UNIVERSITY OF ANTWERP

INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND MANAGEMENT

Dissertation

The Political Governance of the Brazilian Racial Issue

Observing Brazil's legislative production on race through the Assimilation, Integration and Accommodation lenses

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Preface

When I decided to apply for a master's program abroad, I knew I wanted to keep working with Brazil and, specifically, the with the racial segregation issue. Most of the times my country is seen, by outsiders, and even by its own society, as the place where everyone is mixed, where there is no trouble regarding racial segregation. I know that, for many times, I had to explain these deep structural problems caused by a past of 300 hundred years of slavery and how they affect people today.

Growing up in Brazil, especially in a privileged position, we do not notice those problems. The segregation is usually explained by class and economic inequality, as if it is a detached problem. Racism is hidden in words and actions, deeply embedded in society. It was only when I entered university, inside of a classroom, that I started to understand what it meant to say that racial, cultural, social and economic inequalities are deeply related. That religion, culture and most of the human expressions are overshadowed by a dominant elite: A white elite.

That is why, when I was accepted in this program, in another country, I chose to bring it overseas. To bring light an urgent matter that for years was, and still is in some ways, ignored by the Brazilian society and government

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List of Acronyms

- FNB – Frente Negra Brasileira (Brazilian Black Front)
- MNU – Movimento Negro Unificado (Unified Black Movement)
- PL – Proposição de Lei (Proposition of Law)
- SEPPIR – Secretaria de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial (Special Secretariat of Politics for the Promotion of Racial Equality)
- TEN – Teatro Experimental do Negro (Experimental Black Theatre)
- TSE – Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (Brazilian Supreme Electoral Court)
- Political Parties:
    o ARENA – Aliança Renovadora Nacional
    o PT – Partido dos Trabalhadores
    o PDT – Partido Democrático Trabalhista
    o PCdoB –Partido Comunista do Brasil
    o PV – Partido Verde
    o MDB – Movimento Democrático Brasileiro
    o PSB – Partido Socialista Brasileiro
    o PCB –Partido Comunista Brasileiro
    o PMN – Partido da Mobilização Nacional
    o PSOL – Partido Socialismo e Liberdade
    o PPS – Partido Popular Socialista
    o PMDB - Partido Movimento Democrático Brasileiro
    o PSDB – Partido Social Democracia Brasileira
    o PSD – Partido Social Democrático
    o PTB – Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro
    o PFL – Partido da Frente Liberal
    o PDS – Partido Democrático Social
    o PL – Partido Liberal
    o UDN – União Democrática Nacional
    o DEM - Democratas
    o PDC – Partido Democrata Cristão
    o PP – Partido Progressista

- PPB – Partido Pacifista Brasileiro
- PR – Partido da República
- PRN –Partido da Reconstrução Nacional (Today called PTC)
- PSC – Partido Social Cristão
- PSP – Partido Social Progressista

Executive Summary

This research is a case study of the Brazilian context through the legislative production related to racial segregation. The main purpose is to connect the theory studied during the master's program, about the Assimilationist, Accommodationist and Integrationist approaches for segregated societies and the Racial Segregation issue in Brazil. The question that has guided this study is "How does the Brazilian government handle a racially segregated society?" and the way chosen to analyse this is through the classification and analysis of the legislative production related to race in the period of January of 1946 until June of 2013.

Chapter 1 presents a general introduction of the Brazilian context, focusing on the issue of racial segregation. The lack of integration policies for the former slaves after the Abolition of slavery in 1888 in addition to the myth of a "Racial Democracy" brought by Gilberto Freyre's theories have contributed for the current social and economic inequalities in the country. This section also brings a brief explanation of the legislative process in order to support the use of the propositions of law as the object of research, as well as a comparison of the three Constitutions promulgated during the period analysed, and the racial composition of the country.

In Chapter 2 there is, first, a distinction among the approaches of Assimilation, Accommodation and Integration. Second, I tried to connect each one to the Brazilian context of a racially segregated society. At first there was a strong Assimilationist trend of fusion of races aiming to create a Brazilian identity that would solve the race issue, then, towards the second half of the 20th century, more Integrationist and Accommodationist views gained space. The section also brings a bit of the evolution of the Black movement and their symbols of resistance, more aligned with an Accommodationist view, as well as the notion of collective shared memory, in both the Black movement and general society.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology of classification of the propositions of law and analysis, and the database used in this research, which consists of the propositions of law thematically related to racial segregation and inequality in Brazil in the period explained above. It also shows the analysis of how these propositions were classified into the approaches (Assimilation, Accommodation and Integration), and by status

(Approved, Withdrawn, Rejected, Archived or Waiting) and how they are distributed throughout time, by author, political ideology, region etc. I chose to focus well on the approved ones, since they are the ones that eventually became ordinary laws and, therefore, had an actual impact on the system.

Finally, in the conclusion, there is an attempt to answer the main question, as well as the hypothesis drawn in the introduction, entwining what theory, history and the analysis' results. The most important findings are that the legislative production was largely characterized by accommodationist propositions, even regarding the approved proposals. In addition, in all periods, democracies 1 and 2, and the military dictatorship, more accommodationist proposals were produced, which goes against the initial idea that the dictatorship would have had more integrationist ones. However, during the military period, only one proposal was approved, and it was coded as integrationist, reinforcing the understanding that, even though the majority of the presented propositions were accommodation, from the legislative perspective, the government was more aligned with integrationist approaches, which was easy to achieve, given they had control over the Parliament.

Accommodationist proposals are the predominant approach in the approved ones, but they are also predominant in the archived propositions. In addition, within the each approach, Integrationist propositions are proportionally more approved than Accommodationist ones, meaning that, from the total of Integrationist propositions, 14% turned into laws, while among the Accommodationist ones, 10% did so.

Still, with these results it is not possible to state that the Brazilian government is strictly Accommodationist. It has characteristics from both Accommodation and Integration, although, least from the point of view of the legislative production, there is a prevalence of Accommodation over Integration.

Introduction

It is undeniable that Brazil is a country marked with deep socio-economic inequalities. Part of the current scene can be greatly explained by how the country was colonized and the kind of workforce used for the main economic activities, since the sugar cane plantations, to the mineral extraction, and for a brief period in the coffee plantations, which was based on slaves imported from Africa, for more the three hundred years. The Brazilian State officially abolished slavery in the in 1888, due to different political pressures, yet, there was no effort to integrate the former slaves into society, leaving them to survive under the harshest conditions and lack of opportunities (Skidmore, 1976).

One of the main problems with this lack of policy to include former slaves in society was that, for many decades, and partly today, Brazil thought that its population lived a unique situation. Since there was no violent conflict to free the slaves, it was thought that in Brazil, there was no issue of racial segregation and, consequently, prejudice or inequality related to race were not present in society. This idea was the base for a kind of hidden structural discrimination, where the issue exists, but for many years it was ignored, deepening more and more into the societal system (Fernandes, 1976).

Since society and government for such a long time overlooked racial segregation and inequality, it sure made an impact in how Brazilians think of the issue, especially in times of dictatorship, where the main approach of governance was through extreme nationalism and exacerbation of the ideal Brazilian identity, with no acknowledgment of difference (Reis, 2000). Therefore, the main objective of this study is to analyse how the Brazilian government has approached its racially segregated society, using as object of research, the propositions of law presented in the National Congress from January of 1946 until June of 2013, and framing them into the lenses of Assimilation, Integration and/or Accommodation.

The first chapter introduces Brazilian history, the Brazilian legislative process and constitutions, as well as the racial composition of society ; the second chapter presents the approaches, their differences and goals, as well as how they relate to the Brazilian history. The third chapter discusses the methodology and the analysis, which tries to

answer the main question through the observation of the legislative production of the period.

From the main question "How does the Brazilian government handle a racially segregated society?" some hypothesis were created and tested in the third chapter. During the period analysed, Brazil has been through two democratic eras (1946-1963 and 1985 – 2013) and one dictatorship (1964 – 1984). Regarding that, the first hypothesis is that it would be expected that propositions classified as assimilationist and/or integrationist are more present in the dictatorship, and accommodationist, in the democratic periods. Second, as to the ideological orientation of the political parties, it is expected that Accommodationist propositions will appear in a higher quantity in the Left oriented parties, and Integrationist and Assimilationist, in the Right oriented ones. Third, when discussing region and since the special distribution of the Black and Mixed Race population in Brazil is different according to the locality, there is the hypothesis that regions with a higher number of Black and Mixed Race people would produce more propositions, and those would be more likely aligned with accommodation. Those are just a few of the ideas that helped guide this research and that I will try to answer throughout the study.

Chapter 1 - The Brazilian Context

1.1 Historical background and composition of the Brazilian population

Brazil's history is characterized by a patriarchal society and the segregation of many different groups, specifically women, Indigenous people and African descendants. For over three centuries, the main workforce used were slaves imported from Africa. There was a general idea that African Slaves were an inferior race and the Church helped legitimize this belief, which allowed the system to continue (Barros Júnior, 2011). Even though the idea of "race" is socially constructed and does not have a biological foundation in the sense of superiority/inferiority of one over the other, throughout history it served to justify power relations, influencing status, class, political power, cultural dominance etc (Hanchard, 1994).

For a long time, slavery was the main workforce used in Brazil. From the sugar cane plantations, in the 15th and 16th centuries, to the exploitation of the Gold mines, in the 18th century and the beginning of the Coffee plantations in 19th century. Slaves were used for various purposes, working in the fields or inside their master's household, as domestic help. This old system originated currently a deeply segregated society, where the Black Population still suffers the consequences of inequality, prejudice and lack of opportunities. During the colonial times, society was organized in a patriarchal system, where the master - white man - was the centre of social life and all the other characters surrounded him - wife, kids and slaves (Skidmore, 1976).

In the 1800s, in many parts of the world, the idea that slavery was not something natural started to flourish and, through Illuminist and French theories that arrived to Brazil, an Abolitionist movement started to gain strength. By the end of the 19th century, slavery did not fit the system anymore due to the shifts of thinking in that time. England was pressuring the world to end it, and had forbidden the trafficking of slaves by 1850. There was also internal pressure from former slaves who became combatants in the Paraguayan War, and free men after its end. Even the coffee lords did not see slavery as they did before and, after a series of gradual laws, the Imperial government finally abolished slavery in 1888 (Fernandes, 1976).

It is important to highlight that, at the time, "abolition" meant solely the end of legality of enslavement. It did not set up a guideline on how to deal with the former slaves, though. These people did not know what freedom was and had lived a life with no education, individual rights, opportunities or investment in personal skills. At the same time slavery became illegal, there was an intense government policy to attract European immigrants – mostly from Italy and Germany – to work in the coffee fields. The Brazilian government thought that, with time, the Black population would "blend in" and, with the help of the European immigrants, the next generations would be "whiter", which would solve any problems of racism and inequality of opportunities related to race, since everyone would be a "standard colour". It did not work. The real scene was of an unfair competition between former slaves and the European, not only because of prejudice, but also because the immigrants brought modern techniques and were better skilled, which put them in position of advantage. Furthermore, there was general idea that former slaves were "lazy", something associated with slavery since its beginning. This meant that they had to prove themselves and were subjected to underpaid positions in order to survive. The policy to attract European immigrants was terrible for both migrants and slaves. It submitted migrants to a system of servitude in many ways similar to slavery, and it was worse for the former slaves, who were forced to subject themselves to either lower salaries or move to other areas in order to find opportunities, thus being excluded from society. In the first period post-abolition, the only policy to address the issue was the blending of society (Fernandes, 1976).

The country was highly segregated between economic and political elites and the rest of the people and before the 1930s it is still not possible to see Brazil as a nation. The republic was barely 40 years old and there was a rotation of power among the political and economic elites and their interests. In 1930, President Getúlio Vargas takes power and his political approach was completely different from presidents of the previous periods. He fomented the rise of a shy middle class, somewhat reducing inequalities and, in the middle of this context, the Black movement starts to organize itself. Vargas' government was a dictatorship that lasted for 15 years. Even though he was an authoritarian leader, he managed to introduce the first social rights, such allowing women to vote and the first labour legislation, to the Brazilian people. He centred his politics in the idea of a Brazilian nation, promoting nationalist incentives, creating the illusion of unity based on equality. The connection of the people to the idea of national identity may

make it difficult to discuss policies for specific groups in society since there is no acknowledgement of the differences. In addition, even though Vargas promoted a Brazilian identity, he also severely persecuted whomever intended to deviate from it, which meant the suppression of all other types of identity in the public institutions and political parties (Reis, 2000).

Between 1945 to 1964, the first democratic experience in the country, the Black movement comes back after a period of repression. Their goal was to promote debates on racial inequality and discrimination, issues the government and society had ignored for a long time. The government did not participate on it and they did not have support from neither the Left nor the Right parties. The only political achievement at the time was the creation of the first anti-discrimination law for the public spaces, a bill named Afonso Arinos, in 1951. Nevertheless, this was a result of an international scandal, where an American Black ballerina was prevented to stay in a hotel in São Paulo, not from internal pressures or the Black movement (Domingues, 2007).

The political and social process that made the identity of the Brazilian nation emerge in was not spontaneous, but it was a result of two dictatorships, first with Vargas and later, in the 1960s and 1970s, in the Military dictatorship. In addition, if the aim was to have a plural and democratic society, we still need to overcome inequalities in order to reach it (Reis, 2000). As mentioned before, in the years of the Military Dictatorship, from 1964 to 1985, similar to Vargas' approach, there was a promotion of the Brazilian identity in the public space and the suppression of subversive organisations, including the Black movement. In addition, there was a lack of specific policies to segment of the population since society and government still believed in the Racial Democracy ideal (Fernandes, 1976). It is only recently, in the 2000s, that there was a shift of the government's approach of socio-economic inequalities. There was the adoption by some public universities of quota systems for Black, Mixed race and Indigenous people and, in 2003, the creation of the Special Secretariat for Policies of Racial Equality Promotion – SEPPIR, as well as other spaces specifically dedicated to this theme (Lima, 2010).

