

No Longer a Racial Democracy: Critical Whiteness in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Drs. Patricia Pinho, Isar Godreau, e Erika Edwards, moderated by John Mundell.

Virtual event, April 20, 2021. Transcript.

Julia Byrd: All right, I think we have a critical mass, so I will begin. Again, I'm Julia Byrd, the Vice Chair for the Center for Latin American Studies, and I'm so pleased to welcome you to this event today. The event's title is "No Longer a Racial Democracy, Critical Whiteness in Latin America and the Caribbean." And we're really blessed to have three wonderful speakers: Dr. Patricia Pinho, Isar Godreau, and Erika Edwards, and it will be moderated by John Mundell. The event will be in English with simultaneous interpretation into Spanish through the Zoom interpretation feature. To access interpretation, click on the globe icon below my image and select Spanish. [Repeats in Spanish] This is the fourth and last event in the Afrolatinx Voices Series. The series has presented roundtable discussions between Black scholars, activists and artists from across Latin America and the Caribbean. Each conversation seeks to address how race, blackness and anti-blackness are transnationally informed in conversation across borders, languages and identities. The Afrolatinx Voices series is presented by the Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean Working Group and co-sponsored by the Center for Latin American Studies. This event and the rest of the series would not be possible without the generous support from numerous units across campus. Thank you to the departments of African-American Studies, Gender and Women's studies, English, Comparative Literature, Ethnic Studies, and Spanish and Portuguese, as well as Professor Nadia Ellis and the Daren B. Townsend Center for the Humanities. In a minute, I'll hand you over to the moderator for today's event, John Mundell. But before I do that, let me provide a brief introduction. John is a PhD candidate at UC Berkeley in African-American and African Diaspora Studies with a designated emphasis in women, gender and sexuality. Alongside Nicole Ramsey, he's the co-founder of the Blackness in Latin America and Caribbean Working Group. John's researches on race, sexuality and popular culture in Latin America and the Caribbean, focusing on Brazil. His dissertation is a queer reading of mainstream Brazilian literature, film, music and television to show how Brazilian whiteness racially and sexually confines blackness to the nation's historic fabric. He argues that whiteness in Brazil comes to define itself through a well-rehearsed and recited longing or desire for folkloric

blackness as the site of enactment for national pleasures like racial democracy and mestizaje. And now to finish up with some housekeeping. This event will be recorded [repeats in Spanish], please feel free to send your questions to the speakers through the Q&A feature. Also down below there. And just in case anyone is joining us now, the event will be in Spanish with simultaneous interpretation, sorry, the event will be in English, with simultaneous interpretation into Spanish through the Zoom interpretation feature. To access interpretation, click on the globe icon below my image and select Spanish. [Repeats in Spanish]. And now I'm happy to hand it over to John Mundell.

John Mundell: Thanks, Julia, for that wonderful introduction, I'm so excited to be here, I am going to jump right in. I'm going to introduce each speaker individually and after which they'll give a brief presentation and after those three presentations will kind of jump in and do a roundtable conversation. And then at the end, we'll have space for Q&A from our illustrious virtual audience. So starting with Patricia de Santana Pinho. She is a Brazilian social scientist and associate professor in the Department of Latin American and Latino Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz. She is the author of several publications on Blackness, whiteness, racism and forms of resistance to racism in Brazil, including two books, "Mama Africa: Reinventing Blackness in Bahia", published by Duke University Press in 2010 and more recently in Twenty Eighteen with University of North Carolina Press "Mapping Diaspora: African-American Roots Tourism in Brazil". She has published several articles on whiteness in Brazil. Like "White but not Quite: Tones and Overtones of Whiteness in Brazil" in 2009 and two forthcoming articles this year. First, "Whiteness Has Come out of the Closet and Intensified Brazil's Reactionary Wave". And second, "A Casa Grande Surta Quando a Senzala Aprende a Ler: Resistência Antirracista e o Desvendamento da Branquitude Injuriada." She is co-editing with Hugo Cerón-Anaya and Ana Ramos-Sayas, a special issue of the journal Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies titled "Whiteness in Latin America: Perspectives on Racial Privilege in Everyday Life". Professor Pinho, thank you.

Dr. Patricia de Santana Pinho: Thank you so much, John. I want to start by thanking John Mundell, Vanessa Castañeda, Jamie Anderson, for this really lovely invitation. It's great to be here, especially alongside such great scholars, Isar, Erika. And thanks to the audience, right. We are over one year into the pandemic and yet another Zoom event. So I appreciate you taking the time to join us today. I am going to be sharing screen just to try to keep track of time because the event is really a roundtable and therefore, we

are going to speak, each one of us just a little bit so that we have time to engage in a conversation. So because of that, I thought I would just do two things very briefly. Go over some definitions of whiteness in Brazilian political whiteness studies and then explain what my contributions to the study of whiteness in contemporary Brazil. And that means looking at a context that is very specific, a context that is marked by what I call the rise of the reactionary wave, the rise of the far right, the election of Bolsonaro as the one of the consequences of that. So I've developed these two concepts "injured whiteness" and "aspirational whiteness". And I'll briefly explain them and then give us some elements to discuss later on. So to start, I would just very briefly talk a little bit about some very important definitions of whiteness in Brazil. I should say. I'm not going to do justice to the amazing scholarship on whiteness in Brazil and about Brazil. But I would just mention some of the scholars and of course, we could trace the attention to whiteness way back to Guerreiro Ramos to Lélia Gonzalez. I'm not going to go as far back. I'm really just going to focus a little bit from the early 2000s when especially social psychologists such as Maria Aparecida Vento, Edith Piza began publishing on Critical Whiteness Studies. And also, I should say, studies of whiteness in Brazil as much as studies of whiteness across Latin America are in a conversation with studies of whiteness in the U.S. But they should really not be seen as an offshoot of US-based Critical Whiteness Studies. And I'm almost sure my colleagues here will agree with me on that. So for Aparecida Vento, whiteness is as a social identity of whites, neutral, universal. So we see here definitely in the influence of Ruth Frankenberg, for instance, Edith Piza will also define whiteness as the dominant identity, normative, invisible preferential. Sueli Carneiro, more recently, I think, talks about the condition of whiteness. So this is not so much a definition, but I think it's important for us to understand the condition of whiteness in a country that has for a very long time narrated itself as a racial democracy. And so Sueli Carneiro says, one does not need to subscribe to whiteness to be its beneficiary. And I think this is really important in a country where admitting that someone is white, assuming a white identity, I would say is not, you know, has historically not been dominant. But now, especially with the rise of the far right, it has been the case, which is why one of my recent publications is called "Whiteness has Come Out of the Closet." More recent research on whiteness, such as Valeria Ribeiro Corossacs and Susana Mayers, they have really emphasized that because of the dominant narrative of racial democracy, it's important to understand how whiteness operates through other registers that are not always necessarily explicitly racial: rurality, respectability, discipline, worthiness, intimacy, etc. And then I also just

