Understanding How Parents in Brazil Classify their Children

Note from Author: This paper is a research proposal I wrote for a class I took in Spring 2013 with Dr. Leticia Marteleto. Currently, Dr. Leticia Marteleto, Katherine Jensen, a fellow graduate student at UT-Austin, and I are working on developing the project further. At the point we are at now, I can only share this proposal, which outlines the literature and our hypotheses. By the time PAA comes around I will have preliminary results to present.

Topic: Affirmative Action; Racial Identities in Brazil; Racial Labeling Process; Class; Gender; Education; Family

Introduction:

The construction of race and ethnicity in Brazil is a fluid process that has been shown to vary with the political/social climate of the country (Marx 1998; Telles 2004; Bailey and Telles 2006; Schwartzman 2007; Bailey 2008; Marteleto 2012). In August 2012 President Dilma Rousseff signed a bill making it mandatory for all federal universities in Brazil to reserve 50% of the places in each degree program for students graduating from public schools according to their family incomes and their ethnic profile[1], and giving them four years to implement the programs[2]. This bill is a historic moment for Brazil that is reflective of both a government and a society willing to remedy the disadvantages associated with class and race/ethnicity. Therefore, we propose a study that utilizes a mixed-method approach to study how families navigate the process of racially classifying their children. By focusing on parent's choices of how they label their children we can gain an understanding of how Brazilians think about race and its inheritability (Schwartzman 2007).

The intention of this study is to expand on Leticia Marteleto's (2012) article entitled *Educational Inequality by Race in Brazil, 1982-2007: Structural Changes and Shifts in Racial Classification* to further test the observed trend of "darkening with education". The goal of the study is two-fold. First, to construct an in-depth understanding of how mixed-race families navigate the racial classification process of their children, utilizing qualitative methodology. The second is to utilize a logit model to analyze a nationally representative dataset of children

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[1] Self declared descendants of blacks and Brazilian natives
[2] www.insidehighered.com

between the ages of zero and seven, pulled from the household survey PNAD in the years 2001-2009, to study what affects the probability of a mix-race family labeling their child *preto*. Moreover, the intention of this research is not to understand the impact race-based policies have on the racial labeling process of Brazilian children, but to take this historical opportunity to gain an in-depth understanding of the process. This is why it is methodologically prudent to adopt a mixed-approach to disentangle the micro- and macro-factors associated with the racial labeling process of children. Therefore, the question guiding this research is: how do families in Brazil navigate the process of racially classifying their children? Moreover, what role does gender, class, family structure and education play within the process?

While there is previous research demonstrating changes in Brazilian racial identity, the general question of why and how still remains. Scholars have researched changes in the process of self-labeling amongst young adults (Francis and Tannuri-Pianto 2010; Francis and Tannuri-Pianto 2012; Bailey 2008; Bailey and Telles 2006), but without teasing out specific factors associated with the process. There is a lack of an in-depth understanding on why education has been found to be associated with a higher likelihood of labeling children as *preto* (Marteleto 2012); as well as why SES is associated with labeling children as *branco* (Schwartzman 2007; Francis and Tannuri-Pianto 2010); and why gender is associated as well (Francis and Tannuri-Pianto 2010; Bailey and Telles 2006). Therefore a large question still remains to be answered. Are families changing the way they racially label their children in light of race-based policies or will we see in families a process reflective of a changing society? This proposed research attempts to answer this larger question by focusing on the family unit to gain an in-depth understanding on the choices parents make in classifying their children.

The rest of this proposal is organized into three sections, not including the introduction. The first section will discuss previous research with the goal of constructing the conceptual framework of this research. The second section will be a discussion of data and methods. The final section will be the conclusion, where I will outline our hypotheses.

Previous Research and Conceptual Framework

For the most part, research on the choices parent's make on how they classify their children is sparse. Amongst the literature there are three avenues of research that can be identified based on the scope of the research question, outcome of interest, and the methodology utilized. The first avenue of research contends with the impact race-based policies, such as the quota system, have on the process of racial self-labeling (Francis and Tannuri-Pianto 2010; Francis and Tannuri-Pianto 2012); with these two studies focusing on the self-labeling of students at the University of Brasilia (UnB). The second avenue of research concerns itself with the extent to which the state can create social groups (Htun 2004; Bailey 2008; Bailey and Telles 2006), with these researchers also discussing the impact civic mobilization and international events have had in Brazilian society. And finally, there is some research with a focus on families and how they classify their children (Schwartzman 2007; Marteleto 2012), but an in-depth understanding on how exactly a family navigates, or makes their decisions, is unclear.

