

POLI 437: International Relations of Latin America

^T Note. These Rivers are
both of them Navigable, and all
the Cannon and Stores for Acapulco
are Carried from the North to the
South Sea by them.



TODAY

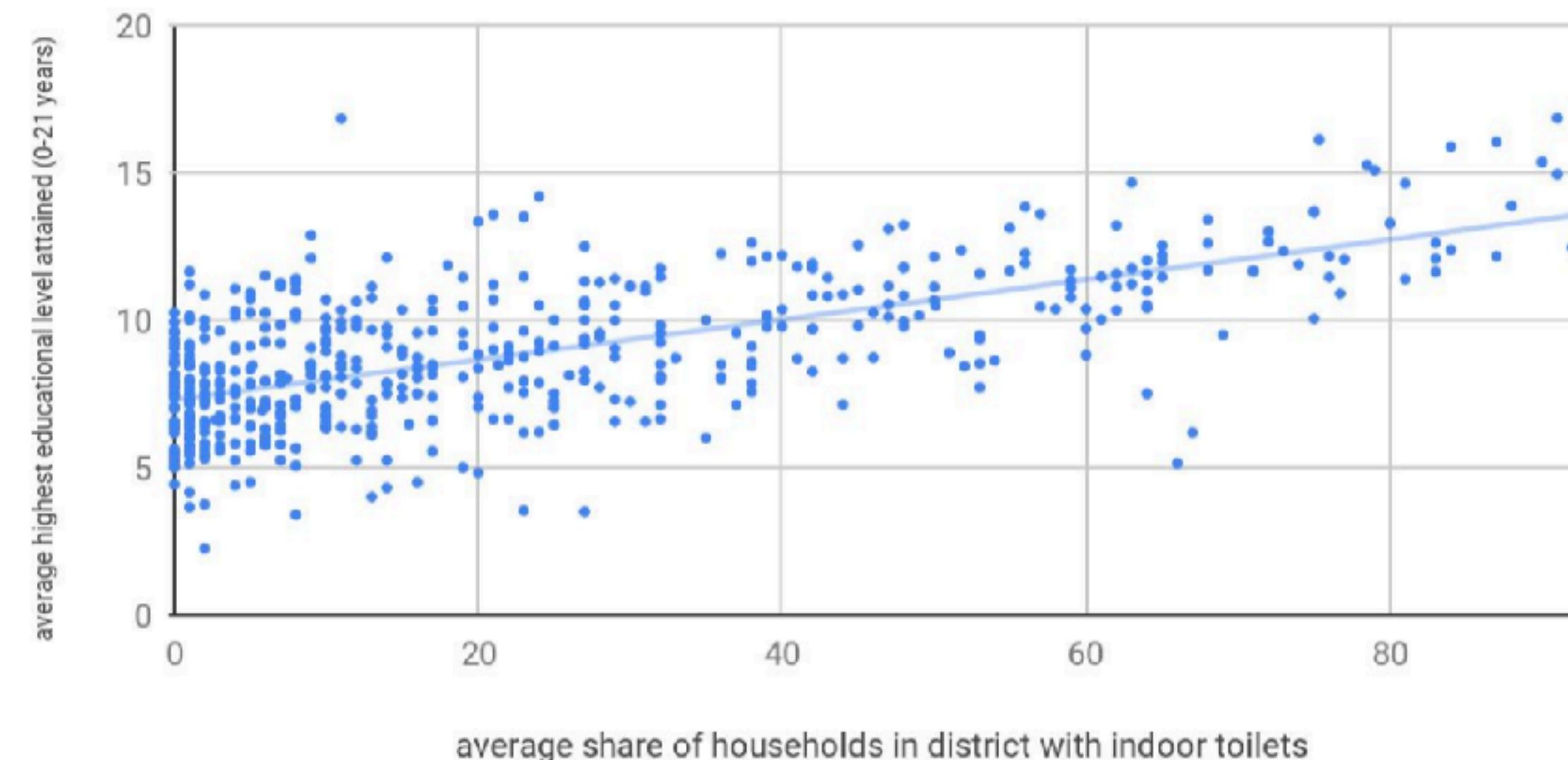
Race and identity in Latin America

Identity and distributive conflict

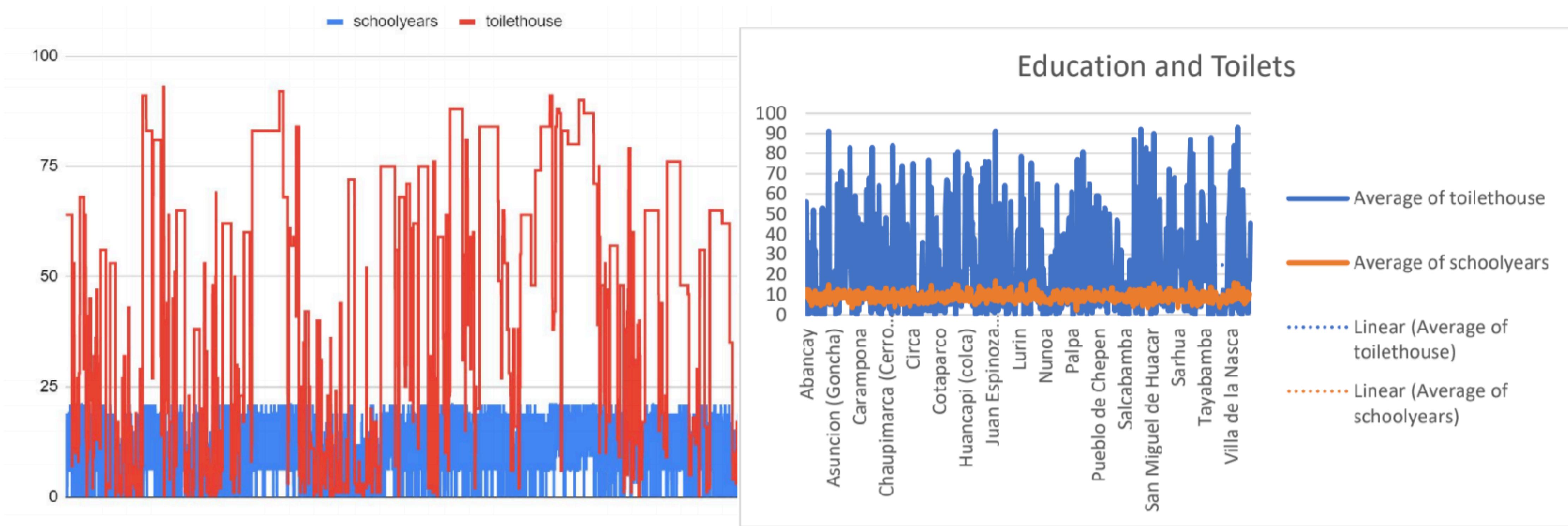
Task 1: Office-selling and long-run growth in Colonial Peru

1.

