RACE & RACISMS

A CRITICAL APPROACH

TANYA MARIA GOLASH-BOZA
University of California, Merced

NEW YORK OXFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

2015

HOW DO OTHER COUNTRIES DIFFER FROM THE UNITED STATES IN RACIAL DYNAMICS?

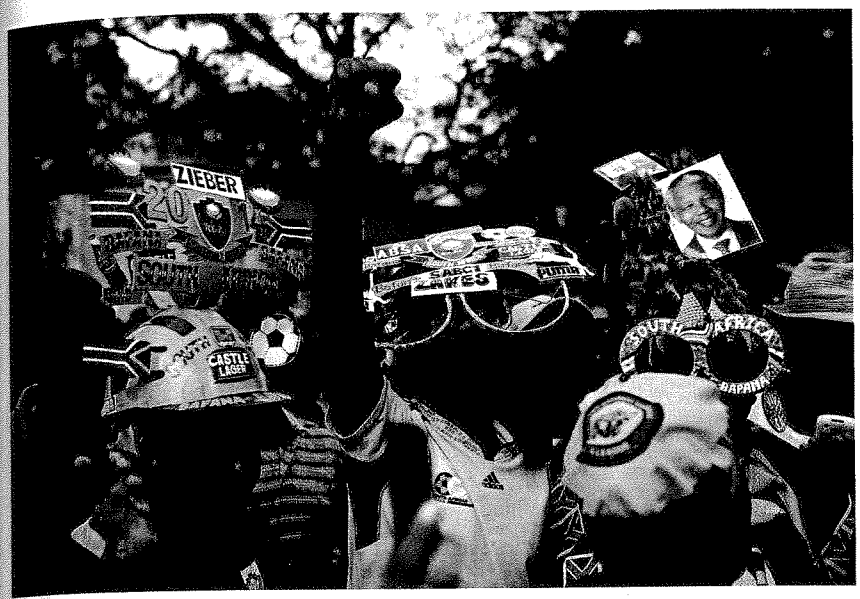
The United States has a unique racial past—one that includes the genocide of Native Americans, the enslavement of Africans, and the denial of citizenship to Asians. Additionally, the United States implemented a formal segregation system for several decades in the early twentieth century. The legal history of segregation in the United States differentiates it from many countries, with the notable exception of South Africa. The idea of race is important in the United States. However, this idea was not invented in the United States. Instead, as we learned in the first chapter, the idea of race emerged from the oppressive systems of colonialism, slavery, and European expansion. These systems had a global impact, and concepts of whiteness and blackness exist in each place touched by them. The countries examined here—France, South Africa, and Brazil—each had unique dynamics of colonialism and slavery, and these dynamics influenced the racial ideologies that evolved in them.

Today, France, South Africa, Brazil, and the United States have distinct racial make-ups. In the United States and France, people of African descent are a minority; in South Africa, they are a majority; and in Brazil, people of African and European descent are about equal in number. These distinct racial demographics have played a role in the evolution of racism and interracial relations in each country (Marx 1996).

Brazil and South Africa have, in some ways, histories that are polar opposites. Brazil's self-identity has historically been one that celebrates racial mixing and upholds the idea of a racial democracy. In contrast, South Africa formed its national identity on a legacy of **apartheid**—legally enforced racial segregation—and banned racial mixing. However, both countries have undergone significant changes in recent decades. South Africa ended apartheid in 1994 and now proclaims itself a "rainbow nation," a country that embraces its diversity. Brazil has recognized the persistence of racial inequality and has instituted racial quotas to increase the numbers of black and brown people who can attend university (da Silva 2012).

apartheid Legally enforced racial segregation that endured from 1948 to 1994 in South Africa.

France has historically maintained a color-blind stance, meaning that anyone, regardless of skin color or place of birth, can become French. The country distinguishes officially only between French nationals and foreigners. People are either French or not—ethnic categories such as Martinican French or Senagalese French are not legally recognized in France. Unlike the United States, France does not collect official data on the racial self-identifications of its residents.



Mourners sing outside the home of former South African president and anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela following his death in 2013. Even after the end of apartheid, tremendous inequality has persisted in South Africa.

France has no history of official segregation or of denying citizenship to people based on their race. In the colonies, African subjects who attained a certain social status were permitted to become French citizens. There were no laws that prevented Africans from becoming French because of their ancestry. France also transformed some of its colonies into overseas departments (similar to states) of the French Republic. In 1946, for example, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Réunion, and French Guiana became overseas departments. People born in these places hold French citizenship. Despite an official rhetoric of equality, however, French people of African and Arab descent continue to be socially and economically marginalized both on the mainland and in these overseas departments.

Apartheid has finally been dismantled in South Africa, yet tremendous inequality persists even without official barriers in place. In this respect, South Africa is similar to other countries that maintain racial inequality through entrenched practices instead of laws. Apartheid nevertheless shapes how South Africans understand racial inequality. Graziella Moraes Dias da Silva (2012) found that South African black professionals often attributed continuing racism in the post-apartheid era to competition for economic resources—which was one of the main reasons for the institution of the apartheid system. One black banker in South Africa told her that racism is "about resources." He, like many other black South Africans, argued that

racism is a strategy to ensure that whites continue to hold political and economic power. Moraes Dias da Silva contrasts this assessment with racial dynamics in Brazil, where the absence of a recent history of official racism has created a situation in which blacks are more likely to blame history or ignorance for racism and unlikely to attribute racial inequality to institutional racism. In this way, Brazil is similar to France, where institutional racism is not recognized, even though there is a lot of evidence that people of color are treated differently than whites (Body-Gendrot 2010).

In each of these countries, people of African descent are the most likely to occupy the lowest rungs of the socioeconomic ladder. What is interesting for our purposes here is that this same outcome has been achieved through very different mechanisms, although a colonial legacy is a common factor. These distinct mechanisms have, in turn, created a unique brand of racial discourse and racial inequality in each place.

The United States, Brazil, and South Africa were all colonized by European powers. In contrast, France was a significant colonial power in its own right. The vast majority of immigrants in France come from France's former colonies. In Brazil, laws and customs set in place during the colonial period continue to negatively affect people of African descent. In South Africa, colonialism can be seen as a precursor to apartheid, which continues to influence racial inequality today. In the United States, the idea of freedom invoked in the struggle for independence from England was limited to white men, and this creed continues to affect the nation today. As we will see, each country has a unique history, yet racial inequality and race-based subordination are constants.

