

Visible Effects of Affirmative Action
An Analysis of Print Media in Brazil

Julia Wang
Department of Government
The University of Texas at Austin

Dr. Daniel Brinks
Department of Government
Thesis Supervisor

Dr. John McIver
Department of Government
Honors Thesis Advisor

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for Governmental Honors

May 2014

**Visible Effects of Affirmative Action:
An Analysis of Print Media in Brazil
By: Julia Wang**

Abstract

In 2004, University of Brasília was the first federal university to enact racial quotas into their admissions policy. This was a significant and progressive move by Brazil, after it had labeled itself a racial democracy for over forty years. This study focuses on investigating the sources of change and social effects resulting from the enactment of racial policies through the analysis of models' skin tone in advertisements of Brazilian print media. Advertisements serve as a measure of the Brazilian public's attitudes regarding the inclusion of Afro-Brazilians. Key questions of analysis include: Are policy changes the result of attitude changes? Or are attitude changes the result of policy changes? Is change due to a direct causal impact of the affirmative action policies or is the enactment of race-conscious policies and the change in models' skin tones the result of a shift in attitudes to begin with? Advertisements from 1998 to 2010 in three widely read Brazilian magazines are evaluated to see whether there is a relationship between the affirmative action policies enacted in Brazil in 2004 and the acceptance of racial inclusion (seen through the complexion of Brazilians represented in the media). Results show an increase in the representation of non-White Brazilians from 1998-2006. Following 2006 and the enactment of affirmative action policies, there is a decline in non-White representation, suggesting a public backlash against racial inclusion. These findings suggest that before 2004-2006, elite actions from social movements and the Executive produced a shift in public's attitudes and, after 2006, public attitudes affected policy change. These two entities did not exhibit a mutually reinforcing relationship, but at least in the short term, a negative relationship.

Table of Contents

I. Introduction

Overview.....	3
---------------	---

II. Background

The Extinction of Racial Democracy.....	4
---	---

Ambiguous Definitions of Race.....	5
------------------------------------	---

The Acceptance of Racial Inequality in Higher Education.....	6
--	---

Related Literature

<i>Shift to Race-Conscious Policies</i>	8
---	---

<i>From White to Black</i>	11
----------------------------------	----

III. Hypothesis

Hypothesis.....	15
-----------------	----

IV. Methodology

The Power of Print.....	17
-------------------------	----

Data Collection.....	20
----------------------	----

<i>Figure 4.1</i>	22
-------------------------	----

<i>Figure 4.2</i>	23
-------------------------	----

V. Results and Discussion

Theoretical Framework.....	24
----------------------------	----

<i>Figures 5.1-5.4</i>	25-28
------------------------------	-------

Results.....	29
--------------	----

<i>Figure 5.5-5.8</i>	31-34
-----------------------------	-------

<i>Advertisements as a Measure of Public's Attitude</i>	35
---	----

<i>Relationship between Policy Change and Attitude Change</i>	36
---	----

VI. Conclusion

Conclusion.....	40
-----------------	----

Future Considerations

<i>Not Enough Time to Tell?</i>	41
---------------------------------------	----

<i>Placing Fluid Racial Categories within a Rigid Legal Framework</i>	43
---	----

References.....	44-46
-----------------	-------

Acknowledgements

I would like to take the time to express my sincere gratitude to the following individuals for guiding me this past year and supporting me through this challenging, yet fruitful, endeavor. These individuals were instrumental to the development of my research and I can confidently say that without their help, I would not have been able to accomplish as much as I have. First and foremost, thank you Dr. Daniel Brinks for your unending patience, gracious guidance, and ever-valuable critiques of my research. Your constructive and thought-provoking suggestions kept me inspired and refreshed throughout this whole process. Many thanks for your constant encouragement. To Dr. John McIver, thank you for your useful recommendations and for showing a genuine interest in the students' research work. Your suggestions always pushed me to think beyond what I originally anticipated.

In addition, I would like to thank the Undergraduate Research Fellowship for providing funds necessary to conduct research for this study. Thank you Joao Esteves, Bernardo Fernandes, Gabriela Padua, and Micheli Zapparolli who so graciously agreed to participate in my research. Without you all, my research would not have been possible. Lastly, a special thank you to my family and friends. Thank you Mom and Dad for your constant support and encouraging words. They always brightened my day and kept me going when I was almost at the point of pulling out my hair. Thank you Michael Chung, Ashley Kim, and Casey Ip for never failing to give me a good laugh when needed and putting up with my semi-dramatic anxiety episodes. Your companionship kept me sane amid looming deadlines and the ever-approaching completion date.

I. INTRODUCTION

“Walking to and from work is humiliating. Women tighten the grasp on their handbags as I pass them.”

“I went to attend my friend’s swearing in as trade minister at the country’s capital. Instead of being greeted, I was asked to fetch a chair for another invitee. I wasn’t viewed as the guest but rather the ‘help.’”

“One time in my late 20s, I remember walking around a high-end mall and noticing that before I could enter any store, I was being trailed by security staff.”

“My wife and two sons live in a high-rise apartment in the heart of the capital. There was an instance when one of the residents approached my son at the condo’s swimming pool and reprimanded him for using the apartment’s facilities, saying ‘it was only for residents, not for the children of workers.’”

These are the stories of four different people living in Brazil. All are male. All are black. Known as Brazil’s “secret,” talk of racism was kept hidden and avoided for decades (Marotto 2008). People did not want to admit that racism was coming out of a country that spoke proudly of its racial fluidity and avoidance of discrimination. However, that which was spoken of Brazil in the past can no longer be said. Now, racism has been acknowledged by the government and it has made an effort to tackle the racial inequalities that plaque the country.

In 2004, University of Brasília (UNB) became the first federal university in the country to include racial quota policies in their admissions process (Romero 2012). This was a significant move by the government and a symbol of Brazil taking steps to address

discrimination. Since this time, there has been a dismissal of the notion of Brazil as a “racial democracy” and a push for racially conscious policies in higher educational institutions.

This thesis will focus on analyzing the sources of change and social effects from the enactment of racial policies. How are societal changes produced? How is society reacting to the impacts of these policies? I will explore print media, specifically widely read popular news and trade magazines, to see whether there is a relationship between the affirmative action policies enacted in Brazil in 2004 and the complexion of Brazilians as represented in the media. What is marketed and portrayed in the media is a reflection of attitudes and preferences. Thus, are policy changes the result of attitude changes? Or are attitude changes the result of policy changes? If there is a shift in the complexions of Brazilian models, is the change due to a direct causal impact of the affirmative action policies or is the enactment of race-conscious policies and the appearance of darker-skinned models the result of a shift in attitudes to begin with?

Overview

The remaining chapters are as follows: Chapter Two offers background information and related literature about the development of racial politics and its relation to higher education. Chapter Three states the hypothesis. Chapter Four provides a discussion of the methodology used to conduct the research, first describing the importance of print media in Brazil and, later, how the periodicals are analyzed. Chapter Five presents the data and uncovers the reason behind such results. The last chapter offers a summation of the study, including results and a discussion of the possible long-term effects of the affirmative action policies in the future.

II. BACKGROUND

The Extinction of Racial Democracy

Much like the United States, Brazil relied on a large African slave population to sustain its agriculture and mining economy. It was the largest Western Hemisphere importer of slaves, importing seven times more than the United States (Telles 2009). During colonialism, miscegenation was prevalent in Brazil between male European settlers and African and indigenous females. As a result, mixed-race offspring are common and embraced as unique to Brazil. Anti-miscegenation laws, segregation, and Jim Crow laws established in the United States did not find its way into Brazil's social and legal context, thus creating fluid and ambiguous racial categories. In the 1930s, Brazil claimed to be a racial democracy, escaping racism and racial discrimination. Gilberto Freyre popularized this idea as a symbol of Brazilian culture in his book *Casa Grande e Senzala (The Master and the Slaves)*. He attributed Brazil's "benign system of slavery and race relations" and the miscegenation among Europeans and African people to the country's transcendence of rigid, racial categories (Telles 2004). Brazilians prided themselves on avoiding the racial divisions and violence that were taking place during the same time in the United States.

However, in the 1980s, the idea of a racial democracy began to hold less validity. As Brazil transitioned to a democracy, more political space was given to social movements that wanted to voice their concerns. Black movements like the Movimento Negro Unificado denounced racial democracy and rallied against racial discrimination. Furthermore, Brazilian scholars began to study the injustice and racism that had been residing in Brazil all along. The once believed "mulatto nation" that Brazil prided itself on was no longer a

reality. For decades, the government denied allegations of racism and the discussion of such topics was avoided. However, today, most Brazilians acknowledge there is racial prejudice and discrimination within their country. Black and brown men earn half the income of white men. Those at the top of the income distribution such as doctors, judges, business executives, are almost all white. In addition, while nearly half of the population identifies itself as nonwhite, media and advertising outlets portray Brazil as being composed of almost all whites (Telles 2009).

Ambiguous Definitions of Race

The absence of classification laws and a history of miscegenation during the colonization of Brazil resulted in a racial continuum much more complex than just “black”, “brown” and “white”. In 1976, the *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) allowed Brazilians the option to write in their own skin color rather than confining themselves to the five options: *branca* (white), *preta* (black), *parda* (multiracial), *amarela* (yellow, East Asian), and *indígena* (indigenous) typically provided in the survey. The results showed that Brazilians used 135 different terms to describe their skin color. Some terms include “peach white”, “tint of coffee”, “dusky”, and “burnished red” (Telles 2004). Even the classification of “brown” has several intermediate definitions such as: *mulatto*, *moreno*, *castanho* (chestnut brown), *mulato escuro* (dark mulato), *moreno médio* (medium moreno), *pardo claro* (Guimarães 2010).

