

THE FORMATION OF BRAZILIAN SOCIETY AND THE EXCLUSION OF MINORITIES: AN UNDERSTANDING OF SOCIAL ISSUES FROM AN ETHNIC-RACIAL PERSPECTIVE

A FORMAÇÃO DA SOCIEDADE BRASILEIRA E A EXCLUSÃO DE MINORIAS: UMA COMPREENSÃO DE QUESTÕES SOCIAIS ATRAVÉS DE UMA PERSPECTIVA ÉTNICO-RACIAL¹

LA FORMACIÓN DE LA SOCIEDAD BRASILEÑA Y LA EXCLUSIÓN DE LAS MINORÍAS: UNA COMPRENSIÓN DE LOS TEMAS SOCIALES DESDE UNA PERSPECTIVA ÉTNICO-RACIAL

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ABSTRACT: The exclusion of black people in Brazilian society is a continuous process, first dehumanized, after that, forbidden to participating civilly, politically and economically in public and private spaces. Hence, even one or another person ascending socially, they find themselves with great limitations. They have always generated accumulation – before primitive and absolute, after the industrial and relative capital itself – but never allowed to access these properties. These are the issues that are intended to be addressed, from the perceptions of authors who dialogue both from an economic perspective, a cultural perspective, as well as a political and sociological perspective, as well as other thinkers who provide some tools and hypotheses for investigating and having a complex notion of how the formation of Brazilian society took place, with political and economic interests of the elite permeated throughout the process, and how at that time black and native people were excluded from participation in various ways.

KEYWORDS: Slavery. Free work. Brazilian society. Exclusion.

RESUMO: A exclusão de pessoas negras na sociedade brasileira é um processo contínuo, sendo primeiro desumanizadas e, após isso, impedidas de participarem civil, política e economicamente dos espaços públicos e privados. Daí que, mesmo uma ou outra pessoa ascendendo socialmente, encontram-se com grandes limitações. Sempre geraram acumulação – antes primitiva e absoluta, depois do próprio capital industrial e relativa – mas nunca permitidas a acessarem esses bens. São essas problemáticas que pretendem ser abordadas, pelas lentes de autores que dialogam tanto de uma perspectiva econômica, de uma perspectiva cultural, quanto de uma perspectiva política e sociológica, assim como outros pensadores que fornecessem algumas ferramentas e hipóteses para que se investigue e tenha

¹ This article is the result of two disciplines ("History of Brazil" and "Formation and Development of the Brazilian Society") studied by the authors throughout the course of Social Sciences at the Faculty of Sciences and Letters of Unesp Araraquara and the debates and reflections generated by them.

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uma noção complexa de como se deu a formação da sociedade brasileira, com interesses políticos e econômicos da elite permeados por todo o processo, e como nesse mesmo momento pessoas pretas, pardas e indígenas foram excluídas da participação de diversas formas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Escravidão. Trabalho livre. Sociedade brasileira. Exclusão.*

RESUMEN: *La exclusión de los negros en la sociedad brasileña es un proceso continuo, primero deshumanizado, luego impedido de participar civil, política y económicamente en espacios públicos y privados. De ahí que, aunque una u otra persona ascienda socialmente, se encuentre con grandes limitaciones. Siempre generaron acumulación, antes primitiva y absoluta, después del propio capital industrial y relativo, pero nunca permitieron acceder a estos bienes. Estos son los temas que tenemos la intención de abordar, a través del lente de autores que dialogan tanto desde una perspectiva económica, cultural, como política y sociológica, así como otros pensadores que brindan algunas herramientas e hipótesis para investigar y tener una noción compleja de cómo se produjo la formación de la sociedad brasileña con los intereses políticos y económicos de la élite permeados durante todo el proceso y cómo en ese momento los negros e indígenas fueron excluidos de la participación de diversas formas.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Esclavitud. Trabajo libre. Sociedad brasileña. Exclusión.*

Introduction

In an observation of the famous picture *Independence or Death!* (1888), a painting by Pedro Américo de Figueiredo e Mello in Florence, Italy, evidently inspired by Napoleonic conquests and other portrait works of historical moments of the time, is noticeable some of the intentions and *the sense*⁴ of revolutions and reforms carried out by the elites in Brazil.

