

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCES ON MODERN DEBATES:
AFFIRMATIVE ACTIONS IN POSTCOLONIAL LATIN AMERICA

By

Danielle W Johns

Submitted to the

Faculty of the School of International Service

of American University

in Partial Fulfillment of

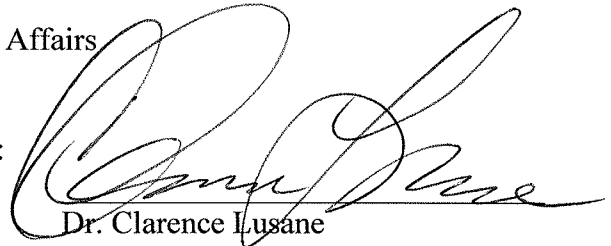
the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

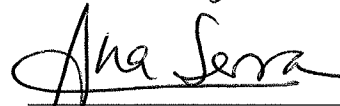
In

International Affairs

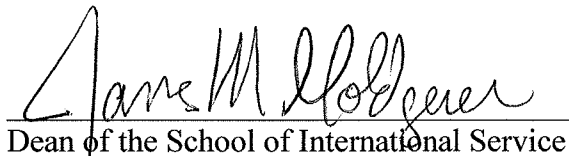
Chair:



Dr. Clarence Lusane



Dr. Ana Serra



Dean of the School of International Service

Date

5/2/12

2012

American University

Washington, D.C. 20016

© COPYRIGHT

by

Danielle W Johns

2012

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCES
ON MODERN DEBATES:
AFFIRMATIVE ACTIONS IN POSTCOLONIAL LATIN AMERICA

By
Danielle W Johns

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a comparative analysis and discussion of affirmative action(s) for underrepresented groups in Brazil, Cuba, and Ecuador, with particular attention being paid to afro-descendants. Despite shared identities as Latin American countries, the aforementioned countries have responded differently to discussions around affirmative action policies in their respective countries because of a difference in social consciousness influenced by historical events and political ideologies. This difference in social consciousness can be seen to emerge at critical junctures -- colonization and slavery, freedom movements, questioning political sovereignty and stability -- which have shaped present-day identity politics. The differences seen here among countries once political linked and now economically linked can hopefully engender an appreciation for differences in identity and racial politics seen elsewhere and provide a serious discussion for how to address racial inequality.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writing of this Masters thesis was definitely a process. While this thesis was written during my graduate studies, for me, the complete brainstorming process began in high school when I was first inspired to combine my passions for language and analysis to conduct research on and analyze political social issues in Latin America.

I would like to thank God for blessing us all with individual passions that we only need seek. I would like to thank my parents who did not quite understand how languages and foreign travel would be relevant to my life in the future, but had faith in my ideas and curiosity, and chose to encourage me (both mentally and financially) in whatever way they could.

I would also like to give a very special thank you to my high school Spanish teacher and mentor, James Jer-Don, better known as Señor. I recall being in awe of the many languages he spoke (at least 7), his knowledge, and the way in which he shared that knowledge with his students and encouraged us to continue exploring. I also remember the first day of senior year when Señor told me about a scholarship available for study abroad in Paris. I was reluctant to apply, but he convinced me otherwise. For that I am forever grateful. It was that fully-funded experience in Paris that made it clear to me that I would focus on international affairs and continue studying foreign languages.

Additionally, I would like to thank several individuals from my undergraduate career. From Duke University where I complete my undergraduate studies, I would like to thank Leslie Damasceno who introduced me to Brazil, as well as the Office of Study Abroad and a very special academic dean who helped me get there. I would also like to thank Guillermo Trejo, and my undergraduate thesis advisors, Michaeline Crichlow and Mary Litle. For their in-field

research assistance, I would like to thank Mónica Pastor Morris, Juan Aulestia, José Chalá, Iván Pabón, members of CODAE (Corporación de Desarrollo Afroecuatoriano), and those who agreed to sit for an interview or just share their thoughts.

For their assistance in the writing of my Master thesis, I would also like to thank Clarence Lusane for agreeing to chair this endeavor as well as for helping to organize the renewal of the American University program in Cuba. I would also like to thank Ana Serra for agreeing to be the second reader for this thesis, for her reading suggestions, feedback, and also encouragement for future projects.

Thank you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iii
LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
INTRODUCTION.....	1
<i>15th - 19th CENTURIES</i>	
CHAPTER 1: The Plantation System and Social Hierarchies.....	22
<i>19th - 20th CENTURIES</i>	
CHAPTER 2: Independence Movements and the Abolition of Slavery.....	43
CHAPTER 3: Scientific Racism and Nationalized Racial Identities.....	63
<i>20th CENTURY - PRESENT</i>	
CHAPTER 4: Discourse on Affirmative Action.....	83
CONCLUSION.....	107
APPENDICES.....	110
REFERENCES.....	112

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1.1: Women in Latin American Legislatures, 1990 and 2000.....	10
TABLE 1.2: Quota Laws for Women in Latin America.....	11

INTRODUCTION

“The contractor will not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of *race*, creed, *color*, or national origin. The contractor will take *affirmative action* [sic] to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment without regard to their *race*, creed, *color*, or national origin.”

-- Executive Order 10,925. U.S. President John F. Kennedy (1961).¹

The term "affirmative action" was first used in official national policy in the United States in 1961 when then President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 10,925. He issued this order near the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S. and it was one of many policies adopted to ensure equal opportunity for all underrepresented and marginalized groups, i.e. women and racial minorities, in the United States. The issuance of this order came about as a result of demonstrations and protests by civil society groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and individuals such as the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X.²

While Executive Order 10,925 specifically refers to the labor market, affirmative action policies in the United States have helped to end the segregation of social spaces, and helped to increase the representation of both women and racial minorities in politics and in higher education. Particular attention has been paid to advances made in higher education because education is widely seen as the most important vehicle for social mobility. For women, being able to acquire a quality, advanced education challenged traditional gender roles and was a means for securing equal rights and representation in the public and private sectors. For racial

¹ Spann, *The Law of Affirmative Action: Twenty-Five Years of Supreme Court Decisions on Race and Remedies*, 4.

² This is a very brief glimpse at the Civil Rights Movement in the United States as further analysis is beyond the scope of this argument.

minorities, equal access to quality education was not only important for securing equal rights and representation in the public and private sectors, but also for economic advancement. In the Americas, blacks are disproportionately represented among the economically poor. Access to quality education has been shown to decrease ones chances of living in poverty.

In the United States, following the adoption of affirmative action and other equal rights policies there was a surge in the number of blacks graduating from institutions of higher education, and the number of blacks in the middle class. Despite comprising about 13 percent of the total United States population, from 1960-1995 "the percentage of blacks between the ages of 25-29 that graduated from college increased from 5.4% to 15.4%."³ At the same time, there was also a surge in the number of women attending and graduating from college, but this phenomenon has received less national attention. "[N]ationally, the male/female ratio on campus today is 43/57, a reversal from the late 1960s and well beyond the nearly even splits of the mid-1970s."⁴

Latin American -- (Latin America refers to the former Iberian colonies) -- policy makers and other individuals, minorities and non-minorities, took note of the Civil Rights movement in the United States and either criticized the United States because of its "race problems" or saw an example of how similar civil rights movements could begin in their own countries. There were those that sought to maintain racial hierarchies, those that desired to begin civil rights movements, and those that sought to use the racial tensions in the United States to affirm ideals of racial democracy and racial fraternity in Latin America.

³ Alem, "Racismo e Identidades na Luta em torno de um Programa de Reserva de Vagas - Cota Etnica - para Ingresso em Cursos de uma Universidade Pública do Brasil. Relato e Análise de Caso," 318.

⁴ Marklein, "College Gender Gap Widens: 57% are Women."

The Latin American mainstream generally embraced those ideals of *racial democracy* and *racial fraternity*, a harmonious racial co-existence in contrast to the racial tensions that existed in the United States, from the 1930s-1980s. Brazil and Cuba were prime examples of the nationalization and the rapid promulgation of these ideologies. Both countries had large black and mulatto populations at a time when in the United States race riots were occurring and in Europe the Holocaust was taking place. Attempting to reverse the effects of their colonial past and remain unified as newly-independent countries, in comparison to their American and European counterparts, the mainstream in Brazil and Cuba adopted a seemingly inclusive and unifying philosophy that those in the West even considered emulating. In Ecuador, the mainstream embraced the *mestizo* identity, which appeared to include black Ecuadorians, but in fact emphasized Spanish and indigenous heritage. Post-1980s, the notions of *racial democracy* and *racial fraternity* became "demonized in certain academic and activist circles."⁵

Presently, at the national level, the official policy in Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba is that racial discrimination exists and is both unconstitutional and unlawful. However, not all three countries have official affirmative action policies. Brazil was the first Latin American country to officially adopt affirmative action policies for racial minorities that are still in effect today. Looking towards Brazil, and less so towards the United States, the General Assembly of Ecuador revised its constitution. The current constitution (2008) explicitly states that the State will support policies of affirmative action for those that have been discriminated. In Cuba, there are no official affirmative action policies. However, president Raúl Castro has recently emphasized a need to actively increase the representation of women and blacks, specifically in the public

⁵ Fry, "Politics, Nationality, and the Meanings of 'Race' in Brazil," 96.

sector. Furthermore, civil society groups and scholars both inside and outside Cuba have begun discussing the viability and applicability of affirmative actions for black Cubans.

Research Question

Since the term began to be used in the political sector in Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba -- as was the case in the United States -- affirmative action referenced programs and policies designed to counteract histories of discrimination against both women and racial/ethnic minorities. While in the political sector affirmative action is usually present alongside racial discrimination and to a lesser-analyzed extent, gender discrimination, affirmative action programs also exist for other characteristics such as religion, sexual orientation, and physical disability. Even in the social sector affirmative action programs and policies exist for athletes, residents of particular states, and children of alumni.⁶

Despite the existence of affirmative action policies for groups other than women and racial minorities, and the success that women and racial minorities have achieved with the assistance of such programs, affirmative action policies for racial minorities remains highly controversial. Why is it so controversial to entertain the idea of affirmative actions for blacks? In the Latin American context, the research question I propose is: how have the positioning of blacks in the social consciousness and the political ideologies that States have adopted influenced the debates surrounding affirmative action(s) for blacks in Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba?

Definitions

For this thesis I will be using very specific definitions of race and affirmative action. I recognize race as a social construct and will be analyzing the process of racialization within

⁶ Spann, *The Law of Affirmative Action: Twenty-Five Years of Supreme Court Decisions on Race and Remedies*, 5.

Latin America. This process has resulted in people being categorized as belonging to different races because of phenotypic characteristics, particularly skin color. I will use "race" and not "ethnicity" because I believe that *race* is purely based on the physical; whereas, *ethnicity* includes language and national origin, and in this thesis I am referring to individuals that share a both a language and nationality.

With regards to racial categories, I will use "black" to refer to those of darker complexion and who, because of phenotypic characteristics, would be classified as such. The identifiers of "negro", "preto", "pardo", "moreno" and "mulatto" are included in my definition of black. I have chosen to include *pardo*, *moreno* and *mulatto* in my definition of black because through further analysis of those terms, they all indicate nonwhite, while some indicate progression towards being white. I will further explain these distinctions later on in this thesis. All the identifiers for *black* are often connected with economic status and, depending on how they are used, could be considered offensive. Lastly, unless otherwise indicated, *mestizo* or *mestiço* is an individual of European and indigenous descent, and *mulatto* is an individual of European and African descent.

As for my definition of affirmative action, I will use a definition of affirmation action that remains "situation neutral": a political and social policy designed to ensure the equitable distribution of resources and opportunities among all individuals in a given society.⁷ Affirmative action has been given many other names -- employment equity, positive action, diversity management, positive discrimination, reverse discrimination, affirmative justice, and affirmative fairness⁸ -- but these other names diminish its influence, show whether one is in favor or against, and limit the scope of the policy. For women and racial minorities, affirmative action was intended to atone and account for past and present discrimination based on gender and race in

⁷ Ibid., 1.

⁸ Tomei, "Ação Afirmativa para a Igualdade Racial: Características, Impactos e Desafios," 9-11.

public and private sectors. In Latin America affirmative actions have been provided for women, the indigenous, and blacks. This thesis, however, will focus on affirmative action for blacks in Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba.

Literature Review

Before addressing the research question, I will first place it in the context of the literature on race, affirmative action, and the role of the constitution and political ideologies in Latin America. I will pay particularly attention to Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba as those are the cases being studied.

Race Relations in Latin America

Up until the late 1960s -- coincidentally near the beginning of the Cuban Revolution (1959), which had as one of its platforms the rejection of Western racial ideologies -- race relations in the Americas were separated and analyzed in two distinct variants: the Iberian variant and the North-West European variant.⁹ The Iberian variant referred to the former Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and the North-West variant referred to the former English, Dutch, Canadian, and United States colonies, with "[r]ace relations in the French and Dutch Antilles [taking] an intermediate position between [the] two variants."¹⁰

From the period around 1930-1960, scholars both inside and outside of Latin America argued for and supported the existence of those two variants based on the prevailing argument that race relations in the North-West variant were polar in comparison to race relations in the Iberian variant, which were plural. Two very important assumptions were therefore being made:

⁹ Sansone, *Blackness without Ethnicity: Constructing Race in Brazil*, 8.

¹⁰ Ibid.

(1) race should be discussed in a dichotomy and (2) miscegenation was a prevalent and positive occurrence in Latin America. These assumptions would subsequently influence how Latin Americans viewed the adoption of affirmative action in their respective countries.

The first assumption, that race relations should be discussed in a dichotomy, was the result of dominant views of race emanating from Europe: the "scientific" studies of race that had taken place in the 19th century, and the European "denigration" of Latin America; *denigration* both in the sense of criticizing and belittling, and making black. As Europeans encountered nonwhite groups they categorized them in terms of "white" and "other" and the various races that would occupy the *other* must remain separate for the sake of "racial purity".

The two extreme racial categories were *white* and *black* with *black* and the *other* only existing in relation to *white*. Not until Bartolomé de las Casas argued in defense of the mistreatment of the indigenous in the Americas did Europe release this dichotomy: the indigenous came to occupy a space first separate from the black/white category, and then a space above *black* but still below *white*. Even with the creation of this new space, and the relaxation of the racial purity argument in the New World, the colonizers still held on to racial categorization, even of mixed populations. They made new classifications to maintain racial hierarchies among a more miscegenated population.

European scholars further analyzed race as a result of the more obvious race-mixing taking place in the New World, and in the 19th century, they attempted to use science to argue the existence of race as a biological construction. In arguing the "science of race", they condemned Latin America to a permanent state of biological and social inferiority because of the prevalence of mixed-race populations and blacks. In an attempt to challenge their condemnation, Latin America embraced miscegenation. Scholars from both within and outside of Latin America

created a space for miscegenation in the discourse on race relations by contrasting Ibero-America with French- and English-America, the latter of which had been dominating and controlling the racial discourse. By embracing the variants, it was argued that French and English theories on race could not be applied to the Iberian world because those theories were not shared. However, the theories on race relations were not created in a vacuum, but were the result of this sharing of information across Europe since the onset of colonization.

The second assumption surrounds the existence of miscegenation and the emphasis on its more positive attributes. Continuing with a belief in two distinct forms of race relations, Ibero-America became linked to miscegenation and the rest of the Americas became linked to a lack of miscegenation. A history of racialization and colonization was simplified and over-generalized. Miscegenation occurred in all colonies despite laws and religious decrees against it. It occurred as a result of decisions made by consenting individuals and as the result of violent encounters between non-consenting individuals, as was the nature of slavery and colonization. Beneath the surface, the discourse surrounding miscegenation in Latin America emphasized a preference for *lighter-skin*.

In the Americas, distinctions can be made along the lines of those countries that relied on ancestry versus one's own appearance to determine racial classification, e.g. Brazil and Cuba, and those countries that practiced segregation, e.g. Cuba and Ecuador. If we use this distinction instead of the two variant argument, then new lines of comparison can be drawn where race relations in some Latin American countries resemble other Latin American countries and even non-Latin American countries like the United States and the French overseas departments.

When arguing for the overwhelmingly positive nature of miscegenation, this argument goes one step further, towards racial discrimination, as the truth is being redefined to the

detriment of blacks. The argument is that the slavery and colonization that occurred in Ibero-America was more humane than slavery and colonization in the colonies of the North-West variant. Gilberto Freyre promoted this philosophy, coining the phrase *Lusotropicalismo* specifically referencing Portuguese colonization and slavery. Later scholars would apply his theory to Ibero-America as a whole and would use it to promote the ideas of *racial democracy* and *racial fraternity* in most of Latin America, but with a stronger resonance in Brazil and Cuba. In the debates surrounding affirmative action in Brazil, Ecuador and Cuba, *racial democracy* and *racial fraternity* are the loudest opposing arguments.

Affirmative Action in Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba

The term *affirmative action* is not organic to Latin America. It was coined in the United States during the Civil Rights Movement although affirmative actions were practiced in both the United States and in Latin America prior. After the Civil War, simultaneous with the adoption of the 14th Amendment, the United States adopted what could now be referred to as affirmative action policies for blacks. The United States government established the Freedman's Bureau (1865-1872) and provided assistance to newly emancipated blacks in the form of food, educational benefits, regulation of labor contracts, distribution of land, adjustment of real estate disputes, special courts, orphan assistance, medical care, protective legislation for black servicemen, and laws prohibiting discrimination against freedman.¹¹ While there was room for improvement in the administration of such programs, and subsequent Jim Crow laws and institutionalized segregation would impede these anti-discrimination policies, prior to the Civil Rights movement, the United States government showed support for affirmative actions.

¹¹ Spann, *The Law of Affirmative Action: Twenty-Five Years of Supreme Court Decisions on Race and Remedies*, 2-3.

There is evidence that in Latin America as well, governments instituted affirmative action policies, prior to the 1960s, for underrepresented groups that included blacks and women. In Cuba in 1936, in response to the influx of immigrants and a scarcity of job opportunities for blacks, "afro-Cuban clubs and societies demanded the inclusion of the law of 50 percent in the Cuban Constitution."¹² Cuban lawmakers passed the law of 50 percent, although it was not written into the Constitution, in response to civil society demands to ensure that Cubans, specifically afro-Cubans, would not be overlooked for jobs. The law was passed at a time when the government and many businesses were actively seeking whites to immigrate to Cuba to change the racial demographics of Cuba in what has been referred to as "whitening". In both Ecuador and Brazil the government supported quotas to support the equal representation of women in politics before supporting affirmative action policies for blacks.

Table 1.1 Women in Latin American Legislatures, 1990 and 2000.

Country	WOMEN (AS % TOTAL)*	
	1990	2000
Argentina	5	27
Bolivia	9	12
Brazil	5	6
Chile	6	11
Colombia	9	12
Costa Rica	12	19
Dominican Republic	12	16
Ecuador	7	15
El Salvador	—	10
Guatemala	7	9
Honduras	—	9
Mexico	12	16
Nicaragua	19	10
Panama	8	10
Paraguay	4	3
Peru	6	20
Uruguay	6	12
Venezuela	10	10

*Lower house in case of bicameral legislature.

— = not available.

Source: Smith, *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, 250.

¹² De la Fuente, *Una Nación para Todos*, 274.

Table 1.2 Quota Laws for Women in Latin America.

Country	Date of Law	Legislative Body	Quota (in percents)	Women before Law (in percents)	Women after Law (in percents)	Change (in percent points)
Argentina	1991	Chamber	30	6	30	+24
		Senate	30	3	36	+33
Bolivia	1997	Chamber	30	11	12	+1
		Senate	25	4	4	0
Brazil	1997	Chamber	30	7	6	-1
Costa Rica	1997	Unicameral	40	14	35	+21
Dominican Republic	1997	Chamber	25	12	16	+4
Ecuador	1997	Unicameral	20	4	15	+11
Mexico	1996	Chamber	30	17	16	-1
		Senate	30	15	16	+1
Panama	1997	Unicameral	30	8	10	+2
Paraguay	1996	Chamber	20	3	3	0
		Senate	20	11	18	+7
Peru	1997	Unicameral	25	11	18	+7
Average				9	17	+8

Source: "Women and Democracy." *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, 122.

While the governments of Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba have all made discrimination unconstitutional, only Brazil and Ecuador have official policies of affirmative action, and only the Ecuadorian Constitution explicitly mentions and supports affirmative action policies.

~

In Brazil, since 1968, there were several attempts to legalize affirmative action. However, not until 1988, shortly after returning to a democratic government did the Brazilian government ratify Brazil's current constitution in which it is argued that affirmative action became both legal and constitutional.

The debate surrounding affirmative action in Brazil focuses on affirmative action for blacks in the educational and labor sectors as these are the primary sectors through which social mobility is achieved and made visible. The main arguments of the affirmative action debate¹³

¹³ From this point on, unless otherwise specified, "affirmative action" will refer to affirmative action for blacks.

surround the existence or lack thereof of racism in Brazil, if it is better to talk about issues of inequality in terms of class or race, and whether or not affirmative action is constitutional.

Brazil was the first Latin American country to adopt policies of affirmative action and did so at an early time in comparison to other Latin American countries. As such, the Brazilian case has become an example for other Latin American countries, helping to assuage concerns that the United States would be the sole example, and there is more information available on the debate and the successes and failures of affirmative action programs in Brazil. From 2001-2006, the number of black 18-24 year olds in higher education doubled.¹⁴ On the other hand, there was a highly publicized case in 2007 where a set of twins applied to be considered for the affirmative action program at the University of Brasilia and only one of the twins was identified as black. Later, both were identified as black.¹⁵

~

In 2008, the Ecuadorian government ratified its current constitution that included significant rights and recognitions for the country's black populations. Building upon policies outlined in the 1998 constitution, the 2008 constitution contains an explicit cause in support of affirmative action policies to combat discrimination: "The State shall adopt affirmative actions that will promote true equality in favor of those owners of rights that find themselves in situations of inequality," thus making affirmative action constitutional in Ecuador.¹⁶

The 1998 Constitution made Ecuador the first country in Latin America to grant collective rights to blacks. The Constitution recognized the existence of blacks as a separate ethnic group prior to the creation of the Republic of Ecuador, recognizing also the heterogeneity

¹⁴ "Race in Brazil: Affirming a Divide," *The Economist*.

¹⁵ De Oliveira, "Ações Afirmativas: Soluções ou Problemas?"

¹⁶ The Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador, Title 2, Chapter 1, Article 11.

of the Ecuadorian people and giving more voice to those who had been underrepresented and against whom other had discriminated. The 1998 Constitution also allowed for the inclusion of questions about race and discrimination in the 2001 census, paving the way for the present stance on affirmative action.¹⁷ However, many black civil society groups have expressed that it is not enough to make affirmative action constitutional; laws now need to be passed in affirmation of what is written in the constitution.