want to highlight Jennifer Roth-Gordon's emphasis on embodied practices and linguistic discipline also as a focus to study whiteness. And then I want to say I agree with all of these definitions. I think they are all equally important. What I want to add to the discussion is, and this is of course, I'm inspired here by [inaudible] understanding is that in addition to being an identity, a condition, a process, a practice, whiteness is also an ideal and it's ideal that is promoted discursively as a major social value to be preserved. Thus my concept of injured whiteness and then to be acquired by those who do not partake in it. Thus my concept of aspiration of whiteness. So this is where then I want to jump into these concepts. But before I do so, I just want to show one more thing to say is that we cannot discuss whiteness in Brazil without taking into account the legacy of slavery. We had over 350 years of history of slavery, and we live with this deep legacy that has as some of its consequences, the association between blackness and manual labor, a deep racial hierarchy, the idea that Blacks and poor people should, quote unquote, "know their place", and this is all playing out very concretely in the context of the rise of the far right in Brazil. And then another point to keep in mind is that during slavery in Brazil, one did not need to be wealthy to be a slave owner. So it was not that difficult to be a slave owner in that context. And that was somewhat something that a lot of people aspired to. So I really think there's a link between the aspirational whiteness of today and that process in the context of slavery. So I won't describe in depth the 13 years in which the Workers Party was in power in Brazil. As you know, the PT, the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* went through four consecutive presidencies and then the fourth one was abruptly interrupted through the institutional coup that removed Dilma Rousseff from the presidency. And I don't mean to romanticize any of this, but it is undeniable that deep social transformations took place. And these are just here on the slide, just some of the examples of these transformations. So as a result of these social transformations and the ascension of the poor, the majority of whom are Black, the widespread implementation of affirmative action programs such as *Bolsa Familia*, *Mais Medicos*, etc., as a result of that, there was a strident reaction of the traditional middle class in Brazil. And for, to a greater extent, the strident reaction has been classified as a class resentment, which is it is a class resentment, no doubt. But I think what has been missing from the analysis is an attention to whiteness. What role has whiteness played in the rise of the far right? And I then developed the concept of injured whiteness because I think it's important to look at the racial dimension of this class resentment. And then I again, I won't get into details here, but we can talk about it later on. Injured whiteness really is a result of the crisis of this dominant model, a significant change in

the status quo. And it really reveals this moment in which whiteness has been interpolated, summoned, called into place, removed from its comfortable position of neutrality, and then these two processes of whiteness outing itself, but then being outed by anti-racist scholars and activists. However, because it operates discursively, whiteness as an ideal is not restricted to those who directly benefit from it. Whiteness appeals also to those who were hurt by it. And then I want to just mention here some statistics, because two years later, I still cannot get over this. During the elections of Bolsonaro 45 percent of Black Brazilians voted for Bolsonaro. I'm going to say that again, 45 percent of Black Brazilians, that's mind-blowing. And then 64 percent of Brazilians who make between two and five minimum wages also voted for Bolsonaro. And so that is why initially I thought, oh, this is a moment for me to really study up and focus on whiteness, it's about the middle class, the upper classes, but actually whiteness circulates discursively and therefore there's an impact on how, an appeal among the lower classes also. So that's why then I developed this concept of aspirational whiteness. And both of these concepts make sense together. They go hand in hand and also they are a work in progress. And I'm just going to end on this slide here, really just explaining that aspirational whiteness, even though I'm using that more to think of the lower classes and then injured whiteness, more to think of the middle and upper classes, they could also operate in opposite ways. But as far as how aspirational whiteness operates among the lower classes, I would say it's very much about a deliberate des-identification from the so-called "internal enemy", whether it is the "marginal", "bandido" or the beneficiaries of social programs or members of social movements. But it really requires a production of a lower other for those who are themselves already lowered and othered. So this is not to say all Black people or all poor people aspire to whiteness. Absolutely not. And in fact, my article on the "Casa Grande Surta..." goes, shows the opposite process to that. But I think it is really important that we try to understand the role that whiteness has played, especially as an ideal in the context of the rise of the far right in Brazil. So I'm going to end here so that we have enough time to discuss and then listen to our colleagues.

John Mundell: Thank you so much, Dr. Pinho. So let's just dive right in. Our next presenter is Dr. Isar Godreau. She is a researcher at the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research at the University of Puerto Rico at Cayey, where she directs various institution wide level initiatives and her own research projects for publications explore issues of race, racism and identity in Puerto Rico and the Caribbean. She has published on hair,

racial terminology, the folklorization of blackness, census racial categories, the effects of racism in Puerto Rican schools, and more recently on the status of higher education in the aftermath of Hurricane Maria. She is the author of "Arrancando mitos de raíz: guía para la enseñanza antirracista de la herencia africana en Puerto Rico", published in 2013 and published in 2015 "Scripts of Blackness: Race, Cultural Nationalism, and US Colonialism in Puerto Rico", which is also the winner of the Frank Bonilla Best Book Award. Dr. Godreau studied at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, and later obtained her Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology from the University of California, Santa Cruz. Dr. Godreau:

Dr. Isar Godreau: Thank you. Thank you for the invitation. I'm going to share my screen. I really appreciate you guys organizing this event and everyone who's watching, it's an honor to be here with my colleagues. OK, so let's see if this works. Sometimes it gives me a little bit, OK? Hopefully everybody can see. So I thought I would just start with this quote. And I'm thinking here of the whiteness that Patricia is talking about more the aspirational whiteness of lower middle class or working class people in Puerto Rico. This this quote was part of a focus group we were doing across the island in 2000 in the context of the of the US census results just coming out. And before going into the quote itself, let me just give you some context of the census. At that time, Puerto Rico seemed to be the whitest country in the Americas, with 81 percent of Puerto Ricans choosing "white only" in the census. Of course, as you can see, we have the same census that is used in the US, but only it was just translated into Spanish, which poses another set of problems and difficulties. But just with this form, the 81 percent at that time of the population marked only white. And so when we asked people doing focus groups across the island, we would get this is one quote from a man who said, well, "En casa todos somos blancos. Nosotros no somos negros puros, negros violeta sino bien mezclados." And so I think it goes to some of the popular notions of whiteness that are important to understand the results, not only definitions of the word whiteness, which are much more exclusive, but this can be it speaks to what other scholars have said in Latin America about whiteness being a kind of elastic term in the Caribbean. And Lilian Guerra and other scholars have talked about how in the Hispanic Caribbean you can even have degrees of whiteness when you are negotiating these identities and that it is a kind of whiteness that is not necessarily in contradiction with a mixture or that is cancelled by a mixture, which is somewhat different from the notions of dominant one-drop-rule notions of mixture that we find in the US. In fact, whiteness is sometimes