The idealization of *Ipiranga's moment of cry*, as heroic, also brings with it other elements. The first is the date of the work, in the same year of the abolition of slavery, which would legally establish free work and move on to a stage of assiduous modernization of the country, as well as making the enslaved into free citizens, that is, there is a notion of what the conjuncture image desired⁵ for independence occurred in 1822. But what serves as the object of analysis of this article is the fact that, before the work, there is no black person mounted on

⁴ The word *sense* is employed as a reference to the perspective of Caio Prado Jr. in his book *The Sense of Colonization* (1996), which seeks to draw a line of reasoning that empowers the formation and changes of Brazilian society and what colonial remnants were in the historical-social context in which the thinker was situated.

⁵ Trained in Portugal, the Brazilian elite was attentive to their cohesion and so the image they would like to pass on is directed to the elites of other countries and to their own general population, as a representation that Brazil – unlike the rest of South America – did not have each province transformed into a Nation State, much less a violent revolution, underneath, there was, in fact, a pacifism, an agreement for the common good, a national unity, Brazilian identity, conciliation between several provinces, this is the desired image.

horseback with noble clothes and raised swords, only underlying the battlefield, giving a content of presence in the territory. However, not actively participating in the process. Like Benjamin West in 1770, painting *The Death of General Wolfe*, and John Singleton Copley in 1782, painting *Watson and the Shark*, Pedro Américo de Figueiredo e Mello will idealize a context of revolution and independence, with encouragement from the elites, putting blacks and natives on the fringes of the painting, symbolically representing how they found themselves within the process, therefore, it is D. Pedro I, together with the nobility and Brazilian settlers who perform this feat, as saviors, here lies, at first, the character of exclusion that the text aims to address.

Mercantile Expansion and the Sense of Colonization

To understand the character of exclusion existing in the process of formation of Brazilian society, we consider that it is of paramount importance, at first, to evaluate the objectives of Iberian countries at the beginning of the so-called "great navigations".

In this sense, the Portuguese colonial company, as well as the Spanish, considered America as an alternative route to the Indies, since the previous path was now occupied by Turkish enemies. At first, he will not even be interested in conquering and exploring Brazil, since here there would be no ores, nor spices like those that were in vogue in the maritime trade. As Caio Prado Jr. will say: "All efforts are then oriented towards finding a passage, whose existence has been admitted **a priori**"⁶ (1996, p. 17, author griffin, our translation).

An important factor for the beginning of colonization is the imaginative capacity of Europeans about the New World (SCHWARCZ, 1993), it is this fanciful thinking that will motivate Portuguese adventurers so that, by discovering new peoples, cultures, habits, etc., can "civilize" the indigenous, and satiate the need for clearing wild and disordered lands, fulfilling a kind of moral duty of the historical-social period.

But in addition to the colonizing and imaginative motivation, there were political and economic interests of the Portuguese crown, these objectives would be solved through the enslavement of men, women and children who inhabited the North African coast (GILENO; MEDEIROS, 2019). It is interesting to point out that slavery itself was not invented by the Portuguese or other European countries that were colonizing other communities in this historical period and using trade shops to expand their profits with the east, but it was they,

⁶ It is important to note that there would be plans and strategies that, in a way, admitted the existence of a new "earth" – the New World – perhaps not as in the imaginary that is built post-discovery, but at least an alternative route, as Caio Prado Jr. (1996) points out.

especially the Iberian countries, who started large-scale trade of enslaved, that is, integrated ⁷ the world for the first time, through the mass enslavement of black and indigenous people and the primitive accumulation of capital from the colonies located in the *New World*.

Therefore, as the territory was initially seen as a *nothing*, populated with *barbarians*, it was transformed by the Portuguese colonial company to become attractive, since by detonating a slave trade system, it will begin to strengthen internal wars on the North African coast and negotiate with local chiefs for them to deliver more and more Africans to come to Brazil, mostly young, skilled age for heavy duty. In addition to destabilizing this region of Africa, an extractive practice would be created that first begins with the forced labor of indigenous peoples, but soon passes - also - to the work of slave labor of the various African ethnic groups brought by force (Idem).

If the main structuring process of the colony and its formation was slavery, it must be about the way in which such a process occurred. Even though slavery on the American continent have been mostly with enslaved Africans, relates, as mentioned, the question of the enslavement of the indigenous, both through the idealization around *the good savage*,⁸ Rousseauian⁹, and through the war justified by the Crown against the brave *Indians*. Thus, the social, political, economic and cultural relations were not restricted to the duality of the white settler and the enslaved African, but had a triple, which is composed by the indigenous in this formula.

