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**THE REPORT COMMITTEE FOR MONIQUE H. RIBEIRO  
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**THE WHITE MEDIA: POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION, RACE, GENDER, AND  
SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN BRAZILIAN TELENOVelas**

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SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN BRAZILIAN TELENOVelas**

**BY**

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## **DEDICATION**

To Lorinete dos Santos, Maria de Lourdes Santos Wilmes, and all my ancestors

## ABSTRACT

# THE WHITE MEDIA: POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION, RACE, GENDER, AND SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN BRAZILIAN TELENOVELAS

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2010

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Brazil was the first country in South America to launch a television network and air television shows. Television programming was designed to develop national capitalism and to foster a national identity. Although Brazil is composed of an overwhelmingly large population of African descent, they are usually underrepresented in mainstream media, chiefly in *telenovelas* (soap operas). This research examines what happens when a *telenovela* attempts to portray issues of race relations and tensions in contemporary Brazil.

*Duas Caras* (“Two Faces”), a *TV Globo telenovela* aired October 1, 2007 to May 31, 2008. The show was a turning point in Brazilian programming because it was the first prime time soap opera to present audiences with an Afro-Brazilian as the main hero. It was also the first *novela das oito* (“eight o’clock” or “primetime soap opera”) to openly address racial issues through its plot and dialogue. However, in depth critical and theoretical analysis of different episodes demonstrates that instead of debunking the myth

of racial democracy, this soap opera in fact helps to further reproduce it through the portrayal of interracial relationships amongst the characters. As shown here, interracial relationships between white and Black Brazilians was used as a strategy of erasing African ancestry traits from the population through a process of whitening.

This report combines a traditional textual analysis of *Duas Caras* with theoretical frameworks about race relations, gender and anti-Black racism in Brazil. The investigation revealed how *telenovelas* contribute to social ideology and hegemonic discourses in a way that has not been properly recorded. This discussion contributes to Latin American media studies generally, and the scholarship on interracial relationships in Brazilian media particularly.

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## INTRODUCTION

Although Brazil is composed of an overwhelmingly large population of African descendants,<sup>1</sup> they are usually underrepresented in the mainstream media, particularly in *telenovelas* (soap operas). The genre has been widely popular in South American countries for the past three decades but Brazil is the largest producer of this kind of programming, Afro-descendant actors are generally seen in very small numbers and often portrayed in subordinate roles. However, with the implementation of racial quotas in 2001<sup>2</sup>, there has been a small but significant paradigm shift in the past six years. *Telenovela* authors and cast directors have been creating more central roles and themes that illuminate racial relations and tensions in the country.

One such soap opera is *Duas Caras* (“Two Faces”), which aired on *Rede Globo* network from October 1, 2007 to May 31, 2008. This *telenovela* is particularly important because it was the first primetime production on *TV Globo* to address issues of racism in Brazilian society, as well as introduce the first Black protagonist in a soap opera plot. On the surface, soap opera author Aguinaldo Silva appears to challenge the long held concept of racial democracy, the idea that racism does not exist in Brazil; Silva tackles the issue through a depiction of multiple interracial relationships throughout the plot; however this study demonstrates Silva’s shortcomings. Here, I will analyze the mainstream Brazilian

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<sup>1</sup> According to a recent report from the Rio de Janeiro Federal University, Brazil and its almost 200 million population is composed of 49.6% black or mulatto population compared to the 49.4% defined as white. The report also points out that this is set to increase in coming years with that percentage increasing to 54.

<sup>2</sup> Telles, Edward. “Brazil in Black and White: Discrimination and Affirmative Action in Brazil.” June, 2009.



media as a producer of culture and an enforcer of symbolic violence. Numerous academic works focus on race relations in Brazil, yet there is little scholarship that addresses racial ideologies within popular culture and interracial relationships in Brazilian television. In this report I argue that *telenovelas*, namely *Duas Caras*, function as a racial project by perpetuating ideologies of whitening and racial democracy, while simultaneously reinforcing Brazilian cultural hegemony. Finally, I offer a brief textual analysis of *Duas Caras* as a practical example of how these concepts and theories are reproduced in the show despite the author's efforts to debunk them. Soap operas, engrained as they are in Brazilian culture, reinforce and promote the same policy of whitening that was instituted in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the wake of slave abolition and continue to contribute to the genocide of Afro-Brazilians.

The first part of this report offers a concise look at the genealogy of Brazilian soap operas, following the trajectory from its inception in the early 1950s to the now most popular genre of programming in the country. In the second section I offer a literature review of the theoretical works that interact with media relations and issues of race and racism in Brazil. I also look at activist scholarship on Brazilian Black social movements to provide a discussion on the negative impact of soap operas on the goals and demands of Afro-Brazilian activists. Lastly, I advance my claims by presenting a textual reading of two different *Duas Caras* episodes that directly demonstrate its racist discourse.

## Telenovela Genealogy

In *Grã-finos na Globo: Cultura e Merchandising nas Novelas* (“The Affluent at Globo: Culture and Merchandising in Soap Operas”), author Roberto Ramos studies Brazilian *novelas* (short for *telenovela*) from a sociological approach. He carefully analyzes different characters, scenes, themes and the importance of merchandising in media. He believes that *novelas* are used by the media as a means “to alienate the viewers from society at large, ameliorate state apathy, and make viewers more passive, especially the uneducated ones.”<sup>3</sup> In other words, when people come home from their daily activities they turn on their TV sets as a form of entertainment and –as passive telespectators– get sucked into the messages created by *telenovelas*. However, a critical reading of *Duas Caras* challenges such scholarship.