assessing the quotes said by this man, facilitated by mixture. And so such popular notions of whiteness are not necessarily, or aspirational notions of whiteness are not necessarily associated with purity or a restrictive sense of essence. In fact, what is essentialized is really blackness. Blackness in opposition to this more elastic notion of whiteness. Blackness then is more restrictive, more narrowly defined, and is a sort of a pure essence almost that can be as aspirationally, cancelled by mixture. Right? So it is interesting to see to understand how whiteness operates in terms of how mixture is defined differently at different moments in times. Because, you know, the results in Puerto Rico could have gone a number of ways. People could have distanced themselves from blackness, which is also driving the results. Right? If you see 81 percent of the population identifying this way is definitely because the the stigma associated with blackness coming from enslavement, right? And all that implied is still prevalent here. So I really like, Patricia, your arrow pointing to how important the history of enslavement, especially in Puerto Rico and Brazil, which were sites in which the abolition came very, very late. So it hasn't even been 145 years since abolition came to do so. This is this is a very close history. So that stigma is still operating there. But it could have been people could have chosen "other" or choose other categories, but they chose "white only". So it speaks to how these notions are conceived in a context where mixture is understood as a sign and evidence of non blackness. And so and also then there's the role of the state and the local government in Puerto Rico, even though it's a colonial state for many for many years, including in 2000, when you had more funding, would promote this idea of Puerto Rico being white and mixed race, identities are operating separately from notions of whiteness in the north. So it was like "ellos allá, nosotros acá" that's their racial thing, that they have their exclusive whiteness over there. We here can talk about a "criollo" kind of whiteness, a different, more flexible kind of whiteness, and that should not interfere. But in my current work now, what I'm what I'm doing with Darimar Bonilla, my colleague, we're looking at how the current socio economic and political crisis in Puerto Rico is transforming these ideas. So since 2006, and especially after the 2000 census, when you had 81 percent of the population declaring themselves as white only after that Puerto Rico began experiencing a serious set of economic, socio economic and political crises, which made the government and the situation a much more, very colonial in much more explicit, unequivocal and open manner. The effects of colonial austerity imposed by the combination of neoliberal economic policies and colonial forms of U.S. government made themselves quite much more evident after 2000. So I don't know for those of you who don't know a little bit of

the context of Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico has been a colony of the US since 1898. We are US citizens at birth. But island residents cannot vote in US elections and have no representatives in Congress. We have been defined as belonging to, but not being part of the United States. And but this colonial status had had sort of been a little bit veiled through government funding for a while. But starting in 2016, Obama actually signed a law called "Promesa" and we had a seven-member fiscal board appointed these seven members, which are unelected, that now make decisions over the fiscal future of Puerto Rico since we have to pay 120 billion dollars in public debt. And so based on that, our forms of government and public, because of public austerity and extreme public austerity. Then this notion of colonialism has been has been made more evident. And that became worse then after Maria and the hurricanes and the earthquakes, and now with Covid, so are our colonial situation is so much more on the face, in our face, basically, just to say. And then so we, me and Darimar we did this survey across the island with more than a thousand participants. Right about the time when the Junta, the seven unelected board, was appointed and we asked people what is "¿Cuál es tu identificación racial" In an open question, we had no boxes, just open. And it was a lot of work dividing up the results. And because it was there were qualitative data basically that we have to turn into categories. But what happens and this is what usually happens when when you have an open question, the number of people who identified as white was reduced. But we've also seen that reduction after the crisis, even in census, in the American Community Census, etc., which are estimates to go down. So we're not no longer at 81 percent. We're actually even at 65 percent, even looking at estimates in the census. And and we had here a much lower 20 percent of the of the interviewee's. And so I'll just highlight some three interesting results that we found from that from that survey, from that exercise. It was like, for example, have about half of those who said they were white. They would talk they would talk about that whiteness as a sort of qualified form of whiteness. That was not really it should not be understood as Anglo whiteness or as U.S. whiteness. So we see now in this moment where colonialism is much more in our faces as a more close presence of a metropolitan other who has a sort of whiteness that is not the whiteness that I'm claiming here to be. And so we would hear answers like "I am a white Hispanic" or a "white Latina" or "white Puerto Rican" or "blanca quemada" or "white but I'm mixed" so I'm not saying I am white like a "gringa" white, right. So this is what what we said. We saw these kinds of responses with almost half of the people that said whiteness. Another trend that we thought was interesting is that many of the of the answers, even though this was an open question, it was made

by Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico by Puerto Rican students. But people still would talk about a sort of observing vigilant other when they would say, you know, "I'm Latina, supongo", "I'm trigueña pero se pone blanca", like "you put 'white' on those things". You know, like there's someone that would have another another way of viewing this body. "Boricua pero ahora si se arregla, seré americano", "Caucásico, me ponen", like other people put me like this. So there's definitely another interlocutor. And the other thing that we find is a correlation with age. More of the older people were the ones who were naming themselves, are calling themselves whites while younger people, the tendency was to adopt other categories like Latino. Latino is interesting and we can talk about that also but we feel this is like more of the encroachment of US formulations of race that are happening in Puerto Rico, which at a later before we did, and in 2000 we did not, we were not seeing that kind of use of Latino in the Archipiélago, in Puerto Rico. So anyways, those are three interesting trends that I want to talk to you more, later about. But basically our conclusion is that local notions of whiteness, this elasticity that we had seen in the year two thousand is shrinking as notions of whiteness are compromised as a legitimate category for people who are much more in overtly colonial and vulnerable situation due to the fiscal crisis and the extreme neoliberal austerity measures that are being implemented. And this became worse after Maria and with the earthquakes and now with with Covid, of course. So the political crisis of the last decade, combined with the ongoing aftershocks, has transformed, definitely, we think local understandings of whiteness if "aspirational whiteness", right? And how Puerto Rico fits and people's notions of how Puerto Rico fits within the larger racial imperial formation of the United States. So I want to leave it there. And thank you very much.

John Mundell: Thank you so much, Dr. Godreau, I really appreciate that. Finally, Professor Erika Denise Edwards is an Associate Professor of Latin American History at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. She has recently published the book, "Hiding in Plain Sight: Black Women, The Law and the Making of a White Argentine Republic", which is a gendered analysis of black erasure and the construction of race in Argentina. It has won the 2020 Association of Black Women Historians Leticia Woods Brown Book Prize and named one of 2020 Best Books of Black History by the African-American Intellectual History Society. Edwards has been interviewed and consulted by New York Review of Books, The New York Times, National Geographic and La Voz del Interior, an Argentine newspaper. Edwards's research advocate for learning of Argentina's Black past and the origins of anti-blackness, knows her advocacy extends to

community engagement, where she currently serves as a member of the board of Directors for Latin Americans Working for Achievement, or LAWA an organization that grants scholarships to Latinx students to pursue post-secondary education. And without further ado, Dr. Edwards.

