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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
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Re-Making Race for Inclusion:
Racial Categories, Affirmative Action and Black Identities in Brazil

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Sociology

by

Michelle Elaine Peria

Dissertation Committee:
Associate Professor Stanley R. Bailey, Chair
Professor Edwin Amenta
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2015

Dedication

For my sister,
Heather Louise Peria
(1970-2014)

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This dissertation would not have been possible without the kindness and generosity of many people in Rio de Janeiro. I gratefully acknowledge the student leaders and activists, NGO workers, lawyers, scholars, politicians, journalists, and state and university administrators and staff who all took the time to talk to me about their work and ideas about affirmative action and race relations in Brazil. In particular I express my gratitude to the students and coordinators of Educafro, especially those of "Pre-Comunitária" and "Pre-São Antonio" (pseudonyms) who generously shared their time, friendship and experiences with me. I thank the Núcleo Interdisciplinar de Estudos sobre Desigualdade (NIED) at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro for providing me with institutional support and I also thank Graziella Moraes Dias da Silva (UFRJ) who shared interviews from the project "Afro-Brazilians' Responses to Racism and Discrimination."

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This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my sister Heather. Heather was a tremendous source of encouragement and support for this project. I am grateful that during the last years of working on this dissertation I could stay with her and her children in Madison, Wisconsin. Heather lived her life well. She was an outstanding elementary school teacher, a great mother to three wonderful kids and a caring and generous friend and sister. In the last year of her life she faced her terminal illness with bravery and was a vital source of strength and inspiration in my life. I am forever grateful for her companionship, warm smile, sharp wit, creativity and love.

Curriculum Vitae

Michelle Peria

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- 2010 Bailey, Stanley R. and **Michelle Peria**. "Racial Quotas and the Culture War in Brazilian Academia." *Sociology Compass*. 4:592-604.
- 2009 Snow, David. **Michelle Peria**, James Stobaugh and Jimmie Bany. "A Team Field Study of the Appeal of Megachurches: Framing, Identifying and Solving Personal Issues." *Ethnography*. 10 (2-3): 463-486.
- 2004 **Peria, Michelle**. "Listen, Am I going to listen to society, to play politics, to expose my self? I never had that intention." [Olha, eu vou ouvir a sociedade, eu vou fazer política, eu vou me apresentar, eu vou me mostrar? Nunca tive essa finalidade.] *O público e o privado*, 3(Jan.-June):145-164.

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Black? Racial Identity and Solidarity in a Grassroots Black Movement in Rio de
Janeiro”
- 2012 *Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Denver, CO*
Race and Ethnicity Panel: “Remaking Racial Inclusion: Combining Race and
Class in Brazil’s New Affirmative Action” with Stanley R. Bailey

- 2010 *Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Atlanta, GA*
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- 2010 *Brazilian Studies Conference, Southern California, Irvine*
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Abstract of the Dissertation

Re-Making Race for Inclusion:

Racial Categories, Affirmative Action and Black Identities in Brazil

By

Michelle Peria

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Irvine, 2015

Associate Professor Stanley R. Bailey, Chair

This dissertation explores the dynamics of racial classification in contemporary Brazil, as state and social movement actors have recently come together to implement anti-racist legislation and policies. Brazil is an important site for study of race because until early in this century laws and official policies largely treated it as irrelevant. More recently, policies such as affirmative action have been implemented to combat racial inequality, however the meaning of race and the categories for the new policies are being created and the categories are contested. Two primary questions guide this dissertation: How are official categories being constructed for new race-targeted affirmative action policies in Brazil? And how are these new categories negotiated by Brazilians who are being asked to self-identify for inclusion in these policies? The first question addresses the dynamics of racial classification and categorization in contemporary Brazilian affirmative action policy, and the other the possible consequences these practices may have for boundary dynamics in the population.

The first question draws on a qualitative case study - semi-structured interviews; documentary research; and participant-observation – of affirmative action policy in higher

education in Brazil. Scholars of ethno-racial politics in Latin America argue that states more readily consider claims based on the recognition and protection of cultural difference as legitimate, but are resistant to calls for the remedy of racial discrimination. As a counterexample, I show how issues of racial exclusion and discrimination gained traction in public policy in Brazil. I show how race came to be only one component of that policy; instead, race was combined with class to establish a new type of beneficiary status for affirmative action: poor black students. In the process quotas for public school student have also become widespread.

The second question draws on sixteen months of participant-observation and forty-two semi-structured interviews with Brazilians connected to Black movement organized college prep courses. I discuss how Brazilians striving to enter the university negotiate the use of new policies. I find that the unique way affirmative action policies have been designed and implemented in Brazil, targeting poor students as well as poor black students, contributes to produce a new population, one that doesn't view color in oppositional terms but feels solidarity along class lines that are racially inclusive.

Chapter 1

Introduction

In April of 2012, Brazil's Supreme Court unanimously ruled in favor of the continued use of racial quotas in the University of Brasília. This decision reaffirmed a policy adopted by many Brazilian universities which places historically discriminated minority populations on separate admission tracks and establishes acceptance quotas to mirror local racial population percentages. Racial quota policies have long been ruled unconstitutional in the United States where this approach is considered "extremely unpopular" (Bobo et al. 2012:58). In contrast, racial quotas in higher education in Brazil have become widespread and can be found in several spheres of government and in some private business, but their most sweeping adoption is in admissions to higher education, in public state and federal universities, and in some private university systems. In the case of the University of Brasília, its admissions program resolved to "[R]eserve for a period of 10 years, 20% of admissions spots for negros [afro-Brazilians]" (Carvalho and Segato 2003). The actual language establishing the eligibility of candidates under that policy reads: "To qualify for the quota system for negros, a candidate should be of brown [pardo] or black [preto] color, declare himself or herself negro, and specifically opt for the quota system for negros" (Bailey 2008:586).

The Supreme Court's favorable ruling on the use of racial quotas in higher education to increase the participation of Afro-Brazilians in the country's institutes of higher education, which have been predominately white, arrived on the heels of more than a decade of a dramatic paradigm shift in this country in terms of the state's approach to race. Indeed, up until recently the Brazilian state has rejected a race relations interpretation of that nation's population

dynamics and eschewed discussions of racial inequality. Changes taking place in Brazil are not isolated however, but are rather part of a shift taking place throughout Latin America. Scholars of race and ethnicity in Latin American note the growing strength and proliferation of social movements since the 1980s seeking to mobilize Indigenous and black identities for the greater participation of these groups in politics (Andrews 2004; Wade 2010; Yashar 2005). Also new has been the development of official multicultural politics, whereby states have shifted from a focus on ideologies of racial and cultural mixture, to the recognition of ethnic diversity (Andrews 2004; Loveman 2014; Telles and Flores 2013). In conjunction with this shift several Latin American states have introduced new constitutions and legislation to further ethno-racial equality and begun institutionalizing clear categorical divides in service of redistributive public policies (Hooker 2005, 2008; Paschel 2010; Peria and Bailey 2013).

Despite the rapid implementation of anti-racist legislation and policies in Brazil, it's unclear how this new "racial project" (Omi and Winant 1998) resonates with Brazilians' everyday perceptions of blackness and racial identity. In contrast to the United States, where the boundary between blacks and whites has been distinct and often legally defined, Brazil has stood as an example of a country where racial boundaries are blurred, context dependent and fluid (Bailey 2009; Sansone 2003). Close to 44% of the population consistently identifies with the mixed brown category (*pardo*) on the National Census and in surveys (Bailey 2009). New legislation and policies introduce a bi-racial framework for combating racial inequality - with separate racial categories: white, *negro*, indigenous and others, despite Brazil's widespread racial mixing. The Black movement has historically had difficulty in building the bases of the movement, difficulty in large part attributed to a lack of racial consciousness among the population (Hanchard 1994; Munanga [1998] 2008; Twine 1998).

The widespread implementation of affirmative action policy, it is hoped, could help to change that situation. Indeed, beyond increasing the representation of Afro-Brazilians in higher education and employment, by officially establishing the negro category, and requiring people to self identify as “negro” for inclusion in the policy, Black movement actors have also hoped to achieve long sought after gains in collective identity by strengthening a collective negro identity among darker and lighter skinned blacks (Bailey 2008; Guimarães 1999).

Winant (1992) defines a racial project as “simultaneously an explanation of racial dynamics and an effort to reorganize the social structure along particular racial lines.” He notes that racial projects are “both a discursive or cultural initiative, an attempt at racial signification and identity formation on the one hand; and a political initiative, an attempt at organization and redistribution on the other” (Winant 1992; see also Omi and Winant 1994). Following Omi and Winant, the task I set myself in this dissertation is to study the dynamics of this racial project underway by examining how new categories and rules for racial identification have been set for affirmative action policy and how these new categories are negotiated by Brazilians who are being asked to self-identify for inclusion in these new policies.

Theoretical framework

The analytical approach I take in this dissertation is that of the sociological study of ethnic and racial boundaries, which calls our attention for the need to abandon the assumption that people are divided into pre-existing racial or ethnic groups (Bailey 2009; Brubaker 2004; Loveman 1999; Wimmer 2008). As Omi and Winant (1994) suggest, race is “an unstable and ‘de-centered’ complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle.” Even so, while Omi and Winant (1994) and others recognize that the meanings associated with

racial groups are being constantly contested, they often take categories or racial groups themselves as a given, and the boundary around these to be static. This may be because racial identities in the United States are understood as particularly inflexible (Waters 1999), although this is changing.

As a counter to the taken-for-granted relationship to racial categories and groups in some of the literature, some scholars argue the value of considering different levels of “groupness” as a variable to be explored, a “boundary” approach to the study of racial and ethnic phenomena. The study of the variable boundary salience or degrees of groupness takes the focus off the “groups” as entities or things in the world and explores instead the boundaries that demarcate and form ethnic and racial populations (Barth 1969). As social constructions, racial and ethnic identifications should instead be viewed as works in progress, some robustly structured, some barely consolidated, if at all, and still others weakening and even disappearing.

Social categories and groups

In examining the social processes that may determine different levels of groupness, scholarship distinguishes between social categories and groups (Jenkins 2008). Whereas social categories are collectivities externally defined by others, social groups are self-conscious, self defined collectivities. Put another way, social categorization, “the identification of others as a collectivity” is different from group identification, the process by which social groups define themselves. As practical accomplishments, racial and ethnic boundaries involve two basic kinds of interactional processes: external and internal definition (Barth 1969; Jenkins 2008). For a group to form, those who are categorized must also engage in a process of internal definition. Jenkins (2008) details these processes:

First, there are processes of internal definition: members of a group signal to fellow group members or others a definition of who they are, their identity. (...) On the other hand, there are processes of external definition. These are other directed processes, during which one person or set of persons defines the other (s). (P. 55)

These processes of internal and external definition are necessarily interactional and take place in different social contexts, what Jenkins calls “contexts of categorization” or Cornell and Hartman (1998) refer to as “construction sites.” It is in these contexts that interaction is structured along categorical lines, with the intent of fostering internal definition. Jenkins provides a helpful typology of construction sites, moving along a continuum from informal social spaces (family socialization, routine public interaction, membership in informal groups), to more formal (employment, administrative allocation, social policy, official classification). Jenkins (2008) typology includes administrative allocation, a formal context of categorization which may be a privileged context for fostering interactional processes of external – internal definition. As Jenkins observes: “[C]ategorization in this context is likely to *count* in the lives of the categorized. It is authorized, officially legitimate categorization, from which consequences flow” (2008:70). Race targeted policy in Brazil, and the official introduction of the negro category, presents an instance of administrative allocation which may have the potential for stimulating group making dynamics in the population.

The examination of the relationship between categories and groups is an important focus of the dissertation. In recent decades struggles for racial justice in Brazil have reorganized Brazil’s public discourse on race and racism, introducing alternative narratives of race relations that compete with Brazil’s national narrative that emphasizes the idea that all Brazilians are blend of European, African and Indigenous peoples and that Brazilian society is not divided along racial lines. In all of this, the competing vision of Brazil as a country divided into black

and white groups has dramatically gained in political and social significance in Brazil, raising the crucial question as to how this competing vision and the corresponding widespread implementation of affirmative action laws and policies with a bi-racial classification scheme in negro and white is negotiated by Brazilians.

Symbolic and social boundaries

The distinction between symbolic and social boundaries has been important in the study of race and ethnicity. Lamont and Molnár (2002) define symbolic boundaries as “[C]onceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality” (p. 168). By studying symbolic boundaries we are able to see the dynamic social process of classification, as individuals and groups compete to create and establish new ways of classifying. Lamont and Molnár define social boundaries as: “objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities” (p. 168). Because of the role that symbolic boundaries play in creating and maintaining social hierarchies, defining the relevant boundaries in a society often involves a “classification struggle” between interested actors (Bourdieu 1991). Access to material and symbolic resources in the classification struggle is not equally shared among actors and those with more of these may wield greater power in making their classification systems consequential for people’s lives.

Regarding the power to categorize, states have long been recognized for their ability to influence the way that people view the social world (Goldberg 2003; Goodman 1978). Bourdieu argues (1989) more than any other modern institution, the state holds “symbolic power,” the

power to identify and categorize, and the power to make these classification schemes significant in people's lives. The state is not alone in wielding this power. Science and social movements, for example, also wield symbolic power and can become involved in the creation and definition of systems of classification and distribution. In more democratic societies, for example, systems of classification and categories used for the distribution of resources may be negotiated with the population to which they apply.

The concept of "boundary work" or "boundary making" is useful in illuminating the process by which actors delineate the lines between "us" and "them" (Gieryn 1983; Lamont and Molnar 2002; Tilly 2004; Wimmer 2008). Wimmer (2008) maps the different ways that social actors may change boundaries, highlighting the variable properties of boundaries, for example, their degree of salience, how actors may cross them, their expansion or contraction, etc. Actors may also take aim at the hierarchical position of existing boundaries. The prime U.S. example is the Civil Rights movement, where social movements strived to overcome the legal, social and symbolic hierarchy between blacks and whites and establish equality in all areas of social life. In this case it is the social status and meaning of the categories themselves that were contested and redefined; who could fit inside, or outside the boundary itself was not in question. However, social actors may take aim at the topography of boundaries in an attempt to change the location of existing boundaries through "expanding" or "contracting" an existing boundary making it more inclusive or exclusive.

Nation building provides a well know example of boundary expansion. After the republican revolution in Brazil, Brazilian elites endorsed a policy of whitening through miscegenation which they hoped would eventually produce a lighter-skinned national population (Schwarcz 2001). In later decades elite discourse came to emphasize Brazil as a blended

nation – a mixture of descendants of African slaves, white Europeans, and Amerindians – and an example to the world of “ethnic democracy” (Freyre 1946).

More recently, state, social movement and social science actors have challenged this vision of the nation, as they look for ways of redressing longstanding ethno-racial inequality through affirmative action policies. In this process new official systems of classification have been implemented. As the trend in the region is toward the increasing adoption of multicultural policy (Loveman 2014), understanding the how new categories and rules for racial identification are set within contemporary Latin American bureaucracies is increasingly important.

Symbolic consequences of affirmative action

In addition to expanding access to state resources for underrepresented groups, affirmative action policies have also been seen by many supporters of the policies as a step toward establishing greater symbolic recognition of black Brazilians, one that by institutionalizing the Black movement’s preferred identity term, negro, for the first time in the country’s history, and requiring black and brown (preto and pardo) students to self identify as “negro” for inclusion in the policy, could help broaden racial consciousness and help achieve Black movement’ goals of strengthening a collective black (negro) constituency (Bailey 2008; Guimarães 1999).

States have long been recognized for their role as “group makers” (Bourdieu 1989, 1991; Goldberg 2003) and specifically race making (Marx 1998; Waquant 2002). Scholarship finds that state’s can stimulate group making dynamics along racial lines through census taking (Peterson 1987); housing policies (Brodkin 1998; Roediger 2005); immigration policies (Haney-López 1996); laws regulating reproduction (Codgell 2004; Dorey 1999) and policies of racial

discrimination (Marx 1998). Notably, in addition to the racial group making power that state policies of *exclusion* may have, as Bailey argues (2008) official classification and administrative allocation through social policies of *inclusion* “may actually aid in forging the identities addressed in the legislation” (p. 609). Bailey’s research on the Brazilian case is illustrative. His findings from a split ballot experiment, conducted during a national probabilistic survey of public opinion (the *Pesquisa Nacional Brasileira* or PESB) suggest that racial quotas could have a potential effect on self-classification dynamics in the country. In the experiment half of survey participants were read a statement on race-targeted policy before being asked to identify their own race/color and the other half were not read a statement. When the statement on race targeted policy was omitted, 4.8% of participants self-identified as negro, whereas when it was included that number rose to 8.8%. As Bailey concludes: “the mere mention of racial quotas for negros appears to nearly double the negro population” (2008:602).

In addition to the potential for these inclusive policies to increase the numbers of those identifying as negro in the population, Bailey’s research also suggests potential serious unintended consequences from the implementation of the negro category (Bailey 2008; 2009). In the PESB survey Bailey shows that when forced to choose between black (negro) and white, a little over half of those who self-categorize as brown choose black, while the remainder choose white. Similarly, the majority of the population believes that browns should not benefit from race-targeted affirmative action and that these policies should target only darker skinned pretos. As Bailey concludes, “These results suggest that a significant portion of the mulatto population could suffer exclusion from racial quotas in Brazil through either self- elimination or elimination by others” (Bailey 2008: 604). These results also show that these policies may stimulate a shift toward an expansion of whiteness in the country, thus constricting the boundaries of the negro

identity. This research confirms the mismatch between the negro category used in affirmative action policy and Brazilian's everyday perceptions of blackness, as well as the new policies potential for influencing self-classification tendencies in the country. In all, this highlights the need for research that examines the relationship between these categories and groups (Bailey 2008; Jenkins 2008).

In the remainder of this introduction I discuss research on Brazilian racial classification; clarify my key terms and methods; present background on higher education and the shift to race-based policies in Brazil; and, finally, present an outline of the dissertation.

Brazilian racial classification

Research on racial classification in Brazil has pointed to the complex, ambiguous and fluid nature of racial classification and to the central importance of one's appearance in the classification process (Sansone 2003; Sheriff 2001; Telles 2004). Indeed, by contrast to the United States, post-abolition Brazil did not witness the implementation of a system of racial segregation or a system of racial classification based on hypodescent. Instead, physical features and not descent is the cornerstone of Brazilian racial classification. It is in this sense that Brazilian social scientist Oracy Nogueira noted the existence of a "prejudice of mark" (in Portuguese "preconceito de marca") based on one's physical features in Brazil, in contrast to the "prejudice of origin" found in societies like the United States (Nogueira 1998).

Researchers find three distinct race/color classification systems operating in Brazil along the black-white continuum (Sansone 2004; Telles 2004); these are 1) the census system 2) a popular system comprising many everyday classifications of colors, and 3) the system proposed

by the Black movement and increasingly used in government programs and policies and socio-economic research which recognizes two categories black (negro) and white.

Census classification system

The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) uses five categories to collect information on the race or color of the population (what is called the “quesito cor”). These are: white (branco), brown (pardo), black (preto), Asian, and indigenous. In the 2010 national census about 98% of the population identified within three of these categories (47.7% white, 43.1% brown and 7.6% black). While changes to racial categories used in survey collection have occurred since the time of the country’s first national census in 1872, as Petrucelli (2007) observes, the tendency for the majority of the population to identify within three main categories has remained similar since the first national census in 1872.

But do official census categories do an adequate job of capturing the popular race/color terminology used by Brazilians? Indeed, in Brazil, many people prefer to self-describe as “moreno,” an ambiguous term that can be translated as the color brown, but which researchers have found can be used to substitute for almost any other color category (Bailey and Telles 2006; Sansone 1993). For Brazilians, the moreno term represents racial mixture, and to identify as such, is in part, to embrace “Brazilianess” (Sheriff 2001), the idea that all Brazilians are a blend of African, European and Indigenous peoples. In addition, some people identified with the Black movement would prefer to self-describe as negro a term which folds into one racial category the darker black and intermediate brown color categories, creating a black/white racial binary system. By contrast to this binary black/white system, national surveys employing open-ended

formats to ask about race/color identifications have revealed a pigmentocracy in use, as in some cases respondents have used more than 130 colors to self-describe (PNAD 1976).

Popular race/color classification system

The popular system of classification organizes a color continuum of light to dark into a hierarchical ordering such that white skin and blonde hair are valorized over the darker end of the spectrum (Sheriff 2001; Sansone 2003). How people classify themselves and others varies with context and is influenced by factors such as class, age, education level, time of day, relationship, etc. In 1976, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) conducted a National Household Survey (PNAD), where Brazilians were asked about their race/color identifications in an open ended question and researchers found their responses revealed more than 130 colors in use. However, as Telles (2004) points out, the variation in participant's responses masks the fact that there were many terms used by a few people and a large concentration of answers in just a few terms, especially those terms employed by the national census (Telles 2004). Similar results have also been found by other studies. In a recent study of self-identification of color carried out in Bahia, Sansone (2003) reports his respondents used 36 different color/race terms to self-identify, however eight terms were used by 91% of participants. The other 27 terms were used by 9% of interviewees.

Black movement, government and academic classification system

In Brazil the term preto refers to darker skinned individuals of African descent. Pardos or morenos can be dark or lighter brown individuals. Mainstream political and Black movement discourse upholds that negros are all individuals of African descent, including darker and lighter-

skinned individuals of all types. Part of the justification for combining darker and lighter-skinned black individuals into one negro category is rooted in a classification system that merges race with class and is reflective of the statistical work of Brazilian social scientists working in the late 1970s who merged pardo and preto (light brown and dark black) color categories together into one group - “non-whites” - due to their similar economic performance in statistics (Hasenbalg 1979, 1985; Silva 1985). Indeed, with respect to indicators such as income level, educational and occupational achievement, those identifying as black (preto) or brown (pardo) fare worse than those identifying as white (Henriques 2001; Silva 2000; Telles 2004). Qualitative research reveals that darker skinned Brazilians commonly experience racial discrimination in the workplace, in marriage and dating, and in interactions with the police (Sansone 2003; Sheriff 2001).

The Black movement in Brazil took up these social scientific studies, altering the non-white label to “negros” and thus re-defining inequality, from that between whites and non-whites, to inequality between whites and blacks (negros), the preferred identity term of the movement. While a 1991 campaign to include the negro category on the National Census was unsuccessful, recent years have witnessed growth in the political power of the black movement and the implementation of sweeping anti-racist policy and legislation. The negro category has been increasingly adopted in government and social science research and reports, and official policy like affirmative action. Table 1.1 summarizes the race/color terms I use in this dissertation.

Table 1.1 Key race/color terms

Key terms	General Meaning	Usage	Comments
Negro	Translates to black in English. Political identity term associated with black consciousness.	Academic, Social Movements, some Official	Preferred identity term of black movement activists. Focuses on white/non-white boundary but downplays differences among blacks. Term combines pardos and pretos together into one category. 1991 campaign waged to include term on National Census, unsuccessful. In 2008, 7% of Brazilians self-identified in this way – an increase from 3% in 1995.
Preto (black)	Census Category (since 1940)	Official, Folk	In 2010 National Census only 7.6% of Brazilians identified as preto. Term is rejected by black movement activists in favor of joining pretos and pardos into one category: negro.
Pardo (brown)	Census Category	Official	In 2010 National Census 43.1% of Brazilians identified as brown (pardo). However, term is unpopular, most people prefer the moreno category. Black movement activists advocate for the elimination of mixed-race categories (pardo, moreno).
Moreno (brown)	Everyday use. Covers a wide spectrum of people. Positive and ambiguous quality.	Folk	Very popular identity term.
Branco (white)	Official Census Category	Academic, Official, Folk	Includes all those who identify as white.

Methods

This dissertation is based on four years of research, conducted in two phases, 2001-2003 and 2011-2012. The primary modes of data collection were ethnography, semi-structured interviews, and documentary research in social movement, court, government, newspaper, university website and university archives. In this section I provide details outlining the methods used in each chapter.

Chapter two traces the work of social movements, academics, and the state in the development of the first affirmative action policies for black Brazilians. For this chapter I conducted: (1) participant-observation in university and state meetings in Rio de Janeiro during the process of reforming the quota laws (2001–2003); (2) semi-structured interviews with key politicians, state officials, social movement activists, lawyers, academics studying race relations in Brazil, and university administrators who were instrumental in the reform process; and (3) documentary research in social movement, court, government, newspaper, and university archives. I also collected information on current affirmative action admissions policies at all Brazilian public universities, federal and state (n=95). These data were collected in 2011 from university regulations governing its entrance exam and from student manuals, both published on university websites.

The qualitative case study method employed in this chapter allowed me to explore the process involved in the development of new official racial categories for beneficiary status for these policies and the rules used for their implementation, tracing how class and race come together to create a novel approach to affirmative action for disadvantaged populations. Moreover, while the final legislation in Rio de Janeiro is the result of local social movement and state actors' understanding of the relationship between race and class categories, and factors particular to the negotiation of this legislation in that context, this case serves as an important originating event which provided inspiration for other laws, diffusing the race/class combination perspective on affirmative action to other parts of the country and eventually to national legislation.

Chapters three and four explore the potential impact of new official race targeted affirmative action policies for racial identities and social boundaries in the country. In these

chapters of the dissertation I rely on data collected through ethnography and semi-structured interviews. In 2011 and 2012 I conducted 16 months of participant observation in college prep courses in Rio de Janeiro organized by educators, student leaders involved in the Black movement and leaders from the Catholic Churches' Black Pastoral (Agentes do Pastoral Negro). In earlier stages of my fieldwork I had become familiar with several organizations of the Black movement in Rio de Janeiro. While collecting data for the case study of quotas presented in chapter two I became friends with students from college prep courses, and frequented some of the classes and larger events organized by the groups to debate and discuss affirmative action in the university. These relationships and my longstanding interest in affirmative action helped me to establish productive connections with several college prep courses in Rio de Janeiro organized by Educafro (Education for Afro-descendants and the Needy) where I conducted my second stage of fieldwork beginning in 2011. My research on affirmative action was met with interest and enthusiasm by students and coordinators, and after receiving permission to conduct fieldwork from prep course coordinators I began to talk to students about my study and attend classes and events.

Education for Afro-descendants and the Needy – Educafro coordinates dozens of college prep courses, called pré-vestibulares, throughout greater Rio de Janeiro. During my first few weeks in the field people showed an interest in my research and openness to sharing information, and invited me to join several smaller groups. I was also asked to consider working as a volunteer English teacher or coordinator. I eventually regularly attended two of these smaller prep courses and became a volunteer English teacher within each course. During fieldwork I observed and participated in classes, as well as, monthly membership meetings, special events, longer out-of-town trips and scheduled protests. Participant observation in these settings

involved attending citizenship and culture classes, teaching English classes and spending time with students in between classes and during leisure time over the year. Indeed, students and coordinators also invited me to socialize outside of the pré-vestibular, inviting me to their homes and to get together in and around downtown Rio de Janeiro.

There are several reasons that I made the community pré-vestibular courses my main research focus. Because I have a strong interest in race and affirmative action, the pré-vestibular represented a clear choice as a field site in that it is a setting where these issues are clearly highlighted and of concern to members. As a community based project in which more experienced students are concerned with instructing newer members about racial consciousness and social justice all while focusing on college prep and using new racial quotas, the pré-vestibular presented an ideal setting to explore how the politicized negro category used in new affirmative action policy is negotiated by the general public. Although the pré-vestibular focuses on the specificity of racial discrimination and exclusion faced by black people, they do not exclude poor non-black people from their college prep programs. Hence, students in the prep courses are not what might be considered typical black movement participants, but really are a swath of poor Brazilians of all colors.

The coming together of black movement actors' identity-building project and disadvantaged students seeking help for college admissions allowed an unique examination of the negotiation of black movement identity work among students across the color spectrum. This field site promoted a more dynamic understanding of boundary formation across race/color boundaries as students who strive to enter the university engaged with a process of finding their "racial footing" with respect to quota usage and anti-discrimination discourse alongside of the racial "other."

Another methodological question relates to how findings from this study may hold relevance for what's going on with affirmative action and race in other parts of Brazil. Certainly setting the study in just one city and one pré-vestibular organization limits the relevance of these findings for other parts of the country. The race/color distribution of the population varies across the different regions of the country, as do the terms people use to identify. In addition, there is variation in the way affirmative action programs have been implemented across the country, including the target groups of the policies, and the administrative procedures.

Although results presented in this research are specific to the setting, and should be read as such, there are also several factors that may support the relevance of this work for experiences with affirmative action in the rest of the country. Firstly, while community based pré-vestibular courses vary many pré-vestibular groups throughout the country have adopted Educafro and PVNC's core pedagogical framework as a guide to teaching culture and citizenship classes in their organizations (Santos 2003; Nascimento 2007). In 2004 the Brazilian Ministry of Education adopted the group's framework in the development of its National Program of Pré-Vestibular Courses (Igreja 2005; Nascimento 2007). In addition, despite regional variations in race/color distribution of the population, the race/color distribution in Rio de Janeiro is similar to that of the country as a whole. The percentage of white, brown and black people in Rio de Janeiro are 51.1 per cent, 36.5 per cent and 11.4 per cent respectively. In Brazil these distributions in the population are 47.7 per cent (white), 43.1 per cent (brown), and 7.6 per cent (black) (Brazilian Census 2010). Lastly, the policy design that has been adopted by state legislators and university administrators in Rio de Janeiro - quotas for low-income students, either graduates of public school or students self-identifying as negro, has served as inspiration for several other state universities around the country (chapter 2 discusses this in detail). And

the new Federal Law of Social Quotas (2012) is also based on the Rio de Janeiro policy design. For these reasons, despite the localized focus of this research, I suspect that these results may speak to more generalized patterns throughout the country, and this has informed my choice of title for the dissertation.

