

3-2018

Affirmative action and Bolsa Família in Brazil

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AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND BOLSA FAMÍLIA IN BRAZIL

A Thesis

Presented in

Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

March, 2018

BY

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To my husband, family, and friends, especially my mother, Beatriz G. Salinas, who has taught me some invaluable lessons, and to my thesis committee, mainly Dr. Michael McIntyre who guided me through this project

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Abstract

Bolsa Familia is an anti-poverty program that has gained a great deal of recognition in Brazil, while affirmative action is a controversial race-based program with less political support. Affirmative action in Brazil though is usually framed in non-racial terms, specifically in the most important piece of Brazilian affirmative action legislation, the *Lei de Cotas Sociais*. Conventional wisdom is thus an artifact of discourse, for both programs are framed in universalistic terms, but disproportionately benefit Afro-Brazilians. A word frequency analysis of newspaper articles is conducted to examine the media's framing of affirmative action and *Bolsa Familia*. The investigation demonstrates that affirmative action is framed racially and *Bolsa Familia* is discussed from a non-racial perspective. The thesis demonstrates that there is very little discursive overlap in discussions of these programs, despite their similarities, and that this discursive disjuncture enters into the common sense that underlies the politics of the programs.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Bolsa Familia is a successful, universalistic, anti-poverty program that has gained a great deal of recognition in Brazil, while affirmative action is a controversial race-based program with less political support and fewer indicators of success. Affirmative action in Brazil though is usually framed in non-racial terms, specifically in the most important piece of Brazilian *affirmative action* legislation, the *Lei de Cotas Sociais*, or the Law of Social Quotas. Conventional wisdom is thus an artifact of discourse, for both programs are framed in universalistic terms, but disproportionately benefit Afro-Brazilians. This thesis will demonstrate that there is very little discursive overlap in discussions of these programs, despite their similarities, and that this discursive disjuncture enters into the common sense that underlies the politics of the programs.

Brazil imported approximately “3.5-3.6 million”¹ slaves through the Atlantic slave trade, about “38 percent”² of all of the slaves brought to the New World, not abolishing slavery until 1888. Many male European settlers who came to the Americas without companions had offspring with indigenous and African women.³ As a result, the Brazilian elite and the country’s intellectuals were faced with the perception that Brazil was less progressive and modernized due to its racially mixed population. Brazilian scholars, therefore, encouraged European immigration and developed a scientific theory that racial mixture would gradually *whiten* the Brazilian population. The freed Africans, considered to be a mass population of “illiterate” and “unskilled

¹ Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550-1888* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 40.

² Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil*, 40.

³ Thomas E. Skidmore, “Race and Class in Brazil: Historical Perspectives,” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 20, no. 1 (Summer 1983): 104-18.

people,” had to mix with the incoming, “higher” and “more advanced” civilization.⁴ As Thomas E. Skidmore put it, “Abolitionist believed that miscegenation would gradually and inexorable ‘whiten’ and thereby ‘upgrade’ the Brazilian population.”⁵ Not only did the Brazilian nation’s physical attributes have to further align with those of Europe, but so did its culture.

Educated at Columbia University, Gilberto Freyre became an important figure in refuting this scientific racism. Instead of advocating *embranquecimento*, Freyre celebrated Brazil’s racial admixture. In his book, *The Masters and the Slaves*, first published in the 1930s, Freyre utilizes the plantation as the model of economic, social, political, and sexual interaction. Freyre affirms that slaves, although unfree, contributed greatly to Brazilian national customs and traditions due to their close relationship with their masters. Here Freyre prefigures the thesis of *racial democracy*, the notion that Brazil became a site of racial mixing and cultural hybridity.⁶ In contrast to the discriminatory and hierarchical race relations of the United States, Freyre portrayed Brazilian race relations as humane and permeable.

From the 1960s to the 1980s, U.S. scholars, or Brazilianists, had a disproportionate amount of influence in Brazil. Prominent Brazilian scholars travelled to the U.S. to complete their doctoral work with these researchers. Many often compared the U.S. with its “‘one drop rule,’ [which] has defined anyone with black ancestors as black,”⁷ to Brazil’s color continuum where “[r]acial identity...is not governed by the rigid descent rule.”⁸ In a 1970s study, Marvin Harris concluded that Brazilians identified themselves in a diverse and fluid manner that was not

⁴ Thomas E. Skidmore, “Racial Ideas and Social Policy in Brazil, 1870-1940” in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2010), 9.

⁵ Skidmore, “Racial Ideas and Social Policy in Brazil,” 9.

⁶ Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization* (New York, NY: Random House, 1964); Stanley R. Bailey, *Legacies of Race Identities, Attitudes, and Politics in Brazil* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 227. According to Bailey, Freyre may have first used the actual phrase *racial democracy* in the early 1960s.

⁷ Bailey, *Legacies of Race Identities*, 22.

⁸ Bailey, *Legacies of Race Identities*, 26.

as simplistic as the black and white racial labels utilized in the U.S. “Racial identity in Brazil is characterized by a high degree of referential ambiguity,” said Harris. His research participants showed no evidence of “orderly [racial] distinctions.”⁹ Around the same time, Carl N. Degler published a book in which he claimed that Brazil, unlike the U.S., had “the mulatto...escape hatch.”¹⁰ Degler asserted that this made the racial hierarchy in Brazil less constraining and harsh than the one in the U.S. He combined such affirmations with the effect of wealth on racial perception. Stanley Bailey explains, “The adage in Brazil that ‘money whitens’ is also presented as support for the primary importance of class over race... ‘It’s one’s class and not one’s race which determines the adoption of subordinate and superordinate attitudes between specific individuals in face-to-face relations.’”¹¹ After conducting a study in rural Brazil, academic Charles Wagley determined that the cause of discrimination and exclusion was social class not race.¹² Later, scholars, including Harris and Wagley, dismissed racial discrimination in Brazil due to the ambiguities found in racial identification. Researcher Emílio Willems has noted, “Contrary to what happens in the United States, [Brazilian] public opinion is strongly opposed to any kind of racial discrimination. Any deviation from what is considered to be the general pattern of race behavior is severely condemned and often violently reprovved.”¹³ The negation of racial discrimination by scholars therefore contributed to “an ‘establishment mentality’ governed

⁹ Marvin Harris, “Referential Ambiguity in the Calculus of Brazilian Racial Identity,” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 26, no. 1 (Spring 1970): 12.

¹⁰ Carl N. Degler, *Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), 107.

¹¹ Bailey, *Legacies of Race Identities*, 26.

¹² Charles Wagley, *Race and Class in Rural Brazil*, ed. Charles Wagley (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1963), 9.

¹³ Emilio Willems, “Racial Attitudes in Brazil,” *American Journal of Sociology* 54, no. 5 (March 1949): 408.

by elitist, assimilationist discourse and an ‘indifference to race.’”¹⁴ Overall, the inferences made by these Brazilianists further perpetuated belief in a Brazilian racial democracy.

There was a reaction to the aforementioned wave of “antiracialism.”¹⁵ Along with “activists of the emerging *negro* social movements...and...new generation of demographers with access to ‘hard’ data on racial structuring,”¹⁶ Professor Florestan Fernandes, a sociologist and leader of “the so-called São Paulo School,”¹⁷ became one of antiracialism’s most notable opponents. In his book, *The Negro in Brazilian Society*, Fernandes comments on Brazil’s melting pot image and argues that while the country is racially mixed, Afro-Brazilians are marginalized. Fernandes explains that after the abolition of slavery blacks were left to compete in an industrializing environment where they were not given the proper societal tools to progress. Afro-Brazilians “were disadvantaged by their lack of social preparation for free employment, the market economy, and the urban style of life, but also with the limitations stemming from deeply rooted restrictive or negative attitudes.”¹⁸ Freed slaves had the inability to “economically, socially, and educationally”¹⁹ protect themselves from a new system that further disregarded them. With the intent to *whiten* Brazil, European immigrants became a new source of labor and employment opportunities for Afro-Brazilians diminished. It was not until 1927 that “the program of subsidized [European] immigration was suspended.”²⁰ Fernandes goes on to explore the position of white Brazilians in his book and states, “he clings to *the prejudice of having no*

¹⁴ Bailey, *Legacies of Race Identities*, 28.

¹⁵ Bailey, *Legacies of Race Identities*, 26.

¹⁶ Bailey, *Legacies of Race Identities*, 28.

¹⁷ Caetana Maria Damasceno, “Women Workers of Rio: Laborious Interpretations of the Racial Condition,” in *Race in Contemporary Brazil: From Indifference to Inequality* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 231.

¹⁸ Florestan Fernandes, *The Negro in Brazilian Society* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1969), XIV.

¹⁹ Fernandes, *The Negro in Brazilian Society*, XIV.

²⁰ Richard Graham, “Free African Brazilians and the State in Slavery Times,” in *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*, ed. Michael Hanchard (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 50.

prejudice.”²¹ Whites accepted the idea of a racial democracy because they did not feel threatened by blacks. Fernandes finds that Brazil will only become a racial democracy when whites accept that they are prejudiced and instead begin to view blacks as their equals from all perspectives.²² Fernandes recognizes that altering the psychological view, which is “socially patterned and even implanted,”²³ will be the greatest obstacle in the alteration of Brazilian society. Antonio Guimarães, another Brazilian sociologist, adds that Brazil’s military dictatorship, 1974 through 1985,

...adopted a racial democracy orientation that became a type of ‘dogma’ or official ‘ideology of the Brazilian state.’ The essence of the military’s take on racial democracy was the negation of racism in Brazil...[and] ‘eventually becomes a racist ideology, that is, a justification of the discriminatory order and of the racial inequalities that really exist.’ It was in this context that the myth of racial democracy came to be viewed most strongly by researchers as a type of *legitimizing ideology* of the powerful in Brazil and a *mystifying ideology* for the *povo*, or nonelite classes.²⁴

In contrast to the U.S., where racial discrimination faced some demands for redress, even if the responses were inadequate, racial democracy was utilized in Brazil as a mystifying ideology that excused Brazil from dealing with racial inequality.

In the 1990s, ‘North American students’²⁵ continued to compare the U.S. and Brazil’s positions on race. In his book, *Orpheus and Power*, Michael Hanchard outlines the development of a racial hegemony, *racismo mascarado*, in Brazil. He “argue[s] that culturalist (as opposed to cultural) practices have also been an impediment to certain types of counterhegemonic political activities because of their reproduction of culturalist tendencies found in the ideology of racial

²¹ Fernandes, *The Negro in Brazilian Society*, XV.

²² Fernandes, *The Negro in Brazilian Society*, XVII.

²³ Fernandes, *The Negro in Brazilian Society*, XVII.

²⁴ Antonio Sérgio Alfredo Guimarães, *Racismo e Anti-Racismo no Brasil* (São Paulo: Fundação de Apoio à Universidade de São Paulo, 1999), 63.

²⁵ Bailey, *Legacies of Race Identities*, 30.

democracy...²⁶ In other words, to Hanchard, the myth of racial democracy was so embedded in Brazilian thought that it became a form of common sense and the primary obstacle to the eradication of racial inequalities in Brazil. “When combined with racially discriminatory practices in education, labor markets, and popular culture, Brazilian blacks have been locked in an elliptical pattern of racial oppression, where claims against discriminatory practices are rarely heard and hardly ever address by Brazilian elites.”²⁷ Hanchard proposes that a civil rights movement, similar to the one that took place in the U.S., should become the “universal standard”²⁸ by which Brazil and the global community solve their racial inequality struggles.

In reaction to this new orthodoxy, Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant argue that treating race and identity in Brazil like that of the U.S. ignores the specificity of Brazilian racial formations. Bourdieu and Wacquant argue that “instead of dissecting the constitution of the Brazilian ethoracial order according to its own logic,”²⁹ Hanchard and others simply took U.S. racial formation as a universal template. Bourdieu and Wacquant point to the fact that Brazil recognizes a mixed-race category, and that some who consider themselves black in the U.S. may not necessarily consider themselves black in Brazil.³⁰ Thus, a civil rights movement like the one Hanchard suggests may not be the best remedy to the social injustices that Afro-Brazilians face. Many theorists, including Peter Fry, Yvonne Maggie, Simone Monteiro, and Ricardo Ventura Santos, also challenge the racialism stage,³¹ in addition to the adoption of racial quotas. They

²⁶ Michael G. Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil, 1945-1988* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 21.

²⁷ Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power*, 57.

²⁸ Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, “On the Cunning of Imperialist Reason,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 16, no. 1 (February 1999): 44.

²⁹ Bourdieu and Wacquant, “On the Cunning of Imperialist Reason,” 44.

³⁰ Bourdieu and Wacquant, “On the Cunning of Imperialist Reason,” 45.

³¹ Michael Hanchard, “Introduction,” in *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*, ed. Michael Hanchard (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 13. Racialism stage, when scholars presented “a race-centered focus” in their analysis of Brazilian race relations.

fear race-targeted approaches will increase racial tensions and do little to change the living conditions of those marginalized. A solution, they claim, is to increase the quality and access to education and health care services.³²

At the time Brazilian scholars began critiquing racial democracy, Afro-Brazilians began to mobilize. Several diverse black movement (*movimento negro*) groups were founded in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo in the 1970s, such as the Society for Brazil-Africa Exchange (SINBA), the Institute for Study of the Black Cultures (IPCN), and Unified Black Movement (MNU).³³ While “their existence reflected the emergence of differences, and divisions within the *movimento* over tactical and ideological affinities... Brazilians of African descent [generally demanded] better healthcare, educational, and labor opportunists.”³⁴ In São Paulo on July 7, 1978, after the brutal murder of a black taxi driver in the hands of police, a letter was read outside the municipal theater in front of two thousand people; it read in part,

Today we are in the street in a campaign of denouncement! A campaign against racial discrimination, against police repression, underemployment and marginalization. We are in the street to denounce the very poor quality of life of the Black Community... We invite the democratic sectors of society that support us, creating the necessary conditions for a truthful racial democracy.³⁵

Members of the *movimento negro* were demanding equal rights for all Brazilian citizens.

In response to upsurge of Afro-Brazilian political subjectivity, the Brazilian government has for the first time started to take race into account as a matter of public policy. Even if some of these policies are framed in race-neutral terms, they have a disparately high impact on Afro-Brazilians. The chapters comprising this thesis will critically analyze both affirmative action, or

³² Peter Fry, Yvonne Maggie, Simone Monteiro, and Ricardo Ventura Santos, *Divisões Perigosas: Políticas Raciais no Brasil Contemporâneo* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2007), 345.

³³ Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power*, 119-125.

³⁴ Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power*, 119-121.

³⁵ Hanchard, *Orpheus and Power*, 125.

the *Lei de Cotas Sociais*, and *Bolsa Família*. In Chapter 2, the literature review, how these policies emerged and their current achievements will be discussed. Chapter 3 outlines the research method utilized to discover the media's discursive framing of affirmative action and *Bolsa Família*. Presumably, the exercise will demonstrate that one is racially coded, affirmative action, and the other one not, *Bolsa Família*, even though both are written in racially neutral ways. Chapter 4 analyses both policies' discourses in depth, taking into account only the sources gathered for this investigation. Chapter 5 discusses how these policies overlap and/or diverge. The final chapter, summarizes the thesis, demonstrates that there is very little discursive overlap in discussions of these programs, despite their similarities, and that this discursive disjuncture enters into the common sense that underlies the politics of the programs.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Affirmative Action: Brief History and Achievements

Despite the turn to democratization, in 1985 Brazil's black resistance movement was restrained by the hegemonic discourse of racial democracy. As early as the 1970s, activists who fought for federal legal recognition of racism were often called unpatriotic, for racial categorization was associated with the U.S. and imperialism.³⁶ In response to Afro-Brazilians' protests, starting in 1984, various Brazilian states created councils to work towards the 'real emancipation'³⁷ of blacks. These councils aimed "to monitor legislation that defended the interests of the black population, suggest projects on their behalf to the state legislature and executive branches, and investigate complaints of racial discrimination and police violence."³⁸ In 1985, "President José Sarney proposed, but never successfully [created], a Black Council for Compensatory Action (*Conselho Negro de Ação Compensatória*) at the federal level."³⁹ President Sarney was only able to build and support the Palmares Cultural Foundation (*Instituto Fundação Cultural Palmares*).⁴⁰ Rather than becoming a space for "addressing the more important socioeconomic needs of black people in work, education, and health,"⁴¹ the cultural foundation became a space solely devoted to celebrating Afro-Brazilian history and culture.

The 1988 Brazilian Constitution paved the way for the social inclusion of marginalized groups for it finally "recognized principles of tolerance, multiculturalism, and individual dignity,

³⁶ Edward E. Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 47-8.

³⁷ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 48-9.

³⁸ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 48-9.

³⁹ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 48-9.

⁴⁰ Mala Htun, "From 'Racial Democracy' to Affirmative Action: Changing State Policy on Race in Brazil," *Latin American Research Review* 39, no. 1 (February 2004): 66.

⁴¹ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 50.

rights and identities, and became the basis of hundreds of antiracist laws at various jurisdictional levels. Specifically, Article 5 (paragraph 42) made the practice of racism an unbailable crime, subject to imprisonment.”⁴² In this same year, the black movement utilized the anniversary of slavery’s 1888 abolition as an instrument for publicity and protest. “For the black movement, that demonstration would become a historical benchmark for the future of black consciousness and organization in Brazil.”⁴³ One result of this Afro-Brazilian uprising, “black elected officials now often recognized their blackness and made race an important issue.”⁴⁴ Despite the fact that Afro-Brazilian leaders were able to make personal progress by self-identifying as black, and that racism was opposed by the Brazilian Constitution, Afro-Brazilians were unable to secure legislative remedies for the many issues confronting marginalized communities.

Afro-Brazilian legislators’ unsuccessful fight to pass laws to benefit their community continued through the 1990s. The black movement worked to emphasize that “blacks were the primary victims of Brazil’s poverty and human-rights abuses, which included street children, trafficking in women, and the violence from the growing drug trade.”⁴⁵ In 1991, Governor Leonel Brizola of Rio de Janeiro created the Extraordinary Secretary for Defense and Promotion of the Afro-Brazilian Population (SEAFRO), “the first and only top-level state government agency concerned with public policy for Afro-Brazilians,” but “opposition in the State Legislature alleged reverse racism. Challenges to the constitutionality of the administrative law creating the Secretariat prevented its being made a permanent agency, and it was abolished in

⁴² Telles, *Race in Another America*, 50.

⁴³ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 50.

⁴⁴ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 50.

⁴⁵ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 51.

1994.”⁴⁶ In 1993, when the 1988 Brazilian Constitution was up for revision, sociologist Florestan Fernandes was a Congressman. Fernandes “introduced an amendment that would have devoted an entire chapter of the constitution to the issue of racial equality, inscribing the principle of affirmative action in the charter itself.”⁴⁷ Unsurprisingly, Fernandes’ amendment was defeated, yet, his proposal gained support from some paving the way for future legislation.

It was not until the mid-1990s that affirmative action gained real attention, the same time that witnessed more Afro-Brazilians elected to office. Individuals like Senator Benedita da Silva and Congressman Paulo Paim often proposed bills promoting education, housing, and employment quotas for Afro-Brazilians.⁴⁸ “Senator Benedita da Silva,” for instance, “presented Bill of Law 14/95, proposing a 10% quota program for entrance into higher education institutions for socially discriminated ethno-racial sectors, meaning blacks and indigenous people. The bill was not taken to vote.”⁴⁹ Similarly, Congressman Paim suggested “Bill of Law 1.239/95” which not only called for the inclusion of the marginalized in different levels of society through a quota system, but also recognized the moral and material debt of Brazilian state to the Afro-Brazilian population by reason of the slave regime and the absence of post-abolition integration measures.⁵⁰ Abdias do Nascimento, the first Afro-Brazilian member of Congress in the 1980s, “[introduced to] the Senate in 1997...[a] comprehensive Compensatory Action Bill

⁴⁶ Sérgio da Silva Martins, Carlos Alberto Medeiros, and Elisa Larkin Nascimento, “Paving Paradise: The Road From “Racial Democracy” to Affirmative Action in Brazil,” *Journal of Black Studies* 34, no. 787 (July 2004): 795.

