

REPORT ON BLACK FATHERHOOD IN BRAZIL



PROMUNDO



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ABOUT THIS REPORT

DANIEL COSTA LIMA AND LUCIANO RAMOS

As the Colombian anthropologist Mara Viveros Vigoya writes, it is necessary to “undermine the idea of an abstract, universal and disembodied masculinity” (2018, p. 24), and one of the ways to do this is to draw attention to the fact that “colonized men were never the ones who defined the ideal masculinity” (Vincent Joly, 2011. In: Vigoya, 2018).[1] Henrique Restier follows a similar path when he states that the “pretense of universality and neutrality produced by male whiteness lends it an unparalleled normative power, causing it to be taken as a measure of (almost) everything”. [2] Unquestionably among these things is fatherhood, since it is necessary to recognize that it was not colonized men, much less non-white men from colonized countries, such as Brazil, who defined and continue to define what “ideal paternity” is”.

This report represents an unprecedented effort to bring black fathers and black fatherhood to the forefront. This report exists because black fathers exist and resist.

According to the last census of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics/IBGE (2015), 55.8% of the Brazilian population declare themselves as “black” (46.5% as brown and 9.3% as black[3]) and 43, 1% as “white”. Nonetheless, when we look at indicators such as income, employment, education, health, violence, and political representation, we quickly see the imbalance and inequality between whites and blacks in our country.

In summary, what these indicators show is that being black fundamentally impacts all aspects of the lives of brown and black people in Brazil. So, why shouldn't it also impact the experience of fatherhood (and motherhood) of the black Brazilian population? This question, apparently obvious, needs to be asked so that we can better understand this scenario and draw strategies that guarantee to the largest portion of the population of Brazil, the rights described in our Federal Constitution and in other legal provisions, such as the Statute of the Child and Adolescent.

[1] VIGOYA, Mara Viveros (2018). As cores da masculinidade: Experiências interseccionais e práticas de poder na Nossa América. Papeis Selvagens.

[2] RESTIER, Henrique (2018) Por que tenho orgulho de ser um olhem negro? Available in: <http://www.justificando.com/2018/01/19/por-que-tenho-orgulho-de-ser-um-homem-negro/>

[3] In Brazil, the national census considers black anyone who declares themselves black or brown.



The dialogue between professor Henrique and his son Pedro, in the book “O Averso da Pele”, by Jeferson Tenório, gives us the magnitude of the reach of skin color in a white world:

You always said that black people had to fight, because the white world had taken almost everything from us and that thinking was all we had left.

It is necessary to preserve the inside out, you told me. Preserve what no one sees. Because it doesn't take long and the color of the skin crosses our body and determines our way of being in the world. And as much as your life is measured by color, as much as your attitudes and ways of living are under that domain, you somehow have to preserve something that doesn't fit that, you know? Because between muscles, organs and veins there is a place of its own, isolated and unique. And that's where the affections are. And it is these affections that keep us alive. (p. 55)[1]

As Silvio Almeida (2019) states, “In a world where race defines life and death, not taking it as an element of analysis of major contemporary issues demonstrates the lack of commitment to science and to solving the world’s major ills.” (2019, p. 57).[2]

[1] TENÓRIO, Jeferson (2020). O avesso a pele. Companhia das Letras.

[2] ALMEIDA, Silvio Luiz de (2020). Racismo Institucional. São Paulo: Sueli Carneiro; Editora Jandaíra.

MENCARE, PROMUNDO AND THE SERIES OF STATE OF FATHERHOOD REPORTS

The first report on the State of Fatherhood in Brazil, released in 2016 by Instituto Promundo, begins with a phrase taken from the pioneering global report released the previous year by the MenCare Network: “Fatherhood and care matter. This is what the growing body of studies produced in the world on the subject over the last two decades reveals” (Promundo-Brasil, 2016, p. 16). [1]

In the course of its pages, the Brazilian report seeks to answer why such an investigative undertaking, regarding paternity and care, is important for Brazil. Following the format already outlined by the global report and the perspective of the MenCare Network, a significant part of these pages is directed to the discussion around how fatherhood is diametrically related to the struggle to overcome inequalities between men and women.

“Investment in policies that value fatherhood and the role of men as caregivers has the potential to deconstruct a dominant model of masculinity — patriarchal and sexist — that reinforces gender inequality, opening the way for the construction of other models that are non violent, but based on affection and care.” (Promundo-Brasil, 2016, p.16)

The authors of this report agree with this view and believe in the potential addressing the issue of fatherhood as a powerful tool for gender equity. However, the impression is that both the first report on fatherhood in the world, and its Brazilian counterpart, made one of the most frequent mistakes - taking, to a large extent, men as equals, not taking into account, or giving little attention to crucial issues such as race.

Returning to the first State of Fatherhood in Brazil report, from 2016, it listed possible topics for research in the field of fatherhood: the impact of racism and institutional racism on the experience of fatherhood among black men; and the contributions and new perspectives that can be brought to the debate on paternity and care, based on the experience of men that practice religions of African origin.

[1] Promundo-Brasil (2016). A Situação da Paternidade no Brasil. Available in: https://promundo.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/relatorio_paternidade_03b_baixa-1.pdf

When talking about incarcerated fathers, disproportionately black and Latino men, the US report (Promundo-US and MenCare, 2016) asserts that the vulnerabilities of that country's racially and economically marginalized communities are exacerbated by the criminal justice system.

In the second global report “State of the World’s Fathers: Time for Action” (Promundo-US et al, 2017) there is not even one mention of race. The report is very focused on the economic debate, on the negative economic impacts of gender inequality, particularly on account of how household and childcare tasks are carried out around the world. However, it approaches the subject without a racial analysis.

The report “The State of Fatherhood in Brazil 2019 — Time for Action” states that it is essential that the growing debate on the “new masculinities” and fatherhoods can be linked to a critical understanding of gender inequality and based on advances in some key movements for the field, especially those of women, LGBTQIA+ and black people; thus contributing to a scenario of change with more social justice and well-being for all. (p. 16)[1]

The report also points out that the fact specific populations are not being the focus of research and initiatives points to a flaw in the field — often a reflection of phenomena such as institutional racism, classism, machismo, heteronormativity, LGBTQIAphobia, discrimination against people with disabilities (PwD) and religious fundamentalism—and not for lack of need or relevance. Just as three examples, the black population, the PwD and the LGBTQIA+ population that we speak of, respectively represent 54.9% (black and brown), 23.4% and 10% (estimated) of the total Brazilian population. Even so, little is said about black fathers, about fathers with disabilities and about gay, bisexual and trans fathers.

The report ended with articles from several parents, including two black fathers. In the text of Diego Francisco:

For a long time, it was common to say that "if you don't have money, then you don't have children!" But will the cycle of injustice deprive us of even the beauty of heredity? I make these points so that we are able to produce changes in society. Parenting is revolutionary and is part of the right to life.

Talking about black fatherhood is a challenge in the bubble of active parenting — fatherhood — parenting with care. It's not that black fathers don't care or that they don't try to be as loving as possible with their offspring, it's that there's “a lot of rocks in this angu[2]” as my grandmother used to say.

[1] Promundo-Brasil (2019). Available in: https://promundo.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/relatorio_paternidade_promundo_06-3-1.pdf

[2] A typical brazilian dish that is similar to a Polenta.

What is the routine of black Brazilian fathers? What is at stake in the daily lives of these men? How does it work for salaried workers, who work 44 hours a week for a minimum wage, when deciding between working more or taking care of their children? Do you go to daycare or stay at home?

Diego's speech points us to the question: is an involved fatherhood, so boasted in recent years, for those who want it or for those who can? Of course, the same can be said for motherhood. It is urgent that we look at the additional obstacles experienced by black mothers and fathers in this country as a result of structural racism.

“The State of South Africa’s Fathers” (Sonke Gender Justice and Human Sciences Research Council, 2018), who brought an interesting point of view by stating that the customary emphasis on the presence or absence of co-resident biological fathers may represent the perpetuation of a “(...) colonial tradition of white middle-class reference structures being imposed on black families of low income”.



BLACK FATHERHOODS – CHALLENGES AND PANORAMAS

The Map of Violence in Brazil, in 2017, showed us that every 23 minutes a young black man is killed in the country. Thus, at every moment a black youth will not have the possibility of fathering in our society, or a black child will have his father murdered.

Being a black man and fathering in the Brazilian scenario is a challenge. This statement is supported by the fact that the Brazilian society is racist, and that this racism is manifested in different aspects and scopes of this same society. Philosopher Silvio de Almeida demonstrates in his book “Racismo Estrutural” [1] that this racist way of the Brazilian society to relate is not an “anomaly” but the “normal” of this society that mischaracterizes everything that differs from white supremacy. This phenomenon would be no different for the black father.

Looking at black paternity without a historical and anthropological analysis allows us to have a shallow and distinct view of reality.

A central point is the understanding that we cannot analyze black fathers in the same way as we do white fathers. There is an unequal racial struggle that is not camouflaged and is not unknown. As stated in the previous paragraph, racism is the social “normal”.

The Brazilian black man, with all the precariousness imposed on him, was only able to start fathering after the abolition of slavery in 1888. Therefore, he has been parenting in these lands for less than two centuries. A century and a half, when it comes to human development, is next to nothing. Every memory of paternity of the black man before the 19th century is an affective memory of Africa.

In this context, we need to discuss masculinities as a fundamental point in the construction of paternity. There is a struggle, presented here, that refers to hegemonic masculinities versus subaltern masculinities. It is important to understand that there is an interdependence of these presented models that is built within these masculinities. The place of hegemony belongs to white, straight and cis men, and the place of subalternities belongs to black men and everything that is not inserted in the white and heteronormative standard. The theory of “virility”, as a set of unattainable practices and, therefore, is impeditive for the black man to exercise masculinity, according to the sociologist and historian Georges Vigarello, offers shelter to the hegemony of the white man. Our society does not perceive differences as an important and fundamental element of wealth for social coexistence, on the contrary, it creates inequalities. In this sense the black man is seen as inferior to the white man.

[1] Free translation of the title is “Structural Racism”



Therefore, it is not up to him to exercise paternity, the responsibility of paternity and, even less, the care of paternity. Machismo takes away the place of care from men, wrongly submitting it as a woman's natural condition. From the black man it takes it away twice, since racism attributes to the black man the characteristic of “naturally violent”. Breaking with machismo to take care and with racism to be a father is a constant struggle of the black man who wants to father around here. It seems that racism coupled with machismo is an almost indestructible formula that prevents the black man from exercising paternity.

WHAT HORIZON IS PRESENTED TO BLACK FATHERHOOD?

In a class I taught, in 2019, on “*Black Masculinities and Fatherhoods*”, a young woman asked me this question and my answer remains the same: the Aquilombamento[1]. This is the answer that we cannot lose sight of. There is an African proverb that says “it takes a village to raise a child”. Black people possessed, throughout history, the culture of affection and collective care. This community movement can support the black man in the exercise of fatherhood. It is important to say that the collective movement does not remove individual responsibility.

Another important element to consider is the fact that black parenting has its peculiarities. And these need to be respected by the non-black community. The fears and challenges of black parents, in the exercise of parenting, are distinguished from non-black parents, for example, the constant fear of death due to state violence, financial instability that directly affects the black population, etc.

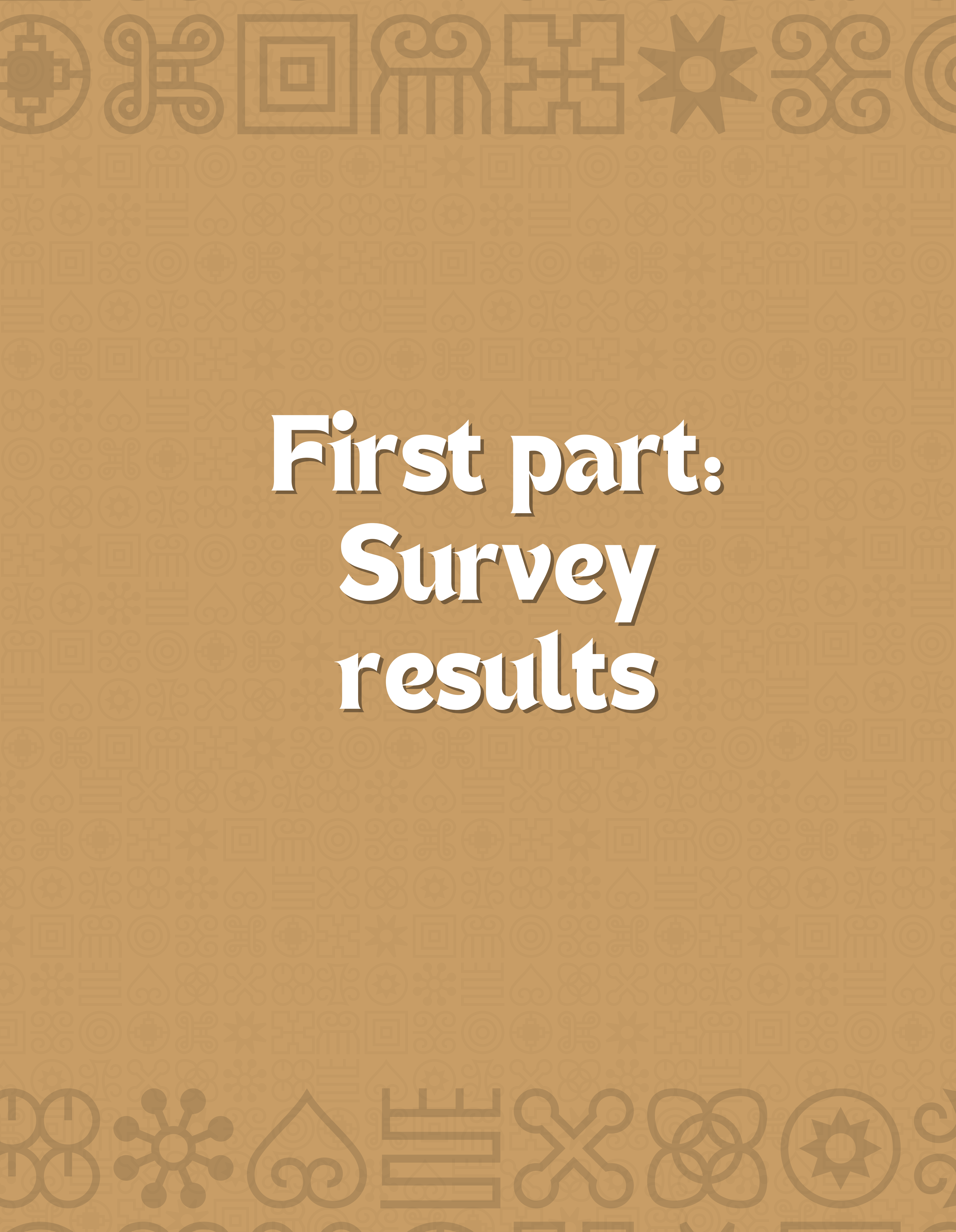
Therefore, an intersectional approach is urgent when dealing with the topic of “fatherhood”. Without this approach, we will not be able to consider the distinctions and think about public policies that account for the precariousness to which black men were and are socially subjected and thus vulnerable in the exercise of their paternity.

[1] See glossary for meaning.



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First part: Survey results

THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE 1ST REPORT ON BLACK FATHERHOOD IN BRAZIL

**ALAN FELIPE ALVES DOS SANTOS, ANA CAROLINA
GONÇALVES FERREIRA, BRUNA DE OLIVEIRA MARTINS
AND ELVIA CRISTINA SILVA SANTOS**

Black masculinity, hardened under the hegemonic pillars of western modernity and which with colonialism expands, becoming a risky and traumatizing model by which black men are circumscribed is a territory full of conflicts, but as an act of resistance and re-existence some black men are reinventing themselves with the awareness of their paternity.[1]

The discussion about race, intersected with fatherhood, is scarce in the Brazilian context, so the task of finding data that brings a racial angle about the exercise of paternity proves to be complex and challenging. The year 2021 will mark the moment we will take the first step in the study of black fatherhood within the Brazilian territory, together with an exquisite ensemble of scholars on the subject present in this report. One of the difficulties that we observed in tracing this study and this compilation was, precisely, the difficulty in finding substantial data that could statistically support our research. Any early movement within the social sciences exhibits, to some extent, this weakness or data inconsistency. However, when it comes to the black population, the gap is greater, taking into account the entire Brazilian colonial history, the racial disparity that has existed since the most remote times and, above all, the racism present in our daily relationships.

In an attempt to fill or alleviate this lack of data, our team sought to do a brief, short-range survey in the form of a questionnaire on a digital platform. This document presents the methodology, previous results and, above all, the weaknesses that we found when working with this modality. Throughout the texts contained in the report, we will better understand the reasons for these difficulties. It is undeniable, however, that the notion of paternity is strengthened from a colonial perspective, which has as an imaginary the present white father and the absent black father or, when present, austere, rigid, violent and with little emotional openness. Our intention, therefore, is to rethink and re-signify this place of black fatherhood, extending the discussion to society, eliminating it from an academic or just conceptual prison.

[1] PEREIRA, Artur Oriel; DOS SANTOS, Hasani Elioterio; DA SILVA, Alexandre. Paternidade e Masculinidades Negras Circunscritas: exercícios de autorreflexão emancipatórios. Cadernos de Gênero e Diversidade, v. 5, n. 2, p. 79-102, 2019.



It is necessary to listen and dedicate time to black fathers to understand the paternity(ies) exercised by them. It is worth noting that black fatherhoods permeates many places of vulnerability, especially because the homicide mortality rate of people of color in Brazil is three times higher than that of whites:

Homicide rates in the country did not decrease in the period from 2012 to 2017. On the contrary, among black or brown people, this rate increased from 37.2 to 43.4 deaths per 100,000 inhabitants, while for the white population, the index was stable between 15.3 and 16. This difference means that blacks or browns were 2.7 times more likely to be victims of homicide in 2017.

The data, released today by the IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics), are from the study Social Inequalities by Color or Race in Brazil, and help the country to follow the goal of reducing mortality rates related to violence, part of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

The differences are even more pronounced in the young population. The homicide rate reaches 98.5 among black or brown people aged between 15 and 29. Among young whites in the same age group, the homicide rate is 34 per 100,000 inhabitants.[1]

Therefore, the black man is denied the experience of youth, interfering with the experience of paternity. There are several vulnerabilities present in the exercise of this paternity, including the remnants of colonialism, racism, the sexual division of labor strongly marked by machismo, in addition to social inequalities, which are manifested, symbolically and materially, in the daily lives of black and brown people. Returning to the data, the absence of these reflects the intersection of such vulnerabilities. The academy and scientific production on the subject are incipient and have been put on the agenda over the last few years, mainly driven by the internal debates of racialized and politicized black movements. [2]

The theorists present in this report and who helped us to base our discussions, explain to us how racism is the founding element so that black men and women are not seen beyond the subalternity that racism itself submits them.

[1] MARILIA LOSCHI (Brasil). Editoria: Estatísticas Sociais. Taxa de homicídio de pretos ou pardos é quase três vezes maior que a de brancos. Agência IBGE Notícias. Brasil, 13 nov. 2019. Desigualdade Por Cor Ou Raça.

Available in: <https://agenciadenoticias.ibge.gov.br/agencia-noticias/2012-agencia-de-noticias/noticias/25999-taxa-de-homicidio-de-pretos-ou-pardos-e-quase-tres-vezes-maior-que-a-de-brancos>. Accessed in 18th feb. 2021.

[2] We draw attention to Coletivo Pais Pretos Presentes (Present Black Fathers Collective), an organization that proposes to think about the exercise of black paternity, collectively. In our report, the topic of collectives of parents is thought and deepened.

Thus, a caring paternity becomes a place of whiteness and the exercise of power of this same whiteness, through the demand on the black man, who will hardly reach the indicators imposed from white and hegemonic paternity.

It is worth noting that most of the black male respondents have completed higher education and most of them earn more than 04 minimum wages. In the chapter on “Black Fatherhood and Early Childhood” there is an analysis that explains that when this black man enjoys possibilities, through public policy, and rises socially, he exercises fatherhood with more possibilities.

We bring these brief reflections seeking to place the reader in the understanding of the particularities added to the theme. Our survey used qualitative and quantitative methods, summarized in a self-administered questionnaire (i.e., answered by the participant) containing nine sessions, seven of which were composed of multiple-choice questions, one of "welcome" containing explanations about the form and a last one for final comments.

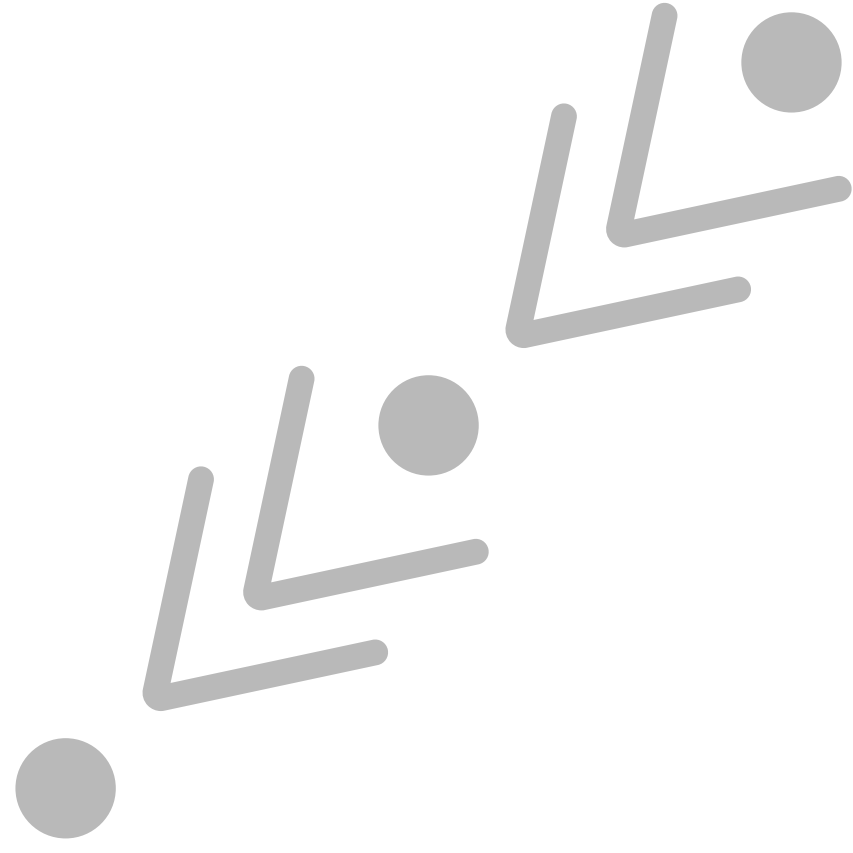
The link to access the survey was widely disseminated through social media, such as WhatsApp, Instagram and Facebook. It remained open for nine consecutive days (01/28/2021 to 02/05/2021), garnering a total of 270 responses. We consider that the number of responses remained within the expected range, initially thought to be between 250 and 300 responses, especially if we consider the few days available online, in addition to the fact that it is a voluntary and anonymous survey, whose participant did not receive any type of retribution.

The formulation of the questions and their distribution in the survey form were designed to contemplate the themes brought up in the chapters by the authors of the report. Not all of the 270 survey respondents took the same route within the form, as some participants were taken to specific sessions, which addressed black fatherhood in early childhood, for example. Thus, in this case, fathers who did not have children between the ages of 0 and 5 years and 11 months did not respond to the session, skipping it and moving on to the next session.

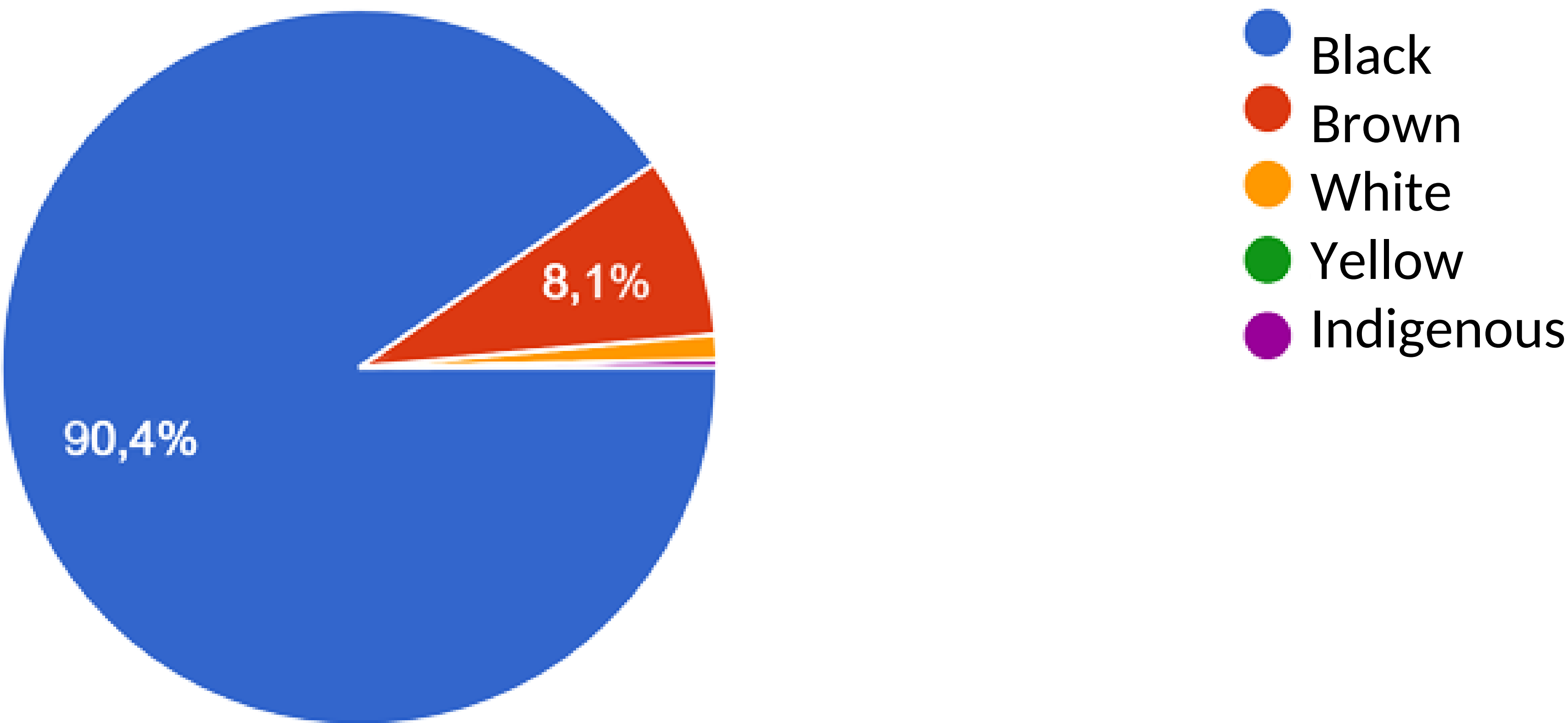
The first session was aimed at all participants, focusing on obtaining general data to trace the socioeconomic profile of the interviewee. We draw attention to the profile of the interviewees, especially regarding schooling and family income, which were much higher than the average of the black population in Brazil[1], showing that our sample, despite being quantitatively significant, has a certain fragility to represent the Brazilian reality for the most part.

[1] To learn more: Blacks or browns are more educated, but inequality in relation to whites remains | News Agency | IBGE

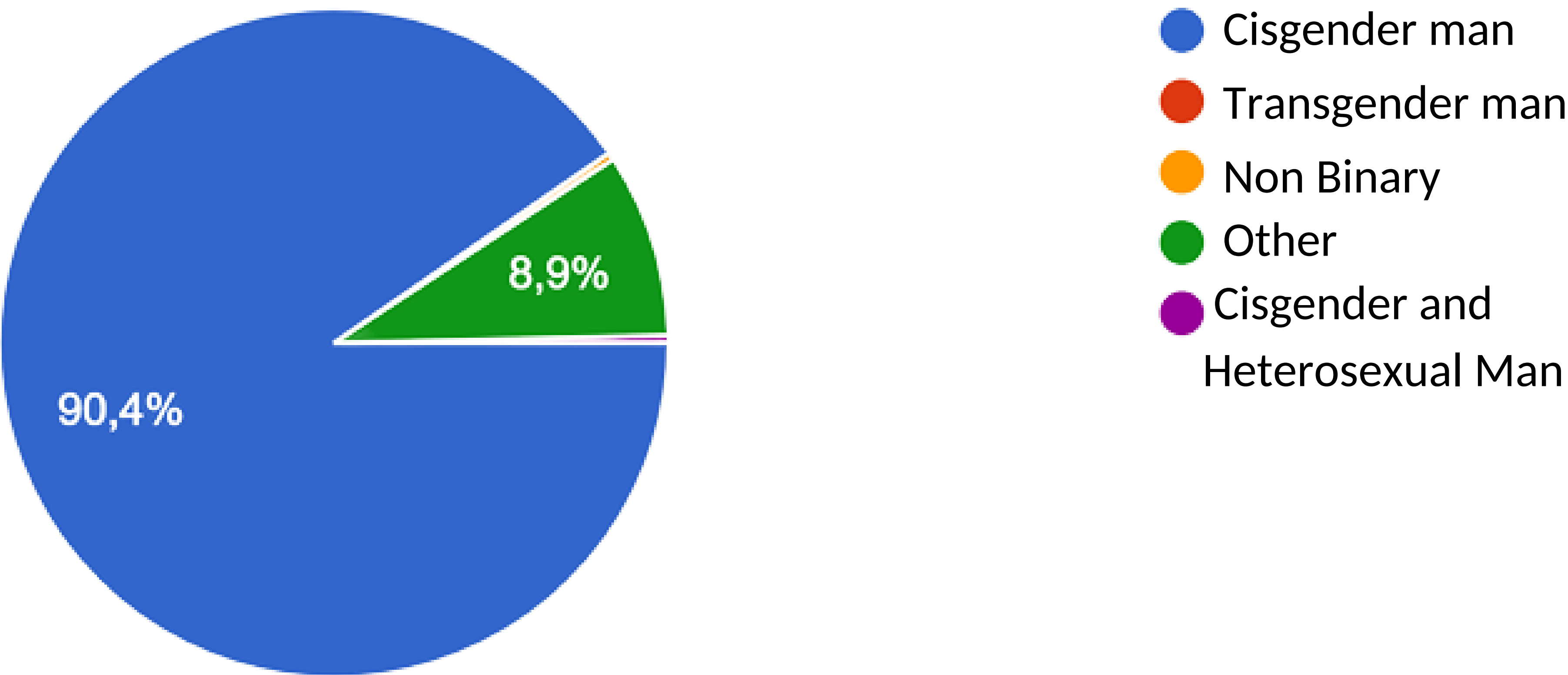
1. QUESTIONS ABOUT YOU – GENERAL INFORMATION



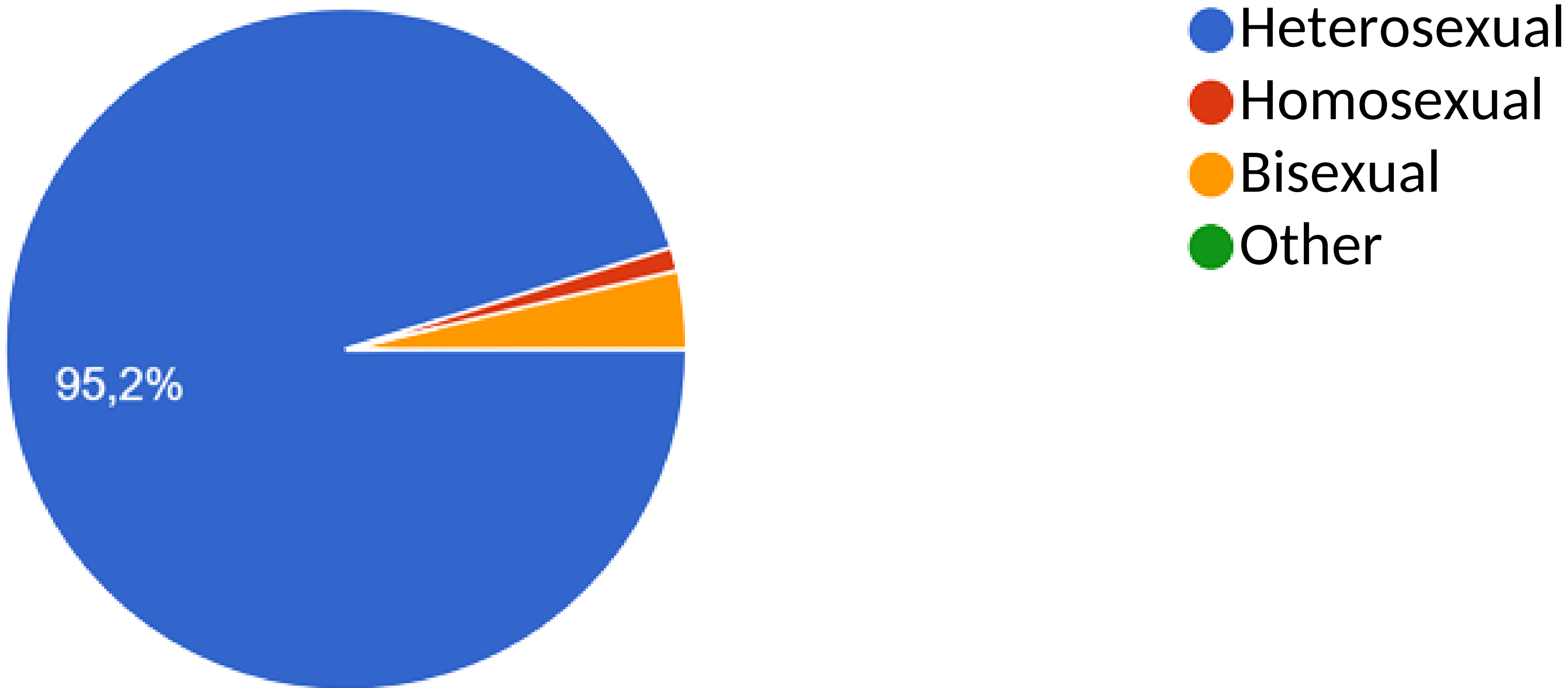
**AS FAR AS ETHNIC-RACIAL IDENTIFICATION IS CONCERNED, HOW DO YOU IDENTIFY YOURSELF?
270 RESPONSES**



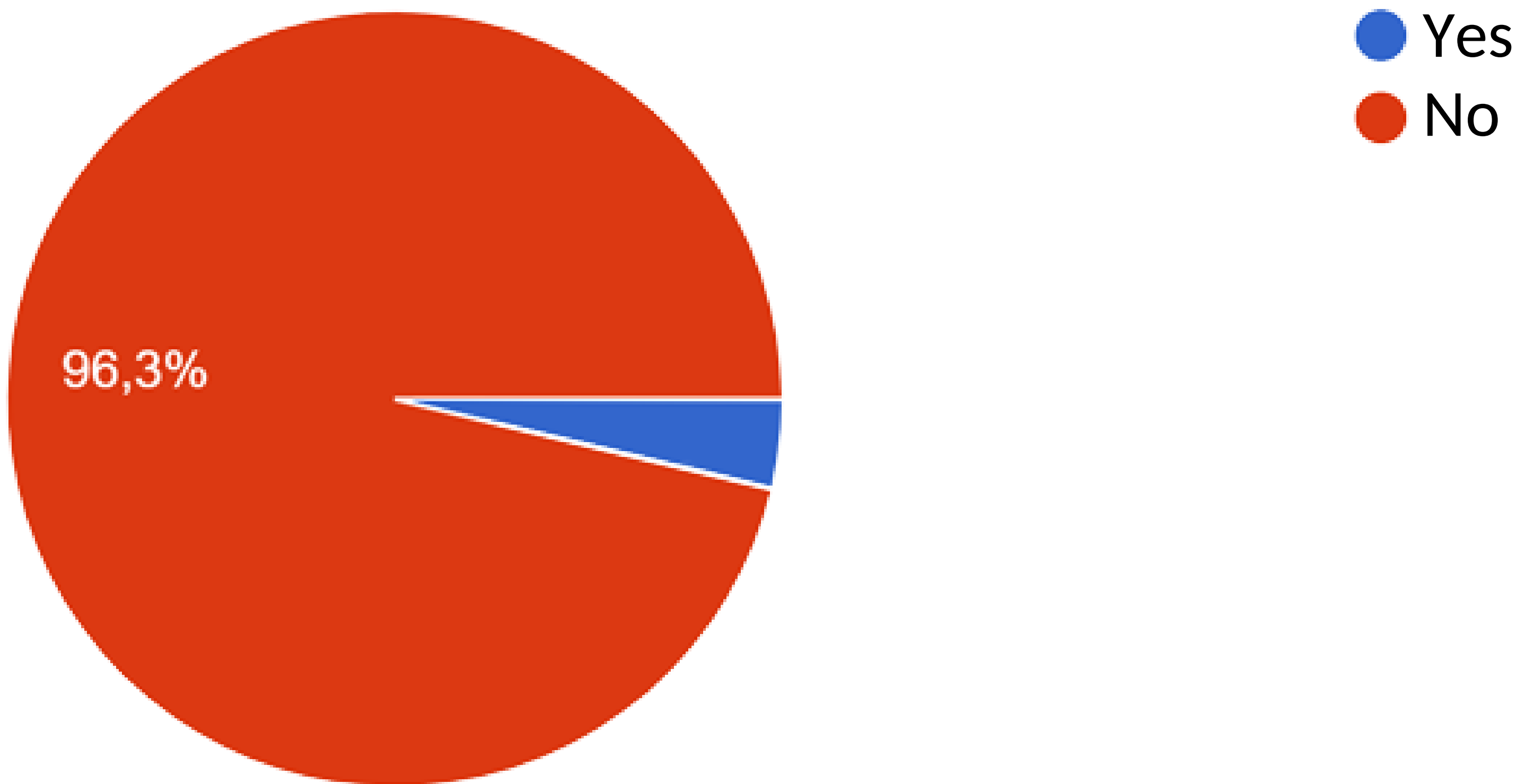
**WHEN IT COMES TO GENDER IDENTITY AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION, HOW DO YOU IDENTIFY YOURSELF?
270 RESPONSES**



WITH REGARD TO SEXUAL ORIENTATION, HOW DO YOU IDENTIFY YOURSELF?
269 RESPONSES



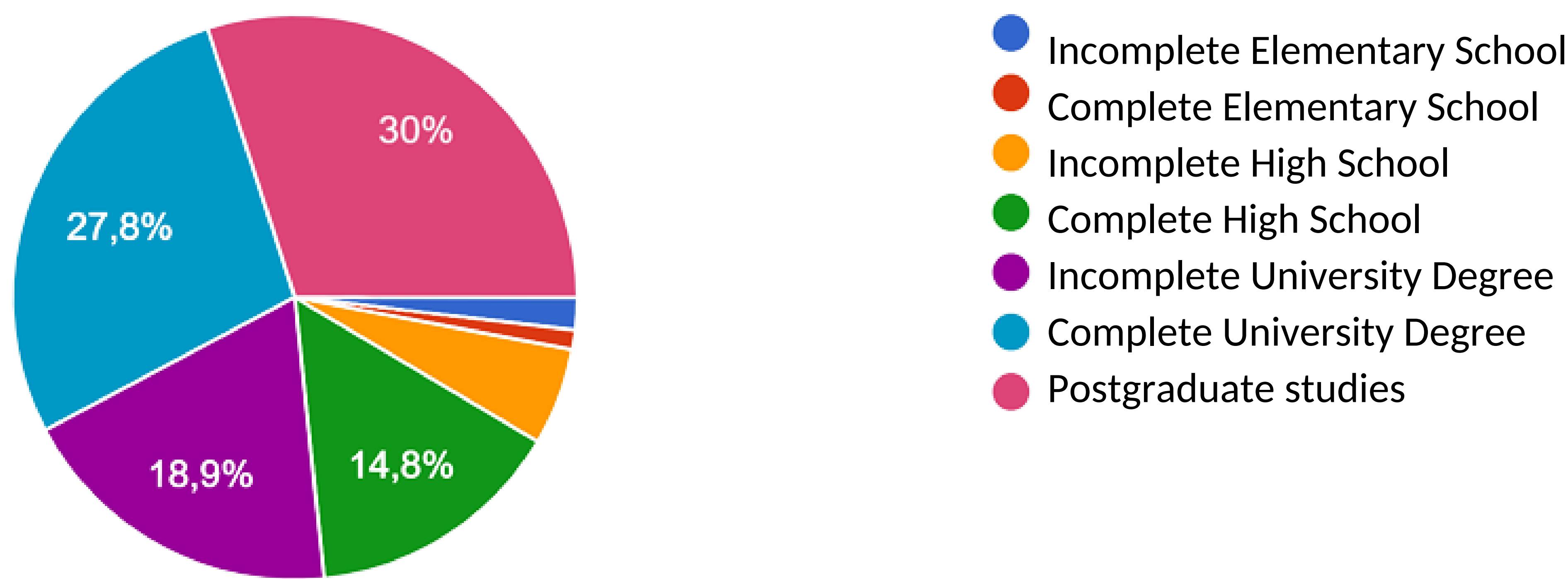
DO YOU HAVE ANY DISABILITIES?
269 RESPONSES

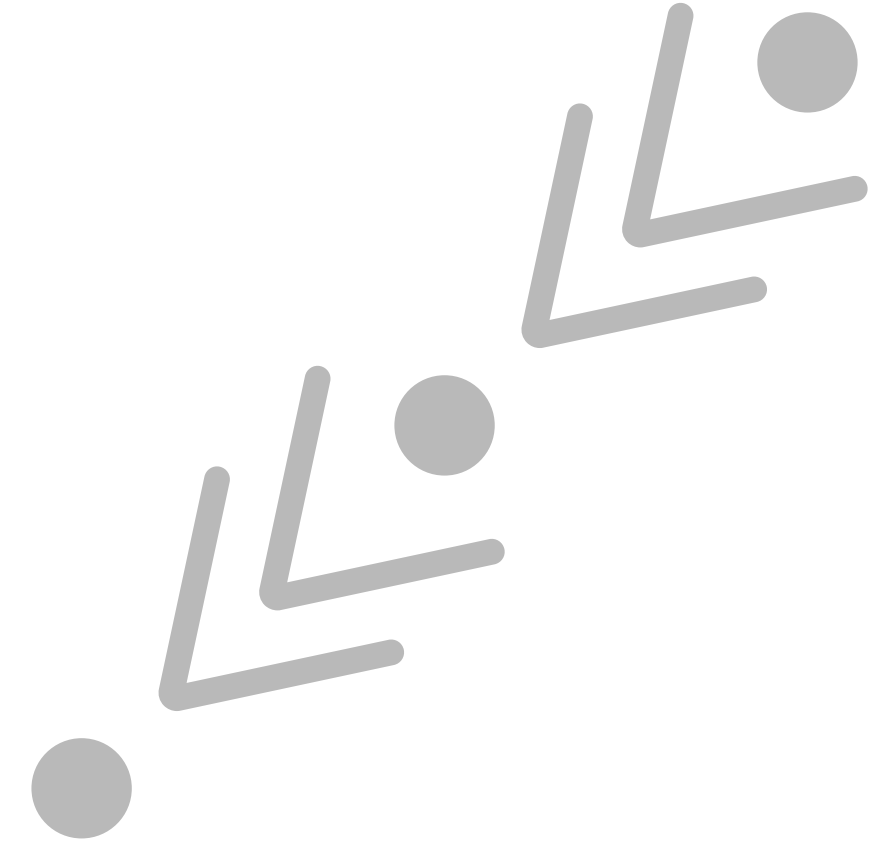


IF THE PREVIOUS QUESTION IS YES, WHICH DISABILITY DO YOU HAVE?

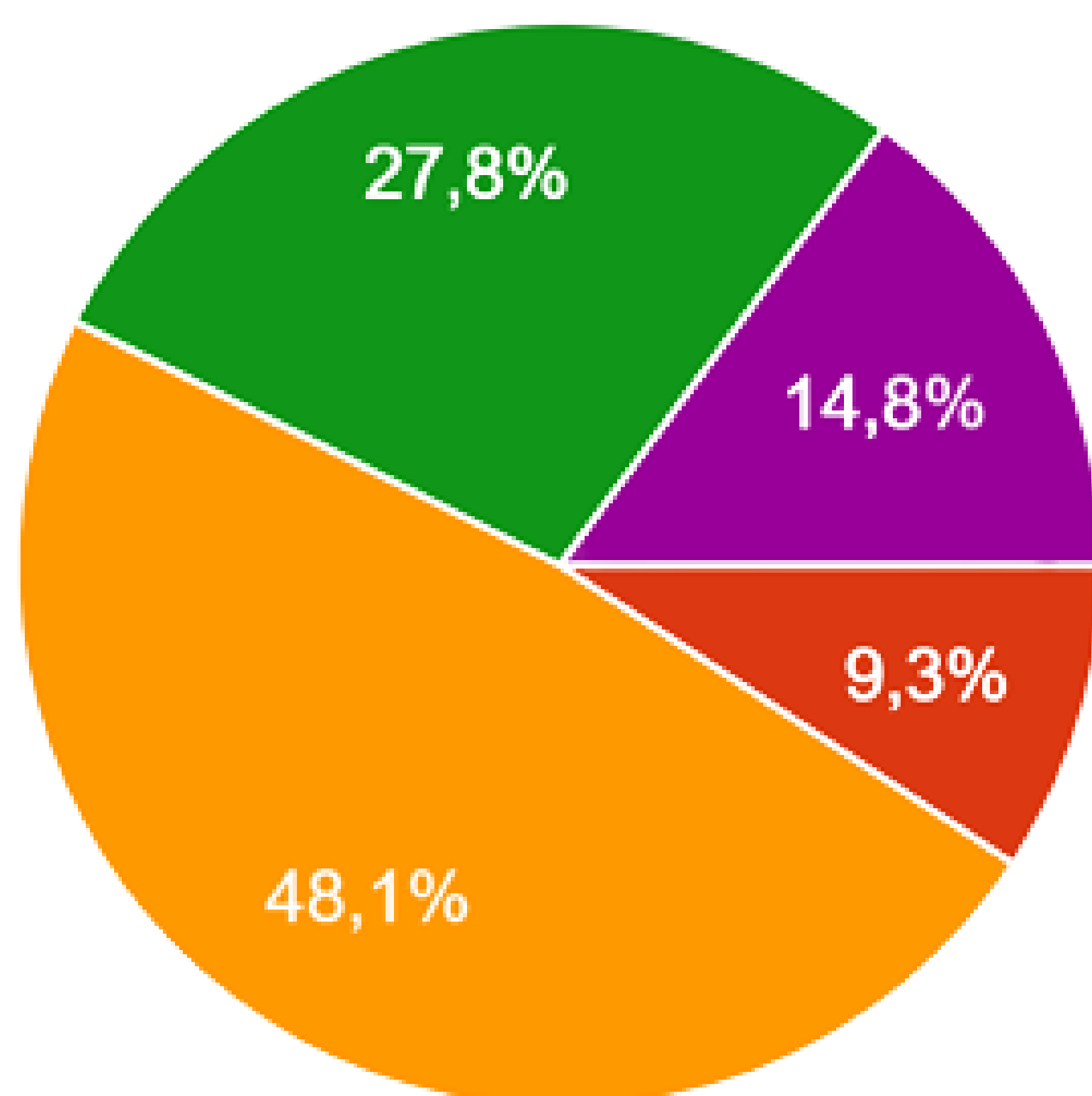
SPECIAL NEEDS	RESPONDENTS
HEARING DEFICIENCY	1
PHYSICAL DISABILITY	4
VISUAL IMPAIRMENT	2
HAS NO DISABILITY	2
SUBJECTIVE ISSUES/NOT APPLICABLE	3
TOTAL	12

ABOUT YOUR EDUCATION, DO YOU HAVE:
270 RESPONSES



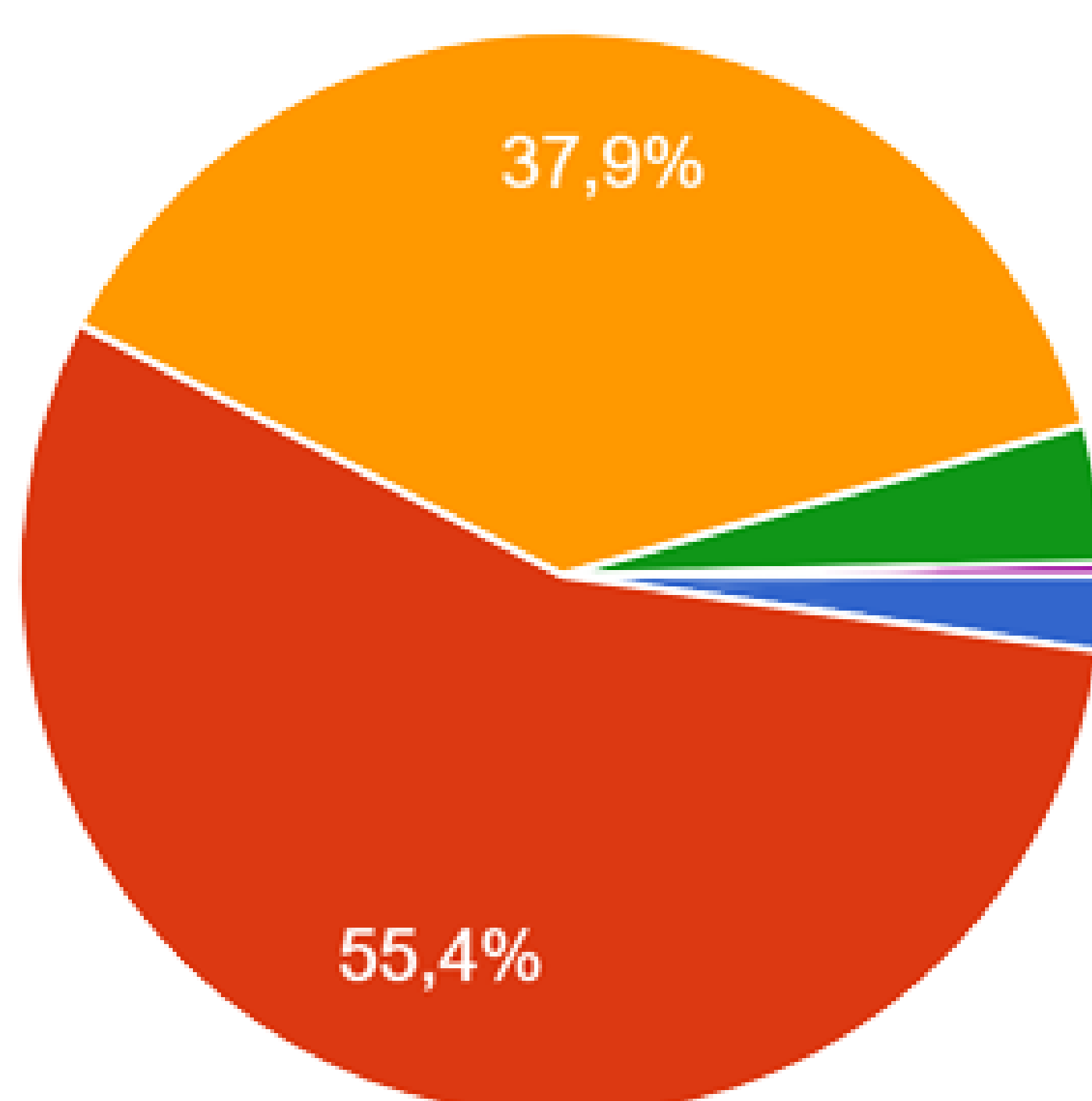


YOUR CURRENT AGE GROUP FALLS WITHIN: 270 RESPONSES

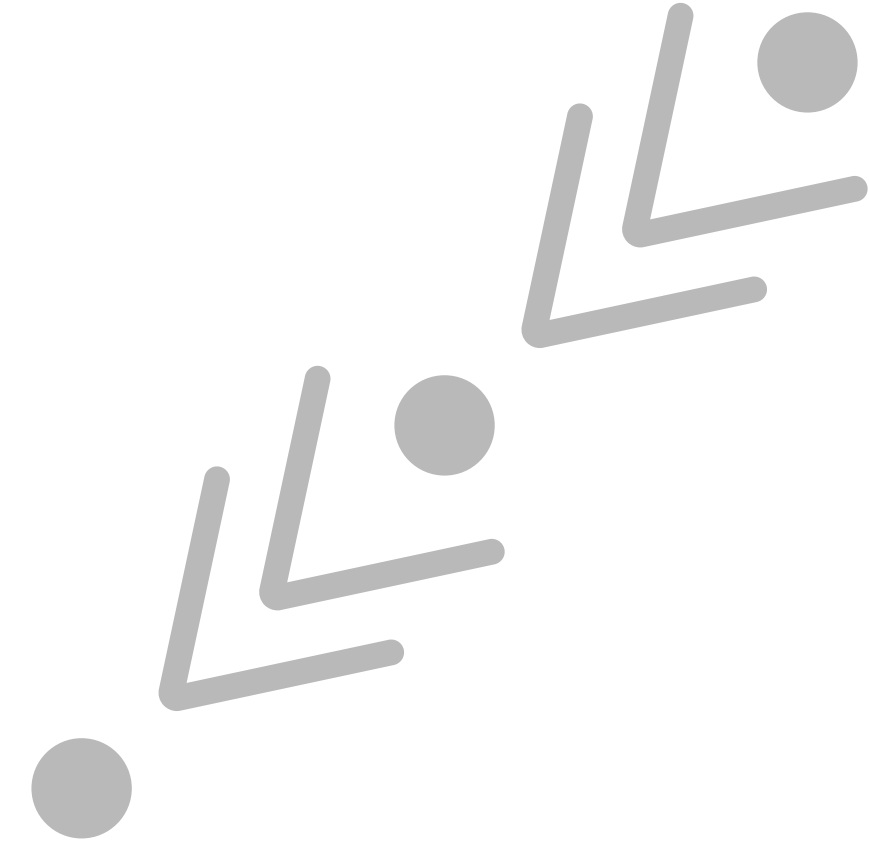


- Under 18 years old
- Between 18 and 29 years old
- Between 30 and 39 years old
- Between 40 and 49 years old
- Over 50

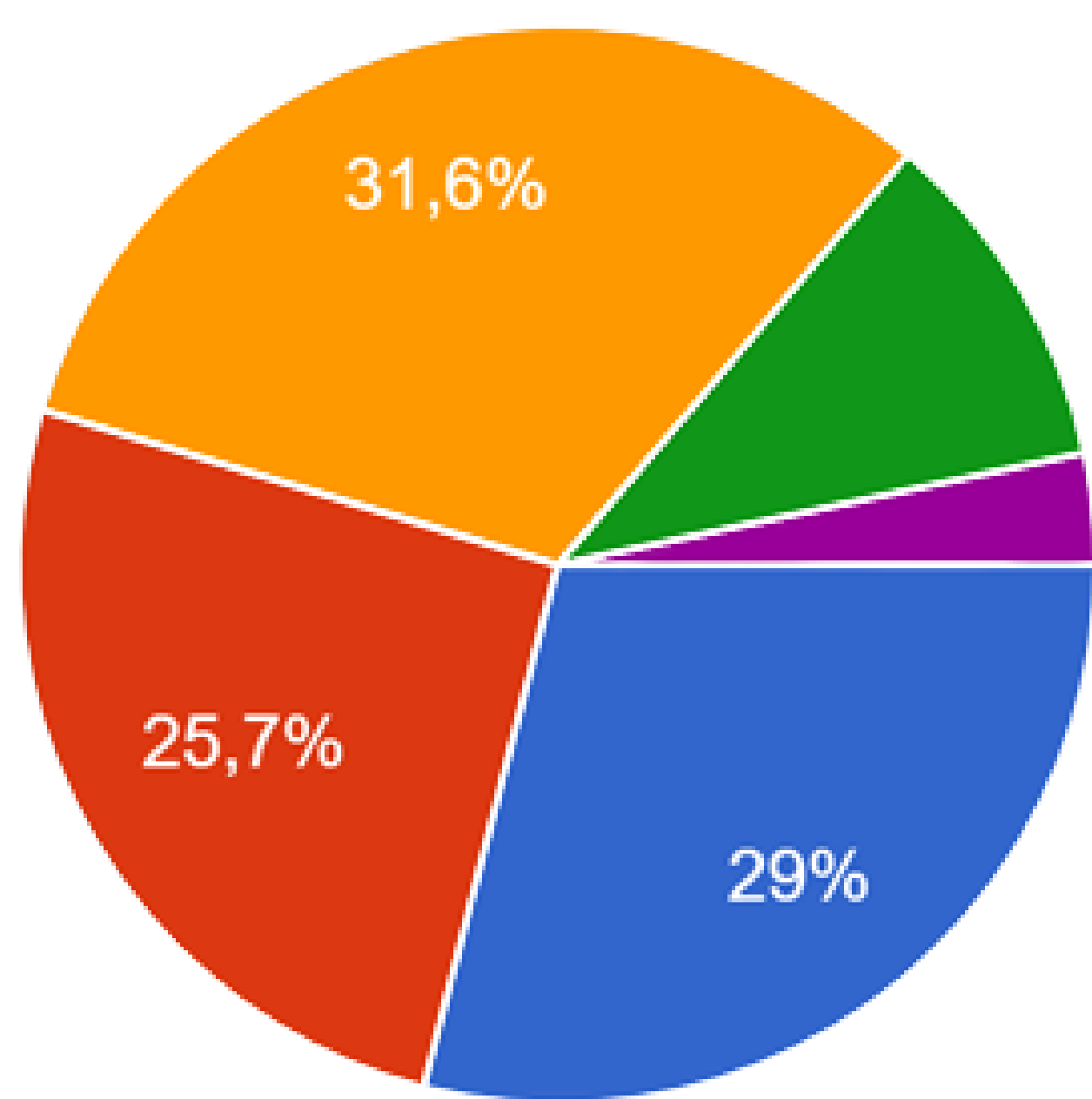
YOUR FIRST PATERNITY TOOK PLACE IN WHAT AGE GROUP: 269 RESPONSES



- Under 18 years old
- Between 18 and 29 years old
- Between 30 and 39 years old
- Between 40 and 49 years old
- Over 50

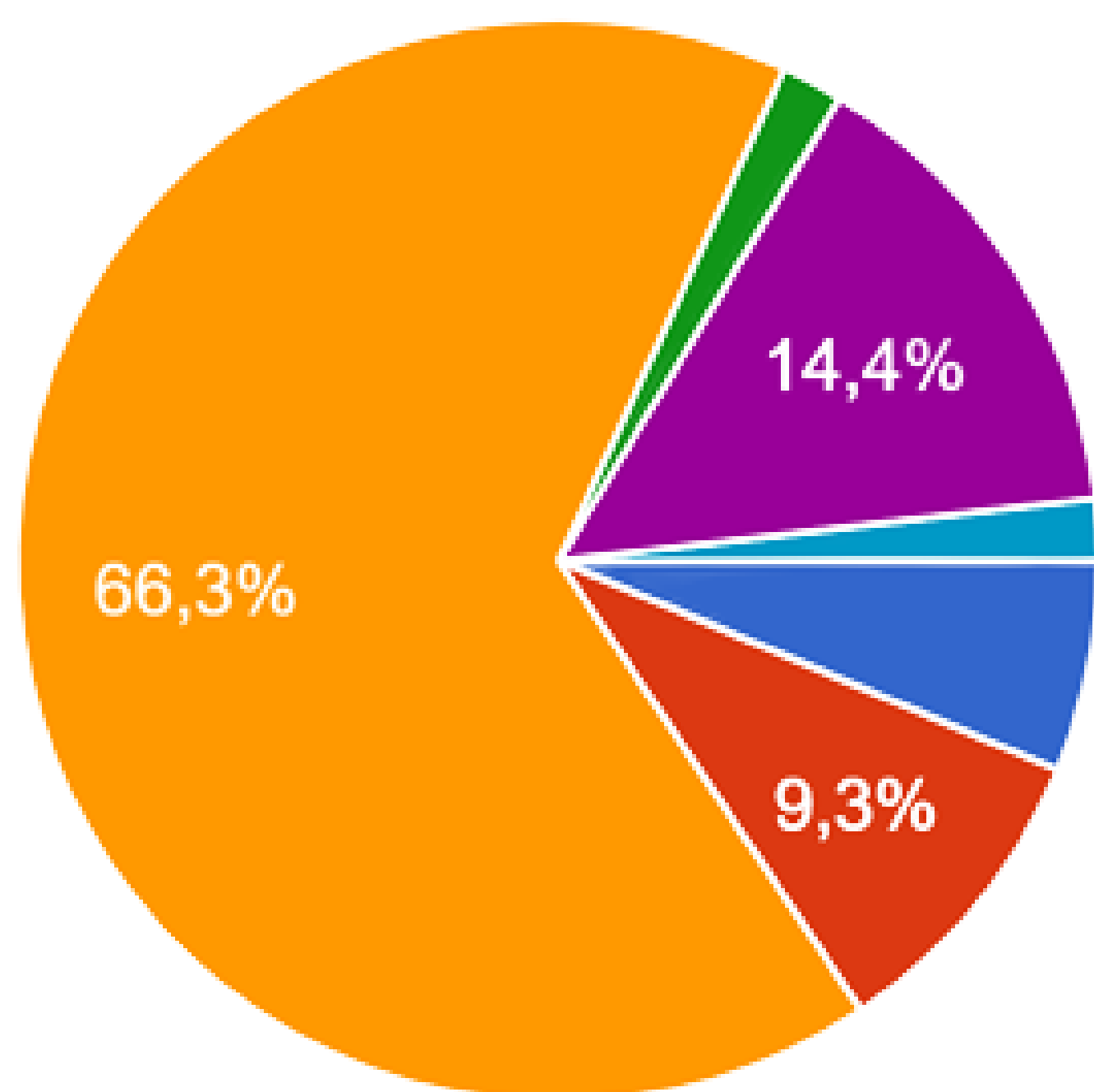


**REGARDING YOUR FINANCIAL INCOME, YOU RECEIVE:
269 RESPONSES**



- Up to 2 minimum wages
- From 2 to 4 minimum wages
- From 4 to 10 minimum wages
- From 10 to 20 minimum wages
- More than 20 minimum wages