Educational Level vs. Share of Indoor Toilets in Districts of Peru



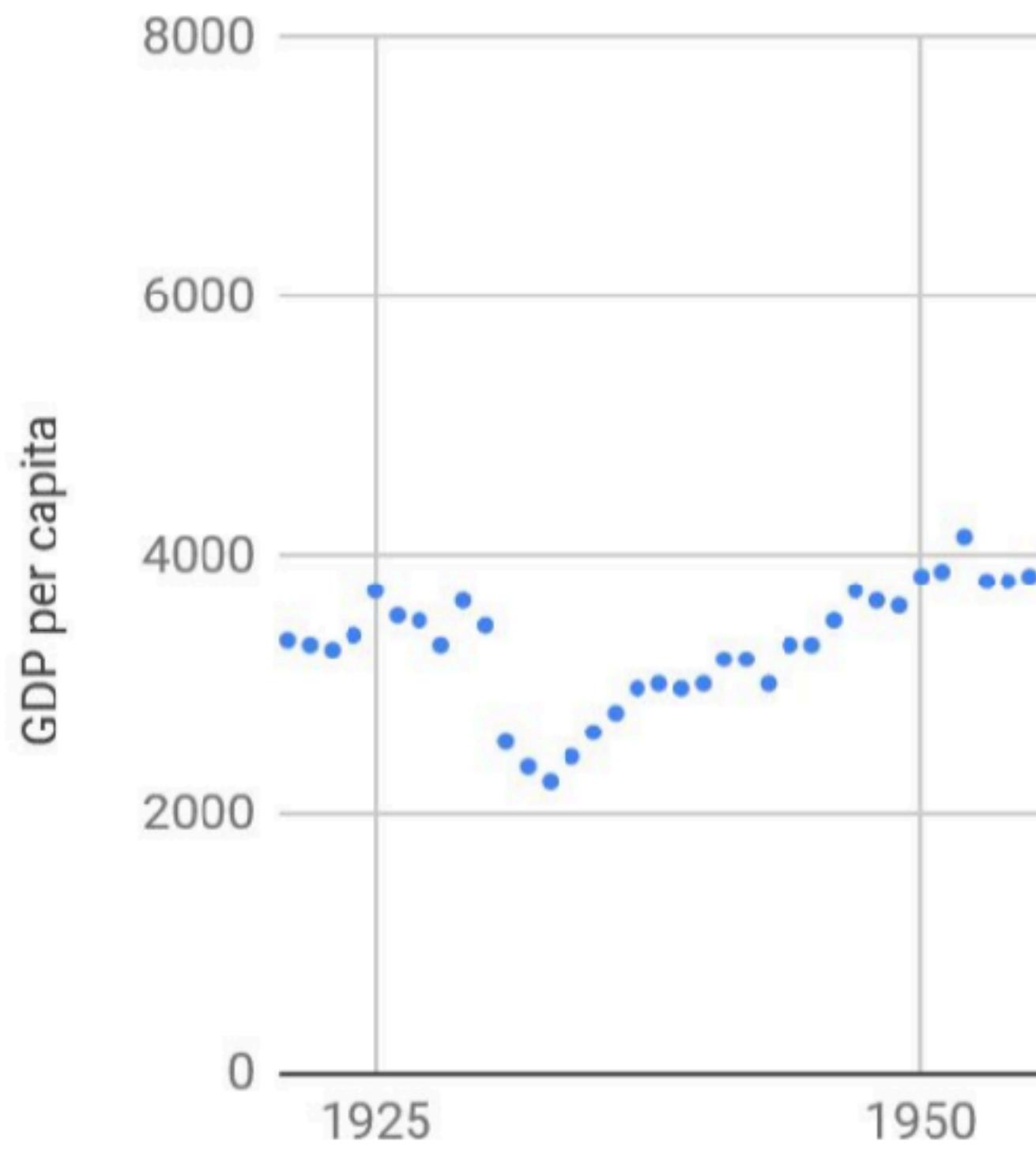
PLOTTING PROBLEMS



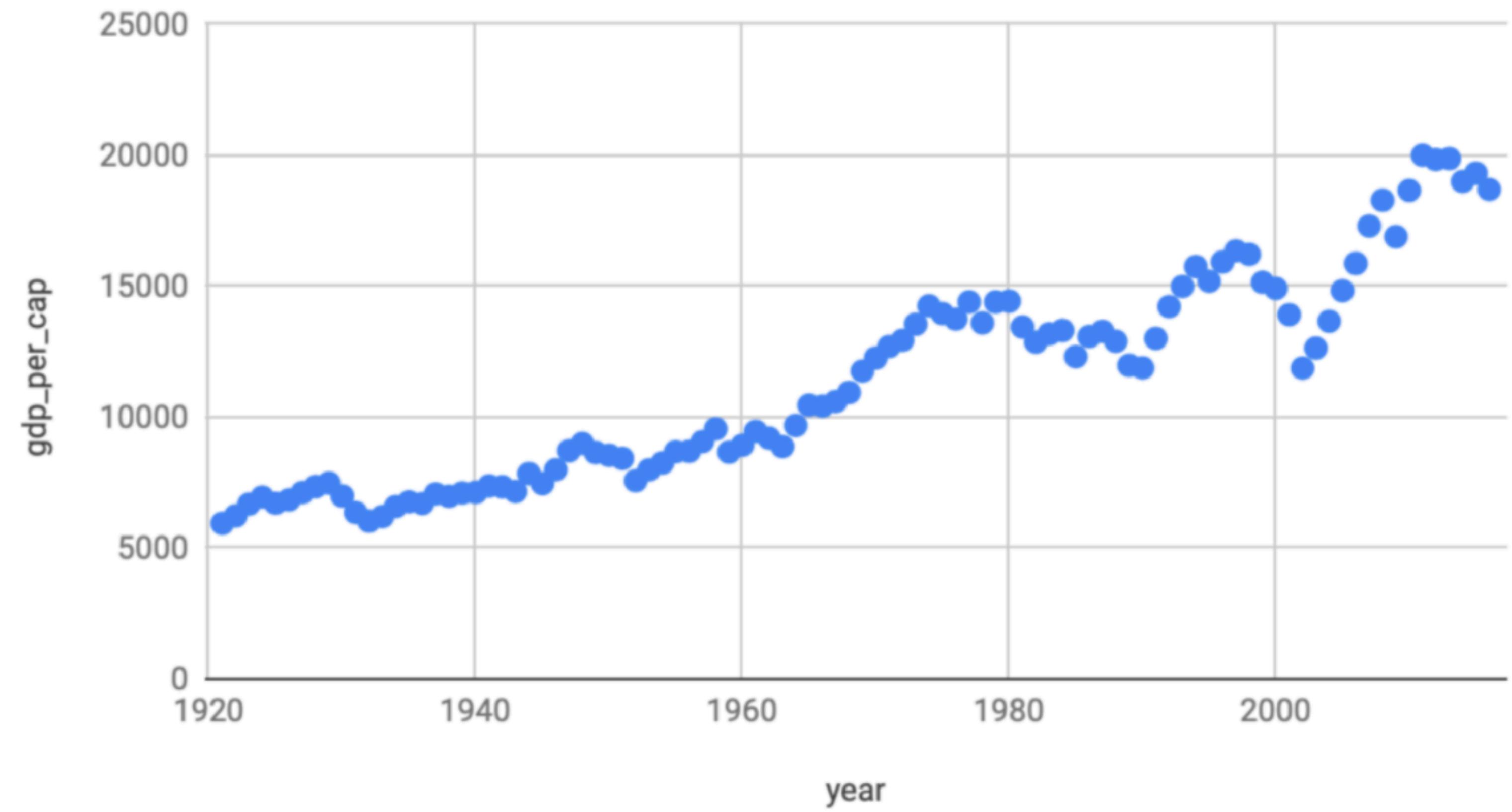
Accidentally putting “district” on x-axis

GNARLY DROP IN GDP

Cuba's GDP Per Capita Over



gdp_per_cap vs. year (Argentina)



Race in Latin America

THE “BEAUTIFUL” GAME

The ugly, racist trend of tossing bananas at black soccer players continues

GlobalPost

May 13, 2014 · 5:48 PM UTC

By Allison Jackson



Milan player Kevin Constant holds a banana that was thrown at him by an Atalanta fan during a match in Bergamo, Italy, on May 11, 2014.

