

O racismo brasileiro a partir da Publicidade: um olhar sobre a representatividade em anúncios de revista

The racism from the Advertising: a look at representativeness in magazine Ads

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Resumo: *Por meio da coleta de anúncios das marcas mais valiosas do Brasil, analisamos a presença de pessoas negras em peças veiculadas na revista Veja no intervalo 2018-2020. Colocamos em discussão a formação da identidade negra brasileira, em virtude do racismo, observado aqui de forma tridimensional, em suas dimensões estrutural, prática e ideológica. Refletimos sobre o lugar da Publicidade como instrumento cultural na afirmação e na consolidação das estruturas racistas, a partir de suas representações. Os resultados da análise apontam para uma oscilação na representatividade de pessoas negras ano a ano e, quando comparados ao trabalho de outros pesquisadores da temática em outros períodos, nota-se pouca evolução no enfrentamento ao racismo.*

Palavras-chave: *consumo; publicidade; racismo.*

Abstract: *Through the collect of advertisements of the most valuable brands in Brazil, we analyzed the presence of black people in ads published in Veja magazine in the 2018-2020 interval. We discuss the formation of black Brazilian identity, due to racism, observed here in a three-dimensional way, in its structural, practical and ideological dimensions. We reflect on the place of Advertising as a cultural instrument in the affirmation and consolidation of racist structures, based on their representations. The results of the analysis point to an oscillation in the representation of black people from year to year and, when compared to the*

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work of other researchers on the subject in other periods, there is little evolution in the fight against racism.

Keywords: *Consumption; Advertising; Racism.*

Introduction

Brazil established – through a project that contemplated the population’s whitening, eugenic policies, and marginalizing strategies – the extermination of the Black population brought to the country from the African continent as a workforce during the colonization process. As part of this project, social sciences defended theories that preached the idea that the country was a racial democracy in a logic of silencing (KILOMBA, 2019) and “epistemicide” (CARNEIRO, 2005).

Communicational thought integrated the intellectual project of the other social sciences without critically considering racial relations, colluding with the structuring of racism as a cultural, political, and ideological element in Brazil. In consumption studies, that was not different. So far, there has been little discussion on advertising’s responsibility in maintaining Brazilian racism and whether it has done anything to face it.

Black movements faced the results of this project through resistance over time and echoing their voices on social networking platforms, in culture, arts, politics, the media, and in other fields of society. Their voices began to achieve more resonance during the twenty-first century, enabling the establishment of a debate that recognizes the forces of racial structures in the formation of Brazil.

The purpose of this work is to examine how advertising has positioned itself over the last three years with the broader reach of discussions concerning Black people in the media through observing their presence in magazine ads. The selection of ads considered Interbrand’s ranking of most valuable brands of 2018, 2019, and 2020, resulting in the following group: 1) Itaú; 2) Bradesco; 3) Skol; 4) Brahma; 5) Banco do Brasil; 6) Natura; 7) Antarctica; 8) Petrobras; 9) Vivo; 10) Cielo. We searched for ads in the issues of *Veja*, the weekly print magazine with the largest circulation in the country, published in 2018, 2019, and 2020. Bardin’s (2004) content analysis procedures guided this moment of collecting materials.

The justification for this work finds support in consumption's place as an element of identity assertion in contemporaneity, having advertising as an instrument of meaning transfer (MCCRACKEN, 2010). We acknowledge how advertising is responsible for constructing possible and desirable worlds in which consumer goods acquire symbolic and material value through advertising representations.

Identity, racism, representation, and representativeness

Processes that have subjugated the Black population intended to annihilate its notion of identity, a collective personality that saw Blackness as something positive and coveted. This happened because “the identity of a group works as an ideology insofar as it allows its members to define themselves in opposition to members of other groups to reinforce the solidarity existing between them with the purpose to preserve the group as a distinct entity.” (MUNANGA, 2020, p. 12). Therefore, the national interest in erasing the traces of Black identity that resulted from the high presence of people originated from the African continent and their descendants due to colonial processes.