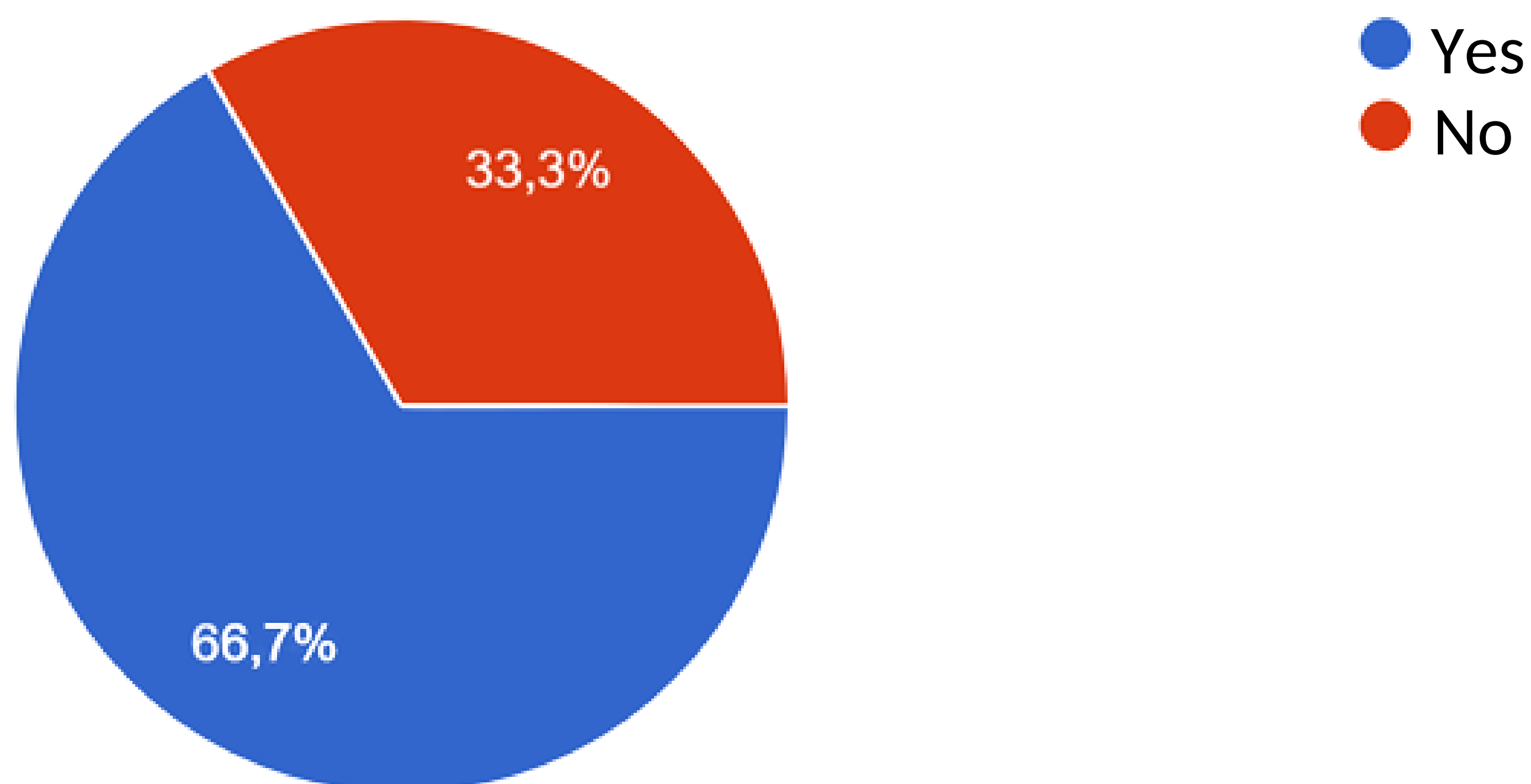
**WHAT REGION OF THE COUNTRY DO YOU LIVE IN?
270 RESPONSES***
*REFERRING TO BRAZILIAN REGIONS



- Midwest
- South
- Southeast
- North
- North East
- I don't live in Brazil

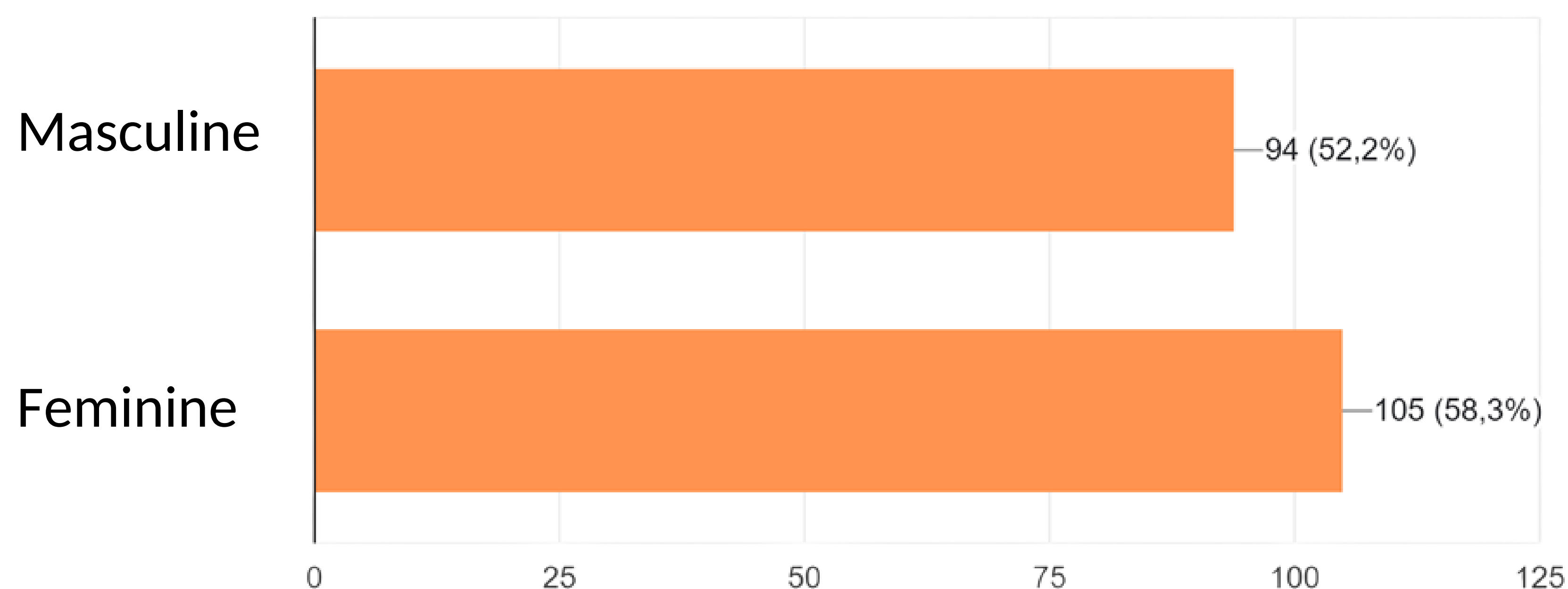
2. FATHERHOOD AND EARLY CHILDHOOD

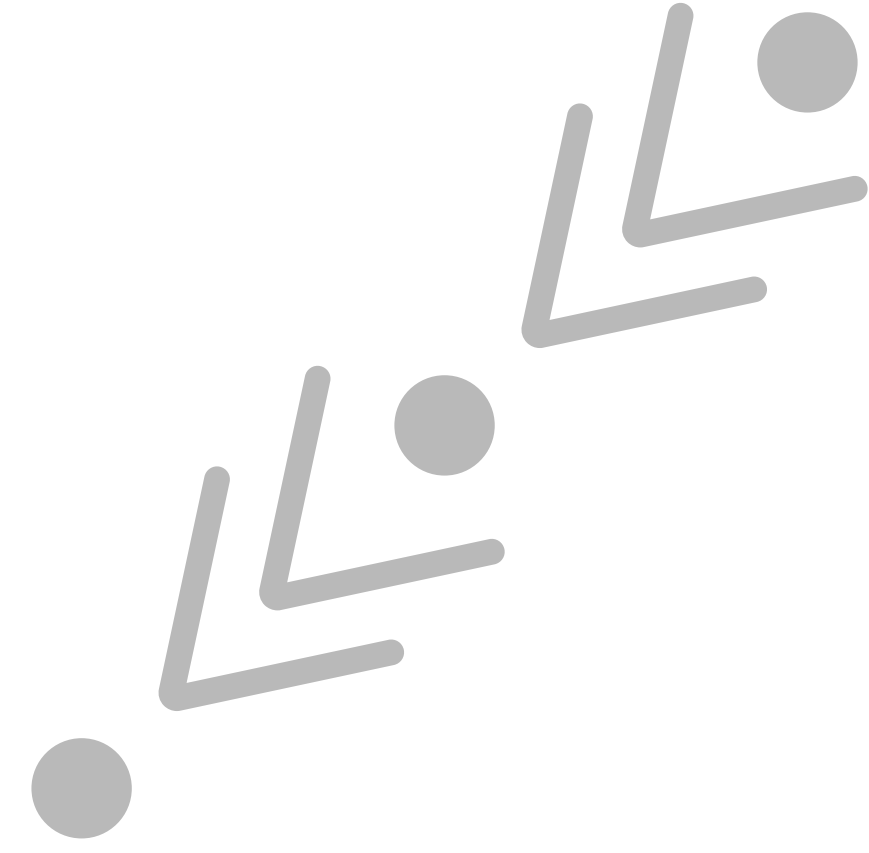
IS YOUR SON OR DAUGHTER PART OF EARLY CHILDHOOD? (FROM 0 TO 7 YEARS OLD)
270 RESPONSES



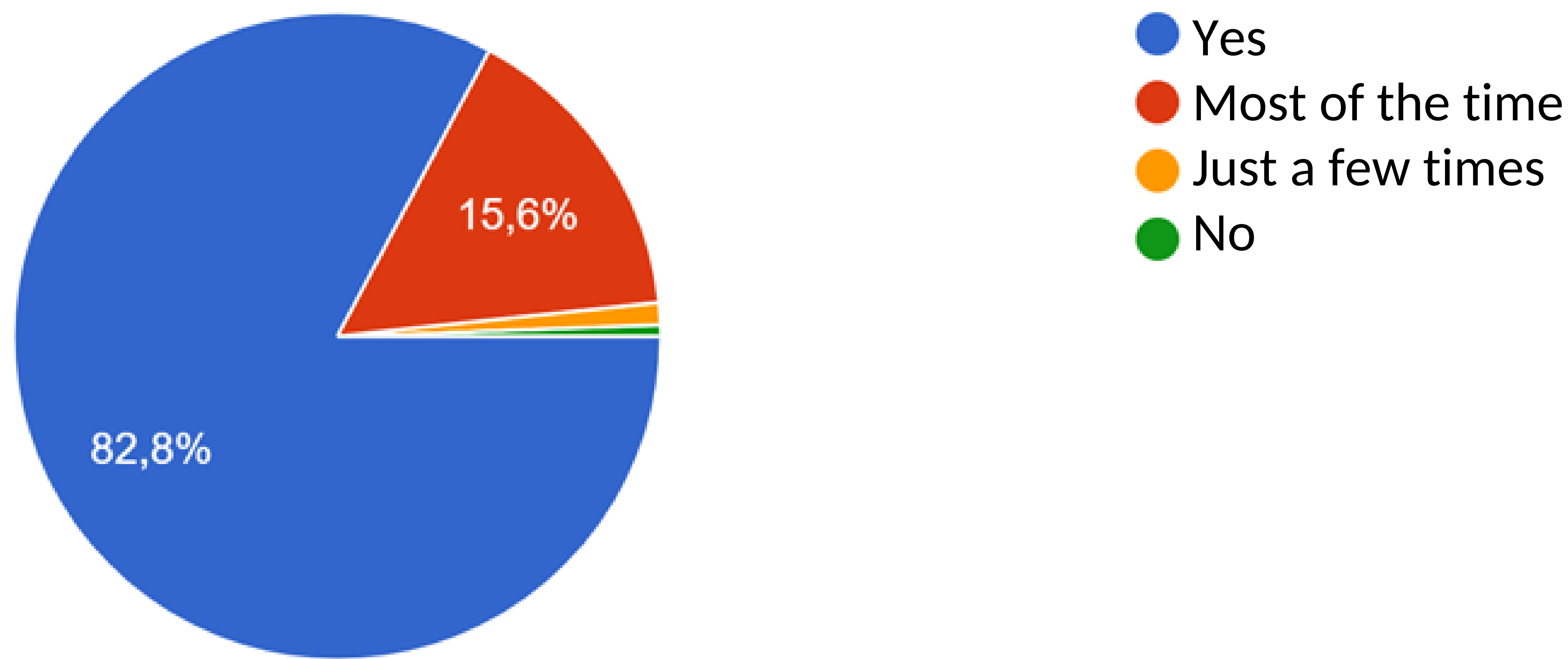
If the answer here was affirmative, the participant was asked to answer the following questions:

WHAT IS YOUR CHILD'S GENDER?
180 RESPONSES

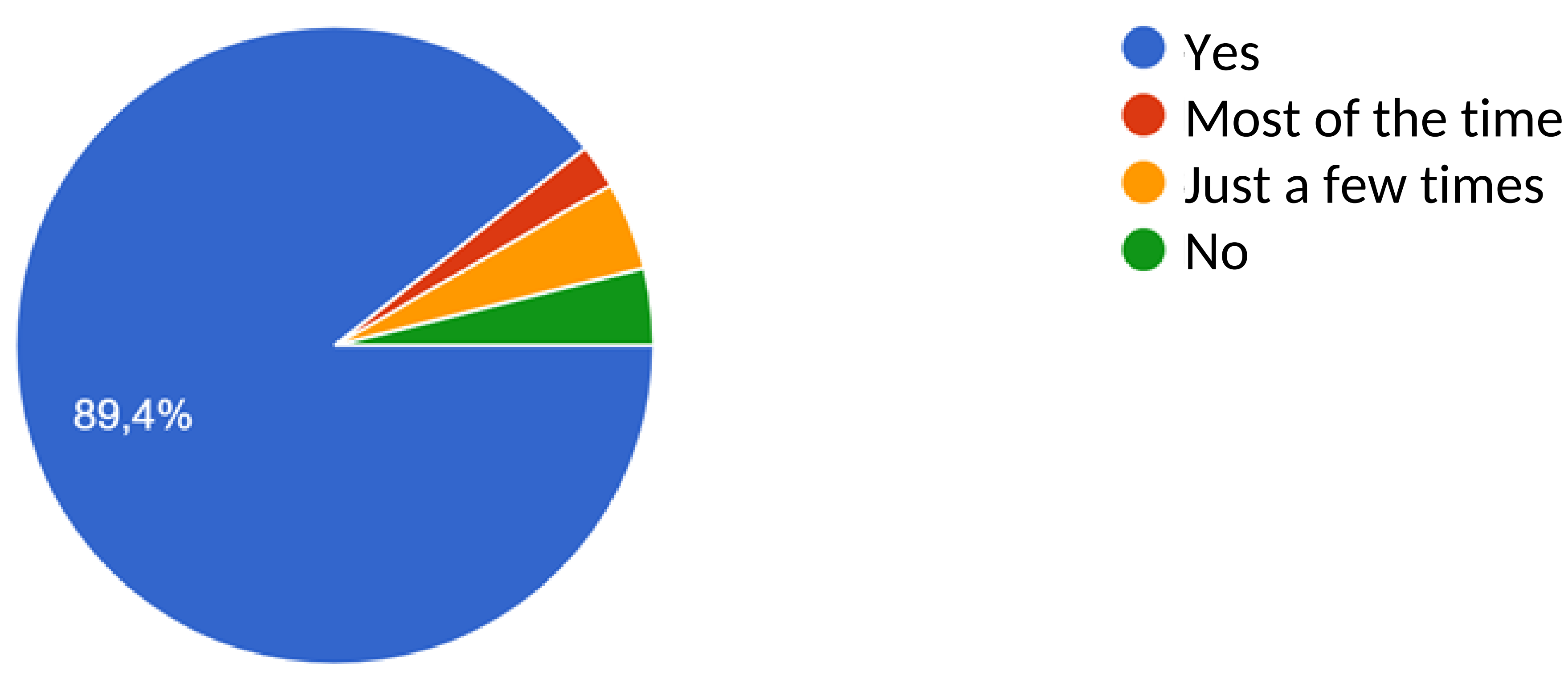


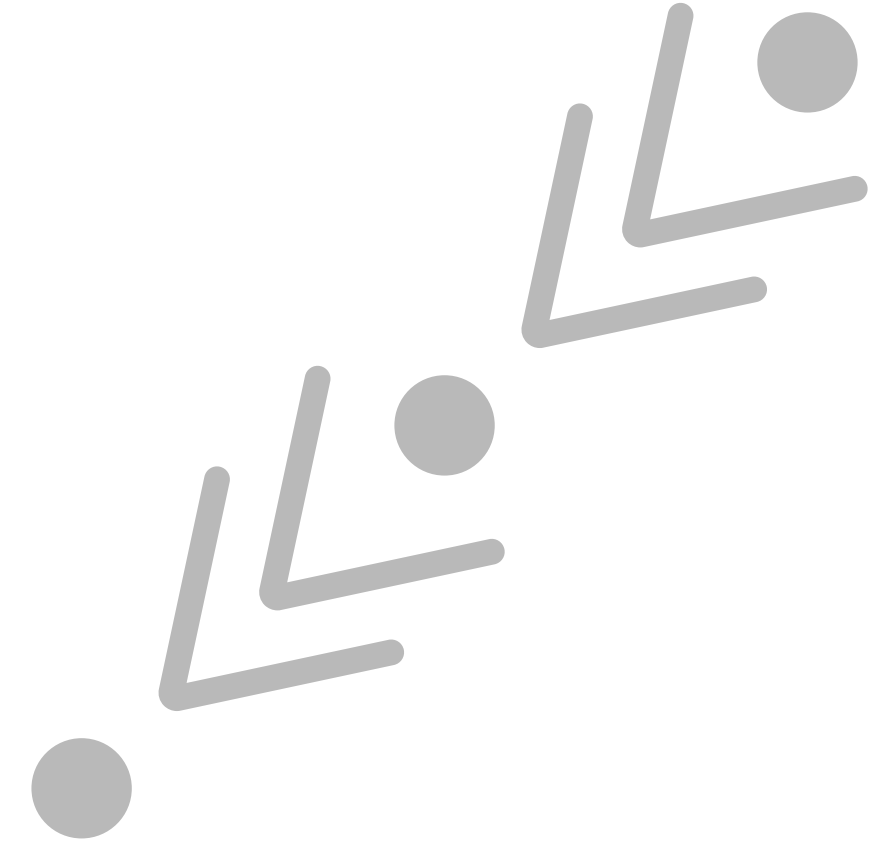


**DO YOU FEEL CAPABLE OF TAKING CARE OF YOUR SMALL CHILD?
180 RESPONSES**

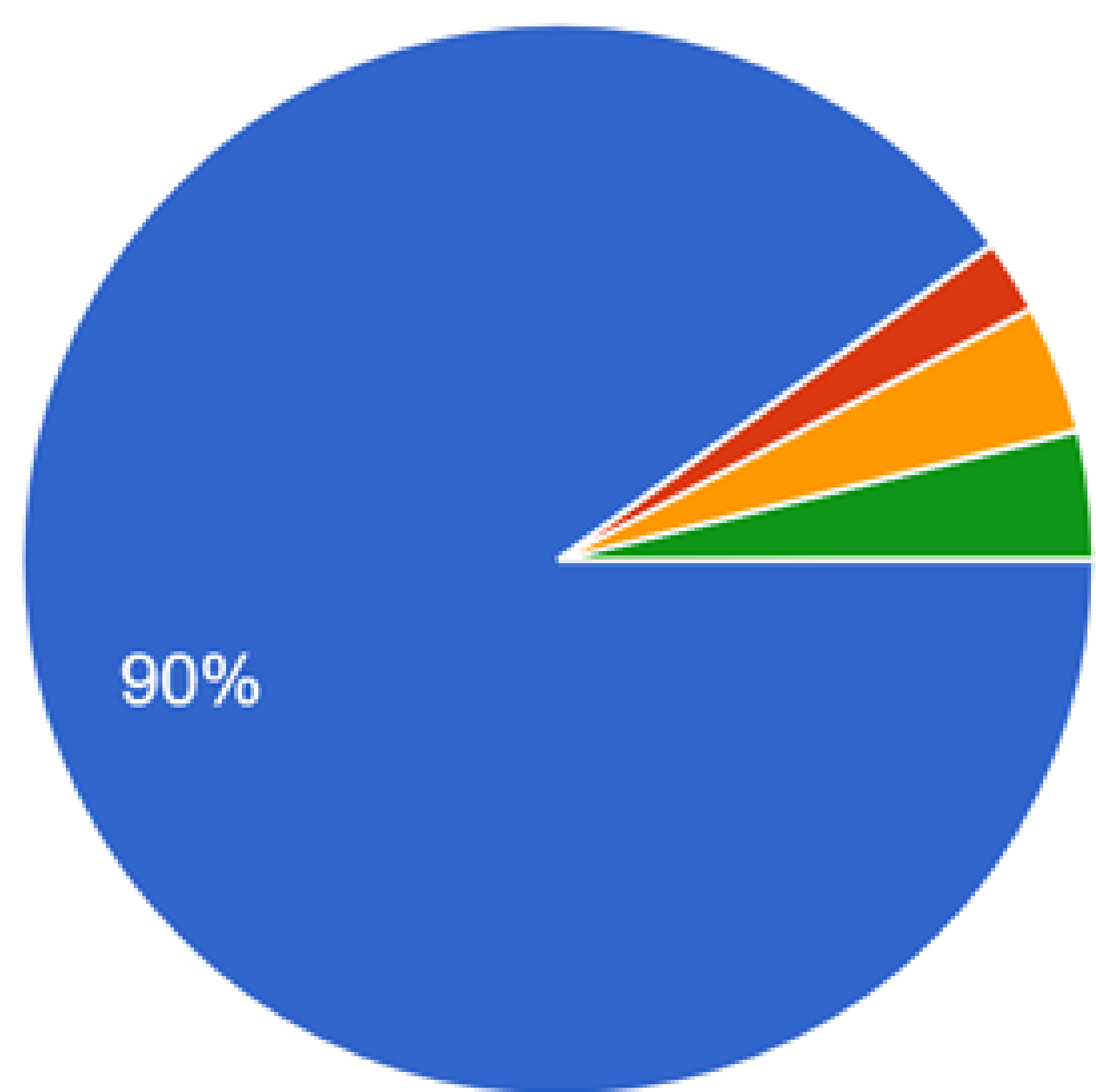


**DO YOU CHANGE YOUR CHILD'S DIAPERS?
179 RESPONSES**



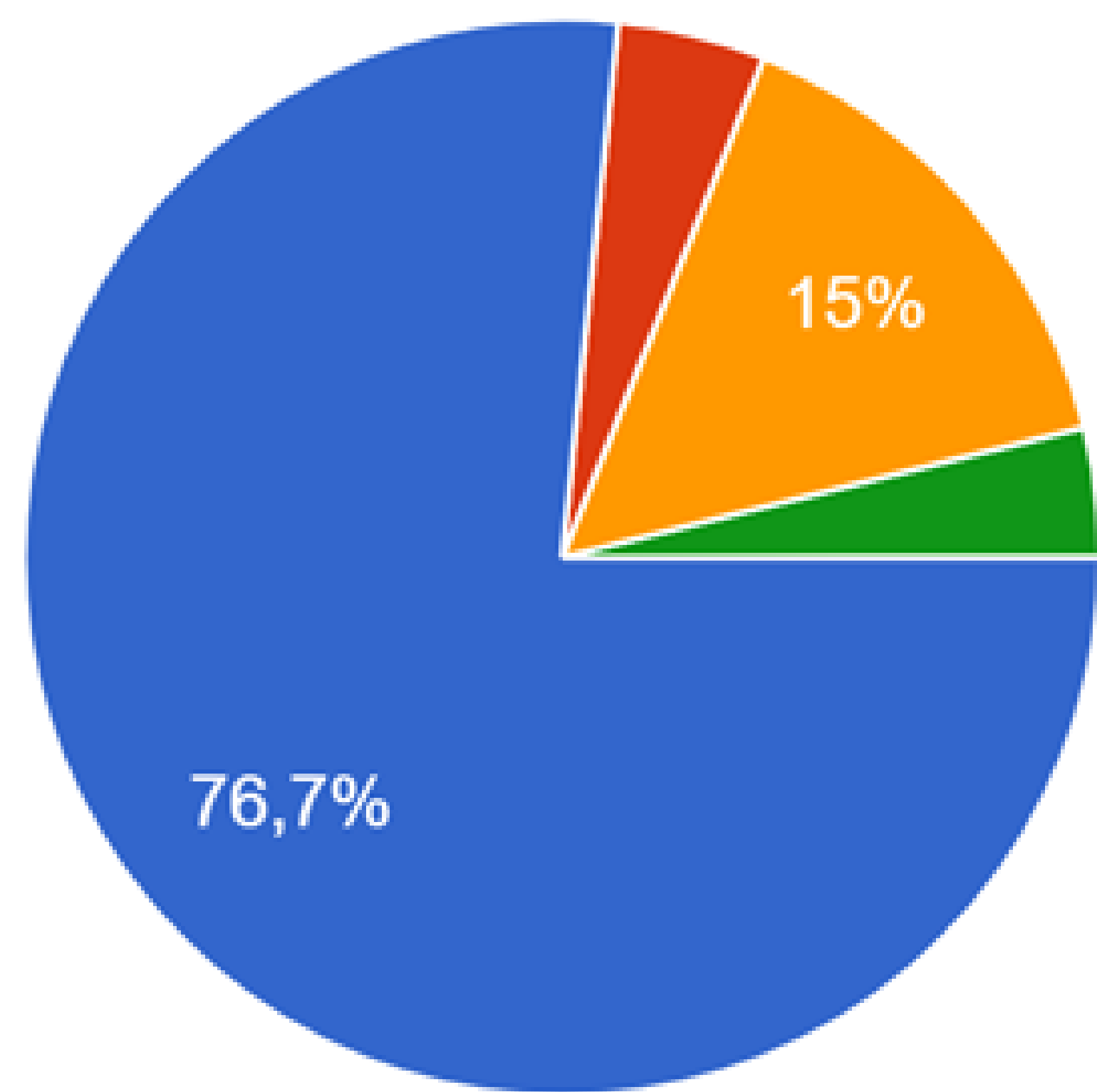


**DO YOU BATHE YOUR TODDLER?
180 RESPONSES**

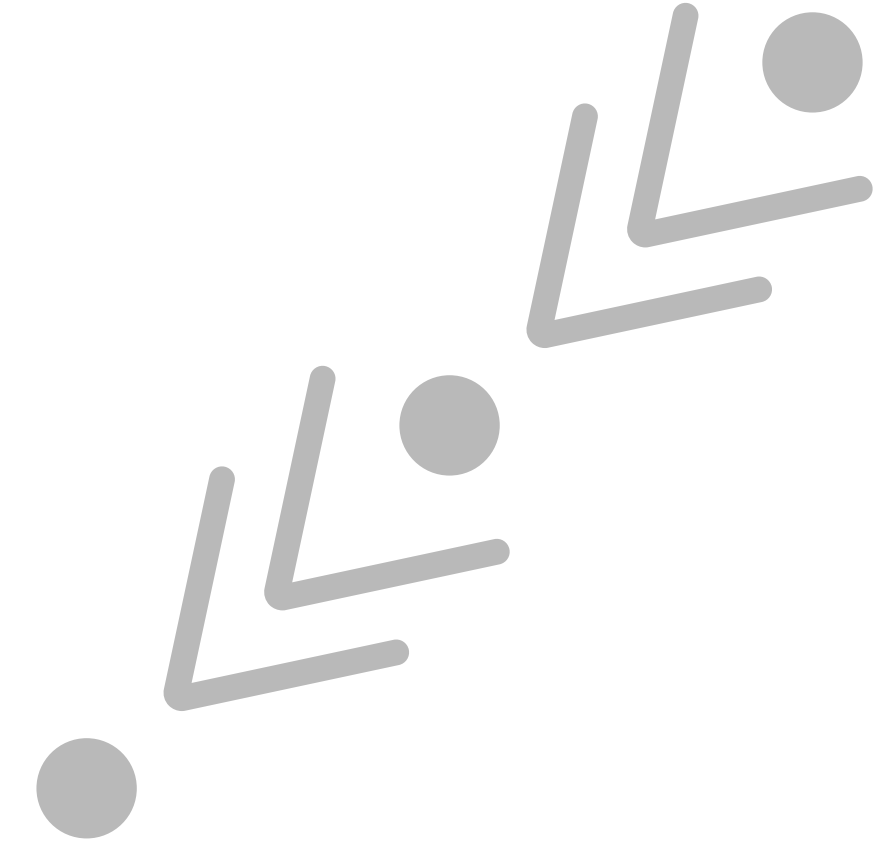


- Yes
- Most of the time
- Just a few times
- No

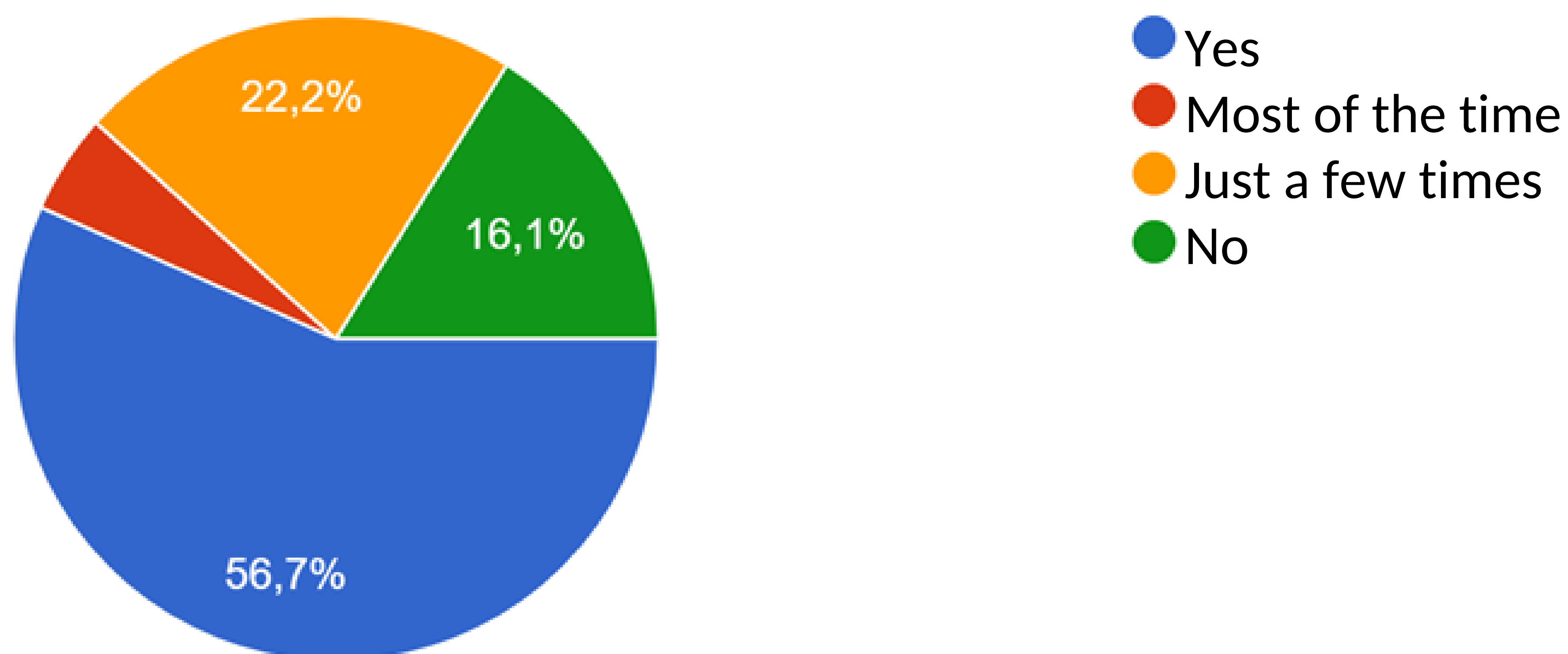
**DO YOU PREPARE THE CHILD'S FOOD?
180 RESPONSES**



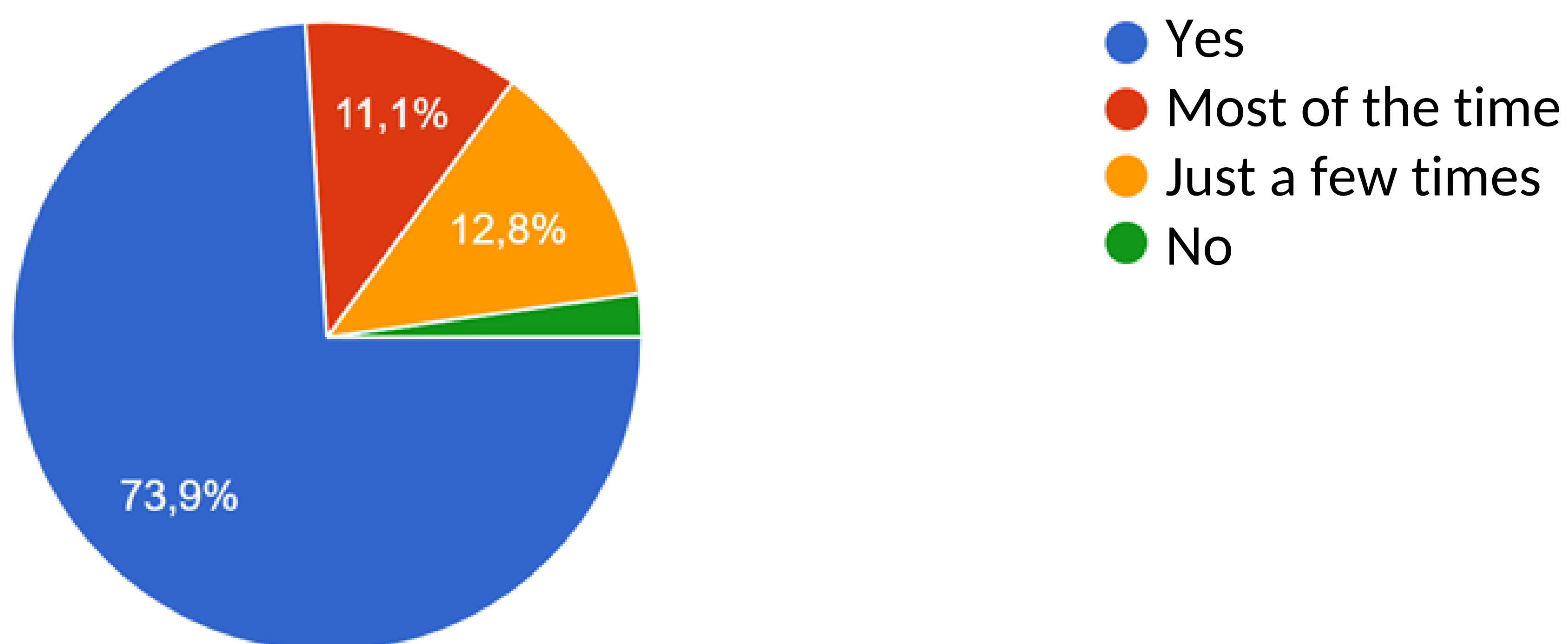
- Yes
- Most of the time
- Just a few times
- No

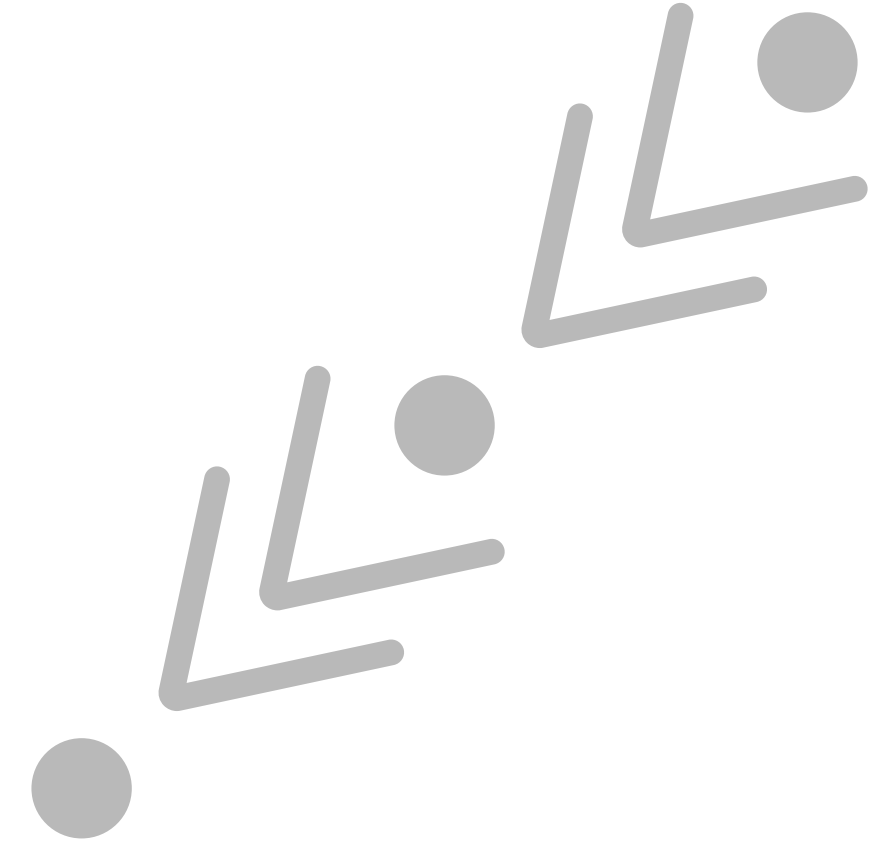


DO YOU WASH OR IRON THE CHILD'S CLOTHES? 180 RESPONSES

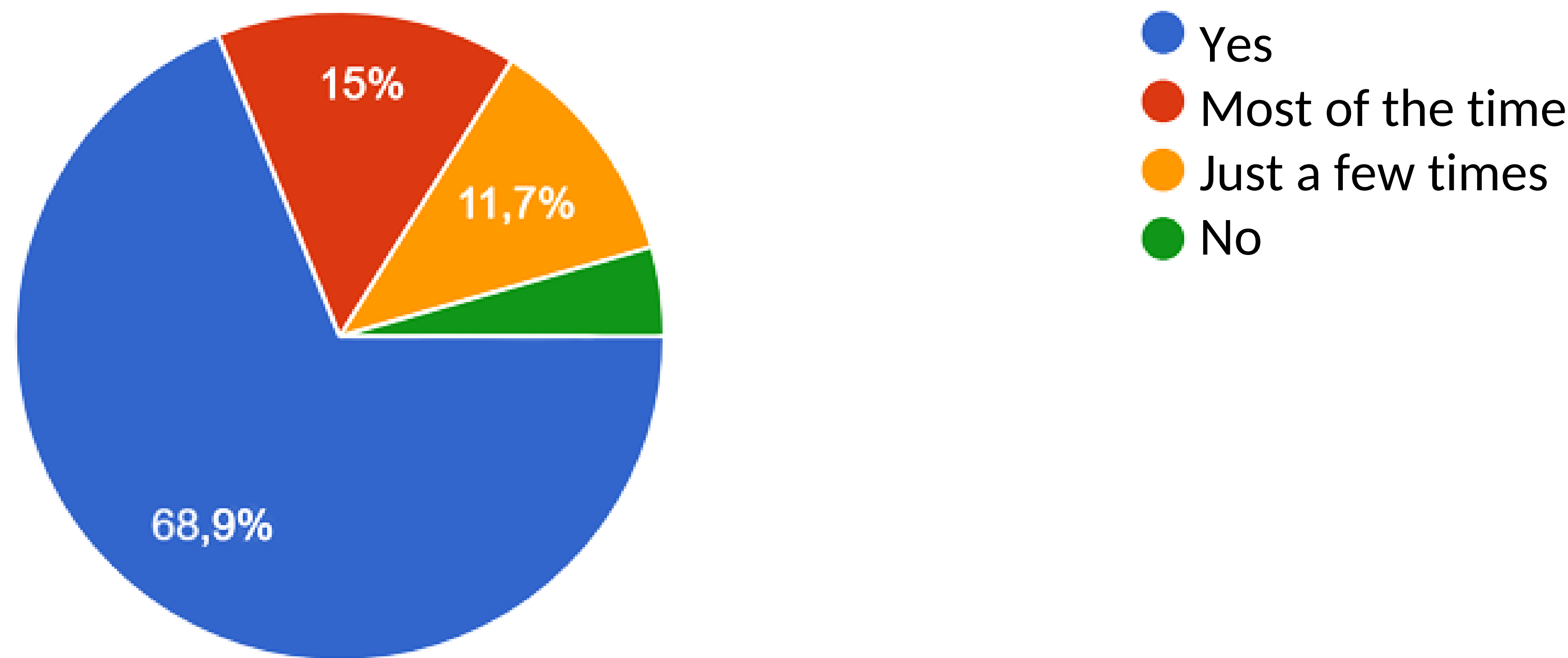


DO YOU TAKE YOUR CHILD TO THE PEDIATRICIAN? 180 RESPONSES

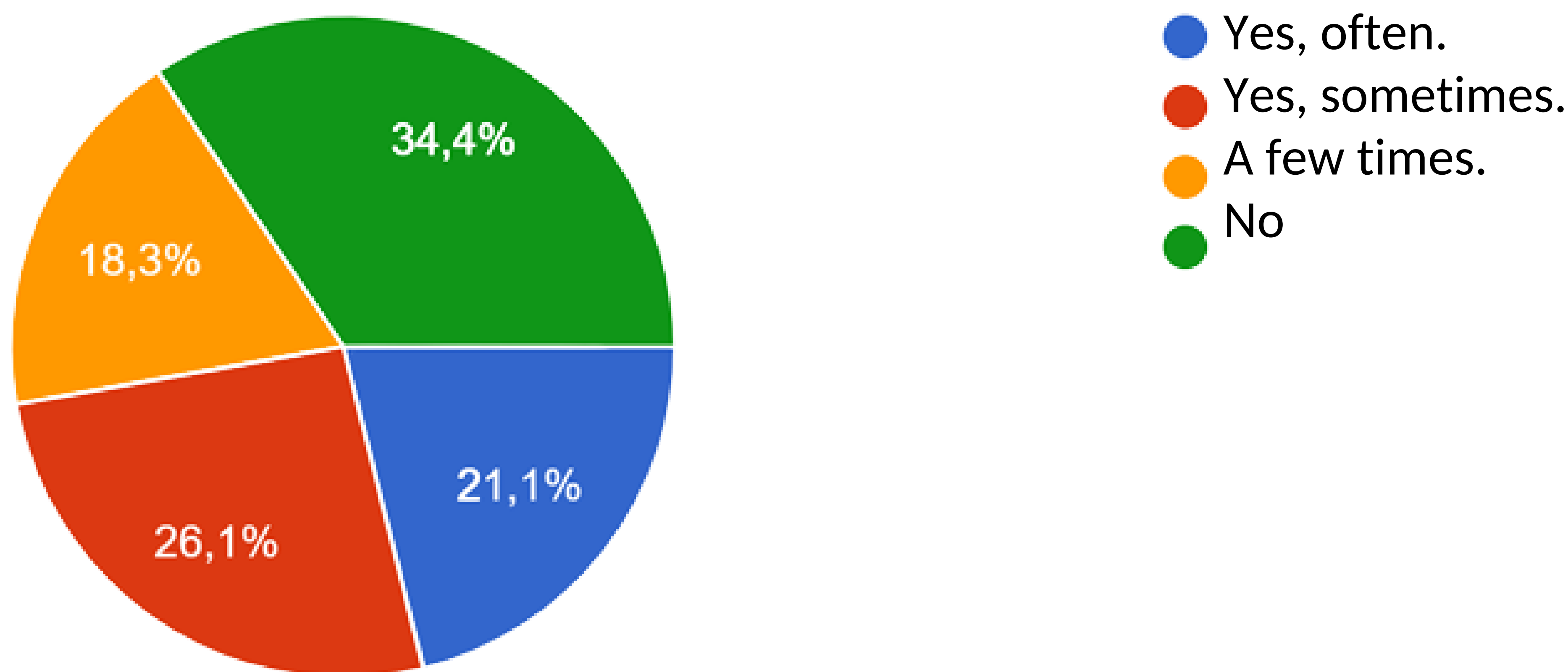


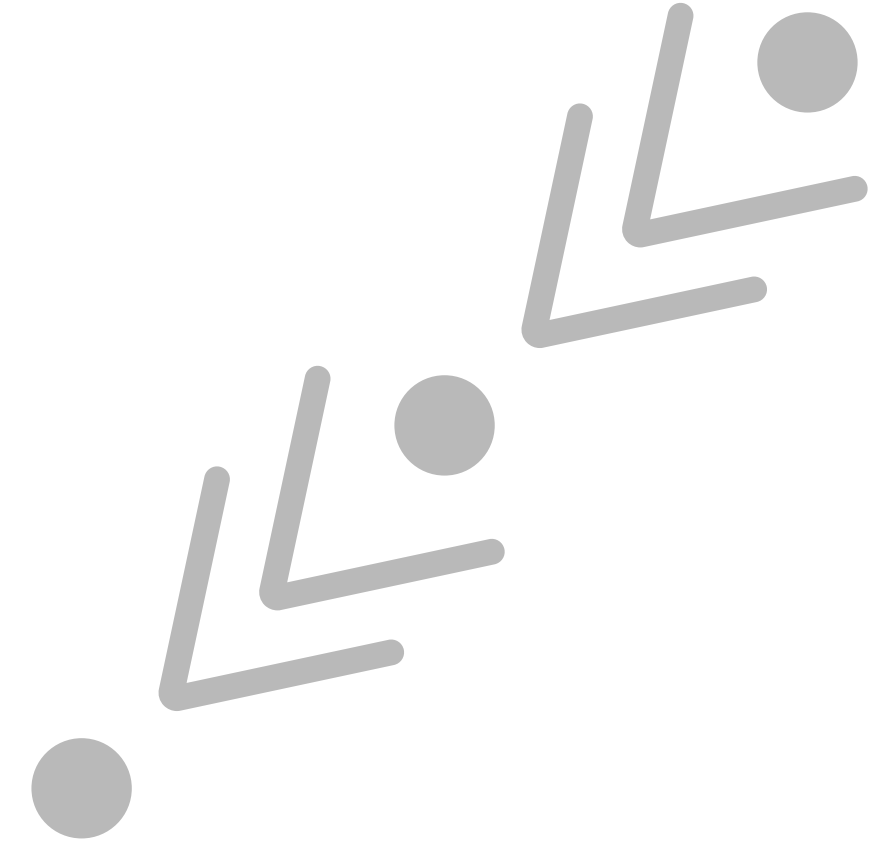


**DO YOU FEEL CAPABLE OF TAKING CARE OF YOUR TODDLER'S HAIR?
180 RESPONSES**

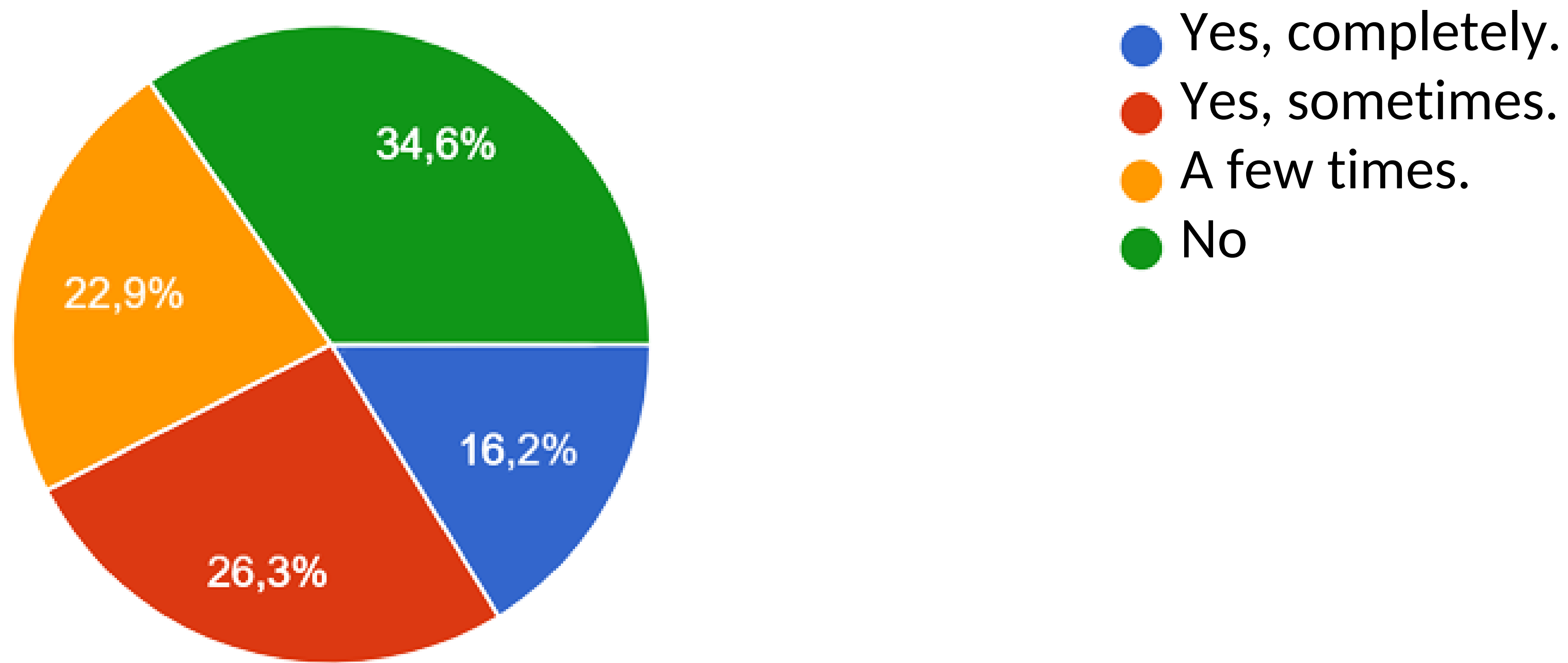


**HAVE YOU, AS A BLACK PARENT, EVER FELT DISCRIMINATED AGAINST BY OTHER PEOPLE WHEN IT COMES TO CARING FOR THE YOUNG CHILD?
180 RESPONSES**



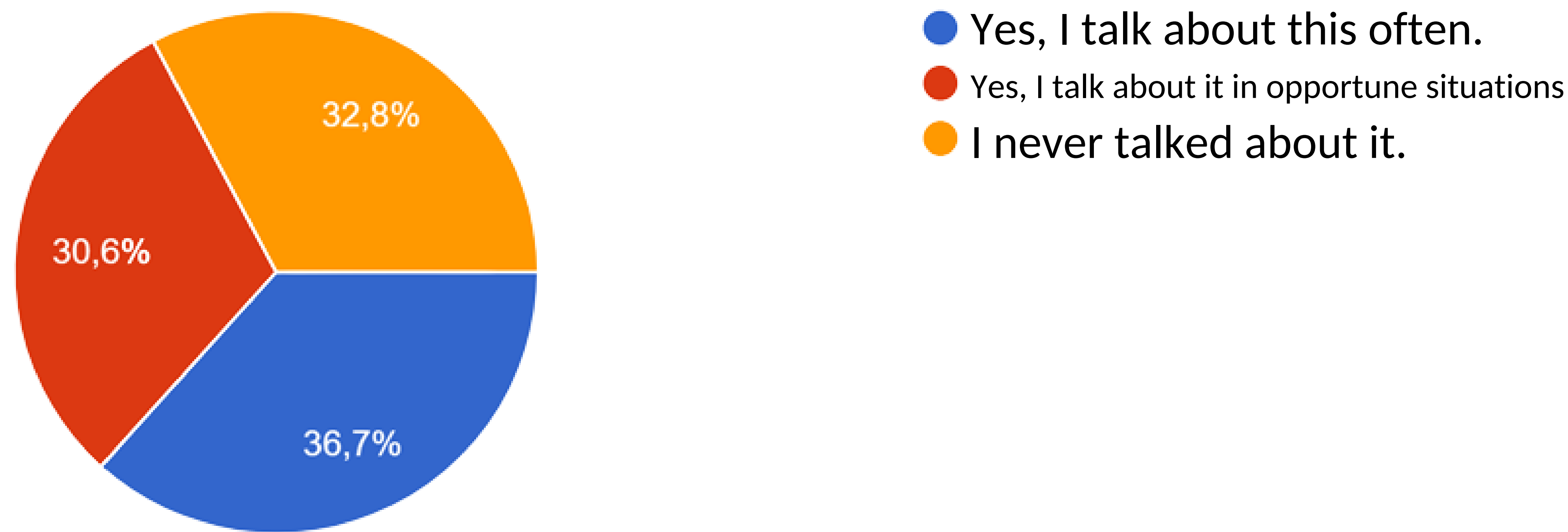


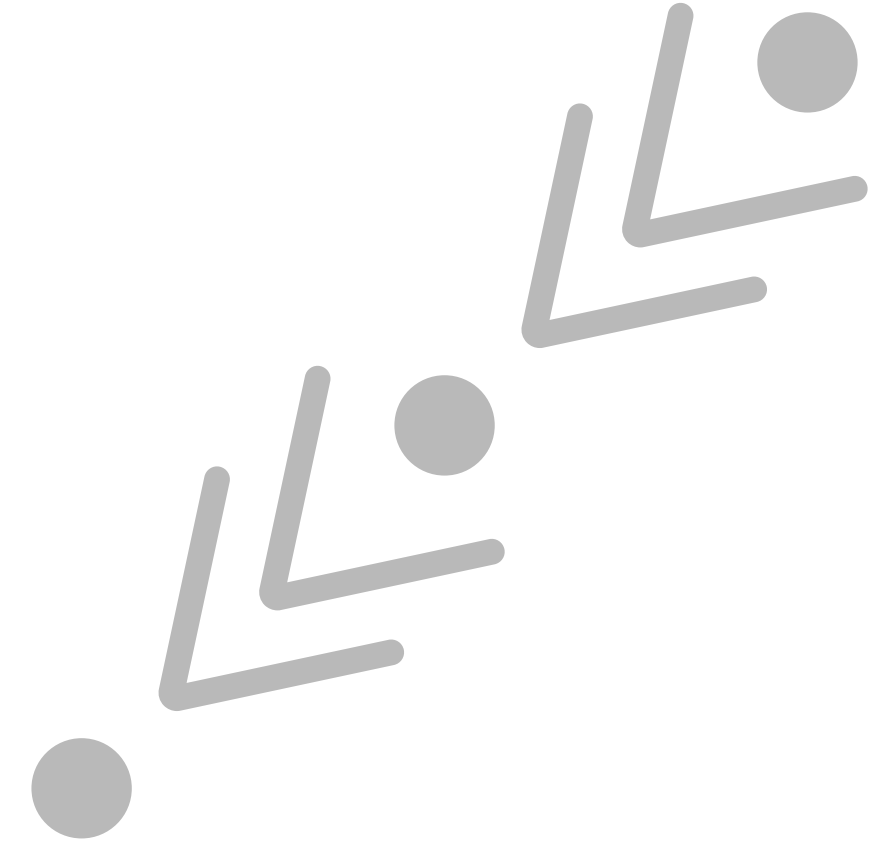
YOU ANSWERED YOUR EXPERIENCE AS A FATHER, AND AS A SON: DO YOU CONSIDER THAT YOUR FATHER WAS PRESENT AND ACTIVE IN RELATION TO CARING FOR YOU? 179 RESPONSES



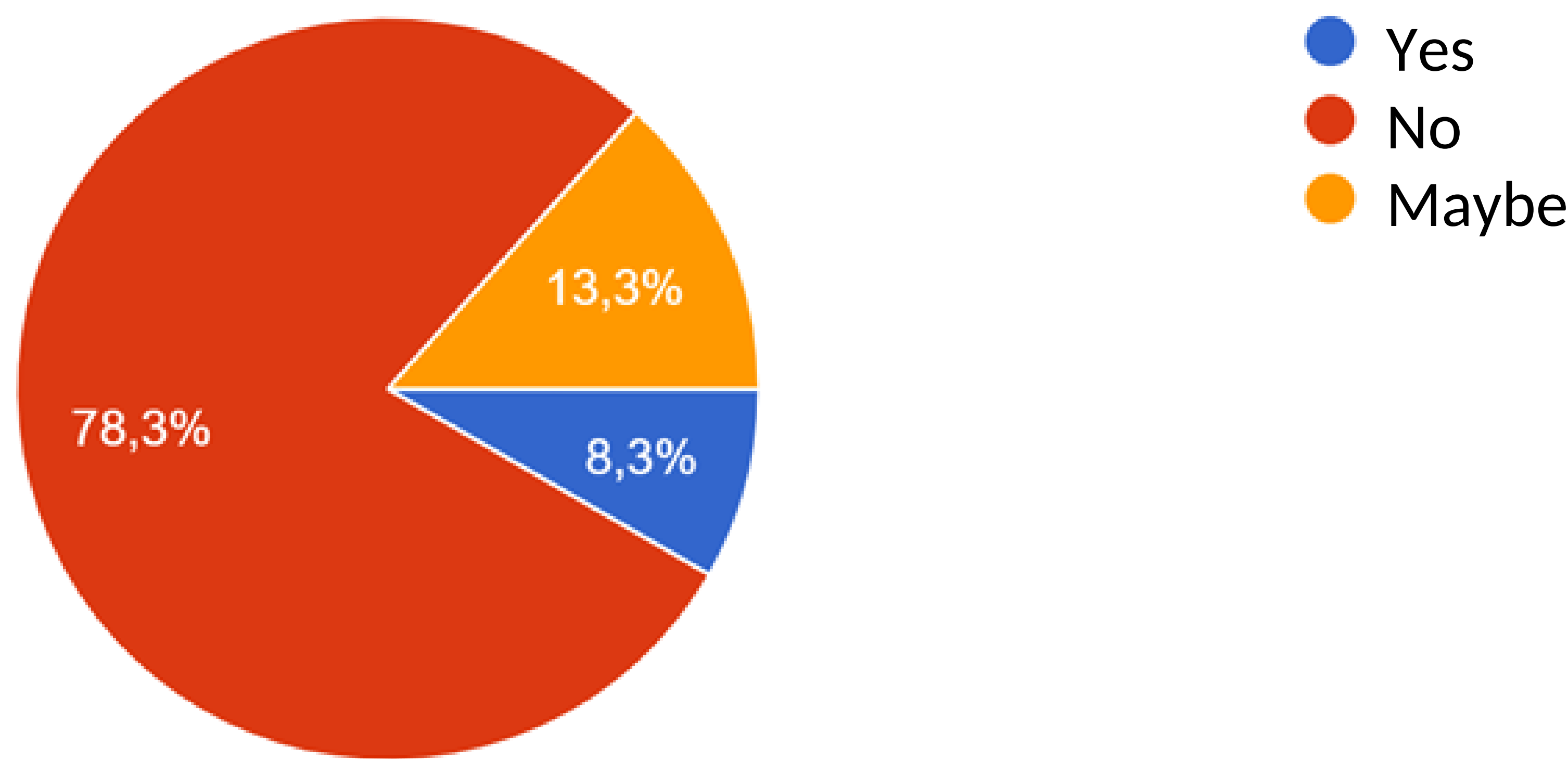
And soon after, respondents were led to the session of “Education in Early Childhood”:

HAVE YOUR CHILD'S PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS (HAIR, SKIN COLOR) EVER MADE YOU TALK TO THEM ABOUT THE RACIAL DIFFERENCE THAT EXISTS IN SOCIETY (ACCORDING TO THEIR LEVEL OF UNDERSTANDING)? 180 RESPONSES