The rest of this section will outline the studies mentioned above by stating: the research objectives, research design and findings for each article, with special attention paid to the Francis and Tannuri-Pianto (2010) article. While all the studies help to tease out the conceptual framework framing this research, it is the Francis and Tannuri-Pianto (2010) article that provides some very important insights into what factors are associated with the relationship between an individual's race and phenotype, while also providing methodological insights as well. The discussion in this section will move along in the order mentioned in the above paragraph.

First avenue

We begin with the Francis and Tannuri-Pianto (2010) article titled "Endogenous Race in Brazil: Affirmative Action and the Construction of Racial Identity among Young Adults." The aim of this article is "to build on previous work on race in Brazil by studying the construction of racial identity among students enrolled at a university that recently adopted racial quotas in admissions" (5). The university they sample from is the University of Brasilia (UnB). The authors

utilized both qualitative and quantitative methods to collect their own data by conducting a

survey, interviews, and designing a panel. The data collected is of UnB students, "who were

admitted through the vestibular or PAS system and matriculated between 2003 and 2005, a period

including two admissions cycles before quotas (2-2003 and 1-2004) and three after quotas (2-

2004, 1-2005, and 2-2005)" (8); which will be referred to from now on as PSEU.

The PSEU covered a variety of topics that include family background, and individual

characteristics, such as self-reported race. This survey was completed by 2,814 students, but the

majority of the analysis within the article uses a sub-sample of PSEU respondents who also

participated in the face-to-face interviews, had their picture taken, and completed the QSC – a

survey of applicants conducted by the university – making their sample size 982 students.

Race in this paper was measured in four different ways. First, on the PSEU, respondents

were asked to self-report their race in one or two words. They were then asked to place

themselves into one of the five categories utilized by IBGE: *branco*, *pardo*, *preto*, Asian or

Indigenous. Moreover, on the survey they were asked to place each of their parents into one of

the five categories. Finally, a separate question asked if they considered themselves *negro*.

The next source of data collected by the authors utilized a panel, consisting of twelve

people chosen by them, to categorize pictures of the respondent's by skin tone. The interviewers

took a picture of each respondent's school ID card, which contains a standard photo taken by the

university, cropped each photo, shuffled randomly the photos, and asked the panel to rate the skin

tone of each respondent from 1 (light) to 7 (dark). Scores were then standardized, with a mean of

0 and a standard deviation of 1. The standardized scores were averaged by photo, and average

standardized scores were sorted into quintiles - the "lightest quintile" indicates the 20 percent of

average standardized scores, "second quintile" indicates the next 20 percent, and so on (11).

The summary statistics discussed within the paper illustrate the complexity of race among

their respondents. It shows that the most homogenous responses to the open-ended question on race "pertained to respondents on the ends of the racial continuum (those who selected *branco* or *preto* on the multiple-choice question), whereas the most heterogeneous responses pertained to respondents in the middle of the continuum" (11). With regards to the relationship between self-reported race and non-self-reported skin tone, the summary statistics demonstrate that "self-identified *pardos* tend to be darker-skinned than self-identified *brancos,* and self-identified *pretos* tend to be darker-skinned than self-identified *pardos.* However, there exists overlap between "the skin tone distributions of *brancos* and *pardos* and some overlap between the skin tone distributions of *pardos* and *pretos"* (12). Illustrating the complexity of how race is understood amongst their respondents.

The authors employed linear regression models in order to "estimate the effect of parents' race, family socioeconomic status[3] and gender on self-reported race" (12). The authors find that the students' self-reported race is closely related to their classification of their parents' race and that within mixed-race families, students were more likely to identify with their mother's race than with their father's. The authors also find that phenotype plays a role, as measured by respondent's skin tone quintile, but that family socioeconomic status and gender play a significant role in the construction of racial identity. Furthermore, they find that socioeconomic status has the greatest influence on racial identity for respondents near the boundaries - meaning between racial categories on the skin tone continuum - particularly for those who fall into the second and fourth quintiles of skin tone, the middle part of the continuum.