⁴⁷ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 795.

⁴⁸ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 50-51; Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 798-99.

⁴⁹ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 798.

⁵⁰ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 798.

75/97...[but] committee members raised doubts as to its constitutionality and it was not taken to vote...⁵¹ Rejected bills in favor of the Afro-Brazilian community became the norm.

In 1995, the black movement held a demonstration to commemorate the 300-year anniversary of Zumbi dos Palmares' death, "the legendary leader of the maroon slave community (*quilombo*) that resisted the Portuguese for nearly one hundred years."⁵² This, along with other campaigns that attempted to highlight racism and oppression, gained the attention of important Brazilian media outlets. "Such activity," says Edward E. Telles, "seemed to be affecting public opinion. The term 'racial democracy' was beginning to fall out of favor in the popular Brazilian lexicon."⁵³ A shift in academia towards the study of race was also becoming more prevalent. Scholars such as Nelson do Valle Silva, Antônio Sérgio Guimarães, and Lívio Sansone produced both quantitative and ethnographic studies to highlight racism in Brazil.⁵⁴ These scholars' academic works later interconnected with federal statistical organizations' research to expose structural racism. "The Brazilian Geography and Statistics Institute (IBGE) and the Institute for Applied Economic Research (IPEA) demonstrated with increasingly specific data the extent to which racism was a significant component in the construction of inequality...[These studies] lay the groundwork to justify positive policy measures," explains Sérgio da Silva Martins.⁵⁵ The black movement's grievances seemed to be gaining some level of attention from the federal government.

⁵¹ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, "Paving Paradise," 799.

⁵² Telles, *Race in Another America*, 56; Htun, "From 'Racial Democracy' to Affirmative Action," 67.

⁵³ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 53.

⁵⁴ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 55-6.

⁵⁵ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 55; Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, "Paving Paradise," 800.

President Fernando Henrique Cardoso created the Interministerial Working Group (*Grupo de Trabalho Interministerial* or GTI) on nearly the same day as the March of Zumbi.⁵⁶ The group was to propose policies that would increase racial inclusion; in 1998 they published a document with their recommendations. However, what had initially seemed like an achievement, ended up being another defeat, for “the government did not create a similar group or mechanism for operationalizing these ideas, and government ministries sought to boycott implementation of the GTI’s recommendations.”⁵⁷ In 1996, President Cardoso also created the National Program for Human Rights (*Program Nacional de Direitos Humanos*), “which prescribed short-, medium- and long-range goals for women, disabled persons, and indigenous and black persons.”⁵⁸ Specifically, the long term “goals were to repeal all discriminatory laws, improve policies and regulations that seek to combat racial discrimination, and create ‘compensatory policies that socially and economically promote the *negro* population.’ The federal government thus endorsed the idea of explicit race-based public policies in support of nonwhites.”⁵⁹ The black movement became hopeful that President Cardoso, once a student of Florestan Fernandes and the author of two books on race relations in Brazil, would be successful in realizing his promises through the developed group and program. President Cardoso, however, was unable to gain full support from his colleagues to effectively devise and implement affirmative action policies. The president went as far as to contact distinguished Brazilian scholars, so they could present and provide feedback on policy formulation. Some of these Brazilian scholars, including Jessé Souza, Fabio

⁵⁶ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 56; Htun, “From ‘Racial Democracy’ to Affirmative Action,” 67.

⁵⁷ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 56.

⁵⁸ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 56.

⁵⁹ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 56.

Wanderbey Reis, and Roberto Da Matta,⁶⁰ remarkably continued to speak of the theory of racial democracy without any alternative solutions:

[The scholars communicated that racial democracy should be] viewed as a national project or goal to promote racial justice. They also expressed the ideas that race-targeted policies would solidify racial boundaries and perpetuate the idea of race itself. For them, Brazilian popular culture celebrates ambiguity and miscegenation rather than the conceptual separateness of groups, as required to identify beneficiaries of affirmative action. Rather than providing light about how to design policies to include nonwhites, these scholars voiced oblique opposition to affirmative-action policy, denouncing it as an inappropriate replication of U.S. policy.⁶¹

It was clear that influential persons within the Brazilian federal government strongly resisted implementing affirmative action policies. The dialogue ignited by the black movement had a constructive effect on certain sectors of society, however, which began to experiment with various sorts affirmative action anyway.

Local governments, NGOs, privately funded organizations, universities, and churches were some of the first entities to institute affirmative action programs in Brazil. A study conducted by Rosana Heringer, between 1995 through 1999, found 124 affirmative action programs in ten Brazilian capitals, including Belo Horizonte, Brasília, Campo Grande, Porto Alegre, Recife, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, São Luís, São Paulo, and Vitória. Forty of these programs specifically focused on assisting the black population, seventy were dedicated to reducing racial discrimination, and 14 had the intention of reducing racial discrimination without mentioning race.⁶² In one organization, for example, a Catholic priest from Rio de Janeiro led a

⁶⁰ Jessé Souza, "Multiculturalismo, Racismo e Democracia: Porque Comparar Brasil e Estados Unidos?" in *Multiculturalismo e Racismo: O Papel da Ação Afirmativa nos Estados Democráticos Contemporâneos*, ed. Jessé Souza (Brasília: Ministério de Justiça, 1996), 23-35; Fabio Wanderbey Reis, "Mito e Valor da Democracia Racial," in *Multiculturalismo e Racismo: O Papel da Ação Afirmativa nos Estados Democráticos Contemporâneos*, ed. Jessé Souza (Brasília: Ministério de Justiça, 1996), 221-232; Roberto Da Matta, "Notas sobre o racismo à brasileira," in *Multiculturalismo e Racismo: O Papel da Ação Afirmativa nos Estados Democráticos Contemporâneos*, ed. Jessé Souza (Brasília: Ministério de Justiça, 1996), 69-74.

⁶¹ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 58.

⁶² Rosana Heringer, "Mapeamento de Ações e Discursos de Combate às Desigualdades Raciais no Brasil," *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* 23, no. 2 (January 2001): 18.

group to assist black and poor individuals in passing the university entrance exam. Public universities in Brazil are tuition-free if students are able to pass the entrance exam, or *vestibular*. Only the wealthy or private school attendees have access to preparation courses.⁶³ This type of initiative “reflects a compromise in a debate about whether it [affirmative action] should be for the poor in general or blacks in particular.”⁶⁴ In Belo Horizonte, the Municipal Department for Black Community Affairs (SMACOM) was created. It “sought to develop social policies in poor areas, especially in housing and professional training. Participation in its programs was not limited to *negros*, although SMACOM included programs to combat racial discriminations and valorize black culture and people, particularly women.”⁶⁵ Further, a São Paulo based NGO, Center for Research on Race Relations in the Workplace (CEERT); led an effort to have panels and meetings with companies on racial and gender equality in the workplace. Although these and other programs emerged throughout Brazil, they lacked support in Congress.

Early 2000, the Afro-Brazilian movement was gaining popularity internationally. The *movimento negro* used tactics commonly employed by transnational advocacy networks to pressure the Brazilian government in generating change. First, “information politics,”⁶⁶ activists utilized sources such as the Internet to circulate information about human rights violations in Brazil and to connect with other “international human rights networks...throughout Latin America, the United States, and South Africa.”⁶⁷ Second, the black movement used “symbolic

⁶³ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 806-7.

⁶⁴ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 58-9.

⁶⁵ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 59.

⁶⁶ Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), 16.

⁶⁷ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 61; Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 802.

politics,”⁶⁸ so that global audiences could make sense of what was occurring in Brazil. In March 2000, Afro-Brazilians, along with the indigenous community, held a demonstration during the 500th anniversary celebration of the Portuguese landing in Brazil. The story spread worldwide. “Military police officers [had] used tear gas, nightsticks and rubber bullets to disperse 2,000 Indian-led demonstrators taking part in a ‘march of the excluded’ in Porto Seguro, the focal point of the official celebrations.”⁶⁹ Due to the protest, the Brazilian government rescinded their invitations to host the Regional Preparatory Conference for the Third World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance, convened by the UN General Assembly.⁷⁰ Third, the *movimento negro* called upon actors with “leverage”⁷¹ to assist them in increasing awareness of black marginalization in Brazil. Partnerships with “Mundo Afro of Uruguay, the International Human Rights Law Group, the Ford Foundation, and the Southern Education Foundation Comparative Initiative on Human Relations”⁷² were developed. “These international networks were very effective, in particular the Latin American and Caribbean Strategic Alliance, which brought together about 600 activists in Santiago, Chile, during the [relocated] Regional Preparatory Conference for the Americas [in December 2000].”⁷³ It was during this meeting that “Latin American governments decided to accept ‘*El Documento Santiago*.’”⁷⁴ The document was formulated by La Alianza Estratégica de Afro-Latinoamericanos (La Alianza). Formed in 1998 by Afro-Latin Americans and Afro-Caribbeans,

⁶⁸ Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 16.

⁶⁹ Larry Rohter, “500 Years Later, Brazil Looks Its Past in the Face,” *New York Times*, April 25, 2000, accessed May 13, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/04/25/world/500-years-later-brazil-looks-its-past-in-the-face.html>.

⁷⁰ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 802.

⁷¹ Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 16.

⁷² Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 802.

⁷³ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 802.

⁷⁴ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 68.

including Afro-Brazilians, the group is based out of Montevideo, Uruguay. The document provides:

a diagnosis of historical and current discrimination in the region and recommendations for overcoming its consequences. It also affirmed that denying the existence of discrimination and racism at the level of the state as well as society contributes directly to the practices of racism, discrimination, xenophobia, and related forms of intolerance. Finally, the document demanded the designation of effective antiracist policies that “can include” affirmative action.⁷⁵

Overall, the acceptance of this document by the Brazilian state and other Latin American governments allowed the *movimento negro* to exercise “accountability politics.”⁷⁶ “[Brazilian] government officials could not help but notice that the black movement was no longer based on a small cadre of activists but rather had developed widespread support.”⁷⁷ Moving forward the Brazilian government could no longer ignore racial discrimination, “it was high time for them to seek the proper correctives.”⁷⁸

Global connections had opened the way for Brazil’s participation in the Third World Conference that took place in Durban, South Africa in August 2001. There, Brazilian representatives finally publicly admitted the contemporary consequences of colonialism and slavery. Brazilian media ran an abundance of articles on the event and public interest on the topic of race began to rise.⁷⁹ Nations came “together in a spirit of renewed political will and commitment to universal equality, justice and dignity, [they saluted] the memory of all victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance all over the world and solemnly

⁷⁵ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 68.

⁷⁶ Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 16.

⁷⁷ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 68.

⁷⁸ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 69.

⁷⁹ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 71.

[adopted] the Durban Declaration [or objectives] and Programme of Action.”⁸⁰ Devised by nearly 3,000 NGOs from all continents starting in the year 2000, the Programme of Action “urged” the states attending the conference to implement “practical and workable” policies and legislation, including affirmative action, “to ensure non-discrimination, in particular as regards access to social services, employment, housing, education, [and] health care.”⁸¹ After the conference, Brazilian delegates were hopeful the Brazilian government would fulfill its commitment and develop legislation to benefit the Afro-Brazilian community.⁸² Some, however, remained doubtful of the government’s capacity to carry out such a project. The well-known columnist Joaquim Barbosa stated his view:

This is a government at the end of its term with difficulties of getting approval for even items that form part of its political agenda. How are they going to pass affirmative action? The government is going to play to the public, saying it’s going to happen, knowing well that it doesn’t have the slightest chance of doing anything. He also noted that the legal-philosophical principle of affirmative action is the search for the effective implementation of the principle of equality. Affirmative action implies setting aside formal equality and seeking real and material equality. It means breaking the logic by which we are all equal, when in fact, we are not. Such doubt seemed to be widespread.⁸³

People were right to be skeptical. Whatever was planned and discussed during the Durban conference came to nothing, at least in the short run.

As a result of national and international pressures, President Cardoso’s administration began instituting various administrative remedies. In 2001, the Ministry of Agrarian Development began a ‘Program of Affirmative Action for Black Men and Women.’⁸⁴ Martins

⁸⁰ United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Report of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, August 31, 2001 – September 8, 2001, accessed February 2015, http://www.oas.org/dil/afrodescendants_durban_declaration.pdf, 8-9.

⁸¹ United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Report of the World Conference against Racism, 47.

⁸² Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 801-3.

⁸³ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 71.

⁸⁴ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 72.

reveals that the program aimed to ‘adopt compensatory, special and temporary measures to accelerate the process of building racial equality in the countryside.’⁸⁵ This race-based quota would guarantee “20 percent of all administrative positions in the ministry [were] to be reserved for *negros*, with this number increasing to 30 percent by 2003; and 30 percent of the ministry’s budget allotted to predominately black rural communities. The program also mandated that all *quilombo* lands of federal and state lands should be recognized and titled.”⁸⁶ The Ministry of Justice followed by creating a Federal Council to Combat Racism, “with competence to hear complaints.”⁸⁷ The council required “20 percent of its high-level staff and consultants, as well as the staff of subcontractors, be black.”⁸⁸ The domino effect continued, also in 2001, the Ministry of Foreign Relations offered “20 black students subsidized admission to the Rio Branco Institute.”⁸⁹ This “virtually all-white Foreign Diplomacy School”⁹⁰ prepares Brazilians for the diplomatic corps. In 2002, President Cardoso created via Presidential Decree No. 4.228 a National Affirmative Action program, “which would study the ways in which government agencies could adopt percentage goals for blacks, women and the handicapped.”⁹¹ This too became a symbolic achievement that did not set any official goals or quotas. The aforementioned administrative decrees, unlike laws, can be seen as temporary or artificial solutions to social

⁸⁵ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 803.

⁸⁶ Vivian O. Ekey, “The Afro-Brazilian University Experience: How Racial Quota Policy Beneficiaries at the Federal University of Bahia Perceive Racial Quota Debates, UFBA Quota Policy, and Life as Quota Students” (Independent Study Project, University of Maryland, 2010), 11; Telles, *Race in Another America*, 72; Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 803.

⁸⁷ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 804.

⁸⁸ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 72.

⁸⁹ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 73; Htun, “From ‘Racial Democracy’ to Affirmative Action,” 69; Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 804; Ekey, “The Afro-Brazilian University Experience,” 11.

⁹⁰ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 72.

⁹¹ Ekey, “The Afro-Brazilian University Experience,” 11; Telles, *Race in Another America*, 73; Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 804.

problems. They are easily manipulated by “bureaucratic inertia”⁹² and often do not achieve their initial intent. Laws, on the other hand, are legitimized by “lengthy negotiation” and “political concession.”⁹³ As once noted by Telles, “On social issues, not to mention racial issues, Congress is especially sluggish in passing legislation. As of March 2002, up to 130 bills that deal with racial issues are pending in the National Congress.”⁹⁴

In 2003, the Worker’s Party (*Partido dos Trabalhadores*) candidate Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva became president. “Founded in 1980, the party has deep roots in trade unions, catholic organizations, women’s movements and many other parts of the vibrant Brazilian civil society.”⁹⁵ President Lula’s administration aimed to increase black representation in government; he appointed three Afro-Brazilians to his cabinet, something that had never been done before. They were, “Gilberto Gil...to head the Ministry of Culture; Bendita da Silva...to be the minister for social assistance and promotion; and Marina Silva...to be the minister of the environment.”⁹⁶ Most shockingly, the “Senate elected Paulo Paim [an Afro-Brazilian] as their first vice president [and]...Lula nominated...Joaquim Benedito Barbosa Gomes to the Brazilian Supreme Court, thus becoming the first black person in that position in the 174 years of that court.”⁹⁷ On January 9, 2003, Federal Law No. 10.639 was enacted. It “mandate[ed] the teaching of African and Afro-Brazilian history in school curricula at all levels of education.”⁹⁸ Full implementation of this law

⁹² Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 804.

⁹³ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 804.

⁹⁴ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 61.

⁹⁵ Teivo Teivainen, “The World Social Forum and Global Democratisation: Learning from Porto Alegre,” *Third World Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (August 2002): 621.

⁹⁶ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 61.

⁹⁷ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 61.

⁹⁸ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 805.

has been difficult “due to [a] lack of resources allocated for its execution.”⁹⁹ President Lula’s administration also created a cabinet-level office to fight against racial inequalities in March 2003.¹⁰⁰ The Special Federal Secretariat for Policies Promoting Racial Equality (SEPPIR) promoted affirmative action, recognition of *quilombo* communities, and the involvement of the Brazilian community in the creation of policies that would combat racism.¹⁰¹ With the support of the SEPPIR, near the end of his second term in 2010, President Lula signed the Statute for Racial Equality (*Estatuto de Igualdade Racial*).¹⁰² Federal Deputy Paim first proposed the bill in the year 2000, and it was initially more ambitious for it endorsed “20-percent quotas for *negros* in public universities, medium and large firms, and municipal, state, and local governments.”¹⁰³ Now, the statute is merely a set of rules and legal principles that aim to curb racial discrimination and establish policies to reduce social inequality between different racial groups.¹⁰⁴ The statute does not directly endorse affirmative action policies, but it does, for example, “grant ownership of their land to the inhabitants of *quilombos*.”¹⁰⁵ Many considered it fell “short of their expectations,” but Federal Deputy Paim said, “[t]he statute is a real step forward and effective weapon, even if it does not come up to our ideals.”¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ Ekey, “The Afro-Brazilian University Experience,” 13.

¹⁰⁰ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 806.

¹⁰¹ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 806; Telles, *Race in Another America*, 74.

¹⁰² Ekey, “The Afro-Brazilian University Experience,” 13.

¹⁰³ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 805; Telles, *Race in Another America*, 61.

¹⁰⁴ Presidency of the Republic Civil House Legal Sub-Office, *The Statute of Racial Equality*, Law no. 12.288 (July 2010), accessed March 9, 2015, http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2007-2010/2010/lei/112288.htm; Robson Bonin, “Lula Creates University and Sanctions Racial Equality Statute,” *Globo*, July 20, 2010, accessed March 9, 2015, <http://g1.globo.com/educacao/noticia/2010/07/lula-cria-universidade-e-sanciona-estatuto-da-igualdade-racial.html>.

¹⁰⁵ Annie Gasnier, “Brazil Passes Racial Equality Law but Fails to Endorse Affirmative Action,” *The Guardian*, June 29, 2010, accessed March 9, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jun/29/brazil-race>.

¹⁰⁶ Annie Gasnier, “Brazil Passes Racial Equality Law but Fails to Endorse Affirmative Action.”

Collaboration and dialogue between the black movement and the federal government increased during President Lula's time in office. "The educational system and university admissions have been a primary focus of the black movement's activity in the past decades, whether through the creation of community schools, debates and seminars, or extracurricular teacher training courses."¹⁰⁷ In the 1990s, for instance, the black movement had "created its own form of affirmative action without quotas: community-based gratuitous University Admissions Preparation Courses for Blacks and Poor People (PVNC)."¹⁰⁸ Centered in Rio de Janeiro, with the assistance of community-based organizations and the backing of the Catholic Church, "free preparatory courses for poor and black students who wanted to pass the entrance exams for public universities [were provided]."¹⁰⁹ As a result, the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro "has offered some 700 tuition grants to PVNC students since 1996."¹¹⁰ Other like programs emerged, such as the Steve Biko Institute of Bahia and *Educafro*, also in Rio de Janeiro. "[Additional] demands, such as fee waivers for the exams, free public transportation for poor students...and student support policies [were incorporated]."¹¹¹ These groups witnessed results, but "for the democratization of access to public universities...there is a lot of progress to be made."¹¹²

Dialogue between the federal government and the black movement, the work of PVNC groups, and Brazil's participation in the Third World Conference against Racism, finally resulted

¹⁰⁷ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, "Paving Paradise," 806.