~

In Cuba, there is no official policy of affirmative action. However, at the government level, president Raúl Castro has expressed that "[t]he Party, for several months now, has been working in depth [...] taking into consideration the need to achieve a more just representative proportion in gender and race in the membership of the Central Committee."¹⁸ Among civil society groups, the Cofradía de la Negritud [Black Brotherhood] has suggested a policy of affirmative action as a means to ensure racial equality and encourage open dialogue on race and racial discrimination.¹⁹ Scholars outside of Cuba have argued against affirmative action saying it is a foreign concept, a form of reverse discrimination, and not a long-term solution.

The dominant view in Cuba is that Cuba represents a *racial fraternity* where no distinctions can be made based on race. Borrowing from the notions of *racial democracy* and *Lusotropicalism* mentioned earlier, all Cubans are of mixed-race, and therefore, there are no racial tensions in Cuba.

During the 1959 Cuban Revolution, Fidel Castro and the Partido Comunista de Cuba [Cuban Communist Party] used the philosophy of *racial fraternity* to garner the support of black

¹⁷ *Los Derechos Ciudadanos de los Afroecuatorianos en la Nueva Constitución Política del Ecuador*, 11-12.

¹⁸ Castro, Speech before Cuba's 6th Communist Party Congress, April 19, 2011.

¹⁹ This and further translations unless otherwise noted are my own.

Cubans for the revolution. They blamed racism on foreign influence, namely the United States, and regimes, e.g. Fulgencio Batista y Zaldivar, that were allies and tools of foreign imperial powers. They argued that just as those who fought in the independence movements were fighting for racial equality they too were fighting the same cause. In the 1960s, Fidel and his regime proclaimed that Cuba was free from racial discrimination making it almost impossible -- albeit through a few indirect channels -- to talk about racial issues, let alone discuss affirmation action post-revolution.

Under the communist regime, blacks experienced unprecedented social mobility in Cuba, but still faced discrimination because of how blacks and "blackness" was viewed in the social consciousness. Though racism was no longer institutionalized, it was most definitely socialized.

While the dominant view of Cuba as a *racial fraternity* persists, opposing voices have begun to emerge. They are emerging in light of increased scholarship coming from civil society groups, and political and economic changes -- i.e. the election of Raúl as president, the opening of the market, the dollarization of the economy, and increased tourism -- which have made racial discrimination more visible in post-revolutionary Cuba. The issue now becomes how the Cuban government and the Cuban people will chose to respond based on the examples before them.

The Role of the Constitution and Political Ideologies

Rodrigo Borja, scholar and former president of Ecuador, stipulates that the constitution is expected to clearly outline the rights and guarantees of citizens and eliminate any ambiguity.²⁰ Specific policies should then be passed to protect those rights and guarantees outlined in the

²⁰ Borja, *Sociedad, Cultura y Derecho*, 312.

constitution; a constitution that determines the legal validity of those policies.²¹ This process has been and is taking place in Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba, to different degrees, with regards to anti-discrimination laws and affirmative action policies.

The Constitutions of Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba, all condemn discrimination as a result of socio-political discourses taking place at the national and international levels. Activist groups, however, were not satisfied with simply making discrimination unconstitutional as they argued it was not sufficient enough to address issues of discrimination occurring socially and in the educational, political, and labor sectors. In response, in Brazil, national and local governments supported the adoption of affirmative action policies in the educational and labor sectors although more attention has been given to the educational sectors. In Ecuador, the government revised the constitution to make affirmative action constitutional and is in the process of creating and implementing affirmative action policies. In Cuba, discussions on the need to increase the dialogue surrounding racial discrimination and to consider affirmative action have begun to emerge.

These major changes in Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba, vis-à-vis recognizing and condemning racial discrimination and seeking out policies that could equalize opportunity, occurred during a period of increased political stability and high government involvement in social welfare. The current Constitution of Brazil, ratified in 1988, and which made discrimination unconstitutional, was the constitution that the government adopted immediately after Brazil's transition to a stable democracy after decades of autocratic rule. The current Constitution of Ecuador, ratified in 2008, and which *constitutionalized* affirmative action, was adopted after decades of political instability and during the socialist presidency of Rafael Correa.

²¹ Ibid.,323.

In Cuba, the political context was similar. The Cuban government adopted the current constitution shortly after the 1959 Revolution. Now as the government is seeking to create a sustainable form of socialism, president Raúl Castro has entertained discussions of increasing the representation of blacks and other minorities, at least in the political sector.

~

The discussion of affirmative action in Latin America is still a relatively new debate despite the scholarship available on affirmative action in Brazil. The discussion is new because of the newness of the policies and the limited scholarly attention paid to analyzing racial discrimination and affirmative action policies in Latin America. While there is ample scholarship on affirmative action in Brazil, there is less information available on affirmative action in Ecuador and close to none available on affirmative action in Cuba. The limited information available on affirmative action in Ecuador and Cuba is generally confined to scholarship and publications within their respective countries.

With this thesis, I intend to not only contribute to the scholarship on affirmative action in Latin America but also to help increase the audience. Additionally, my aim is to provide a comparison of race relations within Latin America, as too often the discourse is dominated by comparisons made with the United States. The United States has a place in the discussion of race relations because as previously mentioned, the two variants of race relations no longer exist and the Civil Rights Movement in the United States gained international attention.

However, it is unrealistic and historically irresponsible to think that Latin American countries can replicate United States affirmative action policies in their own countries without adjusting them for their individual contexts that are at times similar and at other times quite different from that of the former. So with this thesis, I will provide an analysis of the intersection

of race and politics in the Latin American context while recognizing the American and European influences that helped to position blacks in the social consciousness of Latin America, and also to shape the political and social debates surrounding racial policies and practices in Latin America..

Methodology

This thesis focuses on the debates surrounding affirmative action for blacks in Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba and how the positioning of blacks in the social consciousness, and political ideology have influenced those debates. I will use case study methodology to analyze the critical junctures -- colonization and slavery, "scientific racism" and freedom movements, postcolonial identity construction -- that have shaped the affirmative action debates in those three countries.

I have chosen all three countries as case studies because race has been politicized in those countries since the independence movements. I chose Brazil as a case study because it was the first Latin American country to officially adopt affirmative action policies and because for decades it was viewed as a racial utopia. I have chosen Ecuador because it is the only Latin American country to have made affirmative action constitutional, and because the country has embraced a *mestizo* identity while maintaining spatial and geographical isolation of blacks. I have chosen Cuba because like Brazil, it was viewed as a racial utopia and the insistence on *racial fraternity* has been so closely linked to the revolutionary cause and identity.

In order to analyze these case studies, I will employ postcolonial theory as the theoretical framework of this analysis because this is a discussion of the formation of politicized identities in former colonies that still exist as members of the periphery in the global system.

Postcolonial studies began in the 1980s as the remaining colonies fought for their independence and scholarly discourse shifted from analyzing anti-colonial sentiments towards analyzing the construction of postcolonial countries and identities.²² In this new space, former colonies had to come to terms with having state formation imposed upon them while also needing to embrace statehood as a condition of becoming a sovereign member of the international system. The challenge was to "reinvent the nation-state radically to serve the needs of its own population" recognizing the "danger of simply adopting the political structures created by colonists."²³

Much of the post-colonial discourse focused on Africa -- the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa -- and not Latin America because most Latin American countries had achieved political independence near the beginning of the 19th century.²⁴ However, Latin America was neither economically nor ideologically independent. While as members of the international system Latin American countries were theoretically economically interdependent, they still belonged to the periphery and did not have much sovereignty in that regard. Latin American countries relied heavily on imports from developed, Western nations, and they continued to supply raw materials in a system that placed more value on industrialized goods.²⁵ Ideologically, Latin America was still defining what it meant to be Latin American and what it meant to be a citizen of the individual countries within Latin America.

Colonization had a strong impact on identity construction in Latin America, even in the 1980s and through to the present. In *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* [Black Skin, White Masks]

²² Chrisman, "Nationalism and Postcolonial Studies," *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Studies*, 185.

²³ Ibid., 184.

²⁴ Coronil, "Latin American Postcolonial Studies and Global Decolonization," 222.

²⁵ For more information on this economic imbalance, please see scholarship on dependency theory, which is beyond the scope of this argument.

Frantz Fanon argues that the identity of the colonized and the identity of the colonizer could not exist without each other. For the colonizer, the colonized represented the antithesis of what he was and during colonialism that was the only public space that the colonized could occupy. In the postcolonial, the former colonized is legally free, but the psychological and social remnants of that experience remain. Now the former colonized must redefine his identity according to what transpired in the past and what is occurring in the present.

This process required and requires the appropriation of an identity that is not entirely organic as it comes from the interaction of peoples within a system and from the beliefs and identities of the colonizer and the colonized. As Edward Said explained, "a confused and limiting notion of priority allows that only the original proponents of an idea can understand and use it. But the history of all cultures is the history of cultural borrowings."²⁶ As seen in the debates surrounding affirmative action there has been some resistance to this notion of borrowing and reconstructing particularly as it pertains to the construction of racial identities and racial hierarchies.

Referring back to Fanon, the argument that both Fanon and Said are making is that history happened and throughout history there were violent and peaceful interactions between cultures that resulted in whatever present cultures are in existence today. There is a constant *cultural borrowing* and reinventing. Applying their arguments to Latin America, the region represents this entire process of *cultural borrowing* and reinventing identities and policies both as a construction of previous cultures and the construction of a new culture. It is within this space that I will analyze how the *cultural borrowing* and reinventing of the ideas surrounding race and

²⁶ Chrisman, "Nationalism and Postcolonial Studies," *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Studies*, 185.

political ideologies have led to the present debates on affirmative action in Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba.

~

In Brazil, Ecuador and Cuba the main issues that arise when discussing affirmative action are the nature of race relations and inequality in those countries -- and in the Latin American region -- whether or not an inorganic policy can be adopted in the region, and if this policy is constitutional. In chapters one through three I will analyze the nature of race relations in Latin America and show how racial ideologies were *borrowed* from the colonizer and then *reinvented* to maintain racial hierarchies and further political agendas, not to create racial utopias. In chapter four I will conduct a more in-depth analysis of the affirmative action discourse in the three countries of study.

Chapter one will focus on the construction of racial identities in 15th - 19th century Latin America during colonization and slavery, chapter two on how race became further politicized in the independence and emancipation movements, and chapter three on the impact that the advent of "scientific racism" had on identity construction in Latin America. In chapter 4, I will analyze the social and political changes that led to the adoption of affirmative action, or in the case of Cuba the discussion of anti-discrimination policies. In this chapter I will also analyze the successes and failures of affirmative action in Brazil in Ecuador, and the potential or lack thereof for affirmative action policies in Cuba.

15th - 19th CENTURIES



A hut that resembles former slave quarters in Chota Valley, Imbabura, Ecuador. (Personal photo)

CHAPTER 1: The Plantation System and Social Hierarchies

"As the citizens of present-day Afro-Latin America struggle to escape the economic heritage of poverty and dependency left by plantation agriculture, they do so under the shadow of the social heritage of racial and class inequality left by slavery [...] 'blackness' the most visible and obvious indicator of low social status."

-- George Reid Andrews²⁷

In Latin America, blacks comprise between 15 and 30 percent of the total Latin American population.²⁸ However, despite being a racially diverse region, Latin America "has a highly unequal distribution of income, suggesting that the level of well-being might not be equitably distributed between races."²⁹ Furthermore, despite the economic, political, and social contributions that blacks have made to the region, even before the countries became independent, blacks continue to be socially marginalized to the detriment of their level of well being. Blacks are subject to prejudicial and discriminatory treatments that have their foundations in the racial beliefs and stereotyping that sustained the plantation system from the 15th - 19th centuries, and persist through to today as seen in the unequal distribution of income, unequal access to employment and education, and a perpetual *othering* of blacks, or what Fanon would call the continued representation of *blackness* as the embodiment of all the negative characteristics of humanity; the antithesis of *whiteness*.

In Latin America there is abundant evidence that racism and discrimination exist.

Through surveys conducted in the mid-1990s in Cuba, it was observed that many white Cubans

²⁷ Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, 4.

²⁸ *Racismo y Discriminación Racial en el Ecuador 2004*, 12.

²⁹ *Ethnicity and the Millennium Development Goals*, 55.

"believe that blacks and whites do not share the same values, decency, and intelligence."³⁰

Throughout the region, there are popular sayings and jokes that ridicule blacks and *blackness*. In Quito, Ecuador, there is a popular children's chant that goes as follows,

¿Quién quiere el hombre negro?	[Who likes the black man?]
¡Nadie!	[No one!]
¿Por qué?	[Why?]
¡Porque es negro!	[Because he is black!]
¿Qué come?	[What does he eat?]
¡Carne!	[Meat!]
¿Qué bebe?	[What does he drink?]
¡Sangre!	[Blood!] ³¹

As I experienced when in Quito, Ecuador as an undergraduate study abroad student in 2008, such jokes and sayings can oftentimes form a normal part of conversation during a meal or at a party. In order to be regarded as comical, the listeners and the sharers must believe that blacks occupy an inferior and undesired place in society.

In the collective social consciousness, blacks do occupy an inferior and undesired position, one that they have occupied since colonialism and slavery. The prejudicial opinions that exist towards inter-racial couples, to the point where a campaign was started in Brazil to condemn such treatment, and the prejudicial opinions that would claim that blacks have a natural proclivity to violence and crime, among other negative characteristics, are testament to this fact. Furthermore, the decision to refer to a black person as *moreno* and not *negro* or *preto*, simply because he or she has the appearance of belonging to a higher economic status shows an unnatural causal link between black and the undesired status of low-income. Some argue that *moreno* is a more politically correct term for a black person, which can be true in some instances,

³⁰ De la Fuente, "The New Afro-Cuban Cultural Movement and the Debate on Race in Contemporary Cuba," 20.

³¹ Beck, "¿Qué es Racismo? Awareness of Racism and Discrimination in Ecuador," 104.

but as will be further explained later the term fits into the cultural and political process of *whitening* either for an individual increase in social status, or a collective increase in social status. Additionally, the causal link being placed between blackness and low-income supports the anti-affirmative action argument that the issue is class and not race. It would then lead one to believe that addressing economic issues would alleviate any racial inequality that appears to exist, but this would not address racial inequalities in the upper classes. Furthermore, an underlying assumption here is that blackness is what caused the poverty and that government would be aiding blacks to overcome their situation, further placing blacks in the inferior and dependent category.

As mentioned, since colonialism and slavery blacks have occupied an inferior and dependent position in the collective consciousness. However, Brazilian, Cuban, and Ecuadorian history has often been retold in order to erase the racial tensions that existed then and continue to exist today either for the purpose of solidarity or to discourage a disruption of the status quo.

Those that have been in positions of power, scholars and politicians, and have been able to shape national identities have argued that slavery in Latin America was not as violent as compared to the non-Iberian slave system as it was "based on an almost harmonious co-existence between masters and slaves."³² Therefore, they argue, racism and discrimination does not exist in their countries. There are no racial glass ceilings present today. They omit the discussions of race and "racial purity" that were taking place in all of Europe, and the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition that was taking place during the encounter of the Americas. With that encounter, Europeans brought their racial beliefs with them, and in their colonies, extensions of the mainland, they attempted to replicate and reinforce those racial beliefs. There was no

³² De Souza, *Shifting Discourses: Exploring the Tensions between the Myth of Racial Democracy and the Implementation of Affirmative Action Policies in Brazil*, 13.

harmonious co-existence between masters and slaves; and being as it was the Iberian slave plantation that served as the example for other slave plantations, Iberia has a direct stake in the racial hierarchies that emerged and remained as a result of that slave plantation system and is not exempt.

Europe Defines Race

The term *race* first entered European vocabulary in the 16th century, between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, when Europeans sought a greater understanding of difference among both humans and other species. *Race* became a tool of classification that depended on inherited cultural, and physical characteristics. However, since the 16th century, there has not been a clear and concise definition of race. Even today, while it is generally accepted that race is a social construction, race is determined using various characteristics depending on the country. It can be determined by one's family origins or one's phenotypic characteristics that can include skin color, hair color, hair texture, or the shape of one's facial features. In Ecuador and the United States, the general practice is to use one's origins (if they are known) and phenotype. In Ecuador, geographical origins can also be a factor. In Cuba appearance is used to determine one's race, as is the case in Brazil where there have been at least 500 racial categories based on various combinations of skin color, hair texture, and other physical characteristics.

An earlier definition of *race*, which endured well unto the 19th century, defined race as *lineage*, "a stock of descendants linked to a common ancestor."³³ This definition was closely linked to the biblical understanding of lineage at that time. Michael Banton, a 20th century British

³³ Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America: Critical Studies on Latin America*, 6.

scholar, cites an English usage of *race* in 1570 that referred to all Abraham's descendants. "This included Moses, who had two successive wives; one of these was a Midianite [...] the other was a black Ethiopian woman. All the sons of Moses by these two women would be of 'his race,' whatever their appearance."³⁴

During colonialism, race would continue to be linked to religious thought and imagery depicting those of darker skin, i.e. blacks, as evil and inferior. In the Catholic imagery, there were many portrayals that showed the image of the devil through the black man,³⁵ and blackness was connected with condemnation, sin, evil, and inferiority, or as Fanon would argue, the antithesis of all things white and pure:

Different peoples were said to be the descendants of the various sons of Noah and Africans were sometimes argued to be the sons of Ham, cursed by Noah for having seen him when he was drunk and naked. In medieval theology, blackness was often linked to the devil and sin, and Africans were often held to be inferior even during the early stages of this period.³⁶

Beginning in the 18th century, European scholars added to the previous definition of race and images of blackness, and further defined race in terms of culture. They linked culture and lineage and attempted to prove the biological, scientific, and innate nature of those characteristics to support beliefs in racial hierarchies. In *System of Nature* (1735), Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus describes Native Americans as both "copper-colored" and "regulated by custom," arguing that race is both a cultural and phenotypic marker.³⁷ Linnaeus was responsible for dividing all things into "species and genera, setting the basis for later classification of

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Fernández-Rasines, *Afrodescendencia en el Ecuador: Raza y Género desde los Tiempos de la Colonia*, 86.

³⁶ Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America: Critical Studies on Latin America*, 8.

³⁷ Ibid, 12.

difference."³⁸ European scholars on race then used his classification system to construct a racial hierarchy in Europe and also in the former Latin American colonies that include present-day Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba.

Applying Racial Hierarchies to the New World

Before and during the time that *race* became a part of European vocabulary, the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions (15th - 16th centuries) were taking place in which the monarchies sought to enforce Catholicism in their realms and expelled the remaining Muslims and Jews who would not convert. This occurrence contradicts that argument that the Spanish and Portuguese had been accustomed to the peaceful cohabitation of races that further developed into the belief in *Lusotropicalism*. The *Lusotropicalism* argument posits that due to the long exposure of the Spanish and Portuguese to the Moors, they were more genteel in their colonial practices.³⁹ The Inquisitions and the 1492 encounter of the Americas, however, provide a more accurate view of how the Spanish and Portuguese viewed racial difference in the Old and New Worlds.

The monarchy expelled the Jews and Muslims partly for economic reasons -- Muslims had a monopoly over the trade route to Asia -- and partly for the Catholic belief in *racial purity*. "In order to be a good creature of God, a son of Adam and of his wife Eve, created of God, pure Spanish, pure Indian, pure Black."⁴⁰ During that same year, 1492, Christopher Columbus traveled in search of an alternative trade route, one that would bypass the Muslim trade route, and encountered the Americas. His encounter with the Americas was not just geographical and physical, but also ideological.

³⁸ Ibid, 7.

³⁹ Skidmore, *Uma História do Brasil*, 32.

⁴⁰ Fernández-Rasines, *Afrodescendencia en el Ecuador: Raza y Género desde los Tiempos de la Colonia*, 43.

With Columbus' encounter of the Americas, he claimed territory and people for the monarchy. That territory and its people then became subject to and subjects of the monarchy and the Catholic Church. While many males migrated without family from the Iberian Peninsula to the New World and sought out sexual partners or spouses from the indigenous population, and sexual partners from the African slave population that they brought to the New World, those actions were neither free from violence nor sanctioned by the monarchy and the Catholic Church. While there are romantic and romanticized stories of those encounters between colonizer and colonized; slave owner and slave, there are also overlooked stories of rape and overlooked analyses of the colonial and slave structure that would question if a woman could truly give her consent. As a slave in Lima, Peru stated in an 1811 case against her master, who had been sexually exploiting her since she was 14, "I was forced to yield for two reasons: the first because of the master's status; the second because [...] it being certain that the greater the interest of one's master, the better his treatment for us women."⁴¹

Furthermore, miscegenation also happened because of circumstance and individual greed, not as the result of the colonists regarding nonwhites as their equals. When the colonizers arrived in the New World, they brought with them diseases that killed of the natives that they did not massacre or enslave. The natives who survived could either flee and form their own communities outside of the colonies, or use their complexion and financial resources to mix with colonists. After enslavement of the indigenous was condemned those male colonists seeking wealth and social status would acquire wives from any remaining noble indigenous families. When the indigenous could no longer be used as slaves due to death or legal decree, the colonist imported more African slaves to replace the previous labor force. The structure under which

⁴¹ Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, 43.

miscegenation occurred, was an imbalanced power structure that, (1) needed to create a population over which it could govern and instruct to work an economically fertile land, and (2) from which the labor force could flee by exploiting racial prejudice, sexual imbalance, the desire for wealth, and the preference for lighter skin.

Before miscegenation occurred in the colonies and while it was occurring, the Catholic Church and the Iberian monarchies condemned miscegenation saying it was unnatural as it went against the tenants of racial purity. They advocated for racial segregation to preserve this *racial purity*.⁴² When that failed, they restructured the racial hierarchy to include mixed races, *all* mixed races. They sought

[T]o establish, by law, a racially stratified society that would reserve for whites all opportunities for social and economic advancement and that would relegate nonwhites to inferior legal and social status [...] During the 1600s, this body of racial law, the first of its kind in the modern West, was extended to the New World and systematized into the *regimen de castas*, a Caste Regime governing free blacks and mulattoes, Indians, mestizos, and other racially mixed peoples.”⁴³

The Spanish and the Portuguese were the first to create such racial caste laws in the Americas, showing that the too believed in the same theories of race and racial inferiority that were being discussed in non-Iberian Europe. Following Said's concept of *cultural borrowing*, the New World *Caste Regime* resembled "Spanish and Portuguese laws governing people of *unclean blood* – Arabs, Jews, gypsies, and Africans – in the Old World.”⁴⁴ The Spanish and Portuguese monarchies developed at least 52 racial categories to relegate all members of colonial society to the appropriate caste. The monarchies and the Church did not openly applaud miscegenation; they acted to control it. They applied European theories of race to the New World for the purpose

⁴² Fernández-Rasines, *Afrodescendencia en el Ecuador: Raza y Género desde los Tiempos de la Colonia*, 43.