See how Alzheimer's affects the brain.
Take our Brain Tour.



alz.org/brain

Latest Content



Watch live: Trump impeachment enters pivotal week as calls

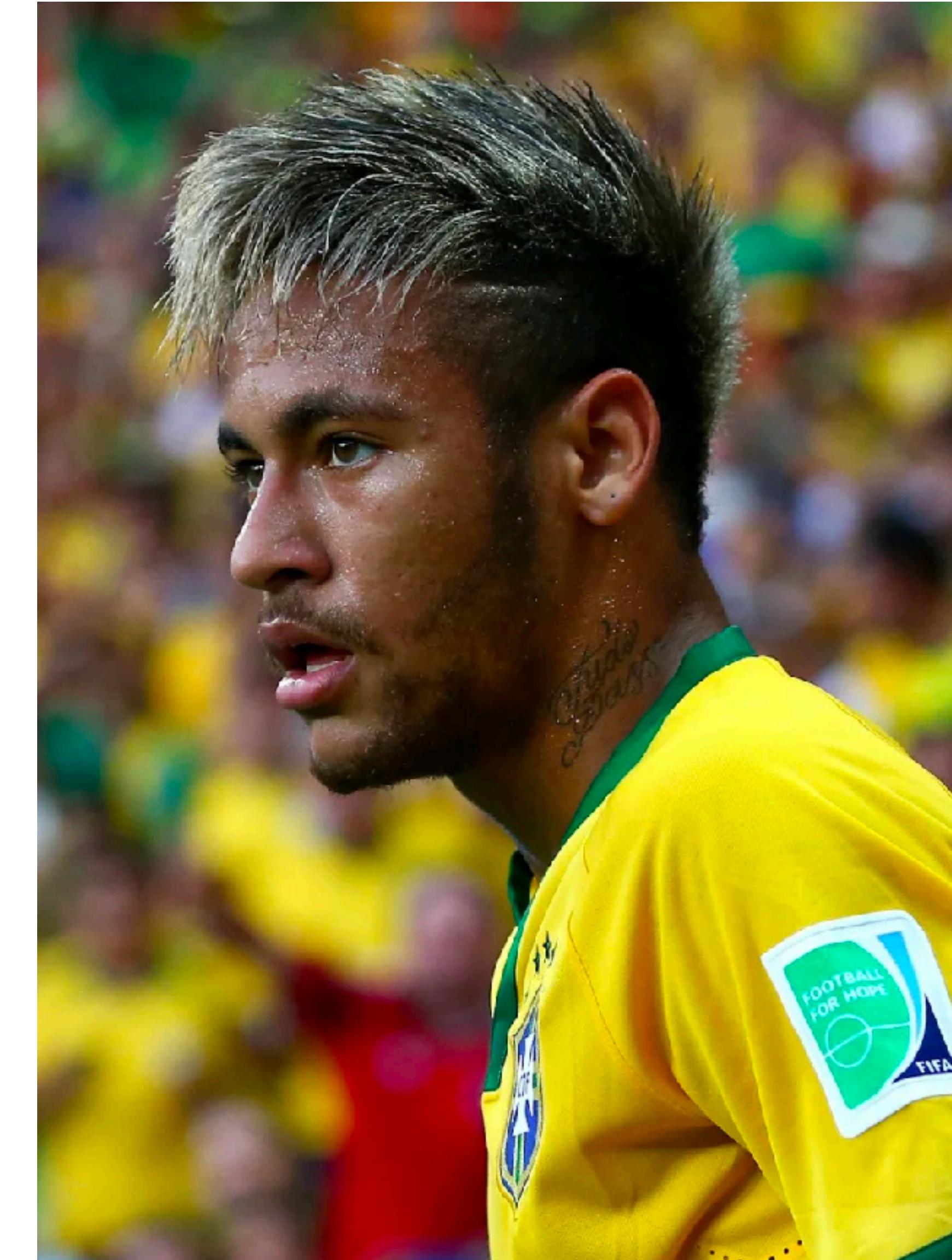
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?
v=8kDIyp6MI5k&feature=emb_title](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8kDIyp6MI5k&feature=emb_title)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lQYzVsIWNEU>

Interview from 2010

Interviewer: Have you ever been the victim of racism?

Neymar:
"Never. Neither inside nor outside the field. Because I'm not black, right?"



Neymar da Silva
(Brazil National Team)

[www.nytimes.com](#) › 2018/06/30 › is-neymar-black-brazil...

Opinion | Is Neymar Black? Brazil and the Painful Relativity of ...

Jun 30, 2018 – Ever since his "It's not like I'm **black**, you know?" comment, **Neymar** has served as a focal point in Brazil's cultural reckoning with racism, ...

[www.quora.com](#) › Why-do-some-consider-Neymar-a-bla...

Why do some consider Neymar a black man? - Quora

Neymar's mother is mostly white, while his father seems at least half **black** African descent. That would make **Neymar** around a quarter **black** African. In some ...

14 answers

[www.quora.com](#) › Is-Neymar-Jr-considered-black-or-white

Is Neymar Jr. considered black or white? - Quora

In America, he is **black**. His father is **black**, his mother is white. Therefore, he is **black**. Amongst **black** people, if you identify as mixed in this country, it ...

12 answers

[africasacountry.com](#) › 2014/06 › neymar-and-brazils-ra... ▾

Neymar and Brazil's racial politics - Africa Is a Country

Jun 17, 2014 – Why did **Neymar**, the one time he was asked about discrimination, answer: "Never. Neither inside nor outside the field. Because I'm not **black** ...

[ideas.ted.com](#) › need-to-know-neymar-racism-and-the-... ▾

Need to know: Neymar, racism and the World Cup | - TED Ideas

Jul 11, 2014 – **Neymar** on the field in 2014 ... And in Brazil, **Neymar** is not **black**. ... This denial of **blackness** may seem confusing to many Americans, because ...

[blackwomenofbrazil.co](#) › ... › Love and Health ▾

Neymar's blond ambition | Black Women of Brazil

To call **Neymar** "**black**" means he has to deny his white family, and to call him "white" means he

Critics: Neymar distances himself from Black heritage



Scrutiny over Neymar's words, self-presentation

Not the first footballer to do this



Acho que todos os negros sofrem. Eu, que sou branco, sofro com tamanha ignorância.