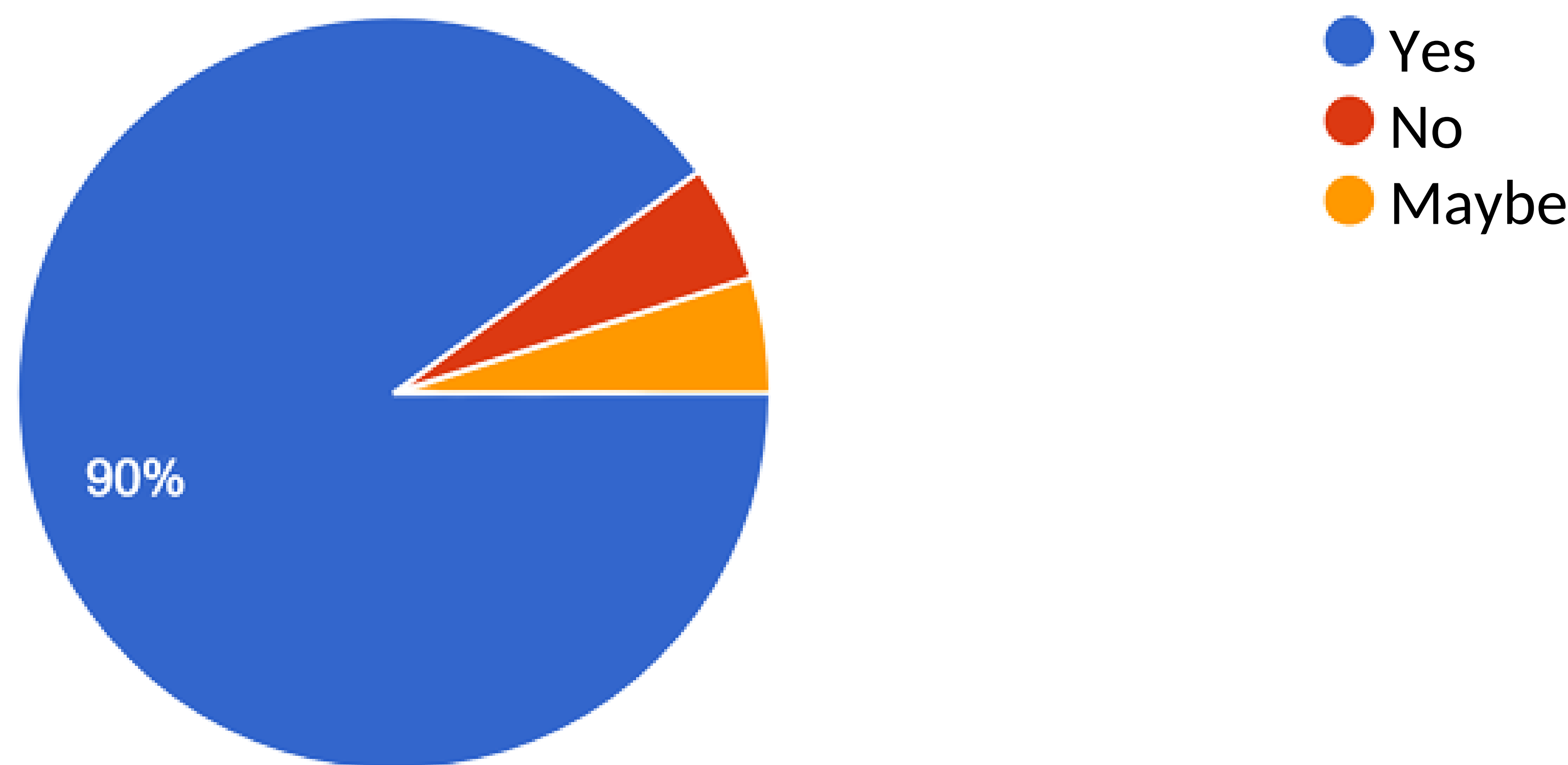


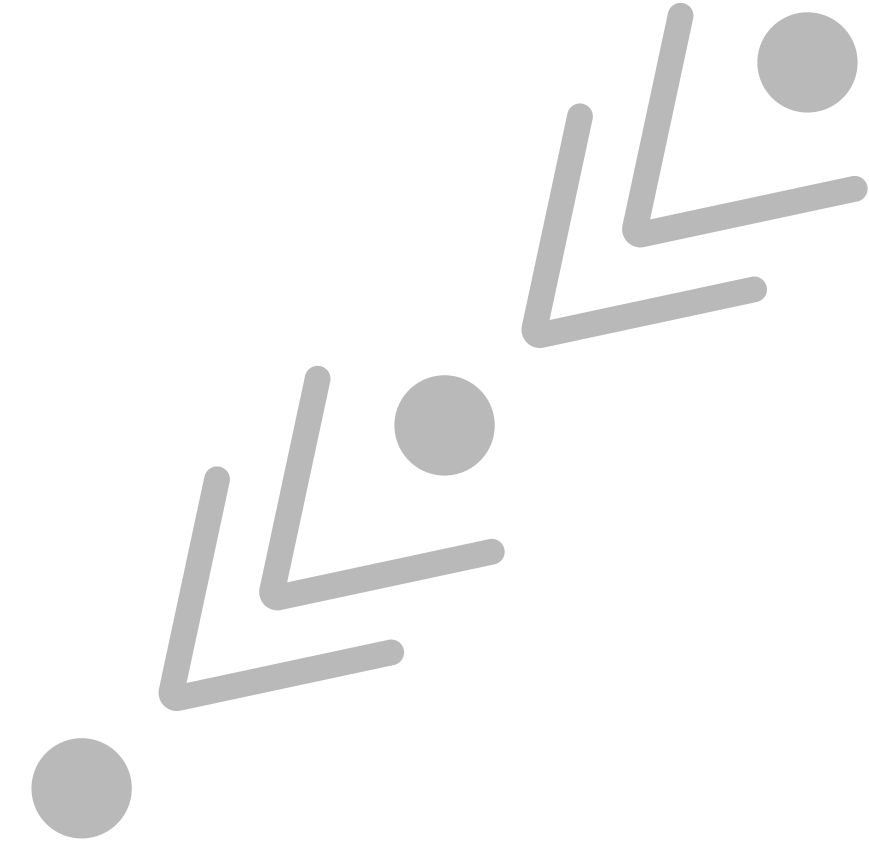


DO YOU UNDERSTAND THAT BLACK AND WHITE PARENTS EDUCATE THE SAME?
180 RESPONSES

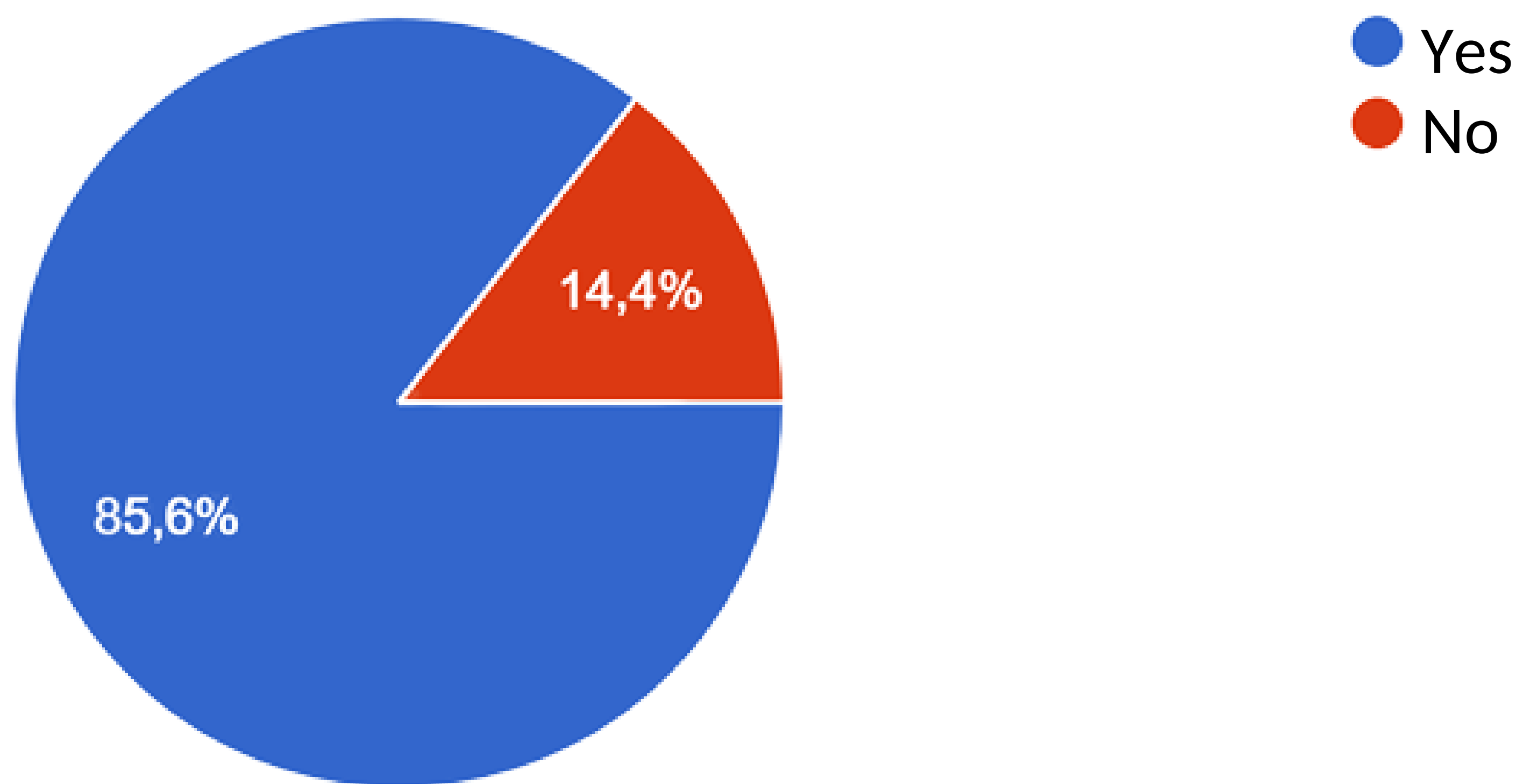


DOES BEING A PARENT OF A BLACK CHILD FORCE YOU TO HAVE MORE REPERTOIRE IN THE EDUCATION PROCESS?
180 RESPONSES

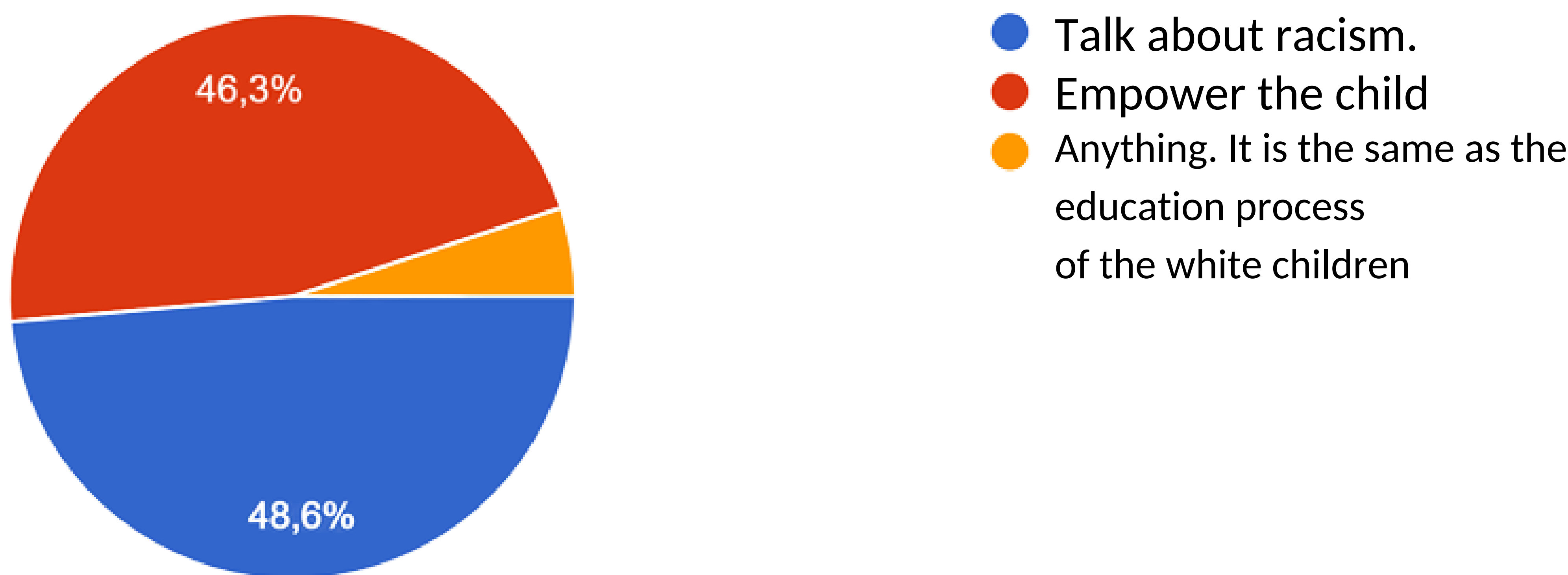




DO YOU PRESENT LITERATURE AND DRAWINGS WITH BLACK REFERENCES TO YOUR DAUGHTER OR SON?
180 RESPONSES

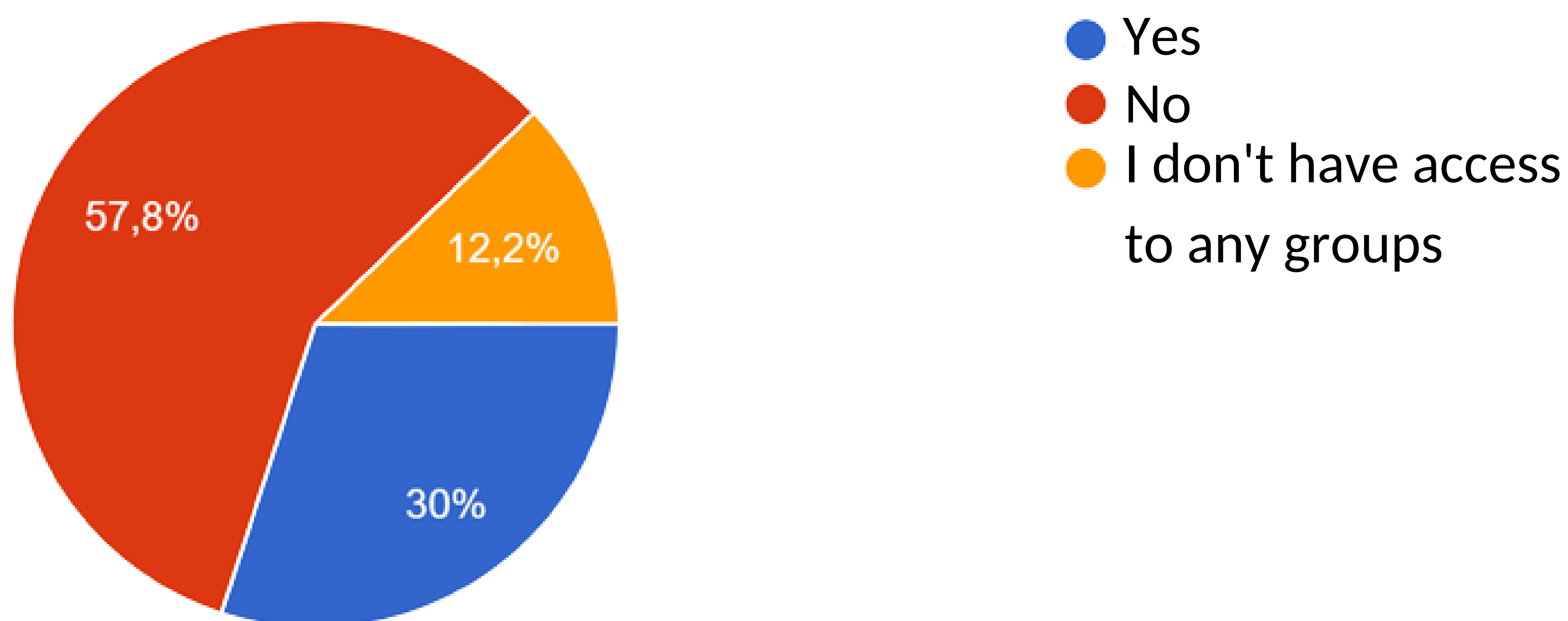


WHAT IS MOST DIFFICULT FOR YOU IN THE PROCESS OF RAISING A YOUNG BLACK CHILD?
177 RESPONSES



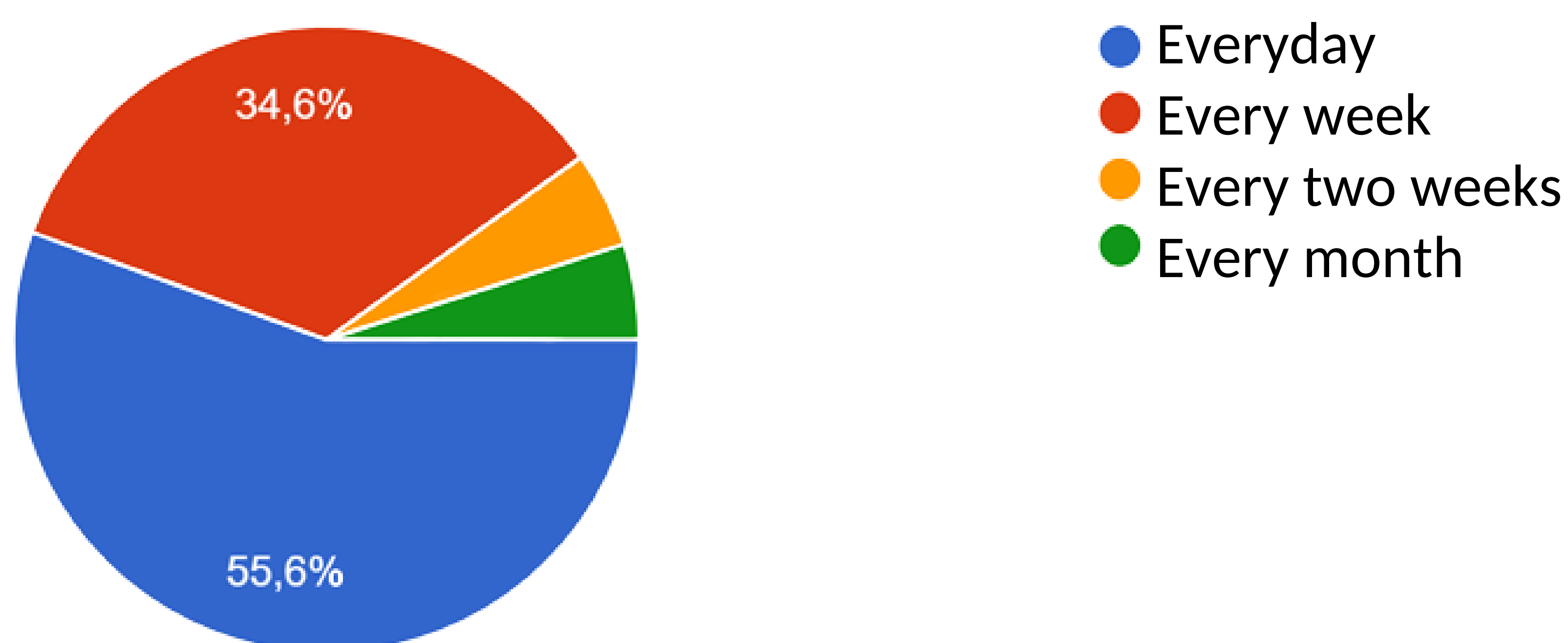
3. ABOUT BLACK FATHERS GROUPS

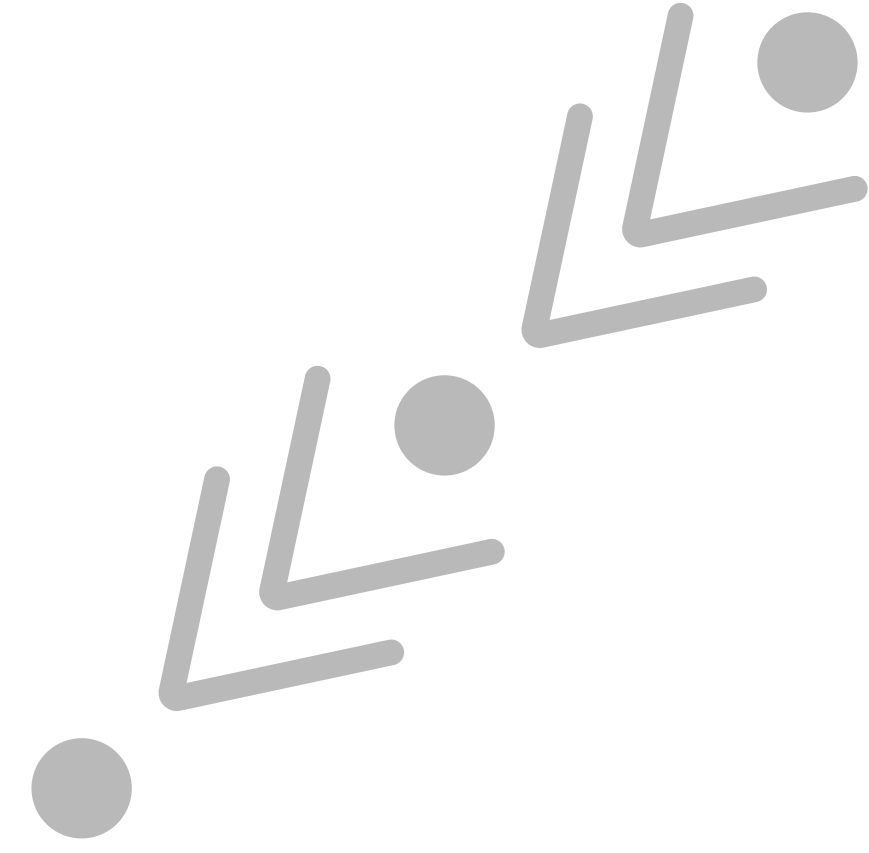
ARE YOU PART OF AN EXCLUSIVE BLACK FATHERS' GROUP OF SOME KIND (VIRTUAL OR FACE-TO-FACE)?
270 RESPONSES



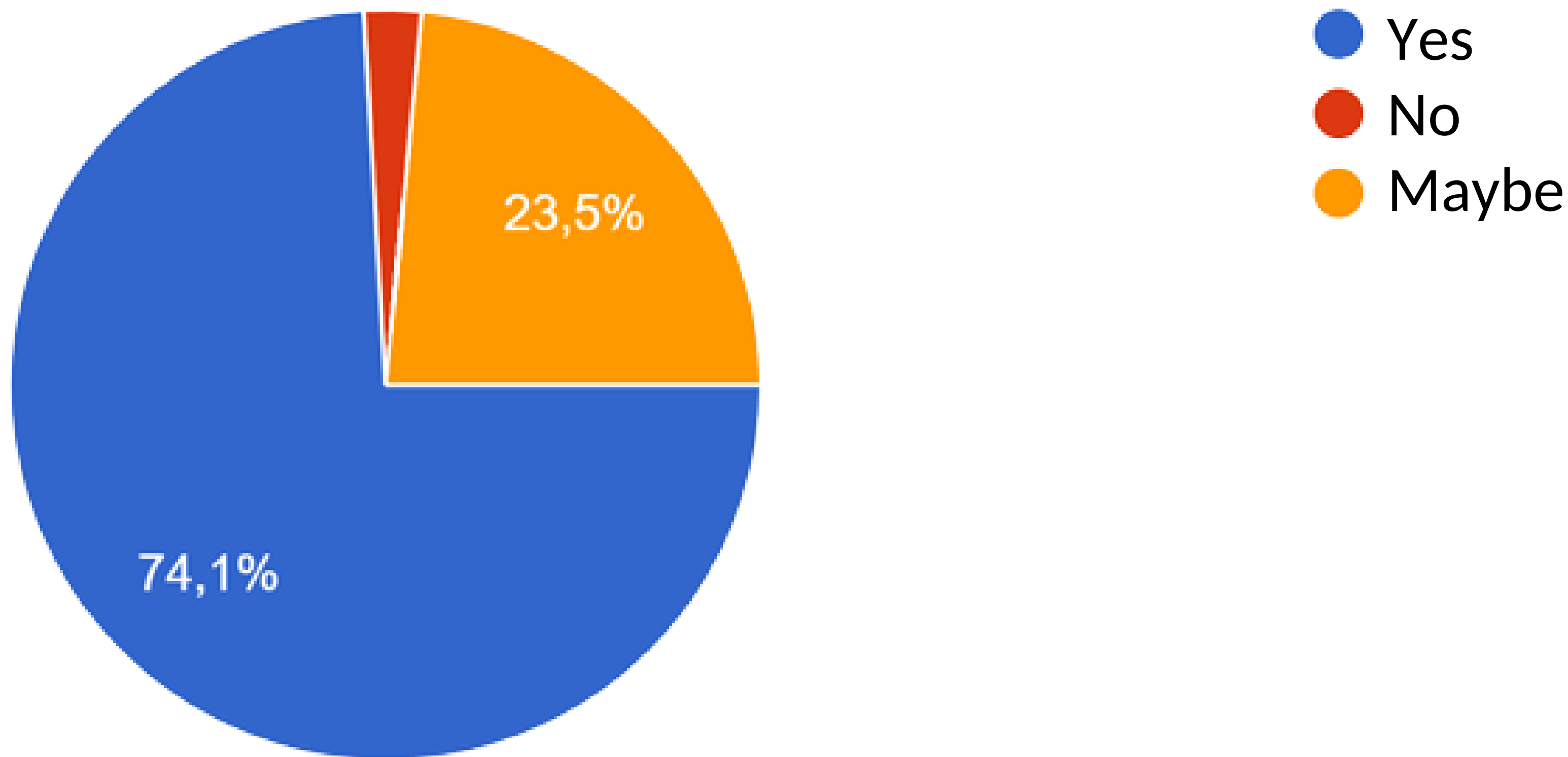
Again, if the answer was affirmative,
the participant was led to answer the following group of questions:

HOW OFTEN DO YOU ACCESS THE GROUP?
81 RESPONSES

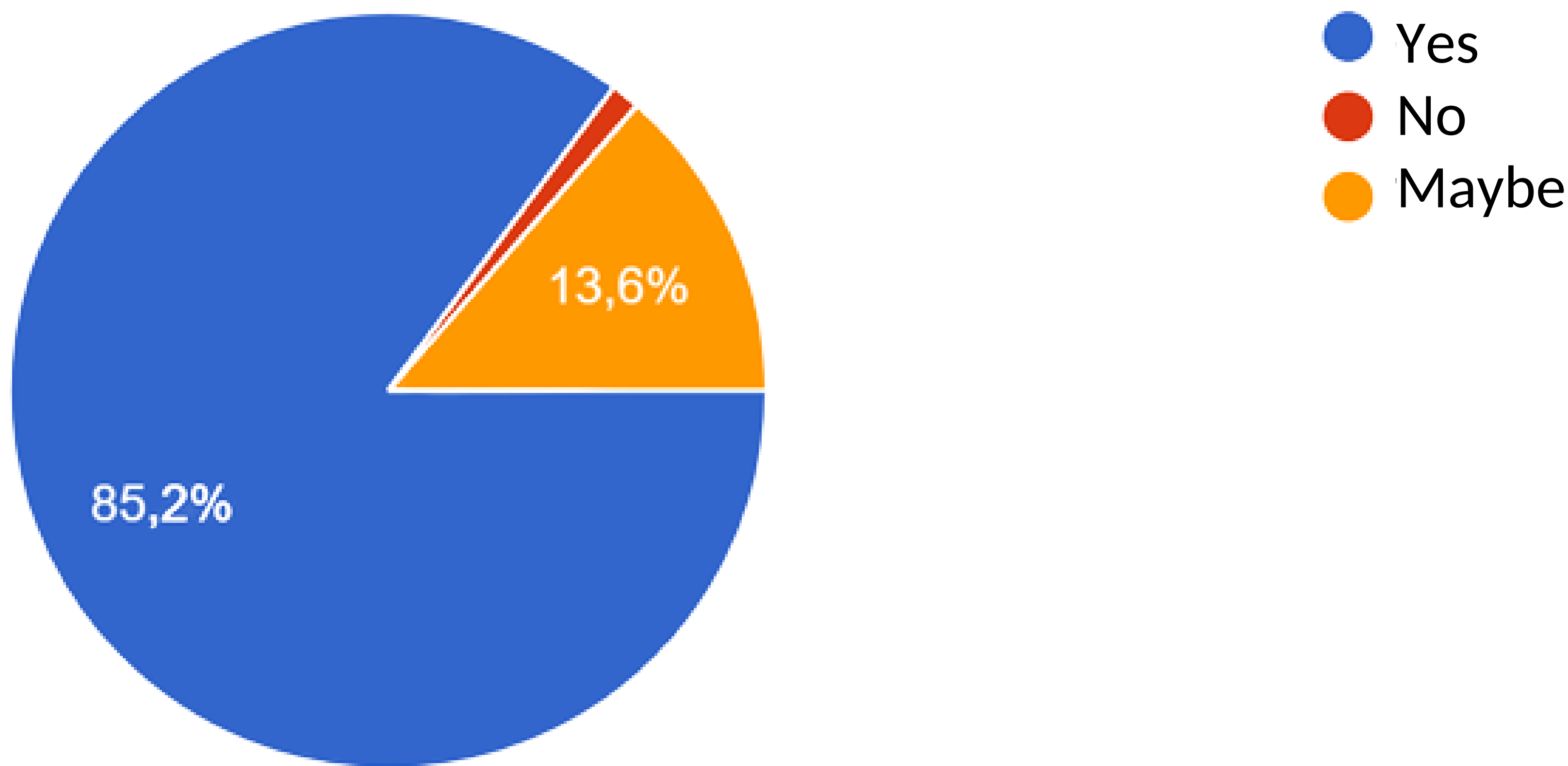


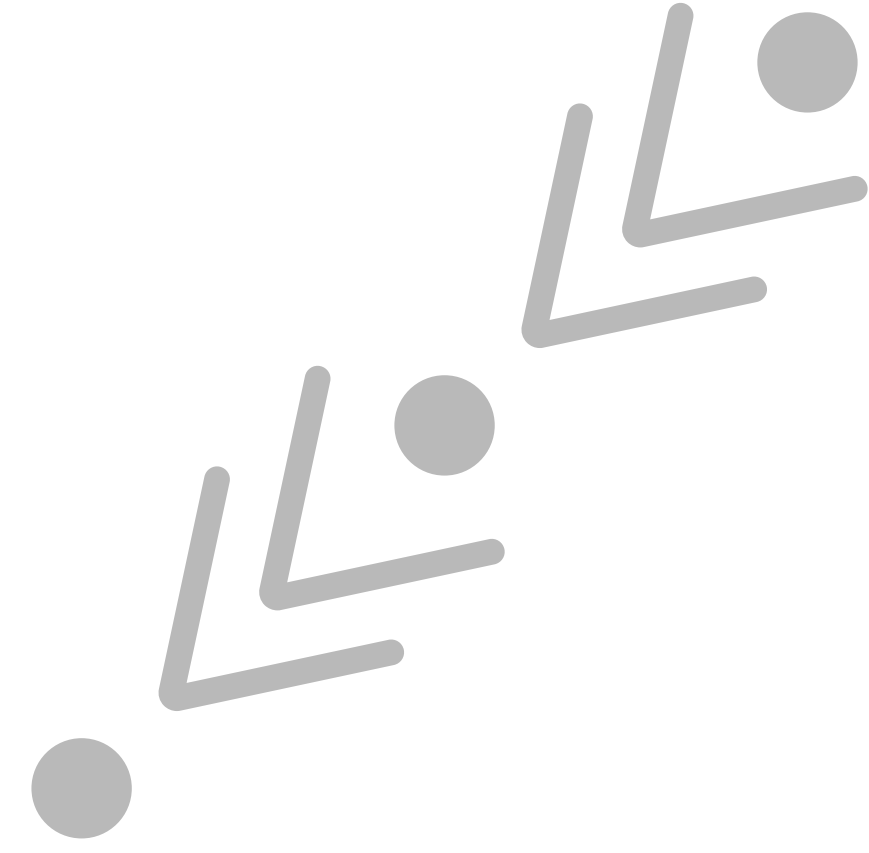


DOES THE GROUP HELP YOU TO HAVE MENTAL HEALTH?
81 RESPONSES

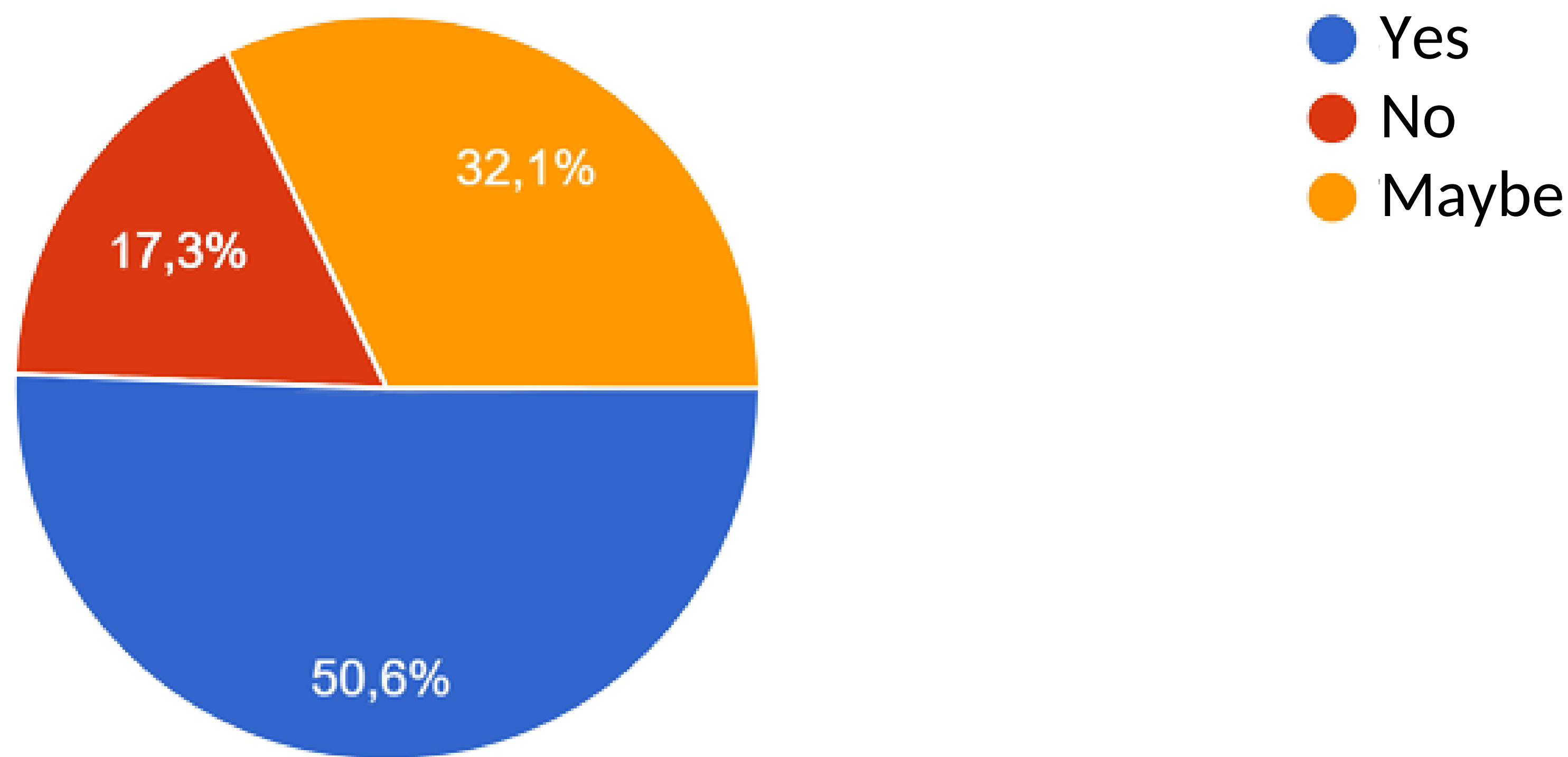


DOES THE GROUP HELP YOU BE A BETTER PARENT?
81 RESPONSES

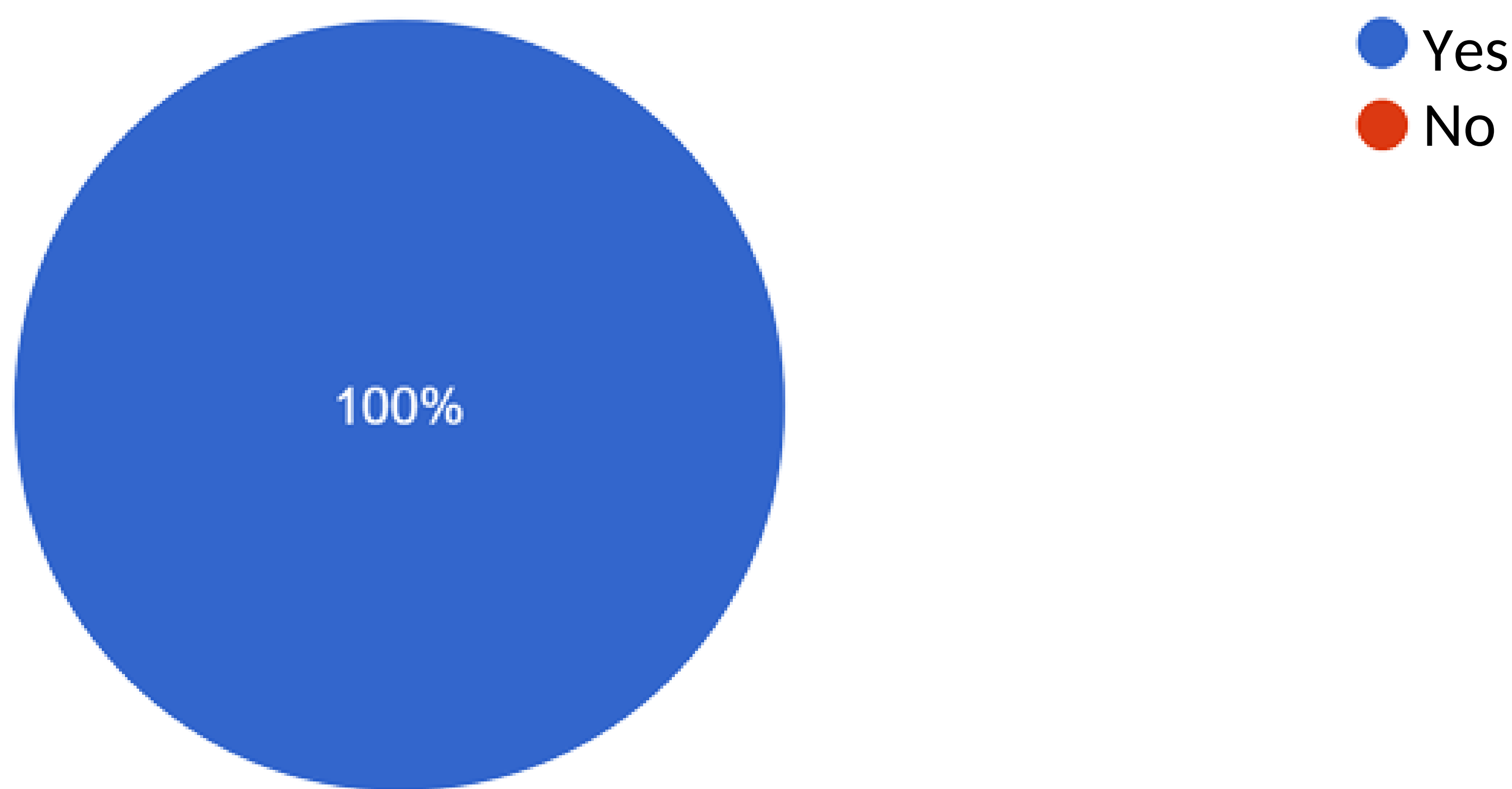




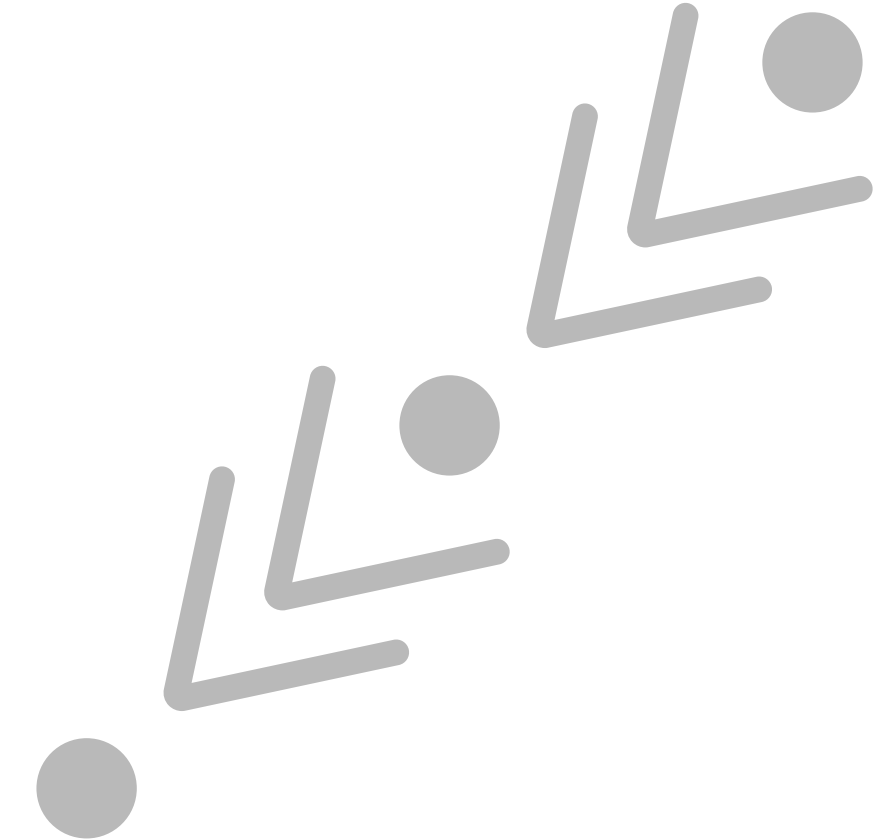
**DOES THE GROUP HELP IN THE MARITAL
RELATIONSHIP?
81 RESPONSES**



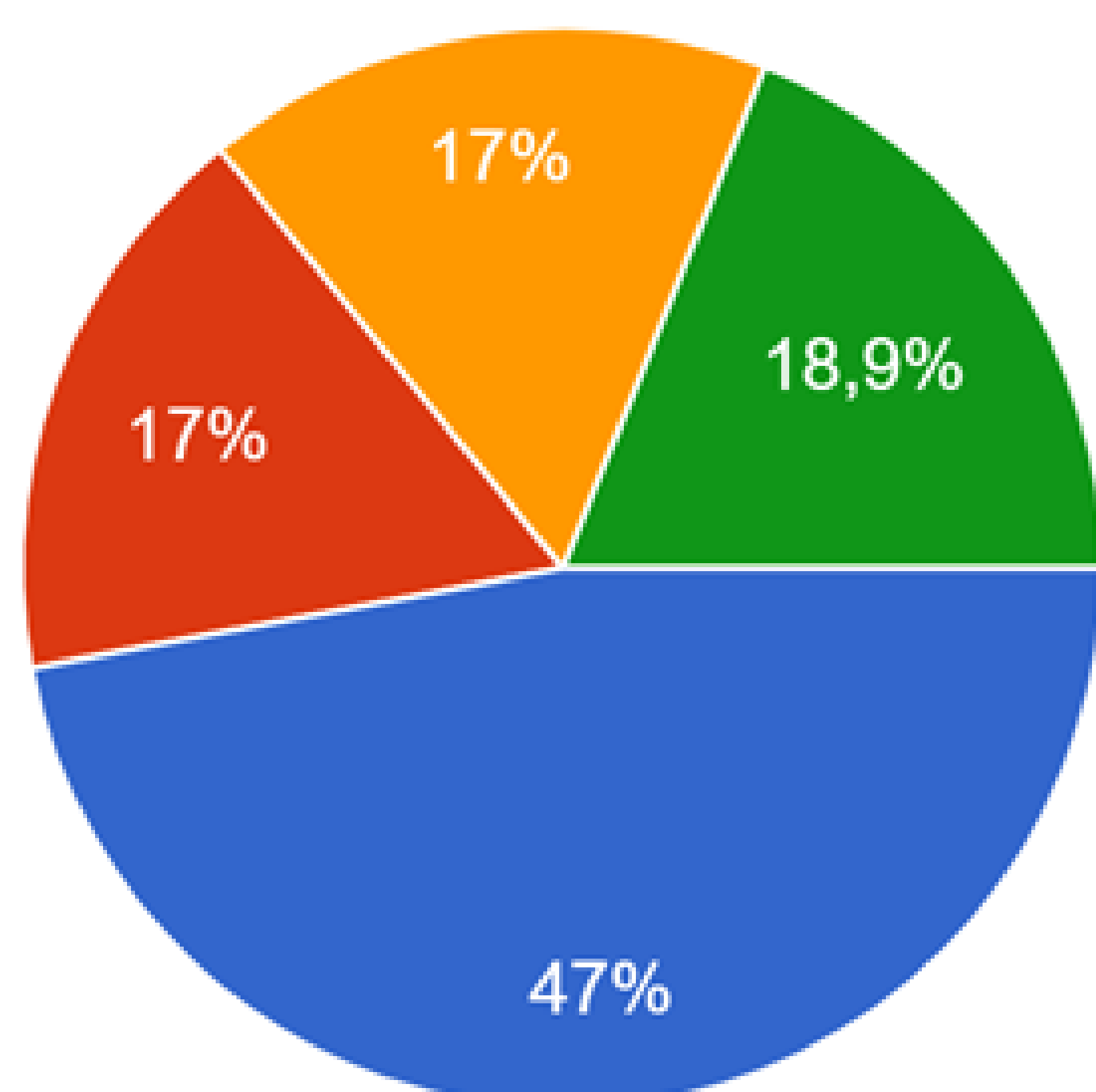
**WOULD YOU RECOMMEND THE GROUP TO OTHER BLACK
PARENTS?
81 RESPONSES**



4. BLACK FATHERHOOD AND COVID-19

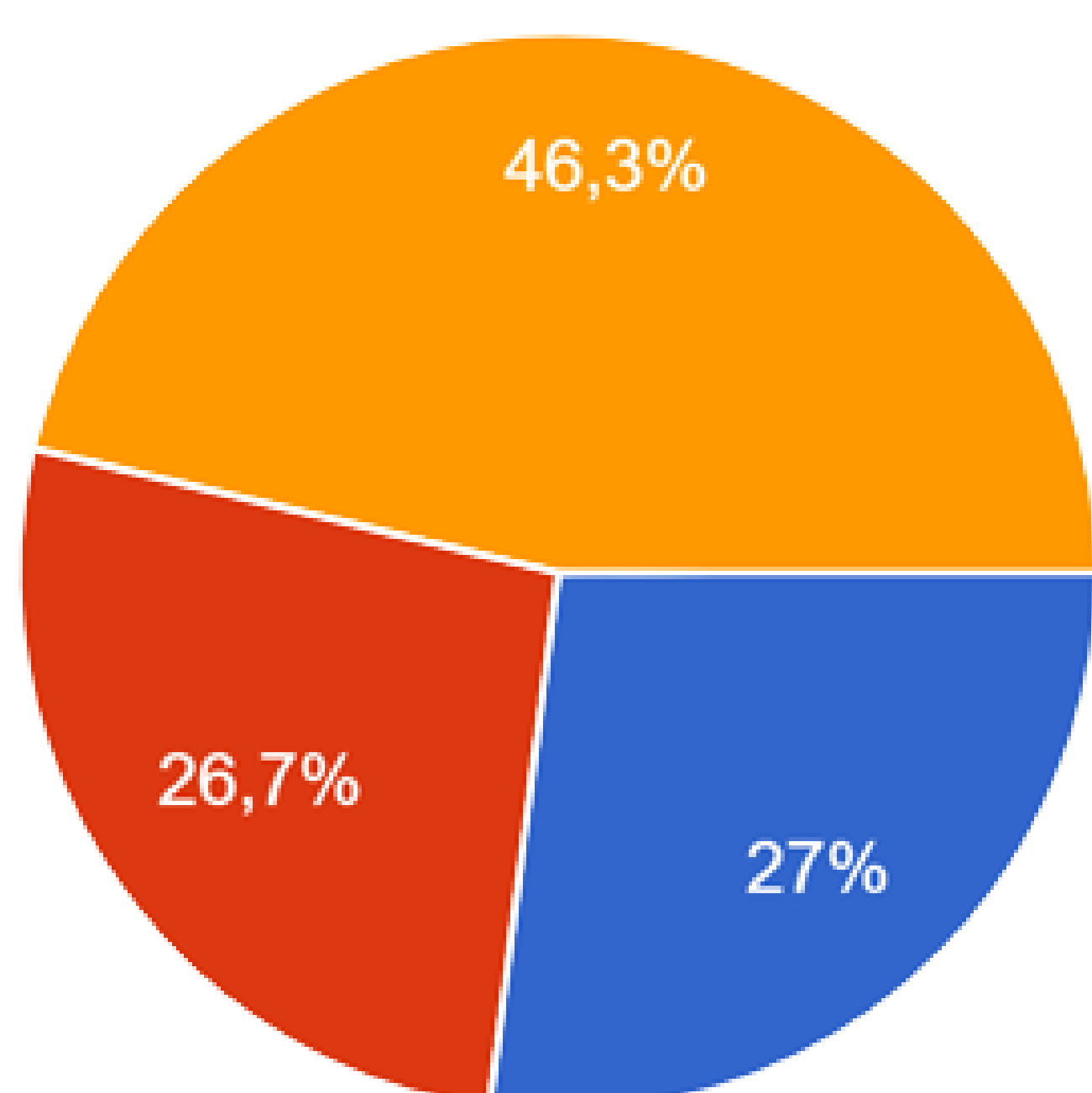


**DURING THE PANDEMIC DID YOU HAVE OR DO YOU HAVE MORE TIME AT HOME?
270 RESPONSES**



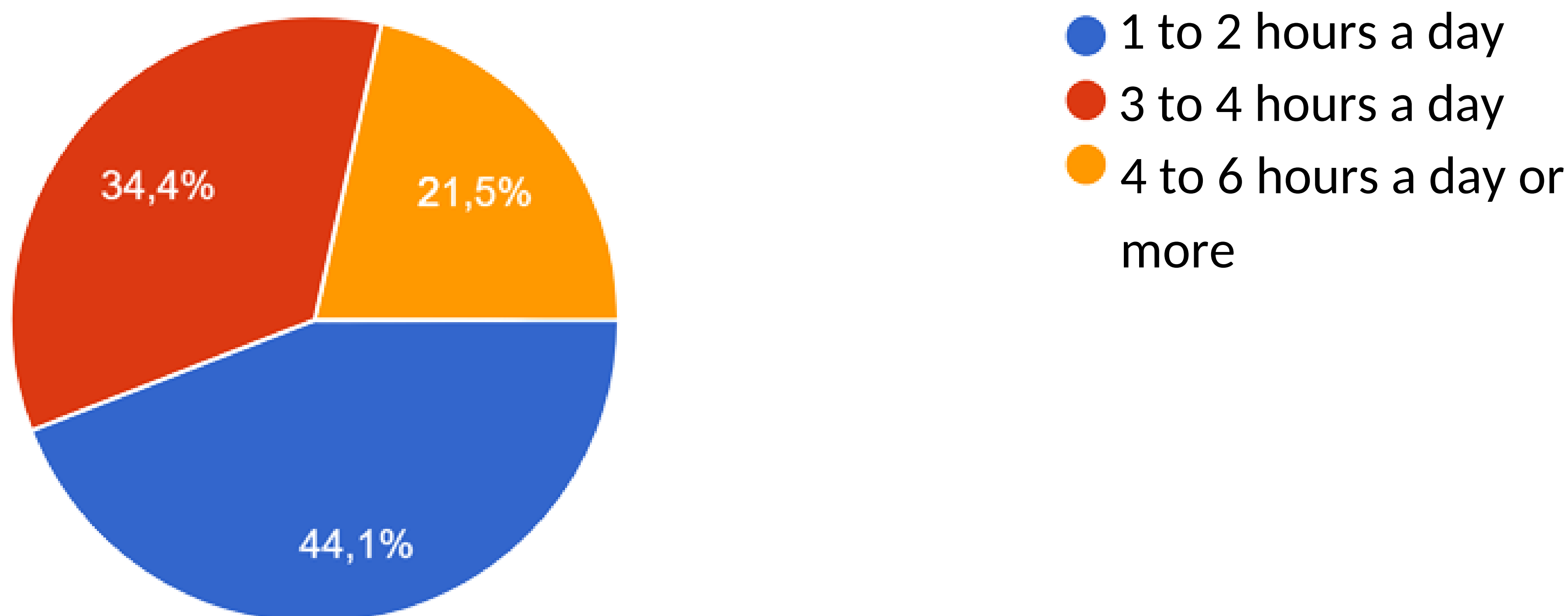
- Yes, I worked in home office system
- Yes, I was or was without a professional occupation
- Yes, my working time has been reduced
- No

**DURING THE PANDEMIC, ON AVERAGE, HOW MANY HOURS A DAY OF CARING FOR YOUR CHILD(REN) DO YOU CONSIDER TO HAVE DEDICATED OR STILL DEDICATE?
270 RESPONSES**



- 1 to 2 hours a day
- 3 to 4 hours a day
- 4 to 6 hours a day or more

DURING THE PANDEMIC HOW MUCH TIME DID YOU DEDICATE/DEDICATE TO HOUSEWORK DAILY? 270 RESPONSES



SOME CONCLUSIONS

Finally, we draw attention to some comments made by participants in the field for optional completion. All of them were inserted here without changing the way they were written by the participants themselves.

There were 31 final comments for this session, including praise, criticism and suggestions. We can see that there is an urgent need to work with the diversity contained in the exercise of black paternity and that this report will be the beginning of a long journey. Despite the weaknesses briefly presented here, we believe that this form has the potential to become a large national database on black/black Brazilian paternity.



Second part: reflections on data collection

BLACK MASCULINITIES AND PATERNITY: THE CHALLENGES OF BEING A BLACK MAN IN BRAZIL

TAMIS PORFÍRIO

1.1. MASCULINITIES: HEGEMONY AND THE REST

To talk about black fatherhood in Brazil, it is essential to turn our attention to the actors in this parental role. Who are the men who exercise or who will exercise such paternity? In Brazil, in 2012, 54.3% of men declared themselves to be black (IBGE/PNAD, 2012). Considering blacks and non-blacks men, 63.64% are fathers and 80% intend to be. We can conclude that there is an important portion of the population of black cisgender men who are or may become fathers. The issue of race associated with paternity should not be treated only as an accessory, but, on the contrary, as an expressively relevant factor for understanding how these paternity practices are carried out in Brazil.

Therefore, understanding the different masculinities that these black men manifest is essential to understanding how they will affect the exercise of this parental role, since, in different ways, the exercise of paternity is a constitutive part of the construction of an adult masculinity (and this does not necessarily have to do with age).

However, when we think of an ideal man and a man considered socially fit to be a father, in general, a black man does not come to mind. The mythical ideal of masculinity does not include a black man, but a white, cisgender, heterosexual, Christian, middle/upper class man.

Such a pattern of masculinity is very much based on what became widely known academically as hegemonic masculinity from the conceptual construction of Raewyn Connell (1983). This concept represents, above all, an ideal. A set of practices that form a desirable standard of what it is to be a “real man” and place all men in relation to them. Such patterns are imbued with a great potential to establish power relations that subjugate, mainly, women in general and homosexual men, in addition to affecting in an oppressive way the production of alternative masculinities, which come to be understood as subordinate.

According to Connell and Messerschmidt (2013), the patterns of hegemony in relation to masculinities occur in a normative way and not because a numerical majority of men adopted them, on the contrary, according to the authors, a negligible minority of men manage to adapt to these hegemonic patterns. Such standards are not only related to sex/gender, phenotypic and material characteristics, but also to individual and social characteristics that embody what is most honorable, virile and socially valued.

In this way, it would be very difficult for a man to fit perfectly into the dominant models of masculinity, even those who are considered "real men" have their contradictions. Furthermore, hegemonic masculinity does not refer to an individual or a set of them, after all, but to the configurations of practices that are part of the constitution of a myth that tells what it is to be an individual in its fullest sense. A myth constructed and reaffirmed ideologically, culturally and institutionally.

Masculinity is not a fixed entity embodied in the body or personality traits of individuals. Masculinities are configurations of practices that are carried out in social action and, thus, can be differentiated according to gender relations in a particular social setting (CONNELL & MESSERSCHMIDT, 2013, p.250).

In order to be hegemonic, the model of masculinity needs to be distinguished.

In the alterity process, hegemonic masculinities is the "one", and the other masculinities are the "others". All men are in relation to it, like a mirror, and those who do not conform are in the field of subordination. Such subordination has a lot to do with the visible and stigmatized marks of gender, race and class, but it is also related to the stereotypes produced from the imbrication of these markers of difference. Since, in our society, the heterosexual, cis, virile, white, middle-class and honorable man is a model of socially valued masculinity characteristics, men who do not approach this standard end up being stigmatized and stereotyped.

Although dominating and normative, the standard of masculinity is not rigid and immutable. What constitutes hegemony changes throughout history and also across social contexts. In other words, what is hegemonic and what is subordinate is not fixed or essentialized, but relative, contextual and circumstantial in the power structure, in addition to being in constant dispute, being subject to reconfiguration and even dismantling of such patterns (CONNELL & MESSERSCHMIDT, 2013; KIMMEL, 1998; VALE DE ALMEIDA, 1996; PINHO, 2004).

According to Kimmel (1998), such hegemonic masculinity is only as relevant and visible to "others", because to ideal white men, these are just men, they are within a generically human standard.

It is the privilege of these men not to think of themselves as holders of a gender and a race. They don't think of themselves, they just exist as individuals, in the most genuine way. Privilege that a black woman, for example, does not enjoy. This woman will rarely forget that she is a woman, and also black. A privilege that, in Brazil, a black man does not enjoy either, because despite his advantages in relation to gender, his color condemns him.

In this sense, the intersectional perspective is of great value for understanding these realities. Since we must consider the relational, contextual and circumstantial aspects of the various masculinities, because depending on which axes of inequality (gender, race, class, sexual orientation, generation, physical disability, etc.) new and different forms of inequality, vulnerability and marginalization — understanding that no axis overlaps the other, but they are related in the process of producing differences and inequalities (CRENSHAW, 1991). In addition to the fact that the same male individual can have a hegemonic position in a given situation or context, and subordinate in another, and this can also be a result of the marks of inequality he carries and even their absence (VALE DE ALMEIDA, 1996).

1.2. IS THE BLACK MAN A MAN?

A RACIALIZED AND SUBALTERN MASCULINITY

According to Kimmel (1998), “The hegemonic and the subaltern emerged in a mutual but unequal interaction in a gendered social and economic order.” (p. 105). The author considers that masculinities are constituted in two interrelated fields of power relations: 1) in the relationships between men and women that constitute gender inequalities; 2) in the unequal relations of men with other men, generated by differences in race, sexuality, generation, etc. Thus, the author states that two of the constitutive elements in the social construction of masculinities are sexism and homophobia. With this, it is important to pay attention to the fact that masculinities do not only produce relations of violence and oppression in the interaction with women and homosexuals.

Such masculinities are shaped in a relationship of opposition and antagonism with women and men who are outside hegemonic patterns, therefore, they form and affirm their value from these inequalities.

In a hierarchical order of gender, the masculine is not homogeneously at the top, but subdivided among several marginalized masculinities. If the model of hegemonic masculinity that currently contemplates the standard white man represents not only an ideal, but above all a generic standard of humanity, the black man, who in Brazil represents his masculine antithesis, corresponds to the one who is far from what he is. human, and closer to nature. Fanon (2008 [1952]) is categorical in stating that the black man is not a man. It is located in a “(...) zone of non-being, an extraordinarily barren and arid region.” (p.26).

The black man is in a constant relationship of inferiority - even ontological - with the white man. Fanon (2008 [1952]), despite often using the masculine gender as a generic to refer to the black individual, makes a very pertinent statement that fits very well with the power contrasts regarding black and white masculinities: “Well, black people no longer have to be black, but to be so in front of white people” (p.104). According to Western thought, black men are not men, neither in sex nor in gender, because they have not broken with nature, they remain wild, without the necessary rational capacity to tame their instincts. Such capacity would put them in a state of freedom, however, incapable, they are not masters of themselves (FAUSTINO, 2019).

According to Custódio (2019), the ontological question of being black is intrinsic to the debate on black masculinities. Such a condition of non-humanity is inherent to race, it is being black that undermines the possibilities of humanity, but for the author there is a crucial difference related to gender in this aspect. Women are reserved for what the author calls “Zero vulnerability”, an almost inescapable subalternity due to their social markers of gender and race, at first. The black woman is at the base of the social pyramid, she represents the “other of the other”, as referred to by Grada Kilomba (2008).

Now, the promise or belief in power is reserved to the black man, because of his gender, a promise that is not fulfilled. It mirrors an ideal of masculinity status that it will not be allowed to achieve. Such an expectation of power, according to the author, can cause real consequences, such as violence against other men and against black children and women. Such masculinity exercised by the black man, the author calls “a masculinity exercised out of place” (CUSTÓDIO, 2019, p. 132).

Non-white men (black, brown and indigenous) are the portion of the Brazilian population that consumes alcoholic beverages the most, 61.6%, against 48.6% of white men (PNS/2013). The patterns of masculinity associated with structural racism can cruelly compromise the psychological health and socialization of black men, in addition to placing them in a position of social subordination, which leaves them susceptible to the exaggerated consumption of chemical substances. Regardless of race, there is a direct relationship between excessive alcohol consumption among men and domestic violence, among other episodes of violence, including sexual violence, as well as traffic accidents and work accidents.

Black men are the social group that dies the most in Brazil, whether from social or physical death. These men are the main targets of mass incarceration, according to the Brazilian Public Security Yearbook (2020), in 2019, black individuals represented 66.7% of the prison population, while 33.3% of this population were represented by non-blacks. Of the homicide victims in Brazil, 74.4% corresponded to black people and 91.2% of these were men.

When we return to the issue of police violence, in 2019, the comparison of the rate of 100,000 inhabitants shows that mortality among black people caused by police interventions is 183.2% higher than the rate observed among whites. The death rate among whites caused by police intervention is 1.5 per 100,000 white inhabitants, while among blacks, 4.2 per 100,000 black inhabitants. It can be observed that 79.1% of the targets of police intervention in Brazil are black, 99.2% are men and 74.3% are young people up to 29 years old. Black bodies are daily victims of necropolitics[1] (MBEMBE, 2016) and the black power movements has long been pointing out this problem as a genocide of the black population and youth.

According to the “National Policy for the Comprehensive Health of the Black Population” (2017), men have higher mortality rates for the three major groups of causes of diseases of the World Health Organization (WHO) (infectious and parasitic diseases, non-communicable diseases and external causes) than women. External causes are the main reasons for death of black men in Brazil, who are 6.3 times more likely to die this way than women. According to data from the Ministry of Health, young black men up to 29 years of age are up to 50% more likely to commit suicide. Public helplessness regarding the mental and physical health of these men is alarming. According to the Institute of Applied Economic Research (Ipea), in 2008, the black population corresponded to 67% of the total public served by the Unified Health System (SUS)[2], a neglected public health that is unable to attend to them. And as an aggravating factor, there is the presence of a masculine culture, which establishes extremely negative and harmful patterns, which conceives that self-care is not a priority for “real men”.

The life of the black man in Brazil is unwanted, constantly harassed. The State and social institutions condone the death of these men and even produce them, whether through death policies or institutional indifference, both part of a power project in which whiteness is the center.

Fanon (2008 [1952]) makes a very significant discussion of comparing himself, as a black man, to a Jewish man. According to the author, despite all the history of slavery, deprivation, persecution, extermination and discrimination suffered by Jews, even so, this one can be ignored in its Jewishness, as they can often go unnoticed as just a white man. Despite some debatable traits that less attentive eyes can miss or make doubt, only the behavior, the acts or anything that can detect him as a Jew could denounce him.

[1] Which are “the various ways in which, in our contemporary world, firearms are deployed in the interest of maximizing the destruction of people and the creation of “worlds of death”, new and unique forms of social existence, in which vast populations are subjected to living conditions that give them the status of “living dead” (MBEMBE, 2016). According to Mbembe (2016), racism is a central aspect in defining the enemies of the State when it comes to necropolitics, which has as one of its main characteristics the state of exception and the state of siege as a constant.

[2] Cf. BRASIL. Ministério da Saúde. Secretaria de Gestão Estratégica e Participativa. Departamento de Apoio à Gestão Participativa e ao Controle Social. Política Nacional de Saúde Integral da População Negra: uma política para o SUS. 3. ed. – Brasília: Editora do Ministério da Saúde, 2017. 44 p.

But for the black man there is no such chance, his skin delivers him to racism. According to the author, the black becomes a slave to his appearance. Your color comes first, before your individuality, your personal characteristics, your character, your personality, your complexity as a human being. Such a discussion opens the door for us to see how much the black man is under the influence of stereotypes that precede and objectify him.

Souza (2009) discusses some representations of the black man constructed in a racist way by the national social imaginary, present in Brazilian literature and soap operas. The stereotypes of “neguinho” and “negão”[1] are the most representative in this environment and the ones of the most racist to define black man. According to the author, the first would represent the submissive, servile, infantilized black man, errand boy, the one without his own will and mentally and psychologically dependent on the decisions of white people. Despite being given over to alcoholism and sexual destruction, he maintains a totally asexual relationship with white women. The other is the opposite of the first, virile, with exceptional sexual performance and a large penis. It is a threat to the white man for his supposedly irresistible sensuality to white women.

About the nuances that are between such stereotypes, the author also talks about the stereotype that represents the “faithful squire”. This one has all the physical attributes of the black man, but he is asexual, just like the black man. Faithful and devoted, he would lay down his life for his protected superiors and defend them even from other blacks, always available to do the dirty work. A “type” very useful to white masculinity, servile and submissive, but devoid of the sexual threat that the black man represents in the white imagination. However, it is necessary to keep such strength and bodily abilities under the reins of whiteness, because “when a black man is not submissive, putting his strength at the service of the status quo, he is out of control, becoming a threat. In that case he is demonized and will likely be physically exterminated.” (SOUZA, 2009, p. 16).

Such stereotypes only confirm the denial of the humanity of these men, in addition to the representation of a distorted and stigmatized masculinity in the eyes of whiteness. One of the ways for hegemonic male groups to assert themselves is by disqualifying other masculinities, creating and reproducing stereotypes that characterize them as negative references, it is essential that minority male groups become a counterpoint so that the hegemonic pattern is taken as a positive reference in Western societies. (CONNELL, 1995, Apud, SOUZA, 2013). “In this sense, the strength of the stereotype lies precisely in the fact that it legitimizes itself, due to the greater capacity of persuasion of the hegemonic group that imposes itself, transforming its ideology into universal truth.” (SOUZA, 2013, p. 42).

[1] Free translation of these terms would be “neguinho” as little black guy and “negão” as big black guy.

It is common for black men to internalize such stereotypes, not as a strictly rational choice, but as a way of achieving some social value through an attempt to positively re-signify stigma. Souza (2013) refers to this process as perhaps one of the only means of guaranteeing status to these men before women and, especially, before other men. Many of the black men believe that, in fact, hypersexualization, unusual strength and extreme virility, characteristics attributed to the "negão", their most socially valuable characteristics and that should be sought, to these it seems the best way to be appreciated while black man. They cage themselves in a "golden cage" (idem, p. 105), a stereotyped and objectified place, but which guarantees them some value, some respect and recognition.

From what has been discussed, we begin, then, to understand the challenges that a black man faces to build himself as a man in a patriarchal and white-centric society. Being born male is not enough to fully enjoy the powers of a man, but only whiteness can guarantee them the value and fullness of a "correct", "honorable" and "capable" masculinity to exercise the roles social aspects of a real man, including fatherhood.

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BLACK FATHERHOOD ON THE AGENDA - CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES

LUCIANO RAMOS

The exercise of black fatherhood in Brazil is an almost unattainable or utopian place for the man of color. This man's life is threatened at every moment by necropolitics. And every 23 minutes a black child is fatherless or every 23 minutes a young black man will not become a father, according to the 2017 Violence Map.

According to the facts that will be presented below, this text explains the almost impossibility of the black man to father in Brazil, due to the social and historical contexts.

Structural racism does not allow the black man to exercise paternity, due to the fact that he was kidnapped to the West with the intention of being only an enslaved workforce and not to father.

Thus, it is important to conceptualize Structural Racism, which according to Carl E. James (1996) is, therefore, the formalization of a set of institutional, historical, cultural and interpersonal practices within a society that often places a social group or ethnicity in a better position to succeed, while at the same time harming other groups consistently and steadily, causing disparities that develop between groups over a period of time.

Philosopher Silvio de Almeida explains in his book “Structural Racism” that racism is far from being an anomaly. Racism is the “normal”: “Regardless of whether we accept racism or not, it constitutes relationships in their normal pattern”. I have been saying for some time that if the black man survives to father, he has other challenges to experience this fatherhood, such as, for example, being forced to create a larger repertoire, compared to white fathers, to empower his sons and daughters to develop in a society based on racism.

When we talk about paternity, what paternity are we talking about? Where do black fatherhoods connect with the socially approached parenting model? What elements of black paternity are found in the paternities studied and socially approached?

I do not pretend to answer these questions in these following lines, but to ask further questions about it.

ON PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE ENSLAVEMENT OF BLACK MEN IN BRAZIL

It is important to think of a timeline that helps us understand the organization of racism in Brazil, based on the enslavement of men and women from and from different territories of the African Continent. Countless times the philosopher Marilena Chauí points out, in her speeches, that Brazilian society, mistakenly, transforms differences into inequalities. This is a fundamental point in this text for the understanding of racism in such a plural scenario, such as the Brazilian reality.