Brazil was the first country in South America to launch a television network and air TV shows. The São Paulo network was called *TV Tupi*. According to Ramos states that the network “did not intend to promote social communication. It was designed as a necessity to develop national capitalism. Its function was to encourage material consumption in the newly industrialized nation.”<sup>4</sup> However, the owners of the network soon realized that they needed something that would catch people’s attention and ensure good ratings. In other words, they had to come up with a program that would entertain

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<sup>3</sup> Ramos, Roberto. *Grã-finos na Globo: cultura e Merchandising nas Novelas* (Brazil: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1986),

<sup>4</sup> Ramos, 50.

viewers. According to Ramos, “*TV Tupi* produced its first *radionovela*,<sup>5</sup>*Sua Vida me Pertence*, in 1951 (...) each episode lasted 15 minutes and it stayed on for three months.” Then, with the growth of multinational companies the *radionovelas* were taken to television studios. The first *telenovela* was produced by *TV Excelsior*; *2-5499 Ocupado* premiered in black and white in 1963.<sup>6</sup>

In 1962 Roberto Marinho signed a partnership contract with Time-Life Group. Then in 1964 when Brazilian society faced the turmoil of the military coup, *Rede Globo* - often called *TV Globo* or simply *Globo*-- was founded in Rio de Janeiro by Roberto Marinho and quickly became the largest network in the nation.<sup>7</sup> Today, “*TV Globo*, is the fourth largest commercial network in the world.<sup>8</sup> Their first *telenovela*, *Eu Compro Esta Mulher* was produced in 1966 by Cuban writer Gloria Magadan. The first ‘teledrama’ was not very successful. However, in 1969 *Globo* broadcasted *Véu de Noiva* by Brazilian writer Janete Clair.<sup>9</sup> The novela was a hit and it marked the beginning of *Rede Globo*’s long legacy of ‘hall of fame’ soap operas. From that point *Globo* began investing more money in the productions of *novelas* and by the 80’s the network was already famous for being the leader in television programming from 7 pm to 10 pm, Monday through Saturday, which are the times *novelas da Globo* are on the air. Today, not only is *TV Globo* “the largest television exporters within Latin America, particularly of *telenovelas*,” it is also the leading international exporter of such productions throughout

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<sup>5</sup> Radionovela, as the name suggests was aired on the radio as opposed to televisions.

<sup>6</sup> “Telenovela Brasileira: Historia,” <http://www.teledramaturgia.com.br/hi.htm> (accessed April 12, 2010).

<sup>7</sup> Ramos, 7.

<sup>8</sup> The Museum of Broadcast Communications Archives (Joseph Straubhaar)

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.teledramaturgia.com.br/hi.htm> (accessed April 12, 2010)

the world.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the image citizens around the world have of Brazil is informed by the images created in *telenovelas*. This process allows representations of Blackness to circulate globally and the content that media makers in Brazil produce has potential implications for people of African descent throughout Latin America.

In a discussion about Black representation in Brazilian soap operas, Joel Zito Araujo point out that,

In Brazil, the ideology of *branqueamento* (whitening) and the myth of racial democracy were social policies built historically to erase the African heritage, '*a mancha negra da escravidao*,<sup>11</sup>' was seen as responsible for the difficulty that Afro-Brazilians faced when building their self-esteem. (...) In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Blacks are still living with the same diminished self-image created by a negative racial identity enforced by the cultural industry in Brazil, which insists in the idea of *branqueamento*.<sup>12</sup>

Araujo contends that historically speaking, Black Brazilians have had more challenges gaining access to decent roles on TV than in movies or in theater productions. This is certainly not to suggest that the latter two have welcomed blacks with open arms. Since the 1960's anytime a Black character was portrayed in a soap opera he or she worked as a servant in a rich white person's house (or they were slaves if the role was in a colonial theme soap opera)<sup>13</sup>. Furthermore, in reference to the mere presence of Afro-Brazilians

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<sup>10</sup> Gomes, Laura. *Novela e Sociedade no Brasil*. Editora da Universidade Federal Fluminense. 1998. See also, The Museum of Broadcast Communications Archives (Straubhaar)

<sup>11</sup> Mancha negra da escravidao is a way in many Brazilians describe the long period of slavery. Literally it means "Slavery's dark/black stain"

<sup>12</sup>Araujo, Joel Zito. *A Negação do Brasil: O Negro na Telenovela Brasileira* (Brazil: Editora SENAC, 2000), 25.

<sup>13</sup> Based on personal observation.

on television screens, Araujo states, “it is important to discuss any distortions that might have damaged the process of self affirmation and self esteem of the Black population in this symbolic field, which happens everyday in the most important means of mass communication in Brazil – television” (Araujo 2000, 21).

It is only in the last decade that Blacks have finally been cast for non-stereotypical TV roles that have forced many Brazilians to redefine their assumptions about black participation in Brazilian society. In 1995, Zeze Motta, the lead actress in the original 1976 *Xica da Silva*, Antonio Pitanga, Camila Pitanga and Norton Nascimento made history in the popular TV Globo telenovela *A Próxima Vitima* (“The Next Victim”) written by Sílvio de Abreu, Alcides Nogueira e Maria Adelaide Amaral – They were the first actors to portray a middle-class Afro-Brazilian family on national TV<sup>14</sup>. Two years later, in 1997, writer Manoel Carlos premiered *Por Amor* (“For Love”). In it Black actress Maria Ceíça has a relationship with Paulo César Grande (a blond-hair, blue-eyed Brazilian actor). This was the first Rede Globo *novela* that addressed racial discrimination against people of African-descent in the country.<sup>15</sup>

In 2004, Tais Araujo, Brazil’s most recognized and best paid Black actress made history. She became the first Black woman to have a lead role on a Rede Globo soap opera. *Da Cor do Pecado* (“The Color of Sin”), aired in 2004 and was written by João Emanuel Carneiro.<sup>16</sup> In the plot, Preta (Tais Araujo) falls in love with Paco (Reynaldo Gianecchini, an Italian-Brazilian) and becomes pregnant. Paco dies before meeting his

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<sup>14</sup> [A Negacao do Brasil](#). A documentary film by Joel Z. Araujo.

<sup>15</sup> Zito, 227

<sup>16</sup> <http://redeglobo.globo.com/Dacordopecado/0,18529,3255,00.html> (accessed February 14, 2010).

son, and the plot unravels as Preta tries to prove to Afonso (Paco's father, who is also white) that the boy is his legitimate grandson.<sup>17</sup> Carneiro explores a lot of racist issues engrained in the culture and the *novela* enjoyed phenomenal success as it pulled in staggering ratings of 68% of all Brazilian viewers in its first year.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Personal observation

<sup>18</sup> <http://redeglobo.globo.com/Dacordopecado/0,18529,3255,00.html> (accessed February 14, 2010).