Dr. Erika Denise Edwards: Hi, everyone, and thank you so much for that introduction as well as the invitation, John, as well as Nicole to to give this talk and engage in this roundtable. And especially I'm so excited about BLAC and what it's been doing. So congratulations to you and UC Berkeley. So this is going to be essentially a very brief overview of the construction of whiteness in Argentina. And just again, allow us to hopefully springboard into more interesting questions during during the roundtable. What I found while investigating the disappearance of blackness is ultimately I had to engage with then what exactly is Argentina and how does Argentina try to construct itself? And in the end, it is imagined to be a white nation. And so this is really, I'm so excited to be able to have this conversation about, joining in critical whiteness, because still, I find the Southern Cone is left out of this conversation. And yet in many ways it is whiteness has become the so called standardization of identity that it's almost thought of as an afterthought to even include a scholarship about whiteness in Argentina. So essentially, what I found is the themes of whiteness or the constructions, or the contours of whiteness comes down to the ideas of citizenship, foreign intervention, myths of disappearance, and then finally, the racialization of class. Which ultimately will create then a white nation, but more importantly, a homogeneous nation. Homogeneity ultimately is the goal and we find this towards the end of the 19th century. However, as the talk will eventually conclude, those cracks are starting to appear in this melting pot of immigration today. So briefly speaking, then looking at and understanding citizenship, this comes from actually the beginnings of the republics, I want to stress the plural of Argentina. And so ultimately we're looking at the post-colonial experience. And which we have of Buenos Aires, which is different than a Córdoba, which is different than Cuyo area, which is different than a Tucumán, and what we're finding very, as these intellectuals such as Sarmiento come forward is there's a clear dichotomy that is at times and antithesis to each other, one in which whiteness starts to emerge as being urban versus those that are rural one in which the Litoral or Buenos Aires becomes the epitome of what will essentially be whiteness versus the interior as it starts to come forward, and ultimately one in which someone is educated versus those that are considered to be ignorant, ignorant, also referring to this notion of moral ignorance.

What I found just in my own research and looking at the construction of race in Córdoba was, I saw a shift, especially in terms of the census data and the labeling, the relabeling in which I actually found by 1821 and definitely by 1832, that they are consciously referring to themselves as "blancos". So you clearly see, even in the same notion of what they are, is whiteness then is starting to engage and encapture these elements. From there, to kind of wrap that up, what we're seeing then is this army, as I mentioned, Sarmiento, and this notion of "civilization versus barbarism", which will then, of course, come into play towards the latter half of the 19th century with, as I described before, this notion of foreign intervention and this foreign intervention will first, of course, come, strongly influenced Buenos Aires and then ultimately the Pampas or parts of the interior. And then lastly, the northwestern provinces. And it's ultimately State-sanctioned immigration. And this notion of looking for an ideal replacement, one that could be used as an emblem as well as a model to follow for those that ultimately are in Argentina, but just don't have what it takes to make a modern nation. So you see already with the constitution of 1853, there's now starting to form a space for European immigration specifically, but definitely by 1876 with the Immigration and Colonization Law in which they also describe exactly what they are looking for, which is ultimately Northern Europeans. This, of course, is not unique to Argentina. And we find that blanqueamiento, as is oftentimes noted, takes place throughout all of Latin America and to some extent you can argue, the United States, what makes it, however astounding is the amount that goes to Argentina. It is second to the United States in terms of immigration. By 1895, you're looking at two out of three people in Buenos Aires that are foreign, by 1914, half of the city - this is Buenos Aires, is foreign. But I must stress, this immigration is not equally spread throughout what is now the country. And so instead in the interior, finding that there are less immigrants that are headed to areas such as Tucumán or Jujuy, or even Cordoba, they will come but they will come a little bit later. Another thing that a lot of people forget about, but I'm hoping more scholarship will come forth, is the education aspect and the recruitment of American white women teachers, to be exact, that came also to Argentina in order to implement the Normal school starting, of course, in BA but the ultimate goal was to go to the interior, again, this notion of this rustic rural interior that needed to be educated. So we're also seeing that aspect. So it's not just Europeans, specifically men or northern Europeans. It's also we see how the US is playing a role in this process. Another thing I want to stress, though, is the census data. Interestingly enough, we're starting to see less of an emphasis on those that are Argentine in terms of those that are of Afro descent or

indigenous descent. But interestingly enough, we do have these census data of the immigrants that came to Argentina and they are racialized. And what it's showing is that overwhelmingly, of course, majority are from Europe but we do find that there are some Asians and there are some Africans that are also coming over. What I wanted to really stress is by 1895, they note them by 1914, they're now considered "unspecified" in terms of immigrants. So this is also shifting us to then these myths of disappearance. And that's another wave that comes forth roughly around the same time. But definitely by the 1940s, this notion that ultimately any remnants of what was of Afro descent, of indigenous descent and/or Indians is gone. And that is really where we see this in the census data. I just wanted to read a very small quote in which one of the directors of the second national census of Argentina states or explains why race was not included. And ultimately, he says, the question of race is of little importance to Argentina given and I quote "the small numbers in both absolute and relative terms of Blacks, mulattoes and civilized Indians". Another thing that he stresses then is also, given, there is there is one exception, however, for pure Blacks who cannot pass all the rest, mulattoes and Indians oftentimes are recounted as whites. So we're already seeing this kind of shift to this creating this homogeneity of what is ultimately Argentina and Argentina, especially by the end of the 19th century, is or at least they want to project themselves as being a white nation. Within the interior as well we see the 1879 "Conquest of the Desert", as well as the 1884 movement toward or colonization process and movement of modernization process, excuse me, in the Chaco, again to move forward this notion that they are modernizing the state and bringing forth these new new ideas of what is civilization. And then lastly, one of the things in terms of looking at the myths of disappearance, a third attribute of whiteness is these re-labelling of these formerly non-white or those that do not fit into this notion of what is whiteness. So you have, for example, a "criollo" that comes forth. I definitely want to highlight Chimoza's work in that regard. And what you find "criollo" then starts to envelop this notion of, you know, what is considered to be American born. And ultimately, you first used to describe American born whites and as a comparison to those that were Peninsulares. But then eventually it starts to capture this notion of being native. Right? And native in terms of that you are born in the Americas. And so we start to see this re-labelling of Indians to "criollos". We also start to see at the beginnings of the 19th century this notion of "morocho" that also comes forward and is still widely used today. Another way to capture these darker skinned peoples that are not quite fitting into what is whiteness just yet, but are definitely not black. Excuse me. In Cordoba, again, my own research showed this this