(Ronaldo Luis Nazário de Lima)

kdfrases

“I think all black people suffer [from racism]. I, being white, suffer too that such ignorance exists.”

What exactly is going on here?
What is this controversy about?

What is “race”, exactly?

Race in:

Latin America

Mestizaje

Inter-marriage

“Colorism”

Indigenous influence

The US

Jim crow/
apartheid

Black/white

Segregation

“Fluidity”

In the US, people tend to be defined as **White** or **non-White**



“biracial” or “mixed-heritage” identities are less common

In Latin America there is a much
bigger variety of **intermediate**
categories

1974 BRAZILIAN CENSUS

<i>Acastanhada</i>	Somewhat chestnut-coloured	<i>Cabocla</i>	Copper-coloured (refers to civilized Indians)
<i>Agalegada</i>	Somewhat like a Galician	<i>Cabo-verde</i>	From Cabo Verde (Cape Verde)
<i>Alva</i>	Snowy white	<i>Café</i>	Coffee-coloured
<i>Alva escura</i>	Dark snowy white	<i>Café-com-leite</i>	Café au lait
<i>Alvarenta</i>	(not in dictionary; poss. dialect) Snowy white	<i>Canela</i>	Cinnamon
<i>Alvarinta</i>	Snowy white	<i>Canelada</i>	Somewhat like cinnamon
<i>Alva rosada</i>	Pinkish white	<i>Cardão</i>	Colour of the cardoon, or thistle (blue-violet)
<i>Alvinha</i>	Snowy white	<i>Castanha</i>	Chestnut
<i>Amarela</i>	Yellow	<i>Castanha-clara</i>	Light chestnut
<i>Amarelada</i>	Yellowish	<i>Castanha-escura</i>	Dark chestnut
<i>Amarela-queimada</i>	Burnt yellow	<i>Chocolate</i>	Chocolate-coloured
<i>Amarelosa</i>	Yellowy	<i>Clara</i>	Light-coloured, pale
<i>Amorenada</i>			
<i>Avermelhada</i>			
<i>Azul</i>	Blue	<i>Cor-de-café</i>	Coffee-coloured
<i>Azul-marinho</i>	Sea blue	<i>Cor-de-canela</i>	Cinnamon-coloured
<i>Baiano</i>	From Bahia	<i>Cor-de-cuia</i>	Gourd-coloured
<i>Bem branca</i>	Very white	<i>Cor-de-leite</i>	Milk-coloured (i.e. milk-white)
<i>Bem clara</i>	Very pale	<i>Cor-de-ouro</i>	Gold-coloured (i.e. golden)
<i>Bem morena</i>	Very dark-skinned	<i>Cor-de-rosa</i>	Pink
<i>Branca</i>	White	<i>Cor-firme</i>	Steady-coloured
<i>Branca-avermelhada</i>	White going on for red	<i>Crioula</i>	Creole
<i>Branca-melada</i>	Honey-coloured white	<i>Encerada</i>	Polished
<i>Branca-morena</i>	White but dark-skinned	<i>Enxofrada</i>	Pallid
<i>Branca-pálida</i>	Pale white	<i>Esbranquecimento</i>	Whitening
<i>Branca-queimada</i>	Burnt white	<i>Escura</i>	Dark
<i>Branca-sardenta</i>	Freckled white	<i>Escurinha</i>	Very dark
<i>Branca-suja</i>	Off-white	<i>Fogió</i>	Having fiery-coloured hair

Hundreds of “intermediate” racial categories

Why “intermediate”?

Organizing logic of race is still
white/non-white

Categories are *between white* and
either **black** or **indigenous**

WHY SO MUCH VARIETY?

Substantial “race-mixing” during
colonial period

African slaves, Amerindian
“groups”, Europeans

*Caste system determined
rights/privileges of each
“group”*

Obsession with
categorization

RACIAL ARITHMETIC



Pintura de castas, ca. 1780



Pintura de castas, ca. 1780



Pintura de castas, ca. 1780



Español con India,
Mestizo.

Mestizo con Espanola
Castizo.

Castizo con Espanola
Espanol.

Espanol con Negra
Mulato.



Mulato con Espanola.
Morisco.

Morisco con Espanola
Chino.

Chino con India.
Salta atas.

Salta atas con Mulata
Lobo.



Lobo con China
Gibaro.

Gibaro con Mulata
Albarazado.

Albarazado con Negra
Canbujo.

Canbujo con India
Sanbaigo.



Sanbaigo con Loba
Calpamulato.

Calpamulato con Canbujo
Tente en el Aire.

Tente en el Aire con Mulata
Noteentiendo.

Noteentiendo con India
Tornaatraz.

~~white colonists were transformed into vicious masters and~~
fear. They divided the offspring of white and black and intermediate shades into 128 divisions. The true Mulatto was the child of the pure black and the pure white. The child of the white and the Mulatto woman was a quarteron with 96 parts white and 32 parts black. But the quarteron could be produced by the white and the marabou in the proportion of 88 to 40, or by the white and the sacatra, in the proportion of 72 to 56 and so on all through the 128 varieties. But the sang-mêlé with 127 white parts and 1 black part was still a man of colour.

Source: *The Black Jacobins*

Why so much more inter-group mixing in
LA than US?