Finally, "the evidence suggests that the implementation of racial quotas might have had an effect on racial identity" (19). Specifically, the authors find that "with and without controls for

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[3] The authors utilize four dichotomous measures of family SES: whether a respondent's mother had a college education, whether a respondent's family employed a domestic worker, whether a respondent's family resided in the city of Brasilia, and whether a respondent attended private secondary school.

socioeconomic status and gender, students in the darkest two quintiles were less likely to self-identify as *branco*, those in the fourth quintile were more likely to self-identify as *pardo*, and those in the darkest quintile were more likely to self-identify as *preto*" (19). Ultimately, the authors are unable to make a strong conclusion about the relationship between the adoption of the racial quota system and the self-classification of students as *negro*. But the authors are able to demonstrate an association between families SES, gender and parents' race, and the self-reported race of the respondent. Suggesting a fluid racial identity influenced by an individual's social and economic context.

The next article, titled "Using Brazil's Race Continuum to Examine the Short-Term Effects of Affirmative Action in Higher Education," is another article written by Andrew M. Francis and Maria Tannuri-Pianto. In this article, the authors utilize both the PSEU and the QSC surveys to further study UnB students. The objectives of this article "are to estimate the effect of the policy [racial quota] on the racial and socioeconomic profile of UnB students, pre-university effort of applicants and students, racial gaps in college academic performance, and black identity of applicants and students" (2). The authors expand their 2010 study by studying the impact racial quotas have on both the students admitted, the performance of these students and the amount of effort exerted by applicants. The authors find that "racial quotas raised the proportion of black and dark-skinned students at UnB, and that displacing applicants were, by many measures, from families with significantly lower socioeconomic status than displaced applicants" (3). For the most part the article does not provide much insight into the design of this study, but some of the findings have important implications with regards to the association between racial quotas and an increased likelihood of adopting a black identity.

The authors find "that racial quotas induced some individuals to misrepresent their racial identity but inspired other individuals, especially the darkest-skinned, to genuinely consider themselves black" (3). This finding has important implications with regards to the process of

racially classifying children in Brazil. If it is found that there is an association between racial quotas and those who consider themselves black, the question arises how and why? The authors suggest that "incentives" are created by the race-based policy, changing the meaning of black identity amongst dark-skinned students. But, it is still unclear how accurate this explanation is; requiring research that furthers our understanding of how race-based policies can affect the adoption of a black racial identity.

From the two Francis and Tannuri-Pianto articles, we see evidence suggesting an association between the racial quota system and self-reported race for UnB students. Moreover, the results help to inform the design of this study. With the Francis and Tannuri-Pianto 2010 article, we see that parents' race, gender, family SES and non-self-reported skin tone have a statistically significant effect on self-reported race amongst the UnB students studied. Illustrating the importance of our models and research design to take into account such factors. Moreover, the 2012 article suggests the creation of incentives for the adoption of a black identity due to race-based policies amongst UnB students. Furthermore, the two articles demonstrate how a methodologically mixed approach to the study of racial identity in Brazil can yield some very interesting and robust results. Ultimately, both articles provide important insights that illustrate a lack of a more in-depth understanding of the process of racial identity formation in Brazil.

Second avenue

The next set of articles focus on the impact state policies can have on the formation of social categories – in this case race. The first article, titled "From 'Racial Democracy' to Affirmative Action: Changing State Policy on Race in Brazil" written by Mala Htun, was written in 2004. By 2004 universities in Rio de Janeiro, Bahia and Minas Gerais had already adopted race-based quotas; with the University of Brasilia following suit that same year. This article "explores how the state constructs race in society and how ideas drive policy change" (60) by

analyzing data collected through fieldwork conducted in 2002. The article explains the "recent" turnaround in policy – a move away from a rhetoric of "racial democracy" to an endorsement of affirmative action – "as a dialectic between social mobilization and presidential initiative framed within unfolding international events" (60). This paper contributes to our understanding of how affirmative action came about in a country with a long, complicated history with regards to recognizing issues of race.