Already the educational part, this slavery was led by the Jesuits who, in the early five hundred until the mid-700s, had great influence on the use of compulsory labor. The "passive" indigenous peoples would be in the position of those who would be able to "learn" to be civilized, with rigid rules and dogmatic teachings, imposing the *Eurocentric ethos* in the face of the cultural and ethnic diversities present in the New World, however, justified the

⁷ Such integration is mostly carried out by the economic perspective, if in human history there was already slavery at various times, it developed in another way, with cultural exchange and other particularities, as it was in the case of wars and conquests, but with the great navigations the intention is another, it is the primitive and absolute accumulation.

⁸ The *Tupi* it was the Amerindians who had the most contact with the Portuguese – but not only, because it was so with the French and other colonizers – therefore, their peaceful manifestation in several cases was what provided most of this idealization, it is of the utmost importance to point out the existence of a diversity of ethnicities and cultures, in which there were several "types" of relations, peaceful, aggressive, enduring, brief, etc.

⁹ The Rousseauian conception is described in this way because it is part of the Enlightenment tradition of understanding humanity as a unit, and in the mid-nineteenth century, an intellectual reorganization will occur, a reaction à this same thought, which holds direct causality with the emergence of eugenicist, hygienist and social Darwinist theories. See SCHWARCZ, L. M. The spectacle of races: scientists, institutions and racial issue in Brazil 1870-1930. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1993.

enslavement of *the brave Indians through the just war*.¹⁰ Hence, there would be an ambiguity of colonial legislation (GILENO, 2007; GILENO; MEDEIROS, 2019), which sought to resolve conflicts between Jesuits and settlers.

Despite the clashes between Jesuits and settlers, both with regard to educational practices and practices of discovery and domination of territories, they are mediated by the Lusitanian Absolutist State, which will later promote agriculture as the basis of the colonial economy, expanding the strategies of domination and extraction throughout the Brazilian territory - these practices, at that time, are concentrated in specific coastal regions and that had facilitated contact with natives. This is how *plantations* are born, giving the meaning of colonization according to Caio Prado Jr. (1996), in which the Iberian colonies are major suppliers of the plantations and inputs for the European market, which propitiates the industrial emergence in the places where the metropolises were located – in this case there will be the decay of Portugal and Spain in the eighteenth century, but the primitive accumulation of capital still has the appropriate surplus by European countries – at the same time as in the colonies there was a global trade of enslaved and a proper notion of society, based on landowners oligarchies who dialogued strictly and exclusively with the Lusitanian crown. (GILENO, 2017)

Also according to Caio Prado Jr. (1942, p. 87) this great property, breeding of a single product, slaver and destined to supply the European market, will be the great determination of all this sense [of colonization], concentrating wealth in places that did not encompass the large mass of the population – mostly enslaved – and that left it in a high degree of material and moral penury; a great political and economic dependence of the country in relation to the metropolis; the colony's technical and cultural level and inefficient public administration.

In a perspective of similar analysis Pereira (1997), points out that the dual formation between bourgeoisie and aristocracy, profit and tradition, which "speculates as a mercantile capitalist, but is always aiming for honors and powers proper to traditional societies" (p. 104), will imply that developed large properties become a capitalist company, but that will not worry about maximizing the profit, since it is formed by elements of the aristocracy.

Pereira (1997, p. 105) also says that the characterization of the colony is due to the lack of the state itself, existing in its place the Metropolitan State, that is, the ruling elite, bureaucracy and public force existing in the colony are mere extensions of the Metropolitan State and, therefore, do not have autonomy. Still from the perspective of author analysis

¹⁰ The *fair war* was the means with which counter-combative actions against Indians were optimized *Brave* and, above all, justification was obtained at that time, by the endorsement of the metropolis, allowing this to occur, and by the imaginarity of the Jesuits and settlers (who had divergences between them).

(ibidem) the basic objective of this State is to ensure that the surplus of production is possible of appropriation by the Metropolis, and this appropriation can be consummated by several strategies. In parallel with this process, the bourgeoisie is placed as an officer and ally of the Metropolitan State, participating in the appropriation of this surplus and receiving, in exchange for its collaboration with the aristocracy that is still in power, political and military protection.