⁴³ Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, 44.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

of marginalizing the non-white populations and maintaining some semblance to the racial hierarchies to which they were accustomed. Their purpose for doing this was custom, and the need to create and maintain order. The slave and colonial system relied on the subjugation of and control over a free labor force, and in the coming centuries the plantation system would prove to be an economically lucrative venture that many wished would not be interrupted.

The Latin American Slave Plantation

In addition to introducing a caste system to the New World, the Iberian colonizers also introduced black slave labor. In the 1520s and 1530s, the Portuguese began to use black slave labor on their plantations in Brazil following a system they adopted in their plantations in their colonies off the coast of Africa.⁴⁵ Having "descended from the same Roman precedents," the slave plantations in Spanish and Portuguese America resembled each other.⁴⁶ And from 1580-1640, the Spanish and Portuguese monarchy was united and their colonial practices consolidated.⁴⁷

The slave plantation in Latin America developed around sugarcane, "white gold."⁴⁸ "For almost three centuries after the discovery of America no agricultural product had more importance for European commerce than American sugar."⁴⁹ The cultivation of that sugar and the aggregation of capital and political influence for the plantation owner depended upon cheap labor and a surplus of labor, which the slave system readily provided.

⁴⁵ Greenfield, "Slavery and the Plantation in the New World: The Development and Diffusion of a Social Form," 45.

⁴⁶ Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, 36.

⁴⁷ Skidmore, *Uma História do Brasil*, 27.

⁴⁸ Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*, trans. Cedric Belfrage, 59-60.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 59.

The slave plantation was a "semi-autonomous administrative unit" in which political and economic power was delocalized and centralized.⁵⁰ The monarchy gave portions of land to noblemen who then made a profit off that land with a portion given to the crown and a portion maintained for the noblemen and passed down from generation to generation. The land granted functioned as property and as a household that could be enlarged with more slave labor either purchased through the African slave trade or reproduced within the plantation through sexual relations between slaves or between female slaves and their male masters. This was the complicated history of the slave plantation where the slaves became both property and extensions of the household at times claimed as descendants and at other times not. The monarchy's army and creoles -- New World descendents of Europeans -- would later wage wars, wars of independence and emancipation, largely over who had the right to control this lucrative economic system that provided the creoles with the wherewithal to wage war against the crown.

Initially, it was the indigenous who provided the slave labor on these plantations, also known as *municípios* in Brazil and *latifundios* in Spanish America. However, the indigenous population rapidly disappeared as a consequence of the European diseases brought to the Americas against which the indigenous had no defense, of the European massacre of the indigenous, and due to the intolerable conditions on slave plantations. While some notable figures in European history, e.g. Friar Bartolomé de las Casas, spoke out against the enslavement of the indigenous, much of the population was already decimated.

While speaking out against the treatment of the indigenous, de las Casas, and others, added that black slave labor should replace indigenous slave labor because of the supposed inferiority of the African as per the views on race in Europe and in the colonies at that time.

⁵⁰ Greenfield, "Slavery and the Plantation in the New World: The Development and Diffusion of a Social Form," 47, 49, 51.

They argued that blacks were better suited to work in the slave plantations because an inherent nature that made them predisposed to manual labor and able to work under the beating tropical sun. In the racial hierarchy, the European was at the top of the pyramid, blacks at the bottom, and the indigenous occupied a space in between, and sometimes even an autonomous space outside of, that pyramid. When outrage occurred over the treatment of the indigenous, a separate indigenous republic was formed where the indigenous were allowed to exist outside the colonial structure and pay a tax to the Crown. In the racial hierarchy post-independence, the creoles replaced the Europeans at the top of the hierarchy while the rest of the structure remained the same.

Later, due to the evolution of racial discourse, the creoles would be renamed *mestizo/mestiço* although the use of this terminology was an attempt to avoid condemnation as African countries and persecution as racially prejudiced countries. Even during colonialism, the term was used to avoid persecution of some form, as many indigenous claimed the identity "to avoid being sent to the mines and sold and resold in the market."⁵¹ While *mestizo/mestiço*, did speak to a mixed heritage of European and indigenous, it also spoke to an omission of African heritage and a politicization of racial identities.

Limited Black Agency in the Slave System

The majority of black slaves in the Americas went to Brazil and Cuba. "Brazil received more slaves (at least 3.65 million [...]) than another other region in the Americas. Consequently, [Brazil] has the largest population of afro-descendants than any other country outside of

⁵¹ Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*, 40.

Africa."⁵² Slaves throughout all of Latin America worked on plantations and in mining camps. They performed various household duties including "cooking, cleaning, and shopping [...] nursing slave owners' infant children, and in some cases, providing sexual services to masters and their adolescent children."⁵³ Slaves were subjugated and violated in a system that thrived on and depended upon the threat or the use of violence, and isolation from one's family and heritage.

There are many instances of slave revolts in the history of slavery. In Latin America, those that were able to safely free the plantation set up free black communities, away from the slave plantations, known as *quilombos* in Brazil and *cimarrón* communities in Spanish America. For the others that remained on the plantation, as the slave economies grew and the demand for labor increased, they were able to acquire glimpses of freedom. Slaves worked as apprentices and journeymen, and were even able to rise "to the level of master artisan to constitute a visible presence in the skilled trades."⁵⁴ Slaves were able to use their work as domestics and apprentices to negotiate for and purchase their freedom. In Latin America, "slaves were freed at higher rates [...] than in the rest of the hemisphere."⁵⁵ As a result, by the 1800s, the majority of the black population in Latin America was free.⁵⁶ And in the late 1800s and early 1900s, free blacks organized "racially defined social and athletic clubs, cultural and civic organizations, newspapers, and political parties."⁵⁷

The fact that the rate of freedom for slaves was greater in Latin America, however, does not take away from the racial and economic nature of the slave system. In fact it serves as a

⁵² Skidmore, *Uma História do Brasil*, 33.

⁵³ Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, 14-15.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 15.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 41.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 40.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 8.

reminder of the racial hierarchies that existed then and shows how they have been reproduced in present-day discussions of inequality that have tried to limit the racial focus. The economic transformation of the slave system resulted in an increasing number of blacks being freed from slaves, but this was still a transaction that relied on the consent of the master and did not speak to a change in the racial pyramid and the positioning of blacks within the social consciousness at that time:

As early as 1755, the king of Portugal had encouraged his subjects in Brazil to 'populate themselves' and 'join with the natives through marriage'. In the same year, the Marquis of Pombal rose to power in Portugal as the war minister, eventually becoming prime minister, and during his twenty-two-year reign when to great lengths to encourage such intermarriages. However, the Portuguese crown did not encourage intermarriages of the white colonists with blacks and mulattos, and the Catholic Church condemned miscegenation in general.⁵⁸

While inter-racial relationships no doubt existed, and the opinions of the church sometimes ignored at the individual level, at the larger state and society level, equal association with blacks was not acceptable because society continued to believe that blacks were naturally inferior. However, society also believed that as blacks approached whiteness, either phenotypically or through mannerisms, they could acquire more, although still limited, social mobility and acceptance but still within the confines of the racial hierarchy. For instance, mulattos, were better able to negotiate for their freedom because of their white ancestry and often lighter-skin.

Under the caste regime, *regimen de castas*, society was segregated separating freed blacks from whites, and various restrictions were placed on blacks. Blacks were not allowed to carry weapons and were "required to have a white patrons who could vouch for their

⁵⁸ Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*, 25.

whereabouts and good behavior."⁵⁹ Blacks were also not allowed to "wear expensive clothing or jewelry, or to enter non-manual professions."⁶⁰ Manual positions paid less, and in these positions freed blacks were competing with slaves and working alongside them. This reinforced the stereotype that associated, and continues to associate, blackness with manual labor and belonging to a permanent underclass. Nonetheless, despite being restricted in their professions and barred from white institutions, blacks formed parallel societies in which they achieved more social mobility.

To increase social mobility within their own societies and within the large society dominated by whiteness, the rising black elite married into each other's families and also married "into middle- or lower-status white families."⁶¹ Marrying into white families was an attempt to "improve" or "save the race." These expressions were common in slave societies across the Americas, and became part of political agendas in Latin America in the late 19th and early 20th during the period of *whitening* and government-subsidized European immigration to the region. This intermarriage made it harder to determine racial categories resulting in the discrimination based on shades of color that exist today and the challenge in determining who is black and who is not in order to apply affirmative action policies, particularly in Brazil.

Because of the challenge of identifying who was black and who was white, and because of the need for more men in the military, in the late 19th century, laws supporting racial restrictions were gradually abolished, but the prejudiced remained. In 1795, the Spanish monarchy "issued the *gracias al sacar* decree, a set of legal procedures by which nonwhites could in effect be 'pardoned' from their 'unclean' racial status by purchasing or requesting from

⁵⁹ Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, 44.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., 47.

the Crown the privileges of whiteness."⁶² At baptisms, priests would even accept payment in order to change the race of a child on the birth certificate. Therefore, despite the abolition of the racial segregation laws blackness was still a sign of inferior status and limited social mobility, and money became a way of purchasing freedom limited again to those able to hide their ancestry.

Ecuadorian Geographical Segregation

In contrast to Brazil, and Cuba, Ecuador had a much smaller black population during slavery and post-slavery, and the slave plantation was localized along the coast and in the valleys because of its geographical terrain. Because the slave plantations were more often found in those areas and because the slave owners often abandoned those areas after the abolition of slavery, blacks in Ecuador were not as visible as blacks in Brazil and Cuba. As a result, blacks occupied a permanent *other* category and it became harder for blacks and blackness to be included in the Ecuadorian identity, but this separation also provided support for the argument in favor of affirmative action:

The most important traditional afro-Ecuadorian settlements, in terms of population size, were fundamentally the province of Esmeraldas, on the coast, and the Chota-Mira basin [Chota Valley], located in a subtropical zone of the Andean provinces of Imbabura and Carchi. The majority of the afro-descendant population was found in these zones until about the middle of the XX century, when the migratory phenomenon forcefully took place and important contingents of the black population progressively dispersed themselves among various provinces of the country.⁶³

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Vallejo, *Afroecuatorianos: Un Movimiento Social Emergente*, 12.

Blacks in the Chota Valley went from being slaves to farm laborers working off their debts to their former masters, to being small landowners working the same land as their slave ancestors. In the 17th century, the Spanish and the Jesuits introduced the slave plantation to the valley primarily for the cultivation of sugarcane.⁶⁴ As was the case in other slave plantations in the Americas, black slaves replaced the indigenous who could not withstand the climate. The climate in the valley was so dry and hot, that colloquial it is known as the *valley sangriento* (bloody valley).

Because of their financial means, the Jesuits controlled the slave plantations in the Chota Valley up until the Spanish expelled them in 1767. Proponents of *Lusotropicalism* often cite Jesuit control over the slave plantation for decades as an example of the humane treatment of slaves in Latin America as compared to the treatment of slaves in French- and English- America, ignoring the fact that whatever "humane" treatment there was, still existed within the boundaries of slavery.

In contrast to most other slave plantation owners, the Jesuits recognized "the importance of family for the Africans and favored familial life on their plantations. They encouraged slaves to marry among themselves."⁶⁵ To support the family unit, Jesuits bought African males and females in almost equal proportions. The Jesuits did not separate families through the sale of individual members, and they provided each slave family with their own house and parcel of land. (The slaves did not own the land. They owned the produce of that land which they used as sustenance for their families.) In contrast, on non-Jesuit slave plantations, family members could

⁶⁴ Bouisson, "Esclavos de la Tierra: los Campesinos Negros del Chota-Mira, siglos XVII - XX," 46

⁶⁵ Ibid., 47.

be sold, separating families. The owners typically kept female and male slaves separate, fearing that marriage would decrease productivity, and allowed only loyal slaves to be married.⁶⁶

However, at the same time that the Jesuits were providing these familial concessions, they were also cognizant of how best to increase the economic productivity of their plantations. Being financially well off, Jesuits were able to purchase slaves directly from Africa, meaning that most of the slaves on their plantation were unaccustomed to life on a plantation. A challenge would be that they would have to be instructed on how to behave, but that would also be a benefit. Being unfamiliar with life in Ecuador outside of the plantation and being granted some freedoms, e.g. parcels of land and the ability to have a family, slaves more inclined to stay on the plantation. Their remaining on the plantation would increase the economic productivity of the plantation that could be lost in search of runaway slaves or simply through the loss of slaves and the need to purchase more. The children born to those slave families would also increase the economic profitability of the slave plantation at almost zero input cost. This was the nature of the slave plantation functioning as a household. Furthermore, while the Jesuits allowed slaves to marry among themselves, they forbid "unions with the mestizos and Indians that worked on the plantations" as this went against the belief in *racial purity* and could lead to the loss of slaves, through the negotiation of their freedom, through the claiming of mestizo, mulatto, or indigenous identities.⁶⁷

When the Spanish expelled the Jesuits in 1767, the plantations and slaves became property of the King of Spain and slaves began to complain and revolt because they were not granted the same agency that they were granted under Jesuit control. Slaves were allowed to complain under Spanish law and in some cases, masters were ordered to treat slaves as they had

⁶⁶ Ibid., 48.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 47.

been treated under the Jesuits. However, when it came to the separation of families through the sale of individual family members, the laws had no jurisdiction and the only option that slaves had was to flee the plantation. In the 1780s when the Spanish monarchy sold the plantations to aristocratic land-owning elite from Quito and Ibarra, slave uprisings increased partly due to the continued disregard for the family structure.

After slavery was abolished in 1852, blacks continued to work on those same plantations that they and their ancestors previously worked as slaves. They knew no other life and no other area. They received a very low salary from their former owners and most had to work to pay off large debts to their owners. In order to make a profit, the plantation owners redistributed the parcels of land that they had granted to the black laborers for family sustenance, selling the more valuable land and leaving blacks with the worse land. It was not until the agrarian reform, which benefitted all rural workers, were blacks able to come from under this system that for blacks in Ecuador was a continuation of slavery. Even then, however, the agrarian reform helped to remedy an economic situation but did little if nothing at all to change how blacks were viewed in the collective social consciousness.

In contrast to the history of the Chota Valley, the province of Esmeraldas has been a political autonomous region since colonial times. It is a symbol of freedom for blacks and during vacations is overrun with tourists from the *sierra* [highlands] looking to profit from inexpensive accommodations and beach activities.

Esmeraldas is often referred to as the "black province" as its population is more than 50 percent black making it "the area with the primary concentration of the African population" in Ecuador.⁶⁸ In 1533, a Spanish slave ship left Panama for Lima but became caught in a tropical

⁶⁸ Fernández-Rasines, *Afrodescendencia en el Ecuador: Raza y Género desde los Tiempos de la Colonia*, 67.

storm and shipwrecked off the coast of present-day Esmeraldas.⁶⁹ The Spanish on board were able to save their own lives, and the black slaves on board "fled to the interior of the jungle" for their freedom.⁷⁰ In the jungle, the runaways encountered indigenous that were already inhabiting the area. The two groups engaged in violent struggle. The two groups ended their battle and decided instead to ally together against the Spanish. This alliance provided the force and manpower necessary to fend off the Spanish and preserve the autonomy of the province of Esmeraldas.

Those blacks that had settled in Esmeraldas entered into negotiations with the Spanish monarchy to legalize their free status and confirm the details. They negotiated "peace treaties" with the Crown that "granted them charters as self-governing municipalities."⁷¹ This freed status attracted slaves from the Valley of Chota to Esmeraldas where they formed their own communities and joined with others.⁷² Many slaves assigned to work on the railway to connect the highland to the coast used that as an opportunity to flee to their freedom in Esmeraldas.

Despite the freedom that blacks in Esmeraldas were able to acquire in the 16th century, by the 18th century, mining and fishing companies -- without opposition from the Spanish monarchy and local overseers -- began exploiting the people and the natural resources within the province.⁷³ By 1990, Esmeraldas was an "open zone for colonization" and the various outside companies displaced blacks from their traditional lands.⁷⁴ This was just eight years before Ecuador would adopt the Constitution that would recognize black Ecuadorians as an indigenous group with rights to traditional lands.

⁶⁹ *Nuestra Historia: Documento Didáctico Pedagógico de Etnoeducación Afroecuatoriana*, 76.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁷¹ Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, 38.

⁷² Fernández-Rasines, *Afrodescendencia en el Ecuador: Raza y Género desde los Tiempos de la Colonia*, 74.

⁷³ *Nuestra Historia: Documento Didáctico Pedagógico de Etnoeducación Afroecuatoriana*, 99.

⁷⁴ Fernández-Rasines, *Afrodescendencia en el Ecuador: Raza y Género desde los Tiempos de la Colonia*, 82.

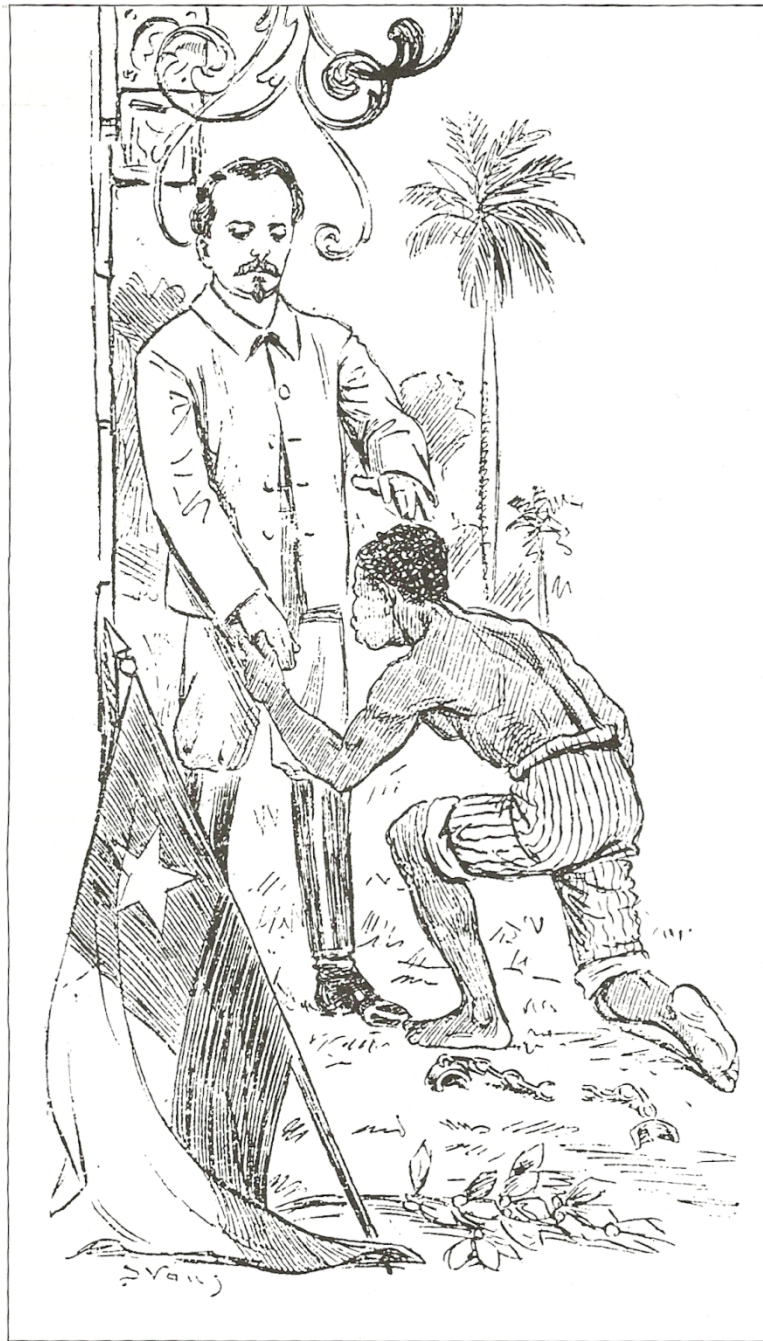
The struggle for land rights in Esmeraldas and in the Valley de Chota, as well as the struggle for recognition as participants in the history of Ecuador and as fellow Ecuadorian nationals, contributed to the 1998 legislation and other discussions of collective rights and affirmative action policies in Ecuador. Those discussion and those policies would include the rights to land and the right to tell a history that included the complete story of blacks in Ecuador even prior to independence from Spain.

~

The slave plantation was a new concept, first developed outside the Americas and then transferred to the Americas where it was able to be extremely profitable for the plantation owners. The plantation system was sustained with the European beliefs on race that had been transferred from Europe to the New World in 1492 where they were applied and modified to fit the European context. So while neither the slave plantation nor racial beliefs are completely organic to the Americas the collision between the two is organic to the Americas.

During colonialism and slavery, race was a tool, a means for economic ends. As will be seen in the next chapter, during the freedom movements, race was once again a tool, but this time for political ends. Race in the Americas during colonialism and slaver was not non-existent, nor were racial tensions. Those overlooked facts and the romanticized history has made it difficult to discuss the legacy of this violent and prejudicial past, and find ways to transform the image of blacks and blackness in the collective consciousness into a positive, non-prejudicial, and non-discriminatory one.

19th - 20th CENTURIES



"The discussion of white generosity and black gratitude, represented by *La Discusión*, October 10, 1905. The drawing exhibits Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, initiator of the 10 Years War, giving liberty to one of his slaves. (Biblioteca Nacional 'José Martí')." Credit: De la Fuente, *Una Nación para Todos*, 52.

CHAPTER 2: Independence Movements and the Abolition of Slavery

"La gente no cambia por dentro, tiene que venir la ventolera [...] Así y todo quedan grandes pedazos con raíces profundas que luchan por brotar. [People do not change from within; they need a gust of wind [...]] Even so large pieces remain with profound roots that are fighting to sprout."

-- Manuel Granados⁷⁵

In the 19th century, Latin American countries declared their independence from Spain and Portugal following the examples set by the American (1776) and French Revolutions (1789). The ruling elite in the former Iberian colonies believed that their political and economic interests no longer coincided with the interests of the Iberian monarchies. They saw a contradiction between the liberties being discussed in Europe and the liberties being denied to them in the Latin American colonies. They objected to the political and economic monopoly that the smaller and distant countries of Spain and Portugal had over the colonies.⁷⁶

The Haitian Revolution (1804) also served as a revolutionary model, but as one to avoid. The creoles also blamed the destruction of the slave plantation in Haiti for the resulting economic crisis in the country even though the crisis was not without Western protagonists. Prior to the Haitian Revolution, Haiti was the wealthiest colony in the hemisphere. On the brink of independence, Haiti faced a blockade by France and later, in 1806, the United States banned trade with Haiti. In 1825, France recognized Haiti's independence, "but only in exchange for a huge cash indemnity," in the same way that blacks in Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba were freed.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ De la Fuente, *Una Nación para Todos*, 434.

⁷⁶ Ayala Mora, *Manual de Historia del Ecuador*, 98.

⁷⁷ Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*, 66.

