

G. REGINALD DANIEL: *Race and Multiraciality in Brazil and the United States: Converging Paths?* University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.

Drawing upon historical constructions of race and racial movements in Brazil and the United States, this analysis offers two books in one. This text is roughly divided into two sections, with the first addressing the historical trajectory of racial categories and race relations in Brazil and the United States, including a scholarly comparison between the two countries. The second half compares racial movements in the United States and Brazil after World War II to the present time. Only since the 1950s, Daniel argues, have both countries seen “the necessary political space and conceptual flexibility about race” to re-articulate and re-formulate attitudes and beliefs about race (pp. xiii-xiv). Historically, fluid categories characterized the Brazilian racial hierarchy, in which social inequality resulted from social and cultural disparities rather than race. In the United States, a binary structure resulted in strict divisions between the two races. Ultimately, Daniel argues that recent developments in racial movements within Brazil and the United States have produced a convergence; Brazil’s black movement emphasizes the binary *branco/negro* categories, while the U.S stresses a less rigid scheme reminiscent of Brazil’s past. Drawing upon significant works published in the United States and Brazil, this book will interest scholars of race in the United States and offers insight into racial classification in Brazil.

This study contributes to our understanding of racial categorization historically within the United States. Daniel reflects on the “one-drop rule,” which satisfied elite desires to preserve racial purity, solidified the binary racial project, and produced a rigid racial hierarchy. Utilizing race as a biological rather than social concept, the “racial state” generated both legal and informal barriers to black advancement and solidified race-based socioeconomic disadvantages for blacks. According to Daniels, the one-drop rule presented a clear solution to the racial problem in the U.S., ensuring, in theory, white privilege and socioeconomic control. Settlement patterns created a culture that was more segregated than Brazil or Latin America at large, and the influx of European immigration further consolidated this racial hierarchy. “The political consequence of this racialization...resulted in the formation of a white racial dictatorship based on *herrenvolk* (or ‘master race’) democracy” (pp. 108-109). Europeans forged communities based on race rather than class and excluded African Americans. “Race was thus constructed as a universal and permanent social difference, which denied commonalities between European Americans and Americans of color across a host of categories” (p. 109).

The “racial state” in Brazil experienced pervasive miscegenation and the absence of formal legal obstacles for blacks. Settlement patterns and intermarriage in the colonial period resulted in social inequality determined by class, physical appearance, and cultural differences rather than race or ancestry. Racial and cultural markers were flexible in Brazil, which promoted the notion of racial democracy and reduced competition between whites and free blacks. Brazil engaged in a “ternary” racial project consisting of white, multiracial, and black subjects and a fluid hierarchy of racial and cultural markers. Daniels is careful to underscore regional differences within Brazil, highlighting less stringent racial divisions in the northeast and a more binary project in southern Brazil. Reflective of settlement and immigration patterns, blacks in the south experience intensified marginalization and fewer support networks.

More recently, the binary and ternary projects established within the United States and Brazil have undergone changes. According to Daniel, social movements in the United States are moving toward a ternary racial project of white, black, and multiracial categories. Movements emerging largely from California embrace the multiracial category as a new identity. “The new multiracial identity represents a form of resistance displayed by individuals who attach equal value to their European American backgrounds and identify with European Americans without diminishing the value attached to their African American backgrounds and affinity with the experience of African Americans” (p. 168). The rise of the Latino population within the United States has further contested the binary racial project. Recent social movements and census information are evidence of the amendment toward official recognition of multiraciality as a category.

Changes in racial mobilization are evident in Brazil, where Daniel sees a progression toward the U.S. racial structure. In the second half of the twentieth century, scholars gradually dismissed the ideology of racial democracy in Brazil, and race-based political movements and cultural associations gained strength from the 1970s forward. According to Daniel, a crucial component of social movements revolved around the issues of quotas and diversity policies in universities and government positions. The acknowledgment of *negro* identity is a repudiation of the philosophy of racial democracy and represents a shift toward the “Anglo-Americanization” of Brazil. Daniel argues that racial discourse stresses the black/white dichotomy and that discussions of affirmative action have prompted Brazil to re-visit its national identity and the foundation of racial categories established during colonization. Future research will likely complement Daniel’s introduction to this comparative topic.

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