The Enslaved Workforce

According to the *Slavevoyages* website,¹¹ the estimate of enslaved people *who* landed in Brazil from 1501 to 1866 is 5,848,266, that is, almost half of the total number of enslaved global trade, which was 12,521,337. This fact demonstrates the quantity and the influx of the labor force enslaved for all national political, economic and social formation (NOVAIS, 1979). It is noteworthy that these are official statistics, several other sources and research points out that the numbers may be higher (SCHWARCZ; STARLING, 2015) since after 1831, with the Law Feijó, forbidding the external enslavement by pressure of the English empire, there will be a change in the official practices for maintenance and verification of the number of enslaved, facilitating for this law to be ignored or swindled by the slave masters.¹²

In addition to the notion of how the colony was composed of a multiple relationship between ethnicities, the existing forms of power, in addition to the specificity at the junction between Old World and New World, between bourgeoisie and aristocracy, between Jesuits and settlers etc¹³. It is important to analyze that the supply of large-scale natural resources from the colony to the metropolis and, consequently, to the whole of Europe, caused stable and lasting industries not to be formed within the regions (GILENO, 2017), because they constantly changed in favor of the sense of colonization, which is why there was difficulty in developing more advanced technologies, qualified, that were not rustic, since practically the

¹¹ SLAVE VOYAGES.c2021. Digital memorial on the largest slave trade in history. Available in: <https://www.slavevoyages.org/>. Access in: 11 Jul. 2021.

¹² This is another legislative ambiguity that arose around the slave issue in Brazil, external pressure – mainly English – to abolish slavery and there would be commercial openness with the prospect of relative capital accumulation, the emergence of industry and a class of free workers, caused there to be measures "to see English", in other words, that only had superficial attitudes to the satisfaction of international and governmental relations, pleasing at the same time the landowners in national territory who were not inclined to deny the slave labor in their crops.

¹³ This is the stage of the debate between Iberists and Americanists in the nineteenth century, the first emphasizing these dualities and complexities in the formation of Brazilian identity – which would be unique and private – pointing out that they should be respected in the modernization process, not being able to follow an American logic, and the second, emphasizing that such characteristics caused delays, impediments, difficulties in the process of individualization and modernization of the State Nation of Brazil, so they should be overcome.

entire space was occupied by large properties, which developed through monoculture, following a logic that obeys the aristocratic and slave priorities of power maintenance (NOVAIS, 1979).

Within this logic, colonial Brazil had as normative the provision of subsidy for the primitive accumulation of the capital of the European company, formed to supply sugar, tobacco and some other types of delicacies, moving to gold and diamond in Minas Gerais in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, finally, for cotton and coffee already in the twentieth century (PRADO JR, 1942, p. 25-26). The production molds of these large properties and the use of enslaved labor for this are the two essential characteristics to understand the difficulties of modernization and national emancipation.

Adding the analysis, the theory about "Late Capitalism" by João Manuel Cardoso de Mello (2009) points out the difference in the production process between the economies of Latin America and Europe and in Brazil before and after abolition. For the author, while in Europe with industrialization there was the consolidation of the form of production due to the fact that the specialization of labor and the appropriation of the surplus of production of the colonies create a per capita income and a relative accumulation, in Latin America and more specifically in Brazil there is a deterioration of exchange relations due to the *"[...] slowness with which the industrial development of the center is absorbing the real excess or potential of active population dedicated to primary production [...]"* (p. 17, our translation).

The mode of production of the colony and its dependence made, therefore, the need for the use of this enslaved labor force for the maintenance of the landowners. However, slavery in Brazil is not limited to the way it has seen the construction and maintenance of large rural properties, it is a structuring of social relations¹⁴ between enslaved Africans, indigenous peoples, Jesuits and settlers. It is of paramount importance to emphasize once again that such social relations structured from a slave logic permeate violence against indigenous peoples and black people, that is, they are not exempt from the power relations and ethnocide that occurred throughout the history of Brazil.¹⁵

¹⁴ Gilberto Freyre in his great works, *Houses and Mucambos*, *Casa-Grande & Senzala*, and throughout its sociological trajectory, is that it will establish this thought in Brazil, breaking with the social evolutionism, eugenics and hygienist present in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which treated black people in Brazilian society as difficulty, as something that should be segregated and that had miscegenation as harmful.