Culture had, throughout history, an important role in the consolidation of racist images related to the Black population. Hall (2016, p. 18) explains that “Language is one of the ‘media’ through which thoughts, ideas, and feelings are represented in a culture. Representation through language is therefore central to the processes by which meaning is produced [...]”. Hence, we must recognize artistic manifestations like painting, literature, and so forth contribute to the naturalization of images that place Black people in a position of inferiority.

Regarding consumption as a sociocultural phenomenon,

[...], products and services generate institutional and promotional discourses to move equity financing through the sales of goods and services, acting not just politically and economically but, above all, as mediating instances in the regulation of cultures according to the interests

of the commercial productive logic, which comes into conflict with the logic of consumption. (PEREZ; TRINDADE, 2018, p. 6)

Besides the interests of commercial logic, we cannot disconnect the role of the cultural dimensions of consumption in their mediations based on Martín-Barbero's (2008) map. Considering the Cultural Matrixes of society have arisen from racist structures, advertising reproduces them and thus contributes to their consolidation since its origins in Brazil. Through representations of a culturally constituted world (MCCRACKEN, 2010), advertising acts to awaken desire, projecting idealized situations for the consumption of goods. Advertising indicates the idealized representations of this world in consumption scenes (CARRASCOZA, 2012).

At the beginning of its consolidation in the nineteenth century, Brazilian advertising was more descriptive than creatively elaborate, based on classifieds (CASAQUI, 2007). This category of advertisements was an essential instrument for the consolidation of advertising, and there was a specific role for the Black population in it: a product. Slavery did not acknowledge Black people's humanity, and, for that reason, they were traded and appeared as one of the most advertised products in Brazilian advertising in the nineteenth century (FREYRE, 1979).

With abolition and discourses on miscegenation and racial democracy, the twentieth century observes a shift in Black people's representations in culture as a whole – and, consequently, in advertising – while the narrative of an absence of racial tensions in Brazil also becomes naturalized. In advertising, racial tensions disappear since Black people can no longer appear as an advertised good. We see, therefore, the use of culture to erase the Black population, a process that happens concomitantly to other marginalization strategies that also deny their subjectivity as consumers in a society of consumption under construction.

Understanding representation as “[...] the process by which members of a culture use language (broadly defined as any signifying system deploying signs) to produce meaning” (HALL, 2016, p. 108), we

have the illustration of its strength in the production, consolidation, and reaffirmation in the imagination of Brazil as a whitened country or, at the most, mixed-race, where racial tensions are absent. Culture – that has the media as one of its spaces – erases the Black population from its representations since abolition, initiating a process of constructing the imagination of the whitening of the Brazilian population. Throughout the twentieth century, the narrative of the unfeasibility of representing Black people in advertising consolidates itself, gaining supporters with explicitly racist discourses through the association of Blackness to poverty, an undesirable characteristic in a society of consumption, like the one between Africa and Black, as Mbembe (2018) points out. These associations recall Hall's (2016, p. 193) discussion on power and representation: "We often think of power in terms of direct physical coercion or constraint. However, we have also spoken, for example, of power in representation; power to mark, assign and classify; of symbolic power; of ritualized expulsion." Diverse narratives that aimed to attribute negative meanings to Blackness, such as poverty, violence, and marginality, made racist statements by advertising professionals, like those recorded by Pires (1988), recurrent in common sense and the media. Clóvis Calia, Enio Mainardi, and Washington Olivetto, important Brazilian ad pros who participate in an interview cited by Martins (2019), utter racist discourses on Black representation, associating it with poverty and the undesirable.

Sodré (2015, p. 278) explains how imageries that build negative representations of Black people operate. According to the author, "since the nineteenth century, Africans and their descendants were connoted by elites and intermediary sectors of society as beings outside the ideal image of the free worker for Eurocentric reasons." Sodré mentions the role of the media in the construction and reinforcement of racist images, demonstrating how they occur based on four factors: 1) Denial: "the media tends to deny the existence of racism unless when it is the object of news due to the flagrant violation of this or that antiracist device or episodic racial conflicts" (SODRÉ, 2015, p. 279); 2) The repression

of “positive identity aspects of symbolic manifestations of Black origin” (idem); 3) The stigmatization of phenotypic traits as a basis for discrimination, marking the disqualification of difference, “the starting point for every type of discrimination, conscious or not, against the other.” (idem); 4) The professional indifference in the limited presence of Black people in Brazilian media, except in backstage functions.