catchall phrase of "pardo" being used, especially during the Republic, to replace all formally labeled castas. And then, of course, "trigueños" which has been studied in Buenos Aires, is to catch these notions of those that are dark skinned, dark skinned immigrants, often from Europe as well as light skinned Blacks. And so we're starting to see how this otherness is starting to develop as well, and I must stress that only this is from the top down or from the state down, but it's also from the bottom up. Right? This is the ways in which those that don't quite fit into whiteness can at least start to maneuver socially, the social mobility, at least to escape in level, to escape levels of their blackness or levels of being an Indian, simply because at this point in time, any level of cultural references to their ethnicities or their race has a negative connotation. And so what we see, again, is this downplaying of all these cultural practices and this shift also, and I really want to stress, especially for the Tucumán area, this shift from this indigenous notions and cultural practices, language now being ultimately eliminated in some sense, this shift from subsistence ranching to agrarian capitalism. Again, Chimoza really talked about this in terms of sugar. Blackness, of course, anything that's associated with that, whether that be the music, tango, milonga, carnaval, anything, then, of course, if they can downplay that cultural aspect and of course, at times even ascribe to, or excuse me, not ascribe but adopt this notion of trigueño, that is a way to at least move towards this notion of whiteness. And so by the beginning of the 20th century, looking at then whiteness in terms of how and how class is racialized, what I want to stress is clearly they don't disappear. Right? We're seeing these in terms of these state measures such as the census, but typically, it's not as if somebody is just going to one day just become white. So what is happening then? What I've what I'm finding more and more is that race and just becomes a silent topic. Right? You just don't talk about it. You just don't act Black or act Indian. Right. You hold on to these notions of being a criollo, you hold on to these notions of and ultimately becoming a morocho. In some ways, a romanticized notion of the gaucho if we can even go that far. But it's actually at the moment during the Peronist years that we see, again, this head-to-head coming forward and his call for all those from the interior that in many ways still hold on or have these levels of phenotype, dark and dark phenotype now coming to the Buenos Aires where you see this this clash again, of interior versus the coast. And it is at that point, then we start to see how race and becomes, excuse me, how class becomes racialized and we start to see these derogatory terms coming forth, such as "cabecita negra, to ultimately describe these dark, dark skinned people that never went anywhere, but still are are a in many ways a problematic reminder for those that have adopted and

can ascribe to whiteness is now looking and saying, no, what is this, right? And to what extent does that make or explain who we are as an Argentine nation? And so we see this "cabecita negra" then come forth. But it's also one in which it's very ambiguous as well. But it clearly marks a difference between those that are white and those that are not. And so we also start to see the racialization of the word even "negro" coming forth, as well as "cabecita negra", to some extent is still maybe use, but not as much as just the overall a word "negro", which is used to describe, again, those that are not white. And in turn, we start to see then how class, especially middle class, and becomes part of that that conversation to allow for people who want to still claim whiteness to hold onto that whiteness. So not only then are you looking at the ideal European immigrant and their descendants, but as I'm finding, there's also these local notions of how a trigueño or a moreno or a morocho can have these appearances, right?, of whiteness and still hold on to, not hold on to but claim and subscribe to whiteness because they are now part of that middle class. And then, those that do not hold on to levels of these cultural traits of whiteness will then be unfortunately demonized in many ways and called at times the, in a derogatory way, "negro". So just kind of to wrap up, because I know I really am really looking forward to the conversation, what we're seeing is that at least within Argentina over these last two hundred years, that there is a, very much whiteness is tied to citizenship. It's tied to foreign intervention. It's tied to the myth of disappearance and, of course, the racialization of class. And it's ultimately either you're in or you're not or you're out. And in creating this homogeneous, raceless nation, we still see how in many ways it's considered to be the standardization of identity. But since 2001, a new shift of immigration, a darker immigration is coming forth. And so we're starting to see these cracks develop. And that's exciting to see then how whiteness will ultimately become flexible and find another way to continue to at least maintain its privilege. Thank you.

John Mundell: Thank you, everyone, for those wonderful presentations we have about and I'd say twenty, twenty five minutes to have a conversation and then go into some round table or excuse me, some Q&A to try and kind of close out by about 11:25- 11:30, California time. So I wanted to I've many questions to ask but I'll just pick and choose some. I was wondering throughout Latin America, the Caribbean and Dr. Godreau, this shows up, especially with your presentation on the census data. The way we talk about race and its categories is pervasive in everyday speech. Right? This is especially the case for describing the varying degrees of blackness such that for better or for worse,

blackness becomes polarized and multiplicities and can easily feed into the idea of racial democracy. But in Brazil, more recently, even we often hear this with the term "negritudes" in the plural or "blacknesses" to give space for the multiple ways of being and living one's blackness. Right? So, however, in whiteness is still often seen as singular or discussed in very theoretical ways. So I wonder how we might rethink whiteness in the plural. And we do hear this more recently in Brazil with "branquitudes", "whitenesses", right? But how we might rethink whiteness in the plural as well as very different from place to place. And you all can just jump in and feel free.

Dr. Isar Godreau: Can I say something, just briefly, I think actually is part of, at least from Puerto Rico and for the people who are engaged in anti-racist work, this issue of understanding blackness as plural and as more flexible is part of the political project. Right, as part of an anti-racist agenda, because that the norm has been actually to make blackness very narrow. And what is flexible is whiteness, because people keep stretching it so that it works as a strategy of "blanqueamiento", if you can't change your phenotypic features, like Erika said, it's not like all of a sudden people woke up and they were lighter or whiter. She says, you do what you do is you change the definition. And so I think it's part of making blackness more plural. That is part of the anti-racist work that I see happening now. So just just to point that out.

Dr. Patricia de Santana Pinho: Well, yeah, I agree with that, and I think it would apply to Brazil as well. And what came to my mind, John, as I was listening to your question and also very much as I was listening to Isar's presentation, was that kind of classic example of the very racial categories in Brazil. You know, when the census opened up the question of race and then we had we had 134 racial color terms. And when you look at the category "branco", you know, "branco encardido "branco leite", you know, there are so many different ways of qualifying "branco". That, I think proves the point that Isar is making about widening whiteness to make it, make as many people as possible fit. So I think it really depends a lot on who is doing this kind of pluralization of whiteness, what for, in what moment. And the same would apply to negritudes and blackness, right? Not that that answers the question, but I think those are just elements to kind of think about it in different moments in time.

John Mundell: Professor Edwards said you don't feel don't feel pressured, I'll just. We can just move on or I didn't know if you wanted to add anything from the case of Argentina or...

Dr. Erika Denise Edwards: No, you can move on. It's fine.

