

## The UNESCO Project: Social Sciences and Race Studies in Brazil in the 1950s<sup>1</sup>

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During 1951 and 1952, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) sponsored a series of studies about race relations in Brazil.<sup>2</sup> This research, conducted simultaneously in regions marked by traditional economic relations such as the Brazilian Northeast and in industrialized areas of the country's Southeast, aimed at presenting to the world the details of an experience in racial interaction which at that time was considered unique and successful, both inside and outside Brazil.

This article will focus on the relationship between race studies and the social sciences in Brazil, taking the “UNESCO Project” on Brazilian race relations as a point of departure. My thesis is that the “UNESCO Project” amounted to the successful implementation of the agenda for the social sciences as proposed by the Brazilian anthropologist Arthur Ramos in the last years of the 1940s.

This agenda followed the pragmatic tradition of social sciences in Brazil, which was systematically concerned with placing Brazil within the circle of modern nations. It included a series of topics that ultimately sought to shed light upon obstacles to progress, modernization and development of Brazilian society. However, in the years immediately following the Holocaust, the success of a particular enterprise, such as the “UNESCO Project” in Brazil, demanded an international connection that would place it in the larger context of the scientific quest for a reasonable explanation for the tragic events of World War II. In other words, there was a confluence of the pragmatic tradition in Brazilian social sciences with UNESCO's goal to understand the tragedy of the Holocaust. In this sense, I try to show that

both Brazilian and non-Brazilian social scientists offered UNESCO a special “portrait of Brazil,” that is, an account of an original and positive experience in racial matters, in exchange for the acceptance of Brazil into the modern world. These social scientists who studied Brazil were aware of certain goals included in UNESCO’s own agenda—such as industrialization, access to education and science—that emerged through pressures exerted by underdeveloped countries. The “UNESCO Project” on Brazilian race relations was based on the belief in a positive Brazilian socialization concerning race matters and on the urge to bring certain social segments of Brazil, including African-Brazilians, into modernity.

In order to better sustain my argument, I will first present a brief description of the origins of the “UNESCO Project.” I will then focus on how the research project was put together, and will also discuss its findings. Finally, I will consider the Project’s impact.

### **The Choice of Brazil**

The choice of Brazil as the site for such a study was closely related to the international context. After World War II, one of UNESCO’s major missions was to understand the conflict itself and its most perverse consequence, that is, the Holocaust. With the persistence of racism in the United States and South Africa, the emergence of the Cold War, and the decolonization of Africa and Asia, the issue of race continued to attract the attention of international agencies. UNESCO stimulated the development of scientific knowledge about racism, looking at the motivations, consequences, and possible ways of overcoming it.

In the late 1940s, two events highlighted the agency’s efforts against race intolerance. First, at a meeting of experts on the social and natural sciences, which took place in Paris in 1949, participants discussed the scientific standing of the concept of race. The resulting “Statement on Race,” made public in May 1950 at UNESCO’s Fifth General Conference in Florence, was the first document published with the support of an international agency that denied any deterministic association between physical characteristics, social behavior and moral attributes—beliefs that were still fashionable during the 1930s and 1940s. Second, at the same conference, Brazil was selected as the object of a comprehensive investigation of economic, social, political, cultural, and psychological aspects that did or did not influence the emergence of cooperative relations between races and ethnic groups. The

purpose of choosing Brazil and focusing on its allegedly positive experience was to offer the world a new political awareness about race relations based on the possibility of harmony among the groups.

Since the nineteenth century, travelers, scientists, journalists and politicians from Europe and the United States had recorded with surprise the apparently peaceful coexistence among races and ethnic groups in Brazil. This image of a “racial paradise,” in contrast with the persistently turbulent North American experience, was also connected with the fears of the Brazilian elites. Especially after the belated abolition of slavery and the adoption of a republican form of government, Brazil’s elites saw the large proportion of African-Brazilians in the population and the frequency of miscegenation as obstacles to the country’s march towards modernity. However, during the first decades of the twentieth century, particularly between the 1920s and 1940s, this view started changing. Due to Brazil’s economic, social, and political transformations, and also because of the importance given in intellectual circles to the precise identification of the country’s national identity, the pessimistic view about the contributions of the founding races was preempted by a positive perspective. In this view, Brazil’s racial mix was seen as an indicator of tolerance and harmony, and as a positive and unique feature of the country’s national identity.