The author contributes the "turnaround" in policy to an increased number of people convinced, by an idea advanced by Afro-Brazilian activists and social science researchers, that racism is an issue that must be addressed. "The crucial analytical question thus becomes: why did ideas about affirmative action become salient and persuasive in the late 1990s, and not before" (62). The author demonstrates how the absence of legal racial domination made the formation of a race-based mobilization difficult to achieve, creating a climate hostile to changing the conditions of blacks through race-based policies. The author then poses the question of whether or not the state could be successful where Afro-Brazilian movements failed, "namely, in cementing widespread racial consciousness among Afro-Brazilians" (75).

With the political openings created by Fernando Henrique Cordoso's administration in 1995, opportunities and incentives were created for greater civic mobilization. And with the Durban Conference in 2001, an occasion for dialogue on race was created, along with a "deadline" to reach consensus on change (81). Ultimately the author contributes the "turnaround" in policy to three variables: issue networks, presidential initiative, and international events; which arose independently, but were mutually reinforcing (83). The other concludes, "There is a tension between trying to get beyond race on the one hand and forming practical strategies to combat racism on the other. Negotiating this tension, "affirming the living practice of race while simultaneously denying its essence - is the challenge Brazil faces" (85). This article provides both background, and an important insight – the extent of civic mobilization, and international climate

in the creation of a strong black identity within Brazil. Therefore, this study will be designed to ensure the ability to disentangle the specific factors associated with the process of how parents classify their children.

In the article, titled "Unmixing for Race Making in Brazil," Stanley Bailey analyzes race-based policies in Brazil, "as both a political stake and a powerful instrument in an unfolding classificatory struggle over the definition of racial boundaries" (577). Stanley Bailey, utilizing insights gained from scholars such as Bourdieu and Marx, argues how the state can both officially exclude and include people in race-based categories. Bailey also explores possible consequences with regards to race-based policies based on "single-race categorization" in a society, according to the 2000 Brazilian census, is 39% self-classified as mixed-race.

Stanley's argument is straightforward. He argues that in the political struggle between the state and the Afro-Brazilian movement, the "hard-won" political stake won by the Afro-Brazilian movement becomes an "instrument (Bourdieu 1989)" or a "weapon (Goldberg 2003)" in a, what Bailey calls, a classificatory struggle. With this, Bailey seeks to understand the extent to which the state is a "group maker" (579). To make this argument Bailey demonstrates how "windows" of opportunity were open for a civic mobilization to exert pressure onto the state to address racism. Moreover, similar to Htun, Bailey attributes the "opening up" of these opportunities to two factors: the Fernando Henrique Cardoso administration and international events, such as the Durban Conference in 2001.

Bailey argues that, "Official inclusion through institutionalizing racial categories in social policy may legitimate race as a form of social identity" (589). The state does this by officially instituting a dichotomous categorization of race in Brazil through race-based policies such as the quota system. Such policies can have an impact, on a population largely categorized as mixed-race, because over time the population can begin to internalize a dichotomous view consistent

with official state policies.

In the article, Bailey analyzes the 2002 PESB (Pesquisa Nacional Brasileira) survey. The survey included four different measurements on racial self-classification: self-classification in census format, self-classification in open format, self-classification by ancestry and self-classification in dichotomous format. Moreover, the survey included two different questions that asked respondents to classify eight different photos of Brazilian men using two different classification schemas: classification in census format and in a dichotomous format. Ultimately what Bailey finds is a "disagreement" – understood by the fact that a linear, predictable relationship was not observed within the data – with regards to drawing the line in a white/black division of the population. Bailey writes, "These disagreements highlight a significant potential problem: some of the same people that would be eligible for race-targeted benefits (i.e. judged to be mulatto or black) under the ternary system might be denied assistance under a dichotomous system" (597).

Finally, Bailey utilizes binary logistic regression to understand what leads "almost half" of all *mulatto* respondents to opt for "whiteness when presented with a white-versus-black format" (598). He finds that the dominant factor is skin tone. The darker the *mulatto* respondent, the more likely that respondent will opt for black over white. Illustrating the close association between a person's skin tone and a person's racial identity. Ultimately, Bailey suggests that many mulattos may be excluded from race-based policies that utilize a dichotomous categorization of race, either due to third-party judgments of physical traits or due to self-exclusion. One thing to take from this article is the importance of how race is asked. How a respondent is asked to self-classify, whether they are asked using the census format, open format or dichotomous format, can have an impact on the process. Therefore, it would be prudent for this study to take this into consideration with regards to how we go about interviewing families on how they classify their children.