1.2. The Black Movement

In order to better comprehend Racial Segregation and the government actions towards the end of racial inequality and promotion of racial integration, it is important to

explore how the social movements contributed to the political agenda and political reforms, especially in the 20th century.

Previously it was explained that the Black movement started to organize itself in the 1930s, with the Brazilian Black Front (FNB), which acquired the structure of a political party. However, Vargas' dictatorship suppressed this organization in 1937. After the end of the Vargas Era, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, other groups start again to gather themselves and, among them, the Experimental Black Theatre (TEN) and the Unified Black Movement (MNU). The social, political, economic and cultural marginalization of the Black population were the main issues behind their claims (Domingues, 2007). TEN and MNU were the first social movements that were able to organize something more coordinated and gather more people to join them (Hanchard, 1994).

The new black movements that appeared in the in the 1970s can be understood as new political actors. They appeared with a new discourse, different from the national common sense, and trying to rescue suppressed Black Identity, or even identities. There was the creation of a new arena, where new interpretations and new ideas were welcome, in order to make space for new meanings of their own history (Hanchard, 1994).

Abdias do Nascimento was an important politician and leader of the Black Movement who started to rise in 1940s. He was one of the founders of the Experimental Black Theatre (TEN), which promoted, besides the cultural movement and the urge to include more African-descendants and mixed race people in that area, the teaching of their new participants, promoting education among the group (Gomes, 2011). In his book, Nascimento (1978) tries to expose the conditions of inequality and segregation of the Black and Mixed Race populations and the lack of initiatives from the Brazilian government to deal with it as well as a general feeling from the society that inequality was based solely in class differences, not colour.

It is important to say that in these periods in history, a racial oriented political debate was not the priority in the Brazilian government and this is valid for both Left and Right wing political parties. There was a general denial , and the problem kept being ignored by society in general. As a militant from Workers' Party (PT) said in the 1980s, they did recognize it was important. However, they had other priorities at the time (Hanchard, 1994).

1.3 Distribution of Black and Mixed Race people in Brazil

Next, it is important to explain how and where the Black and Mixed Race populations are concentrated in the country in order to facilitate the understanding of the analysis that will be exposed in the third chapter. Brazil is composed of 27 Federative Unities which are grouped in five big regions, North, Northeast, Southeast, South and Centre (or Centre-west), as it is seen in appendix 2. The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics - IBGE (2007) conducted a study, which aimed to map the Black and Mixed Race populations in the country, according to the data acquired in the 2000 census. At the time 170 million people constituted the national population, and 53.7% declared themselves White, 38.5% as Pardo (Mixed race), 6.2% as Black, 0.4% as Indigenous and 0.4% as Yellow. For the purposes of this work, I will focus on the proportion per region of Black, Mixed Race and White people.

The North region accounts for 7.6% of the national population. There we encounter the largest proportion of the Mixed Race people in the country, 64%. As for the White population, they are constituted of 28%, followed by 5% of Black people. The Northeast region concentrates 28.1% of the population of the country, where 58% declared themselves Mixed Race, 33% as White and 8% as Black. In this region, there is the largest percentage of Black people. In the Southeast, there are 15% of the Brazilian people, and from that total, 62.6% are White, 28.6% are Mixed Race, and 6.6% are Black. In the South region, which also accounts for 15% of the Brazilian population, there is the largest concentration of White people, 83.4%. There are 11.5% of Mixed Race and 3.7% of Black people. Finally, the Centre-West is the region with smallest percentage of the Brazilian population, 6.5%. From this amount, 49.9% are White, 43.4% are Mixed Race and 4.6% are Black. From this, we conclude that the North has the largest proportion of Mixed Race people, the Northeast concentrates a large population of Black people in terms of proportion compared to the others, and the South has the greatest population of White people proportionally (IBGE, 2007).

1.4 The Brazilian constitutions after 1946

In order to better understand how the political scenario was constructed over the years in both the legislative production of ordinary laws and constitutional content, it seemed important to do a short overview of the constitutions Brazil had during the period analysed. Between the years of 1946 and 2013, Brazil had three constitutions and one

Constitutional Amendment. The first one, following the end of Getúlio Vargas' dictatorship, in 1946, is considered the first democratic Constitution promulgated in the country. Its content tried to combine elements from the conservative traditional politics and the new liberal elements, which arose during the 1930s. The 1946's Constitution, therefore, brought some elements of social justice, related to labour laws, though still in a superficial way. In 1967, after the Military Coup, the government imposed a new one constitutional text, which set out the basis for political manipulation of the Parliament. This Constitution was amended in 1969, strengthening the government's power, establishing strong press censorship and repression of any debate that was not in agreement with the government's line of thinking. Even though it was not an official new Constitution, it acted as one since it changed most things from the 1967's text. After the end of the dictatorship, the new democratic body drafted a new Constitution and it was presented in 1988. This one established fundamental rights, which ensured legal rights aimed to safeguard and protect Brazilian citizens. It is considered the most democratic of the Brazilian constitutions (Bonavides, 2000).

In terms of treating racism and prejudice, the three Constitutions and the 1967's Amendment have different contents and there was a clear evolution in the way the State referred to this theme.

Despite being considered the first democratic Brazilian Constitution, the 1946's text did not elaborate much in terms of racial prejudice, which is explainable by the general conscience or racial democracy of those years. Under Chapter II, which presents the individual rights and guarantees, the text is very simple. Paragraph one states all persons are equal before the law and paragraph five is a general quote about freedom of thought and speech, forbidding war advertisement, violence and subversion against the political and social order and prejudices of race and social class (Brazil, 1946). In this sense it is very generic and it does not separate racial prejudice from other types of prejudice as well as it does not mention any type of punishment specifically for racism.

For both the Constitution and the Amendment imposed by the military in 1967 and 1969, respectively, there is a slight improvement in terms of highlighting the issue. First, similar to the 1946's constitution, there is a generalization of non-tolerance of acts of racial, religious and other types of prejudice. However, in chapter four, which states the individual rights and guarantees, and that starts elucidating that all persons are equal before the law, there is an additional point, where it enunciates that racial prejudice will

be punished by law (Brazil, 1967; Brazil, 1969). This might be a reflex of the ordinary law 1390, from 1951, better known as Law "Afonso Arinos", which was the first one to establish punishment for the racial prejudice in Brazil (Domingues, 2007).

Finally, the Constitution of 1988 brings a stronger text regarding racism. In the first title, about Fundamental principles of the Federative Republic of Brazil, states under article four, paragraph VIII, the repudiation of terrorism and racism. Then, under title II, concerning the individual and collective rights and duties, article five, paragraph XLIII, there is a clear distinction to raise voice to the issue of racial prejudice: "the practice of racism is a non-bailable crime, with no limitation, subject to the penalty of confinement, under the terms of the law" (Brazil, 1988, p. 17). Still, the focus is mainly on racism, not on racial inequality.

The differences previously elucidated concern specifically the Constitution's content. Even though the legislative process in Brazil is concerned to the elaboration of amendments to the Constitution, supplementary laws, ordinary laws, delegated laws, provisional measures, legislative decrees and resolutions, the database used for the analysis is composed of propositions of law, which means they were projects aiming to become ordinary laws. The attempt in this section was to expose the evolutionary process of the constitutions and how it is linked, in terms of discourse content, with the elaboration of propositions of law and, eventually, ordinary laws.

1.5 The Brazilian legislative process

The legislative production and process follow the internal regulations of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, as well as the Brazilian Constitution of 1988. The way in which those rules were created occasionally for some power over the Agenda. For example, which themes will be analysed first and so on. In this sense, the president of the Chamber of Deputies, the president of the Senate and the committee's leaders, hold key positions in the legislative arena.

The National Congress is composed of the Chamber of Deputies, which is the lower house, and the Senate, the upper house. They both work autonomously and, when a proposition is presented, it will be analysed by one and reviewed by the other (Pacheco, 2013).

The legislative process is superficially explained in the Brazilian Constitution and the internal regulation ("Regime Interno") of each house establishes, with more details, how the process is supposed to be conducted. It also establishes the limits, rights and duties of the members of the Parliament. There are many kinds of proposals, which can be presented to the National Congress. Among this group, there are Constitutional Amendments, Propositions of Law, Propositions of Supplementary law etc. However, since in this work we are discussing only Propositions of Law, I will restrict the explanation to this part of the process (Brazil, 1988).

The bodies who can present a proposition of law, according to the Brazilian Constitution of 1988, in Subsection III, are as it follows:

"Article 61. The initiative of supplementary and ordinary laws is within the competence of any member or committee of the Chamber of Deputies and the Federal Senate or the National Congress, the President of the Republic, the Supreme Federal Court, the Superior Courts, the Attorney-General of the Republic and the citizens, in the manner and in the cases provided for in this Constitution." (Brazil, 1988, p. 62).

The legislative process is composed of two phases, the discussions and voting at the designated committees among the members, and the discussion and voting at the Plenary, with all the members of the House. The Plenary is the last phase the proposition will go through, before being either approved or rejected, and there is a bicameral system in place, which means there is a House that initiates, and the other which reviews. Most of the times the initiator is the Chamber of Deputies, and the Senate is the Reviewer, though this process does not always follow this order (Pacheco, 2013).

The work related to the legislative process is organized in the form of Legislatures and Legislative Sessions. One Legislature is equivalent to four years, and it is also the time that the Federative Deputies are elected for. There are, during that time, four legislative sessions, organized according to the Chamber of Deputies' annual calendar. In these sessions the propositions that have already passed through the committees are discussed and voted (Pacheco, 2013).

After a proposition is officially enumerated and posted in the Chamber of Deputies' Journal, it is sent to the specific committees in order to be analysed by the other members of the Parliament, according to its theme. All propositions will go first to the

Justice and Citizenship Committee to see if the proposed law is in line with the Constitution. Once proved as constitutional, the proposal follows to the other committees.

There are, today, 20 permanent committees and a few temporary ones, created for some specific cases, and each committee is composed by a leader and its members. When a new proposal has to be analysed, the committee's leader designates one of the members to elaborate an opinion about the project, including a summary and their position (in favour, against it or in favour with some reservations) and this has to be concluded in no more than of 5 sessions. After the discussion, the committee's members vote for a final opinion and, after the final count, they elaborate a final document stating the committee's decision and opinions (Pacheco, 2013).

After the end of every legislature, all propositions that were considered by the Chamber of Deputies and are still in process of evaluation, pending evaluation from any committee are archived and can be unarchived by the author, if she or he is re-elected. There are some exceptions, though. The propositions which had a favourable opinion from all the committees; the propositions which were approved in a single-shift, or in at least one of a double-shift voting, in the plenary; the proposals initiated by the Senate or if it has passed through it; the ones initiated by the People; by any other power; or by the Attorney-General (Brazil, 1989).

In this regard, there are many mechanisms in place that focus on ensuring democracy in the legislative process. However, even with the deadlines in place and the monitoring to ensure that the governmental powers function in harmony and balance. The process can be slowed down if the proposition has to be analysed by too many committees; or if the members of a committee decide not to show up for the voting, there is no minimum quorum and it has to be postponed. If the committee's leader chooses a specific member of the committee to elaborate the opinion, and this had been already agreed in advance. Obviously, none of those will grant full power of decision to one person or one party. However, it does influence the process and it can lead for the archiving of a proposition, slowing down the process.

After a proposition went through all the commissions and is voted in the Plenary, it is the Senate's turn to revise it. After the Senate has given its opinion, the proposition comes back to the Chamber of Deputies to take the Senate's observations into

consideration and, if it is approved, the president of the republic will either sanction or veto it, thus completing the process of making a new ordinary law (Pacheco, 2013).

After these brief introductions on Brazilian history, legislation, racial composition and constitution, let us move to the second chapter, where I will introduce the theory used in the study, and try to connect it to the country's context.

Chapter 2 - Assimilation, Accommodation and Integration

2.1 Differentiating the Accommodationist, Integrationist and Assimilationist approaches

There are several ways the State can approach social diversity (ethnicity, race, religion or other identities). These range from the Assimilationist view, which seeks a common identity in the private and public spheres, by either the fusion of previous ones or the prevalence of one over the others, to the Integrationist and the Accommodationist, often seen as more democratic (McGarry et al, 2008). The Brazilian State, throughout history, has used all of them in different periods, in one way or the other.

The Assimilationist approach is concerned with the disintegration of all the differences by either the fusion of identities or acculturation. Fusion means the mixing of identities in order to create a different, blended one, and acculturation is the dominance of one over the other, extinguishing the "weaker" one completely, both occurring through coercion. The Integrationist and Accommodationist approaches have in common that they do not agree with the coerciveness of Assimilation. However, the Integrationists do believe that if it happens spontaneously it is beneficial, whereas the Accommodationists, even though they accept it, they are not interested in stimulating it primarily. Integrationists seek to build a common public space that transcends differences, with public institutions that go above diversity. Still, in the private space differences can be kept. The ultimate goal is equality among citizens and a common identity in the public space usually associated to the ideal of nation. They believe that conflict happens when diversity and politics are mixed, therefore, they are against political parties and public institutions originated from group segregation, such as ethnicity. In the other hand, Accommodationists support and promote the different identities in society in both the public and private spheres. It is also concerned with equality, but, at the same time, it will advocate that each group should have its own space in the public arena. This means the possibility of ethnically driven political parties and quotas systems to ensure political representation (McGarry et al, 2008).

When using either Assimilationist, Accommodationist or Integrationist tools in order to handle a segregated society, one has to keep in mind the existence of centripetal

and centrifugal forces. Equality is the most substantial centripetal force, because its everyone's desire to be treated as equal, therefore a State that ensures equality for everyone, aims for an environment free of negative discrimination, in other words, prejudice. However, on the opposite side, there is freedom, which is a heavy centrifugal force, which allows for different identities, ethnicities, cultures to express themselves (Zucca, 2012). The purpose when supporting a government measure through Accommodation or Integration, and even Assimilation is to balance both freedom and equality, in order to make sense of society.

