The Rise and Fall of the Anti-Racism Agenda in Brazil from Lula to Bolsonaro[1]

Gustavo Mesquita

Abstract

Over the past two decades, the Brazilian state has addressed the issue of race by developing a number of anti-racist laws, policies, and institutions. The rise of the anti-racism agenda began with Fernando Henrique Cardoso's government, growing even greater under Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff. Nonetheless, further developments on this agenda have been halted since Michel Temer came to power in 2016, and the agenda as a whole is now undergoing a period of dismantling. This essay discusses how the dismantling of the anti-racism agenda has reverberated into the current institutional, political, and social crises in Brazil. In consideration of this problem, I map out color-related characteristics of the Brazilian crisis through qualitative and quantitative data from the start of Lula's presidency to that of Bolsonaro. I use past and present data to compare two processes: the past shaping, and the current dismantling, of anti-racist public policies.

Resumo

Nas últimas duas décadas, o Estado brasileiro abordou a questão racial desenvolvendo uma série de leis, políticas e instituições antirracistas. A ascensão da agenda antirracista começou no governo de Fernando Henrique Cardoso, tornando-se ainda maior com Lula da Silva e Dilma Rousseff. No entanto, novos desenvolvimentos desta agenda estagnaram desde que Michel Temer assumiu o poder em 2016, e agora a agenda como um todo está em processo de desmantelamento. Esse ensaio discute como o desmantelamento da agenda de antirracismo tem contribuído para a atual crise institucional, política e social do Brasil. Diante desse problema, analiso a crise brasileira em suas características de cor com dados qualitativos e quantitativos, abrangendo dos anos Lula aos de Bolsonaro. Dados do passado e do presente são usados para uma comparação entre dois processos: a anterior formulação e o atual desmantelamento de políticas públicas antirracistas.

Scholarship on the recent history of anti-racism in Brazil agrees that the 1988 Constitution represented a new democratic milestone in race relations. The document absorbed some of the black movement's claims and regulated mechanisms to advance the black population's citizenship rights on cultural, social, and economic grounds. Unlike previous and relatively timid attempts to address race relations, the presidency of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002) of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB), seized upon a favorable political and institutional environment and acknowledged the existence of racism as a nationwide problem. Regarding Brazil's recent history, this was a turning point in the state's approach to the issue of race. This political shift enabled Cardoso's government to start raising awareness about the urgency of combating racism. A governmental anti-racism agenda was set by the state in cooperation with black movement leaders, soon after the Zumbi dos Palmares National March against Racism, for Citizenship, and Life, which took place in Brasília, on November 20, 1995, with around 30,000 protesters (Jaccoud, 2009; Rios, 2012; Paschel, 2016).

The creation of the Inter-Ministerial Working Group for the Valorization of the Black Population (GTI) was a major action aiming at the institutionalization of anti-racism. With presidential support growing increasingly stronger, GTI was able to participate in the following federal-level actions:

- Launch of the 1996 and 2002 National Human Rights Programs, which laid the foundations for racial equality policies.
- Enactment of Law No. 9,029/1995, prohibiting racial discrimination in any form of work relationships in a broad sense.
- Amendment of the Penal Code by Law No. 9,459/1997, criminalizing racial slurs against black people's subjective honor.
- Assistance in the training for Brazilian black organizations to attend the 2001 Third World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance, held in Durban, South Africa.
- Launch of the 2002 National Affirmative Action Program, which legalized affirmative action and established implementation goals in the federal public administration.
- Implementation of the first quota-based affirmative action policies for hiring black employees to work in certain ministries.

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that Cardoso's anti-racism agenda addressed the problem of racial inequality by focusing on recognition rather than redistribution (Márcia Lima, 2010). This means that, on the one hand, the strategy was concentrated on pointing out to what extent black people are victims of racism and socially excluded in everyday life, and, on the other hand, drawing attention to and reiterating the positive value of Brazil's racial diversity. As a result, from an anti-racism viewpoint, attempts to build racial democracy were limited to a debate surrounding social reality. Besides the aforementioned author, Jaccoud & Beghin (2002) claim that intervention remained incipient in Cardoso's government, with little attention to effective redistribution policies.

Regarding the building of anti-racism, however, the authors cited are in line with others, such as Antonio Sérgio Alfredo Guimarães (2009) and Mala Htun (2004), who claim that the Cardoso presidency paved the way for important shifts and made the rise of the anti-racism agenda a reality in Brazil. Liberal foundations relating to human rights have been established to legitimize affirmative action and other racial equality policies. Yet a concrete legal framework, necessary for policy-making and its regulation, was not accomplished once and for all in the 1990s. It was only during the 2000s, after the Workers' Party presidential victory, that anti-racism emerged through a political agenda and was integrated into the Brazilian legal system, finally intervening in racial equality policies. It was a time of rapid change for the way race was thought about. In other words, the formation of a certain anti-racism strategy based on a white/non-white system, since raising black consciousness was one of the Workers' Party's chief objectives. Not without turbulence - from both left-wing and right-wing parties - the project was undertaken during the presidencies of Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff years (2003-2016).

Since Lula's election in 2002, the Brazilian government intensified its commitment to the domestic implementation of the UN International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD). There was an expansion of governmental and non-governmental actions seeking to speed up the reduction of racial inequalities. For the duration of the Workers' Party consecutive governments, far-reaching actions were carried out in order to provide the black population with citizenship rights secured by the 1988 Constitution. A broad and varied array of measures covered the dimensions of

- 51 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

legal order, justice, civil society, basic and higher education, culture, health, and work. To put them into practice, both Lula and Dilma's governments designed public policies to change the relationships between blacks and whites to some extent. This renewed egalitarian push in Brazilian society was observed through the growth of the black movement and the expansion of racial equality policies.

In addition to black movements, struggling for racial equality over the past two decades resembled what liberal and social welfare currents regarded as the process of integrating the black population into Brazilian society. The works of Florestan Fernandes (2008) and Carlos Hasenbalg (2005) were mainstream reference points from sociological and historical perspectives, and played a key role in the process. After all, both championed the need for social change, or a democratic system that guaranteed equal, color-independent opportunities in a free-market, competitive, and capitalist society. At the same time, the Workers' Party also referenced Gilberto Freyre (2006), evoking the vivacious sentiment of regionally and nationally balanced cross-cultural diversity, and propelling this Brazilian identity onto the global stage. It was not a single, but a negotiated, ambiguous view that guided the Workers' Party's anti-racism agenda during the Lula and Dilma governments. This agenda tackled racism through a policy system based on whites and non-whites, for Brazil was a bi-racial rather than a multi-racial country, both socially and economically. Even so, the project promoted hybridism, the result of an ethnic and cultural mix considered inherent to the Brazilian identity.

In one way or another, the main observation is that an analysis of contemporary demographic, social, economic, and institutional dynamics of race relations suggests that Brazil made relative progress in fighting racial discrimination over the past two decades. Even if some indicators have remained negative, others have improved.[2] I shall analyze the institutional trajectory of the

---

[2] Brazil's censuses show a rapid increase in the proportion of blacks and browns in relation to whites. In 1980, the number of Brazilians declaring themselves blacks or browns amounted to 44,8%, while the number of whites reached 54,2% of the total population. In 2010, the last census held so far, that proportion shifted: 50,7% of blacks or browns and 47,7% of whites. It was an increase of 6% in 30 years, and this rate tends to increase according to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics' Continuous National Household Sample Survey (PNAD Continuous). For a historical point of view on demographic, social, and economic flows in Brazilian race relations, see Theodoro, 2008 and Goes & Silva, 2013b. For an explanation as to why brown people can be added to the group of blacks in Brazil, see Osório, 2003. Unlike Osório and other racial quotas supporters, Peter Fry questions the association between blacks and browns. For him, in short, the all-purpose association gives rise to a bipolar classification system and ends up

- 52 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

anti-racism agenda to discuss how the Workers' Party addressed the issue of race from the 2000s to the 2010s. This is a complex topic to cover in a single paper, however, it counts on the contribution of some of the most prominent race relations experts from Brazil and abroad. By discussing issues of nation-wide relevance and refering to the most up-to-date research, I intend to outline the main anti-racist achievements of the contemporary period, without, however, any claim to completeness.