These “gray” areas make it difficult for Brazil to create race-based policies aimed at tackling racial inequalities. While it may be easy to define “white” and “black”, what about

the person who is “tint of coffee”? Would this individual qualify for benefits associated with race-conscious policies? What is the delineation between light brown and dark brown? How can Brazil make effective policies that address inequalities when the line between racial categories has not been clearly drawn? How can legislators delineate between skin tones when the boundaries are already so unclear? Such questions illustrate the complexity of problems the Brazilian government must work out in order to fully address greater issues of discrimination.

The Acceptance of Racial Inequality in Higher Education

The distance between both races is most apparent in comparing the acceptance of minorities in universities, which has been the topic of much debate and controversy surrounding affirmative action. Until recently, non-White Brazilians were rarely found in Brazil’s top public universities. Unlike the U.S., public universities in Brazil offer the best quality education in the country and are 100% funded by the federal government. The education level is regarded as being far superior to that offered in private universities (Telles 2013). Thus, the majority of students who are enrolled in public universities are from the wealthy, privileged class who attended private secondary schools. Paradoxically, a majority of Brazil’s working class attends private universities after graduating from poorly resourced public secondary schools. Not until recently did affirmative action policies apply to higher education programs and present a radical shift in the acknowledgement of racism.

Within the last decade, Brazil has enacted affirmative action policies aimed at diminishing the gap between its poor and rich population. In 2001, fourteen different

proposed bills in Congress were related to racial quota policies. That same year, Rio de Janeiro's state legislature approved a bill creating a 40% quota system for blacks in the two state universities (Htun 2004). In 2004, the University of Brasília became the first *federal* educational institution to reserve 20% of its entering student class to those who identified themselves as black or mixed-race (Romero 2010). Before the quotas, the University of Brasília was 98% White (Stephan 2007). Now with the enactment of quotas, Black students associated with low-income families can aspire to winning a spot at Brazil's top university.

Students interested in attending the University of Brasília must take a competitive entrance exam called the vestibular. Their score on the exam is the primary basis for admission. However, the quota process also requires a picture of students who have identified themselves as Afro-Brazilians. All applicants must wear a blue smock and pose against a neutral background. A secret committee determines which student looks "Black enough" to qualify for the quota system. The public has no knowledge as to how the committee determines the cut off between a White Brazilian and an Afro-descendant. A sufficient score on the vestibular and an approval from the secret committee will earn an Afro-Brazilian a spot as part of the University's entering class.

However, once it was in operation, the quotas started to be the focus of considerable negative press, including much questioning of the procedure, and the effects on non-Black students. In 2009, Brazil's Democratas Party (DEM) filed a lawsuit against UNB claiming the quota system was a violation of principles like human dignity, color prejudice, and discrimination included in the 1988 Constitution (Jinkings 2012). Until recently, Brazil's Supreme Court formally acknowledged and justified the use of quotas to create racial diversity in universities. On April 26, 2012, Brazil's Supreme Court ruled in favor of the

University of Brasília in a 10-0 vote to allow racial quotas in its admission process. The Supreme Court's ruling set a precedent for other state and federal universities, allowing some form of preferential admission based on race and/or income. Later that same year, the Senate approved of a new federal law, known as the Law of Social Quotas. It requires Brazil's fifty-nine federal universities to reserve half of their admissions to poor high school graduates of public schools and increase the number of students of African descent within the student population- all within just four years. Edward Telles and Marcelo Paixão predict that in four years, the number of students under the quota system will have tripled (Telles & Paixão 2013). Furthermore, Luiza Bairros, the minister in charge of Brazil's Secretariat for Policies to Promote Racial Equality believes the new law will increase the number of Afro-Brazilians admitted to public universities from 8,700 to 56,000 (Romero 2012). While these changes are sure to make an impact on the landscape of university campuses, can the same be said for Brazil's media landscape?

Related Literature

Shift to Race-Conscious Policies

What caused Brazil to dismiss the notion of a racial democracy? Why the sudden change and push to enact race-conscious policies after decades of embracing the notion of the "uniqueness" of a mixed-race Brazil? Political science and sociology scholars have analyzed how ideas introduced by the state translated into a sudden policy change in Brazil. Issue networks stemming from Afro-Brazilian movements, presidential initiative, and international events were key factors that created an environment for affirmative action

policies to be recognized. In 1988, Congress passed a law that defined racism as a crime, making such an act subject to imprisonment without the possibility for bail (Htun 2004).

In addition, state governors created agencies aimed at training police on diversity issues, teaching Afro-Brazilian history into classrooms, and creating advisory groups centered on black affairs. Although these laws were ineffective in deterring racism and the agencies were poorly resourced, their creation was an indication that Brazil was starting to reject the racial democracy thesis that it prided itself on before. International foundations, like the Ford Foundation, poured millions of dollars into supporting nongovernmental organizations centered on fighting racism. Not only did Ford help fund Afro-Brazilian-centered organizations such as The Institute for Black Brazilian Women, the Center for the Study of Racial Inequality in the Workplace, and the Center for Marginalized Populations, this foundation also helped develop a network of black attorneys and fund academic research on remedies for racial discrimination (Telles 2004).

Fernando Henrique Cardoso's ascendancy to presidency in 1995 has been called a "watershed moment" in the development of race-conscious policies. Up until his presidency, racial rhetoric was getting more popular and widespread as journalists, politicians in Congress, and economists from government research institutions advocated for an Afro-Brazilian movement. However, Cardoso's appointment opened positions of power to those interested in promoting Afro-Brazilians. Earlier in his career, as a sociologist, Cardoso conducted research concerning race relations in South Brazil. He authored two books titled *Capitalism and Slavery in Southern Brazil: Blacks in the Slave Society of Rio Grande do Sul* (1962) and *Color and Social Mobility in Florianopolis: Aspects of Relations between Blacks and Whites in a Southern Brazilian Community* (1960) (Telles 2004). The president was

very vocal in his belief of anti-racism. In several interviews and speeches, Cardoso took advantage of his presidency as a bully pulpit. He expressed his support for affirmative action, his belief in the myth of racial democracy, and his defense of racial quotas, stating, “If there were two people with equal qualifications to name to a post, one being black, I would name the black person” (*Veja*, 6 May 1998). Thus, when the time came, Cardoso appointed social scientists to serve as his ministers and created the opportunity for new discussion on changing racial politics.

The final push that led Brazil to seriously address racism in their country was the World Conference on Racism, held in Durban in 2001. Preparations for the conference were at the forefront of Brazilian media outlets, stressing reports of racism and inequality for the public to hear. Prior to the conference, the International Committee for the Elimination of Racism released a report revealing the Brazilian government’s confession to racism and its discriminative aims (Telles 2004). Furthermore, according to Edward Telles, the transformation of Brazil’s media was one of the greatest signs of change. During the week before and week of the conference, Brazil’s major newspapers ran stories and editorials on race, racism, and the Durban Conference daily. From August 25 to August 31, five major newspapers produced 170 news articles. This was a huge shift from the occasionally featured race-centered story. What came out of the conference was just as impactful as the preparations, for it presented an opportunity for victims of racism to be fairly represented in politics and education. Htun includes a quote by the U.N ambassador Gelson Fonseca Jr. that describes the significance of the conference. He states

“Durban...legitimized the debate on racism at the international level and recognized the need for remedial actions to benefit the victims of discrimination...At the

domestic level, it mobilized civil society and public opinion against racism, and strengthened the political will for policies to combat discrimination...”

This review of the existing literature on race policy in Brazil suggests that a series of elite-level initiatives might have been the trigger for deep social change around questions of race. The networks formed by Afro-Brazilian movements, the political platform generated by Cardoso’s presidential power, and the preparations for and attendance at Durban stimulated media interest and a great deal of positive press. This may well have prompted Brazilian publics to acknowledge the need for greater inclusion of Afro-descendants in everyday life. As this change in social attitudes pervaded society, the idea of racial quotas seems to have become more and more acceptable, even in a country that had prided itself on not recognizing racial lines at all. The change in social attitudes may have led policy makers to feel safe in implementing the quite radical quotas that began to be adopted in 2004.

From White to Black

In Latin America, whiteness symbolizes power, wealth, and beauty. It implies privilege and stands at the top of the social structure while Blacks lie at the bottom. In Brazilian television, Whites are depicted as successful, middle-class individuals embodying beauty and happiness. However, nonwhites hardly make appearances on popular shows, or if they do, they are portrayed in menial roles (Telles, 2004). Likewise, there is an overwhelming majority of European images in advertising rather than realistic representations of the country’s makeup in which nearly half of the population is black or brown. Despite the racial stereotypes presented in the media, literature on Brazilian racial

classification suggests there is a “darkening” in how Brazilians identify themselves (Francis et al. 2013; Guimarães, 2010). They are becoming increasingly more comfortable and accepting of classifying with darker skin tone classifications.

Guimarães’ research explores the validity of a general trend argued by scholars like Bailey and Telles who assert that due to the implementation of racial quotas in affirmative action policies, there will be a tendency for Brazilians to self-identify with darker categories than before. Analysis of IBGE¹ census data and representative sample surveys by DataFolha shows strong evidence in support of Bailey and Telles’ claim. The Brazilian population is using darker skin tones to identify themselves.

Based on census data from 1995 to 2008, there is a decrease (6 percentage points) in the number of people who declare themselves to be *branco* (white), while there is an increase in the number of people who classify themselves to be *preta* (black) or *parda* (brown) (1.5 percentage points and 4 percentage points, respectively).