2.2 Assimilation, Accommodation and Integration in Brazil

The policies used between 1888 and 1930, where the government thought that the blending of society would solve the segregation problems, had special focus in to the "whitening" of the population, therefore they are very aligned with an Assimilationist project. From 1888 to 1930, there was no concern in promoting training or education of the Black population, and most Abolitionists and intellectuals at the time thought the issue would disappear with the next generations. The general belief what that when the Brazilian people became a more blended colour all issues related to race would disappear. The official policy was assimilation through the fusion of identities, however, what happened in practice was acculturation, as we see in case of police persecution of *Samba* gatherings in 1920s, genre originated from Black culture (Vianna, 1995). There was a prevalence of the White culture and denial and contempt for African/Black culture and physical trades. In the early 1900s, intellectuals and artists started a search for what it meant to be Brazilian (Skidmore, 1976). This characterized the First Republic – 1889 to 1930 - and it actually resulted in the temporary reduction of the Black population in the 1930s (Johnson III, 2000).

The artists in literature, the Social Sciences with Gilberto Freyre and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda and the political approach of Getúlio Vargas managed to firm the idea of a Racial Democracy and, in a way, ensure the formal equality of Black and Mixed Race people in society. It did not tackle the prejudice and the increasing racial inequality (Guimarães, 2001; Reis, 2000). During those days, the work of Gilberto Freyre was considered a map of Brazilian society. It demonstrated that the Brazilian case was different due to the mixing of races, there was a "racial harmony" and the "mulatto" was

the symbol of the racial democracy and evidence of lack of discrimination. At the time, the founding myth was that three key characters formed Brazilian society: the Black African, the White Portuguese and the Native Brazilian Indigenous. This is a simplification, but it served for the promotion of society, where those three generated a new element, the Brazilian (Skidmore, 1976). The whitening of population was not restrict only to the physical blending of society, it was also a "cultural whitening", a form of imperialism lead by the white elite, in which the blending was a form a assimilation, acculturation and miscegenation paved under the idea of racial inferiority of what was Black. This cultural assimilation was so successful that even today African-Brazilian culture clashes with white dominant ideals (Nascimento, 1978).

As for the Vargas years, it is more complex to classify the governments' actions as purely Assimilationist or Integrationist. Overall, the policies aimed for the construction of a unified country, with a neutral public common space, free from any expression of particular identities, including Black culture. Nevertheless, it a targeted all movements that deviated from the Brazilian ideal Vargas envisioned. In this sense, the practices came closer to an Integrationist approach, with the maintenance of diversity in the private sphere officially. However, there were persecutions of artistic expressions, such as the Samba gatherings and the dissolution of all political parties, including the first organized Brazilian Black movement (Vianna, 1995; Domingues, 2007). This was justified by the preservation of the Union and promotion of a national identity, but as an indirect effect, it targeted and suppressed the Black population and African-Brazilian cultures (Guimarães, 2001). These last measures appear to be closer to the Assimilationist approach, even if the general policy was Integrationist.

Later, in the 1940s, with the first democratic experience in Brazil, emerges the Black Experimental Theatre - TEN, with Abdias do Nascimento as its leader. He introduced the beginning of a questioning of the Racial Democracy and the need of assertion of the Black African-Brazilian culture (Domingues, 2007). As for the State, there seemed to be a general belief that Racial Democracy worked and, at that time, there was no direct approach that can be framed in one of the categories.

As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, the Law Afonso Arinos, from 1951, was the first one to treat racial discrimination, and it was thought to forbid racial discrimination. Yet, it still was not successful, it lacked enforcement. The position of the

Black people was still of an outcast, barely represented in the official decision-making spheres of the country (Nascimento, 1978).

During the Military Dictatorship, there was a clear use of Integrationist approach by the military towards the whole society. They promoted the Brazilian Identity as well and a neutral public space. This only changes after 1988, the second democratic period in the country. Which is when there is space for debate and the Black Movement managed to get through the State with their needs more efficiently. Even though the Black population still suffers the effects of inequality, some improvements were achieved, quota system for public universities and, more recently, for public servants (Brazil, 2012;2014). After the end of the military dictatorship, the Black movements managed to promote a series of discussions bring them to the political agenda. Issues of recognition, citizenship, redistribution policies and respect for the African cultural expressions, as well as proper legislation to address discrimination (Guimarães, 2011). This recent shift of approach fits the Accommodationist view, where the State ensures public space for the Black community.

The importance of the Black Movements that were originated in the 20th century, especially in the second half, is found in many aspects, and in many ways, they are associated with Accommodationism. The educational system was completely centred in European and USA history, and barely mentioned African memory and culture. In fact, this was one of their achievements, in an attempt to rescue an overlooked identity. In 2008, the ordinary law 11645 made it mandatory that schools included in the basic agenda, African and African-Brazilian history. They fought for the prevalence of their culture and religion, against the persecution of their identity, and managed, in some ways to preserve and make it visible in the public space (Nascimento, 1978).

Since shared memory was dominated by the version where there was a harmonic society who freed the slaves with no violent conflict, the Black Movement was blocked by the reproduction of an ideal of supposed Racial Democracy, which at the same time it tricks people to believe it, it also suppresses African cultural heritage. They had to think of a way to go against that hegemony and put their cultural practices as the protagonist in the political arena, this fight for recognition marked the beginning of a shift from integrationist and assimilationist movements to more accommodationist ones (Pinho, 2002).

Cultural symbols serve the purpose of bringing awareness to people and connecting the past and the present in their minds (Pinho, 2002). Therefore, symbols like *quilombo,* communities of runaway slaves; *Palmares* (one of the largest quilombos in Brazilian history); and *Zumbi* (most important leader of Palmares) acquired new meaning and became symbols of resistance and opposition to the dominant ideology, and that needed to be present in the public debate (Leite, 1999). It is important to notice that the presence of those symbols rescued by the Black Movement opposed to what was common sense before, such as Racial Democracy and a polished version of Abolition, brings the essence accommodationist and integrationist-assimilationist practices respectively.

In 1988, it was celebrated the centennial of the abolition of slavery. This brought to light many divergent ideas related to the racial issue in the country. This was not restrict only to society versus Black Movements, but also inside of the Black movement itself. Nevertheless, it did highlight their symbols, such as showing *Zumbi* as a Black resistance hero, among other achievements. The centennial, from the opposition side, was mainly concerned with the denial of what was popular belief, constructing a new framework to understand race in Brazil. For instance, the great debate about the celebratory dates. On the one side, the traditional 13th May, where Brazilians celebrated the end of slavery, on the other one, the 20th of November, the death of *Zumbi*. The centennial gave the Black movement a chance to criticize the official date, 13th of May, and today it is still associated with combat to racism, whereas 20th of November is considered National Black Consciousness day (Hanchard, 1994). In the 2000s other accommodationist claims appeared. The campaign for more affirmative action measures intensified. There was the creation of SEPPIR, already mentioned in chapter 1, and other public spaces for debating racial issue (Gomes, 2011).

In conclusion, this section tried to exemplify accommodationist, integrationist and assimilationist symbols in the Brazilian context. These movements and the evolution and maturation of the thought developed inside of the Black movement, as well as the critiques and the conflict they had to endure in order to be heard, regarding what they consider a representation of themselves, their identity influences, and how the State will handle their issues (Omi and Winant *apud* Hanchard, 1994). This process was a mix of intimidation, oppression, favouring common sense for a long time, which previously guided the State in their practices (Hanchard, 1994).

Chapter 3

Methodology and Analysis

3.1 Dealing with documents

Before introducing the methodology and the analysis of the propositions of law, the question that helps shape this research and that also indicates some of the limitations of working with written documents, especially if they are analysed with no context is "How to deal with documents?". When using any source for a research, even though the researcher's final goal is to interpret what is the content in a written source, the means to achieve have influence over the outcome. Besides, the decision to work with *Microsoft Excel* and *NVivo* (a QSR software), in order the sort out the documents, also affects the way the research is conducted, and certainly how the data was decoded.

In this research, the documents chosen to be analysed are the propositions of law (PLs) which mentioned *raça* (race), published in the National Congress between January 1946 and June 2013. This sorting of propositions is a result of a previous data collection and analysis (Machado et al, 2015), in which propositions that focused on race were identified among all the propositions of law presented in that period. First, it is important to highlight that these are propositions that were intended to become ordinary laws, but not necessarily did so. In fact, a great number of them was either archived or rejected. Nonetheless, we are discussing official government documents. They had to be registered and that are official part of the public debate. Therefore, there is the need to take into consideration that these propositions can be used as an instrument of expression of a discourse in the political arena. Even though the author might know it will not become a law in the future, they consider it important enough to insert it in the public debate, and the proposals serve as the instruments to make this happen. This means that often, although the race issue is present in the political debate, not necessarily it will become a practical tool or, if it does, it is not accordingly to the way it was initially presented for the other parliamentarians.

This research works with written documents. They were requested from the register of propositions of law of the Centre for Documentation and Information in the Brazilian Parliament (*CEDI - Congresso Nacional*), and they were written in different times of history, as mentioned before, between 1946 and 2013. When we are faced with

documents, we can be lead to believe that they contain one sole truth and it is the researcher's role to unveil it, translating them into meaningful research and knowledge. However, the fact that there is a "translator" or someone who will interpret this document is already something that will shape meaning in one way or another. In fact, the person who elaborated the document is already shaping its truth. It is necessary to reflect upon their intentions, if they were supposed to remain neutral or if they are biased (Prior, 2003).

Regarding these propositions, we can think that the first purpose was to document the parliamentary activity and maintain records of all the propositions published. In this sense, there are many people involved in the elaboration and maintenance of the whole database. As it was exposed in Chapter 1, the proposals must follow the legislative process through a specific path in order to guarantee democracy and trust. Documenting in paper and, later, making it available on the internet is not only a matter of allowing people to have information; furthermore, it is a form of documenting history. It is not possible to analyse these propositions as fixed things, they are part a context and many forms of govern and, frequently, they are a form of expression of concerns that might not have been able to enter the political debate in other forms.

Documents should not be only analysed by their content, especially when referring to public record. They are not a result of one individual who elaborated it all. They are a result of collective effort (Prior, 2003). In this case, even though it is possible to identify the author and the political party she or he belonged to, we have to take into account the fact that this author was a representative of the people in the government, and part of her or his federative unit and her or his political party. This means that their voice and the written registries, which remain for us to consult today, are shaped by many factors, political, social etc. With that in mind, let us go through the methodology of the interpretation of the proposals and analysis.

3.2 - Methodology:

This part will be divide in two sections: First, how the classification of each proposition was accomplished: the questions used to guide the association of each approach, and the use of Brazilian symbols of Racial Democracy and Black Resistance, elucidated in the first and second chapters, played a role in the identification of Accommodationist, Integrationist and Assimilationist approaches.

The second part of the methodology is concerned with the findings of the propositions once they were classified, crossing them with periods of the time (democracy/dictatorship), authors, regions of the country, political parties and ideologies and separating by the propositions which eventually were approved and became ordinary laws, and the ones which were not.

3.2.1. Classification the propositions.

This research is a case study of qualitative nature and the purpose is, through the analysis of the content of the text of the propositions of law which mention race, to observe how the Brazilian government has worked out issues of racial segregation throughout the years. Therefore, the main research question around which this work is structured is "How does the Brazilian government handle the issue of a racially segregated society?".

Before entering the actual interpretation of the propositions, it is important to understand how the database is structured. From January 1946 to June 2013, there are 183 propositions of law, which were found to mention race or relate to racial initiatives or government interventions through the legislative power in Brazil. Each proposition of law (PL) in the database is composed of the year it was presented, the author, the political party, a paragraph stating what it is about, the federative unity it came from and its identification number. After the classification by the approach (Accommodation, Assimilation or Integration), and the status (Approved, Archived, Withdrawn, Rejected or Waiting), these two new categories were added to this database.

Through the interpretation of the content of each paragraph and, for times, the full text of a proposal, each PL was classified into the approaches. A study conducted by Porcia Vaughn and Cherry Turner (2016) using qualitative data and coding to separate the themes used questions to help the classification, and this idea served as inspiration for this research's classification. It was decided it would be useful to create questions to help guide the categorization of the propositions. These are supposed to make it possible to fit the propositions into Accommodation, Integration or Assimilation categories or even in two categories at the same time. As we will see further, many propositions have the same

superficial premise of Accommodation and Integration, or Integration and Assimilation, but do not necessarily fit solely in one or another.

Integration aims to create a common public space, while preserving difference in the private sphere (McGarry et Al, 2008). The Integrationist approach is applicable when the goal is to bring everyone together under one pretence, in the case of the country, usually the national identity. This means that the unfolding of integrationist techniques is guided by centripetal forces: everyone is attracted to one single ideal, the nation for example (Zucca, 2012). In this sense, some of the questions used, in the cases where there were doubts about how to classify a proposal were:

1."Was the aim of this PL to celebrate the past and keep memory?"

2."Is it about past negative discrimination?"

Even though Integrationist approaches wish to create a homogeneous public environment, they do not aim to suppress identity altogether. In fact, demonstrations of a nation's history and past memory are used as a form of bringing society together, in a sense of common shared past towards a common citizenship (McGarry et al, 2008). Therefore, in the cases where the proposition mentioned Brazilian history and national symbols connected to first nationalist constructions and the so called "common sense", such as Abolition of Slavery or Slavery of Africans and African-Brazilians, the propositions were classified as Integration. This brings us back to Chapter 2, where the differences of celebratory dates such as Abolition are mentioned as common memory and the other symbols, which were brought to light from the fight of the Black Movement in Brazil (Hanchard, 1994).

In the same line of thought, for Accommodation, in cases of uncertainty on how to categorize a given proposal, some key aspects were considered and these are the questions used to guide them:

1."Was the aim of this proposition to preserve ethnicity and culture in the present/future because of a past situation?"

