barely 3.5% of Blacks are in executive jobs. For women the situation is even worse: only .5% of executive jobs are held by Black women. This data coincides with other research presented in 2008 by IPEA (Institute of Applied Economics). According to the study, while the medium salary of White workers was around 1,087 <i>reais</i>, of Blacks they barely reached 578 <i>reais</i>. Although the difference has been decreasing, the current pace of middle salary rate of Whites and Blacks would be equal only in 2038. These disparities also can be observed in the educational area. While 58.4% of Whites were enrolled in High School in 2006 with an adequate age for the course, the rate of Blacks in the same situation was only 37.4%.</p>	Racism	89

<p>Beyond this, while 18% of Whites had completed a higher education degree at 30 years of age, only 5% of Blacks had arrived at the same result.</p> <p>Today, representatives of the Black Movement and diverse sectors of civil society defend the necessity to put in practice affirmative action with the intention to assure to Blacks equality of rights.</p> <p>In this fight there's also people and entities that defend the guarantee of rights of <i>quilombola</i> communities, found in almost all Brazilian states. Many of these <i>quilombola</i> communities are remaining core populations of large concentration of slaves. These communities transformed themselves into isolated villages, whose residents – that total nearly 2 million Afro-descendants – live by subsistence agriculture, sometimes commercial, and conserve many habits and customs of their ancestors.</p> <p>The Palmares Cultural Foundation recognizes at least 743 <i>quilombola</i> communities in Brazil, but according to other sources this number could be more than three thousand.</p> <p>The greatest difficulty of the <i>quilombolas</i> (inhabitants of these communities) is to obtain the title of the property of land where they live, because they are an object of dispute by large plantation owners. Until 2008, only 144 communities have obtained this ownership.</p>		
<p>Your opinion</p> <p>Since 2003, diverse public institutions of higher education, like the University of Brasília and the State University of Rio de Janeiro, intended quotas of their openings to Black students. This modality of affirmative action, that attempts to guarantee to Blacks expanded access to higher education, has provoked controversy. Some sectors of society oppose it; others are broadly favorable. Meet with your group of colleagues and, together, discuss the question of quotas for Blacks in universities. Next, elaborate three arguments exposing the opinion of the group (in favor or against quotas). Under the orientation of the professor, orally present these arguments for the class and participate in the debate about the theme.</p>	Racism – Critical Thinking	
<p>Heritage and diversity</p> <p>Alagoas</p> <p>Beyond this, in each construction stands a different aspect of Afro-Brazilian culture, such as culinary, religious practices, the use of herbal medicines, etc.</p>	European, African, and/or Indigenous Influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People	90
<p>The Black influence in Alogoan culture can be observed still in popular traditional festivals that occur all over the</p>	European, African, and/or Indigenous	90

state. One of these festivals is the Taieiras, an Afro-Brazilian dance of religious character in tribute to São Benedito e Nossa Senhora do Rasario, considered the patron saints of Blacks.	Influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People	
Other more diverse traditional dances and festivals in Alagoas – like the tore, cavahada, the bumba meu boi, the reisado, among others, many common with other states and regions – are expressive of the legacy of the Indigenous and Europeans in the formation of Alagoan society. This legacy also can be perceived in the Alagoano crafts, which are influenced by Indigenous, European, and African culture.	European, African, and/or Indigenous Influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People	91
Past-Present What we owe to the African Innumerable examples illustrate the Black presence in the formation of Brazilian society. Many of our dances have African origins. The Samba . . . Blacks and browns also played – and continue to play in an increasing way – a role featured in the cultural and political life of Brazil. Many Blacks led revolts against slavery . . . In the fight against discrimination, prejudice, and racism in the second half of the twentieth century, one of the names featured was Abdias do Nascimento Blacks and mulatos also marked Brazilian literature and thought. More Blacks and browns [<i>pardos</i>] included . . . Among sports, many football players of African ancestry have become national idols, like . . . Black Olympians . . . In Brazilian popular music . . .	European, African, and/or Indigenous Influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People	92-93
Introduced by force in the Brazilian territory, Africans and their descendants exercised a fundamental role in the formation of our society. About this role, the Anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro confirmed: “the Black is the most creative component of Brazilian culture and that who, with Indians, singularize the most our people”.	European, African, and/or Indigenous Influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People	94
“Every Brazilian” wrote the Sociologist Gilberto Freyre in his book <i>Casa Grande e Senzala</i> , “even the White, of blonde hair, brings in their soul, when not in the soul and in the body (. . .), the shadow, or at least a mole, of the Indian or Black.”	European, African, and/or Indigenous influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People	94
Organizing ideas (activity)	Critical Thinking -	95