DataFolha survey data showed that those who used to classify themselves as *branco* in 1995 had a tendency to identify themselves as *moreno*² in 2008. When asked the open question “what is your color?” in 1995, 50% of the respondents answered *branco* while 15% answered *moreno*. In 2008 they were asked the same question but 32% of respondents answered *branco* and 33% answered *moreno*. What was an 18 percentage point decrease in the classification of *branco* from 1995 to 2008 resulted in an 18 percentage point increase in the identification of *moreno*. Furthermore, those who classified themselves as *moreno* were asked to reclassify themselves using the census categories of *branco*, *parda*, *preto*, and other.

¹ Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatísticas (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics)

² Brown

In 1995, 14% of respondents reclassified themselves as *branco*. However, in 2008, the number dropped to 10%. In 1995, 7% of respondents reclassified themselves as *preto*. However, in 2008, the number increase by 5% points to 12%. Guimarães concludes that, based on the results of both data sets, there is a “darkening” of racial self-identification in some Brazilians.

Another study conducted by Francis and Tannuri-Pianto (2013) explores whether policy changes impact racial identity by analyzing survey data from University of Brasília students pre and post the 2004 quota. A panel of Brazilian reviewers was asked to rate the skin tone of subjects in photos from a scale of 1(light) to 7 (dark). The average standardized score was calculated and sorted into quintiles with the “lightest quintile” representing the lowest 20% of average standardized scores, the “second quintile” representing the next 20%, and so on. Francis and Tannuri-Pianto concluded that after the implementation of racial quotas, students in the fourth and darkest quintile were less likely to self-identify as *branco* and more likely to identify with *pardo*. Pre-quotas, 34.9% of the students identified themselves as *branco* and 57.8% identified as *pardo*. Post-quotas, 25.7% of students identified as *branco* while 67.3% identified as *pardo*. Students in the darkest quintile were also more likely to self-identify as *preto* as the percentage of students pre and post-quotas increased by 17.7%. One may argue that the change in applicant pool could be causing the percentage changes. However, additional evidence from students who completed two surveys, one as an applicant and two as a student, suggests that the increase in percentage of respondents who identified as *pardo* as an applicant and *preto* as a student coincides with the implementation of racial quotas. Pre-quota, 0.7% of students, who initially identified themselves as *pardo* as an applicant, identified themselves as *preto* as a student. Post-quota,

the percentage jumped to 6.1%. These results give evidence to the change of racial identity and the tendency to identify with darker skin tones as a result of the changes in racial politics.

III. HYPOTHESIS

Dominant literature suggests that social change comes as a result of elites controlling policy making. Scholars credit Afro-Brazilian groups and the Cardoso administration as the reason for the enactment of affirmative action policies, which have led to attitude changes within the public arena. This phenomenon is based on a top-down model. The policy change created at the top of the pyramid by a few will eventually reach the bottom of the social hierarchy, reaching the masses and changing their attitudes regarding the relevant issue. Thus, this supports the belief that attitude changes reflect policy changes i.e., the enactment of affirmative action policies in universities resulted in a “darkening” of self-identification.

My starting hypothesis posited a mutually reinforcing relationship between social preferences and social policy, that begins with social change. In this model, attitude change and policy change have a mutually reinforcing relationship. A change in social attitudes causes an enactment of new policies around an issue, which then cause a further attitude shift. If this is true, then before the affirmative action laws came into effect in 2004, the public’s attitudes toward racial inclusion will have already improved. For instance, an event may influence the public’s attitudes against racism and for the equality of Afro-Brazilians. This change in attitudes will spur the government to take action in creating racial policies. And, if they are successful, the 2004 affirmative action policies should cause a further increase in the acceptance of Afro-Brazilians, reinforcing the previous shift. Thus, according to this hypothesis, affirmative action laws are an effect of a previous exogenous event *and* a cause of shift in attitudes. The occurrences of lighter and darker skinned models in magazine advertisements will be used as a proxy for changes in social attitudes. An

increase in lighter skinned models represents the public's opposition to Afro-Brazilian inclusion while the increase in darker skinned models represents the public's acceptance of such issue. Based on this theory, before 2004, I hypothesize Brazilian periodicals will have a small, but increasing occurrence of darker skinned models. After the 2004 affirmative action policy, there should be a further increase in the representation of Afro-Brazilian models represented in periodicals.

IV. METHODOLOGY

The research question requires one to analyze whether attitude shifts, that are driving policy change, are creating positive or negative effects? In order to answer this question, I created a new method of measuring social attitudes using magazine advertisements. Thus, the percentage of lighter and darker skinned models in magazine advertisements serves as a proxy for attitude changes. An increase in lighter skinned models represents the public's negative attitude regarding Afro-Brazilian inclusion, while an increase in darker skinned models represents the public's acceptance. The following describes the importance of print media in Brazil and how the method was carried out.

The Power of Print

Contrary to the decline in print media circulation in Europe and the United States, Brazil's print media market is booming. McKinsey & Company's 2013 Global Media Report showed that Latin America had a 13.3% increase of media spending in 2012 and predicted that over the next five years, Latin America, Asia Pacific, Central Europe, and Eastern Europe would generate a 63% increase in advertising growth. According to the Instituto Verificador de Circulação (IVC)³, 73% of Brazilians prefer to access their news from print media publications rather than online sources and in 2007, the total circulation of Brazilian newspapers rose to 12%. Between June 2010 and June 2011, the average circulation of magazines increased by 5% from the previous period to 13.7 million, setting a new record. Furthermore, in 2011, magazine advertisement spending increased by 3.5%

³ a nonprofit organization that audits the circulation of newspapers and magazines in Brazil

(Almeida 2007). Thus, print media is a highly relevant and instrumental market for dominant ideas to influence the Brazilian public.

It is also important to consider the relationship between print media and the public's attitude shift. The advertisements featured in magazines are a reflection of what advertising agencies, advertisers, and, possibly, magazine publishers believe will appeal most to their target-audience. Thus, magazines will include advertisements that reflect the perceived shared interests or values of their readership. These values may not exactly reflect "true" attitudes in society, but should reflect the socially acceptable ideals of a society, as interpreted by advertising and marketing professionals. For example, while, realistically, Afro-Brazilians are not represented and incorporated equally in the job market and media sphere, darker skinned models may be featured in advertisements because the audience wants to see a diversity of skin tones representative of Brazil. This recognition of the need for diversity in advertisements should broadly reflect attitudes regarding racial acceptance – changes in inclusiveness in advertising photographs should mirror changes in public preferences for inclusiveness.

My analysis of Brazil's print media focuses on complexion color in popular news and culture magazines as well as professional magazines. I focus on the skin color of models featured in magazine advertisements. The question that is asked when considering these images is: What color models do companies choose to sell their products? Do the advertisements accurately portray the racial makeup of Brazil? Three magazines widely distributed throughout Brazil are evaluated. Two magazines cover news and pop culture (*Veja*, *ISTOÉ*), while one specializes in business and economics (*Exame*). All three generate a consistent production of monthly issues, published from 1998 through 2010.

Veja is the leading weekly news magazine in Brazil and is published by Latin America's largest publishing company, Editora Abril. Not only does Abril lead the magazine market in terms of circulation volume (54%)⁴, it also leads the market in advertising revenues (58%)⁵. In 2005, Editora Abril experienced a 15% increase in magazine advertisements. *Veja* was the first Brazilian newsweekly magazine ever published and now boasts of a weekly circulation of 1, 114, 000⁶, a subscribership of 906,966⁷ and a readership of 7,950,000⁸. Furthermore, it is the 4th largest weekly newsmagazine in the world, following *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *US News & World Report* (Crocitti et al. 2012). The magazine covers a broad arrange of topics including: Brazilian news, international news, the economy, business, art, entertainment, health, education, technology, and fashion.

ISTOÉ is also one of the top three weekly news magazine published in Brazil. Published by Editora Três, its average weekly circulation is around 338,000. The magazine covers current events, politics, business, sports, and entertainment (Prado 2010).

Exame, owned by Editora Abril, is the leading business magazine in Brazil. According to the Abril Group, "91% of the 500 largest companies CEOs operating in Brazil are EXAME readers." Published biweekly, *Exame* has 115,000 subscribers, 1,000,000 readers, and an average circulation of 150,000.⁹ The magazine offers information and analysis about financial issues happening both domestically and internationally, management strategies, marketing, human resources, and technology (Puin 2008).

⁴ Source: IVC Jan/Dec 2005

⁵ Source: Intermeios Project Jan/Dec 2005

⁶ Source: IVC Jan/Dec 2005

⁷ Source: IVC Jan/Dec 2005

⁸ Sources: Brazil Projection based upon Consolidated Marplan 2005 and IVC

⁹Source: Ipsos Marplan

The range of years 1998-2010 covers about six years before and after 2004. Within the range, two major pieces of legislation were created, affecting the student racial makeup in higher education. In 2001, two state universities in Rio de Janeiro were the first to implement racial quotas in their admissions policies. Just three years later in 2004, the University of Brasília followed suit and became the first *federal* university to use racial quotas in its admissions. Thus, the thirteen-year span is sufficient time to notice any trends developing slowly around 2001, leading up to 2004, and taking effect post-2004.

Data Collection

The independent variable in this study is whether or not the policy change has been enacted. The dependent variable is the percentage of White and non-White Brazilians depicted in the advertisements of a particular issue of a magazine. Two sets of data will be plotted showing the instances of White representation and instances of non-White representation.