¹⁰⁸ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, "Paving Paradise," 806; Rosana Heringer, "Affirmative Action and the Expansion of Higher Education in Brazil," in *Race, Politics, and Education in Brazil: Affirmative Action in Higher Education* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 114.

¹⁰⁹ Rosana Heringer, "Affirmative Action and the Expansion of Higher Education in Brazil," 114.

¹¹⁰ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, "Paving Paradise," 807.

¹¹¹ Rosana Heringer, "Affirmative Action and the Expansion of Higher Education in Brazil," 114.

¹¹² Rosana Heringer, "Affirmative Action and the Expansion of Higher Education in Brazil," 114.

in the slow spread of affirmative action policies into Brazilian universities. The Durban conference was also able to achieve a shift to “a discourse no longer based on the celebration of ‘mixture’ as an antidote for racism, but rather informed by the need to recognize ‘race’ and ‘racial difference/diversity’ to correct racial inequality.”¹¹³ The affirmative action programs introduced within Brazilian universities varied and progressed as *race-specific* and *race-neutral* quota systems, and there were in fact overlaps. For example, “On 9 October 2001, the Rio de Janeiro state legislature approved a bill establishing a quota of 40 percent for blacks in the two state universities. The bill followed approval of an earlier initiative introduced by Governor Anthony Garotinho, which created a quota of 50 percent for student coming from public schools.”¹¹⁴ It is important to point out that “*These are not exclusive and, more often than not, the same person fills both quotas.*”¹¹⁵ Martins says, “The State University of Bahia instituted a similar measure, followed in 2003 by the the University of Brasília, the Federal University of Alagoas, and the State University of Mato Grosso do Sul...”¹¹⁶

Lília G. M. Tavolaro examines race discourses that emerged from the implementation of *race-specific* quotas. Specifically, the scholar studies two of Rio de Janeiro’s public universities, Rio de Janeiro State University (UERJ) and the State University of Northern Rio de Janeiro (UNENF), and one state university in Brasília, University of Brasília (UnB). Tavolaro argues that implementation of *race-specific* quotas gave rise to two very “different institutional discourses of

¹¹³ Lília G. M. Tavolaro, “Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil: Two Institutional Discourses on Race,” *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 19, no. 3 (June 2008): 146.

¹¹⁴ Htun, “From ‘Racial Democracy’ to Affirmative Action,” 71; Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 807, states “Rio de Janeiro’s State Legislative Assembly passed a law creating a quota in the state university system of 40% for ‘blacks and pardos;” Bailey, *Legacies of Race Identities*, 45, says “Prominent *negro* politician, academic, and activist Nascimento clarifies the meaning of the *negro* term: Official Brazilian census data use two color categories for African descendants: *preto* (literally, “black”) for the dark-skinned and *pardo* (roughly, mulatto and mestizo) for others. It is now accepted convention to identify the black population as the sum of the *preto* and *pardo* categories, referred to as *negro*, *afro-brasileiro*, or *afro-descendente*. In English, “black,” “African Brazilian,” and “people of African descent” refer to this same sum of the two groups [*preto* and *pardo*].

¹¹⁵ Telles, *Race in Another America*, 278; Stanley R. Bailey and Michelle Peria, “Racial Quotas and the Culture War in Brazilian Academia,” *Sociology Compass* 4, no. 8 (August 2010): 595.

¹¹⁶ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 807-8.

race, established through particular circumstances and social and political arrangements that conditioned the formation of the quota policies in these two instances.”¹¹⁷ In the instance of Rio de Janeiro’s universities, the racial quota was imposed through the law previously mentioned.¹¹⁸ It was approved by Rio de Janeiro’s State Legislative Assembly and formulated by State Deputy José Amorim, a member of the conservative Brazilian Progressive Party (*Partido Progressista Brasileiro*) who had no prior connection to the black movement. Apparently, “he saw the creation of quotas for black people in public universities as an opportunity to accumulate political prestige in a context marked by the intense media coverage of the Durban Conference and affirmative action-related issues.”¹¹⁹ Implemented in mid-2002, while 2003 academic year applications were on the way, university admission counselors scrambled to implement the new policy while “the criteria to identify the beneficiaries of [the racial] quotas [were] still undetermined.”¹²⁰ Swiftly, critics argued that if the aim was to promote social justice, universities should recognize “that the socio-economic situation more than race was a major obstacle to entering the university, suggesting that an affirmative policy turned to the poor people would make a more effective measure if the goal was to promote social justice.”¹²¹ Once more, this argument was backed by the idea of Brazil’s ‘culture of miscegenation’ and “real doubts as to the actual feasibility of a bipolar racial classification given Brazilians’ ‘multiple racial origins.’”¹²² Many students felt that the new admissions policy was discriminatory and unconstitutional. Approximately 300 lawsuits were later filed against Rio’s public universities.

¹¹⁷ Tavoraro, “Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil,” 148.

¹¹⁸ Rio de Janeiro’s State Legislative Assembly passed a law creating a quota in the state university system of 40% for blacks. This quota was added to a 50% quota, already in effect, for students coming from public schools.

¹¹⁹ Tavoraro, “Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil,” 149.

¹²⁰ Tavoraro, “Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil,” 149.

¹²¹ Tavoraro, “Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil,” 149.

¹²² Tavoraro, “Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil,” 149.

Even as the universities maintained their pro-racial quota stand, the Governor at the time, Rosângela Matheus, proposed a new law. It stated, “the state universities of Rio de Janeiro were now to reserve 45% of its places for *needy* people. Of these 45%, 20% were to be reserved for self-declared blacks (*negros*), 20% for public schools graduates and 5% for ethnic minorities and handicaps.”¹²³ Tavolaro quotes Peter Fry:

In fact...at the occasion of the debate that preceded the voting session of Governor Matheus’s Bill proposing a new law of quotas, the legislators discourses focused on the issues of social inequality to the point that, at times, speaking of blacks became synonymous with speaking of poor people...the subordination of categories such as ‘black,’ ‘public school graduates,’ ‘handicaps’ and ‘ethnic minorities’ to the category ‘needy’ represented the reconciliation of favorable and opposing stands on quota while suggesting that the incorporation of a class-biased approach increased the law’s chances of being approved in the Legislative Assembly...the percentage of quotas for black decreased from 40% of blacks and browns—whether rich or poor—to 20% of poor blacks, the new law was enthusiastically celebrated by black activists by the time it was voted in the Assembly...this was a sign of the black movements leaders’ ‘will to give black identity a name and make it into a juridical entity’...regardless of the new Law’s actual potential to radically change the current situation of the majority of the black poor population. The institutionalization of the socio-economic disadvantage position of candidates as the main criteria for establishing their eligibility to quotas seems to have significantly determined the terms of affirmative action and of the discourses of race inside UERJ.¹²⁴

Moreover, at both of Rio de Janeiro’s public universities socio-economic *need* became the central basis by which the *race-specific* quota was granted to black students and *race* continued to be “a highly disputable category.”¹²⁵ In sum, the race discourse became directly associated with Afro-Brazilians’ economic deprivation. This perception of the policy exemplified a systemic social and political ‘class-bias’ amongst Brazil’s elite.¹²⁶

¹²³ Tavolaro, “Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil,” 152.

¹²⁴ Tavolaro, “Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil,” 152.

¹²⁵ Tavolaro, “Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil,” 154.

¹²⁶ Tavolaro, “Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil,” 153-4.

The enactment of a quota system at the University of Brasília (UnB) was an aftereffect of the Durban conference for the university was located in the nation's capital, the school had been involved in a lot of the conference's preliminary preparations, and the media had critiqued the university for enrolling predominately *white* students. At the (UnB), the implementation of *race-specific* quotas initially held on to the root of its intent, *race*. The quotas at this university were *not executed as the result of a law generated by a legislative assembly*, rather, "the first proposal of quotas for blacks...was written by two professors of the Department of Anthropology: Professor José Jorge de Carvalho and Professor Rita Laura Segato...[Later] approved by [Conselho de Ensino Pesquisa e Extensão] CEPE in June 2003."¹²⁷ Carvalho and Segato suggested prospective students self-identify as "black" (*negro*) instead of 'afro-descendent' since in Brazil nearly everyone could claim to descend from Africans,"¹²⁸ but the oversight council quickly rejected the *self-declaration portion* arguing that this would become be a loophole for frauds. The Committee "suggested that the eligibility to quotas be based on the analysis of the applicant's phenotype. The rationale behind it was that racial identity is not subjectively chosen anyway, that it is, instead, something imposed by society based on people's physical characteristics."¹²⁹ In the end, the Professors and the Committee members agreed that "20% of [the university's]...places should be reserved for 'black' and 'brown' applicants who, besides self-declaring as such, were required to be photographed at the moment of application. Their pictures and application forms were then to be submitted to the evaluation of a Committee

¹²⁷ Tavolaro, "Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil," 154-55, "*Conselho de Ensino Pesquisa e Extensão* (CEPE) consists of one of the superior Councils of the University of Brasília. The Council is presided by the Rector, the vice-rector, the Deans of Undergraduate, Graduate, Research and Continuing Education, [etc...] It is up to the CEPE to regulate the teaching, research and continuing education activities, the admission of students, the undergraduate and graduate courses, and deliberate upon the rules and the superior norms related to the teaching, research and continuing education activities."

¹²⁸ Tavolaro, "Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil," 155.

¹²⁹ Tavolaro, "Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil," 155.

composed by people with ‘expertise in race relations.’”¹³⁰ If a student were to be deemed ineligible for acceptance through the racial quota system, the potential student’s solicitation would be forwarded to the university’s general pool of applications. If a student wanted to appeal their rejection, they could do so in writing and then present their case in front of a panel. Interestingly, a Committee monitor said, ‘We know there will be cases in which one brother will have the application homologated and the other won’t. The evaluation will be based on phenotype, skin color and general characteristics of the black race because these are the factors that trigger prejudice.’¹³¹ Unlike the two public universities of Rio de Janeiro that utilized socio-economic status “as a defining characteristic of blackness,” the UnB used physical appearance as “the main criterion to define black identity” and to select the beneficiaries of their quota system.¹³²

In addition to the affirmative action policies at the UERJ, UENF, and UnB, “some [affirmative action programs] only target[ed] Afro-Brazilian students from public secondary schools as a way of reaching the neediest,” says Tanya K. Hernández.¹³³ Unlike most countries, the most distinguished universities in Brazil, like UERJ, UENF, and UnB, are public. Students who attend private secondary schools have access to *vestibular* preparation courses. On the other hand, students who graduate from public secondary schools frequently have to enroll in private

¹³⁰ Tavolaro, “Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil,” 155. Again, Bailey, *Legacies of Race Identities*, 45, says “Prominent *negro* politician, academic, and activist Nascimento clarifies the meaning of the *negro* term: Official Brazilian census data use two color categories for African descendants: *preto* (literally, “black”) for the dark-skinned and *pardo* (roughly, mulatto and mestizo) for others. It is now accepted convention to identify the black population as the sum of the *preto* and *pardo* categories, referred to as *negro*, *afro-brasileiro*, or *afro-descendente*. In English, “black,” “African Brazilian,” and “people of African descent” refer to this same sum of the two groups [*preto* and *pardo*].

¹³¹ Tavolaro, “Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil,” 156.

¹³² Tavolaro, “Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil,” 157-8.

¹³³ Tanya K. Hernández, “Affirmative Action in the Americas,” *Americas Quarterly* (Summer 2013), accessed May 14, 2014, <http://www.americasquarterly.org/affirmative-action-in-the-americas>.

universities with lower academic standards.¹³⁴ “Thus, attendance at public secondary schools is an indicator of low socioeconomic status in Brazil and has become an important class-based criterion in Brazil’s new affirmative action policies in public universities,” says Telles.¹³⁵ Hernández also adds, “A few universities award extra points to the entrance examination scores of Afro-Brazilian applicants and public secondary school graduates. Both mechanisms ensure that middle-class Afro-Brazilians, who have also been underrepresented in public universities and affected by racial discrimination, will not be excluded by class or socio-economic considerations.”¹³⁶ Overall, these measures are introduced precisely because they will disproportionately benefit Afro-Brazilians.

There was opposition to the implementation of quotas, especially racial, in institutions of higher education. Again, many argued that race-based affirmative action created further divisions amongst the Brazilian people, and that these policies were themselves racist.¹³⁷ Telles also explains that, “Although there is some opposition to quotas or affirmative action of any kind, class criteria have become more acceptable than race for redressing Brazil’s enormous social and racial inequalities. Data from the 2010 [*Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira*] INEP show that class quotas have become more common than race quotas, even though the debate has been almost entirely about race quotas.”¹³⁸ In 2010 the INEP also concluded that “49 of 95 federal and state universities had [both race based and non-race based]

¹³⁴ Simon Romero, “Brazil Enacts Affirmative Action Law for Universities,” *New York Times*, August 31, 2012, accessed May 14, 2014, LexisNexis Academic; Sara Miller Llana, “Brazil’s affirmative action law offers a huge hand up; Public universities in Brazil will reserve half their seats to provide racial, income, and ethnic diversity – a law that goes the furthest in the Americas in attempting race-based equality. It will most greatly affect the large Afro-Brazilian population.” *Christian Science Monitor*, February 12, 2013, accessed May 14, 2014, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Americas/2013/0212/Brazil-s-affirmative-action-law-offers-a-huge-hand-up>.

¹³⁵ Edward Telles and Marcelo Paixão, “Affirmative Action in Brazil,” *Latin American Studies Association Forum* 44, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 10.

¹³⁶ Hernández, “Affirmative Action in the Americas.”

¹³⁷ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 809; Htun, “From ‘Racial Democracy’ to Affirmative Action,” 73; Tavoraro, “Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil,” 155.

¹³⁸ Telles and Paixão, “Affirmative Action in Brazil,” 10.

quota systems...In terms of the number of students affected, 45 thousand students were beneficiaries of affirmative action...comprising 11 percent of all students in public higher education.”¹³⁹ As previously noted, “A few universities use[d] a combination of class and race quotas, and as of 2012, when the University of Brasília [UnB] began to also use class-based criteria, none exclusively use race quotas.”¹⁴⁰

Attempts towards further inclusion of marginalized communities persisted under President Dilma Rousseff’s administration. Sworn into office as Brazil’s first female President in 2011, she had worked as President Lula’s Minister of Energy and then Chief of Staff. On August 29, 2012, President Rousseff signed the Law of Social Quotas 12.711 (*Lei de Cotas Sociais*).¹⁴¹ The law requires “public federal universities...[to] reserve half of their spots for underprivileged students hailing from public schools, disproportionately attended by minorities...[the law] will have the widest impact on Afro-Brazilians, who make up more than half of the nation’s population...”¹⁴² Thomas W. Davis adds, “...half of those seats [are to be] partly saved for low-income families (regardless of their race) and for those who declare themselves as black, mixed or indigenous with respect to demographic data [from each state]. Universities only [had until 2016]...to full[y] implement the government’s quota scheme, and the Law itself does not explicitly indicate any sort of termination date and is without any sort of systematic temporary review.”¹⁴³ Noteworthy is what is meant by low-income. Half, or fifty (50) percent, of places

¹³⁹ Telles and Paixão, “Affirmative Action in Brazil,” 10.

¹⁴⁰ Telles and Paixão, “Affirmative Action in Brazil,” 10.

¹⁴¹ Thomas W. Davis, “Affirmative Action in Brazil: Its Recent Developments and the Argument for Narrow Federalism Doctrine,” *University of Miami School of Law: Race and Social Justice Law Review* 4, 2014, accessed February 6, 2017, <http://race-and-social-justice-review.law.miami.edu/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Davis-Final.pdf>: 76.

¹⁴² Llana, “Brazil’s affirmative action law offers a huge hand up;” Romero, “Brazil Enacts Affirmative Action Law for Universities;” Davis, “Affirmative Action in Brazil,” 73.

¹⁴³ Davis, “Affirmative Action in Brazil,” 76-7; Hernández, “Affirmative Action in the Americas;” Lucy Jordan, “Brazil’s University Affirmative Action Law,” *The Rio Times*, August 14, 2012, accessed May 14, 2014, <http://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/rio-politics/brazil-senate-passes-university-affirmative-action-law/>.

“will be allocated to students with family income equal to or less than 1.5 times minimum wage.”¹⁴⁴ Income must be “proven by documentation with rules laid down by the institution” and “the criterion of race is self-declaratory.”¹⁴⁵ It will be up to the federal Ministry of Education, the Special Federal Secretariat for Policies Promoting Racial Equality (SEPPIR), and National Indian Foundation (*Fundação Nacional do Índio* or FUNAI) to monitor the full implementation of the law.¹⁴⁶ Lastly, within ten years of the enactment of Law 12.711 the Brazilian government will conduct a full review.¹⁴⁷ Overall, the law ‘seeks to combine considerations of race and social class together.’¹⁴⁸

An abundance of controversy surrounded the implementation of the *Lei de Cotas Sociais*, which related to both the race-neutrality and race-specificity of the law. First, similar to what has been argued by Bourdieu and Wacquant, Dilma’s predecessor President Cardoso insisted that a U.S.-influenced affirmative action would not resolve Brazil’s inequalities.¹⁴⁹ Academics and some university faculty argued that selecting students on grounds other than merit, would lower the standards of Brazilian public university education.¹⁵⁰ An “...institutional relations coordinator from the University of Campinas [stated] ‘You don’t create capable and creative people by decree.’”¹⁵¹ Many also argued that this was the easiest way for the Brazilian government to solve the ineffectiveness of the secondary school system; it “[gave] the

¹⁴⁴ Jordan, “Brazil’s University Affirmative Action Law,” Marcelo Müller, “Lei das Cotas: solução ou problema?” *Êxito na Educação*, May/June 2013, accessed April 16, 2016, <http://www.exitonaeducacao.com.br/index.php/educacao-atual/02-mai-jun-2013/54-lei-das-cotas-solucao-ou-problema>.

¹⁴⁵ “Ensino Superior: Entenda as Cotas para quem Estudou Todo o Ensino Médio em Escolas Públicas – Perguntas Frequentes,” Ministério da Educação, last modified 2012, accessed April 16, 2016, <http://portal.mec.gov.br/cotas/perguntas-frequentes.html>.

¹⁴⁶ Müller, “Lei das Cotas: solução ou problema?”

¹⁴⁷ Müller, “Lei das Cotas: solução ou problema?”

¹⁴⁸ Llana, “Brazil’s affirmative action law offers a huge hand up.”

¹⁴⁹ Romero, “Brazil Enacts Affirmative Action Law for Universities.”

¹⁵⁰ Martins, Medeiros, and Nascimento, “Paving Paradise,” 810.

¹⁵¹ Romero, “Brazil Enacts Affirmative Action Law for Universities.”

government an easy way out,” rather, than fixing the root of the problem.¹⁵² White individuals also argued it was “reverse discrimination”¹⁵³ by the government. The greatest controversy surrounding the new law concerned race. Who would be entitled to advantage, since determining who is black in Brazil has always been so difficult? As previously noted, critics of the law feared fraud in the self-declaration of blackness.