## ENCODING AND DECODING HEGEMONY, SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE AND CONTROLLING IMAGES

In order to better understand the relationship between media and telespectator, I draw from Stuart Hall's concepts of encoding and decoding. According to Hall, mainstream media encodes their shows with messages that remain engrained in the audience.<sup>19</sup> There is a symmetrical message transmitted by the *telenovelas* and received by the viewing audience. Hall argues that "repressed contents of culture" are subtly "disguised" in order to create symbolic meanings in the production.<sup>20</sup> In the context of my project, I believe that *novela* producers create a disguised form of racism by creating subordinate Black characters and normalizing such subordination, making Blackness synonymous with criminality, servility, hypersexuality, etc. Symmetrically speaking,<sup>21</sup> the viewer decodes the meaning from *telenovelas* as they are intentionally encoded by producers. Hall asserts that, "[a] majority of the television audience has much difficulty in [analytically] identifying the visual signs they see."<sup>22</sup> In other words, these shows are encoded with messages that being Black means being poor and the best way to gain social ascendance is through marrying a white love interest. It is also important to look at the issue from an asymmetrical perspective.<sup>23</sup> According to Hall viewers play an active and analytical role when watching television. Thus, an oppositional or active decoder

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<sup>19</sup> Hall, Stuart. Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse. University of Birmingham. 1973. 16

<sup>20</sup> Hall, 11.

<sup>21</sup> Hall calls it "dominant or hegemonic code." 16

<sup>22</sup> Hall, 12

<sup>23</sup> Hall calls this "oppositional code. 18

does not accept the images and their signs as they are presented to them. Instead, he or she “detotalizes the message in the preferred code in order to retotalize the message within some alternative framework.”<sup>24</sup> For the purposes of this research, I decoded the images as negative and racist in an effort to collaborate with ongoing efforts by both Afro-Brazilian activists and scholars to contribute to the well being of Afro-Brazilians.

An important text to this discussion is *A Negacao do Brasil: O Negro na Telenovela Brasileira*<sup>25</sup> (“The Negation of Brazil: Blacks in Brazilian Soap Operas), by Brazilian filmmaker Araujo. This book contributes to the debate about the impact of the media on everyday life and the lack of diversity in *telenovelas*. Araujo provides a great deal of historical background on the overall disenfranchisement of Afro-Brazilian actors and furthers his discussion by providing an analysis of the stereotypical roles often offered to said actors. Despite the immense contribution Araujo makes to Brazilian television studies, one of the major gaps in his scholarship is the lack of a theoretical framework to guide the issues he raises. Thus, in order to close this gap I will use Antonio Gramsci’s concept of hegemony and Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of symbolic violence in order to argue that the media is another site of domination within the state. My research also challenges Araujo’s work by engaging with Abdias do Nascimento’s work *Brazil: Mixture or Massacre* and Jared Sexton’s *Amalgamation Schemes* in order to understand the pernicious project of whitening that is stitched in the fabric of Brazilian

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>25</sup> Araujo, Joel Zito. *A Negação do Brasil: O Negro na Telenovela Brasileira* (Brazil: Editora SENAC, 2000)



discourses of harmonious miscegenation and racial democracy and how that is perpetuated in programs like *Duas Caras*.

Before discussing exactly how racial hegemony is reproduced through the Brazilian media it is necessary to understand what hegemony is and how it functions. Hegemony can be understood as the social, cultural, ideological, or economic influence exerted by a dominant group (Williams, 1977). In Brazil, as in most societies, this dominant group is the white elite, white men being at the top of the pyramid. Thus the influences exerted are their ideal of what Brazil should look like and how its citizens should behave. Although the definition calls our attention to a given dominant group, it is essential to distinguish *domination*, or rule, from *hegemony*. Quoting Raymond Williams' paraphrasing of Gramsci, he clarifies that "Gramsci made a distinction between 'rule' (*dominio*) and 'hegemony'. 'Rule' is expressed [...] in times of crisis by direct and effective coercion."<sup>26</sup> Contrary to that, hegemony does not require the use of direct force. Through hegemony, the dominant group [rich whites] exerts their power over the subaltern [Blacks and other groups of low social status] by imposing their cultural norms. One of the ways in which that is done is through the media.

The white elite owns Brazilian mainstream media, including *TV Globo*. Whenever a new soap opera is aired, its author makes his or her rounds in different television shows, magazines, and newspapers in order to publicize the new production. Watching these interviews it, it becomes clear that that Brazil does not have any Black scriptwriters,

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<sup>26</sup> Raymond Williams. *Marxism and Literature*. 1977. 108.

which complicates the situation,<sup>27</sup> leaving white men and women to construct Blackness according in whatever way they see fit. This way, the dominant class controls what types of ideas are produced in television shows, namely *telenovelas*. As Sander Gilman suggests, “specific individual realities are thus given mythic extension through association with the qualities of a class. These realities [are] ... composed of fragments of the real world, perceived through the ideological bias of the observer.”<sup>28</sup> In the imagination or creative process of writing a *telenovela* storyline, white scriptwriters do not allow much space for representations of Black power, whether social, capital, or cultural. It should not be any surprise that “whites appear in disproportionately high numbers as figures of authority and examples of beauty in the Brazilian media.”<sup>29</sup> Because of that the audience is bombarded with images and values of whiteness, and Afro-Brazilians, for the most part, do not have a diverse set of images to relate to or emulate. This control over the images seen on television gives the white bourgeoisie the power to circulate their ideologies (i.e.: racial democracy) to socially subordinate groups. Scholar Liv Sovik when she states that, “hegemonic discourse affirms *mestiçagem* both as a primary national characteristic and as a token of Brazilian openness to non-racialism and multiplicity.”<sup>30</sup> However, the affirmation of *mestiçagem* (racial mixing) simply valorizes whitening or white mixing. There is no hegemonic discourse in Brazil that promotes Black-Indigenous mixing, for instance. Consequently, non-whites are

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<sup>27</sup> After searching in numerous sources I was unsuccessful at finding a Black roteirista

<sup>28</sup> Sander L. Gilman. “Black Bodies, White Bodies.” pp. 223.