A diverse¹⁰ panel of four, neutral, self-identified Brazilians analyzed images in the first issue of every monthly magazine, recording and categorizing the different color complexions of models. Each coder was given the same set of questions to answer for every model in every advertisement of every magazine (Figure 4.1). Question (a.) on the survey asks the coders to rate the skin tone of each figure in the advertisement on a scale of 1-5. The coders were trained with a template that included photographs of Brazilians showing

¹⁰ The panel consisted of three undergraduate students and one alumna from the University of Texas at Austin. Two coders are from São Paulo (capital of the state of São Paulo), one from Rio de Janeiro (capital of the state of Rio de Janeiro), and another from Belo Horizonte (capital of the state of Minas Gerais).

variations of skin tone aligned from lighter to darker, and assigned numerical values (see Figure 4.2). #1 represents white skin tone, #2 light brown, #3 brown, #4 dark brown, and #5 black. Before they began coding, as a group, they were asked to evaluate the “accuracy” of the scale and arrive at a consensus as to where each photograph should be placed along the continuum, rearranging the scale, if needed. They were asked to collectively agree whether they thought the images in each category corresponded accurately to the number on the scale. The four coders agreed that there was a clear distinction between #2 light brown and #3 brown categories. Thus, categories #1 and #2 represent White representation while categories #3-#5 represent non-White representation.

For each year, the coders alternated between months, coding every other month (e.g. For year 1998, code January, March, May, July, September, November; For year 1999, code April, June, August, October, December)¹¹. Three advertisements per periodical were randomly chosen based on their placement in the magazine: one immediately following the front cover, one in the middle, and one nearest the back cover. The panel identified and ranked each image based on the model’s skin color using the agreed upon scale. The gender and dress¹² of the figures and the context in which the figures are placed were recorded for every advertisement as well. These measures provide more context and possible reasons as to why a shift or lack of may occur.

¹¹ Months in which events are characterized by an over-representation of white or black Brazilians were excluded in the analysis. In February, Brazil hosts the annual *Carnaval* celebrating the last days before Lent. This national holiday emphasizes African culture- food, music, religion, and dance. Thus, the month of February was excluded from this study’s consideration.

¹² Dress implies social class: elite white-collar worker vs. blue collar worker

Figure 4.1 - Survey

1. Magazine Title: _____

2. Date of Magazine: _____

3. Page of advertisement: _____

4. What is the advertisement about? _____

5. How many figures are in the advertisement? _____

For each figure, please answer the following questions:
Please indicate which figure you are referring to (e.g. 1, 2, 3...) _____

a. On a scale of 1-5, rate the skin tone of each figure (Choose closest/best answer) _____

b. Gender (Male/Female): _____

c. Social Class/Dress (elite white collar worker/blue collar worker):

d. What role does the figure play in the advertisement?

e. What relationship does the identified figure have with the rest of the figures? _____

1-White



2-Light Brown



3-Brown



4-Dark Brown



5-Black

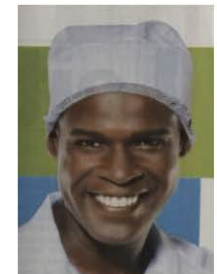


Figure 4.2 - Scale

V. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Theoretical Framework

The question to consider when analyzing the data: How do greater societal changes come about? Is it a result of elites' actions and/or the public's shift in attitudes? There are four possible outcomes to anticipate. Below are four graphs that depict the possible relationships between policy change and attitude change.

Figure 5.1 illustrates the top-down model that scholars, such as Mala Htun and Edward Telles believe to be true. In this idealized representation, there is a low percentage of Afro-Brazilians depicted in print media before affirmative action policies are enacted in 2004. However, after these policies are created, there is an increase in Afro-Brazilian models shown in magazines. In this model, the actual policy change takes place for reasons that are exogenous to public attitudes.

The Enactment of Policy CAUSES Attitude Shift



Fi

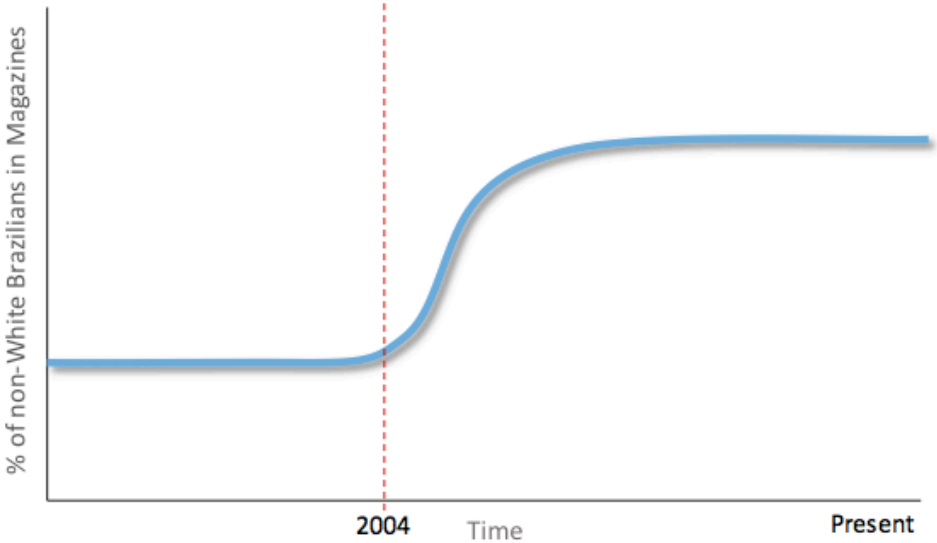


Figure 5.2 demonstrates an inverted graph of Figure 5.1. In this case, people's attitudes determine public policy. There is a steady increase in the depiction of Afro-Brazilians until the policy is enacted. Thereafter, the line is even and straight. Here, the causes of attitude changes are exogenous to public policy.

Attitude Shift CAUSES Enactment of Policy



Fi

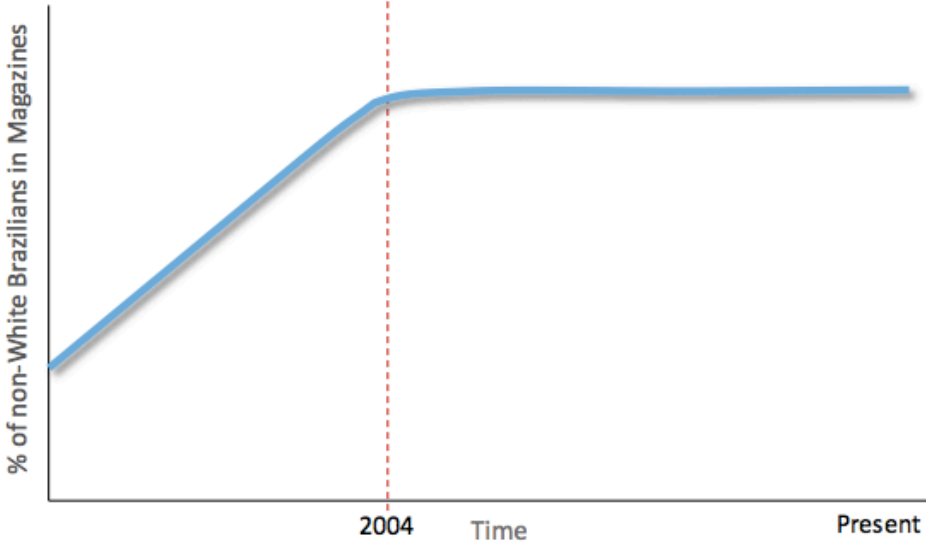


Figure 5.3 shows no change in the percentage of Afro-Brazilians before and after the implementation of public policies. Thus, elite attitudes and policies have no effect on the public's actions.

There is NO CAUSAL RELATIONSHIP between Attitude Shift and Enactment of Policy



Fi

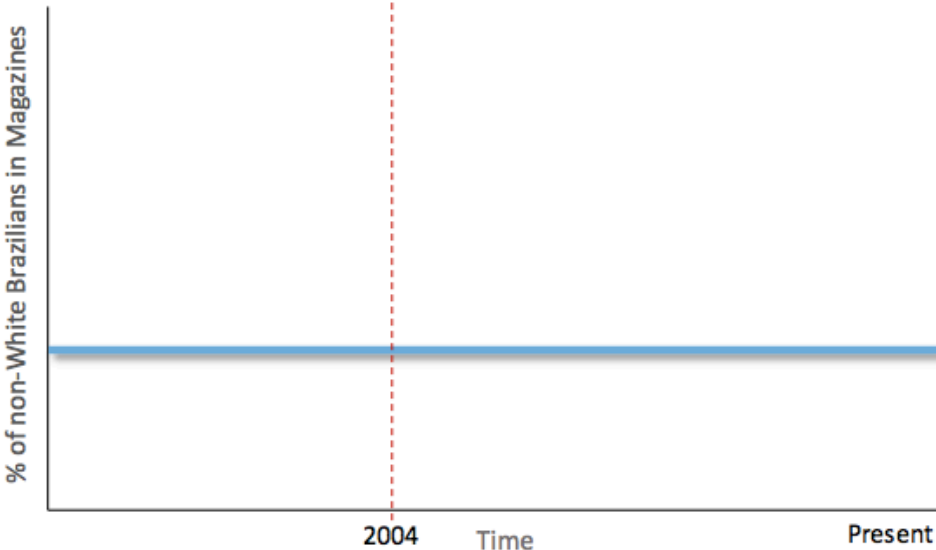
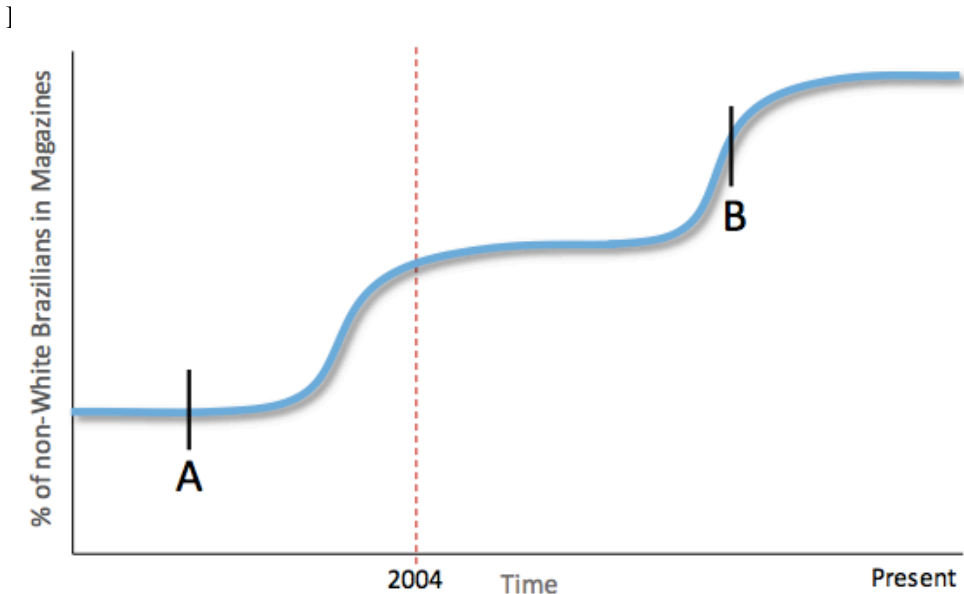
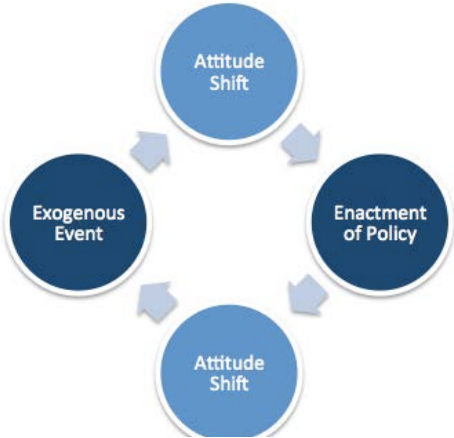