RACE AND RACISM IN FRANCE

France established colonial ventures in the Caribbean, North Africa, Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa. During the mid-1700s, the French were involved in the capture and transport of nearly half a million slaves from Africa to the Antilles—Haiti, Martinique, and Guadeloupe. The French participated in the slave trade until slavery was abolished in French colonies in 1848. The end of the slave trade, however, did not mean the end of French interests in Africa.

French Colonies in Africa

In 1854, a Frenchman, Louis Léon César Faidherbe (1818–1889), was appointed governor of Senegal, marking the establishment of the French empire in sub-Saharan Africa. As the French army continued its march across Africa,

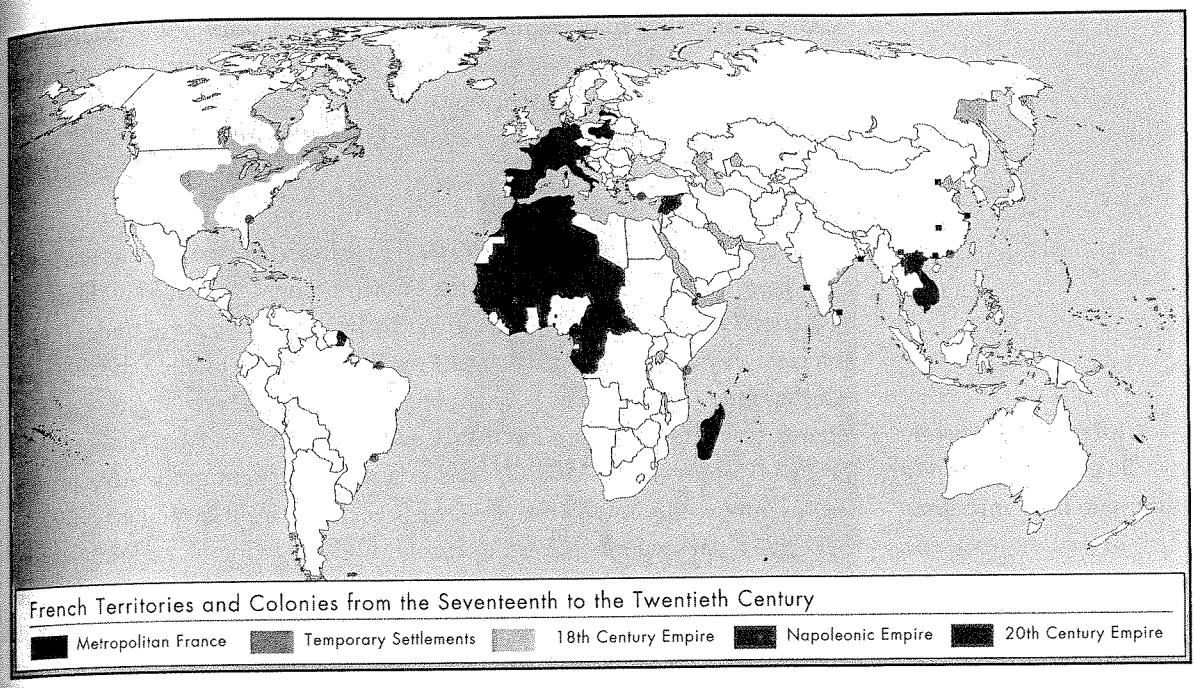


Figure 15-1.
FRENCH TERRITORIES AND COLONIES FROM THE SEVENTEENTH TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

it named governors of each territory it claimed, including Sudan, Guinea, and the Ivory Coast. Together, these countries formed the French West African Federation, which was founded in 1895 and headquartered in Dakar, Senegal. Later, Chad, Togo, Niger, Mali, Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi, and Cameroon were brought under French control (McNamara 1989) (Figure 15-1).

The French designated Africans as subjects rather than as citizens. One reason for this is that many French people viewed Africans as too primitive to be able to fully exercise their rights as citizens. In 1912, France passed a law that permitted educated, property-owning, and taxpaying African subjects to become French citizens. This law applied, however, to only a very small percentage of African subjects.

The French justified their forcible acquisition of African lands by asserting that these were civilizing missions, designed to uplift inferior races. Their stated goal was to liberate and civilize Africans. The French viewed Africans as backward and stuck in traditional ways, and they justified their takeover of African lands as part of their mission to modernize the continent. To this end, the French developed schools that taught Africans hygiene along with basic reading and writing skills. These schools also taught African children to speak French (Conklin 1998).

The French colonial empire in Africa endured until 1960 (McNamara 1989). The end of this empire was also the beginning of a large-scale migration of sub-Saharan and North Africans to France—primarily to work in the low-skill, low-wage sector of the labor market in large urban areas.

The French Antilles

French interests in the Caribbean were initially related to the cultivation of sugarcane for export. To this end, the French brought hundreds of thousands of African slaves to the Caribbean. With the end of the slave trade, French interests in the region shifted. The French developed public schools in the Antilles much earlier than in Africa, beginning in the 1880s. In these schools, French teachers taught children in Guadeloupe and Martinique how to be French. Many of these Antillean children were later sent to the African colonies as military and state officials of the French empire (Grosfoguel 1989).

People from the French Antilles are able to travel to mainland France freely, as they have citizenship there. However, Antilleans did not begin to emigrate in large numbers until the early 1960s, when many traveled to mainland France to work in the French public service. Today, there are nearly half a million first- and second-generation migrants from the Antilles in France—more than the entire population of Martinique (400,000) (Fleming 2012).

Although Antilleans were given access to public administration jobs in France, they have encountered a glass ceiling: even with proper qualifications, they rarely receive promotions to higher levels of government. Moreover, with the shrinking of the French government in the 1980s and 1990s, second-generation French Antilleans do not have access to the same public administration jobs as their parents did (Grosfuguel 1989).

African Immigration to France

Prior to 1974, people who lived in former French African colonies were able to travel freely to France, through what has been called the open-door policy. Most of these African migrants were men who traveled to France in search of temporary labor. However, after the end of the open-door policy in the 1970s, more migrants ended up settling permanently in France, fearing that they would not be able to return again (Sargent and Larchanché-Kim 2006).