¹⁵ A study with 1200 genomes that maps the diversity of the Brazilian population, published in *Folha de São Paulo*, helps in the visualization of the violent inheritances left by the colonization process carried out by Europeans with peoples originating in America and with men and women afrodescendants. In the study, we can see the disparity between genetic inheritances present in the Brazilian population, being composed, proportionally, much more by European men than by African and native men. Moreover, there is the genetic presence, almost absolute, of black women, but again, this logic does not apply when men are analyzed, that is, the systematization of sexual harassment and violence practices against African and indigenous women, performed by white European men, is a determining variable in the way the Brazilian population was trained. See ALVES,

The exclusion of black people in Brazilian society begins in the face of these perspectives, while enslavements are objects, have no humanity and do not participate in decision-making, much less benefits generated by production, in addition, even with a movement of some sectors of the elites for the sake of modernization, still continues for more than half a century with this form of domination and exclusion of black men and women, it will be seen below that it is only after the abolition that other perspectives arise, but that the previous notes pose difficulties to be faced and that still perpetuate – in different ways – an exclusion, since the enslavement regime holds attributes of total institution and, thus, determine forms of organization of work and life, in addition to creating a universe of values swelled by this thought (GILENO, 2017.)

The Disarticulation of the Colonial System and the Independence of Brazil

With the arrival of the Portuguese royal family to Brazil, aided by the maritime escort of the English empire, fleeing the war and the Napoleonic empire, the first phase of modernization in the country was instituted. Dom João VI will face five extremely different and distant regions, each with their respective particularities, in addition to the difficulties of communication existing between them, thus requiring a centralization of power to the detriment of the oligarchies established through the law of sesmarias, as Florestan Fernandes (1976) says, "Independence, despite the way in which it unfolded, it constituted the first great social revolution that took place in Brazil" (p. 31, our translation), therefore, "power will cease to manifest itself as an imposition from the outside inwards, to organize itself from within[...]" (p. 31, our translation).

However, while Brazil was in this political and economic condition all the colonies of Spanish America had already experienced their processes of independence, with the transformation of their provinces into separate republics, and on Brazilian soil there was an Constitutional Monarchy that was made to try so that the territorial unity of the different regions was not dismantled, generating a nation state with a wide geographical extension and several provinces, a regionalized country such as Gilberto Freyre.¹⁶

Gabriel. A study with 1,200 genomes maps diversity of the Brazilian population. Folha de São Paulo, São Paulo, September 23, 2020. Available in: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ciencia/2020/09/estudo-com-1200-genomas-mapeia-diversidade-da-populacao-brasileira.shtml>. Access: 04 Jul. 2021.

¹⁶ Regionalism was a determining characteristic of the author who, in a way, overcoming the debate between Iberists and Americanists, places that Brazil is a country with a particular identity, but, above all, it is regionalized by customs and character *civilizing of slavery*.

The great instability generated by D. João VI in this process of independence, the dissatisfaction of the Brazilian elites and the pressure of the Lusitanian nobility, caused the monarch to be forced to return to Portugal, due to his image as a despotic king, leaving his son, D. Pedro I¹⁷ as regent, first emperor of Brazil, in 1822, and that he will see the constituent and assembly of 1823 and promulgated a new one in 1824, removing some of the abolitionist ideals present in the previous one.

This brief exposition of the trajectory of the coming of the Portuguese royal family to Brazil and the instability generated by it, culminating in the regency period until D. Pedro II was old enough to assume the throne, has an immediate parallel with the consequences on the political and social formation of the nation, as well as the way in which they were excluded from liberal and abolitionist discussions and desires, the problems of slave labor. (SCHWARCZ; STARLING, 2015).

From the perspective of Florestan Fernandes (1976), the process of independence was revolutionary, and at its core are issues that still permeate the national identity of the citizen and colonial heritage. Namely, the fact that civil society, in this period of the extinction of colonial status and the implementation of the Constitutional Monarchy, is, as stated by the author, more committed to the defense of private property, slavery and other components that supported the maintenance of power in the colonial period, in addition to the concern to appropriate the means of organization created after independence, relevant and essential issues for the integration of national society.

Corroborating the understanding, Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1960) points out, within the process of modernization in the country, the pre-existence of a mercantile economy and, consequently, a relatively developed degree of social division of labor. Therefore, it highlights the role of the oligarchs in this process, who had to become "Capitalist Entrepreneurs", which implies changes in the way work is organization, for the author (Ibidem) the Brazilian business community had administrative disability, ideological immaturity and political fragility, since they cared more about their personal interests than with the collective conscious and the country's cloved, thus creating a weak and pragmatic bourgeoisie.