<sup>29</sup> Liv Sovik. “We are Family: Whiteness in the Brazilian Media.” *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*.2004. 315

<sup>30</sup> Sovik, 315

socialized to believe that dominant social and cultural norms are natural.<sup>31</sup> In her essay, “Genre and Gender: The Case of Soap Opera,” Christine Gladhill states that “hegemony is won in the to-and-fro of negotiation between competing social, political, and ideological forces through which power is contested, shifted, or reformed.”<sup>32</sup> As we can see, hegemony operates in a much more covert fashion than forceful domination. Hegemony is a contradictory, fraught process that is constantly being challenged by communities who perpetually organize to disrupt and push back against the existing hegemony, while the dominant class must work to reconstitute new hegemonic processes, which brings us to the issue of symbolic violence and how such process of violence is exerted by the media.

The concept of symbolic violence was first introduced by French anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu. The term refers to the unspoken, almost unconscious method of domination, be it cultural, economic, or social. It is so subtle that in general, subjects are unaware that it takes place in everyday life. According to Bourdieu, it is "a power which presupposes recognition," that is a “hidden ... gentle, invisible form of violence, which is never recognized as such.”<sup>33</sup> In other words, misrecognition by the masses is one of the key elements necessary for symbolic violence to take place, because it allows acts of symbolic violence to hide within the dominant discourse. Due to the subtle nature of symbolic violence, it is closely linked to hegemony.

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<sup>31</sup> Christine Gladhill. “Genre and Gender: The Case of Soap Opera.” *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*. 1997. 347-8

<sup>32</sup> Gladhill, 348

<sup>33</sup> Pierre Bourdieu. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. 1977. 192. Also, *Language & Symbolic Power*. 1991

Considering that soap operas are so engrained in Brazilian culture, these teledramas provide a vehicle for symbolic violence to enter the homes of thousands of Black families every night when men and women sit in front of their TVs to consume the messages encoded in the soap operas. Since symbolic violence is unseen and unspoken, telenovelas have the power to affect how people think of themselves and their sense of self-esteem. According to Sander L. Gilman, “visual conventions [are] the primary means by which we perceive and transmit our understanding of the world about us.”<sup>34</sup> As I will discuss in a following section, Aguinaldo Silva partakes in this process of symbolic violence through the hidden message that Black love, specifically Black heterosexual unions must be avoided, suggesting that racial mixing is the ideal model of racial progress. According to Bourdieu, the longer this process of symbolic violence is veiled from and left unchallenged, the more powerful it is in maintaining class dominance and delaying the process of liberation.

But symbolic violence is complicated and difficult to challenge precisely because it is not openly talked about, much like the issue of covert racism in Brazil. In her book *Dreaming Equality: Color, Race, and Racism in Urban Brazil*, Robin Sheriff draws a parallel between the legend of Anastácia,<sup>35</sup> and the silence practiced by most Afro-Brazilians regarding racism. Anastácia was an enslaved African woman, who according to popular folklore, possessed healing powers and performed miracles in the slave

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<sup>34</sup> Gilman, 223. Here Gilman briefly summarizes the debate between E. H. Gombrich and Nelson Goodman.

<sup>35</sup> The slave who had a *mordaça* placed around her face by her white slave owner in order to keep her from speaking.

quarters by helping other African slaves escape the plantation. For that reason, Anastácia was punished by being forced to wear an iron facemask collar, restraining her from speaking.<sup>36</sup> In interpreting her informants' silence on the issues of racism and narratives about racism, Sheriff writes, "her silence [Anastácia's] is directly linked to the overwhelming force of domination ... Anastácia's story is thus analogous to the concealment of contemporary forms of racism, forms said to be ... *embaixo do pano* (under the cloth), and *mascarado* (masked)."<sup>37</sup> The concealment of racism and other social issues pertaining to the Afro-Brazilian experience is transferred to television screens, aiding the process of symbolic violence.

Let us first explore the way hegemony and symbolic violence affect Black women's body in Brazil. Here I use Patricia Hill Collin's *Black Feminist Thought* and apply it to Brazilian *telenovelas*. Although her book is primarily a study of Black culture and womanhood in the United States, I find that many of the issues she explores are also present in Brazil. For the purposes of this report, I chose to focus on Collin's discussion of "Mammies, Matriarchs, and Other Controlling Images." Collins posits that Black women often live with quotidian restriction and oppression because of interpellation or external definitions of black womanhood expressed through controlling images.<sup>38</sup> Television shows is one space where these stereotypes or controlling images are created. Collins suggests that stereotypes can function to (1) conceal or normalize oppression by

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<sup>36</sup> There are many versions of Anastácia's legend in Brazil. This is the version I often heard my grandmother and great-grandmother, who was a slave until the age of fourteen, tell my cousins and me when we were growing up.

<sup>37</sup> Robin Sheriff. *Dreaming Equality: Color, Race, and Racism in Urban Brazil*. 2001. 154.

<sup>38</sup> Patricia Hill Collins. *Black Feminist Thought* (2000 [1990]).

giving the impression that it is something that the oppressed person wants to do or something that comes from the oppressed person's nature and (2) they can serve to coerce people into acting in certain ways. Therefore, the production of controlling images is part of the hegemonic system embedded in soap operas.

In Brazil, the image of the jezebel, the 'hoochie' who's sexual desires are often unsatiable, is normally given to the hypersexualized *mulata*. As previously mentioned, a vast majority of novela scriptwriters are white men, so when a Black actress gets a role in a soap opera, she is acting out a white patriarchal text. And in instances when the *roteirista* (scriptwriter) is a white woman, the said actress will likely be acting out womanhood according to white female standards.

Brazilian scholar Sueli Carneiro speaks of this hegemonic commonsense of whitening in her essay, "Mulheres em movimento" ("Women in Movement"). She states, "These are the effects of the hegemony of whitening in the social imaginary and in concrete social relations. It is an invisible violence that contains a negative balance for the subjectivity of Black women, which slips into their affectionate [lives] and sexuality" (Carneiro, 2003, 130). Carneiro proceeds to emphasize that as a result of hegemonic European standards of beauty that are prevalent in Brazil, Black women face a higher degree of limitations, since sexual attraction is often saturated with racialized models. Here I contend that mass media is the primary entity that promotes such racialized models, making it difficult to dismantle the racist ideologies that make up the Brazilian social fabric. In fact, Carneiro assures us that "mass media creates an interference space for the political agenda of Black women's social movements" (Carneiro, 2003, 132).