John Mundell: Ok, sure. So I guess, you know, Dr. Godreau, your book, and this is for everyone, but just to kind of put it into perspective, Dr. Godreau, your your book "Scripts of Blackness" goes into intimate detail on how whiteness has historically been constructed as benevolent in Puerto Rico, especially in comparison to the US. You know, your presentation talks about that, too, within the context of slavery and imagining the mestizo nation and blackness is relegated to a historical folklore. Right? Especially in areas like music, dance, food, sport, often in hypersexual and hyper gendered ways. Right? So these racial scripts, as you call them, are recited and reworked in multiple arenas of life, from politics and schools to popular culture in everyday speech. And kind of going with that concept of scripts as performance, right? I would like to know to talk about how these racial scripts show up in the current work of all of you, but also from a discursive standpoint, how we might better understand them as a performance kind of given on various types of stages and requiring their own set of costumes, props, rehearsals, recitations, etc.

Dr. Isar Godreau: Yeah, it's a it's a good question, I think. Well, actually, what you know what what I'm saying now is it's interesting because I think the scripts of these racial scripts and how what the meanings that are attached to blackness or indigeneity or whiteness, especially Hispanic whiteness, which has a different, is constructed differently vis-a-vis Anglo whiteness. Right? But I think they all need the state, a state to promote them. Right? And if the state needs funding, money. And right now in this neoliberal moment of colonial neoliberalism that we are living, the state has no funds to fund the scripts, has very little funds. So it's an interesting moment because I'm seeing is that what used to be the previous notion of racial democracy, of an autonomous claiming an autonomous Hispanic whiteness that had somehow nothing to do with the gringo whiteness that was supposed to be over there. You know, those that need funding to be able to be put into practice and for people to believe it, right? At this moment that the government is bankrupt, the colonial government is in bankruptcy. So the props to promote these scripts are not, there's not a lot of money to buy props, the

education system, the communication systems is... we are in a moment where it is much more a federal, US federal encroachment of racialized definitions of whiteness and blackness or even mixture. So it is an interesting moment. And I don't think it's a bad thing that the local government doesn't have funding for these scripts of racial democracy. I don't think that's necessarily a bad thing. If it's does that now, we are seeing other ways of performing blackness that I think actually do what you say that it is, expand the notion of blackness to include, you know, other other signs that were previously associated with the English Caribbean or with even US notions of blackness, which are much more conceived as more modern or hip or urban than the folkloric notions that are that are supported by the state, by the Puerto Rican colonial state. So I think it's an interesting moment that we are seeing right now, especially with the murder of George Floyd and all the activism around that, and in combination with local scripts of blackness in Puerto Rico, not having enough funds then that generates an interesting combination, a much livelier space for anti-racist activism in Puerto Rico, I think. Anyway, let's leave it there.

Dr. Erika Denise Edwards: I'll speak a little bit in terms of Argentina, and what really struck me is how these scripts of culture are constantly adopted, right? And used to ultimately propel a national identity. Well, in Argentina, thinking about the tango, for example, or the *cuarteto*, which is in the interior or even the drink *mate*, right? All of these were things that were considered to be anti-European for years, but now have become ultimately what makes Argentina, Argentina. So again, just talking about how whiteness continues to expand. And is quite flexible in terms of making sure, again, that a certain group and status quo maintains levels of power dynamics by including certain things and certain cultural aspects, right? Of these people, but not the people themselves. In order for the people themselves to be a part of that, they, in a sense, have to let go of their culture. And then eventually, once it's become nationalized and adopted, as if this is again an Argentine whiteness attribute versus something that came from them. There's such a disconnect, for example, in understanding the origins of mate or tango now is becoming more and more acknowledged as its black roots. But, mate, in a sense, I mean, this is something that nobody drank years and years ago, this is something that the poor drank and now this is what everybody drinks in their house, even more so at times than coffee. So I wanted to throw that out. And then lastly with Maradona, right? And what he represents, I mean, and thinking again of a personal experience where someone had told me he represented "los negros, he was our

Malcolm X" and the fact that he was able to transcend and become again this Argentine emblem of whiteness in a sense of definitely the Argentine identity on the international stage. But yet when we really think of his origins and what he represents, it's still they're still discriminated at such levels because they cannot obviously or do not have the talents that that Maradona had to allow him to escape at times, these notions of "blackness" in quotation.

Dr. Patricia de Santana Pinho: Yeah, I think that's such an important question about why about performance and performances of blackness and whiteness and thinking about them together. What I would also perhaps add to it is the question about where can whiteness be performed and where can blackness be performed? And I won't really answer the question, but I would just, beginning to think about it, I would say, you know, up until the Worker's Party's presidency, which is really a watershed moment in Brazilian history, especially as it pertains to the social ascension of the poor and therefore the changes in the racial dynamics, class or racial dynamics, whiteness could basically just be performed anywhere because of its supposed neutrality. But blackness couldn't, really. Blackness had very contained spaces where it was very visible, celebrated, but as Isar and Erika are saying very kind of guided by the state. Right? And then the tourism industry alongside with that. And then when blackness becomes performed everywhere in the shopping malls and the airports and the airplanes and then no, then that's wrong, right? That's blackness in the wrong place. So I think, you know, I would just add to the question of performance, the question of where that performance takes place.

John Mundell: Excellent. Thank you so much. I just think also, you know, how place does play a very important role and how certain places get racialized in different ways, be it Loiza in Puerto Rico or be it Bahia in Brazil, as the "expected" right? space that these are that these racial performances are happening or not happening. Right is just a crucial question to keep asking ourselves about, you know, how we can re-envision racial performance as plural, right?, as the multiple ways of performing blackness or performing whiteness or mixed-raceness or even just how kind of this multiplicity of location is very crucial in how we envision race-making or a nation-making at the same time. Right? So I want to talk a little bit about methodology, because I know all of your works, really? You know, you cite and you envision and you enact kind of a Black feminist praxis in your work, be it in history or social sciences or humanities. And critical

whiteness has long been a tenet of interdisciplinary Black studies in the US, mostly to describe, of course, like the intersections of race and class, especially to engage the privilege in politics of even poor and working class white people. Right? But it's in these more recent times, it feels like the the work that is coming out of Latin American and Caribbean studies about whiteness is really coming from, you know, a Black feminist lens. It cites transnational Black feminist thought as the school that's really kind of putting whiteness up for questioning. Right. And I see this as this is definitely a necessary turn, especially since it is this work that considers not only like the racial but gendered and sexual politics of whitening, the miscegenation as a state-sponsored program whose repercussions we still feel in the 21st century. So I guess as scholars of race, gender, place and memory, of work that I would consider to be rooted in a Black feminist praxis. How do you kind of envision the role of Black feminisms and deconstructing whiteness in Latin America and the Caribbean?