Figure 5.4 portrays attitude change and policy change’s mutually reinforcing relationship. (A) represents an event that caused a change in the public’s attitudes signified by the increase in percentage values of the y-axis. (B) represents another increase in attitudes, reinforcing the previous shift. Between “Event A” and “Shift B”, the enactment of affirmative action laws takes place. Thus, affirmative action laws are an effect of the change in attitudes that follows Event A *and* a cause of the change in attitudes marked at B.

Attitude Shift CAUSES Enactment of Policy which is also a CAUSE of Attitude Shift



Results

From the raw data, percentages were calculated to form a comparison of the frequency of White to non-White representation in magazines. The percentage of White representation was taken from the total occurrences of identified White (#1) and Light Brown (#2) figures out of the total number of figures in the three selected advertisements for that magazine's monthly issue. Using the same method, the percentage of non-White representation was taken from the total occurrences of identified Brown (#3), Dark Brown (#4), and Black (#5) figures out of the total number of figures in the three advertisements for that magazine's monthly issue. As stated in Chapter IV: Methodology (Data Collection), the delineation of what is considered White versus non-White skin tone was collectively agreed upon by the coders. These percentages were then graphed onto a scatterplot. A polynomial regression line with a cubic spline was calculated, using Excel, to show the trend line.

Veja's graph (See Figure 5.5) depicts a slight decrease of Afro-Brazilian representation from approximately 22% to 19% from 1998 to 2000. Around late 2000 to early 2001, there was a steady increase of Afro-Brazilian representation, reaching just slightly below 40% in 2007. Afterwards, there was a sharp decline of representation, ending at 25% by the end of 2010.

Exhibiting slightly different but similar results, *Istoé's* graph (See Figure 5.6) begins with a steady increase of Afro-Brazilian representation from 1998 to 2004-2005. In 1998, 23% of models in advertisements were non-White. By 2004, the representation of non-White models reached its peak of just a little more than half of all models. Thereafter, the percentage drops dramatically back down to about 28% by 2010. In both of these cases, the

percentage of non-White models beings very low – about half of the actual percentage of non-White population of Brazil – grows until around the time the federal quota systems begin make themselves felt, and then drops again very quickly, almost all the way back to the original percentages.

As seen in Figure 5.7, in *Exame*, non-White representation begins at around 36% in 1998. It decreased ever so slightly to 30% by 2001. However, from 2001 to late 2006, the trend line was flat, signifying no change in non-White representation. Starting around early 2007, there was a slightly larger decrease, resulting in non-White representation falling to 25%.

The overall graph (See Figure 5.8) represents the average of all three data sets in the three magazines: *Veja*, *Istoé*, and *Exame*. The results closely mirror that of *Veja*'s graph. There was an increase in Afro-Brazilian representation from 29% to 41%, from 1998 to 2005. However, after 2005, there was a sharp decline. By 2010, the percentage of Afro-Brazilian representation dropped to 26%.

For every figure, data was collected regarding his/her gender, dress, role he/she played in the advertisements, and relationship he/she had with the other figures (if applicable). The data shows there is no relationship between gender and darker/lighter skin tones, dress and darker/lighter skin tones, and roles and darker/lighter skin tones.

Figure 5.5 – Representation of Models' Skin Tone in *Veja* Magazines (1998-2010)

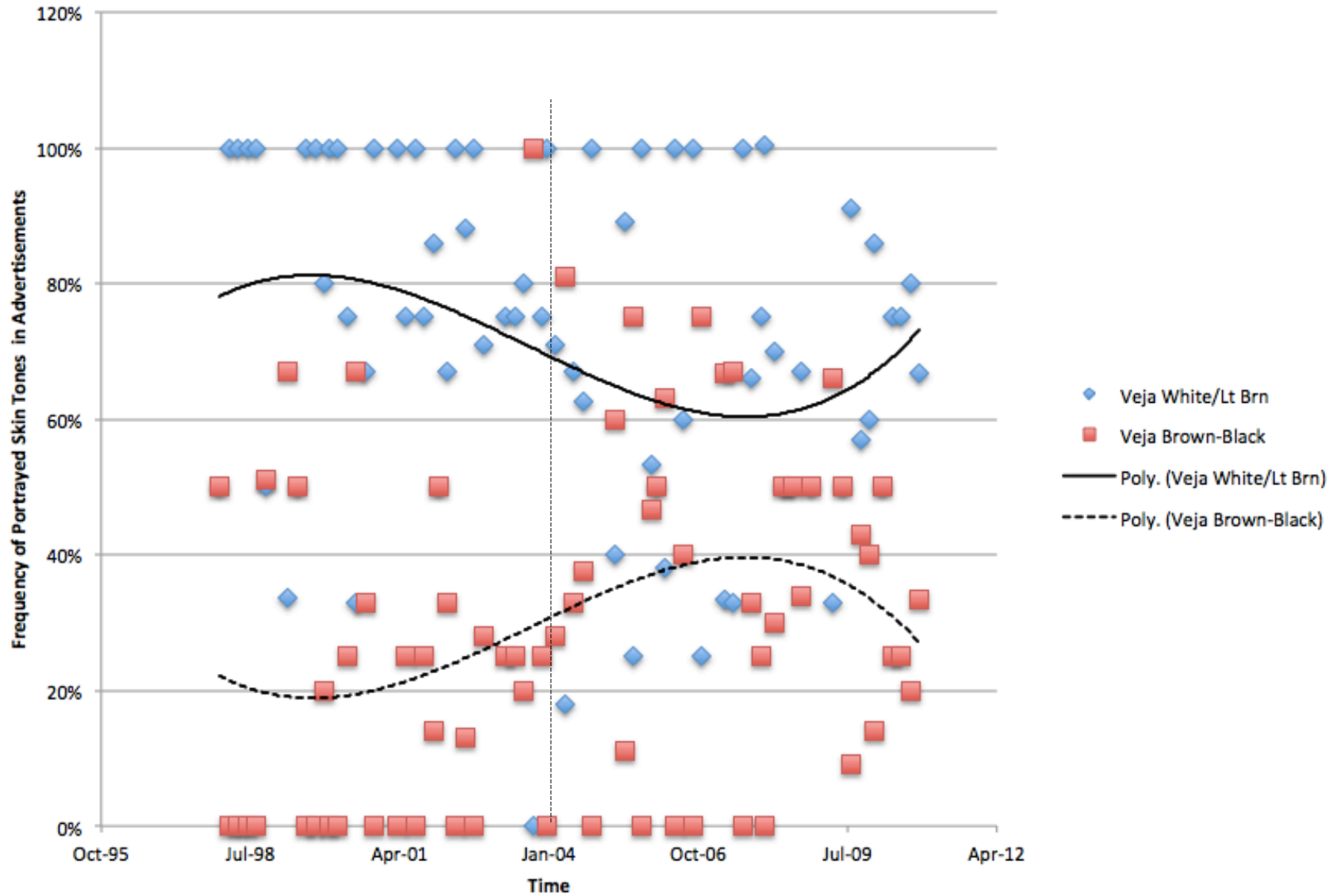
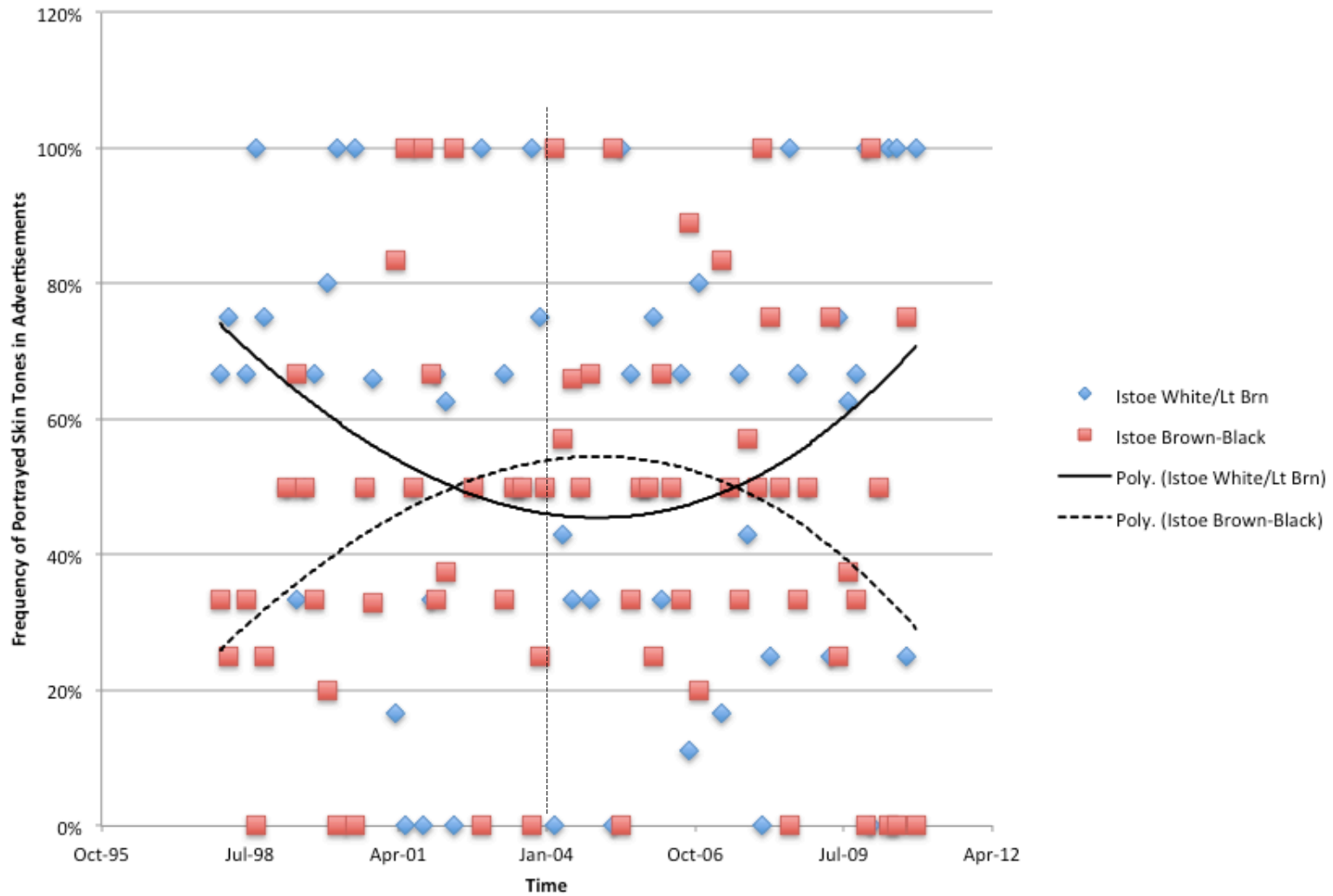