Television plays a central role in shaping the images and giving meaning to Afro-Brazilian women.

In her discussion of African American popular culture and the influence of hip hop lyrics, music videos, and television shows Patricia Hill Collins notes that, “African American youth, in particular, can no longer depend on a deeply textured web of families, churches, [...] and other community organizations to help them negotiate the challenges of social inequality. Mass media fills this void” (Collins, 2004, 121). Although Collins’ argument centers on African Americans, her critique of mass media influence can be applied trans-diasporically to Afro-Brazilians. She continues by stating, “Because of its authority to shape perceptions of the world, global mass media circulates images of Black femininity and Black masculinity, and in doing so, ideologies of race, gender, sexuality, and class” (Collins, 122). This is not to say that individuals are not critical and do not have free will but it is important to understand that mass media is a powerful vehicle in the dissemination of ideologies such as racial democracy to the public; it comes to shape racial commonsense in profound and pervasive ways.

It is critical to understand that the ideologies of racial democracy and whitening go hand in hand in Brazil. Whitening is a necessary process for the realization of racial democracy; the two cannot be separated. Particularly because racial miscegenation was a forced process in Brazil with the intention to wipe out Afro-Brazilians (Nascimento, 1989), racial democracy is in itself a racist racial project; the word *democracy* is very deceiving in this context, since Blacks did not voluntarily choose to engage in interracial sex, but the national ideal of miscegenation was produced through the sexual exploitation

of enslaved Black women (Ibid). The idea of racial democracy, thus, was born out of a tradition of rape of Black women's bodies.

In his book *Brazil, Mixture or Massacre?* Brazilian scholar and activist Abdias do Nascimento reminds us that, “the myth [of racial democracy] has become one of the most deeply ingrained elements of Brazilian social consciousness, since the entire educational system, mass communications media ... and other agents influencing public opinion all work to sustain it” (viii). According to Nascimento, the practice miscegenation, or mixing, plays a part in the genocide of Afro-Brazilians and this racist national project was aided by the inception of an immigration law passed shortly after the abolition of slavery, that welcomed the massive entrance of Europeans (mainly Italians and Germans) into Brazil. Newly arrived Italian and German immigrants were granted jobs that were denied to freed African slaves (Nascimento, 1989). If we refer to the United Nations definition of genocide, where “genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group,<sup>39</sup>” it becomes clear that when telenovelas, namely *Duas Caras*, insist on portraying Brazil as a racial democracy through the depiction of interracial relationships as linked to upward social mobility, they are contributing to the genocidal project of whitening and destruction of Afro-Brazilian citizens.

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<sup>39</sup> <http://www.hrweb.org/legal/genocide.html>. The complete list of genocidal acts, according to the U.N., can be found in the appendix.



## **The Negative Impact of *Telenovelas* on Black Social Movements**

The early and mid 1980's marked the transition from military dictatorship to a democratic government in Brazil providing an opening for political mobilization around human rights. Afro-Brazilian activists seized this opportunity and fought to ensure that the new democratic government considered issues affecting Blacks on a daily basis. Influenced by anti-racist struggles in Africa and the United States, Black social movements in Brazil, along with others, emerged in the late 1970's. The fundamental goals of the Movimento Negro Unificado (MNU – “United Black Movement”), the “umbrella” Black political organization in Brazil, are to permanently denounce all forms of racism, to promote Black consciousness, to organize Black communities, and to develop a political project from the standpoint of Afro-Brazilian citizens.

The purpose of this section is to explore how the representation of Black subjects in the Brazilian media, specifically within *telenovelas*, poses a challenge to the materialization of a Black political agenda, as pointed out by Sueli Carneiro. *Telenovelas*, as ingrained as they are in Brazilian society, provides the perfect site for the analysis of the role of the media in perpetuating white supremacy in Brazil. Due to the pernicious nature of the media in Brazil, I explore how these television shows have served to weaken or dull the political sensibilities of the activists in the MNU and its entities. I am interested in investigating how the saturation of certain image representations in these

television shows have neutralized the critical impact of Black social movements in Brazil by reinforcing Brazilian cultural hegemony.

Approved by the National Congress in 1990, the preamble of the MNU opens up with the following statement: “The process of sophistication and intensification of racist mechanisms elicits a radical change in the forms of struggle. **It is necessary for Black people to react to racial violence**” (Covin 2006, 206 – original emphasis). In the following pages of the twelve-page constitution, the document clearly defines the nature and priorities of the organization; this report focuses on three of said priorities<sup>40</sup>,

1. The end of political manipulation of Black culture.
2. The end of racial violence in the means of communication.
3. [The end of] sexual, social, and economic exploitation of the Black woman.

Although the second statement is the most pertinent for the purposes of this paper, it is important to understand the symbolic violence present in the mainstream media as a form of racial violence and the white control within media spaces as a manipulation of popular culture, Black culture included. As stated, the goal of the MNU is to fight against racial discrimination and to raise the level of Black empowerment (politically, culturally, socially, and educationally), but how difficult is it to achieve that goal when virtually every form of Brazilian cultural manifestations depicted in mainstream media are coded with covertly, and often overtly, racist messages and images?

Naturally Black women’s movement deals with similar issues. Like the Black feminist movement in the United States, the Black women’s movement in Brazil addresses the intersectionality of race, class, and gender present in their lives. As

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid

illustrated by Kia Lilly Caldwell, the Black women's movement has struggled to recreate citizenship rights in Brazil in four ways: "[1] by constructing a collective social identity for Black women that contests their ... marginalization; [2] by constructing a collective political identity through the process of ... becoming recognized as active agents in Brazilian society; [3] through efforts to claim space within ... public sphere; and [4] through the process of becoming of becoming citizens by affirming the 'right to have rights'" (Caldwell 2007, 150). As previously mentioned, the end of the military regime gave Afro-Brazilians –men and women– the opportunity to create a space where they could redesign the role of Blackness and citizenship; such task was inconceivable before the democratization of the nation. However, a close look at popular culture vis-à-vis television shows demonstrates the degree to which white owned media is disinterested in supporting the agenda of the Black movement. In fact, as I demonstrate in this paper, television shows in Brazil are tools of the conservative white elite that does the job of reproducing the legacy of racist ideologies such as racial democracy and whitening.