The most sophisticated elaboration of the controversial belief in Brazilian racial democracy was achieved by Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre. In 1933, Gilberto Freyre published *Casa-Grande & Senzala*, in which he argued that “miscegenation” and the mixing of cultures was not Brazil’s damnation but rather its salvation. Freyre created a positive concept of national identity, emphasizing African, Amerindian and Portuguese contributions to the emergence of Brazilian culture. Moreover, according to Freyre, this “portrait of Brazil” produced a social perception of race through a *continuum* of colors and categories used to designate variations of physical appearance.

Freyre described Brazil as a society founded on a series of what he called cultural and economic antagonisms, based on “profound traditional realities,” between “sadists and masochists, the learned and the illiterate, individuals of predominantly European culture and other of principally African or Amerindian culture.”<sup>3</sup> Although in several passages of his masterpiece Freyre recalls the extreme violence present in black-white relations under slavery, the prevailing idea in *Casa-Grande & Senzala* is that the antagonisms were “balanced” by:

conditions of fraternization and social mobility specific to Brazil: miscegenation, the dispersion of inheritances, easy and frequent changes of employment and residence, the easy and frequent access of mulattos and natural children to elevated social and political positions, the lyrical Portuguese Catholicism, moral tolerance, hospitality to foreigners and intercommunication between the different parts of the country. (89)

Freyre believes that fraternization, the harmonious ideal of races, creeds and cultures would be the hallmark of Brazilian uniqueness, its specificity in relation to other countries, in particular the United States. This belief became one of the major ideological components of Brazilian nationalism, and was substantial enough to gain an international audience.

#### **Arthur Ramos and the Agenda of the Social Sciences**

In mid-October of 1949, two months after becoming the Director of the UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences, Brazilian anthropologist Arthur Ramos finished drafting a plan that predicted the development of sociological and anthropological studies in Brazil.<sup>4</sup> In tune with the agency's concern about racism and the socioeconomic difficulties experienced by underdeveloped countries, Ramos believed that it would be necessary to pay special attention to the issue of integrating African and Indigenous people into the modern world. This goal should be supplemented simultaneously with the literacy program being implemented by UNESCO, in cooperation with the Brazilian government.<sup>5</sup>

In June of 1950, the Fifth General Conference of UNESCO approved the research project on race relations in Brazil, but Arthur Ramos, who had been responsible for the idea, had died eight months earlier. He had not defined the details of the study he had in mind. It is remarkable, however, that even without his input the final design and the results of several investigations carried the same concerns that could be found in Ramos' reflections about Brazil.

In one of his last articles,<sup>6</sup> Ramos insisted that Brazil was a "laboratory of civilization," an expression he took from the North American historian Rudiger Bilden.<sup>7</sup> He had already expressed his conviction that Brazil had presented the most scientific and most humane solution to the mixing of races and cultures which was such a serious problem for other peoples.<sup>8</sup> However, years later, Ramos observed that only recently had Brazilian social

sciences initiated a process of professional qualification that would allow them to be ready to study this “laboratory.”<sup>9</sup>

Ramos believed that the institutionalization of the social sciences would provide a unique opportunity for going beyond the “armchair, bookworm” phase of studies about Indigenous and African peoples.<sup>10</sup> He thought that the appropriate path would be the investigation of the heritage of slavery and its implications for understanding the Brazilian race situation, with special attention to the psycho-sociological influence of the dominant discourse and practice, the relationship among races, the stereotypes of opinions and attitudes, and the sociological factors of caste and class.<sup>11</sup>

As the author himself says, “only after an entire series of investigations of this type have been completed will we be able to propose ‘interpretations’ of Brazil, that is, comprehensive essays or normative plans for intervention, different from the impressionistic studies produced until now, which although perhaps quite interesting, have led to hasty and dangerous generalizations.”<sup>12</sup> According to Ramos, there was no homogeneous Brazilian cultural perspective. There were many cultures that only then were beginning to be studied and understood. Therefore, the existence of a national identity should be based on historical or social criteria. The social sciences agenda, then, as presented by Ramos, prevailed in the design of the “UNESCO Project.” The scope of the research project in Brazil was defined between June and December of 1950.

### **Building the UNESCO Project**

In April, 1950, the Swiss-North American anthropologist Alfred Métraux, experienced in ethnological investigations (of indigenous and black groups) both in South and in Central America, became Director of the recently created UNESCO Division for Race Relations. In the first semester of that year, the Brazilian anthropologist Ruy Coelho, who had studied with Roger Bastide at the University of São Paulo and with Melville Herskovits at Northwestern University, became Métraux’s major assistant. Métraux and Coelho became UNESCO’s representatives heading the research project to be developed in Brazil.