Dr. Patricia de Santana Pinho: Yeah, I mean, I could mention that I think there's been a really productive convergence in Brazil, again, very much as I wouldn't say well, in part the result of this period of the widening of affirmative action, the entrance of a much more, a much larger number of Black students, indigenous students, etcetera, in universities, I think. So the convergence between that and then social media and then how a lot of the times young activists, especially young Black activists, many times trans feminist, female, have used especially YouTube, but also Instagram, Facebook, etc. But I think YouTube, it has been a major platform in Brazil. So the convergence between these two elements, I think has contributed a lot to disseminate ideas that usually are just discussed in the ivory tower. Right in the universities. And so it's been great to see these. Even the very if we think of Brazil, the very term "branquitude", the normalization of the term is a result to a great extent of this channeling through social media, mostly of the voices and the perspectives of Black feminist thought predominantly because of this convergence, again, of, you know, affirmative action and social media happening simultaneously to a great extent. So I guess I would begin with that. And then also just throw in the fact that this has also contributed to a resurgence of people like Lélia Gonzalez. For instance, when I was in college, when I graduated in social sciences, we didn't talk about Lélia Gonzalez. She was not anywhere to be seen in the curriculum. Or others, right? Beatriz Nascimento and other feminists, Black feminist intellectuals that today have been rediscovered and today they are, their work is just circulating so much more. So I just wanted to mention that as one of the very positive outcomes of this

really, really difficult moment, we are living like overall across the board, across the Americas, but particularly in Brazil with a neofascist in power and so that we don't just lose hope completely. You know, so it's important to see that that work is happening at the same time, that Bolsonaro is in power.

Dr. Erika Denise Edwards: Argentina, in regards to Black women's scholarship, we are still at the very beginning in many ways. There hasn't really been a lot. Part of some of my writing is starting to emerge. We do have a few scholars that are in the pipeline. But in terms but we are the three that I am familiar with, we are not Argentines. Those are Black feminists that are really pushing this this question of what is whiteness and belonging really are the activists on the ground that are doing amazing work. And most recently, they finally allowed for and created an anti-racism course in the School of Law for the University of Buenos Aires, which is being led by these Black feminist scholars and other activists who actually teach what's happening on the ground. At this point right now, the issue is just acknowledging that they're there. We still are at that point in many ways of, of course, explaining what happened but really, for those that are now descendants of slaves, that are descendants of the Cape Verde immigration and in the most recent explosion from West Africa is to acknowledge that they are there and they are also Argentine. So that's really where we're at. We're still at the beginnings of this Black feminist practice and practices and activism. So we're getting there.

Dr. Isar Godreau: I just I mean, just briefly, in Puerto Rico, and I think this happens also in the Hispanic Caribbean, it's really Black women who are at the forefront of all the anti-racist movements. I mean, the in Puerto Rico, we have La Colectiva Feminista. They have been doing amazing work of always linking gender violence to racism, to colonialism. Never, never forgetting to link Colectivo Ilé is another colectivo mainly geared by women looking at the intersection of colonialism and racism. So even though I don't see it in the scholarship that much like Erika says, I do see it in the actual activism that is that is taking place. And people on the ground are making those linkages in very explicit ways.

John Mundell: Yeah, coming from a more of a cultural studies background of looking at like literature and film and television, you know, the way to figure certain figures of history or even present day kind of get tokenized, right? In the way, how whiteness is really always kind of pulling the puppet strings of who is directing and writing these

movies; I research like. Telenovelas. I'm writing about the telenovela Xica Da Silva right now. So, you know, these certain figures, how they show up. And Patricia, Dr. Pinho, you talk about social media and it feels like social media as well as, like, kind of activism in the streets and, you know, in kind of the URL world is really kind of the more almost democratic space of cultural production. Right? Where maybe, like we can imagine kind of liberation and other types of ways about how many of these terms be it branquitudes or blanquitudes or whiteness is kind of becoming more vernacular right through this activism and through kind of the production of images and memes thinking about like "fascist Barbie" memes in the case of Brazil, which is something I'm really excited to write about, and all these other kind of ways that we can approach it also through humor and satire, etcetera, is really exciting in this kind of even in the kind of hellscape that we're living in 2021. So, you know, we don't have much time left. But I want to ask kind of a closing question before we get to the Q&A is to kind of just ask you what you think is next for the field. Dr. Edwards, you're talking about kind of really it's kind of the starting point, right? Of looking at blackness in Argentina, but but also critical whiteness itself. So I want to know what you think to be the future of studies of whiteness or branquitudes, blanquitudes or whitenesses in relation to kind of the already prolific existing work in some places on blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean?

Speaker3: Well, in Argentina, what is what's great and what's happening is a lot of scholars are really working with the activists. And I find that they are listening, especially to the Afro-descended Africanists as well as Africanists that are able to put forth, especially because of social media, what's going on. And so there has been a lot of work, at least in terms of having that dialogue which is necessary to move forward. I mean, in the end, it culminated with the day of Afro Argentines, which is celebrated on November 8th to mark the contributions of Black people to Argentina. So I think that is what's going to need to continue to happen is to have both scholars as well as activists come together and continue that conversation. I do want to acknowledge the gender group of the 8th of November, which is which is ultimately the Black feminists that have really put forth a lot of great work and are moving forward to make sure that, you know, people acknowledge what is happening, especially as a Black woman in Argentina. Critical whiteness, I also think in many ways, and I do have to give credit to a lot of the Argentine scholars that have been doing a lot of great work these last couple of years or so, and especially after the crisis of 2001, one that is really where, as I mentioned, that the cracks of this "melting pot" of European immigration now is really exposing that it

never really was there. So that's also where this, when I think about just the scholarship of whiteness is headed, that's where it is. So how, how will it continue to maintain and manifest? In many ways, I think that's another another way in which the scholarship is also looking at what's happening on the ground.

Dr. Patricia de Santana Pinho: I can go next as far as the way whiteness is being examined in Brazil. I mean, I'm not there right in with the pandemic, I haven't been able to go in almost two years now, unfortunately. But from my conversations with colleagues and students there, what I think is happening is whiteness has become ever more part of the curriculum in universities, for instance. So, yes, this whole popularization of the terms, right? Through social media, but also it is finally becoming a serious topic of study, right? In a more formal sense. And that's very much needed. And I think it is going to become increasingly so through an intersectional lens, no doubt. So, again, back to the Black feminist approach. One example of that is, and I think, John, your own work points to that, right? So thinking of whiteness through intersection, through sexuality, gender, etc. So I think that is becoming much more the case increasingly. I also think that because, again, of still the lingering effects of the myth of racial democracy, it's really important to pay attention to how whiteness operates through these registers that are not explicitly racial, which I alluded to in the beginning of my presentation. Which brings me to the point of the importance of studying the ordinariness of whiteness. That is one of the major kind of guiding threads of this special issue that co-editing with Ana Ramos-Sayas and Hugo Ceron-Anaya. And we saw that in most of the submissions that we've received when we put out the call, this is about whiteness in Latin America, most of the papers we received and the ones that will be ultimately in the issue focus on the ordinariness of whiteness. So that's one point. And then just to conclude and other elements that are very present in these papers that I also heard here from my colleagues today is still the importance of racial terms and racial categories. Racial callers, right? So Erika's about "morocho", "cabecita negra", etc. And Puerto Rico is, you know, there's such a wealth of terms there, such as the same happens in Brazil too. The racialization of class, again, a major point to be examined, Erika brought that up also, and that's also in the papers that we've received. And then I would also point to the importance of studying whiteness through the production of otherness. So, which is a major way in which whiteness remains powerful because it finds a way to remain neutral, universal, the standard, the default, etc.