Figure 5.6 – Representation of Models’ Skin Tone in *Istoé* Magazines (1998-2010)¹³



¹³ Data for advertisements in months May 1998, December 1999, May 2000, and July 2002 were not collected. The Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection did not have those issues in their library catalog.

Figure 5.7 – Representation of Models' Skin Tone in *Exame* Magazines (1998-2010)

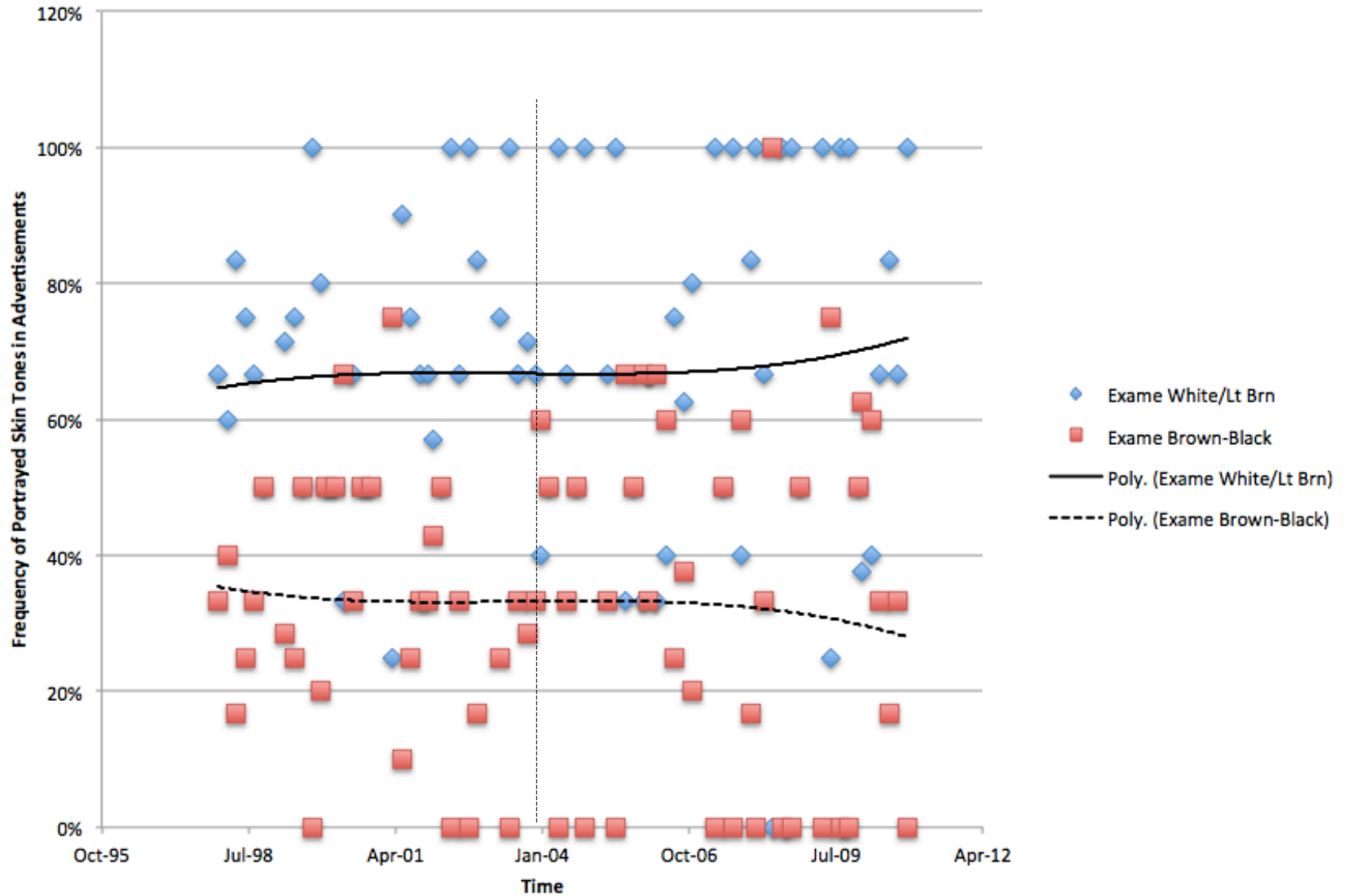
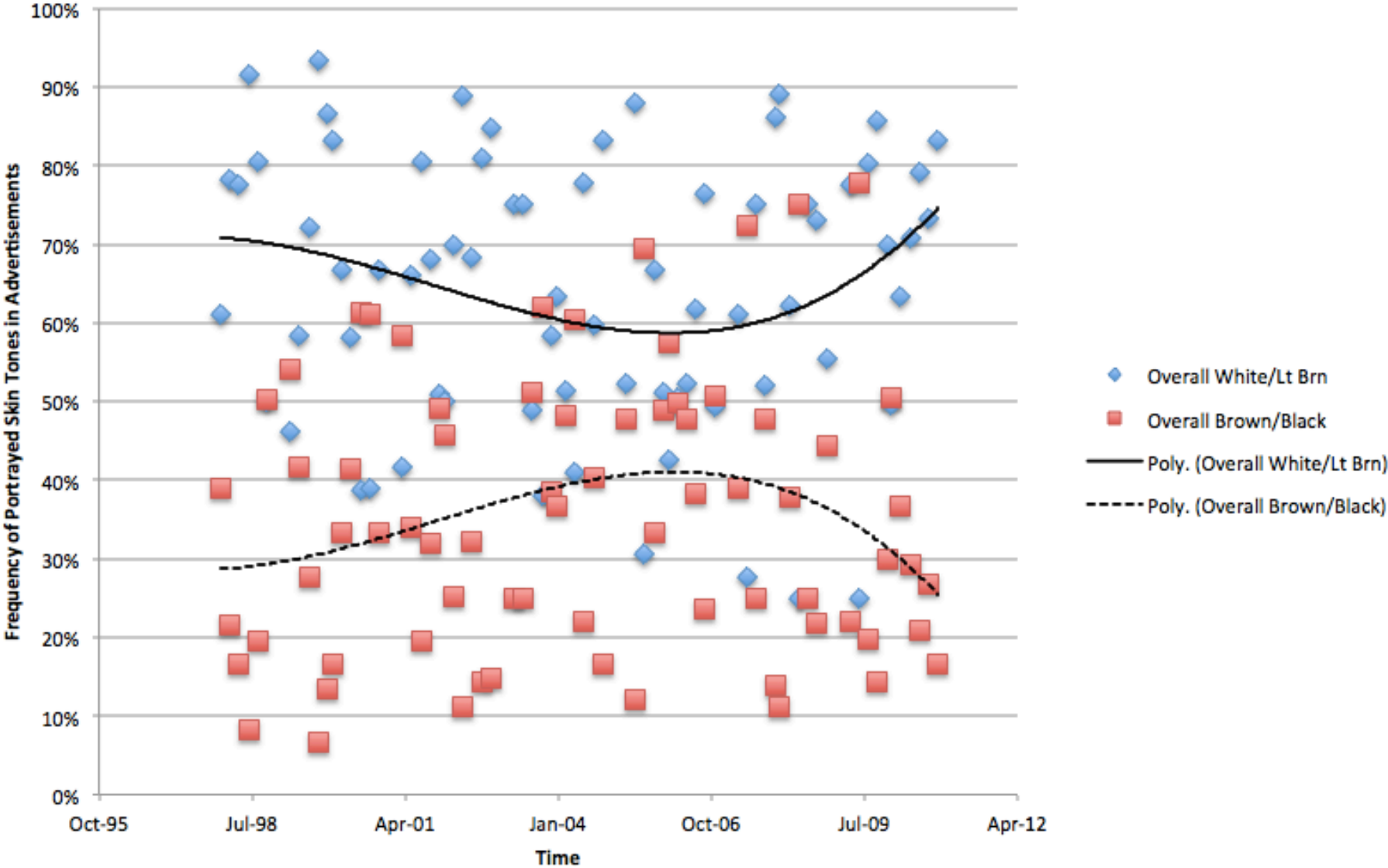