8. Identify at least three manifestations that characterize the presence of Black culture in our culture.	European, African, and/or Indigenous influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People	
Description of a picture in the book of Black activism in Brazil - Group of Afro-descendants participate in protest against ethnic discrimination in company hires. Black movements have been important protagonists in the fight for the enlargement of citizenship rights in the entire world, and particularly in Brazil.	Ethnic discrimination	
From Portugal, nearly 4 million people arrived per year with the mines as their destination. Great miscegenation between people of various ethnicities resulted with time, in an unprecedented miscegenation in the history of the colony. [1693]	European, African, and/or Indigenous influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People	210
At the end of the eighteenth century, Salvador was a city of great contrasts. Its population of almost 60 thousand inhabitants was composed, in a great part, of poor Blacks that felt in the skin the ills of slavery and ethnic discrimination . . . Free browns [<i>pardos</i>], for example, were prohibited to rise in military careers or occupy public administration posts.	Ethnic discrimination	236
The Black presence in Bahia Bahia is the Brazilian state with the most presence of Blacks in the population. According to data from the 2000 Census, three quarters of its inhabitants are Afro-descendants. The influence of Afro-Brazilian culture in Baiana society is very marked and easily verifiable in various spheres of social, economic, political, and cultural life: in culinary practices, in festivals, in music, in religious beliefs, etc. An example of this can be observed in Cachoeira . . . The ritual includes practices inherited from Portuguese Catholicism – like processions and masses -, aspects of Afro-Brazilian religious cults and other non-religious ones, like Samba.	European, African, and/or Indigenous influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People	238
During the nineteenth century, children of the elite were brought up in a life strongly influenced by European culture. They dressed themselves according to French and English models and a good part of their games came from outside the country: . . . When they were young, it was common that these children were raised under the care of wet nurses. They [these nurses] were female	European, African, and/or Indigenous influence on Brazilian Society, Culture, and People	271

domestic slaves		
For diverse thinkers of the nineteenth and twentieth century, notions of culture and civilization had the parameters of European society. Therefore, European peoples were seen as “civilized”, while other peoples would be “backward” in relation to this standard. Under the influence of this conception, many cultural actions practices by the government of Dom Pedro I were intended to “accelerate” the march that would lead Brazil to render itself into a “civilized nation”. Today, these notions have been substituted for concepts of cultural plurality, multiculturalism, and respect to differences (ethnic, religious, cultural, etc.). Return to your group and together do a study about the appreciation of cultural diversity in educational and cultural institutions of your neighborhood or city. Choose an institution, form a survey and interview the people that work, study or use the selected institution. Present results to class.	Racism	288
Time to reflect As we have seen, the educational system and particularly the colleges created during the first kingdom principally served the children of the elite. Today, Brazilian educational politics should guarantee every student equality of conditions and access to schools. In your opinion, all young Brazilians have, effectively, the same conditions to join a public university? Write a phrase or short paragraph explaining your opinion. Doing this, return to your group, in which each member should present their phrase. After, the group should write, collectively, a common text, articulating and adapting the diverse phrases produced.	Ethnic Discrimination – Critical Thinking	291
Glossary term: Affirmative action: Compensatory methods adopted or induced by the State to combat the effects of the manifestations of racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination and others. These methods are guided by the objective to promote equality of opportunities for everyone, creating means to which people belonging to socially discriminated groups are able to compete in conditions of equality.	Racial Discrimination Ethnic Discrimination	313
Glossary term: Eurocentrists: Ideas, or modes to interpret the world, that utilize as a reference only western, European cultural values taking them as the expression of civility in more elevated levels. Coined in the 1960s, this term is derived from the idea of ethnocentrism, which in Anthropology	Ethnic Prejudice Racism	315 - 316

<p>designates ethnic groups or national groups that consider themselves superior or more important than others. In the XIX century, the first anthropologists systematized a study about others people, however this time trying to understand them always from their point of view, the view of a European man. Only in the XX century Anthropology sought to understand other cultures without pre-judging them, searching only to learn their functioning mechanisms.</p>		
--	--	--