In the twenty-first century, amidst economic growth and the expansion of purchase power, brands have begun to recognize the Black population as a consumer target. Sodré views the acknowledgment of this group’s existence under the perspective of its consumption power critically. Nevertheless, in line with debates on relations between consumption and citizenship (CANCLINI, 2008), we have this fact that changes brands’ perspectives compared to discourses previously in effect in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Black people began to be treated as consumption subjects (SODRÉ, 2015). Representations of Black people in advertising increased, though still restricted to specific products, not acknowledging them as the universality of the human category (KILOMBA, 2019).

Campos (2017) interprets racism under a tridimensional prism that observes how ideologies, practices, and structures solidify. The ideological dimension demonstrates how racism depends on beliefs and ideas about race to hierarchize groups from their characteristics. The practical dimension considers discriminatory actions produced by a racist ideology and subtler, more reactive attitudes. The third dimension is structural, which considers racism as a structuring part of a social system. Campos (2017, p. 14) explains that approaching racism in a three-dimensional way contributes to understanding: “1) the contemporary form that racism is taking. 2) Some problems related to its conceptual definition. 3) The ontological status of the notion of race. 4) Part of the dilemmas faced by the antiracist struggle.” This way, the disproportionate presence of Black people in advertising, considered under a tridimensional lens, can be seen as the result of a racist ideology that denied Black people’s humanity and allowed the

existence of slavery (along with developments we mentioned previously like the nineteenth-century classified ads and the marginalization and association of Blackness to negative signs), resulting in racist practices that become solidified in the experience of the Brazilian population. Ideologies and practices consolidate racist structures, making the debate on the theme and the antiracist struggle complex.

Brazilian racism was built from structures that involved important elements of social life, practiced through an ideology defended by the social thought of the time. Disguised in narratives that created the idea that Brazilian people are cordial (HOLANDA, 1977), that its miscegenation was harmonious (FREYRE, 1963), and that the country's enslavement procedures were the least violent in the Americas (FREYRE, 1979), racism organizes itself. After centuries, racism consolidates itself as one of the most substantial structures of Brazil, as perceptible in social indicators that reserve a prominent position for the Black population in terms of poverty, violence, low schooling, and so forth.

Mbembe (2018, p. 171), discussing Black reason, concludes that, due to historical processes of slavery and racism, Black identity corresponds to a becoming, a network of affinities. In the same direction, Munanga (2020, p. 15) argues Black identity corresponds to the "political identity of an important segment of the Brazilian population excluded from political and economic participation and the full exercise of citizenship." It is, therefore, an identity marked in the universal perspective by alterity, exclusion, and marginalization.

The path to building a Black identity, according to Munanga, initially goes through the acceptance of physical traits that represent Blackness, turned into negative signs by Eurocentric patterns reinforced in culture. Historically, processes in Brazil, such as the population's whitening through miscegenation and the devaluing of phenotypic traits (nose thickness, hair texture, and skin color), built a repulsion against Black identity, which led to its denial. "The recovery of that identity begins by the acceptance of the physical attributes of Blackness before reaching cultural, mental, intellectual, moral, and psychological attributes, for

the body constitutes the material focus of all aspects of that identity.” (MUNANGA, 2020, p. 19). Understanding the power of the presence of Black bodies in advertising is essential to comprehend the level at which the process of recovering Black identity is. Beauty standards in vogue establish themselves in culturally constituted worlds. Advertising is one of the pillars of this process, along with fashion, in the society of consumption.