Writing to his brother-in-law Napoleon in 1802, after imprisoning the leader of the Haitian Revolution, Toussaint l'Overture, General Leclerc wrote,

Here is my opinion about this country: all the blacks in the mountains, men and women, must be suppressed, keeping only the children under twelve; half the blacks in the plains must be exterminated, and not a single mulatto with epaulets must be left in the colony.⁷⁸

Because of the large number of freed blacks within their societies (most blacks in Latin American were free by the 1800s), the creoles feared that the colonies would become the next Haiti. The creoles were not concerned with the livelihood of blacks in their country; they wanted to be the leaders of the free Latin America, without altering the status quo.

Independence Movements in Latin America

Spain had been an imperial power for centuries, a pioneer in the discovery of the New World, but beginning in the early 19th century was experiencing drastic political and economic crisis. Taking advantage of Spain's challenging political and economic situation -- Napoleon invaded Spain in 1808 and took on debt -- and limited ability to maintain strong control over its colonies -- as a result of being in debt Spain had a limited military presence in Latin America -- the creoles planned their revolution against Spain, and violent battles for independence ensued.

In both Ecuador and Cuba, the discussion of liberties and the violent battles for freedom included discussions on and actions towards the abolition of slavery. In Ecuador, slavery was completely abolished after Ecuador gained independence from Spain, and in Cuba, slavery was abolished prior to independence from Spain. While the violent battles for freedom and the need for more manpower led to more engagement with black Ecuadorians, the elapse in time between

⁷⁸ Ibid.

independence and abolition as well as geographic racial segregation post-abolition, showed a reluctance of Ecuador's elites to truly accept blacks as citizens and as equals. In Cuba, there appeared to be more of an attempt to include blacks within society while there was still resistance to completely dismantling the slave system and racial hierarchies. The situation of blacks in Cuba post-independence was further complicated by United States de facto colonization of Cuba.

As was the case in Ecuador, in Brazil the government abolished slavery after gaining independence from the colonial power. However, in contrast to both Ecuador and Cuba, the independence movement in Brazil was not as violent a struggle between the monarchy and the creole elite, but more of a transition in power aided in some respect by the same monarchy from which the colony wanted to be freed. As a result, there was no need for either the creole elite or the Portuguese monarchy to heavily recruit more soldiers from the large black population. There was no disruption to the status quo in a society whose political and economic system emerged and depended upon the slave plantation system. Therefore, race and slavery were not a large part of the transition to independence in Brazil and the local elite had no intention of fully abolishing slavery or accepting blacks as equal citizens of Brazil.

The Brazilian Transition to Independence

In *Race in Another America*, Edward Telles characterizes Brazilian independence as a “smooth transition from colony to state.”⁷⁹ With the absence of the violent clash of ideas and military forces in Brazil, race and slavery did not play a prominent role in Brazil's independence. There was no “rupture in local values or the social structure” that would lead the elite to question

⁷⁹ Rio de Janeiro had become the capital of Brazil in 1763. Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*, 25.

the continuation of slavery alongside independence and question the positioning of blacks in the Brazilian social consciousness.⁸⁰

In 1808, when Napoleon invaded the Iberian Peninsula and overthrew the Spanish monarchy, the Portuguese monarchy did what they had been considering for the past 150 years: left Portugal for Brazil with the assistance of the English.⁸¹ The monarchy left before the French could overthrow them. The royal family and their entourage first arrived in Salvador where the locals, mostly black, greeted them with celebrations and offered them the best accommodations available. From Salvador the royal party continued south to Rio de Janeiro, the then capital of Brazil, where they were again greeted by a mostly black population and an elite that offered them their mansions for accommodation.⁸²

From 1808-1816, prince D. João VI served as regent while in Rio de Janeiro.⁸³ As regent, the prince took steps to consolidate the royal presence and increase ties between Europe and the Portuguese colony. He opened the Brazilian ports to other nations and also created the National Library, the Botanical Gardens, the Bank of Brazil, and medical schools in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro.⁸⁴ For his actions and his presence in Brazil, the prince was generally popular among Brazilians, but many were also irritated by the appointment of newly-arrived Portuguese to key positions of power. Those that identified more with Brazil and tended to not own large properties were more wary of the prince's long-term presence in Brazil.

In 1814, Napoleon fell and the elite living in Portugal wanted the prince to return to Lisbon to reestablish the monarchy there and address some political changes. As a compromise,

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ The prince began serving as regent in 1799 after his mother, Queen Maria I, was declared mentally unable to serve as queen. Skidmore, *Uma História do Brasil*, 57.

⁸² Riordan Roett, *Brazil: Politics in a Patrimonial Society*. 5th ed. (Praeger: Westport, 1999), 4.

⁸³ Skidmore, *Uma História do Brasil*, 57.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 58.

in 1815, prince D. João made Brazil an equal partner -- *parceiro igual* -- in a sort of "United Kingdom" with Portugal so that he could justify his continued presence in Brazil. A year later, however, his mother died, making him king. And in 1820, the liberals in Portugal triumphed and demanded that the courts limit the power of the monarchy and that the king return to Lisbon. Merchants and businessmen in Brazil supported the king's return to Lisbon because they saw this as an opportunity to assume more control over the colony and possibly even colonial independence. The king returned to Lisbon in 1821, but not without leaving his son Pedro to serve as regent in Brazil and warning him that if the monarchy should split, his son should side with Brazil.⁸⁵

When the courts convened in Lisbon the majority sought to reinstate Brazil's colonial status, which resulted in strong opposition from the Brazilian elite. In response to the opposition coming from Brazil, the courts responded by demanding the prince Pedro I return to Portugal. In 1822, the prince refused to leave Brazil. Several of the Portuguese military forces that had arrived in 1808 when the monarchy fled Lisbon and remained even after King D. João VI returned to Lisbon, fought the Brazilian rebels in the south and in Bahia in 1823. They lost and Brazil succeeded in gaining its independence from Portugal.

While there was no rupture in the social-economic order in Brazil, the Brazilian elite did have some growing concerns about the future source of manual labor due to political and demographic changes from 1808-1823. Brazilian society continued to be led and dominated by the land- and *município*-owning elite who depended heavily on slavery for manual labor and economic production. However, as Portugal had been indebted to England for its assistance during the Napoleon invasion, so to was Brazil now indebted to England. Brazil granted England

⁸⁵ Ibid., 59.

economic preferences, e.g. lower tariffs, but was afraid that England would attempt to abolish slavery in the new country as in 1808 England had already abolished slave-trafficking to the United States. In 1823, blacks -- both freed and enslaved -- outnumbered whites. The elites feared the altering of the status quo and that "the white race will come to an end in the hands of other races and the province of Bahia will disappear from the civilized world."⁸⁶ Their fear was not solely based on their economic interests but more strongly on their prejudicial beliefs about non-whites and their beliefs in racial hierarchies.

The Ecuadorian Independence Movement

The Ecuadorian independence movement took place during the third wave of independence movements in Central and South America that occurred from 1810-1825. The first wave took place in Mexico and Central America, the second wave in the southern cone -- Bolivia, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Argentina, Peru -- and the third wave in the northern Andean region -- Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador.⁸⁷ In contrast to the independence movement in Brazil, the Spanish American independence movements were extremely violent, lasted several years, and called into question slavery and black citizenship.

The colonial militaries -- *los nacionalistas* -- composed of soldiers from the different colonies within South America, fought together against the royal army -- *los realistas* -- for independence from Spain. Initially, the main protagonists in the wars for independence were the white elites and the Spanish monarchy:

The mestizos supported the cause without much enthusiasm. Indigenous and blacks participated in the conflict, obligated by their circumstance, or seeking

⁸⁶ Ibid., 61.

⁸⁷ Mora, *Manual de Historia del Ecuador*, Vol. 1, 102-120.

their own interests, that were having too little to do with the change from monarchy to republic or the creation of an independent state.⁸⁸

Initially, the *nationalistas* did not recognize a conflict between fighting for independence from Spain and maintaining slavery. However, as the leaders wanted to attract more soldiers to their cause and saw that the independence movement did not fully engage the masses, as it was not yet a popular movement, those leaders sought various ways to attract non-elites, especially the large population of nonwhites, and transform the movement into a stronger, popular movement.

The two leaders of the revolution, Simon Bolívar and José de San Martín, changed the rhetoric of the independence movements arguing for freedom from Spain based on the fact that being of mixed-race Latin America was culturally different from Spain, and the two should separate: "On the other hand we are neither Indians nor Europeans but a medium species in between the legitimate owners of the country and the Spanish antagonists."⁸⁹ (This discourse on the results and effects of miscegenation was taking place in Latin America just as Europeans were beginning to argue more strongly that race was scientific and miscegenation disrupted both the social and the biological order, which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.) "[B]y the second half of the 1810s [...] Bolívar dismissed as 'madness [the idea] that a revolution for liberty should try to maintain slavery'."⁹⁰

To further the agenda of transforming the independence movements into popular movements, Bolívar promised emancipation to the slaves that fought alongside the *nationalistas*. However, this proclamation only applied to male slaves and addressed the enslavement of blacks

⁸⁸ Ibid., 100.

⁸⁹ Bolívar, "Carta de Jamaica," 22.

⁹⁰ Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, 56.

and not the justification for the enslavement of blacks. For all slaves Bolívar and Martín advocated for the gradual emancipation of slavery in all the territories they helped to liberate from Spain despite opposition from slave owners. In 1822, Ecuador achieved independence from Spain as a part of Gran Colombia, and later as the Republic of Ecuador in 1830. The slave owners were successful in postponing the abolition of slavery until 1852, several years after Ecuadorian independence from Spain.

Despite arguing for freedom for all, when discussing the mixed-race heritage of Latin America Bolívar and San Martín referred only to the indigenous and Europeans: *we are neither Indians nor Europeans but a medium space in between*. (This would later serve as the foundation for national *mestizo* identities in Ecuador and other countries in Latin America, especially Venezuela.) Here, when a mixed-race Latin American society was first mentioned as a national identity, blacks were excluded.

While emancipation ended the legal enslavement of blacks it did nothing to address the justification for the enslavement of blacks. Furthermore, the emancipation process itself, a gradual act of manumission, reinforced racial stereotypes that would have future repercussions in modern discussions about racial discrimination, racial equality, and affirmative action by maintaining racial hierarchies and prejudices up through the present, and making it more indisputable that those hierarchies and prejudices exist.

The Cuban Independence and the Abolition of Slavery

The slave plantations in Cuba -- and in the rest of the Spanish Caribbean -- were very important to Spain because they provided another controlled market for Spanish goods and produced sugar and other agricultural products of high market value at low labor cost. Post the

independence of Spain's former colonies in South America, the Caribbean remained Spain's last stronghold and the Spanish government was reluctant, to say the least, to lose another colony and a major source of revenue:

"The Spanish government and Spanish producers used the protected Antillean market as an outlet for non-competitive Spanish goods that would correct Spain's chronic trade imbalance. Because of the dominance of export agriculture -- especially sugar, but also tobacco and coffee -- the Antilles relied heavily upon foreign foodstuffs and consumer goods. High tariffs penalized non-Spanish goods and carriers served to protect the predominance of Spanish manufacturers, shipping, and foods [...] after the independence of the Spanish American colonies on the mainland in the 1820s, and the concurrent boom of sugar production in Cuba and Puerto Rico, the Antilles became one of the most important sources of Spanish wealth."⁹¹

Spain continued to pursue strong protectionist policies and strengthen its slave plantation system at the same time that its rival, England, was industrializing and liberalizing its economy. Spain's resistance to liberalization and inability to compete in this new market as a result of and resulting from the loss of most of its colonies in the Americas, laid the foundation for the independence movement in Cuba.

In the 1860s, Spain was under pressure to both liberate its colonies and end slavery because of recent changes in the political system. On the peninsula, Spain was undergoing a political revolution to decide whether Spain would continue economic protectionism or liberalize. In the September Revolution of 1868, Spain's liberal parties triumphed and deposed the Bourbons. In the period immediately prior to the revolution, there had been "intense public

⁹¹ Schmidt-Nowara, "National Economy and Atlantic Slavery: Protectionism and Resistance to Abolitionism in Spain and the Antilles, 1854-1874," 609.

debate on the colonial question for the first time in 30 years."⁹² It was then expected that the new government would take action on the question of continued colonialism and slavery.

External actors were also applying pressure on Spain to address potential changes to or the abolition of colonialism and slavery. The independence movements in South America had decreased Spain's imperial and economic power in the international system and also planted the seeds for independence in Spain's Caribbean colonies. The emancipation of slaves in the United States also fostered anti-slavery sentiment in Spain and the Caribbean. Furthermore, the British were pressuring Spain to end slavery as the other colonial powers had ended slavery in their territories. ("Spain was the last European metropolis to abolish the Atlantic slave trade" in 1867.)⁹³ Under pressure, the Spanish government chose to respond, but not after first consulting with the slaveholders. Reaching a compromise, in 1870 the Spanish government consented to the gradual abolition of slavery and passed the Moret Law, which freed children and the elderly.

Prior to the passing of the Moret Law, in 1868, separatist rebellion broke out in eastern Cuba and marked the start of the Ten Years War (1868-1878), the first Cuban war of independence from Spain. During this first war of independence, the Cuban slaveholders were the main protagonists, fighting against the gradual abolition of slavery, which would disrupt the status quo. The protests had begun in Havana and spread to the east where the rebel military blocked the publication of the Moret Law, and slaveholders "resisted the entry of government officials onto their estates to compile the slave censuses required by the new law."⁹⁴

As in Ecuador and Brazil, the Cuban rebels recruited slaves to join their cause in exchange for freedom, and slaves themselves used the independence discourse to their

⁹² Ibid., 621.

⁹³ Ibid., 604.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 623.

advantage. "[I]ndividual slaves traded with, and in some cases joined, the anticolonial insurgents in the hills," but were still not regarded as equals as their white counterparts.⁹⁵

Within the insurgent ranks, a conventional form of address was *ciudadano* (citizen) [...] sometimes modified by *de color* [of color]. The perceived need to specify that a given citizen was an individual *de color* hinted at the distinction that still pervaded the thinking of white rebel officers, and some were reluctant to describe former slaves as *ciudadanos* at all.⁹⁶

The Ten Years War ended in 1878. Despite a ten-year struggle, the first Cuban war for independence from Spain ended in 1878 and Cuba remained a Spanish colony, but both colonial and slave society had been shaken.

Attempting to again reach a compromise with slaveholders who seemed willing to compromise prior to the outbreak of war, the colonial authorities propose the gradual abolition of slavery for a second time. They suggested an "intermediate period of 'apprenticeship' during which former slaves [would] work for their former masters for token wages. Freedom was scheduled to come in small doses and, finally by lottery between 1885 and 1888."⁹⁷ As was the case in Ecuador and Brazil, colonial authorities agreed to financially compensate the slave-owners for the freeing of their slaves. Again, slavery's economic nature obfuscated the immorality of slavery and its racial foundation and sustenance. Freed blacks continued to work under the same conditions as when they were slaves, as the government had abolished the practice of official slavery, but did nothing to challenge or alter racial prejudice.

As a preventative measure and not as the result of a moral epiphany, in 1886, the Spanish government abolished slavery in Cuba in order "to prevent anticolonial rebellion from being

⁹⁵ Scott, "Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Cuba: A View from the Sugar District of Cienfuegos, 1886-1909," 692.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 693.

nourished by antislavery convictions and slave resistance."⁹⁸ However, the Spanish government failed to consider the reaction from Cuba's white elite. After abolishing slavery, the Spanish government ruled to allow equal access to public spaces regardless of race, but faced extreme opposition from the white majority.⁹⁹ In 1895, anti-colonial uprising occurred again in opposition to Spanish influence on local laws.

From 1895-1898 Cuba fought Spain for its independence, and in 1898, the United States came to "aid" Cuba in what is known in the United States as the Spanish-American War. The United States intervened just as Cuba was winning the war. The United States intervened under the pretext of the Monroe Doctrine and retaliation for the supposed Spanish bombing of the USS Maine of the coast of Cuba. (There is debate as to whether it was Spain or in fact the United States that was responsible for the bombing.) What is quite clear, however, is that the United States wanted to annex the Cuba even before Cuba declared independence from Spain and did not believe that a country of nonwhite, mixed-race people could govern themselves.

In the United States, discussions about the annexation of Cuba surfaced in 1840s and attempts were made to purchase the island from Spain directly or acquire it through other means. Conversing about the state of Cuba, the American ministers to Spain, France, and England remarked:

[S]hould we permit Cuba to be Africanized and become a second St. Domingo, with all its attendant horrors to the white race, and suffer the flames to enter our own neighborhood shores, seriously endanger or actually to consumer the fair fabric of our Union.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 704-705.

¹⁰⁰ Smith, *Talons of the Eagle: Latin America the United States and the World*, 27.

So while Cuba gained independence from Spain in 1898 it remained a United States colony until 1902 and a de facto United States colony until 1959.

~

Unlike in Cuba, in Brazil and Ecuador, slavery ended after those countries declared their independence from their Iberian colonizers. However, despite universal freedom not being given to blacks until well after independence, slaves across the Americas engaged in revolts and various negotiations with their masters and the State that often led to individual freedoms, making it so that by the 1800s, most blacks in Latin America were free. While colonial law made it clear that "neither slaves nor freed blacks were the legal equals of whites [...] slaves repeatedly invoked the concept and even the terminology of rights in the petitions to royal officials."¹⁰¹ Because of the social conditions under which blacks were placed, the psychological destruction, the isolation from people and family, and distinctions made even made amongst themselves, some revolts were successful, e.g. the famous runaway slave community Quilombo de Palmares in Brazil, while others were not.

Racial, cultural, and phenotypic distinctions were made between slave and free, and even among the free and enslaved themselves. There was a legal distinction between slave and free although all blacks sometimes continued to work alongside each other as manual laborers in a society that offered limited social mobility for blacks, especially those of darker skin. On the slave plantation, racial distinctions made along tribal lines sometimes hindered solidarity. For instance, in 1835, a Yoruba-led slave revolt in Brazil in 1835 "failed in large part because of the refusal of Congo, Angolan, and Creole (native-born Brazilian) slaves to take part in it [...] non-

¹⁰¹ Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, 36.

Yoruba West Africans held back, viewing the revolt [...] as 'a Nago [Yoruba] disturbance' in which he wanted no part."¹⁰²

Outside the slave plantation, mulattos were more able to negotiate their freedom because of their proximity to *whiteness*. As Brazilian society transformed and a mixed-race heritage began to more represent the Brazilian racial identity, the social mobility of mulattoes increased although lighter skin was still preferred and whether they would be treated more as black or white depended on the region. Similar practices can be seen in Cuba with the exception of regional differences. In the smaller country of Ecuador, the mixed category was reserved for those who could claim Spanish and indigenous heritage because of the large indigenous population, but mulattoes still had more agency than darker-skinned blacks.

While slaves could sometimes engage in negotiations with their masters and the State for their freedom, the transaction was an act of manumission then as it was during the State-driven abolition of slavery that took place at the national level. The transaction did not challenge the whole system and it did not call into question the prejudicial nature of the system and the social impacts. It focused on preserving the system and highlighting its economic nature:

"[M]anumission was considered a concession on the part of the master, granted to the obedient and loyal, from whom gratitude was expected" even when the slave paid cash to the master for his freedom.¹⁰³

With the gradual abolition of slavery in Cuba, Brazil, and Ecuador, the process was the state granting freedom to slaves by purchasing them from their owners or having them work to pay a *debt* acquired through slavery before they were granted freedom. Therefore, the superior-inferior relationship between blacks and whites remained unchallenged through that transaction.

¹⁰² Ibid., 21.

¹⁰³ Graham, "Free African Brazilians and the State in Slavery Times," *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*, 32.

The Gradual End of Slavery in post-Independent Brazil and Ecuador

The Portuguese were the first imperial power to begin the trafficking of black slaves, and Brazil was the last country to officially abolish slavery (1888) in its entirety. As previously mentioned, slave trafficking to Brazil continued even after slave trafficking to other former and current colonies in the Americas continued: "[W]hile slavery was being eliminated from mainland Spanish America, it was expanding and reaching its highest levels ever in Brazil."¹⁰⁴ Even after condemning colonialism during the transition to independence, calling it "national enslavement", Brazil's elite did not abolish slavery until 1888, under the reign of Princess Isabel, 66 years after declaring independence from Portugal in 1822.¹⁰⁵

Elites justified the long delay in unchaining the enslaved on the grounds that Brazilian slavery was actually less harsh than the working conditions of peasants and wage laborers in southern Europe, and that slaves were spared the horrors of savage Africa by being transported to the more civilized and enlightened Brazil.¹⁰⁶

The abolition of slavery in Brazil was a gradual process aimed at preserving the *município* and which did not begin until foreign intervention, and well after most slaves had already been freed through revolt and various negotiations with their masters and the State. Post-independence from Portugal, the Brazilian elite feared that England would attempt to interfere in their trafficking of slaves from Africa to Brazil as they had done in slave trafficking to the United States. The Brazilian elites fears were realized when in 1826, the government signed a treaty with Great Britain to end the trafficking of slaves between Brazil and Africa.¹⁰⁷ The treaty

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 10.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 55.

¹⁰⁶ Hanchard, "Black Cinderella? Race and the Public Sphere in Brazil," 65.

¹⁰⁷ Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, 57.

became effective in 1830, and in 1831, Brazil enacted its first law against slavery.¹⁰⁸ However, Brazil's involvement in the trafficking of African slaves continued. In 1850, the Brazilian government passed a new law severely criminalizing overseas slave trafficking, but even so, Brazil's participation in the African slave trade continued.

Over the remaining decades leading up to 1888, the Brazilian government would pass a series of laws aimed at finally ending Brazil's participation in the African slave trade and freeing the remaining enslaved blacks in Brazil. In 1871, the Brazilian government passed the Law of the Free Womb. With this decree, all children born to current slaves were freed, but with conditions placed on that freedom. The mother of the child would have to choose whether the child would "remain on the plantation until he was 21 years old," working without compensation, or the mother could place the child in the care of the state.¹⁰⁹ Thus, the mother had to face the loss of their child even outside of the plantation system, or she could see her child work alongside her in slave conditions while being legally free. Faced with this tough decision, most slave mothers chose the first option.¹¹⁰ They chose the option where they could still care for the child and not abandon the child in a highly racially-prejudiced society.

In 1885, the Brazilian Empire passed the Saraiva Cotegipe Law freeing slaves over the age of 60.¹¹¹ As with the Law of the Free Womb, conditions were placed on this *granting of freedom*. It was required that slaves being freed under the Saraiva Cotegipe Law work for at least three more months with guaranteed freedom by age 65. While the government compensated these newly freed blacks for their work and the blacks were legally free, they still worked the same land and under the same overseer for whom they worked as slaves. They were finally being

¹⁰⁸ Faustino, "A final, aboliu ou não?" 22.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 83.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

compensated, but they were not given new work opportunities and remained at the base of the social and economic pyramid, continuing the association of black with manual and slave labor as a permanent condition.