2."Is it about positive discrimination?"

Accommodationist approaches are known for their intent to preserve difference in both private and public spheres (McGarry et al, 2008). Therefore, positive discrimination, in the sense of quota systems or recognition of the present negative

consequences of past discrimination, such as slavery and lack of integration of the former slaves after the abolition (Skidmore, 1976) can be said to belong to Accommodationist approaches (McGarry et al, 2008).

As for the Assimilationist approach, since it is related to the merging of identities or the suppression of one over the other, the questions created aimed to spot those key aspects, such as:

1.“Does it try to celebrate the existence of a new identity or the 'founding identities'?”

2.“Does it deny or ignore the existence of racial identity in society?”

For the first one, some propositions aimed to celebrate the “founding races” of the Brazilian people: the White, the Black and the Indigenous (Skidmore, 1976). The mixture of these three originated the Brazilian identity, an ideal which goes with the Assimilationist view. As for the second question as created to track those propositions that wished to deny race, by taking it out of the national census, for example.

Besides classifying the proposals into the approaches, it was necessary to verify their status in the sense of what happened to the proposition. Each proposition was consulted online, at the website from *Câmara dos Deputados* (Chamber of Deputies), where it is possible to check the track record of the propositions. From their last update, they were tagged as as Approved, Waiting, Archived, Rejected, Annexed and Withdrawn. In addition, in the last section of the analysis, I decided to divide the approved propositions of law according to their main goal, if they were about discrimination, cultural preservation or a tribute, in order to evaluate what these new laws were targeting in the racial theme.

From the classification of the propositions into the approaches and their respective statuses, the database was analysed with both *Microsoft Excel* and *NVivo*, and the next section will show how this process was done.

3.2.2. Methodology of the Analysis.

Each proposition is identified by the prefix “PL”, which means *Proposição de Lei,* in Portuguese, or Proposition of Law. This is followed by a number, a slash “/” and the

year it was presented. Meaning all of them will have a format similar to this PL xxxx/19xx, with "x" being the numbers.

For this project, it was opted to do the analysis of the content of each proposition of law (PL) regarding the approach it was more aligned to. In order to accomplish that, it was necessary to code as it follows. First, I created two main nodes Approach and Status. The first contained the approaches for segregated societies: Assimilation, Accommodation and Integration. The second was concerned with proposition's status, which means, what happened with them (if it managed to become an ordinary law or not). For this, the following nodes were chosen: Withdrawn, Waiting, Rejected, Archived, Approved and Annexed. When a proposition was classified as "withdrawn", it means that the project's author decided to ask for the proposition to be removed from the process. The "waiting" status encompasses all the PLs which are still in the process, waiting to be voted in the Plenary in the Chamber of Deputies, to be analysed or voted in one of the committees or in the Senate, therefore, they may still become a law. The PLs marked as "rejected" are the ones that, in any of the stages that a proposition must go through, were rejected (either by voting in the Plenary or in one of the committees). The "archived" ones are those that did not go through the process in time, in other words, the proposition must be analysed while the author (usually the Federal Deputy) is still in her or his term of office, otherwise it will be archived, as it was explained in Chapter 1. There were some propositions which were annexed, which means they were attached to other(s) that were thematically similar and they are supposed to be analysed together. In this case, it was decided to code all the annexed ones with the status of the last annexed project, to observe their "real" status, this way it seemed more politically relevant. This is why, in the analysis, the status "annexed" is not shown in the graphs and tables. Finally, the "approved" PLs are the propositions that managed to go through the whole process and become ordinary laws. The database was coded in both *Microsoft Excel* and *NVivo* and this made it possible to extract two different kinds of results.

The first step in the *Microsoft Excel* analysis was to create two new columns to enter the classifications of Approach and Status, so it would be possible to generate the results. The column for approach had as possibilities "Accommodation", "Integration", "Assimilation", "Integration and Accommodation" and "Integration and Accommodation". The second column contained the Statuses "Approved",

"Withdrawn", "Rejected", "Archived" and "Waiting". For the purposes of this analysis, the "Annexed" ones were classified the same as the main proposition it was attached to.

After the coding, a general analysis of the propositions was done: how they were distributed according to the approach and status. After that, I proceeded to analyse the categories in a chronological way and they were separated by the type of government – democracy or dictatorship. In this point, the analysis refers to the whole database, instead of only choosing the approved ones, considering it made sense to examine at the predominant discourse as a whole through the years. Next, I examined the predominance of each approach according to who published it, the region she or he was representing at the time of their term of office and political party/ideological orientation.

Today there are 35 registered political parties according the Brazilian Superior Electoral Court (TSE, 2016) and, in the analysis we have to take into consideration that some parties already extinguished. Counting out the projects initiated by the Presidency (executive power) and the ones that could not be confirmed, there are 26 political parties mentioned in this database. The ideological classification of the political parties (Machado et al, 2015) was used to allow the reader to understand the context being exposed here, the actual separation of Right, Left and Centre in the political and ideological spectrum can be observed in the section of Appendices.

The second part of the analysis aimed to examine the content of the propositions in each approach, exemplified by the word count. Finally, in the last part I brought all the approved propositions and proceeded to see what they were about, separating them, by their content into "Tribute", "Cultural preservation" and "Discrimination". Ordinary laws that aim to punish racism and discrimination in general are different from the ones related to celebratory dates.

3.3 Analysis and Results:

3.3.1 A general analysis of the database:

First, I will present a general overview. As it was mentioned before, the data was taken from a previous work (Machado et al, 2015) and, initially, it contained 195 propositions of law, which mentioned race, black population and/or other cultural/religious aspects concerning this group in Brazil. When coding them, some issues

were not relevant, or possible to be classified into the Accommodation, Integration, Assimilation categories, because they did not fit into the framework. This is the case, for example, of the propositions that tried to impose sanctions to South Africa, because of the Apartheid policies (PL 764/1988; PL 2376/1989 and PL 2664/1989), which were clearly related to discrimination and, more specifically, racism, however, it is not necessarily how it is dealt with in the country internally. Therefore, they were excluded from the original database.

There were also other things to be filtered. During the classification of the approaches and the status of each proposition, I had to revisit the content of each one and, in some cases, there were propositions that escaped the first filtering in the previous work. Even though they contained the key words, they were not related to the theme studied in this work - African-Brazilians and Brazilian Black/Mixed Race population. In total, I was able to discard 12 propositions and the database is now composed of 183 propositions of law aiming for laws about the racial related issues. With this in mind, the first results are as presented in table 1:

Table 1:

	General Distribution of the PLs according to their coding					
	Approved	Archived	Rejected	Waiting	Withdrawn	Total
Accommodation	10% 11 58%	71% 82 67%	2% 2 29%	17% 19 61%	1% 1 33%	**100%** 115 63%
Assimilation	0% 0 0%	100% 1 1%	0% 0 0%	0% 0 0%	0% 0 0%	**100%** 1 1%
Integration	14% 5 26%	60% 21 17%	9% 3 43%	11% 4 13%	6% 2 67%	**100%** 35 19%
Integration and Accommodation	10% 3 16%	58% 18 15%	6% 2 29%	26% 8 26%	0% 0 0%	**100%** 31 17%
Integration and Assimilation	0% 0 0	100% 1 1%	0% 0 0%	0% 0 0%	0% 0 0%	**100%** 1 1%
Total	10% **19** **100%**	67% **123** **100%**	4% **7** **100%**	17% **31** **100%**	0% **3** **100%**	**100%** **183** **100%**

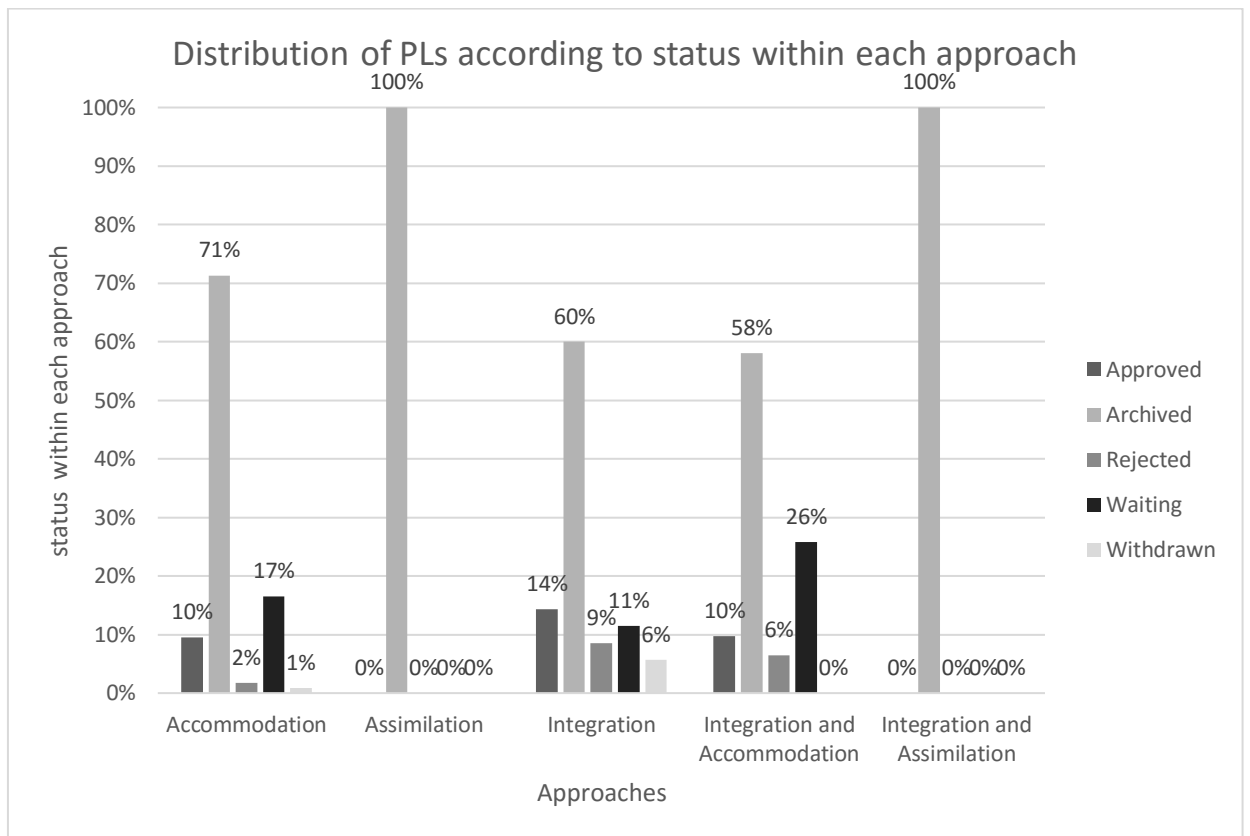(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

Table 1 exhibits a general outline of the relation between all the approaches and their respective statuses. The column "Total" represents the total of PLs in each approach and the line "Total" represents all the projects in each status. Each cell gives the percentage relative to the total of each approach and each status and in the line and column "total", it is possible to see the total number of observation, 183. The red numbers correspond to the proportion according to the total within each status, and the blue ones correspond to the proportion within each approach.

In this table, as mentioned in the methodology, there are two "subcategories" in approaches to refine the results better and that is why it is possible to see hybrid groups such as "Integration and Accommodation" and "Integration and Assimilation". These are the PLs that could not be classified as purely in one or the other approach, therefore, they were coded as both. The category "Integration and Assimilation" is only found in one of the projects, which this was rejected, meaning it is a weak reference in the database.

The points that deserve to be highlighted in the first table are first, that the majority of the propositions are classified as Accommodation, 63% of the total and, if it is added to this the ones which were classified as Integration and Accommodation (17%), this percentage goes up to 80% of the total propositions presented between 1946 and 2013. Right behind them, there are the ones classified as Integration, which account for 19% of the 183 propositions and, when adding the hybrids "Integration and Accommodation" and "Integration and Assimilation" they account for approximately 37% of the total. Assimilation is definitely the classification with the least propositions in the total, there is only one purely Assimilationist and, if we add to this, the other one, classified also as Integration, it is a total of two in a pool of 183. This means around 1% of the total. Regardless, both of them were archived, which means they do not have a great influence over the total.

Table 1 also shows among the propositions, the ones still waiting, what was approved, archived, rejected and withdrawn by the author. Nonetheless, concerning a better comprehension of the general idea, here is graph 1, which will present it better:

Graph 1:

Distribution of PLs according to status within each approach

(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

In graph 1 there is a representation of what happened with the propositions within each approach. The vertical axis brings the percentage of propositions classified in each status and in each approach. If we take a look at the PLs classified as Accommodation, which is, according to table one, how the majority of the PLs were classified, we have that of the 115 PLs in Accommodation, 10% have become laws, while 71% were archived and 17% are still in the process of being analysed. Both PLs treating of an Assimilationist approach either purely or with Integration, were archived. As for the purely Integrationist PLs, 14% of a total of 35 have turned into ordinary laws, 60% were archived and 11% are still pending analysis. In the category "Integration and Accommodation" 10% of 31 PLs were approved, 26% are still pending analysis and 60% were archived.

From this we see that, even though in absolute numbers Accommodationist PLs dominate the National Congress in the period, Integrationist PLs, proportionally to the their total, are slightly more approved than Accommodationist ones.

3.3.2 Analysis of the proposals within each Status

- **Propositions which were approved**

Let us now proceed to the analysis within the statuses. First, let us take a look in the propositions that were approved between 1946 and 2016.