### **Shutting down the alternative**

Jose de Paula Neto, a famous Afro-Brazilian singer also known as Netinho, attempted to address the issue of discrimination in the media by creating the first television network developed to service the large population of African descent. On November 20, 2005, his *TV da Gente* (The People's TV) went on air in three cities: São Paulo, Bahia, and Fortaleza. In an interview with the Los Angeles Times, Netinho "the founder and principle owner of *TV da Gente* admits that **the creation of the station was**

**an activist move.** He fronted most of the \$5.2 million needed to keep the station afloat. Investors from Angola ... fronted the rest.<sup>41</sup>” However, less than two years later, by February 2007, Netinho was not able to attract enough advertisers and investors to keep the network on the air. He was attacked by many conservatives who believed the initiative was racist. In an interview to “Oh my news,” an Internet based newspaper, Flavio Porcello, a Brazilian journalist and TV educator, asserted that “If people are equal, independent of color, why does a TV channel show only people of one color? The initiative is dangerous; therefore, it can stimulate racial preconceptions.” Additionally, another interviewee voiced his discomfort with the *TV da Gente* saying, "If there is a channel only for white people, it would be racism! A magazine only for the black race is a victory. A magazine only for whites is racism.<sup>42</sup>” Simplistically put, aside from being ridiculous statements, the interviewees demonstrate a lack of critical consciousness. It is obvious that Afro-Brazilians are *not* equal and all of the television channels and magazines (with the exception of *Raça*, a monthly magazine focusing on Afro-Brazilian lifestyle) are indeed white. They just do not need to advertise themselves as all white media outlets because their overrepresentation in the national media has been normalized.

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<sup>41</sup> <http://www.latimes.com/business/custom/cotown/la-fg-blacktv12jan12,1,6849377.story?coll=la-headlines-business-enter&ctrack=1&cset=true> (Accessed March 10, 2010)

<sup>42</sup> [http://english.ohmynews.com/articleview/article\\_view.asp?menu=c10400&no=269277&rel\\_no=1](http://english.ohmynews.com/articleview/article_view.asp?menu=c10400&no=269277&rel_no=1) (Accessed on 3/10/10).

## *DUAS CARAS: A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS*

I now turn to the analysis of two short clips from the *telenovela Duas Caras*, a primetime production aired by *Rede Globo* from October 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007 until May 31<sup>st</sup>, 2008 (totaling 210 episodes). *Duas Caras* was written by Aguinaldo Silva, and directed by Cláudio Boeckel and Wolf Maya. Maya was also the casting director.<sup>43</sup> It is important to note that all three are white Brazilian men.

Although the television drama dealt with a large number of issues present in Brazilian society, such as surgical face alteration (hence the title), drug and alcohol abuse, violence against children, polygamy, among others, I chose to focus on their themes of racism and romances between characters of different social classes and races. Unlike the U.S., in Brazil Black characters are not normally portrayed in relation to their life in the “ghetto,” Afro-Brazilian characters are neither depicted as victims of social oppressions nor do they “bravely rise above” their social conditions, as Sasha Torres’ argues in her essay “Television and Race.”<sup>44</sup> Instead, Black characters are happy with their unequal social conditions and often times their sole role is to service their white counterparts, much like nineteenth century minstrel shows in the U.S., Brazilian soap

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<sup>43</sup> <http://duascaras.globo.com/>. Also <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/ilustrada/ult90u371923.shtml>

<sup>44</sup> Sasha Torres, “Television and Race,” 395.

operas “obscures these relations [of racial oppression] by pretending that [it is] amusing, right, and natural.”<sup>45</sup>

According to the show’s official website, *Duas Caras* had an exact cast of one hundred actors, only fifteen of the characters were played by Black actors (nine of whom were women and six men), thus composing fifteen percent of the cast. It is worth pointing out that one of the Black actresses was not actually listed in the cast list, even though her character, Priscila, was present in a number of episodes including the wedding episode, which I analyze here. Therefore, I include Luciana Barbosa in the total Black character count.

With the exception of the character Rudolf Stenzel, a biracial university student, all of the Black characters live in the fictional community *Favela de Portelinha* (“Portelinha Slum”). It is worth mentioning that there is a large white population living in the fictional *Favela da Portelinha*; however, in reality statistics prove that there are disproportionately more Blacks living in *favelas* than whites (Telles, 2004). In the drama they all perform subordinate service jobs. In short, most of the women work as house maids for their white counterparts, two of the older women are *mães de santo* (Candomblé priestesses), one is a dancer at a gentlemen’s club, and all of them, except for the *mães de santo*, are portrayed as a sexual object. Collins suggests that elite groups control the images we hold of Black women in order to exert their power over Black women’s lives and naturalize racialized relations of power. In quoting Hazel Carby, she states that, “the objective of stereotypes is not to reflect or represent a reality but to

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<sup>45</sup> Eric Lott, “Love and Theft: The Racial Unconscious of Blackface Minstrelsy,” 23.

function as a disguise, or mystification of objective social relations.”<sup>46</sup> Kia Lilly Caldwell provides an excellent example of how these stereotypes play in the lives of women in Brazil. In her book *Negras in Brazil*, Caldwell talks about the large numbers of Black women working as domestic workers and how they are systematically kept out of other areas of more gainful employment. Such systematic disadvantage is justified by social stereotypes maintained by hegemonic consensus. For instance, Caldwell offers a close look at the song “Veja os cabelos dela” (“Look at Her Hair”), which is written and recorded by Tiririca, a former circus clown, and distributed by Sony Music.<sup>47</sup> The lyrics in the song point out a Black woman’s hair that “looks like *bombril*” (“brillo”) and whose body odor “smells worse than a skunk.”<sup>48</sup> When Black activists confronted the racist song they were accused of “exaggerating” because the song was merely “a joke.” According to one of Caldwell’s interviewees, “the popular acceptance of symbolic violence against black women delegitimizes efforts to denounce it” (Caldwell 2007, 85). Thus we can see how violence against Black women is naturalized through media representations that devalue their lives. If we return to Carby’s mention of the word “mystification,” it becomes particularly interesting for the discussion of the hypersexualization of Black women’s bodies, especially in Brazil where the mystic idea of the hypersexualized *mulata* (mulatto women) is very present in the culture. In contrast, the white women characters in *Duas Caras* play more diverse roles, where some white women are poor, some hold financial power, some are seductresses, some are not, some

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<sup>46</sup> Collins, 69 (Quoting Hazel Carby 1987, 22)

<sup>47</sup> Caldwell 2007, 82.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. Translated by Caldwell.

work, others are stay at home wives. We do not see the same myriad of representations of Black women in this soap opera. I shall return to this point later, for now it is critical to understand the social impact of narrow and stereotypical representations of Blackness in these telenovelas.