On the other side of this process, the black population in Brazilian society accompanies a revolutionary process of modernization that does not prioritize the revitalization of the economy in different structures, as well as does not see the need to break

¹⁷ He obtained the name of D Pedro IV after his departure from Brazil in 1831, again due to political instability, having to abdicate the throne and return to Portugal.

with aristocratic and slavocratic practices inherited from the colonial period, their effort is directed to the creation of institutional and bureaucratic devices that enable this modernization, but that are simultaneous to the "appropriation of the means of organization of power that were then created" (FERNANDES, 1976, p. 42, our translation).

Still using Florestan's analysis (1976, p. 72, our translation), the author points out that the paradox that existed in the process previously discussed lies in the fact that the "national revolution" did not result from an "economic revolution", and that it does not help to create ideals of economic autonomy that would help for an immediate, irreversible and total rupture with the past, instead, it fortifies and roots the functions of the large properties, situating it as a central factor of the national internal economy.

In agreement, Carvalho (2003), also says that the cohesion existing in the elite, which envisioned educational methods that followed the logic of Portuguese absolutism and understood as paramount their participation in the state bureaucracy, implied "[...] that the strengthening of the State was not only a political value for it but also a very concrete material interest" (p. 42, our translation).

Octavio Ianni (1987) also understands that it is a specificity of the formation of Brazilian society that the independence process has modernized some issues and promoted a glimpse of capitalism in the mode of production while leaving out the ethnic-racial issue and slave labor that is not compatible with relative added value.

Therefore, as a way of apprehending national society in the last quarter of the 19th century, according to Ianni (1987, p. 26, our translation) "it is necessary to consider that the nation was dominated by coffee, depended decisively on external economic ties and was organized on the basis of slavery", which conferred a singular scenario for Brazilian civilization, in its creations and contradictions, due to "the way in which the slave worker was inserted in the capitalist productive process" (p. 26, our translation).

O cortiço, a novel written by Aluísio Azevedo, helps in the understanding - as a historical portrait - of how miscegenation and social relations took place in this context, as was possible the coexistence of slavery and the modernization process. By guiding experiences within a tenement of Rio de Janeiro a few years before the abolition of slavery in 1888, it provides, in the imagery of the reader, what would be daily life and explores the hierarchical relations of power and economic existing in the narrated spaces, while demonstrating the existence of a shared culture experienced by all (even if distinctly).

The reality described in the work is a complex - and violent - ethnic relationship that is made in the reader's understanding through the characters who ascend socially and how they

are able to occupy certain spaces from their ethnicity. There is also the relationship of the characters, in professional and personal spheres, with people named as "mulatas" that is, the segregation that was visible in other countries as in the United States, could not be understood in the same way as occurred in Brazil, however, this does not consolidate the "myth" of racial democracy, since, as previously treated and in the writings of important sociologists, historians, anthropologists, political scientists, literary, etc. ethnic-racial violence has always permeated the socio-cultural-political and economic construction of Brazil¹⁸¹⁹.

From slavery to free work

Resuming the insertion of black and indigenous people in postcolonial civil society, briefly addressed, the independence process reconciled the formation of properly Brazilian elites, with the state apparatus providing support for the interests of the owners and nobles to be served mutually and at no time did these interests intersect with the abolition of slavery.

It is during the regency period, considered as the main modernizing moment of the nineteenth century in Brazil, that coffee expands, beginning a process of (re)enslavement in the country, paradoxically, the Feijó law of 1831 caused there to be less supervision at the origin of the enslaved, as well as the theft of slaves and massive transfer of the population from the north and northeast to the South and Southeast of the country, where coffee oligarchies most developed, due to the presence of purple earth and other issues that drove them.

¹⁸ The so-called "myth" of racial democracy is a term that is widely used to refer to the works of Gilberto Freyre and, above all, to intellectual changes in sociology and anthropology, after the development of his theories. It is the sociological school in São Paulo, led by Florestan Fernandes, which, by resuming the ethnic-racial debate and inserting it in the trajectory of the formation of Brazilian society, will provide support for overcoming Gilberto Freyre's conceptions of culturalism and its impact on Brazilian society. Therefore, if the set of works, lectures, debates, etc. in which Freyre inserted himself throughout his life, contributed to the overcoming of a eugenicist, hygienist and social Darwinist paradigm, they created, on the other hand, a conception that Brazilian society, even though it did not have a political-economic democracy, was constituted of a racial democracy, since the culture shared and inserted in the daily life of all, throughout the process of miscegenation that occurred in the colonial period, it favors the overcoming of ethnic-racial conflicts. It is only with the works of these sociologists and sociologists that, analyzing urban life and the insertion of the labor market, one finds the segregation existing in specific spaces, in other words, the miscegenation that occurs in the colonial period cannot be put as cross-breed, the genetic mixture of ethnicities does not provide a disruption with power structures, distinction of cultures and overcoming class contradictions, for example. It is noteworthy that the term "racial democracy" does not appear in Freyre's works, but is used in the debate after his central works. For deeper understanding COSTA, Emília Viotti da. O mito da democracia racial. In: COSTA, Emília Viotti da. Da Monarquia à República: momentos decisivos. 7. ed. São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 1999, p. 365-384.