In the twenty first century, representativeness emerges as a term to refer to situation in which people from marginalized groups appear in diverse situations. Silvio Almeida (2018, p. 84) conceptualizes representativeness as the “[...] participation of minorities in power and social prestige spaces, including inside centers of ideological diffusion such as the media and academia.” In this sense, we understand the presence of Black people in advertising can illustrate representativeness when a product – or a brand or line extension – designed for Black people emerges. This same representativeness is insufficient to solve racism in our society, seen as the universal representation of humans continues to belong primarily to White people. In the case of advertising, representativeness would signal a rupture from racist structures if it were proportional to the percentage of that population in the country and if it placed the Black population recurrently as representative of human universality, as it occurs with whiteness.

Almeida indicates two critical effects of representativeness in facing racism:

1. It provides an opening in the political space so that the claims of minorities can gain repercussion, especially when the accomplished leadership results from a collective political project.
2. It dismantles discriminatory narratives that always place minorities in a subaltern position. Moreover, representativeness is always an accomplishment due to years of political struggles and intense intellectual construction by social movements that successfully influence institutions. (ALMEIDA, 2018, p. 84)

Turning to this article's object of study, assessing the number of Black people represented in ads published in *Veja* by the most valuable brands in the country is an important exercise to comprehend what the indices of Black representation tell us about society's progress in confronting racism.

Methodological considerations

The first consideration is that the brands Brahma, Petrobras, and Skol did not have ads in *Veja* during the three years of collection and, therefore, were discarded. The remaining brands were Itaú, Bradesco, Banco do Brasil, Natura, Vivo, and Cielo. We selected every ad from these brands with either photographic or illustrated figures of humans in them, totaling 54 ads. In this material, we counted the total of people regardless of their ethnic-racial classification and set apart those featuring Black people (Black and Brown according to the criteria applied by IBGE in the demographic census). We did not classify the amount of White, Yellow, or indigenous people because this project aims to verify the proportion of Black people in advertising, considering they are 54.9% of the country's population (POPULAÇÃO, 2017).

We analyzed the portrayal of Black people based on heteroidentification criteria (RIOS, 2018; DOS SANTOS & ESTEVAM, 2018; EDNILSON, 2018). Table 1 presents the total number of people represented in ads, the stratified number of Black people, and their distribution among men and women.

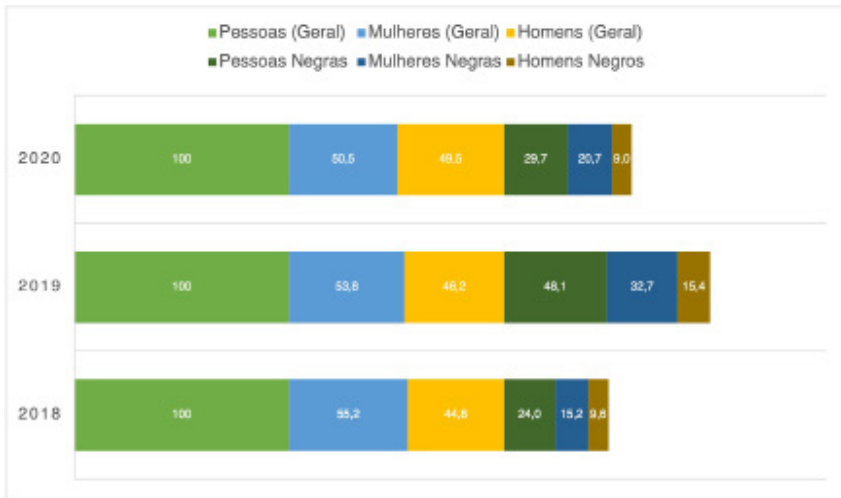
Table 1 – Numbers of people represented in ads

Year	People (General)	Women (General)	Men (General)	Black People	Black Women	Black Men
2020	111	56	55	33	23	10
2019	52	28	24	25	17	8
2018	125	69	56	30	19	12

Source – Elaborated by the author.

Given the variation of people and the number of ads, we converted numbers to percentages for the graphic representation to make interpretation easier (Figure 1).

Figure 1 – Percentages of people represented in ads



Source – Elaborated by the author.