Workers' Party and the Issue of Race: Building Anti-Racism Institutions

The orientation of racism-fighting policy changed significantly over the four consecutive Workers' Party governments. There were also transitory changes in economic policy toward a more inclusive model, which positively impacted the black population's social indicators. Much has been done by both the state and civil society to institutionalize the topic of race. Building on the Durban Conference agenda, black organizations and government officials alike developed new formulations, demands, and responses to racism. What had previously been based on the recognition and repression of racist-driven human rights violations, now saw public policies that acquired a more purposeful approach. Goals, measures, action plans, practices, and policies were undertaken, though the effectiveness and efficacy of such measures varied. With the expansion of democracy under the Workers' Party rule, racial equality became a more widespread issue.

In 2003, the creation of the Special Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality Policies (Seppir) defined a new relationship between the black movement and the state. Prior to the GTI and Seppir, local and state-level actions were black activists' only alternative to long-standing barriers to federal levels of power. Organized mainly around left-wing parties since the 1980s, certain transnational activist networks and domestic black mobilizations were strikingly important to this innovative institutional outcome (Rios, 2018).

According to Gomes & Alves (2017), the Lula administration aimed at decreasing racial tensions when creating Seppir, including the Workers' Party own internal disputes. Insofar as the institutionalization of anti-racism mattered,

---

enhancing racism instead of fighting it, by tearing down the ideal of racial democracy (Fry, 2005).

negotiations between the black movement and the government resulted in a less powerful institution than the former expected. The black organizations that took part in the creation of Seppir are regarded as having been co-opted by power, but it ought to be understood that co-optation does not mean the weakening of social movements. As the authors observed, what was at stake was what both the state and the black movement were able to create through their relationship:

> The idea of co-optation conveys a possible paradox between the advance represented by institutional change (i.e., both the creation of Seppir and the emergence of transversality) and the co-optation of the movement by the state (i.e., the accommodation of social tension). This paradox may suggest that it is not a dichotomy, but a dialogical process (idem, p. 401).

In comparing Brazil's racial policy in the 1990s with that of the 2000s, one might say that the main difference between the GTI and Seppir is that the former was initially conceived as an national agency of affirmative action with ministerial powers, while the GTI had the power to coordinate and implement policies, although only at the federal level. Institutional change can indeed be seen, as Seppir was set up along transversal lines with the mission of establishing affirmative actions and generating partnerships with other federal, state, and local institutions, private companies, and the third sector.

In practical terms, however, Seppir has never had the same characteristics as a State Ministry, in spite of its ministerial status. Its transversal mode of operation resulted in a reduced operational structure. In other words, Seppir has always been an underfunded institution, with the annual budget allocated by successive governments constituting a limit for institutional action. The 2010 Annual Budget Law set Seppir's budget at R$ 70 million, which represented only 0.001% of nominal GDP (R$ 3.886 trillion). In 2016, this proportion dropped to 0.0003% of nominal GDP (R$ 6.266 trillion), as the institution had its budget reduced to R$ 20.827 million.[3] Such budgetary data points to the fact that Seppir was different from well-funded ministries and far from a governmental priority. And not being a priority caused Seppir to continuously strive for other funding sources, either inside or outside the government, since the beginning. Moreover, since 2015, Seppir has no longer been a stand-alone ministry due to Dilma's ministerial reform aiming to incorporate it into the secretary level of the then-

---

[3] Brazilian GDP data can be found in the IBGE time series available at https://bit.ly/3gcIuan.

newly-created Ministry of Women, Racial Equality, and Human Rights. If already politically fragile, this national institution was further weakened due to investment cuts beginning in the 2016-2017 biennium.[4]

Despite these institutional barriers, Seppir's policies made progress when compared to previous efforts, fostering the national capillarity of anti-racism. Those policies have crossed municipalities, states, and the Union, creating better conditions for the expansion of debates about race into civil society and the third sector. The innovation started with the creation of the National Council for the Promotion of Racial Equality (Cnpir). This is a collegial advisory body responsible for proposing racial equality policies. It is made up of 44 members, comprising representatives of the federal executive branch (22), civil society organizations (19), and race relations experts (3).

Ultimately, the National Conference for the Promotion of Racial Equality (Conapir) stood out among Cnpir's initiatives. Conapir was held four times between 2005 and 2018 across many Brazilian cities and throughout consecutive state-level stages, which prompted popular debates on racism and the elimination of racial discrimination involving society in a broad sense, and not only the centers of power themselves. Previously unable to participate in race-related public debates, citizens and civil society organizations began to enjoy this right because of Conapir's democratic structure. Innovation was a result of its national capillarity and social participation. The 1,200 representatives of black movement organizations that participated in the last Conapir, in 2018, is evidence of intense and widespread social participation.

In addition to Conapir, further evidence of the expansion of anti-racist policy making during the PT years is the approval of the Statute of Racial Equality in 2010. The passed version resulted from the engagement of a group of deputies and Seppir's efforts to legalize 10-year-long proceedings at the National Congress. Although there has been criticism about the severe reduction of racial equality measures, the Statute was regarded by some scholars and black organizations as the best possible outcome at the time of its passing, given the

---

[4] During the PT administrations, important planning institutions were interested in understanding how it would be possible to improve Seppir's operational structure. Ipea's studies on Seppir's budgetary system are key references, such as the racial equality chapters in the social policy bulletin called *Políticas Sociais: Acompanhamento e Análise*, available at https://bit.ly/3vsIyHB and Ipea, 2011, 2014.

usual lengthy trajectory of law-making through the Brazilian National Congress (Silva & Silva, 2011). Many measures were excluded from the passed version, but, still, it was seen as a feasible anti-racist legal document; an important step toward strengtheningBrazil's commitment to the implementation of human rights laws, pursuant to ICERD principles when it comes to approaching race relations.

Silva (2012) recalls that the general objective of a statute akin to the aforementioned one is proposing innovations to the national legal system, seeking to add a set of existing rules – detailing some and raising others to the category of law. Thus, the law establishing a statute is an ordinary law that assumes differentiated political and social status. In summary, the Statute of Racial Equality endorses existing universal norms for the black population's fair treatment, as well as social, cultural, and economic opportunities on an equal basis as to all racial groups. In this sense, it aims at distributing equitable resources to the black population by legalizing a wide array of affirmative actions. There was the proposal of creating a national fund for the promotion of racial equality, aimed at making anti-racism policies less vulnerable to economic ups and downs, but this and all sorts of one-sided funding measures, envisioning racial equality only, have been withdrawn from the sanctioned bill.

Even though a national fund has not yet been established, the Statute has been important in expanding anti-racism policies through its mechanisms. For example, Chapter 4 of the Statute was designed precisely to assist victims of racism, determining the creation of permanent ombudsman offices in defense of racial equality in legislative and judiciary branches. The Statute envisaged such services as responsible for forwarding complaints or grievances of prejudice and racial discrimination to competent justice bodies, as well as for monitoring the investigations they conducted. In doing so, the Statute introduced new mechanisms for black people's protection from hatred, injury, and other race-related crimes. Accompanying the anti-racist criminal legislation in force, the idea of ombudsman offices and other agencies reinforced the restraint of racism.