Graph 2:

Approved PLs

58% Approved Accommodation
26% Approved Integration
16% Approved Integration and Accommodation
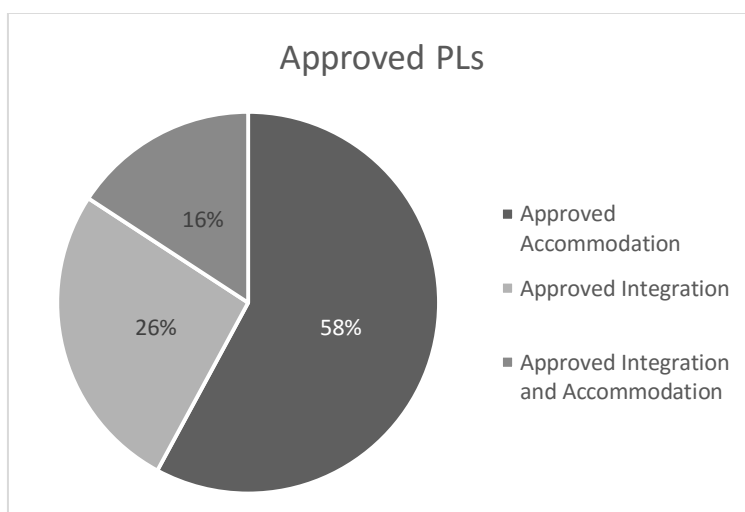
(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

From the pool of 183 PLs, there are 19 which have become laws. We will see the content in each of them a little further. For now, it is important to highlight that in the Approved ones, there are only PLs classified as Accommodation, Integration or both at the same time. This means that the Assimilationist propositions, even though they are weakly present in the discourse, did not manage to pass through the process, therefore, it is not a strong characteristic of how the Brazilian governmental institutions managed racial segregation in the last seven decades. On the other hand, Accommodationist PLs dominate the approved ones with 58% of the total.

In order to make this explanation clearer, it is important to remind the reader that the results, which are present in Graph 1, are related to the total in each approach. Therefore, within Accommodation and in terms of proportion, there are slightly less projects, which were approved. However, since within Accommodation there are many more observations, in absolute numbers, it is understandable that their predominance within the approved ones might be a reflex of their general presence.

Continuing the analysis of the Graph 2. Followed by the Accommodation, 26% of the approved PLs are classified as solely Integration and, lastly, 16% were categorized as both the approaches. Accommodation and Integration can be seen as two ways to treat the same issue, though through different means. The dominance of both in the public discourse, in this case, through the analysis of the propositions that were approved, might mean the acknowledgment of the issue. However, since the political environment is plural in the democratic periods, and we are treating of a large period of time, there is the difference of what approach to take. In the last sections of chapter 3, I will try to establish what each of those approved propositions contain and how they relate to each approach.

- **Propositions which were not accepted:**

In this category, it was decided to merge the propositions that were either rejected or withdrawn. It made more sense, since the political effect of both statuses is similar. They cannot be retrieved from the registry as the ones that were archived and their status is not pending as the ones in the "waiting" category. Here is the chart that shows the distribution by approach, within the propositions that were not approved.

Graph 3:

Not Accepted PLs (rejected + withdrawn)

29% 28% 43%

- Accommodation
- Integration
- Integration and Accommodation
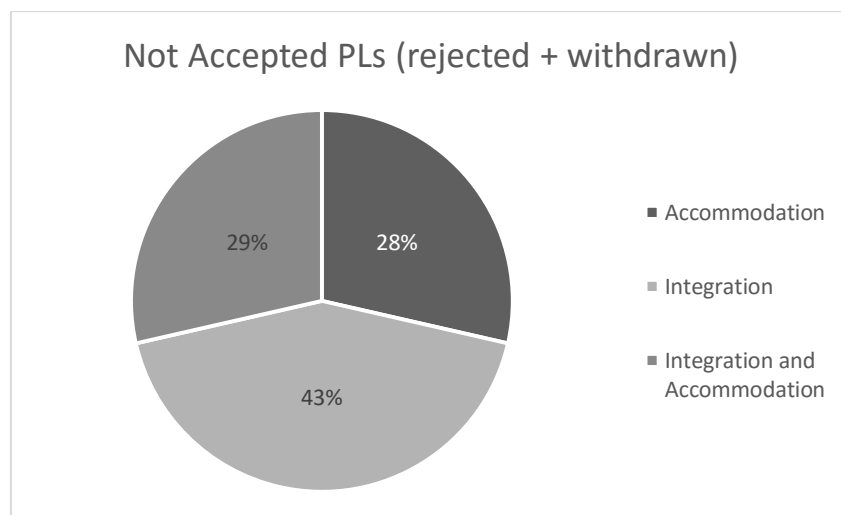
(source: adapted by the author from database Machado et al, 2015)
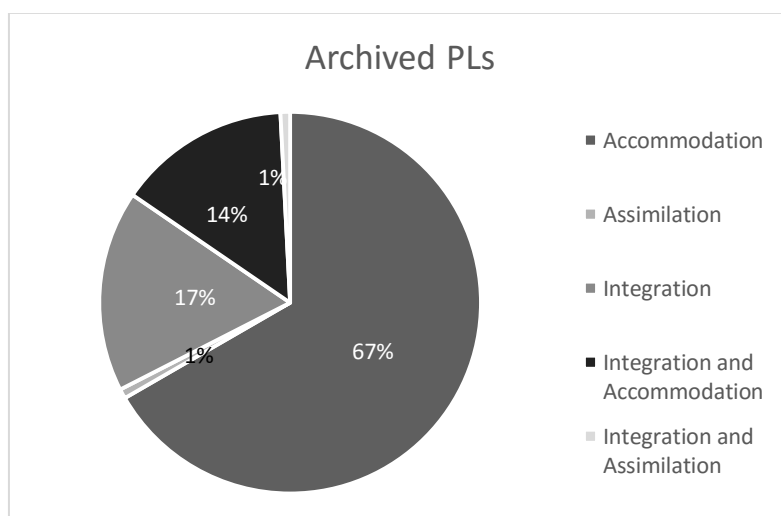
The group composed by the "Not Accepted" propositions accounts for 10 propositions out of a total of 183. The Graph 3 shows that, within the propositions that were not accepted, there is a predominance of "Integration", with 43% of the propositions. Followed by that, the last two classifications found in this group were the hybrid one

"Integration and Accommodation", with 29% of the observations and, "Accommodation", right after, with 28%. It is interesting to emphasize that in here, the proportional majority is constituted of Integrationist propositions, even though the general majority of the total observations is categorized as Accommodation.

- **Propositions which were archived:**

This is the largest group under the Status, and in here it is relevant to bear in mind the explanation about the legislative process exposed in the first chapter. There are 123 propositions which were archived in the analysed period. All the propositions which were deliberated in the Chamber of Deputies and are still in the process, pending approval of a committee or that received a contrary opinion of the federative deputy designated to do so can be archived after the end of the term of office. The exceptions are if the proposition came from popular iniatiave, the executive power (government), the Tribunal de Contas da União (National Audit Office) or the Attorney General or, if the proposition has passed through the Senate (Brazil, 1989).

Graph 4

Archived PLs

- Accommodation
- Assimilation
- Integration
- Integration and Accommodation
- Integration and Assimilation

(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

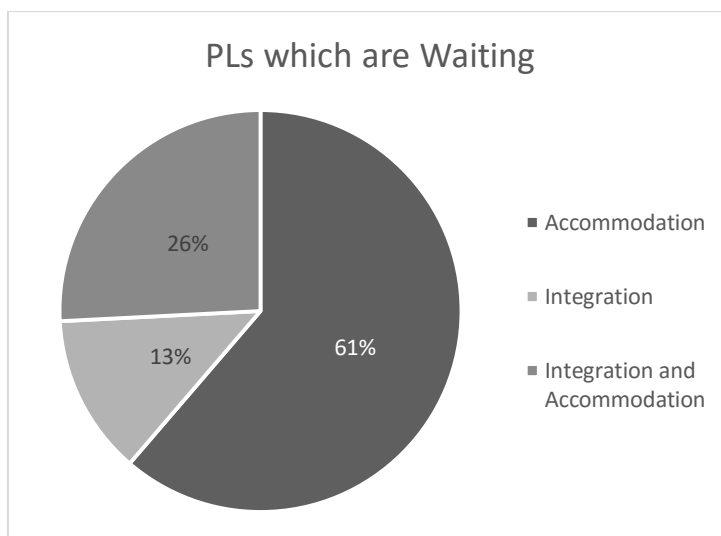The predominance here is for the Accommodationist approach, with 67% of the total, followed by Integration, with 17%; Integration and Accommodation, with 14% and, finally, "Assimilation" and "Assimilation and Integration", both with 1%. This is the only category under Status, where the mention of Assimilation appears and it is interesting to point out that the Assimilationist approach, either purely or associated with integration,

was not revisited by their authors. This shows, as expressed before, that even though Assimilationist propositions did appear in the observations, they were not revisited by their authors and, since the PLs are from 1971 and 1989, it is not likely this will happen.

- **Propositions which are waiting in the legislative process:**

Here are the ones that are still going through the process of being evaluated by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The propositions encountered here can be located in many stages of the legislative process. They can be ready to be voted in a committee or the plenary in either the Senate or the Chamber of Deputies. They can also be waiting for a designated parliamentarian to write her or his opinion on the matter. Nevertheless, they are still part of the legislative process and might still make a difference in practice. Furthermore, the propositions which were classified as "waiting" are usually more recent ones, the first one being from 1993. This means that the graph 5 shows some of the discourse predominant in the last couple of decades of the analysis. I will, further along, isolate the approaches according the chronological order, but now, we focus in a more superficial analysis.

Graph 5:

(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

In this chart, we can see again the predominance of the Accommodationist approach, with 61% of 31 propositions. Right after, there is "Integration and Accommodation" with 26% of the total and, finally "Integration", accounting for 13%.

Maybe this could be and indicator that the legislative power is more proponent to use Accommodationist and hybrid (Integration and Accommodation) approaches in the recent years. Anyhow, we will get a better view of that once we present the chronological analysis.

3.3.3 Cross analysis linking the approaches with period in time, author, political party and region.

In this part, the intention was to show some findings by looking at the approaches throughout the years. At first, I chose to work with the whole database, since the goal is the explore with more detail the content of the propositions that were in fact approved. In any case, it is interesting to see how these propositions are distributed by period of time, who presents them, their political party (and ideology) and which region they represented.

3.3.3.1 Chronologically and by type of government:

Table 2:

All PLs distributed according to the type of government				
	Democracy 1	**Dictatorship**	**Democracy 2**	**Total**
Accommodation	6%	10%	46%	63%
Assimilation	0%	0%	1%	1%
Integration	1%	4%	15%	19%
Integration and Accommodation	1%	3%	14%	17%
Integration and Assimilation	0%	1%	0%	1%
Total	**7%**	**17%**	**75%**	**100%**

(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

I decided to classify the chronology of the period between 1946 and 2013 by the type of government, either democracy or dictatorship, because of the contrast between both types. Therefore, there is "Democracy 1", which is the period from 1946 to 1963, proceeded by the Military Dictatorship, from 1964 (When the Military Coup occurred) to 1984 (When the last military president left office), and, finally, there is "Democracy 2", from 1985 to 2013, which is the last year that appears in the database.

Below there is the proportional distribution according the type of government, in relation to the total number of propositions:

Graph 6:

Proportional distribution of all PLs according to the type of government
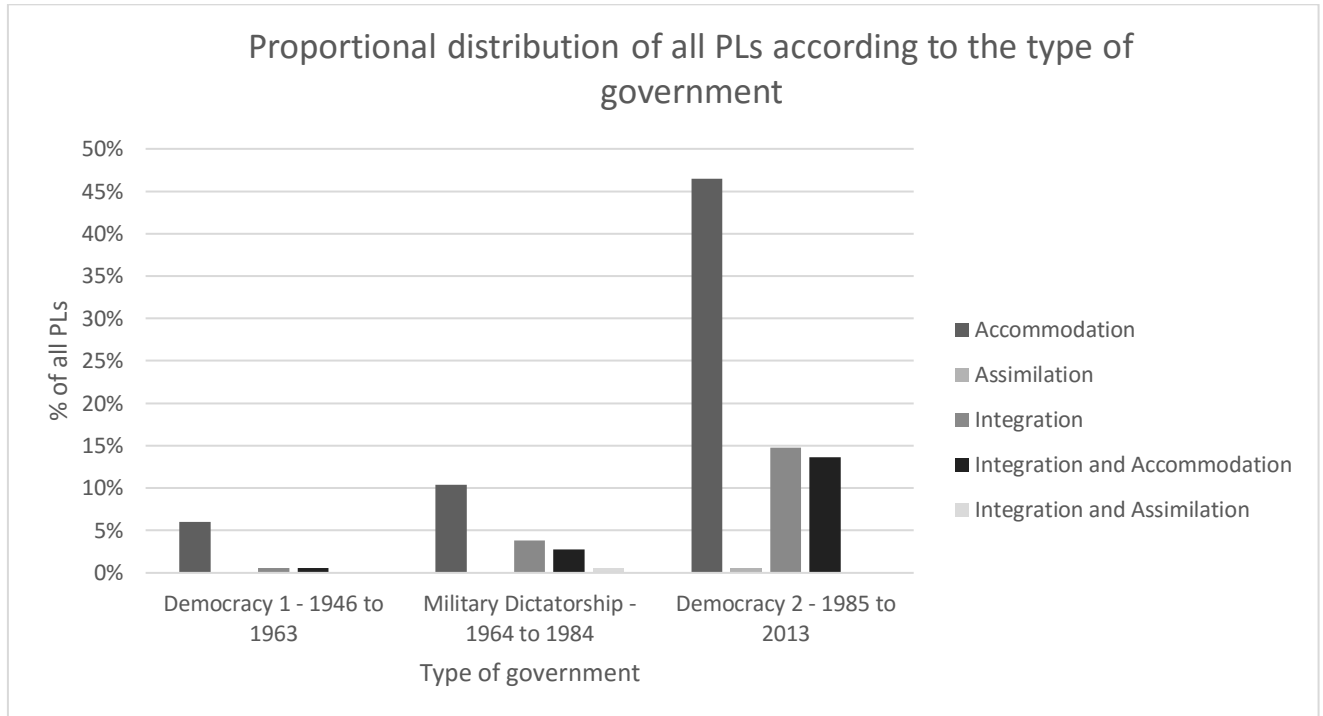
(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

To begin the analysis, it is important to note that Accommodationist approaches have been the majority in all the periods. Furthermore, in the second democratic period, Accommodation constitutes of almost half of the total propositions of the whole time analysed (1946 to 2013). It is also interesting that a period such as the Military Dictatorship has more Accommodationist approaches than Integrationist ones. As seen in the first chapter, this was a time strongly characterized by a very nationalist approach, with the equality discourse supported by the Brazilian identity, and it would be expected to be more aligned with an Integrationist way of thinking, which was one of the hypothesis suggested in the introduction. However, if we take a look at the status of the propositions in table 3 that were presented during that period – a total of 32 – we see that only one was approved and it was classified as Integrationist, whereas the great majority was either archived or rejected. Therefore, there were many accommodationist PLs, however, they did not manage to be approved by the government, reinforcing the idea that integrationist approaches are more aligned with the military dictatorship.