Initially, the “UNESCO Project” was supposed to focus only on the state of Bahia. Since the late nineteenth century there had been a tradition of studies about African-Brazilians in the city of Salvador. These studies used to give special attention to the strong influence of African cultures on that

community. Bahia seemed to be the appropriate scenery for UNESCO's purposes. Salvador, with a large number of African-Brazilian residents, always attracted the attention of travelers, writers and researchers and was seen as a privileged place in terms of racial interactions.

However, exchanges between the UNESCO staff and Brazilian and non-Brazilian researchers introduced changes in the original proposal. The social psychologist Otto Klineberg (a Columbia professor, trained by Franz Boas, who had great influence over UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences), Roger Bastide (a French sociologist who taught at the Universidade de São Paulo), Luiz de Aguiar Costa Pinto (a sociologist at the Universidade do Brasil, in Rio de Janeiro) and Charles Wagley (an anthropologist at Columbia University) convinced UNESCO that there were distinct patterns of race relations in Brazil and that it was necessary to study the contrasts, especially between traditional regions and those undergoing urbanization and industrialization. For this purpose, the best counterpoint for Bahia was São Paulo, in which African-Brazilians were a minority and racism was supposedly more visible.

Meanwhile, the UNESCO staff had updated information not only on the state of race studies in Brazil, but also on the degree of professionalization of the Brazilian social sciences, and compiled a list of the Brazilian social scientists who could be engaged in the research project. Despite that, Alfred Métraux spent two months in Brazil before deciding about the final research design. He changed his mind about focusing the project only on Bahia. In a letter to the anthropologist Melville Herskovits, one month after returning from his "rediscovery" trip to Brazil, Métraux wrote:

Contrary to my previous plans, Bahia will no longer be the focus of our project. We shall study race relations as they appear in four communities and concentrate on the problem of social mobility in the city of Salvador. On the other hand, we shall concentrate on the rapidly deteriorating racial situation of São Paulo. Dr. Costa Pinto will undertake a similar study, but on a lesser scale, in Rio de Janeiro. I expect to get a picture of the racial situation in Brazil, at the end of the year, which will be close to reality and cover both the bright and dark sides.<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, the final design of the "UNESCO Project" was reached only a year later, when, visiting Brazil again, Métraux decided to include Recife as part of the research. Contacts between UNESCO and the Joaquim Nabuco

Institute, created by Gilberto Freyre in 1949, started in the first semester of 1951. Freyre was interested in setting up a calendar of activities to be developed in conjunction with the international agency, wishing to strengthen his recently created regional research center. The suggestion was immediately accepted, given the prestige enjoyed by Freyre at that juncture.

These first steps in the assembly of the UNESCO research project indicate the existence of a widely open scenery constructed on the basis of knowledge previously gathered by the social scientists on the staff, enlarged later by contacts and suggestions forwarded by Brazilian and non-Brazilian researchers with experience in teaching and/or doing research in Brazil.

Summing up, the “UNESCO Project” was the result of a concerted action that turns Brazil’s image as a country with lessons to offer humanity into an object of negotiation involving individual and collective actors. That is, a group of prestigious social scientists such as Arthur Ramos, Otto Klineberg, Charles Wagley, Louis Wirth, Franklin Frazier, and Lévi-Strauss, pulled together by an international agency (UNESCO); Alfred Métraux, a humanist ethnologist, specifically involved with the study of indigenous communities and African cults, who becomes a political-academic activist at UNESCO; Paulo Estevão Berredo Carneiro, a representative of the Brazilian positivist, anti-racist and integrationist tradition, and Brazil’s representative to UNESCO and member of its Executive Council; and, lastly, a community of social scientists (Brazilian and non-Brazilian) dedicated to the institutional consolidation of the social sciences in Brazil and bent on deciphering the society with new parameters (Donald Pierson, Roger Bastide, Florestan Fernandes, Oracy Nogueira, Thales de Azevedo, René Ribeiro, Luiz de Aguiar Costa Pinto and others). This was the transatlantic network assembled to take Arthur Ramos’ original project to its ultimate consequences.