The final article to discuss within this group is titled "Multiracial versus collective black categories" written by Stanley Bailey and Edward Telles. In this article, Bailey and Telles directly address census debates that were occurring around the time the article was published. The debate consisted of whether or not to include the "multiracial *moreno* term" or the use of the "collective black classification *negro*." Therefore, the goal of the paper is to gain a systematic understanding of how Brazilians, over the age of 16, self-classify by analyzing national data. The authors show how education, age, color, sex and local racial composition structure the choices made by respondents between the terms *moreno* and *negro* over official census terms.

Bailey and Telles analyze data collected in April 1995, by the Folha Instituto de Pesquisas. Their complete sample consists of 5,014 persons "sampled across 121 municipalities and roughly matches data from the 1991 and 2000 censuses on several important variables, including race, age and sex" (82). Locating respondents within census tracts generated the variable to control for local racial composition.

Data on respondent's skin tone was collected in two ways: self-identified open format, and self-identified census format. Bailey and Telles analyze the data utilizing a multinomial logit regression, with the dependent variable measuring skin tone in the open format. Results show a negative correlation between education and the choice of *moreno*, while the opposite is true for the choice of *negro*. They also find evidence to suggest that the term *negro* has gained popularity amongst younger individuals. Moreover, Bailey and Telles find evidence that suggests "limits" to "racially ambiguous terms like *moreno* and *moreno claro*," suggesting that these terms are not "real options for individuals of the darkest end of the color spectrum" (89). Finally, Bailey and Telles find that women are significantly more likely than men to choose the term *negro* over the census terms.

Bailey and Telles conclude that if Brazilians were forced to choose between white and

negro, many individuals who self-classify as *pardo* and even some individuals who self-classify as *preto*, may choose white over the *negro* term; leading to an over-estimating of the white population in Brazil. Ultimately, the article suggests that forcing Brazilians to self-classify in a dichotomous schema can "backfire" for those who believe the *negro* category is important for the formation of a strong racial consciousness.

To sum, what we gain from Htun (2004), Bailey (2008), and Bailey and Telles (2006) is further evidence suggesting that racial self-classification is effected by factors such as: gender, education, family SES, age and classification schema. Moreover, the articles provide us with an understanding of how civic mobilization, such as the Afro-Brazilian movement, and international events, such as the 2001 Durban Conference, have led Brazil down a path away from "racial democracy" and towards the adoption of race-based legislation. But what the three studies have done is largely ignore the institution of family, and have therefore underplayed the significance of the family as an agent of socialization. It is important to consider the introductory role the family plays with regards to learning and constructing a racial identity. Therefore, a study that shifts focus away from the racial self-labeling process, and towards the process of classifying children, is not a study ignoring the process of racial self-identity formation, but a study that approaches that process from an underdeveloped perspective. The final two articles to discuss do focus on the family, and are therefore two important articles framing this study.

Third avenue

In the article titled "Does Money Whiten? Intergenerational Changes in Racial Classification in Brazil," written by Luisa Farah Schwartzman, the author utilizes the 2005 PNAD data and finds "that highly educated nonwhite parents are more likely to classify their children as white than are comparable less-educated nonwhite parents" (940). Moreover, "comparison with 1996 data suggests that recent shifts in racial politics have offset the whitening

effects of college education for nonwhite men with white wives" (940). Schwartzman's article estimates the extent to which socioeconomic status translates into racial-boundary crossing – otherwise known as "whitening" or "darkening." She ultimately finds evidence that support the claim that "money whitens" and "poverty darkens."

The original contribution of this article "is an examination of how structural and cultural contexts, and shifts in context, affect the labeling of Brazilian children" (944). Schwartzman claims that by examining how parents label their children we can learn something about how Brazilians "think about race and its inheritability" (947). In her study, Schwartzman collapses both the brown and black categories into a nonwhite category, and utilizes parent's education as a proxy for social class/SES. Furthermore, she controls for region and parents' age.