Dr. Isar Godreau: Yes, so I don't know, I think those are interesting directions and what I what I could see is work, what I'm finding is most interesting is work that is trying to take whiteness out of the normative space, right? And try to locate it and especially looking at how it operates through spheres of power that are beyond Puerto Rico. So look at Latino white elites, you know? And what are their roles and collaboration and complicitness with the the whiteness of of the metropolis of the U.S. in this case. So colonial whiteness, how does it, how does it operate even in Puerto Rico? And if we can start talking about who are the ones who are implementing colonial whiteness in Puerto Rico, then we can take it out of the normative space and point to it. And so I think that concepts like "blanquito" in Puerto Rico, which also is racialized class and point to the fact that upper class is also racialized as white. And so to look at those instances, and this is a popular thing, like "blanquito" is a derogatory term used towards a person who was conceived as arrogant and elitist so, to use that kind of popular knowledge to to take white out of the normative and specify it as a category that is also constructing a colonial power and a neoliberalism, austerity, etc. So, yes, that's what I think could be interesting directions.

John Mundell: Excellent. So I think we might only have

Dr. Isar Godreau: Patricia wants to say something.

Dr. Patricia de Santana Pinho: Can I make a request? I know we are getting near the end of the event. And I know I've seen kind of quickly really amazing questions that

Dr. Isar Godreau: Me too.

Dr. Patricia de Santana Pinho: I'd like to address. So I just wanted the three of us, right? To have access to those questions later so that because I'm sure they're going to be inspiring for our work. And I apologize in advance to all of the people who have raised great questions and we won't have the chance to respond to.

John Mundell: Yeah, I'll put those in a document and then I'll send them to you all. There's I see a lot of running themes together through many of the questions, especially about kind of the waves of, kind of, the rise of the right in Brazil, you know, in the mid with the coup of 1964 but also in recent times, as well as kind of the universalism of the

left in Brazil too that kind of also buys into some regard of racial democracy, even to this day at some at some points, but kind of more broadly. So I'm pulling this question especially from Steph Rice question here about, you know, first, Professor Pinho, could you speak to the relationship between whiteness and and corruption or anti-corruption and kind of how that also comes into line with the neofascist rise in Brazil with, kind of, the crumbling or the attempt to crumble, the Workers Party, etcetera? But then how this also speaks to Dr. Edwards and Dr. Godreau, your own kind of mentions and also comments about the debt crisis of 2001 in Argentina, the mismanagement, you know, with Hurricane Maria for the Puerto Rican government. You know how a lot of this kind of seems to mask whiteness within Latin America by kind of attributing it to the degeneracy, right? Of race mixing, so...

Dr. Patricia de Santana Pinho: Yeah, I glimpsed that question about corruption, and I think it's such an important one and it was so easy to to create to to do a character assassination, let's say, of Lula. Right? And to say "Lula is the bandido, marginal, etc.", because even though Lula is not what we can call in Brazil a Black man, he is definitely, he comes from poverty. He is not this [inaudible], right? The way he speaks Portuguese, even to this day, he himself makes fun of his own kind of grammatical mistakes, etcetera, right? So which, again, is about the performance of race, right? So I think that the fact that he is, even though not Black, but explicitly a non-white person with all of these performances of poverty and a non-whiteness that are part of his persona, that made the job of demonizing Lula easy. So, and that was also used to kind of expand on the issue of corruption. And the issue of corruption is very much, of course, about race, and it is about the antithesis of whiteness in this imaginary, right? And when we think of the Jornadas de Junho, the public protests that occurred, especially beginning in 2013, very much directed at the Workers Party, it was about LGBTQ folks as "corruption" because they are corrupting the traditional family ideal. It was about these Black people who don't know their place anymore and want to be in college with my children. So it was about blackness, corruption, the lingering space of whiteness. So corruption has been, has taken many shapes and many forms. And it has def..., and I think a lot of work still needs to be done on the meaning of corruption to do the job of whiteness.

John Mundell: Final comments from Dr. Godreau, Dr. Edwards?

Dr. Isar Godreau: Well, I mean, the issue of colonial mixing is always also tied to, the issue of mixing is also tied to colonial rule. So the fact that we are corrupt and we don't know how to handle the federal funds for Maria, which is what the what the narrative that out of the Trump administration was, is just in line with the colonial narrative that we cannot govern ourselves. And the reason why we cannot govern ourselves is because we're not truly white and we are not really white and we are mixed and corrupted. So it's all it's all linked up.

John Mundell: The multi valence of corruption is not only economic, political, but seen as moral or even biological.

Dr. Isar Godreau: Right. Yeah. And justifies colonial rule.

Dr. Erika Denise Edwards: And also, just to wrap up and thinking about this, that is a great question and these neoliberal practices that ultimately result in, first, the 2001 crisis. And then, I would argue in many ways, Argentina still hasn't really bounced back from that. We have these continued debt crises that happened over and over again and then this shift of blame. Has this person imposed this question right now, it's all those Bolivians and all those Paraguayans and all those that live in the villas and always constantly those, those darker iterations of what is "negro" is always a problem. And so you just constantly keep seeing this. And this is a way then to just ultimately shift the blame to those others. Right? That are now correcting this notion of what is Argentina, this imagined notion of a homogeneous white nation. But luckily, we have these activists that are both Black and Indigenous that are coming forth and trying to change and are changing, I should stress, the narrative.

John Mundell: Well, I think we might be out of time, but I wanted to thank Dr. Patricia Pinho, Dr. Isar Godreau and Dr. Erika Edwards for their lovely contributions. I think this conversation could have gone on for another hour very easily and could produce many dissertations and many books and many articles. It was a pleasure being with you all. I want to, this is our last roundtable of this series. I want to thank the Center for Latin American Studies, as well as our generous sponsors to make this series happen. And thank you all for joining us today. And we hope you have a wonderful week and stay safe and healthy. Take care.

Dr. Isar Godreau: Thank you, muchas gracias.

Dr. Patricia de Santana Pinho: Obrigada.

Dr. Isar Godreau: Ok, bye bye

Dr. Erika Denise Edwards: Thank you, goodbye.

Dr. Isar Godreau: Goodbye.