Figure 5.8 – Average Representation of Models’ Skin Tone in All Magazines (1998-2010)



Advertisements as a Measure of Public's Attitude

All three graphs show an increase, or at most a flat trend, in the representation of non-White Brazilians from 1999-2005/2006. Following 2006, there is a decline in non-White representation and an increase in White representation. The trends shown in magazine advertisements mirror that of public attitudes, starting with the gradual acceptance of the idea that Afro-Brazilians need to be included in more areas of society, then leading to the creation of policy, and lastly, resulting in the public's backlash against racial inclusion once reforms were enacted.

The graphs for the two news and popular culture magazines display similar trend lines whereas the professional business magazine shows less visible influence of public opinion. *Veja* and *Istoé* both have the most distinct and dramatic inclusion and withdrawal of non-White representation in their advertisements. In terms of circulation, both magazines fall in the top three weekly news magazines published in Brazil. Due to their large circulation, advertisement companies aim to target their advertisements in these magazines to a broad audience, appealing to the majority. Thus, the advertisements in *Veja* and *Istoé* exhibit a sensitivity and awareness of trending political and social issues, shaping their advertisements to reflect outside influences and ideas. On the other hand, *Exame's* graph shows less movement, suggesting that the advertisements exhibited were not in tune with trending public attitudes. However, this can be expected of professional magazines that target a more conservative and specific audience instead of the public at large. There would be little need for advertisements to reflect trendy and popular ideas to an audience whose focus is narrowly confined to a small slice of the population – elite business professionals – that is largely White and male.

The representation of non-White models in magazine advertisements directly parallels what we know about the public's attitudes toward affirmative action laws between 1998-2010. Thus, we can take the trends in inclusion of racially diverse models in prominent advertising venues as an indicator of public attitudes toward racial inclusion. Advertisement companies featuring their advertisements in magazines are responsive to relevant political and social issues, creating ads that closely mirror the magazine's readers' attitudes towards these issues. But what does the data tell us about how attitude change affects policy change?

Relationship between Policy Change and Attitude Change

The key question to answer is whether attitude change is a result of policy change or vice versa. Consistent in all three magazines is the steady increase (in *Exame's* case, stable flat trend) in non-White models around 2004-2006 but the decline in the representation of non-White models after the enactment of affirmative action policies in 2004. As we will see, the trend lines before 2004-2006 suggest that the efforts of Afro-descendant movements and the Executive changed public attitudes toward inclusiveness, leading up to the implementation of racial quotas; the trend lines post-2004 and subsequent policy changes suggest that the public's reaction to those quotas pushed policy-makers to adopt a slightly different approach. The relationship between public opinion and public policy on this issue seems to be a dynamic one, in which elite, top-down efforts can shape public opinion, but the latter in turn shape elite policy-making decisions – although not in the way originally expected.

Leading up to 2004, the Afro-Brazilian movement was gaining more influence, creating more Afro-Brazilian centered organizations and developing networks with different types of professional groups. Furthermore, former President Cardoso's racially inclusive social aims and Brazil's preparation for the World Conference on Racism in Durban heavily influenced the public's awareness and acceptance of the idea of inclusion of Afro-Brazilians. Top figures in political positions helped push the idea of racial inclusion on the public, priming them for acceptance of such policies. The gradual increase in racial inclusiveness in magazine ads throughout this period supports the top-down model, which states ideas originating from the top of the political power hierarchy trickle down to the public, showing how policy change can affect public attitudes.

However, the post-2004 results show the opposite dynamic. After the enactment of racial quotas, there was backlash against affirmative action policies from the public, both concerning Rio de Janeiro's state laws and Brazil's federal laws. In 2001, Rio de Janeiro's legislature introduced racial quotas in state universities that required 40% of the admitted class be reserved for Afro-descendants. Once the costs of this policy for more privileged White students became clear, there were strong reactions. By 2004, the Federation of Private Schools brought legal action against Rio de Janeiro, claiming the state law was unconstitutional. In addition, there were more than one hundred writs by white students seeking injunctive relief asking the court to make an exception for them and rule against the state law (Telles 2004). Students claimed they were being discriminated against and displaced by the quotas. Likewise, there was considerable backlash from white students after the enactment of quotas in the Federal University of Brasília's 2004 admissions policy. Frustration developed as students who worked hard and spent countless hours and resources

preparing for the entrance exam found themselves lacking an acceptance slip, despite scoring higher on the vestibular than their Afro-Brazilian peers. Three hundred white students filed and won injunctions from the court, claiming they were “denied equality of access to schooling guaranteed by Brazil’s 1988 Constitution” (Daniel 2010). Thus, it appears that people like the idea of diversity and racial inclusion so long as it is theoretical, and it is not clear what the costs will be. But when it is put in practice, the public is much more hesitant to accept such policies.

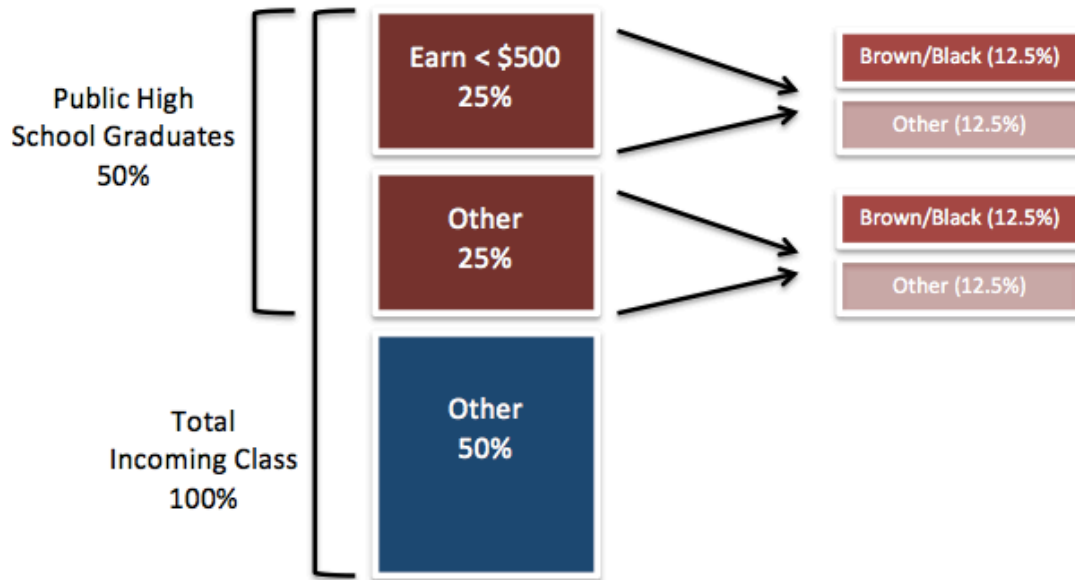
Policy changes following this backlash also suggest that the public’s attitudes exert strong influence over government policy. Although the state’s legislators were avid proponents of affirmative action laws, in 2010 the government responded to the public’s backlash and criticisms. Since then, the government has tried to maintain a balance of responding to the public’s backlash while also keeping with their agenda of quota policies.

In 2010, the Brazilian Congress approved a new law called the Racial Equality Statute that had been under discussion for seven years. Originally, the statute included racial quotas in universities and businesses (Gasnier 2010). However, these provisions were removed, and instead, the Racial Equality Statute *recommends* a 20% quota for Afro-Brazilians in public universities, jobs, and actors in TV programming. To accomplish this goal, the statute offers tax incentives for establishments that support racial inclusion (Brice 2010). Furthermore, in 2012, the Senate approved another new federal law, known as the Law of Social Quotas, requiring that in four years, all fifty-nine of Brazil’s federal universities must reserve half of their admissions to students who graduated from public high schools while also maintaining a representative racial mix of students. The law states

that 50% of the admitted incoming class must be composed of public school graduates. Of that 50%, half of the public school graduates must come from families with a monthly earning of less than \$500 per capita. And of that 25% of students whose families earn less than \$500 a month, half must be Brown or Black. The break down of percentages is the same for the 25% of public high school graduate students whose families earn more than \$500 a month (Editora Abril 2013). Furthermore, the admitted student population must be representative of the racial make-up in their local Brazilian state. Thus, essentially, out of the incoming class, 25% of students must Brown or Black while 25% of students must come from low-income families. This legislation is a cut back from the 40% racial quotas included in University of Brasilia's admissions policy. Not only is there a decrease in the percentage of Afro-Brazilian students required for acceptance, but also the government has included an income-based criterion in their affirmative action policy.