The Statute also determined the creation of the National System for the Promotion of Racial Equality (Sinapir) outside of Seppir's sole control. Incorporating the ombudsman offices, the implementation of Sinapir resulted in the advancement of transversal institutional engineering. Intergovernmental coordination has been Sinapir's mode of operation, of which Seppir's

- 56 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

decentralized model also forms part. Sinapir is a nationally integrated system, through which complaints of racism can be forwarded to competent justice bodies, among other anti-racism functions. By releasing financial resources and giving legal advice for states and municipalities interested in integrating Sinapir, Dilma's government played a significant role in inducing the largest possible number of anti-racism bodies, councils, and human rights reference centers into the system, though the effective adherence remained optional for cities and federative units.[5]

Being the Statute's guardian, Seppir was the first to create a specialized office integrating Sinapir: The National Ombudsman for Racial Equality, whose function reflects the Statute's assignments. It must be stressed that the ombudsman is a service without decision-making power when it comes to solving complaints of racism within the justice system. To intervene, it can do nothing but forward the cases to the competent bodies of justice, monitor their evolution in the judicial system, and make specialized and technical information available to whistleblowers. Figure 1 shows the variation in the number of complaints relating to racism received between 2015 and 2019:

Figure 1 – Complaints Received by the National Human Rights Ombudsman

---

[5] Part of Seppir's annual budget has been invested in encouraging the implementation of Chapter 4 of the Statute of Racial Equality. In 2018, the allocated budget was R$ 1 million.
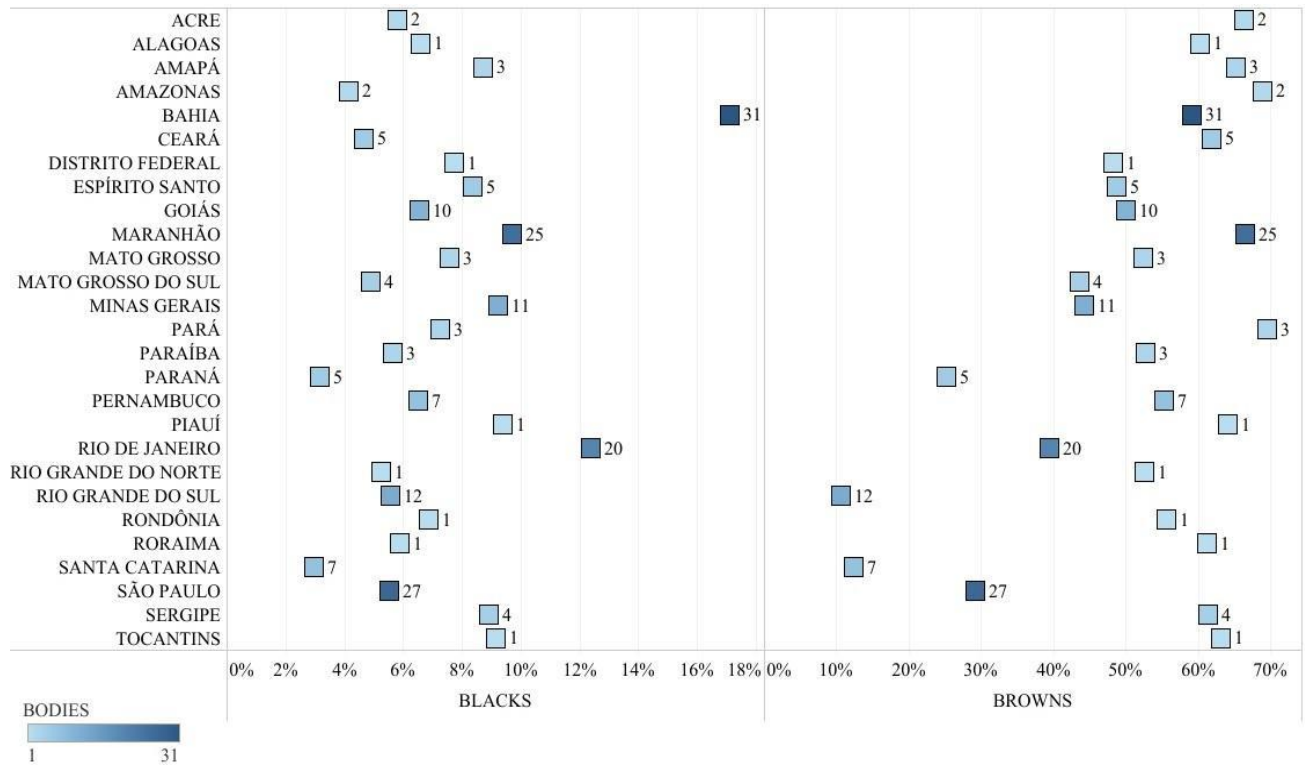
- 57 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).
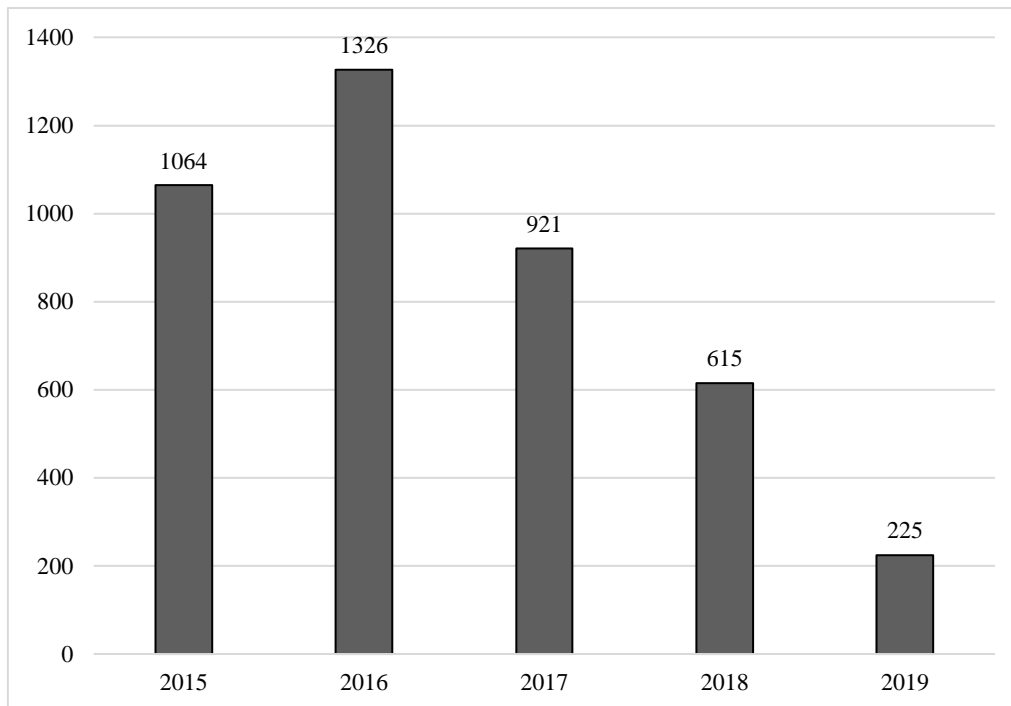
Source: Ministry of Human Rights' *Disque 100* Survey available at https://bit.ly/3gRnVkj.

Note: These figures cover the Ministry of Human Rights' central ombudsman only.

The national ombudsman office was established as a reference model for the implementation of new offices and agencies in other states and cities. There was a relatively small increase in this sense from 2010 to 2017. During this period, ombudsman and assisting services were offered by all states, though only in a select number of municipalities. In 2015, only 255 of Brazil's 5,565 municipalities (4.5%) offered at least one of Sinapir's services. Among them, 196 are bodies and 106 are councils. The number of bodies and councils increased faster than the intensity of their actions. One can say in conclusion that the Brazilian state approached Sinapir more quantitatively than qualitatively during the Dilma presidency. Figures 2 and 3 demonstrate how racial equality bodies were distributed across the country:

Figure 2 – Distribution of Racial Equality Bodies by Federative Units (2015)

Sources: IBGE 2010 Population Census and Seppir, 2015.
Note: Figure 1 is available at https://tabsoft.co/3nz1Qbv