Schwartzman claims that a parent's education can effect how they classify their children in two ways: "by affecting who the parent is married to and by affecting the 'inheritance rules'" (948). Furthermore, she claims that by dividing parents into age cohorts, based on when they were born, it might lead us to conclude a changing trend with regards to "whitening" their children. Finally, she controls for gender by conducting separate regressions for men and women.

The outcome of interest is a child's classification, but Schwartzman predicts two outcomes. For white parents, she predicts the log odds that a child is classified as non-white; and for non-white parents, she predicts the log odds that a child is classified as white. As stated earlier, Schwartzman's evidence supports the claim of "money whitens" and "poverty darkens," but Schwartzman finds that intermarriage "is responsible for much of the effect of education on racial category change across generations" because parents with more education face a marriage market saturated with whites. Meaning they are more likely to marry someone who is white because they have comparable education levels - a process known as homogamy. The association between the likelihood of marrying a white individual and education explains "the effects of

education on intergenerational whitening" (954). Finally, Schwartzman finds evidence to suggest regional effects consistent with the idea that people classify their children so as to "fit in."

The final article to discuss is titled "Educational Inequality by Race in Brazil, 1982-2007: Structural Changes and Shifts in Racial Classification," written by Leticia Marteleto. In this article Marteleto gives prudence to the dichotomous categorization white/non-white by showing how the "buffer" category *pardo*, over time, has lost practical merit. Specifically, Marteleto shows that educational outcomes for both those who identify as *pardo* and *preto* have become more similar since 1982, with some outcomes favoring *pretos*; but ultimately both those who identify as *pardo* and *preto* lag behind those who identify as *branco* with regards to educational outcomes. This finding supports the use of a dichotomous categorization of race with regards to the design and implementation of race-based policies such as quota systems at the university level.

The data utilized in the article is the household survey PNAD from 1982 to 2007. Her sample consists of 17- and 18-year old adolescents in order to control for parent's education. The educational outcomes measured are completion of primary school and continuation into secondary school. While Marteleto's findings on educational outcomes of those who identify as *pardo* and *preto* is fascinating, I am most interested about her discussion of possible explanations for this shift. In the article Marteleto tests two possible explanations: structural changes and shifts in racial classification. Between 1982 and 2007 the gap could have been closed due to "large gains in family background resources among black adolescents" (339) or could have been closed due to a phenomenon of "darkening with education" – suggesting a shift in racial classification. For the purposes of this paper I will focus on her discussion regarding the second explanation.

Marteleto first predicts the odds that a child is classified as black for black fathers and black mothers separately. She includes controls for parent's age, region of residence, level of

urbanization, and educational level[4]. Marteleto finds that in 1982 "the association between father's college education and the likelihood of being labeled as black is negative…but it becomes positive in 2007" (352). Overall, Marteleto finds evidence suggesting an association between parent's level of education and an increased likelihood of their child being labeled as black – hinting at a phenomenon of "darkening with education." The insight gained from Marteleto's article is a changing racial hierarchy from a ternary understanding to a dichotomous one, at least with regards to educational outcomes. Furthermore, the article's findings suggest a phenomenon of "darkening with education" as a factor partly explaining this change.

Summary

Now that I have done an in-depth overview of the most relevant articles, I will conclude this section by stating the three main things to take away, and the gaps this proposed research will address. The first thing to take away is an outlook on how race-based policies can affect racial self-classification (Francis and Tannuri-Pianto 2010 and 2012). Although Francis and Tannuri-Pianto were unable to make a strong conclusion about the relationship between the adoption of the racial quota system and the self-classification of students as black, the authors suggest that racial identity may respond to incentives created by such race-based policies. Therefore, this study will have to carefully disentangle the specific impact such race-based policies have on racial identity.

The second thing to take away is the importance of civic mobilization, and the formation of a racial consciousness in Brazil (Htun 2004, Bailey and Telles 2006, and Bailey 2008). What these three articles demonstrated is a shifting political landscape away from the idea of "racial democracy" and towards the adoption of race-based policies, a victory for Afro-Brazilian activists. Therefore, it is important to take into consideration the social force of civic mobilization

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[4] Five dummy variables were created to control for father's and mother's education level.

when it comes to designing this study. Moreover, it will be important to further tease out the phenomenon of "whitening with money" (Schwartzman 2007) and "darkening with education" (Marteleto 2012).