Those in favor of the *Lei de Cotas Sociais* argued that educating a nation regardless of race or class is part of democratization for the “dissemination of knowledge in a country [like Brazil]...is still very uneven.”¹⁵⁴ Advocates of the law stressed that it gives the poor, most of whom are Afro-Brazilian, a chance at obtaining an education and in improving their socio-economic status. The *Lei de Cotas Sociais* also indirectly compensates the black population for historically inflicted disparities. “‘Brazil is experiencing an extremely positive moment,’ said Ms. Bairros, the minister promoting racial equality. ‘Next, we will seek to extend this concept to other areas, like culture and jobs.’”¹⁵⁵

Research on the impact of the Law of Social Quotas is minimal. Those that view the law from a positive standpoint argue that the law is a good start in creating a change in higher education, but should not be utilized as an excuse to “paralyze or postpone”¹⁵⁶ the development of reforms in primary and secondary education. Brazil has also always dealt with “[e]thnic tensions...and one of the manifestations is the low presence of blacks in the universities...quotas [thus] reduce ethnic tension by allowing multiethnic and multiracial coexistence in the academic

¹⁵² Llana, “Brazil’s affirmative action law offers a huge hand up.”

¹⁵³ Llana, “Brazil’s affirmative action law offers a huge hand up.”

¹⁵⁴ Müller, “Lei das Cotas: solução ou problema?”

¹⁵⁵ Romero, “Brazil Enacts Affirmative Action Law for Universities.”

¹⁵⁶ Laura Lewer, “Federais cumprem meta da Lei de Cotas; entenda mitos e polêmicas: Legislação de 2012 deu prazo até agosto para reserva de metade das vagas. G1 selecionou 10 polêmicas sobre o tema rebatidas por especialistas,” *Educação*, October 25, 2016, accessed April 3, 2017, <http://g1.globo.com/educacao/noticia/federais-cumprem-meta-da-lei-de-cotas-entenda-mitos-e-polemicas.ghtml>.

environment.”¹⁵⁷ As indicated previously, opponents of the law argued that quota students would not be academically up to par with their counterparts, however, the following statistics have been provided:

At the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN), for example, in the period from 2013 to the first half of 2015, the average performance of the quota students is slightly higher than that of non-quota holders. In 2014, at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), of the 3,720 students who dropped out of their courses, 2,758 came from private education. In the previous year, when UFMG adhered to the Quotas Law, the Academic Performance average, with grades ranging from 0 to 5, reached 3.49 among the quota holders, while the other students reached 3.07.¹⁵⁸

The more visible impact of the Quota Law is that Brazilian universities now starting to gradually reflect their population’s demographic and are gaining a level of “social quality.”¹⁵⁹

All in all, the Afro-Brazilian fight for the legal recognition of racism in Brazil was a long one. Through the 1990s legislators were unsuccessful in securing any remedies. President Cardoso’s administration publically denounced disguised inequality and attempted to enact reforms to reduce social and racial gaps. During President Lula’s administration, conversations between civil society and the government strengthened. Various types of affirmative action programs emerged, but it was not until 2012 that President Rousseff signed the Law of Social Quotas 12.711. Quotas in education have caused much debate and with the impeachment of President Rousseff in 2016, the future of the law is uncertain. Current President Michel Temer “seems to be embracing a more conservative disposition for his government [and] the country’s business establishment pressuring him to privatize state-controlled companies and cut public

¹⁵⁷ Lewer, “Federais cumprem meta da Lei de Cotas; entenda mitos e polêmicas.”

¹⁵⁸ Lewer, “Federais cumprem meta da Lei de Cotas; entenda mitos e polêmicas.”

¹⁵⁹ Lewer, “Federais cumprem meta da Lei de Cotas; entenda mitos e polêmicas.”

spending.”¹⁶⁰ Many critics have pointed to the lack of Afro-Brazilians in the President’s cabinet.¹⁶¹ In 2017, “Temer...faced more serious corruption allegations than those made against Rousseff and was even said to have ordered his subordinates to pay bribes. He survived the vote to submit him to a recall.”¹⁶² Despite the turmoil in Brazil’s federal government, many continue to attempt to develop sustainable programs to move the Afro-Brazilian community forward. The predominant response to social divides in Brazil happens to be a race-neutral program discussed in the next section.

2.2 *Bolsa Família*: Brief History and Achievements

The “Brazilian Miracle” took place from the late 1960s to the late 1970s. In 1973, “the country was exporting \$10 billion worth of goods, up from less than \$3 billion in 1968.”¹⁶³ However, the so-called “Miracle” was short-lived. Brazilians blamed the 1964 military government appointed technocrats for the economic reverse.¹⁶⁴ “[The technocrats] were blamed for Brazil’s system of indexation. This program attempts to synchronize the entire economy – wages, prices, interest rates, rents – with inflation.” Others held the whole regime responsible for they had taken upon “Pharaonic Projects.”¹⁶⁵ Some of these projects included “the trans-Amazon highway, a massive hydro electric complex at Itaipú on the border with Paraguay and

¹⁶⁰ Simon Romero, “New President of Brazil, Michel Temer, Signals More Conservative Shift,” *New York Times*, May 12, 2016, accessed February 23, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/13/world/americas/michel-temer-brazils-interim-president-may-herald-shift-to-the-right.html>.

¹⁶¹ Simon Romero, “New President of Brazil, Michel Temer, Signals More Conservative Shift;” “A Latin America Without Presidents,” *CE Noticias Financieras English*, February 12, 2018, accessed February 23, 2018, Nexis Uni.

¹⁶² “A Latin America Without Presidents;” Shasta Darlington, “President Temer of Brazil Faces New Corruption Charges,” *New York Times*, September 14, 2017, accessed February 23, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/14/world/americas/brazil-temer-corruption-janot.html>.

¹⁶³ Joseph A. Page, *The Brazilians*, (New York, NY: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1995), 20.

¹⁶⁴ Peter T. Kilborn, “Brazil’s Economic ‘Miracle’ and its Collapse,” *New York Times*, November 26, 1983, accessed February 23, 2018, <http://www.nytimes.com/1983/11/26/business/brazil-s-economic-miracle-and-its-collapse.html?pagewanted=all>.

¹⁶⁵ Page, *The Brazilians*, 20; Kilborn, “Brazil’s Economic ‘Miracle’ and its Collapse.”

Argentina, the Rio Niterói Bridge across Guanabara Bay, and a nuclear power plant.”¹⁶⁶ At one point Brazil had also been the developing world’s leading oil importer and then,

in the wake of the 1973 Middle East conflict...the bubble...bust. The growth rate tailed off sharply, balance-of-payments deficits ballooned, inflation began to soar, and by the late 1970s the country was mired in a deep recession. Brazil’s foreign debt raced past the \$100 billion mark, the largest in the underdeveloped world, and rising interest rates abroad made full service payments unthinkable.¹⁶⁷

The military regime slowly started a process for the reinstatement of civilian rule, but in 1984 Brazilians took the streets and demanded presidential elections. Trancredo Neves was elected, however, his death in 1985 “prevented him from taking office as the country’s first civilian ruler in 21 years. He was 75 years old.”¹⁶⁸

Brazil’s first civilian government, led by José Sarney, was inaugurated in March 1985.¹⁶⁹ President Sarney’s economic policies were neither orthodox nor heterodox. They were inconsistent and disastrous, which led to true hyperinflation in Brazil. In February 1986, President Sarney’s administration introduced the Cruzado Plan, which attempted to reduce the country’s consistent inflation by imposing a “price and wage freeze”¹⁷⁰ among other measures, but by “the end of 1986, as inflation resurged, external accounts collapsed, and real growth sagged.”¹⁷¹ All in all, the failure of the economic policies implemented by the Sarney administration did not only cause a “recession by the first half of 1987...but also [decreased]...the political morale of the nation.”¹⁷²

¹⁶⁶ Page, *The Brazilians*, 20.

¹⁶⁷ Page, *The Brazilians*, 21.

¹⁶⁸ Marlise Simons, “Brazil’s Leader Dies at Age 75; Never Sworn In,” *New York Times*, April 22, 1985, accessed February 23, 2018, <http://www.nytimes.com/1985/04/22/world/brazil-s-leader-dies-at-age-75-never-sworn-in.html>.

¹⁶⁹ Werner Baer, *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*, 4th ed. (Westport: Prager, 1995), 105.

¹⁷⁰ Baer, *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*, 154.

¹⁷¹ Baer, *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*, 149.

¹⁷² Baer, *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*, 173.

Following the failure of three finance ministers and three major economic policies like the Cruzado Plan, in March of 1990, Fernando Collor de Mello assumed the presidency. “He introduced what seemed to be a unique way of dealing with inflation...and of modernizing the country’s economy through drastic liberalization moves,” explains Werner Baer.¹⁷³ Similar to his predecessors he took wildly from one economic policy to another, all of them ineffective. “Collor provided diversion with his presidential style. He flew military jets, rode jet-powered water skis, and donned T-shirts with political or inspirational messages for his morning jogs.”¹⁷⁴ Then, to further aggravate the country’s position, the Collor presidency was short-lived for he was accused of corruption and was ultimately impeached. Itamar Franco took over as an interim President and in June 1993 appointed Fernando Henrique Cardoso as Minister of the Economy. Cardoso did not have experience in finance, but he did understand he had to an end to Brazil’s inflation and change the country’s economic position for the better.¹⁷⁵

From 1995 to 2003, Cardoso served as President of Brazil. Samuel Cohn describes him as “a center-right social democrat...implementer of significant semi-neoliberal economic reforms...”¹⁷⁶ The President’s prime objective was to keep the Brazil’s high debt low in an effort to keep the country out of an even greater economic crisis. Cardoso called for an “Immediate Action Plan.”¹⁷⁷ The plan “called for the creation of a new currency, a reduction in government spending, the privatization of state-owned companies, the continuation of negotiations begun in 1990 to restructure Brazil’s foreign debt, and the opening of the Brazilian market to foreign

¹⁷³ Baer, *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*, 178.

¹⁷⁴ Page, *The Brazilians*, 21.

¹⁷⁵ Page, *The Brazilians*, 21.

¹⁷⁶ Samuel Cohn, *Employment and Development under Globalization: State and Economy in Brazil* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 171.

¹⁷⁷ Baer, *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*, 192.

imports.”¹⁷⁸ The strategy also kept state and local governments on check by “allocat[ing] 9 percent of their revenues to clear their debts with the federal government” and cut federal spending by 9 percent and committed to “fight tax evasion” at all levels.¹⁷⁹ During his presidency Cardoso implemented “a brilliant series of monetary and fiscal policies that put a stop to Brazil’s chronic double digit inflation, and produced 15 years of relative price stability.”¹⁸⁰ This became the era when the predecessors of *Bolsa Família*, which will be later described, were created. Additionally, Brazil began to build an integrated public health system, including a systematic and effective fight against AIDS. These public health policies will not be the focus of this thesis, however. During this time Brazil developed policies that were simultaneously neoliberal and welfarist.

Overall, the 1990s saw an increase in dialogue on the need to assist the poor through social and economic policies. In Brazil, policymakers discussed “society’s ‘debt to the poor,’”¹⁸¹ meaning that the poor are excluded due to an unjust society and their probabilities of escaping poverty are slim to none; therefore, effective alleviation strategies had to be developed.¹⁸² Government officials concluded that in addition to providing income to the poor, education, an “underlying structural source of poverty,”¹⁸³ had to be addressed. School “enrollment was not sufficient: poor students also needed support to maintain a minimum level of attendance.”¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁸ Page, *The Brazilians*, 30.

¹⁷⁹ Baer, *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*, 192.

¹⁸⁰ Cohn, *Employment and Development under Globalization: State and Economy in Brazil*, 11.

¹⁸¹ Anja Linder et al., “The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil’s Bolsa Família Program: Implementing Conditional Cash Transfers in a Decentralized Context,” *The World Bank Social Protection*, (May 2007), accessed February 16, 2015, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLACREGTOPLABSOCPRO/Resources/BRBolsaFamiliaDiscussionPaper.pdf>, 10.

¹⁸² Linder et al., “The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil’s Bolsa Família Program,” 9. “This differs from the United States’ perception, “where 61% believe the poor are poor because ‘they are lazy,’ but where about 70% of the population believes that the poor do have a chance to escape from poverty on their own, if they would only put enough effort into it.”

¹⁸³ Linder et al., “The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil’s Bolsa Família Program,” 10.

¹⁸⁴ Linder et al., “The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil’s Bolsa Família Program,” 10.

Specific societal burdens called for more holistic policies. Accordingly, as Anja Linder and other researchers have noted, “The basic premise for linking school attendance to cash assistance was based on demand-side constraints: even if schools are available, poor children cannot always attend due to direct and indirect (opportunity) costs. Cash assistance was seen as an incentive to help counter these demand-side constraints and promote school attendance.”¹⁸⁵ Therefore, Brazil, similar to other Latin American countries at the time, became particularly fond of conditional cash transfer (CCT) programs. These programs provide money to families that actively participate in education and health care services. Young children are often the programs’ target population in the hopes of achieving families’ and the government’s goal of breaking the cycle of poverty, enhancing the next generations’ human capital, and overall building a more sustainable future.¹⁸⁶

In January 1995, the first two CCT programs were established in Brazil. One, *Bolsa Escola*, by the PT, and the other, Guaranteed Minimum Family Income Program by the Brazilian Social Democratic Party (*Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira*; PSDB). The PT’s program was launched in Distrito Federal and the PSDB’s program was introduced in Campinas Municipality. When introduced, the main aim of the *Bolsa Escola* program, managed by the Ministry of Education, was to improve school attendance, reduce child labor, and decrease poverty in the long run.¹⁸⁷ On the other hand, the federal Program for a Guaranteed Minimum Income was to “[provide] co-financing to municipal CCTs...it was not a conditional cash

¹⁸⁵ Linder et al., “The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil’s Bolsa Familia Program,” 11.

¹⁸⁶ Anthony Hall, “From Fome Zero to Bolsa Familia: Social Policies and Poverty Alleviation under Lula,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 38, no. 4 (November 2006), 691.

¹⁸⁷ Fabio Veras Soares et al., “Cash Transfer Programmes in Brazil: Impacts on Inequality and Poverty,” *United Nations Development Programme International Poverty Centre*, no. 21 (June 2006), accessed January 2, 2015, <https://ideas.repec.org/p/ipo/wpaper/21.html>; Anja Linder et al., “The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil’s Bolsa Familia Program;” Sergei Suarez Dillon Soares, “Bolsa Familia, Its Design, Its Impacts and Possibilities for the Future,” *International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth*, no. 89 (February 2012), accessed January 2, 2015, <http://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/71810>.

transfer program in and of itself, but rather a mechanism for providing financial support to municipalities to enable them to implement such programs...[and] also acted as a gateway for future conditional cash transfer programs.”¹⁸⁸ These programs were quickly modeled and multiplied.¹⁸⁹ Linder says, “By 2001 over one hundred municipalities and many states were operating local CCT programs in Brazil, covering around 200,000 families.”¹⁹⁰ *Bolsa Escola* was followed by the creation of other programs in the same year, namely *Bolsa Alimentação* administered by the Ministry of Health and *Auxílio Gás* overseen by the Ministry of Mines and Energy.¹⁹¹ When the PT took office in January 2003 they made it their top priority to continue implementing programs that would end hunger and reduce poverty. During his inauguration, President Lula said, “If, by the end of my term of office, every Brazilian has food to eat three times a day, I shall have fulfilled my mission in life.”¹⁹²

In early 2003, José Graziano da Silva, one of the members of the Brazilian government’s Ministry of Food Security and Fight Against Hunger, “inspired”¹⁹³ the creation of *Fome Zero*.

Hall describes the program:

Fome Zero thus brought together under one label several existing initiatives; namely, the conditional cash transfer (CCT) programmes of *Bolsa Escola* for boosting school attendance, *Bolsa Alimentação* for maternal nutrition and the PETI [*Programa de Eradicação do Trabalho Infantil*] programme against child labour, along with *Auxílio Gás* cooking gas subsidy. However, it also added a new food entitlement scheme, the *Cartão Alimentação*, based on the use of a special credit card for the purchase of selected food items.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁸ Linder et al., “The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil’s Bolsa Família Program,” 12.

¹⁸⁹ Linder et al., “The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil’s Bolsa Família Program,” 11.

¹⁹⁰ Linder et al., “The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil’s Bolsa Família Program,” 11.

¹⁹¹ Soares, “Bolsa Família, Its Design, Its Impacts and Possibilities for the Future;” Linder et al., “The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil’s Bolsa Família Program.”

¹⁹² Hall, “From Fome Zero to Bolsa Família,” 690.

¹⁹³ Hall, “From Fome Zero to Bolsa Família,” 694.

¹⁹⁴ Hall, “From Fome Zero to Bolsa Família,” 695.

Organizations like the IMF, World Bank, and Inter-American Development Bank supported President Lula's project in hopes of resolving the long-term unintended consequences of structural adjustment by providing rapid relief to the most vulnerable.

President Lula's *Fome Zero* project was short lived for it was far more difficult for the federal government to coordinate than initially anticipated. Keeping track of the different state and municipal programs under the *Fome Zero* umbrella was no easy task. *Bolsa Escola*, as previously mentioned, was administered by the Ministry of Education, *Auxílio Gás* by the Ministry of Mines and Energy, and so on.¹⁹⁵ Even the unified database the Lula administration inherited from the Cardoso epoch, Single Registry (*Cadastro Único*), only held the information of "70 per cent of poor families."¹⁹⁶ The whole system was a jumble; participants' information, eligibility, and selection processes were often erroneous.¹⁹⁷ The cost of fixing program errors was so high that it became more effective to design a new program. Sergei Soares states, "In spite of the chaos, keep in mind that the federal, state and municipal governments had all recognized poverty as an issue and that poor people deserved social protection in the form of monetary transfers. The conceptual revolution was complete, but some good administrative housekeeping was in order."¹⁹⁸

In October of 2003, President Lula's administration launched a new program, *Bolsa Família*, it unified *Bolsa Escola*, *Bolsa Alimentação*, *Auxílio Gás*, and *Cartão Alimentação*. It is now the largest CCT program in the world.¹⁹⁹ The World Bank became a generous lender and in

¹⁹⁵ Soares, "Bolsa Família, Its Design, Its Impacts and Possibilities for the Future," 3.

¹⁹⁶ Hall, "From Fome Zero to Bolsa Família," 696.

¹⁹⁷ Soares, "Bolsa Família, Its Design, Its Impacts and Possibilities for the Future," 3.

¹⁹⁸ Soares, "Bolsa Família, Its Design, Its Impacts and Possibilities for the Future," 3.

¹⁹⁹ Soares et al., "Cash Transfer Programmes in Brazil;" Soares, "Bolsa Família, Its Design, Its Impacts and Possibilities for the Future;" Linder et al., "The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil's Bolsa Família Program;" Hall, "From Fome Zero to Bolsa Família."

June 2004 provided Brazil with a “US\$572 million sector-wide loan (SWAP) to support *Bolsa Família*.”²⁰⁰ This money was utilized to assist in the consolidation process, plans for cutting administrative costs and increasing efficiency, identifying candidates for the grant, the promotion of education and health, monitoring, evaluation, and for finding ways to better integrate “federal and sub-national programs.”²⁰¹ While some *Bolsa Família* policies and regulations have been modified over time, overall program goals have remained the same. As best noted by Kathy Lindert and other researchers, “The formal objectives of the BFP are to (a) alleviate current poverty and inequality via direct monetary transfers to poor families; (b) break the inter-generational transmission of poverty through incentives for investments in human capital; and (c) help empower beneficiary families by linking them to complementary services.”²⁰²

Bolsa Família is governed by the National Citizens Income Secretariat (*Secretaria Nacional de Renda de Cidadania*; SENARC) of the Ministry of Social Development (*Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome*, MDS). The program is decentralized; in other words, state and/or municipal governments are “responsible for identifying who the poor people are”²⁰³ and the federal government is to double-check everything. Municipalities are to enroll a certain percentage of low-income residents into *Bolsa Família*. This quota is established by information gathered from the National Statistics Office. It all depends on the municipalities’ population.²⁰⁴ Soares says, “In short, SENARC establishes rules for deciding who is to get paid and how much, what they have to do to keep getting paid, and what will happen to them if they

²⁰⁰ Hall, “From Fome Zero to Bolsa Família,” 698.