In the 1970s and 1980s, France passed a series of restrictive immigration laws. The new laws had two primary unintended consequences: (1) they encouraged migrants to stay instead of engaging in temporary labor migration, and (2) clandestine migration networks emerged. The 1974 laws ended temporary labor migration yet allowed for family reunification. This meant that more



A demonstration for the regularization of undocumented migrants (*les sans-papiers*) in Paris, France.

families migrated permanently to France to join their husbands and fathers. As immigration laws tightened, many immigrants were transformed into undocumented or clandestine immigrants. In France, undocumented migrants call themselves ***les sans-papiers***: those without papers (Sargent and Larchanché-Kim 2006). About 10 percent of the 61 million people who live in France are foreign-born, and only a small percentage of these immigrants are undocumented. This situation is distinct from the one that exists in the United States, where, in 2013, nearly a quarter of immigrants were undocumented.

les sans-papiers Literally, "those without papers"; undocumented migrants in France.

Discrimination and Racial and Ethnic Inequality in France Today

The outskirts of French cities—called ***banlieues***—are, in many cases, underserved neighborhoods that are home to minority populations. Former French president Nicolas Sarkozy often made comments regarding the undesirability of immigrants, especially North Africans, who, he contended, do not wish to become French. For example, just before the uprisings of October and November 2005, Sarkozy referred to immigrant youth in the *banlieues* as *"racaille"* (*scum* or *rabble*, a word with racist connotations).

banlieues The outskirts or suburbs of French cities.

Many *banlieues* consist of public housing built in the 1970s to accommodate immigrant families. The *banlieues* continue to house primarily immigrants,

people from overseas departments, and their children. These immigrants come primarily from North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, and the French Antilles (Body-Gendrot 2010). Today, over half of France's immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa and Tunisia live in public housing, as do about 40 percent of the nation's immigrants from Morocco and Tunisia and 40 percent of mainland residents from the overseas departments (Pan Ké Shon 2009).

The term *banlieues* could be translated as *suburbs*. However, these neighborhoods have more in common with urban ghettoes in the United States than with suburbs, as their inhabitants are primarily poor or working class and mostly non-white. In some *banlieues*, the unemployment rate is as high as 40 percent—similar to the rate in some inner cities in the United States. Police harassment is endemic, and police officers routinely ask residents to show their papers. In late October 2005, these suburbs burst into rebellion across France in response to high unemployment, poor schools, and police harassment (Murray 2006). The unrest lasted for twenty-one nights. The 2005 rebellions are part of a long history of uprisings in the *banlieues*, often in response to police violence (Body-Gedrot 2010).

It is difficult to be sure how much racial or ethnic inequality there is in France, because by law, the state cannot collect systematic data on race or ethnicity (Body-Gendrot 2010). The reluctance to collect such data is due to an entrenched denial that race and ethnicity are important in France. However, over the past few years, there have been a few studies that provide empirical support for the claim that people of African and Arab descent are marginalized in France.

Various studies have shown that immigrants from North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa, as well as mainland residents from overseas departments, have fewer educational opportunities than people who belong to the majority population. The children of immigrants from North Africa are less than half as likely as their counterparts with French parents to have a high school diploma (Moguérou, Brinbaum, and Primon 2010).

Unemployment is also higher for minority than majority populations. In France, 81 percent of the male majority population is employed. The employment rates are similar for immigrants, but not for their children. The employment rates are much lower for second-generation male immigrants than for the majority population: only 53 percent of second-generation sub-Saharan Africans and 61 percent of second-generation Moroccans and Tunisians are employed (Lhommeau, Meurs, and Primon 2010). Overall unemployment for French university graduates is 5 percent, yet it is 26 percent for North African university graduates who live in France (Murray 2006).

voices

The Fall 2005 Uprisings in the French *Banlieues*

Abdel was born and raised in Clichy, a suburb of Paris. He explained to a reporter: "It is as if France were my father, and I am an illegitimate son that he refuses to recognize. And people are tired of that. Our parents pay taxes like everyone else, yet they are pushed aside, as if the country did not need them. But we need them; we needed them to rebuild France after the Second World War, and we need them more now."



Widespread riots in 2005 laid bare the despair and anger in France's poor suburbs, forcing the country to confront deeply entrenched problems of racism and poverty.

When asked if he felt French, Abdel responded: "No, I feel like a *banlieusard*. . . . I live in France, my culture is French, but when I have problems or when I need help, France does not extend a helping hand."

Similar to Abdel, other *banlieusards*—children of immigrants who live on the outskirts of cities in France—can see that they do not have access to the same resources as other French people. Once they finish school, they find that they have limited opportunities. Even when these youth achieve higher levels of education than their parents, they find themselves relegated to the same low-level jobs. This phenomenon has been exacerbated by the fact that many of the jobs their parents came to France for—in manufacturing and industry—no longer exist.

Despite France's claim that its goal is to integrate all immigrants, and a national creed of "*liberté, égalité, fraternité*," many second-generation immigrants find themselves marginalized. In 2005, these frustrations came to a head when youth of Arab and African descent across France engaged in twenty-one days of uprisings, triggered by the death of two young men who were electrocuted while

continued

voices

The Fall 2005 Uprisings in the French Banlieues *cont.*

hiding from the police. The uprisings spread across France to 250 towns and cities. Three weeks later, nearly 3,000 people had been arrested and 9,000 cars had been set on fire. The police responded with a show of force, using tear gas, stun grenades, and rubber bullets.

The vast majority of those who rioted were young second-generation immigrants in the *banlieues*, pushed to a breaking point by constant police harassment, poverty, unemployment, and a general lack of hope for future success. The riots had an ethnic dimension, but class was also very salient: they were exclusive to the *banlieues*. People of African and North African descent who lived in middle-class neighborhoods did not join in. Even students who may have come from these *banlieues* did not voice their support for the rioters.

Source: Euronews 2013.

Minority populations are also more likely to report having poor health. Immigrant men are 30 percent more likely than native-born French men to report bad health. Immigrant women are 80 percent more likely. These health disparities are in large part the result of the lower socioeconomic status of immigrants (Pan Ké Shon and Robello 2010).

There are very few data on racial profiling by police in France. However, in one study, researchers recorded the racial or ethnic status of each person stopped by police in train stations, as well as that of each person who walked by. They found that people who appeared to be of Arab origin were stopped 7.8 times more than those who appeared to be white, and that those perceived to be black were 6 times as likely to be stopped. Black and Arab youth who wore particular clothing styles were the most likely to be stopped. When the researchers presented the French police with these findings, the police denied that racial profiling was going on and responded that they are supposed to stop people who look as though they may be involved in youth gangs (Body-Gendrot 2010).