- 59 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

Figure 3 – Distribution of Federative Units by Color/Race (2010)
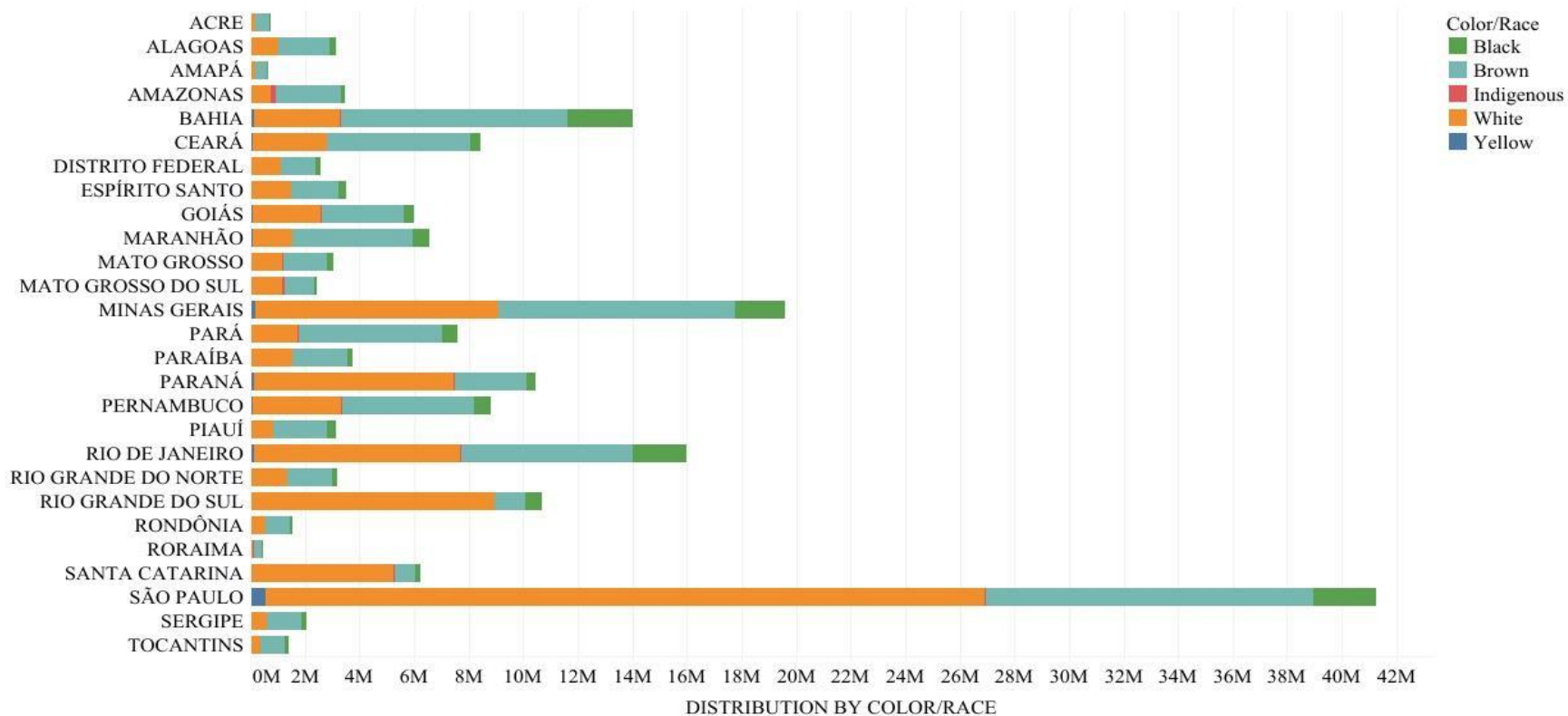
Source: IBGE 2010 Population Census.

Note 1: According to the 2019 PNAD Continuous, current national data by color/race are as follows: Blacks (9,4%), Browns (46,8%), Indigenous (1,1%), Whites (42,7%), Yellows (1,1%).

Note 2: If necessary, readers can see Figure 1 in the Tableau Public format available at https://tabsoft.co/3e3DfIT

60

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

As figures 2 and 3 show, there was a relationship between the number of non-whites in each state and the body's distribution. The larger the non-white population, the larger the number of bodies. The states of Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo followed such a pattern, accounting for 40% of the total distribution. In turn, the states of Maranhão, Minas Gerais, and Rio Grande do Sul were divided into their own distribution logic, with more or less bodies in relation to their non-white populations depending on each case. In general, the figures also show that miscegenation shapes the current reality of Brazilian society. But that does not mean the absence of racism, or a vicious cyrcle causing blacks to suffer prejudice, discrimination, and residential segregation, for racial inequalities deeply rooted in the country still exist. The 2016 evidence on such a problem can be summarized through figures available in the latest Brazil report to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (2020):

- *Income*: blacks make up 73% of the total population's poorest 10%.
- *Unemployment*: 12% of blacks and 8% of whites in the total unemployed population aged 16 or over.
- *Shanty towns*: 68% of blacks and 32% of whites out of 11.4 million residents.
- *Prisons*: 64% of blacks and 36% of whites in 726,000 prisoners.

These data give us a glimpse of the inequality between blacks and whites in Brazil, pointing to the fact that society still lacks state intervention. Although institutional expansion helped the state to improve its policy for assisting victims of racism, in the last years there was a lack of broader actions to raise awareness amongst Brazilian society about existing resources for the black people's protection against prejudice and discrimination. As a result, the legal system designed to improve the anti-racism agenda remained almost invisible.[6] Institutionally, the Sinapir implementation process had a positive impact on the establishment of partnerships with justice system institutions, such as the Public Prosecutor's Office, the Public Defender's Office, and the Brazilian Bar Association. However, Brazil's report makes it clear that legal assistance to victims of racism by police officers and the fight against institutional racism still require greater articulation of the efforts of state institutions, in addition to greater and more stable financial support from the Brazilian government (CERD, 2020).

---

[6] Regardless of this problem, victims of racism have the following services for their assistance: *Disque 100* (Human Rights Hotline), Prosecution Service, Public Defender's Office, Federal Police, state and municipal human rights offices or reference centers, and racial and intolerance crimes-specialized police units.

- 61 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

Fighting structural and systemic racism has been a challenge in the Brazilian legal system for years. According to this system, if racial prejudice or discrimination are deemed acts that threatened, restricted, or caused damage to a citizen's moral character, the perpetrator of these illegal acts may be sentenced to reparation through a civil lawsuit. Therefore, there are two distinct ways for the realization of racial justice: the civil sphere (Civil Code's Articles 12, 186, and 927) and the criminal sphere (Law No. 7,716 – crime of racism – and Law No. 9,459-derived Penal Code's Article 140 – racial slur).

Experts on racial justice in Brazil argue that the justice system usually interprets racism complaints pursuant to the penal difference created by the anti-racist legislation in force. Humiliations, offenses, insults, and other forms of racist acts against black people are mostly investigated as stated by the definition of racial slurs provided by the Penal Code, and hardly ever by the definition of racism provided by Law No. 7,716 as a crime that causes damage to the image of an entire race or ethnicity. Furthermore, trials have resulted in the dismissal of lawsuits regardless of the legal type used by courts. It is a practice reproduced on a regular basis in the contemporary period, undermining the justice system as an innocuous institution when it comes to punishing crimes of racism. Recent studies conducted on the punitive anti-racist legislation enforcement over the last two decades point out that only a small number of convictions have been sentenced (Machado *et al.*, 2015; Machado *et al.*, 2016).

Santos (2015) analyzed data concerning the São Paulo State Court of Appeals from 2003 to 2011, showing how this Court processed complaints of racial discrimination in police reports and legal representation of victims by their attorneys. According to the author, out of the total of 807 legal documents on cases of discriminatory offenses or treatment, only 119 (14.7%) resulted in investigations and legal proceedings. At the initial level, such cases were processed by Special Criminal Courts. Most investigations identified the cases as racial slurs (73%) and racism (15%). In the legal proceedings, 53% were classified as racial slurs and 7% as racism. Most investigations are dismissed and closed by magistrates, resulting in few convictions (4%) for racial slurs or racism. Finally, court decisions to close or dismiss a file were justified, among other factors, by the prescription of the deadline for filing the criminal complaint, lack of consistent evidence, reclassification of racism into racial slurs, followed by the prescription of the new deadline for filing the criminal complaint.

The courts of appeals in other states have not acted differently, given the high rate of dismissal of legal proceedings and the predominance of judges' interpretation of the cases reported as slander, not racial slurs, under the argument that the motivation for such acts

- 62 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

did not result from the notion of race or racism. For most Brazilian judges, slanderous acts against black people tend to be interpreted as personal quarrels, and this is a nationwide judicial interpretation (Machado *et al.*, 2015).

Despite the increasing number of police inquiries and trials of racial slurs and racism over recent decades, the assumption that victims are responsible for proving such crimes was determinant for the largest number of annulments of civil or criminal proceedings. In short, if the constraints of victims of racism in their access to justice no longer involve disinformation or the costs of proceedings, they now stem from dysfunctional requisites established by the justice system along with the judges' null interpretation (Machado *et al.*, 2016).