²⁰¹ Linder et al., “The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil’s Bolsa Família Program,” 14.

²⁰² Linder et al., “The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil’s Bolsa Família Program,” 13.

²⁰³ Soares, “Bolsa Família, Its Design, Its Impacts and Possibilities for the Future,” 12.

²⁰⁴ Soares et al., “Cash Transfer Programmes in Brazil;” Linder et al., “The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil’s Bolsa Família Program.”

do not keep their side of the bargain.”²⁰⁵ Family composition, ages and income are all taken into consideration when determining grant amounts. “There are specific benefits to families with children, young people up to 17 years, pregnant women and nursing mothers,” according to MDS’s *Bolsa Família* website.²⁰⁶ The program’s benefits and eligibility requirements are illustrated in Table 2.1. The use of the *Cadastro Único* continues and it is extremely important for contains all participant and magnetic card information.²⁰⁷ A state-owned bank, *Caixa Econômica Federal*, processes all family grants.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ Soares, “Bolsa Família, Its Design, Its Impacts and Possibilities for the Future,” 4.

²⁰⁶ <http://www.mds.gov.br/bolsafamilia/beneficios>

²⁰⁷ Soares, “Bolsa Família, Its Design, Its Impacts and Possibilities for the Future,” 5.

Table 2.1 *Bolsa Família's* Benefits and Eligibility Requirements, 2015

<i>Bolsa Família</i> Benefit Received	<i>Bolsa Família</i> Eligibility Requirements
Basic Benefit: R\$77	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Granted only to extremely poor families (monthly income per person under to R\$77)
Variable Benefit for 0-15 Year Olds: R\$35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Granted to families with children and adolescents 0-15 years of age
Variable Benefit for Pregnant Women: R\$35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Granted to families with pregnant women in their composition ▪ Payment is made in nine consecutive monthly installments, from the date of the beginning of the benefit payment, provided that the pregnancy has been identified until the ninth month ▪ The identification of pregnancy is carried out in the <i>Bolsa Família</i> Health System. <i>Cadastro Único</i> does not identify pregnant women.
Variable Benefit for Lactating Women: R\$35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Granted to families with children aged between 0 to 6 months in its composition ▪ Payment is made in six consecutive monthly installments, from the date of the beginning of the benefit payment, provided that the child has been identified in the <i>Cadastro Único</i> until the sixth month of life <p>* The above variables benefits are limited to five per family, but all family members must be registered in the <i>Cadastro Único</i></p>
Variable Benefit for Teens: R\$42	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Granted to families with teenagers between 16 and 17 years old - Limited to two benefits per family
Benefit for Overcoming Extreme Poverty (calculated case by case)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Transferred to the families of the <i>Bolsa Família</i> Program that continue in extreme poverty (monthly per capita income of up to R\$77), even after the receipt of other benefits. It is calculated to ensure that families exceed the income limit of extreme poverty

Source: Data adapted from Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger (MDS), "*Bolsa Família* Benefits," accessed April 6, 2015, <http://www.mds.gov.br/bolsafamilia/beneficios>. One USD equaled approximately 0.32 Brazilian Real in April 2015.

To obtain the benefits noted above, participants must be committed to the conditionalities put forth by *Bolsa Família* program. In education, children and adolescents ages 6 to 15 years old must have an 85% attendance rate; those between the ages of 16 and 17 must attend at least 75% of the time. In health, women ages 14-44 that are pregnant or lactating must monitor their health and their infant's. Additionally, they must keep track of their child's vaccination card until the age of 7. If families do not have a valid reason for not maintaining their school attendance high or vaccination records organized, the sanctions for noncompliance from 2006 to 2008 were the following: warning, blocked benefit, 1st suspension, 2nd suspension, and cancellation. It would take about a year for a family's grant to be cancelled.²⁰⁹ This provides families with enough time to break down barriers and be compliant. Moreover, research shows that since 2006 conditionality monitoring has become stricter. Soares argues that "If the number of conditionalities is excessive or their monitoring too draconian, the most vulnerable families will be the first to be sanctioned for noncompliance."²¹⁰ Others oppose by saying that the conditionalities are just as important as the benefit. "According to their vision, *Bolsa Família* is, first and foremost, an incentive to human capital for poor families. In the public policy arena, this group of people proposes more emphatic monitoring of conditionalities and even the establishment of new ones. Their paradigm is *Progresar/Oportunidades*, which is explicitly a human capital accumulation programme."²¹¹

All in all, *Bolsa Família* has been globally recognized for its innovations. First, the Brazilian government rationalized the program's organization by unifying program under a single secretariat. There was also a standardization of program rules, even though the program's

²⁰⁹ Soares, "Bolsa Família, Its Design, Its Impacts and Possibilities for the Future," 11.

²¹⁰ Soares, "Bolsa Família, Its Design, Its Impacts and Possibilities for the Future," 9.

²¹¹ Soares, "Bolsa Família, Its Design, Its Impacts and Possibilities for the Future," 9.

administration was federalized. Additionally, regulation of *Bolsa Família*'s recipients' behavior has made it a nucleus for provision of other social services (e.g. school, health care). *Bolsa Família*'s universalization of benefits to the entire Brazilian population, rather than fragmentary, municipality-based benefits, has also made it original.

During the ten-year celebration of *Bolsa Família*, the Minister of the MDS, Tereza Campllo, said the program has helped alleviate poverty and inequality.²¹² The Ministry claims the per capita monthly income of those that lived in poverty “increased from R\$60 to R\$120.”²¹³ Those that lived in extreme poverty started to obtain a “per capita income up to R\$60.”²¹⁴ The cash assistance can make up to “10 per cent or more”²¹⁵ of the total income for those that live in extreme poverty. The highest reduction of poverty has been among the Afro-Brazilian population. The MDS website states in Portuguese, “Today, of the 13.8 million families served by the program, 73% declared themselves black women.”²¹⁶ In 2005, 93 per cent of the beneficiaries were females and 27 per cent were single mothers. The perspective here is that if women's self-esteem increases, there will be long-term positive effects on the generations to come. In 2013, the World Bank also reported that “BF has been key to help Brazil more than

²¹² Raquel Corona-Parra, “Celebrating 10 Years of Bolsa Família, the Widely Successful Brazilian Poverty Alleviation Plan,” *End the Neglect*, (February 4, 2014), accessed February 2015, <http://endtheneglect.org/2014/02/celebrating-10-years-of-bolsa-familia-the-widely-successful-brazilian-poverty-alleviation-plan/>.

²¹³ Rômulo Paes de Sousa, “Bolsa Família Program Effects on Health and Education Services: Caching Unusual Suspects,” *National Secretary of Evaluation and Information Management – Ministry of Social Development and Fight Against Hunger*, (October 2016), accessed January 2015, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SAFETYNETSANDTRANSFERS/Resources/281945-1131468287118/1876750-1162923802334/CCT_Brazil_Romulo_10-30-06.pdf.

²¹⁴ Sousa, “Bolsa Família Program Effects on Health and Education Services,” http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SAFETYNETSANDTRANSFERS/Resources/281945-1131468287118/1876750-1162923802334/CCT_Brazil_Romulo_10-30-06.pdf.

²¹⁵ Fabio Veras Soares, Rafael Perez Ribas, and Rafael Guerreiro Osório, “Evaluating the Impact of Brazil's Bolsa Família: Cash Transfer Programmes in Comparative Perspective,” United Nations Development Programme International Poverty Centre (December 2007) accessed January 2, 2015, <http://www.ipc-undp.org/pub/IPCEvaluationNote1.pdf>, 4.

²¹⁶ “População negra é a maior beneficiária de programas sociais no Brasil,” *Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Agrário*, (December 2013), accessed January 2015, <http://bolsafamilia10anos.mds.gov.br/node/33323>.

halve its extreme poverty – from 9.7 to 4.3% of the population...income inequality also fell markedly, to a Gini coefficient of 0.527 an impressive 15% decrease.”²¹⁷

Bolsa Família is to invest “in the human capital of poor children so as to increase their well-being when they are adults.”²¹⁸ In 2010, Paul Glewwe and Ana Lucia Kassouf presented “[e]ight years of school census data (1998-2005)...to create a panel of public schools with grades 1-4 and 5-8” to examine the impact of *Bolsa Família* on students’ progress.²¹⁹ The study found that the program has increased school enrollment “rates by about 5.5 percentage points in grades 1-4 and by about 6.5 percentage points in grades 5-8.”²²⁰ Glewwe and Kassouf show dropout rates for those in the program have decrease “by about 0.5 percentage points for children grades 1-4 and by 0.4 percentage points for children in grades 5-8.”²²¹ The researchers add, “*Bolsa Família* is more effective at increasing the enrollment of blacks, mulattos and indigenous children than it is for whites.”²²² The scholars conclude by saying “82 per cent of beneficiaries would have enrolled in school even without *Bolsa Família*,”²²³ and that further research is needed on this particular topic. In 2013, Hanna Nilsson and Karin Sjöberg determined there was an increase in the promotion and knowledge of the *Bolsa Família* program throughout Brazil. They used “cross-sectional data from 2011 and a regression discontinuity design” to conduct

²¹⁷ Stephen Akester, “Bolsa Família: Brazil’s Quiet Revolution,” *Valor Econômico*, November 4, 2013, accessed January 2015, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/opinion/2013/11/04/bolsa-familia-Brazil-quiet-revolution>.

²¹⁸ Paul Glewwe and Lúcia Kassouf, “What is the Impact of *Bolsa Família* Programme on Education?,” *International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth*, (March 2010), accessed February 2015, <http://www.ipc-undp.org/pub/IPCOnePager107.pdf>.

²¹⁹ Paul Glewwe and Lúcia Kassouf, “What is the Impact of *Bolsa Família* Programme on Education?” “The estimation method used compared changes in enrolment, dropout and grade advancement rates across schools that adopted the programme at different times.”

²²⁰ Glewwe and Kassouf, “What is the Impact of *Bolsa Família* Programme on Education?”

²²¹ Glewwe and Kassouf, “What is the Impact of *Bolsa Família* Programme on Education?”

²²² Glewwe and Kassouf, “What is the Impact of *Bolsa Família* Programme on Education?”

²²³ Glewwe and Kassouf, “What is the Impact of *Bolsa Família* Programme on Education?”

their research.²²⁴ The scholars suggest “[t]he increased consciousness about the program, with more families applying for the grant, might lead to more families becoming beneficiaries of the program, and therefore more children benefitting from the grant and increasing their assimilation of education.”²²⁵ The mothers Nilsson’s and Sjöberg interviewed note that “the grant is not enough to change either their living standard or their living situation. The grant helps them with their daily lives and helps them to get out of misery, but it will not change the situation for the families.”²²⁶ In 2015, Alan de Brauw and his colleagues, using a “longitudinal household-level dataset of more than 11,000 households...[from] 2005-2009,” concluded that “*Bolsa Família* appears to be affecting the gender gap in schooling...it is widening a gap that...favors girls.”²²⁷ This result may have slightly varied, depending on the age, sex, and location of their research participants, but it was the most predominant result.

Bolsa Família’s conditionalities in the health sector are that children ages 0 to 7 years of age get vaccinated and obtain regular health checkups, while women, pregnant or lactating, get pre and post-natal checkups.²²⁸ When *Bolsa Família*’s decade of initiation was celebrated, the Minister of the MDS highlighted the following in relation to *Bolsa Família*’s health focus, “19.4% reduction in infant mortality rate, 52% decrease of chronic infant malnutrition in children up to 6 years of age, 58% reduction in death due to malnutrition, Drop from 16.8% to 14.5% in the rate of stunting in children up to 5 years of age, 50% increase in prenatal care, 46%

²²⁴ Alen de Brauw et al., “The Impact of *Bolsa Família* on Schooling,” *World Development* 70, (June 2015): 304.

²²⁵ Nilsson, Hanna and Karin Sjöberg. “An Evaluation of the Impacts of *Bolsa Família* on Schooling.” Master’s Thesis, Lund University, 2013, <https://liveatlund.lu.se/intranets/LUSEM/NEK/mfs/MFS/224.pdf>, 45. The researchers interviewed women from Florianópolis, Brazil. This city is in the state of Santa Catarina in the Southern region of Brazil.

²²⁶ Nilsson and Sjöberg, “An Evaluation of the Impacts of *Bolsa Família* on Schooling,” 45.

²²⁷ Alen de Brauw et al., “The Impact of *Bolsa Família* on Schooling,” 313.

²²⁸ Andre Medici, “Impacts of Conditional Cash Transfers on Health Status: *Bolsa Família* Program in Brazil,” Harvard Conference – New Strategies for Health Promotion: Steering Clear of Ethical Pitfalls, Cambridge, MA, (April 29, 2011), http://peh.harvard.edu/events/2011/health_promotion/slides/Medici_2_slides.pdf or http://www.schwartzman.org.br/simon/andre_bf.pdf.

reduction in deaths from diarrhea, and 99.1% vaccination rate in children.”²²⁹ *The Lancet*, one of the leading magazines in world health, presented many of these statistics.²³⁰ Superior health results were found for those that participated in the program for more than four consecutive years. Note, since *Bolsa Família* was launched MDS has only conducted two evaluations of the health sector of the program, one in 2005 and another in 2010.²³¹ The 2005 evaluation results were not very revealing, however, the 2010 showed positive impacts. The survey evaluated families in 269 municipalities from 24 states and there was a control group of non-participants. In relation to immunizations, “BFP beneficiaries: 15% more probability to receive all vaccines.”²³² In addition, *Bolsa Família* participants were found to have a decreased risk of having prematurely born children and better nutrition options.²³³ From 2000 to 2010 infant mortality has fallen, while life expectancy in Brazil has risen. Data from the 2010 Census shows, however, “that while the northeast region recorded a major decrease in infant mortality, the rate remains above the national average at 18.5 deaths per 1,000, the highest infant mortality in the country.”²³⁴ It is the presentation of these positive impacts that have made programs like *Bolsa Família* so popular globally.

The implementation of class-based programs was originally the result of a neoliberal agenda. Minorities were further economically isolated in the 1980s and something had to be done. As a result, programs like *Bolsa Família* emerged. Today, this program is highly celebrated. According to the MDS, income inequality is decreasing, school enrollment is

²²⁹ Corona-Parra, “Celebrating 10 Years of Bolsa Família.”

²³⁰ “Bolsa Família: uma década de resultados para a cidadania,” *Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Agrário*, (July 2013), accessed January 2015, <http://bolsafamilia10anos.mds.gov.br/node/124>.

²³¹ Medici, “Impacts of Conditional Cash Transfers on Health Status.”

²³² Medici, “Impacts of Conditional Cash Transfers on Health Status.”

²³³ Medici, “Impacts of Conditional Cash Transfers on Health Status.”

²³⁴ Carl Bob Willis, “Healthcare in Brazil: Signs of progress, but more needs to be done,” *Brazilian Bubble*, (July 8, 2012), accessed February 2015, <http://brazilianbubble.com/healthcare-in-brazil-signs-of-progress-but-more-needs-to-be-done/>.

increasing, and life expectancy is on the rise. Still, many remain skeptical and wonder if the program will create a level of sustainability as it is meant to do or make those that face financial need more dependent on government assistance. These topics will emerge in the discourse analysis of *Bolsa Familia*.

Chapter 3

Research Method and Findings

In the attempt to analyze and compare the conceptual frameworks utilized to present affirmative action, or Law of Social Quotas, and *Bolsa Familia*, *LexisNexis Academic* was used to index newspaper articles only. Within the database’s “Advanced Options” March 29, 2015, to the previous ten years, was the “Date” included to conduct the search (I). Under “Build Your Own Segment Search,” in the case of affirmative action, documents were selected based on two terms: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND BRAZIL (II). “Source” and “Index Terms” were left untouched, however, under “Content Type,” “Newspapers” was the only term selected, as noted previously (III).

Figure 3.1 *LexisNexis Academic* Snapshot 1

Advanced Options ▶

Date ^I

From 3/29/2005

to 3/29/2015

Or

Select Previous ten years

Build Your Own Segment Search ^{II}

Select a Segment ▼ And Or And Not w/5 w/p

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND BRAZIL

Source

Select Source by Type (below) or Enter Source Name Here

Index Terms

[Look up Index Terms](#)

Content Type ^{III}

Select All

Newspapers

Law Reviews

State and Federal Cases

Company Profiles

Apply Cancel

Once the search criteria were applied; approximately 366 documents were initially collected. The first of the results was clicked on (IV).

Figure 3.2 LexisNexis Academic Snapshot 2

Results

- FT Interview: Celso Amrim, Brazil's foreign minister** V
FT.com, 21 February 2007 Wednesday 4:29:20 PM GMT, 9105 words, Jonathan Wheatley and Richard Lapper
- Brazil Enacts Affirmative Action Law for Universities
The New York Times, August 31, 2012 Friday, Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4, 955 words, By SIMON ROMERO; Taylor Barnes and Lis Horta Moriconi contributed reporting.
- Boom times and golden goals
The Times Higher Education Supplement, December 13, 2012, FEATURE; Pg. 32, 4321 words, Elizabeth Gibney
- The Chronicle of Higher Education, October 11, 2009 Sunday, DIVERSITY IN ACADEME; Special Reports, 1305 words, By Marion Lloyd
- Brazil's affirmative action law offers a huge hand up; Public universities in Brazil will reserve half their seats to provide racial, income, and ethnic diversity - a law that goes the furthest in the Americas in attempting race-based equality. It will most greatly affect the large Afro-Brazilian population.
The Christian Science Monitor, February 12, 2013 Tuesday, World, 1435 words, Sara Miller Llana Staff Writer

Within the first result, *FT Interview: Celso Amrim, Brazil's foreign minister*, with the intention to further reduce the number of the collected sources, under “Find Documents with Similar Topics” the “Brazil (V)” term was selected to ultimately “Narrow Search with Index Terms.”

Figure 3.3 LexisNexis Academic Snapshot 3

Find Documents with Similar Topics

Below are concepts discussed in this document. Select terms of interest and either modify your search or search within the current results set

Industry

- Minor Terms
- BOTTLED WATER MFG

Subject

- INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE
- INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS
- INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
- INTERNATIONAL TRADE
- INTERVIEWS
- STATE DEPARTMENTS & FOREIGN SERVICES
- EXPORT TRADE
- FREE TRADE TREATIES & AGREEMENTS
- Minor Terms
- IMPORT TRADE
- TRADE TREATIES & AGREEMENTS
- INTERNATIONAL TRADE LAW
- EUROPEAN UNION
- TARIFFS & DUTIES
- TREATIES & AGREEMENTS
- EXCISE & CUSTOMS
- EUROPEAN UNION

Geography V

- BRAZIL
- BOLIVIA
- MEXICO
- SOUTH AMERICA
- URUGUAY
- VENEZUELA, BOLIVARIAN REPUBLIC OF
- ARGENTINA
- UNITED STATES
- EUROPEAN UNION MEMBER STATES
- Minor Terms
- EUROPE
- LATIN AMERICA
- SAO PAULO, BRAZIL

[Narrow Search with Index Terms](#)



The application of “Narrow Search with Index Terms” condensed total of 188 stories. These were sorted by relevance and the first 25 were selected to move forward with the study.


LAW OF SOCIAL QUOTAS was separately searched for. The same process outlined above was used in *LexisNexis Academic*. Except there was no need to “Narrow Search with Index Terms” for only three results were produced, two of which were duplicates of the 25 previously selected for the study.

In the case of *Bolsa Família* the same procedure was followed, except the “Newspapers” selected were based on the following term: BOLSA FAMILIA as emphasized below. The total number of items indexed was 551. Again, the first 25 relevant sources were selected to move forward with the study.