It was no longer a matter of looking at Brazil as a mere locus of experiences to be learned. This had already taken place in the 1930s, when Franz Boas had summoned Charles Wagley and Ruth Landes to study African-Brazilians and Indigenous peoples in Brazil, and Robert Park had suggested that Donald Pierson investigate race relations in Bahia. In the 1950s, the stakes were higher: the portrait of Brazil to be given to UNESCO, the assertion of national uniqueness, of the country’s cultural specificity translated by positive racial interactions, would serve as the best way to assimilate Brazil into the modern world. This meant that there would be a *quid pro quo*—access for Brazilians to education, to science, to development.

This two-lane road, namely the combination of tradition and modernity, was the basis for the “UNESCO Project.” Thus, the demands of a Third World country were negotiated in the “heroic” and “generous” phase of UNESCO, which at that time sought to extract lessons from particular and successful experiences in the realm of relations among peoples in order to enrich the harmony of the nations of the world.

In order to reach these aims, the community of social scientists, both at UNESCO and in Brazil, should use the rhetoric of the country’s diversity, showing that Brazil was not just Bahia. Indeed, if a single, encompassing image of Brazilian society could be suggested, the social scientists engaged in the project since its inception were convinced that it would be Brazil as a “land of contrasts.”

Research conducted in the Northeast—that is, in economically backward regions—had an enormous ethnographic richness: multiple forms of racial classification, the importance of the cultural dimension as a component of social hierarchy and the detailed description of the forms of prejudice and discrimination against non-whites. In these communities, where large numbers of African-Brazilians lived, studies revealed not only the enormous social distance between whites and them but also the limited social mobility of non-whites. Racial prejudice had more subtle manners of manifesting itself.

The historical-sociological analysis conducted in the Southeast looked at race relations in Brazil’s two major developmental centers, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. This region was going through an intense process of social and economic change. Local African-Brazilians and mulattoes had to face the arrival of large numbers of European immigrants, especially after the elimination of slavery. Racism was more visible.

### **Between Science and Politics**

The sociologists and anthropologists engaged in the actual research projects clearly perceived the articulation between science and politics so noticeably expressed in UNESCO’s decision to initiate the “Brazilian Research Project.” Even more, they associated scientific work with commitment. In other words, the social sciences were seen as the best instrument to understand reality, and social research was a privileged form of political commitment to and intervention in needed social change.

What follows is a more detailed exposition of this argument, based on the reflections of Florestan Fernandes, one of the sociologists who achieved the



highest visibility in Brazil after the “UNESCO Project.” When drafting the research project to be conducted in São Paulo, Fernandes stated that:

the investigation must be planned on a scientific basis, but its origin and goal are correspondingly *extra-scientific*: it will be used by an institution, UNESCO, that contracted it with the intention of using its results in the social reeducation of adults and in its policy of bringing together the races.<sup>14</sup>

The “UNESCO Project” was conducted at a moment when the social sciences were going through a transition in Brazil. Having gained a foothold in the academic world in the 1930s, the social sciences tried to consolidate their institutionalization through the expansion of the number of departments and institutes during the next decades. They were also experimenting with new theoretical-methodological models capable of yielding a more solid training for this new character, the social scientist.

This process advanced during the democratic period that started in 1945. In the 1950s, when the “UNESCO Project” was being conducted, the question of which pattern of social and economic development should prevail in the country became a mandatory matter of debate. This debate followed several paths, but all of them involved the issue of the role of social scientists in times of social change. Despite the fact that the “UNESCO Project” focused on the specific subject of race relations, it became a “pretext” for several analyses of the transition from archaic to modern society, that is, the analysis of social stratification, social mobility, the obstacles to social changes, the role of intellectuals in public life and the incorporation of certain social strata into the modern society under construction in Brazil.

Therefore, the mere publication of data concerning a particular experience in race matters was seen by most of the social scientists involved in the “UNESCO Project” as quite a limited goal. After all, the opportunity presented by the sponsorship of an internationally known institution should be used to decipher Brazilian reality under new parameters. Even more, all these social scientists believed, in different degrees, that Brazil was a “laboratory of civilization.” To deal carefully with this matter, we should consider more closely the conviction of these researchers that Brazilian society was endowed with a uniqueness that required study.

In December of 1959, Florestan Fernandes wrote the preface to the book *Cor e Mobilidade Social em Florianópolis* [*Color and Social Mobility in Florianópolis*],

written by his students, the sociologists Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the current president of Brazil, and Octávio Ianni. This book was the result of a project sponsored by two Brazilian government agencies. The book made public the results of a research effort that amounted to an extension of the “UNESCO Project” to the Southern part of the country, a region which until then had not been properly studied.<sup>15</sup> This was the clearest example of the influence of the “UNESCO Project” on the process of the institutionalization of the social sciences in Brazil. This investigation was the first substantial result of the activities under the discipline of Sociology I of the Department of Social Sciences of the Universidade de São Paulo, coordinated by Florestan Fernandes.