Still, the activities of Sinapir's bodies and councils has contributed to anti-racism in one way or another, making it easier for victims of racism to resort to the justice system and diminishing to some extent the constraints of punitive legislation, especially Law No. 7,716 and Penal Code's Article 140. While the constraints resulting from lack of knowledge about black people's civil rights have diminished due to the action of public bodies, they have faced limiting factors in endeavoring to go beyond their strictly imposed legal functions and to make a greater contribution to solving racial crimes in the justice system.

This is the reason why Sinapir was not able to act upon structural problems concerning racial crimes as it was set up to do by the Workers' Party: it was created as a legally conditioned policy with administrative functions. Put another way, despite Dilma's attempt to elevate Sinapir to a stronger political and legal position, pursuant of the Statute of Racial Equality, Sinapir's public bodies had not been able to modify the punitive underpinnings of anti-racist legislation in order to challenge the assumptions that made it harder to punish criminal conduct. They have remained fundamentally limited to administrative functions with regard to the assistance of victims of racism.

However, the expansion of anti-racism in the contemporary period of history went on with further changes in the Brazilian legal framework and the implementation of affirmative action toward health care, education, and the labor market. Evidence of such phenomena can be found in the enactment of affirmative laws between 2003 and 2016. It felt like a timely democratic moment for the Brazilian government to concretely move forward racial equality policies. The time had come for transformative race-oriented changes, which have been achieved fundamentally through the following laws:

- 63 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

▪ Laws No. 10,639/2003 and No. 11,645/2008 included the teaching of African, Afro-Brazilian, and indigenous histories and cultures in the national school curriculum. Important for both self-conscience and group identities, these laws have had far-reaching echoes not only in basic education, but also in universities, scientific research, editorial markets, television, and social media, among other cultural areas (Goes & Silva, 2013b).

▪ Ministry of Health's Ordinance No. 992/2009 instituted the National Policy for Comprehensive Health Care to the Black Population (Pnsipn). This policy aims at reducing black-white inequalities by combating racism within the Unified Health System. It is a transversal policy that brings together local, state, and federal public health care institutions (Lima, 2010; Milanezi, 2020).

▪ Law No. 12,519/2011 instituted the National Zumbi dos Palmares Black Consciousness Day on November 20, recognizing the importance of the anti-racism struggle and the affirmation of black identity through the celebration of *quilombola* leader Zumbi dos Palmares. More than a thousand cities and five capitals (Manaus, Cuiabá, Maceió, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro) celebrate the date as an official holiday, but only five states do the same: Alagoas, Amazonas, Amapá, Mato Grosso, and Rio de Janeiro (Bosisio, 2018).

▪ Law No. 12,711/2012 reserves 50% of federal universities and institutes' undergraduate vacancies for candidates educated at public schools and self-declared blacks, browns, or indigenous peoples. This law has established a compulsory reservation system popularly known in Brazil as *social and racial quotas*. It is a 10-year public policy, renewable for the same period upon congressional and presidential approval. In general, 63 federal universities implemented at least one of those forms of affirmative action by 2017 (Machado et al., 2017; Venturini, 2020).[7]

▪ Law No. 12,990/2014 reserves 20% of the Federal Executive Branch's public contests vacancies for self-declared black/brown candidates. It is popularly known

---

[7] This law was altered by Law No. 13,409/2016 so that people with disabilities were included in the policy scope. In 2016, Ministry of Education's Ordinance No. 13 encouraged federal universities and institutes to create racial quotas in graduate programs as well.

- 64 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

as the *law of quotas in public service*. This designation is due to the fact that the law seeks to heighten the chances of inclusion in the labor market, ensuring black/brown people's access to more valued positions in the federal public service. Since its implementation, blacks and browns' positions and higher income rates have started to increase, albeit at a slow and fragmented pace across institutions (Ipea, 2019).

There is no doubt the Brazilian state addressed the issue of racism during Lula and Dilma's years in office by developing more policies for racial equality. Outlining every transformation in its entirety is something that far exceeds the goal of this paper. Various general and specific, large-scale and short-scale public policies have been carried out with the black movement, Seppir, and other governmental institutions' support. Various kinds of anti-racist legislation with meaningful impact on people's lives sought to make changes in the relationships between blacks and whites in Brazilian society over the past two decades (CERD, 2020).

Almeida (2020) argues that institutions are a relevant dimension of social life. They are meant for absorbing persistent conflicts and normalizing individual behavior within society. From a political perspective, according to the author, institutional action would be a possible direction for anti-racism if and only if institutions could respond to the modernization process of society. More steps forward into the inclusion of victims of racism, those who are socially disadvantaged, are required for anti-racist institutions to make a change, at the risk of growing outdated or meaningless because their *raison d'être* has not been accomplished.

In light of this thought, my line of argument throughout this paper has highlighted the performance of Seppir through the Workers' Party approach to the issue of race. I claimed that the creation of Seppir resulted from the cooperation between the black movement and the Lula administration to reduce racial tensions. Seppir played a key role in institutional engineering intended to build a white/non-white system of affirmative action. In attempting to raise black consciousness, Seppir confronted racial discrimination in Brazil and stood up for the existence of a bi-racial nation. Little room for those who feel like hybrid sons of miscegenation, or the long interplay between different races and cultures, has been left aside over the past few years as a consequence of the anti-racist agenda.

But, in 2016, after Michel Temer came to power in the wake of Dilma's impeachment, the anti-racist agenda has become a "worrying enemy" chased with political motivation by

- 65 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

representatives of conservative thinking. Anti-racism soon turned out to be a menace for right-wing conservative politicians in the establishment. Today, the entire anti-racist agenda is threatened with prompt dismantling by the Bolsonaro government. An ideological shift toward far-right politics has prompted the destruction of a number of anti-racist policies in a short space of time. It has become clear that Brazil is going through a setback with a view to the reconstruction of society. First of all, the Bolsonaro administration expressed as clearly as possible its understanding of what society must be in racial terms from now on, that is, a homogenous, colorblind society with no identity politics, nor a minorities-framed anti-racist system (Silva, 2020b).

The ongoing destruction of the Workers' Party approach to the issue of race has triggered conflicts between the anti-racist achievements already socially assimilated and the current government's denial of racism. Political polarization arouses a lasting clash between different racial and political attitudes: the right-wing negates the racial inequality problem as much as the left-wing affirms the existence of a bi-racial nation. Once traditional ways of feeling and performing multi-colored *brasilidade* have retreated, right-wing groups in charge of both the Legislature and the Executive seek to halt the anti-racist agenda by dismantling PT policies. As far as I can see, almost no room has been left for an intermediate position on possible ways of approaching the issue of race with political realism. I shall discuss the consequences of polarization for the Brazilian democratic crisis.

Dismantling Anti-Racist Institutions After the Left-Wing Rule

Of the few available studies about the current situation of anti-racism since Bolsonaro's election, it is worth underlining the symbolic aspect of Daniel Angyalossy Alfonso's account:

> Bolsonaro's take that racial identity does not matter means that it does not matter to what degree that identity remains hidden, that it should be as concealed as possible, and not present an obstacle to the order and the values that he defends. It is this rhetoric standing against everything that black Brazilian history and tradition represent which allowed Bolsonaro to deliver his victory speech next to the black congressperson Hélio Negão, also of the Social Liberal Party (PSL), wearing a shirt with the slogan: "My color is Brazil" (Alfonso, 2019, p. 46).

On November 21, 2019, the day after the Zumbi dos Palmares Day, Hélio Lopes, popularly known as Hélio Negão, Federal Deputy from Rio de Janeiro and Bolsonaro's ally, published *Our Color is Brazil* in *Folha de S. Paulo* conveying his view on Brazilian race

- 66 -

relations. Lopes expressed the government's intention to halt some racial equality policies regarded as trouble-making and anti-national. In his view, social rather than racial quotas would be the only possibility for affirmative action at public universities. Lopes' words about the unsuitability of racial quotas in Brazil are an example of the government discourse against racial equality policies. Downplaying the importance of black identities, histories, and movements for wider society has been the first of several government attacks against the black population. In fact, Brazilian society is facing a democratic crisis related to the government denial of racism, among further causes.