Figure 3.4 LexisNexis Academic Snapshot 4

Advanced Options ▶

Date
 From 3/29/2005 
 to 3/29/2015 
 Or
 Select Previous ten years ▼

Build Your Own Segment Search 





Select a Segment ▼ **And** **Or** **And Not** **w/5** **w/p**

BOLSA FAMILIA

Source
 Select Source by Type (below) or Enter Source Name Here

Index Terms
[Look up Index Terms](#)

Content Type
 Select All

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>  Newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/>  Law Reviews
<input type="checkbox"/>  State and Federal Cases	<input type="checkbox"/>  Company Profiles

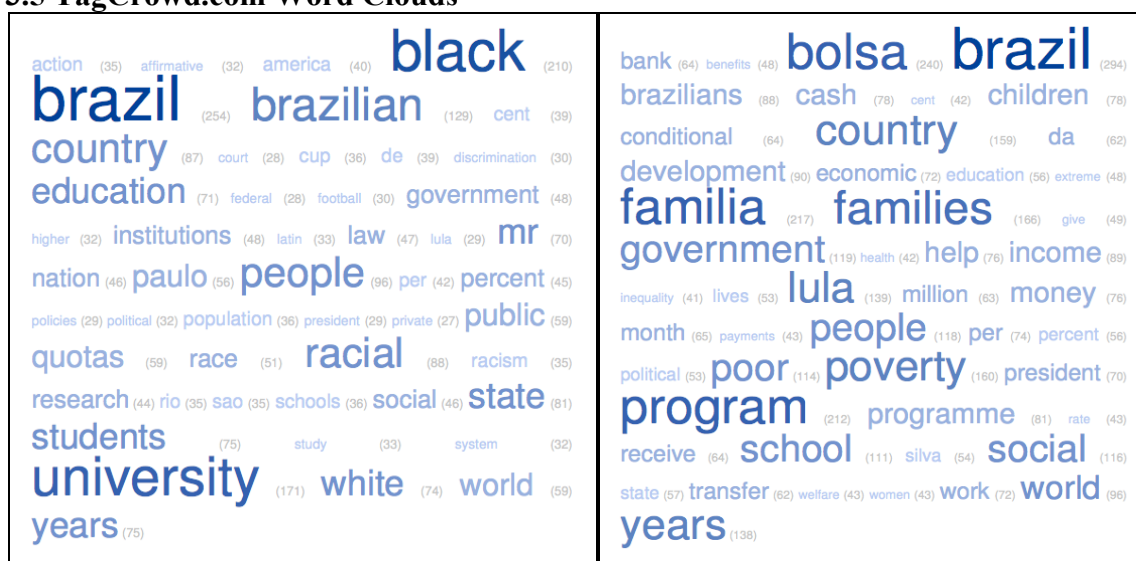
Apply **Cancel**

The procedure for discarding irrelevant or less relevant newspaper articles from the results compiled was fairly simple. All 53 stories were read, 28 for affirmative action / Law of Social Quotas, 25 for *Bolsa Família*, and duplicate sources were removed. This reduced the total number of documents being used for the study to 39. The affirmative action search produced the most duplicated newspaper articles.

A word frequency analysis followed the initial evaluation of the sources. TagCrowd.com was used for this process. “TagCrowd is a web application for visualizing word frequencies in any text by creating what is popularly known as a word cloud, text cloud or tag cloud,” states the

application’s website.²³⁵ First, all of the affirmative action / Law of Social Quotas articles were placed in the application’s text box to be visualized as a word cloud. The word cloud only consisted of 50 words and the words’ frequencies were shown in parenthesis. As a note of reference, the newspaper articles first had to be converted into a single Microsoft Word document to be inserted into the web application. Then, the same process was followed for the stories compiled for *Bolsa Família*, this resulted in the creation of a second word cloud. The outcomes were as shown in Figure 3.5:

Figure 3.5 TagCrowd.com Word Clouds



In moving towards the interpretation of the above data, 40 words were discarded from each word cloud to be able to conduct a more thorough discourse analysis. Words removed were those that merely reproduced the search terms, for example, “affirmative action” and “bolsa familia”. Logically, high frequency prepositions in either English or Portuguese were deleted, for instance, “a,” “the,” “de,” “da,” and so on. Lastly, words that are very generic and not particularly charged, such as “Brazil” and “Lula” were removed. The results, or word list by frequency, are shown in Table 3.1, with the overlapping terms highlighted:

²³⁵ “TagCrowd,” TagCrowd.com, accessed March 16, 2015, <http://tagcrowd.com/>.

Table 3.1 Word Frequency Analysis Results

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION		<i>BOLSA FAMÍLIA</i>	
WORD	FREQUENCY	WORD	FREQUENCY
Black	210	Poverty	160
Racial	88	Government	119
White	74	Development	90
Education	71	Income	89
Quotas	59	Work	72
Race	51	Economic	72
Government	48	Education	56
Nation	46	Welfare	43
Racism	35	Health	42
Discrimination	30	Inequality	41

There is clearly a very limited overlap and the distinguishing terms are many. There then lies the question of semantic grouping of the distinguishing terms. Based on both the word clouds and the brief interpretation of the term data table above, the semantic grouping for *Bolsa Família* seem to be words that have to do with welfare and development, while the affirmative action terms have to do with racial inequality and quotas. The following chapters will further discuss these results.

There are clear limitations to this research method. This procedure oversamples some kinds of sources and undersamples others. For instance, *LexisNexis Academic* has excellent coverage for English-language newspapers, especially those in the U.S., but not nearly as wide a range of coverage for Portuguese-language newspapers in Brazil. Actually, none of the newspaper articles extracted were in Portuguese. This work is also not sampling academic papers, government documents, or other kinds of sources. Perhaps the discussions in those other kinds of sources are oriented differently. Nonetheless, this thesis is not intended to be definitive, rather it is an exploratory work, conducting a preliminary sample of the discourse.

Chapter 4

Analysis and Discussion

4.1 Affirmative Action Discourse

The qualitative analysis of the discourse of affirmative action in this section is entirely drawn from the newspaper articles retrieved from LexisNexis Academic, utilizing the research methods describes in Chapter 3. The investigation finds that discussions of affirmative action are framed in terms of race, and even in terms of racial quotas even though Brazil has framed its most important piece of affirmative action legislation in race-neutral terms; the Law of Social Quotas (*Lei de Cotas Sociais*). The most astonishing aspect of this analysis was the lack of discussion about the law's race-neutrality. Only an article by Simon Romero stated, "The Law of Social Quotas takes the previous affirmative action policies to another level, giving Brazil's 59 federal universities just four years to ensure half of the entering class comes from public schools."²³⁶ Another article selected for the investigation is called "Brazil's Affirmative Action Law Offers a Huge Hand Up; Public Universities in Brazil Will Reserve Half Their Seats to Provide Racial, Income, and Ethnic Diversity - a Law That Goes the Furthest in the Americas in Attempting Race-Based Equality. It Will Most Greatly Affect the Large Afro-Brazilian Population,"²³⁷ but the discussion within the article merely turns to the controversy surrounding the implementation of the law. Again, the following paragraphs will illustrate the discussion of affirmative action. The words that were most frequent in the Analysis Results of the Findings Section in Chapter 3 are used as guidance for the summary.

With the aim of promoting affirmative action policies, many, including political figures, speak of a racial hierarchy in Brazil. In several of the newspaper articles selected for the

²³⁶ Simon Romero, "Brazil Enacts Affirmative Action Law for Universities."

²³⁷ Sara Miller Llana, "Brazil's Affirmative Action Law Offers a Huge Hand Up."

framework analysis, the racial category of black, even though sometimes indefinable, is more often than not treated as an easily definable term. As explained in Chapter 1, centuries of racial intermixing in Brazil, including the Portuguese scientific theory that racial mixture would gradually *whiten* the Brazilian population, and Freyre's once popular racial democracy thesis, have all made it hard to classify Brazilians by race. However, "Brazil's former president, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, once said...he was 'completely in favor' of the quotas. 'Try finding a black doctor, a black dentist, a black bank manager, and you will encounter great difficulty...It's important, at least for a span of time, to guarantee that the blacks in Brazilian society can make up for lost time.'"²³⁸ Brazil's Secretariat for SEPPIR, Luiza Bairros, said, "officials expected the number of black students admitted to...universities to climb to 56,000 from 8,700 [after the Law of Social Quotas became effective]."²³⁹ Also, "Brazil's first and only Afro-Brazilian senator, Paulo Paim, believes affirmative action is the best way to redress a history of social wrongs that began with slavery and was then masked by what some call 'the myth of racial democracy.'"²⁴⁰ Before his death, Abdias do Nascimento told American scholar Henry Louis Gates Jr. during an interview, "The black people feel in their flesh the lie which is racial democracy in this country...You just have to look at a black family. Where do they live? The black children, how are they educated? You'll see that it's all a lie. You must understand that I'm saying this with profound hatred, profound bitterness at the way black people are treated in Brazil."²⁴¹ With this, many of the newspaper articles directly quote individuals that hold high political positions, not

²³⁸ Romero, "Brazil Enacts Affirmative Action Law for Universities."

²³⁹ Romero, "Brazil Enacts Affirmative Action Law for Universities." As of the end of 2017, there is no evidence to support this turned out to be an accurate estimate.

²⁴⁰ Amy Stillman, "Wealth Is Still Unevenly Distributed," *Financial Times (London, England)*, November 15, 2010, accessed March 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

²⁴¹ Bruce Weber, "Abdias Do Nascimento, 97, Rights Voice," *New York Times*, May 31, 2011, accessed March 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

only do they continue to refute any lasting memory of the racial democracy theory, but provide examples of how Afro-Brazilians have been sidelined in employment, education, and housing.

Additionally, other proponents of affirmative action highlight the discrimination and racism that exist in Brazil; they show that there are in fact racial differences that need to be addressed. Sibylla Brodzinsky states, “Blacks in Latin America are more likely to be poor, less educated, have shorter lives, and have higher infant mortality rates than whites, reports the United Nations economic commission...Some [countries] have responded with race-specific policies, such as Brazil’s Law of Social Quotas.”²⁴² An article from 2009 says the following:

Data from the 2000 census-conducted before the first quota policies were adopted-showed that just 2 percent of university graduates were black and 12 percent were *pardo*, a Brazilian catch-all term for those of mixed European, African, and American Indian descent. Nearly one in four Afro-Brazilians were illiterate, compared with one in 10 whites. Blacks and *pardos* also earned on average half the salary of whites, inequalities that have remained virtually unchanged for a century.²⁴³

In 2007, Timothy Garton Ash, Professor of European studies at St. Antony’s College, Oxford, “went to Brazil asking questions about poverty, social exclusion and inequality; within minutes, [his] interlocutors were talking about race.”²⁴⁴ Garton asserts, “To address this problem, [former President Cardoso’s] government initiated affirmative-action programs.”²⁴⁵ As mentioned previously, President Cardoso and President Lula acknowledged that racial differences exist in Brazil. Both Presidents took necessary steps to appoint individuals of Afro-descent in state positions says David Goldblatt. He adds, “But significant progress in these realms must be set

²⁴² Sibylla Brodzinsky, “African Heritage in Latin America; Afro-Descendants in Latin America Have Had a Different Experience from Those in the US, Experts Say. Despite This, Social, Economic, and Cultural Discrimination Has Been Historically Very Strong,” *Christian Science Monitor*, February 12, 2013, accessed April 4, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

²⁴³ Marion Lloyd, “Slowly Enabling the Disabled,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, August 11, 2006, accessed March 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

²⁴⁴ Timothy Garton Ash, “Welcome to a Mixed-Up World; Brazil has a Serious Problem with Race and Poverty, but it also Reveals the Beauty of Miscegenation,” *Globe and Mail (Canada)*, July 14, 2007, accessed March 29, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

²⁴⁵ Ash, “Welcome to a Mixed-up World.”

against the country's enduring racial inequalities: African-Brazilians – who make up at least half of the population – are overwhelmingly concentrated in the poorest classes and under-represented in the ranks of nearly all elite occupations.”²⁴⁶ Simon Romero writes similarly in his article, “...the top ranks of government and the private sector remain dominated by whites.”²⁴⁷ In an article called, *Wealth is still unevenly distributed*, the author quotes “Allyne Andrade, a young black lawyer, [who] says: ‘Brazil is mixed, yes, but to be a black person in a high position is very difficult. People are surprised if you are very smart; they treat you like an alien.’”²⁴⁸

Additionally, in 2014 Brazil hosted the World Cup and was highly criticized for having, “high ticket prices in a country where blacks still generally earn far less than whites, a poll by the Datafolha polling company suggested that fans attending games were overwhelmingly rich and white.”²⁴⁹ The government made public announcements that warned against “racial insults or other discriminatory behavior.”²⁵⁰ Most games exposed large screens and banners that stated, “Say No to Racism.”²⁵¹ In sum, those in favor of the implementation of affirmative action policies in Brazil highlight the discrimination and inequality faced by the Afro-Brazilian community as a way to promote the need for such laws.

Contrastively, critics of affirmative action feel it creates a platform for citizens to be racially categorized and generates racial inequality. Other challengers of the policies simply feel citizens are discriminated against because of their social class. “Opponents of the racial quotas

²⁴⁶ David Goldblatt, “In Focus: World Cup: Brazil’s Football Party Can’t Hide the Country’s Tensions: It Is the Spiritual Home of Football and Host to This Year’s World Cup. And While Brazil Has Made Huge Strides in the Last Two Decades, Recent Violence Reveals an Ongoing Struggle with Racism and Poverty, Writes David Goldblatt, Author of a Book on the Socio-Politics of the World’s Fifth-Largest Country,” *Observer (England)*, May 25, 2014, accessed March 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

²⁴⁷ Simon Romero, “Injury Showcases Failure to End World Cup Racism; Soccer,” *International New York Times*, July 9, 2014, accessed March 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

²⁴⁸ Stillman, “Wealth Is Still Unevenly Distributed.”

²⁴⁹ Romero, “Injury Showcases Failure to End World Cup Racism.”

²⁵⁰ Romero, “Injury Showcases Failure to End World Cup Racism.”

²⁵¹ Romero, “Injury Showcases Failure to End World Cup Racism.”

argue that poverty, not race, is the main obstacle to getting a university education in Brazil,” says Marion Lloyd. In the article, *Welcome to a mixed-up world; Brazil has a serious problem with race and poverty, but it also reveals the beauty of miscegenation*, “Maria-Tereza Moreira de Jesus, a black poet and writer, has reportedly put it this way; ‘Racism exists, from how one is treated in a shop to being interviewed for a job, but basing [school] entrance on race is another form of racism.’”²⁵² In like manner, Lloyd quotes Flávio Bolsonaro, a state legislator from Rio de Janeiro, who once stated, “‘You’re not discriminated against because you’re black, but because you are poor.’”²⁵³ He is the same individual who “filed a legal challenge after the State University of Rio de Janeiro adopted the country's first quota for higher education, in 2003. In June a state tribunal upheld Mr. Bolsonaro's claim that the measures violated Brazil's Constitution, which outlaws all forms of discrimination, and ordered the university to halt its affirmative-action measures.”²⁵⁴ Those who wanted to appeal the court’s ruling argued that quotas were not a racist program, but provided blacks the same opportunities that were never given to them in the first place, it was “about making reparations.”²⁵⁵

Many of the articles selected for the discourse analysis continue raising the question, who is black? The attempt to implement a racial quota system in Brazil is impossible and unjust the sources assert. Leonard Pitts quotes Yvonne Maggie, a Brazilian anthropologist and university professor, she says, “‘We don’t need to say that race exists... We have to say that race is not important to define people in social terms, that black and white are the same kind of people.’”²⁵⁶

²⁵² Ash, “Welcome to a Mixed-up World.”

²⁵³ Lloyd, “Slowly Enabling the Disabled.”

²⁵⁴ Lloyd, “Slowly Enabling the Disabled.”

²⁵⁵ Lloyd, “Slowly Enabling the Disabled.”

²⁵⁶ Leonard Pitts Jr., “Racism Takes Many Hues in Brazil,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 25, 2007, accessed March 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

Throughout the article Maggie takes pride in the fact that, unlike the U.S., Brazil never bought into the “racial boundaries...lie.”²⁵⁷ She adds, “race does not exist and therefore should not be acknowledged in law...Brazil has a kind of ‘social racism’ supported not by law, but by custom.” This “custom” will be further expounded on in the following paragraph. Moreover, “Brazil’s confusion and denial over race are manifest in the way the lines can blur in defining who is black and who is white. Take the case of the Da Cunha brothers,” says Telma Marotto. The Da Cunha brothers had applied to enter the UnB under 20 percent quota system. As explained previously, students would submit an application with a photo of themselves. One of the brothers was determined to be white and the other black. Turns out they were twins.²⁵⁸

This overall discussion of affirmative action perhaps comes to say something about how the Afro-descendants of Brazil perceive themselves. The sources gathered illustrate how racial indistinctiveness, due to discourses such as the racial democracy theory; in Brazil have in fact had an effect on how citizens identify themselves and relate to others. A sort of “custom” has been created, something that has become part of the common flow of knowledge and produces a ‘social racism.’²⁵⁹ For example Goldblatt explains the following:

Precisely who is black, or African-Brazilian, remains an open question in the country's unspoken and complex racial codes, where one's position is only partly determined by skin colour or genetics. When Ronaldo, [a famous soccer player], clearly a man of mixed African and European heritage, was asked what he thought of racism in Brazilian football, he acknowledged its existence but replied: ‘I'm white, so I am really ignorant of these matters.’²⁶⁰

²⁵⁷ Pitts, “Racism Takes Many Hues in Brazil.”

²⁵⁸ Telma Marotto, “Simmering Racism Holds Back Half Brazil’s People,” *Sunday Independent (South Africa)*, July 6, 2008, accessed March 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic; Ash, “Welcome to a Mixed-up World;” Lloyd, “Slowly Enabling the Disabled.”

²⁵⁹ Pitts, “Racism Takes Many Hues in Brazil.”

²⁶⁰ Goldblatt, “In Focus.”

In conjunction, “Lucia Maria Xavier de Castro, coordinator of Criola, an activist group representing black women, says she has known many people who were unable to accept their own blackness. ‘The person does everything to get rid of black traces. Straightens her hair, dresses like white people - not colorful. People do everything to eliminate traces. It's as if this person had a birth defect and was trying to correct it by taking those attitudes.’”²⁶¹ This statement may again be a reminder of a time when the Brazilian government attempted a *whiting* strategy in the country, the historical line of thought continues. When *Mensageiro da Verdade Bill*, a rapper from a favela, was interviewed he expressed the following in relation to race selecting in Brazil:

One of the characteristics of Brazilian racism, he says, is that the person can choose to be what she wants. Oh, I’m white, I’m not black. Here, the darker you are, the more discrimination you suffer. And that makes it difficult for the blacks, from light to dark, to understand each other. The lighter-skinned blacks avoid the darker-skinned blacks because they don’t want to suffer the same discrimination. It’s hard for them to work together because of the degree of discrimination according to your color. The cruelest racism, says MV Bill, is actually intraracial, perpetuated by light-skinned blacks against dark-skinned blacks. Fair skin, he says, represents power, even in the favela.²⁶²

Some would argue, however, that in Latin America there has been a return to *blackness*, since countries like Brazil are now enforcing affirmative action policies. In 2010, the “census showed that a slight majority of this nation’s 196 million people defined themselves as black or mixed-race, a shift from previous decades during which most Brazilians called themselves white.”²⁶³

Unlike the U.S., Brazil never had Jim Crow segregation. Once more, the question has always been “who counts as black?”²⁶⁴ In 2007, the black movement, supported by North

²⁶¹ Pitts, “Racism Takes Many Hues in Brazil.”