During my field work period I socialized with a group of 50-60 students and volunteers on a regular basis and more closely with a group of 15 – 20 students of different colors who were active in the process of studying for the university entrance exam and becoming friends with others in the pré-vestibular. All of these students identified as low-income. Most lived in outlying suburbs of the city of Rio de Janeiro (Zona Norte, Zona Oeste and Baixada Fluminense), some in favelas in the wealthier Southern zone of the city (Zona Sul).

While a focus on a small number of students limits the representativeness of my sample, one way I try to address this is by referencing the statistical and qualitative literature on the subject. In chapters 3 and 4 I draw on the relevant literature to elaborate expectations on boundary effects of race-targeted policy and participation in Educafro. In terms of my methodology, a limit on the number of individuals in the study also brought advantages to the work. In addition to being able to approach an understanding of race and racial identity from the perspective of students themselves, the smaller size of people in the study allowed me to get to know informants and to talk with them several times throughout the period of field research. This meant that I was able to follow up with informants to clarify information, observe people talking about similar issues on separate occasions and build rapport that allowed people to comfortably share their experiences.

While it may seem as though a study on racial identity that focuses on participants in a Black movement community prep-course would produce bias, I believe that any bias, if it

occurred, is minimal. In consideration of this issue, I asked students how they had heard about the pré-vestibular program and what had made them chose that particular program. In fact this question came up frequently naturally in conversation. The most common reasons given for joining the pré-vestibular were its convenient location to where they lived or worked, that the cost of other pré-vestibular courses nearby was prohibitively expensive, or that a friend had told them about the group. Oftentimes more than one of these reasons was present in students' accounts. Flávia, for example, joined after she began working in a pharmacy near the Educafro center and saw the sign outside advertising enrollment for upcoming classes.¹ Since her divorce, she had been interested in pursuing studies: "I married, and changed my mind about studying because of that. But later I came here [to Rio de Janeiro] I started to think about it again. Only he didn't agree with me, but then we separated, and I continued to think about it. It stayed in my head that I should studyI said to myself, "I will study, I want to study," And here I am, because of that. It's affordable here, other prep course are too expensive." Similarly, Ana, explained that the pré-vestibular was close-by to her house, making it convenient to leave work, attend the evening courses Monday through Friday and then get home quickly afterwards: "I really like the pré-vestibular and the people here, but if it weren't close-by to my home, I wouldn't come. The bus from work already takes an hour or more sometimes for me to get home. I don't have time in the evening to take another bus after this, you know what I mean?" Most students had one or more friends from school that told them about the pré-vestibular and who brought them there. Frequently teachers (former students) would tell people and bring them to general monthly meetings where people could find out more about the group and sign up for an orientation session.

While a few students reported they were aware that the pré-vestibular had a connection

¹ All informant's names, as well as possible identifying characteristics, were changed to protect their anonymity.

with the Black movement before joining, the majority were unaware of this aspect of the college prep-courses. This finding is also confirmed by other ethnographic research on Black movement organized community prep-courses working with black and low-income students (Maggie 2001; Nascimento 1999; Ramos 2005; Rezende 2005; Santos 2003). Ramos, for example, an ex-student of one such prep-course, *Pré-vestibular for Blacks and the Needy (PVNC)* writes of her initial impression of the name when she joined the group in her neighborhood: “To be honest, “blacks and needy” didn’t mean anything to us, other than the monthly cost was low” (2005:83).

In addition to fieldwork notes, I draw on data from forty-two semi-structured interviews with students and volunteers, 21 black (negro), 17 mixed-race (moreno or pardo) and 4 white (branco). Interviewees’ range in age from 18 – 45. Volunteers in the *pré-vestibular* were former students, now in university, or working. Interviews were conducted with students who had at least participated in the classes for three months or more, which means that they had attended several monthly general meetings and culture and citizenship classes in their local *pré-vestibular* group. This is relevant because I’m interested in understanding how the ideas of a new “racial project” (Omi and Winant 1994) unfolding in the country combine with everyday Brazilian’s perceptions of identity, race and color. Culture and citizenship classes focused on themes set by Educafro main headquarters and local coordinators and teachers themselves. Class themes usually related to questions on racism, affirmative action and the public university, citizenship rights, and current events on issues related to class and racial inequality.

Interviews began with questions about racial identity, age, gender, education, and residence. I then asked questions exploring participants’ life histories and educational goals. This was followed by questions related to: perceptions of Brazilian society—pros and cons;

experiences and perceptions of class, race and prejudice or racial discrimination; and attitudinal position on affirmative action policy as well as sources of racial awareness and identification.

Eleven of my semi-structured interviews with black (negro) participants are from the 2009 Comparative Study on Responses to Discrimination by Members of Stigmatized Groups, directed by Michèle Lamont at Harvard University. This project conducted interviews with 200 black Brazilians in Rio de Janeiro, 11 of which were students and volunteers in the pré-vestibular. This project explored some of the same themes to those I studied which allowed me to use these interviews as an additional data source.

Another methodological issue concerns how my position as a middle class white North American woman influenced the data I was able to collect. It is difficult to estimate how much this may have interfered in my research. I found that my status as a foreigner was not treated with suspicion, but rather I was quickly seen as someone who might offer English classes that would benefit the group. My participation with the prep-courses as a volunteer teacher helped to demonstrate my commitment to the group, in a way that is common in the setting. In addition, I have previous living experience in Brazil and speak Portuguese fluently (with a foreign accent) all of which helped to mitigate, at least partially, some of the disadvantages that may have been created by my background. Because I focused on participant – observation as my primary method of data collection, I spent a lot of time with students and other volunteer teachers. After the initial months in the field I developed a strong rapport where people were comfortable sharing their experiences and opinions with me. My status as foreigner also proved to be an asset in that it allowed me to ask clarifying questions about race and race relations in Brazil that a white middle-class Brazilian might not have been able to comfortably ask. I found students enjoyed being able to explain how things worked in Brazil to an outsider.

There were a few different ways I was able to check for bias in the data I collected. The Harvard University project used black interviewers to interview black respondents and because of this I was able to compare the responses that the black interviewers got to mine to look for possible bias created by a white foreign interviewer conducting interviews with low-income black students. When comparing results I found no substantial differences. My status as a foreigner did not seem to be a barrier to people sharing their experiences and opinions, although it did impact the interview in different ways. Additionally, because I collected the majority of my data through participant observation, I was also able to use this data to uncover areas of possible bias in the interviews and *vice versa*. In general I had very positive feedback from my participants and several became friends with whom I'm still in touch with and plan to see when I might have the chance to return to Rio de Janeiro.

Background: Affirmative action in higher education in Brazil

Inequality in higher education in Brazil

According to the 2010 census, Brazil's population is 47.7 per cent white (branco), 43.1 per cent brown (pardo), 7.6 per cent black (preto), 1.1 per cent Asian, and 0.4 per cent indigenous. By comparison, in 2009, of the population of individuals 25 years or older in Brazil that had finished 15 years of schooling, 73.7 per cent were white, 20.9 per cent were brown, and 3.5 per cent were black (IBGE 2009). Although the capacity of the Brazilian higher education system has expanded in recent years, from 3.4 to 4.8 million students between 2001 and 2005, the proportion of white university students has outpaced the proportions of pretos and pardos (Schwartzman 2008).

This trend has a long history in Brazil. Telles (2004) shows that 1.4 per cent of whites finished college in 1960, and about 11 per cent did by 1999; whereas for nonwhites, almost none completed college in 1960, and only 2.6 per cent had done so by 1999. Hence the racial gap in university completion marks a stark reality (Gentili et al. 2012).

The disproportionate share of whites in higher education may be partially explained by class mechanisms (Schwartzman 2008; Telles 2004).² Brazil is characterized by extremely high levels of socioeconomic inequality, but that inequality is not equally distributed across color groupings (World Bank 2004). It is not the case that whites are absent from the lower rungs of Brazilian society, but rather that racial inequality in Brazil is derived in large part from the near absence of nonwhites in the middle and upper classes (Telles 2004). This notorious income inequality and over- representation of browns and blacks among working and lower classes reverberates in the realm of higher education.

One structural dynamic producing that reverberation is a combination of the low quality of basic education in Brazil's public school system and the tendency of more privileged students to attend better private schools. Entrance into Brazil's public universities, which are tuition free, is determined entirely by a student's score on the standardized vestibular exam. The vestibular process is very competitive, and students who have attended private schools for their basic education have an advantage, as do those who pay for expensive pré-vestibular preparatory courses. Those students whose social class facilitates a private education or preparatory courses, or both, more readily gain the privilege of postsecondary study. Hence, because the large majority of the relatively small middle and upper classes in Brazil is white (although there are

² There are many other justifications that various actors offer in support of implementing race- based affirmative action in Brazil. For a list, see Gentili et al. 2012:67. Perhaps central among these is the legacy of slavery.

many whites among the lower classes as well), white educational privilege is in part furthered through this largely class-based educational divide.

The effects of racial discrimination on educational attainment in general, however, cannot be overlooked. Nonetheless, the fact that few argue racial discrimination's direct effect on university entrance is due in part to the anonymous vestibular process. Instead, scholarship points to cumulative and indirect effects of racial discrimination (see Hasenbalg 1988). Telles (2004:148–150), for example, presents what he labels a unique 'natural experiment' constituting a 'rigorous test of racial discrimination' in early educational attainment. He examines the basic education outcomes of siblings categorized in different color categories and finds white children do better than their nonwhite siblings. He concludes that his results 'provide strong evidence that race makes a difference [in early educational outcomes], independently of class' (Telles 2004:150). In the same vein, in their study of social mobility, Pastore and Silva (2000:96) conclude, 'the hard nucleus of disadvantage that pretos and pardos appear to suffer is located in the process of educational acquisition', and they specifically reject the premise that Brazilians of all colors have equal educational chances. In sum, then, scholarship suggests that both race and class hierarchies work against the majority of Brazil's population – the poor and working classes – among whom blacks are overrepresented and uniquely disadvantaged (World Bank 2004).

Brazil's turn to race targeted policy for the promotion of racial equality

Race-based policies directed at its citizens have been generally absent in post-abolition Brazil in terms of both negative and positive discrimination, much unlike post-abolition United States (Marx, 1998).³ Instead, in Brazil, state-level discourse touted a national population not

³ Scholars do note, however, the existence of exclusionary race-based immigration policies by the Brazilian state in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Dos Santos 2002; Schwarcz 1993).

beset by the types of discriminatory practices that would elicit race-based intervention. Indeed, much of the 20th-century elite discourse described Brazil as a blended nation—a mixture of descendants of African slaves, white Europeans, and Amerindians—and an example to the world of “ethnic democracy” (Freyre 1946). By the 1950s, Brazil had acquired an international reputation for harmonious race relations, which influenced United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization’s decision to sponsor a series of studies about Brazil in an effort to understand how it might serve as a positive model in the struggle against racism in the post-World War II period (Andrews 1996; Wagley 1952).

Since the late 1970s, however, activists have mounted a growing challenge to the conventional wisdom on racial democracy, and a new generation of social scientists bolstered these efforts by providing heretofore absent quantitative evidence of systematic racial inequality (Hasenbalg 1979, 1985; Silva, 1985). Progress toward a critical perspective on race in Brazil was also, in part, the result of a return to democracy in 1985 after 21 years of military dictatorship. Nonetheless, the coordinated and persistent actions of social movements and their political allies were crucial (Andrews 1991; Winant 1999). Some of this work building a more critical approach to racial issues in Brazil began to pay off as early as 1988 when the National Constitutional Assembly transformed racism into a crime punishable by imprisonment.

However, it was not until Fernando Henrique Cardoso’s presidency (1995–2002) that the federal government began working more closely with social movements to develop proposals calling for race-targeted affirmative action. In 1995, on the occasion of the celebration of 300 years of the death of Zumbi dos Palmares, the most prominent leader of the 17th-century Quilombo of Palmares (the largest community of runaway slaves in Brazilian history), Cardoso met with black movement and union leaders who led a march on the capital. These activists

presented him with their national plan to combat racial discrimination, including specific proposals for affirmative action for afro-descendants (Marcha Zumbi 1996). On the very day of the Zumbi march, Cardoso announced the creation of the Inter-ministerial Work Group for the Valorization of the Black Population comprised of members of government ministries and social movements. The group was tasked with the development of proposals for affirmative action policies that could be undertaken by the Brazilian government. The following year, the Ministry of Justice launched the National Program of Human Rights that suggested specific policies directed at Brazil's afro-descendants, including affirmative action in higher education. Although implementation of these early proposals was frustrated by, at least, a lack of allocated resources and absence of specific government agencies responsible for their success, they were a clear sign of a shift in the country's official racial discourse in support of affirmative action policies. It was, however, through Brazil's extensive participation in the United Nation's World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held in 2001 in Durban, South Africa, that affirmative action policies were increasingly proposed, discussed, and implemented (Htun 2004; Peria 2004; Telles 2004). Indeed, the organization and mobilization of social movement actors and sectors of the Brazilian government in the different stages involved in the planning and execution of the UN World Conference lent significant momentum to the discussion and development of an official national-level plan to combat racial inequality, as it also drew greater public attention to the issue of racial inequality.

On the heels of the 2001 World Conference, federal and state government officials quickly began implementing affirmative action policies by means of executive order and legislation. Brazil's executive branch established affirmative action policies for afro-descendants in some government hiring. The first such instance was in September 2001 when

the Minister of Agrarian Development enacted the first legally defined employment quotas for afro-descendants in the country, establishing a hiring quota of 20% in the institutional structure of the Ministry. Later, the Ministry of Justice and Federal Supreme Court announced similar policies. However, the policy developments with perhaps the greatest political impact in the area of affirmative action for afro-descendants involve the approval of quotas for afro-descendants in public universities. In 2001, the first university racial admissions quotas were legislated in Rio de Janeiro, when state deputies passed a law establishing a 40 per cent quota in Rio de Janeiro state universities – the State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ) and the State University of North Fluminense (UENF) – for ‘self- declared blacks (negros) and browns (pardos)’. The year before, the state legislature of Rio de Janeiro passed a law allocating 50 per cent of the slots in the same universities to students from public schools (a proxy for low income). In the months and years following, other public universities and state legislators moved to enact similar affirmative action policies, most often in the form of quotas for afro- descendants from public schools (considered a proxy for low socioeconomic status) or public school students, regardless of racial status.

Another important factor in the implementation of higher education quotas has been the advocacy of groups like the Pré-vestibular para Negros e Carentes (Vestibular Prep Movement for Blacks and the Poor), or PVNC, and Educafro (Education and Citizenship for Afro-descendants and the Needy), who, since the 1990s, have been organizing at the grassroots level for the greater inclusion of afro-descendant and poor students in public universities. Because of the high cost of private exam preparation courses, PVNC and other later programs inspired by its model attracted a large pool of low-income students (Maggie 2001). The popularity of these groups inspired hundreds of other pré-vestibular courses across Brazil (Ramos 2005; Santos

2003). The unique focus on class and race factors in the pré-vestibular courses, as I will show in chapter two, proved influential in the design of affirmative action policy.

Although quotas for afro-Brazilian and public school students quickly spread throughout Brazil's public universities, the policies have not been without controversy. As in the United States, some white students have challenged Brazil's affirmative action programs in the courts. By 2003, hundreds of lawsuits had been filed by white students who felt that the racial quota system discriminated against them (Telles 2004), and several cases contesting the constitutionality of race-targeted affirmative action were brought to the Supreme Court. The practical administration of racial quotas by universities has not always been easy. In 2004, a special committee was established at the UnB to evaluate the photographs of students applying to the University via the racial quotas program (Maio and Santos 2005). In 2007, Brazil's national media reported two identical twin brothers applied to the UnB; the committee verified the identity of one as black and the other as white (Bailey 2008). Furthermore, opponents of the quota programs warned that these new policies risk creating racial divisions in a country that, unlike the United States, has not had organized racist movements or significant expressions of overt racial hatred (Fry et al. 2007). To legally define black racialized identities for social policy would be to impose a symbolic construct alien to Brazilian social reality, one which operates more in terms of a color continuum from light to dark skinned than either black or white and increase racial divisions in society (Fry et al. 2007; Maggie 2005; Fry 2005; Maio and Santos 2005).

By contrast, Black movement activists, as well as some state and academic actors, view the use of intermediate terms like *moreno*, or the intermediate Census term "pardo," as serious obstacles to addressing racial inequality in the country and building the bases of the movement

around a collective black (negro) identity (Bailey and Telles 2006). Regarding racial inequality, these actors point to extensive statistical studies that show similar positions of disadvantage among those identifying as black (*preto*) or brown (*pardo*) on the census compared to those identifying as white (e.g. Hasenbalg 1979,1985; Silva 1985; Telles 2004). In their vision then, the continued use of intermediate categories, only serves to mask this position of shared disadvantage, and contribute to diluting efforts to build a unified black (negro) group for anti-racist mobilization (Burdick 1998). In preparation for the 2000 census Black movement activists, some state actors and academics, waged an unsuccessful campaign to try to include negro as the official census term. The recent official use of the negro category for affirmative action policy has been seen as important victory in the “classification battle” (Bailey 2009:190-191), one that may help these actors achieve gains in addressing racial inequality and strengthening black racial consciousness around a collective negro identity.

SEPPIR and the Racial Equality Statute

Despite ongoing debate over the legitimacy of race-based policies in Brazil, the policies have maintained political support. In 2003, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva assumed the presidency, and his presence in the office significantly advanced the federal government’s commitment to the recognition and remediation of racial discrimination. Early on, Lula took the unprecedented step of naming four afro-Brazilians to his cabinet, and appointed an afro-Brazilian Supreme Court justice. Also in his first year of office, spurred by recommendations from the UN World Conference against Racism and pressure from the Black Movement, Lula established the Special Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality Policies (SEPPIR). Tasked with the coordination of national-level policies and programs to promote racial equality, this new federal

ministry has concentrated its efforts in the areas of education, health, and securing the rights of quilombo communities—communities of descendants of escaped slaves. In the area of education, SEPPIR and the Ministry of Education prioritized the implementation of law 10.639, approved in 2003, that requires the teaching of “African and Afro-Brazilian History and Culture” in all primary and secondary schools. In addition, they have focused on increasing the access of the black population to higher education through programs like “University for All” (ProUni), which provide scholarships for public school students in private institutions of higher education. Importantly, afro-descendants must be included among the ProUni scholarship recipients in numbers mirroring their presence in local populations.

More recently, SEPPIR has worked to implement the provisions of Brazil’s new Racial Equality Statute. Passed by Congress and signed by Lula into law in 2010, this historic legislation calls for the establishment of affirmative action policies in education and employment, as well as programs to improve afro-descendants’ access to health care. The law also recognized the right of quilombos to receive title to their land.

Supreme Court ruling

In 2012, in a much anticipated ruling, Brazil’s Supreme Court decided that racial quotas established by public universities are constitutional. The court’s unanimous decision arose from the above-mentioned case at the UnB brought in 2009 by the political party Democratas (Democratic Party, or DEM). The DEM argued that UnB, by introducing race as a criterion in selection, violated several fundamental principles of the Federal Constitution, notably the principles of equality and human dignity, the repudiation of racism, and provisions for universal access to education (ADPF, 186, 2009: 3). The DEM also accused UnB, which uses a com-

mittee to verify a candidate's declared racial status, of institutionalizing racism in the country. Furthermore, the DEM argued that racism was never institutionalized in Brazil in the post-abolition era, as it had been in countries like the United States and South Africa, rendering the use of race-targeted affirmative action policy unnecessary in the country.

In its unanimous decision, Brazil's Supreme Court justices determined UnB's use of race for selection of students not only constitutional, but an important duty of the country in its enforcement of equality. In his decision, the judge writing for the court, Justice Ricardo Lewandowski, stated: "[racial quotas] start from the premise that the principle of equality cannot be applied abstractly, but rather begins with choices guided by the concrete realization of social justice. In other words, this refers, especially in the environment of public universities, to employing selection criteria that consider a more equitable distribution of public resources" (Lewandowski, 2012). Similarly, Justice Rosa Weber argued that it is the State's duty to "penetrate in the world of social relations and correct distortions so formal equality regains its beneficial role" (Notícias STF 2012).⁴

In stark contrast to the Brazilian Supreme Court's strong embrace of affirmative action in the form of racial quotas, some of the most recent US Supreme court rulings on affirmative action, *Grutter v. Bollinger et al.* (2003) and *Gratz et al. v. Bollinger et al.* (2003), pale in comparison. Those cases concerned the constitutionality of the University of Michigan's Law school and Undergraduate admissions programs, respectively, and the Court ruled that although

⁴ Brazil's justices underlined the need for race-targeted affirmative action to combat discrimination and correct for past injustices affecting afro-descendants to the present day. "If afro-Brazilians are not getting into the university it is because they obviously do not equally share the same chances as whites. If the number of whites and blacks (negros) were equal, one could say that color is irrelevant. It does not seem reasonable to reduce Brazilian social inequality to economic criteria" argued Justice Weber (Santos 2012). "The construction of a fair and sympathetic society requires the whole community to repair past damages perpetrated by our ancestors," argued Justice Luiz Fux (Gallucci and Recondo 2012).

affirmative action was not justified as a way of redressing past oppression and injustice, it promoted a compelling state interest by obtaining the benefits of diversity at all levels of society. However, while the Court upheld the “narrowly tailored” use of racial criteria in admissions, it found that the point system used to rate students by the university’s undergraduate school resembled too closely a quota system, and would have to be modified.

However, shortly after the US Supreme Court’s decision, opponents of affirmative action in Michigan launched a campaign to ban such programs in the state, and in 2006, voters approved a ballot to amend the state constitution and bar affirmative action programs in higher education and public employment in Michigan. Groups in favor of affirmative action policies sued to have the amendment reversed, but in 2014, the US Supreme Court upheld Michigan’s constitutional amendment banning the use of affirmative action in admissions to the state’s public universities. In addition to Michigan, over the past two decades, several other states have banned affirmative action: Arizona, California, Florida, Washington, Oklahoma, Nebraska, New Hampshire, and Texas (Blume and Long 2013; Hinrichs 2012).

Law of social quotas

Following the Brazilian Supreme Court’s favorable decision, legislators moved quickly to enact the “The Law of Social Quotas.” As some of the most sweeping affirmative action in education in the Western hemisphere to date, the new law establishes a state-mandated program requiring all federal public universities to reserve 50% of their admission spots for public school students, which low-income students disproportionately attend. Within that 50% quota, the law requires universities to reserve seats for afro-descendants and persons of indigenous ancestry in numbers proportional to the color–race makeup of each of the states (Decreto 7.824 2012). The policy further requires that 25% of quota students come from families with a per capita income

equal to or less than 150% of the federally mandated minimum wage (Feres et al. 2014).

Notably, the law is nearly universally popular among legislators, with only one of the country's 81 senators voting against the bill. Brazil's 59 federal universities have been given four years to implement the new law, which is expected to result in an increase in diversity. According to Luiza Bairros, the minister in charge of Brazil's Secretariat for Policies to Promote Racial Equality, by 2016 officials expect the number of afro-descendants admitted to these universities to climb to 56,000 from 8700 (Gonçalves, 2012). See Table 1.2 for an outline of these major steps—events constituting Brazil's paradigm shift toward the adoption of racial quotas for afro-descendants.

Table 1.2 Brief history of Brazilian turn toward race-targeted policy for the promotion of racial equality

1978	Creation of the Unified Black Movement (MNU)
1979	Hasenbalg's landmark book on racial inequalities
1985	Return to Democracy Hasenbalg/Silva Quantitative Studies
1988	New Constitution criminalizing racism
1995	Cardoso assumes Presidency (race relations sociologist) Zumbi March in Brasília Inter-ministerial Work Group to Affirm the Black Population
1996	National Program of Human Rights
2001	U.N. Antiracism conference in Durban First federal quotas: Ministries of Agriculture & Justice and Supreme Court First quotas in public state higher education in Rio de Janeiro
2003	Establishment of Racial Equality Ministry (SEPPIR)
2004	First quotas in public federal higher education
2010	Racial Equality Statute
2011	Zumbi dos Palmares and Black Conscious National Day
2012	Supreme Court decision Law of Social Quotas

Outline of the chapters

In 2001, Rio de Janeiro became the first state in Brazil to adopt a law establishing racial quotas in admission to its public universities. This law officially established the black (negro) category for the first time in Brazil's history. The new law generated enormous controversy and underwent major reforms, which remain in effect today. This dissertation begins with a qualitative case study of this process. In chapter two, "Combining Race and Class in Affirmative Action," I examine how policy makers (social movement activists, state legislators, journalists, social scientists, university administrators) construct new racial categories as they come to decide how the rules of classification are established for these bureaucratic policies. In contrast to the experiences to date of other Latin American countries, where some black populations have gained recognition and rights based on claims to cultural distinctiveness, in Brazil black populations have been able to secure recognition and rights based on racial status. However, as I show in this chapter, the boundaries of the black racial category (negro) were impacted during the practical implementation of affirmative action.

This chapter shows how race alone came to be ruled out as sufficient criteria for inclusion in higher education affirmative action policy. Instead, racial criteria were intertwined with socio-economic criteria, creating a novel hybrid race/class category for affirmative action inclusion. Chapter two also shows that most universities in Brazil have established programs for more than one beneficiary group. The most frequent target group is public school students, followed by Afro-Brazilians, and Brazilian Indians.

Despite the rapid implementation of affirmative action policies in Brazil it's unclear how Brazilians striving to enter the university understand and negotiate the categorization used in the new policies. In chapters three and four of this dissertation I explore this question. I rely on ethnographic and interview data with low-income students studying for the competitive

university exam in college prep courses organized by a grassroots Black movement organization active in Southeastern Brazil. As a setting in which more experienced students instruct newer members in material they will need to pass competitive college entrance exams, called the vestibular, together with courses focused on social justice, race consciousness, and new affirmative action policies, this research site presented an ideal setting to explore how new racial categories used in affirmative action and black movement discourse are negotiated by the general public.

In chapter three, “Brown into Black? Race mixture and Racial quotas,” I explore how mixed-race students position themselves with respect to negro identity and using university quotas, as they think about the new policies and whether or not they “fit” with racial quotas. In this chapter I also discuss a different group of participants, also identifying as mixed-race, but who are active in the pré-vestibular as volunteers. I explore how participants in this group understand their racial identities as they do not embrace a collective black (negro) identity, but nevertheless are involved in anti-racism work. In chapter four, “Negro Identities and Affirmative Action I examine these questions as they relate to the experiences and perceptions of students identifying as black (negro).

In the three empirical chapters of this dissertation I explore the dynamics of racial classification and categorization in contemporary Brazilian affirmative action policy and the consequences these practices may have for racial boundaries in the population. In my concluding remarks (chapter 5) I summarize the main findings of the dissertation and discuss some of the broader theoretical implications of this work.

Chapter 2

Combining Race and Class in Affirmative Action

Throughout much of the twentieth century, ethno-racial assimilationist narratives and practices predominated in Latin America. Indeed, in the view of many elites, ethno-racial mixture offered a solution to the region's "problem" of a relatively large black and indigenous population.⁵ Through mixture or *mestizaje*, black and indigenous groups – generally associated with slavery, primitivism and considered a serious obstacle to modernization, would eventually form part of a new hybrid national identity. However, in the process, indigenous and Afro-descent populations were often systematically ignored or blended into a national homogenized culture where both class and ethno-racial inequality and discrimination ensured their impoverishment and marginality (Wade 2010). In the last decades of the century, this picture has changed. Since the 1980s assimilationist narratives have been increasingly challenged and several Latin American states began an important shift from official ideologies of *mestizaje* to multicultural regimes. Many populations once ignored or expected to assimilate have been granted official recognition and collective rights. Although many groups continue to struggle to assert the legitimacy of their claims, throughout Latin America ethno-racial discrimination and inequality have been established as important issues facing nation-states.

Nonetheless, scholars note important gaps in the types of ethno-racial populations that have benefited in Latin America's nascent multicultural regimes. Namely, in most cases, the categories of persons deemed legitimate beneficiaries of collective rights have been indigenous

⁵ In bears noting that elites influenced by racist scientific theories in most countries in the Americas were interested in whitening their country's populations. What makes some countries in Latin America different is that some elites believed that "solving" the "problem" of blacks and Indians in their country could be accomplished through miscegenation, which set them apart from their counterparts in other countries like the U.S. who believed that intermixture between the races led to the creation of inferior offspring.

populations; in contrast, afro-descendants have not fared as well under the new multicultural regimes. Hooker (2005) proposes the following explanation, which echoes in the works of others (French 2009; Golash-Boza 2011; Paschel 2010; Paschel and Sawyer 2008).

Yet despite the fact that their [multicultural reforms] ostensible aim has been to enhance democratic legitimacy by reversing social exclusion, not all marginalized groups in Latin America have been the recipients of collective rights. The criterion by which subjects deserving of group rights have been determined has not been whether they have suffered from racial discrimination, for example, but whether they were thought to possess and could prove their status as a distinct cultural group within the larger society. As a result, Latin America's multicultural model is more compatible with demands made on the grounds of cultural difference or "ethnic" identity than racial difference (Hooker 2005:300).

Bolstering this argument, rural black populations have gained special rights in contexts where they have been perceived as possessing cultural specificity mirroring that of indigenous populations. In Honduras, for example, the Afro-descendant Garifuna have won rights by directly claiming indigenous status (Hooker 2005). In Brazil, some rural Afro-descendant communities have been able to claim indigenous-like status and win rights (French 2009). In the case of Colombia, Paschel and Sawyer (2008:209; see also Paschel 2010) write, "Ultimately, Afro-Colombian movements have been successful precisely because they couched their claims in terms of ethnic group identity and the preservation of culture, steering away from questions of racial exclusion, discrimination, and urbanization." In sum, there may be a dynamic where foregrounding cultural distinctiveness and downplaying race is associated with success in the battle for collective rights and social inclusion under Latin American multicultural regimes.