~

In Ecuador, slaves were officially freed in 1852 through an act of manumission by which the state paid the slaves' owners for their freedom. What resulted was a society that continued to regard blacks as destined for manual and unskilled labor, not truly Ecuadorian, and physically isolated from the major economic and political centers and a larger part of Ecuador.

Consequently, while slaves were officially freed in 1852, de facto enslavement did not end until the 1960s, because as in Brazil, freed blacks worked under the same conditions that they had worked as slaves. They were in fact indebted to their former owners. It was not until agrarian reform in 1964 did blacks really feel free from slavery.

In 1821, shortly before Ecuador became part of the independent Gran Colombia, the General Congress of Colombia passed the July 19th law to start the gradual emancipation of slaves. With this law, children born to slaves beginning in 1821 were free but were to remain in the custody of their mothers' masters until they turned 18 years old. Once they turned 18, "with their birth certificate" they could ask for "the right to enjoy their freedom."¹¹² Thus, until they turned 18 the children of slaves lived as slaves and when they turned 18, they could leave the only home they had ever known and abandon their slave mothers on the plantation to enter a larger society that did not view them as their equals. They could enter this society as former slaves granted freedom by their former slaves owners and those who had sanctioned slavery.

¹¹² Bouisson, "Esclavos de la Tierra: los Campesinos Negros del Chota-Mira, siglos XVII - XX," 57.

They would be free from the bondage of slavery, but not its ramifications and the racial beliefs that supported it.

In 1851, interim president of Ecuador Jose María Urbina signed the Law of the Manumission of Slaves¹¹³ abolishing "slavery in the Republic and [destining] monies to compensate former slave owners."¹¹⁴ Urbina did not simply free the slaves, he *paid* for their freedom. Two years later, Urbina decreed that payment preference would be given to owners that had enlisted their slaves in the military against Urbina's rival, General Juan José Flores. In 1851 there were not enough public funds for the government to pay all the owners for the freedom of their slaves, explaining why preference was given to Urbina's political allies and why slaves had to wait until 1852 to be freed. In 1852 Urbina "decreed that after March 6, 1854 [...] there [would] be no more slaves in Ecuador."¹¹⁵ In this act of manumission slavery was a political tool and blacks continued to be treated as property and not citizens of Ecuador deserving the same honorable and equal treatment as whites.

In the Valley of Chota, where slavery had persisted without interruption since the arrival of the first slaves to Ecuador, once slave owners received payment for the freedom of their slaves, most left for the city of Ibarra, the capital of the Ecuadorian province of Imbabura, the same province in which the Valley de Chota is located. Colloquially, Ibarra is referred to as *la ciudad blanca* [the white city] because of its predominately white population.

The Chota Valley is a dry and hot area with no infrastructural development. The people in the area are mostly farmers or they rely on remittances from those who have left for the city. There is no running water. The people rely on weekly shipments of water for washing, cooking,

¹¹³ Fernández-Rasines, *Afrodescendencia en el Ecuador: Raza y Género desde los Tiempos de la Colonia*, 58.

¹¹⁴ Mora, *Manual de Historia Del Ecuador*. Vol. 2, 29.

¹¹⁵ Bouisson, "Esclavos de la Tierra: los Campesinos Negros del Chota-Mira, siglos XVII - XX," 57.

and flushing the toilet. They had access to a water source, but the residents of Ibarra have since monopolized that access. In contrast to Chota, in Ibarra there is running water, and open markets and other small business. There are parks and numerous residential communities. The economic and demographic differences are striking. One solution would be to bring economic opportunities to Chota, which is valid, but that was done previously in Chota in 1852 resulting in these two parallel societies. The element missing then and missing now is a challenge to the status quo, and social structures and racial hierarchies that have been accepted as the norm.

Race in Independent Latin America

Despite having gained independence from their former colonial rulers and having abolished slavery at the end of the 19th century, European theories on race continued to influence Brazilian, Ecuadorian, and Cuban society. The independence movements did not change the opinion of the ruling elites on the inferiority of blacks; in fact, the elites took steps to preserve this hierarchy. Further, the abolition of slavery was not in response to a recognition of the equality of blacks to whites, but rather the result of outside pressure and a shift in the global economy from relying heavily on the slave plantation towards rely on a more industrialized system based on wage-labor. By this point, the racial hierarchies were no longer being transferred and applied to Latin America: they were present in the formation of the newly independent Latin American countries and were accepted as norms within those societies.

As such, post abolition, the ruling elite in Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba -- as was the case also in other Latin American countries -- was faced with the loss of its European ties and a very large black and nonwhite population in a global system that regarded blacks, and nonwhites, as

inferior and subhuman. This posed a challenge to the new nations as they had to articulate their space within an international system that was rejecting them as equal stakeholders.

Because of a racial discourse that emerged in Europe, with a particular focus on Latin America, and that was accepted in Latin America, the Latin American elite sought to recruit whites to their respective countries to change their racial demographics. In Europe, scholars began to argue that race was biological and that science justified the racial hierarchy that they had constructed. They argued that miscegenation went against nature and produced people unable to govern themselves and unable to reproduce. Thus, from the 1880s-1930s, Latin American governments subsidized the immigration of whites to the region. In the beginning, the first white recruits were European, but due to the war in Europe, towards the end of this period of *whitening*, Latin American governments negotiated *whiteness*, recruiting those who were lighter-skinned but not necessarily from Western Europe. *Whitening* was "successful" in Brazil and in the southern cone countries, but did little to change the racial demographics in Ecuador and Cuba although it did further ignite racial tensions and incentivize black movements for racial equality.

CHAPTER 3: Scientific Racism and Nationalized Racial Identities

"The melanin factor is a fact of nature, but its interpretation was a fact of culture. The racial categories varied according to moments and places, in the function of different political and social needs that were all characteristic of relations of power [...] [F]ounded on principles of evolution, scientific racism was founded on a biological and immutable difference of human races."

-- Pap Ndiaye¹¹⁶

In the 19th century, just as Europe was losing most of its Latin American colonies, European scholars began to make important "discoveries" about race and were certain that race was biological. In Europe, race became "everything: literature, science, art [...] civilization [depended] on it."¹¹⁷ In the previous centuries, European scholars were on the cusp of arguing that race was biological. (Recall from chapter 1 that they argued that race was a set of inherited physical and cultural characteristics, and they began to link culture and lineage to prove the scientific nature of race.) Once Swedish botanist Carl Linneaus began to classify living things in terms of species and genera, race scholars began to apply similar classifications to humans in order to construct a racial hierarchy based on science.

Also during the previous centuries, the *racial purity* argument prevailed. The *racial purity* argument maintained that races should be kept separate and should not intermix; however, due to the miscegenation that was occurring in Latin America, scholars revisited this argument in order to understand and explain the Latin American phenomenon and also justify the racial hierarchies constructed in both Europe and Latin America.

¹¹⁶ Ndiaye, *La Condition Noire: Essai Sur Une Minorité Française*, 33, 201.

¹¹⁷ Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America: Critical Studies on Latin America*, 11.

Some theories and studies that emerged from scientific racism attempting to justify these racial hierarchies included polygenism and phrenology. Polygenism argued that there were many human races. While this theory went against monogenism, the belief in race as a homogenous type with a common ancestor, upheld by the Catholic Church, it also "explained" the Latin American situation, which included the introduction of another race, the indigenous, and more visible miscegenation.

Phrenology, started by German scientist Franz Joseph Gall, was the study of brain size. Scholars used brain size to create a racial order according to intellectual ability, assuming that brain size was directly related to and predictive of intelligence. "Every element of the African brain of skeleton became an indubitable sign of his bestiality."¹¹⁸ The racial hierarchies constructed using polygenism and phrenology argued for the superior position of whites in society and the inferior position of blacks, and other nonwhites.

This scientific racism that combined the racial beliefs of the past with "scientific" studies and theories of the 19th century, in the context of independence movements and slave emancipation, provided Europeans with a reason to be wary of Latin American entrance into the international system. Being mostly nonwhite, Europeans viewed Latin America as being in a permanent denigrated and underdeveloped state. In Latin America, scientific racism provided the Latin American elite with the authority to continue the subjugation of the less desirable populations in their respective countries, i.e. blacks and other nonwhites, for the sake of their development as independent states:

Scientific racism was immediately embraced by turn-of-the-century elites confronting the challenge of how to transform their "backward," underdeveloped nations into modern, "civilized" republics [...] There could be no disputing the

¹¹⁸ Ndiaye, *La Condition Noire: Essai Sur Une Minorité Française*, 201.

findings of European science, especially when those findings conformed to Latin American elites' own unshakable belief, derived from 300 years of colonial slavery.¹¹⁹

In the mid-20th century, however, many Latin American countries would embrace Bolívar-inspired identities that valued and exalted miscegenation. In Brazil, Gilberto Freyre's *racial democracy* would become popular, appearing to give value to Brazil's mixed-race culture of European, indigenous, Arab, and African, and in Cuba the similar concept of *racial fraternity* would prevail. Both ideologies presumed to be color-blind, but effectively showed preference for lighter skin and permitted issues of racial discrimination to be ignored. In Ecuador, the *mestizo* would represent what it meant to be Ecuadorian. While when literally translated *mestizo* means *mixed-race*, those of African lineage were not generally included in this category.

The Denigration of Latin America

When it came to establishing a racial hierarchy and racial classification, for Europeans, the Latin American context represented a challenge, an abnormal case, because of the mixing of European, indigenous, and African populations that was not as common in Europe where the racial theories were being formed.¹²⁰ Especially after the emancipation of slaves and the independence movements, the European elite -- scholars, politicians, the wealthy -- were increasingly concerned about the racial makeup of these newly independent countries that would join the international system as their sovereign equals.

During colonialism and slavery, the racial theory that was professed, although not always practiced, was the belief in racial purity and the clear segregation of races. Now, post-colony, the

¹¹⁹ Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, 118.

¹²⁰ Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America: Critical Studies on Latin America*, 31.

theory that prevailed was the science of race, or *scientific racism*, that viewed race-mixing as unnatural and biologically inviable. This belief held that in addition to being inferior because of the number of blacks in their countries, because of miscegenation, Latin Americans were "like the mule (from which the term 'mulatto' is derived) [...] sterilized and doomed to disappear."¹²¹

"Orthodox scientific racists asserted the superiority of white racial inheritance but also argued that that inheritance was weakened and undermined by mixture with 'inferior races'."¹²²

Denigration and perpetual "backwardness" were a major concern in Brazil and Cuba where the black population, the visibly nonwhite population, was larger than that in Ecuador.

As explained in the previous chapter, beginning in the 1800s and post-abolition, the Brazilian and Cuban populations were predominately black. (Recall that Brazil and Cuba imported the most African slaves and they were the last to abolish slavery.) In contrast to Ecuador, slaves and blacks were present throughout the countries and there was more opportunity for race-mixing through violent or non-violent contact. However, just because miscegenation was occurring does not mean that it was not discouraged and that blacks were treated as equals. In fact there were many instances when interracial relations were encouraged for the purpose of producing offspring with lighter-skin and being able to increase one's social mobility and in some cases "pass" for white.

In 1859, Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau traveled to Rio de Janeiro to serve as French ambassador to Emperor Dom Pedro II. Several years later, in 1869, Gobineau wrote *l'Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines* (Essay on the Inequality of Human Races) in order to document and confirm what he believed was Brazil's permanent denigrated state as a result of miscegenation. In this essay he argued that "miscegenation had affected all Brazilians (except the

¹²¹ Ndiaye, *La Condition Noire: Essai Sur Une Minorité Française*, 202.

¹²² Andrews, "Brazilian Racial Democracy," 485.

emperor whom he befriended) across all classes and even 'in the best of families,' making them ugly, lazy, and infertile."¹²³ He claimed that "mulattos 'do not reproduce themselves beyond a limited number of generations'," and concluded that "the population of Brazil would have 'disappeared completely, to the last man,' within 270 years at the maximum or 200 years at the minimum."¹²⁴

Gobineau argued for European influence to solve this "moral" and "biological" dilemma, and in Cuba, the United States argued for continued intervention and occupation of the island because of this belief that a predominately black population could not govern themselves. In attempting to articulate their own identities in light of this racialized context, the Latin American elite pursued European and other "white" immigration for the purpose of whitening their population in order to cancel out the alleged negative traits due to their black heritage.

Neither Black nor White, but definitely Light

Believing that "in order to be civilized, Latin America would have to become white," from the 1880s-1930s, Latin American governments fervently proceeded to Europeanize the people, architecture, and cultural practices, following the doctrines of scientific racism and Lamarckian theory, through immigration and miscegenation.¹²⁵ Lamarckian theory, dominant in France, analyzed the "hereditability of characteristics acquired during a single lifetime." The Latin American elite believed in and applied this theory to their respective countries hoping for the "improvement" and "advancement" of their populations through European immigration. As a Cuban intellectual, Fernando Ortiz stated,

¹²³ Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*, 26.

¹²⁴ Fry, "Politics, Nationality, and the Meanings of 'Race' in Brazil," 86-87.

¹²⁵ Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, 119.

[S]ince the "black race" has proven itself to be "more delinquent than the white situated in the identical social position [...] white immigration is what we should favor." Such immigration will 'inject in the blood of our people the red blood cells of which tropical anemia robs us, and sow among us seeds of energy, of progress, of life [...] which today seem to be the patrimony of colder climates.'¹²⁶

Beginning in the 1880s, Latin American governments used miscegenation as a tool to eradicate the nonwhite population. Governments began the process of incorporating miscegenation into their nationalized identities not to show pluri-culturality, but rather to apply a *masques blancs* [white mask] to their *peau noire* [black skin].

Governments throughout Latin America -- including those in Brazil, Cuba, and Ecuador - - actively recruited and subsidized trips for Europeans and others with lighter skin to immigrate to their respective countries. The governments and the elite sincerely believed that the influx of these new lighter-skinned peoples would gradually whiten the population as the "superiority and strength of white 'blood' gradually eliminated African and Amerindian physical and cultural traits."¹²⁷ "The white genetic component would tend to dominate; and if such mixture were repeated over several generations, the end result would be a 'whitened' population in which African and Indian ancestry was overcome and neutralized."¹²⁸ In 1912, João Batista de Lacerda, former director of Brazil's National Museum, "predicted that by 2012, the Brazilian population would be 80 percent white, 3 percent mixed (*mestiço*), 17 percent Indian, and [that] there would be no more blacks."¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Fry, "Politics, Nationality, and the Meanings of 'Race' in Brazil," 87.

¹²⁸ Andrews, "Brazilian Racial Democracy," 485.

¹²⁹ Fry, "Politics, Nationality, and the Meanings of 'Race' in Brazil," 87. Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*, 29.

The Latin American elite had begun to propose whitening at the beginning of the 1800s, but many countries were not successful in this regard until the 1880s-1930s because of the fertile political and economic climate.¹³⁰ Politically, as previously mentioned, most Latin American countries had abolished slavery by the 1880s. (Brazil abolished slavery in 1888, Cuba in 1886, and Ecuador in 1852). This political change was also an economic one as it eliminated competition between wage laborers and slaves. Governments then had an avenue through which to recruit immigrants. The governments used employment opportunities to attract whites from Europe and elsewhere looking for jobs and a means to amass wealth. The employment opportunities in Latin America were plenty at this time due to high European and American consumption of their raw materials.

Additionally, the high demand for Latin American goods created an economic boom in the region that increased tax revenues and provided the financial means to reform the government and increase immigration to the region. Latin American governments used the tax revenues to centralize the government. On the one hand, centralization was good for the consolidation of power and the future democratization of the region. However, on the other hand, centralization at a time when scientific racism prevailed meant that racism was now officially centralized and institutionalized, making it more difficult to overcome as it would need to be overcome at a national level. Furthermore, the land-owning elite profited the most from the export business and was able to monopolize political and economic control and further their own agendas, which did not include changing the status quo and losing economic and political power.

Latin American governments used the increase in tax revenue to show preferential treatment to immigrants of a *whiter* race. Many Latin American governments subsidized

¹³⁰ Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, 135.

European and white immigration to Latin America and employers showed a preference for white immigrants over non-white immigrants native workers. In Brazil, politicians excluded non-white immigration: "The 1891 constitution prohibited African and Asian immigration into the country."¹³¹

Not all Latin American countries, however, experienced the same level of European immigration during this period of whitening. Most countries did not attract numbers significant enough to achieve the desired ends. Ninety percent of the 10-11 million Europeans who arrived in Latin America between 1880-1930 went to Brazil, Cuba, and Uruguay.¹³² In the southern cone there was a significant decrease in the percentage of blacks in those countries. In Brazil, by 1900, blacks no longer constituted the majority. There was, however, no significant change in the percentage of blacks in the countries in Central America and the Caribbean. In Ecuador, the percentage of blacks in the country did not change. (See maps 1 and 2) In Cuba, the government had tried to encourage the Spanish to migrate and work as temporary laborers, but it was difficult to encourage them to migrate and a lack of labor threatened the sugar industry. Thus, in Cuba, the government allowed for predominantly black temporary laborers to come and work in the sugarcane fields, many of who ended up staying permanently on the island.¹³³

Brazilian Racial Democracy

In Brazil, the process of whitening began to subside prior to the 1930s, making way for the concept of *racial democracy*. By 1927, the local government in São Paulo had already ended subsidies for European immigration. In 1930 and 1931, the Brazilian federal government "placed

¹³¹ Andrews, "Brazilian Racial Democracy," 485.

¹³² Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, 136.

¹³³ De la Fuente, *Una Nación para Todos*, 147-148.

restrictions on immigration into the country, as well as on the employment of foreign nationals in commerce and industry."¹³⁴ From 1880-1930, in Brazil, as in other Latin American countries with high levels of European immigration during that time, "[n]ative workers faced intense job competition from the immigrants, and objected strenuously to the open preference for Europeans displayed by many employers."¹³⁵ The economic crisis of the 1930s amplified this anger.¹³⁶ Thus, in Brazil, by the 1930s, xenophobia began to surpass the Brazilian desire for whitening and Brazilians instead embraced the concept of a *racial democracy*.

The concept of *racial democracy* developed from Gilberto Freyre's book *Casa Grande e Senzala* (The Masters and the Slaves), published in 1933, at the end of the period of whitening in Latin America. Freyre developed this theory in part after extensive travel through the racially segregated southern United States, which for him represented the complete opposite of his experience in the Brazilian northeast. (The Brazilian northeast received less white immigrants than southern Brazil during whitening.)¹³⁷

For Freyre, *democracy* referred to the "Spanish connotation of the term, which referred to brotherhood or fluid social relations rather than to a type of political institution."¹³⁸ Thus, *racial democracy* was about fluid racial relations. Freyre argued that this racial fluidity was unique to Brazil -- other researchers would argue that it was also unique to Latin America -- because of the Portuguese, and Iberian, culture and the nature of Portuguese, and Iberian, colonization, i.e. *Lusotropicalism*.

¹³⁴ Andrews, "Brazilian Racial Democracy," 487.

¹³⁵ Andrews, "Brazilian Racial Democracy," 486. Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, 165.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*, 34.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 33.

For Freyre, Portugal was a racially plural culture; not purely European, but rather "a bridge between Christian Europe and Islamic North Africa."¹³⁹ He was arguing that this racially plural history made the Portuguese more accepting, tolerant, and encouraging of miscegenation: "they were the only European colonizers to create a new civilization in the tropics, an accomplishment attributable above all to their racial tolerance."¹⁴⁰ This argument was unfounded, because as explained in the previous chapters, even the Portuguese believed in maintaining racial hierarchies in the mainland and establishing racial hierarchies in the New World. While miscegenation did occur in Brazil, the monarchy did not always support it, sought to control it, and throughout slavery and colonialism never believed that whites and nonwhite were equals.

Freyre's racial democracy dominated racial thought in Brazil from the 1930s - 1980s, representing a racial utopia for Brazilians and foreigners at a time when most countries appeared to be suffering from racial tensions. It was also a unifying element for Brazilians whose political system was unstable as the government oscillated between dictatorship and democracy. Under the dictatorship racial issues and racial distinctions could not be discussed so as not to create divisions among the people despite the divisions already existing. When Brazil became democratic in 1985 the government condemned all forms of racial discrimination and began to support policies of affirmative action.

In 1942, American sociologist Donald Pierson, based on his study conducted in Salvador, Bahia, concluded that "Brazil was a 'multiracial class society'."¹⁴¹ He argued that any existing racial hierarchies were simply a reflection of incomplete assimilation, leading to the "mixed-race

¹³⁹ Ibid., 34.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*, 35.

person."¹⁴² On the one hand, Pierson based his theory on observations made in Salvador, Bahia, as did Freyre, which is not representative of Brazil as a whole.

Most black slaves entered through the port of Salvador, and presently, Bahia is home to the largest black population in Brazil.¹⁴³ (Also recall the when the Portuguese monarchy fled to Brazil during the Napoleon invasion of Spain, the monarchy entered through Salvador and were greeted by a large black population.) In the Brazilian unindustrialized northeast, the population is overwhelmingly of darker complexion, i.e. black; whereas, in the industrialized south, there is a white majority. The whitening movement was more successful in the south. Furthermore, the demographics do not speak to the unequal access to wealth, education, and employment, nor to the continued beliefs in the inferiority of blacks and their confinement to a permanent underclass. Additionally, by arguing that any existing racial hierarchies were *simply a reflection of incomplete assimilation*, Pierson embraced the preference for lighter skin that gained a greater following during whitening and provided the foundation for the racial democracy argument.

The foundation of the racial democracy theory rested on the complete blending of races producing individuals that were neither white nor black, but a brown mixture; as was the goal of whitening: to lighten the population. The mixture represented a preference for lighter skin and those of darker skin were marginalized. As Freyre himself said, "[n]egroes are rapidly disappearing in Brazil, merging into the white stock."¹⁴⁴

Despite the inclination of racial democracy towards a preference for lighter skin, Brazil was still viewed as a racial utopia for several decades. Embracing the presumed respect for the African contribution to Brazilian society, black American leaders such as Booker T. Washington

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 34.

and W.E.B DuBois "wrote positively of the black experience in Brazil [...] Black nationalist Henry McNeal Turner and radical journalist Cyril Biggs went so far as to advocate emigration to Brazil as a refuge from oppression in the United States."¹⁴⁵ In 1944, Jewish writer Stefan Zweif "found Brazil to be the least racially bigoted society he had visited."¹⁴⁶

In the wake of European Nazism, after World War II, the larger international community became interested in using Brazil as a case study. "UNESCO agreed, on the suggestion of Brazilian anthropologist Arthur Ramos, to sponsor a pilot research project in Brazil with the aim of studying 'the problems of different racial and ethnic groups living in a common social environment'."¹⁴⁷ Brazil seemed to represent a viable alternative to European and American ethnic and racial segregation.¹⁴⁸ In the 1980s, however, racial democracy became "demonized in certain academic and activist circles" while still providing the strongest argument against affirmative action in Brazil.¹⁴⁹

Cuban Racial Fraternity

Racial fraternity in Cuba is the lack of racial distinctions based on the presumption that all Cubans are of mixed-race. As a result, Cuba then becomes free from racial discrimination and does not need to discuss issues of race and racial hierarchies as does the United States and Europe. As expressed in a UN report (1970-2006) on the state of racial discrimination in Latin America and the Caribbean,

¹⁴⁵ Fry, "Politics, Nationality, and the Meanings of 'Race' in Brazil," 90.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 96.