Table 3:

All PLs presented in the Dictatorship by status and approach				
	Approved	**Archived**	**Rejected**	**Overall Total**
Accommodation		18	1	19
Integration	1	3	3	7
Integration and Accommodation		4	1	5
Integration and Assimilation		1		1
Overall Total	**1**	**26**	**5**	**32**

(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

Still in relation to graph 6 and table 2, there is a general tendency of increase of legislative production about the racial theme, specifically in under the Accommodationist approach. This might be associated with the advance and maturity of the Black Movement in Brazil, as it was illustrated in chapters 1 and 2, as well as the opening to freedom of discourse after the dictatorship. This can be better specified by looking at table 4.

Table 4

All PLs presented in Democracy 2, by status and approach					
	Approved	**Archived**	**Waiting**	**Withdrawn**	**Total**
Accommodation	9	56	19	1	85
Assimilation	0	1	0	0	1
Integration	3	18	4	2	27
Integration and Accommodation	3	14	8	0	25
Total	**15**	**89**	**31**	**3**	**138**

(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

This shows that 15 propositions of that period were approved and most of them were either Accommodation or Accommodation and Integration. Of course we should consider that if there is a higher number of propositions produced in that period, the tendency is to have more propositions that managed to be turned into laws. However, even proportionally, 15 propositions were approved in this period and, in total, from 1946 to 2013, there were 19 (see table 1). It still represents 79% of the total approved propositions which is a high percentage.

In the first democratic period, the distribution of propositions by status and approach is given as it follows:

Table 5

All PLs presented in Democracy 1 by Status and Approach				
	Approved	Archived	Rejected	Total
Accommodation	2	8	1	11
Integration	1	0	0	1
Integration and Accommodation	0	0	1	1
Total	**3**	**8**	**2**	**13**

(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

From table 5 it can be seen that in the first democratic period 3 propositions were approved out of 13 presented in the parliament, 2 Accommodationist and 1 Integrationist.

Table 6 - Approved PLs by type of government

	Democracy 1	Dictatorship	Democracy 2	Total
	3	1	15	19
Approved	23%	3%	11%	10%
	13	32	138	183
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

Table 7 - Approved PLs by type of government in relation to the overall total.

	Democracy 1	Dictatorship	Democracy 2	Total
	3	1	15	19
Approved	2%	1%	8%	10%
	13	32	138	183
Total	7%	17%	75%	100%

(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

Table 6 shows that, in relation to the production in that period, the first Democratic time has proportionally approved more propositions than the others, with 23%. However, if we look at Table 7, which shows the proportion according to the overall total, the period that had more projects approved was Democracy 2, with 8% of the total. Of course, this is also a consequence of the total production of this period, which accounts for 75% of the total.

3.3.3.2 By author

In order to evaluate who published what in the parliament, the first ten authors with most publications are shown in Graph 7. Most of them are parliamentarians; however, there are also propositions that came from the executive power. The next graph shows the distribution by author and approach within the propositions they published.

Graph 7

PLs by author and approach
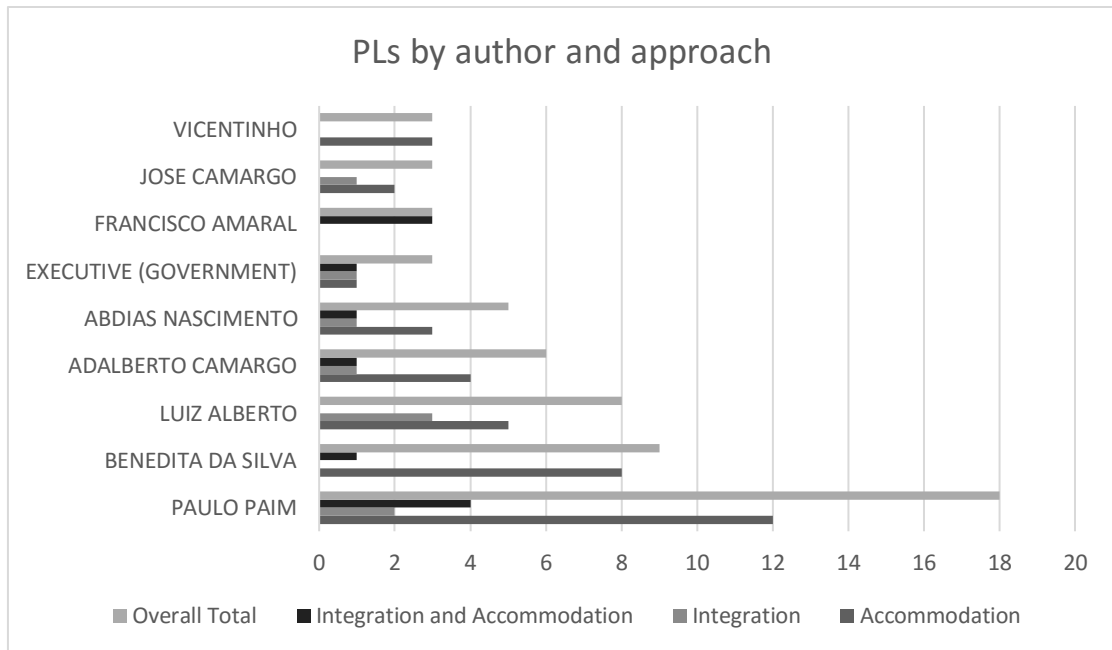
(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

The horizontal axis shows the absolute number of propositions and the vertical axis shows the author. The author with most publications is Paulo Paim, who was a black Federative Deputy and, later, Senator, representing Rio Grande do Sul, a state in the South of Brazil. As it was explained in the first chapter, the region with the smaller Black and Mixed Race population in the country, and largest White population, proportionally. He had a total of 18 propositions related to racial issues presented in the parliament and 12 of them were classified as Accommodationist, followed by 4 which were classified as Integrationist and Accommodationist approaches and only two in the sense of Integration. Right after him there is Benedita da Silva, who is a black woman that became Federative Deputy in the 1980s, representing the state of Rio de Janeiro, which is part of the Southeast region. She presented 9 propositions related to racial issues, where 8 were classified as Accommodationist and 1 as Integrationist and Accommodationist. Luiz Alberto, who was also a black men that represented the state of Bahia, part of the Northeast region, appears in third place with 8 propositions, 5 were Accommodationist

and 3 Integrationist.   In general, all authors presented more Accommodationist propositions and only the propositions that came from the federal government (executive power) were defined as Integration and Accommodation and Accommodation, but they only account for 2 of the total of 183.

Among the group presented previously is important to see who presented Integrationist propositions and if they were from the opposition or aligned with the military dictatorship or other government. To answer that, let us see Graph 7, where it shows that Luiz Alberto and Paulo Paim are the ones who introduced more integrationist propositions in comparison to the others, with 3 and 2 respectively. In fact, both of them are from PT, the Worker's party, which is contrary to our first belief, given that normally, and in line with what has been discussed so far in this research, Accommodationist propositions are usually more aligned with Left oriented parties. Further it will be discussed how those approaches are distributed ideologically, and this might clarify better the ideas.

Now let us look at the ones that were approved according to each approach and author. This time I chose to show all the propositions that were approved.

Graph 8

(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)
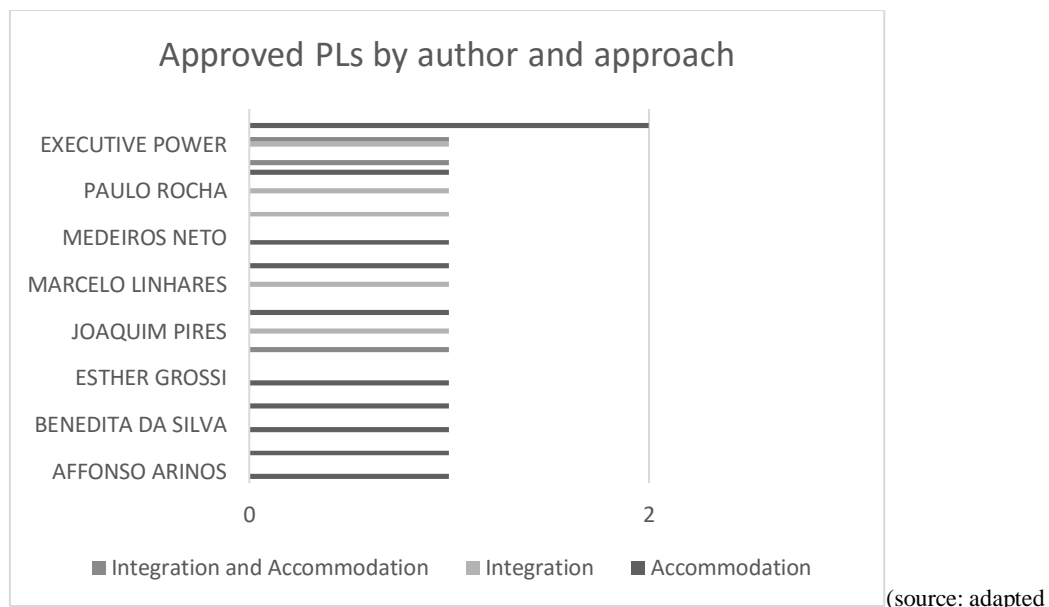
Graph 8 brings the distribution of all the approved propositions according to the author. Most of the authors managed to approve one proposition. The only exceptions are the two propositions that came from the executive branch and from the parliamentarian
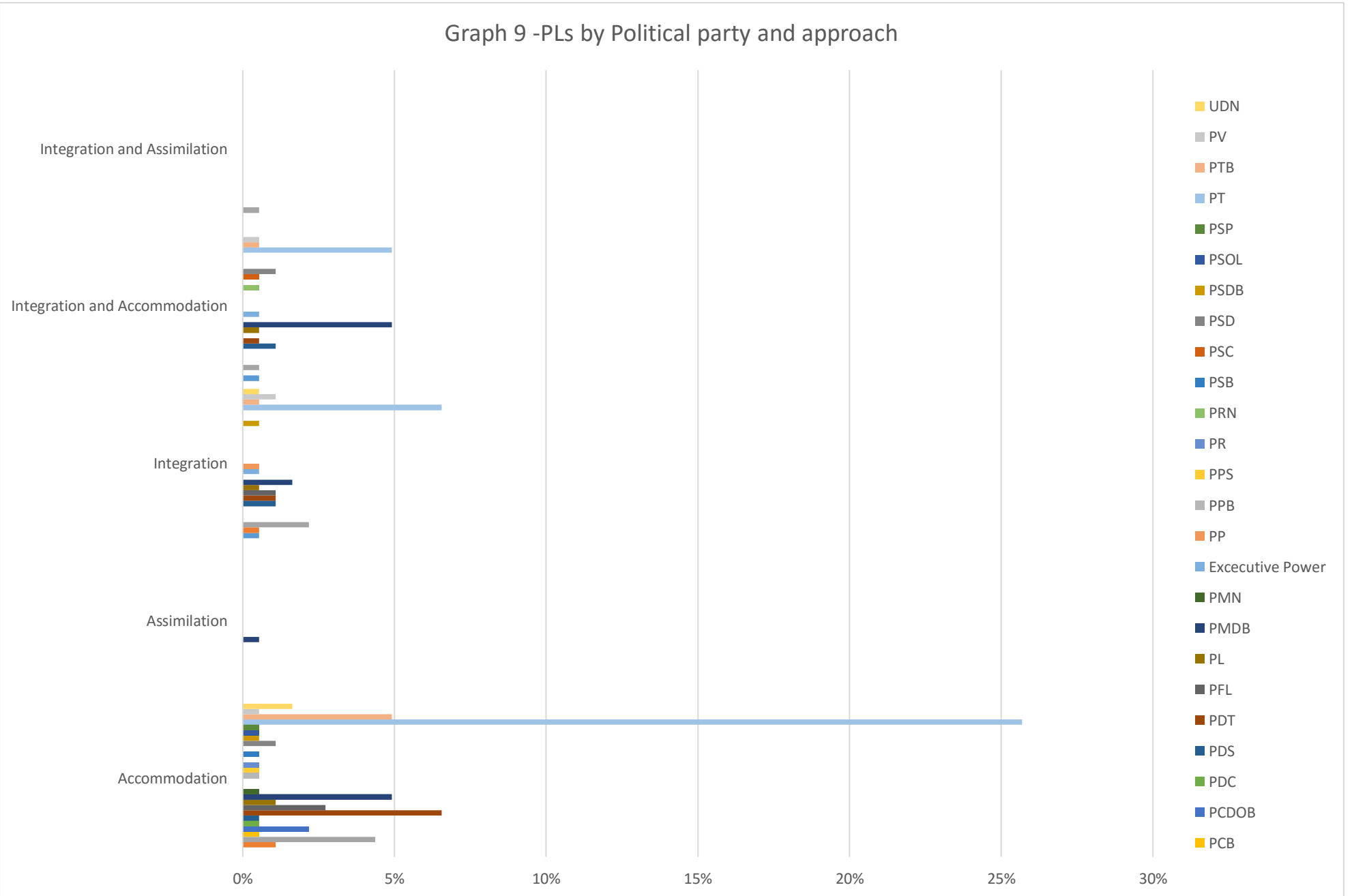
Serys Slhessarenko, a woman who was Senator from 2003 to 2011 representing, Mato Grosso, a state in the centre of Brazil. While from the executive branch, one of the propositions is Accommodationist and the other Accommodationist and Integrationist, both of Slhessarenko's ones are Accommodationist. The executive power appears both in the approved ones, with the most approved PLs and in the most presented ones.