Where does this leave the region's urban black population? The equation of "deserving population" with cultural distinctiveness is problematic in Latin America because the great majority of Afro-Latin Americans are urban and if they ever were a distinct cultural group, their overt cultural distinctiveness has faded and their cultural symbols have been incorporated into

those of the nation (Bailey 2009; Golash-Boza 2011; Sansone 2003). Afro-Latin American populations may therefore be unable to claim cultural distinctiveness and hence be less likely to appear to politicians and the general public as deserving of special rights, even though research documents that they face large socioeconomic disparities, discrimination, and political exclusion (Johnson 1998; Ñopo et al. 2007; Telles 2004; Villarreal 2010).

Are Hooker (2005) and Paschel (2010) (among others) correct that group based rights are adjudicated on the grounds of possessing a distinct group identity defined in cultural terms? The case of Brazil seems to qualify that framing on ethno-racial inclusionary struggles in Latin America. The largest country in Latin America, Brazil is also where the large majority of Afro-Latin Americans reside. These predominantly urban black populations do not easily fit the model of ethnic specificity (Bailey 2009; Fry 1976; Hanchard 1994; Sansone 2003; Telles 2004), yet it is in Brazil where the most explicit and far-reaching inclusionary legislation is being enacted. Both Hooker and Paschel address this Brazilian anomaly. Paschel (2010:736) notes that her arguments pertaining to Colombia “contrast sharply with legislation in both Brazil and the United States, where the emphasis has been on racial equality and equity in opportunities for the black population.” Hooker (2005:309) notes that affirmative action in Brazil remains controversial and may not be a model for Latin America, further suggesting that urban Afro-descendants may have difficulty finding their place in new multicultural regimes. Is the case of Brazil reflective of a possible new type of deserving criterion for multicultural policy? Is organizing around racial difference and promotion of racial equality now accepted as legitimate in that context, similar to the way it is in the United States?

In this chapter I argue that the premise that achieving collective gains under Latin America’s new multicultural regimes is contingent on the ability to successfully assert cultural

distinctiveness is in need of some revision, at least in Brazil. It is not the case, however, that “race” and issues of racial discrimination simply replace “ethnicity” and culture-based claims as criteria for state intervention in Brazil. In that country, for example, being “black” by itself appears generally insufficient to merit inclusion in Brazil’s new affirmative action initiatives in higher education, unlike the situation of race-based affirmative action at certain times in US history. Instead, I explore the development of a novel type of affirmative action policy in the state universities of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, that combines race and class criteria to demarcate beneficiary status, thereby targeting a specific portion of the Afro-Brazilian population: poor black students. Moreover, beyond an exploration of the case of Rio de Janeiro, data demonstrate that this new, dual race-class conception for beneficiary status dominates over race-only frameworks among Brazil’s public institutes of higher learning. Whether the example of Brazil might resonate in other Latin American countries with significant black populations remains to be seen, but it is clear that Afro-descendant cultural specificity is not central to the debate in Brazil.

The Case of Rio de Janeiro: Initial proposals for separate class and race quotas

The early efforts of politicians, state agencies, and social movement activists in Rio de Janeiro to target both class inequality and racial inequality are overlooked in scholarly accounts of the establishment of affirmative action policies in Brazil (Bailey 2009; Htun 2004).

Throughout the 1990s Rio de Janeiro State Representative Carlos Minc of the Workers Party (PT) collaborated with local black movement organizations and politicians, student groups, public university representatives, and Rio de Janeiro’s Special State Secretariat for the Defense and Promotion of Black Populations (SEDEPRON) to develop affirmative action proposals. In

1996 Minc introduced Bill No. 89/96, which proposed that an additional number of slots in Rio de Janeiro's public state universities and technical schools be created for "historically disadvantaged ethno-racial groups" (10%) and "low-income" students (20%). After debate in the university system and the legislature, the bill was eventually amended and reintroduced to the state legislature in 1999. This revised proposal defined historically disadvantaged ethno-racial groups as Afro-Brazilians—classified in Brazil's census categories as black or brown—and Indians, referring to "all those individuals of pre-Columbian descent" (Legislative Proposal No. 89/99, Feb. 25, 1999).⁶ Neither of these bills specifically addressing ethno-racial groups passed the legislature.

In 2000, however, a bill targeting class inequality successfully became law. On December 28, 2000, Governor Garotinho approved Law No. 3.524/2000 establishing a 50% quota for public school students in the allocation of seats in Rio de Janeiro's state universities. This law was the first of its kind in the nation, and although it does not explicitly mention class, it assumes that public school students are predominantly poor and working class. Brazil's national student movements, who had long recognized the problems with the public university selection process, namely its bias toward private school graduates, actively championed the law. In contrast, top university administrators criticized it. In a written report to the state legislative assembly, university officials argued that instead of imposing quotas, legislators should work to improve public primary and secondary education, so that public school students would score better on the entrance exam (Report from the State University of Rio de Janeiro, Sept. 19, 2000). They also expressed concerns that the law would increase discrimination against public school students on campus. In Brazil, class divisions are rigid, and creating a class-based quota could

⁶ Text of all legislative proposals and laws is available at www.alerj.rj.gov.br.

further label these students as not truly deserving of their spaces. Finally, they cited the potential for fraud, whereby students might enroll in public schools in order to benefit from the quota, but actually attend private schools. Perhaps in part due to these criticisms, the law was not actually implemented until 2003.

In contrast to these earlier failed attempts at passing affirmative action for ethno-racial minorities, it was a bill from Rio de Janeiro State Representative José Amorim of the Brazilian Progressive Party (PPB) that became the first racial quota law. Enacted in November 2001, Law No. 3.708/2001 established a “40% (forty percent) admissions quota for black (*negro*) and brown (*pardo*) populations in public institutions of higher education in the state of Rio de Janeiro.” Amorim, a politician with no prior connection to the black movement or racism issues, drafted his proposal in the context of Brazil’s extensive organizing and media coverage surrounding the 2001 World Conference Against Racism. The official Brazilian delegation to this UN conference proposed the development of affirmative action policies to benefit Brazil’s black population in public university admissions and federal government hiring, proposals that received wide coverage in Brazil’s national print media outlets (Peria 2004). As Amorim explained in an interview, the World Conference, and principally the media coverage of it, inspired and served as an important source of content for his proposal:

originally a journalist friend of mine brought us the idea for the proposal and then as we developed the idea, my cabinet assistants relied on the news and opinions being published on the Internet and the newspapers about the World Conference in South Africa, Benedita da Silva’s trip to the conference, and statistics from IBGE as well as a previous law of Senator Sarney. (interview, Aug. 19, 2003)

Amorim marshaled political resources acquired in his more than forty-five years in public office, ten of these as a Rio de Janeiro state deputy, to get his bill passed within just a few weeks of its introduction. Indeed, he explained that it was only “with skill” that a deputy could get the

signatures required for a proposal to be fast-tracked through the political process (interview, Aug. 19, 2003). Fast-tracked proposals are scheduled for discussion and a vote in the plenary assembly within two sessions of their introduction onto the schedule, thus considerably limiting the opportunity for any kind of debate, public or otherwise. As the record shows, the state assembly voted to pass the first racial quota law in Brazil on October 18, 2001, a little more than one month after its introduction onto the agenda.

Although the bill's rapid trajectory through the state assembly likely facilitated its passage, this may also have reduced its perceived legitimacy. Amorim largely acted alone. Incredibly and tellingly, most black movement leaders and university officials found out about Amorim's bill only *after* its passage. Black movement activists were divided in their opinion of the new law. Some wished there had been more discussion and debate on this novel piece of legislation, but others simply wanted to push forward (participant observation, 2001–Dec. 2003). As one black activist and researcher from a public policy center in Rio de Janeiro explained, “Even with all the criticism that we might have of the law, it's the mechanism that we have today, and we can't afford to lose that” (interview, Nov. 13, 2001). Still, many activists thought the law needed improvement. For example, it failed to provide any plan for financially supporting black students once admitted to the university. This is a critical issue because economic disadvantage could sabotage the intent of a racial quota law by giving space to students without making it practical for them to attend. Although higher education in Brazilian public universities is tuition free, there are many other costs involved (e.g., transportation and materials).

Another problem concerned the confusing wording of the law. By establishing a quota for *negros* and *pardos* the law drew from two different systems of classification: the mixed color

category *pardo* used by Brazil's national census and the politicized racial category *negro* employed by the black movement (Telles 2004). As Renato Ferreira, an activist with Educafro explained, "By using the terms *negro* and *pardo*, the law ignores the thinking of the black community in recent years. For a large part of the community negros and pardos don't exist, but rather we are all negros" (interview, Nov. 1, 2002). Ferreira, echoing earlier criticism of public school quotas, also noted that "the term *pardo* can open the possibility for fraud. People who do not suffer prejudice may want to benefit and look in the closet for a black grandparent."

Whereas leaders of the black movement criticized aspects of the law but were generally in favor of moving ahead with implementing the policies, top university officials actively opposed it, using arguments similar to those raised against the 2000 public school quota law. Most pointedly, they argued that the law violated the university's right to an autonomous decision-making process. As then chancellor of UERJ Nilcéa Freire stated in an interview published in *O Globo* newspaper: "The way that the debate was introduced at UERJ wounded the basic principle of university autonomy and harmed the discussion of the merit of the laws" (*O Globo*, February 23, 2003). Moreover, the fact that neither university officials nor black movement leaders had been invited to participate in drafting the law heightened criticism of the policy.

Although the two bills establishing racial and public school quotas had both been signed into law by Governor Garotinho, provisions for implementing the new policies had not yet been made by January 2002, when Rio de Janeiro's state universities (UERJ and UENF) officially announced the 2003 Vestibular exam. Also in 2002, Garotinho announced his candidacy in the national presidential race and stepped down as governor of Rio de Janeiro in order to campaign full-time. In his absence, Rio de Janeiro vice-governor and longtime community organizer

Benedita da Silva took over. Under pressure from Educafro, on July 4, 2002, she issued Decree 31.468, which ordered immediate implementation of the law reserving 50% of spaces in the state universities for public school students.⁷ This was accomplished by creating two entrance exams, one for public school students and another for private school students. And to comply with the racial quota in Law 3.708/2001, all students (from public as well private schools) were asked to declare on their enrollment form “under penalty of law” whether or not they self-identified as negro or pardo. However, just what penalty would be applied in cases of “fraud” was not specified, and at the time of the entrance exam, no one was sure how such cases would be prosecuted (interview with UERJ-DSEA administrator, Oct. 8, 2002).

As was customary each year, in 2003 UERJ and UNEF released the Vestibular exam results to local newspapers at the end of the first week of February, which is how students learn whether they have gained a coveted seat in the university system. For the first time the results were structured by public school and racial quotas. The public announcement of these results fueled an intense debate over the use of quotas. The country’s leading newspapers published articles, editorials, and letters to the editor discussing the results of the Vestibular, debating the laws and their effectiveness, with many questioning the legality of quotas. Sectors of the black movement and other proponents of the new policy argued that deep racial inequality prevented Afro-Brazilians from exercising full citizenship, cited the public universities of excellence as an area particularly closed to blacks, and stated that racial affirmative action was necessary to

⁷ Students and leaders of Educafro informed the governor and the State University of Rio de Janeiro that they would take legal action against the university if this law was not implemented immediately. In a letter to UERJ Chancellor Nilcéa Freire dated June 25, 2002, Educafro representatives stated, “We see that UERJ has ignored the law. We are calling a meeting of our legal advisors and we will be forced to prosecute the state university in the courts. With this attitude, UERJ runs the risk of having the results of the 2003 entrance exam forfeited.” In another letter to Vice-Governor Benedita da Silva, Educafro presented a signed petition requesting the immediate implementation of the quota and promising that “if necessary, a group of pre-university students will chain ourselves to the university gates until the quotas are given back to the public school students” (June 11, 2001, UERJ/DSEA).

change this situation. Others argued that socioeconomic inequality, not color, was the major barrier to higher education and that what was needed were universal policies targeting poverty. Many declared a biracial system antithetical to Brazil, a country where race mixture has been a cornerstone of national identity (e.g., Fry et al. 2007).⁸

Backlash to race-based quotas

Very shortly, students that had taken UERJ's entrance exam but had not gained a seat in the university began seeking legal recourse. In the first weeks after the results of the entrance exam were made public, close to one hundred individual lawsuits were filed against the affirmative action policies.⁹ Over the following weeks and months, the number of lawsuits continued to grow, eventually surpassing two hundred. The vast majority of these suits were filed by white students seeking admission into the Schools of Medicine and Law. UERJ's medical and law schools are among the top in the country, admitting approximately 2% and 7%, respectively, of the thousands of candidates who apply each year (UERJ/DSEA 2012). Lawyers representing these students demanded that the court order UERJ to reserve vacancies for their clients. They argued that reserving spaces for public school students, negros, and pardos violated the constitutional guarantee of equality for all and represented an excessive approach to dealing with historical inequities, thus also violating principles of reasonability and proportionality. Determining the "race" of candidates became a polemic issue; lawyers argued that the lack of "objective criteria" for judging race undermined the process. Notably, the public school quota was much less often contested in these cases, suggesting that class was apparently

⁸ On the role of racial mixing on notions of Brazilian national identity, see, for example, Freyre 1946 and Ribeiro 1995.

⁹ In addition to these individual lawsuits, three lawsuits challenging the constitutionality of the laws were filed: two at the state level and one with the federal Supreme Court.

viewed as less vulnerable to criticism than race. Eventually, UERJ received 108 preliminary injunctions obliging it to reserve vacancies for white students who had been denied admission.

The first student to file suit against UERJ was seventeen-year-old Nino Donato Oliva, who took the law exam and would have qualified for one of the 304 vacancies that year if not for the new affirmative action laws. The second case, that of Bruno Gomes, age twenty-five, was different. Gomes's score on the state entrance exam for medicine ranked him 144th among students seeking one of the 92 vacancies available. Although Gomes's score was not high enough to have gained him admission regardless of the quota laws, because fifteen candidates who self-identified as negros or pardos had earned lower scores than his and had been accepted via the quota system, Gomes argued that he too should be accepted. In both cases, the judge ordered UERJ to reserve vacancies for these students because the school year was scheduled to begin that month, meaning that extensive analysis of the cases would be equivalent to rejection. However, in Gomes's case, the judge also based his ruling on the possibility of fraud in the system of self-identification for negros and pardos, given that UERJ had no means to “objectively verify” the race of each candidate. Several other judges also made similar arguments in deciding other lawsuits, as this opinion illustrates:

because of the way in which the law was established, we are unable to confirm, concretely and objectively, as this situation requires, if the registered candidate who self-identified as negro or pardo is a member of this group. As such I consider reasonable and plausible the allegation that the system of reservation of spaces in the university for negros and pardos wounds the constitutional principle of equality before the law. (Decision in case no. 2003.001.017978-6, Rio de Janeiro 6th Public Court)

The issue of fraud takes on another dimension when we consider that close to 70% of lawsuits were filed by individuals like Bruno Gomes who did not score well enough for admission to UERJ regardless of the quota law. As mentioned in an e-mail communication from

R. Cesar, Feb. 13, 2004, only some ten students were like Donato, whose admission was arguably compromised by the quota. In other words, the majority of lawsuits were filed by students who were not directly denied admission by the new affirmative action policies but claimed discrimination anyway. Seemingly the new policies became something of a means for disappointed students to air their grievances.

As reported by the newspaper *O Globo*, one lawsuit was filed by a student who self-identified as negro but did not declare his race when he signed up for the Vestibular, because he opposed the establishment of the negro quota and felt that it would be “hypocritical” to take advantage of it. This student, eighteen-year-old Ricardo Menezes da Silva, scored 74 points on the state exam but was not accepted to the law school. Ricardo challenged the fact that students taking the public school exam got into the law program with a score of 58.75 (Fry 2003).

Several lawsuits were also filed on behalf of students who did declare themselves negro or pardo when they signed up for the Vestibular and were accepted to UERJ under the quota system, but now felt they needed court protection to guarantee their place at UERJ (interview with Humberto Adami, June 1, 2003).

Although UERJ had initially opposed the quota laws, as evidenced in their report to the state assembly, the barrage of lawsuits effectively forced university administrators and lawyers into a position of defending the new admissions process and coming out in favor of the quotas in court. Perhaps more than anything else, university officials were concerned with the institutional costs the university would incur should it be forced to recognize the preliminary court injunctions and admit some 108 additional students, potentially establishing a precedent for future challenges to its entrance examination. As the vice-chancellor of UERJ explained in an interview:

Through the enormous quantity of individual lawsuits, the results of the entrance exam are at risk of being voided. UERJ offers ninety-two places in the School of Medicine—an extremely expensive course, with extensive laboratory time. We can't just add one more chair. And even for courses with less laboratory time, like law, how would we hire more professors? Arrange classrooms? If we could afford to have more students, we would have done this a long time ago. (Interview, April 4, 2003)

Based on this argument—the serious threat that the lawsuits presented to the university's ability to begin the school year should it be forced to admit the students that had sued—the UERJ legal team was able to get the preliminary injunctions reserving slots for the plaintiffs suspended. Other lawsuits were subsequently dropped, due in large part to plaintiffs' lack of interest in pursuing them further.

The policies almost immediately also became the subject of bitter debate, especially among academics; what Bailey and Peria (2010) have likened to a “culture wars” within the Brazilian academy. These groups have debated quotas widely, presenting their opposing views in various public forums, from newspaper editorials and television debates, to signed petitions and amicus curie court briefs. While both sides of the debate generally agreed that non-whites are disproportionately represented among the poorest and least educated of society, they disagreed as to whether the state should explicitly classify them as a racial group and forge social policy to benefit this group. Critics of the new measures argue that these policies violate the core tenets of the nation. They argue that traditionally most countries in Latin America have ascribed to a national creed of *mestizaje* or *mestiçagem* that upholds a portrait of a country with a majority mixed-race population and the absence of overt racial discrimination, a “racial democracy” (Fry 2005; Fry et al. 2007; Maio and Santos 2005). In this sense, the cautioning words of Brazilian scholars that Brazil is not like the U.S.—namely, because Brazil never officially instituted a binary black/white system through segregationist policies and a “one-drop

rule” ideology of racial identity, maintains that Brazilian racial identity is primarily fluid and thus does not lend itself to race-based policies. Furthermore, anti-quota scholars argued that treating inequality at the level of race reinstated the scientific racism of the early 20th century.

On the other hand, pro-quota scholars argue Brazil is a country of whites, negroes, and Indigenous governed by a state with a long and continuing racist legacy. This group denies that using quotas for negroes implies they hold any belief in race or that this type of policy would result in the making of “official races” (Carvalho 2005; Guimarães 2005; Medeiros 2004; Telles 2004). Rather, for these scholars, Brazil is already a country of defined racial groups struggling with one another due to the unmistakable presence of racism. What should be the result of 350 years of slavery and 120 years of state racism? It should be the ‘reparation of the damages caused by the racism of the Brazilian republic’ in the form of racial quotas.

Reform of affirmative action laws

In the aftermath of this public backlash the Rio de Janeiro state government announced the formation of a special working group within the State Secretariat of Education (SECTI) to reform the new laws prior to the 2004 Vestibular. The chancellors of UENF and UERJ, professors, state attorneys, leaders of Educafro and the student movement, were all invited to participate in the reform of the policies. Relatively quickly the group recognized that in order to ensure the survival of affirmative action, it would be necessary to draft an entirely new law that would address the legal challenges and criticism launched at the quota laws: the lack of (1) precise definitions of race/color categories, (2) a means to verify students' racial self-identification, and (3) input from university and social movement leaders in the process. University administrators and Educafro leaders Friar David and Renato Ferreira took the lead in

modifying and reforming the affirmative action laws.¹⁰ For Educafro, a grassroots community education movement active in the poor suburbs of Rio de Janeiro city, the process provided an opportunity to validate the conceptions of social justice it had constructed during the 1990s. In this decade Educafro and its predecessor, the Movimento Pré-vestibular para Negros e Carentes (Vestibular Preparation Movement for Blacks and the Poor) or PVNC, had worked on behalf of poor black and nonblack students, creating a close connection between racial and class classifications in their advocacy. This conception clearly shaped the reform of the Rio de Janeiro affirmative action laws.

Defining “race” for inclusion

Educafro and university leaders presented several new proposals to the working group. The university proposed the creation of three separate quotas: (1) 20% for public school students, (2) 20% for negros and pardos, and (3) 5% for ethnic minorities and disabled students. In contrast, Educafro proposed the establishment of an income criterion for all students and excluded the intermediate category of pardo. One proposal specified “a 50% quota, distributed as follows: 25% for low-income public school students and 25% for low-income black (negro) students.” In addition, the proposal sought to precisely qualify the negro category using a phenotypical definition of blackness to be applied by an admissions verification committee: a negro student is “someone with dark skin, thick curly hair, a wide nose, and thick lips.” Another article of the proposal further stated, “Black students will declare their status by means of a signed declaration under legal penalty. In the case of doubt, the university or a third party will

¹⁰ Renato Ferreira is a former student member of Movimento Pré-vestibular para Negros e Carentes (Vestibular Preparation Movement for Blacks and the Poor). He studied law at the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro and today works for the Special Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality (SEPPIR) in Brasília. Friar David is director of Educafro.

consider as negro anyone who presents a negro phenotype” (participant observation, SECTI meeting, May 2, 2003).

Educafro’s concern with establishing better control over student racial self-classification was mirrored in their public legal actions. At the time, Educafro and local black movement lawyers had filed a civil inquiry with the state supreme court, defending the new policies and requesting an investigation of claims that white students had fraudulently declared themselves to be negros in order to benefit from the admissions quotas. During the judicial process, more than fifty witnesses submitted handwritten affidavits that they had seen white students committing such fraud (interview with Humberto Adami, Sept. 4, 2004). Furthermore, university data revealed that 14.4% of the candidates who had declared themselves as negros or pardos and sought affirmative action status when they took the 2003 Vestibular had later declared themselves as white on the university’s socioeconomic questionnaire (DSEA-UERJ data).

In Brazil, there is no dichotomous black-versus-white identification schema based on an explicit rule—like that of hypodescent in the United States (Davis 1991)—so many Brazilians see themselves as racially mixed. As mentioned above, about 43% opted for the mixed category pardo in the 2010 national census. Pardo is a very ambiguous category that can include many shades of skin color (Telles 2004; Bailey 2009). Because the law provided a 40% quota for “pardos” and “negros,” it opened up the possibility for Brazilians of a wide range of skin tones or backgrounds to qualify. In contrast, Educafro considered those students with darker skin tones and more marked black physical features, as more likely to suffer the social experience of discrimination – from the police, when looking for work, etc., and as such the group that should be targeted by the policy. Furthermore, in the opinion of many black movement leaders, targeted affirmative action not only provides access to higher education for black Brazilians but also

constitutes a step toward establishing greater symbolic recognition of pardos and pretos in Brazil as members of a single racial group—negros. The institutionalization of the negro category in policy for the first time in the country’s history, and the requirement that students self-identify as negro for inclusion in that policy, could help achieve long-sought gains in collective identity (Bailey 2009). Along these lines, the pardo category has been seen as an obstacle to forming a black negro group, as it is considered by many as a way for people to avoid their blackness (Degler [1971]1986).

Even though they recognized the concern with establishing a more precise means to verify students' racial self-identification for beneficiary group status in the majority racially mixed context, Rio de Janeiro University administrators ultimately resisted the idea of establishing an interview committee charged with determining which students were and were not black. Nonetheless, they concurred with black movement leaders that the pardo category ("brown," or light-skinned black) was a weakness in the original policy.

The thinking behind the need to combine pretos and pardos into one category, negro, and eliminate the “pardo” category from the policy, is also highlighted in the following excerpt from the meeting. Again, as the policy stood, it provided admissions quotas for “negro” or “pardo” students. In the excerpt that follows, a prominent black movement activist and academic explains to the group why the quota law should be changed in order to target solely negros as beneficiaries, instead of negros and pardos. His explanation refers to the work of social scientists Hasenbalg and Silva (1979; 1985), which were the first to note similarities in the socioeconomic status of pretos and pardos:

A segment of the black movement and a segment of academia, based on statistical data, consider that it is legitimate to join pretos and pardos in another category – that of negros. Why? Because the distance between pardos and whites is a large distance and the distance between pardos and pretos is always small, measured by indicators such as infant mortality, wages, education, etc. etc. [...] Well, you can join pretos and pardos in another category which is negro. Soon, who talks about negros, doesn't talk about pardos. If you talk about negros, you talk about pretos and pardos together, forming negros, afro-descendants. Carlos Hasenbalg prefers not whites (não-brancos), in sum the name you want to give. The [quota] law got this, one category from one family that is negro, which is the sum of pretos and pardos, and then got another category, pardos, which is a traditional category from IBGE [Brazil's National Data Center]. If UERJ [State University of Rio de Janeiro] adopts this criteria, it will contribute to perpetuate this confusion [...] The black movement and this segment of academia defend a single category [negro] for afro-descendants, and also say that this category represents almost half of the population. (participant observation, SECTI meeting, May 2, 2003)

This discussion of race reveals the close connection between the concept of race and socioeconomic status. For the black movement and some sectors of the academy mixed-race Brazilians, labeled as pardos by the official census, should be included in the negro group because of their more closely shared experience of social inequality with pretos, than with whites.¹¹ Following this explanation, all parties agreed that the pardo category should be removed for more consistent identification of the “racial group” targeted in the law and it was quickly decided to adopt negro as the sole category in the law (participant observation, SECTI meetings, Feb.–May 2003).¹²

¹¹ However, it bears noting that some of the literature on racial inequality in Brazil posits that pretos and pardos do not differ significantly in terms of average incomes in comparison to whites (e.g., Hasenbalg 1988). While other scholars disagree, finding significantly greater differences between pretos and whites than between pardos and whites (Telles 2004).

¹² See Maio and Santos 2005 and Racusen 2009 for discussions of approaches to identifying the targeted minority in other Brazilian universities.

Combination of class and race criteria

In their effort to refine the target population, social movement and state actors also agreed on the addition of a low-income requirement for eligibility. Indeed, Educafro activists and lawyers were adamant on the addition of a low-income criteria for *all* students targeted by the quotas:

Educafro asserts that the law should only protect members of excluded groups: negros, Indians, people with special needs, and students from the public school system. Family income, for us, is a fundamental factor; per-capita family income should not be above two minimum-wage salaries per candidate. (participant observation, SECTI meeting May 2, 2003)

Educafro representatives argued that, given the scarcity of state resources, it was important to ensure that the neediest students would benefit from the new policies. They further asserted that the public school criterion by itself was not sufficient to accomplish this objective. Indeed, they criticized the public school quota as not having actually benefited poorer students from state-operated public schools. According to UERJ data, only one student from the one hundred-plus high schools maintained by the Rio de Janeiro State Secretariat of Education had qualified in the 2003 entrance exam, while 599 came from Rio de Janeiro's relatively prestigious federal and technical public schools (Cesar N. d.). The federal and technical public institutions admit students on a competitive basis, are attended by Rio de Janeiro's middle class, and have well-established records of qualifying students in the Vestibular absent affirmative action.

As the working group continued wrestling with the issue of verifying candidates' declared racial status, it became clear that the university could not be pressured into adopting criteria for formally verifying students' racial self-identifications. Educafro's proposal to remove the term *pardo*, together with the addition of the income criterion, became a way to minimize this impasse in negotiations and ensure that the black students who would benefit from the racial quota system were those with the greatest financial need. Without a low-income criterion,

Educafro leaders argued, only middle-class and upper-middle-class black students would benefit from the new laws (see also Ramos 2005). Other local activists and politicians also favored the addition of an income criterion in order to mitigate some of the thorny issues surrounding the issue of racial classification and thereby help to legitimize the policy on several fronts. Moreover, the addition of an income criterion helped eliminate the relatively prosperous students from the prestigious federal and technical public high schools, opening up opportunities for the truly disadvantaged students, who are the majority in the state-operated public schools. Public school attendance as a stand-alone criterion for admission under affirmative action, then, was considered deficient in Rio de Janeiro as a measure for identifying a clearly disadvantaged social class, whether white, black, or brown.

The close relationship between class and race in the new laws was further revealed in the debate and discussion among Rio de Janeiro's state deputies as they prepared to vote on the fourth and final version of the quota laws (Proposal 520/2003). As Fry (2005) has previously noted, the discussion revolved around the issue of social disadvantage to such a degree that at times *negro* became synonymous with "needy." In reality, although these two categories do overlap significantly, they are not identical, leading to Educafro's concern that the quota system not neglect the majority of negros, i.e., those who are poor.

This final proposal established a total affirmative action quota of 45% distributed across four categories of individuals: students from public schools (20%), students self-identifying as black (20%), and disabled and Brazilian Indian students (5% combined). The new item in the final law was a baseline requirement that all groups of affirmative action candidates also be low income. Two groups, Educafro and UERJ officials, helped with drafting the final language of the policy.

Because of the polemic surrounding the quotas, state assembly leaders decided not to put the legislation on the agenda for debate. Thus, it was left to state legislators to approve Law 4.151/2003, which they did on August 14, 2003. This new legislation replaced the earlier three affirmative action laws, and according to Ramos (2005), an agreement was made between Rio de Janeiro's state deputies, university chancellors, and social movement activists to postpone the date of the 2004 entrance exam in order to allow time for the law to be sanctioned, regulated, and implemented that year. See the timeline in Table 2.1 for a summary of the chronology of the development of these different affirmative action policies in Rio de Janeiro. In sum, the process from the sanctioning of class-based affirmative action in 2000 to the adoption of a combination class- and race-based policy and its implementation in the 2004 Vestibular resulted from a complicated combination of events, actors, countermeasures, and reformulations. From one perspective, an important end result was the creation of a new type of racial beneficiary category in the state of Rio de Janeiro's public universities: poor black students.