Over the past ten years, the question of discrimination has begun to be discussed in the public arena in France. A 2008 European Union survey found that 76 percent of people in France believe that ethnic discrimination is prevalent there (Eurobarometer 2008). Another study found that 53 percent of French men and 60 percent of French women believe that people in the country frequently experience discrimination on the basis of their skin color or

immigrant origin. At the same time, 78 percent of people who were born in an overseas department said that they had experienced discrimination on the basis of their skin color, as did over 80 percent of immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa. Eighty-five percent of Algerians reported having faced discrimination on the basis of their national origin, as did 87 percent of Moroccans and Tunisians (Brinbaum et al. 2010).

RACE AND RACISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa is well known for its history of legally sanctioned segregation and continued white racial dominance. In South Africa, people of African descent are a majority of the population. Nevertheless, Europeans were able to subjugate the native black population and subject it to repressive racial domination for centuries.

Colonialism in South Africa: The British and the Dutch

Europeans first arrived in South Africa in the seventeenth century. This first group was primarily Dutch and settled in what became the Cape Colony. Their descendants began to call themselves ***Afrikaners*** (*Africans* in Dutch) and slowly developed their own language, culture, and identity distinct from those of their ancestors in Holland. Eventually, however, Britain set its sights on the Cape Colony as a viable trading point at the southern tip of Africa. In 1806, the British took control of the Cape Colony from the Afrikaners, transforming it into a British colony. The Afrikaners were resistant to British rule and opposed to what they viewed as the more liberal racial policies of the British. Thousands of Afrikaners trekked out of the Cape to the north of South Africa, where they established their own republics in the 1850s. However, the discovery of diamonds in those republics in 1877 and of gold in 1886 meant that the British were no longer content to allow the Afrikaners to control the north. The British desire to control the lands of the Afrikaners, who had become known as the Boers, led to the Boer War.

Afrikaners Descendants of the Dutch colonists who settled in South Africa.

Also called the Second War of Freedom, the **Boer War** (1899–1902) was waged by the British to bring all of South Africa under British colonial power so that Britain would have access to South Africa's mineral wealth. The Afrikaners fought for their independence and to control their land. However, they eventually lost, and the two British colonies (Cape and Natal) merged with the two Boer republics (Transvaal and Orange Free State) to create a unified South Africa in 1910. South Africa remained a British colony until 1961.

Boer War Also called the Second War of Freedom, a conflict from 1899 to 1902 in which the British fought the Dutch to bring all of South Africa under British colonial power.

The Apartheid Era (1948–1994)

After the costly British victory in the Boer War, the British had good reason to desire reconciliation with the Afrikaners. The Afrikaners asked the British to create policies excluding the native Africans from positions of power in order to ensure their own upward mobility. In 1936, the South African government removed native Africans from the voting rolls. In 1948, the government imposed apartheid, which was devastating to native Africans but brought socioeconomic success to Afrikaners. The proportion of Afrikaners working in white-collar jobs more than doubled between 1946 and 1977, from 29 to 65 percent (Marx 1996).

Apartheid was a system of formal, legal racial segregation that endured from 1948 to 1994 in South Africa. Under this system, interracial sex and marriage were prohibited, and residential segregation by race was mandated. With the 1950 Group Areas Act, almost one million people were forcibly removed from where they lived because the government declared those areas to be exclusive to whites. Segregation was enforced in all areas of life: housing, hospitals, transportation, education, and public facilities such as beaches and parks. Under apartheid, white children were afforded the best educational opportunities and soon were able to secure the best employment options, both because of their education and because of enforced segregation. Blacks were largely blocked from educational opportunities that led to economic success (Seekings 2008).

With the advent of apartheid, every South African citizen was obliged to register as a member of an officially designated race. However, it was not always clear-cut whether South Africans were white, "**coloured**," or natives. Prior to 1948, racial status had a contextual quality: people with some African descent were sometimes classified as white if they had lived among whites most of their lives, and people with no European descent could be designated as coloured if they were educated and of a certain class status. In 1950, the Nationalist government passed the **Population Registration Act**, which mandated that every citizen be issued an identity document specifying his or her race as white, native, or coloured (Posel 2001).

coloured According to South Africa's 1950 Population Registration Act, a person who is not white or native.

Population Registration Act 1950 act that defined three racial groups in South Africa—white, native, and coloured—and mandated that every citizen be issued identification specifying his or her race.

The Population Registration Act defined three racial groups in South Africa:

> *A white person is one who in appearance is, or who is generally accepted as, a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a coloured person.*
>
> *A native is a person who is in fact or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa.*
>
> *A coloured person is one who is not a white person or a native. (Posel 2001, 102)*

The category "Indian" was later added in reference to people of South Asian ancestry, and "native" was replaced by the labels "Bantu" and "Black." The South African definitions of race were social definitions; they did not depend exclusively on ancestral or physical characteristics. Instead, white people were those who were socially accepted as white, blacks were those accepted as native Africans, and all the rest were coloureds. With apartheid, many people who had been socially accepted as white were designated as coloured by the South African government and forced to move from the whites-only neighborhoods in which they were living. Apartheid was designed in part to ensure white racial purity. However, most South Africans knew that it was very difficult for any white South African to be sure that his or her ancestry did not include any non-whites (Posel 2001).

Under apartheid, South Africa was divided into four provinces and ten rural homelands. Whites lived in the provinces, along with Asians, coloureds, and some blacks. The vast majority of blacks were relegated to the economically marginalized homelands, which constituted only 13 percent of the land area of South Africa and offered very few economic opportunities for their residents. The average unemployment rate in the homelands continues to be about 75 percent (Özler 2007). For this reason, many black families rely on remittances from other family members who work outside the homelands and send money home.



Sign designating outdoor space for whites only, South Africa, 1976.

From the 1950s to the 1980s, many black South Africans who had formerly lived in the provinces were forcibly relocated to the homelands. The provinces contained the best economic opportunities, and they have mortality profiles and rates of infectious diseases similar to those of middle-income countries such as Brazil or Mexico. By contrast, the homelands look more like the much poorer neighboring countries in southern Africa such as Zimbabwe (Burgard 2002).