Marriage “market” constraints from type
of colonialism

Wildly uneven sex ratio between
European men and women in LA

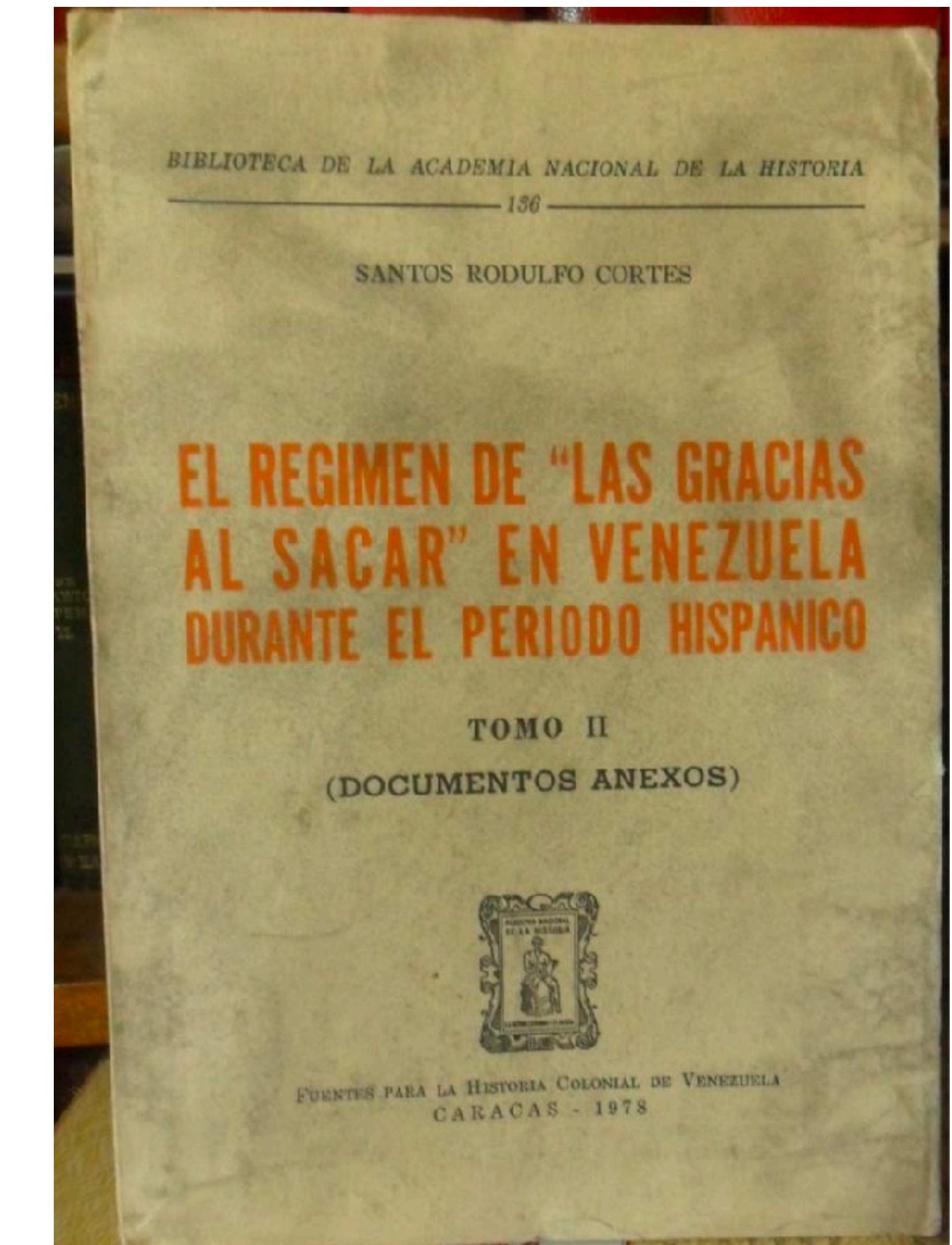
WHITENESS STILL DOMINATES

“Whiteness” could literally be bought via “gracias al sacar” system

Why sell whiteness?

Keep criollos happy + make money

Incentive for more complex caste system than one seen in US



Greater intermixing + categorization =
LA's famously **fluid** racial schema

Weaker link between **phenotype** and **race** than
in US

What are some examples from Telles of race
“fluidity” in LA?

THE “ONE DROP” RULE



In the US, non-white physical markers enough
to categorize someone as non-white

COLOR ELASTICITY

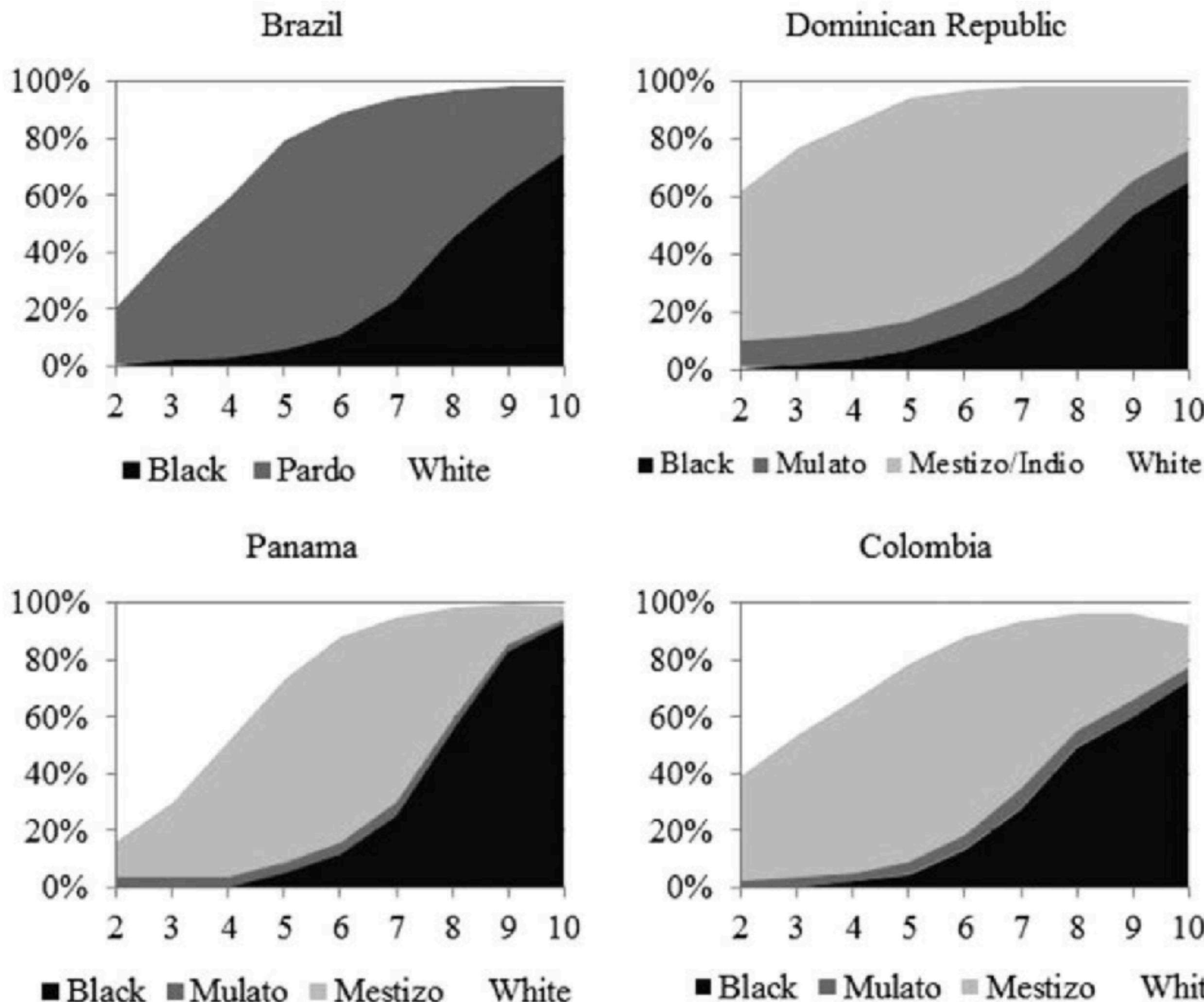


FIG. 1.—Distribution of racial categories by skin color in Brazil, Panama, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic.

What are the implications of race fluidity?

Do people just identify in different ways, or do they tend towards certain groups?