The final thing to take away is the importance of controlling for variables such as families SES, parent's education, gender, parent's race, parent's age and region. Francis and Tannuri-Pianto observed an association between a family's SES, parents' race, and the self-reported race of the respondent. Furthermore, they found that students in mixed-race families are more likely to identify with their mother's race than with their father's. But while the findings for all the articles are fascinating, there is a general lack of an in-depth understanding of why such variables are associated with racial identity. The conceptual framework framing this study is one that will consider both micro factors, such as family's SES and parent's age, and macro factors, such as the adoption of race-based policies and civic mobilization, in order to further understand how racial identity in Brazil is changing.

The final thing to discuss is the gaps within the literature this research will address. Three gaps are identified. The first gap is the outcome of interest. With the exception of the Schwartzman 2007 article, the majority of research is not primarily concerned with the racial classification of Brazilian children. The majority are concerned with the process of self-classification. The second gap is research design. By utilizing both quantitative and qualitative methodology, this study should garner results that provide a more in-depth understanding of why factors such as family's SES and gender are associated with racial identity in Brazil. The final gap is theoretical. This research will shed light onto the process of racial identity formation from a perspective that is underdeveloped – the family. By focusing on the family unit I believe we will gain further insights into how racial identity is formed through understanding how families navigate the process of classifying their children. The rest of this paper will discuss data, methods and hypotheses.

Data and Methods

The goal of this section will be to discuss both our data source and to propose a research design. Since this paper will utilize a mix-methods approach, there will be two sources of data and two corresponding designs discussed. This section will begin with a discussion of the quantitative data and design, followed by a discussion of the qualitative data and design.

Our quantitative dataset is a nationally representative dataset of children between the ages of zero and seven, pulled from the household survey PNAD in the years 2001-2009. The total population size of our dataset (N) is 1,273,874 children between ages of zero and twenty-one, and the total study sample size (n) is 445,121 children between the ages of zero and seven. We purposefully limit the sample size to children between the ages of zero and seven in order to limit the issue of endogeneity within our model. Since our dependent variable is a binary variable measuring whether or not a child is labeled *preto*, it is important to take into consideration the fact that as children grow they begin to form identities of their own, including a racial identity. Therefore, to measure the likelihood of a child being labeled as *preto* by his/her parents we must control for any influence a child may have on a parent's decision. Therefore, controlling for the age of the child, by limiting our sample to very young children, is the best way to achieve that.

The qualitative component of our study will follow the theoretical framework of color and race discourses proposed by anthropologist Robin Sheriff (2001) in *Dreaming Equality: Color, Race, and Racism in Urban Brazil*. Sheriff (2001) argues that descriptive and pragmatic discourses of color, as well a discourse of race, exist in the ways Brazilians label and categorize each other, including their children. Using Sheriff's typologies of discourse as a lens, the qualitative data collection will uncover how parents in mixed-race families make sense of and mobilize these discourses to racially classify their children. The research team will conduct semi-structured interviews of 32 male and female parents of a *preto*-labeled child under the age of seven in the cities of Belo Horizonte and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The interviews' themes will

include: (1) the parent's racial classification of his/herself and other family members, including

other children; (2) the educational experiences of the interviewee; (3) the family structure of the

household; and (4) the process of official and unofficial racial identification of the young *preto*

child.

The final thing I want to discuss is a handful of important findings from previous

research that can be elucidated through our interviews. I will highlight one important insight from

five articles previously discussed. I believe such insights should be explored through our

interviews to account for a more in-depth understanding on racial identity in Brazil.

In the Francis and Tannuri-Pianto 2012 article their overall findings suggest that racial

quotas inspired some individuals to "genuinely" consider themselves *negro*. Ignoring the term

"genuinely" this finding is further supported in the 2010 article as well. Therefore, it will be

important for us to explore if such a statement has merit. I propose we ask families to explain

their outlook about the racial quota system, and if such a policy has bearing on how they classify

their child. I believe it will be important to explore this avenue in order to further elucidate how

states can create social groups, a point Bailey was exploring in the 2008 article. Moreover, while

Francis and Tannuri-Pianto focus on race-based policies, it would be important for us to also

explore the role of civic mobilization in changing racial identities.