In his preface, Fernandes considered that the studies of race relations were a precise indicator of the maturation of the social sciences in Brazil. Besides the importance of theoretical and empirical concerns that were mobilizing Brazilian social scientists, the study of patterns of race relations revealed an interest in answering questions of an immediate nature and with a political content. In Fernandes’ own words:

Nobody ignores how much cultural heterogeneity affected, affects and will continue to affect the possibility for the development of ‘Western society’ in Brazil. In this respect, the issues pertinent to this subject have the dimension of a *national problem*, and this gives past and current investigations about the subject an unmistakable practical interest.<sup>16</sup>

However, Fernandes observed with sadness that society in general was not paying attention to the significance of such research projects. He attributed this lack of attention to the generalized belief that Brazil lived under the aegis of a “racial democracy.” Thus, the ideology of a Brazilian “racial democracy” is an obstacle to the emergence of a new type of mentality capable of channeling efforts in the direction of an industrial society, democratic both in political and in social terms.<sup>17</sup>

Social scientists, according to Fernandes, should discover the foundations of social structure and thus indicate the mechanisms by which racism is reproduced. In this manner, the “*obstacles* to social change” would be identified.<sup>18</sup> Fernandes is unequivocal about this matter:

There is not an effective racial democracy [in Brazil], because the exchanges between individuals belonging to distinct ‘races’ begin and end in the realm of a

conventional tolerance. This tolerance may obey the requirements of 'good manners,' of a debatable 'Christian spirit' or of the necessity of 'keeping each one in his proper place.' However, it does not bring men together except on the basis of merely coexisting in the same social space. Where this manages to materialize, it is a restrictive coexistence, regulated by a code that defends inequality, disguising it as one of the principles of the democratic social order.<sup>19</sup>

However, in Fernandes' view, the development of Western civilization in Brazil—amounting to industrialization, democratization of wealth and power, and social improvement—should be aware of "our sociocultural heritage," so that it would be able to cultivate whatever is compatible "with the democratic conception of life and with the creation of democracy in Brazil." He affirmed that this was so because, in his own words, "a people that stimulates swift programs of cultural change, without caring about intelligent and constructive criteria, pays exorbitant prices for social progress."<sup>20</sup>

Fernandes stated, moreover, that "Western civilization is sufficiently rich and plastic to allow for ample differences between national cultural systems, organized on the basis of their basic ideal values;" on this basis it would be necessary to increase the consciousness of citizenship and the more effective practice of democracy without canceling what he called "the tolerance woven into race relations and a minimum of detachment, which characterizes the expression of individualism and the autonomy of each person, both in the 'cultivated man' and in what is called the '*coarse man*'."<sup>21</sup>

Fernandes no doubt startles us when he considers "conventional tolerance in race relations" the factor that at once condemns and redeems Brazilian civilization. In the face of the sweeping process of economic development, urbanization and social mobility that attained new heights during Juscelino Kubitschek's government in the second half of the 1950s, and on account of his conviction that race inequalities are a "national problem," Fernandes warns us about the possible perverse effects of the absence of sociocultural parameters regulating the expansion of capitalism in Brazil. This would be an obstacle to "social reform in the Brazilian manner." In this sense, Fernandes recognizes the positive aspects of the type of sociability extant in Brazil. Florestan Fernandes, in his apparent paradox, spelled out the "Brazilian dilemma."

In the context of the "UNESCO Project," it seems that Brazilian and foreign social scientists did not believe that investigating and publishing

information about the prejudice and discrimination present in Brazilian race relations would preclude the acknowledgment of the uniquely congenial treatment given by Brazilian society to race relations.

Finally, research on race relations under UNESCO's auspices in the 1950s brought, first, a reinforcement of the Brazilian sociological tradition of investigating relations between whites and blacks, which had gained earlier prominence in the 1930s with the writings of sociologists Gilberto Freyre and Donald Pierson. Second, the social sciences in Brazil, which were in the process of being institutionalized, expanded their scope and have since then systematically studied the issue of race relations. The "UNESCO Project" itself produced a vast documentation about the existence of prejudice and discrimination against African-Brazilians. Focusing on these issues, the "UNESCO Project" prompted new questions about Brazil and helped identify difficulties, impasses, and conflicts in a society undergoing urbanization and industrialization. However, the recognition that there was a "Brazilian style of racism" did not prevent the participating social scientists from noticing the existence of a set of social relations that could contribute to an authentic racial democracy in Brazil.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See Maio 1997.