1500 – The Portuguese arrived in Brazil. There is no discovery process for something that had already been discovered by those who inhabited these lands. There is an invading arrival.

1550 – Slave ship traffic. Laurentino Gomes (2019), in the book *Escravidão*, reports that “The slave ships made the sharks change their migratory routes, starting to accompany the vessels crossing the ocean, waiting for the bodies that would be thrown over the waves”.

What justifies this traffic of black bodies and the enslavement of bodies of the same color?

Scientifically, it was believed that black people were inferior because they were black. They strip blacks of any and all capacity for thought, reflection and even feelings.

Frantz Fanon, in the book *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952), addresses this white kidnapping of the black man's capacity for reflection and intelligence. Thus, we could make a second claim in this text that white masculinity dehumanizes the black man. We can portray this talking about Hegemony x Subalternity. Further on our text will address this element.

About the legal framework, according to the timeline:

1824 – Law that prohibits blacks from studying: socially strengthens the fact that blacks are intellectually inferior, devoid of intelligence and are objectified.

1850 – Land Law: prohibits blacks and indigenous people from acquiring land in the country — it legally makes it impossible for blacks to acquire property.

Here I open a parenthesis to say that one of the founding elements of fatherhood, white and hegemonic, is to provide. Not providing within the scope of virility, which is an essential virtue of the organization of rigid masculinity, commonly called toxic and which mischaracterizes the masculinity of the black man. Therefore, it is clear that the white man creates a series of norms to delegitimize the masculinity of the black man.

Sociologist and historian Georges Vigarello (2013) approaches virility as follows:

... virility is marked by an immemorial tradition: not simply the masculine, but in its very nature, and its noblest, if not the most perfect, part. Virility would be a virtue, compliment. Roman virilitas, from which the term comes, remains a model, with its qualities clearly stated: sexual, those of the active husband, powerfully constituted, procreative, but also thoughtful, vigorous and restrained, courageous and restrained. The vir is not simply homo; virile not simply man: he is an ideal of strength of virtue, security and maturity, certainty and domination. Hence this traditional challenge situation: seeking perfection, excellence, as well as self-control. Numerous qualities, in short, intertwined: sexual ascendancy mixed with psychological ascendancy, physical strength with moral strength, courage and greatness accompanying strength and vigor. (Vigarello 2013, p.7)

Here, we need to think of virility as a series of requirements, understood as virtues, which must be constantly practiced for the exercise of masculinity, as it is socially posited. Once this black man does not reach this place of purchasing power, his masculinity does not exist.

Following the timeline:

1871 – Free Womb Law: the children of enslaved women in Brazil from the date of approval of the law were free.

1885 – Sexagenarian Law: determined that after its approval all enslaved people over 60 years of age were free.

1888 – Signing of the Lei Áurea – Abolition of Slavery: Brazil is the last American country to abolish slavery.

All these laws are organized to ratify the racism that, over time, has been structured in Brazilian society. In any case, in different aspects of Brazilian organization (laws, signs, Brazilian aesthetics and ethics), society was organized based on racism, making it a natural practice and taught transgenerationally.

WHAT PLACE DOES BLACK MASCULINITIES OCCUPY IN BRAZIL?

This work is not intended to talk about masculinities, but to question the structures that prevent the black man from fathering. However, it is very difficult to talk about black paternity without talking about masculinities, once they are related.

Here, in this part of the text, we can resume the confrontation between Hegemony x Subalternity. Raewyn Connell (1983) portrays the term Hegemonic Masculinity considering that, above all, it is an ideal, as a set of actions that would define a real man. What is allied to the virtues, previously brought in this text. These are a small group of men, who organize the way men in general need to be categorized. These determine the subalterns like everyone who is not part of this select group.

Black men, in turn, occupy the spaces of subaltern masculinities. It is important to understand that these hegemonic and subaltern masculinities are directly related, and that one only exists through the existence of the other. According to Kimmel (1998), the hegemonic and the subaltern emerged in a mutual but unequal interaction in a social and economic order, divided into genders. He also claims that inequalities are built within masculinities. Which claims that white men dehumanize the masculinities of black men. Fanon (1952) constantly addresses the inferiority of the black man in relation to the white man.

Within this scenario, the black body is not seen as a valued body, but rather as an object (in the perspective of objectification) without historical and social recognition. Thus, the historical racism mentioned above gains a place of State legitimacy. The black man is seen as a suspect, as the potential criminal by the armed power of the State. In this constant struggle between hegemony and subalternity, where this black man is summoned, daily, to fight for a place in that chair that is not available to him, he is given the false hope to reach hegemony, through the possibility of killing his brothers. In this scenario, the “faithful squire” is presented (a virile, strong man, with a large penis. A threat to the white man for his irresistible sensuality to white women, but asexual) who is one of the representations of the black, according to Souza (2009) or the figure of the capitão do mato^[1]

In this duel, there is no room for the black man to be a man. He cannot occupy this place in this prevailing model of masculinity and society.

WHAT IS THE PLACE OF THE BLACK FATHER?

Black paternity cannot be analyzed from the same place as white paternity. If you have come this far in this text, there are several elements that have shown you this. The first step is to deconstruct paternity as a singular movement. Fatherhoods occupy distinct places in this arena. Analyzing paternity without racial, class and gender cuts is an empty and unnecessary movement. Intersectionality is an important concept as a starting point for understanding the different paternity exercises.

Who is this father? What understanding does he have of parenting? What does being a father mean to this man? What experience of being a son did he have? What network does this man have for the exercise of fatherhood?

All these are fundamental questions to understand black masculinities and support them in this important movement of construction of the black man.

[1] Capitão-do-mato were farm workers whose main attribution was to chase runaway enslaved people.

In the book “Contemporary Dialogues on Black Men and Masculinities” the organizer Henrique Restier reminds us that the memory of the black man's fatherhood is very recent. If we return to the timeline of this text, we will notice that the black man was only able to “exercise” paternity, with all the social difficulties for this, after the Abolition of Slavery. Therefore, this memory is less than 150 years old in the history of the Brazilian black man, which in the organization of a society is little. This man is socially charged even more harshly with the exercise of paternity than is demanded of the white man. This is due to the white and heteronormative and cis hegemonic organization of Brazilian society. This man is required to take some attitudes without considering the basics: which is his fear of dying or that his black sons will die or that his daughters, because they are black, have their bodies violated, since the body of the black woman is not respected within this model of society. The right to life is the fundamental and basic right for social coexistence, but these men are still fighting for it. These parents are still trying to survive. This movement of care of the black paternity needs to exist, collectively, but based on a living condition promoted by the State and society.

“It takes a village to raise a child.” This African proverb reminds us of the fact that quilombos have collective movements. The villages have collective movements. White society has individualistic movements and demands from men and women who traditionally come from community movements individual attitudes of care and protection. In this aspect, it is important to respect the quilting as an experience of care. Think of a movement where everyone is responsible for care, without removing what is proper to each one. And paternity finds its place of care in this collectivity, whose starting point is to take care of life. The black man, in the illusory quest to achieve hegemonic masculinity, which is also allied to his physical and social survival, has moved away from this collective care movement. It is necessary to summon this man to this hoarding of care at the same time as it is necessary that the non-black community respect and understand this process, in addition to disseminating this practice among their own. That would be an important anti-racist attitude. Thinking about public policies that consider the community as an important space for the care of the black father, without removing his individual responsibility, is urgent.

Finally, it is not possible to think of black parenthoods apart from the characteristics that organize this black man in a racist world and without making an intersectional reading (gender, class, race)

In this black parenting community, I will only begin to dream when my brothers can dream too.

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Silvio de Almeida is a lawyer, philosopher and university professor.

Marilena Chauí is a Brazilian writer and philosopher, specializing in the work of Baruch Espinoza.

Laurentino Gomes is a Brazilian journalist and writer.

Frantz Fanon was a French Marxist psychiatrist, philosopher and essayist from Martinique of French and African descent.

Bell Hooks – American author, teacher, feminist theorist, artist, and social activist.

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BLACK MATERNITY - THE EXERCISE OF BEING A BLACK WOMAN AND MOTHER IN BRAZIL

VIVIANA SANTIAGO

INTRODUCTION

Opening the dialogue about motherhood in Brazil means evoking a white motherhood. As much as we insist on believing that “we are a tropical country, blessed by God and beautiful by nature” and that “it is time for these tanned people to show their value”[1], it is not the entire Brazilian population that we think of when, commonly, we talk about motherhood. The images won't let us lie, just type the words “mother” and “motherhood” into online search engines, and we'll receive a flood of images connecting us with white women, from young women hugging their daughters in front of computers, to elderly women who receive attention from their adult children, we also pass by the white Pietàs with their children on her lap, to a white (and inconceivable) Yemanjá who, dressed in blue and from inside the sea, would symbolize the great mother who protects everyone and supports women in their motherhood.

White women and other various images are formed in the imaginary of the reader. The image of a white maternity, of white care, with special emphasis on the images of maternity associated with obstetric hospital complexes that, with very rare exceptions represent black women, black invisibility is a fact in this social construction.

Being a woman in Brazil is still very challenging, but being a black woman and bringing with her the markers, gender and race, which are in the least valued part of society, add to the life experience of black women the constant coexistence with risk, with violence and death. According to the EVA Platform – Evidence on Violence and Alternatives for women and girls[2], launched by the Igarapé Institute, between 2010 and 2018 more than 214,000 women and girls were victims of sexual violence, 243.6 out of every 100,000 women have already suffered aggression, 42,000 women were murdered and 68% of women victims of homicide were brown and black. It is not easy to be a woman in Brazil and, in that same country, pregnancy, although apparently celebrated, needs to be understood for what it really is, based on two variables: imposition and blame. The reports of women, from obstetric violence and loss of income, express that we need to challenge ourselves to perceive the complexity inherent to the phenomenon of becoming a mother in Brazil and this is the debate that we propose here, privileging the experience of black women. and making an intersectional analysis that privileges, above all, the dimensions of gender, race, class and generation. Intersectionality is a theoretical category that focuses on multiple systems of oppression articulating race, gender and class.

[1] References of popular Brazilian songs

[2] https://eva.igarape.org.br/health_system/br. Acesso em: 13/02/2021.

The term, in the words of Carla Akotirene:

“It demarcates the theoretical and methodological paradigm of the black feminist tradition, promoting political interventions and legal literacies on which structural conditions racism, sexism and related violence overlap, discriminate and create unique burdens for black women.” [1]

In this case, intending to shed light on the experience of black motherhood and, in this way, “intersectionality shows us how and when black women are discriminated against and are more often positioned on identity avenues, which will make them vulnerable to the collision of modern structures and flows.” [2]

1. WHO DOESN'T KNOW THE ROOT DOESN'T REACH THE TOP

From an Afrocentric cosmovision and based on Afrodiasporic knowledge, permission is requested from the elders to present here an ancient African proverb, which comes to our knowledge through the survivals and reinventions of the black people kidnapped by the human traffic in the Atlantic. A proverb that signals that unless you go deep, it is impossible to understand what is at a higher level. Understanding black motherhood and, here, mainly, its invisibility requires a deep analysis of the construction of the meaning of this motherhood, based on the ancestral experience of enslaved black women, kidnapped from Africa, and later born in Brazil, but equally enslaved.

Brazil was the last country in the world to abolish slavery, it is estimated that during the more than three centuries of slavery in Brazil, about millions of Africans were trafficked to Brazil. In this context, black women fulfilled functions that went beyond the exhausting work to which they were subjected, they were also in themselves, in their bodies, a part of the reproductive structure of slavery, these women had the function of generating more enslaved people, to feed with their own bodies the sons and daughters of those who enslaved them, children who would one day have the right to own themselves and, in this context, these women were separated from their daughters and sons, as soon as these children showed themselves to be able to do so. labor and had guaranteed commercial value. Black women gave birth, but they did not have the opportunity to be mothers.

“Unlike the offspring of relations between black men and white women, the offspring of any black female slave, irrespective of the race of her mate, would be legally a slave and thus the property of the owner to whom the slave belonged. As the market value of black female slaves increased, large numbers were stolen or purchased by white slave traders.” (HOOKS, 1981, p.14)[3]

[1] AKOTIRENE, Carla. O Que é Interseccionalidade? Editora Letramento, 2018, p.54.

[2] [5] – same – (2018, p. 58)

[3] HOOKS, bell. E não sou eu uma mulher? Ano 1981, p.14.

Black women were often raped and gave birth to these children from the rapes they suffered, not counting on the care of anyone, as there was, especially on the part of many white women, the suspicion that these black women were the incarnation of evil, were lascivious who entered their home with the aim of driving mad and seducing their men, husbands and children, and concretely these women forgot that these black women were the victims of a perverse social pact that constructed them as sexual objects and then they punished them for being victims of these sexual crimes, punishments that often involved the mutilation of their faces and bodies by the slave owners, who took out their anger for their unfulfilled desires for that woman.

These women were unable to mother their daughters and sons, either because they had them almost immediately torn from them, or because they saw them grow up like an animal in the casa grande[1], fed on crumbs, as immortalized by Debret, in the painting A Brazilian Dinner, and seeing them transform into an object and toy for the little white man, as explained by Gilberto Freyre in Casa Grande e Senzala:

“As soon as the white child started to walk, the parents gave him a little boy as a companion. The little boy was the toy buddy, but also a yo-yo taker”.[2] (Freyre, 1933, p.46)

The fact is that these women were not perceived as mothers, they were perceived as responsible for the care of children, as well explained in Freyre's text, black women were the pet under the table, the object of beatings and, often, before the age of 7 of age were the worker.

The process of abolition of slavery in Brazil, perversely constructed without the intention of concretely inserting the newly freed black people into the project of the Nation, will profoundly demarcate in the imagination of the following centuries what the maternity of black women means. From the Free Womb Law (September 28, 1871) in which it establishes, first of all, the condition of object inherent to these women, who, dehumanized, are thus sliced, having part of their emancipated body, their womb, their uterus and reiterating its place as a reproductive structure, even so, there is a repeated understanding that motherhood is not the way, by releasing the daughters and sons and not the mother, there is an effective construction of an idea that between a woman there is no relationship, there is no love, but more than that, it will establish that the project of the Nation determines that the place of black children is the institutionalization and exploitation of their work:

[1] Denomination for the farm homes of the slave owners

[2] FREYRE, Gilberto. Casa grande e senzala. Ano 1933, p. 46

“Even though the abolition of slavery was thus long worked on, carried out, as it was, in stages or parts, care was not taken, as has already been pointed out, for the social integration of black people, the transabolitionism that Gilberto Freyre speaks of was not carried out. Enslaved children freed before the Free Womb Law or even those freed afterwards, (...) ended up under the tutelage of philanthropic institutions, which represent in the social context the well into which similar issues flow even today. Few of these children, at the time, even integrate more differentiated spaces, before they continue, for the most part, on the initial rung of society, if not on the levels of misery”. (Brandão, 1996, p.15)[1]

2. BLACK WOMEN, DOMESTIC WORKERS AND INFORMAL WORKERS - THE REITERATION OF CARE FOR THE OTHER

After abolition, enslaved labor was then integrated into society, now in the condition of free workers. Black women who already inhabited the houses as enslaved people, are incorporated into the new dynamics as “maids”, but especially in this case, without any equivalence of the condition of the rights of workers, they remain in the houses and are passed for family members “as if they were family”, and there they continue to work 14 or more hours a day. According to a study by the International Labor Organization, Brazil is the country with the largest population of domestic workers in the world in absolute numbers. The profile of domestic work is female, Afro-descendant and with low education, in a relationship of extreme proximity and dependence on the employer, in a context of isolation and lack of protection in which I work, they are often victims of abuse, just as black women were before them and who worked as slaves.

The approval of the Domestic Worker Law, in 2013, resulted in the Constitutional Amendment No. 72[1] that corrects some injustices in the assimilation of domestic work to other constitutionally protected work categories, however, the concrete reality still remains challenging, starting with the huge contingent of workers, mostly black, who remain excluded from their labor rights, a situation that was deepened in 2020 in a context of a pandemic with these women being summarily dismissed from work without any financial support from employers, or being exposed to the contagion with the coronavirus when they kept their workdays without any protection.

Black mothers, domestic workers, are women who continue to take care of other's children, without concrete economic and social conditions to take care of their own daughters and sons who, at most, remain in the condition of white children's toys, where they are invited to attend the employers' houses, with the sole purpose of entertaining the children of the place, since these are only children and live alone. But as they grow up, they stop being the punching bag and company and start the task of “helping” their mothers, doing the small tasks of the house, until, with the passage of time, the black body grown up of boys, be seen as intimidating for the residents of the house and he is subtly – not always – invited to stop visiting the place.

[1] Available in: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/emendas/emc/emc72.htm

As for the girls, the lascivious gazes of many men and their children remain, who, in a repetition of colonial rape, try — and often succeed — to appropriate their bodies. Black mothers, in this context of economic dependence, try to protect their children and leave them at home, often alone, exposed to forces of dispute over peripheral subjectivities: domestic child labor, child labor in trafficking, sexual exploitation, among other issues.

Black women are also the majority of informal workers, according to research, today in Brazil, 21% of black women are domestic workers and only 23% of them have a signed work permit, against 12.5% of white women who are employed in the same field. Only 30% of domestic workers are registered with a Work Permit. Another alarming finding is that 46.27% of black women have never undergone a clinical breast exam, against 28.73% of white women who have also never undergone the exam. Both black and white women, who are in the job market, have higher education than men.

According to the National Household Sample Survey (Pnad) 2019, in general, there is a 45% salary difference between white and black workers, and for black women this difference is even greater, reaching 70% in the same position and function of work. In this function, these women are the majority of people working informally in Brazil, it is estimated that they dedicate more than 12 hours of work a day, not including commuting hours, many of them working in large urban centers, spend between three to four daily hours in the commute between home and work, and it is precisely in this context that we question the possibility of exercising this motherhood. How to mother and care for daughters and sons if in your daily work there is a reiteration of these perverse places and the naturalization of the non-mothering? Even those black women who are not in underemployment and informal jobs, deal with the devaluation of their workforce and the invisibility of their motherhood, as it is these black women and mothers who suffer from the phenomenon of double discrimination and are subject to “multiple forms of social discrimination (...), as a result of the perverse combination of racism and sexism, which result in a kind of social asphyxia, with negative consequences on all dimensions of life”.^[1]

It should also be said that the fragility of public policies and the inexistence of a racial cut for their implementation, further weakens the exercise of this black motherhood, whether due to the lack of employment and income, or public policies of education and care that guarantee day care center for children, which imprisons many of these mothers in precarious work or in complete dependence on social assistance programs, since there is no one to leave the children with. According to the light report, prepared by the Civil Society Working Group for Monitoring the 2030 Agenda in Brazil, 72.7% of poor people in Brazil (38 million) are black or mixed-race — the majority are women (27 million). The coverage of day care centers in Brazil is insufficient, much less than half of the children are included. But the report points out once again that the population has 54% of enrollments in day care centers, occupied by white children, while more than 88% of people enrolled in EJA are black.

[1] CARNEIRO, Sueli. A batalha de Durban. In: Revista Estudos Feministas, ano 10, 1º semestre 2002, p.210.

3. TEENAGE PREGNANCY AND CHILD MARRIAGE — THE MOTHERHOOD OF THE BLACK GIRL

Among the most perverse forms of violence against girls in the Brazilian context is child marriage. Child marriage is any formal or informal union in which at least one person is under 18 years of age. The term “child” is used because the definition of the phenomenon follows international norms, which define, from the Convention on the Rights of Children and Adolescents, that a child is every human being under 18 years of age.[1]

Child marriage is a global phenomenon, according to Girls Not Brides,[2] It is estimated that every year, 12 million girls are married before they are 18 years old, this means that 1 in 5 girls gets married before the age of 18.

The Plan International Brazil study: “Unveiling – Child Marriage in Brazil” (2019)[3] draws attention to this fact. Interviews carried out in the legislative, executive, judiciary and civil society organizations spheres are always marked by the initial complete surprise on the subject. Brazil is the fourth country in the world in absolute number of child marriages and it ranks among the 5 countries with the highest number of child marriages in Latin America. The IV Light Report of the 2030 Agenda,[4] of Sustainable Development in Brazil, prepared by the Civil Society Working Group (GTSC2030) on the 2030 Agenda, points out in 2019 that 36% of the female population in the country got married before the age of 18 and, still, no one knew about it, but the systematic violation of girls' rights has taken place and we need to establish the correlation between pregnancy, marriage and maternity of girls, especially black girls, the majority impacted by this violence.

In 2000 it can be seen that in the group aged 10 to 14 years 28,973 births of babies of mothers in this age group were registered, representing 1% in relation to the group of 10 to 19 years. In 2014 this number was 28,244, representing 0.9% of the total of adolescent mothers, in the age group from 10 to 17 years, with 2.9% of the girls having had at least one child before and that most of these mothers were or had already been married or lived in a consensual union. Although these percentages, if compared to older girls, can be read as low, in absolute terms they are still high, and the situation would be more serious if we understood the impact of a pregnancy in this age group, starting with the following: Girls under 13 years pregnant with adult men. These pregnancies follow their course, most of the time, without questioning sexual violence and all the risks inherent to a pregnancy in this age group, as the risks to the health of the child/adolescent and the fetus are very high.

[1] SANTIAGO, Viviana. Casamento infantil: as meninas não podem ser deixadas para trás. Feminismos Transnacionais. LeMonde Brasil.

[2] <https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/>

[3] Tirando o Véu. Casamento Infantil no Brasil. Plan International Brasil, 2019.

[4] Relatório Luz do Grupo de Trabalho da Sociedade Civil para monitoramento da Agenda 2030.

Of the adolescents in the same age group who had never lived with a spouse or partner, about 1.3% had had a child, while 40.4% of those who had lived with their husband had had at least one child.

Who are the girls, wives and mothers in Brazil? Making the correlation between schooling, income and race, we know that these girls have low levels of schooling and income,[1] with higher prevalence among poor, black and/or indigenous girls and with less schooling. In addition, we also see that there is a greater concentration of pregnant adolescents in their late teens and early teens, with 65.9% of girls between 18 and 19 years of age, 69% of girls were black (black or brown), 59.7% of the girls did not work or study and 92.5% took care of household chores.

These girls, often harassed by society as a whole, often have their condition as black children and adolescents made invisible, starting to be seen as adults, in a continuity of the colonial reading, where they are denied the possibility of being perceived in their stages of life development and, thus, after a hypersexualization of their bodies, they are also denied access to sex education, which will allow them to know their bodies and recognize violence, and to public policy that will allow them to desire other repertoires in their lives, since that in the scenario in which they live, black girls become mothers, start a poor life and become more impoverished with each child. They are neither “nor-nor”, they are “without-without”, that is, without study due to a violent marriage, without assistance from integrated policies that offer them support in the care of their daughters and sons. Black girls are also out of work and, thus, in a precarious existence, it is the mothers who manage to be mothers, because, many times, they were not even mothered.

4. STILL A MOTHER, BLACK MOTHERHOOD AND COMPLIANCE WITH SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL MEASURES

According to the survey carried out by the Secretariat for Human Rights of the Presidency of the Republic (2013)[2], of adolescents in conflict with the law who were serving a socio-educational measure of deprivation of liberty, 95% were male and about 60% were aged between 16 and 18 years, more than 60% of adolescents deprived of liberty were black, 66% lived in families considered extremely poor. Recent studies on the Brazilian family, especially families from low-income groups, indicate that the mother ends up being overloaded [3], she is primarily responsible for meeting the economic, social and emotional needs of her children. The study developed by Dias, Arpini and Simon, points out that mothers feel exhausted.

1] SANTOS, Benedito Rodrigues dos; MAGALHÃES, Daniella Rocha; MORA, Gabriela Goulart; CUNHA, Anna. Gravidez na Adolescência no Brasil – Vozes de Meninas e de Especialistas. Brasília: INDICA, 2017.

[2] O Adolescente em Conflito com a Lei e o Debate sobre a Redução da Maioridade Penal: esclarecimentos necessários. Nota Técnica. IPEA, 2015.

[3] DIAS, A. C. G., ARPINI, D. M. & SIMON, B. R. Um olhar sobre a família de jovens que cumprem medidas socioeducativas.

In Brazil, 63% of households headed by black women, with children up to 14 years of age, are below the poverty line, with a per capita income of approximately R\$ 420.00. The percentage is more than double that of the entire national average of people in this condition, which add up to 25% of the total. The IBGE's Household Budget Survey showed that the degree of food insecurity, which had been falling in recent years, in Brazilian households, increased by 37% and affects more households headed by women and blacks. More than that, they still feel judged by society, which, in the figure, including those closest to them, judge and hold them responsible for the infraction committed by the child and for the fulfillment of the socio-educational measure. The mothers, according to the authors, perceive that experiencing the situation of their children's hospitalization and the judgment of society is “a sentence of definitive condemnation of the failure of both (mother and child). The mothers indicate that both the young and they are responsible for this situation, as if it were the result of an act of will, (...) in the face of the humiliations suffered, the mothers recognize that they must seek strength, but they feel exhausted and alone”.

Most black women, who in the continuity of the political project outlined by the Free Womb Law, observe their children being institutionalized, separated from them, in the face of a state that denies them the possibility of experiencing rights and exercising citizenship, many boys co-opted by networks of exploitation and trafficking, they experience eternal punishment, just like their mothers, burdened and punished by a motherhood that, in addition to being denied, is now imposed by condemnation.

5. BLACK MATERNITY, POSITIVELY, AND FOR CITIZENSHIP

Without a proper review of the impact of racism on the Brazilian society and on the constitution of black maternity, it will be impossible to build a report about black mothers that, mainly, does not constitute a document of denunciation. In the 1970s, the elaboration of new studies in Brazil made it possible to understand that social backwardness is the result of slavery and the way in which blacks were included in the nation's project; It was only in the 1990s that the Brazilian government assumed that the country is racist and that all kinds of measures are needed to address racial inequalities. In 1999, with the review of the United Nations deliberations against racism in Brazil, the first government initiatives against racism emerged, but only after the III Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Forms of Intolerance (Durban, 2001), the debate around racial relations and the confrontation of racism takes new directions. In the month of February 2021, Brazil approved the text of the Inter-American Convention against Racism, Racial Discrimination and Related Forms of Intolerance, adopted in Guatemala on the occasion of the 43rd Ordinary Session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States, on June 2013.

At a first moment of the session, the text was approved in the first and second round, and now it will be sent to the Senate and, if approved, the wording will form part of the Constitution as an amendment.

IBut much more still needs to be done.

Thinking about black motherhood is urgent because, like black women, who express the full impact of racist, sexist and misogynistic violence, who are denied the right to mother their children, because their bodies continue to be used, by a racist State, as structures that reproduce inequality. It is necessary that the demands of mothers and black women be addressed, because they are subjected to It is necessary that the demands of black mothers and women are contemplated, because they are subject to a story that tries to eliminate them, even so, they resist and for two moments, more than overwhelming, they told the Brazilian state what they expect. Transcribing below part of her demands in the Letter of Black Women, written on the occasion of the Black Women's March against racism and for good living in 2015, and the Manifesto written in 2020, 5 years to go. I make these words my own.

- Promote the appreciation of the work of black women, curbing discriminatory practices in the labor market, such as unequal wages for equal roles and positions, among others;
 - Ensure black women access to basic social services, relating to mobility, sports and leisure, natural and cultural heritage;
 - Ensure decent housing for all, prioritizing security of tenure and preventing forced evictions, removals and monopoly over land;
 - Implement the National Policy for the Comprehensive Health of the Black Population in the Unified Health System;
 - Implement policies on Sexual Rights and Reproductive Rights in the areas of education, health and security, guaranteeing respect for free sexual orientation, gender identities, the autonomy of women's bodies, the right to abortion, as well as promoting actions aimed at sexual health and reproductive health.
-

BLACK FATHERHOODS AND HEALTH

DANIEL COSTA LIMA

A man who develops tuberculosis because he lives in a slum building with no light and high chances of bacteria proliferation; a pregnant woman who is unable to perform all the necessary prenatal consultations; a three-year-old child suffering from a headache, because the father has been arrested; a woman who can't sleep and has to stop working because of post-traumatic stress disorder caused by shootings in her neighborhood. All of these are examples of the effects of structural racism on the health of Brazil's black population. (Lola Ferreira and Flávia Martins, 2019) [1]

Unfortunately, these examples represent only a tiny part of the impact of structural racism on the mental and physical health of black Brazilian boys, girls, women and men and how they get sick and die.

This section will seek to demonstrate, among other things, that regarding the black population, Brazil is far from respecting Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that everyone is entitled to a “... life capable of ensuring health and well-being for themselves and their family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care”. [2]

It is not our intention to try to simplify a topic of great complexity, however, we believe that this reality will remain unchanged as long as Article 5 of the Brazilian Constitution, “All are equal before the law, without distinction of any kind(...)” [3], is just a utopia. In other words, while the de facto equality between all, in general, is not something palpable, the health promotion process will need to be treated as an act of political resistance, aimed not only at the health and well-being of the population. black, but also for its existence.

It is also not our intention to underestimate the importance of individual choices and how, for better or worse, they leave a mark on our health, however, if we recognize structural racism as the root and main obstacle to the health of this population, then the field of public policies becomes, necessarily, the one with the most urgent attention and action.

[1] Cf. BRASIL. Ministério da Saúde. Secretaria de Gestão Estratégica e Participativa. Departamento de Apoio à Gestão Participativa e ao Controle Social. Política Nacional de Saúde Integral da População Negra: uma política para o SUS. 3. ed. – Brasília: Editora do Ministério da Saúde, 2017. 44 p.

[2] UNICEF (). Available in: <https://www.unicef.org/brazil/declaracao-universal-dos-direitos-humanos>

[3] Brasil (1988). Constituição Federativa de 1988. Available in: http://planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constituicao.html

The data below help us understand part of the abyss of social inequalities by race or color in Brazil and how this scenario is directly responsible for the higher levels of economic and social vulnerability observed among the black population, and has profound impacts on their health (IBGE, 2019).[1]

HOME SITUATION EXPERIENCED BY BRAZILIANS	WHITE(S)	BLACK(S)
NO DIRECT OR INDIRECT GARBAGE COLLECTION:	6,0%	12,5%
NO MAIN WATER SUPPLY:	11,5%	17,9%
NO SEWAGE SYSTEM:	26,5%	42,8%
WITHOUT AT LEAST ONE SANITATION SERVICE:	27,9%	44,5%
LIVING IN EXCESSIVE HOME DENSITY:(2)	3,6%	7,0%
MORE EXPOSED TO LIVING IN A HOUSEHOLD WITH PRECARIOUS CONDITIONS.(3)	22,3%	38,7%

The inclusion of Equity among the five (05) doctrinal principles of the Brazilian Unified Health System (SUS)[4] is one of the main indicators of a more comprehensive and complex approach to health. By postulating that specific groups have specific needs that need to be met by the SUS, this principle inspired the elaboration of different health care policies, such as the one directed to women in 1984 (reformulated in 2004), to children in 1988, to adolescents, in 1989, and to the elderly and people with disabilities, both in 1999.

This is how, belatedly, two essential policies for Brazil, and for this report, were created in 2009: the National Policy for the Comprehensive Health of the Black Population (PNSIPN)[5] and the National Policy for Integral Attention to Men's Health (PNAISH).[6]

[1] IBGE (2019). Available in:
https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/livros/liv101681_informativo.pdf

[2] According to the IBGE, a condition characterized by housing where more than three (03) people live in the same room.

[3] BOLETIM EPIDEMIOLÓGICO. Indicadores de Vigilância em Saúde, analisados segundo a variável raça/cor. Brasília: Ministério da Saúde, Secretaria de Vigilância em Saúde, v. 46, n. 10, 2015

[4] The others are: Universality, Integrality, Decentralization and Social Participation.

[5] Brasil. Ministério da Saúde (2017). Política Nacional de Saúde Integral da População Negra/PNSIPN. Available in:
https://bvsms.saude.gov.br/bvs/publicacoes/politica_nacional_saude_populacao_negra_3d.pdf

[6] Portaria no 1.944, de 27 de agosto de 2009. PNAISH. Available in:
http://bvsms.saude.gov.br/bvs/saudelegis/gm/2009/prt1944_27_08_2009.html

PNSIPN AND PNAISH: ACHIEVEMENTS MARKED BY NEGLECT

The advent of the PNSIPN represented a commitment to combat inequalities in SUS by considering health inequities and, consequently, the highest rates of morbidity and mortality observed among the black population, as the result of “unfair socioeconomic and cultural processes”, highlighting racism.[1]

Although both were elaborated from a broad collaborative process, the PNSIPN had, unequivocally, a more marked participation of civil society, and its implementation was recognized as an achievement of the Black Movement, in particular, by the women of this movement.[2]

According to Dr. Marcos Vinicius Ribeiro, when a person is “crossed over” by racism, access to health goes far beyond arriving and entering the doors of a health unit, since this (racism) will be decisive for them to “... open up or shut down in front of a professional; for them to return or never want to go through the door again. So, a Policy like this, well applied, would completely change our relationship with all sectors of life.” (FERREIRA & MARTINS, 2019)

However, most Federal Deputies who approved the Racial Equality Statute (Law No. 12,288) in 2010 did not see the issue in the same way, since the section that defined racism as a social determinant health was excluded from the original text. Unfortunately, this resistance is not limited to the Federal Congress and, thus, a decade after its creation, only 28% of Brazilian municipalities had implemented the PNSIPN, and of these, very few have put into practice any monitoring instance. (FERREIRA & MARTINS, 2019)

Even though it represents an obvious advance for SUS, the delay and the small number of concrete initiatives developed and put into practice after May 13, 2009, date of Ordinance No. 992 which established the PNSIPN, are noteworthy. For example, only in 2014, the Ministry of Health (MS) launched the first advertising campaign of this Policy aimed at health professionals and SUS users, entitled “Don’t be silent – Racism is bad for your health, report it!”.

[1] Brasil. Ministério da Saúde (2018). Glossário Temático da Saúde do Homem Available in: https://bvsms.saude.gov.br/bvs/publicacoes/glossario_tematico_saude_homem.pdf

[2] In this regard, we suggest reading the valuable Doctoral Thesis by Marcos Vinicius Ribeiro (2015). Movimento Negro e a Política Nacional de Saúde Integral da População Negra: heterogeneidade e convergências. Available in: <https://repositorio.ufba.br/ri/bitstream/ri/18258/1/TESE.%20Marcos%20Vinicius%20R.%20Ara%C3%BAjo.%202015.pdf>

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It is possible to say that this was the most fruitful year of the PNSIPN, since concomitantly with this campaign, the Dial Health[1] teams were trained to identify complaints characterized as racism and health professionals from all over the country participated in the first round of the remote learning courses from SUS called “Health of the Black Population”.[2] With content aimed at promoting and debating institutional racism, the 45-hour course, which is in its seventh class, provides general information about the black population, its culture and traditional health practices.

Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, given the absurd stance of the current Federal Government regarding the racial agenda, the last few years have been more silent than action for the PNSIPN. If the PNSIPN has at its core the recognition of structural racism as a determinant of health for the black population, the PNAISH brings as a mark the relational perspective of gender, as a determinant of health that is central to the understanding and promotion of actions that lead to improvement. of the health conditions of adult men (20-59 years), thus contributing to the reduction of morbidity and mortality in this population.

Despite being contemporary policies and their ordinances highlighting the importance of transversality, that is, the integration of their execution with the other policies, programs, strategies and actions of the Ministry of Health, a quick analysis of the document is enough to show us that, if such a dialogue existed, it was only superficial.

During the implementation of the PNAISH, it is possible to see that some attention has been given to the racial issue, however, still far from what is necessary, since despite representing over 50% of the total population of the country, brown and black people exceed as 70% of users of SUS health services.

This insufficient and inefficient approach can be seen in the "Men's Health Thematic Glossary", when it states that the PNAISH "does not condone any form of racism, acting so that men's health care occurs regardless of gender, race/color, ethnicity, age, social and cultural class." (MS, 2018, p. 87). In our view, this definition has no impact, given its obviousness and total absence of concrete proposals to confront racism.

For Silvio Luiz de Almeida “In a society where racism is present in everyday life, institutions that do not actively address racial inequality as a problem will easily reproduce racist practices already considered “normal” throughout society. ” (2019, p. 48).[3]

[1] Healthcare helpline created by the Ministry of Health

[2] Brasil. Ministério da Saúde. Curso EaD – Saúde da População Negra. Available in: <https://www.unasus.gov.br/cursos/oferta/417112>

[3] ALMEIDA, Silvio Luiz de (2020). Racismo Institucional. São Paulo: Sueli Carneiro; Editora Jandaíra.

Quite differently, a publication, launched by civil society shortly after the PNAISH, categorically stated that young, black, poor and peripheral men should receive priority attention within the scope of this policy, as they represent the population most affected by violence and face a series of other obstacles to your health.[1] It is this sense of urgency that PNAISH and its initiatives lack. We believe that, as long as the racial issue is not brought to the forefront of politics, its initiatives will continue to follow the logic of what the Colombian anthropologist Mara Viveros Vigoya[2] calls an “abstract, universal and disembodied” masculinity, which, in a “pigmentocratic” society like ours, is configured as a strategic path for the invisibility of the black population. Symptomatically, the first poster released by PNAISH is the perfect illustration of this.



(Image says: man that takes care of himself doesn't miss out on the best of life)

If it were not problematic enough to use the image of a white man and boy with clothes more associated with people from a social class that generally does not use SUS health services, the message “man who takes care of himself” is also wrong by transferring all responsibility for health to the individual sphere.

[1] Instituto Papai, RHEG e Gema/UFPE (2009). Princípios, diretrizes e recomendações para uma atenção integral aos homens na saúde. <http://www.eme.cl/wp-content/uploads/Princ%C3%ADpios-diretrizes-e-recomendações-para-uma-atenção-integral-aos-homens-na-saúde.pdf>

[2] VIGOYA, Mara Viveros. As cores da masculinidade: experiências interseccionais e práticas de poder na Nossa América. Rio de Janeiro: Papéis Selvagens, 2018.

WHITENESS IN TRAINING AND AMONG HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

Here, as with many other things shared in this section and in this report, we are again faced with invisibility. The truth is that we do not know the percentage of black doctors, psychologists, dentists, nurses and other health professions in Brazil, because until today the federal councils of these categories have not done the job of asking what is the race/color of its members. What we do know is that, with the exception of nursing (not by chance, the least socially valued, the worst paid and the one with the highest number of women of the four mentioned above) the presence of blacks is quite small.

This scenario has been changing with the racial quotas policy, but still at a slow pace, since although black students are the majority in public universities, the same is not true in the most popular courses, such as medicine, dentistry and psychology.

The Coletivo NegreX, launched in 2015, seeks to broaden the debate on how representation improves health, focusing on the fact that the racial issue is not discussed in medical courses. According to Monique França, physician and co-creator of the Coletivo:

Our health has been neglected for years. In a country where more than 50% of the population is black, the fact that the racial issue is not discussed in courses ends up perpetuating behaviors, processes, treatments, without reviewing whether it serves a specific type of population.[1]

In the field of Psychology, Lucas Veiga shows us the importance of combining a racial reading with the practice of health professionals when talking about Black Psychology, which emerged in the 1960s in the United States. According to Veiga:

Black Psychology offers a series of tools that, in the midst of the violence of racism, helps to promote mental health for the black population(...) If my own body is read as a threat in society, that body becomes a threat to myself, that I could be murdered at any moment simply for being who I am. How to get rid of such a threat? For some young people, taking their own lives.[2]

[1] ECOA (2020). Available in: <https://www.uol.com.br/ecoa/ultimas-noticias/2020/05/06/coletivos-negros-na-medicina-lutam-por-mais-thelmas-e-saude-democratica.htm?cmpid=copiaecola>

[2] A Psicologia Preta e a saúde mental dos negros no Brasil (report from 25 of november 2019). Available in: <https://saude.abril.com.br/blog/saude-e-pop/a-psicologia-preta-e-a-saude-mental-dos-negros-no-brasil/>

BUT FINALLY, WHAT ABOUT BLACK FATHERS? WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BLACK FATHERHOODS AND HEALTH?

As explained in the introduction to this report, the almost total absence of research that focuses on the experience of black Brazilian fathers — the obstacles they face in being mixed-race or black parents in a racist country — prevents us from sharing data that illustrate with reliability this scenario. In the same way, we do not have initiatives that have been implemented and evaluated as successful strategies for these men to be able to “transit” and overcome such obstacles. However, we have safe “tracks” to follow and some of them come from the reality experienced by black women and mothers.

Even though it was conducted almost a decade ago, the survey “Born in Brazil”, carried out with more than 20,000 postpartum women, remains one of the main sources of information on the subject. The study revealed statistically significant differences unfavorable to black women, among them: higher rate of hypertensive syndrome during pregnancy; lower frequency of the presence of a companion, whether during childbirth or postpartum; greater risk of having inadequate prenatal care (late start and less than six consultations) and less attachment to a maternity hospital.[1] [2]

According to the study, race/color and social class, traditionally associated with neonatal mortality (up to the 28th day of life), were not significant factors.[3] This is probably the result of the growing and correct public investment in the issue, which directed resources and attention to those who most needed it and led Brazil to reduce the infant mortality rate (under one year) per thousand live births from 45.1 in 1991. , to 29.7 in 2000 and 15.6 in 2010.[4]

However, when we look at maternal mortality, the picture changes dramatically. The data provided by DATASUS not only attest to the existence of racial correlation, but also show that it has worsened. In 2009, 34.4% of women who died as a result of childbirth were white and 57.2% were black; in 2019, 30.2% were white and 66.1% were black. Despite being difficult to measure due to the high percentage of records without information, research indicates that black women with low education are the main victims of abortion-related deaths, configuring a serious situation of inequity in health.[5]

[1] DINIZ, Carmen Simone Grilo et al. (2016). Desigualdades sociodemográficas e na assistência à maternidade entre puérperas no Sudeste do Brasil segundo cor da pele: dados do inquérito nacional Nacer no Brasil. Available in: https://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0104-12902016000300561&lng=en&nrm=iso

[2] LEAL, Maria do Carma et al. (2017). A cor da dor: iniquidades raciais na atenção pré-natal e ao parto no Brasil. Available in: <http://cadernos.ensp.fiocruz.br/csp/artigo/161/a-cor-da-dor-iniquidades-raciais-na-atencao-pre-natal-e-ao-parto-no-brasil>

[3] According to the research, this correlation was associated with low maternal education.

[4] Portal Brasil. O Brasil e os Objetivos de Desenvolvimento do Milênio.

[5] Informações de Saúde (TABNET) DATASUS. Available in: <http://www2.datasus.gov.br/DATASUS/index.php?area=02>

What is the role of black men and fathers in these issues and how can they alleviate these problems? What impact do these issues have on the lives of black parents? How can public policies act to promote greater involvement of black parents and future parents, thus bringing greater well-being to women, children and also for these men?

The first report “The State of Fatherhood in Brazil” (2016)[1] affirms that the little attention given to the sexual and reproductive health of men represents not only the denial of the needs and rights of the male population, but also an obstacle to the achievement of gender equality, insofar as it maintains the great and historical burden of responsibility on issues related to health, sexuality and reproduction on women.

At this point, the PNAISH has drawn attention and become a world reference, since among the five (05) pillars of action of the National Coordination of Men's Health (CNSH), one is focused on Sexual and Reproductive Health and another, specifically, on the theme of Fatherhood and Care.

For the CNSH, bringing these issues to the forefront of care seeks to establish a culture of two-way care among men, that encourages greater involvement with the issue of reproductive planning and the process of pregnancy, delivery, postpartum and childcare, the moment is seen as a “positive entrance door” for men in health services, especially in primary care.[2]

The good reception of this approach by the SUS health services made the fatherhood issue rise to a prominent position in relation to other themes proposed by the PNAISH. Yet, as showed bellow, the connection between parenthood and color/race faced (and continues to face) some challenges.[3]



1] CARDOSO, Bruno Baptista et al. (2020). Aborto no Brasil: o que dizem os dados oficiais?

Available in:

http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0102-311X2020001305001&lng=en&nrm=iso

[2] Promundo-Brasil (2016). A Situação da Paternidade no Brasil 2016. Available in:

<https://promundo.org.br/recursos/situacao-da-paternidade-no-brasil/>

[3] The author of this section was part of the CNSH team between 2013 and 2014

After this campaign, it is possible to see greater attention to the racial issue in the graphic materials and publications released by the CNSH. This is certainly a step in the right direction, however, for concrete results to emerge, the concept of equity in health must be put into practice, which in this case means giving priority attention to black men and fathers.

But for that to happen, before anything else, it is necessary to know the reality of the health of these men and parents and, as we said earlier, we lack data for this. This is where the survey “Men's Health, Paternity and Care”, carried out annually by the CNSH and the SUS Ombudsman, could make a huge difference. The research seeks to obtain data on access, reception and care for men's health in public health services and on the father's involvement in prenatal care, birth and child care.

So far, reports have been released regarding the 2013, 2014 and 2015 surveys,[1] totaling more than 50,000 men interviewed, 65.55% of whom were black. Unfortunately, as the subjects' responses were not broken down by race/color, we did not have access to what would be a rare look at important and necessary issues involving the health of black Brazilian parents.

The truth is that for a long time we have known about the main diseases that affect the black population, such as sickle cell anemia, arterial hypertension and diabetes mellitus — to name just three genetically based diseases. We also know that the last two, together with heart disease, take on even more serious contours due to the socioeconomic and environmental conditions faced by this population.[2]

The problem is that despite this excellent knowledge about the diseases that affect black men, we continue to have little information about their HEALTH, even in capital letters, the health that Thébaud-Mony defines as:

(...) a process that is inscribed in the body, in the person, in the marks of work, in the living conditions, in the events, in the pains, in the pleasure, in the suffering and in everything that constitutes an individual history in its singularity, but also the collective history through the influence of the different logics in which health is inserted (Thébaud-Mony, 2000).

[1] The reports and other valuable productions of the CNSH are available at: <https://antigo.saude.gov.br/saude-de-a-z/saude-do-homem>

[2] Brasil. Fundação Nacional de Saúde (2005). Saúde da população negra no Brasil: contribuições para a promoção da equidade. Available in: http://www.saude.sp.gov.br/resources/ses/perfil/profissional-da-saude/grupo-tecnico-de-acoes-estrategicas-gtae/saude-da-populacao-negra/livros-e-revistas/funasa_saude_da_populacao_negra_no_brasil.pdf

According to the publication “Health of the black population in Brazil: contribution to the promotion of equity” (2005),[1] black women and men live in a permanent defensive state that leads them to “...the never-ending need to integrate and, at the same time, protect themselves from the adverse effects of integration” (2005, p. 9), something that is certainly related to the emergence of mental disorders and individual vulnerability. As the author Jeferson Tenório brings, in the book “The flipside of the skin”[2]:

But with the passage of time, he had the impression that the possibilities of feeling pain were increasing and limiting his freedom. Living became a matter of avoiding pain at all costs. In a kind of voluntary incarceration, you are hounded day after day by the fear of discomfort (2020, p. 64).

When this condition is added to the following bell hooks reflection,[3] a profoundly adverse situation has been created for the mental health of black men and fathers.

When women experience emotional pain, the sexist thinking that dictates that emotions should and can be important to them makes it possible for most of us to at least express our heart (...) Patriarchal culture teaches a form of stoicism emotional to men who claims they are more manly when they don't feel, but if by chance they feel something and that feeling hurts, the correct response for a man is to smother it, forget about it, and hope it goes away. (2004, p. 6 and 7).

With this, the author tells us about the “profound inner misery of men”, which comes from the “astonishing terror that corrodes the soul when one cannot love”. For them, the only emotion valued by patriarchy would be anger, no matter how violent against other people or against themselves.

However, as Michael Kimmell (1998) points out[4] and other experts on the subject, what patriarchal culture points out as the ideal model of masculinity only exists in a context of opposition to questioned, devalued and subaltern masculinities. Kimmel states that the social construction of masculinities takes place in two interrelated fields of power relations, “(...) in the relations of men with women (gender inequality) and in the relations of men with other men (inequalities based on gender inequality, race, ethnicity, sexuality, age, etc.)”.

[1] Brasil. Fundação Nacional de Saúde (2005). Saúde da população negra no Brasil: contribuições para a promoção da equidade. Available in: http://www.saude.sp.gov.br/resources/ses/perfil/profissional-da-saude/grupo-tecnico-de-aco-es-estrategicas-gtae/saude-da-populacao-negra/livros-e-revistas/funasa_saude_da_populacao_negra_no_brasil.pdf

[2] Jeferson Tenório. (2020). O avesso da pele. Companhia das Letras.

[3] HOOKS, bell (2004). The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity, and Love.

[4] KIMMEL, Michael (1998). A introdução simultânea de masculinidades hegemônicas e subalternas. Available in: <https://www.scielo.br/pdf/ha/v4n9/0104-7183-ha-4-9-0103.pdf>

In other words, in a racist society like the Brazilian one, from the start, black men will never represent this ideal. Depending on the amount of money they have, the zip code of their homes, the number of years they have studied and their sexual orientation and gender identity, they may come a little closer to this ideal, or they may see themselves light years away from even, so distant that they will not even be recognized as men. Thus, deprived of power and a series of social privileges granted to white men, black men and black fathers are pressured to “perform” much harder, what would be the image of a “real man”, rigid, aggressive, hypersexualized and emotionally stunted.

Fortunately, as evidenced by the dossier “Paternity and Circumscribed Black Masculinities: Exercises in Emancipatory Self-Reflection” (2019),^[1] there has always been and increasingly is resistance to such a scenario:

Black masculinity, hardened under the hegemonic pillars of western modernity and that with colonialism expands, becoming a risky and traumatizing model by which black men are circumscribed is a territory full of conflicts, but as an act of resistance and re-existence some black men are reinventing themselves with the awareness of their fatherhood. (Artur Oriel Pereira, Hasani Elioterio dos Santos and Alexandre da Silva, 2019, p.79)

What does this inability to express themselves emotionally do to the physical and mental health of black men? How does it impact these men's relationships with their daughters and sons and with their partners? Do black men and fathers have the same social permission as white men and fathers to be vulnerable to their families and their entire network of relationships? What are the impacts of living wearing a mask that often shows the opposite of who you really are?

As shown by Barbara Deming, this situation is fertile ground for something deeply linked to masculinity and that emerges as the main cause of morbidity and mortality and, thus, as the main health problem among black adult men, violence.

I think the reason men are so violent is that deep down they know they're living a lie, and they're furious that they're trapped in that lie. But they don't know how to get rid of it... (quoted in bell hooks, 2004, p. 4.)

[1] PEREIRA, A. O.; SANTOS, H. E. dos; & SILVA, A. da. (2019). Paternidade e Masculinidades Negras Circunscritas: exercícios de autorreflexão emancipatórios. Cadernos De Gênero E Diversidade. em: <https://periodicos.ufba.br/index.php/cadgendiv/article/view/29545>

According to a publication by the IBGE, in 2019, a 20-year-old man was 4.6 times more likely to not turn 25 than a woman in the same age group. This phenomenon can be explained by the higher incidence of deaths from external or unnatural causes, which affect the male population with greater intensity. About this, Suely Deslandes tells us that:

It is astonishing to think that the potential years of life gained by biomedical advances, with excellent vaccination coverage, reduced infant mortality rates, among other “sanitary” achievements, can be stolen by the phenomenon of violence. (DESLANDES, 2001, p. 18).[1]

However, what the IBGE and the researcher grossly fail to show — and this is something extremely common, I would even say the “rule” — is that this young man who is 4.6 times more likely to die from non-natural causes between 20 and 24 years old is, almost always, a young black man. Jeferson Tenório is more than correct when he says that black people experience “attempts to be shot” in the course of their lives, he only errs when highlighting the south of Brazil, since such a risk exists in all five regions.

But I know that during your life you went through these shooting attempts. His great work was to keep getting up, day after day. Despite everything, you continued to defy the possibility of dying. In the south of the country, a black body will always be a body at risk (TENÓRIO, 2020).

According to the “Brazilian Yearbook of Public Security”, in 2020, lethal violence grew 7.1% in the 1st half of 2020 compared to the same period in 2019, with 74.4% of deaths among black people and 25, 3% white, 51.6% young people up to 29 years old and 91.2% men. When only deaths due to “police interventions” are observed, the number is even more striking: 79.1% are black, 74.3% are young people up to 29 years of age and 99.2% are men.

Despite the flagrant vulnerability of young black men (up to 35 years old) to violence, this situation, and only this one, is not included in the list of community or extra-family violence (suspected or confirmed) subject to compulsory notification by health professionals through the Health System. Information on Notifiable Diseases (SINAN), from the Ministry of Health.[2]

If these young black men make up the overwhelming majority of the lethal victims of this violence and if the notification aims to remove cases of violence from invisibility and better prepare the institutional response, how to justify such negligence? The question remains whether these men are seen as citizens who are victims of violence and who deserve the care of the State, or as suspicious people, as a social problem.

[1] DESLANDES, SF. (2001). A violência como realidade e desafio aos serviços de saúde. In: Frágeis deuses: profissionais da emergência entre os danos da violência e a recriação da vida. Antropologia & Saúde collection.

<http://books.scielo.org/id/r7pjf/pdf/deslandes-9788575415283-02.pdf>

[2] Brasil. Ministério da Saúde (2017). Notificação de violências interpessoais e autoprovocadas. Available in: <https://www.cevs.rs.gov.br/informacoes-basicas>

The speech below, by religious leader Father Rodney of Oxossi, narrates a pain that, at some point, will have to be seen and treated in our country.

(...) I am a black man, in a racist society, I am a survivor and I even carry the mark of a shot in my chest, and what hurt me the most was not the shot, what hurt me the most was arrive at the hospital and see the whole story I told about the shot I took being questioned and people thinking I was a thief"

(Father Rodney de Oxossi, Doctor in Social Sciences from PUC/SP).[1]

In the book "The Child and His World" (1965),[2] English pediatrician and psychoanalyst Donald Winnicott says that: "One of the things a father does for his children is to be alive and stay alive in the child's early years." This book is based on lectures given by Winnicott on BBC radio in London, during World War II and post-war, that is, "being alive and staying alive" was not just a figure of speech, as young men died by the thousands, young parents died, many never knowing their sons or daughters. Others, by the millions, returned alive from the war, but carrying traumas that would accompany them their entire lives and would also accompany the lives of their partners and their sons and daughters.

Leaping more than 80 years ahead, crossing the Atlantic and taking the path south of the equator, we arrive in Brazil, where, at least officially, we are not at war, however, we are the country with the highest absolute number of deaths, by violent cause, of the world. And this is not from today. Here too, young men die by the thousands, to be exact, according to the Map of Violence (IPEA), in the 20-year series between 1998 and 2017, more than a million people lost their lives to murder in Brazil, on an average of more than 52 thousand people a year.[3] Young parents die, many without ever having known their children. By the thousands, black parents lose their teenage and young children.

In different parts of Brazil, mothers who have lost sons and daughters to violence seek support in support groups such as "Mães Unidas pela Dor", a project of CRAS – Centro de Referência de Assistência Social Rubens Correa, in Irajá, Rio de Janeiro.[4] However, the same cannot be said about the existence of spaces for parents who find themselves in the same situation. Embracing their stoicism to the last consequences, men often suffer in silence, something that can result in abusive use of alcohol and other drugs, insomnia, stress and even violent behavior.

[1] DESLANDES, SF. (2001). A violência como realidade e desafio aos serviços de saúde. In: Frágeis deuses: profissionais da emergência entre os danos da violência e a recriação da vida. Antropologia & Saúde collection.

<http://books.scielo.org/id/r7pjf/pdf/deslandes-9788575415283-02.pdf>

[2] WINNICOTT, Donald (1982). A criança e o seu mundo. Editora Guanabara Koogan S.A.

[3] Atlas da Violência, IPEA. Available in: <https://www.ipea.gov.br/atlasviolencia/dados-series/17>

[4] BBC News Brasil (maio 2018). Unidas pela dor: mães que perderam filhos para a violência encontram amparo em grupo no RJ. Available in: <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-43915337>

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[1] DESLANDES, SF. (2001). A violência como realidade e desafio aos serviços de saúde. In: Frágeis deuses: profissionais da emergência entre os danos da violência e a recriação da vida. Antropologia & Saúde collection.

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[4] BBC News Brasil (maio 2018). Unidas pela dor: mães que perderam filhos para a violência encontram amparo em grupo no RJ. Available in: <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-43915337>

COVID-19 PANDEMIC AND THE WIDE-RANGING IMPACT OF THE STRUCTURAL RACISM FOR HEALTH OF THE BLACK POPULATION

I argued at the beginning of this text that the field of public policies — and not individual actions and choices — would be the most important for the necessary and urgent improvement in the health of the black population. I will always defend this premise, however, in the context of an unprecedented pandemic, combined with the premeditated weakening of policies aimed at health, social welfare and the fight against racism, individual care has reached an importance perhaps never seen before.

An exclusive survey carried out by Agência Pública (2021) brings information that should not surprise us, but that should, indeed, bring indignation. By analyzing the data of 8.5 million people who received the first dose of vaccines against Covid-19, this investigation showed that “although vaccination in Brazil started with a black woman (...) — the nurse Mônica Calazans — today there are about two white people for every black person vaccinated.” As the article points out, this inequality takes on even more dramatic contours, as we know that the lethality of Covid-19 in Brazil has been proportionally higher among blacks than among whites.

The reasons behind this greater lethality are many, but not unknown, here are a few: the black population is the one that most depends exclusively on the SUS, the one who lives in the most precarious housing conditions, the one who has most fragile health (in its broad concept), the one most exposed to infection on public transport and the one who lives farthest from work, the one who works the most in informality and in precarious jobs (including from a health point of view) and who is far from the privilege of the “home office” (remote work)

Black men and, consequently, black parents, are more exposed and are dying more as a result of this virus, due to the catastrophic sum of structural racism with patriarchal culture. The authors of a recent article on men, masculinities and the new coronavirus (MEDRADO, Benedito et al., 2021) emphasize that cisheteronormative male socialization that values, among other things, the devaluation of health prevention practices and caring for oneself and for others, makes the men of our culture the main vectors of infection:

(...) not because they “are as they are”, but because they were socialized and encouraged to occupy public spaces, without restrictions and subject position, in a society that values and rewards certain attributes associated with modes of male subjectivation, making it difficult some of the main practices to prevent the spread of COVID-19, which are social isolation, the use of masks and hand hygiene. (2021, p. 181).

The information raised and the questions asked, throughout this section, may seem few, but presenting them is essential for us to understand the relationship between black paternity and health, which, surely, can have a significant contribution to help these men to transit and overcome the obstacles they face, for being black parents in a racist country.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. The Ministry of Health should add community or family violence (suspected or confirmed) suffered by adult men (at least young adults, up to 35 years old) to the SINAN compulsory notification list, so that we can better understand this phenomenon from a perspective of the health field;
2. Based on the principle of Transversality and the urgency of the topic at hand, the Ministry of Health departments responsible for implementing the PNSIPN, the PNAISH and the National Mental Health Policy should establish a continuous and proactive dialogue on the health of men and parents black. It is essential that this space has the participation of academic institutions and organized civil society;
3. The National Men's Health Coordination should put into practice the concept of equity in health and direct its attention, as a priority, to black men. A first and necessary step for this is to carry out a retroactive analysis of race/color in the research "Men's Health, Paternity and Care";
4. Educational institutions, with a focus on public universities, should address the obstacles faced by black parents due to structural racism. The questions presented in this report and in this section are a start, but there are many more to be asked;
5. Groups and institutions that have led the mobilization and the field of debate on black paternity should guide the health issue more frequently, including the urgent debate on mental health, depression, grief, suicide, alcohol abuse and others drugs, etc.

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BLACK FATHERHOOD AND EARLY CHILDHOOD

ELVIA CRISTINA SILVA SANTOS
LUCIANO RAMOS

INTRODUCTION

Analyzing black fatherhoods in Brazil without a historical, anthropological and intersectional approach can lead us to a shallow and empty look at the multiple forms of paternity. It is understood by this concept, the relationships that are established in the scope of care and affection, where the father effectively participates in the child's development process in all aspects, especially in early childhood, a period that corresponds from birth to the six first complete years, or seventy-two months of the child's life, according to the parameters of the Legal Framework for Early Childhood. The central point to be understood here is to recognize that black fatherhoods is different from other models, especially the hegemonic, white fatherhood. In this sense, observing how these nuances operate in the context of early childhood is essential to understand the challenges and advances of being a black father in the country.

RACISM AS A FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENT FOR UNDERSTANDING THE LIMITATIONS OF THE EXERCISE OF BLACK FATHERHOODS IN BRAZIL

There is an unequal racial struggle that is not camouflaged and not unknown. According to Silvio de Almeida, “racism is the social norm”. Based on this statement, Brazilian society — as a slave society — until 1888, did not allow the black man coming from the African continent to exercise paternity. On the contrary, all the steps taken by this same society removed from this man the possibility of exercising masculinity which, consequently, annulled his paternity. It is worth noting that the enslavement process, in addition to having objectified the bodies of these subjects, also animalized them, which in turn systematically contributed to the subordination of black men and women forced to cross the Atlantic.

The way in which enslaved men and women were transported at the time of their abductions to the West shows us how dehumanized these people were. African women and men were forcibly brought in precarious boats and accommodated in positions that did not allow them to move, being forced, for example, to do all the physiological needs there, which favored the emergence of numerous diseases, responsible for most of the deaths during the crossing. According to C.L.R James, “day and night, thousands of human beings were crammed into tiny galleries in the ‘deposits of putrefaction’ where no European could remain for more than fifteen minutes without passing out. [...] the mortality was greater than twenty percent. [...] The proximity of so many naked human bodies with bruised and suppurated skin, the fetid air, generalized dysentery and accumulation of filth made these holes a real hell”.

According to Laurentino Gomes, “12 and a half million human beings left Africa. 10 million and 700 thousand arrived in the West. One million and eight hundred thousand people died on this crossing and were thrown into the sea. A number so high that, according to testimonies at the time, it changed the behavior of the shoal of sharks in the Atlantic Ocean, which began to follow the slave ships.” Professor and historian Aderivaldo Ramos de Santana, pointed out in a text published on the website of the Instituto da Mulher Negra - Geledés, that “until 1850, Brazil had already received about 4.8 million of the total 5.3 million Africans deported as slaves”.

Many of these enslaved men were forced to abandon their sons and/or daughters on the African continent. Soon, enslavement removed from them any possibility of fathering in their lands and also in the Americas, because from the moment that the trafficking of enslaved people became an institution, new sociocultural roles began to be imposed on these subjects in the face of this new society that was forged based on the oppression and exploitation of the work force of African men and women. In Brazil, some men had the role of reproducers, as demonstrated by Christiana Martins, in an article published in Geledés “[...] being reserved exclusively for the fertilization of large numbers of enslaved women...”. These men were registered as the horse breeds, being called stallions. This element is directly connected with the animalization of black bodies and the legitimation of machismo from the perspective of whiteness.

RACISM AND ITS IMPACTS ON THE BODIES OF BLACK WOMEN: MOTHERHOOD AND PUERPERIUM

In this process, the female body was also extremely objectified, and from the animalized perspective of the slave system, the son or daughter conceived from the relationship between African women and their African companions, and also in many circumstances between African women and their owners, who, in turn, “they used rape to dominate and control the bodies of black women”, they were not under the tutelage of the enslaved, nor of the enslaved as mothers and fathers. The speech given by Sojourner Truth in 1851, during a convention for the rights of women in Ohio, United States, clearly exemplifies that the place of motherhood, an ideology so present in the 19th century, did not reach black women. “[...] I gave birth to thirteen children and saw most of them sold into slavery, and when I cried my mother's suffering, no one except Jesus heard me”. According to Angela Davis, “the slave system defined black people as property. Since women were seen, no less than men, as profitable units of work”. To the owners, the daughters and sons of these subjects had the same value as newborn calves.”

The birth of black women, for example, was similarly compared to that of animals. Here, it is essential to highlight that medical science during the 19th century systematically contributed to the construction of racism based on the belief in the “inferiority” of the black people in relation to the white man, highlighting in this period the work of the eugenicist Nina Rodrigues.