In the Bailey and Telles 2006 article their findings suggest an association between

education, age and gender. Bailey and Telles found that education is negatively correlated with

the term *moreno*, while positively correlated for the term *negro*. They also find that younger

persons are more likely to choose non-census terms, such as *moreno*, *moreno claro*, and *moreno*

escuro. Moreover, the authors found that interviewers were especially "unwilling" to categorize

women as *preta*, a finding that suggests "societal avoidance" of the term for women. Such

findings require further exploration, making it important for us to ensure a sample of families that

range in SES status, education level and parental composition.

In the Marteleto 2012 article her overall findings suggest two things. One, that family

socioeconomic background of those identified as *pardo* and *preto* have become similar over time.

Second, a phenomenon of "darkening with education." What makes the second finding so

interesting is when it is contrasted with what Schwartzman observes – "whitening with money."

Both Marteleto and Schwartzman analyze data collected through the household survey PNAD,

but analyzed very different samples. Marteleto analyzes a sample drawn from a data over 1982

and 2007, whereas Schwartzman draws a sample from data for the year 2005. What makes the

two studies comparable is that both utilize models with the outcome variable defined as the

classification of the child, and both find an association between education and racial

classification. Marteleto observes the phenomenon of "darkening with education," whereas

Schwartzman observes the phenomenon of "whitening with money"[5]. It will be important for our

interviews to explore these two phenomenons in order to gain a better understanding of how

education/SES is associated with racial identity.

Hypotheses/Conclusion

The final thing to cover in this paper is a brief discussion on what I expect to find. The

idea is not to restate things already discussed, but to simply state the three hypotheses I have

come up with. They are:

1. When we analyze our data we will see a statistically significant shift in how parent's education, parent's race and family SES is associated with the likelihood of a child being labeled as non-white.

Given what we have discussed so far, it is safe to believe that our results will be consistent with

what has been observed in previous research. With a changing politics and culture, comes a shift

in racial identities in Brazil. Therefore we should notice a comparable shift in our data, most

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[5] Schwartzman utilizes education as a proxy for SES status, with high SES being defined as a parent having a college degree.

likely in the form of changing signs of coefficients – for example from a negative coefficient to a positive one.

2. We will find that gender is significantly associated with the likelihood of a child being labeled as non-white over time.

Overall, gender has been observed as a significant factor associated with racial identities in Brazil. In the two Francis and Tannuri-Pianto articles, and the Schwartzman 2007 article, it was found that respondents in mixed-race families were more likely to self-identify as their mother's race. Furthermore, in the Bailey and Telles 2006 article the authors found that interviewers were less likely to classify women as *preta*, but also found evidence suggesting that women are more likely to choose the term *negro*. Therefore, the association between gender and racial identity should be found to be statistically significant over time.

3. Through our interviews it will become apparent that a racial consciousness is forming amongst Brazilian families. We will see in families, a reflection of a society moving away from the myth of a "racial democracy" and towards an understanding of why race matters.

What has been observed in the two Francis and Tannuri-Pianto articles, and the Marteleto article, is the phenomenon of "darkening with education." I believe this phenomenon suggests two things. First is the influence of the Afro-Brazilian movement on how people think about race. Since the mid-90s, starting with the Cardoso presidency, Brazil has been heading in a direction away from supporting the myth of a "racial democracy." This shift first began with academic researchers and Afro-Brazilian activists fighting for the government to recognize the disadvantages associated with race. Therefore, race is a subject that gained momentum within academia, and amongst political activists, suggesting that the concept is perhaps "theoretically heavy" to understand. I believe the association between education and racial identity is understood as a relationship between understanding what race means and the political importance of having a strong racial identity. The second thing is a changing marriage market. It was Schwartzman who attributed the phenomenon of "whitening with education" to interracial marriage. With the implementation of quotas since 2001, the marriage market for highly educated

women has most likely changed. I believe it will be important for us to further explore such an

explanation through our interviews and data analysis.

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