Both Goes & Silva (2013a) and Lindgren-Alves (2015) show how important Brazil's leadership was to the rise of internationally based human rights actors who fight racism. The shaping of the anti-racist agenda at the international level is a historical construction in which declarations, covenants, conventions, and other law-making acts have been undertaken to provide the international system with universal human rights principles and non-discriminatory rules. Besides, over the past few years, Brazil acted as an important leader standing up for the International Decade for People of African Descent (2015-2024). The Decade is an UN-led action for the twenty-first-century renewal of human rights commitment with recognition, justice, and development goals in African-diasporic countries. It is a renewal moment supposed to reinforcing black people's citizenship rights within the African diaspora. Still, Brazil's recent remarkable role in shaping the racism-fighting international system has been far from preventing Bolsonaro's crusade toward the dismantling of human rights-based policies.

The Bolsonaro administration has taken the opposite direction of the UN guidelines. The assumed "absence of racism in Brazil" argument is cogent for the president's allies, be they black or white, inside or outside the government and the wider political system. Grappling with the racial issue in state institutions grows increasingly difficult or even impossible, for the current setback is undermining state capacities (Tavares, 2021). As a result, the Palmares Cultural Foundation's Afro-Brazilian culture-preserving mission has been distorted, and the institution is now almost shattered; Seppir has been weakened so that its action could be kept paralyzed, and the institution is stuck in this meaninglessness until today; and long-established racism-fighting ministries, such as the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of Human Rights, are being run by racially unreasonable authorities. Broadly speaking, Bolsonaro attempts to dismantle what has been built to widen the anti-racist agenda since the 1988 Constitution. Hollow institutions are at the forefront of nothing when it comes to achieving racial equality.

Rios (2021) argues that the unraveling of Brazilian democracy rests on two processes: the de-legitimization of the demands of disadvantaged groups and the consequent withdrawal of their rights, mainly through the de-institutionalization of public policies. With the landslide victory of conservative deputies in the 2018 elections, a new coalition between the Legislature, the Executive and civil power-conqueror military leaders made those processes possible. The coalition allows the government to quickly dismantle the anti-racist agenda by taking regressive measures. Among the race-related, one of the first was to downsize the racial equality-pertaining federal budget to a dead minimum. This measure has jeopardized racial equality policies, such as the Youth Homicide-Combating National Plan, Sinapir, Pnpsin, and Brazil *Quilombola* Program. All budget suppressions have negatively impacted the black population's living conditions, with the drastic reduction in demarcated *quilombola* lands being the most evident result so far. GTI was definitively extinguished, while Seppir and its policies were practically deactivated after the secretariat was relegated to a Ministry of Human Rights' powerless office, SNPIR. Ultimately, the government put an end to the state's transversality-based racial equality strategy, seeking to de-institutionalize all policies that depend on transversal action.

The Bolsonaro administration also removed black movement agents and other civil participants from Cnpir, which still lacks effective social participation. Although social participation-extinguishing Decree No. 9,759/2019 did not end Cnpir, it undermined state capacity to include citizens into anti-racist actions by extinguishing social participation means. The dismantling was carried out along with Decree No. 10,087/2019, through which Bolsonaro fulfilled his campaign promise to halt civil activism growing stronger in state institutions over the PT years. The case of anti-racism is significant. According to Lavalle & Bezerra (2021), one of the pillars of democracy in our time is based on policy management councils that aim at the collective supervision of the Executive. On the contrary, extinguishing participatory activity by revoking a broad array of infralegal regulations has been Bolsonaro's way of dealing with social participation. Today, there is no longer the National Plan for the Promotion of Racial Equality monitoring committee, the National Affirmative Action Program evaluation committee, and many other Executive branch-controlling participatory channels.

Legislative actors participate in the dismantling of the anti-racist agenda. In 2019, Draft Laws 1,531 and 5,303 proposed to withdraw part of Law No. 12,711 that includes racial quotas, with the objective of definitively annulling them. Both bills were presented by deputies linked to the president's coalition, but have not yet been voted on. However, shortly after João Alberto's murder in Porto Alegre, a group of left-wing deputies presented

a quite different proposal. In 2020, Draft Laws 5,232 and 5,303 proposed to modify Law No. 7,716, aiming to hold owners, administrators, and contractors accountable for the practice of crime of racism in their establishments. These bills are being processed in the Legislature. Both 2019 and 2020 bills are under the Human Rights and Minorities Commission review.

Just like in the Cold War battles, a new culture war between extreme poles is taking place in Brazil, mainly on the internet, wherein left-wing and right-wing supporters criticize one another with cultural and psychological strategies. Afro-Brazilian culture is an extremely sensitive issue nourishing cultural and historical clashes. As a symbolic space for questioning racial inequalities, it comprises black organizations which regard identity politics as a major strategy to accomplish anti-racist policies. Nevertheless, the Bolsonaro government has attacked the Zumbi dos Palmares Day and other symbolically empowering laws. The Palmares Foundation's director, Sergio Camargo, sought to undermine Zumbi's hero status through a series of articles. In short, the director affirmed that Zumbi would be a misleading, left-wing creation with no positive meaning for black people's real lives. From this perspective, the mistake would come from the assumption that Marxism, leftism, and communism make up the repertoire accountable for the myth of Zumbi in our times. The myth as we know it today would be a 1970s and 1980s black movement's re-reading of the nineteenth-century abolitionist movement's original mythological creation. One hundred years later, Marxist, leftist, and racialist intellectuals would have faked history and invented a powerful and illusory black character with a political interest: the co-optation of current social actors to the radical, lunatic left (Chrispino, 2020; Felix, 2020).[8]

Those online pieces were published on the Palmares Foundation's website on May 13, 2020, a day for remembering the 132 years since the abolition of slavery in Brazil. Although a judicial decision forced their removal from the website, those texts are now available on right-wing cultural websites. The history and memory of slavery came into dispute with an ongoing culture war. On the one hand, Sergio Camargo's allies drew attention to the historical role played by Luiz Gama in freeing hundreds of slaves, being the greatest black people-inspiring contemporary hero for his moral force (Silva, 2020a), as well as by Princess Isabel in ending slavery through the 1888 Golden Law and for her humane concerns over the black population's plight during the post-abolition era (Dias, 2020). On the other hand, certain activists and historians are critical of Camargo and his allies,

---

[8] I do not see much difference between current battles over the meaning of race and those of the Cold War era. From the 1950s to the 1980s, American liberal theses sought to contain left, soviet, and communist aspirations for the black population in the so-called developing countries. In a recently published book, together with Elizabeth Cancelli and Wanderson Chaves, I discuss the shaping of the liberal anti-racism agenda in Brazil throughout Cold War history. See Cancelli *et al*., 2020.

claiming that the Palmares Foundation is undergoing an ideological appropriation which distorts its Afro-Brazilian culture-preserving mission (Madeiro, 2020).

All of this is evidence of the political and ideological clashes taking place in Brazil today. Diplomats, historians, social scientists, and other intellectuals are skeptical of Bolsonaro's racial ideology, which shapes his real intentions toward Brazilian race relations. His government shows determination in picking out only the most conservative aspects of Brazilian elite thinking to halt transformative debates on racial justice. Instead of developing the anti-racism agenda according to human rights laws in force, the Bolsonaro government enshrines the myth of racial democracy. As a matter of fact, this is a way to neutralize dissent. Like the Getúlio Vargas' dictatorship and the military dictatorship, Bolsonaro and his allies have made cultural and ethnic mixing the state's official doctrine, as if miscegenation had prevented structural and systemic racism in the country.[9]

It has become clear that sweeping away the history and memory of black resistance to the system of slavery slave is a persistent government objective. Not by chance, Seppir and the Palmares Foundation were first dismantled and then distorted. Both institutions have been transformed into supporting pillars of Bolsonaro's government ideological action. More broadly, as far as key anti-racist institutions are concerned, it ought to be noticed that many of the racial equality policies they orchestrated are now paralyzed. The government assaults anti-racism legislation in a reiterated way. The aforementioned five major anti-racism laws are still in effect, but there are elements indicating that any social inclusion-designed law or policy is at serious risk of being repealed.