[T]he Cuban representative signaled that in his country there is no differentiation based on race and all citizens enjoy absolute quality, de jure and de facto. Neither would it be feasible nor useful to take a census on the different ethnic groups. If Cuba were to include racial distinctions in the census it would be compelled to abandon its entire philosophy on equality that it had adopted in 1959. Any and all analyses of the Cuban population would reveal the existence of a proportion of people of African and Arab descent, others of Asian descent, primarily Chinese, 'white', the majority of Spanish origin, which says that they comprise a mix of what is referred to as Aryan blood with Moor blood [sangre aria con sangre mora].¹⁵⁰

While racial fraternity has become synonymous with the Cuban Revolution, even before 1959, the Cuban government proclaimed this racially mixed identity often for political ends. The support and proclamation of racial fraternity was often in tandem with opposition to United States colonial rule. In an example of a perceived lack of racial discrimination, in 1901, the Cuban government granted universal suffrage to all males without distinctions based on race. "[T]he dominant political parties were obligated to incorporate blacks and mulattos in their client networks" and some political parties even reserved a certain number of spaces for black candidates.¹⁵¹ These political parties wanted to both comply with the law and also not alienate a large number of the voting population. The United States opposed this measure based on its own racial prejudices and fear of another independent black republic like Haiti.¹⁵²

While it appeared that the United States was imposing racial prejudice and segregation upon Cuba, many Cubans shared the same racial prejudices, and had shared Western views on race even prior to United States involvement in Cuban affairs. During the wars for independence against Spain, 1868-1878 and 1895-1898, some members of Cubans white elite sided with Spain fearing that "given the racial composition of the Liberation Military [...] afro-Cubans could

¹⁵⁰ *Compilación de Observaciones Finales del Comité para la Eliminación de la Discriminación Racial sobre Países de América Latina y el Caribe (1970-2006)*, 222-223.

¹⁵¹ De la Fuente, *Una Nación para Todos*, 88.

¹⁵² Ibid., 87. Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, 27.

create a black republic on the island. Some of the members of this traditional elite had resolutely defended the Spanish character of the Cuban civilization and sympathized with North American racial ideologies."¹⁵³ Therefore, in Cuba, there is a history of racial discrimination and prejudice existing alongside a rhetoric that says there is no racial discrimination in Cuba. Fidel Castro and many Cubans would later attribute racial discrimination in the country to imperialism and foreign influence, but from 1989 to the present, it becomes clear that it was not just foreign influence that challenged *racial fraternity*, but also racial prejudice that had been suppressed but resurfaced when the opportunity presented itself.

Between 1900 and 1912 a group of black Cubans created the Independent Party of Color (IPC). However, in 1912 the organization was repressed and further black mobilization was discouraged and suppressed. A significant proportion of the Cuban population continued to associate blackness with backwardness and underdevelopment and sought ways to suppress the voices of the black population. As did many previous governments before him, Fidel did not allow for the formation of black affinity or political groups believing them divisive, unnecessary, and in contradiction to *racial fraternity*. The white elite used *racial fraternity* to suppress black identity in favor of a mixed or lighter-skinned identity that de-emphasized blackness. "[M]estizaje [mixing] worked in Cuba as it did elsewhere in Latin America, to promote whiteness, not to embrace blackness."¹⁵⁴

A crucial component of the belief in *racial fraternity* in Cuba and in other countries in Latin America, is the argument that racial hierarchies are non-organic to Latin America. In Cuba, this argument is further supported by United States occupation and influence in the island. As

¹⁵³ De la Fuente, *Una Nación para Todos*, 45.

¹⁵⁴ Jackson, "Guyana, Cuba, Venezuela and the 'Routes' to Cultural Reconciliation between Latin America and the Caribbean," 49.

previously mentioned, the United States had a considerable amount of economic and political influence over the island because of the Platt Amendment, business on the island, and the sugar trade. When the Cuban Revolution occurred, the United States had yet to go through the Civil Rights Movement and quite readily imposed its racial beliefs on the island.

During its occupation of Cuba, the United States attached the Platt Amendment to the Cuban Constitution believing Cubans could not fully govern themselves because of their racial composition. In 1901, the United States opposed universal suffrage because blacks would be allowed to vote. Later, the United States directly and indirectly encouraged segregation on the island:

[I]n 1899, an American café was closed by order of the provincial governor of Havana because the owner refused to serve the afro-Cuban general Juan Eligio Ducasse. Nevertheless, in 1910, the refusal of American hotels "to not serve blacks" resulted in a compromise, not in a conflict. President Gómez asked "all the Cuban patriots of color to not insist on imposing their rights," affirming that their efforts would only increase 'American resentment' and paralyze tourism.¹⁵⁵

From 1959-1989 there was significant black mobility as a result of state mandates in a state-controlled system, contributing to the belief in a natural racial fraternity in Cuba. While blacks were able to experience some positive gains, later, due to economic crisis, dollarization, remittances, and privatization, racial discrimination resurfaced and became more visible.

Racial discrimination had been relatively suppressed up until that point because the government controlled the public sector and the public sector represented all of Cuba. The government had less control over the private sector and the black market and had done very little to address social prejudices which became more evident as a result of the government economic changes. Foreign influence, therefore, cannot be solely to blame for the racial discrimination and

¹⁵⁵ De la Fuente, *Una Nación para Todos*, 122.

prejudice that exists in Cuba; that can be attributed to racial beliefs and practices that continue because the government practiced race-blind politics and did very little to change how society at large viewed blacks in the collective social consciousness. With racial fraternity, the Cuban government hoped to hide violent, racialized past of Cuba in the name of preservation and development.

The Ecuadorian Mestizo

The *mestizo* existed during colonialism and slavery, and was alluded to in Bolivarian nationalism in the 19th century as a potential Latin American ethnicity. However, it was not until the mid 20th century, that "the idea of the mixed race person [mestizo] being at the center of a new national ideal became widespread in Latin America."¹⁵⁶ In the colonial racial hierarchy prior to independence that takes on the form of a pyramid, the Spanish were at the top, creoles at the second stratum, *mestizos* (once they appeared) at the third stratum, and then indigenous. Socially the indigenous formed part of the racial pyramid, but once individuals such as Friar Bartolomé de las Casas condemned the treatment of the indigenous, politically, the indigenous began to function within their own societies. At that point, the Spanish monarchy created separate Spanish and indigenous republics in their colonies. Blacks, however, were not afforded the same concern and were located at the bottom of the social, political, and economic pyramid, be they free or enslaved:

The noun "mestizos" was a term applied for the first time by the colonial State, and the Spanish and European elites in general to identify those individuals and populations resulting from marriages or interracial conjugal unions, especially Spanish-indigenous [...] The noun of "mestizos" assigned to the population

¹⁵⁶ Canessa, "Todos somos indígenas: Towards a New Language of National Political Identity," 244.

considered to be both visually and functionally, neither Indian, black, nor white.¹⁵⁷

Mestizo, similar to racial democracy and racial fraternity represents social ascension towards European and a lighter complexion. It is a struggle between an indigenous and a Spanish identity that emerged when Europe viewed Latin Americans as less than despite their European heritage:

The ideology of the mestizaje [mixing] [is formed] when the dominant republican sector of the 19th century a contradictory double necessity [emerged]: the quest for a specific American identity that [affirmed] the difference from the Spanish and the necessity to revindicate the Spanishness placed in doubt by the vigilant theoric prejudices in the [Iberian] peninsula.¹⁵⁸

Mestizo is and was means for social advancement:

The majority of these 'mestizos' are simply ex-quechua [referring to the largest indigenous population in Ecuador] indigenous, protagonists of an advanced process of aculturation, the same that has been seen to accompany a relative miscegenation or racial mix [...] In this manner, the mestizos with more acquired power consider themselves 'white'.¹⁵⁹

Blacks were unable to assume this *mestizo* identity being (1) visibly black, and (2) not present in the collective social consciousness. Their physical traits did not represent the brown and lighter mixture of indigenous and Spanish. And being geographically isolated from major centers, the elite ignored the black presence in Ecuador.

Power and recognition was contained in being *mestizo*, a transitory identity approaching white. However, in the 20th century, international decrees that valued the indigenous identity

¹⁵⁷ Apolo, *Los Mestizos Ecuatorianos y Las Señas De Identidad Cultural*, 203-204.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 218.

¹⁵⁹ Apolo, *Los Mestizos Ecuatorianos y Las Señas De Identidad Cultural*, 207, 210.

encouraged the more vigilant re-adoption of the *mestizo* as a national identity: "After decades and centuries of contemporary indigenous culture being represented as anachronistic, backward, and retarding the process of the nation, 'the indigenous' is now increasingly seen as being iconically national."¹⁶⁰

In 1957, in Convention 107, the UN International Labor Organization (ILO) supported indigenous rights by favoring universal individual rights and nation building. In 1989, Convention 169 supported collective indigenous rights and obliged countries to give indigenous populations "greater participation in decision-making with regard to social, cultural, and economic development."¹⁶¹ In 1994, the UN declared the Decade for Indigenous Peoples.¹⁶² Throughout the decade, the UN and the World Bank prioritized "the position of indigenous people."¹⁶³ It was also during this decade that most Latin American countries ratified ILO Convention 169 and non-governmental organizations channeled "aid to indigenous groups for political as well as economic development."¹⁶⁴ It was not until later in the 20th century that similar international decrees, e.g. the International Year of African Descendants as proclaimed by the UN in 2011, would prompt the global reconsideration of the value and contribution of blacks across and more particularly in Ecuador and the rest of Latin America.

~

At the end of the 20th century, in Brazil, Cuba, and Ecuador, blacks faced significant obstacles to overcoming issues of racial discrimination and historical exclusion. They had to overcome the legacy of colonialism and slavery that institutionalized and socialized racial

¹⁶⁰ Canessa, "Todos somos indígenas: Towards a New Language of National Political Identity," 243.

¹⁶¹ Foweraker, *Governing Latin America*, 169.

¹⁶² The UN advocated for self-identification.

¹⁶³ Canessa, "Todos somos indígenas: Towards a New Language of National Political Identity," 241.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 242.

hierarchies. They had to live through nationalized racial identities that on the surface professed to be all-inclusive, but when further analyzed, promoted political and social agendas at the expense of historical truth. It is around this legacy that the affirmative action debates in the late 20th and early 21st century emerged in hopes of challenging the status quo and ending a colonial legacy of subjugation, and calling into question the beliefs in Latin American racial plurality.

20th CENTURY - PRESENT



Credit: "A Year Dedicated to People of African Descent."

CHAPTER 4: Discourse on Affirmative Action

"[E]ste país no es obra de una raza privilegiada [...] la division de cubanos entre negros y blancos [es] una traición a Cuba. [This country is not the work of a privileged race [...] the division of Cubans into blacks and whites betrays Cuba.]"

- Cuban president, Carlos Prío Socarrás¹⁶⁵

As seen in the previous chapters, racial categories, hierarchies and distinctions were present in Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba since the European encounter with the Americas. Despite being Latin American colonies, racial prejudice was still present in these countries as all the European colonizers were guilty of racial discrimination. The colonizers brought these beliefs with them to the New World where they then modified their beliefs to fit the Latin American context, which included new racial categories, while still preserving a racial hierarchy that granted superior status to whites and inferior status to nonwhites.

As racial beliefs changed in Europe and the West, so too did they change in the Brazil, Ecuador, Cuba, and in the rest of the Americas, firstly because these lands were not yet politically independent of their colonizers, and secondly because these countries were not yet philosophically and ideologically sovereign. When these countries declared their independence from their colonizers, they did so for the purpose of monopolizing wealth and having an equal stake in the international system; a system which for centuries had appointed whites as the social, political, and economic leaders and nonwhites as their unwilling subjects. It is within this context that the Latin American elite felt compelled to assert their European heritage and proximity to whiteness in order to claim their sovereignty.

¹⁶⁵ De la Fuente, *Una Nación para Todos*, 334.

The Latin American elite promoted the general whitening of their population to carve a niche for themselves in the international system. While doing so they simultaneously ignored and acknowledged the blacks in their countries. They presented incomplete promises of racial equality that in light of international decrees condemning racial discrimination, and the adoption of policies designed to eliminate racial discrimination and re-socialize populations, have compelled the black civil societies within Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba to claim their rights as equal citizens. In claiming those rights, many have called for affirmative actions that would conform to their individual contexts and not only encourage black mobility, but also construct a positive and historically accurate image of blacks and blackness in their respective countries. These assertions, however, were not made without controversy given the racial history in these countries.

Racial Discrimination and Black Mobility in Brazil

In Brazil from the 15th to 20th centuries, being black was always equated with being inferior despite the theory of racial democracy. Thereza dos Santos, a black Brazilian actress and playwright based in São Paulo, recalled an encounter with racial discrimination when she was a university student in 1966, during the height of racial democracy:

I went to a celebration at the Federal Club, a club made up of Jews, developers, and chief judges - in a word, the cream of the crop in the justice system of Rio de Janeiro. It was a ball before Carnival, invitation only. After entering the club, however, I was told to leave by the manager, who said, 'Blacks are allowed here only as servants!'¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ Dos Santos, "My Conscience, my Struggle." *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*, 192.

Despite the fact that during this period, many viewed Brazil to be a racial democracy, dos Santos, a black woman who had received an invitation to an exclusive event, was told to leave that event to which she was invited. Government officials were in attendance, but yet the manager still told her to leave. Brazil did not practice legalized segregation but yet the manager of the club said that blacks were not welcome as patrons. By saying to her that blacks were only allowed in the club as servants and not patrons, the manager reminded her of the contradiction between the national rhetoric and social practice. Despite what the government had professed and society had accepted, there was no racial democracy; being black was still synonymous with inferior in the eyes of many who either acted to maintain the status quo or did nothing to change it.

Racial discrimination was not confined to access, or lack thereof, to social clubs, but also to education and employment, sectors extremely important for social mobility. However, early on after the abolition of slavery in 1888, it was challenging for blacks to form a collective identity and mobilize because of the slave plantation that was both a symbol of oppression and family, because of a process of emancipation that stressed the economic nature of slavery over its immoral nature, and because of whitening:

Of the Afro-Brazilians who had achieved relative success in the abolition movement, politics, the arts, and other professions, many were mulattoes who did not acknowledge their African ancestry. Mobility was much easier for lighter-skinned Afro-Brazilians, and the ideology of 'whitening' (*embranquecimento*) was firmly entrenched in most minds [...]blackness was so incompatible with social advancement that virtually any measure of success or social position sufficed for a person to be accorded whiteness in colloquial usages.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*, 51.

Self-identification has continued to pose a challenge to the black movement in Brazil. Statistical changes on how people self-identify reveal the political trends of racial identities. Current statistics report that blacks comprise roughly 45% of the population.¹⁶⁸ However, in 1990, nearing the end of the dominance of racial democracy, the Brazilian Institute for Geographic Statistics (IBGE) reported that the black population was somewhere between 5-6% of the total. The brown population constituted about 39%, while the white population was 55%.¹⁶⁹ In 1991, black activists encouraged black Brazilians to identify as either black or brown. The evidence of such trends could explain the large percentage of self-identified brown Brazilians.¹⁷⁰

Despite resistance to collective mobilization, as early as the 1920s, many black Brazilians mobilized and formed activist groups.¹⁷¹ In 1931, blacks in São Paulo formed Brazil's first and only race-based political party, the Brazilian Black Front (FNB).¹⁷² These groups were short-lived, however, due to an inability of blacks to collectively self-identify as black and government restriction on identifying along racial lines. The government disbanded the FNB six years after its founding because organizing along racial lines was deemed unconstitutional.

Affirmative Action in Brazil

Since 1968 there have been several attempts to implement affirmative action, but government resistance and change prevented the adoption of affirmative action until after the ratification of the 1988 Constitution. The Brazilian government was unstable and centralized

¹⁶⁸ Alem, "Racismo e Identidades na Luta em torno de um Programa de Reserva de Vagas - Cota Étnica - para Ingresso em Cursos de uma Universidade Pública do Brasil. Relato e Análise de Caso," 312.

¹⁶⁹ Dos Santos, "My Conscience, my Struggle." *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*, 25.

¹⁷⁰ Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, 155.

¹⁷¹ Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*, 65.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 59.

prior to the 1980s. Brazil experienced its first coup in 1889, a year after the abolition of slavery, and then three more coups later in 1954, 1955, and 1964. From 1889-1988, the Brazilian government ratified four different constitutions and underwent four regime changes: the collapse of the Old Republic in 1930, the restoration of democracy in 1945, and the military revolution in 1964. During the dictatorship of Gétúlio Vargas in the 1930s, and also during the rise of racial democracy, there were "outright prohibitions as to organizing and forming societies on an ethnic basis," (hence the closure of the FNB in 1937).¹⁷³

As was the case in Ecuador, the transition to a stable government in Brazil in 1985 would provide blacks with an opportunity to successfully mobilize

against the systematic denunciation and struggle against the genocide practiced against blacks in its different forms: the murders committed by the police; the subhuman conditions generated by the total lack of access to the most elementary conditions of survival; the sterilization of black women; the mental genocide practiced through the stigmas and prototypes that destroy blacks' self-esteem and dignity.¹⁷⁴

In 1968, the Brazilian government passed the *Lei do Boi* (Servant Law) establishing a quota for children of rural workers to attend public schools. In this same year, technicians from the Ministry of Work and from the Superior Ministry of Work organized themselves in support of a policy of affirmative action that would resolve the problem of racial discrimination in the work force. The technicians supported the creation of a law that would demand that private companies maintain a minimum percentage of workers of color in accordance with activity and demand. However, while the government passed the Servant Law, a class-based law, it did not consider the passing of a race-based law.

¹⁷³ Dos Santos, "My Conscience, my Struggle." *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*, 27-28.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

Also in 1968, the Brazilian government ratified Convention 111 under decree number 62150. Convention 111 is an international article issued by the International Labor Organization that "affirms that all human beings, irrespective of race, creed, or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity."¹⁷⁵ Convention 111 was one of the first international articles to permit the adoption of affirmative action policies. It permitted " 'special mediums of protection or assistance' in order to respond to the particular needs of persons that, for reasons associated with sex, deficiency, family responsibility or social or cultural status, are generally recognized as needing protection or special assistance."¹⁷⁶ In ratifying this document, the Brazilian government promised to "formulate and implement a national policy for the promotion of equality of opportunity and treatment in the work sector."¹⁷⁷

However, in 1992, the Central Workers Union (CUT)¹⁷⁸ with the support of the Center for the Study of Work Relations and Inequality (CEERT), a non-governmental black organization in São Paulo alleged that the Brazilian government had reneged on their promise. They "sent a document to the ILO denouncing the Brazilian State" for the discriminatory practices in the work force.¹⁷⁹ Subsequently, in 1995, the Brazilian government acknowledged discriminatory practices in the work force and created the Working Group for the Elimination of Discrimination in Employment (GTEDEO).¹⁸⁰

In 1983, federal deputy Abdias Nascimento proposed law number 1332, similar to the law proposed in 1968 in that it dealt with unequal access to public services. Law 1332 proposed

¹⁷⁵ *Convention 111 Discrimination (Employment and Occupation)*. Geneva: ILO, 1958.

¹⁷⁶ Tomei, Manuela. "Ação Afirmativa para a Igualdade Racial: Características, Impactos e Desafios," 10.

¹⁷⁷ Moehlecke, "Ação Afirmativa: História e Debates no Brasil," 206.

¹⁷⁸ The main democratic workers union in Brazil, CUT was founded in 1983 during the transition from dictatorship to democracy. "Central Unica dos Trabalhadores (CUT)." <http://www.cut.org.br/> (accessed April 30, 2012).

¹⁷⁹ Moehlecke, "Ação Afirmativa: História e Debates no Brasil," 206.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

[a] *compensatory action* that would establish mechanisms of compensation for afro-Brazilians after centuries of discrimination. Within the actions would figure: 20% of spaces for black females and 20% of spaces for black males on the selection of candidacy to public service, [and] educational scholarships; incentives for companies in the private sector to eliminate the practice of racial discrimination, [and] the incorporation of a positive image of the afro-Brazilian family in the educational system and in educational literature, as well as the introduction of the history of African civilizations and the African in Brazil.¹⁸¹

Law 1332 resembled the demands that black Ecuadorians made in that both all called for retributions for *centuries of discrimination*. The retributions were not meant to be financial, but rather, political. They wanted *compensatory action* or affirmative action, that would promote the visibility of blacks as people deserving of the same common decency and access to positions of authority.

The Brazilian National Congress considered law 1332 but did not approve it because of the continued legacy of racial democracy. The Congress did not believe that racial discrimination was an issue in Brazil. Nevertheless, law 1332 contributed significantly to the affirmative action movement in Brazil because it started the dialogue on affirmative action.

In 1984, the Brazilian government declared Serra de Barriga, the site of the well-known Quilombo do Palmares, a historical landmark. This decree was monumental because previous references made to quilombos -- refugee communities formed by runaway slaves -- considered these communities to be criminal. In naming the Quilombo do Palmares a historical landmark, the quilombo became part of Brazilian history. It would no longer be associated with criminality. This was what Nascimento had advocated for with the proposal of law 1332: the decriminalization and honoring of blacks and blackness.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, 204.

In 1988, two other events propelled the affirmative action movement forward: the ratification of the present constitution after periods of military dictatorship, and the creation of the Palmares Cultural Foundation. The 1988 Constitution enforces plurality of thought, equality for all persons, and the right to self identify. The constitution decentralized power and cancelled the political acts of the military including those that suppressed the formation of race-based organizations. However, in contrast to the Ecuadorian Constitution, blacks were not mentioned anywhere in the Brazilian constitution.