¹⁹ Brazilian literature is an enriching source that demonstrates how social structuring from the question of work was developed with an exclusionary character, novels such as *Triste Fim de Policarpo Quaresma* by Lima Barreto, *Vidas secas* by Graciliano Ramos, *Os Sertões* of Euclides da Cunha, *Memórias de um Sargento de Milícias*, by Manuel Antônio de Almeida, among many others, express from different points of view the complexity of Brazilian society.

As presented in the government's propagandistic documentary, *O CAFÉ (1958)*, by Humberto Mauro, the whole process of how coffee was produced, from the arrival in Brazilian territory, through the steps of verification, to the export to several European countries, made several points of the country interconnected and modernized (MELLO, 2009), at the same time the enslaved and freed became peripheral in this process, still being seen in this period as "objects", therefore, without any freedom, nor of treatment, nor of choice.

Mello (2009) also argues that it was the "leakage" of surplus capital from coffee to other businesses that allowed most of the investments in industrial activity from the end two decades of the 19th century.

There was also a permanent contradiction in relation to slave and enslaved masters, since even considered mere objects, soulless, were still workers who should receive punishments and stimuli and have strategies to increase their production²⁰.

Within this modernization process that the country went through after the declaration of independence, the pressure of the foreign market and also of ideals present in the currents of thoughts, mainly influenced by the ideals of the French revolution and American independence, begin to gain ideal abolitionist forces in Brazil (GILENO, 2007).

On the other hand, with the gradual collapse of the system of clientele and patronage, the contradiction is accentuated, which as stated by Costa (1999, p. 382), with the development of a competitive system, blacks and whites had more difficulty in avoiding situations in which prejudice and discrimination were not perceptible.

With the industrial revolution in England the search for a consumer market strengthened the pressure for abolition and after the Paraguayan war, in which enslaved blacks received euphoria if they were to fight on the front line, some popular segments began to position themselves in favor of ending enslavement. This whole process, and the social contradictions that come from this route, caused Brazilian landowners to seek the immigrant labor force, as Costa notes (1999, p. 362).

He goes on to say that by the 1880s it was obvious that abolition was imminent, and Parliament, reacting to abolitionism inside and outside the country, was gradually passing

²⁰ Before the abolition of slavery had already occurred a first wave of immigration from Europe to Brazil, with the arrival of Italians, Dutch, French, English, Germans etc. This contradiction between free labor and slave labor caused precarious conditions, practically similar to those enslaved in crops, for these immigrants, generating a "revolt" with such conditions and mass return of immigrants to their homelands. After the abolition there will be a second wave of immigration, with whites occupying the jobs – still precarious – but that excluded blacks from these possibilities for many times, moreover, the slave lords did not know how to conduct labor and social relations with free workers, which made the whole process even more difficult.

legislation. Therefore, according to this policy, children born to slave mothers were declared free in 1871, and in 1885 freedom was guaranteed for all slaves over the age of 65, in addition, especially within coffee areas, where almost two thirds of the slave population were, there were large-scale escapes, precisely by the awareness and support of civil areas related to abolition, finally, with broad resistance until the last moment of the landowners, who were the greatest beneficiaries of slavery, there was the total collapse of this system. Gileno (2017) also considers that the gradual abolition makes the full constitution of civil and political rights of a large part of the population impossible due to its heritage.

Also, in this line of reasoning, Cardoso (1960) points out that the transformation of the social production regime, which was a facilitator for industrial activity in the country, comes from the process of coffee expansion in the state of São Paulo. Within this process, three points are highlighted: 1) the free labor force contributed to the emergence of a mercantile structure; 2) the transformation of the former masters of ingenuity into capitalist entrepreneurs; and 3) infrastructure projects (banks, railways, ports, roads, etc.) created due to coffee activity that were fundamental to the establishment of the industry.