In addition, in the next sections, I intend to discuss a bit more the content of each of the approved propositions. Paulo Paim and Benedita da Silva are the only parliamentarians that appear in both and Graph 7 and 8. They both managed to approve one proposition each, and they are both related to the Accommodationist approach.

3.3.3.3 By Political Party and Ideology

Graph 9 shows the distribution of all propositions published in the period according to the party the parliamentarian was affiliated to in their term of office. There are many which have been already extinguished and, aside from NI, which means Not Identified and the ones which came from the Executive Power, the rest of them are or were political parties in the Brazilian politics of the period.

Graph 9 - PLs by Political party and approach

Legend:
UDN, PV, PTB, PT, PSP, PSOL, PSDB, PSD, PSC, PSB, PRN, PR, PPS, PPB, PP, Excecutive Power, PMN, PMDB, PL, PFL, PDT, PDS, PDC, PCDOB, PCB

Categories: Integration and Assimilation, Integration and Accommodation, Integration, Assimilation, Accommodation

The political party which has presented more PLs is the Workers Party (PT), with 25% of its total aligned with the Accommodationist approach, followed by Integration and Accommodation (7%), and Integration (5%).

The next graph allows us take a look according the ideological orientation of each political party (see appendix 1). The classification was borrowed from a previous work (Machado et al, 2015) and it is superficial, not taking into consideration deeper nuances and shifts the parties might have suffered through the years.

Graph 10
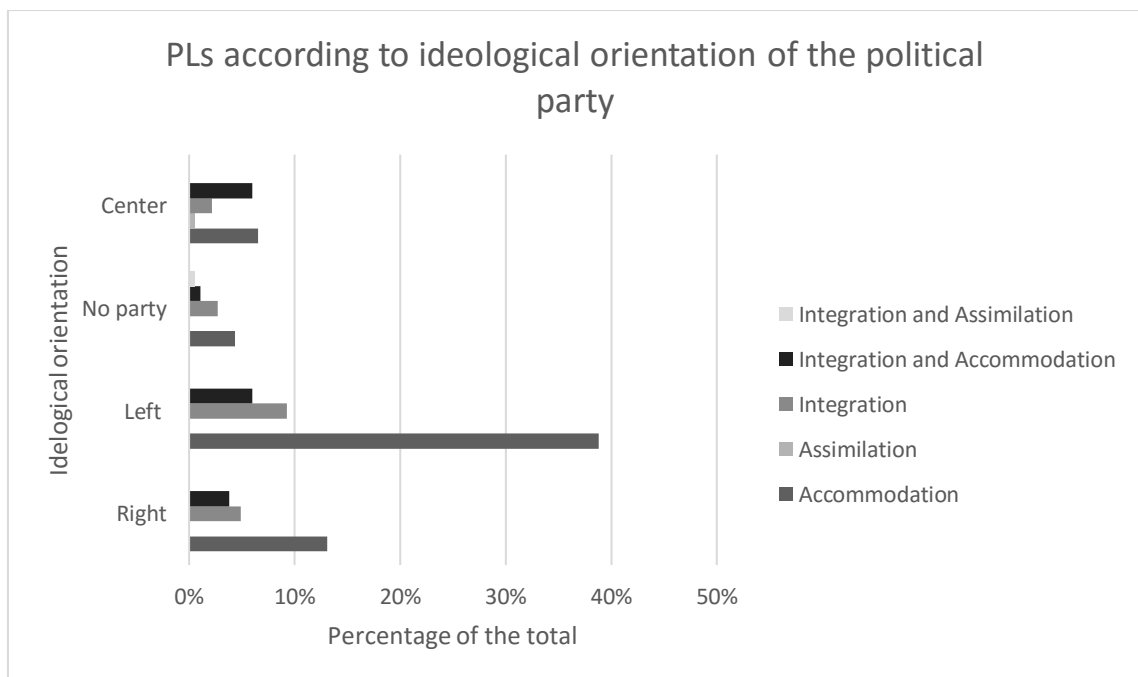
(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

From graph 10, we can see that in the parties classified as Centre, Accommodation and Integration composed 7% and Accommodation, 6% of the total. The parties from the Left and Right ideologies have predominantly Accommodationist approaches; although the Left oriented parties had more production in general and in the Accommodationist approach. This is another interesting finding, since the initial idea is that Accommodationist propositions are closer to Left oriented political parties, and Integrationist and Assimilationist to Right oriented ones. In fact, the only Assimilationist propositions were presented by the parties in the Centre, not the Right, as it was expected.

Next, in relation to the Approved propositions of law grouped by party and ideology.

Graph 11

Approved PLs by party and approach
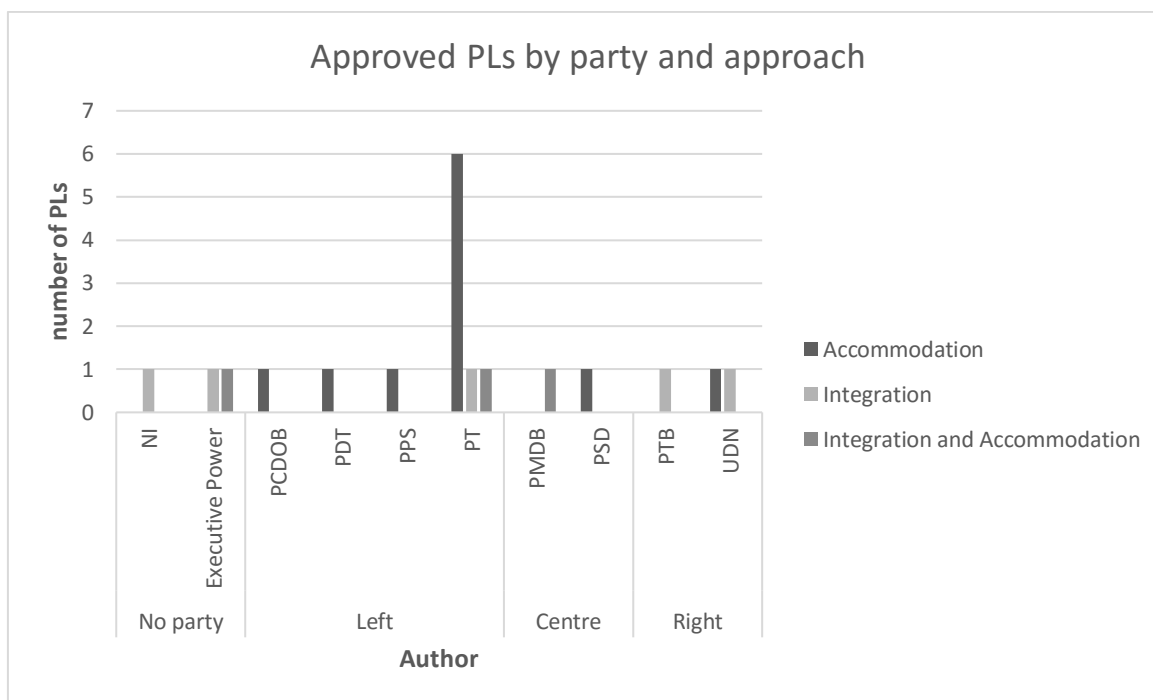
PT, the Worker's Party, has managed to approve the highest number of propositions, with 8 approved out of 19. Half of them were approved before 2002, when PT was the opposition, and the other half, after 2002, when the presidents Lula and Dilma Rouseff, who are from PT were in office. From the total approved, 6 propositions are aligned with Accommodationist approach, one of Integration and another with Integration and Accommodation. The other categories, Centre and Right, have approximately the same number of approved PLs, 2 and 3, respectively.

In the parties Centre oriented, the PLs are aligned with Accommodation and with the hybrid Integration and Accommodationist. Whereas the Right oriented parties have approved propositions in all the approaches presented in the graph, Accommodation, Integration and "Integration and Accommodation".

It is also interesting to note that none of the approved propositions presented by the Executive power were classified as Accommodation purely, only as hybrid "Accommodation and Integration" or purely Integration.

3.3.3.3 By Region and Approach

Graph 12 - PLs by region and approach
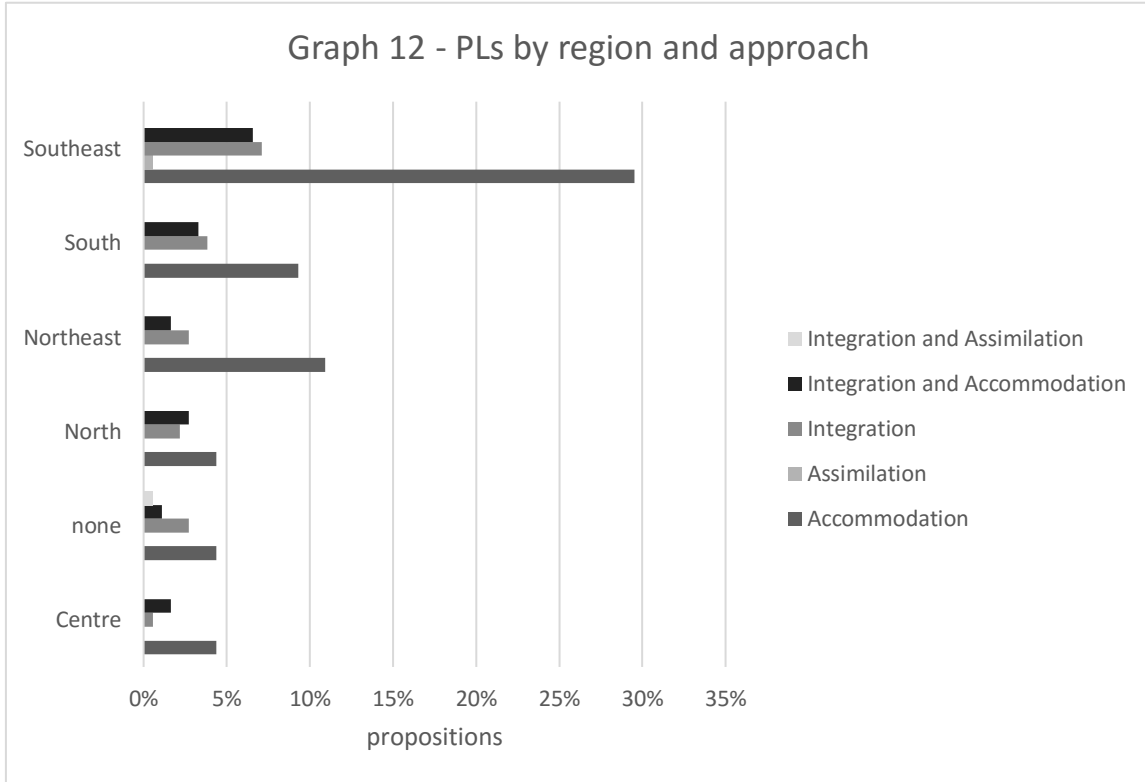
(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

Table 8: Distribution of the propositions according to the region.

Region	Total
Centre	7%
None	9%
North	9%
Northeast	15%
South	16%
Southeast	44%
Total	100%

(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

Graph 12 and table 8 contain information on the proportion of propositions according to the Regions of the country. As it was explained in Chapter 1, the five regions that compose Brazil have different racial composition, therefore it was important to see where those propositions come from and confirm if regions such as the Northeast and the

North have a lot of influence towards the issue, since they are the ones with the largest Black and Mixed Race populations.

Proportionally to the total of PLs, the Southeast region proposed more projects during the analysed period, with 44%. It is important to highlight that Southeast region is the most densely populated of the country and, since the chairs in the Chamber of Deputies are chosen according to the size of the population. States from the Southeast region such as São Paulo holds 70 chairs for Federative Deputies, whereas Rio de Janeiro has 46, of a national total of 513. Hence, this might contribute for their leadership among the total of PLs published.

In addition to that, the Southeast region lead with Accommodationist propositions, with almost 30% of their total production, followed by Integrationist ones, with around 7% of the total.

The second region with the most propositions is the South, with 16% of the whole production. Most likely by one author, Paulo Paim, who was elected to the parliament representing one of the states in the South region. The South also presented more Accommodationist proposals, with around 8% of the total, followed by integrationist ones, which are less than 5%.

Even though the Northeast is not in the lead of production, as it was thought at first, they do have a larger production of propositions classified as Accommodationist, than the South presented, 12%.

Now I will introduce the analysis by region of the approved propositions. As I stated before, there are 19 propositions which were approved. The next chart will show the absolute number of propositions

The following information, in table 9, is related to what type of approach each region managed to approved:

Table 9:

Approved PLs by approach and region				
	Accommodation	**Integration**	**Integration and Accommodation**	**Overall Total**
Southeast	5	1	0	6
South	2	0	2	4
Northeast	2	1	0	3
None	0	2	1	3
Centre	2	0	0	2
North	0	1	0	1
Overall Total	11	5	3	19

(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

The Southeast is the region which has approved the most propositions, with 6 out of 19 and, which 5 were aligned with the Accommodationist approach. In fact, almost all regions approved more propositions aligned with the Accommodationist approach, except for the South, which had 2 of "Integration and Accommodation" and 2 Accommodation, and the North, which has only one approved and it was classified as Integration.