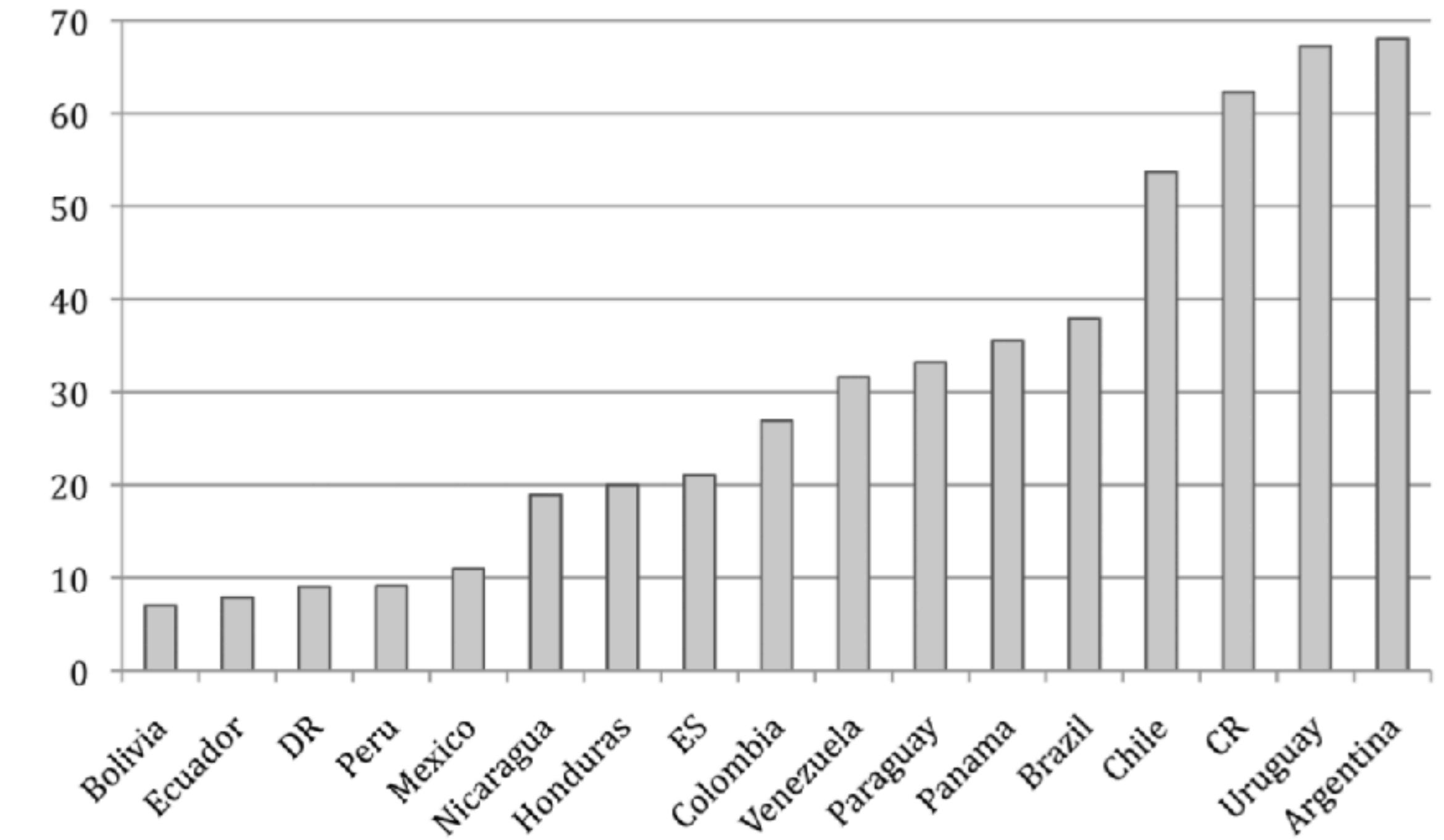


Figure 2. Percentage of persons with light brown skin color (#4) who identify as white in 17 Latin American countries. Based on regressions for each country with data from 2010 AmericasBarometer.

*“Latin American racial schemas may converge
in that they are regulated by a whitening logic”*
What does Telles mean by this?

Even with fluidity whiteness carries advantages

In LA (historically) white self-concept can be
dominant strategy

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF “STATUS”

Most societies delegate members to
“low-status” and “high-status” groups

Belonging to “low-status” group carries
psychological, economic, social harm

What can people who are relegated to “low-status” groups do to minimize harm?

If you belong to a low-status group + you can't exit

If you belong to a low-status group + you can exit

Redefine/reject negative stereotypes

Adopt/emphasize higher-status identity

“Black is beautiful”,
Black Power, in 60s/70s

Patriotic poor,
“whitening” in LA

Racial “fluidity” in LA **historically** created
pressures to identify as white

Children of mixed parents more likely
to ID as white (Telles 2004)

Skin “whitening” beauty trends
(esp. in Caribbean)

Expressed preferences for whites, even
among non-whites (Jost 2002)

TODAY, A BIT MORE COMPLICATED

Where color is **highly elastic**, other attributes (wealth, education, etc.) shape racial ID more strongly

How does **social status** shape racial ID across 4 countries studied?

Colombia

Brazil

DR

Panama

“Mestizoises”

“Polarizes”

“Darkens”

No effect

If “exiting” low-status identity is possible, and there’s benefits to identifying as white...

...Why doesn’t everyone identify as white?

Only people **near the “boundaries”** of categories can easily shift

E.g., people with “ambiguous” characteristics

So phenotypical characteristics still impose **limits** on racial fluidity

So is it reasonable for Neymar to claim he is “not Black” in the Brazilian context?

Worth asking why “ambiguously” raced people often identify as white

His ability to “exit” might depend on **inability** of others to do so



TAKEAWAYS

LA has a broader variety of racial categories/identities
(compared to US)

Categories still influenced by a “logic of whiteness”

Degree to which phenotype determines racial identification (*color elasticity*) varies across countries

Identity and distributive conflict

WHERE I WANT TO END UP



DISPATCH

Brazil's New Problem With Blackness

As the proudly mixed-race country grapples with its legacy of slavery, affirmative-action race tribunals are measuring skull shape and nose width to determine who counts as disadvantaged.

BY CLEUCI DE OLIVEIRA

LA has rich variety of identity groups

But states tend not to like variety

Most modern states (Italy, France, etc.) once contained many ethnic groups, dialects, etc.

Being “Italian” relatively recent concept resulting from assimilation



Romance Languages

- FP Franco-provençal
- PR Occitan (provençal)
- PI Piedmontese
- LI Ligurian
- LO Lombard
- ER Emiliano-Romagnolo
- GB Gallo-Italic of Basilicata
- GS Gallo-Italic of Sicily
- VE Venetian
- CA Catalan
- TO Tuscan

Slavic languages

- SL Slovene
- SC Serbo-Croatian

Other languages

- AL Albanian
- GC Greek

Germanic Languages

- German varieties
- ST South Tyrolese
- CB Carinthian Bavarian
- CB Cimbrian Bavarian
- MO Mòcheno Bavarian
- WA Walser

Why assimilate?

Protect territory
(no secession)

Raise large armies

How do states assimilate
different groups?