Table 2.1: Timeline of affirmative action laws passed by the state legislature of Rio de Janeiro, 2000–2004

2000	December 28, 2000	Law 3.524/2000, the first law of its kind in the country, establishes a 50% quota for public school students in RJ's state universities. Regulations for the implementation of the law are left undefined.
2001	November 9, 2001	Law 3.708/2001, again an unprecedented law, sets a 40% quota for negros and pardos in RJ's state universities. It is the first law of its kind in the country. Regulations for the implementation of the law are left undefined
2002	March 4, 2002	Decree 30.766 regulates Laws 3.524 and 3.708, setting criteria for selecting candidates. The state universities must reserve 50% of slots for public school students and select from among this group students self-identified as negros and pardos to fulfill the 40% quota defined in Law 3.708. Any remaining slots are to be filled by other candidates declared negro or pardo regardless of school background.
	July 4, 2002	Decree 31.468 further defines selection criteria for public school students, permitting implementation of Laws 3.524 and 3.708 in the 2003 Vestibular.
2003	January 2, 2003	Law 4.061/2003 establishes a 10% quota for people with disabilities in RJ's state universities.
	September 4, 2003	Law 4.151/2003 combines the previous three quota laws (3.524, 3.708 and 4.061) into one law. Establishes a 45% quota for low-income students distributed as follows: 20% from public schools, 20% negros, and 5% Brazilian Indians and students with disabilities.
2004		Law 4.151/2003 is implemented in the 2004 Vestibular.

Source: Text of all legislation available at www.alerj.rj.gov.br

Dominance of combined race and class criteria for affirmative action in Brazil

Following these events in Rio de Janeiro in 2000–2004, class- and race-based affirmative action quickly spread throughout Brazilian higher education. In this section of the dissertation I document the prevalence across Brazil of the concept employed in Rio de Janeiro, which created a unique approach to affirmative action for black Brazilians, generally granting beneficiary status only to those that meet an additional criteria: low-income, public school attendance, or both. In

an effort to map this distribution and reveal the relationship of “race” and “class” categories in these new policies, I collected information on current affirmative action admissions policies at all Brazilian public universities. The data were collected in 2011 from university regulations governing its entrance exam and from student manuals, both published on university websites.

Brazil has separate state and federal systems of public universities. Overall both types of public universities are more prestigious and competitive than private institutes of higher learning, and they are 100% government funded. Brazil has a total of 95 public universities (37 state and 58 federal universities). For the 2012 entrance exam, 73 public universities had some sort of affirmative action program or policy. Of these, 19 state universities adopted programs via legislative mandate, as did Rio de Janeiro, in all other cases the policy change was the result of internal university decision. For instance, at the Federal University of Brasilia (UnB) affirmative action was implemented by University Council decision after five years of internal university deliberation and debate.

The target populations of the policies vary, targeting one or a combination of public school students, negros, pretos and pardos, Brazilian Indians, low-income students, students from *quilombos* (largely African rural settlements originally founded by escaped slaves), residents of the state, and students with disabilities. The most frequent target group is public school students (N=60), followed by Afro-Brazilians (N=39), and Brazilian Indians (N=34). Most universities have established programs for more than one beneficiary group. For example, the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC) sets aside an admissions quota for public school students (20%), one for black public school students (10%), and seven extra slots for Brazilian Indians. The Federal University of Pará (UFPA) reserves 50% of all slots for public school students, and within this quota, establishes a 40% quota for students self-identifying as either black or brown

(“preto or pardo”). In addition UFPA created extra slots in each course for Brazilian Indians (two per course) and for people with disabilities (one per course).

While the negro category has been the predominant category used across University affirmative action programs, there is quite a bit of variation in how this is institutionalized.¹³ Most universities (n=15) have borrowed from social movement conceptions of the negro category, indicating in student manuals and on websites that quotas are available for students who are either of the color preto or pardo and declare themselves negro. The following example is drawn from the student manual from the State University of Santa Cruz. The manual explains that students who wish to be considered for admissions under the quota program will first need to prove via documentation that they have graduated from public schools, and then if they wish, choose from the following secondary quota options:

I choose to self-declare as negro (preto or pardo) or I am Indian, recognized by the National Indian Foundation or I am a member of Quilombo community (registered by the Palmares Foundation) or I do not fit into any of the options provided. (UESC, Student Manual 2011, p 24-25.)

While negro, defined as preto or pardo, has been used in most cases, some universities (n=17), like the State Universities of Rio de Janeiro, require students to declare themselves as “negro” or “afro-descendant” without mention of the preto or pardo categories:

If applying for the quota for negro and Brazilian Indian students, the candidate should submit for review the following documentation:

a) for negros – self-declaration according to the model below:

Declaration:

In accordance with State Law number 5346/2008, I (complete name), enrolled in the state Vestibular 2011, under the number (enrollment number), declare, under the penalty of law, to self-identify as negro.

_____ (Date and signature of candidate)
(UERJ/DSEA)

¹³ Although this is changing with the adoption of the 2012 Law of Social Quotas for Federal Universities, which I discuss more below.

One of the areas of greatest controversy in the new programs concerns the guidelines and processes used to verify the racial identity of student applicants. As in the example above, most universities require students seeking to qualify for programs for black students to self-identify as such and sign a legal declaration of this identity status upon penalty of fraud. However, as many critics have pointed out, just what penalty would be administered in cases of fraud, and how this would be determined, is unclear.

On the other hand, concerns over fraud from what are referred to as “social whites” (brancos sociais), that is people looking at their family tree for a distant black relative in order to qualify for the racial quota system, have prompted some programs to take a more “pro-active” approach, requiring students interested in qualifying to submit a photo for review by a committee, or to pass an interview examination intended to verify the candidate’s racial status; in the large majority of cases, however, racial status has been combined with a class criterion (public school attendance or low-income status), with only the class criterion requiring corroborating documentation. Nonetheless, there has been some criticism that universities reserving slots for low-income students require families to undergo a prohibitively involved process to verify family income.

In 2012, out of the 73 universities with affirmative action programs, 39 addressed black Brazilians. As stated, the majority of these programs are designed such that, in order to qualify, black students must also fulfill additional criteria: public school attendance, low income, or both. Table 2.2 below summarizes the distribution of the 39 policies specifically addressing these students. As shown, 28 of 39 programs define a beneficiary class of black public school students. An example is the Federal University of Juiz de Fora, which established a 50% quota for public school students, and within that quota, 25% is reserved for negros. Five universities,

including the state universities of Rio de Janeiro (UENF and UERJ) discussed earlier, require documentation of family income. Finally, only 6 of 39 (15%) programs target race alone, without any secondary class-based criterion.

These statistics suggest, then, that the dominant policy approach during the years following the implementation of quotas in Rio de Janeiro was to define a beneficiary group of “poor black students,” rather than black students in general. Moreover, this trend has steadily continued with the 2012 “Law of Social Quotas.” As some of the most sweeping affirmative action in education in the Western hemisphere to date, the new law requires all federal public universities to reserve 50% of their admission spots for public school students, which low income students disproportionately attend. Within that 50 per cent quota the law requires the universities to reserve seats for afro-descendants and persons of indigenous ancestry in numbers proportional to the color/race make-up of each Brazilian state (Decree 7.824 of 2012). The policy further requires that 25 per cent of quota students come from families with a per capita income equal to or less than 150 per cent of the federally mandated minimum wage (Feres Jr. et al. 2014). Brazil’s 59 federal universities have been given four years to implement the new law, which is expected to result in an increase in diversity. According to Luiza Bairros, the minister in charge of Brazil’s Secretariat for Policies to Promote Racial Equality, by 2016 officials expect the number of Afro-Brazilians admitted to these universities to climb to 56,000 from 8,700 (Gonçalves 2012).

While the category “negro” was used in early versions of the legislation, the wording was changed and the final version omitted this category, employing instead the National Census categories “preto and pardo”, which may have helped to garner support from legislators.

Indeed, the law is nearly universally popular among legislators, with only one of the country's 81 senators voting against the bill.

Table 2.2: Qualification criteria for university affirmative action programs addressing Afro-Brazilians (N=39)

Race plus public school (N=28) ^a	The majority of programs create a beneficiary category of Afro-Brazilian public school student. With few exceptions these schools also provide benefits to public school students regardless of race/ethnicity, as well as other groups. ^b For example, the Federal University of Juiz de Fora (UFJF) reserves 50% of slots in each course for public school students, and within this quota, 25% are reserved for students also self-identifying as negros. ^c
Race and Income (N=5) ^d	To qualify for this dual race/income beneficiary category, students self-identifying as black must also fulfill a low-income requirement. Most programs also have spaces for low-income nonblack public school students and other groups. For example, to qualify for affirmative action slots at the state universities of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ and UNEF), candidates must have a gross per capita household monthly income equal to or less than \$960,00 Brazilian reais (US\$480.00 US dollars) (UERJ/UNEF Candidate Manual 2010).
Race (N=6) ^e	These universities have affirmative action programs targeting various groups, but reserve certain slots for Afro-Brazilians, regardless of income. For example, the Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM) reserves 13% of slots in each course for Afro-Brazilians, 5% for special needs students, 20% for public school students, and 8 spaces for Brazilian Indians. To qualify, Afro-Brazilians must submit a signed declaration that they are "Afro-Brazilian negro."

^a These universities are State University of Amapá (UEAP), State University of Feira de Santana (UEFS), State University of Londrina (UEL), State University of Ponta Grossa (UEPG), State University of Southeastern Bahia (UESB), State University of Santa Cruz (UESC), State University of Piauí (UESPI), Federal University of ABC (UFABC), Federal University of Alagoas (UFAL), Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), Federal University of Goiás (UFG), Federal University of Juiz de Fora (UFJF), Federal University of Maranhão (UFMA), Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), Federal University of Pará (UFPA), Federal University of Paraíba (UFPB), Rural Federal University of Amazônia (UFRA), Federal University of Recôncavo da Bahia (UFRB), Federal University of South Rio Grande (UFRGS), Federal University of Sergipe (UFS), Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), Federal University of São Carlos (UFSCAR), Federal University of São João del Rei (UFSJ), State University of Mato Grosso (UNEMAT), State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), Federal University of São Paulo (UNIFESP), Federal University of Pampa (UNIPAMPA), and the Federal University of Rio Grande Foundation (FURG).

^b The five public universities with affirmative action programs that target Afro-Brazilian public school students, but not nonblack public school students are Federal University of Alagoas (UFAL), Federal University of Bahia

(UFBA), State University of Bahia (UNEB), State University of Mato Grosso (UNEMAT), and the Federal University of São Paulo (UNIFESP).

^c In real numbers: UFJF offers 50 slots in courses like medicine and law. Under the program, 25 slots are reserved for affirmative action candidates: 6 for Afro-Brazilian public school students and 19 for public school students. (Source: www.ufjf.br/secom/2012/04/10/governador-valadares-conheca-a-distribuicao-das-vagas-pelo-sistema-de-cotas/)

^d These universities are State University of Minas Gerais (UEMG), State University of North Fluminense (UENF), State University of Montes Claros (UNIMONTES), State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ), and State University of Bahia (UNEB). UNEB differs from the other schools in this category, in that Afro-Brazilian students must both meet a low-income requirement and have graduated from a public school.

^e These universities are State University of Santa Catarina (UDESC), State University of Goiás (UEG), State University of South Mato Grosso (UEMS), Federal University of Paraná (UFPR), Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM), and Federal University of Brasília (UNB).

Consequences for racial boundaries: Race defined by the social experience of discrimination

While social movement, state and social science actors in Brazil have increasingly presented the negro category as the sum of all pretos and pardos, highlighting their socio-economic similarities when compared to whites, and expanding the boundaries of blackness to include more than half of the country's population, we've also seen another interpretation of the negro category that emerges in the process of implementing affirmative action policy which contracts the boundaries around blackness. So, if on the one hand during the reform of Rio de Janeiro's State University quota laws social movement leaders presented proposals to the working group in which the connection between the negro category and socio-economic status was preserved and made explicit by the addition of a low-income criteria, on the other hand, movement leaders altered official definitions of the negro category as they advocated for the addition of a screening process which would exclude most pardos from benefitting. Indeed, when thinking about who to include or exclude in the negro category, movement leaders argued that it is a person's marked black physical features which can give way to the social experience

of discrimination - when looking for work, when out in public spaces, etc. - and as such justified the close screening of candidates for admission to the quota system.

Although Educafro's proposal to establish a committee to verify a candidate's physical characteristics was rejected by the UERJ/UENF quota reform committee, other public universities in Brazil share similar considerations and do rely on commissions to interview candidates interested in qualifying for quotas for negros, pretos or pardos (These are: UFMA, UFG, UnB, UEMS, UEL, UEPG, UFSC, UDESC, UFSM, UESPI, UEG, UFPR, UFSCAR).¹⁴ The following excerpt, taken from a campus newspaper at the Federal University of Manaus (UFMA 2008), demonstrates this point. The article explains the UFMA Validation Commission wasn't interested in "tracing people's ancestry or identity," but in assuring that people who had been historically socially excluded based on race or ethnicity would benefit. In explaining why the committee cancelled the registration of some student's opting for inclusion in the quota policy, Prof. Carlos Benedito da Silva, Coordinator of the Afro-Brazilian Studies Center at UFMA, coordenador do Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiro, cites the importance of candidates phenotype, and the possibility that this may have subjected them to discrimination:

The candidates that presented themselves as negros based on descendancy from maternal or paternal grandparents, or as children of mixed marriages, whose phenotypical characteristics did not fit criteria making them possible targets of discrimination, had their option in the quotas for negros group cancelled, and were added to the general pool of applicants. (UFMA 2008)

This explanation underscores the importance of a social definition of race, one which considers the potential for one to experience racial discrimination based on a marked black appearance, and not blackness based on ones black relatives, as definitive for inclusion in the quota system.

¹⁴ These universities are State University of Santa Catarina (UDESC), State University of Goiás (UEG), State University of South Mato Grosso (UEMS), Federal University of Paraná (UFPR), Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM), and Federal University of Brasília (UNB). Although these universities have implemented committees tasked with interviewing those students opting for racial quotas, the majority of Universities use a process of self-declaration of racial status from candidates themselves during the admissions process.

Along these lines, other universities throughout the country (mentioned in the above paragraph) have established interview commissions in order to ensure that those benefitting from quotas are not only negroes by descent and self-declaration, but negroes by physical appearance, as agreed upon by a committee.

This echoes the argument I oftentimes heard used by *Educafro* movement leaders and others in defense of quotas for negroes in Rio de Janeiro. Indeed, public debates over racial quotas have been numerous. While Black movement leaders and others argue that descent plays a role in establishing blackness, the practical implementation of race quotas has highlighted phenotype as more salient feature of race, as it is argued that it is an individual's skin tone and other physical features that give cause to the social experience of discrimination.

By contrast, the movement against racial quotas employs a very different concept of race in their arguments. While neither side on the debate would deny the socially constructed character of race, or that racism exists in Brazil for that matter, for the movement against quotas, race is often times discussed in debates, court amicus briefs, articles, etc. as the scientific concept of race, one that is rooted in biology and genetics and that science has proved false. The following excerpt is taken from a manifesto against quotas sent to the Supreme Court by a group opposing quotas *One- Hundred and Thirteen Anti-racist Citizens against Racial Laws* (2008):

[The] definition and delimitation of racial groups by the state is a political endeavor that at its core negates that which scientists tell us.

Human races do not exist. Genetics has proven that the iconic differences of the so-called human "races" are superficial physical characteristics that depend on a tiny portion of the estimated 25 thousand genes that make up the human genome. Skin color, an evolutionary adaptation to the levels of ultraviolet radiation in different areas of the world, is expressed in less than 10 genes! In the words of geneticist Sérgio Pena: "The scientifically proven fact of the inexistence of "races" should be absorbed by society and incorporated into its convictions and moral attitudes. A desirable and coherent approach would be the construction of a deracialized society, in which the singularity of the individual would be

celebrated. We need to understand the notion that the only real biologically division found in the human species is in billions of individuals, and not in a handful of “races.” (Anti-quota 2008)

Indeed recent genetic research in Brazil has coincided with the widespread implementation of race targeted quotas in Brazil, and has been frequently brought up to argue against the possible use of racial quota policies in Brazilian society. This genetic research has demonstrated an unclear correspondence between genes and appearance and has been used to 1) disprove any scientific basis for the race concept and 2) demonstrate widespread Brazilian race mixture (Alves-Silva et al. 2000; Pena et al. 2000).

While those in favor of quotas deny any belief in scientific racism, the practical implementation of racial quotas in the University has given way to different methods for verifying a student’s declared blackness for quota inclusion (i.e. interview screening by committee for marked black physical features and review of color photos) which do also rely, at least in part, on a biological definition of negro identity. The quote below illustrates this point. The quote is an excerpt from the argument made by an Educafro leader during a debate over quotas in which the professor arguing against the use of these policies referenced recent genetic research in Brazil to bolster his argument. In the following quote from the debate, Educafro leader acknowledges the professors point as he emphasizes a biological and social basis for defining race:

In Brazil, the negro can be phenotypically negro and genotypically negro. But our understanding is, a person that is only genotypically negro, but does not appear black, this person does not suffer discrimination on a daily basis, from the police, when looking for work, etc. It is this person that suffers social discrimination, that has been historically excluded, that is the target of quotas. We are not talking about a genetic interpretation of race. The project with quotas is a social project, not a racial project. (Participant observation, March 13, 2012)

When thinking about who is included in the black category this conception of race emphasizes the social experience of discrimination when looking for work, from the police, etc., underlining

the social constructed character of race, that is, blackness is not only based on descent. However, I would again point out that this definition of the negro category squarely relies on a biological interpretation of the race concept that contrary to more formal state, social movement and social scientific understandings (pretos + pardos = negro), privileges a phenotype that some black Brazilians may not easily fulfill. Ultimately, for some movement leaders and institutions, the institutionalization of the negro category for quotas has actually served to constrict the boundary around blackness from one that included all pretos and pardos, to one that includes all pretos, and those pardos who, because of their marked physical characteristics, would potentially suffer racial discrimination in Brazilian society.

Discussion

This chapter began by noting the important gap between the ability of indigenous, on the one hand, and afrodescendant populations, on the other, to procure group-based rights and policy intervention in Latin America's new multicultural citizenship regimes. The literature explains that gap as due primarily to the greater legitimacy conferred to cultural difference than to racial discrimination. Hooker clearly expresses the problem of privileging culture in the struggle for collective rights: "as a result Afro-Latinos who are unable to assert an 'ethnic' identity lack a solid claim to collective rights even though they may also suffer from political exclusion and racial discrimination" (2005:307). Paschel (2010) illustrates how that dynamic played out in Colombia, where Afro-Columbian activists focusing on combating racial inequality were largely unsuccessful, whereas activists who strategically framed claims around ethnic difference did secure some recognition and rights.

The findings of Paschel (2010) and Hooker (2005) might suggest, then, that black social movements should emphasize cultural strategies in order to gain a foothold in Latin America's

new multicultural citizenship regimes. There are at least two clear problems with that strategy, however. First, re-creating the boundaries of black cultural specificity would be a mammoth task, because its salience has waned or indeed vanished into a homogenized national culture. Golash-Boza (2011), in her recent study of blackness in Peru, argues as much. Among her research subjects, black identity was mostly unconnected to commonly recognized Afro-Peruvian cultural forms and to the discourse of black cultural difference. Hence, she cautions that black movement strategies that focus on building black cultural communities might result in state reification of a narrow conception of blackness that divides more than unifies Afro-descendent populations.

Moreover, Golash-Boza further warns that even if black cultural forms were more officially codified and the boundaries of black cultural difference delineated, these changes might do little to better the lives of Afro-Peruvians. The clearer targets of such movements should be racism, discrimination, and social exclusion, she claims. Hanchard (1994) made the same argument for the case of Brazil, asserting that strategies aimed at cultural reinvention can displace racial discrimination as a basis of political mobilization and end up not effectively challenging racial hierarchies. In fact, Hooker (2005) offers the example of the Garifuna, whose previous antiracism politics soon became subordinated to the language of indigenous rights, perhaps to the detriment of the former.

In the arena of Brazilian higher education, a new strategy has made headway that does not rest on claims to “indigenous-like” status to justify progressive reform. Across Brazil, many urban Afro-descendants have gained the status of “deserving population” for affirmative action access to higher education. This monumental turn suggests, then, that cultural specificity need not necessarily frame struggles for inclusion in Latin America’s new multiculturalism.

The advent of affirmative action policy in Brazil and the practical implementation of racial quotas have impacted the negro category and conceptions of race. Firstly, the advent of affirmative action has witnessed the formal legal establishment and recognition of the negro category for the first time in the country's history. However, unlike the experiences characteristic of the United States, minority racial group status alone has not been enough for inclusion in policy. Brazil's history of extreme class hierarchy, and perhaps too the reluctance of Brazilian society to imagine itself in purely racial terms, has produced a hybrid category for targeted intervention: poor blacks. Black movement activists in Rio de Janeiro recognized that a wholly race-based approach was problematic. Without the addition of a class criterion, Brazil's most vulnerable population, poor blacks, might fail to benefit. Instead, social movement actors and administrators from Rio's state universities came together to construct a hybrid category of beneficiary status that addressed these concerns. Moreover, data presented in the second half of this chapter shows that the unique combination of race and class criteria for affirmative action inclusion has diffused widely across Brazil, whereas exclusively race-based quotas remain limited. Hence, localized understandings of disadvantage that recognized the perverse effects of both skin color and class on social exclusion created a new approach to redressing Afro-descendant grievances in multicultural Brazil.

Whether a similar model might gain traction in Afro-descendants' struggles for social equality in other Latin American countries remains to be seen. Nonetheless, racial exclusion has taken center stage as an issue begging redress in Brazil, no doubt creating new aspirations and perhaps possibilities in other nations as well.

Chapter 3

Brown into Black? Race mixture and Racial quotas

In this chapter and chapter 4 of the dissertation I examine how students in the college prep-courses positioned their racial identities with respect to blackness, the use of racial quotas, and participation in Educafro. In the current chapter I examine these questions as they relate to students who self-identify using intermediate mixed-race categories; chapter 4 concerns the experiences and perceptions of students identifying as black (negro). Both chapters (3 & 4) draw on data collected through participant-observation and semi-structured interviews in 2011 and 2012 with the popular education/black movement Educafro.

This chapter begins with a description of my fieldwork setting, followed by an engagement of theoretical framings on which to base empirical expectations, presentation of findings from fieldwork data, and conclusion. The first two sections in this chapter, description of fieldwork setting and discussion of expectations based on the literature, provide background material relevant for the data and analysis in both chapters 3 and 4.

Education for Afro-descendants and the Needy (Educafro): Setting

Setting

A key factor in raising awareness of racial discrimination and promoting affirmative action policies in Brazil has been the advocacy of Pré-vestibular groups working with low-income and black students. Credited with bringing the black movement in contact with the popular classes in Brazil (Burdick 1998), since the 1990s these community based prep-courses

have been organizing at the grassroots level to promote the greater inclusion of black and poor students in public universities.

Acceptance into Brazil's public universities, which are tuition free and the institutions of excellence in the country, is largely determined by student's performance on standardized exams. The exam process is very competitive, and those who have attended better public or private schools for their basic education have an edge, as do those who pay for expensive exam preparatory courses, called cursinhos or pré-vestibular courses. Public elementary education, which is of notoriously poor quality in Brazil, and the inability to pay for exam preparation courses, create almost insurmountable barriers for poor students to university education.

In is within this context that in the early 1990s, leaders of the Black Catholic Pastoral and local black movement leaders initiated PVNC, Pré-vestibular for the Blacks and the Needy, a volunteer run college prep course in the Baixada Fluminense region, part of greater metropolitan Rio de Janeiro. As Brazil has historically emphasized class distinctions, black movement organizations seek to raise awareness of racism and foster positive black identities. A course in citizenship and culture with an emphasis on teachings related to social rights, anti-racism, and citizenship became a central component to the pré-vestibular. Because of prohibitive cost of private entrance exam prep courses these courses, PVNC, and others that emerged later, had a large pool of students eager to participate (Santos 2010).

Education for Afro-descendants and the Needy (Educafro) coordinates dozens of college prep and citizenship schools, called "Prés or Núcleos," throughout greater Rio de Janeiro. During my first few weeks of fieldwork I met some prep school coordinators and was invited to join several smaller núcleos as a visitor and/or English teacher. I eventually regularly attended

two of these smaller núcleos, Pre-Comunitária and Pre-São Antonio.¹⁵ Participant observation in these settings involved attending citizenship and culture classes, teaching English classes and spending time with students in between classes and during leisure time over the year.

Pre-Comunitária is located in an older favela, Morro da Bela Vista, near the beach in the South Zone of Rio de Janeiro; Pre-São Antonio in Rio de Janeiro's central downtown. By contrast to the students at Pré-São Antonio, who commute to Rio's center from different outlying suburbs to attend the full-day of classes held each Saturday, the majority of Pre-Comunitária's students live in the favela and know each other.

Favelas, or "communities" as they are more frequently called by residents, in the South Zone of Rio de Janeiro are located on steep hills, usually without much space, and close to tall middle and upper middle class apartment buildings that surround them. Different from Rio de Janeiro's famous Rocinha favela, characterized by a large population of Northeasterners, many residents of Morro da Bela Vista are from the nearby state of Minas Gerias and other parts of Rio de Janeiro state, characterizing it as a "carioca" (someone or something from Rio de Janeiro) favela among those in the city.

The coordinators of Pre-Comunitária invited me to attend classes and eventually to teach English. Classes and activities were held weekday evenings in a state funded community center at the top of the favela. During the day the center operated dance programs, child care, martial arts classes and other social programs. I was quickly seen as "professor" by students and coordinators, and this conferred some measure of acceptance and respect. My status as a foreigner also afforded several opportunities in the field as people were very eager to ask me how things worked in the United States, as well as readily willing to act as "experts" on Brazil

¹⁵ The names Pre-Comunitária and Pre-São Antonio are pseudonyms, as is Morro da Bela Vista, the neighborhood where Pre-Comunitária is located.

and answer my questions about Brazilian society. For most I wasn't the first foreigner they had met, which is not surprising considering the location of the community in the South Zone of Rio de Janeiro, one of the world's top tourist destinations. At the time of my research, the community was no longer under the control of drug traffickers, as in 2009, a Pacifying Police Unit (UPP) was established in the favela. Some students explained to me that the change brought a break from violence and allowed residents greater mobility, and that many residents welcomed police presence. Some students were critical of the police program and noted problems with police violence.

Expectations from theory on boundary effects of race-targeted policy

In this chapter and chapter 4 I discuss how students in the college prep-courses positioned their racial identities with respect to blackness, the use of racial quotas and participation in Educafro. In this section I discuss some of the relevant literature on race and ethnicity in Brazil in an attempt to provide a framework for the discussion and elaborate expectations on boundary effects of race-targeted policy and participation in Educafro.

Bailey's (2008) research on the adoption of race-targeted policies in Brazil, and the potential consequences these policies may have for racial boundaries, provides a starting point. Working with findings from his analyses of the national probability survey of public opinion, the *Pesquisa Nacional Brasileira* (PESB), Bailey provides a crucial discussion of how the dichotomous black/white categories used by these policies may come to affect classification dynamics in Brazil's traditionally mixed-race society (2008:605-609). Bailey explores three possible effects of state sponsored race-targeted policy on classification tendencies: no effect, a backlash effect, or a race-making effect. In what follows I discuss these three effects, adding to

them a fourth, a less oppositional boundary effect.

No effect. – It is quite possible that race targeted quotas, featuring a dichotomous black vs. white identity schema, may not resonate with non-white students in the university prep courses. As Jenkins (2008) notes, while the process of external categorization -- such as that carried out in state administrative allocation and identity politics -- might map onto existing features of group identities, reinforcing internal group definitions, it is also possible that external categorization can be at odds with a societies' existing boundaries, and therefore would be less likely to contribute to the development of group identity (2008:74). Indeed, while black movement actors consider all browns and blacks to be part of one unified negro racial group, research has shown that the negro category is still at odds with the way most people in Brazil view themselves (Bailey 2009; Sansone 2003; Sheriff 2001). Bailey's (2008) findings from a recent national probability survey of public opinion, the *Pesquisa Nacional Brasileira* (PESB), are illustrative. Survey participants were asked to self classify using three different formats: the official census, open ended and a binary white /black (negro). Whereas non-whites are 51% in the census format (39% brown and 12% black), when those who identified as brown in the census format were constrained to a binary black or white format, 44% opted for the white category instead, reducing the sample distribution of non-whites to only 33%. These findings, as Bailey argues, demonstrate that browns do not see themselves as part of a collective black racial group, thus lending support to a non-boundary effect from racial quotas. Furthermore, in the open-ended format where 57% of the sample identified in non-white categories, only 7% identified as negro, attesting to the lack of popularity of the negro term for identification.¹⁶

¹⁶ Along these same lines, Burdick (1998) examined the fit between the black movement's preference for the negro identity term and the color/racial identifications of black Brazilians, finding that the black movement's insistence that members assume a negro identity for themselves, may be limiting it's ability to attract a potentially large constituency, "who are sympathetic with the aims of the movements but feel dissatisfied with the option of adopting

Another dynamic that may produce a non-boundary effect would be for students to act out of self-interest, adopting a negro identity strategically for means of quota inclusion, but not necessarily identifying as part of a black group at all. As Gooding-Williams (1998) argues, while administrative organizations have nominal power to racially identify and label, this is not enough for racial identities to form. Individuals must necessarily make contributions to the construction of their identities. They must also come to classify themselves in these categories, and begin to make choices, formulate plans, in light of a self-identification as black (Gooding-Williams 1998:23).