Lindgren-Alves (2021) claims that Brazil's overall human rights system is in great danger, as Bolsonaro's government has unleashed extreme-right forces seeking to undertake a full setback. The Brazilian democratic crisis raises concern over the escalation of violence against those who have become unprotected social minorities, a problem exacerbated due to the 2020 coronavirus pandemic. With regard to the rise of Bolsonaro, the author draws attention to the destructive force of reactionary politics rather than a commonly known conservative backlash. Prejudice, intolerance, hatred, and violence are undemocratic values gaining traction intensely under the right-wing, populist government, supported by the most fundamentalist evangelical segments of the population with political goals. Massive devotion to a dogmatic, anti-rationalist religiosity pushes the Neo-Pentecostal power into the political arena with strong influence over Bolsonaro's government. The astonishing reality is that not only are whites involved in this

---

[9] For an analysis of cultural and ethnic mixture-centered Brazilian identity, see Mesquita, 2018.

- 70 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

phenomenon, but also many blacks, who exercise their fundamentalist fervor in society for representing 59% of Brazil's evangelicals today:

> In today's evangelical and charismatic Brazil, the "others" are labeled "communists", immoral, heretics, and followers of demonic sects, who must be overcome, converted or exterminated like in the medieval Crusades. It is from monotheistic fundamentalisms that come the rejection of science, vaccine, and abortion under any circumstance, as well as the laughable insistence on the flat Earth. Fundamentalists were also those who provided a biblical basis for the old legal discrimination in the United States and South Africa against the descendants of Cam, Noah's cursed grandson, condemned to wander in Africa (Lindgren-Alves, 2021, p. 20).

The last Brazilian census registered 22 religious groups. Catholics are the majority, representing 64% of the population. There was a substantial increase of evangelicals and other protestants, the second largest group, representing 22% of the population. There was also an increase in the number of people who declared themselves non-religious, representing 8% of the population. Under these three groups stand the so-called religious minorities, with various forms of faith and minimal representation in Brazilian society. Such minorities, especially religions of African descent, have been the main target of religious intolerance by members of the major groups (IBGE, 2010).[10] Though religious intolerance does not account for the whole problem of contemporary racism, it does play a significant role in reinforcing conservative attitudes toward two-decade-long changes in Brazilian society. The emergence of thought-provoking racial debates along with the idea of a bi-racial nation, translated into the bipolar anti-racist system, are among them. Many of those who disagree with these and other changes want a powerful backlash and envision a future of restoration: a country with no more racial consciousness-widening policies, regarded as pointless in Brazilian society.

The backsliding project is clear in the president's Twitter statement on Zumbi dos Palmares Day (the day after João Alberto's murder on November 19):

> Brazil has a diverse culture, unique among nations. We are miscegenated people. Whites, blacks, browns, and Indians make up the body and spirit of a rich and wonderful people. In a single Brazilian family, we can contemplate a greater

---

[10] According to a recent *Datafolha* survey, current data on religious groups are as follows: Catholics (50%), Evangelicals (31%), Non-Religious (10%), Spiritists (3%), and Afro-Descendant Religions (2%). The same survey pointed out that blacks make up 59% of evangelicals in today's Brazil (Balloussier, 2020).

- 71 -

ᛒRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

diversity than in entire countries. The essence of the Brazilian people has won the world's sympathy. Yet there are those who want to destroy it by putting conflict, resentment, hatred, and class divisions in its place. Those are always masked with "fighting for equality" or "social justice" mottos, all in search of power (Bolsonaro, 2020).

As I said before, the right denies Brazilian racism by attempting to conceal its consequent problem of racial inequality under the actual miscegenation. If the Brazilian people are not racist, why should the government promote anti-racism? Bolsonaro's belief has spread to state institutions, halting the anti-racism agenda with the support of millions of Brazilians. They regard that agenda as a deceptive way of approaching race relations, since miscegenation would be under assault. For them, there will be no national unity if the bipolar system continues to grow.

Final Considerations: Brazil at the Crossroads

Ongoing polarization has already led to the division of the nation. Broadly speaking, when it comes to race relations, right-wing groups still negate racism, whereas left-wing groups champion bipolar anti-racism. On the one hand, right-wing rulers are marching toward the revival of Brazilian identity. On the other hand, left-wing activists are fighting for racial equality. We have two opposing concepts of nation at stake. With Brazil growing increasingly polarized, one has to admit that national reconciliation is unlikely to happen in the coming years. If so, I wonder how the past two decades relate to the current democratic crisis.

Approaching that issue is not easy. It requires looking at the literature on the subject. Some scholars have criticized what they see as the left's exaggerated focus on identity politics around the world, leading to the political fragmentation of left-wing parties (Lindgren-Alves, 2012; Lilla, 2017). For them, the current divide between liberals and the left on human rights issues stems from anti-universalist stances. With respect to race, they maintain, identity politics has been converted into rigid essentialism. More and more essentialized groups have been claiming the right to difference and other particular rights, instead of collectively fighting inequality. In short, the Western left's attachment to rampant differentialism and its consequent proliferation of identities almost to infinity are seen as a deviation from human rights fundamentals. While deviating from the historical-structural problem of black-white inequality, the left has given self-destructive weapons to the far-right rise to power in several countries at the same time, including Brazil.

- 72 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).

In looking at the democratic breakdown across several countries, Levitsky and Ziblatt (2018) defend the state reorientation toward universalist welfare policies. They assume such policies are likely to cause less backlash or even rage when democratizing society. In this sense, according to them, universalism would be a way of regaining the United States' unity after Trump's election. In Brazil, some scholars have advocated a similar view over the past two decades, arguing in common that enhancing differences rather than fighting inequalities is a right-wing alternative to human rights (Pierucci, 1999; Mesquita, 2020). Against multiculturalism-based divisions, the universality of human rights has gained importance once again. In this way, the most universalist argument would be that all humanity, full of blacks, browns, indigenous, whites, and of any other skin color, are equally responsible for fighting global racism, in sharp contrast to standing for lively, but divided, non-exchangeable identities.

As far as race relations are concerned, Brazil's stalemate lies in how society will deal with the progress made over the past two decades. Will Brazilians back an even worse regression of human rights? Will anti-racist legislation be further weakened? Will there be a return to the fundamentals of human rights? And what might we expect of miscegenation and the Brazilian identity in the future? These are four key questions arising on the horizon of Brazilian society.

Bibliography

Alfonso, D. A. (2019) 'Bolsonaro's Take on the Absence of Racism in Brazil'. *Race & Class*, 61(3), pp. 33-49.

Almeida, S. (2020) *Racismo estrutural*. São Paulo: Sueli Carneiro; Jandaíra.

Balloussier, A. V. (2020) 'Cara típica do evangélico brasileiro é feminina e negra, aponta Datafolha'. *Folha de S. Paulo*, 13 January. Available at: https://bit.ly/3x53DcB (Accessed: 20 November 2020).

Bosisio, I. (2018) 'Religião, cultura, nação: articulações possíveis a partir de três datas comemorativas'. *Horizontes Antropológicos*, 24(52), pp. 199-221.

Bolsonaro, J. M. (2020) *O Brasil tem uma cultura diversa, única entre as nações*. Brasília, 20 November. Twitter: @jairbolsonaro. Available at: https://bit.ly/3w1mJz2 (Accessed: 22 November 2020).

Cancelli, E.; Mesquita, G.; Chaves, W. (2020) *Guerra Fria e Brasil: para a agenda de integração do negro na sociedade de classes*. São Paulo: Alameda.

Chrispino, L. G. (2020) 'Zumbi e a consciência negra: existem de verdade?' *Duna Press – Jornal e Maganize*, 13 May. Available at: https://bit.ly/3tA3tba (Accessed: 15 July 2020).

Dias, L. F. (2020) 'Por que lembrar, em 13 de maio, a Princesa Isabel do Brasil?' *Fundação Cultural Palmares*, 22 May. Available at: https://bit.ly/3tHBHtz (Accessed: 15 July 2020).

Felix, M. (2020) 'A narrativa mítica de Zumbi dos Palmares'. *Ideário Cultural*, 1 October. Available at: https://bit.ly/3mZd9tf (Accessed: 2 November 2020).