Volume III: From the XIX Century to Today

Text	Code	Page
<p>Science and Racism The European penetration into Africa and Asia occurred in a period where many scientists debated widespread evolutionist theories in Europe since the beginning of the nineteenth century and whose apex was the book <i>The Origin of Species</i> . . . The evolutionist ideas of Darwin and others of the age were used by many scientists and European thinkers, like Herbert Spencer and Francis Galton, who tried to apply these theories to human societies. Among other things, these people affirmed that the human species was composed of various races, to which could be observed through physical, cultural, and anatomical diversity between diverse human groups. These races fought and competed between each other. The strongest and most capable survived, the weaker and incapable would be succumbed by social and natural selection. According to these thinkers, Whites, in general, belonged to the most capable races, or in other words, “superior” races, while non-Europeans belonged to “inferior races”. Some scientists, like Ernst Haeckel, affirmed that the base of this scale was Jews and Blacks. Miscegenation between Whites and Blacks, for example, was seen by various thinkers like these as one of the causes of “degeneration” of many civilizations, among them of America, where the process of miscegenation was intense. This set of ideas is considered by many as the base of the spreading of racist theories supported in the sciences, called “scientific racism”. These theories served to justify the colonization of Africa and of Asia by Europeans at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a time in which, through the eyes of many colonizers, the inhabitants of these continents were to be inferior, backward, lazy, and uncivilized peoples. It remained</p>	<p>Race Critical Thinking – Racism</p>	<p>34- 35</p>

<p>justified, therefore, the “civilizing mission” of the Europeans of these continents.</p> <p>...</p> <p>Eye of the World</p> <p>Although many times understood as synonyms, the terms racism, prejudice, and discrimination have different meanings. Research and write a text in your book of what you want to say about each one of these expressions. Next, return to your group of colleagues and, together, discuss the subject, making a list with social or ethnic groups that you consider the principal victims of these practices in Brazil and how these practices are manifested. Present the result to class, elaborating proposals to impede the perpetuation of these practices in society.</p> <p>[Below is a picture of Africans being compared to monkeys in the books – The description of this picture states that it is an image that compares a Black man to some primates. The book then states that “pseudo-scientific images like these helped the propagation of racism.”]</p>		
<p>Liberty and exclusion</p> <p>Despite the grand conquest (of abolition), until today Afro-descendants fight against prejudice that so much marked Brazilian society during almost four centuries that slavery lasted in our country.</p>	Racial Prejudice	80
<p>Afro-Brazilians had their rights formally recognized. Emancipation, all in all, was not accompanied by methods of reparation nor went in practice projects of integration in society, as proposed many abolitionists. Among these proposals was the distribution of lands to free slaves and the creation of mechanisms for ex-slaves and their children to have access to education. In reality, Blacks did not receive any type of protection. In this way, they became victims of a new frame of social and ethnic inequality whose reflection could be felt until today in Brazilian society. . .</p>	Ethnic Discrimination	81
<p>Ethnic discrimination</p> <p>Following European and north American racist doctrines, these people [the Brazilian elite that defended the “whitening” of the population] believed that, by natural mortality of Blacks and the arrival of a great amount of White immigrants, the ethnic composition of the Brazilian population would be predominated by lighter skin.</p>	Ethnic Discrimination	143
<p>According to some historians, it was in this moment that</p>	Racial Prejudice	143