Instead of creating affirmative action policies based solely on racial identification, the government has taken the emphasis off race-based policies in lieu of race *and* income. These laws suggest the Brazilian government's responsiveness to public disapproval and its effort to find the right balance of policy making that still allows for race-conscious policies, but in a softer manner.

Law of Social Quotas



VI. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the results support both attitude shift and policy change. As seen before 2004 to 2006, actions leading up to the 2004 quota taken by elite leadership, like Afro-Brazilian movements and the Executive, created attitude shifts. Post-2004 to 2006, attitude shifts influenced policy change.

The increase in representation of non-White models from around 2000 to 2005-2006 is consistent with the public's increased acceptance of the idea of Afro-descendant inclusion, which was a result of the government and higher institutions' efforts to promote Afro-descendent inclusion.

Following 2004-2006 and the enactment of University of Brasília's affirmative action policy, there was a decline in non-White representation in advertisements, which corresponds to the public's backlash against the racial quota. As a result, the government created the Racial Equality Statute and the Law of Social Quotas, suggesting its responsiveness to the public's negative attitude shift. This shift influenced the government to scale down on the severity of their policies, making an effort to find the right balance of racial inclusion in affirmative action policies while being sensitive to the public's attitudes. Thus, the backlash against the government's policies, and subsequent responses by policy makers show the influence of public attitudes on government policy, at least on these highly visible public policies.

Future Considerations

Not Enough Time to Tell?

While we are able to see the short-term effects of affirmative action laws on public attitudes, the same cannot be assumed of the long-term effects. We have yet to see what the next ten years will look like for Brazil's racial climate. While there is no data to confidently predict the long-term effects of Brazil's affirmative action policies, the situation in Brazil may very well look similar to that of the states' reaction to *Brown v. Board of Education* in the United States.

On May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court declared that racial segregation in public schools violated the Equal Protection clause of the 14th amendment, which states that no State shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws"

(Legal Information Institute). The Court's decision did not address a remedy for the plaintiffs, so the Court called for another round of legal arguments to help decide how to dismantle the segregation system. A year later, in *Brown II*, the Court ordered that desegregation occur with "all deliberate speed" (The Oyez Project). The justices decided against creating a firm timetable for desegregation due to concerns about the South's negative reaction to the Court's ruling. As predicted, the South met the ruling with strong resistance. In 1957, the Arkansas governor ordered the state's National Guard to prevent integration, blocking nine black students from entering a local high school. By 1960, not a single black student was attending a desegregated school in South Carolina, Alabama, or Mississippi. Furthermore, in 1962, two people were killed due to a riot that occurred in response to a black student attending the University of Mississippi (Telgen 2005). It was not until about ten years after the 1954 ruling in which Southern states considered desegregation. Title VI in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was hugely important to the acceptance of desegregation. It prohibited racial discrimination in federal programs and gave the federal government power to oversee compliance and withhold federal funds from schools that did not comply. Attendance rates of black students rose from 1.17% in 1963 to 6.01% after Title VI had taken effect in 1965 (Telgen 2005). *Brown v. Board of Education* proved to be a landmark case that changed the social and cultural landscape of the United States thereafter. Given ten or fifteen years, Brazil's racial acceptance timeline could mirror that of the United States'. The hope is that there will be a greater acceptance of Afro-Brazilian inclusion, not only in education systems, but also in all aspects of society.

Placing Fluid Racial Categories within a Rigid Legal Framework

While Brazil has already enacted major affirmative action policies, Brazil still has to wrestle with how to successfully implement racially directed policies in an environment where racial definitions are ambiguous. Who will benefit from affirmative action policies? In 2007, twin brothers Alex and Alan Teixeira da Cunha applied to the University of Brasília under its racial quota program (Timothy 2007). The university examined a photo of each candidate and after its evaluation, one brother was admitted to the university while the other brother was not. One brother was considered Black while the other was considered White. Yet, they were identical twins. How does this happen? Citizens in Brazil were just as confused by this situation. The reality is that the evaluation process for assessing race is far from objective. Students who have identified themselves as Afro-Brazilian are photographed for a secret committee to decide whether a student looks “Black enough” to qualify for the quota system (Stepan 2007). They determine race based on phenotypic traits such as skin color, hair, and facial features. Shockingly, Alan was accepted into the quota as Black, while his identical brother Alex was not. The complexity of fluid racial categories in a rigid legal framework presents a looming hurdle Brazil must first address before changes in racial climate can take place.

References

- Almeida, Bruno. US Media Consulting, "Brazil's Ad Market Grew by 8.5% in 2011." Last modified March 07, 2012. Accessed November 07, 2013.
<http://latinlink.usmediaconsulting.com/2012/03/brazil's-ad-market-grew-by-8-5-in-2011/>.
- BBC News: Latin America & Caribbean, "Brazil approves affirmative action law for universities." Last modified August 8, 2012. Accessed March 20, 2014.
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19188610>.
- Brice, Arthur. CNN World, "Brazil enacts racial discrimination law, but some say it's not needed." Last modified July 21, 2010. Accessed March 20, 2014.
<http://www.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/americas/07/21/brazil.racism/>.
- "BROWN v. BOARD OF EDUCATION (II)," The Oyez Project at IIT Chicago-Kent College of Law. Accessed April 20, 2014, http://www.oyez.org/cases/1950-1959/1954/1954_1/.
- Crocitti, John, and Monique Vallance, ed. *Brazil Today: An Encyclopedia of Life in the Republic*. ABC-CLIO, 2012. s.v. "Veja."
- Crocitti, John, and Monique Vallance, ed. *Brazil Today: An Encyclopedia of Life in the Republic: An Encyclopedia of Life in the Republic*. ABC-CLIO, 2012. s.v. "Affirmative Action."
- Editora Abril. Veja, "Universidades federais: como funciona a nova lei de cotas." Last modified January 5, 2013. Accessed April 20, 2014.
<http://veja.abril.com.br/noticia/educacao/universidades-federais-como-funciona-a-nova-lei-de-cotas>.
- Francis, Andrew M., and Maria Tannuri-Pianto. "Endogenous Race in Brazil: Affirmative Action and the Construction of Racial Identity among Young Adults." *Economic Development and Cultural Change*. no. 4 (2013): 731 - 753.
- Gasnier, Annie. Guardian Weekly, "Brazil passes racial equality law but fails to endorse affirmative action." Last modified June 29, 2010. Accessed April 10, 2014.
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jun/29/brazil-race>.
- Guimarães, Antonio Sérgio. "Colour and Race in Brazil: from whitening to the search for Afrodescent." working paper., University of São Paulo, 2010.
[http://www.fflch.usp.br/sociologia/asag/Colour and race in Brazil.pdf](http://www.fflch.usp.br/sociologia/asag/Colour%20and%20race%20in%20Brazil.pdf).
- Htun, Mala. "From "Racial Democracy" to Affirmative Action: Changing State Policy on Race in Brazil." *Latin American Research Review*. no. 1 (2004): 60-89.

Jinkings, Daniella. JurisWay, "Political Articles: Supreme Court considers constitutionality of the racial quota system." Last modified April 25, 2012. Accessed November 07, 2013. http://www.jurisway.org.br/en/article.asp?id_dh=7551.

Legal Information Institute . "Equal protection." LII / Legal Information Institute. http://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/equal_protection (accessed April 20, 2014).

Marotto, Telma. "Brazilian Secret 93 Million Don't Want to Talk About Is Racism." *Bloomberg Businessweek*, June 26, 2008. <http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?sid=aIejzRWRd5Tk&pid=newsarchive> (accessed March 15, 2014).

McKinsey & Company, "Media & Entertainment: Global Media Report 2013." Last modified October 2013. Accessed November 07, 2013. http://www.mckinsey.com/client_service/media_and_entertainment/latest_thinking/global_media_report_2013.

Prado, Adriana. "A Flourishing Future for Magazines in Brazil." *Proof*. (2010). <http://www.proof-reading.org/a-flourishing-future-for-magazines-in-brazil> (accessed January 19, 2014).

Puin, Karolina. The Brazil Business, "Financial and Business Publications in Brazil." Last modified 2008. Accessed January 19, 2014. <http://thebrazilbusiness.com/article/financial-and-business-publications-in-brazil>.

"Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Brazil, 1997." *Inter-American Commission on Human Rights: Organization of American States*. no. 29 (1997). http://www.cidh.oas.org/countryrep/brazil-eng/Chaper_9.htm (accessed November 11, 2013).

Romero, Simon. "Brazil Enacts Affirmative Action Law for Universities." *New York Times*, August 30, 2012. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/31/world/americas/brazil-enacts-affirmative-action-law-for-universities.html?_r=0 (accessed September 01, 2013).

Stepan, Adam. "Brazil in Black and White." *Wideangle*. Recorded September 04, 2007. Robert Stone Productions. Web, https://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/shows/brazil2/Brazil_Transcript.pdf.

Telgen, Diane. *Brown v. Board of Education*. Detroit, MI: Omnigraphics, 2005.

Telles, Edward. "Affirmative Action in Brazil." *Latin American Studies Association Forum*. no. 2 (2013): 8-10. <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/forum/files/vol44-issue2/Debates4.pdf> (accessed September 07, 2013).

- Telles, Edward. *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*. Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Telles, Edward. PBS, "Wideangle: Discrimination and Affirmative Action in Brazil." Last modified June 01, 2009. Accessed September 24, 2013.
<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/lessons/brazil-in-black-and-white/discrimination-and-affirmative-action-in-brazil/4323/>.
- Timothy, Ash. The Guardian, "In Brazil I glimpsed a possible future in which there is only one race." Last modified July 11, 2007. Accessed November 05, 2013.
<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2007/jul/12/comment.brazil>.