Public school

Language laws



C A R E

Denmark to Muslim Immigrants: Assimilate or Risk Punishment

Vrinda Jagota | 03 July 2018

Assimilation throughout 19th and early 20th centuries

Inter-marriage, based on belief that white genes would dominate

Exclusion of non-Spanish, non-Portuguese languages

Public school teaching of history



Beginning in the 1930s, shift to
multicultural identity



Special emphasis on country's
indigenous "past"

This is where concept of **mestizaje** comes in

In caste system:
Mestizo = white + indigenous

A uniquely Latin American identity

Used to promote idea that LA nations were racially tolerant, esp. compared to US

Predicts new “Cosmic Race”
that is blend of all races

Celebrate mixture of
indigenous, African,
European

But also tinged with eugenics
and erases individual groups



JOSE VASCONCELOS

LA RAZA CÓSMICA

MISIÓN DE LA RAZA
IBEROAMERICANA

NOTAS DE VIAJES
A LA AMÉRICA DEL SUR

AGENCIA MUNDIAL DE LIBRERIA

Why is assimilation controversial?

Groups want to preserve
identity, and assimilation
erases that identity

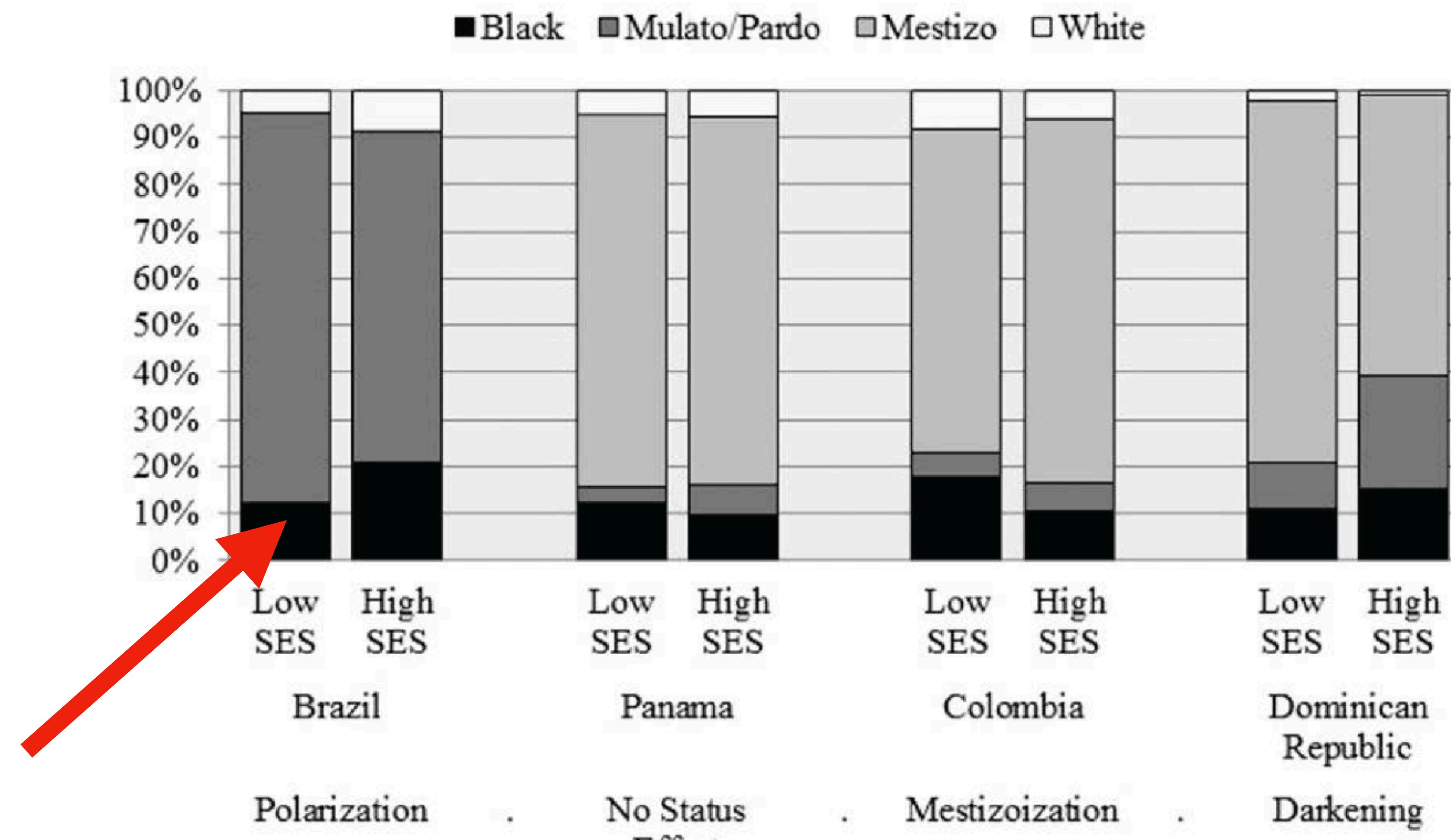
Assimilated identity often
reflects dominant group

Mestizaje comes to be seen
in this light

Beginning in 60s and 70s, a “return” to excluded identities, especially among urban/educated

Renewed interest in non-Spanish/
Portuguese languages

Rejection of *pardo* (*mixed ethnic ancestry*)
and *preto* (*black*) for “negro” in Brazil



THE CHICANO MOVEMENT

In 1930, “Mexican” was a race on US census

Form 15-6

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE—BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

FIFTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1930

POPULATION SCHEDULE

Mexican-American activists push for “white” categorization

Even today, Latinos near US border more likely to ID as white

Contrast with *Chicano* movement of 1960s



Emphasis on non-whiteness, pride in indigenous roots, rejection of all-encompassing “Hispanic”

Similar mobilization in LA → demands for recognition of minority groups and redressing of exclusion/oppression

Afro-Brazilians

Indigenous groups

Afro-Colombians

How did these groups seek more recognition?

Laws banning discrimination

Constitutional provisions

Quotas to redress grievances

Greater autonomy

Logic of quotas

Structural barriers or outright **bias** keep minority groups out of key institutions

Exclusion is **self-sustaining**: few representatives in institution → difficult entry