The health of the enslaved was not a priority for the owners. Not surprisingly, accounts of the birthing experiences of enslaved women were documented from the place of dehumanization, where they only received medical care in extreme cases. In this scenario, the right to have a dignified and humanized delivery was taken from the black woman and from the black man the right to participate in this moment.

Most of these parents did not even know their sons and/or daughters. However, it is necessary to remember those who, even with all the barbarity of the slave system, resisted the extreme and violent oppressions through education, not necessarily formal education. As an example, we can mention the father of Harriet Tubman, an important black American woman, protagonist in the struggle for the emancipation of the black population, having helped hundreds of enslaved people to escape. "She learned from her father how to cut trees and open trails and, while they worked side by side, he passed on knowledge that later proved to be indispensable [...]. He taught them to walk silently through the woods and to locate plants, herbs and roots that would serve as food and medicine." For Davis, "Undoubtedly, the fact that she never failed can be attributed to her father's teachings." Therefore, it is worth saying that some enslaved black men were not only able to father, which breaks with the idea that black men are not able to be direct caregivers, but were also aware of the importance of their participation in the process of development and maintenance of the survival of their sons and daughters. However, it is important to point out that this was not the rule, but the exception. The reality is that few black men were able to circumvent the slave system and establish caring relationships with their daughter or son.

According to Davis, in the slave period "the birth records on many large estates omitted the father's name, containing only the name of the child's mother". It is possible that this practice has involved enslaved and enslaved men and women in other forms of family arrangements, as well as new ways of exercising the paternal and maternal role. In this eccentric way, Brazilian society naturalized single-parent black families headed by women. In 2019, according to data from the Synthesis of Social Indicators (SIS), from the Brazilian Institute of Geography Statistics (IBGE), 63% of Brazilian households headed by black women lived below the poverty line.

In slave society, even as pregnant and postpartum women, enslaved women were not exempted from compulsory work on plantations to take care of their newborn daughters and sons. They continued working and receiving the same inhumane treatment. Among all their functions, black women still had the duty to take care of the children of their white owners, here we can mention, for example, the "milk mothers". Davis makes a very accurate analysis of this panorama in the American context in the work *Women, Race and Class*. "While many mothers were forced to leave their babies lying on the floor near the area they worked, others refused to leave them alone and tried to work normally with them strapped to their backs." As for black children, when they survived the brutalized form of childbirth, there was the place of not living with the father figure and little living with their mothers, who were separated from them soon after weaning (which did not last long).

Although the enslavement of black people has made it difficult for African women to exercise motherhood, it does not mean to say that they did not mother, on the contrary, when African women refused to abandon their children on the ground in the fields due to forced labor, for example, they showed their humanity, responsibility for their children and also the ability to resist the slave system. However, the abolition of slavery did not mean that, at the same moment, African men and women would be free to exercise their functions as fathers and mothers. In the same way we can look at affective relationships, as Bell Hooks reflected, "I imagine that, after the end of slavery, many blacks were eager to experience relationships of intimacy, commitment and passion, outside the limits previously established."

But it is also possible that many were unprepared to practice the art of loving.” For, according to the thinker, “oppression and exploitation distort and prevent our ability to love”. Almost a century and a half after the end of the devastating slave system, its impacts still reverberate in our society.

Social inequality, as one of the consequences of this process, has produced huge differences between black and white people in terms of access to health. Regarding women's health, the Nascer Brasil survey, between 2011 and 2012, analyzed the profile of neonatal mortality and the assessment of care for pregnant women and newborns, revealed data, where once again it is reinforced how the factors of race, social class, and territoriality are structuring factors in the maintenance of inequalities in the field of health. It is not by chance that the highest rates of neonatal mortality per thousand children born alive in the country focused on black mothers (black and brown), which together reached the percentage of 20.7%, while white mothers 9.2%, that constituted classes D and E, together reached 15.0%, to the detriment of those of classes A and B with a percentage of 7.3%. Mothers territorially circumscribed in the North and Northeast corresponded to 22.3% and 14.5%, respectively, while those in the South and Southeast had lower rates with 6.1% and 8.0%.

The data are worrying, and when we cross them with other studies, and take a look at the article Vulnerability of black women in prenatal and childbirth care in the SUS: analysis of the research by the Ouvidaria Ativa (Active Ombudsman), we will see that black and brown women are the ones who receive the least assistance during prenatal care in relation to white women, they are the ones who wait the most for care, as well as the ones who are least accompanied at the time of delivery. Regarding this last piece of information, the study points out that “a greater proportion of black/brown women did not have a companion during childbirth, 68.0%, and, for more than 50% of all women, the reason was the disavowal of the delivery service”. health". This disavowal is one of the State's practices, which, on the one hand, excludes and makes the fathers invisible from this process, consequently distancing them from the exercise of paternity, and on the other hand, denies women the right to have a humanized birth, guaranteed by Law 11.108, of 7 of April 2005, where "the health services of the Unified Health System - SUS, of its own network or of an agreement, are obliged to allow the presence, with the parturient, of 1 (one) companion during the entire period of labor. , delivery and immediate postpartum”.

This text does not intend to analyze the maternity hospitals, as it would require even more inflection on the subject. As for paternity, however, it is impossible to analyze paternity without addressing how black mothers were violated in this whole context. All the elements mentioned above lead us to the conclusion that black men and women were not kidnapped and kidnapped from the African continent under the pretext of exercising fatherhood and motherhood.

Thus, racism acts in two parallel perspectives, at the same time that it places black men and women as mere reproducers, socially, it creates a narrative that makes it impossible for them to take care of children in all their stages of development. Especially in early childhood. In this way, we recognize here the importance of promoting remedial public policies, as well as reinforcing the urgency and need for effective and committed action by Health Regulatory Agencies.

EARLY CHILDHOOD SPECIFICS

When thinking about early childhood, at least five specific aspects need to be considered: the cognitive aspect, language, emotional and social, psychomotor aspects, and physical development that includes growth, health habits and hygiene. Thus, it is important to recognize the need and relevance of direct caregivers, responsible for promoting and accompanying children in all these aspects of development. This scope of care needs to be equitable. It is not possible to discuss this stage of the child's life without considering gender equity for care, otherwise, this place is always delegated to women, causing them to be overloaded.

Furthermore, it is not possible to analyze families and their care for young children from the same place: black and white families historically have different trajectories and, consequently, different experiences. It is necessary to take into account that families with little or no financial resources are different from wealthy and middle-class families, as well as homosexual and heterosexual families, among many other ways of being a family.

Equality is a place to be achieved, but within the scope of approaches to paternity it cannot be a starting point, otherwise we run the risk of elaborating very distorted syntheses of concrete reality. Thus, it is essential to carry out these readings from the specific characteristics of each family nucleus and in an intersectional way to understand how inequalities between white and black people are produced, thus guaranteeing the effectiveness of the work.

LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD AND RACIAL ETHNICITY — IMPORTANT MARKERS FOR THINKING ABOUT BLACK PARENTHOOD

The Brazilian State, through the Legal Framework for Early Childhood in articles 14 and 28, proposes, respectively, Guidance for Support Programs for families, through actions that encourage careful and responsible paternity and maternity, and the Proposition of training parents to the extension of Paternity Leave within the scope of citizen companies, which seeks to consider and encourage paternal participation, which is an advance in the Brazilian scenario. However, the ethnic-racial cut is not considered there, which ends up being at the discretion of the sensitivity of those who draft the law. According to the Central Única dos Trabalhadores [1] (CUT), in 2020, 47.4% of black men were in the informal labor market. If we look at article 28 of the Marco Legal da Primeira Infância, we can see that it does not dialogue with a large part of the parents. And, on the other hand, it is necessary to understand why many black men are not part of the staff in citizen companies. To understand the extreme impacts of racism on the lives of black men, it is necessary to observe how the lack of opportunities offered to these men can create environments and situations that sometimes lead them to feel attracted and, thus, to enter criminality. . According to the Ministry of Women, Family and Human Rights, through the Annual Survey of the National Socio-Educational Assistance System (SINASE), in 2016, Brazil had 26,450 adolescents and young people included in the national system.

[1] Central Workers Union

Incarcerated Young people were mostly male, totaling 96%, and 59% of these young people were black. This data is quite symbolic when analyzed under the racial bias, and cannot be seen in any way as a coincidence. The Brazilian Public Security Yearbook, released in 2020, reveals that in 15 years the proportion of black men in the prison system grew by 14%, while that of white men decreased by 19%. In 2019 of 657.8 thousand men arrested, where color/race information is available, 438.7 thousand are black (66.7%). It is not possible to understand this data as another coincidence. If we also look at the Atlas of Violence (2020), in 2018, black men “represented 75.7% of homicide victims, with a homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants of 37.8. Comparatively, among non-blacks (sum of whites, asians and indigenous people), the rate was 13.9, that is, for every non-black individual killed in 2018, 2.7 black Brazilians were killed.”

These numbers are the expression of the Brazilian State exercising necropolitics, where the black population is the target of death of this model of politics that chooses who should die and who should live. Undoubtedly other elements cross and also contribute to the exercise or not of paternity of black men, but here, we need to take into account that structural racism and necropolitics strongly affect these men for not exercising their paternity.

Brazil acts with a voluntary collective oblivion, especially when it comes to racism and the historical debt with the black population. We say this because there is no way to enforce the law on the assumption that there is equality. That means erasing history. Every reading and encouragement of paternity, since the 1990s, erroneously considers fatherhood as a singular and homogeneous movement. It is necessary to look at multiple fatherhoods. And in this sense, making the ethnic-racial cut is essential, since universalist public policies are not able to solve problems that affect only certain groups, as Sueli Carneiro reminds us, “the focus presents itself, in our context of historical exclusion of large portions of the population, as a prerequisite for the rescue of the solidarity owed by universalist policies to society as a whole”. If we consider that racism is the “social norm” in Brazilian society, we can understand that this fact will directly impact the non-application of methodologies that consider the black father with his specificities. It is necessary to think and propose legislation making the necessary identity cuts.

In this scenario, the concept of Careful Parenting is a privilege for a group of parents who are able to access this information. The basis for not reaching this information and the consequent paternity without the use of tools necessary for child development are found in structural racism. There is an urgent need for governments to propose and implement public policies committed to these analyzes that encourage this exercise of paternity, since Early Childhood is a priority. It is important to support and equip caregivers through courses or workshops that propose activities, according to their conditions of participation. This is a challenge, as public policy seeks to standardize care, but it is possible.

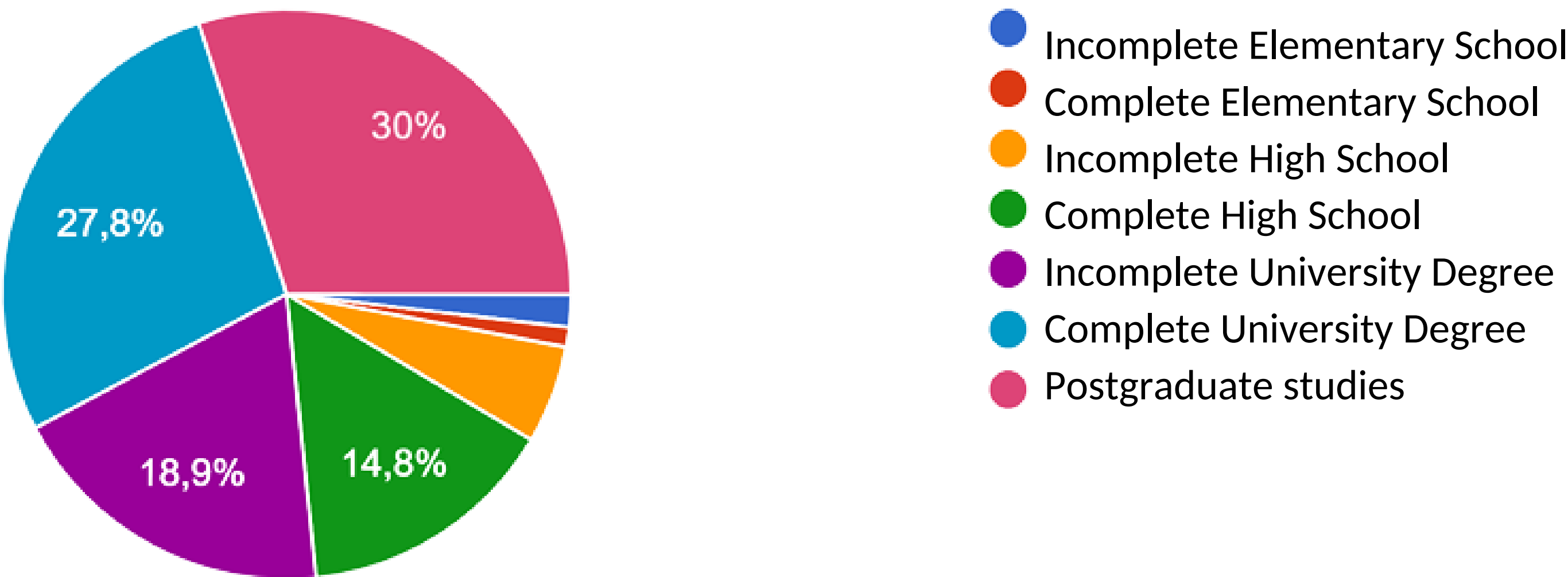
DATA AND ANALYSIS ABOUT THE SURVEY WITH BLACK PARENTS

Thus, we will present the results and the discussion of the data collected in the questionnaire. As mentioned initially in the introduction, the lack of data related to black fatherhood in Brazil made the team responsible for writing this material arouse the need to prepare a brief questionnaire to understand how black men exercise their paternity: barriers, challenges and advances. As an Institute that carries out scientific research and investigations, Promundo has the duty to point out that this instrument is not scientific research, but a survey.

According to the profile of the respondents, the majority of black parents graduates are between 30 and 39 years old, as can be seen in the graphs below.

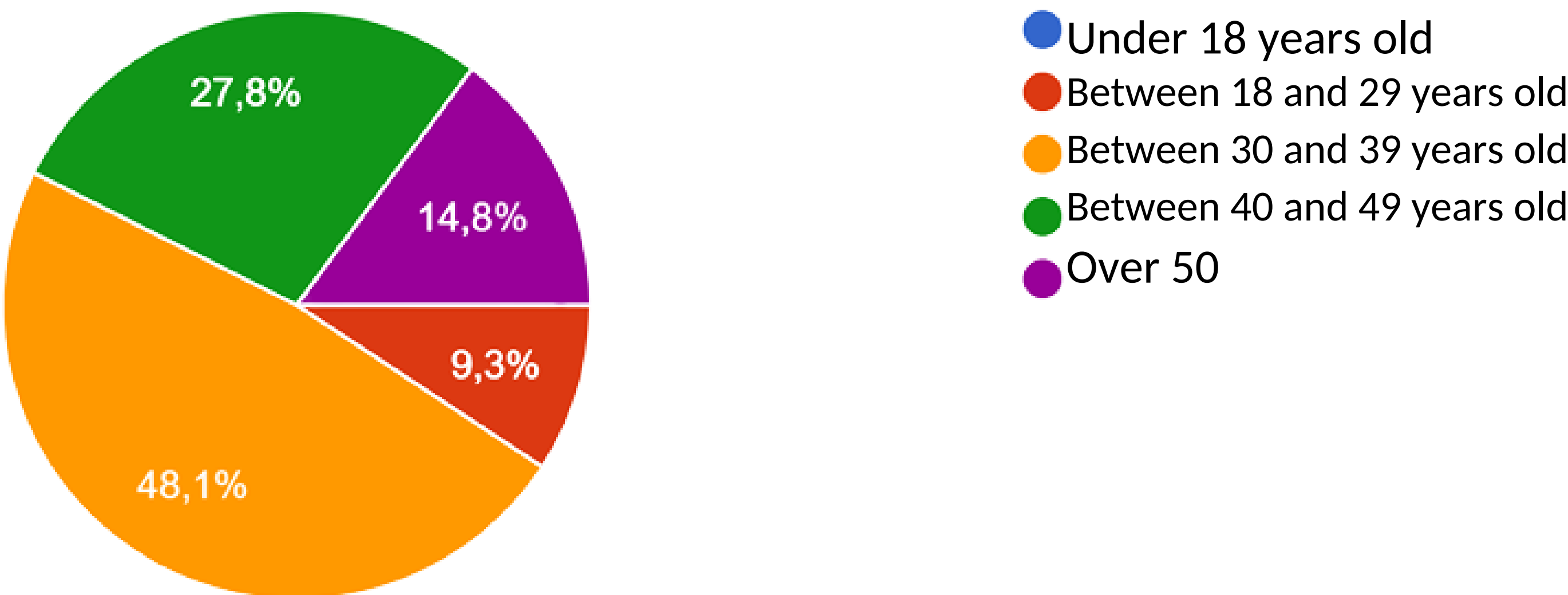
GRAPH 1. EDUCATION OF PARTICIPATING BLACK FATHERS

ABOUT YOUR EDUCATION, DO YOU HAVE:
270 RESPONSES



GRAPH 2. CURRENT AGE GROUP OF PARTICIPANTS AT THE TIME THEY ANSWERED THE QUESTIONNAIRE

YOUR CURRENT AGE GROUP (AGE) FALLS WITHIN:
270 RESPONSES



This result leads us to understand that they graduated in the last 20 years, a period in which Brazil introduced the quota policy in public universities and scholarships in private universities through the Student Financing Program (FIES).

According to the National Association of Directors of Federal Universities in Brazil (Andifes), the number of black students in the country's federal universities tripled in 10 years. In 2018, still according to the aforementioned association, the number of black and brown students in Brazilian federal universities was 47.5 of the undergraduates. It is important to consider that the quota policy inserts blacks into the academy and that this process causes an initial revolution in the social structure and in the Brazilian scenario.

This result raised a very interesting new hypothesis: when black men manage to ascend socially, through public policies that not only recognize the inequalities historically produced by racism, but also elaborate and execute equitable laws that seek equal rights and access, they they are also able to father conscious of their responsibilities.

Sueli Carneiro points out that studies developed by the Institute of Economic Research (IPEA) “confirm that the fight against inequality has a greater impact on poverty reduction than through economic growth. It is faster, cheaper and more socially fair”. In this sense, the academic and professional rise of the black man, through reparative public policies, has a direct impact on his way of fathering.

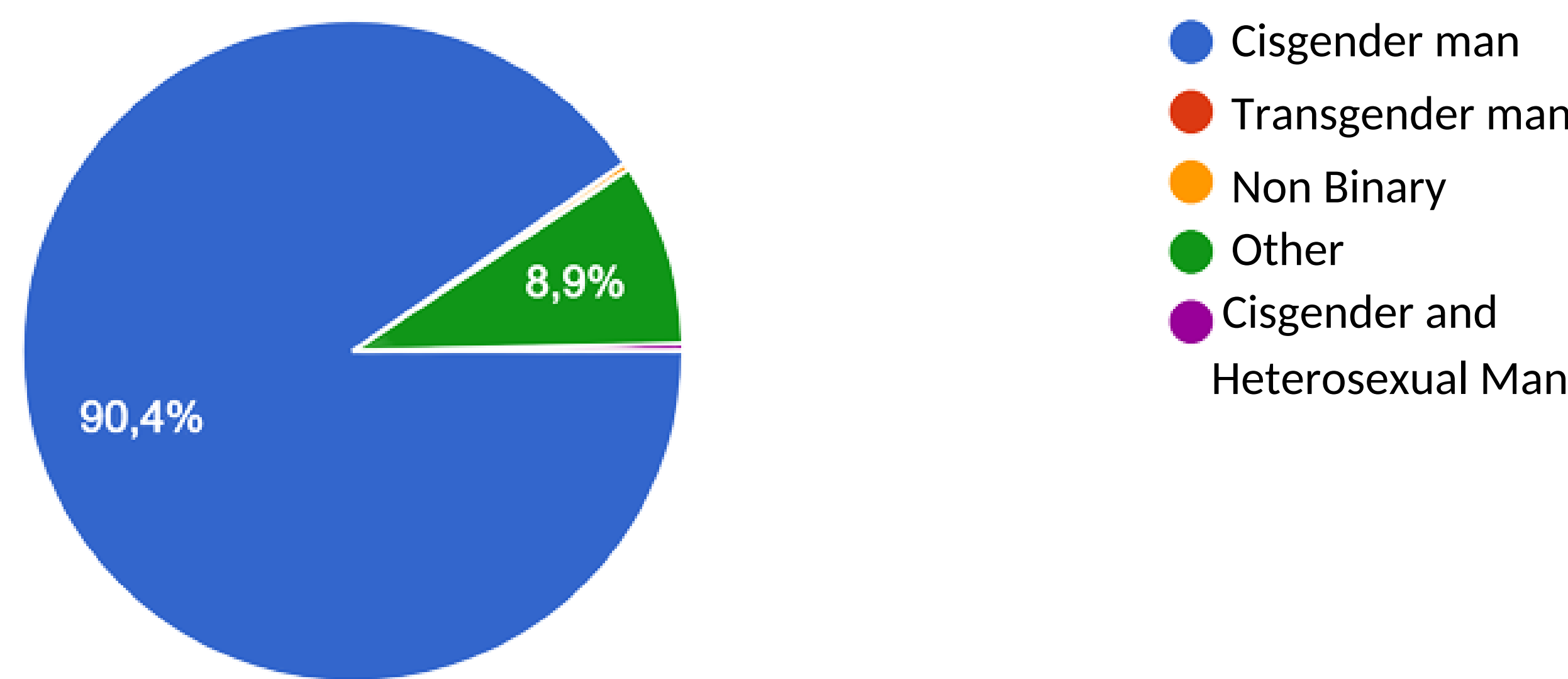
The research that brought us here pointed to structural racism as one of the main elements preventing the fathering of the black man. The break with this model of oppression shows us signs of greater acceptance of these men for fatherhood. If we compare the groups of men with more and less accesses within the questionnaire, we can see this reality applying.

To carry out this survey, it was essential to address some cross-cutting themes to better understand the look and practices of black men on key points in the paternity process. In this chapter, we analyze the care and education relationship of these parents with their sons and daughters in early childhood. For this, it is important to consider aspects that are fundamental to understand the responses of these parents. Thus, the data below will help us understand the profile of the respondents.

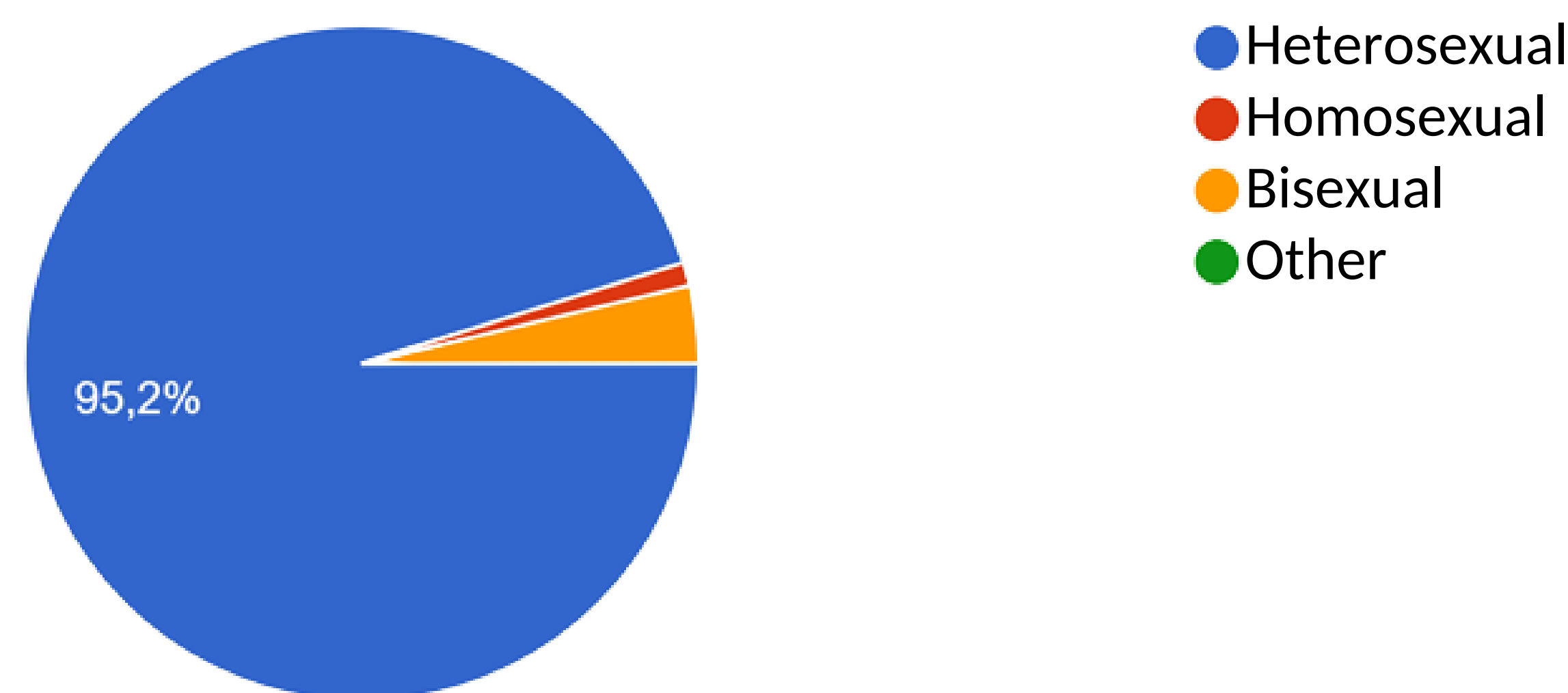
As can be seen in the graphs below, with regard to the gender of the parents who participated in this questionnaire, 94.4% identified themselves as Cis Man and 95% of them, with regard to their sexual orientation, identified themselves as heterosexual.

GRAPH 3. GENDER IDENTITY

WHEN IT COMES TO GENDER IDENTITY AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION, HOW DO YOU IDENTIFY YOURSELF?
270 RESPONSES



WITH REGARD TO SEXUAL ORIENTATION, HOW DO YOU IDENTIFY YOURSELF?
269 RESPONSES



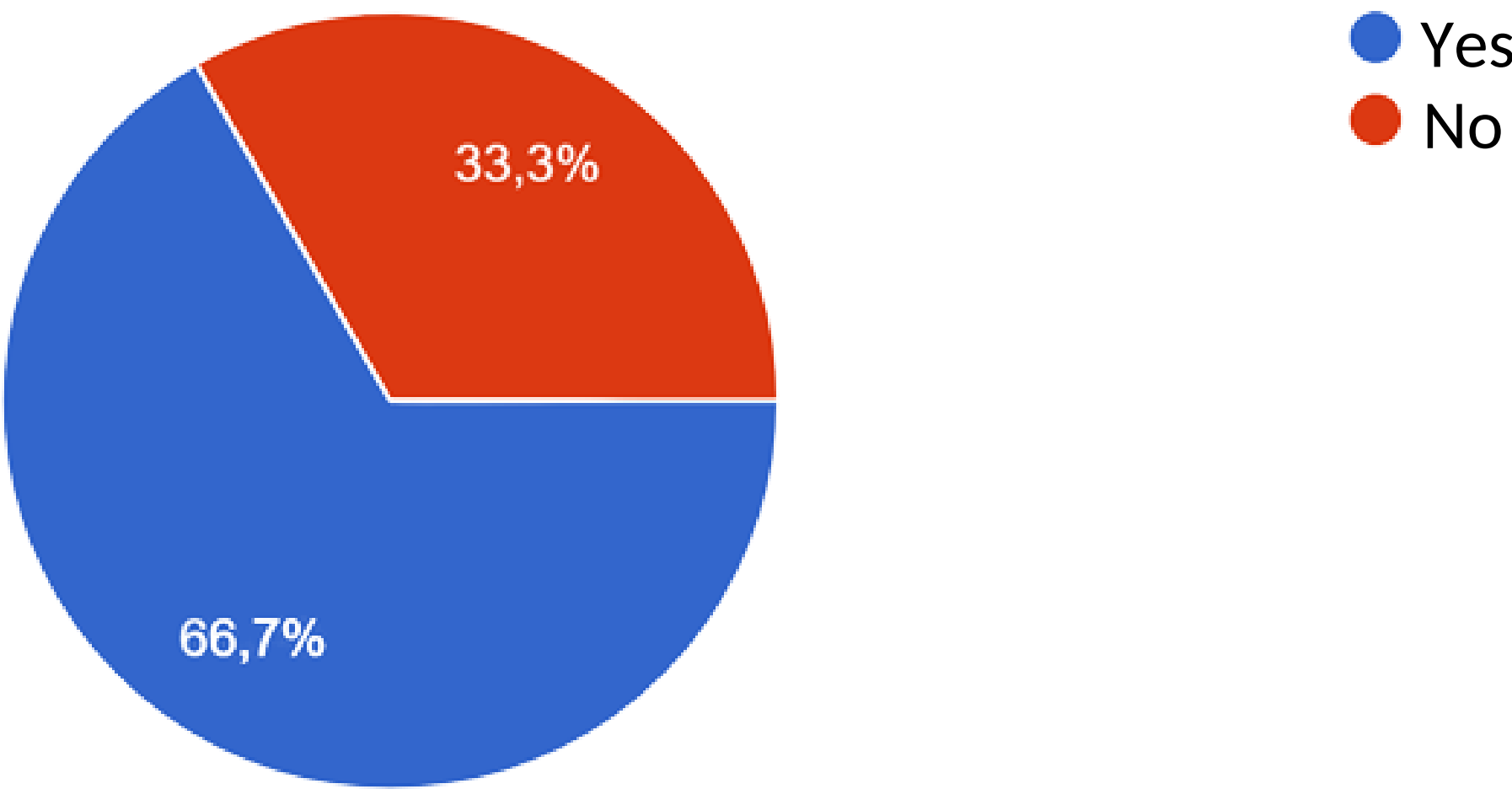
ANALYSIS OF RESULTS RELATED TO CARE AND EDUCATION

Approximately 70% of respondents are parents of children in Early Childhood, 54.4% of them stated that their first paternity occurred between 18 and 29 years of age, and 37.9% between 30 and 39 years of age. These numbers bring to this chapter concrete data that allowed us to analyze focused on the exercise of black paternity with young children.

GRAPH 4. SEXUAL ORIENTATION

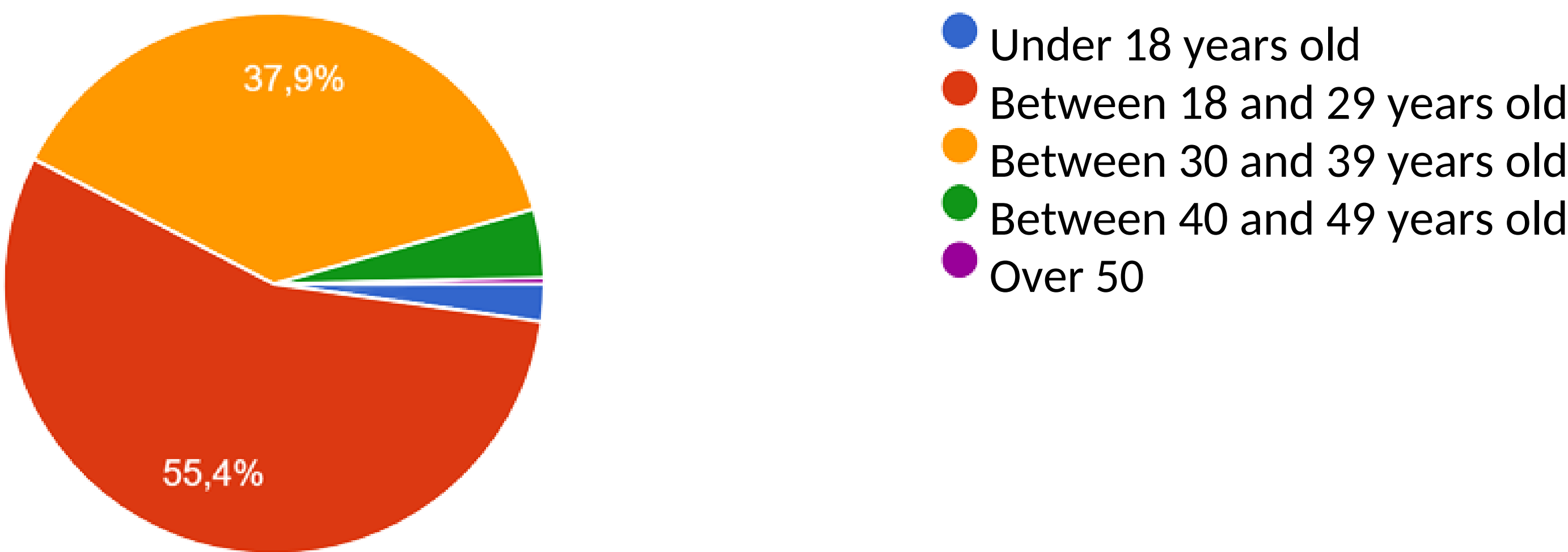
GRAPH 5. CHILD'S AGE

IS YOUR SON OR DAUGHTER PART OF EARLY CHILDHOOD? (FROM 0 TO 7 YEARS OLD)
270 RESPONSES



GRAPH 6. AGE AT FIRST PATERNITY

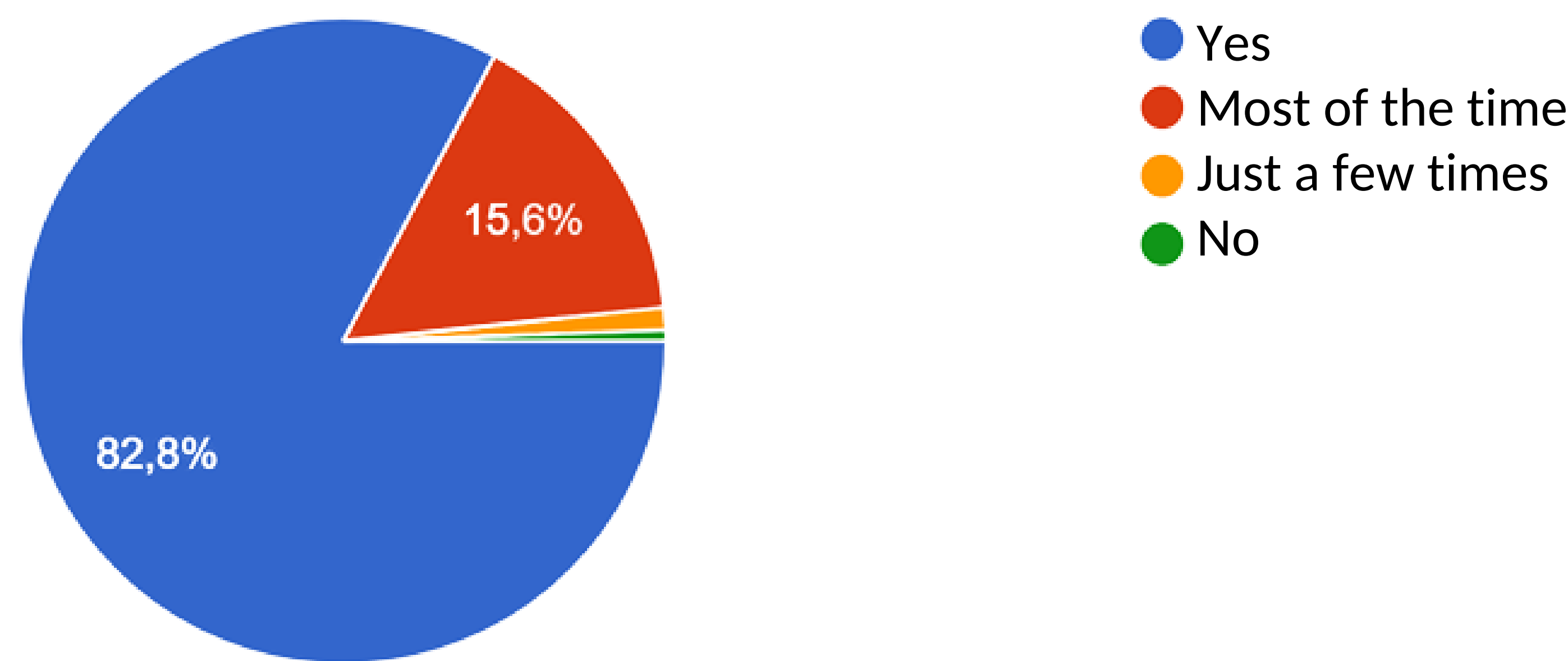
YOUR FIRST PATERNITY TOOK PLACE IN WHAT AGE GROUP:
269 RESPONSES



Most of the responding parents pointed to attitudes of care in relation to the young child. These data are interesting if we look, within this survey, at men who always feel completely safe and those who feel safe, most of the time, in the exercise of care and education of their children, corresponding respectively to a percentage of 82 .8% and 15.6%.

GRAPH 7. CHILD CARE CAPACITY IN EARLY CHILDHOOD

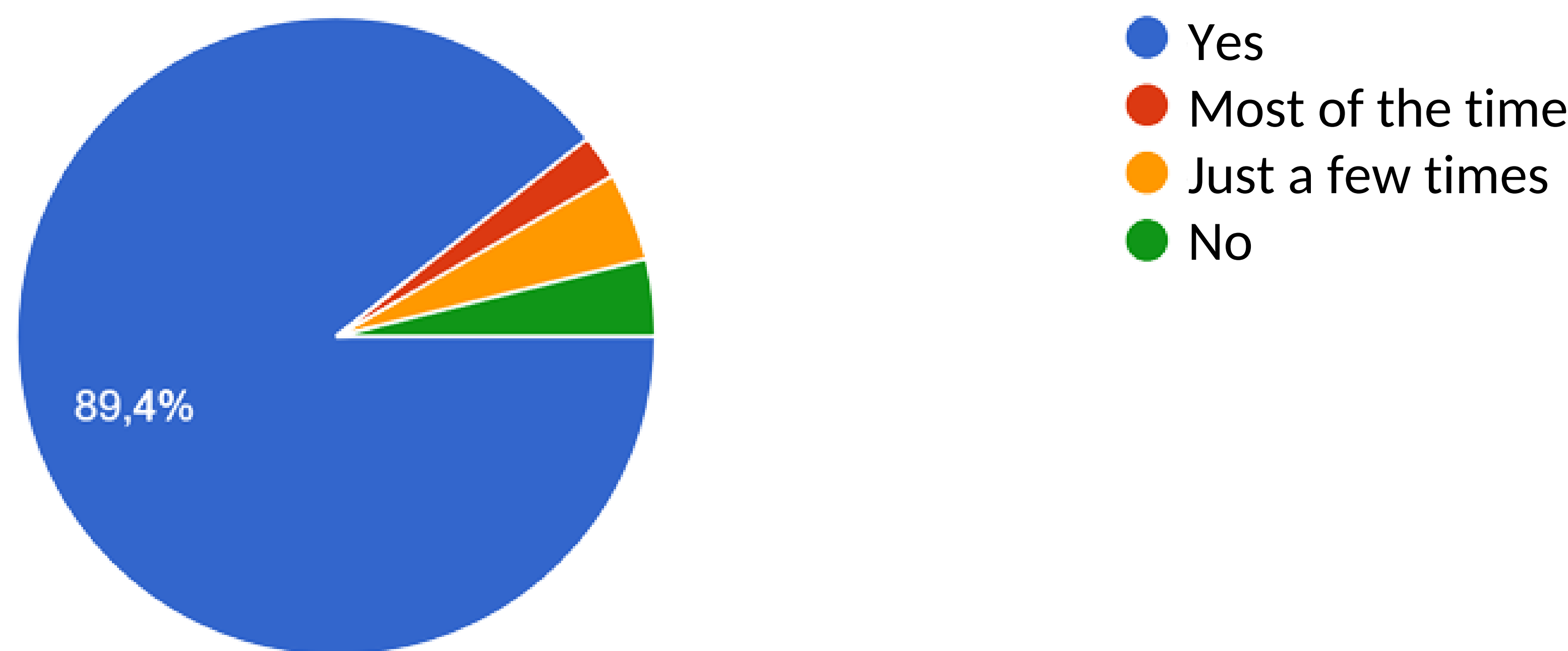
DO YOU FEEL CAPABLE OF TAKING CARE OF YOUR SMALL CHILD?
180 RESPONSES



The activities included in this survey refer to concrete elements that indicate forms of care, education and protection for young children. These are indicators internationally used to measure care for children in early childhood. More than 55% of parents, when asked about their participation in tasks related to health and hygiene habits, such as bathing, changing diapers, preparing food, washing or ironing the child's clothes, taking them to the pediatrician and taking care of the child's hair answered yes.

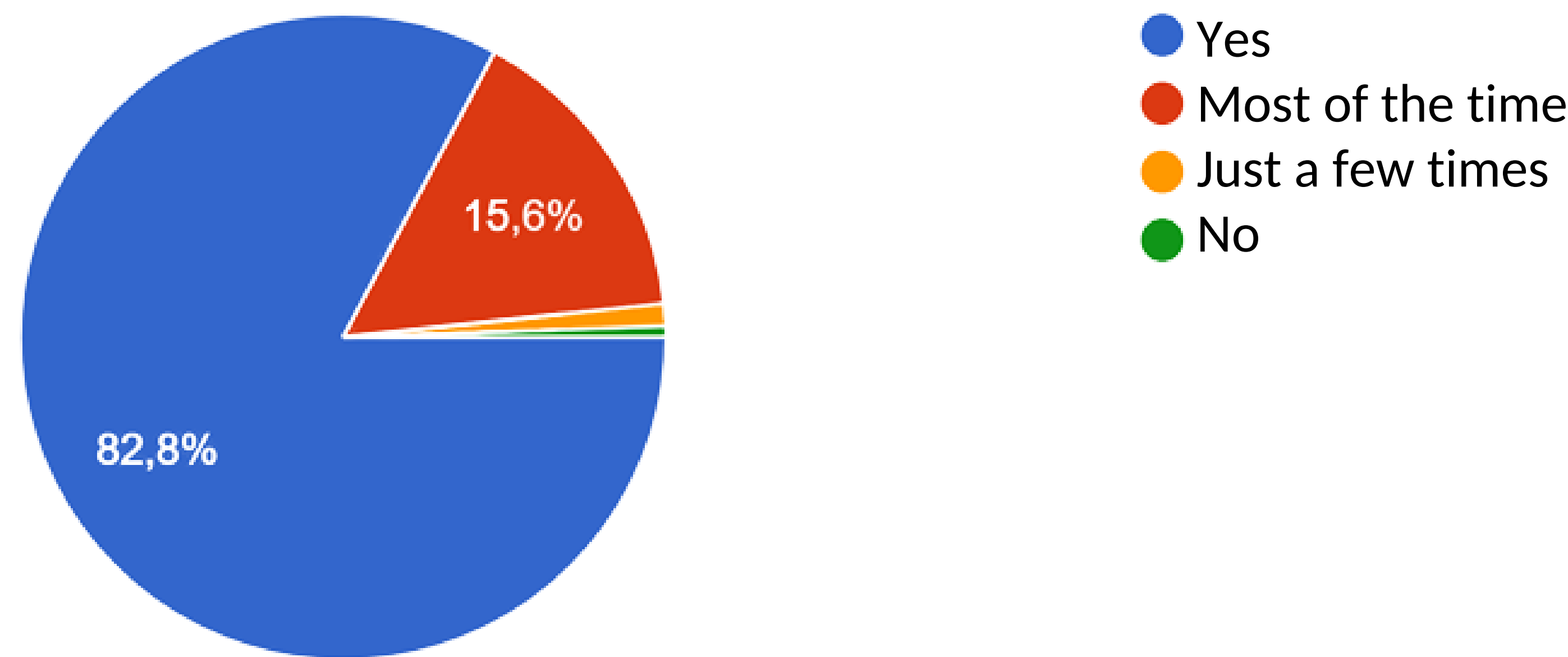
GRAPH 8. CHILD CARE

DO YOU CHANGE YOUR CHILD'S DIAPERS?
179 RESPONSES



GRAPH 7. CHILD CARE CAPACITY IN EARLY CHILDHOOD

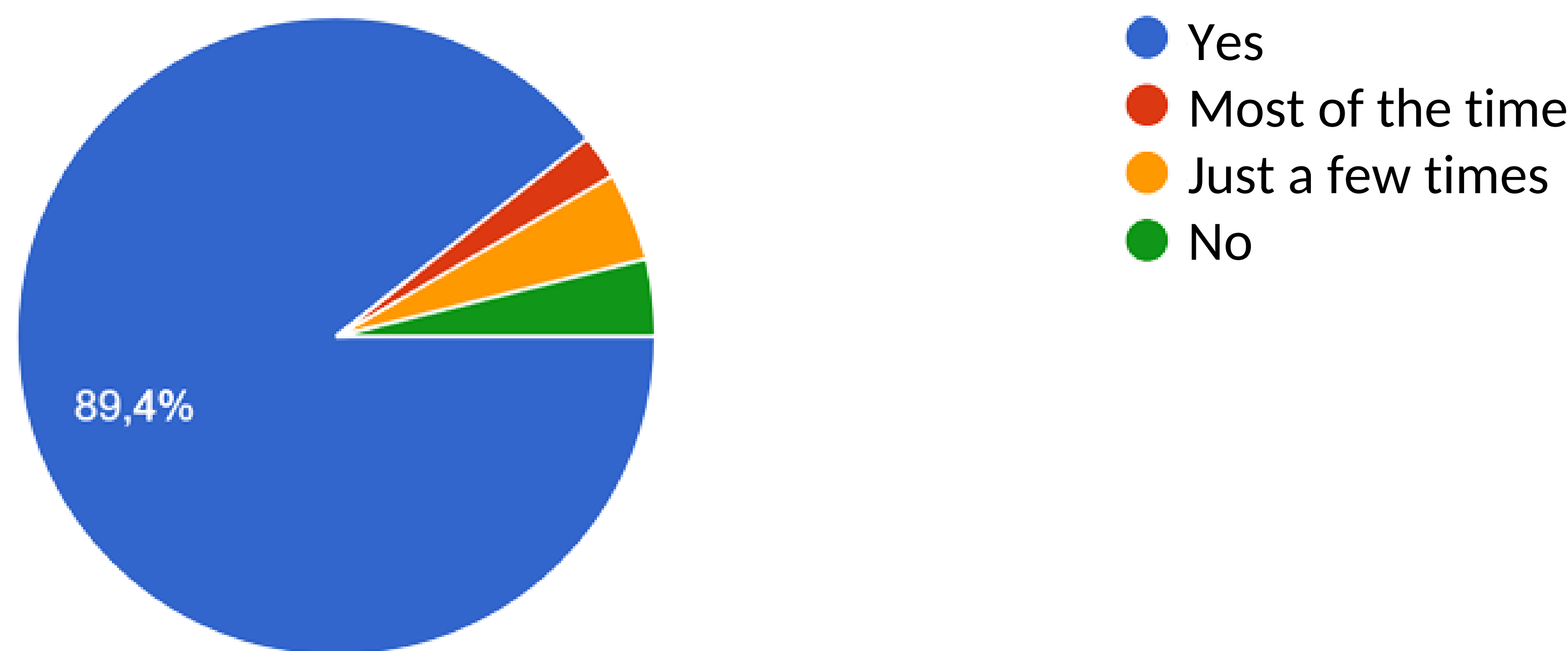
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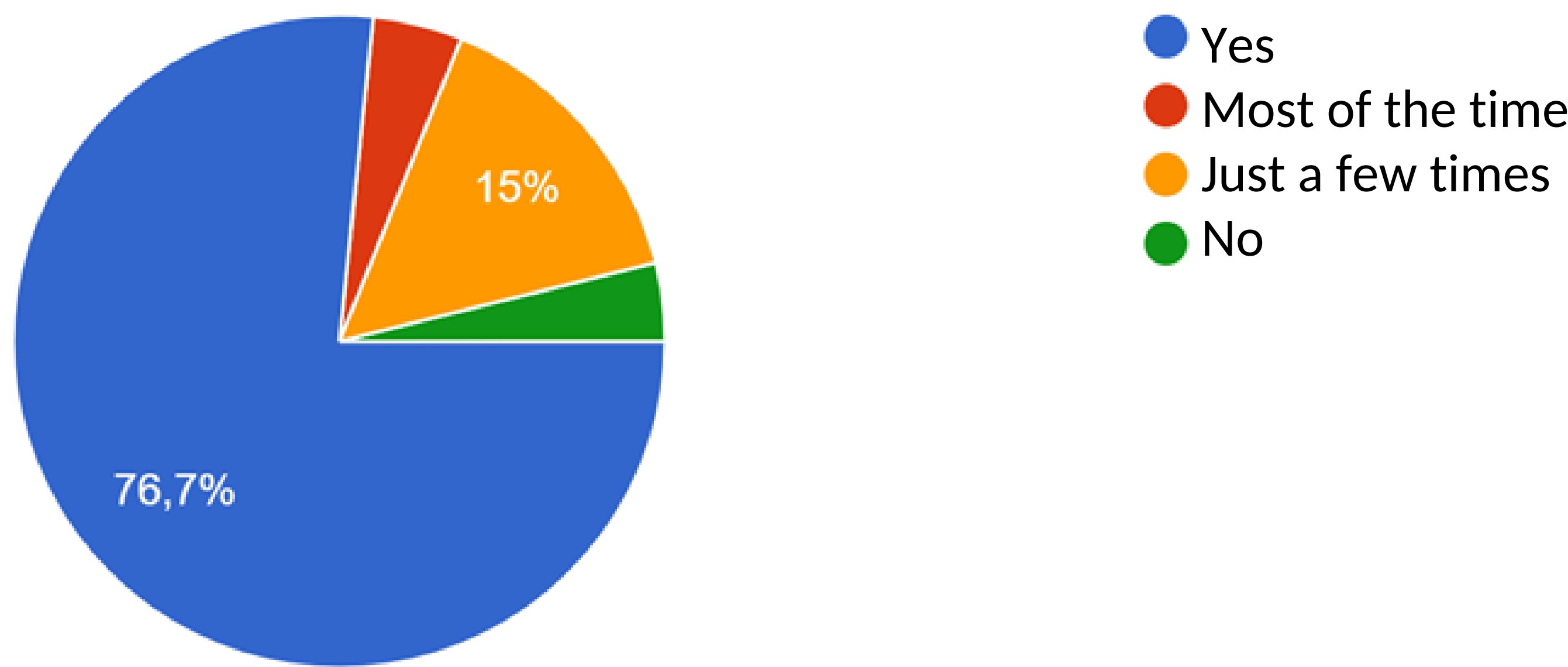
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DO YOU CHANGE YOUR CHILD'S DIAPERS?
179 RESPONSES



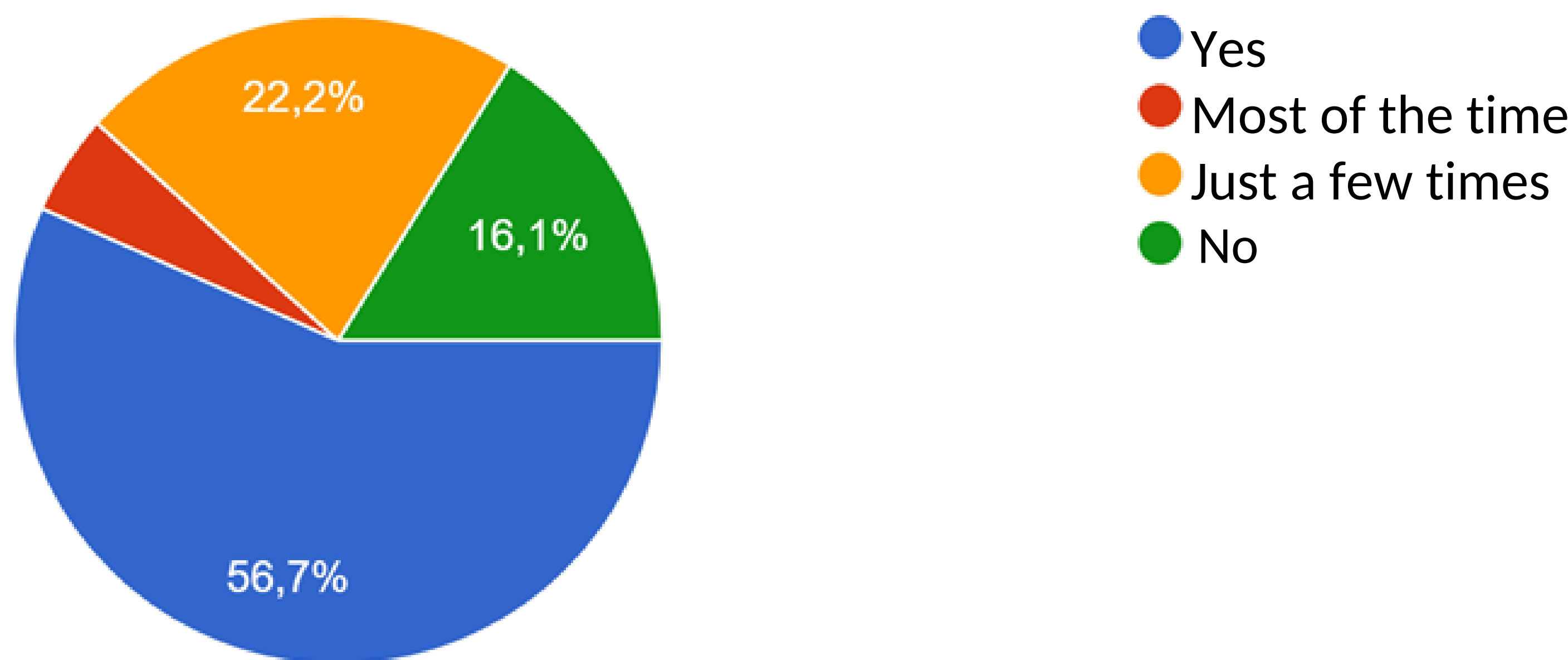
GRAPH 10. CHILD CARE

DO YOU PREPARE THE CHILD'S FOOD?
180 RESPONSES



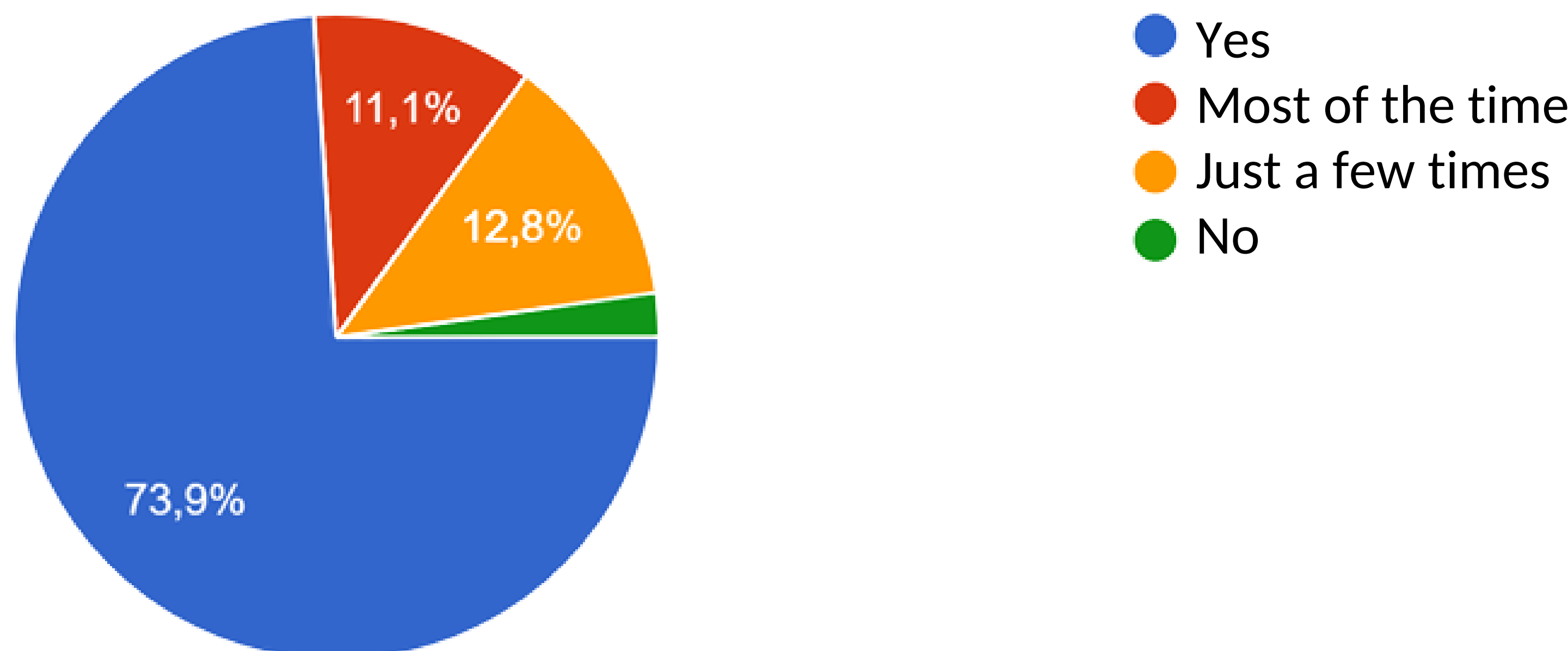
GRAPH 11. CHILD CARE

DO YOU WASH OR IRON THE CHILD'S CLOTHES?
180 RESPONSES



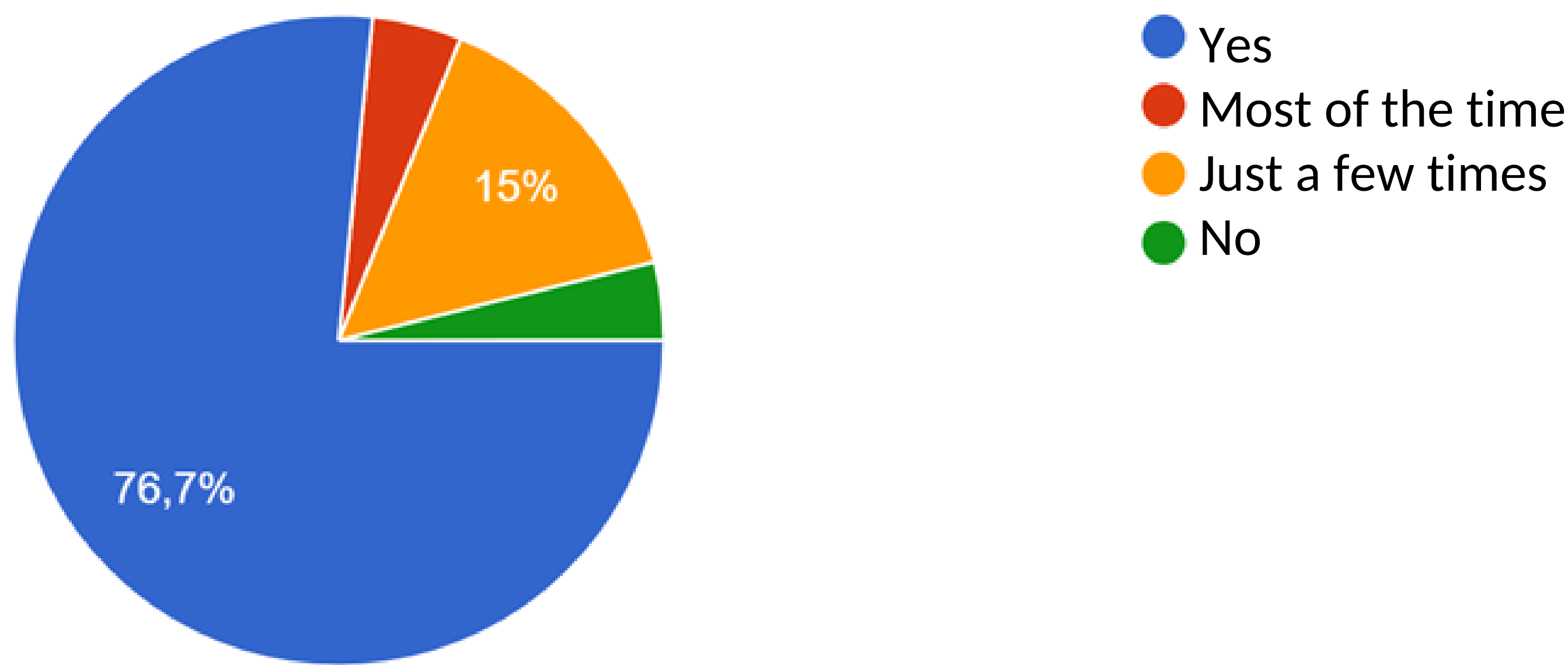
GRAPH 12. CHILD CARE

DO YOU TAKE YOUR CHILD TO THE PEDIATRICIAN?
180 RESPONSES



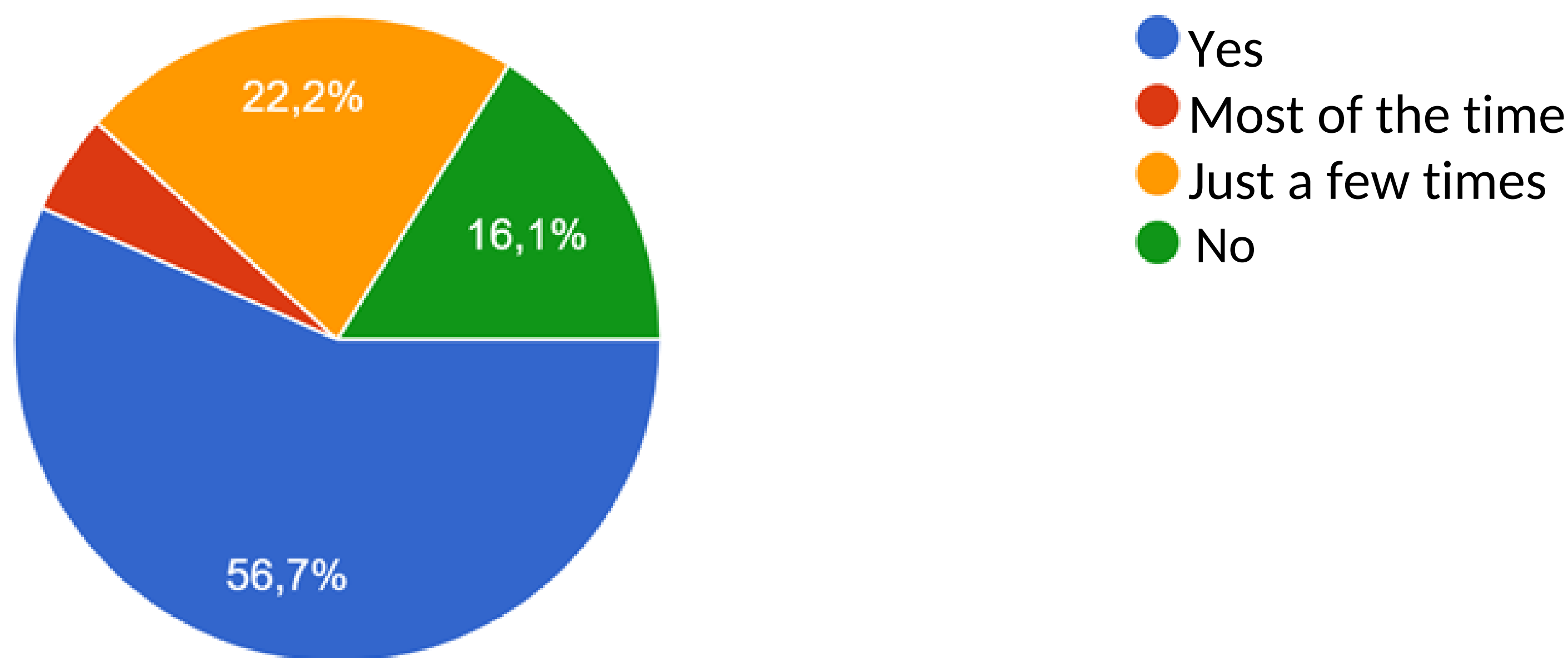
GRAPH 10. CHILD CARE

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180 RESPONSES



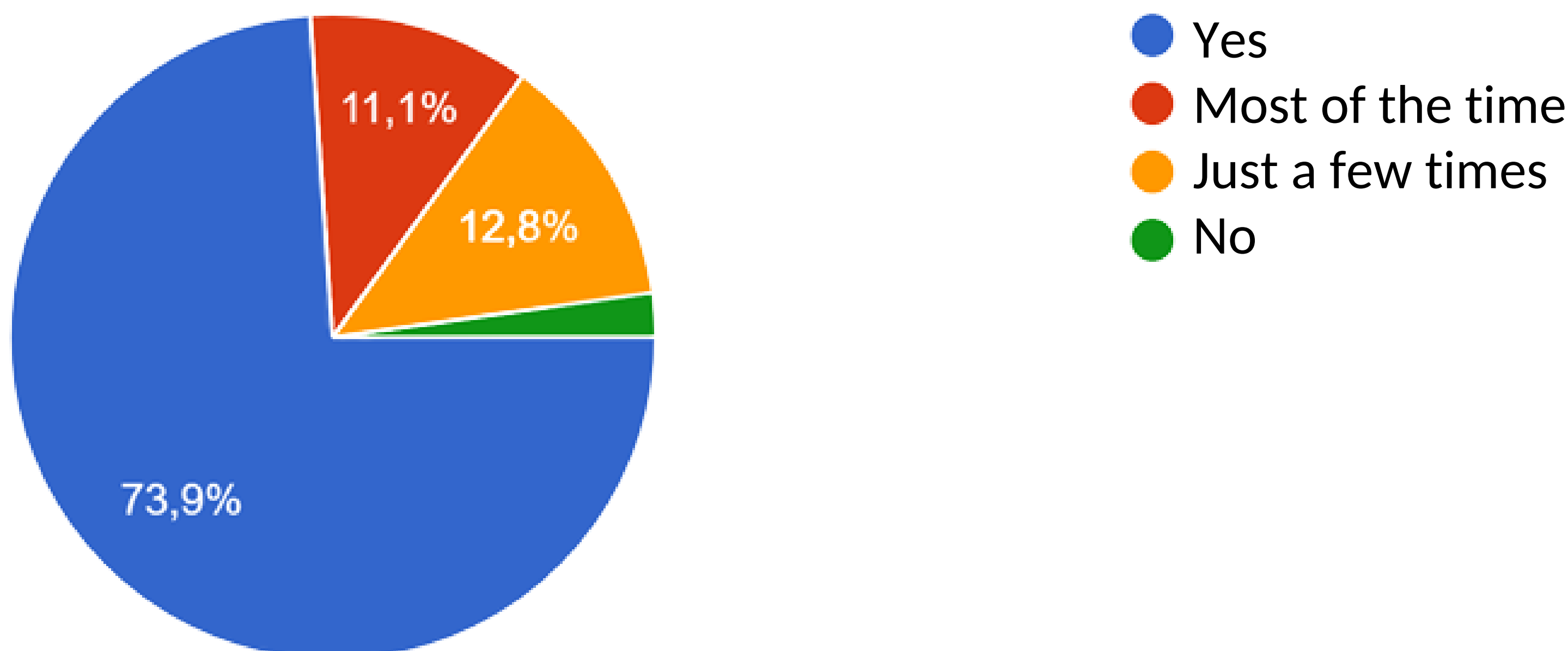
GRAPH 11. CHILD CARE

DO YOU WASH OR IRON THE CHILD'S CLOTHES?
180 RESPONSES



GRAPH 12. CHILD CARE

DO YOU TAKE YOUR CHILD TO THE PEDIATRICIAN?
180 RESPONSES



It is interesting to note that this group of men reported feeling capable of performing care tasks. In this sense, we emphasize that when men feel safe to take care and manage to exercise it, it is a strong indicator for the division of tasks in relation to young children, pointing in the direction of a possible path to achieving equity.