A non-boundary effect would also be in line with Carl Degler's famous ([1971]1986) "escape hatch" thesis, which claimed that because of their intermediate position within the Brazilian racial landscape, lighter-skinned Afro-Brazilians, commonly known as pardos or morenos, shun the social stigma that is associated with blackness. Degler further argued that because of their in-between position, lighter-skinned Afro-Brazilians would not be motivated to participate in anti-racist social movements. Considering these together, we might expect a lack of internalization of the negro category among participants, perhaps even more so among lighter skinned Afro-Brazilians.

Backlash effect. – In this scenario, rather than no effect, race targeted quotas may produce a negative backlash, a rejection of the negro category and including possibly the development of an alternative identity (Nagel 1994). As Bailey (2008) points out, coinciding with the advent of race targeted policy, some mixed-race people, mestiços, have joined together in opposition to the negro label, claiming that the rights of mixed-race people are under attack in Brazil. Representatives from the *Movimento Pardo-Mestiço Brasileiro— Nação Mestiço*

the "black" racial label for themselves." (p. 151).

(Brazilian Brown-Mestizo Movement—Mestizo Nation) have testified in Congress and submitted amicus curie briefs to the Supreme Court advocating against the widespread adoption of the negro category for racial policy. Some opponents of racial quotas have gone as far as to label the use of the negro category for policy and in research as the statistical “genocide” of Brazil’s brown-skinned people (Carvalho 2004). However, as of this writing and research, the *Movimento Pardo-Mestiço Brasileiro— Nação Mestiço* hasn’t gained significant ground in the country. Nevertheless, we might ask: how would a backlash effect be evidenced in the context under study? This could manifest as students reacting negatively to black movement identity discourse and discussions of race-targeted policies, and/or use quotas for negros, or maybe leaving the group.

Race-making effect. – The allocation of benefits from the state to those that officially categorize themselves as negro may be a powerful influence in the creation of a lasting internalized negro subjectivity and formation of a group along these lines (Bailey 2008; Jenkins 2008). Indeed, in addition to expanding access to higher education for underrepresented groups, affirmative action policies have also been seen by many supporters of the policies as a step toward establishing greater symbolic recognition of black Brazilians, one that by institutionalizing the black negro category for the first time in the country’s history, and requiring black and brown (preto and pardo) students to self identify as “negro” for inclusion in the policy, could help achieve the black movement’s goal of strengthening a collective negro identity among darker and lighter skinned blacks (Guimarães 1999). As Bailey argues: “...a state’s inclusive policies, as opposed to the exclusionary ones (Marx 1998; Golub 2005), may actually aid in forging the identities addressed in the legislation.” (2008:609).

Along these lines, Bailey’s (2008) split ballot experiment, conducted during a national

probability survey of public opinion, suggested that racial quotas themselves could stimulate group making dynamics along racial lines. In the experiment half of survey participants were read a statement on race-targeted policy before being asked to identify their own race/color and the other half were not read a statement. When the statement was omitted, 4.8% of participants self-identified as negro, whereas when it was included that number rose to 8.8%. As Bailey (2008) concludes: “the mere mention of racial quotas for negroes appears to nearly double the negro population” (p. 26). Black movement community based university prep courses act as a bridge between students and state benefits and institutions as they work to prepare students for entering the public university, which includes teaching them about affirmative action policies and how to use them. Culture and citizenship classes which focus on issues of social justice and emphasize the development of a racial consciousness are required of all students. In sum, we might expect to see the stimulation of boundary making dynamics along negro and white racial lines among participants.

Black movement activists and researchers have long argued that blacks deny the reality of a racial stratification system that disadvantages them, choosing instead to believe in the promise of racial democracy and race mixture (Marx 1998; Twine 1998). As a national narrative racial democracy emphasizes the idea that all Brazilians are a blend of European, African, and Indigenous peoples and that Brazilian society is not divided along racial lines. As such, from the beginning, a major focus of the black movement’s energy has been twofold: 1) to raise awareness of discrimination faced by blacks and 2) to promote a greater acceptance of a negro identity among non-white Brazilians in an effort to unite browns and blacks into one unified negro group (Bailey 2008; Burdick 1998; Nascimento and Nascimento 2001). Although these goals are something activists and their allies have been working on for decades to achieve with

limited success, since the mid-1990s Brazil has seen the alliance of state and social movement actors in an increased effort to combat discrimination, including the implementation of sweeping anti-racist legislation and policies, policies which have greatly heightened the political significance, legitimacy and visibility of the negro category. These shifts in discourse and policy have coincided with academic statements of the retreat of racial democracy as a ruling ideology in Brazil (Guimarães et al. 2010; Telles 2004). Taken together, present conditions for uniting lighter and darker skin Afro-Brazilians into one black (negro) group are perhaps more favorable in the country than ever before.

Less oppositional boundary effects. -- While we might expect to see the stimulation of boundary making dynamics along racial lines, it is also possible that we may see identities that are not quite as exclusive. There are two key factors that may influence a less oppositional boundary effect. Firstly, affirmative action policies targeting public school students and/or low-income students, what are called the “social quotas,” have been implemented together with race conscious policies. By targeting poor students as well as poor black students, I might expect that this policy design would work to create less oppositional race/color boundaries, as all low-income students regardless of race or color, may take advantage of the quota system.

Secondly, according to Pinho (2010) black movement identity work just for blacks, like in the *blocos afros* in Bahia, may create blacks apart from whites, and whites as the other, the opposition. On the other hand, the dual focus on race and class inequality and the fulfillment of substantive citizenship for the poor found in many Black movement community prep-courses, may have a significant degree of resonance among students and perhaps serve to heighten a sense of groupness among all students along class lines.

Education for Afro-descendants and the Needy (Educafro): Drawing the boundary between “us” and “them”

Early on in fieldwork I began attending Educafro’s monthly reunions, held Sunday mornings downtown. Reunions usually attracted 30-50 people, sometimes more, and provided an opportunity for members of distant núcleos to gather together, introduce others to the group, share news and plan activities. During most monthly reunions leaders would talk to the group and newsletters were often passed out and the latest news surrounding quotas discussed. Since the late 1990s Educafro had been actively involved in promoting and defending quotas. During reunions movement leaders often emphasized the hard won fight over quotas in the universities and the need for students to work hard and take advantage of the elite space of the University.

Indeed, in these meetings, the elite spaces of Rio’s wealthier zona sul and the university were held in contrast to the city’s relatively poorer suburbs where a majority of Educafro’s students lived. For example, at one reunion a coordinator started off the meeting talking about a local newspaper article which reported the recent opening of over one thousand public sector medical positions in Nova Iguaçu, a poorer suburb of Rio de Janeiro. Despite widespread unemployment, the article stated only 400 people had applied for the positions. He asked the group, “Why? why did so few apply for these good jobs? It’s because the rich from zona sul don’t want to work in the suburbs. They took the spaces in the universities that everyone’s taxes paid for, but now they don’t want these jobs.” As he further explained: “Look, negros and poor whites have to take these spaces. But you weren’t born rich, so what does that mean? You’ve had to fight to gain access to these elite spaces. Now the opportunity is there for you, with quotas for negros and poor whites.”

In the coordinator's talk to the group the boundaries around "us" and "them" are clearly drawn along class lines as he points out member's shared exclusion from the elite spaces of Rio's wealthier Zona Sul and the university. Notably, in his talk, blackness is also defined in opposition to elites, more specifically in opposition to inclusion in elite spaces, like the public university and highly skilled jobs. In this sense blackness is almost synonymous with poverty and exclusion, a point further made with the inclusion of poor whites as a group also deserving of quotas. So, while negros and poor whites are seen as separate groups, poor whites are not viewed as the opposition, instead they, like negros, have shared an experience of exclusion from elite spaces, and are like negros, deserving of quotas. Put another way, it's not necessary to qualify "negros" with the adjective "poor" because it's implicitly understood that most, if not all negros, are poor.

Another telling episode occurred during the introduction of a national scholarship program "Science without Borders." The new program was set up by President Dilma Rousseff's administration with the purpose of sending Brazil's top students abroad for advanced study and training in the hard sciences. The goal of the program was to send 20 thousand students abroad by 2014 and 100 thousand by 2015. During my fieldwork the first round of successful grantees were announced. Following the announcement, and the discovery that that no black students had been selected, and very few poor students, a group of Educafro activists began to organize a trip to Brasília to protest and demand that quotas for negros be implemented in the new program. Their demand for quotas coincided with the recent Supreme Court decision that racial quotas used in university admissions were constitutional. Once in Brasília, they chained themselves together in front of the President's workplace in Brasília, the Planalto, and began a hunger strike. On the evening of the first day of protest, a government official met with

the protestors and at that meeting Educafro leaders learned from the Science without Borders' program coordinator that the reason no black students had been selected is that none of them could pass the foreign language English test required of all candidates.

Once back in Rio de Janeiro, a general meeting was called for the weekend (April 1 2012). At the meeting coordinators passed around an article that had just come out in the Senate Journal (Jornal do Senado) showing a picture of four activists chained to each other in hunger strike to the Planalto. As the article was passed around leaders related the story of the trip to the students assembled for the meeting. As they reached the end of the story one paused asking the group: "So, why do you think black students are not bi-lingual?" An older black woman, a student responded: "Learning English, we've come to believe is an elite space, only for them. Children with rich mothers and fathers. Whites. Look, here in Rio there is the American School and English Culture, all of the children there are bi, tri, and quarto lingual." Other students there nodded and responded to her in agreement and raised their hands to talk. The leader continued: "The way the program is set up now, with the English requirement, well it's just privileges rich white people that have been taking English classes since they were a child because mom could pay. While our people (nosso povão) want this right, have the ability, and are excluded." He added that once in Brasília, Educafro had included "poor whites and Brazilian Indians" on the list of groups that should be targeted for inclusion in the Science without Borders program. Other students began commenting. One remarked:

I believe that everyone has the potential to grow, to learn, but we know that unfortunately not everyone has the opportunity. I'm sure that the people who benefitted from the program are rich people that studied their whole life in good schools. I don't believe that just because we don't have the means to study in good schools that we don't have a great learning potential as well, right?

Students in the room gestured in agreement and another student added: “The problem is with the state, with the schools. The responsibility for this belongs to the state. The state has destroyed public education, under paid teachers, poor buildings and a lack of infrastructure, all of this means that poor and poor black children will not be able to learn English.”

Again here, as in the previous field note excerpt, we can see how blackness and poverty are synonymous. And again, poor whites are also seen as a group that has suffered exclusion from elite spaces. What this example adds, however, is an emphasis of elite spaces as “white” spaces, a point made by both students and leaders. Indeed, the American School mentioned by the student is an elite private school in the Zona Sul of the city where instruction happens to be carried out entirely in English. So while a collective group boundary around “us” is drawn to include poor whites and blacks together, in this example, a symbolic boundary is established against the sons and daughters of wealthy whites.

Brown into black? Mixed-race students perceptions of negro identity

In this section I present data relevant to how students in the college prep-courses identifying with middle-range categories positioned their racial identities with respect to blackness, the use of racial quotas and participation in Educafro. In general terms Black movement discourse on blackness and identity downplays any phenotypical difference between browns and blacks (pardos and pretos) in favor of the development of a unified black identity (negro) that encompasses all browns and blacks into one group. In this discourse the brown category, the preferred color/race identity of a majority of Brazilians, is frequently targeted as contributing to diluting efforts to build a unified black (negro) group. Indeed, for some, the rejection of a negro identity on the part of mixed-race people (pardos, morenos) is thought of as

“alienation” on their part, a demonstration of a lack of consciousness of their blackness, ultimately keeping black Brazilians divided amongst themselves. The following field note excerpt from an Educafro general meeting exemplifies this stance:

As the meeting went on, there was a shift to talk about a new book *Discriminated Mixed-race (Mestizo Discriminado)* and the ways that lighter colored or mixed Brazilians are also discriminated against, but that they often don't recognize this. One coordinator began to speak about colonial times and the practice of dividing lighter colored blacks from darker black Brazilians. “The lighter slaves were brought to the Master's house to work there, while the darker black Brazilians worked in the fields and slept separately.” This practice, as coordinators explained, had effectively worked to keep lighter skinned blacks from recognizing that they too were discriminated against. As one coordinator added: “The problem we have now is that people want to whiten themselves, to not see themselves as black (negro), to say that discrimination doesn't happen to them. The first step to fighting discrimination is to recognize it happens. Then we can be ready to do something about it.”

The importance placed on blacks' acceptance of their blackness and the negro term among the black movement in Brazil perhaps cannot be overstated. In what follows I present data related to how mixed-race students position themselves with respect to a black identity and using university quotas, as they think about the new policies, and whether or not they “fit” with racial quotas. I also discuss a different group of participants, also identifying as mixed-race, but who are active in the pré-vestibular as volunteers. I explore how participants in this group understand their racial identities as they do not embrace a collective black (negro) identity, but nevertheless are involved in anti-racism work.

“Assuming blackness” discourse and mixed-race students perceptions of negro identity

During fieldwork conversations about racial identity occurred spontaneously between leaders and students, and also, oftentimes, these conversations took place within the context of planned discussions over how to use university quotas, most often during smaller culture and

citizenship classes in the pré-vestibulares, or in separate conversations I had with students and leaders. The following interchange between Thiago, Ana and myself is illustrative. The conversation took place during an early evening break in the culture and citizenship class at Morro da Bella Vista. Thiago is one of the consciousness raising instructors at Educafro and Ana a single-working mother who had been attending the pré-vestibular classes for about six months. Thiago enrolled in Educafro's prep course in his early twenties when he decided to he wanted to go to college. He later went to college, the first in his family, and like others, returned to Educafro while still in college to volunteer teach classes and participate in public actions.

Earlier in the evening I taught an English class and had stayed afterwards to participate in the culture and citizenship class. During the break between classes, someone pulled up a Michael Jackson music video on the computer and a conversation started with Thiago commenting that Michael Jackson had "noticeably whitened" his appearance over the years, showing that he wasn't "proud" of his race.

As we watched the music video Thiago added: "I am proud to be black (preto), of the negro ethnicity, to call myself negro and I also like the word preto, I think it sounds nice."

Ana disagreed with him: "When he [Michael Jackson] became rich, he wanted to become white, I don't blame him, there was so much racial prejudice in the United States, who could blame him for not wanting to be black (preto)?"

MP to Thiago: Have you always considered yourself black (negro)?

Thiago: Since I was a young child, yes. Everyone in my family is black, my mother and father. So, for me yes, I've always considered myself black (negro). My hair (he pulls at his hair) and nose, these traits have always made me appear black to other people, and myself.

Ana: You know I am brown (parda), or light brown (morena clara).

Thiago, hearing her, responded quickly: "I don't like the word brown (pardo). I prefer the term black (negro)."

Ana: "I'm not negra. If I say I am negra, people would say, "no, you're not". Listen, my ex-husband he was black (preto) but he was like blue-black (preta-azul). His skin was so black his teeth and eyes looked like they were shining. *Me*, though, I'm morena. Or morena clara. Look you have people that are white, then pardo, or morena clara then behind me you have morena escura and black. But even among black (negro) ... there are black, chocolate tone and black, dark, dark, dark black, like my ex-husband.

Thiago: Yes, there are different colors, a spectrum.

Another student, Luiza, who arrived a few minutes late, tells the group that she's considers herself "morena clara" (light brown) and that she has a son who is much darker than she is, "He is negro." After this comment, Luiza turns to Thiago and asks him: "Do you consider yourself negro? Because you are lighter than me."

Thiago: Yes, I feel that I am black. My hair, and my nose, they put me in the black category.

This interchange between Thiago, Ana, Luiza and myself captures their understanding of blackness and a negro identity. Ana rejects the negro label as it just does not aptly describe where she places herself within a spectrum of color, nor is it sufficient for her to describe different shades of dark black that correspond to people she knows. For Ana, blackness is most centrally a visual descriptor linked to skin tone. Similarly, for Thiago, blackness is also a visual descriptor as he draws the connection between facial traits and hair and his membership in a collective black group. In his case, blackness is also related to descent: "my mother and father are black."

Ana's intermediate position as "parda" or "morena clara" - a sense of being "neither black nor white" (Degler [1971]1986), emerges from how she views Brazilian society in relation to herself, a point she underscores as she predicts scrutiny and denial would come from others if she were to call herself negra: "If I say I am negra, people would say, "no, you're not"." Similarly, Thiago explains that his negro status is a result of how he appears to others and himself: "...these traits have always made me appear black to other people, and myself."

The brief exchange between Luiza and Thiago further illustrates how the negro category operates as a visual color descriptor linked to an evaluation of one's skin tone in relation to others. Luiza, who sees herself as *morena clara* (light brown) and white, describes her relatively much darker son as "negro." The relational character of racial/color identification is further evidenced as Luiza compares her skin tone to Thiago's, questioning his negro self-classification. Notably, Thiago does not openly disagree with Luiza's evaluation of his skin tone as lighter than hers, but instead again references what he considers to be marked black racial characteristics that place him in the negro category.

Thiago's response to Ana's option for identifying as *morena clara* or *parda* (light brown or brown) is illustrative of a common stance taken by black movement leaders, who view middle-range categories as inauthentic and a threat to building the bases of the movement around a shared negro identity and anti-racism work. Furthermore, Thiago contrasts himself with Michael Jackson to stress the point that not identifying as black is paramount to being ashamed of one's color, while Ana defends what she sees as Jackson's desire to whiten himself as an understandable reaction to what she considers to be the relative severity of racism in the United States.¹⁷

On a different occasion in a conversation with Thiago he talked more about why he felt it was important to assume a negro identity.

¹⁷ On many occasions I heard this perspective regarding racism in the United States, that is, students and leaders expressing the idea that compared to Brazil, racism in the US was far worse. I was also often asked to verify this for people.

I think the problem is that with some, they want to deny their true identity. You need to affirm yourself as negro, not to put yourself over the white or any other races, but to call attention to racism, all the things that happen on a daily basis. This talk about how we're all human beings, that's okay, it's true, we are, but it covers up our differences, right? It also undermines the black movement and makes it difficult to organize people to change things.... people just don't care, they don't see racism as a problem, or they just accept things as they are.

Like other movement leaders, Thiago considers that not identifying as negro is a denial of ones true identity, and ultimately undermining the work of the movement to raise awareness of and combat racism.

Indeed Educafro leaders spent a lot of time planning and talking to students about participating in different movement actions, i.e. pro-quota demonstrations, with varied and somewhat limited success. Low attendance at these events was oftentimes interpreted by leaders as a problem of students' apathy, a denial of blackness, and/or the denial of racism as a problem for Brazilian society. As one movement leader explained:

The problem with many is that they want to whiten themselves, to whiten the family and to deny any blackness at all, to deny discrimination that happens all the time. When that is your point of view, the way you think, you are not going to do something for the movement, for yourself, because you don't see it that way. Understand?

For many leaders then, accepting ones blackness was seen as a necessary step toward recognizing discrimination in Brazilian society.

However, my data reveal a slightly different story. While I found that mixed-race informants did not take up a collective negro identity, they do all recognize racial prejudice as a problem in Brazil, and some do participate in the movement (which I discuss later in this chapter). That said, mixed-race informants had difficulty in recalling a time where they had personally been on the receiving end of racist attitudes. Furthermore, as I will discuss

throughout this chapter, for several, the recognition of racial prejudice existed together within a more general emphasis on class-based discrimination.

On a different occasion I met Ana for an interview. Ana had been separated for three years when she decided to try take up studying again for the vestibular and when Educafro opened a course in Morro da Bela Vista, her neighborhood, she thought she should take advantage of the opportunity. She told me about how difficult was to find the time to study and how she often thinks of giving up because of the stress of balancing a full-time job and taking care of two children with the pressure of classes and studying. She also talked about the pressure she had felt to change her own appearance from Educafro leaders. She mentioned movement coordinators who had approached her and questioned her about straightening her hair: “They asked me about my hairstyle and why I was straightening it, that I didn’t have an ethnic consciousness.” Ana explained: “I told them, I don’t see myself that way.” As we talked Ana further elaborated:

I think in the first few weeks that I started going to Educafro, I went to an introductory class and I was straightening my hair then, I think Jonas was teaching, and he and this other guy came and talked to me: “Why do you straighten your hair?” I thought to myself this is ridiculous. I straighten my hair because I want to, right? What business is it of theirs? I’m proud of who I am.

For Ana, who generally referred to her skin color as *parda* (brown), but also identified as *morena clara* (light brown) her color and mixed-race origin are a source of pride. Ana further elaborated on her intermediate position by guiding me through her difficulty finding a moment in her life in which she was a victim of racism. She was not able to recall a situation in which she was at the receiving end of racist attitudes. This stood in contrast to the experiences of racism usually described by my participants who identified as *preto* (dark black).

As we talked she told me she was studying to become a social worker. I asked her if she planned on taking advantage of the quotas:

I don't qualify for the public school quota, because when I was going to [high school] school, my school went on strike, and I wanted to finish on time, so I went to a private school. It didn't cost much, but this means I'm ineligible for the quotas. And I can't use the other quotas, I'm not black.

While Ana is ineligible for the public school quotas because she attended an inexpensive private school to finish high school, notably she self-excludes from the race quotas she *would* be eligible for as a *parda* or *morena*. In Rio de Janeiro students must self declare as negro in order to qualify for the race quotas and Ana doesn't see herself fitting into that group. Indeed, Ana's self-exclusion from the racial quotas was not an uncommon position among my participants identifying using mid-range categories. In what follows I continue to present ethnographic data related to how participants identifying themselves as mixed-race positioned themselves with respect to a black identity, specifically as it related to quota usage.

“Am I negro by my hair, by my color, or by my relatives?”: Determining blackness for racial quotas

As discussed in chapter 2, the state universities in Rio de Janeiro have implemented quotas for low-income negro or Indigenous students and low-income public school students. Candidates wishing to qualify for racial quotas must validate socio-economic eligibility and sign a formal declaration of negro status. While some universities around the country use interview committees to verify a student's declared racial status, the state universities in Rio de Janeiro rely solely on student's self-declaration for eligibility. Both institutional methods, self-declaration and interview committee, have been highly controversial and received widespread local and national media attention. Some Black movement leaders in Rio de Janeiro have been critical of

university administrators for not implementing measures to verify student's declared negro status. In all, the issue of whether or not to use quotas, and whether to use the racial quotas or the quotas for public school students, the "social quotas", are questions that students are faced with as they prepare to enter the university. The issue of racial identification is made further salient in the context of the pré-vestibular where discussions surrounding quotas, racial identity, racism and social justice in general are commonplace.

Educafro teachers and coordinators dedicated time at monthly meetings and weekly culture and citizenship classes to emphasize the importance of affirmative action and of using quotas. A "citizenship" test was required of all students and teachers in which we were asked to write an essay answering the question: "How will I increase awareness of quotas in my community?" During the conversations that took place in meetings and classes, students raised questions about using the new public policies: How can one qualify for quotas? Are they right for me? In the process of talking about whether or not they "fit" with racial quotas, that is, on what basis they might deserve to use affirmative action benefits, students questioned and discussed the best way to determine blackness, ranging from phenotype to self-declaration to descent. These settings were a primary place where issues around race, social justice and identity took center stage.

The following interchange is between Rita, Paulo and Clarisse during a weekly culture and citizenship class. Rita, the class leader, and pré-vestibular coordinator, spent some time talking to a group of 8-9 students about quotas and the importance of taking advantage of the opportunity affirmative action could afford them to get ahead.

Rita: "Quotas, we talked about this last week, why quotas? Quotas are there because in our country, blacks (negros), the poor, are excluded. This is an extremely unequal country. Blacks (negros) have not had the same chances, the same opportunity, as others. They have been excluded. The government, with Lula, thankfully, the situation of the poor in the country has improved. Quotas have helped this, quotas in the university for blacks (negros), for poor, for

indigenous, for all of those that have not had opportunity. Those spaces are there now, and Educafro's militancy has opened up these spaces. It's important for us to know about these. If we don't take these spaces someone else will."

Rita continues to talk about the approaching deadline for registration for the entrance exam to Rio de Janeiro's State University (UERJ) when Paulo, a student, sitting in the back of the room, interjects: "So, I've been thinking about this, am I black (negro) by my hair, by my color, or by my relatives? In my family there are blacks, but this is way way back, many generations ago. Now, am I negro by my relations or by my physical characteristics?"

Another student, Clarisse, a young single mother that's been participating in the group for over a year, answers him: "I don't think of myself as black (negro), I think of myself as light brown (morena clara). All of this depends on the person, what they think of themselves as." She continues: "Look at Artur [Artur is another student, but he is not here in class today]. Artur, he is more pardo, but he says he is black (negro). He considers himself as black, so that's what he is. It just depends on what the person thinks of themselves as."

There are several aspects of this interchange which are of particular importance. Clarisse and Paulo attend pré-vestibular classes four evenings per week organized by Educafro. They, like others in this group, and in many of the other community pré-vestibular groups throughout the city and suburbs of Rio de Janeiro, contemplate using affirmative action laws in place in the public universities in Rio de Janeiro and throughout the country. Paulo's question to the group there that evening: "Am I negro by my hair, by my color, or by my relatives?" is directly related to whether he thinks he could use affirmative action, or "the racial quotas" as they are referred to by most people. Paulo and Clarisse have attended the same low quality public school in their neighborhood. Paulo is light-skinned brown, with dark kinky curly hair. He raises a question of whether, and specifically what, aspects of one's appearance, would classify one as black ("Am I negro by my hair, by my color?"). He also questions whether black relatives from many generations back would mean that he is black.

Clarisse's response to Paulo is illustrative as it demonstrates her knowledge of how the quota policy for negros has been implemented in the state universities of Rio de Janeiro. In

Clarisse's words: "It just depends on what the person thinks of themselves as." To further illustrate, Clarisse considers Artur "more pardo", like herself, but at the same time accepts Artur's self determination as black (negro): "He considers himself as black, so that's what he is." In terms of descent, Artur's relatives are never discussed, and since Artur is from São Paulo and moved to Rio de Janeiro recently, no one in the group has met his family.

Finally, Clarisse's comments draw a comparison between the practice of self-determination for quotas and her own self-determination as mixed-race within the group. On prior occasions movement leaders have approached her and questioned her about straightening her hair and have tried to get her to stop doing that by asking her about her "true" identity. So, at the same time that Clarisse defends Artur's choice to self-identify as negro, she upholds the legitimacy of her self-identification as morena clara (light brown) in front of movement leaders that have challenged her on this issue.

Class identity and social quotas

As the conversation in the room continued, Rita, the class leader and long-time black movement activist, questioned Paulo directly, asking him: "Are you black (negro) or white?" Below I relate the interchange that took place between the two of them and the others in the group.

Paulo looked surprised by Rita's question.

Rita repeated her question to him: "Are you black (negro) or white?"

Paulo looked back at her with a surprised look on his face: "I wonder how I fit in with the quotas? Because I am not black (negro).

Rita made a surprised sound conveying disbelief.

Paulo: "But hey, there are a lot of poor people, people that are not negro, but poor

people that have not had opportunities, that have been discriminated against too, that have studied in public schools and are not able to pay an expensive preparatory course to study [for the university entrance exam]. I studied in the public school here in Ipanema, it was a good school, but then after a few years they changed things there and the level fell. Also there are negros that have done well, it's not all negros that are poor. I see negros that are well off.”

Clarisse: “We fit in by being poor. That's how we fit. We don't have the means to pay for an expensive school or preparatory course.”

Paulo: “Yeah, you know coming from Bella Vista, I like living here, but I am sometimes, well, treated differently. I did an internship and people there were really great in general, but then I remember one day someone asking me where I was from and I told them Morro da Bella Vista, and well, they didn't say anything, but the look on their face was well ... it was...”

Rita adds: "Prejudice."

Paulo quickly agrees with her: “Yes.” “You know that has happened to me several times. People, once they find out I from Bella Vista, they treat me differently. They might not say anything, but there is a change.”

Tarsino (who identifies as pardo and moreno): “That's it, right.” “You know there's a lot of discrimination of different people, not just negros. It's true they have been discriminated against, but so have other poor people... people from the Northeast. There's a lot of discrimination in Brazil, against negros and other people.”

This second half of the conversation illustrates several interesting points. Rita's questioning of Paulo: “Are you black or white?” and her audible surprise and response to his answer demonstrates mainstream black movement discourse which upholds that many Brazilians are avoiders of their true identity. For Rita, Paulo's answer, “I am not negro,” in her eyes, places him squarely in the category of avoiders. Paulo, on the other hand, while he may not identify as negro, does recognize the existence of a negro group and discrimination against the group. However, if we look at how Paulo and Tarsino talk about the issue of negros and discrimination, we see that they both stress the point that discrimination happens not just to negros, but to other groups (i.e. others like them). Ultimately Paulo and Tarsino seem to favor a position that

considers that those who most deserve quotas are those who have suffered class based discrimination, which includes most, but not all negros, as Paulo says: “there are negros that have done well, it’s not all negros that are poor. I see negros that are well off.” This conditional support of quotas for negros echoes the sentiment of other students, black, white and mixed-race, who across the board recognize racial discrimination and showed support for quotas for poor negros.

Following this, the somewhat tense situation in the group is diffused as Clarisse interjects: “We fit by being poor. That’s how we fit.” Overall, the conversation between these students reveals their stronger personal identification with the “social quotas,” the quotas for public school students, a proxy for low-income. Among mixed-race students in this pré-vestibular group, the experience of class-based prejudice is a personal issue. Indeed, Paulo’s experience is illustrative, as he recognizes that he has repeatedly been the target of prejudice, not for his skin tone, but based on the social stigma attached to the poor neighborhood he was born and grew up in: “People, once they find out I from Bella Vista, they treat me differently.”

On another occasion, during an interview conversation I had with Paulo, he talked more about his family background, mentioning distant black relatives, as well as his Portuguese and Italian relatives on his mother’s side of the family. On this occasion he talked about himself as mixed-race, “I am lighter skinned than some other people in my family, but in my family there is a little of everything really, there is a mixture. I am a descendent of whites and blacks (pretos). We are all mixed.”