During the 1970s and 1980s, South Africa began to see mass mobilizations in opposition to apartheid. These mobilizations, combined with international pressure, led the government to announce in 1990 its intention to end apartheid (Marx 1996), which it did in 1994.

The fight to end apartheid in South Africa was long and bloody and was waged on both domestic and international fronts. During the 1960s and 1970s, South Africans, inspired by Ghandi, engaged in peaceful protests and civil disobedience. One of the most well-known protests is the Soweto uprising. On June 16, 1976, South African students in Soweto took to the streets in a peaceful protest against apartheid and educational inequality. Their protest was met with extreme police violence: police shot and killed hundreds of schoolchildren. The violent response to this youth-led protest galvanized youth activists across the county. Activists from the Black Consciousness (BC) Movement, led by Steve Biko, and the African National Congress (ANC), founded by Nelson Mandela, began to intensify their anti-apartheid efforts. In 1977, Steve Biko was arrested because of his political activity. He was beaten and tortured during his detainment, and died as a result. As state repression ramped up, so did the opposition. During the 1980s, mass mobilization against apartheid intensified both in South Africa and around the world. For example, in 1988, 155 universities and colleges in the United States had fully or partially divested themselves from South Africa, putting serious financial pressure on the country. These decades of struggle finally bore fruit when apartheid was officially ended in 1994 (South African Democracy Education Trust 2004; Knight 1990).

The Persistence of Inequality in the Post-Apartheid Era

Although apartheid was dismantled, racial inequality persists. Racial segregation is no longer legally enforced, but it continues in schools and residential areas. About 15 percent of African students and a larger percentage of coloured and Indian students have enrolled in previously white schools. Meanwhile, white students have not enrolled in formerly black schools, which remain exclusively black and primarily underprivileged (Moodley and Adam 2000).

A discussion of inequality in South Africa would be incomplete without mentioning the AIDS epidemic. About 17 percent of adults aged fifteen to

forty-nine in South Africa are HIV positive—one of the highest rates in the world. The AIDS epidemic is both raced and gendered: the majority of people with HIV are African women (Morrell, Jewkes, and Lindegger 2012).

One of the most notable changes since the end of apartheid has been the rise of an African middle class. Today, in South Africa, nearly all poor people are of African descent, as are most of the working class, and the middle and upper classes include white as well as African-descended people. The rise of blacks into the middle class was accomplished through the provision of better educational opportunities as well as affirmative action policies. For example, the 1998 Employment Equity Act required mid-sized and large private employers to set and enforce diversity targets (Seekings 2008). Still, in 2010, 28 percent of blacks in South Africa were unemployed, compared with 5 percent of whites (Morrell, Jewkes, and Lindegger 2012).

South Africa's 2012 census revealed that racial inequality continues to be a problem there. Over three-quarters of South Africans are black, and they earn, on average, about one-sixth of what whites earn (see Figure 15-2).

The end of apartheid has meant the end of absolute white racial dominance in South Africa. However, the country continues to be tremendously unequal, and a disproportionate number of blacks remain at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder. The end of apartheid in South Africa has actually led to more overall inequality. The country's Gini coefficient—a measure of inequality on

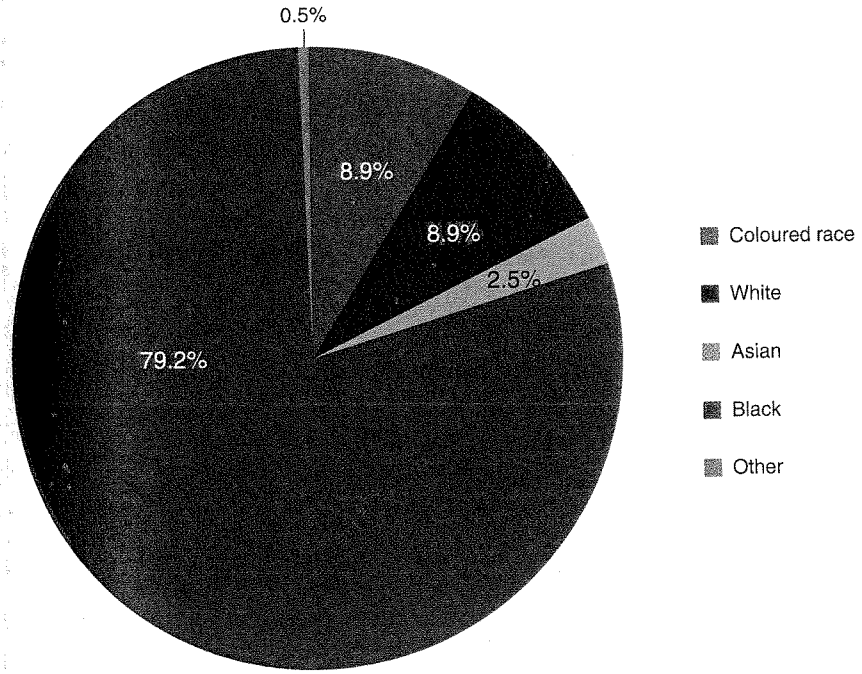


Figure 15-2.
SOUTH AFRICANS, BY RACE, 2011

Source: South African Census (2011).

research focus

The Politics of White Youth Identity in South Africa

With the dismantling of apartheid, many exclusively white schools in South Africa opened their doors to black and coloured children. Sociologist Nadine Dolby was curious about how white students experienced and talked about this transition. To find out, she conducted research at Fernwood High School in Durban, South Africa, in 1996.

Under apartheid, Fernwood was a white government school. In 1991, it opened its doors to black and coloured pupils. By 1996, over 60 percent of the students were black, 7 percent were coloured, and about 3 percent were Asian. Whites constituted only 30 percent of the student body at that point, and many of the white students as well as the white teachers were not happy about the rapid transition. Most of the white students would have left the school if they could have, but they had not done well enough academically to get into the more prestigious and whiter public schools in Durban.

Dolby found that white students at Fernwood, similar to those in the United States, use the discursive move "I don't want to sound racist, but..." when talking about blacks in South Africa. In interviews, white students often told her that blacks were violent toward whites. These students supported their opinions with stories of violence they had seen in the media or heard about through their friends. Dolby argues that when whites tell these stories, they position themselves and other whites as morally superior and not prone to such acts of violence.