<p>emerged and consolidated, in Brazilian society, prejudice against Blacks and their descendants, of which started being seen by public powers and by the elite as second class citizens.</p>		
<p>Portrait of whitening The end to African slave trafficking, the arrival of a large number of European immigrants, the proclamation of the Republic: all of these facts occurred in the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century and fed in some sectors the expectation of a birth of a new Brazil, a country whose population, each time more White, would form a nation “civilized, to the molds of Europe”. This, leastwise, was the thought of some members of the national elite, that supported the scientific discourse of the age (look at the box Science and Racism, in chapter 3), they believed that miscegenation of the Brazilian people was one of the reasons of the backwardness of the country.</p>	Racism	144
<p>This pseudoscientific racism fell apart throughout the twentieth century. However, in 1895, the year the Spanish painter settled in Brazil Modesto Brocos painted the oil on canvas <i>Redencao de Cam</i> [Redemption of Ham], a work that was in perfect tune with the scientific thought of the time. The painting was taken to an international congress about races, occurring in 1911, in Britain, to illustrate the process of whitening of the Brazilian population: Black grandmother, brown child, and White grandchild.</p> <p>Although it represents a scene of everyday life in rural Brazil, the painting is an allegory. The key to understand it is in its title, taken from the Bible. According to the sacred Christian book, Noa had three children, Ham, Jaffar, and Sam, responsible to repopulate the earth after the great flood to humanity. According to the tradition, Jaffar would have given origin to White people of Europe; Sam would be the father of the Semites and Ham, of the Africans. Therefore, Ham witnessed Noah sleeping naked and drunk; for this, he was cast away by this father, he and his descendants would be slaves of their parents.</p> <p>This history served, for much time, to justify the enslavement of African Blacks, under the allegation of which such act would have religious backing. In the work of Modesto Brocos, reproduced on the left, the <i>Redencao de Cam</i>, or in other words, “the salvation” of Blacks, takes place, through miscegenation, Blacks begin</p>	Racism	145

<p>to generate offspring descendent with lighter skin, bringing them, in this way, out of biblical punishment.</p>		
<p>The Black in the beginning of the Republic The proclamation of the Republic, occurred after the abolition of slavery, was accompanied with many expectations of transformations in the life of Brazilian Blacks. Of which many times was observed, therefore, was an attempt to “reframe the segments of the population not identified with European tradition” as affirmed by historians Mary del Priore and Renato Pinto Venancio.</p> <p>The elite and public powers began to fight many habits and customs of the African-descended population of Brazil. The Penal Code of 1890, for example, transformed capoeira and African religious practices in criminal actions and the African culinary traditions suffered medical disapproval. Beyond this, newspapers of greatest circulation and influence were accustomed to represent the Black Brazilian population in a negative form, filled with stereotypes that impeded the construction of positive images of Blacks in Brazilian society.</p> <p>Against this reality, diverse members of the Black community resorted to the alternative media as a form to bring the tone, in its pages, to ideas and aspirations of the principal Black leaders of the country. For this, diverse newspapers were founded, for example in Sao Paulo ... These newspapers brought to the fore questions of interest of Afro-descendants, as aspects of cultural life, associative and social, as well as denunciations of violence and racism. In its pages, there was space for Black writers and poets to publish their texts, and there were reproduced news about the international Black community. It was also a space of defense to social integration, of ethnic equality and the right of the Black to have access to education and other instruments that would able social ascension.</p> <p>...</p> <p>In a general way, these newspapers were maintained by their own Black communities that organized benefit parties, raffles and auctions and were used to distribute them in social events of their associations. They also were maintained with money coming from subscriptions and of advertisements. Many editors put money or their own pocket to finance the publication of their newspaper. In valuing the Black, these means of communication</p>	<p>Racism</p>	<p>146</p>

<p>ended playing an important role to reinforce the ties of ethnic identity, contributing to that Afro-descendants would valorize more and more their physical and cultural characteristics and constantly vindicate their rights as citizens.</p>		
<p>In 1931, representative of the Black elite founded the Black Brazilian Front in Sao Paulo. Acting in the sociopolitical field, the FNB then became the most important entity of Afro-descendants of Brazil in the first half of the twentieth century. Its political actions had the objective above else to combat inequalities between Whites and Blacks in the country. The Black Brazilian fronts fought also against prejudice and discrimination of which they were victims of Blacks in Brazilian society (see the section <i>Interpreting documents</i>)</p> <p>...</p> <p>From Sao Paulo, the Black Front spread through the country and, in 1936, totaled 60 representations in states like Bahia, Rio Grande do Sul and Pernambuco. According to the sociologist Florestan Fernandes, the entity comprised nearly 200,000 affiliates in all of Brazil. In the same year, it transformed into a political party. But the party went extinct in the following year, with the initiation of the Estado Novo, which we will study more below.</p>	<p>Racism</p> <p>Racial Discrimination</p>	<p>230</p>
<p>Your Opinion</p> <p>Although in Brazil segregationist laws do not exist, studies show that Blacks in our country suffer a prejudice that manifests itself, in the greater part of the times, in a camouflaged form. In what manner can you contribute to put an end to this situation to this disguised prejudice?</p>	<p>Racial Prejudice</p>	<p>282</p>
<p>Latin American nationalism</p> <p>In the beginning of the twentieth century, many Latin American countries succumbed to a wave of nationalism that reached people of all social stratas. This wave had its start in Mexico, after the revolution of 1910 (see chapter 9) where it spread through the rest of the continent.</p> <p>Nationalists rejected foreign influence and defended the appreciation of Latin American culture in its diverse manifestations – culinary, literature, painting, music, dance, etc. They also celebrated miscegenation between Whites, Blacks, and Indians that gave origin to the population of the continent.</p> <p>In Brazil, in the 1920s, many <i>modernistas</i> – many from the left, like Oswaldo de Andrade, and the right, like</p>	<p>European, African, and/or Indigenous Influence on Brazilian Nationality</p>	<p>285 - 286</p>