Paulo conveyed his understanding of inequality and personal familiarity with discrimination as shaped by his experience of living in Morro da Bella Vista and his experience with the police pacification.

Look, everybody talks about the police, about the police bringing security into the community, but as a resident, the resident doesn't see it this way. They don't have a good view of the police.

As we talked he explained how there were some police that had good intentions, but others were corrupt, some as corrupt as the drug lords. He added that the police had moved in, but nothing else had changed. "People here in the community need more opportunity, we don't have much opportunity."

Like other students, Paulo could not recall an instance where he was the target of racial discrimination, but knew of other people who had been, although he couldn't remember any specific cases. At the time I met Paulo and other moreno identified students in the Morro da Bela Vista pré-vestibular group, they were studying and hoping to take a university exam within the year. When I asked them about using quotas, almost all said they would without hesitation. However, they identified with using the social quotas, the quotas for students from public schools. As Paulo explained, when I asked him if he would use quotas in the vestibular process:

I would use the quotas, yes. Coming from public school I have a much harder path to get into the university than someone else that comes from a private school and a well off family. After all the public university should be for students that studied in the public schools, right?

Among students the recognition of the boundary between rich and poor, included and excluded, was a salient feature of their personal experiences. I return to this discussion and that of student's support for public school quotas in the section below on students identifying as both brown and black and in the discussion section at the end of the chapter.

Determining blackness for quotas: Descendancy vs. Color

A further example of how quotas provoked self-examination among students around blackness and whether or not they fit with the new policies is evidenced in this exchange in the classroom, again between Rita, a group leader, and a group of four students.

Rita is talking to everyone that's there (Tarsino, Camilla, Teresa and her daughter, me, and one other new student) encouraging students to study, to work hard to change their lives, and the general importance of working hard and coming to class, "You can't miss class!" She is standing at the front of the room, and everyone is quietly listening.

Tarsino asks: "What about quotas being for Afro-descendants?" What about that? I don't really know my family tree. I think I am part Arab, part German and part black, one side of the family is from Minas, and there was a lot of slavery in Minas. I have "pardo" on my birth certificate and on my identification. Also today, people say anyone can be an Afro-descendant?"

Then one of the students there, Teresa, a woman with light brown skin and long black curly hair, answers him saying: "Quotas are for afro-descendants and poor public school students. Either you enter through the quota for blacks (negros) or through the quota for poor students that didn't have any way to pay for a private school. That's how it works."

Tarsino listens, then Rita, the teacher, addresses him: "Don't worry about what other people say. Worry about yourself. You went to public school, so that's how you fit in."

Later in the evening after class I asked Rita why she thought Tarsino fit in with the public school quotas and not those for afro-descendants, she explained "Pardo is not negro when they have light eyes. Tarsino has light blue eyes."

This excerpt illustrates something interesting. Tarsino questions his knowledge of his own family tree, and if he might have black relatives from Minas Gerais, an area where slavery was concentrated, and whether this could qualify him for the quotas for afro-descendants. He also mentions his official brown (pardo) status, contemplating if he could use the quotas because of this as well, concluding: "Today people say anyone can be an afro-descendent." Rita's response is decisive as she explains that he fits into the new policies by having attended public

school. For Rita, although Tarsino is pardo and has black relatives, some of his physical characteristics exclude him from the negro category, in her words: “Pardo is not negro when they have light eyes.”

In the context of thinking about using quotas for blacks, both Paulo and Tarsino ask themselves, and the pré-vestibular group, about whether or not they should consider themselves as negro for quotas. In the process each student raises the question as to whether or not having black relatives would confer blackness. The question of descent is raised, in part, because based on physical appearance, neither student readily considers themselves as negro. While students seem to have more questions than answers when it comes to figuring out who can use the quotas for negros, the presence of black relatives in ones family does not appear as a sufficient condition for conferring blackness. Rather than descent, students and teachers share a conception of blackness that centers upon physical characteristics. This conception is explicitly reflected in the talk of students and teachers as they privilege a definition of the negro category that focuses on the visual aspect of blackness, as a dark color category, that includes marked racialized facial features. This echoes well known, and controversial positions, taken by Educafro leaders and some academic faculty in debates and policy making circles over the screening of applicants in Brazil’s racial quota system.

But what about self-declaration for conferring blackness? That is, “I am black if I say I am.” According to students’ conceptions, one can be negro by “self-declaration” [as evidenced by Clarisse’s recognition of Artur “He says he is negro, so that’s what he is.”]. This thinking differs from that of some Educafro leaders, as well as others working in policy administrative positions, who may not recognize self-declaration as sufficient for negro group belonging.

Instead a boundary is drawn, such that some mixed or brown students are excluded from negro group belonging based on an evaluation of racialized markers.

Indeed, if at the official level the term negro is increasingly used in Brazil to indicate the sum of all browns (pardos) and blacks (pretos), during daily interaction with students and teachers in the pré-vestibular, it becomes clear that who can be considered negro depends on different factors of ones physical appearance and that not all mixed students are black.¹⁸ Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 2, what has been of ongoing concern to Educafro leaders and some university administrators is the absence of an administrative review process in the public state university that would verify student's self-declared negro status. As explained to me in an interview with one Educafro leader:

UERJ has had quotas for negros since 2003, but hasn't done a good job in reviewing the self-declaration of negros. They haven't taken it seriously. We want them to review students' black self-declaration, for instance, just as they review the validity of students' high-school diplomas. The number of students that are not negro, but mark themselves as negro during registration is really very high, but UERJ doesn't do anything about this fraud. They don't take this seriously, but they should.

Pardo self-exclusion from racial quotas

Another issue concerns students who are eligible for quotas for negros but self-exclude. Under the new policies either brown (pardo) or black (preto) students may qualify as negro for quotas. As students identifying as mixed, Ana, Paulo, Tarsino, Luiza and Clarisse would be eligible under the policy to use quotas for negros. Although these students value a mixed background they do not see themselves fitting with quotas for negros. This lends support to

¹⁸ Some students choosing middle range categories of self-identification are encouraged to opt for the public school quotas, while others are encouraged to use quotas for negros. While Rita believes Paulo could fit into the quotas for negros, Paulo doesn't see himself as black (negro) and opts instead for the social quotas. Tarsino, on the other hand, is less sure of where he "fits in," but is encouraged by Rita to opt for social quotas because of his light blue eyes.

Bailey's (2008) survey findings that intended beneficiaries of quotas, those identifying in middle range categories, may self-exclude from benefitting from the quotas for negros.

Indeed, this suggests an important way that morenos' understandings of the negro category diverge from more formal government, black movement and social science conceptions. They diverge in that these self-identified mixed-race students see themselves as socially distinct from the negro group. That is, if mainstream black movement and social science discourse holds that all morenos or pardos are also negro, for these students this is clearly not the case. Instead of using the quotas for negros, these students show a stronger preference for the social quotas.

Students identifying as both brown and black

During fieldwork I came across three informants who identified as both mixed-race and black (negro), where negro was used to signify racial group belonging, rather than signify a particular mind set or political orientation. Significantly, these participants did not readily see themselves using racial quotas. Instead they more enthusiastically supported the quotas for public school students.

These participants used the negro term to describe more or less marked black physical features. Like the other students discussed in this chapter, among these students the recognition of the boundary between rich and poor, included and excluded, was a salient feature of their personal experiences, however this didn't preclude their recognition of the reality of racial discrimination against darker skinned Brazilians.

The experience of Silvana is illustrative, a student who had been attending classes at the pré-vestibular for a few months when I interviewed her. In the same interview Silvana self-identified as black (negra), mixed-race (mestiça), and light brown (parda).

MP: What is your color?

Silvana: I'm negra

MP: According to IBGE, preto, pardo or branca?

Silvana: Parda

MP: What is the color of your parents?

Silvana: My mother's family are lighter. My grandfather was white, the kind with very light eyes. My grandmother was brown (morena), not black (negra). She also had very curly hair like mine. On my father's side there are more negros, that side of the family, my father's family, are poorer.

MP: So you have white, brown (morena) and black (negro) relatives, how would you describe yourself?

Silvana: I'm black (negra). But you know there are blacks here in Brazil that carry blackness through their hair. But because I have pretty hair, and it's really mine and not a wig, people really fall in love with my hair. I'm also mixed (mestiça), because I have such soft hair. Look at my skin, it's brown (parda) (she touches her arm for emphasis). I have very dark cousins, very dark, with very dry hair, you know the kind? I don't say it's bad hair, but it's very different from ours. None of my brothers and sisters are like them. In my family blackness shows up in the face, but in the color and in the hair it doesn't appear.

Silvana uses both negra and mixed terms as visual categories to describe color, hair texture and more or less marked black facial features. For example, Silvana points to her facial features as markers of blackness: "In my family blackness shows up in the face", just as she ascribes a mixed-race (mestiça) identity to her relative lighter skin color, softer hair and mixed ancestry. This point of her mixed and negra status is reinforced as Silvana describes herself in contrast to her cousins, who have darker skin and dry hair and as such would not be described as negro and

mixed. Furthermore, as a dark visual category Silvana sets blackness apart from whiteness and mixedness, as something devalued by comparison to these, i.e. Silvana's hair isn't just different from darker, dryer hair, it's "pretty".

Like my informants identifying exclusively with intermediate terms Silvana could not identify a moment in her life in which she was a victim of racism. As we talked she related stories of two friends with "darker skin and dryer hair" who had been the targets of racism in public. As she elaborated:

Here in Brazil, racism is, well people that suffer racism more are those that have hair, this is not the best way to put, people that have dry hair. Those blacks (negros) that carry blackness through the hair. I am black (negra), but to the contrary, I am always complimented, I don't know, I never suffered this type of racism, anywhere.

Luiz, a student at Educafro that had recently started to study for the vestibular for computer science, offers a similar example of black and mixed self-identification. In an interview he identified as black (negro), pardo and mixed. He explains his mixedness as through his mixed family ancestry, his lighter-skin color compared to his brothers, and as something shared in common with most Brazilians.

MP: What is your color?

Luiz: I'm negro, why deny it?

MP: According to IBGE, preto, pardo or branca?

Luiz: Pardo

MP: And the others in your family?

Luiz: Well, really there is everything in my family. My grandmother was black, my father's mother is white and my grandfather moreno. There are people in my family with German background, blonde and clear blue eyes, but most come from the Northeast, from Pernambuco. I'm a little of everything, like most Brazilians.

MP: So you say you are a little of everything, but you say you're negro too?

Luiz: In my family, my brothers and father, my mother, we are negro. My brothers have darker skin than I do, they are preto, but we all have black features that show we are negro.

MP: So, you're negro because of your looks?

Luiz: Yes, and I'm mixed too, like most Brazilians.

Like Silvana, Luiz uses negro as a visual category to describe physical features that he shares with his family, "that show we are negro." His option for pardo in the IBGE categories we could interpret as relates to his lighter skin ("my brother's have darker skin than I do, they are preto"). Furthermore, Luiz relates his mixedness to something he shares with all Brazilians "I'm a little of everything, like most Brazilians." Luiz's evaluation of his mixedness as a quality of being Brazilian echoes that of other students, Tarsino and Paulo.

It seems reasonable to conclude that Luiz, like Silvana, sees himself as negro and mixed. Also, like Silvana, Luiz, could not recall an instance where he was the target of racial discrimination, but knew of other people who had been, although he couldn't remember any specific cases. Notably, as we talked more, Luiz conveyed his understanding of inequality and personal familiarity with discrimination as shaped by his experience of living in Morro da Bella Vista. Born and raised in Morro da Bella Vista, he described the police "pacification" process that had taken place in recent years as bringing negative changes to the community, a process he summarily characterizes as "theater for rich people." In addition, he talked of being subjected to frequent stops and searches from the police while on his motorcycle, and the dramatic increase in rent and services in the favela since the police takeover.

At the time I met them, both Luiz and Silvana were studying at Educafro with the hope of eventually taking the university entrance exam. When I asked them about using quotas, they each agreed they would without hesitation. However, rather than quotas for negros, they more

readily identified with using the social quotas, the quotas for students from public schools. As Luiz explained, when I asked him if he would use quotas in the university admissions process:

I would use the quotas, after all it's a resource that I have, for me. Am I not going to use that? I don't think so. I studied my whole life in public school. And well, you know how that is -- you don't learn anything there. It's like taking a pit-bull and a street dog and expecting them to compete against each other. The pit bull will win, always. Just like the son of a rich father will always be able to do better on the university entrance exam than the son of a father with few resources. The quotas just create fairer conditions.

MP: Yes, I agree. It should be for everyone. What about quotas for negros?

Quotas should be for poor people, that I understand, because poor people, they haven't been provided an education, but just for negros? I don't know, if they are poor, sure, yes I agree with that.

This conditional support of quotas for negros echoes the sentiment of other moreno students in this chapter, as well as negro students discussed in the next chapter. Indeed all of my informants recognize racial discrimination, and support quotas for negros, but they do so on the condition that they are combined with a class criteria.

Anti-racism activism among mixed-race participants

During fieldwork I came across several informants who identified as mixed-race and were actively involved in Educafro, some as students striving to get a university education, others as former students who had remained involved in Educafro once in college and beyond. In what follows I share their interpretive perspective regarding the relationship between their racial identities and participation in Educafro.

To begin I relate a conversation I had with two participants after an Educafro monthly reunion in early November 2012. November is the month in which Brazil celebrates Black Consciousness Day (in Portuguese: *Dia da consciencia negra*). A national holiday recognized on November 20th, the date was chosen in honor of the death of Zumbi das Palmares, the most

prominent leader of the seventeenth century Quilombo of Palmares (the largest community of runaway slaves in Brazilian history). In fact, the day is also commonly referred to as “Dia de Zumbi” (Zumbi’s Day). At the November Educafro reunion coordinators talked with students about Zumbi’s legacy, Brazil’s history of slavery and the importance of raising awareness of the struggle against racism. Coordinators passed around a book “Mestizo Discriminado” (Discriminated Mixed-race) as they argued for the importance of mixed-Brazilians acceptance of their blackness and recognition of racism. As one coordinator explained: “The problem we have now is that people want to whiten themselves, to not see themselves as black, to say that discrimination doesn’t happen to them. The first step to fighting discrimination is to recognize it happens. Then we can be ready to do something about it.”

At the end of the meeting I joined Carolina and Alice who were going to see an art exhibit at the Post Office Museum. Alice, a volunteer teacher, and I had become friends on a weekend trip with Educafro and Carolina was her friend from her study group. As we walked through the streets downtown we talked about the reunion.

Alice: When I was in school, we never learned about black history or slavery. I don’t think people even really noticed that we weren’t learning about these things. You know, it wasn’t even talked about very much.

Carolina: It was the same with my school. I only recently discovered the history of Zumbi, but this is probably because of the holiday! (laughter)

Me: I know what you mean. The holiday has brought attention to Zumbi and the history of slavery. It’s a big holiday in Rio. Listen, What did you think about that book “Mestizo Discriminado”? Is there a difference between mestizo and black?

Carolina: The difference is, it’s the mixture they’re talking about. [Then to explain further] Look at me, I’m negra, everyone in my family is negra, but Aline, she is much lighter skinned, she is mestiça.

Me: Oh, I see, so you are negra and Alice is mestiça.

Alice: Yes, that's right. In my family there is mixture. My mother's family is white.

In this exchange, Alice and Carolina discuss the distinction between the two groups, *negra* and mixed, as almost a question of objective fact based on differences of skin color and the color of parents. Carolina points out that Alice is mixed because she is lighter skinned than herself, so there's an understanding of a visual difference that distinguishes between *negros* and mixed-race people. Their use of color as a marker between black and brown stands in contrast to the black movement perspective which strategically downplays color differences between lighter and darker skinned blacks (*pardos* and *pretos*) in favor of recognizing a single unified social/political black category (*negro*). For Alice and Carolina ancestry is also considered almost as confirming evidence of their blackness and mixedness. Alice's mixedness is linked to her mixed relatives, just as Carolina's use of the *negra* term is linked to her family background: "everyone in my family is *negra*."

On another occasion during an interview with Alice, she told me how she became a volunteer teacher at *Educafro*. Initially she was drawn to the *pré-vestibular* because she wanted to go to college but didn't have money to pay for an exam prep course. Coming to *Educafro*, she explained, was a formative experience in her life.

It was very important for me. When I started at *Educafro* I didn't have any idea about popular movements, about what was a popular *pré-vestibular*. I started attending class, and from there it was a new world for me. I started to reflect upon things that I never had stopped to think about. I began to learn about the struggle against discrimination when I came here to *Educafro*. For me, I haven't had a problem with respect to discrimination, I am light skinned. But my husband is much darker black and I have heard people make comments like: "Look, such an intelligent black (*preto*)." Or "My goodness, that black is very well dressed!" If that's not discrimination I don't know what is! They say that Rio doesn't have racism, right? Land of samba, soccer. But I hear these comments.

Although Alice, like other moreno participants, could not recall a time when she personally had been the target of discrimination, her sense of injustice in the face of discrimination against her husband is strongly felt. Over the course of my fieldwork I periodically saw Alice downtown at Educafro events and out with other students. On the historic occasion of Brazil's Supreme Court approval of racial quotas she shared her opinion with me. Again, her sense of injustice related to discrimination is shared: "I'm in favor of racial quotas, yes, not because negros are not capable, but because I believe they haven't had the same opportunities as others."

Like Alice, Lucas became a teacher at Educafro after going through the pré-vestibular program as a student. When I asked him why he had chosen "pardo" among the IBGE categories, he explained: "I don't use preto, because people don't see me as preto, my skin is lighter, people see me as brown, light brown. I know I am negro, politically." Lucas' words describe his consciousness of his "brown" position, which is grounded in other people's perceptions of him. Just as preto is a separate group from branco, it is also separate from morenos, or other in-between groups. In a similar vein to Alice, Lucas explains his option for an intermediate position as almost an objective fact as he references dark black (preto) as a separate group that he doesn't fit into because of his lighter skin color. By contrast, his mention of a negro identity, is described as a political choice. As we talked Lucas described how he came to be a teacher in Educafro. He told me that he had been motivated to go to college, and his mother had seen a flyer about the prep course in her church and since there wasn't money to pay for a private prep-course his mother had encouraged him to go. He talked about how once he started attending classes he noticed that some of the courses had a strong focus on racial and social consciousness. In these classes he learned a more critical perspective on racism and social questions. "Before joining the group I think I didn't even think, in the sense of reflecting on how

things are, you know?” But once in Educafro he began to learn to question discrimination: “At that point I started, “Why does discrimination happen? Why does this type of thing exist in the world?” At Educafro, Lucas was taught that “things could change.” As he explained: “We have to work towards this. To agitate. If we don’t agitate, nothing will change.” I also asked Lucas to talk more about the process of consciousness raising and his identity:

I think whether you have darker pigmented skin, or hair that isn’t smooth, this doesn’t really mean much. I think for me, and for the black movement, it’s about recognizing the opportunities that have been denied to all negros, the discrimination of negros in this country.

Lucas’ explanation reveals that what is important for him in the construction of a feeling of belonging to a racial group and a negro identity are not simply physical/biological factors, but more of an awareness of discrimination. Notably, Lucas, like the other lighter skinned participants in the study, could not recall a time when he personally had been the target of discrimination. Even so, he recognizes discrimination as something that collectively impacts a negro group to which he aligns himself with politically.

By contrast to Alice and Lucas, Christian, spoke of feeling uneasy about injustice from an early age. “I’m from a very poor family from Pernambuco. We moved to Rio when I was young.” He spoke of violence and racism against his family. A decade earlier, an older brother was “assassinated” by militia that came into the neighborhood looking for someone that had just committed a robbery. “They were looking for someone who had robbed someone that day, a dark black man, and they shot my brother, he is much darker than my color, he wasn’t doing anything, just walking down the street.” His mother also died when Christian was young, the victim of what he describes as “negligence in the public hospital.” After his mother’s death Christian went to live with a grandmother. Sometime in college he began working for non-profits and was drawn to social justice movements and eventually started volunteering with Educafro.

His response to the IBGE question reveals his understanding of his intermediate position: “I am mestiço – or “pardo” as IBGE says.” ...“I have curly hair and features that show my African descendancy, but I’m not black (preto).” For Christian, racial identity is less connected to his activism within Educafro and other NGOs, but more a result of his personal experiences. Like Lucas he recognizes pretos as a separate group from his intermediary position in Brazil’s racial system.

Teresa, an older student studying for the vestibular and a volunteer, also spoke of racism connected to her family. From a poor neighborhood in the periphery, Teresa identified racism inside her family. Her mother’s side of the family is mostly black and father’s side mostly white. “I have brothers with darker skin, much darker, and I remember growing up that my father’s family would make comments about their color, their hair.” Teresa told me about her Father’s reaction to her first boyfriend who was black, “my father almost killed me, just because he was black!” When I asked her about why she had identified as “pardo” among the IBGE categories she responded referencing her lighter skin color relative to others and that one of her parents is white: “I’m not that dark. My Father is white, so my color is lighter.” As we talked Teresa told me about how Educafro had changed her opinion of the black movement:

I started going to the study group downtown, at the center and now I volunteer answering the phones one day a week, helping out. I never really thought this thing of the black movement was for me, you know I always thought it was a thing of the middle class. I always saw Camilla Pitanga talking on the television about stuff, but then with Educafro I realized that it wasn’t just for the middle class. What I like about Educafro is that they work to raise people’s consciousness. Educafro enters into the racial problem, this is important, the people need this, you understand? The problem in Brazil is a social problem, but it is not just a social problem. Education is important.

As Teresa’s explains, her feeling that the black movement was more “a thing of the middle class” and not for her changed after she started attending the community prep-course group.

Indeed, community prep-courses targeting black and low-income students do distinguish themselves from the majority of black movement organizations by going to the bases, while other organizations are more professionalized NGOs comprised of mainly black middle-class professionals and intellectuals. Teresa's reference to Camilla Pitanga underscores her initial view of the black movement as being a thing for the middle class. Camilla Pitanga is a television and film celebrity in Brazil who identifies as black (negra) and is frequently quoted denouncing racism in the media. By contrast, for Teresa, Educafro connects with her personal pursuit of higher education, and other issues she cares about, like consciousness raising, addressing racism and education for the poor.

Like Teresa, Carla, a college student and volunteer, spoke of being initially drawn to Educafro to prepare for the vestibular. At that time, she explained, she wasn't interested in activism, but in recent years had come back to volunteer:

From my own experience I can see how it is difficult to get into the University, coming from the popular classes, how it is much harder work. So, I decided to help others. You know, because the same hardships that I suffered, all of them will also go through. So, I knew I could give some help to the group.

When I asked her why she had chosen "pardo" among the IBGE categories, she explained:

Pardo is there written on my birth certificate. My color is pardo. If I said I was negra people would say, "she is crazy, look at her." I'm more morena clara. But in terms of race, if you ask me about my race, I consider myself negra.

Carla's relates her in between position to official government documents and conveys the disbelief she might encounter from others were she use the negro term. Carla, like other morenos had difficulty identifying personal experiences with racism, "I don't feel that I've been a victim of racial prejudice", but as we talked she related an episode where her brother has been discriminated against in a bank:

My brother who is darker than me, he has suffered discrimination. We walked into a bank together and there they, the guard, pulled him aside and asked him why he was there. Well, he was there to pay a bill! Absurd! That was racism. We always hear that there is no racism, that racism is over, but it is here, and my brother, even today (in these times) has to go through it.

Carla, like others in this group, related episodes of racial discrimination involving close relatives, sometimes occurring within families. Marcelo is another participant that identified as moreno, and pardo according to IBGE. As we talked I asked him why he had chosen pardo. He explained:

Pardo is my color (pointing to his arm), I'm lighter skinned, sort of moreno claro. My family comes from the Northeast, my light eyes might be inherited from the Dutch.

As we talked Marcelo told me that he had come to Educafro several years ago as student, graduated from the State University, and now had come back to volunteer. He described feeling out of place at the University among "playboys", a term used to refer to the sons of wealthy families, and of the importance of the work Educafro does to call attention to racism and to help all poor people.

Well, you know, Educafro runs on volunteers, you know, so it's people that are really dedicated to helping poor people, to the importance of education. They talk about the negro question because this is a way for them to call attention to the problem. Also the way racism is in Brazil it's a problem. People don't talk about it. For a long time, studying in the university here in Brazil was just something that elites did. Poor people just didn't even think of studying, or if they did, the university was closed to them. They couldn't compete to get in. When I entered into the university, the other students, well, for lack of a better word, there are a lot of playboys. They've never ridden a bus or walked anywhere. For them to meet me, someone from the suburbs [poor area] it was scary for them. This was a difficult part of the process for me. Now, even today when more people are studying, the problems with education in Brazil are really big problems. There are big problems with literacy here.

In a similar vein with Carla and Teresa, Marcelo talks about the importance of the work Educafro does to address racial discrimination within a broader discussion of working with poor people. His account stresses the boundary between rich and poor as he emphasizes the experience of those Brazilians who have been included in public education, from those who have not. Marcelo's personal experience with discrimination based on class, as described in his memory of his University days and the difficulty he faced in that context as a poor student from the suburbs coming into contact with children from relatively elite families.

Rethinking morenos participation in black politics

The experiences of mixed-race participants reveals support for a social boundary between lighter skinned mixed-race people in Brazil and darker skinned people. Lighter-skinned blacks in-between position is explained almost as objective fact, as the result of their relatively lighter skin color, having parents that are white, or in reference to government identification, like birth certificates or other official identification. Morenos participation in the movement is most often reflective of a desire and commitment to work against racial and social discrimination, and less about a process of subjective identity shift from brown to "negro." Rather than estranged from a negro identity, and denying racism, these participants do not experience personal instances of discrimination and several in this group point out that calling themselves negro would be complicated by the speculation that would bring from others who would not see them as such. Nevertheless they recognize racial discrimination and are involved in anti-discrimination work.

Those mixed-race participants who also consider themselves as "negro" talk about this in terms of belonging to a political group ("I know I am negro, politically.") or as signifying black racial group belonging. In the latter case, this is akin to saying "I am mixed-race, of the black

racial group.” While in the former, a negro identity is rooted in a political stance that recognizes discrimination and places a priority on anti-discrimination work.

The experiences of this group challenge the thesis of color alienation as well as Degler’s escape hatch thesis, specifically his argument which claimed that because of their intermediate position within the Brazilian racial landscape, a position with less stigma of racial inferiority, morenos would be less motivated to participate in anti-racist social movements (see Degler [1971]1986:275-277). How can we explain morenos’ option to participate in the movement? Two things stand out. Firstly, although all mixed-race participants recognize racial discrimination as a problem, those that participate in the movement related episodes of racial discrimination involving close relatives, sometimes occurring within families. This relatively close experience with discrimination may be a factor in their decision to get involved. Another factor to consider is the importance the movement places on combating both social and racial inequality. This combined focus seems to facilitate the participation of some morenos who in their accounts demonstrate a commitment to working on education for the poor as well as a desire to combat racial discrimination.

Discussion: Consequences for racial boundaries

In this chapter I focus on the experiences of lighter skinned Afro-Brazilians, commonly known as pardos or morenos, as they position their racial identities with respect to new racial quota laws and anti-racist activism. I ask: How might new racial identity politics, with their dichotomous black/white racial schema, influence social boundaries in Brazil’s multi-racial context?

This chapter presents two key findings in relation to this question. Firstly, my findings do not support a boundary making effect among morenos from state targeted policies that would seek to have them self-identify as negro for inclusion in affirmative action. Indeed, most in this group opt out of using racial quotas that they would be eligible for. Secondly, I find that the unique way that affirmative action has been implemented, simultaneously targeting race and class, allows for a less oppositional boundary effect among participants. Instead I find more of a solidarity building between informants along class lines that are racially inclusive.

Among morenos a decision to opt out of using racial quotas isn't based on a rejection of a negro identity per say, indeed students are not oppositional to identifying as negro, but rather there is a rejection of what they see as a falseness, or lack of integrity, in calling themselves negro. For example, many report that if they were to call themselves negro they would draw scrutiny and denial from others who wouldn't see them as fitting into the negro category. This refers to a shared understanding among informants of how race and racial categories operate as visual color descriptors linked to the evaluation of ones physical features (skin tone, hair, facial features) in relation to others. Across the board these participants recognize a social boundary between lighter skinned and darker skinned black people, a boundary that is by and large established as people evaluate skin tone in relation to others. Lighter-skinned blacks discuss their in-between position as almost an objective fact, as the result of their relatively lighter skin color and mixed racial ancestry.

In addition to their self-exclusion from racial quotas on the basis of a visual boundary drawn, morenos distinguish themselves as a separate population from blacks in another important way. By contrast to their darker skinned counterparts, moreno informants report never having been on the receiving end of racist attitudes. Burdick (1998) also finds resistance to

assuming a negro identity among some of his interview participants as they recognize their social experiences may have been different from darker skinned Brazilians who may suffer discrimination because of their color or other physical features . As one of Burdick's informants stated: "I have enjoyed privileges blacks have not. I can say I am black, as an act of solidarity but I don't feel it. In a way, if I say I am black, I may be saying I have suffered as much as the other one. But I haven't " (Burdick 1998:151).

By contrast to these understandings, black movement actors and academics argue the rejection of a negro identity on the part of some Brazilians, as strong confirming evidence of the alienation thesis, understood as a lack of racial consciousness on the part of these individuals, and a threat to the development of anti-racist mobilization in the country (Munanga [1999] 2008; Twine 1997). Some go as far as to characterize those Brazilians who would deny a negro identity as doomed to living with a sort of social schizophrenia (Almeida dos Reis 2002). Ultimately, as Winant and others argue, it is those who see themselves as mixed-race that greatly hinder any possibility for anti-racist mobilization:

But for Afro-Brazilians to be able to mobilize, both in respect to the singularities of racially framed experiences, and simultaneously around the commonalities of inequality and deprivation they experience as citizens of Brazil, a deeper recognition of the depth of racial ambivalence and the conflicted nature of Brazilian racial identities will be essential. (Winant 2001:247)

My findings run counter to these arguments. For example, I find that morenos' decision to opt out of using quotas is not representative of a lack of support for anti-racist policy or denial of racism. To the contrary, moreno informants support a policy quotas for low-income negros. Non-negros also recognize racial discrimination as a problem in Brazilian society, and relate personal stories in vivid detail of close relatives and friends who have been the targets of racial

discrimination. Finally, several of my moreno informants were involved in anti-discrimination work.