Dolby contends that white students are scared of black violence as well as black economic prosperity. White students come from families that have been able to do well financially because of the privileges that are associated with whiteness in South Africa. However, ending apartheid has meant that whites no longer have a monopoly on the labor market. Thus, even though whites continue to experience privilege in South Africa, they do not have the enormous economic advantage their parents had.

One white student told Dolby, "It is hard to get used to seeing so many black people now having big cars, now having good clothing." Another white student claimed that many black people are homeless but have expensive cars. Others commented on the flashy fashion styles of black students. As white students struggled to understand their own loss of economic security, they claimed that blacks do not know how to spend money wisely. These claims give them moral authority and a sense of righteousness.

Dolby explains that the whiteness with which white South Africans at Fernwood identify is not so much a South African whiteness, but a global whiteness. These students listen to music produced in other countries and dream of one day emigrating to a country where, they perceive, whites still have the upper hand.

For Discussion

1. Do you think there are parallels between white South Africans and whites in the United States?
2. Do you think that whites in South Africa experienced fear after the abolition of apartheid?
3. How do you think the end of apartheid affected black students in South Africa?

Source: Dolby 2001.

a scale of 0 to 1 (see Chapter Nine)—increased from 0.5 in 1995 to 0.73 in 2005 (Morrell, Jewkes, and Lindegger 2012). To achieve a more just society, South Africa would have to address both race and income inequality.

RACE AND RACISM IN BRAZIL

Both Brazil and the United States were once inhabited by an indigenous population and later colonized by Europeans, who brought African slaves with them. In addition, both countries experienced large waves of immigration from Europe and Asia after the emancipation of African slaves. Yet Brazil differs dramatically from the United States, as well as from South Africa, in that it never instituted formalized legal segregation. Similar to France, Brazil has invoked a particular brand of nationalism—"We are all Brazilians"—to deny the possibility of racial inequality in the country.

Portuguese Colonization and the Slave Trade in Brazil

The history of race and racism in Brazil begins with the landing of the Portuguese in 1500. Soon afterward, Portuguese colonists began to capture members of the indigenous population and force them to work on sugarcane plantations. The brutal treatment of indigenous Brazilians, combined with diseases brought over by the Portuguese, quickly decimated the native population. The Portuguese therefore turned to African slaves as an alternative labor force. By the time the slave trade ended in 1850, over 3 million Africans had

been forcibly brought to Brazil as slaves. Brazil was the last country in the Western hemisphere to abolish slavery, ending it in 1888 (Telles 2004).

Very few Portuguese women lived in Brazil during the time of slavery, and the Portuguese men there frequently engaged in consensual and nonconsensual sexual relations with African, indigenous, and mixed-race women. As a result, large numbers of mixed-race children were born in Brazil. When slavery ended in 1888, Brazil's population was overwhelmingly non-white (Skidmore 1993).

Whitening Through Immigration and Intermarriage

Believing that whites were superior to other racial groups, the leaders of Brazil came up with a plan to promote European immigration in the aftermath of slavery. The Brazilian government paid European immigrants' passage to Brazil, with the goal of whitening the country. In the four decades after emancipation in 1888, more than 2 million European immigrants arrived in the city of São Paulo alone, nearly a million of whom had had their passage paid for by the national government (Andrews 1991, 54).

North American and European intellectuals lamented Brazil's large non-white population and predicted a dim future for the country. In response, Brazilian intellectuals developed their own idea of racial progress. This new ideology put forth racial mixture as Brazil's hope for the future. Brazilian elites believed that white genes were stronger than black or indigenous genes, and that intermarriage between whites and other groups would lead to a gradual whitening of the country. Through intermarriage, Brazil would be able to progress from black to mulatto to white (Skidmore 1990).

mestiçagem The Portuguese word for racial mixing.

mestizo A Brazilian racial category describing a mixture of black, white, and Indian.

whitening theory An idea put forward by Brazilian scholars in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that intermarriage between whites and other groups would lead to a gradual whitening of the country.

Brazilian intellectuals accepted European ideas of white superiority but rejected the notion that racial mixture was problematic. They argued that Brazil was becoming a white nation through a process of racial mixing, called ***mestiçagem***. Sílvio Romero (1851–1915), one of Brazil's foremost literary critics of the late nineteenth century, proclaimed the ***mestizo***—an individual with a mixed black, white, and Indian background—to be the prototypical Brazilian and the person best suited to Brazil's tropical climate. Like other Brazilians, Romero predicted that racial mixture would lead to whiteness.

Many Brazilian thinkers embraced this **whitening theory** (Eakin 1985; Skidmore 1990). At the same time, scholars such as the lawyer and historian Oliveira Vianna (1883–1951) were able to demonstrate that the white population was increasing. Comparing the 1872 and 1890 censuses, Vianna argued that whites had increased from 38 to 44 percent of the Brazilian population, while blacks had fallen from 20 percent to less than 15 percent (Skidmore 1990). Vianna contended that the whitening project was working and that Brazil would eventually be a whitened nation.

This self-appraisal as a whitening nation was accompanied by the rise of some individuals of African descent into the elite, including the writer Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis (1839–1908) and the scientist Juliano Moreira (1873–1932.) Some prominent Brazilians saw racial mixture as acceptable insofar as it was a temporary waypoint on the road to racial whitening. Others, such as Octavio Domingues, argued that the success of some mulattos was proof that constructive miscegenation (racial interbreeding) was viable and that mulattos were not inferior to whites (Stepan 1991). Whereas in the United States, miscegenation was prohibited, in Brazil, it was encouraged. Elite Brazilians supported interracial marriages, and darker Brazilians sought out lighter partners with the intention of having lighter children (Twine 1998).