On May 13, 1988, the centennial of the abolition of slavery, President Sarney announced the creation of the Palmares Cultural Foundation. The foundation "seeks to 'promote and preserve cultural, social, and economic values that come from black influences in the formation of Brazilian society,' as guaranteed in the Brazilian Constitution (article 215 of the 1988 Constitution)."¹⁸² The foundation also seeks to "create and implement public policies that may create the possibilities for participation by the black population in development, arising from its history and culture."¹⁸³

With the 1988 Constitution as a foundation, in 1995, fifteen years after the rejection of law 1332, the Brazilian government instituted its first national affirmative action policy. This policy like the first affirmative action policy in Ecuador, addressed the underrepresentation of women in politics. It instated a quota for the number of woman candidates that should be present within a given political party, stipulating that women considered for candidature in all the political parties must make up at least 30% of the total number of candidates.¹⁸⁴ The following

¹⁸² Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*, 49.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Moehlecke, "Ação Afirmativa: História e Debates no Brasil."

year, affirmative action was extended to blacks, and beginning in 1999, other affirmative action policies for blacks in politics and superior education would begin to be ratified.

In 1996, the newly established Secretary of Human Rights started the National Program of Human Rights (PNDH) whose mission it was to

develop affirmative actions for the access of blacks to professional courses at the university and in technological areas; to formulate compensatory measures that would socially and economically promote the black community and support the actions of private initiatives that realize positive discrimination.¹⁸⁵

In 1999, the Brazilian government promised blacks space in the Ministry of External Relations where they were underrepresented. The government also established a 20% quota for blacks in the Supreme Federal Tribunal. Also in 1999, Senator Jose Sarney initiated "the project of the Senate Law number 650/1999, that [proposed] to institute racial quotas, as an extension of affirmative actions, for the black population in the access to public office and employment, to superior education and to contracts in the Student Financial Fund of Superior Education (FIES)."¹⁸⁶

At the turn of the 21st century, in Rio de Janeiro, the local government created racial quotas for the access to higher education. In 2000, state Law number 3524/2000, designated a 50% quota in the State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ) and in the State University of North Fluminense (UENF) for "native students in public schools."¹⁸⁷ In 2001, the state government in Rio de Janeiro, in accordance with state Law number 3524/2000, "instituted a minimum quota of

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 207.

¹⁸⁶ Alem, "Racismo e Identidades na Luta em torno de um Programa de Reserva de Vagas - Cota Étnica - para Ingresso em Cursos de uma Universidade Pública do Brasil. Relato e Análise de Caso," 319.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

up to 40% of spaces for the black and light-brown population in the access to graduate courses at the UERJ and the UENF."¹⁸⁸

Beginning with the entrance exams for the 2002 school year, in order to fulfill the 50 percent public school quota already in existence prior to the adoption of an affirmative action policy for blacks, there would be two entrance pools: one for public school students, and another for private school students. This was to ensure that the two groups would not be competing against each other and to also avoid lawsuits. After the initial round of admissions, the universities would then see what portion had declared themselves to be black. If that number did not reach 40%, "the university would reclassify the pool of entrants, removing and adding candidates, until the 40 percent quota was reached."¹⁸⁹

Beginning in 2002, other states outside of Rio de Janeiro began to institute quotas for their own state universities. In July, Bahia's state university announced that it would reserve 40 percent of the spaces in undergraduate and graduate programs for blacks. In November, the state legislature in Minas Gerais also approved a quota, of 20 percent.¹⁹⁰ The State University of Bahia adopted the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) system of classification that had as its racial categories: black, white, *pardo* (brown), yellow, or indigenous. (Souza 22-23) On the application, applicants could choose whether they want to self-identify as belonging to one of the racial categories. They took the same entrance exams, but were then divided according to whether or not they want to be considered for the quota. "Since the students are

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Htun, "From 'Racial Democracy' to Affirmative Action: Changing State Policy on Race in Brazil," 71.

¹⁹⁰ De Souza, *Shifting Discourses: Exploring the Tensions between the Myth of Racial Democracy and the Implementation of Affirmative Action Policies in Brazil*, 22-23.

allotted in two different percentage groups there is a variation in the average minimum grade for approval in the exams. The average grade for each group is calculated differently."¹⁹¹

The Brazilian system of implementing affirmative action used in order quotas to have a more diverse student population or work force. Students and employers were evaluated separately considering both the need to meet the school entrance and the position requirements, and also the need to have more equitable representation of blacks in Brazil. The United States does not use the quota system, and so, Brazil modified the policy to fit its context and Ecuadorian policy makes would later look towards Brazil as a model for affirmative action policies in Latin America.

In 2002, the Brazilian government passed law number 10558/2002, "that instituted the University Diversity Program, in the field of the Ministry of Education, with the ultimate goal of implementing and evaluating strategies for the promotion of access of persons pertaining to socially disadvantaged groups, especially black and indigenous Brazilians, to superior education."¹⁹² The idea for the Diversity in Education program surfaced in 2001, after president Fernando Cardoso supported the use of affirmative action to address the fact that blacks made up only 2% of university students despite representing almost half of the total Brazilian population.¹⁹³ The program financed college preparatory courses for poor and black students so that they could pass the university entrance exams, made possible with \$4 million from the Brazilian government, and a loan of \$5 million from the Inter-American Development Bank.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Alem, "Racismo e Identidades na Luta em torno de um Programa de Reserva de Vagas - Cota Étnica - para Ingresso em Cursos de uma Universidade Pública do Brasil. Relato e Análise de Caso," 318.

¹⁹³ Htun, "From 'Racial Democracy' to Affirmative Action: Changing State Policy on Race in Brazil," 70.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

Presently, it has been a challenge to maintain and justify affirmative action, as well as to promote the ideals of affirmative action, which are increased black social mobility and visibility, and also equality. Attempts have been made to promote affirmative action in television and media, but "[t]elevision networks and advertising agencies [...] have lobbied intensely against bills that would require them to choose more blacks for the casts of their programs and commercials."¹⁹⁵ Watching popular channels such as Globo both in the United States and in Brazil, I have noticed that main actors in television series are almost always white; not brown and not black. There are maybe one or two shows with a more diverse cast, but these are usually comedies and not the popular soap operas. There is a saying in Brazil that if a social change is to take place, it will first be seen on a soap opera.

Over the past 15 years, Brazil has experienced an economic boom, which has allowed many children from poor families to finish school instead of dropping out to work. As a result, there are now more students sitting for college entrance exams, and more students vying for limited spots. There have been complaints over the quota system for blacks -- although there are also quotas for poor students -- because of this limited spaces and also the belief in racial democracy. Because of limited space in the universities, some students have even claimed a black identity that that they would otherwise not claim in order to be able to compete for one of the reserved spots.¹⁹⁶

Brazil has a history of racial fluidity that makes it difficult to implement policies of affirmative action based on skin color. The policy operates in terms of black and white, while society operates according to shades of color. The social status that those shades can have, also vary region to region, making it more challenging to support affirmative action. However, there

¹⁹⁵ Rohter, "The Myth of a Racial Paradise." *Brazil on the Rise: the Story of a Country Transformed*, 76.

¹⁹⁶ Rohter, "The Myth of a Racial Paradise." *Brazil on the Rise: the Story of a Country Transformed*, 76-80.

is another saying in Brazil that says that the police know who is black, alluding to high instances of racial profiling. So then the question becomes is it really better to do nothing, if there is a serious problem with racial discrimination?

Affirmative Action in Ecuador

The black movement in Ecuador began in Quito, in the 1970s, during a period of democratic change. In addition to the mobilizations of blacks, other marginalized groups - the indigenous, youth, environmentalists, human rights activists, and women - formed their own groups pushing for the "reaffirmation of identities," as these groups were beginning "to recognize themselves as subjects with common unresolved problems of discrimination and exclusion."¹⁹⁷

As argued in this thesis, throughout Ecuador's colonial history and its history as an independent country, despite negotiations and proclamations of freedoms, scholarly debate and government action prevented black Ecuadorians from acquiring full citizenship. Full citizenship is the acknowledgment of the contribution of blacks in the formation of the country and their existence in the national identity, the protection of rights, and the respect of persons. This attestation of citizenship can be seen in goals that black organizations have set forth in response to past histories of exclusion.

In 1979, black students in Quito founded the first black socio-cultural organization, the Center for Afro-Ecuadorian Studies "as a space of investigation, congregation and identity of the Black Population." (Vallejo 129) Members proposed to compile a complete history of black Ecuadorians absent from the national collective consciousness and not included in the officially histories taught in the education system. This history was already being taught in Esmeraldas and

¹⁹⁷ Vallejo, *Afroecuatorianos: Un Movimiento Social Emergente*, 128, 129.

the Chota Valley where the majority of the population is black, creating an "us" and "them" dynamic between those communities and white/mestizo communities. The goals of the Center were to "contribute to the organization of the black population, collect and dispense the collective history of the black population, and publicize the marginalization and poverty that blacks suffered" on account of their race.¹⁹⁸ This is how black Ecuadorians defined affirmative action.

Blacks in Quito continued forming other similar organizations up through the 1990s for the purposes of identifying, combating, and documenting racial discrimination in order to form a plan of action to be presented before the government for the recognition of their rights. Blacks in Esmeraldas mobilized themselves in defense of their cultural identity, but also in protest to the violation of territorial and political autonomy; an autonomy first granted in the 16th century. The Ecuadorian government had violated collective land and political rights, allowing for the exploitation of natural resources the destruction of the mangroves (they take hundreds of years to grow) for shrimp farms, land that blacks in Esmeraldas cultivated to sustain themselves.¹⁹⁹

In contrast to Brazil, blacks in Ecuador were more successful at mobilizing together. Blacks in Quito, many of who had migrated from the Chota Valley, collaborated with blacks from other locales in Ecuador, including the Chota Valley and Esmeraldas. Having been geographically isolated, their exclusion from mainstream society was more evident and mobility limited. This cross-regional collaboration helped black Ecuadorians create and propose a sound plan and political legislation in their favor.

The Afro-Ecuadorian Development Corporation (CODAE) emerged out of the collective black mobilization from the 1970s-1990s. In 1998, shortly before the ratification of the 1998

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 129, 130.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 54.

Constitution that would recognize collective rights for the black population, with decree number 1747, Ecuadorian president Fabían Alcarón, established CODAE as a federal agency.²⁰⁰

CODAE's aim is

to achieve the productive and humane development of the Afro-Ecuadorian; to strengthen the organization of communities within the Afro-Ecuadorian; to design plans and training programs for the purpose of revitalizing ancestral wisdoms, identity and cultural values of the Black Population; to promote the participation of different sectors and communities of the Afro-Ecuadorian Population [...] to realize studies, for the purpose of developing plans and training programs in the technical and financial fields at the national and international level, in order to see the execution of the same.²⁰¹

CODAE convened for the first time in December 2001, with 10 delegates from the presidency, and a total of 9 representatives from black organizations throughout Ecuador. CODAE was actively involved in the creation of the 2008 Constitution.²⁰²

The ratification of the 1998 Constitution was the result of decades of black mobilization and centuries of black struggle. Three very important goals that came from the ratification of the 1998 Constitution were: (1) the recognition of blacks as an ethnic population with collective rights, (2) the 2001 census with questions about race and other surveys on discrimination, and (3) other surveys on racial discrimination. With the ratification of the 1998 Constitution, Ecuador became the first country in Latin America to give blacks collective rights and recognize their existence as a separate ethnic group prior to the creation of the Republic of Ecuador.

However, despite these advances for the black community, in a 2004 national survey, 64% of Ecuadorians believed that racism existed, while only 10% believed that they were openly

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 72.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 73.

²⁰² Ibid., 78.

racist.²⁰³ In another survey, also conducted in 2004, 82% of Ecuadorians agreed that "the State should adopt methods against racial discrimination and racism:" 81% of whites agreed, 83% of *mestizos* agreed, and 90% of blacks agreed.²⁰⁴

The black Ecuadorian community proposed affirmative action for the eradication of racial discrimination, and began submitting and presenting proposals to the Constituent Assembly in 2007, for the inclusion of affirmative action in the revised, more democratic 2008 Constitution. Supported by international decrees against discrimination - the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948); Convention 169 of the ILO, the UN Declaration against all forms of Racial Discrimination; the declaration of the right to development (1986); and the UN Declaration against Racism in Durban, South Africa (2001) - from October 2007 to December 2007, CODAE and several black socio-political organizations met to outline their proposals for the Constituent Assembly.

From January 2008 until February 2008, CODAE and several black organizations presented their proposal to the Constituent Assembly who rejected the inclusion of collective rights for the black population, to which CODAE and the other organizations protested in March 2008. Several months later, in May 2008, CODAE and black organizations involved in the process, "participated in a workshop on plurinationality, defending collective rights for Afro-Ecuadorians, territorial rights, political participation with ethnic inclusion, condemning racism and discrimination, and proposing articles supporting affirmative actions."²⁰⁵

After a series of debates and discussions from May 2008 until July 2008 among the Constituent Assembly, CODAE and participating black organizations and the Constituent

²⁰³ *Los Derechos Ciudadanos de los Afroecuatorianos en la Nueva Constitución Política del Ecuador*, 12.

²⁰⁴ *Racismo y Discriminación Racial en Ecuador 2004*, 39.

²⁰⁵ *Los Derechos Ciudadanos de los Afroecuatorianos en la Nueva Constitución Política del Ecuador*, 6.

Assembly ratified the 2008 Constitution.²⁰⁶ The Constitution declares that Ecuador is a plurinational State and that "[t]he State shall adopt affirmative actions that will promote true equality in favor of those owners of rights that find themselves in situations of inequality."²⁰⁷ In declaring that Ecuador is a plurinational state, the constitution legally recognizes the existence of all of Ecuador's ethnicities and their contribution to the present Republic of Ecuador.

Plurinationality recognizes these populations as socially autonomous along ethnic lines, not to be confused with racial plurality that implies racial hybrids. The inclusion of affirmative action in the constitution gives validity to future affirmative action laws and decrees.

The 2008 Constitution complies with the 5 principle goals that CODAE and participating black organizations wanted included in the constitution:

1. recognize Ecuador as a multi-ethnic nation;
2. defend the collective rights acknowledged in the 1998 Constitution;
3. constitutionally condemn racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and other forms of cultural intolerance and consequently apply methods of affirmative action to repair damages caused by slavery and racism;
4. consecrate the right of direct political participation for cultural minorities through principals of inclusion;
5. within the territorial order of the nation, to constitute afro-Ecuadorian and indigenous conscriptions in ancestral lands.²⁰⁸

In compliance with the third goal mentioned above, the blacks Ecuadorian organization succeeded in changing the terminology used to refer to the black population. The 2008 Constitution does not contain the term *negro*; instead, the Constitution uses *afro-descendiente* (afro-descendant) or *afroecuatoriano* (afro-Ecuadorian) to progress away from colonialism and

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ The Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador, title 2, chapter 1, article 11.

²⁰⁸ *Los Derechos Ciudadanos de los Afroecuatorianos en la Nueva Constitución Política del Ecuador*, 5.

slavery and toward modernity where blacks are recipients of rights rather than objects without rights, because of the inferior status associated with the term *negro* as a result of racialization.²⁰⁹

Since the ratification of the 2008 Constitution the government has passed specific laws outlining how affirmative action is to be applied in Ecuador. It has looked towards Brazil as a Latin American example of one way of applying affirmative action policies, while not seeking to replicate that model. In 2009, through decree no. 60, the government created the Plurinational Plan against Racism whose goal it is to eliminate "the distinct systematic forms and practices of racial discrimination and ethnic exclusion" in order to promote plurinationality as outlined in the constitution.²¹⁰ From this law, the government has also declared that the Ministry of Labor will institute a quota system to increase the presence of blacks and indigenous. While the government has recognized inequality in education, it has not yet determined how to address this issue.²¹¹

Racial Discrimination and Revolution in Cuba

Affirmative action was discussed in Cuba even prior to president Raúl Castro's statements before the Cuban Congress in 2011 about the need to increase the representation of women and blacks in the public sector, although the policies were not referred to by that name. In the 1930s in response to being excluded from public spaces, not having access to employment because of racial prejudice, and being discriminated against in other manners, black Cuban organizations demanded that the government intervene with the passage of laws to avoid such practices. These groups demanded quota laws in the labor sector and the public sector, arguing that in order for the government to uphold the antidiscrimination clause in the constitution and to

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 17, 36.

²¹⁰ Méndez, "Acciones Afirmativas para el Pueblo Afroecuatoriano."

²¹¹ Ibid.

truly be creating a racial fraternity, there needed to be equal representation of whites and blacks in all sectors, not just the low-skilled positions and the ones with limited managerial responsibilities.²¹²

With the 1959 Cuban Revolution that overthrew the American-supported government, those that supported the revolutionaries, many of whom who were black, expected that racial discrimination would end. It was the argument of the Castro-led communist party that racial discrimination only existed in Cuba because foreign powers still controlled Cuba, but yet even when there were no foreign powers controlling Cuba after 1959, there was still discrimination. At this point, activists and scholars began to discuss ways to end racial discrimination and affirmative action was one of the possibilities discussed.

The booming tourist industry in 1950s Cuba aggravated racial tensions in Cuba to the point where black activists, monitoring the black movement in the United States., mobilized and demanded that the government enact explicit laws against discrimination and in support of inclusion. These activists were tired of the rhetoric of *racial fraternity* that was not producing any positive results for blacks. Segregation was common practice in tourist and recreational centers, private schools, and even in public spaces. At least two potential laws went before the Senate. None were approved.²¹³

The Cuban Communist Party used the dissatisfaction of blacks with the current government to their advantage, although during the beginning stages of the revolution both sides were using racial slurs to discredit the other. Then president Batista was referred to as a "bad mulatto" and a "black beast," and Fidel Castro was also labeled as racist and anti-black.²¹⁴ Such

²¹² De la Fuente, Alejandro. *Una Nación para Todos*, 274.

²¹³ De la Fuente, *Una Nación para Todos*, 342.

²¹⁴ Ibid, 353.

slurs were used to create images of an educated white elite against an ignorant black mass on both sides. Such discourse relied on the existence of ingrained stereotypes within society.

In the planning stages of the Revolution a black Cuban lawyer, Juan René Betancourt denounced those claims against Fidel and instead encouraged Fidel to not make the same mistake made in 1895 when it was assumed that racial issues would be resolved automatically with a revolution.²¹⁵ Fidel took on this challenge and responded to discrimination in both the public and private sector with a revolution. He nationalized institutions, thus being able to regulate both the public and private sectors, and began a literacy campaign. The 1961 literacy campaign was an educational campaign not only because it promoted scholarly literacy but also cultural literacy, exposing urban residents to a more impoverished life in rural areas and helping to expand the social consciousness. The literacy campaign not only provided literacy and future mobility for the formerly illiterate, but also provided training and job opportunities for the instructors.²¹⁶

These changes along with the creation of affordable housing contributed to black social mobility because the majority of the blacks were among the poor population benefiting from this social assistance. Blacks further benefitted from the flight of the majority of the elite from Cuba to Miami as the housing left behind became housing for scholarship students and more opportunities for employment became available. However, the flight of the Cuban elite to Miami also contributed to the ideology of *racial fraternity* and would fuel later instances of racial inequality.

The majority of those who left Cuba were white. Many had worked for American companies and the United States encouraged them to come to Miami as the United States was against revolutions and communism. So the image that resulted was one of white Cubans in

²¹⁵ Ibid., 360.

²¹⁶ De la Fuente, "The New Afro-Cuban Cultural Movement and the Debate on Race in Contemporary Cuba," 7.

Miami and black Cubans in Cuba. The Cuban government used this to their advantage to further their revolutionary agenda. After 1962, race was no longer discussed with as much fervor in Cuba as an issue in Cuba. People were reluctant or fearful to bring up a discussion on racial inequality so as not to be seen as in opposition to the revolution, which in the eyes of Castro regime was a success and had eliminated racial discrimination from Cuba.

Yet, once the Soviet Union collapsed and Cuba was without its economic safety net, Cuba and Cubans needed to more actively pursue economic diversity, which included encouraging international tourism, dollarization, remittances, and the cutback in government jobs. In pursuit of those economic gains, Cuba lost some of its social gains.

Despite the gains achieved prior to the 1980s (the Special Period), blacks continued to be among the poorest in society and continued to live in a racist culture, however subdued. While black Cubans were no longer over-represented in the manual labor force, they continued to dominate the construction sector and were underrepresented in administrative positions.²¹⁷ "A multitude of aphorisms, popular sayings, and jokes continued to denigrate blacks as naturally inferior and predisposed to crime and violence" impacting everything from their day-to-day living, interracial relationships, and employment opportunities, especially in tourism.²¹⁸

Those racial prejudices remained in the social consciousness, despite the Revolution, and often dictated how people reacted to one another and whom the police targeted as a perpetrator of a crime. "According to a survey conducted in Cuba in the mid-1990s, 'most whites believe[d] that blacks and whites do not share the same values, decency and intelligence.'²¹⁹ The rhetoric of the government clearly did not match the social reality, and by discouraging dialogue on the

²¹⁷ De la Fuente, *Una Nación para Todos*, 425.

²¹⁸ De la Fuente, "The New Afro-Cuban Cultural Movement and the Debate on Race in Contemporary Cuba," 9.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

issue the Cuban government allowed this racial prejudice to continue on a more social and less institutionalized level.

Once the tourist market began to grow again in Cuba after the Revolution, blacks were discriminated against. When rejecting black applicants, businesses argued that blacks did not have the necessary appearance as they were looking for applicants who were lighter and more resembled the European clients. As a result, many black applicants stopped applying for these positions and others turned to prostitution in order to benefit financially from the tourist industry.

The tourist industry became an increasingly attractive sector after the dollarization of the Cuban economy in 1994. The Cuban government created the convertible peso (CUC) and pegged it to the USD in order to obtain hard currency.²²⁰ The combination of increased tourism and dollarization increased the earning potential of those in the tourist industry as what many gained in tips in one day could exceed a doctor's salary in Cuba. Many workers, therefore, sought to leave traditional work sectors for the tourist sector and the value of education; a tool for social mobility became devalued. Unable to enter the tourist market as easily as their white counterparts, black Cubans found themselves discriminated against yet again. And being heavily concentrated in government jobs, blacks faced additional hardship once those jobs were cut in order to cut back on spending and encourage the growth in the private sector.

Remittances from abroad further compounded racial inequality in Cuba as the majority of those who left Cuba were white and sending remittances to their white family members in Cuba:

According to a survey conducted in Havana in 2000, 34 per cent of households receive remittances from abroad. But whereas 44 per cent of white households received remittances, only 23 percent of black households did. A team of researchers from the Centro de Antropología de Cuba [The Cuban

²²⁰ Everleny, Omar, Pérez Villanueva and Pavel Vidal Alejandro, "Cuba's Economy: A Current Evaluation and Several Necessary Proposals," *Socialism and Democracy* 41.1 (2010): 84.

Anthropological Center] found that between 1996 and 2002, whites were 2.5 times more likely to receive remittances than blacks."²²¹

Education was no longer a requisite for social mobility and more often than not the door to this new means of advancement was shut to black Cubans.

Affirmative Action in Cuba

In response to the prejudice and discrimination that blacks are facing post the Revolution, some scholars and organizations are arguing for policy that addresses racial discrimination and creates more opportunity for blacks. Affirmative action has come up in this discussion because of the examples available -- e.g. Brazil, Ecuador, the United States -- but given its association with the United States many are reluctant to say that there should be affirmative action in Cuba.