<p>Menotti del Picchia, exalted national roots and types of formers of our nationality, above else the Black and Indian. In the following moment, already under the Getulio Vargas government (1930-1945), manifestations like Carnaval and popular music were officially presented in the exterior as symbols of national culture.</p>		
<p>The Black Experimental Theater and the Constitution of 1946</p> <p>According to today's Brazilian Constitution, the practice of racism is an unbailable, imprescriptible crime and subject to prison. Such recognition represents a great advance in relation to what was previous to the legislation in the period before 1988, the year in which the current Constitution entered into force. Until then, racism was considered only a penal contravention, or in other words, its practice was considered an offense of minor gravity.</p> <p>The effort to transform racial discrimination into crime is old. Due to the elaboration of the 1946 Constitution, Black Brazilians articulated themselves with the object of awareness the constituents in to approve law in this sense. In 1945 and 1946, Black leaders performed in the cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, respectively, national conventions whose final report defended the idea to transform racism into a crime of the homeland. Forwarded to Congress, the proposal was not approved, but permitted that, in 1951, it could be approved the Afonso Arinos Law, that classified racism as a penal contravention.</p>	<p>Racism</p> <p>Racial Discrimination</p>	<p>295</p> <p>-</p> <p>296</p>
<p>To characterize racial discrimination as a mere misdemeanor, the Lei Afonso Arinos did not combat this practice from the front, but its creation contributed to show society – in contrary to which many affirmed – there existed, in fact, ethnic discrimination and racial prejudice. The Afonso Arinos law stayed until the 1980s.</p>	<p>Racial Discrimination</p> <p>Ethnic Discrimination</p> <p>Racial Prejudice</p>	<p>296</p>
<p>The pressure exercised on the constituents of 1946 was headed by representatives of the Black Experimental Theatre (TEN), a group founded and led by the economist and social activist Abdias do Nascimento. TEN rose in 1944 as a proposal to rescue and affirm the human values and cultures of Afro-descendants in Brazil through art, education, and other cultural initiatives. TEN publicized its actions through the newspaper “<i>O Quilombo</i>.”</p> <p>At the same time in in which they offered literacy classes, TEN organized lectures and plays of theater.</p>	<p>Racism</p>	<p>296</p>

<p>Their first play was <i>Emperor Jones</i>, of the North American drama of Eugene O’Neill, whose debut was in 1945. Staged in the Municipal Theater of Rio de Janeiro, this was the first time that Black actors represented themselves onstage in that house, since the inauguration of the theater, in 1909.</p> <p>Until 1968, when the principal leaders began to be persecuted by the military dictatorship TEN went extinct, the movement maintained intense activity in the cultural scenery and national politics, raising important support among Brazilian intellectuals.</p>		
<p>In 1978, a demonstration in São Paulo allied protests against state violence and against racial discrimination. On July 7, representatives of the Unified Movement against Racial Discrimination (MUCDR) met on the stairs of the Municipal Theater, in the center of Sao Paulo, to protest against the death of the Black youth Robson Silveira da Luz, 21 years old. Arrested under the accusation of having robbed fruit from a fair, Robson died under torture in the dependencies of a delegation in the Paulista periphery. Protestors took advantage of the occasion to read an open letter to the nation against racism.</p> <p>The MUCDR transformed itself later on into the Unified Black Movement, that until today combats prejudicial and discriminatory practices in Brazilian society.</p>	<p>Racism</p> <p>Racial Discrimination</p> <p>Racial Prejudice</p>	<p>321</p> <p>-</p> <p>322</p>
<p>Glossary – Miscegenation Crossing between people of different ethnicities; the same as <i>mesticagem</i>.</p>		<p>413</p>