²⁶² Pitts, “Racism Takes Many Hues in Brazil.”

²⁶³ Romero, “Brazil Enacts Affirmative Action Law for Universities;” Sara Miller Llana, “Brazil’s Affirmative Action Law Offers a Huge Hand Up.

²⁶⁴ Stillman, “Wealth Is Still Unevenly Distributed.”

American foundations, suggested that the whole non-white population be classified as black, so everything would be simpler. Some people quickly opposed and said,

This would be to import the worst of U.S.-style racial classification and to deny the whole Brazilian specificity of miscegenation. If there really have to be university admission quotas by colour - something courts in the U.S. have now declared to be discriminatory - let them at least be based on the traditional Brazilian method of self-identification. In the past, people have tended to opt toward the lighter end of the spectrum, especially as they became more prosperous. ("Money whitens," a sociologist dryly observes.) If quotas were now to result in a few more people preferring to be black, so be it. After so many centuries when it was so much more advantageous to be white - slavery was only abolished in Brazil in 1888 - there's a case for stacking the cards just a little the other way. And if that means that one day a girl most people would consider to be white applies to university as a black, well, good luck to her.²⁶⁵

Several of the sources selected for the analysis state that the race discussion should be moved aside and that creating a more effective education system is key to moving the nation forward.

"Education is the only way to exit poverty," quotes Telma Marotto.²⁶⁶ Yet, there are newspapers that cite individuals who argue that regardless of education, work experience, or social status they face "racist affronts"²⁶⁷ due to the color of their skin. Brazil abolished slavery over 120 years ago and "the descendants of slaves haven't yet received appropriate attention from the central government."²⁶⁸ Before anything the elementary public school system needs to improve, so that children can learn the basics and then perform at least on average at the university level. Many students end up leaving higher-level academic institutions because they are unable to perform.²⁶⁹ Ultimately, "The democratization of higher education, which has always been a dream for most neglected students in public schools, is one way of paying this

²⁶⁵ Ash, "Welcome to a Mixed-up World."

²⁶⁶ Marotto, "Simmering Racism Holds Back Half Brazil's People."

²⁶⁷ Marotto, "Simmering Racism Holds Back Half Brazil's People."

²⁶⁸ Marotto, "Simmering Racism Holds Back Half Brazil's People."

²⁶⁹ Elizabeth Gibney, "Boom Times and Golden Goals," *Times Higher Education Supplement*, December 13, 2012, accessed March 29, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

debt.”²⁷⁰ The Brazilian government believes that enacting affirmative action policies is a step in this democratization process.

Brazil’s Law of Social Quotas was written in a universalistic manner with the intent to combine considerations of social class and race together, which may explain, in part, the prevalence of the discussion of race in the newspapers selected for this discourse analysis. The law aims to close the inequality gap between *black* and *white* Brazilians. Although the beneficiaries of the law are to be selected based on their socio-economic standing and public school attendance, advocates of the law quoted in the newspaper articles selected for this analysis, speak of race to provide real life examples of inequalities that exist in Brazil. Opponents of affirmative action say it creates a racial divide and that it is the Brazilian public elementary school system needs to improve first. Further, at the time of this framework analysis, as mentioned in Chapter 3, mention of the *Lei de Cotas Sociais* in the newspaper articles extracted from LexisNexis Academic was minimal. Some of the articles also predate the enactment of the *Lei de Cotas Sociais* and included information of affirmative action policies in general, including the quota systems that had been implemented at Rio de Janeiro State University (UERJ), the State University of Northern Rio de Janeiro (UENF), and University of Brasília (UnB), mentioned in Chapter 2. One thing can be concluded from this analysis, however, both advocates and critics of affirmative action in Brazil evoke the racial democracy theory as an aspiration to one day make it a Brazilian reality.

4.2 *Bolsa Família* Discourse

As in the previous section, the qualitative analysis of the discourse of *Bolsa Família* in this section is demonstrated through newspaper articles extracted from LexisNexis academic. *Bolsa Família* is a program that is race-neutral, but that benefits Afro-Brazilians more than Euro-

²⁷⁰ Romero, “Brazil Enacts Affirmative Action Law for Universities.”

Brazilians. From the frequency analysis of the policy, it can be established that race drops out the discussion in its entirety, and thus the program is discursively constructed as being about poverty alleviation rather than being about race.

In the newspaper articles gathered, Brazil's economic position is almost always mentioned. The country is part of the BRIC economies, meaning Brazil, Russia, India and China. "Brazil's growth [has] surprisingly overshadowed its counterparts and exceeded all economic projections," says economist Jim O'Neill.²⁷¹ The "economic engine of Latin America," in 2013 the World Bank "projected that Brazil will surpass France to become the world's fifth largest economy by 2016."²⁷² President Cardoso and President Lula are often credited for implementing effective social and fiscal policies that assisted the country in recovering "from the global financial crisis."²⁷³ In 2008, Sara Miller asserted, "Lower inflation and easier access to credit – along with higher minimum wage – have created a new class of consumers who have kept the economy going. And with the world's largest conditional welfare program for the poor... Brazilians are feeling economic stability as they have never before."²⁷⁴ "The proportion of Brazilians living [in poverty]... declined from 8.8% to 3.6% between 2002 and 2012... the government credits *Bolsa Familia* for more than a third of the improvement," says Jonathan Watts.²⁷⁵ Generally, a win-win situation is portrayed. Brazil's poorest citizens are granted cash to spend and they are then able to participate in a "growing" economy. However, since the extraction of these newspaper articles, Brazil entered into a deep economic crisis. According to

²⁷¹ "Battling Extreme Poverty-Made in Brazil," *Capital*, May 22, 2013, accessed March 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

²⁷² "Battling Extreme Poverty-Made in Brazil," *Capital*.

²⁷³ "Battling Extreme Poverty-Made in Brazil," *Capital*.

²⁷⁴ Sara Miller Llana, "Brazil Becomes Antipoverty Showcase," *Christian Science Monitor*, November 13, 2008, accessed March 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

²⁷⁵ Jonathan Watts, "Brazil's Bolsa Familia Scheme Marks a Decade of Pioneering Poverty Relief," *Guardian.com.*, December 17, 2013, accessed March 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), in “2015, the country’s GDP fell by 3.8 percent, making it the first time Brazil has seen two years of negative growth since 1931.”²⁷⁶ Economic instability coupled with the Brazilian community’s discontent with the current political climate, including changes in administration, the future seems more uncertain.

While Brazil’s path towards improving their Human Development Index (HDI) has been a struggle. The newspaper articles selected for the study highlight that after the implementation of *Bolsa Família* the country’s HDI improved. In 2003, “Manari, in the state of Pernambuco...received the lowest human development index ranking the country by the United Nations Development Program, with an average monthly income of \$13 and 57 percent of the population illiterate – on par with Haiti, the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere.”²⁷⁷ According to a 2006 survey by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, “Brazil [had] one of the highest youth illiteracy rates in the region and its students rank close to last in math and reading proficiency.”²⁷⁸ Since the application of *Bolsa Família* states like Maranhão “which...long had the highest illiteracy rate in Brazil”²⁷⁹ have raised their HDI. According to a principal adviser with the research department of the Inter-American Development Bank in Washington, “More children are attending school in [Brazil]...but it’s not clear that they are learning more,” a critique that will be expanded later. The World Bank and other development NGOs claim that there is “a quiet confidence in the eyes of young children living in the slum areas that has never been there before”²⁸⁰ and “since 2003 the country has

²⁷⁶ Mu Xuequan, “Brazil GDP falls by 3.6 percent in 2016,” XinhuaNet, March 8, 2017, accessed February 26, 2018, http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-03/08/c_136110450.htm. This source is not one of the articles extracted from LexisNexis research, but it is important to note Brazil’s current economic position.

²⁷⁷ Llana, “Brazil Becomes Antipoverty Showcase.”

²⁷⁸ Llana, “Brazil Becomes Antipoverty Showcase.”

²⁷⁹ Watts, “Brazil’s Bolsa Familia Scheme Marks a Decade of Pioneering Poverty Relief.”

²⁸⁰ “Battling Extreme Poverty-Made in Brazil,” *Capital*.

made significant headway in reducing poverty, lowering inequality, and improving the development opportunities of its vulnerable population.”²⁸¹ With these positive results, Brazil has become a model in the international development arena. Lindert, a human development economist from the World Bank, says, “Many countries are looking to Brazil as an example of how to implement these programs...Study tours are going to Brazil all the time to learn from this experience...The impacts are impressive. We are seeing one of the largest, most unequal countries get more equal.”²⁸² Some say programs like *Bolsa Família* are increasing “South-South learning,” Mozambique being an observing nation, for instance.²⁸³ In 2013, Campello, Minister of the MDS, said that approximately “63 delegations from various countries” had talked to her about copying this “model of development.”²⁸⁴

With this, the sources selected for the examination of *Bolsa Família* highlight the aspects of the program that have made Brazil an international “model of development.”²⁸⁵ Take income, for instance. “The country [that] has long been known for having one of the most unequal levels of income distribution on the planet,”²⁸⁶ now provides cash grants to its poorest inhabitants. David White claims that “payments range from R\$22 to R\$200 a month”²⁸⁷ depending on family structure. For the first time in their lives people feel like they are obtaining a regular income.²⁸⁸

²⁸¹ “Brazil’s Landmark Bolsa Familia Program Receives US\$200 Million Loan,” *Right Vision News*, September 19, 2010, accessed April 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

²⁸² Llana, “Brazil Becomes Antipoverty Showcase.”

²⁸³ “Brazil Press Conference with Robert B. Zoellick,” *Daily the Pak Banker*, June 3, 2011, accessed April 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

²⁸⁴ “Bolsa Familia Is a Model to Emulate, Says Brazilian Minister,” *Qatar Tribune*, November 14, 2013, accessed April 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

²⁸⁵ “Bolsa Familia Is a Model to Emulate, Says Brazilian Minister,” *Qatar Tribune*.

²⁸⁶ “Battling Extreme Poverty-Made in Brazil,” *Capital*.

²⁸⁷ David White, “*Bolsa Família* Scheme: Income Support Makes a Real Difference,” *FT.com*, November 4, 2009, accessed April 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

²⁸⁸ Watts, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Família* Scheme Marks a Decade of Pioneering Poverty Relief.”

Those that have difficulty finding a sustainable employment state, “The only income . . . is *Bolsa Familia*.”²⁸⁹ Due to this, local and family owned businesses are booming, citizens now have money to spend.²⁹⁰ Notably, *Bolsa Familia* has also become a source of empowerment for women.²⁹¹ “In many cases, it’s their only sources of income,” says Watts, “so it means they are less dependent on their husbands, more likely to share in decision-making, and have higher self-esteem.”²⁹² Program participants also express how their lives have changed since the enactment of *Bolsa Familia*. If, for example, they do not earn enough money through their everyday jobs they still have money rather than having nothing.²⁹³ According to the MDS, individuals have gained a “level of financial literacy” since they previously did not have a “regular income to budget with.”²⁹⁴ One newspaper article goes as far as to claim that “Between 2003 and 2009, incomes of the poorest Brazilians grew seven times those of rich citizens.”²⁹⁵ Similarly, a work written in 2010 asserts, “Income for Brazil’s poor grew seven times [as fast as] for the rich, and three times the national average.”²⁹⁶ According to the World Bank, “the chasm between rich and poor Brazilians is narrowing.”²⁹⁷ Critics question this, arguing “Between 2002 and 2012, income

²⁸⁹ Watts, “Brazil’s Bolsa Familia Scheme Marks a Decade of Pioneering Poverty Relief.”

²⁹⁰ Llana, “Brazil Becomes Antipoverty Showcase.”

²⁹¹ Taylor Barnes, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Familia*: Welfare Model or Menace?: *Bolsa Familia* Provides Small Stipends to Families in Exchange for Kids Going to School and Getting Regular Checkups. It’s Been Globally Imitated, but Some Brazilians Say 10 Years of Welfare Is Enough.” *Christian Science Monitor*, November 17, 2013, accessed April 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

²⁹² Jonathan Watts, “Brazil’s Cash Transfer Scheme a Source of Empowerment for Women,” *Guardian*, December 18, 2013, accessed April 26, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2013/dec/18/brazil-bolsa-familia-women-empowerment>.

²⁹³ Stephen Kurczy, “Social Workers Channel Indiana Jones to Deliver Welfare Checks to Brazil’s Amazon; Many Brazilians Are Still in Dire Need of State Assistance, and Teams of Social Workers - Equipped with Chainsaws, but No Maps - Are Traveling to Remote Corners to Find the Poorest of the Poor,” *Christian Science Monitor*, August 27, 2014, accessed April 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

²⁹⁴ Stephanie Nolen, “What Would Robin Hood Do? Fighting Poverty by Handing out Cash Is Largely Frowned Upon, but in Brazil, it is Working Wonders,” *Globe and Mail (Canada)*, December 28, 2013, accessed April 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

²⁹⁵ Nolen, “What Would Robin Hood Do?”

²⁹⁶ “Brazil’s Landmark Bolsa Familia Program Receives US\$200 Million Loan,” *Right Vision News*.

²⁹⁷ Mercedes White, “What Brazil Can Teach America about Fighting Poverty,” *Deseret Morning News (Salt Lake City)*, March 20, 2013, accessed April 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

rose 2.5 percent for the poorest 20 percent of Brazilians – the lowest growth for all income groups – while it rose 6.4 percent for the top 20 percent income earners in the country.”²⁹⁸

Thus, “big questions remain about [*Bolsa Familia*’s] efficiency, its impact on inequality, and whether it is in the long-term interests of Brazil.”²⁹⁹ Those that celebrated the program’s ten-year anniversary in 2013 were animated about “a cheap and efficient way to improve the lives of the most destitute. Critics...[said *Bolsa Familia*] merely locks the poor into a holding pattern and has little impact on inequality.”³⁰⁰ Those pro *Bolsa Familia* claim that if it “does little to address inequality...there is an element of the programme that makes it a long-term investment in the future.”³⁰¹ In the past, if Brazil’s economy was booming, the wealth would go directly to the rich, but in recent years, and for the first time, income inequality has declined and, in part, thanks to *Bolsa Familia*.³⁰²

A steady income is only provided to individuals that meet their educational and health care conditionalities. “*Bolsa Familia* is used as an enforcement method for public health and education goals. Parents who fail to have their children vaccinated or send them to school are penalized with reduced payments,” says a teacher Rosimat dos Santos Souza.³⁰³ “While the *Bolsa Familia* is unlikely to lift adults out of poverty, the hope is that it will create the health and

²⁹⁸ Barnes, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Familia*.”

²⁹⁹ Jonathan Watts, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Familia* Scheme: Political Tool or Social Welfare Success?,” *Guardian.com.*, December 19, 2013, accessed April 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

³⁰⁰ Watts, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Familia* Scheme Marks a Decade of Pioneering Poverty Relief.”

³⁰¹ Watts, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Familia* Scheme Marks a Decade of Pioneering Poverty Relief.”

³⁰² Nolen, “What Would Robin Hood Do?”

³⁰³ Watts, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Familia* Scheme Marks a Decade of Pioneering Poverty Relief.”

education conditions for the next generation,” says Watts.³⁰⁴ *Bolsa Familia* is attempting to “empower” all citizens by increasing access to an education and health care.³⁰⁵

Similar to other sources, in the article entitled *Brazil’s Bolsa Familia: welfare model or menace?*, there is an indication that *Bolsa Familia* can be an effective program, but the newspaper maintains that the low-quality education system in Brazil needs to be reformed.³⁰⁶ An economist, Tiago Berriel, says, “The positive Bolsa school statistics ‘don’t mean our formation for human capital is very good’... The portion of its GDP that Brazil spends on education is comparable to that of other countries, nearly 6 percent, but Brazil gets a low return on that investment. Brazilian 15-year-olds test significantly lower than the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development average.”³⁰⁷ Likewise, Monte Reel says, “Skeptics contend that the cash assistance programs divert focus in developing countries from making structural reforms in education and the economy.”³⁰⁸ On the other hand, the principal adviser with the research department of the Inter-American Development Bank in Washington says, “The main constraint is the quality of the schools. But when people say that the money would be better spent to improve education, it’s very difficult because we don’t know of simple ways to improve education.”³⁰⁹ Other economists go on to explain that an education does not “ensure... social mobility.”³¹⁰

Regardless of the educational criticisms, *Bolsa Familia* has also become an international

³⁰⁴ Watts, “Brazil’s Bolsa Familia Scheme Marks a Decade of Pioneering Poverty Relief.”

³⁰⁵ Llana, “Brazil Becomes Antipoverty Showcase.”

³⁰⁶ Barnes, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Familia*,” Jonathan Wheatley and Richard Lapper, “Reform Eludes a More Prosperous Brazil,” *FT.com*, September 28, 2006, accessed April 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

³⁰⁷ Barnes, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Familia*.”

³⁰⁸ Monte Reel, “Cash Aid Program Bolsters Lula’s Reelection Prospects; Incentives for Families To Help Themselves Spreads Beyond Brazil,” *Washington Post*, October 29, 2006, accessed April 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

³⁰⁹ Reel, “Cash Aid Program Bolsters Lula’s Reelection Prospects.”

³¹⁰ Barnes, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Familia*.”

model program because individuals have to fulfill requirements, to obtain their grant. Finding full-time permanent employment is not a condition to receive the benefit, however.³¹¹ *Bolsa Familia* “encourages women to engage in other social programmes such as artisanal workshops, where they can develop skills that make them even more self-sufficient.”³¹² The program is a helpful supplemental income for those adults that are not able to find stable jobs. The money given to people is not a lot, but it is helpful to those that have “uncertain work and [are] surviving day-by-day.”³¹³ The Minister of the MDS clears some popular misconceptions about the recipients by saying,

Critics quote Confucius and say it is better to teach people how to fish than to give them fish, but *Bolsa Familia* recipients aren’t poor because they are lazy or don’t know how to work, they are poor because they have no opportunities, no education and poor health. How can they compete with those disadvantages? By giving people the money to survive, we are empowering them, including them and giving them the rights of a citizen in a consumer society.³¹⁴

In another article the Minister of the MDS is quoted saying, “there is little evidence that the small stipend encourages Brazilians to stop working. Campello says 75 percent of adults who receive the payments are economically active, either looking for work or employed, though often in informal jobs that come without pensions and sick leave.”³¹⁵ In a newspaper article called *What would Robin Hood do?*, the Minister asserts, “75 per cent of adult recipients work, and most of those who don't are in areas that lack employment prospects. Ms. Campello loves this statistic. ‘Fifty per cent of the people who get the *Bolsa Familia* don't work. That's true. You know why? Because they're under 14 -- we don't want them to work! Half of the extremely poor

³¹¹ White, “*Bolsa Familia* Scheme.”

³¹² Watts, “Brazil’s Cash Transfer Scheme a Source of Empowerment for Women.”

³¹³ Nolen, “What Would Robin Hood Do?”

³¹⁴ Watts, “Brazil’s Cash Transfer Scheme a Source of Empowerment for Women.”