3.3.4 Analysis of the content of the approved PLs.

For this part of the analysis the software *NVivo* was used. However, before I start to explain the results, it is important to highlight that, due to the limitations of the software, the approaches were coded in a slightly different manner. When choosing the nodes to going to work with, it was done as the analysis in Excel: Two big categories Status, Approach. The first is divided in the same way as in the excel file (Approved, Rejected, Archived, Waiting and Withdrawn), the second contains the approaches and this is where the classification shifts. I did not create a hybrid classification such as "Integration and Accommodation", instead, I classified each summary with each approach and, sometimes, one proposition will have more than one node attached to it, and the results presented here will show all the propositions which were identified as one and/or the other.

With this in mind, the idea here is to bring light to what the approved propositions and what they contained. The following table brings information on the relation between the approaches and the statuses. Since some observations were coded with more than one node, the total adds up to more than 183 observations.

Table 10: Query analysis of approach versus status (*Nvivo*)

	A : Integration	B : Assimilation	C : Accommodation
Withdrawn	1	0	2
Waiting	12	0	27
Rejected	4	0	4
Archived	37	2	106
Approved	8	0	15

(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

This query analysis allowed us to see the word count of each cell and see what words are more associated with each approach and status. I chose words with three letters or more, in order to avoid prepositions and other less important ones. Since the classification was done by the interpretation of the content of each PL, it will be possible to see what words are aligned with each approach

It is also important to highlight that all the approaches will have words in common such as "race", "colour", "black", "national", "prejudice" etc. I will try to focus on the peculiarities of each approach.

3.3.4.1 Accommodation

First I selected the propositions coded as Accommodationist and tried to see which words appeared more. Here is a list of some of the words that were found. First in Portuguese, with their equivalent in English and the number of times it appeared in the summaries of each proposition.

Table 11:

Word Frequency of Accomodationist PLs			
Word	**Count**	**Similar Words**	**English**
cor	54	cor, cor', 'cor'	colour
crimes	50	crime, crimes	crime
raça	50	raça, raças	race, races
preconceito	47	preconceito, preconceitos	prejudice, prejudices
nacional	33	nacional, nacional'	National
negra	30	negra, negra', negras	Black
palmares	23	palmares	Palmares (Black Culture)

afro	22	afro	Afro
negros	20	negro, negros	Black
zumbi	20	zumbi, zumbi', zumbie	Zumbi (Black Culture)
discriminação	19	discriminação	Discrimination
novembro	16	novembro	November
brasileira	15	brasileira, brasileira'	Brazilian
racial	15	racial	Racial
ensino	14	ensino	Teaching
racismo	14	racismo	Racism
cota	9	cota, cotas	Quota, Quotas
cultura	9	cultura	Culture
etnia	8	etnia	Ethinicity
morte	8	morte	Death
religião	8	religião	Religion
brasileiros	7	brasileiro, brasileiros	Brazilians
educação	7	educação	Education
gênero	7	gênero	Gender
consciência	6	consciência	consciousness

(source: adapted by the author from database Machado et al, 2015)

In this list we can see the presence of some elements typical from Accommodationist approaches, such as "quotas" and cultural elements that are used in the sense of affirmation and marking the presence, instead of the regular cultural elements that are associated with memory of the Abolition of Slavery in Brazil. This is the case for the words "Zumbi", who was a Black leader and symbol of resistance in the Black movement and Palmares, which was a community composed by runaway slaves (quilombo), lead by Zumbi in the 17th century, and "November", which is the month when Zumbi died. All of those are terms used by the Black movement as resistance, as it was explained Chapter 1. Therefore, Accommodationist proposals have a trend to mention elements from Black resistance, in general.

The words that represent resistance symbols, in the sense that it was more of a fight the Black Movement had to go through in order for it to be in the public and political arenas, appear more in the Approved Accommodationist approaches. This is the case for Palmares, Zumbi and November. These three are connected. As it was said before, Zumbi was a Black symbol of resistance and leader of Palmares. He died on November 20th 1695. Traditionally, there was a celebration of the day of the abolition of slavery in Brazil,

In May 13th 1888. However, since for the Black Movement this is not a symbol of their fight and their resistance, but of political manoeuvres from elites (Skidmore, 1976), November 20th is better accepted, among the Brazilian as the date that symbolizes their fight and it is way to keep it alive in the political arena and the current days.

3.3.4.2 Integration

Next, there is the list of the some of the most commonly found words in the propositions coded as Integration:

Table 12:

Word Frequency of Integrationist PLs			
Word	**Count**	**Similar Words**	**English**
preconceito	46	preconceito, preconceitos	Prejudice(s)
discriminação	21	discriminação	Discrimination
racismo	15	racismo	Racism
religião	14	religião	Religion
constituição	9	constituição	Constitution
1988	5	1988	1988
abolição	5	abolição	Abolition
igualdade	5	igualdade	Equality
maio	5	maio	May
equidade	3	equidade	Equity
gênero	3	gênero	Gender
centenario	2	centenario	Centenary
comemorativa	2	comemorativa, comemorativas	Comemorative(s)
credo	2	credo	belief (religion related)
cultural	2	cultural	Cultural
discriminar	2	discriminar	Discriminate
discriminatórios	2	discriminatórios	Discriminative
educativa	2	educativa	Educational
escravatura	2	escravatura	Slavery
escravo	2	escravo, escravos	Slave(s)
humanidade	2	humanidade	Humankind
indio	2	indio, indios	Indigenous
museu	2	museu	Museum
negro	2	negro, negros	Black
palmares	2	palmares	Palmares
publico	2	publico	Public

pública	2	pública	Public
religiosa	2	religiosa	Religious
religioso	2	religioso	Religious
representação	2	representação	Representation
reprime	2	reprime	Represses
sociais	2	sociais	Social

(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

In here, even though the word "Palmares" is present, it appears only 2 times. There is the presence of words such as "equality", "equity", "indigenous", which I interpret as propositions which are trying to ensure a public environment where everyone has the possibility to express themselves equally. Nevertheless, it does not necessarily has the sense of positive discrimination, as in the Accommodationist approaches.

There are also words that are linked with the idea of memory, such as "centenary" (of the abolition of the slaves), "May" (also related to the abolition", "Abolition", and the year of "1988", which is the Centennial of the abolition. All of those are related to the idea of keeping past memory and bringing the nation together, as Integrationist approaches usually do.

3.3.4.2 Assimilation

In this category we can see which words were found more often in the summaries.

Table 13:

Word ,Frequency of Assimilationist approaches		
Word	**Count**	**English**
constituição	2	Constitution
Race	2	race
1988	1	1988
branca	1	White
comemorativa	1	Celebratory
cor	1	Colour
indigena	1	Indigenous
nacional	1	National
novembro	1	November
pele	1	Skin

(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

In this list we can see the presence of words such as "white" and "indigenous", which refers to the composition of the Brazilian people. The belief that the Brazilian individual

is a mix of the Black Africans, the White Europeans and the Native Brazilians (Indigenous), which is a typical Assimilationist fusion approach.

Unexpectedly, "November" appears in this list, even though it is connected to the Black Movement and Resistance. After checking PL 2102/1989, which is where it was detected, it wishes to set celebratory dates for the founding ethnicities of the Brazilian nation and November is associated with the date chosen for the Black people.

3.3.4.3 The content of the propositions approved in the period:

From the 186 propositions analysed in this work, there were 19 approved. The subjects they refer to are varied and they targeted different ends, in that sense. In order to demonstrate this, the next table separates the content according to what they mention. For example, there are propositions aiming to finish discrimination. They establish punishments and strengthen criminal law in cases of racism and racial prejudice, these are marked under the label of "anti-discrimination". There are propositions which focus on the acknowledgment of some important dates, such as the end of slavery in Brazil, death of important Black heroes, celebratory stamps etc. These are marked as "tributes", in the form of official government acknowledgement of these people and landmarks in the Brazilian history of the Black people. Finally, there are propositions that aim to preserve cultural aspects, such as the creation of museums, insertion of African and Black history and culture in the educational system. These are tagged as "cultural preservation". The next table shows the distributions of these laws:

Table 14: Thematic content of the approved PLs

Content	Approved	%
cultural preservation	3	16%
Anti-discrimination	7	37%
tribute	9	47%
Total	19	100%

(source: adapted by the author from the database from Machado et al, 2015)

Before looking at the table, and since we are discussing a country where social, economic and political inequalities are deeply related to racial inequality (Nascimento, 1978), we would think that laws against racism and the ones that aim to preserve cultural expressions, otherwise forgotten by the majoritarian culture, would be predominant. However, the reality is different.

Table 14 shows that almost half of the propositions that were approved targeted to make tributes about important Black figures and important dates. Indeed, it is an important topic and, in a way it also contributes to historical preservation. However, laws declaring public holidays, such as the Ordinary Law 7159, from 1983; or celebrating the centenary of the abolition of slavery, such as Ordinary Law 7658, from 1988 are quite different from laws, aiming to punish and end prejudice against Black people, which constitute 37% of the total approved. The main objective in this part is to demonstrate that, even among the approved propositions, there are significant differences, independent of the approach used.

In addition, regarding one caveat in this study, it is valid to remind people that this database covers the period between January of 1946 and June of 2013. This emphasis is given due to the fact that a very important landmark in the Black Movement's fight and regarding government actions towards Racial Inequality is the Ordinary Law 12990, sanctioned in 2014, and originated from the proposition 6738, from 2013. However, this proposition was presented only in November of 2013, therefore, it is not present in the database. The importance of this law is due to the fact that it instituted racial quotas for the people who work in public institutions. Therefore, all government related establishments are obliged to take race into consideration, as a form of positive discrimination.

All in all, we learned that anti-discrimination laws do not constitute the majority of the legislative measures towards racial segregation, even though they appear in a relevant portion of the approved proposals, most of them are still connected to tributes to relevant historical moments and figures.

Conclusion

For the conclusion we come back to the question that has guided this research. How did the Brazilian government handle racial segregation? We have seen from the historical overview that right after the abolition of slavery, the mentality of the Brazilian society was aligned with an assimilationist view, where the blending of society would solve any issues regarding segregation and consolidate the Brazilian identity, supported by an ideal of Racial Democracy. The mix of races would create a fusion of identities, giving birth to a unique Brazilian character.

Nonetheless, this ideal of Racial Democracy was criticized by the Black social movements, which started to become better organized and mature. There is a shift from that understanding, and accommodationist claims started to gain strength. This is proven in both the literature review and the data analysis, since most of the propositions were classified as Accommodationist both in total and approved ones. In fact, the analysis of the legislative production presented both Accommodationist and Integrationist overall predominance.

One important finding was that when we observed the status of the propositions within each approach, it was noticed that, proportionally, Integrationist proposals were slight more approved than Accommodationist ones. Therefore, even though there is a predominance of Accommodationist propositions in the total production and the approved proposals, we cannot forget that Accommodationist proposals were also the mostly archived ones. This prevalence might be associated with the large production in general. Actually, the fact that we observed such a large number of proposals coded as Accommodation, either solely or with Integration, may be a reflex of the claims that started in the core of the Brazilian Black Movement, some of them which were only accomplished as ordinary laws very recently, in the 2000s.

Regarding the hypothesis presented in the introduction we have the following results. Indeed democratic periods had a greater presence of Accommodationist propositions over the Integrationist and Assimilationist ones. However, this also happened during the dictatorship, which was not expected. The difference is that, during the dictatorship, even though Accommodationist and Integrationist propositions were presented, only one was approved, and that was integrationist. Since the period suffered

high intervention from the executive power, and the legislative power did not have autonomy from the military government, this result might exemplify a scene where accommodationist propositions were presented, but did not pass as an actual law. It also important to highlight that this integrationist proposal that became an ordinary law during the dictatorship as presented by a parliamentarian who represented the political party ARENA, the military's party.

As for the idea that Accommodationist propositions would come more from Left oriented parties, and Integrationist and Assimilationist ones, from Right oriented parties, this has been proved wrong. In fact, Assimilationist proposals were introduced by centre oriented parties, and they are not an expressive amount of the data. There were only two in total, one being Assimilationist and Integrationist at the same time. Right, centre and left wing political parties had a higher production of Accommodationist proposals, although the Left has produced more in general, and the Centre parties had almost the same percentage of Accommodationist and Integrationist proposals, with 7% Accommodation, and 6% Integration and Accommodation. From what we have seen in history, there is evidence for the idea that Accommodationist proposals were indeed influenced by the Black Movement, and the general production of propositions did increase after the end of the dictatorship for both Accommodation and Integration.

Another important information is that 79% of the approved propositions can be encountered in the period Democracy 2, which means that after the opening for a democratic period, there was more space for this type of dialogue, which before it was difficult to enter the public sphere. As for the content of the approved proposals, we have seen that they are distributed as mostly tributes, which account for almost half of the new laws; followed by the ones related to anti-discrimination measures, and lastly the ones concerning cultural preservation

All in all, it can be concluded that Accommodationist approaches have been conquering space in the political debate in Brazil, especially through the quota systems and fight for public recognition of African culture and identity, and the past negative discrimination. Nevertheless, the Brazilian government approach for the racial segregation issue cannot be classified as purely Accommodationist. Its position has demonstrated itself to be hybrid in many ways regarding Accommodation and Integration, even combining both approaches in the same discourse. Finally, Assimilationist views have been kept in the past, at least from the point of view of the legislative production.

They barely appear in the observations, meaning that maybe the idea of a Racial Democracy and the founding ethnicities of Brazilian society is finally seen as a myth, and not a reality.

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Appendices:

Appendix 1: Ideology orientation of the political parties (Machado et al, 2015).

Left	Centre	Right
PT	PMDB	ARENA
PDT	PSDB	PTB
PCDOB	PSD	PFL
PV		PDS
MDB		PL
PSB		UDN
PCB		DEM
PMN		PDC
PSOL		PP
PPS		PPB
		PR
		PRN
		PSC
		PSP

Appendix 2: Brazilian Regions