Bailey's (2009) survey of racial attitudes in the State of Rio de Janeiro, conducted in 2000 in collaboration with CEAP/Data UFF, further support my findings (2009:126-132). The survey found that an overwhelming majority of Brazilians, across all color categories, held favorable attitudes toward the Black movement and the need to fight racial prejudice. Furthermore, 75% of young adults ages 18-25 years old expressed willingness to participate in anti-racism activities. When looking at willingness to participate in anti-racism activities by color category, close to two-thirds of survey participants across color categories (black, brown and white) showed openness to fighting against racial discrimination.

Unexpected boundary effects

Rather than racial quotas, moreno students show a preference for using the social quotas (public school quotas). It is important to consider how the simultaneous implementation of quota policies targeting public school students as well as race conscious policies may work against the formation of a boundary in black (negro) and white. Firstly, with these two policies in place, students have an alternative option for inclusion through the quota system, and it becomes unnecessary to adopt a negro identity for quota inclusion. Instead, people can identify as low-income based on public school attendance and receive the same resources from the state. Again, students are not oppositional to calling themselves negro, but with social quotas in place they can access the same state resources without being what they feel would be untrue to themselves.

In opting for class quotas, students are not only opting for that status, in some sense they are also specifically designating themselves as non-negro. Rather than embracing a negro identity, my moreno informants report they are better identified as non-negro. This is an opposite effect of what social movement and state actors desire, as for these students a disadvantaged class identity, rather than a racial identity, may become solidified as it enjoys the state's official approval and confers resources (Jenkins 1994; Tilly 2004). So, while state and social movement actors have pursued the unification of pretos and pardos into one racial category, with the coincidence of having class quotas offered at the same time as race quotas, their boundary work may be stymied.

Were they given only one choice, racial quotas, the outcome may have been to strengthen a racial boundary in black (negro) and white. Indeed, this was suggested by Bailey's finding from a spilt ballot experiment in which half of survey participants were read a statement on race-targeted policy before being asked to identify their own race/color and the other half were not read a statement. When the statement was omitted, 4.8% of participants self-identified as negro, whereas when it was included that number rose to 8.8% (Bailey 2008:602).

Less oppositional boundaries

The way that affirmative action policies have been implemented, targeting poor students as well as poor black students, has contributed to a less oppositional boundary effect among moreno participants, more of a solidarity building between groups. This is bolstered by Educafro's dual focus on race and class inequality and the fulfillment of substantive citizenship for the poor. Taken together, these external forces of categorization seem to have worked to heighten a sense of groupness among all disadvantaged students, across race/color categories.

Within Educafro, a focus on the specificity of racial discrimination exists side-by-side with an understanding of student's shared exclusion from elite spaces and a boundary is drawn against wealthy whites (and wealthy blacks to a lesser degree), such that this group becomes the "other." This emphasis on student's position as "excluded" is similar to what Cunha (2003) finds with respect to her analysis of the activities of the Afro-Reggae Cultural Group in Rio de Janeiro and the group's option to develop a sense of community around the shared experience of exclusion, as the group conducts its programs in favelas, areas where blacks and others are all excluded. In Educafro, the focus on shared exclusion also seems to create a notion of community among students across race/color groups. The identity of "excluded" is further bolstered by the focus of affirmative action policy, as the idea underpinning this policy concerns the importance of the concrete fulfillment of citizenship rights for those groups that have been systematically excluded. But as we can see, the focus on universal citizenship for all does not eclipse the importance of anti-discrimination work, evidenced by mixed-race student's recognition of racial discrimination as a problem, their participation in anti-discrimination work and support for quotas for poor black students. Thus, these students do not view color in oppositional terms, but feel solidarity along class lines that are racially inclusive.

Chapter 4

Negro Identities and Affirmative Action

In this chapter I explore the experiences of those informants who identified themselves as negro, as they position their racial identities with respect to participation in black movement college prep-courses and racial quotas. My sample consists of 21 men and women identifying as negro. Among this sample, two distinct patterns emerged. For one-third of participants, their experience with Educafro or PVNC (Prep-course for Blacks and the Needy) was central to their embrace of a black (negro) identity. By exposing them to discussions around the Afro-Brazilian experience, racism, and citizenship, their experience with Educafro and PVNC served as an important transformative experience in their lives. Informants in this group report having grown up referring to themselves with terms such as dark (escuro), light brown (moreno), and described family environments where issues of race and discrimination were not discussed. By contrast to moreno students discussed in chapter 3, for whom the negro term didn't "fit," for these students, coming into contact with the black movement college prep-course and beginning to identify as negro did "fit." Part of assuming blackness in their accounts, goes hand in hand with talking about racism, learning a more positive value of blackness, and preparing to enter the public university, which includes using racial quotas.

By contrast, the others in this group, two thirds of participants, report having referred to themselves as negro throughout their lives. For most in this group, the experience in the college prep-course served to expand an already existing racial consciousness. These informants grew up in families where several other close family members also identified as negro, and most

described family environments where discussions around race and racism and positive self-image and self-esteem took place.

Informants in both groups, those that identified as negro after joining the prep-course and those that referred to themselves as negro throughout their lives, also share several things in common. For all students discussed in this chapter, a negro identity is bound to their experiences and discussions of racial inequality and class based disadvantage, racial discrimination and racial issues, as well as a project of entering the university, which involves using affirmative action. Indeed, for many of these informants (as well as others discussed in chapter 3) the experience of the community prep-course was transformative, as it was there that they recognized the possibility of crossing social boundaries into elite social spaces, like the university, which they had previously believed were off limits to them. In this way, for informants self-identifying as negro, a negro identity is implicitly or explicitly a political term, one that connects to their recognition of the social experience of racial discrimination and class based disadvantage, and to exercising a claim on citizenship rights through affirmative action. Before presenting data I briefly discuss some of the interpersonal dynamics of using the negro term, which I hope will help to contextualize the discussion of the use of the term among participants.

Negro classification in Brazil

In Brazil, white skin and blonde hair enjoy widespread prestige over the darker end of the color/race spectrum (Sheriff 2001, Sansone 2003). In the popular classification system, the terms negro or preto are terms that are reserved for Brazilians on the darkest end of the color continuum (Bailey 2008; Bailey and Telles 2006). This hierarchical ordering is revealed when we consider that one's self-identification or identification of others as negro or preto is

oftentimes considered extreme or harsh. For many, *moreno* (brown) or other intermediate terms, are used as preferred “polite” terms when referring to darker skinned Brazilians (Sheriff 2001).

In contrast, Black movement activists, as well as some state and academic actors, view the use of intermediate terms like *moreno*, or the intermediate Census term “*pardo*,” as serious obstacles to addressing racial inequality in the country and building the bases of the movement around a collective black (*negro*) identity (Bailey and Telles 2006). Regarding racial inequality, these actors point to extensive statistical studies that show similar positions of disadvantage among those identifying as black (*preto*) or brown (*pardo*) on the census compared to those identifying as white (e.g. Hasenbalg 1979, 1985; Silva 1985; Telles 2004). In their vision then, the continued use of intermediate categories, only serves to mask this position of shared disadvantage, and contribute to diluting efforts to build a unified black (*negro*) group for anti-racist mobilization (Burdick 1998). In preparation for the 2000 census Black movement activists, some state actors and academics, waged an unsuccessful campaign to try to include *negro* as the official census term. The recent official use of the *negro* category for affirmative action policy has been seen as important victory in the “classification battle” (Bailey 2009:190-191), one that may help these actors achieve gains in addressing racial inequality and strengthening black racial consciousness around a collective *negro* identity.

Studies looking at self-declaration and the *negro* category find that while the vast majority of *pardos* and *pretos* do not prefer the *negro* term, it has made small gains in popularity in recent years. In a 1976 National Survey (PNAD), where Brazilians were asked about their race/color identifications in an open ended format, only 0.1% of respondents self-identified as *negros*. A survey conducted by DataFolha in 1995 found that 3% of respondents identified as *negro* and the 2002 *Pesquisa Nacional Brasileira* (PESB) shows a similar trend. In the open

ended format where 57% of the sample identified in non-white categories, 7% identified as negro (Bailey 2008). In 2008 a study by DataFolha found that 7.8% of respondents identified as negro.

“Politeness” and everyday use of negro identity term

Despite growing popularity of the term, the everyday use of term negro is also known to put people in uncomfortable situations, although this may be changing as the term is increasingly used by social movement and government initiatives as the politically correct term. As my negro self-identifying participants report, others frequently don’t call them negro, preferring instead to use other color terms, considered less “heavy” or “harsh.” Indeed, whether negro informants reported self-identifying as negro from an early age or later in life after joining the community prep-course, they all talked about people frequently using other race/color terms besides negro to refer to them.

For example, most negro informants talked of situations where friends or co-workers hesitate to refer to them as negro, instead oftentimes calling them *moreno* or *moreninho*. Carol, for instance explains why people refer to her using terms other than negro: “they refer to me in other ways out of fear that it will sound harsh, but I am *negra*, you can say it.” A similar explanation is offered by another student: “People often refer to me as *moreninha*, I don’t know what, they use *mulata* a lot, *chocolate* ... It’s because they’re afraid to call me *negra*, right? They think the person is going to get upset. But I am *negra*.”

The following field note excerpt taken from a small group conversation is also illustrative of this dynamic. The conversation took place during a weekend field trip with Educafro to commemorate the adoption of racial quotas in a town just a few hours outside Rio de Janeiro.

During a break in the day's events Paula, a longtime Educafro student, her friend Irene, and I began talking about racial quotas:

MP: You know, earlier today I came outside to get some air and a woman, she and I were talking, and she said: "I'm negra, but I don't think we need quotas." She told me: "I think anyone that works hard can succeed in life."

Irene: I agree with the woman. Do we really need quotas?

Paula: Well, you know I'm in favor of quotas for negros.

MP: So am I.

Paula: In my family my parents paid for private training courses for all of my brothers and sisters, except me. That's why I left home and came to Rio de Janeiro to work. There was nothing there for me, they would not help me. When I saw that they paid for my younger sister to go to private school and not me. I decided to leave. I am the darkest in my family. And my parents always treated me differently.

Irene: I would call you little light brown (moreninha), or little black (pretinha). You are not black (negra), I would not call you that.

Paula: No, I am negra. That's what I call myself. You are like my family, they are all negra, but they don't recognize it. Almost everyone in Bahia is negra, but most people deny it, they say, moreninha or escurinha, but it's really negra. Why not just accept it.

Francisa (another Educafro student): Yes, I agree. So many people don't see themselves that way.

MP: What makes a person negra? Is it just skin color?

Paula: Skin color, hair. My sister is lighter than I am and she has bad hair like me, she is negra, but she doesn't call herself that.

Me: Are there people that are not white, but also not negra? Like morena?

Paula: Yes there are. But there are a lot that are negra, but don't call themselves that.

This interchange between Paula and her close friend Irene captures the uncomfortable feeling that many have using the negro term to refer to others. As Irene, Francisca and I listened

carefully to Paula's emotional story of discrimination and her decision to leave home, it was Irene, Paula's close friend that was the first to say something. It might be possible to interpret Irene's response: "I would call you *morenina*, or *pretinha*. You are not *negra*" as something said, at least partially, in the spirit of trying to console her friend, as she considers these terms as more positive. It was almost as if by telling her she wouldn't call her *negra*, Irene was saying, "I would not treat you the way your family did." The alternative terms that Irene uses to describe Paula, like "*moreninha*" (little light brown) or, "*pretinha*" the diminutive of the dark black color term *preta*, are terms that she considers polite and demonstrate her caring for her friend. But her preference for these terms also demonstrates her awareness of the negative association of darker black physical features in Brazil's racial system. The hierarchy of skin color and other physical features is further exemplified as Paula herself draws a negative association between blackness and her physical self-perception, characterizing her hair, and her sister's hair, as "bad hair."

Paula also echoes black movement discourse as she characterizes those not using the negro term as denying their true blackness: "...most people deny it, they say, *moreninha* or *escurinha*, but it's really *negra*. Why not just accept it?" This sentiment, the notion that calling oneself negro was akin to accepting oneself, was evidenced in the talk of others as well. As one student reflected: "I've always been proud of my hair, even if it's hard, why should I try to change that? I just accept it. I'm negro and that's my reality. I don't need to hide it."

Finally, what also stands out in the conversation is Paula's connection of being negro with a recognition of the experience of racial discrimination, and her support of racial quotas. Indeed, for my informants self-identifying as negro, a negro identity is implicitly or explicitly a political term, one that connects to their recognition of the social experience of racial

discrimination and to a claim on rights (citizenship), which are embodied in the act of using racial quotas.

Pré-vestibular as key context for assuming negro identity

One-third of informants reported that being a part of the prep-course was a key experience that influenced their worldview and racial self-identification. As they discussed it, their time at the prep-course exposed them to a new conception of blackness through discussions of black history, general racial issues and citizenship rights, ultimately contributing to a change whereby they not only began using the negro term to self-identify, but they also started to believe that a University education might be within their reach. Marcos, for example, talked about growing up in a family where racism was never discussed; instead, the emphasis was on “obedience”:

The conversation that we had there at home was about obedience. Be a clean black (preto limpo), poor and with dignity. You never discussed racism, what it is to be black (negro). Attitude and racism, this was never talked about. Never.

As he further explained, growing up he used terms like “escurinho” or “moreninho” to self identify: “Because in my family you didn’t have this thing of affirming your identity. Escurinho was normal. It was normal. How would I classify myself then? Escurinho, moreninho escuro, and such.” In his late teens, his experience in the community prep-course uniquely exposed him to a new discourse on racism and identity, and to a new group of people that he could relate to, all of which he credits to helping him develop himself and starting to identify as negro:

So, I think education is important in the sense of developing consciousness, ...no, it's not really consciousness, it's about having a little more discernment about issues. It's important to interact with a group of people from a community that you can identify with. I began to have a certain discernment after I got involved with PVNC, for negroes and the poor and, there I started developing a little. I only began to self-identify as negro after I began participating in PVNC, in the black movement. If I had studied in some private school I wouldn't have ... Another thing that I think is great about PVNC is the question of citizenship. That there I think is amazing, man. You understand. That there is what makes a difference. In PVNC you always have the thing of citizenship. There are some community prep courses that don't have this, but in PVNC, that is the idea. It's identity. Make the guy "I am black."

There I really discovered myself. Because I hadn't seen. For me it was a new world to see people talk about negritude. Black is beautiful, black is pretty, we are capable. It was in the prep course, it was starting there.

Using the term negro to self-identify, as Marcos discusses, only takes place because he becomes part of the PVNC group and is joins a "new world," one that, as he describes it, exposes him to a positive discourse around blackness and black identity that is directly connected to "the thing of citizenship." Before joining the prep-course, he remembers feeling like college was beyond his reach:

It's like this, it seems like the world of public higher education is a world that wasn't made for us. Wasn't made for us. Sometimes we have that feeling. Man, someone that lives in the *baixada* [poorer suburb of the city of Rio de Janeiro], a mother and father that don't have an education, you don't have cultural capital.

Negro identified students, as well as others, frequently referred to the university as a world they grew up feeling wasn't for them, a world that they "weren't born for." An experience of exclusion from spaces like the university was often described explicitly in terms of class exclusion: "Man, someone that lives in the *baixada*, a mother and father that don't have an education, you don't have cultural capital." For most students, the prep-courses represented a change to their trajectory, as they learned what was involved in getting into college, how to use the quota system, and received support from others with similar backgrounds to their own.

Marcos went on to work as volunteer teacher for a few years, and attended a few meetings of a black student group in college, CONEI (Black Community of IFCS). Like most students, beyond volunteering in the prep-course, he hadn't become involved in other Black movement organizations. As Marcos described it, while the black movement and the question of assuming blackness were important, some people in the movement didn't associate with whites, and for him that didn't make any sense.

I think the black movement is necessary. In the sense that I think that there needs to be representation. And the issue of self-affirmation and such. But, just like with anything, there are groups. I think there are people that are part of the black movement that are too radical. There were people in CONEI that didn't interact with whites. I don't think this should be part of what the movement does, at all. I think that, well I never affiliated myself with the black movement. Never. I was always a sympathizer, but I have my reservations with respect to this.

Jonas is another example. Growing up, he self-identified with lighter race/color terms, often in response to pejorative labeling by others: "I used sarará (light-skinned). Because when I was little it was common for people to call me *nequinho*, these pejorative names. And I would say that I was sarará. Being negro wasn't a good thing. Today I am proud to be black (negro)." Like Marcos, he credits his experience with the prep-course for teaching him the positive value of blackness and instilling a sense of pride in being black:

What I learned about Africa, about culture, and things, I owe to Educafro. I didn't know...what happens is that it's like this...you don't know the value of your ethnicity. Another's ethnicity is more important than yours, this is the big problem. You don't have any idea of the value of your history, of your ethnicity, of what your ethnicity has done, of what your ethnicity has fought. You don't have these values. We talk about the Russian Revolution, for example, and we had a great revolution here that was Zumbi of Palmares, and no one talks about it.

But after you have your identity in place I think that the most important thing, is to show that you have value, besides being black or being white, you are a person, you have rights and obligations, it's a question of racial equality.

Both Jonas and Marcos connect their experience with Educafro to shaping a negro identity, which is intertwined with a positive association with blackness, an understanding of racism and citizenship rights. Part of acquiring a negro identity in the prep course also involved thinking about what direction to take in life and the possibility of overcoming social barriers:

After I started with the black movement, Educafro, some ideas began to enter my head, ideas about positioning, about direction, because you get lost. Besides being black, being poor, if you don't have direction, you're lost. You're going to repeat what your father, what your mother ... You think that you'll never be able to do anything differently, that you weren't born for that.

Francine provides another example of a former student whose identity as negro was shaped by their experience with the prep-course. Growing up she identified as brown (*parda*): "I called myself *parda*, it's what was there on my birth certificate. Today if you ask me my color, "I'm black (*negra*)," but back then I didn't have an idea of this." After graduating from high-school she went to work right away:

I went to public school where the quality was awful, just to give you an example, our physics teacher came to class for a few months but then stopped showing up. We had no preparation in physics. Coming from the public school, I was missing a lot, I didn't have the preparation you needed for the university entrance exam. My family couldn't afford a private school. The public school was the only option, ... really, well, the quality fell in the last years.

When she heard about the prep-course, she was hesitant at first because of the name: Blacks and Needy (*Negros e carentes*), thinking that maybe it was racist:

I wasn't sure what that meant. I had doubts, thinking that maybe this wasn't for me. But I went, a friend and I we went together, we didn't have a way to pay for a private prep-course. At first I thought that this thing of "blacks and the needy," well I thought it was racist. I don't know. But once, after I started to learn about Friar David's concept of negro, I realized it wasn't. He is fighting for the cause of the negro, for the poor, for their rights. Educafro shows you that you are capable, that you have force.

For a year she stopped work and dedicated herself to studying full time. Like others in this group, her experience in Educafro exposed her for the first time to discussions of Afro-Brazilian

history and culture and discussions of racism: “Before going to Educafro I really didn’t have much of a notion of negritude, at home, with my mother, we didn’t talk about racism, we didn’t talk about that at all.” As we talked Francine explained that she had remained very involved in the prep-course in her community, and described the importance of the work Educafro does with poor and black students:

I’ve been very involved with my prep-course in my community. The question for Educafro is a question of public education, of inserting people from the popular classes (*camadas populares*), the poor, blacks (negros), Indians, in the university, so that they can become professors and change the situation. This is the first step. Later I think we will fight more for improving education at the base. But for right now this is the first step.

In a similar vein with Jonas and Marcos, Francine talks about the role Educafro played in shaping her personal ideas of blackness, of exposing her to discussions of race and racism, and of providing the only prep course for the university entrance exam she could afford. When she describes her work with Educafro as work done with poor people, she references a broader struggle to “improve education at the base” to which she is committed, together with the more immediate goal of inserting “the popular classes,” explicitly understood as the poor, black and Indian students, into the university. In her account, as well as that of other students, the link between poverty and blackness is made explicit. Indeed all informants discuss poverty and blackness in such a way that race and class oftentimes appear synonymous in their accounts.

Life-long negros: Pré-vestibular as context for expansion of previously existing black consciousness

Close to two-thirds of participants who identify using the negro term report having referred to themselves throughout their lives as negro. These informants grew up in families

where several other close family members also identified as negro, and most described family environments where positive self-image and self-esteem were emphasized. For participants in this group, the prep-courses provided an environment that served to expand an already existing racial consciousness. Vitor is an example. A former student in the prep-course and now a volunteer teacher, Vitor grew up in an evangelical family where both parents were involved in the church and active in social issues. At home, discussions about race and racism were common, “my father was also a very politicized person; at home we always had this kind of discussion. He always had a very combative posture in relation to prejudice, discrimination.” When asked if he’d always referred to himself as negro, he explained: “Yes, my whole life. I was born in an activist family, so that’s how it is.”

For Vitor, the prep-course movement allowed him more space for expanding discussions of race and racism: “When I learned about this movement, that is when things left the home environment and gained a greater space and then, you know, I could exercise a little more this side of myself, that up until then had been more restricted to conversations among family.” Vitor talked about how the prep-course motivated him to question social boundaries:

Actually you end up breaking through barriers, because in general, well what happens is that people say “That there, that’s not for you.” And you believe it. When you believe it, you yourself create a barrier that makes it so you can’t get there, even though you have the objective conditions to succeed. And then, when I joined the prep-course, I realized that these barriers, that is, this was something very important, I started asking myself “Why is it that I can’t achieve that?”

As Vitor talked he described the interconnectedness of his class and race status as contributing to his disadvantaged position in Brazil’s social order:

Effectively, when you talk about the socioeconomic, in the end, you can: be talking about the racial question also; you know that, essentially, color, race, they essentially contribute to you not advancing in the classification systems. I don’t think there’s any way to separate the two. So, but thinking about my life trajectory, I would say, coming from a poor family from Petrópolis, being black

(negro), truthfully, I always, use these two images to explain my class condition, my class position and the reason for why a lot of time I didn't manage to succeed.

The above quotation from Victor demonstrates the fundamental connection he sees between his race and class status, and their contribution to the difficulty he has faced advancing his class position. Isis is another example, a former student, she has always used the *negro* term: "I've always called myself *negra*. So do my parents." Growing up at home, Isis' parents, stressed the importance of positive self-esteem:

They taught me to value my features, my hair, as something that was uniquely mine, and just because I might not have smooth golden curls down to my waist, that it was okay to look different, that I shouldn't feel ugly for being different.

Isis, like others in this group, described a home environment where discussions about prejudice and blackness were commonplace:

The black question was a frequent topic of discussion, opportunity, prejudice, that was always very clearly understood in my house, including, disguised prejudice, hidden, quiet, and even though others might imagine that we didn't understand what was happening, we did understand, and we responded right back to it. We didn't allow this in our house. So, for us to stand firm and affirm our blackness (Então, pra gente se firmar e se afirmar), that was a just one of the stages of citizenship, so to speak, that was fundamental.

For Isis, her time at the prep-course didn't provoke an identity shift or foment a sense of black consciousness and anti-discrimination activism, instead she credits her family for establishing her identity as an activist: "it didn't make me consider myself an activist; but I consider myself an individual activist, just not in the sense of collectively working together. I think that my individual activism was put in place, a lot more established, a lot more, by my family, than by the prep-course."

Overcoming obstacles to higher education: class and racial boundaries

What the prep-course did offer to Isis, as well as others, was a way to overcome boundaries to higher education. As Isis described, her desire to overcome social boundaries was a primary motivating force to join Educafro: "... the desire to overcome social barriers, and even cultural barriers, made me go because that was what there was for me, right? I couldn't pay for a private prep-course, so that one was for me, it was my course." Indeed, all student informants expressed a desire to overcome social barriers to higher education. For several negro self-identified informants the prep-course helped them to believe that maybe they did belong in college, a space they hadn't grown up believing was "for them"; for others, the prep-course helped them realize a goal they'd always had.

Like Vitor and Isis, Aparecida grew up in a very poor family, was the first generation in her family to go to college, and identified as *negra* from an early age. Her father worked as a bus driver, her mother a social worker, but by contrast to others in this group, they didn't talk of racism at home, rather she described her parents teaching her that the way to get ahead was to be calm and patient and just accept things the way they are:

We are taught to be quiet. "You have to be patient, you have to go along" basically, you always have to be quiet. You have to accept things. Things that a traditional white family, a traditional Brazilian family, would never teach their child to accept or to be quiet about. My mother always said "my child, this is the way it is". If I tell my mother about a situation where there was racism? "That's just the way it is, calm yourself." You see? That's how this thing works. It's because we were trained to be quiet. If we're not quiet and don't do everything calmly, quietly, then we don't get anywhere.

Notably, in the quotation Aparecida highlights the cleavage between black and white as she describes the difference between growing up black and being taught to accept and remain "quiet" about inequality, something she notes "a traditional white family" would never teach their children. Born in a very poor community with access to only poor quality public schools,

Aparecida talked of wanting to go to college as a teenager, and believing she could, but doubting that the university was within reach. Once she found the prep-course, she was hopeful she could study and pass the vestibular, and after a year of studying full-time she was successful. Soon after entering college she started her own prep-course group with a friend in her community and talked about how important the work was to her and to the struggle and advancement of poor communities:

I think the prep-course was really something sensational. It obvious, this is already clear, but I'm talking of the activism of the communities themselves, of the renovation of the communities. I noticed this. I think I had the privilege to live in a poor community and to see this up-close. The growth of these communities, the advancement of these communities, the struggles of these communities. And more importantly – more important than anything – that was only possible when these were born, when these college trained professionals began to emerge. (...) I say this because they began to think about Brazil also, Because when we think about Brazil from the perspective of the elite it's something else, that's a different way of looking at things. And when a historian from a poor community is born that will tell the history of this poor community with the point of view of someone that lived this reality, when a doctor from a poor community is born that will write prescriptions for people that really don't have any money, for people that are struggling... I think this is where we advance, this is where we grow.

Aparecida's account emphasizes the cleavage between the disadvantaged vs. the elite as she contrasts the point of view and concerns of the elite with those of people like herself, people who were born and raised in poor communities. In her view, the development of trained professionals from poor communities has been integral to the advancement of these communities, and of Brazil. An emphasis on both class and racial boundaries is similarly evidenced in the accounts of other negro informants.

Isabel, a 22 year old college student and volunteer organizer describes growing up in a very poor neighborhood in the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro: "Where I grew up, some areas where people live, they are poor, and in other places its people that are just drug dealers, nothing else.

And in these places, most of the people are negro.” As we talked about the neighborhood she explained why negroes were concentrated there:

Why are negroes there? Because even from when slavery was over, it was the “white” that could afford to pay for the nicer places that were closer to the center of commerce and the ex-slaves couldn’t. They didn’t have any resources.

Like other students, Isabel was the first one in her family to study in the University and as we talked she spoke of wanting to serve as an example of a poor black woman that had challenged barriers and achieved more in life:

Some of my friends never believed I would go to college, but I walk with my head up, you know, I want more from life, being poor, being black, you grow up thinking that there isn’t more for you. I want others to see me as an example and to also ask themselves: “Why shouldn’t I have more from life? Why shouldn’t I also walk with my head up like she does?”

She also spoke of her disadvantaged class status and the difficulty trying to “fit in” with others in the University who are privileged by comparison and treat her differently:

My father is a bricklayer and my mother works as a daily maid. Being a student at UERJ hasn’t been hard. Studying hasn’t been hard, what’s been harder is the social part. It’s another world there, really different from my reality, what I know. People there treat me differently. They have money, maybe they’re not rich, but they have money.

Among all informants, the recognition of the boundary between rich and poor, included and excluded, was a salient feature of their personal experiences. Indeed, several student volunteers that had been to the University commented on the discrimination faced in that context as relatively much poorer students from the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro coming into contact with and sharing space with the elite. Prior to the implementation of quotas, Brazil’s public universities were largely the realm of the elite who themselves attend private schools followed by a year or more studying in costly private prep-courses to get ready for the competitive university entrance exams. The concentration of the sons and daughters of wealthy families in

the country's public universities has led some to characterize the implementation of quotas as the "democratization" of higher education. To be sure, the implementation of quota policies has facilitated the entrance of low-income students from public schools -- black, white and brown, in higher education in unprecedented numbers.

Like Isabel, and others in this group, Diego, grew up in a poor neighborhood on the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro. Raised by a single-mom active in the women's movement, at home, issues of race and racism were frequent topics of conversation, "growing up there were always discussions at home about women's issues, and the question of racism. My mother was very active in social work, and in the woman's movement. She still is." Diego's friend told him about Educafro and they went there together:

I knew I needed to study in the university, so I needed more preparation to pass the vestibular, I already tried it once and couldn't pass physics or math, man, I had zero preparation for those subjects. At first I thought Educafro was just classes to prepare you for the vestibular, you know, subjects you need for that. But then after, well, I came to understand more [of what the project is]. The classes discuss racial discrimination and other questions, it's the culture and citizenship part. That's a great part. For some it's hard to talk about these things, man, they just don't have a critique of things, they don't have consciousness, they don't have direction. This is important, to think about your position, and your direction.