This modernization process, which included the free work of immigrants in the same time-space of forced labor of the enslaved, after the abolition of slavery in 1888, with the law of the free womb in 1871 already demarcating the final character of slavery, miscegenation remained present, however, the imposition of political and economic barriers to the "mulatos" and blacks were even more present, causing a segregation and inequality strengthened in this scenario, of whites who were numerical minorities but held, mostly, the properties and means of production.

The great consequence of this complex process is the creation of the imaginary of the negro as a public and private enemy, so this population would hinder the modernization process, even though its culture incorporated into the daily life of Brazilians was excluded from active participation in civil, political and economic society.

Final considerations

In works such as *as arrivant in custom au Palais*, 1839, or, *Le Dessous de La Porte Cochère d'un personnage de la Cour*, 1839, by Jean Baptiste Debret, depicting the Joanine period in Brazil until the first empire, we can note some of the customs and structures in force and treated previously, from which there was primary attention to the exclusion of humanity from black people, browns and indigenous peoples, equated to objects, soon after – the abolition of 1888 – being peripheral in access to jobs (given priority to immigrants, by state funding), properties (through the land law of 1850 and the manipulation and stealing of agrarian elites) and political, civil and cultural participation realizing, moreover, how the segregationist character of Brazil operated, situated, even after the possibility of freedom, blacks and blacks as servants of the white elite, whether in the period of extractivism, mining, agriculture, coffee oligarchy or industrial process, political, social and economic constructions maintained, with a present and dominant patrimonialism²¹, these populations excluded from the costume to formation of national identity and, after that, of its active participation in a full democracy.

We understand, therefore, that the complexity that involves the formation of Brazilian society and the exclusion of minorities, especially black and indigenous men and women, permeates political, economic, cultural, philosophical and technological aspects (with regard to modernization and its purposes). Moreover, it is of paramount importance, in our perspective, that myths about racial democracy, of miscegenation as a concrete fact of the Brazilian reality, of shared culture, of space without ethnic-racial contradictions, in short, of a harmonious country that had its slave and violent past solved, are overcome, so that, thus, we can advance in the solution of the problem of structural and institutional racism created and perfected on Brazilian soil.

Hence, as a way of reinforcing the notes, the transformations that occurred in Brazilian territory should be analyzed as having a direction, which was and is dictated by the elites, formed by alliances between aristocracy and bourgeoisie, which in the search for maintaining the *status quo* and social ascension and political and military protection, respectively, built means of - as the total institution that was the regime of enslavement - to lead the progress to

²¹ Patrimonialism according to Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, in *Roots of Brazil*, was one of the determining characteristics in the way the Brazilian composed his participation in public and private life, causing the construction of social relations but, above all, policies, of the bureaucratic modernizing act, to be confused with privileges and private interests, in other words: private, domestic life, invades the public domain, the State serves as a form of aid to the interests of an oligarchic elite. See SOUZA, Jessé. *A Elite do Atraso*. Rio de Janeiro: Estação Brasil, 2019. For an in-depth critique of the problems of the term "patrimonialism" and the work *Roots of Brazil* by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda.

only a small group of the population, while systematically excluding everything else, through intellectual currents, political, economic and social devices, and technological development directed to a single purpose, profit.

However, in the course of the process of reading, reviewing, reflecting and writing, we also perceive the need for an intellectual production of white authors who can see themselves - and, above all, see their responsibility now and in the past, in the process of formation of Brazilian society - in other words, it is important to point out that the maintenance of a logic of studies of black bodies and minds by white authors, without an effort to study the whiteness itself and its relationship with the social transformations treated throughout the article, it is something that needs to be overcome within academic spaces, in which, often, there is a predisposition to deal with structural and institutional racism without whiteness being placed as a determining factor in the constitution of these categories, as well as references are always white intellectuals.

Finally, even with the analysis, in a brief and simple way, it is perceived that there is a vast literature around the formation of Brazilian society, which extends to other artistic manifestations, such as films, documentaries, paintings, etc. As well as there are several social, political and economic issues that are part of this debate, in addition to the very currents of thought that have focused on such problems. Thus, we conclude by saying that the literature review on the theme and the points raised are not sufficient to overcome paradigms, contradictions and conflicts cited, as well as we cannot progress in relation to the criticism exposed above, but the writing is an attempt to reflect and contribute, even if minimal and from a specific perspective, of further elucidation on a theme that still causes strangeness, confusion and divergence.

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