Although I refrain from delving into an analysis of Black men in soap operas, it is worth mentioning that the pattern of limited representations holds true for the male characters. Aside from Rudolf, all of the men work in service to the white characters holding positions such as a mechanic, a carpenter, a driver, or simply as the ‘right hand’ of the boss. In his book *Pluralismo Étnico e Multiculturalismo: Racismos e Anti-Racismos no Brasil*, Jacques D’Adesky offers an interesting insight regarding the role of Afro-Brazilian actors in the media. He writes,

Blacks are almost invisible in the soap operas and television series religiously watched by Brazilian families. Aside from rare exceptions, they do not exist as the protagonists within the central plot. Outside of the genre of historical soap operas specifically about Blacks, the latter are only represented in relation to whites. The sole reason of the Black [characters] is to simply support the central plot, be it by portraying exotic images (...) or by playing trivial roles, such as drivers or delinquents.<sup>49</sup>

Although *Duas Caras* has an unusually large Black cast compared to the Brazilian norm, the characters do not perform any positions of power or play authority figures; rather they continue the performance of subaltern roles in the plot. The one exception is

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<sup>49</sup> Jacques D’Adesky. *Pluralismo Étnico e Multiculturalismo: Racismos e Anti-Racismos no Brasil*. 89



the character Evilasio, who is a loyal assistant to Juvenal Antena, the white boss who founded and runs *Favela da Portelinha* and is the president of its *associação de moradores* (community association). At the end of the soap opera's ten month run, Evilasio takes Juvenal's position and becomes himself the *associação de moradores's* president but that also happens after Evilasio falls in love and begins living with Julia, a rich white woman, with whom he eventually fathers a child with and marries on the last episode.

Due to a lack of access to *Duas Caras* in its entirety, the episodes I review in this report are short clips found on the Internet. The first clip I examine here is a love scene between Evilasio and Julia. The conversation that precedes the first time they were intimate with one another is juvenile but full of racial undertones. We see the room that Julia rents in someone's *favelas* home; however, Julia is only renting the room while she shoots a documentary in the *favela*, her "real" house is located in a upper-middle class neighborhood.<sup>50</sup> Julia straightens up the place, dims down the lights, and lights candles as she waits for Evilasio's arrival. When he shows up, she jumps in his arms, wraps her legs around him, and eagerly kisses him. After Evilasio compliments her on the place she says, "can you believe the sofa turns into a bed, just in case someone needs to sleep here?" She opens the sofa bed for Evilasio to try it and they both sit on the edge, commenting how comfortable it is. When Evilasio lies down and says he is tired and needs to take a nap Julia gets mad and tells him that if he wants to sleep then he might as

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<sup>50</sup> A primeira vez entre Julia e Evilásio (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cnnZ0tAIUmM>).

well go home. At this point he starts kissing her passionately; the two undress and have sex for the first time.

Although the scene is what one would typically see in a romantic sequence, there seems to be an emphasis on the character's different skin colors, as there are many short close ups on their hands and legs on top of each other. Evilasio pauses mid-kiss and states, "Não acredito que você vai mesmo ser minha, minha branquinha" ("I cannot believe you are really going to be mine, my little whitey"). To which Julia replies: "Eu já sou sua, meu negão gostosão" ("I am already yours, my big tasty Black man")<sup>51</sup>. The following shot the two are lying in bed and Julia declares that she does not ever want to go back home, Evilasio then points out that if she does not return that her father will send the elite [police] squad to rescue her [from him]. The added dialogue serves to complement the racial emphasis seen from the camera angles.

In her essay "Black Women's Identity in Brazil," Sueli Carneiro provides a criticism to "the sexual appropriation of the white woman by the Black man<sup>52</sup>" as a means of social upward mobility. Carneiro applies Joel Rufino's argument that "this [sexual appropriation] is a subterfuge that disguises the Black man's use of the white woman's aesthetic and social primacy as collateral ... to satisfy his desire for belonging ... in a world restricted to white men<sup>53</sup>". Therefore, sexually objectifying a white woman's body demonstrates an affiliation with the dominant white culture while simultaneously contributes to the devalorization of Black women's bodies. However,

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid

<sup>52</sup> Sueli Carneiro. "Black Women's Identity in Brazil." *Race in Contemporary Brazil*. Pp. 222.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid

Carneiro reminds us that, “a black man in Brazil, no matter how famous, no matter how great, his social ascent, has no real power... whatever power the black man exercises, he exercises it only by delegation of white men, who can dismiss him at any time.”<sup>54</sup> In *Duas Caras*, Barreto, Julia’s father, does not accept or recognize his daughter’s relationship with a Black man and at the end both Evilasio and Julia live together in the favela. Although Evilasio is elected the president of the *associação de moradores* at *Favela da Portelinha*, I posit that Barreto’s denouncement of this interracial marriage keeps Evilasio from experiencing upward social mobility, providing evidence to Carneiro’s argument.