Sorting the data per brand in 2018, we excluded Cielo because the brand had only an ad with no representation of Black people. Natura did not publish ads in *Veja* in 2019 and 2020. Table 2 shows the number of people represented in the brand's ads in 2018. 133.64430.27-5

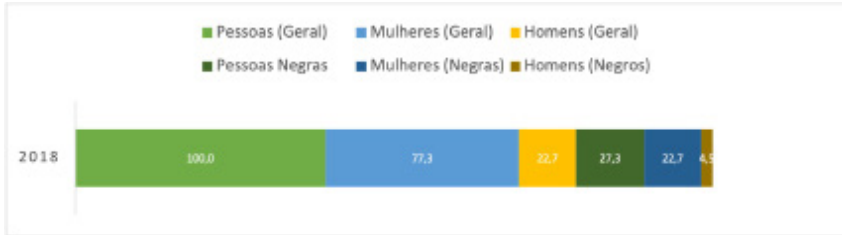
Table 2 – Numbers of people represented in Natura's ads.

Year	People (General)	Women (General)	Men (General)	Black People	Black Women	Black Men
2018	22	17	5	6	5	1

Source – Elaborated by the author.

Figure 2 presents the conversion of numbers to percentages.

Figure 2 – Percentages of people represented in Natura’s ads



Source – Elaborated by the author.

In ads for Banco do Brasil, representativeness grows from 2018 to 2019 due to an increase in the number of Black people and, yes, a reduction in the number of human figures (Table 3) in the two ads that portray Black people in each year.

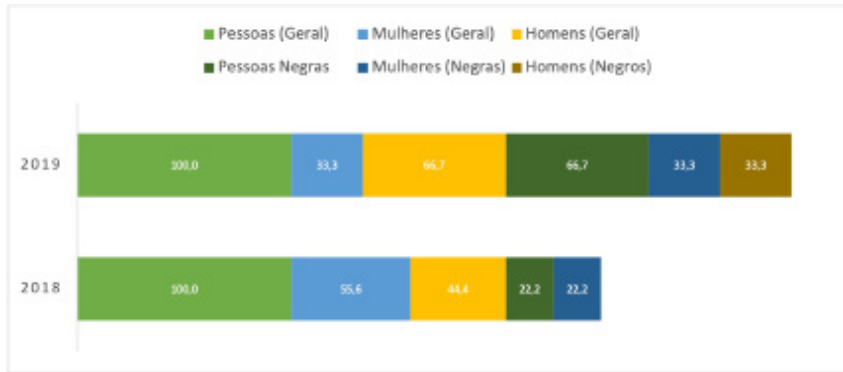
Table 3 – Numbers of people represented in Banco do Brasil’s ads.

Year	People (General)	Women (General)	Men (General)	Black People	Black Women	Black Men
2019	3	1	2	2	1	1
2018	9	5	4	2	2	0

Source – Elaborated by the author.

Still, the fact that a Black woman represents all women in the brand’s ads in 2019 is surprising, seen as representations never give Black women the place of universality (KILOMBA, 2019). In 2020, the brand did not publish ads in the magazine.

Figure 3 – Percentages of people represented in Banco do Brasil's ads



Source – Elaborated by the author.

In Bradesco's ads, there is an increasing presence of Black women, who were, proportionally, a minority compared to men in general, Black men, and women in general (Table 4). The brand's advertisements with Black representation totaled five in 2018, one in 2019, and eight in 2020.

Table 4 – Numbers of people represented in Bradesco's ads.

Year	People (General)	Women (General)	Men (General)	Black People	Black Women	Black Men
2020	23	12	11	11	8	3
2019	1	1	0	1	1	0
2018	18	8	10	4	1	3

Source – Elaborated by the author.

In 2019, the brand reduced the number of people portrayed significantly, featuring a Black woman as the only person in the examined ad, again, in a position of universalization of the human category. In 2020, Black women's representation reached its peak, corresponding to most Black people portrayed. Still, they are not most people in general, seen as the number of non-Black men exceeds the number of Black women. Black men also lost space in representations over the years,

despite the increase in male figures from 2018 to 2020, not counting 2019, when ads featured no man (Figure 4).