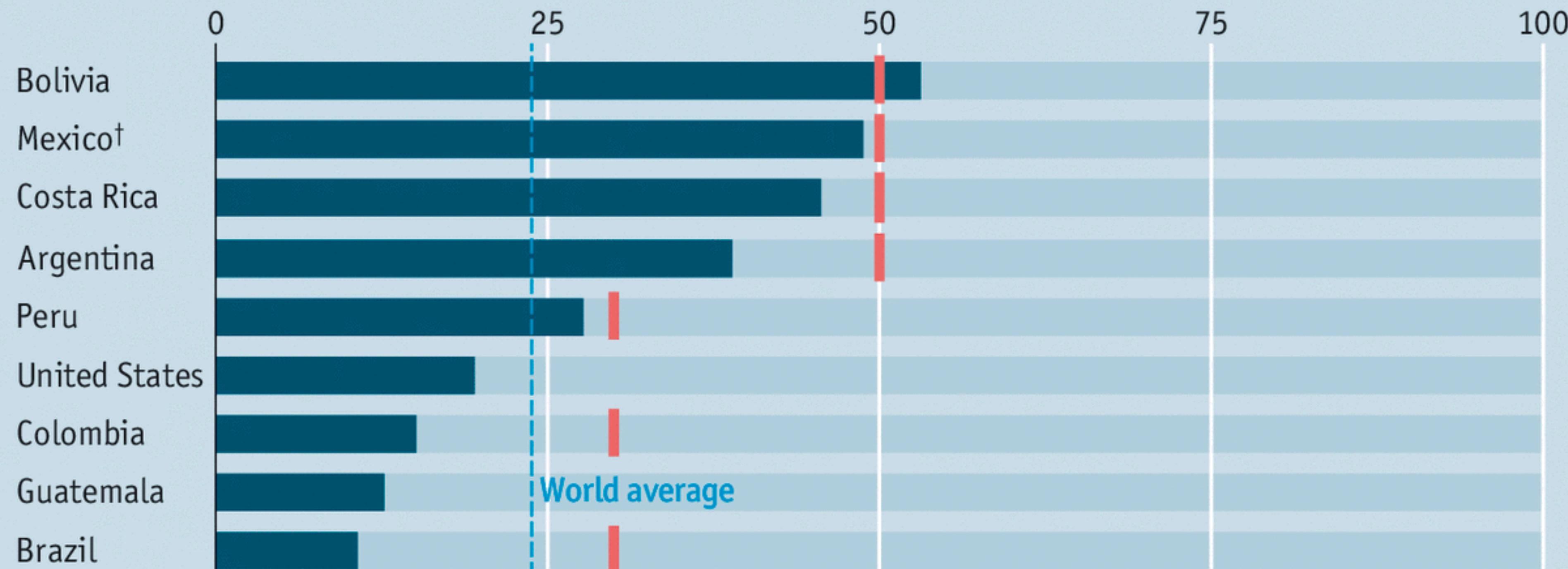
Mandate that some proportion of seats in institutions occupied by minority members

Bienvenidas

Parliamentary seats* held by women

July 2018, % of total

Quota for female candidates

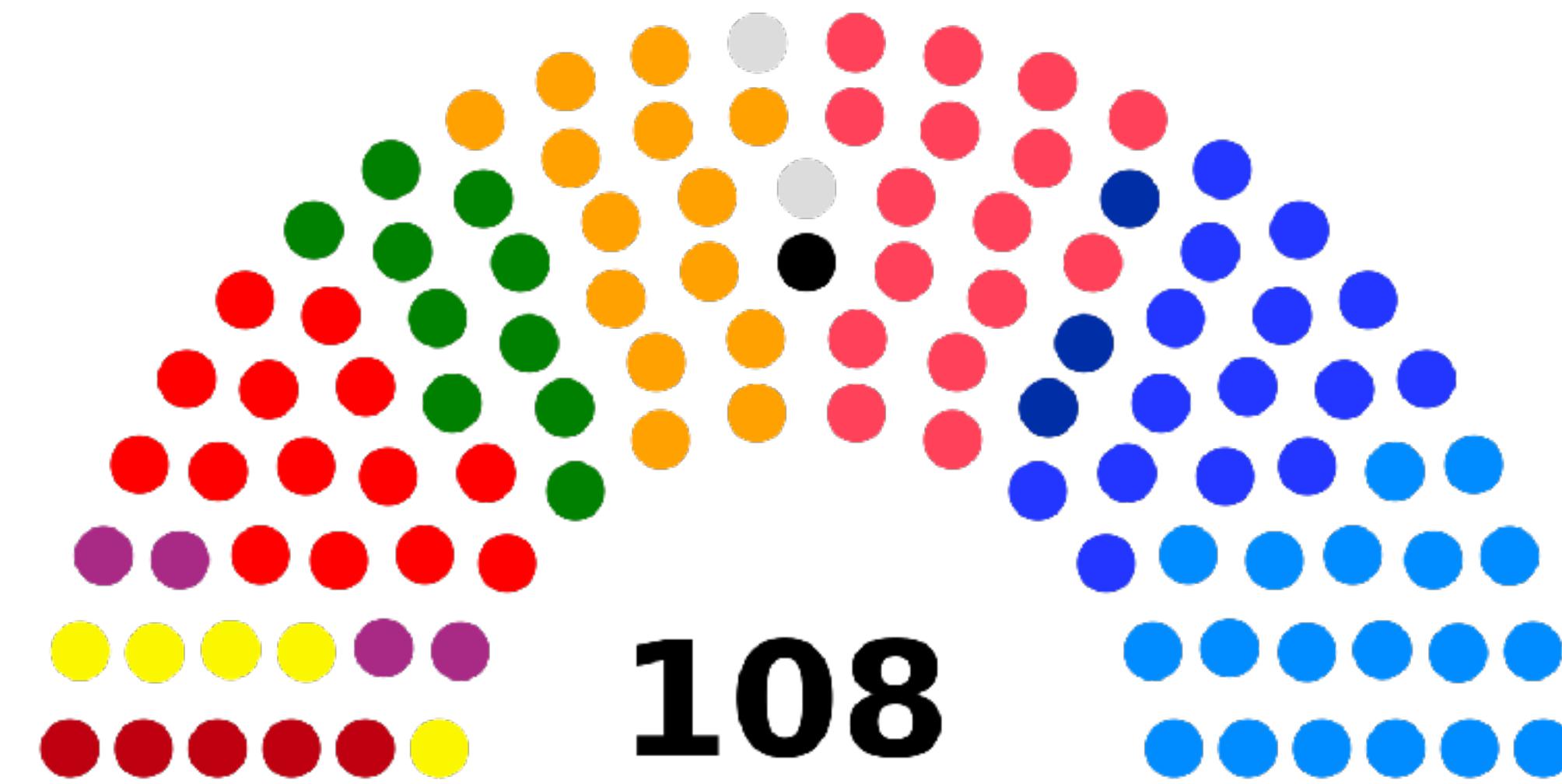


Sources: Inter-Parliamentary Union; INE; Jennifer Piscopo, Occidental College

*Lower or single house †Estimate

RACE-BASED QUOTAS

Common form is provision of cong.
seats to indigenous groups



2 seats in Colombian senate **must** be
selected by indigenous communities

How do school quotas work in Brazil?

What's the central dilemma in its implementation?

What are +/- of using ancestry vs. appearance in quota admissions?



DISPATCH

Brazil's New Problem With Blackness

As the proudly mixed-race country grapples with its legacy of slavery, affirmative-action race tribunals are measuring skull shape and nose width to determine who counts as disadvantaged.

BY CLEUCI DE OLIVEIRA

Quotas also raise lots of questions

Where group membership is fluid, how to identify members?

How to account for intersectional/cross-cutting group membership?

Given multiple groups, how should quotas be apportioned?

Logic of autonomy

States are bad at governing minority groups/groups know what's best for own community

Autonomy is status quo, i.e., have always been relatively autonomous

COMMUNAL LAND OWNERSHIP

Land titles held by **group**, not individuals

Makes sale of land more difficult, group remains intact

Meant to protect land, but also has problems



SELF-GOVERNANCE

Control over certain aspects
of public education

Autonomy to make own
regulations, ordinances, laws

Especially wrt to punishment
of crimes



Autonomy raises some thorny issues

Could autonomy “freeze” groups in time,
creating barriers for them to change/adapt?

What happens when group laws/practices clash
with national law?

How do you protect minority groups *within*
minority groups?

Class activity

Homework