The following clip that is important to this discussion is the customary wedding episode. It is comparatively shorter than the previous clip and does not contain extensive dialogue. Traditionally speaking, every single soap opera on *TV Globo* has a wedding on the last episode, where all of the characters are happy and friendly toward one another, despite what type of relationship they may have had throughout the plot. The paramount theme to emphasize in this sequence is that depicts a collective wedding of eleven couples (a massive community-type wedding ceremony), which is rather unusual in the genre<sup>55</sup>. Also unusual, is the fact that the ceremony does not take place in a typical lavish setting, but at *Favela da Portelinha*, instead. Out of the eleven couples, five were biracial; five were white, but only one represented the union of a Black man and a Black woman. The scene is encoded with the message of racial democracy and whitening, in

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid

<sup>55</sup>*Duas Caras* – Casamento Coletivo na Portelinha.

which the underlying statement the author makes is that Blacks should ‘marry up’ by marrying a white person, thus contributing to and insisting on the project of whitening Brazil.

In reality, majority of heterosexual Brazilians do not intermarry and prefer to have a partner of the same race. In her article “‘Interracial’ Sex and Racial Democracy in Brazil,” Donna Goldstein notes that according to a survey on *Veja*, a weekly news magazine in Brazil, “53% of white Brazilians preferred a white marriage partner” (Goldstein 1999, 566). And although 14% of Black survey participants “preferred a white partner,” 37% marked that they prefer a Black marriage partner. Even though the author of *Duas Caras* promotes interracial partnership, Goldstein employs a study by Hasenbalg et al. (1992) to show that “in Rio de Janeiro, ‘same-race’ unions are more common than not” (Goldstein 1999, 568).

## CONCLUSION

In this report I presented the argument that Brazilian mainstream media, specifically the *telenovela Duas Caras*, is invested in the protection and reproduction of white privilege through their continuous representations of Afro-Brazilians as a subordinate group and by being a hegemonic vehicle to a white supremacist racial project<sup>56</sup> that emphasizes whitening through the continuous depictions of interracial relationships, while showing virtually no Black couples throughout the episodes. Linking Stuart Hall's concept of decoding media images, Antonio Gramsci's model of hegemony, and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence, I showed the ways in which *telenovelas* are detrimental to the welfare of Blacks in Brazil. By using Abdias do Nascimento's framework of genocide, I brought to light how the discourse of Afro-Brazilians continuous mixing with whites is not an indication of Brazil's racial democracy, as many have argued, but a reflection of the more pernicious racial project of the whitening and erasure of Afro-Brazilian peoples. In an interview to *O Globo* newspaper,<sup>57</sup> Afro-Brazilian actress Cris Vianna, who plays a maid in *Duas Caras*, affirms that it is great that a primetime soap opera has so many Black actors, but that we still have a long way to go before achieving equality. Vianna is absolutely right, because visibility does not necessarily translate into social, cultural, and political freedom or

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<sup>56</sup> Howard Winant. "Racism Today: Continuity and Change in the Post-Civil Rights Era." 1998.

<sup>57</sup> Interview on March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2008. <http://ego.globo.com/Gente/Noticias/0,,MUL359394-9798,00.html>  
Retrieved on December 14, 2008.

meaningful access to power. The same can be said about all of the social advancements made by Afro-Brazilians in the struggle for true liberation. To accomplish that, we must all be active viewers, active in our communities, active citizens. We must continue the fight to end the tradition of silence regarding the social issues that have been destroying Black communities and Black bodies since slavery. Black activist struggle against the hegemonic discourse that denigrates Blackness and overvalues whiteness so they are faced with the challenge of producing a counter-hegemony that affirms Blackness to an audience (of all races) that has often internalized the values of anti-Black racism propagated in mainstream television programming and other areas of Brazilian popular culture. As pointed out earlier, silence only contributes to the perpetuation of symbolic violence against Afro-Brazilians and the continued position of power enjoyed by the white elite. With that said, in this report I dispute Sheriff's argument that silence can be viewed as a strategy of resistance<sup>58</sup>. Invoking Audre Lorde's moving words in her poem "A Litany for Survival," "and when we speak we are afraid/our words will not be heard/nor welcomed/but when we are silent/we are still afraid/ So it is better to speak/remembering/we were never meant to survive."<sup>59</sup> Black peoples and activists must continue to challenge silence and to demand our rights as human beings because in this matter, silence is not a form of resistance.

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<sup>58</sup> Sheriff 2001, 83.

<sup>59</sup> Audre Lorde. *The Black Unicorn: Poems*. "A Litany for Survival." 1995.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A

#### Diversity of Actors in *TV Globo's telenovelas*<sup>60</sup>

<i>Novelas</i>	Year	Total #	# Black Actors	% Black Actors
Mulheres de areia	1993	34	1	2.9
O mapada mina	1993	35	-	-
Renascer	1993	36	8	22.2
Sonhomeu	1993	21	-	-
Olho no Olho	1993	30	-	-
Feraferida	1993	31	-	-
Tropicaliente	1994	34	-	-
A viagem	1994	30	5	16.6
Patria minha	1994	40	4	10
Quatro por Quatro	1994	35	1	2.8
Irmaos Coragem	1995	22	4	18.1
A proxima vitima	1995	30	6	20
Historia de amor	1995	42	3	7.1

<sup>60</sup> Source: Centro Brasileiro de Informacao e Documentacao do Artista Negro (CIDAN) as found in D'Adesky, 2001.

Cara e coroa	1995	26	1	3.8
Explode coracao	1995	49	-	-
Quem e voce	1996	22	2	9
Viralata	1996	21	1	4.7
O rei do gado	1996	24	2	8.3
Anjo de mim	1996	27	1	3.7
Salsa e merengue	1996	51	3	5.9
A indomada	1997	35	7	20
O amor esta no ar	1997	29	-	-
Zaza	1997	25	1	4
Por amor	1997	66	4	6
Anjo meu	1997	35	4	11.4
<b>Total</b>		<b>830</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>7.9</b>

Source: Centro Brasileiro de Informação e Documentação do Artista Negro (CIDAN)



## **Appendix B**

### Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide

#### **Article 2**

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

## Appendix C

### *Duas Caras* Photo Gallery

Source: *Globo.com* photo gallery.



Caption: “Briga de perigete” Hoochies fight for a [white] man



Sabrina (house maid) with her boss, Barretinho. After continuous sexual harassment, which the male character calls “perseverance,” the two end together (he interrupted her wedding with her fiancé, Miguel, a black character.)



Evilasio and Julia get married after Julia gives birth to his child.



Here we can see three of the biracial couples  
From the wedding episode.

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## VITA

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