It is also necessary to understand that these parents reported the importance of addressing the issue of racism in the educational process of their sons and daughters, as well as they understand that the education performed by black and white parents are different. These parents also pondered that they need more repertoires to educate their sons and daughters because of racism, and more than 90% responded that educating by talking about racism and empowering black children are difficult points. Addressing the issue of empowerment of black children, through storytelling, has proved to be an effective tool. The number of children's publications with an ethnic-racial focus is increasing in Brazil and has been shown to be effective in the process of strengthening the self-esteem of black children and recognizing their stories.

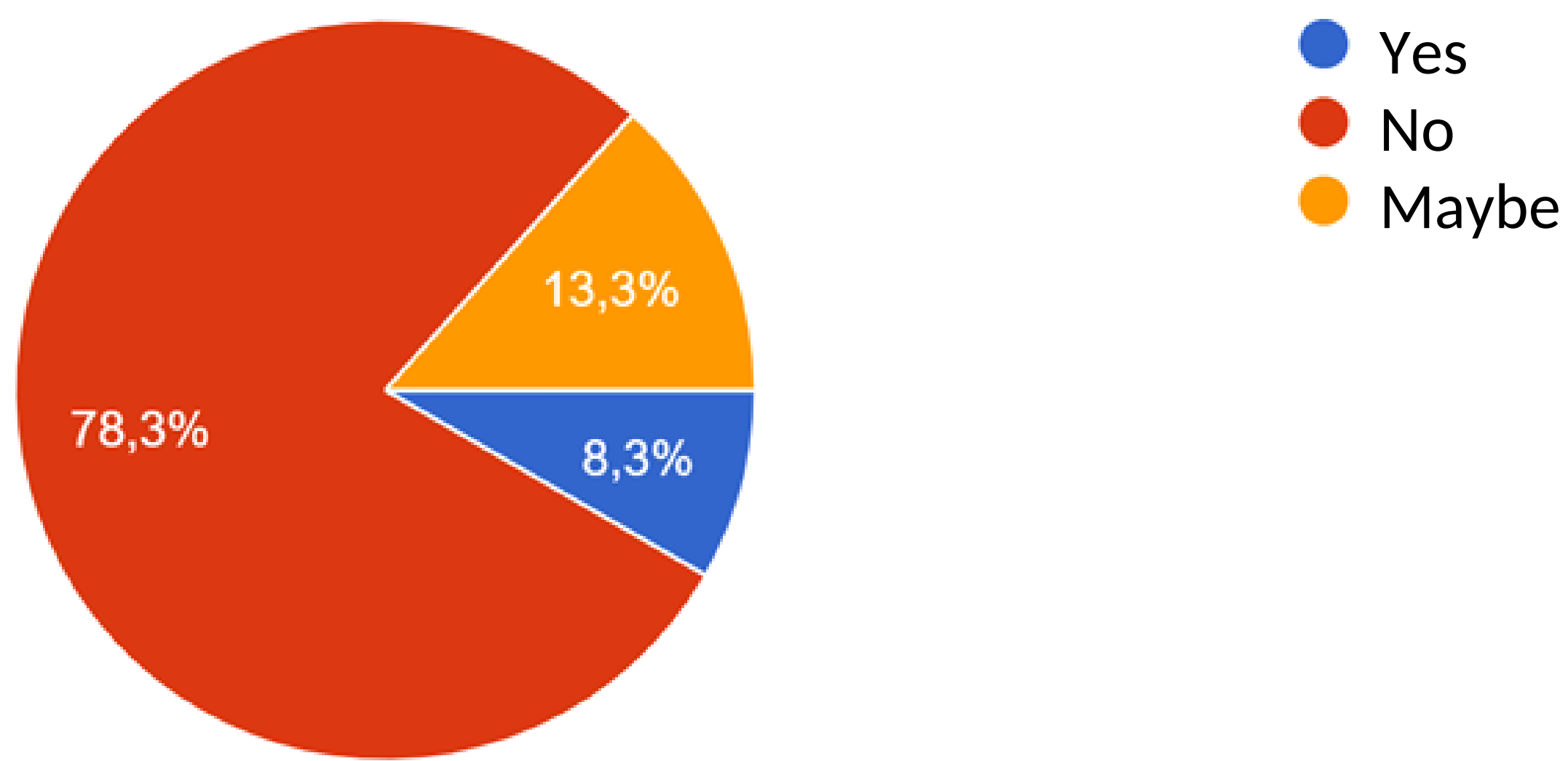
So that these materials become allies of adult caregivers in the education of black boys and black girls. Another important resource is the cartoons which, if used from the perspective of valuing black history and self-recognition, become a powerful instrument of educational support. These have also grown in number and membership by Brazilian families.

In this sense, it is clear that these men feel prepared for care, but when the issue of racism appears, they portray how challenging it is to be a black father in Brazilian society. The data can be seen in the graphs below.

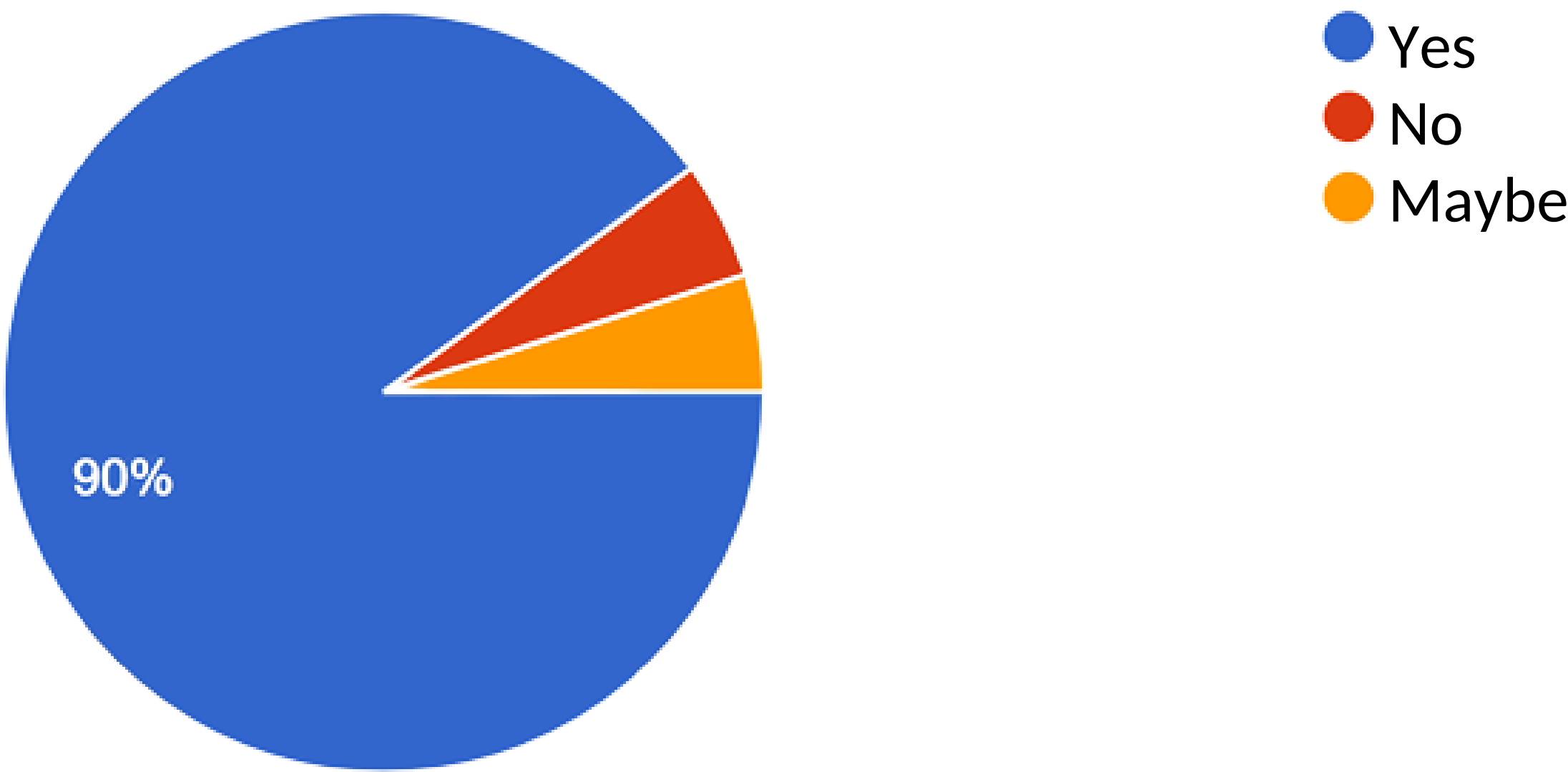
Children's books that promote parents' storytelling to their sons and daughters and that address these relationships are of great importance.

GRAPH 15. CARE WITH EDUCATION

DO YOU UNDERSTAND THAT BLACK AND WHITE PARENTS EDUCATE THE SAME?
180 RESPONSES



GRAPH 16. CARE WITH EDUCATION
DOES BEING A PARENT OF A BLACK CHILD FORCE YOU TO HAVE MORE REPERTOIRE IN THE EDUCATION PROCESS?
180 RESPONSES



GRAPH 17. CARE WITH EDUCATION
HAVE YOUR CHILD'S PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS (HAIR, SKIN COLOR) EVER MADE YOU TALK TO THEM ABOUT THE RACIAL DIFFERENCE THAT EXISTS IN SOCIETY (ACCORDING TO THEIR LEVEL OF UNDERSTANDING)?
180 RESPONSES

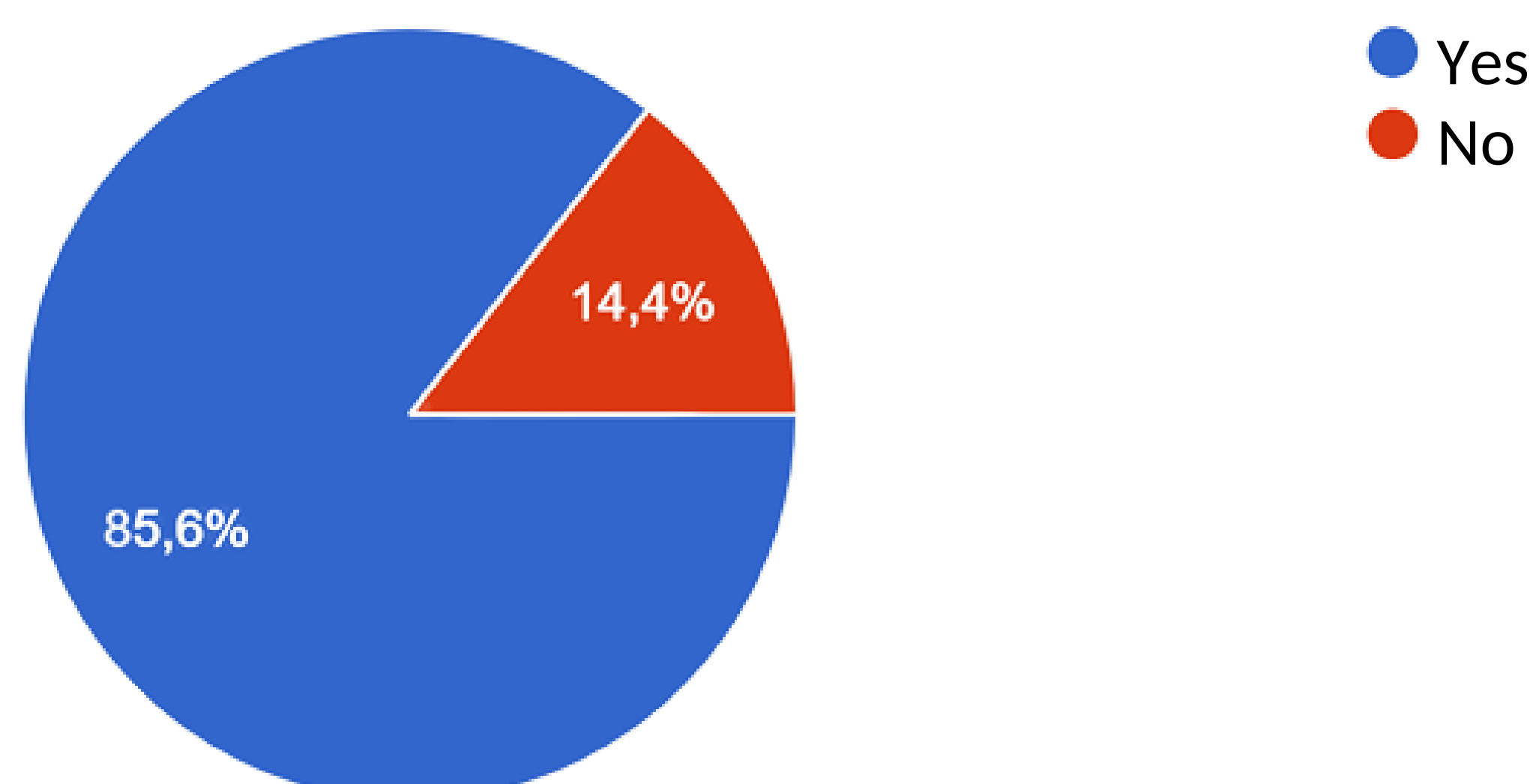


GRAPH 18. CARE WITH EDUCATION
WHAT IS MOST DIFFICULT FOR YOU IN THE PROCESS OF RAISING A YOUNG BLACK CHILD?
177 RESPONSES



GRAPH 19. CARE WITH EDUCATION

DO YOU PRESENT LITERATURE AND DRAWINGS WITH
BLACK REFERENCES TO YOUR DAUGHTER OR SON?
180 RESPONSES



RECOMMENDATIONS:

After all the debate carried out so far, we consider it necessary to make some recommendations based on the themes addressed in this text and which are extremely relevant to black paternity in Brazil.

1. As discussed throughout the text, it is always necessary to establish an intersectional reading when approaching the issue of paternity in Brazil. Above all, understanding that black parenthood has its specificities;
2. Design and execute public policies based on intersectional analyses. In a special way, that promote historic reparations, through racial quota policies;
3. Actions that promote paternity and care with an ethnic-racial approach;
4. Guarantee of continuous training for health professionals, so that they recognize the importance of discussions that cover issues of gender, race, and class in pregnancy and in the puerperium of black women, guaranteeing them humanized care and childbirth;
5. Expansion of literary materials for black children that contribute to the strengthening of bonds between black parents in relation to their sons and daughters, while helping them to address important issues in the education process;
6. Workshops and activities on fatherhood and care based on racial and ethnic analysis.

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BLACK FATHERHOOD AND EDUCATION

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1.1. SCHOOL EDUCATION

“No one escapes education. At home, on the street, at church or at school, in one way or many, we all involve pieces of life with it: to know, to do, to be or to live together, every day we mix life with education.”[1]. Thus, we understand that the spaces of reflection, production and elaboration of knowledge, historically, are part of the daily practice of life, struggles and desires of the black people. It is important to point out that the contribution of the African people and their descendants, to the different areas of science and knowledge, was fundamental and goes beyond the period of the slave trade and colonial enslavement or the Africa-America geographical relationship. Publications such as *Geniuses of Humanity* by Alexandra Baldeh Loras and Carlos Eduardo Dias Machado, help us to realize how much black people contributed to the development of humanity in all spheres.

As Catherine Cymone Fourshey points out, in ancient African societies, the members of each community were educated mainly through orality, which in turn served as a “means of transmitting cultural and social traditions”[2], differently from what is expected in western societies, where the school is believed to be, exclusively, the place where individuals are formally educated. However, with the process of enslavement of Africans in Brazil, until the 19th century, access to education was legally denied to blacks. The creation of laws denying the right to education to blacks points not only to the existing demand for access by the enslaved population and later freed to this basic right, but also to the existence of a political project of exclusion based on racial criteria.

According to Ione Celeste de Jesus Sousa, it was only with the passing of the Free Womb Law in 1871 and its impacts that there were the first attempts at schooling “aimed at ‘people of color’, naive, freedmen, free people and other workers”[3]. Thus, some literacy experiences of men and women enslaved in Brazil were often the responsibility of the Africans themselves and their descendants, where, gathered in the backyards, they organized themselves into storytelling and circular education circles; capoeira wheels; from jongo; samba, popular education circles, where the teachings of the eldest to the youngest were transmitted through orality and performances through dances, which expressed community education practices and functioned as “tools” for teaching African ancestral traditions and knowledge.

[1] BRANDÃO, Carlos Rodrigues. *O que é Educação*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 2017. p. 3.

[2] FOURSHEY, Catherine Cymone; GONZALES, Rhonda M; SAIDI, Christine. *África Bantu: De 3500 a. C até o presente*. Tradução de Beatriz Silveira Castro Filgueiras. Rio de Janeiro: Vozes, 2019. (Coleção África e os Africanos). p. 177.

[3] SOUSA, Ione Celeste. *Escolas ao Povo: experiências de escolarização de pobres na Bahia – 1870 a 1890*. Salvador: UFBA, 2006. p. 9.

THINKING ABOUT FORMAL EDUCATION

As mentioned above, the insertion of black people in public education is a relatively recent phenomenon, dating back to the end of the 19th century. Only boys who were free or freed, vaccinated and over 14 years of age could have access to formal education, and the Abolitionist Movement was decisive in this process. In the 20th century, the inclusion of black people in higher education, as well as the mandatory teaching of History of Afro-Brazilian and indigenous cultures, in Brazilian Basic Network schools, ensured respectively by Laws 10,639/2003 and 11,645/2008, were the result of intense struggles and demands of the Unified Black Movement and other sectors of civil society. Although such measures of historical reparation represent advances in terms of reducing social inequalities in Brazil, they also show how much the country's educational system, for a long time, remained racist and exclusionary.

Even in the face of these advances, currently there are still a series of socio-historical elements that make it difficult or impossible for black students to remain in educational institutions, whether in basic or higher education. According to the National Household Sample Survey - PNAD, related to 2018, being black in Brazil increases the chance of school exclusion throughout Basic Education. The research, portrayed in the article by the Instituto da Mulher Negra - Geledés, carried out in 2018 by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics - IBGE, pointed out that 04 out of 10 young black men did not finish high school. Among these elements, child labor is one of the main causes of evasion of black children and adolescents from regular education in Brazil. Also according to the IBGE, in 2019, 66.1% of Brazilian children and adolescents in child labor were black or brown.

Financial vulnerabilities also appear as one of the elements that affect black populations and directly impact the permanence or entry of children and adolescents into formal education. To alleviate this problem, there is the Program for the Eradication of Child Labor - PETI, one of the programs to combat the labor action of children and adolescents of great reference in the country. Brazil and the signatory countries of the global pact to eradicate child labor had as their goal the complete extinction of this practice in the year 2021. However, the Covid-19 pandemic intensified the practice of child labor in the Brazilian population.

Another factor that contributes to school dropout is the non-recognition of the school as a space belonging to black children and adolescents and other subaltern groups such as, for example, indigenous people, lgbtqi+ and adherents of Afro-Brazilian religions. Black boys and girls are very often not represented in places of power in textbooks or para-didactics, in drawings and films shown in the classroom, much less are they contemplated in speeches or curricula prepared by educators. When the subjectivities of black people are mentioned in the classroom, racist stereotypes are usually reinforced, most often associating the origin of black people with enslavement or even presenting whitened narratives that portray, for example, a white Egypt and even relevant black historical characters such as Machado de Assis and Maria Firmina dos Reis, among others.

There is no in-depth mention of African peoples before colonization or the production of knowledge in the areas of medicine, engineering, agriculture, astronomy, mathematics and, especially, family relationships, which predates colonization on the continent, which ends up undermining any possibility. of pride and identification of these children and adolescents. On the contrary, they promote shame, fear and disgust with Negroid traits and any identification with the African continent, commonly associated with diseases, misery and, from a religious point of view, even with demons, in the case of the most conservative and reactionary school communities.

This contextualization is necessary because the school, as stated by Juarez Dayrell, “must be understood as a sociocultural space, therefore as a social space of its own, ordered in two dimensions. Institutionally, by a set of norms and rules, which seek to unify and delimit the action of its subjects”[1]. In this sense, the school space is also a place where conflicts and alliances are established, as well as the production of symbolic violence between the other subjects that constitute it. Therefore, when we consider the conflicts especially involving black children, adolescents and young people and also those circumscribed around the school, like fathers and mothers, it is possible to observe the disregard of their histories, ancestry and, above all, the reality in which they are inserted, many sometimes they are not brought close to the school environment by the State, which is primarily responsible for the elaboration of pedagogical actions and strategies for this purpose.

Throughout the school year, school activities that involve the family rarely make any mention of sociocultural elements from African cultures, whether in cuisine, dialects, language, music, religious manifestations or the architecture of cities built by work. of enslaved. Only on November 20th, when Black Consciousness Day is celebrated in Brazil, the various contributions of black populations gain prominence in schools and to some extent in the media. Therefore, failing to portray and even include Afro-Brazilian culture in the school space outside of commemorative dates, in addition to not recognizing the contribution of this population, is also creating a false narrative in the educational process.

THE EFFECTS OF INSTITUTIONAL RACISM ON SCHOOL CHILDREN

Thinking about the object of this report, which are black paternity, we focus on the impacts of the underrepresentation of the black family in the school curriculum, especially the black father. The representation of predominantly white families was completely naturalized in textbooks and textbooks, while there is an invisibility of black families in their most diverse compositions in these materials, not presenting children with the possibility of the different existence of family nuclei. In this sense, observing the Yearbook of the Association of Writers and Illustrators of Children's and Youth Literature, with regard to the publication of children's stories with black male protagonism in 2020, we identified very few titles available in the Brazilian publishing market.

[1] DAYRELL, Juarez Tarcísio. A escola como espaço sociocultural. p.2.

When we look for children's stories authored by black writers, the amount of materials found in Brazilian schools and bookstores, which aim to promote the self-image of black children, drops even further. In this way, it is very important that the stories, tales and any narrative with black protagonism be written by black people, who live the reality portrayed in the works and, therefore, understand better than anyone what it is like to face the challenges imposed by the racial issue.

We understand that the absence of the black boy and the black father in children's stories worked in the school context, for example, is alarming, considering that Brazil represents the largest black population outside the African continent. The unpreparedness of directors, educators and technical teams to welcome black families at school is a structural problem that begins in the Pedagogical Journeys and extends to university courses. As the philosopher Renato Nogueira rightly states, you must see yourself in order to belong. To the extent that black subjects do not see themselves in school practice, this dynamic becomes alienating and even colonial, as it distances this audience from their own sociocultural references, offering only a narrative and proposal of knowledge that proposes to be universal (Nogueira, 2011).

In addition to the racial issue having low thematic representation as we mentioned earlier, there is also the erasure and invisibility of black men, who played a relevant role in the formation of Brazilian society or in the emancipation of black people. Historical characters such as Luís Gama and the Rebouças brothers are often ignored by the curriculum of many public schools or, at most, are briefly mentioned in a footnote or isolated comment in class. The potential that such personalities have to raise the self-esteem and self-image of black boys is enormous, in this way students are motivated to break with the dominant thinking that African peoples and indigenous peoples in Brazil only gained relevance from the contact with the Portuguese, thus seeking their references of activism and social struggle in their own country.

In schools, it is still not noticed during the stories telling activities in the early years, how the absence of such representations can have serious impacts on the self-esteem of black girls and boys, who are led by their own invisibility to think that the school environment was not made for them, or thought taking into account their existence, and one of the extremely harmful effects of this perception is that it leads to believe that it is the contact with whiteness that ennobles, civilizes and confers a dignified status on any people. This thinking tends to relativize cases of racism at school very often, which are usually read as "child's play" or "bullying" and there is, in most cases, no mobilization and engagement of the school community in fulfilling agendas that ranging from meetings with parents to the elaboration of measures for the accountability of aggressors, provided for in the institution's political-pedagogical project, as well as the holding of lectures, production workshops and distribution of anti-racist teaching materials.

On the other hand, it is interesting when we look at it from a gender perspective and realize that there is a much greater amount of children's titles starring black girls, generally focusing on valuing aesthetics, which, in turn, is important, but not enough. This debate focused on the empowerment of black girls, through the appreciation and acceptance of phenotypic characteristics, must be accompanied, above all, by a political movement of awareness, and this example can be a clue about the paths to be followed in order to build tools of empowerment aimed at black boys, therefore, according to the philosopher Katiúscia Ribeiro, the school will only contribute to the emancipation of these subjects when it recognizes their humanity (Ribeiro, 2017).

When we refer to the education of children in early childhood, it is difficult to find professionals who have methodologies and didactics to promote the racial empowerment of young girls and boys. In the first school year, the 6-year-old students are clearly seeking to mark their personality and exalt their differences and traits. It is precisely at this moment that the references of cultural, personal and ancestral valorization will have an empowering function of great importance in the identity formation of these subjects. However, a factor that aggravates this situation is the scope of structural racism, which in the institutional perspective, according to Silvio Almeida, “is treated as a result of the functioning of institutions, which start to act in a dynamic that confers, albeit indirectly, disadvantages and privileges based on race” and is not confined only to the walls of the school, but crosses family relationships in the home and even in the environment of religious worship, especially of the Christian faith, which seeks to convert all other creeds and gives them an image profane and damning.

It is not uncommon to observe religious racism at school disguised as a joke. The same goes for comments about skin color, nose shape or hair texture of black children.

Educators still find themselves lost in the face of such episodes and in many cases tend to ignore or try to mitigate, thus avoiding blaming the perpetrators of racist attacks and their families, even wasting a great pedagogical opportunity to combat racism inside and outside school, which is often the first space where black children experience situations of racism.

IN REGARDS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Regarding higher education in Brazil, it is important to consider that academic training, titles and access to information on the part of educators do not make them free from the risk of reproducing racist behavior. On the contrary, such training brings a look at the reality that proposes to be universal, delegitimizing all other narratives about the different knowledge produced by humanity, since, for the most part, school and university curricula in Brazil privilege the knowledge produced in the United States and Europe axis, contemplating only the perspective of whiteness and delegating to the knowledge of the native peoples of the Americas and of the African and Asian continents a position of inferiority.

We still do not have a pluriverse education model, which envisions different ways of interpreting reality and producing knowledge. This characteristic of whiteness, which stands out as the only measure for all the diversity existing in the world, ends up denying existences and making all personal, cultural and spiritual manifestations that deviate from the social norm imposed on us invisible, and in this sense it is necessary to be attentive the changes. Currently, some extension courses offered by public universities place research and studies on Africanity, race and racism, black empowerment, among other ethnic-racial themes, on the agenda.

While the implementation of racial quota policies forced the university to “darken” itself to some extent, even if it is minimal, allowing a greater proportion of young blacks to enter the academic career, most undergraduate courses are still whitened, especially those considered as elite courses, such as medicine and law, for example, these courses continue to be marked by the absence of black people, in addition, the reports of black youth and adults in the academy show from the non-valuation of their life stories to the non-belonging to the university space .

As much as black people are entering the academic space through racial quota policy, there are still many advances that need to be made. Regarding the teaching staff, for example, we observe that they remain mostly white and with attitudes, in general, racist. According to an article published last year by the Mundo Negro portal, in a survey carried out by the Anísio Teixeira National Institute of Educational Studies and Research in 2018, it was found that only 14.4% of higher education professors in public universities are black, which which is configured as another challenge to be urgently overcome.

1.2. FAMILY EDUCATION

THINKING MASCULINITIES TO REFLECT ON FATHERHOODS

Within masculinities there is a constant duel between the so-called “hegemonic masculinities” and the “subaltern masculinities”. The first composed of white, upper-class or middle-class men, heterosexual and heteronormative practices; the second is composed of those who do not organize themselves based on the characteristics of the previous one. In this sense, black men occupy the subalternities. This would even be easy to understand, if the production of machismo, with all its characteristics, were only elaborated by the hegemonic masculinities and reproduced by those who occupy the subalternities. However, it is not. In unequal and inferior measure, black men also produce gender violence and oppression in this place of masculinities. And this production flirts with the occupation of the place of hegemonic masculinities, which will not happen, because as Fanon points out, in Black skin, white masks, the color of the black man precedes him. And this will be a preponderant factor for him not to occupy the hegemony of masculinities. Machismo is a privilege. This is an irrefutable statement. Understanding the precarious and harmful environments that machismo creates for the man himself, especially the black man, takes time and demands sensitivity and special mobilization for the theme.

From the sexist point of view, there is a series of aptitudes that give a person the attribute of “man”. Among other things, being a man requires the omission of emotions, weaknesses, fears, fears and anxieties. In this perspective, the man is the one who solves things, therefore, the man is also not encouraged to exercise care. If we make a comparison between a boy and a girl, for example, even when they are small, both have a completely different education and based on strict gender norms: the boy is encouraged to become a “stud”, not cry, connect with everything external to the home, perform early sexual practices; the girl, on the other hand, is educated to take care of her siblings or other children, being obedient must necessarily demonstrate sensitivity, be fragile, have her body controlled, among other attributes and characteristics. In this sense, motherhood is compulsory for women, and when we focus on black women, this compulsion is more open and is demanded with greater vehemence.

Machismo privileges men since childhood, making care and activities in the domestic routine optional. The main barriers to the exercise of paternity of black men are structural racism and machismo that, by the way, make them the majority among victims of police violence, those who occupy the most informal jobs and those who are most frequently incarcerated. As a result, one of the impacts is the fact that 5 million people do not have their father's name on their birth certificate in Brazil. Most of these fathers are black men. Thus, they are deprived of monitoring the pregnancy and development of children in early childhood. It is common to hear reports of black women who gave birth in the company of their mothers, relatives, friends or even alone, which can increase situations of obstetric violence.

It is known that at birth the baby does not have a developed vision and relates to the father, mainly through physical contact and body heat, tone of voice and smell. All these forms of contact require closeness and intimacy. That's why machismo is so harmful, since it affects not creating mechanisms to strengthen the bond between parents and their children. In this way, it is necessary to normalize and naturalize that the anti-oppressive education of boys from childhood, through adolescence, youth and adulthood is important for the elaboration of new perspectives of participatory fatherhood. This scenario often forges present parents who do not want the abandonment they experienced for their children. The upbringing among women also mitigates the need to hide emotions, socially imposed on men, and allows them to experience healthy masculinities, since the masculine social imposition of hiding emotions, fears and weaknesses is less present.

It is essential once again to emphasize and understand that the absence of man is caused by social factors such as violence, criminality and the very idea that the task of caring is the responsibility of the woman. According to the African perspective of the Dagara people, for example, it is up to men to welcome one another. The western idea that each person is responsible only for his or her own life does not match the values of ancestry in this and several other African peoples, such as the Bantu and, therefore, does not apply to the reality of black families.

In addition to African Womanism and Afrocentricity, there are open doors for the behavioral emancipation of black men through exchanges with black women. The popularization of feminisms emerges as an important factor in the deconstruction of gender roles and the promotion of positive masculinities, which do not stigmatize activities such as cooking, washing dishes, cleaning or cleaning the house. In the same way, many women educate the men in the family so that they do not reproduce abusive and sexist behaviors in their affective relationship.

We also need to reinforce the importance of grassroots work. Many conversation circles and discussion groups have addressed ways and strategies for deconstructing rigid gender roles in the dynamics of household chores, for example. Many black parents make a point of promoting the good examples they set in their families to help others in the same sense, explaining how to make their children like doing dishes, sweeping the house or washing clothes, showing that boys can and should perform these activities and that they are not feminine activities.

These are black families educating other black families.

1.3 CRITICAL RACE EDUCATION

Achievements such as the approval of the racial quotas law and the law 10.639/03 led to important social changes such as, for example, the considerable increase in people who declared themselves black to the IBGE, as well as changes in behavior with the increasing adoption of African aesthetics by through different ethnic prints of fabrics from the continent, haircuts and hairstyles that value curly hair and, above all, the great search for African ancestral, spiritual, family and social values.

In universities, social networks and even in public spaces, events began to take place that aim to promote and disseminate Pan-Africanist thought, black feminism and Afrocentricity in general.

African ancestry does not confer fixed roles based on gender and sees fatherhood as an ontological characteristic, even demanding a proactive stance from men in welcoming women and children abandoned by the father, regardless of blood or family ties.

The various manifestations of the black movement have gained space and acceptance among the black population that accesses social networks, especially in the pandemic context and in conversation circles, support groups and activist movements. Another example of a proposal propagated by black movements that opposes the individualist narrative supported by whiteness is African Womanism mentioned above, which, among other principles, defends that black men and women should fight together for the emancipation of black people. This political and philosophical orientation calls the black man to the responsibility of evolving together with black women. Furthermore, in the African conception, to deceive, betray or manipulate a black woman is to attack oneself, since we are one people. This paradigm directly interferes with the idea of the father's role.

Being a father is no longer just generating a child and becomes paternal and welcoming people, seeing them as their own children. By embracing the Afrocentric perspective of paternity, the black father is transported from a place of moral, social and existential indigence to a referential position of affection, acceptance and protagonism in which, finally, together with all the people who are cultivating the same values of ancestry African continent, it is possible to coexist promoting self-affection, unity as an African people in diaspora and reconnection with African ancestral principles and values.

It is important to point out that even among black parents who do not share the Afrocentric or Pan-Africanist perspective and, therefore, do not see themselves as Africans in the diaspora, but as Afro-Brazilians, there are so many evils and ills that oppress black subjectivities in Brazil, that it is not difficult to see that we have a common enemy to fight. The black population is still the majority in psychiatric institutions, on the streets and in prisons. It is the people who commit suicide the most, who have the highest rate of school dropout, underemployment, and unemployment. The UN reports that every 23 minutes a young black man is murdered in Brazil.

In the face of all this information, how can we not unite in favor of our emancipation as black men? This reflection takes black men, among their most diverse realities, political-ideological aspects and social classes, to different study groups, conversation circles and support networks, to seek to understand ways to move in this chaotic reality imposed by structural racism.

Racial education also brings practical questions that, like it or not, every black parent will have to face at some point, such as: “How do I untangle my children’s hair?”, “Should I talk about racism with them or wait for something to happen?”, “How to racially empower my children?”, “Where can I find black animations, dolls, and stories?” In this way, we realize that there are many issues uniting black parents and asking for their cooperation so that together they become more apt and aware in dealing with all the challenges imposed by whiteness, such as machismo and racism.

1.4 THE BLACK FATHER’S PLACE IN EDUCATION

In the face of all the obstacles imposed by structural racism on healthy and participatory black fatherhood that were listed above, it is concluded that work is needed on several fronts so that this fathering is possible, free, light and loose, without the impediment of the everyday micro violence. And most importantly, according to African ancestry, which was basal in the decolonization process, this task is not an individual one, but a joint venture formed by family members, friends, support networks, aided by tools such as emancipatory black literature, of conversation previously mentioned and every resource available to welcome these parents. For several reasons, at school, initiatives specifically aimed at paternal care are increasingly scarce.

Due to the huge number of students who do not have a father figure in their family composition, there is evidence of several institutions that have removed from their calendar activities such as the celebration of Father's Day, Dad's football or any other competition and activity with an emphasis on paternity. Even when there were such activities on the calendar, the relationship between the father and the school was generally not deepened. The school doesn't seem to know what to do with the father.

Especially with the father interested in the pedagogical work developed. Educational institutions seem to have bought into the stereotypical idea of the clumsy, lost, and clumsy father. Something similar happens in the approach with mothers in the school space, who still have their image very romanticized and related to a kind of gift. Caregivers are not treated as people, but as symbols.

This approach often impoverishes the possibilities for joint work between the school community, family and students. There are no activities about aspects that involve the father's emotions or about the challenges, difficulties and dilemmas of fathering. School meetings boil down to discussing grades and other objective dynamics such as dates and evaluations, uniform rules, etc. The father enters and leaves with the perception that he was not seen in his human dimension, especially the black father, who already has his humanity annihilated by racism. It seems that the general absence of the father figure, in many children's stories and in the lives of many children, leads the school community to assume this absence even when the father is present, so that he has to put his foot in the door and force his way in when the father is present. want, in fact, to be involved in their children's school life.

EDUCATION AND THE PANDEMIC

Undoubtedly, the Covid-19 pandemic presented new dynamics in the relationship of families with the school. Compulsorily, the pandemic caused many adults to lose their formal or informal jobs.

In this sense, many responsible had to discover other dynamics to generate income. In some cases that, by the way, we cannot read as a rule, but as an exception, the presence of parents at home became more effective, starting, in some situations, to relate more to the school unit in which the children participate.

This scenario has led many parents to review concepts such as the idea that care is essentially female and that they are not good at performing domestic activities such as cooking, bathing or putting the baby to sleep, for example. However, several reports of parents who are having many difficulties to study with their children, in online activities, were received by some education professionals. At the same time, we know that this is just a brief clipping among black parents who participated in the questionnaire that supports this report. Many parents do not even have a smartphone with an internet plan to do activities with their children, which reveals the increase in social inequality, which has made it impossible for many students to access educational platforms.

This situation, in turn, configures another factor of stress, discouragement and concern for these parents, who have been feeling increasingly distressed and anxious. Although in public education many platforms do not require internet data consumption, some houses only have one device, which is used for work or is taken to work by those who work outside, we show that economic factors are decisive in the process of family formation subaltern blacks. In this way, now many black families also seek psychological support to deal with this feeling of incapacity and impotence to guarantee basic education for their children.

There are also homes where all caregivers need to work in person, exposing themselves to contamination in crowded transports and have no option, however, this group was not expressive among the participants who answered the questionnaire in the report, perhaps due to the collection methodology used, which were questions in Google Forms. In a way, the platform already presupposes a certain degree of access, education and reach, since it is necessary to have access to the internet, to know how to read and to have an electronic device.

With the expansion of evangelical churches, especially in areas of greater social vulnerability, where the population is mostly black, it is necessary to address the implications of Christian education in black fatherhood, thinking that this is also the result of the absence of the State in the sense of create and provide public policies aimed at paternity, especially black women. While African ancestry gives the management of the home a character of equity and promotes gender equality, in the traditional Church the prevailing idea is that the man is the priest and the head of the house, as well as the provider. This model of vertical management of household activities often places the black father in a non-place, especially in the pandemic scenario in which we find ourselves, since many black fathers are among the 14 million unemployed in the country.

It is common for men, especially black men, who are already so stigmatized in our Brazilian society, to use this position of provider in an attempt to neutralize the effects of racism that make them invisible. However, as stated earlier, the role of provider and leader of the home idealized by patriarchy is not designed for the black man, who, even when he has a high salary or even a position of social prestige, remains vulnerable to racist attacks and the erasure of its subjectivity.

Another point that deserves attention is the position of the African continent and its ancestral legacy in Christian doctrine. The very word “Egypt”, in neo-Pentecostal jargon, is synonymous with “difficulty” and “unfavorable position”, while the African continent is read in the doctrine as a place relegated to misery, disease, curse and demons. It is not uncommon for preachers to use the expressions: “You are going to leave Egypt”, “Egypt is not the place of the people of God”, “Egypt is captivity”, etc. The latent challenge is how to empower children and sustain a positive self-image as a black father periodically feeding on discourses that disqualify his own history, ancestry and civilizational cradle. Even those who do not see themselves as Africans in the diaspora, vacillate when trying to reconcile the image of leader, provider and “head of the house” with the constant attacks by the police and episodes of racism suffered everywhere. Faced with this reality caused by Brazilian-style racism, many black parents find themselves in a non-place or with a sense of displacement as members of more conservative churches.

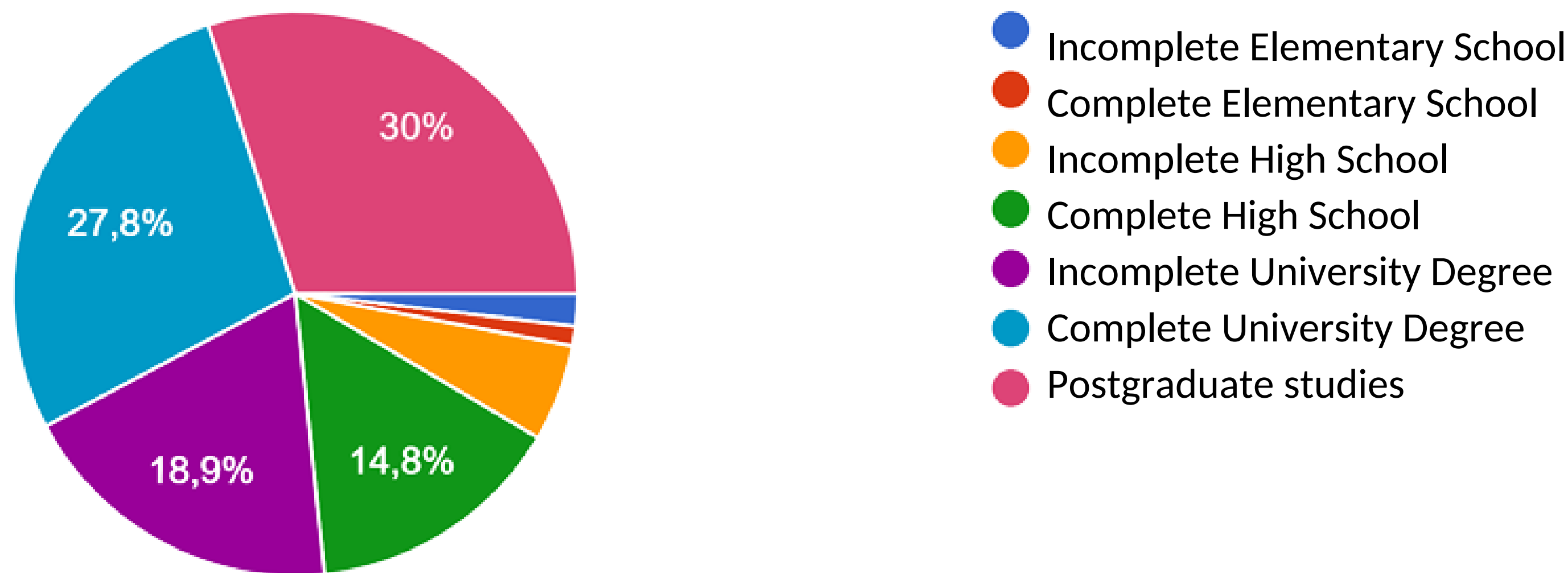
Considering the role of the State in promoting education for civic engagement, it can be observed that the black father is not covered by this institution. In addition to constant police persecution for the color of his skin, the black father does not have his paternity recognized by the State, which always looks at him with suspicion.

As an example, we can mention the shocking murder that took place in 2019 in Rio de Janeiro of a black father, the musician Evaldo dos Santos Rosa, whose car was shot by the military while walking with his family and was shot dead. This same phenomenon happens with black boys, since the old Code of Minors[1] portrayed children and adolescents as “minors” (a term that is still used to characterize children and adolescents from peripheral areas), because that way it was easier to punish, supervise and even kill without causing social commotion, after all, they were not children. The school, which, in turn, plays a role in shaping the identity of black children, especially in early childhood, deliberately denies them representation, references and access to their own history.

Below, some research data that dialogue directly with the data presented in this chapter.

1.5 RESEARCH NUMBERS:

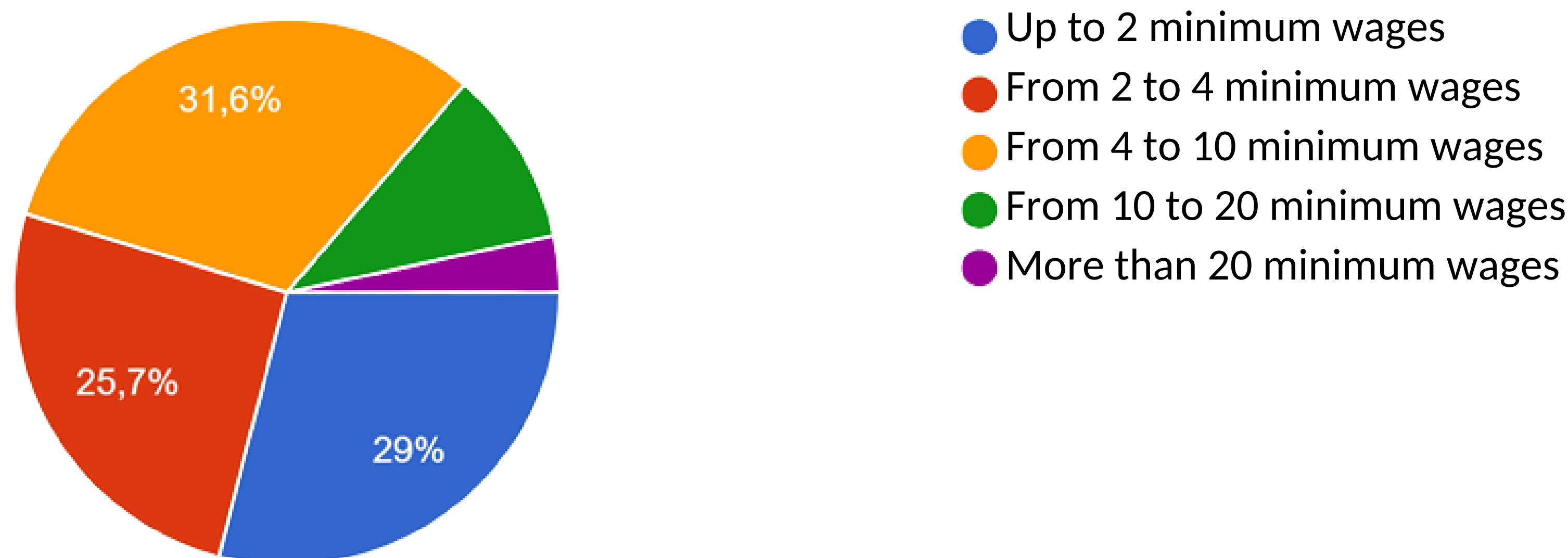
ABOUT YOUR EDUCATION, DO YOU HAVE: 270 RESPONSES



It is important to emphasize that the research sample represents only a cut and does not necessarily reproduce a faithful portrait of Brazilian society, given the number of black men with postgraduate degrees, for example.

[1] Law created in 1927 aimed at protecting and assisting minors under 18 years of age. The code was recreated in 1979 in a new edition with characteristics similar to the law created in 1927. The Minors Code preceded the Child and Adolescent Statute.

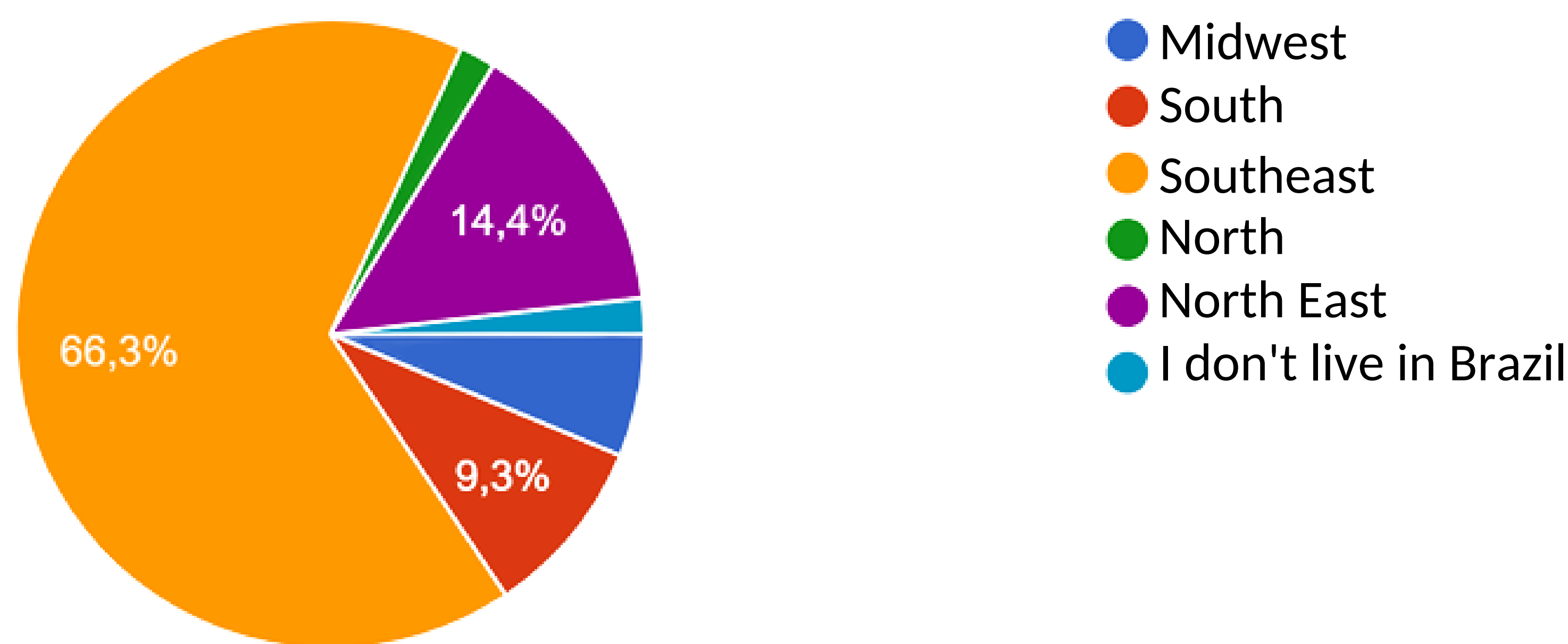
**REGARDING YOUR FINANCIAL INCOME, YOU RECEIVE:
269 RESPONSES**



The number of participants, given the time taken to collect the responses, can also influence the data. Possibly the longer the data collection time, the greater the variety among the participants' profile.

**WHAT REGION OF THE COUNTRY DO YOU LIVE IN?
270 RESPONSES***

*REFERRING TO BRAZILIAN REGIONS



Most participants belong to the Southeast region, where many resources are more accessible, such as internet and telephony, which should be taken into account given the large number of parents working from home during quarantine, for example. These numbers show that there is a correlation between the region and access to technology and communication resources such as the internet, groups on social networks and different sources of information on the subject of black parenting. Thus, as strategies for transforming this reality, in the school environment it is recommended:

The promotion of experiences such as integration between school and families, especially inviting parents to activities;

Activities involving storytelling and activities that deconstruct rigid gender norms;

School activities that create systematic empowerment systems for black children and adolescents;

Activities that focus on the relationship between black parents and children;

Continuing training of the teaching staff in the themes of “masculinities”, “fatherhood”, “gender equality”, “race” and “racism”. Not for them to become specialists, but for them to have a conceptual foundation on the themes.

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PUTTING FOOD ON THE TABLE: THE MATERIAL SUBALTERNITY OF THE BLACK MAN/FATHER

TAMIS PORFÍRIO

When we refer to the social role of fathers, among many attributions, material provision is socially considered as one of the most important. When it is the man who plays this role, many aspects related to hegemonic masculinity are added to being a “real father” and having a job that generates the necessary income to materially support the children is an important aspect of life. appreciation and recognition. But when we turn to black men, this situation becomes more complex and starts to be cut by the immense racial and class inequalities that they must face in the job market.

“To be black is to be the black body, which symbolically emerged in history as the body for the other, the dominant white” (PINHO, 2004, p.67). According to Pinho (2004), the black man is above all a body. A body that fundamentally serves work and sex. The body of the black man is decomposed and fragmented into parts, according to his racialized marks: the skin, the bodily marks of the race, such as hair, nose, thick lips, muscles or physical strength, the sex represented. by the exoticized penis that expresses exaggerated sensuality, becoming a fetish for the gaze of whiteness.

Such stigmatized and stereotyped patterns, in a colonial society like the Brazilian one, originate in the process of enslavement of black men and women. Much of this is due to the biologization and hierarchy of races and, consequently, to racial determinisms. The idea that the different races would be positioned in an evolutionary and hierarchical line, that it would be possible to define moral standards of individuals only based on physical and biological characteristics, supported the conception that blacks always located in the last positions of the scale of human evolution would be, thus, naturally degenerated and infantilized (SCHWARCZ, 2018).

Such ideologies served as a scientific support to justify black slave labor, in the animalized conditions in which it was carried out, after all, blacks were, supposedly, of an inferior species. They had savage strength and endurance, animalistic sexual organs and reproductive capacity, lack of rationality, inborn characteristics of servitude and submission, and yet, they were devoid of soul.

Since in the West the white man came to dominate the black man, there have been attempts to emasculate the white man over the black man. Davis (2016 [1981]) tells us that the slave system discouraged the supremacy of black men, since they, within their family, did not represent the provider and did not have an image of the leader of the house, everyone was under the power of the lord of slaves, fathers, mothers, and children.

In addition to the fact that they had no control or protection over their wives and daughters, their bodies also belonged to the slave master. There was no possibility of them performing the gender role that was socially instituted for men, that of provider and protector. The black man, within the slavery structure, was reduced to nothing, both as a worker and as a man.

When we refer to masculinity, if hegemony historically has always developed material, institutional and cultural means and strategies, whether violent and/or non-violent, to maintain its power, in order to subordinate the other, being, here in Brazil, the proclaimed other of the standard white man, the black man, work is certainly instrumentalized as one of these tools of affirmation of hegemonic masculinity. And like masculinity, the black man's work must, by premise, be subordinate.

For Vale de Almeida (1996), labor relations are not just about the purchase and sale of labor in which the person who sells it spends a few hours performing a certain activity. Work relationships represent a source of identity for these individuals and it means a lot in the constitution of personal identities, the social place that this individual occupies, the emotions inherent to social relationships, in addition to being very present in the construction of gender. Labor relations given as power relations are imbued with hierarchies also within the scope of masculinities. Hierarchies between work functions can express a lot about the unequal relationships between men, especially with regard to race and class markers, which are generally different between those who occupy higher positions and those who occupy lower positions.

Capitalism and the current relations of production are involved in the construction not only of class relations, but also of race, gender and intra-gender relations. Silvio de Almeida (2019) brings us a good discussion about how capitalism and its relations of production are surrounded by racism and how one is in a relationship of interdependence with the other in the perpetuation of this system.

According to the author, capitalism in its most “advanced and pure stage” does not eliminate racism and sexism as a sign of backwardness and primitivism, but on the contrary, capitalism needs racism to perpetuate itself. Its roots are so deep that it builds, in addition to objective conditions, subjective conditions based on racism, mainly from the educational system and the mass media, thus creating culturally adapted subjectivities.

Thus, still according to Almeida (2019), capitalism incorporates racism mainly because of two great strategies to guarantee increased production and profit: 1) racism naturalizes the payment of lower wages for racialized groups; 2) it makes white workers more cautious when demanding wage increases, as there is a huge industrial reserve army of workers from minority groups that could quickly replace them.

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Almeida (2019) states that in countries where slavery was present, racism presents itself as one of the pillars of capitalism. Racial inequality is a constitutive element of current capitalist social and economic relations, and of the class relations created by them. In the midst of this socioeconomic system, racial relations are instrumentalized according to the interests of capital, which adapts and reinvents itself in order to co-opt and transform such relations according to its own processes of change and adaptation. In short: to renew itself, capitalism often needs to renew racism.

From these discussions what can be seen is that in the current social, economic and political system built by men and for men, not all of them reap the best fruits. The black man has become, in Brazil and in the West, just a body. And in the world of work, just an instrument, a tool. When we imagine a black man employed, we do not imagine him in positions of command, leadership or performing socially valued professions. And it is this awareness that centuries of racial subordination have produced in us.

And if work can be loaded with discredit, unemployment represents material scarcity and humiliation. The situation becomes aggravating when we refer to the unemployment situation faced by a considerable portion of black men. See in the table below the information prepared by the Employment and Unemployment Survey (PED), in the bulletin “Blacks in the metropolitan labor markets” (2016), in the year 2015:

TABLE 1
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, BY SEX AND RACE/COLOR
METROPOLITAN REGIONS AND FEDERAL DISTRICT - 2015

REGION	SEX AND RACE	
	BLACK MAN	NON-BLACK MAN
DISTRITO FEDERAL	13,2%	11,3%
SALVADOR	17,3%	13,7%
SÃO PAULO	13,7%	11,2%
FORTALEZA	7,8%	7,8%
PORTO ALEGRE(1)	12,8%	7,8%

[1] The city of Porto Alegre draws attention to the large difference between the unemployment rates of blacks and non-blacks, a difference of 4.5 percentage points, even though its population is mostly white.

In times of a pandemic, generated by the Covid-19 virus, unemployment levels have increased a lot, deepening social inequalities of gender and race, however, unemployment rates are more alarming among black men, the most affected by unemployment in this period. . According to data from the Inter-union Department of Statistics and Socioeconomic Studies (DIEESE, 2020), from the first to the second quarter of 2020, the unemployment rate among black men increased from 11.8% to 14.0%; among non-black men, from 8.5% to 9.5%.

Unemployment and the precariousness of work for black men and women can seriously affect family structures and dynamics. Such a situation is capable of generating tensions that are caused by the financial and social instability characteristic of the state of unemployment, which greatly affects the mental health and material conditions of this population. These circumstances of stress and agony can trigger conflicts with the possibility of materializing in fights, insults, estrangement and even domestic aggression (PEREIRA; SANTOS; SILVA, 2019).

In the case of men, much of this is not only due to the tension and stress caused by the inability to materially provide for their children and contribute to the family income, but also because this situation directly affects the affirmation of their masculinity and his ability to be a “capable parent”. These are tensions caused not only by the precarious material conditions in which black men find themselves, but also by the conservation of traditional gender roles that place the responsibility for provision on men.

The situation of unemployment greatly aggravates the condition of subalternity of black masculinities and the way that these men exercise paternity, at the same time that the condition of subalternity of these men, socially instituted, has the power to generate such a situation of unemployment, since that imposes on these individuals unfavorable structural conditions so that they are able to enter the labor market, thus creating and reinforcing their subordinate condition in this aspect of social life. To the black man, who already carries so many stigmas related to vagrancy and laziness, stigmas imposed by a racist social conception and forged by coloniality, such a situation of unemployment undoubtedly generates even more social worthlessness.

According to the analysis by Vale de Almeida (1995), salaried work is directly linked to the idea of “man”. Being a worker carries ambiguous meanings, sometimes it denotes poverty and submission, sometimes respect and masculinity through the “sacrifice” that work denotes. And this is a key issue for the present analysis: despite the conditions of sacrifice that work has always represented for the black man in this country, without work, this man is nothing either.

When inserted in the world of work, black men are overrepresented in positions that demand a lot from the body and sacrificial labor. In 2015, still according to data from PED (2016), we see that a large portion of black men were inserted in the construction sector^[1], representing the racial and gender majority in this sector.

[1] Corresponds to section F of the CNAE 2.0 household which contains the following divisions: construction and incorporation of buildings, works and infrastructure and specialized services for construction.

TABLE 2
EMPLOYED IN THE CONSTRUCTION SECTOR BY SEX AND RACE/COLOR
METROPOLITAN REGIONS AND FEDERAL DISTRICT - 2015

REGION	SEX AND RACE	
	BLACK MAN	NON-BLACK MAN
DISTRITO FEDERAL	10,7%	7,8%
SALVADOR	15,3%	(1)
SÃO PAULO	16,7%	9,5%
FORTALEZA	15,8%	10,1%
PORTO ALEGRE(1)	17,8%	11,2%

(1) The analysis does not support disaggregation for this category

This sector draws attention not because it is where most black men are concentrated[1], but for being the one with the greatest disparity between blacks and non-blacks. A professional occupation that demands so much of the body, a lot of strength and physical resistance, even more so when the worker performs the manual work that comprises the construction. From what has been discussed so far, it is easy to understand why black men are in the majority in this occupation. We must also pay attention to the fact that this research is not disaggregated by professions, but by sectors of economic activities, like most statistical research produced in the area, in which a disaggregation by gender and race is possible in a combined way. Therefore, we have no way of knowing who are the workers who are performing the unskilled (workers) and manual work and the skilled and specialized workers (architects and engineers).

When we refer to the degree of qualification and specialization of black men, mainly through higher education, despite gradually increasing in recent decades, it is still much lower than that of white men and even that of black women. According to data from the 2010 IBGE census, 27.7% of white men attended undergraduate courses, while only 14.6% of black men did so. Black men are the ones who go through colleges and universities the least, with black women making up a total of 20.7%, and white women, the majority at higher levels, representing 35.3%. It is known that schooling is one of the most important avenues for the skilled labor market, so how can we expect black men to reach jobs that require intellectual performance, if they are not guaranteed the possibility of reaching higher education?

[1] According to the same study by PED (2016), in 2015 most black men were working in the service sector.