Figure 4 – Percentages of people represented in Bradesco's ads



Source – Elaborated by the author.

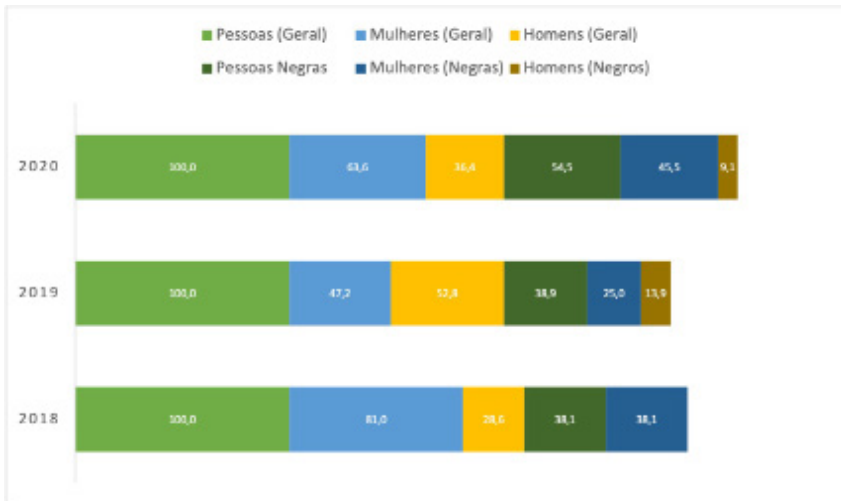
Itaú published eight ads with Black representation in 2018, nine in 2019, and two in 2020. The presence of Black people evolves proportionally over the observed years in the collected material (Table 5); it grows in terms of the number of Black women but oscillates for Black men, who were absent from the bank's ads in 2018, in smaller proportion than women in 2019, and even fewer in 2020. Men, in general, are a minority in the brand's representations, except in 2019. Black men are the least portrayed in all years of observation, especially in 2018, when they had no representation.

Table 5 – Numbers of people represented in Itaú's ads.

Year	People (General)	Women (General)	Men (General)	Black People	Black Women	Black Men
2020	22	14	8	12	10	2
2019	36	17	19	14	9	5
2018	21	17	6	8	8	0

Source – Elaborated by the author.

Figure 5 – Percentages of people represented in Itaú's ads



Source – Elaborated by the author.

Vivo had four ads featuring Black people in 2018, five in 2018, and four in 2020. The trajectory of the brand's communication points to an oscillation in percentages of Black people's representations and a decreasing proportion in the portrayal of women in general (Table 6).

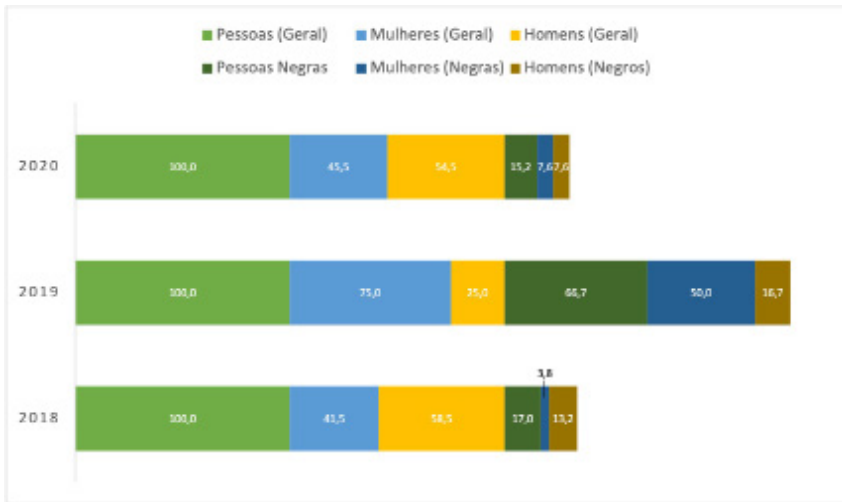
Table 6 – Numbers of people represented in Vivo’s ads

Year	People (General)	Women (General)	Men (General)	Black People	Black Women	Black Men
2020	66	30	36	10	5	5
2019	12	9	3	8	6	2
2018	53	22	31	9	2	7

Source – Elaborated by the author.