Fernandes, F. (2008) *A integração do negro na sociedade de classes*. 5ª ed. São Paulo: Globo.

Freyre, G. (2006) *Casa-grande & senzala*. 51ª ed. rev. São Paulo: Global.

Fry, P. (2005) *A persistência da raça.* Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.

Goes, F. L. & Silva, T. D. (2013a) *O regime internacional de combate ao racismo e à discriminação racial*. Rio de Janeiro: Ipea (Texto para Discussão, n. 1882).

Goes, F. L. & Silva, T. D. (eds.) (2013b) *Igualdade racial no Brasil: reflexões no Ano Internacional dos Afrodescendentes*. Brasília: Ipea.

Gomes, M. V. P. & Alves, M. A. (2017) 'How to Create a Ministry: The Co-Optation Process as a Distension Mechanism in the Relationship Between Social Movements and the State'. *Brazilian Journal of Public Administration,* 51(3), pp. 388-406.

Guimarães, A. S. A. (2009) *Racismo e antirracismo no Brasil*. 3ª ed. São Paulo: Editora 34.

Hasenbalg, C. (2005) *Discriminação e desigualdades raciais no Brasil*. 2ª ed. Belo Horizonte: Editora da Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais.

Htun, M. (2004) 'From "Racial Democracy" to Affirmative Action: Changing State Policy on Race in Brazil'. *Latin American Research Review,* 39(1), pp. 60-89.

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (2010) *Censo demográfico 2010: características gerais da população, religião e deficiência*. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE.

Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada (2011) *Planejamento e financiamento das políticas de igualdade racial: possibilidades para o plano plurianual 2012-2015*. Brasília: Ipea.

Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada (2014) *Planejamento, orçamento e a promoção da igualdade racial: reflexões sobre os planos plurianuais 2004-2007 e 2008-2011*. Brasília: Ipea.

Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada (2019) 'Igualdade racial'. *Políticas sociais: acompanhamento e análise*, 26, pp. 283-315.

Jaccoud, L. & Beghin, N. (2002) *Desigualdades raciais no Brasil: um balanço da intervenção governamental*. Brasília: Ipea.

Jaccoud, L. (ed.) (2009) *A construção de uma política de igualdade racial: uma análise dos últimos 20 anos*. Brasília: Ipea.

Lavalle, A. G. & Bezerra, C. P. (2021). 'Por que 'desconstruir' a participação social?' *Nexo Políticas Públicas*, 10 Feb. Available at: https://bit.ly/3vNneNd (Accessed: 12 Feb. 2021).

Levitsky, S. & Ziblatt, D. (2018) *How Democracies Die*. New York: Crown.

Lilla, M. (2017) *The Once and Future Liberal: After Identity Politics*. New York: Harper.

Lima, M. (2010) 'Desigualdades raciais e políticas públicas: ações afirmativas no governo Lula'.

Novos Estudos CEBRAP, 87, pp. 77-95.

Lindgren-Alves, J. A. (2012) 'É preciso salvar os direitos humanos!' *Lua Nova*: 86, pp. 51-88.

Lindgren-Alves, J. A. (2015) *Os direitos humanos como tema global*. 2ª ed. São Paulo: Perspectiva.

Lindgren-Alves, J. A. (2021) 'A cobra e o sapo do racismo no Brasil'. *Revista NEIBA*, 10, pp. 1-22.

Lopes, H. (2019) 'Nossa cor é o Brasil'. *Folha de S. Paulo*, 21 November. Available at: https://bit.ly/3mZh6hE (Accessed: 1 December 2019).

Machado, M. R. A.; Ferreira, C.; Neris, N. (2015) 'Legislação antirracista punitiva no Brasil: uma aproximação à aplicação do direito pelos tribunais de justiça brasileiros'. *Revista de Estudos Empíricos em Direito*, 2 (1), pp. 60-92.

Machado, M. R. A.; Lima, M.; Neris, N. (2016) 'Racismo e insulto racial na sociedade brasileira: dinâmicas de reconhecimento e invisibilização a partir do direito'. *Novos Estudos CEBRAP*, 35(3), pp. 11-28.

Machado, M.; Bessa, A.; Feres Júnior, J. (2017) 'Evolução da Lei nº 12.711 nas universidades federais (2003-2017)'. *Levantamento das políticas de ação afirmativa* (GEMMA), IESP-UERJ, pp. 1-21.

Madeiro, C. (2020) 'Ataque a Zumbi revela 'sequestro' da Fundação Palmares, diz movimento negro'. *UOL*, 19 May. Available at: https://bit.ly/3aittjx (Accessed: 15 Jul. 2020).

Mesquita, G. (2018) *Gilberto Freyre e o Estado Novo*. São Paulo: Global.

Mesquita, G. (2020) 'Um diplomata em defesa do princípio universal dos direitos humanos: entrevista com José Augusto Lindgren Alves'. *Tempo Social*, 32(2), pp. 307-327.

Milanezi, J. (2020) 'A institucionalização da saúde da população negra no SUS'. *Nexo Políticas Públicas*, 15 October. Available at: https://bit.ly/3cm4jTb (Accessed: 20 October 2020).

Osório, R. G. (2003) *O sistema classificatório de "cor ou raça" do IBGE*. Brasília: Ipea (Texto para Discussão, n. 996).

Paschel, T. S. (2016) *Becoming Black Political Subjects: Movements and Ethno-Racial Rights in Colombia and Brazil*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Pierucci, A. F. (1999) *Ciladas da diferença*. São Paulo: Editora 34.

Rios, F. (2012) 'O protesto negro no Brasil contemporâneo (1978-2010)'. *Lua Nova*, 85, pp. 41-79.

Rios, F. (2018) 'Antirracismo, movimentos sociais e Estado (1985-2016)' in Lavalle, A. *et al*. *Movimentos sociais e institucionalização: políticas sociais, raça e gênero no Brasil pós-transição*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora da Universidade Estadual do Rio de Janeiro.

Rios, F. (2021) 'Cycles of Democracy and the Racial Issue in Brazil (1978-2019)' in Bianchi, B. *et al*. *Democracy and Brazil: Collapse and Regression*. London and New York: Routledge.

Santos, G. A. (2015) 'Nem crime, nem castigo: o racismo na percepção do Judiciário e das vítimas de atos de discriminação.' *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros*, 62, pp. 184-207.

Secretaria de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial (2015) *Levantamento de órgãos e conselhos de igualdade racial para o Sinapir*. Brasília: Seppir.

Silva, J. M. & Silva, T. D. (2011) 'Igualdade racial'. *Políticas sociais: acompanhamento e análise*, 19, pp. 287-319.

Silva, T. D. (2012) *O Estatuto da Igualdade Racial*. Rio de Janeiro: Ipea (Texto para Discussão, n. 1712).

Silva, E. M. N. (2020a) 'Luiz Gama (1830-1882): um herói nacional'. *Fundação Cultural Palmares*, 14 May. Available at: https://bit.ly/3x7A22b (Accessed: 15 July 2020).

Silva, F. A. (2020b) 'O racismo de Jair Bolsonaro: origens e consequências'. *Nexo*, 17 Nov. Available at: https://bit.ly/3eZkupb (Accessed: 18 Nov. 2020).

Tavares, M. H. (2021) 'O que o país terá de pagar'. *Folha de S. Paulo*, 28 April. Available at: https://bit.ly/3xS4OwJ (Accessed: 28 April 2021).

Theodoro, M. (ed.) (2008) *As políticas públicas e a desigualdade racial no Brasil: 120 anos após a abolição*. Brasília: Ipea.

UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (2020) *Eighteenth to Twentieth Periodic Reports Submitted by Brazil under Article 9 of the Convention*. CERD/C/BRA/18-20. Available at: https://bit.ly/3v5wyM7 (Accessed: 5 October 2020).

Venturini, A. C. (2020) 'As políticas de ação afirmativa em cursos de graduação'. *Nexo Políticas Públicas*, 27 July. Available at: https://bit.ly/3jbN9ap (Accessed: 20 October 2020).

- 76 -

BRASILIANA: *Journal for Brazilian Studies*. ISSN 2245-4373. Vol. 10 No. 1 (2021).