In addition to the low access to higher levels of education, what can also be observed is an underutilization of black labor with higher education in job vacancies that require such a level of education, the so-called over-educated. According to data prepared by IDados based on the continuous PNAD for the first quarter of 2020, among black men, 37.9% of those with a higher education degree worked in positions that did not require this degree, this percentage is 29.6 % among white men. One of the explanations for this fact is based purely on racism, many stereotypes related to the black man's lack of rationality, conceiving him as incapable of performing intellectual work, can affect this reality, making even those who reach higher levels of education not have their intellectuality taken advantage of by the job market.

It is relevant to present a previous research, which shows through specific disaggregation's we bring in this article, when we refer to the subalternity of the black man in the scope of work in Brazil. According to data from the "Map of the black population in the labor market in Brazil" (1999), prepared by DIEESE for the year 1998, there was a large portion of economically active black men in the main metropolises of the country concentrated in the area of general services such as garbage men, servants, janitors, domestic servants and etc.

There is a considerable difference between black and non-black men in this occupation group. On the other hand, the contingent of black men in management and planning occupation groups, compared to non-black men in the same occupation, was very discrepant, weighing negatively for black men.

TABLE 3
ACTIVE IN THE MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING OCCUPATION GROUP BY
SEX AND RACE/COLOR
METROPOLITAN REGIONS AND FEDERAL DISTRICT - 1998

REGION	SEX AND RACE	
	BLACK MAN	NON-BLACK MAN
DISTRITO FEDERAL	17,3%	28,5%
SALVADOR	9,2%	31,6%
SÃO PAULO	6,6%	23,6%
RECIFE	9,0%	19,3%
BELO HORIZONTE	9,9%	24,3%
PORTO ALEGRE	6,6%	20,2%

The fact that more than twenty years later we are still problematizing the issue of black men being, in a very unimpressive way, in positions of direction and planning is very significant. If we pay attention to the great difference between black men and non-black men, we will be able to see in an even more alarming way the social chasm that exists between these men. When the problem of gender inequality in the labor market is invoked — evidently legitimately — it is also necessary to pay attention to racial aspects, privileging an intersectional analysis, since male privileges, in this environment, are not equally distributed among men.

TABLE 4
ASSETS IN THE GENERAL SERVICES OCCUPATION GROUP BY SEX
AND RACE/COLOR
METROPOLITAN REGIONS AND FEDERAL DISTRICT - 1998

REGION	SEX AND RACE BLACK MAN	NON-BLACK MAN
DISTRITO FEDERAL	6,1%	4,0%
SALVADOR	9,8%	4,6%
SÃO PAULO	6,1%	4,3%
RECIFE	7,0%	5,2%
BELO HORIZONTE	5,4%	3,8%
PORTO ALEGRE	(1)	2,8%

(1) The analysis does not support disaggregation for this category. The relevance of bringing these data from more than two decades ago, which may seem so outdated, represents something in itself: the lack of updated statistical data, which have a well-defined and widely applied racial cut, that help in understanding who the black Brazilian population is, understanding that their social conditions are differentiated from different categories of inequality, such as gender, social class. Such statistical erasure can lead us to social blindness, which negatively interferes in the production of public policies that meet the specificities generated by the different inequalities that cross these individuals

It is known that the Brazilian political, social and economic context has changed since 1998, the year that refers to the last-mentioned research. But have we suffered such drastic changes in terms of racial inequalities in the labor market? The black population, both men and women, are the majority in menial jobs and this fact is widely verified. The relevance of the research mentioned above is to demonstrate that among men, blacks are mostly in jobs of greater social worthlessness. In Brazil, cleaning, garbage collection, janitorial work and domestic work, which are part of general services, are considered some of the most degrading, humiliating and devalued, second only to prostitution. And in them the blacks are the confirmed majority, it has always been that way, and it still is.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS:

Wage inequality in Brazil, analyzed from a racial cut, becomes more complex than if we analyze only through gender cut (which is not to say that gender does not have a very significant weight in the inequalities that cut the market of work), and the situation becomes even more aggravating and complex when there is the intersection of race and gender. According to data from the IBGE (2019), in 2018 we saw the salary highlight of white men over other population groups, compared to black women, they present the greatest salary gap, a ratio of 44.4%. The second group with the greatest advantage is that of white women who, compared to black women, have an income ratio of 58.6% and, compared to black men, 74.1%. Black men, on the other hand, have higher incomes only than black women, a ratio of 79.1%.

Such a reality presented here can reflect a lot on the self-construction of black men. On them are the stigmas and stereotypes of servitude, subalternity, irrationality, animality, violence and dependence. There are very low expectations for black and poor men in relation to how they will lead their professional lives, how they will earn the respect of society as men. It is intrinsic to being a “man” to be a “worker” and the more value you have as a worker, the more value you have as a man.

If material and working conditions influence the process of constructing men's masculinities so much, and such masculinities directly influence the constitution of paternity, the same ruler that is used to measure white paternity cannot measure black paternity. Unemployment plagues the black man, so how can you guarantee the family provision for your children? Unqualified and subaltern jobs are reserved for black men, what value do these men have in a capitalist society where professional occupation defines who you are? The black man is at a wage disadvantage in relation to white men and women, this aspect and many others say a lot about his class and race condition and, unfortunately, the situation is quite negative. All these elements of frustration and disappointment in relation to their possibilities of conquering and maintaining a professional life, difficulties that are mainly due to the racist character of the current socioeconomic system, mark the subjectivity of the black man and end up doubling the weight of the responsibilities that he has. can assume as manager of family life (PEREIRA; SANTOS; SILVA, 2019).

RECOMMENDATIONS:

In view of what has been discussed, some recommendations are proposed here to guide us towards a path that intends to make the material conditions in the labor market of the black man/father more just and egalitarian:

1. Reinforce the implementation of racial quotas in public universities, in addition to measures that guarantee the permanence of freshmen in these universities, such as: a) financial aid, food and transportation for black and/or low-income students; b) public universities must offer flexible disciplinary timetables, which allow students to concentrate the subjects in only one period of the day, so that it is possible to work and/or take care of children in other periods, without prejudice to training.
2. Wide implementation of racial quotas in the labor market beyond the public service, but also in the private sphere.
3. Financial assistance of a minimum wage paid by the government for unemployed men and women.
4. Discussion and reception groups for black fathers in schools, universities, and workplaces, which discuss beyond fatherhood, black masculinities and their specificities in an intersectional way.
5. Promotion of discussions and activities with racial, gender and class themes in an intersectional way in educational and workspaces, not only for groups affected by such inequalities, but for everyone.
6. Insertion and expansion of the racial and gender debate related to the labor market in the actions, activities and discussions, raised by Civil Society Organizations, within the scope of the development of their projects.
7. Inclusion of a racial and gender perspective in the foundations of the Young Apprentice Program and other learning programs that promote measures, such as: the implementation of racial quotas with companies that hire young people participating in the program.

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DIVERSE BLACK FATHERHOODS: INTERSECTIONALITY AS A PREMISE

ISMAEL DOS ANJOS

When boys talk about themselves, talk about the world, talk about what the world told them, the world shows an image to them, the world screams in their ears and the world touches them. Perhaps the most told story in the world is how our brother made his death a life to follow and we live in our older brother's shadow. But the son is not the only one to be mirrored, the images turned the mother into a sacred symbol of the one who cares, who welcomes and who cries over the body even after death. And what does the world scream? He cries out for the Father, an omnipresent being, but never physically, which creates an effect of crying out to Him, or even if avoided, He surrounds all narratives.

So the boys give back the touch of the world in an equivalent way, they create a symbol boy, ready to die at the hands of the system, a mother ready to cry for him and a father who is talked about a lot but is not present.[1]

Urged to write the chapter dedicated to diversities in this Report, two preponderant risks crossed me even before accepting the invitation or committing to writing.

The challenge of finding substantial data that make up the racial profile of paternity has certainly already been described in other articles in this dossier, but it increases when, by definition, the enterprise is to segment the collective of black fathers into even more underrepresented or invisible groups. in academic, organizational, or state research. The second obstacle, more subjective, but no less present, is the need to escape the eminently utilitarian definitions that private institutions have made when appropriating the theme of diversity.

The premise established for this text, therefore, is not to segment paternity into inclusion boxes, namely: black paternity, sexual orientation and gender identity; early black paternity, in adolescence; black parenting with disabilities; quilombola paternity; and, still, black paternity, prison system and incarceration. Addressing, succinctly and consecutively, fields as particular as these would result in insufficiency. If not for the lack of numbers, certainly for the absence of the richness that multiple voices, in the first person, of authors who experience each of these social loci, could provide.

[1] “À sua imagem e semelhança”. In: Masculinidade Quebrada - memórias de um processo com meninos. FRANCISCA, Elânia; EMÍDIO, Belchior Divina; CRISTIANO, Rafael. 1ª edição. Multifoco, 2020. p. 65.

Throughout this article, I will articulate that the exercise of black parenthood in a society that kills us physically, affectively and symbolically is not reserved for black people. In the same way, I understand that it would not suit us to develop a unique black-Brazilian paternity, which maintains a place of domination correlated with what is hegemonic. Intersectionality needs to be a constituent premise in a perspective of autonomous construction of black paternity in Brazil.

FROM DISSIMILARITY TO THE NEED FOR AUTONOMY

In its myriad of facets, reiterated racism historically limits any emancipatory prospects for black people. When we specifically reflect on paths for black masculinities, we must first understand that hegemonic masculinity is eminently built around an inextricable ideal of whiteness, which is cisgender, heteropatriarchal, Eurocentric and affluent. In Jewkes and Morrell's definition, hegemonic masculinity is: (...) a set of values, established by men in power that works to include and exclude, and to organize society in unequal ways based on gender. It combines several characteristics: a hierarchy of masculinities, men's differential access to power (over women and other men), and the combination of men's identities, men's ideals, interactions, power and patriarchy. (JEWKES and MORRELL, 2012, p. 40. Author's translation)[1]

The concept unfolds in factual terms when we look at the numbers that consistently surround the debates on masculinity from the perspective of racial cuts. When speaking of man as a gender in power, by way of example, the simple use of the noun in the singular makes an effort capable of covering up the differences in the social hierarchy.

Who does it serve to fail to highlight this subalternization? Just the cordially racist maintenance of those who are – because they never stopped being – the top of the pyramid. Before delving into the impacts of this system on paternity, it is necessary to highlight some of these numbers.

[1] JEWKES, Rachel. MORRELL, Robert. Sexuality and the Limits of Agency among South African Teenage Women: Theorising Femininities and Their Connections to HIV Risk Practices. Social Science & Medicine. 2012;74(11):1729–1737. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.05.020. [PMC free article] [PubMed] [CrossRef] [Google Scholar]

[2] . FILGUEIRAS, Isabel. “Qual a diferença entre ser mulher negra e homem branco na hora de investir?” Valor Investe, 2020. Available in: <<https://valorinveste.globo.com/mercados/brasil-e-politica/noticia/2020/01/24/qual-a-diferenca-entre-ser-mulher-negra-e-homem-branco-na-hora-de-investir.ghml>>. Accessed in: 12 of march, 2021

Although we are approximately 56% of the Brazilian population, according to the IBGE's continuous PNAD, black people occupy only 29.9% of managerial positions. Black workers earn, on average, R\$10.1 per hour worked in Brazil. Among whites, the value is R\$17/hour — in the average Brazilian income distribution, white women are above black men, with an average income of R\$2,379 against R\$1,762[1]. The disparity is also highlighted among the poor. Among the Brazilian population below the poverty line established by the World Bank, which is US\$ 1.90 per day, there are 8.8% of black people, in contrast to 3.6% of the white population..[2]

The abyss is still evident between the data on access to education. Specifically among black men, those over 25 years of age and with higher education account for only 6% of the contingent of this population. Among white men, it is 18%. And to rule out any shallow analysis that attributes the financial distance explained above only to educational qualifications, even when analyzing only graduates of higher education, the split is repeated. The same survey showed that black men earn, on average, 29% less than white men.

Going beyond pecuniary data, it is impossible to distance the experience of Brazilian blackness from what Achille Mbembe calls necropolitics. If “the ultimate expression of sovereignty resides, to a large extent, in the power and ability to dictate who can live and who must die”[3], the exercise of body control by the Brazilian State is exercised primarily over the bodies of black men.

Between 2008 and 2018, the homicide rate of non-black individuals decreased by 12.9% in our country, according to data from the 2020 Atlas of Violence. In the same period, the rate among the black population rose by 11.5%. In 2018, 75.7% of homicide victims in Brazil were black people, and the risk of a black man being murdered in Brazil is statistically 74% higher than that of a white man.[4] The UN denounced, in 2017, that every 23 minutes, 1 young black man between the ages of 15 and 29 is murdered in Brazil. There are 63 deaths a day. [5].

[1] . FILGUEIRAS, Isabel. “Qual a diferença entre ser mulher negra e homem branco na hora de investir?” Valor Investe, 2020. Available in: <<https://valorinveste.globo.com/mercados/brasil-e-politica/noticia/2020/01/24/qual-a-diferenca-entre-ser-mulher-negra-e-homem-branco-na-hora-de-investir.ghtml>>. Accessed in: 12 of march, 2021.

[2] “Trabalhador branco ganha por hora 68% mais que pretos e pardos, mostra IBGE”. G1, 2019. Available in: <<https://g1.globo.com/economia/noticia/2019/11/13/trabalhador-negro-ganha-por-hora-59percent-do-rendimento-do-trabalhador-branco-mostra-ibge.ghtml>>. Accessed in: 13 of march, 2021.

[3] MBEMBE, Achille. “Necropolítica”. 5ª edição. São Paulo: n-1 edições, 2018.

[4] VASCONCELOS, Caê. “Homicídios de pessoas negras aumentaram 11,5% em onze anos; os dos demais caíram 13%”. Ponte Jornalismo, 2020. Available in: <<https://ponte.org/homicidios-de-pessoas-negras-aumentaram-115-em-onze-anos-os-dos-demaix-cairam-13/>>. Accessed on: March 13, 2021.

[5] MARQUES, Marília. “‘A cada 23 minutos, um jovem negro morre no Brasil’, diz ONU ao lançar campanha contra violência”. G1, 2017. Available in: <<https://g1.globo.com/distrito-federal/noticia/a-cada-23-minutos-um-jovem-negro-morre-no-brasil-diz-onu-ao-lancar-campanha-contra-violencia.ghtml>>. Accessed on: March 13, 2021.

As co-founder of the civil society organization Instituto de Defesa da População Negra (IDPN) — established for the full exercise of the right to defend citizenship, respect and dignity of the black population and racial equity in legal careers — I denounce, with special attention, the mass incarceration project of black and brown youth. The Brazilian prison population is 63.7% black[1], proportionately above the presence of this population in the social fabric.

When the current model of public security does not murder black men and women, they are arrested on charges of flagrante delicto. According to the 2019 Report of the Public Defender's Office of Rio de Janeiro, eight out of ten people arrested in the act in Rio de Janeiro are black.[2]. According to a survey by the same Public Defender's Office of the State of Rio de Janeiro, 49% of black people apprehended are released after custody hearings, compared to 42% among white people [3].

The legal institutionalization of racism is not unique to Rio de Janeiro either. A survey carried out by Pública in 2017, with data from the São Paulo Court of Justice, analyzed more than 4,000 sentences linked to drug legislation[4]. It found that 71% of blacks seized with marijuana were convicted of trafficking, compared to 64% of whites.

On average, these black convicts possessed 145 grams of marijuana.

Convicted whites, 1.15 kilograms. When data were separated to assess disqualification for “possession of drugs for personal use”, the difference found was almost 50% in favor of whites.

Even when we move away from the statistics that demonstrate the success of the state's death policies, towards numbers that usually populate the conversation about masculinities, there remains evidence that other forms of violence, including self-inflicted violence, have preponderant racial aspects. Although it is repeated over and over that, on average, men commit between three and four times more suicides in Brazil, there is little evidence that young black people, aged between 10 and 29, make up the main risk group[5]. They are 45% more likely to commit suicide than whites in the same age group, according to the Ministry of Health.

[1] “O encarceramento tem cor, diz especialista”. Conselho Nacional de Justiça, 2017. Available in: <<https://www.cnj.jus.br/o-encarceramento-tem-cor-diz-especialista/>>. Accessed on: March 14, 2021.

[2] “8 em cada 10 presos em flagrante no Rio são negros, diz estudo da Defensoria”. Conjur, 2020. Available in: <<https://www.conjur.com.br/2020-ago-05/cada-10-presos-flagrante-rio-sao-negros-estudo>>. Accessed on: March 14, 2021.

[3] “Relatório 2º Ano Das Audiências De Custódia No Rio De Janeiro”. Defensoria Pública do Rio de Janeiro, 2018. Available in: <<https://defensoria.rj.def.br/uploads/arquivos/c2f0263c194e4f67a218c75cfc9cf67e.pdf>>. Accessed on: March 14, 2021.

[4] DOMENICI, Thiago. BARCELOS, Iuri. “Negros são mais condenados por tráfico e com menos drogas em São Paulo”. Pública, 2019. Available in: <<https://apublica.org/2019/05/negros-sao-mais-condenados-por-trafico-e-com-menos-drogas-em-sao-paulo/>>. Accessed on: March 14, 2021.

[5] FIGUEIREDO, Patrícia. “Índice de suicídio entre jovens e adolescentes negros cresce e é 45% maior do que entre brancos”. G1, 2019. Available in: <<https://g1.globo.com/ciencia-e-saude/noticia/2019/05/21/indice-de-suicidio-entre-jovens-e-adolescentes-negros-cresce-e-e-45percent-maior-do-que-entre-brancos.ghtml>>. Accessed on: March 14, 2021.

If Brazil is considered a violent country, it is necessary to qualify: for whom? And if classical paternity in a patriarchal context is built on exhausted notions of provision and protection, the numbers above show that, in the Brazilian context, black men are unable to guarantee the fullness of either of the two aspects to their offspring.

Returning to the concept of hegemonic masculinity in the light of this finding, I highlight a passage by Veiga (2019), which highlights the limits and contradictions of the current position of black masculinities, subject to what he qualifies as the colonization of existential territories:

The Western masculinity that sustains the violent logic of patriarchy is white. As it is not possible for a black man to stop being black, he negotiates self-preservation and the kidnapper's love, incorporating his moral and behavioral codes, transforming himself into a beta male. This is because, in a society in which white supremacy is defended in countless ways, the alpha male role belongs only to heterosexual white-men who found and refound this system ad infinitum. (VEIGA, 2019, p. 82)[1]

Raewyn Connell, responsible for the conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity in the early 1980s, contributes to understanding how cisgender and heteropatriarchal whiteness acts to maintain this subordination.

Hegemonic masculinity is constructed in relation to women and subordinate masculinities. These other masculinities need not be so clearly defined—indeed, achieving hegemony may consist precisely in preventing alternatives from gaining cultural definition and recognition as alternatives, confining them to ghettos, privacy, inattention. (CONNELL, 2013, p. 186. Author's translation)[2]

Hegemonic masculinity does not contemplate us. It limits us, stigmatizes us and kills us and ours. And if from the Brazilian Black Paternity Report we intend to stimulate alternatives for the full exercise of black-Brazilian paternity, I understand that it is necessary beforehand to challenge the false symmetries related to the masculinity that shadows us, promoting ruptures and the consequent refoundation of what we understand and we practice like father-men. It is hard to rethink and act on coexistence or affection when one is still dealing with the urgent need for survival. Without humanization policy, there is no care policy.

[1] VEIGA, Lucas. “Além de preto é gay: as diásporas da bixa preta”. In: Diálogos Contemporâneos sobre homens negros e masculinidades. RESTIER, Henrique; DE SOUZA, Rolf Malungo (Orgs). 1ª edição. São Paulo: Ciclo Contínuo Editorial, 2019. p.82.

[2] CONNELL, Raewyn. “Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics (English Edition)”. 2013. p.186.

BLACK FATHERHOOD AS A POLITICAL IDENTITY

Some black men exert oppression over other subjects, without being aware of how toxic “fixing themselves” in this model of patriarchal hegemonic masculinity is. This is because this model is institutionalized, it is present in all areas of social life: at home, at work, in schools, businesses and religions; maintaining the primary power of the functions of political leadership, moral authority, social privilege, and property control. Black parents, when present, seem to prepare daughters and sons for a conflict that, over the course of a lifetime, will occur. This forging “warriors” and “warriors” is important in the search for means and ways to take advantage of the few opportunities that arise throughout a lifetime, such as in the professional field or in educational qualification. But it is still a painful process for a black father to realize that there will still be unfair situations for his daughters and sons who, even prepared, will suffer. (PEREIRA, SANTOS and SILVA, 2019, p. 92)[1]

To cross the signs of pain and build a positive agenda, proposed by and for black fathers, brown and black men need to put the achievement of individual goals in the background, favoring the community construction of new meanings. With that in mind, before taking steps towards self-definition, we need to recognize and abdicate the social advantages we seek by energizing the role of patriarch under the hegemonic perspective of the nuclear family.

From physical to emotional care, from education and affection to the desirable balance in the responsibility for household chores, parenting attributions are crossed by markers such as gender identity, sexuality, age, ability, class and many others. Without breaking with places of domination such as, for example, the sexist conception that parental care would primarily be a female assignment, we will continue to witness issues such as the absence of parents' names on birth certificates. The 5.5 million Brazilian children without the father's name on the certificate[2] indicate that, unfortunately, fatherhood is still seen by many men as an option.

[1] PEREIRA, Artur Oriel; SANTOS Hasani Elioterio dos; SILVA, Alexandre da. “Paternidade e Masculinidades Negras Circunscritas Exercícios de autorreflexão emancipatórios”. Cadernos de Gênero e Diversidade, UFBA. Vol 05, N. 02. 2019. p.92.

[2] BASSETE, Fernanda. “No Brasil, 5,5 milhões de crianças não têm pai no registro”. O Estado de São Paulo, 2013. Available in: <<https://brasil.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,no-brasil-5-5-milhoes-de-criancas-nao-tem-pai-no-registro,1062741>>. Accessed on: March 14, 2021.

From the awareness of the cultural policies of difference, we can collectively dedicate ourselves to the gradual production of new identities. And, as bell hooks defends in his works, I believe that in order to save the lives of black boys and men, it is necessary to establish curative alternatives for black masculinities.

Although the gender politics of slavery denied black men the freedom to act as “men” within the definition established by white norms, this notion of masculinity became a standard used to measure the progress of black men. The narratives of Henry “Box” Brown, Josiah Henson, Frederick Douglass, and a host of other black men reveal that they saw ‘freedom’ as that change of status that would enable them to fulfill the role of chivalrous and benevolent patriarch. Free, they would be men capable of providing and caring for their families (...)

Benevolent patriarchs exercise their power without using force. And it was this notion of patriarchy that educated black men coming from slavery to freedom sought to emulate. However, a large majority of black men adopted as a pattern the dominator model established by white slaveholders. When slavery ended, these black men often used violence to dominate black women, which was a repeat of the control strategies used by the slavers. Some newly freed blacks took their wives to the barn to beat them, as the white owner had done. Clearly, by the time slavery ended, patriarchal masculinity had become an ideal accepted by most black men, an ideal that would be reinforced by twentieth-century norms. (Hooks, 2004. Chapter 1, pages 3 and 4)[1]

The racialized perspective of paternity carries with it the traumas and experiences to which our ancestors, including the most recent, were subjected — including the naturalization of absence and, consequently, the lack of responsibility that guides public policies such as Bolsa Família, for example. Yet we Afro-diasporic black men need to aspire to be more than just good patriarchs.

Furthermore, in order to build the political identity of one or multiple black-Brazilian paternity in a way that does not reproduce or emulate what we repudiate, we can listen to and apprehend the production of black women, who have walked community paths for generations. Conceptually proposed by Kimberlé Crenshaw, intersectionality needs to be an inalienable commitment. As Patricia Hill Collins warns, however, it is necessary to adopt intersectionality not only as a theoretical framework, but as a praxis:

[1] hooks, bell. “We Real Cool”. 1ª edição. Nova York: Ruthledge, 2004. Available in: <https://theindigenist.files.wordpress.com/2014/08/we-real-cool_black-men-masculinity-by-bell-hooks.pdf>. Accessed on 16th of March of 2021.

Intersectionality investigates how intersectional power relations influence social relations in societies marked by diversity, as well as everyday individual experiences. As an analytical tool, intersectionality considers that the categories of race, class, gender, sexuality, nationality, ability, ethnicity and age group — among others — are interrelated and mutually affect each other. Intersectionality is a way of understanding and explaining the complexity of the world, people and human experiences.” (COLLINS, BILGE. 2020. p. 337)[1]

Marcelo Zig and Flávia Diniz, who maintains the Quilombo PcD page on the Instagram social network, give practical examples from their experiences:

(...) Even among the frontlines of struggles that partially contemplate us, as, for example, in the black movement, we have our blackness contemplated, but our disability is left out, just as, within the movement of people with disabilities, we have our shortcomings covered, but our blackness is left out, we always get the feeling of a void in fighting environments and @quilombopcd has precisely the function of filling this gap, serving as an environment where black people with disabilities identify themselves and fully experience your “afropcd” intersectionality.[2]

From the practical, theoretical and political possibilities that this concept offers as a constituent element, it is possible to articulate emancipatory processes and struggles, as well as to repair practices that have acted for the accumulation of intra-community oppressions. In his article “Beyond black is gay: the diasporas of the black bixa”, Veiga details the effects of masculinism among members of Brazilian black people.

(...) This black masculinism is toxic, both for heterosexual black men and more for black women and LGBTs who, not only suffering the limitations and violence produced within the white supremacist society in which we live, also suffer from some people of their own people with whom they share racial oppressions, but who cannot be fully trusted and/or trusted, because the difference in gender and sexual orientation makes the straight black man sometimes feel in a superior position in relation to women and LGBTs and, from this position, reproduce violence that suffers as a black body in the world over black bodies that bring other memorized marks besides blackness.

[1] COLLINS, Patricia Hill; BILGE, Sirma. “Interseccionalidade”. 1ª edição. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2020. p. 337.

[2] Available in: <<https://www.instagram.com/p/CL64MNWJ50e/>>. Accessed on: March 15, 2021.

Faced with the compulsory heterosexuality characteristic of Western masculinity and faced with the subjective refusal of homosexual black boys to submit to it - a refusal that at first occurs without their own consent, since it is very common for homosexual black boys to deny or camouflage their sexuality to protect themselves—black gay boys experience diaspora for the second time. The discovery of homosexuality by black boys, which from this moment in the text I will call “bixas pretas”, makes them experience a second diaspora, because it removes them again from the possibility of being integrated and welcomed, but in an even more harmful way, given the that this second barrier to acceptance occurs in their own quilombos, that is, in their family, in their community, and even in the black movements. An impasse is placed in front of bixas pretas: denying their own sexuality and adhering to heteronormative masculinity, to protect themselves and preserve the love of their peers or to affirm their own sexuality and remain unprotected, at the risk of not being accepted in their own space. family of belonging. Any of these choices implies suffering, since in both it is the “affection-diaspora” that appears unfolding in anxiety, resignation or depression. (VEIGA, 2019, p. 83)[1]

The adherence to which Veiga refers concerns the objective and subjective codes that make up masculinities. Built from the first years of life, in a continuous process that goes through childhood and adolescence to adulthood and parenthood, this compulsory ideological paradigm usually has as its basic precept the ideal of virility. Among black boys and men, this takes the form of hypermasculinization. This construction involves “a series of rites in which the boy is led to execrate everything that seems feminine to him, and must manifest himself in a way contrary to everything that is intended for girls (MARIANO, 2020)[2].

These passages that refer to hatred for the feminine unfold in various manifestations, such as alexithymia — difficulty in expressing one's feelings and emotions in words. In the context of fatherhood, they end up shaping the very notion of what it is to be a father. If mothers are compulsorily reserved for leadership in care and affection with daughters and sons, male fathers traditionally distance themselves from these fields.

[1] VEIGA, Lucas. “Além de preto é gay: as diásporas da bixa preta”. Em: Diálogos Contemporâneos sobre homens negros e masculinidades. RESTIER, Henrique; DE SOUZA, Rolf Malungo (Orgs). 1ª edição. São Paulo: Ciclo Contínuo Editorial, 2019. p.83.

[2] MARIANO, Fábio. “Sobre certos homens: masculinidades dissidentes”. Em: Raça e Gênero: discriminações, interseccionalidades e resistências. PIMENTEL, Sílvia; ARAÚJO, Siméia de Mello (Orgs). 1ª edição. São Paulo: EDUC, 2020. p. 249.

A study carried out from March 2015 to December 2017, in two male units of the General Department of Socio-educational Actions of Rio de Janeiro (DEGASE), analyzes the impacts that the father's ideology has on the lives of young people, mostly black, deprived of their liberty. . Regarding paternity itself, the experts heard from the inmates that paternity can be seen as a “reason to get out of drug trafficking or a life of crime, both in young people who are not yet parents, and in those who already are”.

(...) In this sense, an important point in the young people's narratives concerns the responsibility that being a father implies, bringing to light the male performativities exercised in the fact of 'assuming' fatherhood. For example, Adán (16 years old, black), points out:

I know that if I do, I'll have to pay for it, I'll pay for it, I'm a man and I'm going, like, I'm not going to be those guys who sometimes, like, get the woman pregnant, leave the child alone, say it's not his. It's a crazy piece of shit, these guys over there. Then the child is born without a father, the stuff sucks.[1]

This new condition, of procreating, can act as a form of recognition and contribute to the perception of the young man's ascension to the social position of man. Despite this, and often in the absence of social references of another order, the new role is configured more by understanding the social function of provision than by the possibility of building other meanings, such as the construction of sentimental bonds in relation to the child. The researchers called this domain “paternity-flaunting”.

The “paternity-ostentation” far from constituting a fixed territory, presents itself as a way of being a father, of caring, of providing, of thinking about the possible needs and desires of the children. Inscribed in a capitalistic logic, it presents itself as another possibility to show off, both to show off the offspring, and to offer what one would not expect from someone of their social class and level of education. What overflows, exaggeration, excess, when there is no basics, often, this is one among the many possibilities of parenting. Seeking the proliferation of meanings of being a man and being a father in the affirmation of power of life, of experimentation of singularities and existential territories is our challenge[2].

[1] HERNÁNDEZ, Jimena de Garay; UZIEL, Anna Paula; NASCIMENTO, Marcos Antonio Ferreira do; PINHO, Gabriela Salomão Alves. “Sentidos e práticas de paternidade: vozes de homens jovens em privação de liberdade”. 2018. Polis, 2018. Available in: <<https://journals.openedition.org/polis/15501#authors>>. Accessed on: March 15, 2021.

[2] IBID, 22

That last sentence, in particular, demanded my attention. This challenge is not, above all, limited to the young people surveyed. The resumption of conscience is a struggle that demands the delivery of freed or incarcerated black men, cisgender, straight, gay, trans, bisexual, disabled, without disabilities, young or more experienced. It is evident that we have a lot to transform. However, by listening to us and looking carefully, we can pick up good examples.

The body of the pregnant man is a body that is doubly re-signified, for being trans and being pregnant. It's more difficult for a trans man to get pregnant, because socially, it's the woman who gets pregnant. But I understand that the body is the one who gets pregnant. And that being a man or a woman is not linked to the genital or physiological issue, it is linked to identity. Therefore, the fact that a trans man becomes pregnant will not make him stop being a man because of it. On the contrary, he needs to be very male to get pregnant. It's just a biological and physiological condition that the trans man's body allows. In some cases, like Thomas in the US, he needed to stop testosterone. And in others he will no longer be able to because of the effects of hormones on Organs reproductive organs. (Interview with Leonardo Peçanha to Portal Geledés, 2015)[1].

I believe, therefore, that when we undertake actions such as this Report itself, we cease to live and propagate our counter-identities, while we launch ourselves towards the creation of one or more autonomous political identities for our paternity. In his "Getting out of the big night: an essay on decolonized Africa", Achille Mbembe explains that the invocation of race in the colonial context is about dissimilarity. When we settle down as black men and fathers, we walk in the opposite direction. And, most importantly, in spite of those who have tried and are trying to decimate us, with ours.

[1] "Homem trans negro, Leonardo Peçanha diz: 'Deixei de ser objeto para ser ameaça'". Portal Geledés, 2015. Available in: <<https://www.geledes.org.br/homem-trans-negro-leonardo-pecanha-diz-deixei-de-ser-objeto-para-ser-ameaca/>>. Accessed on: March 10, 2021.

DOMESTIC WORK AND THE PANDEMIC: FAMILY TENSIONS IN A SOCIETY OF INEQUALITIES

TAMIS PORFÍRIO
VIVIANA SANTIAGO

1. PANDEMIC AND SOCIAL GENDER ROLES: TENSIONS IN THE FAMILY DIVISION OF DOMESTIC WORK

When we refer to gender relations, from a feminist perspective, what cannot be overlooked is the unequal character that these relations assume in society. In a broad sense, men and women are involved in a complex power game, in which not only does gender tilt favorably to one side, but race and class also influence this “game”.

The social markers of race, gender and class can produce different forms of oppression and power in the social structure. However, when it comes to the family division of reproductive work, the gender discussion should lean towards the labor discussions. After all, reproductive work must be recognized as work in fact, and not devalued for, a priori (and from a somewhat shallow discussion), not producing profit. What we perceive with the advent of the pandemic caused by Covid-19 and the consequent reclusion of many families in their homes is the intensification of the tension that involves the division of domestic work and care for the dependent population. This division, at first, had to be reorganized between the adults of the house and those who are able to perform such tasks.

Among middle/upper class families, consistent of mostly white Brazilians, who outsourced domestic work to paid domestic workers, most of them black women, the greatest difficulty was organizing and dividing such tasks among the inhabitants of the house, since many domestic workers were laid off or chose to leave their jobs due to the health crisis. According to IBGE data, in the first three months of the quarantine, in the year 2020, there was an 11.8% drop in the number of domestic workers, 727 thousand people lost or left their jobs in this activity.

According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), Brazil is the country with the largest population of domestic workers in the world in absolute numbers. According to IBGE data, in 2018, the number of domestic workers (maids, nannies, caregivers, gardeners and drivers) reached 6.2 million, of which 92% (5.7 million) were women, of these, 3.9 million were black. These workers have low schooling with an average of approximately 8 years of study (IBGE/PNADC, 2018), precarious salary conditions and a low rate of formalization[1].

[1] According to data from the IBGE/PNADC, in 2018, 30.8% of white domestic workers had a formal contract, while only 27.5% of black domestic workers were formally employed.

Such a massive presence of black women can be explained by the slaveholding past and the way in which slavery and post-abolition took place in Brazil. Brazil was the last country in the world to formally abolish slavery, it was also the country with the largest slave trade, which made the cost of enslaved people here relatively low, giving conditions even for people of small possessions to acquire slaves. After abolition, most of the domestic slaves continued in the houses as servants, exercising unpaid work in exchange for housing, which also set the tone for the organization of the category in Brazil: the naturalization of domestic work performed outside the home as something characteristic of black women and also of black girls.

Lélia Gonzalez (1984) traces the historical and social connection between the figure of the housemaid and the black woman by stating that they are inseparably linked by the Brazilian social imaginary. Such an imaginary that is so strongly racist and sexist, rooted in the ideological foundations of slavery. These factors are capable of instituting the objectification of the image of these women, as well as those who are naturally able to serve, care, subjugate themselves, give up the ability to think rationally and perform subordinate and devalued work, since their image and their person are directly linked. Black enslaved people were animalized and considered inferior in broad senses, among them, ontologically and socially. According to the author, whether this is her profession or not, a black woman will always be seen as a maid.

As for the domestic worker, she is nothing more than the permitted maid, the one who provides goods and services, that is, the workhorse that carries her family and that of others on her back. Hence, it is the opposite side of exaltation because it is in everyday life. And it is in this daily life that we can see that we are seen as domestic. (GONZALEZ, 1984, p.230).

If employing a domestic worker can alleviate the tensions generated by the problem of the family division of activities related to the home, a work that, when paid, is socially naturalized as that performed by black women. Not being able to have such services was not the only factor responsible for the aggravation of family tensions during the pandemic. The considerable increase in childcare work, from the interruption of day care centers and classes in schools, also proved to be a major problem when we refer to the overload of housework and care. The time that children spent in schools began to be spent in their homes, and those responsible for these same children took on the role of auxiliary educators with the advent of online classes for all school levels. In addition to the fact that having children at home for longer means a considerable increase in the demand for housework.

Among low-income communities, who are in majority composed of black families that could never afford to hire domestic work for their homes, tensions also revolved around the divisions of domestic work, childcare, and educational assistance. But with an aggravating factor, a high rate of students from schools that taught online classes did not have a computer, cell phone or even the internet so that they could participate in these classes and, in addition, not all students had guardians or someone who could accompany them and assist in online pedagogical activities.

In addition to all these issues, many of the poor men and women have had to deal with unemployment and reduced incomes during the pandemic. According to the IBGE, at the beginning of 2020, in the month of February, before the quarantine, the unemployment rate was 11.6%. In November of the same year, during the pandemic, this rate was 14%. In times like these, inequalities deepen and with gender inequalities it would be no different.

During the pandemic, in the year 2020, Semper Viva Organização Feminista and the periodical *Gênero e Número*, launched a dossier entitled “Non-stop: the work and life of women in the pandemic”. The research focused on the dimensions of work, income, financial support, domestic work and unpaid care work carried out by women inside the houses. The survey found that among women responsible for caring for someone else, 57% of them were responsible for children up to 12 years old and, in addition, 6.4% of them also claimed to be responsible for other children in addition to their daughters and sons. Most of these women are black, 60% of them, which calls our attention to the fact that many of these women live with extended families and in a different community dynamic, being responsible for nieces, nephews, and children from the neighborhood.

Also, according to the dossier, when asked about the support they receive for performing these care tasks, 42% of women perform it without the support of people outside the family nucleus. Of these contingent, black women were the majority in responding that they received less external support, 54% of the respondents, and when they receive it in most cases it would be from family members and people in the neighborhood. Only 12% of the interviewees delegated the care work to public or private institutions, of this contingent, 52.4% were white women. 15% of the women interviewed hired someone to take care of their dependents, among these, 56% were white women.

In today's society, labor relations are divided between productive work (salaried and producer of capital gain) and domestic work (caring, cooking, washing, cleaning, tidying, etc.). There is a hierarchical order in which men are seen as naturally able to perform productive work in the public space, work recognized as having considerable social value. Performed by women in a kind of “natural order of things” is the Domestic work, a devalued work and, because it is “female”, considered of lesser importance. Such a social division of labor based on sex/gender is called the sexual division of labor (HIRATA & KERGOAT, 2007; KERGOAT, 2009).

This structure built between “provider” (man) and “caregiver” (woman) was greatly shaken, especially in the first months of quarantine when care needs intensified, and provisioning capacities were threatened. According to the study “Portrait of gender and race inequalities in Brazil in 2014” (IPEA, 2014), in terms of inequalities in relation to the division of domestic labor, gender issues stand out over race issues. Regarding black men, what is observed is the same behavior and sexist ideas of white men, who consider the woman's responsibility to organize and perform care and domestic work. And this is not to say that black and white men do not also do domestic work, but rather that they do much less. They opt for some domestic work considered “more masculine” and consider that the role of managing the house and its tasks is a female responsibility.

2. CONCILIATION OR CONTRADICTION?

DOMESTIC WORK FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF INEQUALITIES

The research launched in 2017, “Division of domestic work and its interfaces with gender and race in the State of Rio de Janeiro”, by José Alves, Angelita Carvalho and Maira Cuvre-Sussai, although it was not carried out in 2020 during the pandemic, but data from the years of 2012 and 2014, tells us a lot about the Brazilian social conception in relation to the family division of domestic work. We can say that this is one of the only Brazilian surveys that talks about the use of weekly time by members of a house dedicated to domestic work with a racial and gender approach.

From the aforementioned research, it is possible to observe that black women are the ones who spend the most time in unpaid domestic work, and this difference between white and black women seems to be increasing in recent decades.[1] Just as black men tend to spend slightly more time on unpaid domestic work than white men. Much of this is due to class issues, since black men and women are not located in the social groups of people who have the financial conditions to hire domestic workers. (ALVES; CARVALHO; COVRE-SUSSAI, 2017).

What is observed according to this research is that in 2012, when black men were heads of households, they devoted, on average, 11.7 hours to housework and when they were in the position of spouse, 10.2 hours. On the other hand, white men, when in the position of head of family, dedicated themselves to housework, on average, 11.1 hours, and when they were in the position of spouse, 10.1 hours. In the case of these men, both among whites and among blacks, the time devoted to housework does not vary as much, nor does it vary much when they are heads of the family or as spouses, on average, a variation of 1.5 hours. There is not much interference for men in the family position they occupy and in the time they dedicate to housework.

A very different situation is observed in the case of women, in the same year, among black women, when they were heads of families, they dedicated an average of 26.0 hours per week to domestic work, whereas when they were spouses, they dedicated, on average, 26.0 hours per week. 29.8 hours. Among white women, when heads of family they used to dedicate, on average, 24.4 hours per week, and when spouses, 28.0 hours. What can be seen is that among female heads of households there is a difference of 1.6 hours per week between blacks and whites, and among women who are in the position of spouses there is a difference of 1.8 hours per week between blacks and whites.

[1] It is important, however, that the average number of hours spent by women in reproductive work has been falling over time, regardless of race, from close to 30 hours per week to 25 hours per week. (ALVES; CARVALHO; COVRE-SUSSAI, 2017).

For women, both white and black, the accumulation of productive and domestic work is visible when we look at the enormous amount of time spent on housework, even when they are heads of the family, compared to the time spent on housework by their partners in the same position, a situation that worsens even more when they are in the position of a spouse. What is observed is that women's entry into the labor market in no way "freed" them from the home and all the domestic work that accompanies it, but made them overloaded with two types of work (FEDERICI, 2019).

This situation is even more aggravated in the case of black women, who, for the most part, are unable to pay for this work to be performed by other women. These women, black domestic workers, who would also accumulate the domestic work of their own homes and the homes in which they work. In other words, a vicious circle of work accumulation that is found, mainly, on the backs of black and/or poor women that could only be resolved if the State (producing public policies); the market (understanding that workers need time and conditions for family care and reproduction); and the family (dividing the housework equally) to assume that the responsibility for reproduction is not just women's, but society as a whole (BATTHYANÝ, 2015; CAMARO, 2010; GAMA, 2014; HIRATA & KERGOAT, 2007).

Regarding the care of children under 10 years of age, according to the same survey, in 2014, black men said that they devoted, on average, 23.0 hours per week to this type of care, while brown men dedicated 17.7 hours. Among white men, dedication to the care of minor children was 21.1 hours on average. Among black women, what was seen was an average of 36.1 hours of care a week for their children under 10 years of age, while among brown women this average rose to 38.7 hours. Among white women, the average weekly hours spent on this type of care work was 36.1.

The discrepancy between the sexes in relation to the time dedicated to childcare is very large, reaching a difference of 21 hours if we compare brown men and women, who, respectively, have fewer hours of childcare and more hours of care for children under 10 years old. Such data draw attention to issues involving black paternity. These data were not produced based on class disaggregation, but one of the hypotheses for the so reduced time of caring for children, in addition to the traditional gender conventions in which caring is the role of women, we can point out the fact that the population of Black women in Brazil need to accumulate more hours of work so that they can materially meet the needs of their families.

According to the authors of the research, men tend to declare that they do more housework and care work than their partners say they actually do. That is, men tend to overestimate their domestic work time, while women tend to declare that they perform fewer hours of domestic work than they actually do. This fact may be linked to the naturalization of domestic work for women and the overvaluation of men when performing this type of work, which according to traditional social conventions, would not be their "obligation" nor their "natural capabilities".

When referring to the type of domestic work that each sex/gender is more used to performing, we can see in the research that women tend to perform tasks traditionally linked to “female duties”, such as: washing and ironing clothes, cooking and cleaning the house. Men, on the other hand, say they focus more on going to the supermarket, doing the dishes, taking care of family members and doing small repairs. Therefore, it is clear that even the low amount of hours spent by men with housework, compared to the amount of hours spent by women, what they do most are “acceptable” jobs, for their socially constructed images of men. Even practicing some of these tasks fulfills a role of affirmation of their masculinities, such as, for example, doing small repairs.

Still referring to the aforementioned survey, if we turn to the opinion poll carried out by the authors, referring to the year 2014, in which they ask whether black and white men and women agree with the following sentence : “A man's job is to earn money, a woman's job is to take care of the house”, it is interesting to observe the response of men who totally or partially agree with this statement: 31.5% of white men; 51.9% of black men; and 33.9% of brown men. According to the authors, it is observed that there is a racial component in the perceptions of gender roles between men and women, although the results do not take into account variables such as education and income.

Based on the study presented here, the dynamics of the sexual division of labor within households and the inequalities based on sex/gender, race and class (intersectionally) experienced within families are perceptible. Although hourly accounting has somewhat subjective components — from the moment the research participants themselves declared the amount of hours spent on each activity, several factors affect this perception. However, what we wanted from the use of this study was to give a more tangible and quantitative notion about gender inequalities in the scope of domestic work that, many times, can remain in the field of abstract discussion and that, due to the conditions experienced in a period of quarantine, generated by the pandemic of the new Corona virus, we could see it emerge with such force.

3. DOMESTIC WORK, GIRLS AND THE RIGHT TO STUDY

According to the report “Living in Lockdown – Girls and the Covid-19 Pandemic”, prepared by the organization Plan International, at the end of March 2020, about 743 million girls were already out of school and worldwide. Reports of domestic violence are already on the rise. Teenage pregnancy is also likely to increase as teenage girls are sexually exploited and forced to resort to risky strategies to feed themselves and their families. Based on an analysis of evidence collected during other pandemics and epidemics, the organization emphasizes the importance of being aware of the risks experienced by girls and women, due to the increase in domestic work.

Girls in a patriarchal society are often understood as miniature women. It is common for society to determine that many of the social places and social roles played by adult women are also occupied and represented by girls, and in this sense, domestic work, understood as something inherent to the female nature, is immediately demanded of girls.

According to an article by Maria Ignez Costa Moreira, “Gender, Child Labor and Girls’ Housework: evident connections”, part of the collection “Ser Menina no Brasil Contemporâneo”, 75% of girls dedicate themselves to household chores after school hours, were heard girls from 6 to 14 years old: the youngest do tasks considered lighter, such as setting the table and making the bed, and the older ones, from 11 years old, do activities such as cooking and ironing and, in this gradation, they are still in childhood and adolescence, taking care of all the housework. As a result, girls live a double journey: study and housework that directly affects their leisure time, 3 out of 5 girls reveal that they would like to have more time for leisure.

According to research[1] According to the National Forum against the Elimination of Child Labor, “domestic child labor is any continued provision of services, whether paid or not, performed by a person under the age of 18 years, for third parties or for their own family.” These are activities that, even carried out within the home, violate the rights of children and adolescents to life, health, education, play, leisure, and also cause damage that compromises their full physical, psychological, cognitive and moral development. It is, therefore, all activities that require responsibility, hours of work, inadequate physical effort for children and/or adolescents, beings in a peculiar condition of development. It should also be said that domestic child labor, in Brazil, is on the list of the Worst Forms of Child Labor, according to the Decree No. 6,481, 06/12/2008.

According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), based on data from the IBGE/PNAD 2015, it was found that in Brazil, child labor is a predominantly male phenomenon, 59% of employed children and adolescents between 5 and 17 years of age , are boys. However, with regard to domestic child labor, in 2013, 94.2% of employed children and adolescents were girls between 5 and 17 years of age, the majority being black.[2].

With the advent of the pandemic, it is believed that there has been an increase in the engagement of girls, especially the poorest and public school students, in the domestic work agenda. In conversation circles throughout Brazil, the girls claim that the need to take care of younger siblings, help mothers with housework and, often, take care of sick people, directly affected their lower availability to attend online classes. Many of these girls, already with precarious access to education, found themselves facing greater barriers at this time and the pandemic continues to impact their biopsychosocial development and naturalize their presence in the care agenda.

[1] DOMESTIC CHILD LABOR IN BRAZIL Assessment based on Pnad/IBGE microdata (2008-2011)* Realized: National Forum for the Prevention and Eradication of Child Labor - FNPETI Support: Telefônica Foundation/Vivo Public Ministry of Labor Brasília, June 2013.

[2] CHILD LABOR AND DOMESTIC CHILD LABOR IN BRAZIL. Evaluation based on microdata from Pnad/IBGE (2012-2013). National Forum for the Prevention and Eradication of Child Labor - FNPETI Support PLAN International Brasília, October 2015.

4. PANDEMIC AND BLACK FATHERHOOD: ACCESS TO GENDER DISCUSSIONS AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR TRANSFORMING REALITIES

A survey was carried out in early 2021, by Instituto Promundo in partnership with Coletivo Pais Pretos Presentes, based on a questionnaire model carried out online. A small survey aimed at black parents, in which 270 parents voluntarily responded. What we can observe, from this research, are results that deserve our attention. 48.1% of black parents who participated in the survey are between 30 and 39 years old and 27.8% between 40 and 49 years old[1]. As for the level of education, 47.8% of these men have completed higher education, among these, 30% have a graduate degree and 18.9% have incomplete higher education [2]. When we refer to monthly income, most of them declare to receive from 4 to 10 minimum wages, a percentage that corresponds to 31.6%, while 29% declare to have income of up to 2 minimum wages and 25.7% from 2 to 4 minimum wages. The vast majority of these men live in the Southeast of the country, corresponding to 66.3% of them; followed by 14.4% who live in the Northeast; 9.3% in the South; 6.3% living in the Midwest; 1.9% who live in the North and 1.9% who do not live in Brazil.

With this, we realized that the dominant profile that had access to the research is more mature black men over 30 years of age, educated, well-paid and living in the southeast of the country. A very privileged profile, if we compare the reality of most black men in Brazil. Considering this profile and not forgetting to mention that many of these men are part of groups and collectives aimed at supporting and reflecting on black paternity, in total 30% of them. We can therefore say that the answers about the situation of black fathers during the pandemic period, in relation to dedication to domestic and care work, actually represent a very specific portion of these fathers that are not representative of the reality of male fathers. blacks in Brazil.

According to the survey, 47% of participating black parents during the pandemic worked from home; 17% were already or were unemployed during the pandemic; 17% had reduced working time and 18.9% did not have an increase in the amount of time they spent at home during the pandemic, compared to the pre-pandemic period. We can see, then, that 81% of the respondents had more time at home during this period.

When we go back to the time dedicated by these men to housework during the pandemic period, we observe quite unusual data: 44.1% of respondents declared that they dedicate 1 to 2 hours a day to housework; 34.4% declared to dedicate 3 to 4 hours a day and 21.5% of them declared to dedicate 4 to 6 hours a day to housework. In other words, 55.9% of respondents say they dedicate a number of hours much higher than expected, far outside the traditional sexual divisions of domestic work.

[1] 14.8% of black parents who participated in the survey were over 50 years old and 9.3% were between 18 and 29 years old.

[2] 14.8% of respondents had completed high school; 5.6% had not completed high school; 1.9% had incomplete primary education and 1.1% had completed primary education.

Factors such as the greater amount of hours spent at home may influence these results, but not only that, as these black parents could, even so, dedicate themselves very little to housework, and a considerable portion of the respondents actually do so, 44, 1% of black parents reported performing housework for a short period of time, 1 to 2 hours daily. However, factors such as a high level of education, access to discussions regarding gender, race and class inequalities can greatly influence the fact that most respondents dedicate an amount of time to housework that is well above average. We will address this issue further below.

When we go back to caring for their children, what we see is alarming, 46.3% of black parents participating in the survey say they dedicate 4 to 6 hours a day to caring for them; 27% of them say they dedicate 1 to 2 hours a day and 26.7% say they dedicate 3 to 4 hours a day. What draws attention is precisely the large amount of hours that most respondents say they dedicate to their children, contradicting the Brazilian social reality surrounded by gender inequalities in which the social role of caring for children is delegated to women.

We cannot forget that, as mentioned earlier in this text, there is a tendency for men to overestimate the time they spend doing care work and housework in their own homes. According to the findings of the authors of the aforementioned research, men usually declare that they do more hours of this type of work than they actually do (ALVES; CARVALHO; COVRE-SUSSAI, 2017).

However, these results also demonstrate something very important, which confirm what has long been said about black people's access to schooling, knowledge and information. As already mentioned, the profile of men who had access to the survey and who answered it is mostly black men who have some advantages due to access to schooling and an above-average monthly income^[1]. Thus, we can highlight here the discussion of how important the democratization of higher levels is and the access to discussions and guidelines that end up influencing the “private and social life” of these men, such as paternity and the family division of domestic work. “Private life” is in quotation marks because we know how much paternity exercised with quality can positively influence the social sphere, building individuals who are more prepared for a healthy social coexistence. In addition to the fact that the family division of domestic work is interesting not only for the couple (when heterosexual) and the family, but also for society, as everyone gains when the woman is not overloaded with the dual function (domestic work and productive work) and can dedicate themselves with more quality to paid and productive work and also carry out domestic work in a more balanced and less exploitative way.

[1] According to IBGE/PNADC data, in 2019 the average number of years of study among the black population was 8.6 years. As for the average salary, in the second quarter of 2020, black men earned, on average, R\$1,950.00.

Access to schooling, to groups that discuss and support black fatherhood, and access to discussions that address gender inequalities and other discussions that directly and/or indirectly influence these issues in the lives of these men have an enormous potential to positively affect the reality of black men, their families and society in general. Public policies, in this sense, are extremely important, as they take these issues from the individual and private sphere, and ensure that such discussions are accessible to different groups of black men in addition to those who managed to ascend socially through schooling. Expanding thus, a type of discussion that remains so restricted among black men with more favorable class conditions who represent a minority.

It is in the collective interest that black men can exercise their social role as parents with responsibility and quality, and it is also the duty of the State to promote conditions for this to be a reality.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS:

The resumption of the economy in the face of a panorama of insecurities generated by the Covid-19 virus pandemic makes many women and men need, when employed, to resume their occupational activities in the face-to-face modality without actually having a definition regarding the period in which children used to stay in school and started to be excluded from this opportunity, here, the risk of increased domestic child labor or loss of opportunities for women who will not be sure of the care of their daughters and sons is increased. Public care policies must be prioritized, at the risk of increasing the economic insecurity of these women and men and the violation of the rights of children and adolescents.

In the face of a governmental approach to the health crisis that ends up increasing inequalities and that also, explicitly, expands the barriers that exist in the path of women and girls to their fundamental rights, the overload of domestic and care work, which impacts the mental health of girls and women and imposes physical stress on them, in addition to the impact on their productivity, when they combine this work with the home office, possible for some occupations. It is necessary to invest in a narrative that reiterates the importance of care in child development, as well as in the strengthening of paternity ties, which would allow more men to be involved in these tasks.

Recently, the Argentine government decided to establish the care of children performed by women/mothers as time of service to be counted in the pension system, it is believed that the measure will immediately benefit approximately 155 thousand women/mothers between 60 and 64 years old. The importance of this public policy is very significant for the gender equality process, as it recognizes childcare work as a de facto job, and also recognizes gender differences and inequalities in the labor market, which are not usually maintains a position that sees such issues with relevance, maintaining a stance of combating disparities between men and women in this environment. Based on the Argentine government's initiative (accomplished thanks to the struggles of women, of course), one can see the importance of a gender perspective in the elaboration of public policies that actually aim to level social inequalities.

Time for care is not only an individual but also a public responsibility. Issues regarding productive and domestic work must go together, as most women practice both, and it is a goal that most men do as well. Therefore, it is necessary that the public power and the private market acquire a perspective that sees workers not as those who have all their useful time for productive work, but who also have demands for domestic work and care in their homes, needing time to meet such demands. We place here, then, the reduction of the working day as a necessary agenda, not only for individual purposes, but also for social ones. Such an agenda is also very important in the context of a pandemic, as in the face of this situation domestic demands increase significantly.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

The following are some recommendations for action in the face of a situation such as the quarantine generated by a pandemic, in order to remedy such a situation that ends up aggravating social inequalities of gender, race and class:

Maintenance of emergency aid for the unemployed, informal workers and in conditions of social vulnerability during the pandemic, but worth a minimum wage with the possibility of doubling the amount for single mothers.

Implementation of programs to strengthen paternity for workers, both in the private and public sectors.

Implementation of CONANDA's resolution 180, focusing on the gender focus for policies and services for children.

Elaboration and implementation of state and municipal plans for early childhood, with a special focus on promoting parenting, care and paternity.

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BLACK FATHERHOOD AND VIRTUAL QUILOMBOS

HUMBERTO BALTAR

For the better understanding of this chapter, we must first define "virtual quilombos". The term "aquilombamento" has been widely used and its meaning has been reduced to the idea of a gathering of black people. However, not every grouping of black people is a quilombo, since it is possible that black people who reproduce the logic propagated by whiteness also get together. A "quilombo" is understood to be a place of shelter for black people who seek to break with the supremacy and values of whiteness, including machismo, which preaches the superiority of the cis heterosexual white man over all other human beings. An important element of these spaces, be it in-person or virtual, is the concept of active listening. Listening is one of the most fundamental principles of African ancestry, which is heavily based on oral tradition.

SANKOFA, THE RETURN

Because of the structural racism that promotes the erasure of black subjectivities on a daily basis, the situation of black fatherhood in Brazil has become an emergency agenda. It is not possible to address the issue simply as a modality of fatherhood to be discussed in conversation circles or thematic groups, because there is an action or several actions to annihilate all forms of appreciation, cultivation and promotion of African ancestry and its legacy. Even considering only the Brazilian society and culture, and leaving aside its African legacy, when black men seek out fatherhood groups with the intention of exchanging and sharing experiences, it becomes that it is impossible to deeply address the anxieties, dilemmas and longings derived from racial issues.

This happens because for non-blacks, to talk about the racial issue is to talk about racism. The only possible protagonism for the black person in these spaces is when they address the ills and oppressions imposed by racists. Therefore, we conclude that even when Black people talk about race in mixed-race groups, they need to turn the centrality of their discourse to whiteness. This would not be a problem if it resulted in deep discussions about the *modus operandi* of whiteness and a self-evaluation of postures by the white subjects present, but it is not usually what happens. Sharings of this nature usually end in apologies on behalf of all whites and a collective embrace.

The problem with such a common outcome, is that the most urgent issues for the promotion of anti-racism remain untouched even at the micro level among the participants of these groups. Nothing is said about representation, storytelling centered on black characters and written by black authors, dolls and black animation, literature that promotes racial literacy, etc. Speaking from an individual perspective, since the discovery of my paternity in 2018, I've been part of dozens of groups, conversation circles and even national paternity conferences and, to my surprise, in almost all of them the racial issue was only superficially addressed.

If we go back to the beginning of our lives, in our early childhood, we realize how racism is part of a meticulously orchestrated engineering to distance black people from their origins and bring them as close as possible to the values and ideals of whiteness. When we think about the cartoons we watched, the books we read in school and even the classes we took, we realize that there were rarely any black protagonists. Considering that Brazil has the largest black population outside the African continent, one would expect for black characters to be present in practically every cultural or socio-educational manifestation presented in Brazilian schools, universities or theaters, however, this is not what we see.

This reflection is important because it makes us realize that if there is no conscious effort on our part, we will not be able to surround ourselves with black references, whichever is the area of interest in question.

It is no different with discussions about parenthood. There are dozens of support groups, conversation circles and fatherhood events in Brazil. The feeling of being a black father in these initiatives is always frustrating to some extent, because we arrive very excited to share our experiences and build knowledge, but whenever we open our mouths, a series of demonstrations of empathy arise that often do not even allow us to finish our speech. There is an eagerness to demonstrate anti-racist feelings and little actual concrete listening.

Thus, there is a clear need to promote exclusive spaces for black fathers where they can feel comfortable exposing their pain, frustrations, uncertainties and fears. This level of welcoming is usually only found among similar people who experience fears and challenges akin to ours. In the search for a space like this and childhood memories of little representation, led me to seek other black fathers on social networks to talk about fatherhood, masculinity and our experiences. Thus, the Pais Pretos Presentes collective was born. From the return to the beginning of everything.

The accounts shared in the group confirmed what I had suspected for a long time: there was a pain in many black fathers that was repressed because it did not find a safe environment to be addressed. Knowing the difficulty of understanding the issues of racism, many of these fathers left the other fatherhood and masculinity groups to talk about objective things, such as the best brand for a particular childcare product or discussions about bed-sharing, for example.

The desire for active listening proved to be the biggest issue among the fathers who sought the collective. One of the parents shared, for example, that he and his wife had lost their daughter and only the child's mother received flowers, hugs, comfort and support, while he was not even seen. This generated a very intense discussion about the invisibility of black men's emotions.

Active listening proved to be the most important element in the collectives, welcoming groups, conversation circles and paternal support networks that I found; I propose that we do the same in this report. Let us exercise listening and put ourselves in the other's shoes in an attempt to contemplate the need for the existence of a virtual quilombo for black fathers. As a representative of the Pais Pretos Presentes collective, I invited two fathers from three black fatherhood groups to share some of their perceptions with us.

PAIS PRETOS PRESENTES COLLECTIVE

"To experience fatherhood as member of the Pais Pretos Presentes (PPP) collective is touching in many ways, I particularly had not had a routine living with baby or child. Besides, being a father and building a family was not among my dreams and goals of life, it just happened, I met my partner, we got married and after a while our baby arrived".

"Fortunately, I could count on several examples of black fatherhoods among fathers, uncles, godfathers, and grandparents, each one with their own way of being and fathering. Despite this richness that undoubtedly constitutes me in many aspects, times are different, many things have changed, and I am also unique. In this sense, the collective serves, above all, to talk about love, care, empowerment, self-esteem. It is to naturalize the act of loving by a black man. It is to remember all the time that, unlike the image they try to impose on us, we are human and, therefore, able to love and be loved individually and in community, and above all we are very present just like our ancestors!"

"Fatherhood gives us a chance to look at ourselves and re-signify ourselves. Being part of the collective brings in this new journey an understanding that we are not alone, we are ubuntu. Together, aquilombed[1], we are power and the black man is meant to receive all love, including his own, the same love that is the essence of black fathering."

Cauê Ranzeiro, sociologist and founder of the Instituto Formação Antirracista.

"Participating in a black fathers collective is belonging, it is brotherhood, it is resignification, it is search, it is discovery, it is love, it is origin, it is being protagonist, it is a race together and not individual. Participating in the Pais Pretos Presentes collective is a decision to know where we come from, to understand where we are, and to make sure that we determine where we will go and not the other."

Rodrigo Gaspar, creator of the Instituto Pai por Inteiro.

GROUP CIRANDA DOS PAIS PRETOS, ON WHATSAPP

"By creating the group, the idea was to have a space in SP where Black fatherhood could be discussed and celebrated not only in networks, but, above all, in person. Being a black father is an achievement, a celebration of life and a daily fight against stereotypes of black men who are violent and abandon their children. Being a father is the best part of us. I am a father of 3 girls and the discovery of each one was in a different way, but all with great joy. The youngest was in Colombia and it was a total scare, because I was no longer with her mother, but she was received with much joy. The group talks little during this quarantine/pandemic, but there is much articulation among the members. It is a place of friendship and also of refuge. The discussion of paternities has advanced much more, due to initiatives such as Os Pais Pretos Presentes or Ciranda, but not to a way in which there is a Public Policy. Because fatherhood and, especially, black fatherhood is vilified and we are in reconstruction since the First Black Father was "brought" here."

Rodrigo Faustino, entrepreneur and founder of the Ebony English course

[1] Term referring to Aquilombamento. See glossary.

"I participate in the group Ciranda dos Pais Pretos to exchange ideas, knowledge and vent, although I don't always have answers. It is a bar to be a black father, having to teach mainly the boy how to behave in the world in which he lives. But he was very much desired. I accompanied my wife everywhere, when the result came out I said: 'now all that's left is to write a book, because I've already planted several trees. I do not observe much impact of the groups on parenting, sometimes I read a text, but I do not see interaction, maybe it is my fault. For me the discussion is not moving forward, because many black fathers are divorced and can't live much with their children. Justice sometimes doesn't do JUSTICE."

João Carlos Araujo, professor and gastronome.