In October 2011, the Cofradía de la Negritud (Black Brotherhood) in Cuba organized a debate over the viability of affirmative action in Cuba. There was consensus that Cuba needed to adopt a Cuban policy to eliminate inequalities and that affirmative action was one possibility, but it needed to be employed with the full participation of civil society.²²² In his publication on affirmative action, Esteban Morales Dominguez explains why it might be a challenge for all of civil society to back affirmative action, arguing that it is a foreign concept that is often regarded as inverse racism, giving privilege to blacks over whites.²²³ In a 2011 publication in *Islas*, Morúa also expresses concerns over the use of affirmative action in Cuba, agreeing with Dominguez

²²¹ De la De la Fuente, "The New Afro-Cuban Cultural Movement and the Debate on Race in Contemporary Cuba," 19.

²²² "Cofradía de la Negritud debate sobre Acción Afirmativa."

²²³ Dominguez, "Por qué es Necesario un Plan de Acción para Mejorar la Situación de los Negros y Mestizos en Cuba."

that affirmative action also engenders resentment among blacks who can view affirmative action as affirming their minority and inferior status and need of government assistance.

Both Dominguez and Morúa nonetheless agree that some type of policy is necessary because there is an issue of racial discrimination in Cuba. They would propose renaming their policy to not confuse it with affirmative action found elsewhere, and maybe employing the policy temporarily. Others, such as Hildebrando Chaviano Montes, an attorney and independent journalist, accept affirmative action as is and say it is absolutely necessary to implement a quota system and determine the representation of blacks and all races according to their percentage in the population, but that would also require a census that notes race. While Cuba is just beginning to open up this debate over affirmative action, the people and the government have many opinions and models to consider.

CONCLUSIONS

The history of racialization in Latin America and specifically in Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba has shaped current discussions and debates on affirmative action that would not be taking place were it not for the racial history in those countries, and would not be challenged were it not for the politicization of race throughout that history.

Racialization refers to initial beliefs on race and the role that race played in society. The complete process of racialization in Latin America is often not told, especially in the debates surrounding affirmative action. For centuries a common argument in Brazil, Ecuador, and Cuba was that there were no racial tensions in those countries and there was no discrimination. Those arguments continue today as seen in the debates surrounding affirmative action. The argument against racial discrimination in Latin America blamed the West for imposing those racial beliefs in the past and for continuing to view Latin America according to their racial standards in the present. However, the process of acculturation, common occurrence when cultures come into contact, as was the case in Latin America, was ignored.

As Brazil, Ecuador, Cuba, and other Latin American countries were becoming independent actors in the international system they had to separate themselves from their former colonies, but they also had to conform in order to gain entrance into the international system. Thus, they had to negotiate their identities in relations to Europe and also in relation to themselves, and because of the racial theories present at that time race was a burden, but also a tool for development as sovereign nations.

Governments and revolutionary leaders dealing with frequently changing regimes, often used race to further their political and economic agendas. They used race to mobilize the masses during the independence movements; they used race to secure a position in the international system; and they used race to and racialized identities to attract tourists, e.g. samba, capoeira, rumba, etc. In doing so they created the false ideals of mixed-race identities that made it difficult for blacks to discuss and challenge discrimination as the racial culture was romanticized and high levels of racial inequality ignored because on the surface it did not appear to be an issue.

In this context, blacks were not independent actors; they still existed as subjects. In Ecuador, blacks were invisible subjects because of their geographic isolation, and in Cuba and Brazil, blacks were also invisible subjects but not for the same reason. Blacks in Cuba and Brazil were invisible because they had been successfully assimilated into a system that prioritized economic relations over race relations. The geographic separation between blacks and whites in Ecuador helped to make racial discrimination more obvious. The relative racial fluidity in Brazil and Cuba made it more difficult to discern an fight against racism in a discourse so often dominated by set racial categories and not more fluid color lines.

Going forward, it is important for policy makers in these countries to consider the full racial history when instituting policies to end racial discrimination -- be they policies of affirmative action, or other policies -- so as not to repeat the mistakes of the past. In the past, racial discrimination was overlooked and little was done to change how blacks were regarded and treated socially leading to the present gross inequalities based on race. At the same time however, these countries can still be examples of racially plural societies, once they acknowledge and take serious steps towards ending the racial discrimination in their countries.

Latin America is unique with regards to the fact that racism was not institutionalized and that they have various shades of people within single families and within various walks of life. However, racism was still socialized, so despite a more visible pluriculturalism there is still a racial glass ceiling. If these countries can re-socialize and eliminate socialized racism they would have much to share with other countries in the West and elsewhere who in comparison are only more recently have become and are developing into more racially plural societies.

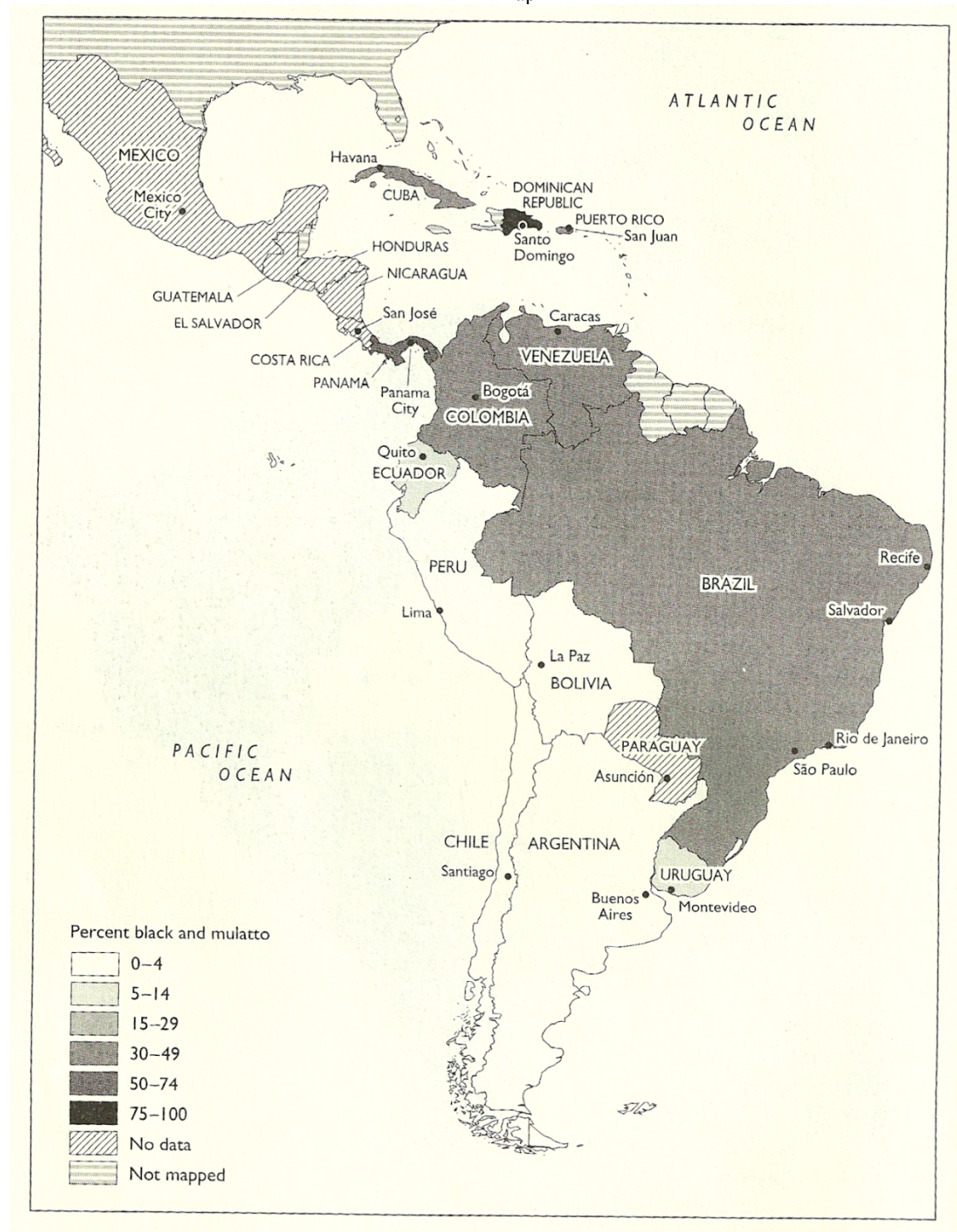
APPENDICES

Map 1



Credit for all maps: Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*.

Map 2



REFERENCES

- "A Year Dedicated to People of African Descent." <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/africa/article/a-year-dedicated-to-people-of> (accessed April 30, 2012).
- Alem, João Marcos. "Racismo e Identidades na Luta em torno de um Programa de Reserva de Vagas - Cota Étnica - para Ingresso em Cursos de uma Universidade Pública do Brasil. Relato e Análise de Caso." *Identidades, Etnicidad y Racismo en América Latina*. Edited by Fernando García. Quito: FLACSO, 2008.
- Andrews, George Reid. *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- . "Brazilian Racial Democracy." *Journal of Contemporary History* 31:3 (1996): 483-507.
- Apolo, Manuel Espinosa. *Los Mestizos Ecuatorianos y Las Señas de Identidad Cultural*. 3rd ed. Quito, Ecuador: Tramasocial Editorial, 2000.
- Araújo, Zulu. "Cotas: Mentiras and Vídeo Tapes." *RAÇA Brasil* 2009: 92-93.
- Avritzer, Leonardo. *Participatory Institutions in Democratic Brazil*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- Bearden, Tim. "Helms-Burton Act: Resurrecting the Iron-Curtain." *Council on Hemisphere Affairs*, 2011.
- Beck, Scott H., Kenneth J. Mijeski and Meagan M. Stark. "¿Qué es Racismo? Awareness of Racism and Discrimination in Ecuador." *Latin American Research Review* 46.1 (2011): 102-125.
- Bolívar, Simon. "Carta de Jamaica." Ed. Ministerio de Educación. Caracas: 1965.
- Borja, Rodrigo. *Sociedad, Cultura y Derecho*. Quito: Editorial Planeta del Ecuador S.A, 2007.
- Bouisson, Emmanuelle. "Esclavos de la Tierra: los Campesinos Negros del Chota-Mira, siglos XVII - XX." *Procesos, Revista Ecuatoriana de Historia* 11 (1997): 45-68.
- Brenner, Philip and Soraya Castro. "David and Gulliver: Fifty Years of Competing Metaphors in the Cuban-United States Relationship." *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 20 (2009): 236-257.
- Butler, Kim Diane. *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998.
- Canessa, Andrew. "Todos somos Indígenas: Towards a New Language of National Political Identity." *Bulletin of Latin American Research*. 25.2 (2006): 241-263.

- Castro, Raúl. Speech before Cuba's 6th Communist Party Congress. April 19, 2011.
- "Central Unica dos Trabalhadores (CUT)." <http://www.cut.org.br/> (accessed April 30, 2012).
- Chrisman, Laura. "Nationalism and Postcolonial Studies." *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Studies*. Edited by Neil Lazarus. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Coe, Gwendolyn and Judith Lynne McConnell. "The Children of Cuba." *YC Young Children*. 59.5 (2004): 44-48.
- "Cofradía de la Negritud debate sobre Acción Afirmativa." <http://www.ipscuba.net/> (accessed March 30, 2012).
- Compilación de Observaciones Finales del Comité para la Eliminación de la Discriminación Racial sobre Países de América Latina y el Caribe (1970-2006)*. Santiago: UN, 2006.
- Convention 111 Discrimination (Employment and Occupation)*. Geneva: ILO, 1958.
- Coronil, Fernando. "Latin American Postcolonial Studies and Global Decolonization." *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Studies*. Edited by Neil Lazarus. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Curtin, Christina and Paula Lopez-Gamundi. "Cuba's Domestic Reforms Surge Past Immobilized U.S." <http://www.coha.org> (accessed March 30, 2012).
- Davies, Catherine. "Hybrid Texts: Family, State and Empire in a Poem by Black Cuban Poet Excilia Saldaña." *Comparing Postcolonial Literatures: Dislocations*. Edited by Ashok Bery and Patricia Murray. London: Macmillan Press, Ltd.: 2000.
- Los Derechos Ciudadanos de los Afroecuatorianos en la Nueva Constitución Política del Ecuador*. Edited by Jhon Antón Sánchez. Corporación de Desarrollo Afroecuatoriana (CODAE). Quito: 2008.
- Domínguez, Esteban Morales. "Por qué es Necesario un Plan de Acción para Mejorar la Situación de los Negros y Mestizos en Cuba." <http://www.afrocubaweb.com/> (accessed on April 4, 2012).
- Domínguez, Jorge I. "Cuban Foreign Policy and the International System." *Latin America in the New International System*. Edited by Joseph S. Tulchin and Ralph H. Espach. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999. 183-206.
- Elliott, Sheryl Marie and Lis Delpy Neirotti. "Challenges of Tourism in a Dynamic Island Destination: the Case of Cuba." *Tourism Geographies* 10:3 (2008): 375-402.

Ethnicity and the Millennium Development Goals. Bogotá: UNDP, 2005.

Everleny, Omar, Pérez Villanueva and Pavel Vidal Alejandro. "Cuba's Economy: A Current Evaluation and Several Necessary Proposals." *Socialism and Democracy* 41.1 (2010): 71-93.

Fanon, Frantz. *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs*. Éditions du Seuil, 1952.

Faustino, Oswaldo. "A Final, Aboliu ou não?." *RACA Brasil* 2009: 80-87.

Fernández-Rasines, Paloma. *Afrodescendencia en el Ecuador: Raza y Género desde los Tiempos de la Colonia*. Quito: Abya-Yala Editing, 2001.

Foweraker, Joe., Todd Landman and Neil Harvey. *Governing Latin America*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, Inc., 2003.

Fredrickson, George M. "Understanding Racism: Reflections of a Comparative Historian." The Comparative Imagination: On the History of Racism, Nationalism, and Social Movements. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997: 77-97. Fry, Peter. "Politics, Nationality, and the Meanings of 'Race' in Brazil." *Daedalus*. 129.2 (2000): 83-118.

Fry, Peter. "Politics, Nationality, and the Meanings of 'Race' in Brazil." *Daedalus*. 129.2 (2000): 83-118.

De la Fuente, Alejandro. *Una Nación para Todos*. Madrid: Editorial Colibrí, 2000.

------. "The New Afro-Cuban Cultural Movement and the Debate on Race in Contemporary Cuba." Special issue. *Journal of Latin American Studies* 40.4 (2008): 697-270.

------. "Race and Income Inequality in Contemporary Cuba." *NACLA Report on the Americas* 44.4 (2011).

Galeano, Eduardo. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. Translated by Cedric Belfrage. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1997.

George, Alexander and Andre Bennett. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005.

Gide, André. *Voyage au Congo*. Éditions Gallimard, 1928.

Gonzalez, Michael. "Cuba's Lost History." *Policy Review* 165 (2011): 55-67.

- Graham, Richard. "Free African Brazilians and the State in Slavery Times." *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*. Edited by Michael George Hanchard. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999. 30-58.
- Greenfield, Sidney M. "Slavery and the Plantation in the New World: The Development and Diffusion of a Social Form." *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 11.1 (1969): 44-57.
- Hagopian, Frances. *Traditional Politics and Regime Change in Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Hanchard, George Michael. "Introduction." *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*. Edited by Michael George Hanchard. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999. 1-29.
- . "Black Cinderella? Race and the Public Sphere in Brazil." *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*. Edited by Michael George Hanchard. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999. 59-81.
- Hasenbalg, Carlos and Nelson do Valle Silva. "Notes on Racial and Political Inequality in Brazil." *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*. Edited by Michael George Hanchard. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999. 154-178.
- Htun, Mala N. "From 'Racial Democracy' to Affirmative Action: Changing State Policy on Race in Brazil." *The Latin American Research Review* 39.1 (2004): 60-89.
- . "Women and Democracy." *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*. Edited by Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003. 118-136.
- Jackson, Shona N. "Guyana, Cuba, Venezuela and the 'Routes' to Cultural Reconciliation between Latin America and the Caribbean." *Small Axe* 19 (2006): 28-32.
- Levins, Richard. "Progressive Cuba Bashing." *Socialism and Democracy* 19:1 (2010): 49-66.
- Marklein, Mary Beth. "College Gender Gap Widens: 57% are Women." *USA Today*, October 19, 2005. http://www.usatoday.com/news/education/2005-10-19-male-college-cover_x.htm (accessed April 26, 2012).
- Marriott, David. "Border Anxieties: Race and Psychoanalysis." *Comparing Postcolonial Literatures: Dislocations*. Edited by Ashok Bery and Patricia Murray. London: Macmillan Press, Ltd.: 2000.
- Méndez, Diana Salazar. "Acciones Afirmativas para el Pueblo Afroecuatoriano." *Revista Judicial* (2011). http://www.derechoecuador.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6433:acciones-afirmativas-para-el-pueblo-afroecuatoriano&catid=256:noticias-de-interes (accessed April 30, 2012).

Moehlecke, Sabrina. "Ação Afirmativa: História e Debates no Brasil." *Cadernos de Pesquisa* 117 (2002): 197-217.

Montes, Hildebrando Chaviano. "Affirmative Action: Analysis and Perspectives." *Islas* 6.19 (2011): 39-40.

Mora, Enrique Ayala. *Manual de Historia del Ecuador*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Quito: Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, 2008.

-----, *Manual de Historia Del Ecuador*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Quito: Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, 2008.

Morúa, Manuel Cuesta. "A Dialogue within the Race Debate in Cuba: Affirmative Action or Citizen Reempowerment." *Islas* 6.19 (2011): 7-17.

Munanga, Kabengele. "Políticas de Ação Afirmativa em Benefício da População Negra no Brasil - Um Ponto de Vista em Defesa De Cotas." *Sociedade e Cultura* 4.2 (2001): 31-43.

Ndiaye, Pap. *La Condition Noire: Essai Sur Une Minorité Française*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 2008.

Nuestra Historia: Documento Didáctico Pedagógico de Etnoeducación Afroecuatoriana. Ecuador: Ministry of Education. 2008.

De Oliveira, Zélia Maria Freire and Maria das Graças Viana Bragança. "Ações Afirmativas: Soluções ou Problemas?" *Intermeio* 15.29 (2009): 148-163.

Plan Nacional de Política Exterior (PLANEX): La Proyección Multicultural del Ecuador, Seminario Cultura y Política Exterior. Ecuador: Ministry of External Relations. 2006.

Prieto, Mayra Espina. "Changes in the Economic Model and Social Policies in Cuba." *NACLA Report on the Americas* 44.4 (2011).

"Race in Brazil: Affirming a Divide." *The Economist*, January 28, 2012.

Racismo y Discriminación Racial en Ecuador 2004. Quito: República del Ecuador, Sistema de Indicadores Sociales del Pueblo Afroecuatoriano (SISPAE), 2005.

Roett, Riordan. *Brazil: Politics in a Patrimonial Society*. 5th ed. Praeger: Westport, 1999.

Rohter, Larry. "The Myth of a Racial Paradise." *Brazil on the Rise: the Story of a Country Transformed*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 59-80.

Sansone, Livio. *Blackness without Ethnicity: Constructing Race in Brazil*. 1st Palgrave Macmillan ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

- Dos Santos, Ivanir. "Blacks and Political Power." *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*. Edited by Michael George Hanchard. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999. 200-214.
- Dos Santos, Sales Augusto. "Who is Black in Brazil? A Timely or a False Question in Brazilian Race Relations in the Era of Affirmative Action?" *Latin American Perspectives*. 33. (2006): 30-48.
- Dos Santos, Thereza. "The Black Movement: Without Identity There Is No Consciousness or Struggle." *Black Brazil: Culture, Identity, and Social Mobilization*. Edited by Larry Crook and Randal Johnson. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications. 23-30.
- . "My Conscience, my Struggle." *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*. Edited by Michael George Hanchard. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999. 188-199.
- Sarte, Jean-Paul. *Situations, V: Colonialisme et Néo-colonialisme*. Éditions Gallimard, 1964.
- Segrera, Francisco López. "The Cuban Revolution: Historical Roots, Current Situation, Scenarios, and Alternatives." *Latin American Perspectives* 38.2 (2011): 3-30.
- "Ser Cubano es ser Hijo de Africa." Granma Digital. <http://www.arnac.cu/index.php/noticias/ser-cubano-es-ser-hijo-de-africa/808.html> (accessed March 30, 2012).
- Schmidt-Nowara, Christopher. "National Economy and Atlantic Slavery: Protectionism and Resistance to Abolitionism in Spain and the Antilles, 1854-1874." *The Hispanic American Historical Review*. 78.4. (1998): 603-629.
- Scott, Rebecca J. "Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Cuba: A View from the Sugar District of Cienfuegos, 1886-1909." *The Hispanic American Historical Review*. 78.4 (1998): 687-728.
- Da Silva, Benedita. "The Black Movement and Political Parties: A Challenging Alliance." *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*. Edited by Michael George Hanchard. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999. 179-187.
- Skidmore, Thomas E. "Bi-Racial U.S.A vs. Multi-Racial Brazil: Is the Contrast Still Valid?" *Journal of Latin American Studies*. 25.2. (1993): 373-386.
- . *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- . *Uma História do Brasil*. 4^a ed. Traducido por Raul Fiker. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2003.
- Smith, Peter H. *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

------. *Talons of the Eagle: Latin America the United States and the World*. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

De Souza, Raquel Luciana. *Shifting Discourses: Exploring the Tensions between the Myth of Racial Democracy and the Implementation of Affirmative Action Policies in Brazil*. Austin: Center for Latin American Social Policy (CLASPO): 2005.

Spann, Girardeau A. *The Law of Affirmative Action: Twenty-Five Years of Supreme Court Decisions on Race and Remedies*. New York: New York University Press, 2000.

Telles, Edward Eric. "Ethnic Boundaries and Political Mobilization among African Brazilians: Comparison with the U.S. Case." *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*. Edited by Michael George Hanchard. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999. 82-97.

------. *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Tomei, Manuela. "Ação Afirmativa para a Igualdade Racial: Características, Impactos e Desafios." Geneva: Projeto Igualdade Racial, ILO, 2005.

Tostes, Marcello. "A Ação Afirmativa e os Argumentos 'Racionais'." *Indivíduo*, 2004.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Geneva: UN, 1948.

Vallejo, Henry Medina and Mary Castro Torres. *Afroecuatorianos: Un Movimiento Social Emergente*. Quito: Imprenta Gráficas Iberia, 2006.

Wade, Peter. *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America: Critical Studies on Latin America*. London; Chicago, Ill.: Pluto Press, 1997.

Yashar, Deborah J. "Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 31.1 (1998): 23-42.