Black people were the majority in 2019, which had predominantly female figures. However, they go back to being the minority in 2020 by a significant reduction. The number of Black people in 2018 and 2020 is proportionally very low. In the last year of analysis, nevertheless, there is parity between the representations of Black women and men, even though men, in general, were the majority.

Figure 6 – Percentages of people represented in Vivo’s ads



Source – Elaborated by the author.

Overall, the representation of Black women is more significant than of Black men. This factor is an important indicator for thinking about the intersectional dynamics involved (CRENSHAW, 1991). Considering

their presence only, Black men are the minority with rare exceptions. In the intersectionality of oppressions, Black men's ambiguous position in relation to White men and women, who exert distinct powers over them (FANON, 2008), is extensively discussed among Black feminism researchers (DAVIS, 2016; HOOKS, 2019).

Discussion on the collected material

Though we mentioned the low volume of reflections on racism in consumption studies in Brazil, it is important to acknowledge the works of researchers who have previously dedicated themselves to this issue. Other researchers have performed the work of verifying the presence of Black people in advertising over the years and presented relevant contributions on Brazilian racism in light of that object.

We highlight here the studies of Hasenbalg (1982), D'Adesky (2002), Corrêa (2006), Martins (2010), Corrêa (2011), Santos (2019), and Campos and Félix (2020) that, through their specific methodologies, analyzed these data to reflect on racist structures.

To debate the results of our assessment, we refer to these authors' final considerations and compare them to our results. Hasenbalg (1982, p. 106) indicated that "Despite attempts to the contrary, Black identity is basically defined by the White." Though our count did not stratify the set of people between White, Yellow, and indigenous, the fact that the Black population – a statistical majority – is not the most represented demonstrates how its identity is still defined in advertising as alterity. The author concludes: "Advertising is not oblivious to the symbolic dimension that rules racial relations in Brazil. It is an effective instrument for the perpetuation of a White aesthetic full of racial implications through action and omission." (HASENBALG, 1982, p. 112). The conclusion is still pertinent four decades later. Even for specific segments, black people's presence in ads is a more constant reality, but they are numerically portrayed as the minority. In other words, advertising continues to act in the ruling of social relations that

defend a whitened Brazil, denying the statistical data that places the black population as the majority.

In 2006, Laura Guimarães Corrêa's (2006) study on representations of Black people in advertising resulted in a significant analytical classification work. The researcher first resorted to quantitative analysis to carry out a qualitative analysis, using D'Adesky's (2002) methodology. Corrêa's research found a shy increase in the circulation of ads featuring Black people in 2004, 10 years after D'Adesky's assessment. However, when observing 2005, the number drops to a level just 0.1% higher than D'Adesky (2002) identified, presenting the same irregularity we found comparing ads in three years. "Reading these data as representative of advertising in other magazines and other media and comparing these numbers to the presence of Black people in the constitution of the Brazilian population, I can conclude that advertising, in general, continues to exclude this portion of the population." (CORRÊA, 2006, p. 63). The statement still holds true today, the difference being specific situations in which Black people occupy the place of universality, which are still insufficient to solve representation problems, as argued previously.

In the final considerations, Côrrea indicates that representations obey "plural modes of showing the Black body in advertising. There are many meanings, goals, and bodies represented. But common points in the way of showing this body made the separation into categories a facilitating resource for the analysis." (CORRÊA, 2006, p. 116). Comparing the author's comments, based on her research results, to the numerical analysis of this work demonstrates how few were advances in making representations more proportional to reality in advertising.