³¹⁵ Barnes, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Familia*.”

people in this country are children!”³¹⁶ Some articles point to the “logical” fact that Brazilians are better off finding a job since “the average amount received by poor families is three to four times lower than the minimum wage.”³¹⁷

Bolsa Família has been the central program of Brazil’s “social welfare strategy.”³¹⁸ Academics that have “studied welfare polices” and detest the fact that *Bolsa Família* has gained so much international attention “warn that *Bolsa Família* is simply a new way of maintaining a profoundly unequal status quo.”³¹⁹ A professor from the Federal University of Rio states, “But why is *Bolsa Família* so applauded? The conservatives say, ‘Look we gave 70 reais per month to the poor so that’s good.’ But it’s neoliberalism... People who don’t understand Brazil think *Bolsa Família* is the greatest thing, but *Bolsa Família* is rubbish.”³²⁰ Similarly, “Lena Lavinas, professor of welfare economics at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, says the government overstates the importance of *Bolsa Família* and has exaggerated its achievements by failing to account adequately for inflation in its statistics. If rising prices are properly factored into the calculation, she says, the extreme poverty rate ought to be 90 reais a month, which would mean *Bolsa Família* has lifted only 7 million people above this line.”³²¹ Sure the country has increased the size of its middle class, but many say that *Bolsa Família* has accomplished what it was set out to do and that the program may be getting too big. In 2014, critics stated that Brazil might be spending too much money on “funding populist social security programmes... while avoiding

³¹⁶ Nolen, “What Would Robin Hood Do?”

³¹⁷ Jean-Pierre Langellier, “Closing the Gap on Poverty: A Brazilian Bursary Is Helping Poor Families to Keep Children in School,” *Guardian Weekly*, October 3, 2008, accessed April 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

³¹⁸ Watts, “Brazil’s Bolsa Família Scheme Marks a Decade of Pioneering Poverty Relief.”

³¹⁹ Watts, “Brazil’s Bolsa Família Scheme.”

³²⁰ Watts, “Brazil’s Bolsa Família Scheme.”

³²¹ Watts, “Brazil’s Bolsa Família Scheme Marks a Decade of Pioneering Poverty Relief.”

though economic and labour reforms that would boost productivity and growth.”³²² Further, “it has sparked debates similar to ones in the United States over how to best lift the poorest out of misery without becoming a so-called welfare nation.”³²³ Terms like “welfare queen” will start to surface warn critics, since the government has not reprimanded those that may “game the system.”³²⁴ Opponents of the program also say, sure the poor are being recognized and there is less hunger in the country, “But inequality and old-style politics clearly remain alive.”³²⁵ They argue that it is a tool utilized by the Worker’s Party to remain in power.³²⁶ Overall, those that critique the program fear that “Brazil is encouraging a welfare mentality at a time when it needs to foster entrepreneurialism to become internationally competitive.”³²⁷ Individuals need to seek work rather than depending on the government.³²⁸

The Brazilian government claims it is not building a welfare state.³²⁹ Through most of the newspaper articles of *Bolsa Família*, there is mention of the role of the Brazilian government in the organization and outcomes of the program. The program came into effect under President Lula “and he told Brazilians, ‘You do not owe anyone anything for this: this is your right [as] a citizen of this country.’”³³⁰ *Bolsa Família* is often described as “only one of four pillars in the government’s *Plano Brasil Sem Miséria* (Brazil Without Poverty) strategy, which also includes a minimum wage, formalizing employment, and policies to support rural families. There are also

³²² Leahy, “Brazil Considers the Cost of Welfare as Growth Slows.”

³²³ Barnes, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Família*.”

³²⁴ Barnes, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Família*.”

³²⁵ Watts, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Família* Scheme.”

³²⁶ Watts, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Família* Scheme.”

³²⁷ Leahy, “Brazil Considers the Cost of Welfare as Growth Slows.”

³²⁸ Langellier, “Closing the Gap on Poverty.”

³²⁹ Llana, “Brazil Becomes Antipoverty Showcase.”

³³⁰ Nolen, “What Would Robin Hood Do?”

pension schemes and housing projects that aim to tackle inequality.”³³¹ Government officials often point to how cost effective the program is, “with a return of 1.78 reais to the economy for every 1 reais spent.”³³² Also, “In 2012, the program cost the Brazilian government less than 1% of its budget.”³³³ Furthermore, families that did not have the opportunity to consume goods now do. “They lived in a pre-capitalist world, shut out from consumption. Now they have goods and services from the market,” says the head of social research at the government led Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA).³³⁴ In relation to human development, the government has provided statistics which show that parents that receive the grant are more likely to send their children to school and take them to the doctor.³³⁵ Government officials also assert that “95 percent of school-age kids from families receiving Bolsa stipends fulfill their school requirements. While the percentage of students who drop out of high school nationally is 11.3, it is only 7.4 for students whose families are *Bolsa Família* recipients.”³³⁶ Also in defense of the grant, “contrary to the old conservative line about welfare mothers procreating to engender better benefits, the number of births per woman in the lowest income category dropped 30 percent, significantly faster than the national average. According to Brazil’s National Household Survey, the program has not discouraged work.”³³⁷ More women are giving birth on time rather than

³³¹ Watts, “Brazil’s Bolsa Família Scheme Marks a Decade of Pioneering Poverty Relief;” “Battling Extreme Poverty-Made in Brazil,” *Capital*.

³³² Watts, “Brazil’s Bolsa Família Scheme Marks a Decade of Pioneering Poverty Relief.”

³³³ “Battling Extreme Poverty-Made in Brazil,” *Capital*.

³³⁴ Tom Hennigan, “Brazil Laps up the Lula and Dilma Show,” *Irish Times*, September 25, 2010, accessed April 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

³³⁵ Watts, “Brazil’s Bolsa Família Scheme Marks a Decade of Pioneering Poverty Relief.”

³³⁶ Barnes, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Família*.”

³³⁷ John Norris, “In Defense of the Handout; Is Simply Giving Money to the Poor the Best Way to Lift People Out of Poverty?,” *Post-Gazette (Pittsburgh)*, March 30, 2017, accessed April 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

earlier in their pregnancy.³³⁸ The government has had program officials reach out to some of the most marginalized individuals in remote areas of Brazil.³³⁹

There are critics that attempt to discredit the overvalued position that has been given to *Bolsa Família* by the Brazilian government. There are “Brazilians fed up not only with what they see as populist handouts, but in general with high taxes and the way the government applies that revenue. There are also accusations of fraud; the government admits the requirements for new applicants aren’t very stringent.”³⁴⁰ The government just wants to enroll more people, and quickly.³⁴¹ Many say that here is no need to credit *Bolsa Família* for so much improvement, “much of what the government attributes to the family grant likely would have happened without it. Brazil’s economy took off at the start of the last decade, posting growth rates of eight and nine per cent a year. That growth created 21 million new jobs from 2001-2012.”³⁴²

“In Brazil, there weren’t policies and politics for addressing poverty until the Bolsa Família...” says Watts.³⁴³ The program is not perfect, however, there are many other programs geared towards the same objective, to reduce poverty.³⁴⁴ Without the program says Campello, “All of those people [that] are in our program. If it disappeared, they would fall back into extreme poverty.”³⁴⁵ Opponents argue the program “preserves misery”³⁴⁶ for there is a new generation of individuals obtaining the benefit and that alleviating poverty does not only entail

³³⁸ Watts, “Brazil’s Cash Transfer Scheme a Source of Empowerment for Women.”

³³⁹ Barnes, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Família*,” Kurczy, “Social Workers Channel Indiana Jones to Deliver Welfare Checks to Brazil’s Amazon.”

³⁴⁰ Barnes, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Família*,” Leahy, “Brazil Considers the Cost of Welfare as Growth Slows.”

³⁴¹ Barnes, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Família*.”

³⁴² Nolen, “What Would Robin Hood Do?”

³⁴³ Watts, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Família* Scheme.”

³⁴⁴ Watts, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Família* Scheme.”

³⁴⁵ Watts, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Família* Scheme Marks a Decade of Pioneering Poverty Relief.”

³⁴⁶ Barnes, “Brazil’s *Bolsa Família*.”

providing citizens with additional income. Either way, the Bolsa Familia program model is one of Brazil's greatest exports.³⁴⁷ ““The question of poverty is at the forefront of Latin American governments today. The poor are visible again, and Brazil is playing a lead role in this,”” quotes Miller.³⁴⁸

While any discussion of race is absent from the LexisNexis sources on *Bolsa Familia*, in one article called “Trusting the Poor with Choices” by Patrice Coeur Bizot the author states,

In Brazil...inequality fell by 21 per cent...And it has had a positive impact on health and education outcomes. In Brazil the school enrolment gap between mainstream groups and marginalized races and indigenous groups has equalized. While the long-term impact of CCTs on gender equity is still to be confirmed, in Latin America there is consensus that money transferred to women has positive effects on their self-esteem and economic autonomy and that conditionalities increase women's access to social services.³⁴⁹

This provides some evidence to support that *Bolsa Familia* is accomplishing its intent of assisting Afro-Brazilians. Recipients of the grant, however, are starting to be viewed in a certain manner; recall the “welfare queen.” Overall, the newspaper articles gathered for this review show that entities part of the Brazilian government have played a large role in the program's positive and progressive framing. The Minister of the MDS is often quoted providing statistics in favor of the anti-poverty program. Program developers highlight the improvement of human capital continuously, in education, health, and income. International observers, or governments, then duplicate the welfare program for it holds universal values. Through this analysis one finds that race almost completely drops out of the *Bolsa Familia*'s conceptual framework, but in Brazil and globally, the intent of programs like *Bolsa Familia* is to lift people of certain races out of poverty to help build a more equal and sustainable future.

³⁴⁷ Watts, “Brazil's Bolsa Familia Scheme Marks a Decade of Pioneering Poverty Relief.”

³⁴⁸ Llana, “Brazil Becomes Antipoverty Showcase.”

³⁴⁹ Patrice Coeur Bizot, “Trusting the Poor with Choices: Why India needs to examine how cash transfers can serve as a safety net for its poor?” *The Indian Express*, June 27, 2011, accessed April 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

4.3 Summarizing Themes

In this section systematically summarizes the emergent discursive themes that were found in the qualitative discussion of the articles obtained during the LexisNexis search. First, the overlapping terms will be examined and then the remaining words. The objective here is a broad summary, not an in-depth textual analysis of each article.

Education and Government

The word frequency analysis proved that education and government were the only overlapping terms utilized in the newspaper articles selected for the discourse analysis of affirmative action and *Bolsa Familia*. Affirmative action in education is framed as a change needed to reform the education system in Brazil. The Law of Social Quotas is needed to include the marginalized. It will “open” doors of opportunity to the most vulnerable. The government is cited as the entity that has implemented affirmative action; however, the government continues to strive for a racial democracy. For the *problem* in Brazil is more often than not noted as a class issue not a race issue. This assumption plays a role in the way in which these terms, education and government, are utilized to frame *Bolsa Familia*. The poor have the right to access a higher education, therefore, *Bolsa Familia*, through its conditionalities, hopes to instill in future generations the importance of obtaining an education by mandating that children attend school. Government entities continuously provide study results and statistics that support *Bolsa Familia*'s positive impacts on Brazil's poorest population. These studies have made *Bolsa Familia* the international model it is today. It can be concluded that some sort of education reform needs to take place in Brazil for both the affirmative action and *Bolsa Familia* articles call for the improvement of the public school system. Overall, the government is the entity assisting those that live in poverty in obtaining an education.

Affirmative Action: Black

Who is black, or Afro-Brazilian, remains an unanswered question. In the sources selected for the study, there is clear evidence that the use of the racial label continues to be ambiguous. *Black*, however, tells a peoples' history and of *their*, whoever the *blacks* are, feelings towards that history. The term is used to describe individuals that are poor, unhealthy, and illiterate. Nevertheless, the articles highlight a shift in Brazilian society, a return to blackness. This return does not only mean a new way in which individuals may label themselves, but also includes a new lens with which to view history, specifically, a history with a *real* racial democracy.

Affirmative Action: Discrimination

Those in favor of affirmative action have used the term discrimination to highlight how those that are labelled as *black* have been stripped of opportunities. Blacks in Brazil face discrimination in education, the workplace, health care services and so on. In some sources, there is mention of *race* discrimination within poor communities, or *favelas*, where there is little difference in social class. Moreover, the word discrimination is applied in attempts to defend affirmative action in Brazil and challenge a race-less course of thought.

Affirmative Action: Nation

The nation is Brazil. Once internationally viewed as a color-blind community, is today at the center of an affirmative action debate. The country's leaders have admitted to racial inequalities, however, the nation as a whole has not come to accept the use of racial labels. The country has come to terms with the fact that education reform is one of the key components in moving the nation forward.

Affirmative Action: Quotas

All of the resources gathered for the discourse analysis of affirmative action in Brazil focused on quotas in the country's education system. The Law of Social Quotas was implemented to provide low-income citizens with access to an education. Academic institutions have a quota to meet, or are to reserve a percentage of their admission spots to public school educated students and those who qualifying as, again, low-income. The law mostly serves Afro-Brazilians and indigenous peoples. However, many of the articles drawn from LexisNexis predate the implementation of the *Lei de Cotas Sociais* and included information of affirmative action policies in general, including the racial quota systems that had been implemented at several federal universities mentioned in Chapter 2.

Affirmative Action: Race, Racial, Racism

Race continues to be a highly controversial topic in Brazil. Even though there have been attempts in the country to label individuals racially, to implement policies such as affirmative action, these attempts have been unsuccessful for social class plays a role in individuals self-identification. The hope of a Brazilian racial democracy remains.

Additionally, in the newspaper articles gathered, the term racial is always coupled with another term that describes a difference, or divide. Those terms are the following: *racial* indistinctiveness, *racial* differences, *racial* classification, *racial* categories, *racial* hierarchies and *racial* inequality. The term is also associated with *racial* equality and *racial* quotas. This could lead readers of articles to understand that racial difference exists in Brazil, but that there is some sort of campaign to bridge the gaps amongst racial groups.

Similar to the term discrimination, the word racism is used in the sources gathered to build an argument in favor of affirmative action. The racism faced by Afro-Brazilian population

in different sectors of society is highlighted. The expression is also used to describe the characteristics of Brazilian racism. It is something that some claim cannot exist for race in Brazil is supposedly indefinable, or imaginary, yet it is the term used to describe something very *real* in Brazilian citizen's lives.

Affirmative Action: White

Who is white, or Euro-Brazilian, remains an unanswered question. As mentioned in the brief discussion of the term black, race continues to be liquid in Brazil. However, the term is often associated with those that are rich, healthy and well educated. The newspaper articles also suggest that those that once labeled themselves as white may now be self-identifying as black.

Bolsa Família: Development

In the sources used to analyze discussions of *Bolsa Família's* conceptual framework, the term development was utilized to describe a positive change in Brazil since the incorporation of *Bolsa Família*. According to the government, the Human Development Index has improved, infant mortality rates have diminished, school attendance has increased, and individuals now have money to spend. *Bolsa Família* has also become the cash transfer program to mimic internationally due its *effective* development strategies.

Bolsa Família: Economic

Brazil's ability to develop strategies to enrich their most vulnerable population is almost always coupled with their economic status. The country witnessed a high level of economic stability, until the beginning of an economic crisis starting in 2013. The government suggests it would like for everyone to feel the economic stability, however, skeptics wonder if welfare economics is the best route to take in relation to creating a more economically sustainable future or if it is creating a dependent population.

Bolsa Familia: Health

One of *Bolsa Familia's* main objectives is to improve the health of Brazil's future generations and low-income population. Routine health checks and obtaining vaccinations are part of the conditions set forth by the program. Access to health care is a human right, asserts the Brazilian government. Additionally, good health will give those that live in poverty an increased opportunity to attend school without interruption due to good health and compete for social mobility.

Bolsa Familia: Income

The Brazilian government is providing additional income to those that are economically eligible for the *Bolsa Familia* program. The government claims that for the first time in their lives people that have difficulty in finding full-time permanent employment feel like they are obtaining a regular source of income that assist them in purchasing their basic needs. As a result of implementing *Bolsa Familia*, the income of the poorest Brazilian citizens is growing as fast as it is for the rich. The government is attempting to further reduce the income gap between the rich and poor.

Bolsa Familia: Inequality

Noteworthy, the way inequality is talked about in the sources gathered for the discourse analysis of *Bolsa Familia* mostly relates to economic inequality. Brazil's decline of income inequality is mostly attributed to *Bolsa Familia*. At no point is there mention of racial inequality. There are critics of the program that say *Bolsa Familia* does little to reduce inequality; however, their arguments are deafened by the statistics produced by government entities.

Bolsa Familia: Poverty

Bolsa Família is the one of the largest poverty relief programs in the world. According to some, if the program disappeared those that are currently obtaining benefits would go back to living in misery. *Bolsa Família* is not only alleviating poverty for adults, but for the generations to come. The newspaper articles surveyed, stated that presently combating poverty is at the forefront of many countries globally.

Bolsa Família: Welfare

Bolsa Família is the largest conditional cash transfer program in the world. Skeptics say that the program is a governmental error for it will create a dependent and welfare society. Those in favor of *Bolsa Família*, on the other hand, say it has empowered women, decreased infant mortality rates, and some of the most marginalized citizens of Brazil now have access to a better future through program conditionalities.

Bolsa Família: Work

There is not much evidence proposing that *Bolsa Família* discourages work even though this has been suggested. Representatives from the MDS claim that once in the system, participants of *Bolsa Família* can easily be referred to other “benefit and target” programs, *Bolsa Família* ultimately becomes “a platform.”³⁵⁰ Some individuals may be referred to job training programs, for instance. Many recipients of the cash grant already have jobs, per the MSD, except they may not make enough or a consistent salary, so they utilize the grant as supplemental income. Many low-income participants of the program have informal jobs. The *Bolsa Família* discourse is shaped in ways that suggest that the program provides a level of security to those that do not have a steady income. The government also emphasizes that most recipients are children and participants are working for their money for they have conditionalities to meet.

³⁵⁰ Watts, “Brazil’s Bolsa Família Scheme Marks a Decade of Pioneering Poverty Relief.”

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to conduct a discourse analysis of affirmative action and *Bolsa Familia* in Brazil. The most important piece of Brazilian affirmative action legislation, the Law of Social Quotas, has been legally coded in non-racial terms; however, it is constantly discussed through a racial lens. The debates surrounding affirmative action often remind readers of the racial democracy theory for many remain hopeful that this may one day become a Brazilian reality. On the other hand, race drops out almost completely from *Bolsa Familia*'s framing and yet it is a universal, or income-based, program that is designed to mostly benefit Afro-Brazilians. The program has become an international model for human development and *Bolsa Familia* is celebrated a lot more than affirmative action. As illustrated in the Summarizing Themes section of the last chapter, there are no visible overlaps in the discursive framing of these policies except for the fact that the government is involved in the implementation of both programs and that the secondary school education system in Brazil needs to be improved. In general, the Law of Social Quotas and *Bolsa Familia* should be recognized as universalistic policies that supplement each other to improve the quality of life for the Brazilian community.

One limitation to completing this work was that only English newspapers were sampled. This investigation was also conducted outside of Brazil and without the involvement of human subjects. The conclusions made here could have changed if these variables were different. This thesis also examines and includes the topic of race, something that is still very ambiguous in Brazil, which leaves room for inconsistencies in the research.

This paper contributes to works on Brazilian racial identity, ethnic studies, and public policy studies. To future scholars, assessing which policy works best, the Law of Social Quotas

or *Bolsa Família*, in relation to poverty, education, and life expectancy is an option for further research. Regardless of what future scholars choose to investigate, it will have an impact on discussions of socially and economically marginalized groups in Brazil.

Furthermore, starting 2016, Brazil has gone through some considerable changes. President Rousseff was impeached and removed from office due to a bribery scandal involving a national petroleum company and for disregarding of the federal budget. Simultaneously, the Brazilian economy was in the worst recession in over 25 years, probably the political reason for the removal of President Rousseff, with minimal economic improvement in 2017. President Rousseff's successor center-right President Temer does not have the public's support for he too has been involved in corruption scandals, but has been able to evade impeachment. Brazil has had an international audience since they hosted the Olympics in 2016. This is more than likely the reason why such world-renowned programs as *Bolsa Família* and even affirmative action have been able to survive. However, such a hostile social, political, and economic environment leaves room for much uncertainty for the future of these programs.

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