Diego was studying to take the vestibular for social sciences and planned to use the quota system:

In my view, if this is a right I have why not use it? Not just my right, but the right of all blacks, of the poor. A lot of people don't even know about the quotas, people from my neighborhood, they don't know about this opportunity. They are stuck some of them, stopped. But it's there and they could use it too. Educafro has fought for this, for the cause of the black, you know, the cause of the poor, or that person who is fighting to survive and doesn't manage.

In talking about quotas, Diego, like Isabel (above), referenced historical inequality that had left negroes in a disadvantaged position in Brazil.

For me, quotas are like reparations, that's how I think of them, reparations. This goes back to slavery, nothing was done for negroes, historically, after slavery. There is a lot of racial inequality in Brazil. It's a question of discrimination in Brazil, racial prejudice, you see? But, quotas are not enough, we need more than this, the base of education has to be improved, investment in education at the base, so that has to be improved and people

Salient in Deigo's discussion of quotas are themes that also emerged in the interviews with other negro identified informants, primarily, a) strong support of quotas for poor negroes as well as other poor students, b) use of the terms "negro" and "poor" in such a way that they appear synonymous in their accounts, c) a "bottom-line" position that argues for the critical importance of state investment in public education for the benefit of all poor students, and d) the discussion of quotas within a framework of anti-discrimination and hard won citizenship rights. In the section that follows I present data that explores these themes in more depth.

Attitudes toward quotas among negro participants

In discussing quotas, negro informants seem to hold a vision which reflects that of Educafro's as it is both focused on the importance of quotas for negroes as a group, always understood as poor negroes, as well as for all those occupying disadvantaged class status. So, while negro informants support racial quotas, they also show strong support for quotas benefitting public school students regardless of race. Consistent in their accounts is an urgent call for the improvement of public education at the base. All of these students have attended what they describe as poorly funded and failing public schools in Rio de Janeiro and discuss their disadvantaged status relative to "elite" students who attend costly private schools and prep-courses. As in the previous section in this chapter, the social boundary between the advantaged and disadvantaged in their accounts is salient, oftentimes forming the larger backdrop within which negroes as a disadvantaged group are also clearly recognized. In this way, their discussion

of quotas reflects both race and class consciousness. In their talk about quotas, the emphasis placed on class based disadvantage incorporates the need to address exclusion faced by other ethno-racial groups as well.

Participants in this group also discuss their support of quotas within a framework of anti-discrimination and citizenship rights. By contrast to moreno informants discussed in chapter 3 who did not share experiences where they were the direct target of racism, this group of informants talk of personal experiences with racial discrimination. Most negro identified participants reported having been the target of racial prejudice. Most often these were students who I came to know well over the course of fieldwork. In addition, participants discuss quotas within the context of widespread racial inequality faced by all black Brazilians and as part of rights won in the battle against discrimination.

Support for quotas as redress for racial discrimination

Paula was one of the first informants I met in the field. Originally from Bahia, she moved to Rio de Janeiro in her early 20s and worked as a maid for several different homes in the wealthier south zone of the city. Now 35 years old, she hoped to become a social worker or a nurse and began attending the prep-course several months before we met. Paula planned on using the quotas for negros at the state university and felt hopeful that even though it had been some years since she had been in school, she could study and pass the vestibular exam for the State University. She had joined Educafro because the other prep-courses in her neighborhood charged fees she couldn't afford. Paula, strongly defended the need for quotas. A conversation she described having with one of her employers over the issue is illustrative:

My boss is against affirmative action. I talked with her about it the other day because of an article that came out in *Globo*. The woman I work for has a daughter that studied in private school and started learning English when she was little. Well when she saw this *Globo* article about the quotas she said to me: “You all [blacks] don’t need this, you should get in through hard work. Quotas are racist.” I told her that I didn’t have a chance to study in a good school, so, I don’t have the same base of knowledge, right? So how can I compete with someone that did have those advantages?

As we continued talking, Paula described racism inside her family as the primary reason for why she hadn’t had a chance to study in a good school. The darkest in her family, she explained “my parents always treated me differently.” As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, Paula’s parents paid for private training courses for all of her brothers and sisters, except her. This eventually led her to leave home and come to Rio de Janeiro to work.

Indeed by contrast to mixed-race participants, informants identifying as black (negro) sometimes connected their support for quotas to instances of racial discrimination. Bruno is another example. A student in the pré-vestibular, he spoke of the racial discrimination he encountered from his girlfriend’s family when they started dating, and of more general problems with education in Brazil:

Brazil has racism. It might be different here, that maybe other countries, like the U.S., but there is racism. Take me, my situation with my girlfriend my ex-girlfriend. She was from the south, Santa Catarina, blue eyes, blonde hair white skin. And her whole family too. and they really didn't like the fact that she was dating me, dating a negro, with my hair. Her grandmother even said something to me once, she made a comment about me being black and not right for her grand daughter. We broke up and in a sense it was because of this. There are other types of racism too. When you look at the way the police treat people, there is discrimination.

The black movement has been very important for making some advances with this, for fighting against discrimination and developing public policies to help, but it is still not enough.

Bruno: “What do you think about this? About the quotas for negros?”

MP: “I think they are good.”

Bruno: “Yes, they are important. But we have to do more. We need the quotas and we need to improve public education. The state has destroyed public education, under paid teachers, poor buildings and a lack of infrastructure, all of this means that poor and poor black children will not be able to learn. Society has to accept responsibility for public education. With the way things are now, abandoned, students just don’t try, they do not go to class, they disrupt class. All of this needs to change.

Bruno’s comments reveal his support for quotas for negroes as redress for racial discrimination, combined with a concern with addressing a failed public education system that has all but abandoned “poor and poor black children.” Another student, Isabel shared a similar sentiment:

In my opinion, quotas are necessary, yes. How many blacks do you see in private schools, and then, how many blondes in public school? Brazil is a country with a colonial past, where blacks are, yes, the majority of the poor. But quotas don’t resolve the problem of education in the country. They can’t do that, and they shouldn’t be seen in this way. Much more is necessary to solve the problems we have with education in Brazil.

Like other students, Isabel supports quotas as a necessary redress for the racial inequality suffered by black Brazilians and warns that they are not enough to address the problems with public education. Similar to Isabel, who recognizes black Brazilians as comprising “the majority of the poor,” Jonas talked about the need for quotas to address structural racism that has left blacks in a situation of comparative disadvantage among all poor:

From my point of view we, need quotas, yes. Because in the end in Brazil we have a terrible distribution of income, right? And these types of things are important for creating more opportunity for all. Unfortunately, the lowest levels of education are among blacks, and it is the duty of the state to create opportunities for those who are less fortunate. I think the quota system takes into account lots of factors, like whether someone has studied in public school, their average monthly income, also the color of their skin. All of these things are part of it.

In these accounts, an understanding of quotas as a necessary intervention to address racial inequality exists side-by-side with the recognition of disadvantage based on class status and the need to address the exclusion faced by other groups as well. Indeed a common position among student’s revealed their support for quotas couched within a broader concern that quotas were not

enough of a change. Consider Yolanda's opinion, a negra student in the prep-course, hoping to study administration.

Yes, I'm completely in favor of quotas, but I think a mistake was made, that people ended up forgetting to pay attention to primary and secondary school, this ended up getting forgotten. The idea was to improve public school, so the guy that studied in public school would have a quality education to the point that they'd be able to compete with a student from a private school. But this didn't happen.

The cleavage between the advantaged and disadvantaged in these accounts is explicit, oftentimes forming the larger backdrop within which negros as a disadvantaged group are also recognized. As Flávio, a 33 year old self-identified negro student explains it:

The quotas we have now, well this is a historic debt that Brazil is just paying, it's important that the PT government has supported this, the governments of Lula, and Dilma. For a long time the system here in Brazil has been where the private schools and private prep courses for the vestibular have made it so that only the elite could study, now the opportunity is open for all poor, negros, Indians and others, some people complain because they have to share the University with others that they don't want to share this space with, others who maybe just yesterday were working for them.

Flávio's emphasis on the cleavage between elite and disadvantaged is shared by Carlos, a 33 year-old negro student, hoping to study physical fitness at the state university:

I think the public university should be for the poor people and the private university for the rich. But here in Brazil it's not like that the rich people are in the public university, if you are a poor person, if you are like me a negro from Morro da Bella Vista, and you go to class in one of these places, people treat you differently. You can sit in one area of the classroom, and people will sit away from you

MP: Why do you think this happens?

Carlos: It's classism, it's racism. All of it. I think with quotas, this is changing but it still takes time. Quotas are important for poor people, because the public education in Rio is in shambles -- so how am I going to compete with someone that went to private school?

The recognition of class and race based discrimination inside the university echoes that of other students, as well as the point Carlos makes regarding the low quality of public education in

Brazil. Like Carlos, most students cited the disadvantage students from public schools (proxy for low-income) face when competing with students from private schools. This point is also salient in the quotation below from another negro student:

I think quotas are necessary, yes. Some people, I hear them with a different opinion. Some say we should just invest in public education, at the base of education, so that everyone can compete, instead of having quotas. I agree, but the education system is broken, you see? I went to public school, and the place was abandoned in the last few years. Really bad. Sometimes teachers didn't show up all year. So how will I compete? It's like I told my next-door neighbor, we need quotas now, they are important to have now.

Affirmative action as a basic right

Finally, another pattern that emerged in student's talk about quotas relates to quotas as fulfilling the promise of equality for poor negroes, and the poor more broadly. In these accounts, quotas, and the access to high quality public university education they represent, are seen as a right, a right that was won through struggle:

Look I think the road for us to improve is through education. We have to improve education for everyone, and to show that negroes are equal to others, that we are all the same and deserve equal rights. Poor, negro, unemployed, even so, we are all someone. But to do this we [negroes] need access to the university and access to education. Quotas are one way. We fought for quotas, right? We don't have quotas today because someone said the blacks, the poor, they should have quotas, no. We went and fought for them. We have to continue fighting for what we deserve and what want for the future.

Again, in this quotation from Paula, she talks about quotas as a right, one that will allow for inclusion in the university, a place previously thought of as beyond the reach of poor and negro students:

With quotas, I think that people are now realizing that they can have another reality, understand? That there is another way forward in their lives, that we have rights, that the best spaces are spaces where we can also be. To be poor, to be negro, doesn't mean you end up stalled in life. I used to think, well from an early age really, we don't really think of ourselves as getting into a university, that

space isn't ours, you know? The entrance exam to the university is difficult, but I still want to try, and to sign up for the racial quotas. It's a right I have.

Discussion: Consequences for racial boundaries

In this chapter I focus on the experiences of self-identified negro informants, as they position their racial identities with respect to participation in black movement community prep-courses and to new racial quota laws.

By contrast to the experience of morenos discussed in chapter three, for some students, their participation in the pré-vestibular motivated them to begin to use the negro term to self-identify. This group cites their participation in the community prep-courses as a key experience in their lives, one that exposed them to a new discourse around blackness. The prep-courses, as they describe it, involved them in discussions around the Afro-Brazilian experience, a critique of racism, and citizenship rights. These discussions are elements of their experience which they directly connect with developing a black consciousness and beginning to feel a sense of pride in being black and identifying as negro for the first time in their lives.

For two thirds of informants, who grew up in family environments where discussions around race and racism and positive self-image and self-esteem took place, the experience as a member of Educafro and PVNC served less as transformative process with respect to black consciousness or racial identity. For these students, joining the community prep-courses, as they describe it, provided a space for them to expand an already existing black consciousness. These informants report having referred to themselves as negro throughout their lives.

Informants in both groups, those that identified as negro after joining the prep-course and those that referred to themselves as negro throughout their lives, credit the community prep-

course with making it possible for them to cross social boundaries into elite social spaces, like the university. For many this involved a complete transformation in their thinking, as they had previously believed these spaces were off limits to them. For others, the prep-course provided support for them to reach an established goal of higher education. In either case, in the process the cleavage between their disadvantaged class status vs. the advantaged status of the “elite” was sharply drawn.

Using racial quotas was a part of their change in trajectory and may have played a role in reinforcing or maintaining a racial identity among these students. By contrast to *morenos* discussed in chapter 3, for whom a negro identity was at odds with their self-identification, using racial quotas didn't raise reflexive questions for this group of participants. Put another way, negro informants see themselves as negro (some recently; others throughout their lives) and expressed absolutely no concern about using racial quotas. As Jenkins notes: “External categorization might be more or less the same as an aspect of existing group identity, in which case they will simply reinforce each other” (2008: 74). Following this, we might consider a few different ways that using quotas may play a role for these students in reinforcing a black identity. Firstly, in the process of using quotas students have a negro self-classification officially recognized for the first time in a bureaucratic context and for the purposes of affirmative action. Official classification for means of administrative allocation of state resources is a privileged “context of categorization” that is likely to “*count* in the lives of the categorized” (Jenkins 70: 2008). Beyond conferring state resources, in the case of affirmative action for negroes in the State Universities in Rio de Janeiro (as well as in other universities across the country discussed in Chapter 2) the process of external categorization and racial self-identification is not carried out

anonymously, rather named individuals are declaring their racial status, a status which may eventually also come to be verified by bureaucratic committee, photos, or a combination of these.

In addition to the validation of ones identity as black by the state, by using racial quotas students further contribute to the construction of their racial identities in that they are making a significant life choice and formulating plans under their self-identification as black. Indeed, as Goffman (1959; 1983), Jenkins (2008), Gooding-Williams (1998), and others argue, social identities are constructed in a process of interaction. Classification by others, is a necessary but not sufficient condition for racial identity formation: “One becomes a black person only if (1) one begins to identify (to classify) *oneself* as black and (2) one begins to make choices, to formulate plans, to express concerns, etc., in light of one’s identification of oneself as black” (Gooding-Williams 1998:23).

Lastly, using racial quotas may reinforce or maintain a racial identity among these students, in that this social policy adds a new context of categorization in their lives where racial classification is recognized. Mutual reinforcement of multiple overlapping contexts of categorization may contribute to the construction and resiliency of categorizations (Jenkins: 73).

Solidarity among poor students across racial lines

With this group I find continued evidence for solidarity building between groups. For negro students this seems to be a particularly strong effect as the category negro is practically synonymous with occupying disadvantaged status. Indeed, negro informants talk of the importance of addressing class inequality together with racial inequality, moving easily back and forth between the two. Oftentimes, class disadvantage is a more salient framework for these

informants. When discussing quotas, for example, a shared class disadvantage becomes the larger backdrop within which racism and the need for racial quotas as redress for racial inequality is discussed. A sense of shared class based inequality is further emphasized as negro students emphatically argue for state investment in public education to benefit all poor students, regardless of race or ethnicity.

Along these lines, among negro identified students the development or expansion of black consciousness does not seem to run counter to class consciousness, rather they may develop together in such a way that one reinforces the other. In the context of the pré-vestibular students develop an increased articulation of racial inequality and a greater general awareness of racial discrimination. At the same time they are striving to study and overcome obstacles to enter the university. During this process of upward mobility student's awareness of their disadvantaged class status is also expanded. Thus, in the context of strengthening black consciousness, class inequality remains a primary concern of students. This is evidenced in their critique of the state's abandonment of public education and in their commitment to the struggle and advancement of poor communities.

Chapter 5

Concluding Remarks

How are categories and rules of racial identification being constructed for new affirmative action policies in Brazil? And how are these new categories negotiated by Brazilians who are being asked to self-identify for inclusion in use these new policies? These are the two primary questions that have guided this dissertation – one addressing the dynamics of racial classification and categorization in contemporary Brazilian bureaucracies and the other the consequences these practices may have for boundary dynamics and identifications. In this conclusion, I summarize the main findings and discuss broader implications of my study for research on race and ethnicity.

Summary of Findings

New multicultural regimes now characterize much of Latin America, creating opportunities for ethno-racial populations to fight for social inclusion. Yet, the literature identifies uneven patterns of success in those endeavors. Scholars argue that states more readily consider claims based on the recognition and protection of cultural difference as legitimate, but are resistant to calls for the remedy of racial discrimination. As a counterexample, in chapter two I examine the case of affirmative action in higher education in Brazil, and specifically in the state universities of Rio de Janeiro. This chapter explores how issues of racial exclusion and discrimination gained traction in public policy in that context. Perhaps more importantly, though, I show that as policy makers came together to define beneficiary categories for affirmative action, race was only one component; instead, race was combined with class to establish a new type of beneficiary status for affirmative action: poor black students. Beyond Rio

de Janeiro, I suggest the wider diffusion in Brazil of the combined race and class category for determining target populations for inclusion in university affirmative action.

As the case study in chapter 2 shows, Black movement activists in Rio de Janeiro recognized that a wholly race-based approach to affirmative action in the state universities was problematic. As policy makers in Rio de Janeiro wrestled with the issue of verifying candidates' declared racial status, it became clear that the university could not be pressured into adopting criteria for formally verifying students' racial self-identifications. Educafro's proposal to remove the light-brown category *pardo*, together with the addition of the income criterion, became a way to minimize this impasse in negotiations and ensure that the black students who would benefit from the racial quota system were those with the greatest financial need. Without a low-income criterion, Educafro leaders argued, only middle-class and upper-middle-class black students would benefit from the new laws.

Other local activists and politicians also favored the addition of an income criterion in order to mitigate some of the thorny issues surrounding the issue of racial classification and thereby help to legitimize the policy on several fronts. Moreover, the addition of an income criterion helped eliminate the relatively prosperous students from the prestigious federal and technical public high schools, opening up opportunities for the truly disadvantaged students, who are the majority in the state-operated public schools. Public school attendance criterion for admission under affirmative action, then, was considered deficient in Rio de Janeiro as a measure for identifying a clearly disadvantaged social class, whether white, black, or brown.

In chapters three and four I discuss how ordinary Brazilians striving to enter the university position their racial identities with respect to the use of racial quotas and anti-racist discourse. These chapters explore possible effects of state sponsored race-targeted policy on

classification tendencies. Chapter 3 shows the lack of a boundary making effect along racial lines among self-identified moreno students from quotas. Mixed-race students conceptions of the negro category used in the policy differ from more formal government, black movement and social science conceptions. While formal Black movement and state discourse holds that all pardos and pretos are also negro, thus working to expand the boundary around blackness in Brazil, self-identified mixed-race students distinguish themselves as a separate group from negros and pretos. Lighter-skinned blacks discuss their in-between position as almost an objective fact, as the result of their relatively lighter skin color and mixed racial ancestry. As they report, were they to call themselves negro they would draw scrutiny and denial from others who wouldn't see them as fitting into the negro category. As Jenkins (2008) argues, identification requires an interactive process as it involves both external and internal dynamics. One's self-identification as negro (or anything else) is not enough; you need others to recognize and legitimize that identification. While mixed-race students are not rejecting a part of their ancestry (they recognize some of their ancestors were from Africa); instead, external dynamics do not support, in their case, the recognition of a negro racial identity.

In addition, their experiences with racism in Brazilian society do not support a negro identity. Mixed-race students describe themselves as socially distinct from the negro group in a key way: moreno informants report never having been on the receiving end of racist attitudes. That is, people do not react to them with negative racial animus as they more often do in the case with pretos. This is an important finding. Statistical studies show similar mean levels of disadvantage among those identifying as black (preto) or brown (pardo) on the census compared to those identifying as white (e.g. Hasenbalg 1979, 1985; Silva 1985; Telles 2004). Scholars and movement actors have used this as evidence of identical contemporary discriminatory actions

towards them, claiming both equally suffer from racist discrimination from whites. But, if statistical studies show that social mobility may not always be a reality for pardos, we also know that the country's racial system operates on a hierarchy from white to black. That is to say that Brazilians ascribe values to whiteness and blackness. So there may be some social benefits lighter skin Brazilians of African descent may enjoy due to their relative whiteness. In this dissertation I discuss that self-identified moreno students do not report having been the target of discrimination. This is something that several movement leaders also support as they argue for a phenotypical evaluation of blackness for quota inclusion and a definition of race for policy that they consider a social definition (chapter two). In all, this highlights a problem with mainstream Black movement, government and academic logic that would group all pardos and pretos together into one negro category. As this logic hides some of the social differences between darker and lighter-skinned blacks, especially those with features that may make them less vulnerable to racial discrimination in Brazilian society.

Unexpected boundary effects from policy design

Another important factor working against the formation of a boundary in black and white in Brazil has been the simultaneous implementation of quota policies targeting low-income students, either graduates of public school or students self-identifying as negro. This policy design has been adopted by state legislators and university administrators in Rio de Janeiro and in several others states around the country. That is, low-income students may qualify for affirmative action if they have attended public school or if they self-identify as negros. This is a unique implementation of affirmative action policy, one not seen in other countries, with consequences for racial boundaries. With these two policies in place students have an alternative

option for inclusion through the quota system, and it becomes unnecessary to adopt a negro identity for quota inclusion. Rather than oppositional to calling themselves negro, with the quotas for public school students in place, moreno identified students can access the same state resources without adopting a negro label and being what they feel would be untrue to themselves. Moreover, in opting for class quotas, students are not only opting for that status, in some sense they are also specifically designating themselves as non-negro. This is an opposite effect of what social movement and state actors desire for this group, as for these students a disadvantaged class identity, rather than a racial identity, may become solidified as it enjoys the state's official approval and confers resources.

For negro identified informants, discussed in chapter 4, racial quotas may play a role in expanding or reinforcing a racial identity. This reinforcement happens in three key ways. Firstly, in the process of using quotas students have a negro self-classification officially recognized for the first time in a bureaucratic context and for the purposes of affirmative action. Official classification for means of administrative allocation of state resources is a privileged "context of categorization" that is likely to "*count* in the lives of the categorized" (Jenkins 70: 2008). In addition to conferring resources, the process of external categorization and racial self-identification is not carried out anonymously, rather named individuals are declaring their racial status, a status which may eventually also come to be verified by bureaucratic committee, photos, or a combination of these.

In addition to the validation of ones identity as black by the state, by using racial quotas students further contribute to the construction of their racial identities in that they are making a significant life choice and formulating plans under their self-identification as black. Indeed, as Goffman (1969; 1983), Jenkins (2008:59), Gooding-Williams (1998), and others argue, social

identities are constructed in a process of interaction; classification by others is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for racial identity formation.

Lastly, using racial quotas may reinforce or maintain a racial identity among these students, in that this social policy adds a new context of categorization in their lives where racial classification is recognized and significant. Mutual reinforcement of multiple overlapping contexts of categorization may contribute to the construction and resiliency of categorizations (Jenkins 2008:73).

Less oppositional boundary effects

In this dissertation I argue that the way affirmative action policies have been designed and implemented contributes to produce less oppositional boundary effects. Rather than a backlash against quotas, which we might expect to see with the implementation of race targeted quotas alone, the implementation of policies targeting poor students as well as poor black students has contributed to a solidarity building between these disadvantaged students across race/color groups. Indeed the main cleavage we see developing is perhaps the disadvantaged vs. non-disadvantage, rather than race/color groups in opposition. This effect is bolstered by Educafro's dual focus on race and class inequality and the fulfillment of substantive citizenship for the poor.

Implications for research on race and ethnicity

In Brazil race targeted quotas are widespread and we find strong support for the measures. In national public opinion surveys a majority of Brazilians, regardless of race, are in favor of the measures (Bailey et al. 2015). This overall broad based public support stands in

stark contrast to the United States where we've seen a backlash against these measures and a racial divide when it come to support for affirmative action (Bobo et al. 2012; Pierce 2012). In the U.S. whites, for example, generally express an overwhelming rejection of affirmative action for blacks. Racial quota policies for that matter have long been ruled unconstitutional in the United States, where this approach is considered "extremely unpopular" (Bobo et al. 2012:58). If in the United States we've seen racial divide around affirmative action and a lack of solidarity across racial groups, in Brazil the situation is different.

If we consider the situation in Brazil there appears to be an entire flipping of the script. One factor that helps explain the overall broad acceptance of race-targeted affirmative action policy is the simultaneous implementation of quota programs that target browns and blacks and quota programs that target public school students (a proxy for low-income). As detailed in chapter two, in most cases of affirmative action programs the largest beneficiary category is public school students. Many universities have gone on to create quotas for browns and blacks, but as "subcategories" embedded within the social quotas. As in the approach taken by the State Universities of Rio de Janeiro, or by the recent Federal Law of Social Quotas, once a student qualifies for a quota track based on a class criterion (low-income status or public school attendance), there is a second, separate track for browns and blacks among those disadvantaged students. The result of this nuanced and couched race-targeted affirmative action is that it probably benefits from the more general acceptance of the social quotas (see also: Bailey et al. 2015). That is, it is not only browns and blacks who are the target of the state's efforts to restructure Brazilian society, working-class and poor whites are also benefiting. Hence, the landscape is changing, but not necessarily using a zero-sum game in terms of race.

While class quotas do stop opposition to racial quotas, they do more than that, as evidenced by the experiences of students in the pré-vestibular. They are also allowing people to form a solidarity along class lines that are racially inclusive. The main cleavage we see developing is perhaps the disadvantaged vs. non-disadvantage, with many whites, browns and blacks amongst those disadvantaged. Instead of races in opposition, what we may see is disadvantage in conflict, with an emphasis on inclusive group building around that. That is not to say that a new racial project hasn't given rise to a growth in racial consciousness, it has, but there aren't entrenched oppositional racial groups. In Brazil this unique twist of affirmative action policy implementation is creating a new population, one that doesn't view color in oppositional terms but feels solidarity on class lines that are racially inclusive.

Implications for research on race and ethnicity in Latin American

Scholars of race and ethnicity in Latin American note the growing strength and proliferation of social movements since the 1980s seeking to mobilize Indigenous and black identities for the greater participation of these groups in politics (Andrews 2004; Wade 2010; Yashar 2005). Also new has been the development of official multicultural politics, whereby states have shifted from a focus on ideologies of racial and cultural mixture, to the recognition of ethnic diversity and granting of rights in new legislation and constitutions for Indigenous and some Afro-descendant populations (Hooker 2005, 2008; Loveman 2014; Paschel 2010; Peria and Bailey 2013).

For some scholars the rise of a politics of identity with its assertion of group based rights can potentially improve lives of people across the region (Telles 2004; Van Cott 2006). Others read these developments as a crisis of the left (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1999; Hale 2002), as they

represent a change from the classic trade union protests of previous decades, and the downplaying of traditional class based approaches to inequality.

Along these lines, as discussed in chapter 1, opponents of race targeted affirmative action measures in Brazil warn that the implementation of these policies may serve to strengthen black consciousness in the country, risking creating divisions in the population, and possibly weakening the development of class based approaches to address inequality (Fry 2005; Fry et al. 2007; Maggie 2005; Maio and Santos 2005).

As I show in chapter 4, race targeted policies may play a role in expanding the racial identity and black consciousness of some informants. But what I have also shown is the development of black consciousness does not seem to run counter to class consciousness, rather they may develop together in such a way that one reinforces the other. In the context of the *pré-vestibular* students develop an increased articulation of racial inequality and a greater general awareness of racial discrimination. At the same time they are striving to study and overcome obstacles to enter the university. During this process of upward mobility student's awareness of their disadvantaged class status is also expanded. Thus, in the context of strengthening black consciousness, class inequality remains a primary concern of students. This is evidenced in their critique of the state's abandonment of public education and commitment to the struggle and advancement of poor communities. For self-identified negro informants, the development of race and class identities in tandem seems to be a particularly strong effect as a black identity is practically synonymous with occupying disadvantaged status.

But what of the potential for these policies to create divisions as they introduce a bi-racialization classification schema into a society that does not see itself in black and white? While we might have expected to see racial divisions develop, the simultaneous implementation

of race targeted and class targeted quotas may have worked against this result. This unique twist of policy implementation has served to create a situation whereby students are not required to adopt a racial identity in order to benefit from quotas. Students may choose to identify as negro, but if not, they may opt for the quotas for public school students and benefit that way. The way the policy has been implemented, to include all disadvantaged students regardless of race or color identification, seems to have created a situation whereby the main cleavage highlighted is that between advantaged vs. disadvantaged, not black vs. white. As such, I argue, students do not come to view color in oppositional terms, but feel solidarity along class lines that are racially inclusive.

Moreover, I also find that *moreno* students, despite reporting that they do not experience racial discrimination, are involved in anti-discrimination work. This finding is unexpected as it runs counter to conclusions found in some of the Brazilian race relations literature (Almeida dos Reis 2002; Twine 1997; Winant 1999) which argues that many Afro-Brazilians, aided by the ideology of racial democracy, are not only “avoiders” of their true blackness who deny the reality of racism in Brazil, but in doing so seriously hamper the advancement of the goals of the Black movement in the country. Indeed, for many scholars (Almeida dos Reis 2002; Munanga [1998]2008; Souza 1983; Winant 2002) a process of racial consciousness would lead to an acceptance of one's blackness. This viewpoint is similarly represented among black movement leadership, who argue that that a successful anti-racist movement must be built on a unified black identity, and that intermediary categories are a divisive threat to that unity (Burdick 1998, Nascimento 1982).

The success of the *pré-vestibular* schools in mobilizing *moreno* participation suggests some possible ways that Black movement efforts may be furthered. In their readiness to work on

issues of class and race inequality, and with disadvantaged Brazilians of all race/color identifications, these community schools are able to connect with the practical concerns of a larger group than those organizations who may restrict themselves to working exclusively on race issues. This dual focus seems to be an effective strategy that facilitates the participation of disadvantaged non-negros in anti-racism work. One way that this participation might be even further bolstered, however, may be for less emphasis to be placed on the “assuming blackness” discourse. As I show in chapter 3, some leaders in the pré-vestibular group challenge non-negro identifying students about their identity, creating for some students a tense situation, potentially alienating this group from participation (See also Burdick 1998). While it is not necessary to call oneself black to be a member of the pré-vestibular, depending on what local group a student is involved in, and there are many spread throughout greater Rio de Janeiro, as well as in several states in the Southeastern region of Brazil, there may be more or less emphasis placed on the “assuming blackness” discourse. This emphasis does seem to create distance for some student’s from the group, hampering their involvement.

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