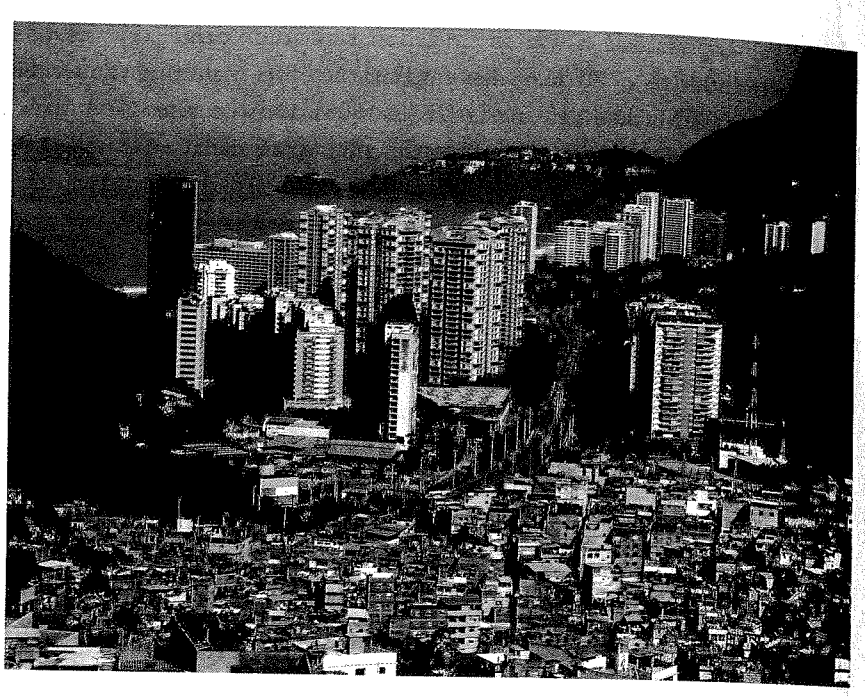
The celebration of *mestiçagem* became the hallmark of Brazilian-ness and reached its apex in the work of Gilberto Freyre (1900–1987), a Brazilian social historian. Freyre published his book *Casa Grande e Senzala* in 1933. This book described Brazil as a thoroughly racially mixed country. However, instead of arguing that Brazil's mixture began with slavemasters forcing themselves on African slaves, Freyre argued that the mixture was a result of the natural attraction between blacks and whites. He took this mixture as evidence of racial democracy in Brazil, a country he saw as free of the racist legacies that one could find in the United States. Freyre argued further that the racial mixture between Brazilians meant that there were no racial groups in Brazil and thus no racial discrimination. Freyre and other writers compared Brazil favorably with the United States and Nazi Germany and argued that Brazil's **racial democracy** should be a model for the world (Twine 1998). A racial democracy is a society in which color and ethnic differences do not affect life chances.

racial democracy A society in which color and ethnic differences do not affect life chances.

The Racial Democracy Myth in Brazil and Affirmative Action

The myth of Brazil's racial democracy attracted international attention. In the 1950s, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) sponsored several research projects designed to reveal Brazil's secret to its racial harmony. To their surprise, this funding led to a series of published works that debunked the supposed racial democracy of Brazil and showed that racial inequality in Brazil was pervasive. These studies revealed disparities in education, income, and health among black, brown, and white Brazilians.

Racial inequality in Brazil continues to be pervasive. In 1999, blacks accounted for 45 percent of the total population yet 64 percent of the nation's poor. In 2003, only 2 percent of the deputies in the national congress identified as black, and none of Brazil's ambassadors were black. However, up until the



A *favela* (slum) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, with luxury buildings beyond.

early 2000s, the Brazilian government's official stance was that racial inequality was not an issue.

In the early 2000s, state policy on race in Brazil changed dramatically. The government shifted from denying the existence of racial inequality to admitting that racism was a problem and instituting affirmative action policies as a form of redress. At the national and state levels, policymakers introduced racial quotas; notably, three states approved laws that reserved 40 percent of university admission slots for Afro-Brazilians (Htun 2004). By 2013, a majority of Brazil's federal and state universities, which are attended by over three-quarters of Brazilian students in public higher education, used a quota system to determine acceptance. The quotas are based on race and class and mandate that a certain percentage of the university entrants must be black, brown, or indigenous, or have attended public secondary schools. In contrast to public education, however, there are very few affirmative action policies in the employment arena in Brazil (Telles and Paixão 2013).

Scholars such as Stanley Bailey (2009), Robin Sheriff (2001), and Donna Goldstein (2003) contend that the ideal of racial democracy in Brazil, although not an accurate depiction of reality, is a crucial part of Brazilian society. They argue that racial democracy is a utopian ideal to which Brazilians aspire.

Thus, the racial democracy myth is an important part of Brazilian society and culture, even though it is a myth and many Brazilians recognize it as such.

Stanley Bailey (2009) argues that most Brazilians recognize the existence of societal racism. Yet because they uphold racial democracy as an ideal, black, white, and brown Brazilians are all supportive of anti-racist organizing and race-specific policies such as affirmative action. In the United States, most blacks recognize the prevalence of racism, whereas most whites deny it. In contrast, in Brazil, whites, browns, and blacks all recognize the pervasiveness of racism in fairly similar proportions. In Rio de Janeiro, for example, only 7 percent of whites and 3 percent of blacks reported that there was no racial prejudice in Brazil (Bailey 2009). A study in São Paulo revealed that 67 percent of whites and 67 percent of blacks agreed that there was discrimination against non-whites in Brazil (Bailey 2009).

Bailey (2009) found that Brazilians of all colors support race-targeted policies similar to affirmative action. However, he also found that there are differences in the level of support for such policies: 46 percent of white Brazilians support university quotas, compared with 63 percent of non-whites. This difference is much less than in the United States, where 30 percent of whites versus 80 percent of blacks support university quotas that favor the admission of black applicants.

Racial Categories in Brazil Today

Brazil has often been presented as a contrast to the United States in terms of racial labeling. The traditional thinking has been that Brazil has many racial categories, whereas the United States has only a few; that racial identity in Brazil, but not the United States, alters as one moves up socially; and that race relations in Brazil are more harmonious than in the United States. Furthermore, the thinking has been that brown Brazilians receive privileges that black Brazilians do not, whereas in the United States brown and black people are lumped together. Over the past twenty years, however, each of these assumptions has been either completely disproven or shown to have much more nuance.

One popular comparison of Brazil to the United States is the argument that in the United States, anyone with one drop of black blood is black, whereas in Brazil, people are considered black only if they have no evidence of white ancestry. Whereas in the United States race refers to ancestry, in Brazil race refers mostly to skin color and physical appearance. One way to characterize this difference is as genotype versus phenotype. **Genotype** refers to genetic make-up, whereas **phenotype** refers to physical appearance. Of course, these are related, as your ancestry plays an important role in determining your physical

genotype Genetic make-up.

phenotype Physical appearance.

research focus

Racial Ideology and Black-White Interracial Marriages in Rio de Janeiro

Scholars of race in Brazil have long argued that darker-skinned individuals in that country aspire to marry people with lighter skin with the goal of increasing their social status and having children lighter than themselves. Sociologist Chinyere Osuji was intrigued by this practice, often called "whitening," and interviewed Brazilians in interracial relationships to find out how they think about whitening.