Martins (2010) analyzes ads displayed in Brazil between 1995 and 2005, starting with the hypothesis that Black people's representations in this media were still based on nineteenth-century racial stereotypes. The author also analyzes magazine advertising and, like this and other studies, points to the instability of representation percentages in the selected years. In his final considerations, the author is optimistic

about the shy increase in representations, despite noting that they are insufficient to signal structural changes: “We believe they were extremely modest in such a way that they cannot be considered signs of a radical rupture, or even of a totally new posture of the advertising segment with regards to the traditional ways of conveying the image of Black people.” (MARTINS, 2010, p. 101). Once again, his conclusions serve our research, especially if we consider that representations of Black people decreased in 2019 and 2020, reaching smaller numbers than in 2018 for some brands.

Costa’s (2010, p. 283) investigation analyzed ads published in *Veja* in 2009. In her final considerations, the author argues that “The denial of this other, the Black being, in a society ruled by the White morphological aesthetic, is the denial of explicit phenotypes in the Black body.” She points to how the low rates of Black presence deny the existence of this population according to the reality’s proportions, thus playing an essential role in maintaining racism and affecting the constitution of Black identity. The author continues: “Therefore, the fact that the visual image of the Black is shown disproportionately compared to the visual image of the White ends up ratifying the notion that the Black person is part of a minority group in a society that would be predominantly White.” (COSTA, 2010, p. 289). In this sense, her work also acknowledges the limited representation of Black people as a practice that reinforces an ideology of denial of Black identity in Brazil.

Santos (2019, p. 270), when analyzing ads published after the implementation of the Statute of Racial Equality, concludes that “there was no quantitative evolution in the post-period with an average of 9.7% of Afro-descendant presence in the advertisements, that is, 2.7 percentage points higher than the 7% average observed in previous surveys.” The author’s conclusions also agree with our findings. He states, “ads seem to reproduce marginalized groups scarcely or, when they do, they fix limits, spaces, and roles familiarizing them with the current status quo.” (SANTOS, 2019). Although our focus is not on the qualitative analysis of representations, the fact that representativeness is so low makes them

insufficient for the transformation of a racist imaginary. The author also states that this “reduces the possibility of producing new representations and reinforces those that already circulate [...], making it difficult for society to change.” (SANTOS, 2019). Furthermore, in an analysis published as a book chapter in *Publicidade Anti-Racista*, Santos (2019) demonstrates there are no significant changes in the representation of Black people.

Final considerations

When looking at advertising as constituting and resulting from culture, we see the consolidated structures, inferring results from these phenomena. Now, what is the reason for the low rates of Black presence in ads? These rates are related to the limited presence of Black people in advertising agencies (HILÁRIO; FILHO; BARRETO, 2019). They are related to the limited participation of Black people in other sectors of advertising’s production chain, such as photographers, producers, and so forth; the little presence, still, of Black people in higher education; the absence of discussions about race in the curricula of undergraduate courses in Advertising (DA SILVA, 2019). In other words, there are structures that allow racism to persist. However, such structures remain due to racist practices promoted by everyone who occupies the previously enumerated spaces and the racist ideologies that support them.

Theoretical reflections on racism and advertising’s place as a socio-cultural element in a consumption society allow us to conclude how advertising is still far from healing the damage done to the construction of a Brazilian Black identity with its participation. Although racism is discussed more, the numbers indicate that it is not possible to assert the growth of the Black presence in advertising. The representation curve has an irregular trajectory, demonstrating how racism structures endure. These continue manifest, and the quantitative indicator of representativeness is still enough to measure the imbalance in representations of Blackness in advertising.

We resort to the conclusions obtained by authors who investigated racism in advertising in different periods to demonstrate how it is still not possible to assert significant advances towards advertising that intends to be anti-racist concerning the claim for a greater presence of Black people. As the numbers in preceding studies, our research shows the inconsistency of improvement, and the theoretical path seeks to problematize the reasons for the lack of such advances.

This work allows us to reflect on the role of culture, and advertising as a part of it, in affirming and maintaining racism. Combined with the theoretical discussion, the numbers are important indicators of a scenario in which structures remain immobile due to ideologies practiced over centuries, affecting the recognition of Black identity as something desirable.

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