<sup>2</sup> On the series of studies in the UNESCO Race Relations Project, see: Thales de Azevedo, *As Elites de Cor: Um Estudo de Ascensão Social* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1955); Oracy Nogueira, "Relações Raciais em Itapetininga," *Branços e Negros em São Paulo*, by Roger Bastide & Florestan Fernandes (São Paulo: Editora Anhembi, 1955); Luiz de Aguiar Costa Pinto, *O Negro no Rio de Janeiro* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1953); René Ribeiro, *Religião e Classes Sociais* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1956); Charles Wagley et al., *Race and Class in Rural Brazil* (Paris: UNESCO, 1952). On some aspects of the UNESCO Race Relations Project, see also: Marcos Chor Maio: "A Questão Racial no Pensamento de Guerreiro Ramos," *Raça, ciência e sociedade*, eds. M.C. Maio and R.V. Santos (Rio de Janeiro: Editora da Fiocruz/Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil, 1996) 179-93; "Uma Polêmica Esquecida: Costa Pinto, Guerreiro Ramos e o Tema das Relações Raciais," *Dados* 40.1 (1997): 127-62; "Costa Pinto e a Crítica ao Negro como Espetáculo" (Apresentação), *O Negro no Rio de Janeiro: Relações de Raças numa Sociedade em Mudança*, by Luiz de Aguiar Costa Pinto, 2nd ed. (1953; Rio de Janeiro: Editora da UFRJ, 1998) 17-50; "O Brasil no Concerto das Nações: a Luta Contra o Racismo nos Primórdios da UNESCO," *História, Ciências, Saúde – Manguinhos*, v. 2 (1998): 375-413; "O Diálogo entre Arthur Ramos e Costa Pinto: Dos Estudos Afro-Brasileiros à 'Sociologização' da Antropologia," *Ideias de Modernidade e Sociologia no Brasil: Ensaios sobre Luiz de Aguiar Costa Pinto*, eds. M.C. Maio and G.Villas-Bôas (Porto Alegre: Editora da UFRGS, 1999) 203-21; "Tempo Controverso: Gilberto Freyre e o Projeto UNESCO," *Tempo Social* 11. 1 (1999): 111-36; "UNESCO Race Relations Project in Brazil," *Encarta Africana: Comprehensive Encyclopedia of Black History and Culture*, eds. Anthony Appiah Kwame and

Henry Louis Gates, Jr., CD-ROM. (Microsoft 1999); "O Projeto UNESCO e a Agenda das Ciências Sociais no Brasil dos Anos 40 e 50," *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 14. 41 (October 1999): 141-58.

<sup>3</sup> Freyre 87.

<sup>4</sup> Letter from Arthur Ramos to Alceu Maynard de Araújo (10/27/1949), see Azeredo 215.

<sup>5</sup> Letter from Arthur Ramos to Clemente Mariani (10/14/1949). Correspondência Familiar, Seção de Manuscritos, Biblioteca Nacional.

<sup>6</sup> Arthur Ramos, "Os Grandes Problemas da Antropologia Brasileira," *Sociologia* X.4, 213-26.

<sup>7</sup> Bilden 1929.

<sup>8</sup> Ramos 179.

<sup>9</sup> Ramos 213.

<sup>10</sup> Ramos 214-15.

<sup>11</sup> Ramos 219.

<sup>12</sup> Ramos 219.

<sup>13</sup> Letter from Alfred Métraux to Melville Herskovits, 29/1/1951, p. 1. *Statement on Race*. REG file 323.12 A 102. Part II (Box REG 147), UNESCO Archives.

<sup>14</sup> Roger Bastide & Florestan Fernandes 324.

<sup>15</sup> Fernando Henrique Cardoso & Octávio Ianni xxxix-xi.

<sup>16</sup> Florestan Fernandes xi (author's emphasis).

<sup>17</sup> Fernandes xi-xii.

<sup>18</sup> Fernandes xii-xiii (author's emphasis).

<sup>19</sup> Fernandes xiv.

<sup>20</sup> Fernandes xvi.

<sup>21</sup> Fernandes xvi (author's emphasis).

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