Osuji interviewed twenty-five married couples composed of one black and one white partner. None of the black partners told her they had married with the goal of having lighter children or attaining higher social status; rather, they cited their partner's intelligence and social skills as what attracted them. When she asked what they liked physically about their partners, none of them mentioned skin color. They found it offensive for anyone to suggest that they had married a white partner because of his or her color.

Whereas earlier studies of interracial marriages in Brazil in the 1960s and 1950s showed that many Brazilians openly admitted to desiring a lighter partner, Osuji's study shows that things have changed. However, her interviewees also told her that their family members made comments about their interracial marriages. The neighbors of one white woman, for example, commented that she would have children with "hard hair" because of her marriage to a black man. A black woman reported that her cousins had commented that her children would be lighter because of her marriage to a white man. Although the people Osuji interviewed argued that they did not marry their partner because of his or her race, their friends and family members still saw their relationship through the lens of whitening or darkening.

Osuji argues that her research shows there is no longer a universal aspiration for whitening in Brazil, and that the appreciation of blackness is growing. Black-white couples in Brazil did not frame their relationships as an attempt at whitening, and they were offended by any such suggestion.

Nevertheless, the perception that lighter is better has not waned, as evidenced by the value-laden comments from friends and family.

For Discussion

1. What has changed in Brazilian race relations? What has not?
2. Why do people marry across races? Why don't they?
3. Do you think the concept of social whitening applies to the United States?

Source: Osuji 2013.

appearance. Nevertheless, a person in Brazil with a black grandmother who has no visible African ancestry would not be considered "black," but such a person could be considered black in the United States.

Studies on skin color and social status have shown that skin color matters in the United States in similar ways to how it matters in Brazil. Lighter-skinned people of African descent in both places have certain privileges that their darker-skinned counterparts do not. A recent study (Saperstein 2012) has shown that the perception of whether a person is black in the United States is influenced to some degree by his or her social status. Studies of racial attitudes in Brazil have demonstrated similar findings.

Overall, Brazil *is* different from the United States. However, this difference can be hard to capture, in large part because neither country is static, and because racial ideologies are constantly in flux in both places. This flexibility is at the heart of what makes racial ideologies so powerful.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

In the United States and South Africa, the end of official segregation led to the growth of an African-descended middle class. In Brazil, the introduction of quotas for university admissions has contributed to larger numbers of people of African descent attaining middle-class status. In France, there is also a black middle class, albeit one that is much smaller. In each place, the recognition of racial discrimination and attempts to do something about it have led to concessions. At the same time, the poverty profiles of large numbers of people of African descent in these countries have changed little.

In each of these countries, people of African descent have achieved positions of political and economic power. In South Africa, Nelson Mandela became the first black president. The United States elected Barack Obama as its first black president in 2008. In Brazil, a few black politicians have had success. In France, however, politicians of Arab or African descent continue to be notably absent. One pattern we can see in these countries is that racial ideologies have changed to some degree, yet inequality persists.

In the first chapter of this text, we saw that racial ideologies are products of the colonial encounter. Ideas of race and racism emerged to justify the enslavement of Africans and the genocide of Native Americans. We also saw how racial ideologies justified colonial endeavors in Africa. This last chapter drives home the point that 500 years later, we are still dealing with the repercussions of the colonial legacy—both in the United States and around the world.

Key Terms

apartheid 418
les sans-papiers 423
banlieues 423
Afrikaners 427
Boer War 427
coloured 428
Population Registration Act 428
mestiçagem 434
mestizo 434
whitening theory 434
racial democracy 435
genotype 437
phenotype 437

CHAPTER SUMMARY

How Do Other Countries Differ from the United States in Racial Dynamics?

- The American racial structure is just one of many possible ways in which racial hierarchies could be organized.

Race and Racism in France

- In France, the government does not recognize that there are disparities between French people with European ancestry and French people with African ancestry, yet these disparities are persistent and deep.

Race and Racism in South Africa

- Apartheid has ended in South Africa, yet racial inequalities persist.

Race and Racism in Brazil

- Brazil is no longer portrayed as a racial paradise, yet it is clear that racial dynamics in Brazil are distinct from those in the United States.

Review Questions

1. How have France's colonial endeavors influenced the racial and ethnic make-up of France today?
2. What is the difference between France's former colonies in Africa and its overseas departments?
3. Characterize the extent of racial and ethnic inequality in France today.
4. How was the Boer War important in the history of South Africa?
5. What is apartheid?
6. What are some strategies Brazil historically used in the effort to whiten the country? Were they successful?
7. What is the racial democracy myth in Brazil?

Critical Thinking

1. What are some differences and similarities in the manifestation of colonialism in each country discussed?
2. Pick one of the three countries discussed and explain how dominant racial ideologies there have transformed over time.
3. How have racial demographics influenced racial ideologies in France, South Africa, and Brazil?
4. Choose one of the countries discussed and compare the racial dynamics in that country to those in the United States. How are they different? How are they similar?
5. How was apartheid in South Africa similar to or different from the Jim Crow era in the United States?

Suggestions for Further Reading

Body-Gendrot, Sophie. 2010. Police marginality, racial logics and discrimination in the *banlieues* of France. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33 (4): 656–674. This article takes a close look at institutionalized racism and policing practices in France to explain both persistent police discrimination and the denial of it.

Hordge-Freeman, Elizabeth. 2013. What's love got to do with it?: Racial features, stigma and socialization in Afro-Brazilian families. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36 (10): 1507–1523. This article explores racial socialization in Afro-Brazilian families by explaining how families transmit messages about race to their children.

Keaton, Trica. 2006. *Muslim Girls and the Other France*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. This ethnographic study of schools and *banlieues* on the outskirts of Paris explores Muslim girls' lived experiences of racism and exclusion as well as their feelings of national belonging.

Marx, Anthony W. 1997. Apartheid's end: South Africa's transition from racial domination. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 20 (3): 474–496. This article explains why apartheid ended by focusing on white unity and black resistance in South Africa.

Telles, Edward. 2006. *Race in Another America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. This sociological book explains racial dynamics in Brazil by blending qualitative and quantitative analyses. Telles describes racial inequality in Brazil and offers explanations for the mechanisms that reproduce this inequality.