"BLACK FATHERHOOD!" GROUP ON WHATSAPP

"I created the Black Fatherhood group because I found myself alone as a black man facing family situations and needed to exchange ideas. I found colleagues in groups for black professionals and friends in life who went on to have children. Personally, fatherhood has been the best thing that has happened to me because I am invigorated by my daughter. I realize that society is not used to seeing black men in the father figure and it made me review my whole social circle. But I didn't receive the news of paternity in the best way, I confess. But I treated it with normality, because I grew up in a large and united family, which accepts well the expansion of the surname and blood. I see the group on WhatsApp as a safe space. That is the most important thing. There are few black men alive in the West, so it is not easy to see our ideas propagated out there. If we try to exchange ideas in spaces with people of other genders and ethnicities, we are quickly stifled and our ideas are always relativized and devalued. Members see the group as a safe space for exposing ideas and feelings. Thanks to groups like Pais Pretos Presentes, the discussion got organized and broke some barriers. But it hasn't gone mainstream because in my view it can, even unintentionally, upset some people."

Aquiles Filho, publicist and co-creator of the group Paternidade Preta.

"I've been participating in a conversation group about fatherhood since I noticed that I was missing a number of things related to masculinity. The process in which I found myself being surprised by several questions, and this came soon after my separation from the mother of my first child, I noticed I was lacking in the repertoire in matters related to my condition as a cis-hetero male. I found the group, in which I am part until today, in a conversation with the profile @papodepai, which referred me the podcast @afropai, and through the listening of each program and the contact I had with the members of the program I ended up receiving the invitation to join the group. I've told all this historical trajectory to indicate how complicated it has been and how hard it is to find this kind of initiative, thanks to the scarcity of supply, conversation, or examples to follow. Being a black father is a complex issue, since being a father and being black would make for a long discussion on the subject. Black fatherhood for many is synonymous with absence, but we have a number of issues to be discussed and resolved within the subject of "black men", one of those issues is fatherhood. This absence is debated in many conversations, but without much depth on the cause of abandonment."

Death, seclusion of freedom are some of the many reasons that end up clouding the discussion. Black parenthood is also accompanied by a series of responsibilities related to racism. We need to inform our children about it, and teach them to have a good repertoire to deal with it, but without at least having that repertoire. So I think it's complex. I have two children, and both times were very similar in one aspect, I predicted the pregnancy before they were confirmed by tests. It felt like a premonition. I think it robbed me of the feeling of surprise but gave me other good feelings. The group on WhatsApp becomes a channel of trust, an opportunity for exchange and welcoming, and that provides the members a response to the calls made by those who ask for help. It is as if the members understand that if the other is calling for an answer, they need to cooperate with him in this issue. I believe that we are in a good moment, since there are numerous discussions about masculinity issues, but I think that some of our demands are being trampled by external demands. The conversations about fatherhood should be based on those led by men who, in turn, should think and rethink their issues, from the initial needs, but it seems to me that we are, constantly, diverted by issues and demands of other groups that are already more advanced in their issues, such as women and the LGBTQ+ public, and that end up making our issues very urgent and reactive, because of the demands that need to be repaired, that generate difficulties for them. This generates a conflict of interests and demands. And order of needs, but I believe there is a solution".

Márcio Joviano, member of the group Paternidade Preta!

As we can see, belonging to groups exclusively for black fathers arouses strong and intense feelings and emotions among the members. There is a strong sense of unity among members and the perception of being in a safe environment to address their own experiences, weaknesses, conflicts, doubts and anxieties is a strong point, given the difficulty commonly observed among men to express how they feel. Especially in the current scenario of pandemic and social isolation, spaces like these groups are true healing spaces for black men. May initiatives of this nature be encouraged, valued and multiplied among the various states of the country, since the report's research, unfortunately, signaled a concentration of most responses in the Rio-São Paulo axis, suggesting that the discussion around black masculinities and fatherhood is still elitist and accessed by few.

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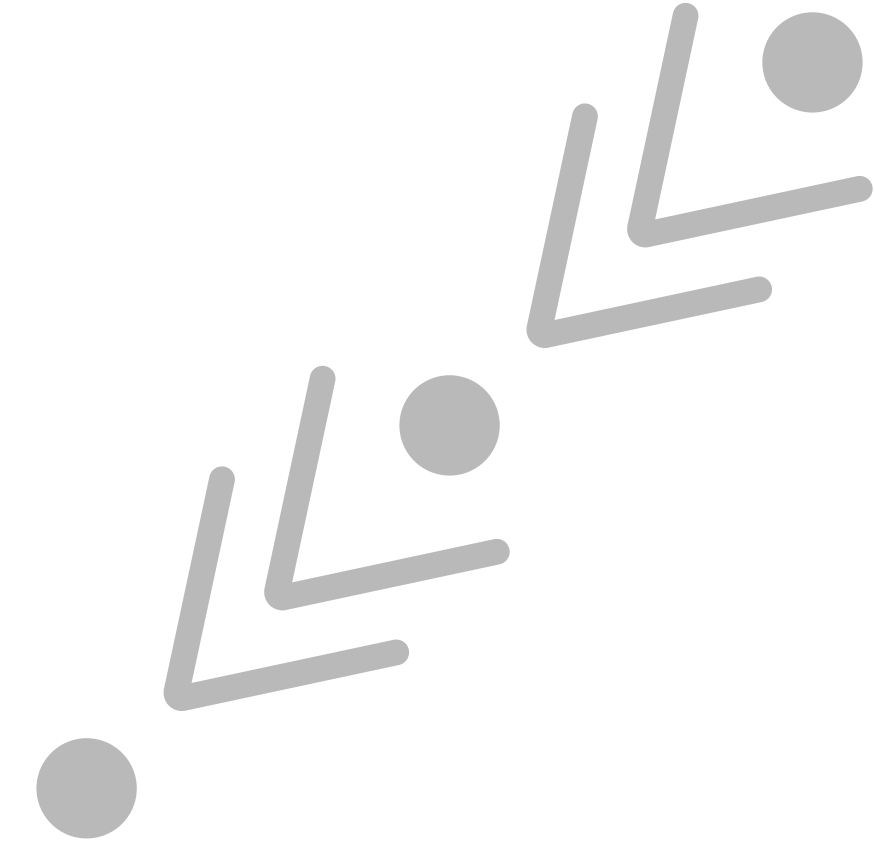
CONCLUSION

This document proposed to put a magnifying glass on a model of fatherhood that for centuries has been placed at the margins of Brazilian society. Discussions on black fatherhood in Brazil are recent and still occupy peripheral spaces. Not because they did not exist before, because since the discovery of Brazil, with the arrival of the first slave ships, black men have been in Brazilian lands, but because of the culture of racism that subordinates, violates, excludes and marginalizes people with brown and black skins.

Promundo has been discussing the topic of Fatherhood for over a decade, and every two years it produces a report on the situation of Fatherhood in Brazil. The decision of the institution was to transform a theme, which before was placed in the perspective of transversality, as a central theme in an unprecedented study in Brazil. As already mentioned in this document, the group of researchers found it very difficult to search for materials on black fatherhood in Brazil. In some cases, there are no studies and data related to black fatherhoods. In this sense, this is a vanguard study. This document could not cover all the points related to the theme, nor did it have that ambition. But its main intention was to inaugurate this discussion.

KNH Brasil and Comic Relief are foundations that have historically worked with children and, courageously, funded this report. Addressing the discussion of fatherhood to promote active and caring fatherhood has a direct impact on the development of children and adolescents. The proposal is that this material can influence Brazilian public policy and interventions on fatherhood in different contexts in the country. There is no turning back once a study like this is put out into the world! This research encourages public managers from different regions of the country, in a sensitive way, to look at and implement public policies for father figures with a focus on the ethno-racial cut.

GLOSSARY



Affirmative Actions

Set of political actions aimed at correcting racial and social inequalities, oriented to offer differential treatment, in order to correct disadvantages and marginalizations created and maintained by an exclusionary and discriminatory social structure.

Acculturation

Process of transformations/adaptations undergone by cultural manifestations of one or more cultures when in contact with another.

Brazilian Africanities

Expression coined by Petronilha Beatriz Gonçalves e Silva that refers to the roots of Brazilian culture that have African origins. It would be the ways of being, living, organizing their struggles, pertained to the Brazilian black people and, on the other hand, the marks of African culture that, regardless of the ethnic origin of each Brazilian, are part of their daily lives. More than the manifestations themselves, the concept refers to the processes of formation of these manifestations. The African-ness, therefore, is associated with the way of seeing, living and resisting, culturally, of Africans and Afro-descendants, present in Brazilian culture.

Otherness

It refers to the nature or condition of the other. Otherness occurs in the recognition of the other, starting from ourselves. It is the possibility of putting oneself in the place of another individual or group and, as far as possible, living the experience of another. We can say that identities are derived from difference and otherness. Otherness allows us to broaden reality through the knowledge and experience of other ways of life, based on different beliefs, classificatory categories and understandings.

Ancestor

Relative to or proper to ancestors; family line of ancestry; very ancient, remote.

Antiracism

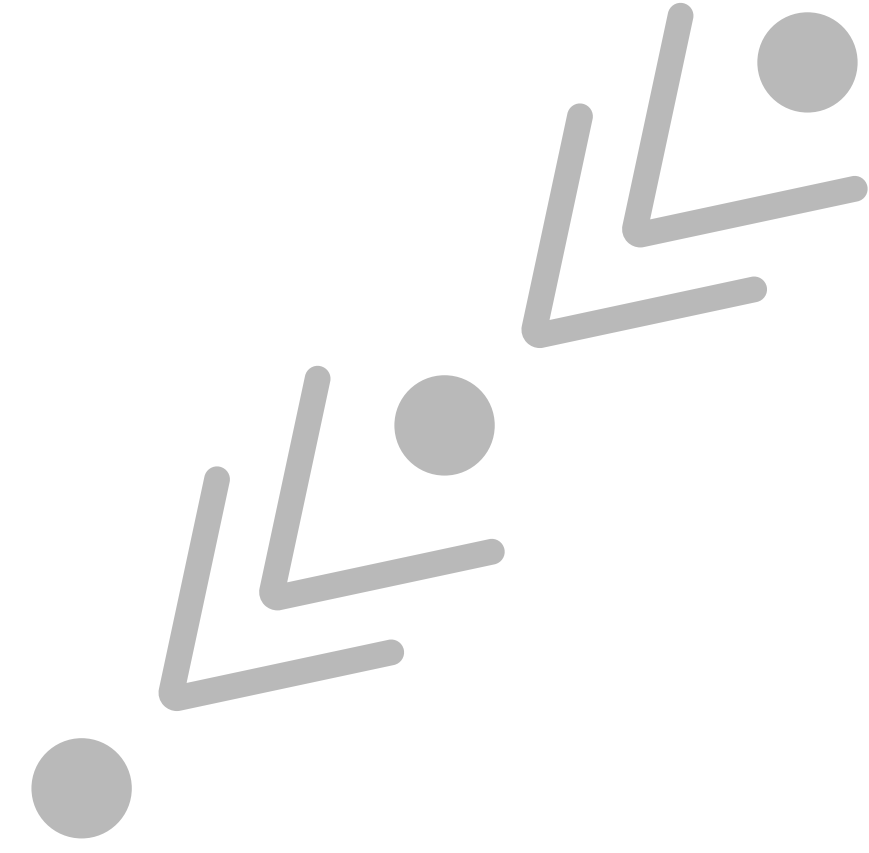
Opinion, movement or demonstration that opposes racism.

Aquilombamento

Form of resistance of the Brazilian black culture originated from the return to the original idea of quilombos, but as a place of affection, welcome and sharing of knowledge.

Moral harassment

Cruel and inhumane acts that characterize a violent and unethical attitude in work relations, practiced by one or more bosses against their subordinates. It is the exposure of male and female workers to vexatious, embarrassing and humiliating situations during the exercise of their functions, characterized by being repetitive and prolonged or in constant periods, or even in temporary or periodic activities.



Assimilation

Process of becoming similar through cultural practices. Assimilation is a complex process that must take into account the social and political context in which the groups in question find themselves.

Autonomy for women

The notion of autonomy refers to people's ability to make free and informed decisions about their lives, so that they can be and do according to their own aspirations and desires, in the historical and cultural context in which they live.

Beauty

Quality, property, character or virtue of what is beautiful. It corresponds to certain standards, socially defined, balance, plastic, harmonious proportions and other similar qualities. That is, the definition of beauty is a social construction, reverberated and enhanced by the media.

White

Humans characterized in particular by a light skin phenotype. The term is generally used to refer to individuals with physical characteristics historically associated with populations from Europe. Sometimes the term is used as a synonym for Caucasian and can refer to non-Hispanic whites or specifically to Anglo-Americans. The definition of white also varies according to historical and geographical contexts.

Bleaching

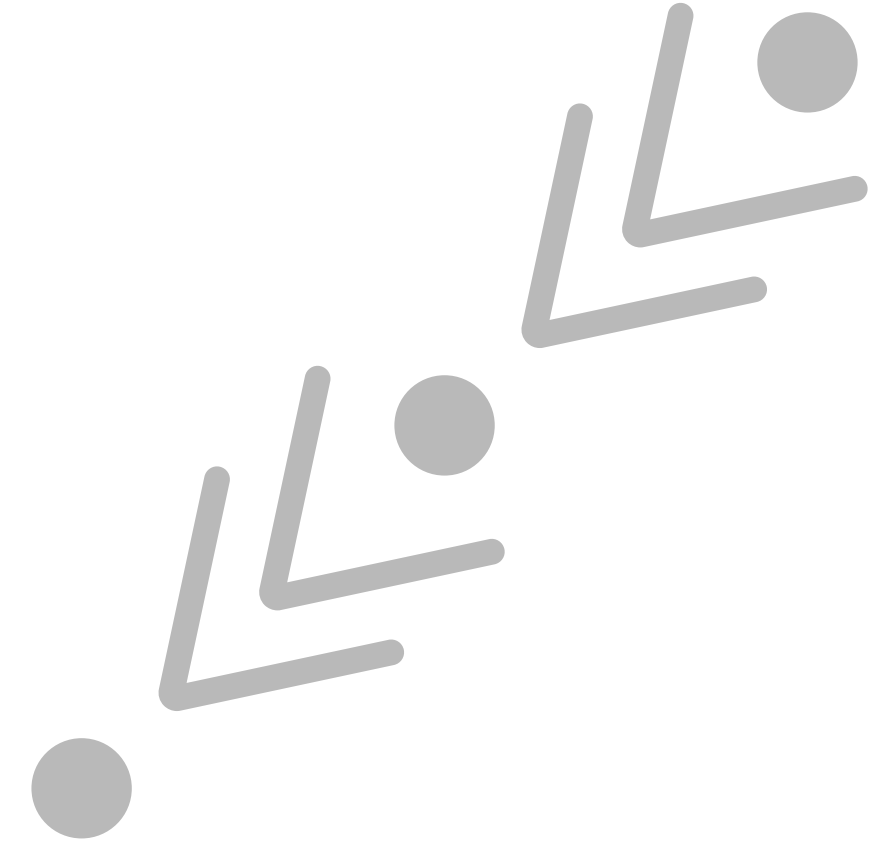
It would be the negation of African ancestry by the black man; an attempt to overcome the supposed inferiority that his color and physical characteristics represented. More recent studies point out a duality in the ideas of whitening, to the same extent that there is a inferiority complex of the black, there is a feeling of certain superiority in the white.

Whiteness

Whiteness is a common social function in part of the world population, and that places the European phenotype at the top of the social pyramid. "It is founded on the heritage of colonization and slavery and presumes a consensus around this heritage in order to reproduce internal hierarchies. It is part of an identity discourse that is little explicit and no less powerful for that reason." (Liv Sovik)

Citizenship

Expresses the equality of all people before the law, a pertaining to an organized society. The quality of the citizen to be able to exercise the set of political, socio-economic rights and freedoms of his country, being subject to the duties imposed upon him. Citizenship can also be understood as the conscious and responsible participation of citizens in society, ensuring that their rights are not violated.



Citizen

A person who belongs to an organized society, being the holder of rights and obligations; who participates in social and political life through voting and other forms; citizen or citizen of the world: person who exercises his/her social and political participation regardless of borders.

Collectivity

It designates people gathered in categories, classes, constituting a set, a whole. In today's social mobilizations, the figure of a collectivity expresses a group of people moved by a common ideal. Together, they exert pressure and act to obtain a collective good, like the community of a neighborhood that goes to the city hall to demand a school, medical services, security or other services and collective goods.

Coloniality

Refers to the colonial mentality still present in the popular imagination. A mentality that organizes the world still from the perspective of inferior and superior groups or "races", colonized and colonizers. Even if nations have become independent, the mental constructions coming from the colonial period are transmitted from generation to generation. Colonized minds form the last and most lasting colonial heritage.

Constitution

It is the highest law in the country, the fundamental law, and in it are defined the forms of organization of power and the individual, social and collective rights, as well as the means to guarantee these rights. All other legal norms of the country must be in accordance with the Federal Constitution.

Social Control

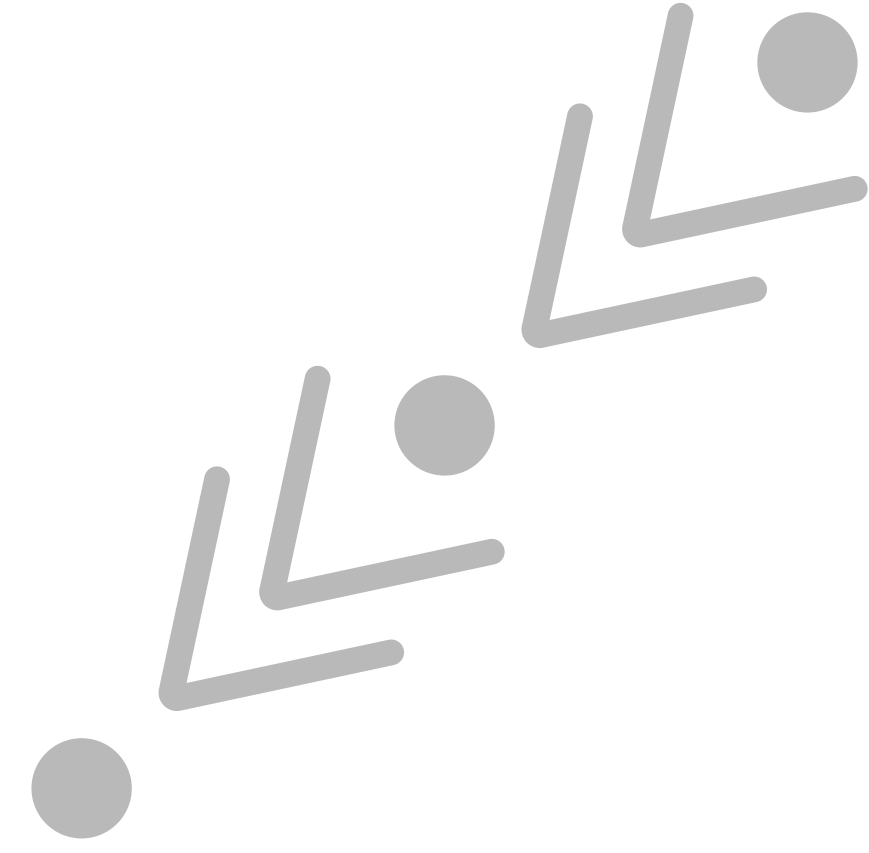
Set of means used in a society - positively or negatively - to obtain from individuals compliance with prevailing social, moral, religious and legal norms. Controls can be internal and external, direct and indirect.

Quotas

One of many forms of affirmative action. Specifically, quotas aim to reverse a situation of historical disadvantage that affects minorities or subordinated groups, such as blacks and women, when it comes to occupying political positions, obtaining jobs in the labor market, or entering higher education.

Racial Quota

Racial quotas are reserved places in college entrance exams, tests and public competitions for people of black, brown or indigenous origin.



Caution

To be devoted to a person, to protect, to care for their health and/or well-being.

Culture

Since the first definition of culture, by Edward Tylor, in 1871, anthropologists have tried to reach a consensus for the concept. According to Roger Keesing, culture may present three different approaches: (1) as a cognitive system, with an analysis of the models constructed by members of a group to understand the universe itself. Thus, culture is a system of knowledge and beliefs that individuals must master to participate within the society in question; (2) as structural systems, an accumulative creation, product of the human mind, which establishes a symbolic system. The concept of culture can also be defined as symbolic systems, a set of control mechanisms such as values, beliefs, myths, relationships that govern human behavior. Clifford Geertz makes the analogy between a computer program and culture. For him, every man and woman are born genetically able to receive any "program", that is, every child is prepared to be socialized in any culture. It will be the cultural context that will limit this myriad of human possibilities. In this context, culture functions as lenses through which we view the world (Benedict, 1972). Therefore, different cultures provide different worldviews.

Inequality

Lack of balance between two or more parties. Usually the term is related to social issues and access to rights, to the same lifestyle, to services and to opportunities. Phenomenon that has to do with the establishment of social hierarchies, differences and distinctions between men and women, classes or other social groups.

Racial inequality

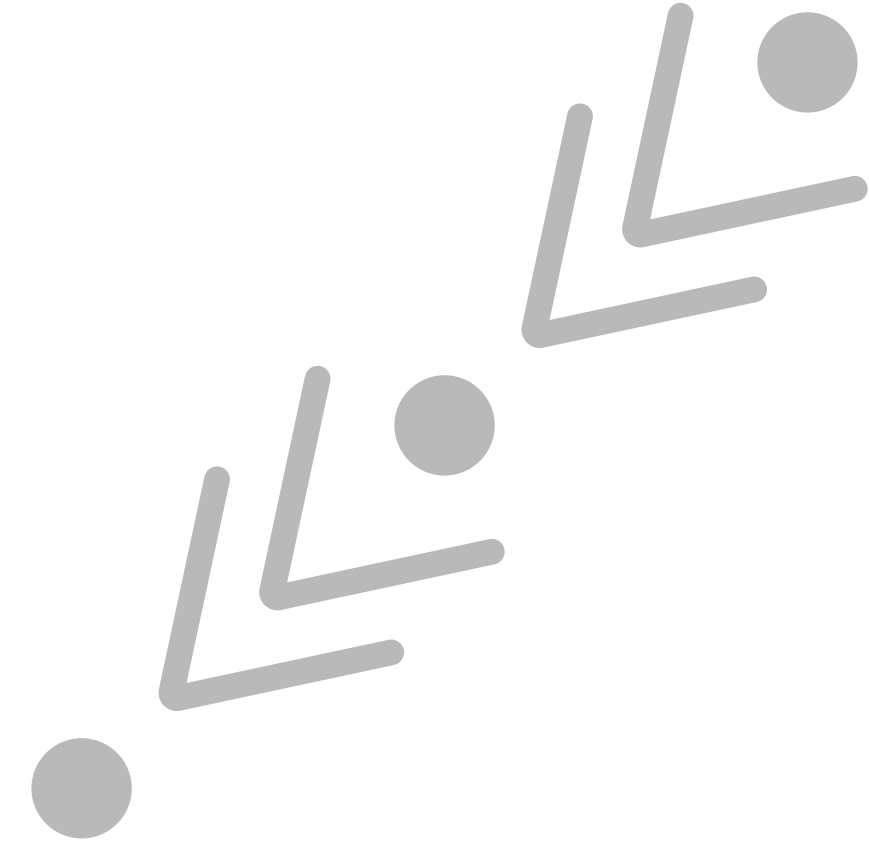
Any unjustified situation of differentiation in access to and enjoyment of goods, services and opportunities, in the public and private spheres, due to race, color, descent or national or ethnic origin.

Diaspora

From the Greek *dia*, it means dispersion and diffusion. Initially used to define the traumatic experience of Jewish exile, the concept also refers to the experience of forced or unforced dispersion of Armenians and Africans.

Differences and inequalities

Differences are modalities of being - such as gender, ethnicity, age - inherent to human diversity and that cannot be avoided by human action. In contrast, inequalities - social, economic, political - are not modalities of being. They are characterized as historical and social products, that is, situations that can be reversed.



Human Rights

Basic rights and freedoms to which all people are entitled. Human rights are not privileges, but rather what defines humanity, regardless of where people live, their beliefs, races or culture. The "United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights" codifies universal civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights.

Discrimination

Action whose purpose is to separate, separate, discriminate, hindering or preventing access and permanence of people and/or groups; discrimination is the visible dimension of prejudice, be it ethno-racial, gender, sexuality, age, social class, religiosity.

Racial Discrimination

Any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, color, descent or national or ethnic origin, which has the purpose of nullifying or restricting the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal basis, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public or private life.

Empowerment

Increase in the group's organizational capacity, which enables political gains and changes in the economic and social relations of hierarchy in which individuals find themselves. Process of critical awareness, conquest and overcoming by groups or people who lived situations of oppression. In this sense, empowerment means the conquest of the condition and capacity for participation, social inclusion and exercise of citizenship.

Empowerment of Women and Girls

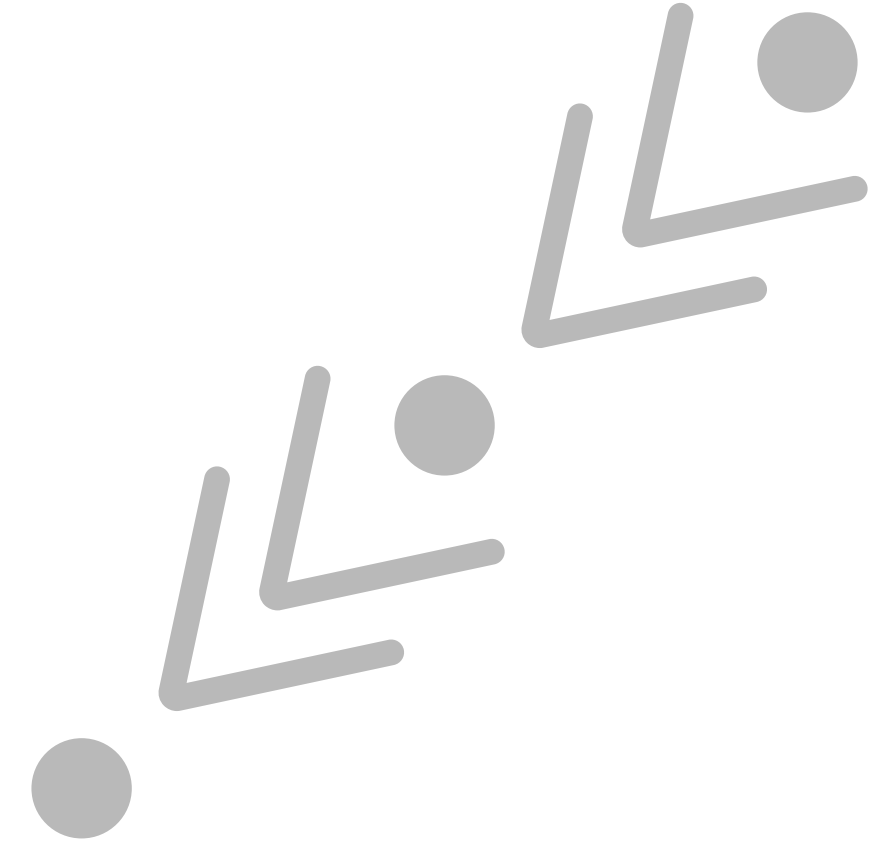
The empowerment of women and girls is about overcoming the obstacles of structural inequality that place them at a disadvantage. The social, legal and economic empowerment of women and girls is both a goal and a process. Boys and men at all levels can actively support the empowerment of women and girls.

Equity

Recognition and guarantee of equal rights and opportunities for each individual or group in society, which is independent of the law itself, but rather of a feeling of what is considered fair, considering the causes and intentions.

Gender equity

Equality between men and women, boys and girls, through measures that compensate for social and historical disadvantages, and consider the different needs, so that they have access to the same rights.



Stereotype

Thought or representation of individuals and/or groups, the product of preconceived, inadequate and generalizing ideas, nurtured by a lack of real knowledge about the group in question.

Stigma

Of Greek origin, the term means mark, sign, stain. Erving Goffman conceptualizes stigma as attributes recognized as negative and used to classify and disqualify individuals or groups. Sex, sexuality, skin color, physical disability, religiosity that differ from what certain societies classify as "normal", are social stigmas.

Rape

Any physical contact or libidinous act against the will of the victim, in the face of force or threat, is rape. This applies to vaginal, anal or oral sex. It also includes forced kissing or holding hands on public transport, for example. All of these cases can be punished by law with up to 10 years in prison. If the victim is younger than 14 years old, the sentence can go up to 15 years.

Ethics

It concerns the social and moral relations of a given social group, in a given physical and temporal space. Set of prescriptions admitted at a certain time and in a certain society.

Ethnicity

In the contemporary sense, ethnicity refers to a group or nation, possessing some degree of coherence and solidarity, whose components are aware of a common origin and common interests. Ethnicity does not refer merely to an aggregate of people or a segment of the population, but to a self-conscious collective whose individuals are drawn together by shared experiences.

Ethnic and racial

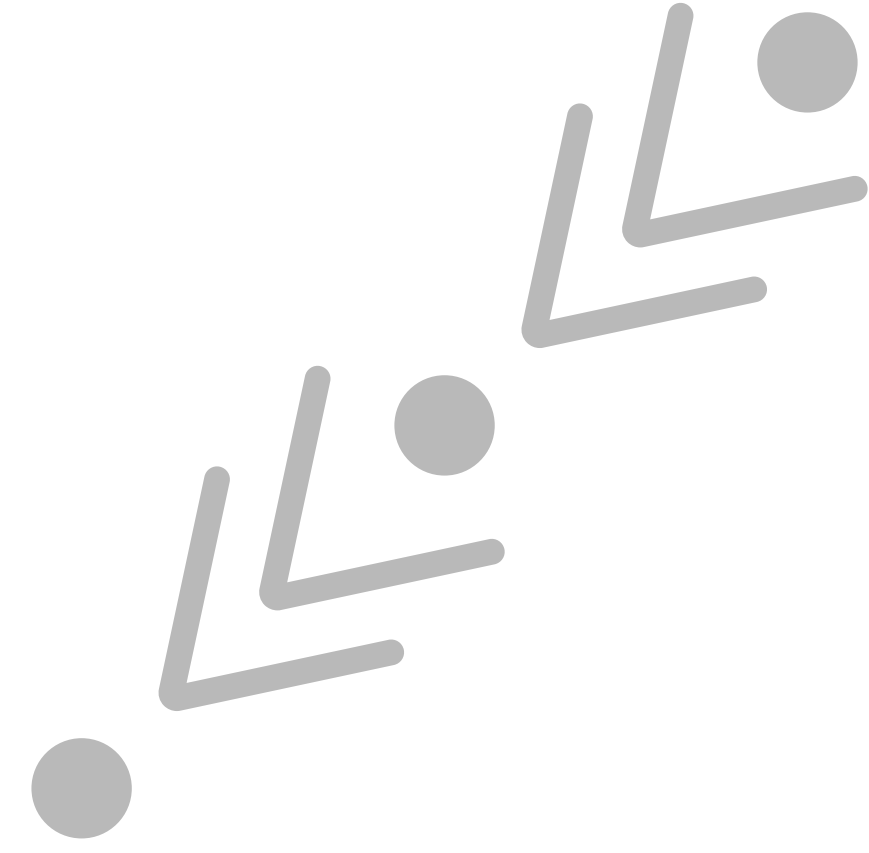
Concept that associates aspects of ethnicity with the re-signification of the term race. Ethnicity refers, nowadays, to group consciousness generated by a common experience of economic, political, cultural adversity. Race emphasizes the need to re-signify a term used to hierarchize phenotypically different groups.

Ethnocentric

One whose cultural references are taken as superior. One who interprets the world from the values of a certain culture, generally the one in which the individual was socialized.

Eugenia

Social movement, initiated by the Englishman Francis Galton, based on a science applied to the improvement of human genetic potentialities. For Galton, mental abilities were transmitted hereditarily and in different ways in groups and races.



Eurocentric

Whose references are European; who interprets the world from the values of European culture.

Feminism

It can be understood as a social and political movement, which aims to achieve access to equal rights between men and women, i.e. without gender hierarchies.

Black feminism

It is understood here as a social, political, intellectual-theoretical movement of black women committed to social change, especially with regard to the anti-racism struggle against machismo, sexism and other forms of discrimination in an ideological field, in which these subjects are inserted.

Phenotype

Visible or detectable manifestation of the genetic makeup of the individual.

Gender

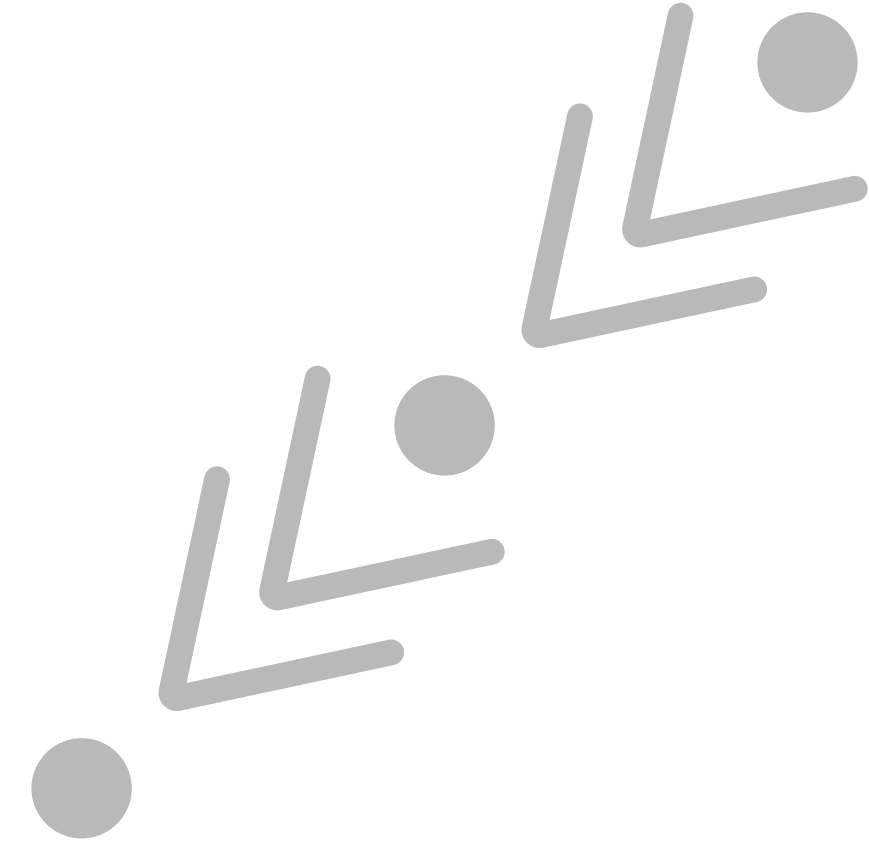
Refers to the way we are raised, that is, how our attitudes, behaviors and ways end up being determined by the expectations that society has about what it is to be a woman or a man.

Homophobia

Discrimination against gays because of their affective-sexual identity, which is different from what is expected by society, that is, because they feel sexual and affective attraction to people of the same sex.

Identity

It refers to the individual's belonging to a particular social group, from cultural, historical, linguistic affinities. Stuart Hall conceptualizes identity as a discursive category that encompasses forms of speech, social practices, physical characteristics, etc., and as such, is strongly marked by power struggles. It should be understood as a continuous and dialectical process between the individual and society, when the former projects itself into available cultural identities, allowing to strengthen, maintain, modify or remodel the identity itself. An individual does not present a single identity, but several, sometimes even contradictory or ill-defined. Identities are not essential, unified or permanent. They are constructed by historical and cultural processes, and are therefore dynamic.



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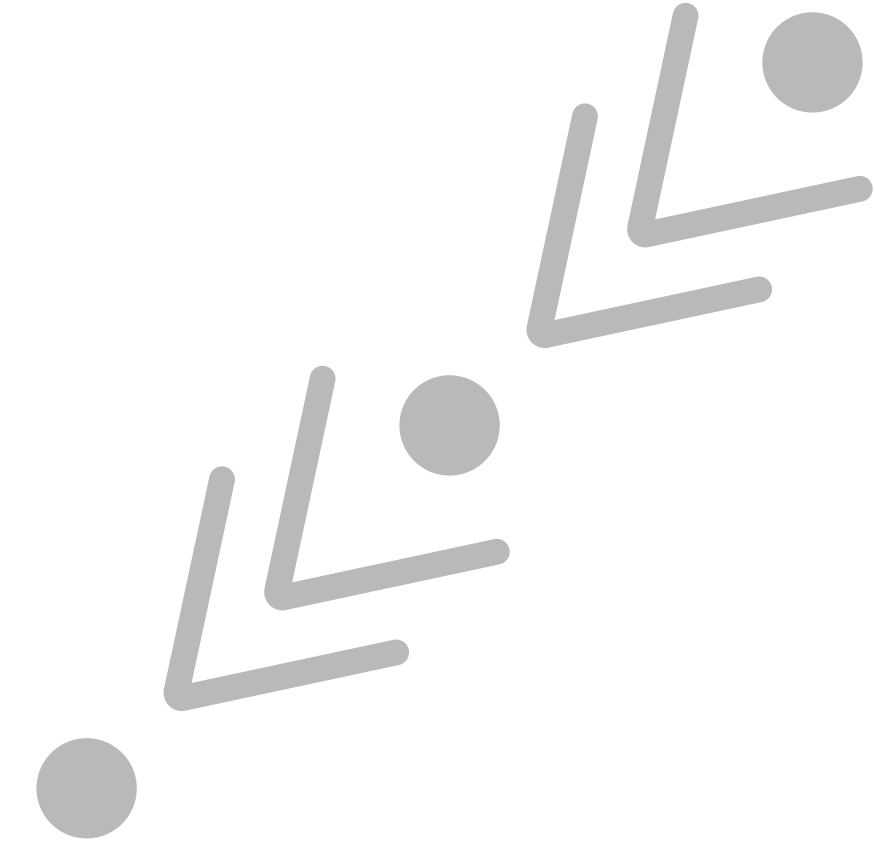
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Affective-sexual identities

It concerns the attraction/desire that one feels for other people, being them: Heterosexual (who has affection and/or sexual desire for people of the opposite biological sex); Homosexual (who has affection and/or sexual desire for people of the same biological sex). Homosexuality is subdivided into two identities: lesbian (women who relate affectively/sexually with other women) and gay (men who relate affectively/sexually with other men); Bisexual (who have affection and/or sexual desire for people of both biological sexes); Asexual (who has no interest in sexual activity. Asexuals can have interest in forming loving, but not sexual, bonds).

Gender identities

It is the way a person perceives him/herself in relation to his/her gender. It is divided into three categories: cisgender, when the person identifies in all aspects with the gender identity socially attributed to the biological sex at birth; transgender, when the person has a gender identity different from the biological sex at birth - transsexual men and women can express the desire to undergo surgery to make the adjustments they deem necessary; and non-binary, when the person does not identify with any gender. He/she is neither defined as a man nor as a woman.

Ideology

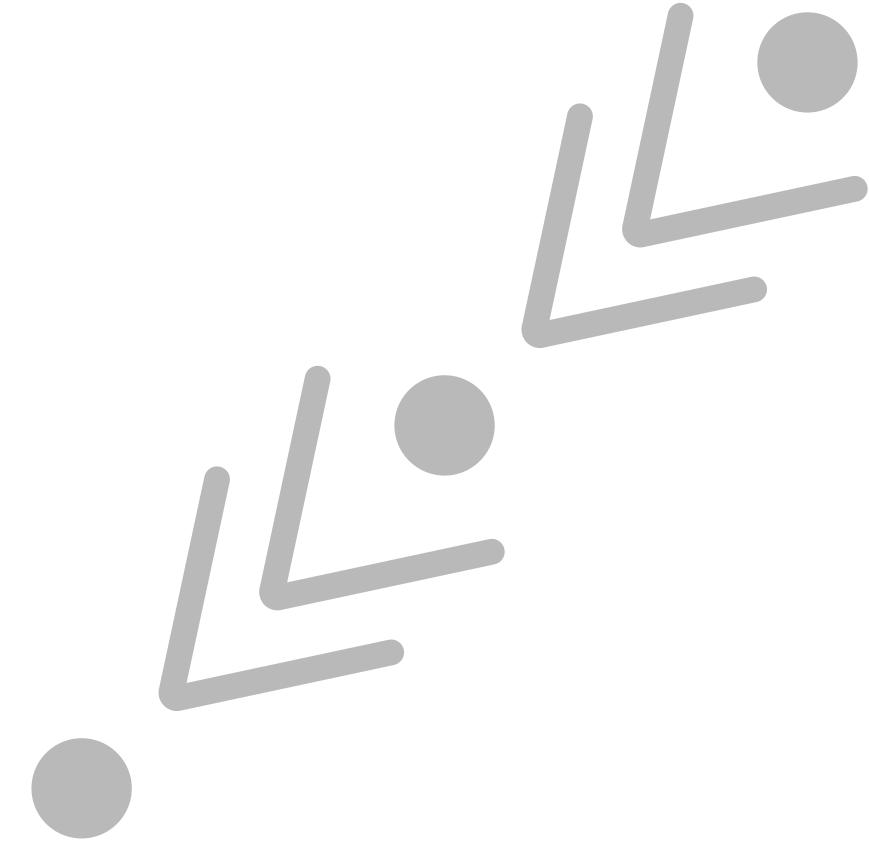
A system of beliefs and values, which explains society, prescribes the role of government and guides individuals, social movements, institutions, classes or groups. A set of dominant ideas in society.

Equality

It is a value that is established through comparison between situations and/or people; it is, therefore, a relationship between two terms, between two or more orders of magnitude. Equality is linked to the affirmation of the principle of non-discrimination, recognizing that everyone is equal before the law. Therefore, there can be no discrimination that excludes certain people or groups from exercising certain rights because of their cultural, sexual or religious choices, or for having intrinsic characteristics such as gender and race/ethnicity. That is why it is said: right to difference in equal rights.

Gender equality

Gender equality is a recognized human right, and reflects the idea that all human beings are free to develop their personal capabilities and make choices without limitations imposed by stereotypes, gender roles or prejudices. Gender equality means that the different behaviors, aspirations and needs of all people are equally considered, valued and promoted. It also means no discrimination on the basis of gender in the allocation of resources or benefits, or in access to services. Gender equality can be measured in terms of the existence of equality of opportunity or equality of outcome.



Intersectionality

A perspective of analysis that takes into consideration various planes or axes of vulnerability - violence, inequality, discrimination - such as gender, race, age, sexuality, class, in which individuals and groups are framed simultaneously. It corresponds, therefore, to the crossing points of these plans, the intersections of these different factors, which, when overlapping, intensify social disadvantages. Intersectionality allows us to verify the complexity of the situations experienced by individuals and groups, establishing better possibilities for reversing the situation.

Invisibilization

Process of social exclusion suffered by certain groups, especially blacks. Muniz Sodré states that the social invisibility of the individual increases in inverse proportion to the visibility of his/her color. Racism in the media would be maintained by denial, repression, stigmatization and professional indifference, crystallizing prejudices and stereotypes.

Youth

People between the ages of 15 and 29. Represents the period of life between adolescence and adulthood.

Laws

They are made and approved by the Legislative Branch and sanctioned (i.e. approved) by the Executive Branch, they can be federal, state and municipal. For them to be consistent with each other, a higher law is needed, which defines the principles of our social, political and economic organisation. This major law in Brazil is the Federal Constitution of 1998, also known as the "Citizen Constitution". It is in the Constitution that universal human rights are guaranteed. All our rights begin in the Constitution.

Language

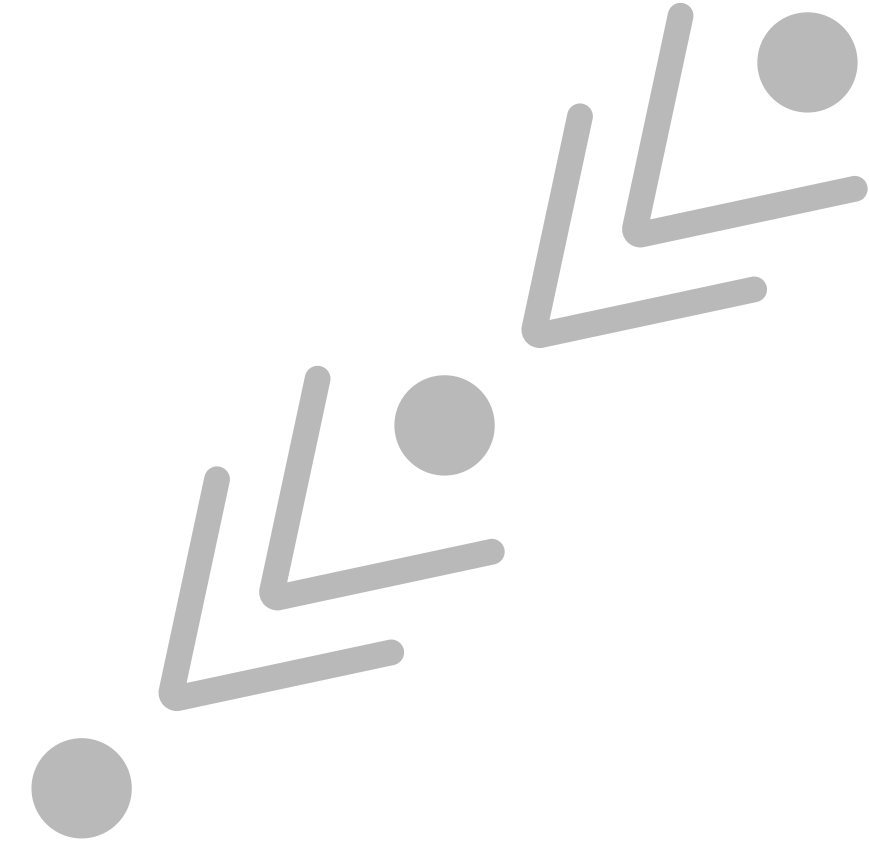
Discourse analysis understands language as a mediating instance between man and his social and natural reality. Language is a form of expression that includes language, music, dance, etc.

Masculinities

It concerns the meanings related to what is understood as masculine. They are related to the configuration of practices around the position that men occupy in gender relations and that are constructed from a structure, which assigns different meanings to what is understood as masculine or feminine.

Black Masculinity

Movement of political and social reflection on being a black man, from the call of the black women's movements. Source: Guia Negro Interview.



Miscegenation

It assumes that there are human races and that some are superior to others. In Brazil, until the 1930s, miscegenation was explained by some intellectuals as producing useless beings. This interpretation of the Brazilian social condition was gradually changed. After the 1930s, the miscegenation of the "races" and the consequent whitening of the population would be hailed as one of the positive components of national identity.

Minority

Term that defines, within a social group, each of the subgroups considered different from the majority and dominant group, due to ethnic, cultural, etc. characteristics. In Brazil, due to their lack of political representation - which generates disadvantages and exclusion - Afro-Brazilians are considered a "minority", even though they make up about half of the national population.

Social Movement

Coordinated action of a given group, united by common aspirations, which aims to confront social contradictions by changing the forms or institutions of existing society.

Mulata

Used as a compliment, it is associated with the imaginary of sensualized black women. The idea of sin is also even more negative in a society based on religion, like the Brazilian one. The noun comes from "mule", an animal derived from crossing a donkey with a mare. It was how the bastard daughters of white men, usually lords of the plantation, with black women, usually slaves, were called. Above all, it is a racist term.

Multiculturalism

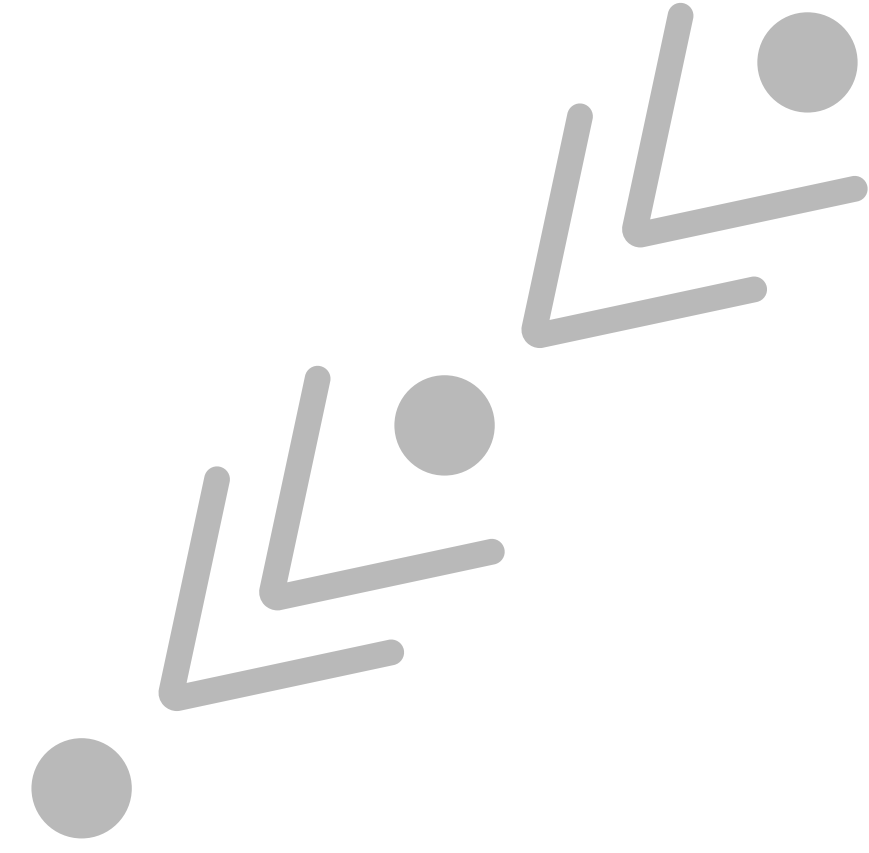
Recognition of group difference in the legal and political public sphere and in democratic discourse, in terms of citizenship and national identity.

Multidisciplinary

Approach to the same theme by multiple disciplines that, despite each one using its own perspective, can articulate bibliographies, teaching-learning techniques and assessment methods.

Necropolitics

It is a concept developed by the Cameroonian philosopher Achille Mbembe that designates the policy of death by the State, which has "technical mechanisms to lead people to death". This process can be through the degradation of territories (which in Brazil are the peripheral territories) and/or with the social disintegration that makes death as a naturalized situation. In Brazil, the victims of this necropolitics are the black population.



Negritude

According to Nei Lopes negritude is the circumstance of belonging to the great collectivity of Africans and African descendants; the set of African civilizing values on the continent of origin and in the Diaspora.

Black

Generic denomination of the dark-skinned and curly-haired individual and, in particular, of the inhabitants of deep Africa and their descendants; descendant of African, in any degree of mestizaje, as long as this origin can be identified by appearance or assumed by the individual himself.

Oppression

Situations of subalternity and subjugation experienced by people or social groups.

Pan-Africanism

Doctrine of North American origin, at the end of the 19th century, which originally expressed the claims of black North Americans and Caribbeans, focusing on the struggle against colonialism on the African continent. With independence, the focus of the ideology turns to the struggle for civil rights.

Pardo

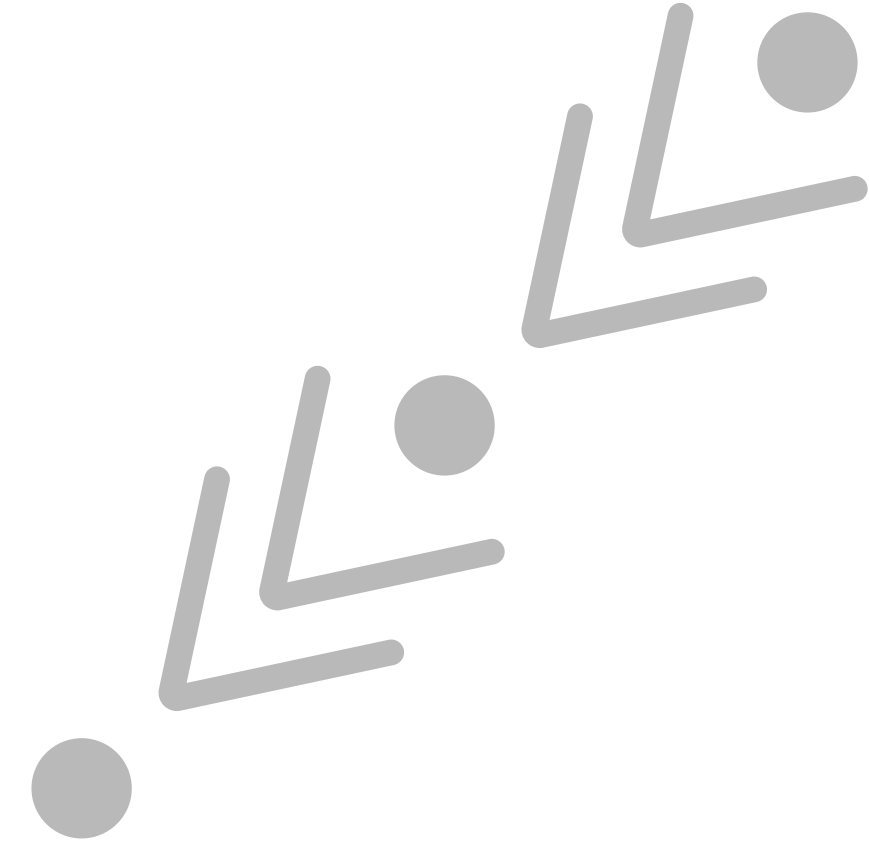
According to the manual of the IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics), pardo is a mixture of colours, that is, a person born from some miscegenation, be it "mulatto, cabocla, cafuza, mameluca or mestizo". The children of white (or indigenous) individuals with blacks - Afro-descendants - are considered to be brown. But the children of a white person with an indigenous person, the children of a yellow person with an indigenous person, the children of a white person with a yellow person, or the children of pardo people with other colours or with indigenous people are also brown. Therefore, pardo people are all people of mixed race born from sexual relationships between individuals of different ethnicities. Also according to the agency, people who declare themselves black and brown are considered black.

Paternities

The state or quality of a man due to the fact that he is a father, biological or otherwise.

Power

It can be understood as the result of a continuous process of negotiation, the fruit of political and ideological alliances. Power must be legitimized, consented to, negotiated, and is not the result of simple submission.



Symbolic Power

The Symbolic Power, according to Pierre Bourdieu, appears as all the power that manages to impose meanings that are naturalized as legitimate. Thus, the symbols assert themselves as the instruments of social integration, making possible the reproduction of the established order.

Policy

All human action that seeks to influence the constitution and exercise of power. Way of organizing, directing or administering the Nation and the State. The art of governing, applying that art in the internal and external affairs of the nation.

Prejudice

Unfavorable attitude toward a group or individuals within it, based not on their actual attributes, but on preconceived ideas. Racial prejudice is one of the driving forces behind racism. Source: LOPES, Nei. Afro-Brazilian school dictionary (position 4366-4367). Selo Negro Edições. Kindle Edition.

Racial Prejudice

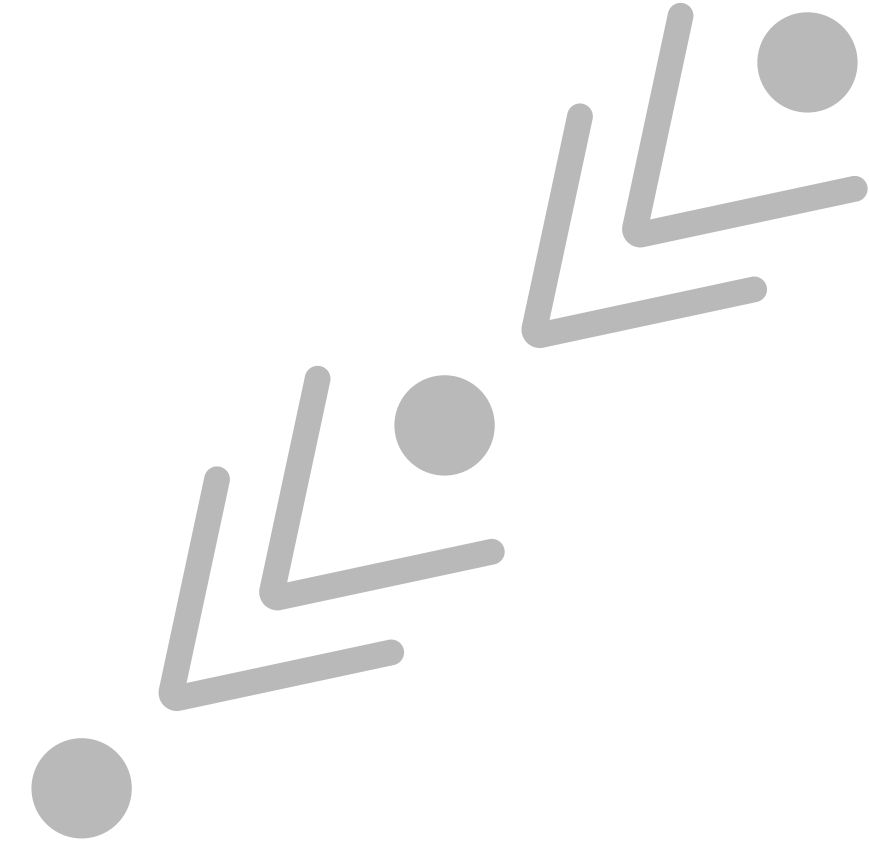
It means anticipation, advance, thought, idea, judgment. In the context of ethnic-racial relations, prejudice, the product of inadequate or incomplete information, (re)produces a hostile and generalizing view of other groups.

Black (Negro)

Black is a category of skin color classification based on the self-identification of the person who answers the question of the IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics). This research agency has used black as a classification of color or race in demographic census surveys since 1872, according to the Technical Note on the "History of research on color or race in IBGE's household surveys. According to this same document, the population considered black is the sum of people who declare themselves "brown" and "black" in Brazil.

Quilombo

Settlement of runaway slaves. In 1740, the Portuguese colonial government defined quilombo as every nucleus with more than five runaway slaves, even without any buildings. Based on this definition, it is evident that colonial and imperial Brazil knew quilombos in practically all of its territory. The existence of these nuclei is proven in Amazônia, including Macapá and the island of Marajó; in Mato Grosso, Sergipe, Bahia, Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul. Of various sizes and structured according to the number of inhabitants, the quilombos ranged from simple armed groups to veritable cities with populations of 10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants. In principle, organized basically for defense, on many occasions, however, pressed by vital needs, their members organized expeditions to attack neighboring villages and towns. The quilombos that made up the community of Palmares were generally named after their leaders, in the same manner as the villages of Angola at the time of Portuguese domination.



Race

Group or category linked to a common origin. Initially, the concept served to separate and hierarchize individuals and groups of the species *Homo sapiens*, based on biological differences. Today, the concept of race is a social construction. The social rules that establish who is black or white differ from society to society. Therefore, race is historically and socially constructed. In 1935, Huxley and Hadon proposed that the term "race" be banned from the academic vocabulary and replaced by the expression "ethnic groups". However, by employing, politically, "race" instead of ethnicity, one resorts to the force of the term in order to denounce the prevailing racial discrimination.

Racism

A set of theories and beliefs that establish a hierarchy between races and/or ethnicities. The term has come to designate the discriminatory ideas and practices arising from this alleged superiority.

Structural racism

It is the formalization of a set of institutional, historical, cultural, and interpersonal practices within a society that often puts one social or ethnic group in a better position to succeed while consistently and steadily harming other groups, causing disparities to develop between groups over a period of time.

Systemic racism

Institutional racism, also called systemic racism, as a structural mechanism that guarantees the selective exclusion of racially subordinated groups - blacks, indigenous people, gypsies, to mention the Latin American and Brazilian reality of the African Diaspora - acting as an important lever of the differentiated exclusion of different subjects in these groups. It is about the strategic form in which racism guarantees the appropriation of positive results, of the production of wealth by the privileged racial segments in society, at the same time that it helps to maintain the fragmentation of the distribution of these results within it.

Social racism

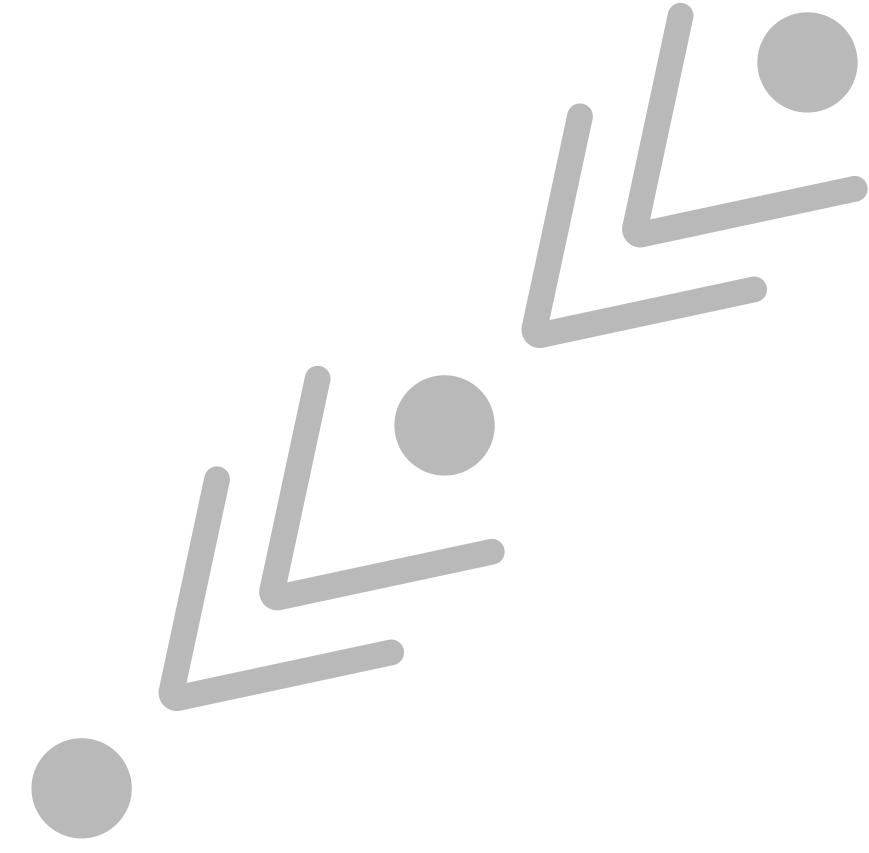
It has also been called structural racism because, according to Carl E. James, society is structured in a way that excludes substantial numbers of minorities from participation in social institutions.

Sex

Sex refers to the biological differences between men and women.

Society

It is the set of people who live in a country: children, adolescents, youth, adults and elderly people who work, study, produce and reproduce themselves. These people can come together in collectives, groups and associations. Also called Civil Society, it can control and make demands on the State.



Household chores

Work related to activities performed indoors, aimed at caring for the domestic space.

Violence

Deliberate use of physical force or power, in a threatening or effective mode, used against oneself, another person, group or community, that causes or is likely to cause injury, death, psychological harm, developmental disorders or deprivation. This definition includes interpersonal violence, suicidal behaviour or armed conflict. It also includes a wide range of acts that go beyond the physical act, such as threats and intimidation. In addition to death and injury, the definition includes the many, often less visible, consequences of violent behaviour, such as mental harm, deprivations and developmental disabilities that compromise the well-being of individuals, families and communities (WHO/PAHO, 2003).

Violence against women and girls

It is any conduct - action or omission - of discrimination, aggression, or coercion, occasioned by the simple fact that the victim is a woman or girl and that causes damage, death, embarrassment, limitation, physical, sexual, moral, psychological, social, political, or economic suffering, as well as financial loss. This violence can occur in both public and private spaces.

Intrafamily Violence

Refers to all forms of violence (physical, psychological, emotional, sexual, economic, etc.) that can happen within the family. It includes violent relationships not only between partners (also called "conjugal violence" or "domestic violence"), but also between fathers/mothers and their sons and daughters, or other family members. It also considers violence perpetrated by family members against older people.

Domestic violence

It occurs at home, in the domestic environment, or in a relationship of familiarity, affection or cohabitation.

Worldview

Cognitive perspective, influenced by historical and cultural contexts.

Vulnerability

It refers to unequal opportunities, social exclusion and other social, cultural, political and economic factors that make a person more vulnerable.

