

# Racism and Indigenous Peoples in Brazil: A Scoping Review

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### Abstract

The social interaction between the “white man” and indigenous peoples followed a racist colonial pattern, which continues to have repercussions today. The colonization process implanted the seeds of racism in our society, and this virus has undergone successive mutations and adaptations to new circumstances. Despite the flexibility and historical persistence of racism against indigenous peoples, this subject has received limited research attention in Brazil. This study presents a scoping literature review on racism against indigenous peoples, aiming to identify theories that focus on this phenomenon, analyze its manifestations, and explore possibilities for investigation and intervention. The literature search was conducted in several databases, including the Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations, American Psychological Association, Virtual Health Library, CAPES, and SCIELO journals, using the terms “*racismo and indígenas*” or “*racismo and índios*”. A total of three theses/dissertations and seven articles were identified, with only one of them being an empirical article. The results indicate that the topic is under-addressed and fragmented, with diverse fields examining different aspects of racism, but with limited conceptual and empirical depth. The review concludes by emphasizing the need for further studies, as they are crucial in preventing the replication of racist attitudes and the invisibility of indigenous peoples within the scientific community.

**Keywords:** racism, indigenous peoples, Brazil, psychology, colonialism

## RACISMO E POVOS INDÍGENAS NO BRASIL: UMA REVISÃO DE ESCOPO

### Resumo

A interação social entre o “homem branco” e os povos indígenas ocorreu seguindo um padrão colonial racista, que continua reverberando atualmente. O processo de colonização inoculou nas células da nossa sociedade o vírus racista, o qual tem passado por sucessivas mutações e se adaptado a novas situações. Não obstante a flexibilidade e persistências históricas do racismo contra os povos originários, esta é ainda uma temática pouco pesquisada no Brasil. Este trabalho apresenta uma revisão de escopo literário sobre o racismo contra povos indígenas. Especificamente, são identificadas as teorias que focam o fenômeno, analisando suas formas de expressão e verificando as possibilidades de investigação e intervenção sobre o tema. A busca na literatura foi feita nas bases de dados da Biblioteca Digital Brasileira de Teses e Dissertações, *American Psychological Association*, Biblioteca Virtual em Saúde, Periódicos CAPES e SCIELO, usando os termos “*racismo and indígenas*” ou “*racismo and índios*”. Foram encontrados um total de três Teses/Dissertações e sete Artigos, sendo apenas um artigo empírico. Os resultados encontrados indicam que o tema é pouco abordado e disperso, ou seja, analisado por uma grande diversidade de áreas, que focam diferentes formas de expressão do racismo com pouco aprofundamento conceitual e empírico. Conclui-se salientando a necessidade de novos estudos, haja vista a demonstração da sua importância para que a ciência não reproduza atitudes racistas e de invisibilização contra os povos indígenas.

**Palavras-chave:** racismo, povos indígenas, Brasil, psicologia, colonialismo

## RACISMO Y PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS EN BRASIL: UNA REVISIÓN DEL ALCANCE

### Resumen

La interacción social entre el “hombre blanco” y los pueblos indígenas se llevó a cabo siguiendo un patrón colonial racista, que continúa repercutiendo en la actualidad. El proceso de colonización inoculó en las células de nuestra sociedad el virus racista, que ha sufrido sucesivas mutaciones y se ha adaptado a nuevas situaciones. A pesar de la flexibilidad y la persistencia histórica del racismo contra los pueblos originarios, este es todavía un tema poco investigado en Brasil. Este trabajo presenta una revisión del alcance literario sobre el racismo contra los pueblos indígenas. Específicamente, se identifican las teorías que enfocan el fenómeno, analizando sus formas de expresión y verificando las posibilidades de investigación e intervención sobre el tema. La búsqueda bibliográfica se realizó en las bases de datos de la Biblioteca Digital Brasileña de Tesis y Disertaciones, Asociación Americana de Psicología, Biblioteca Virtual en Salud, revistas CAPES y SCIELO, utilizando los términos “*racismo e indígenas*” o “*racismo e índios*”. Se encontraron un total de tres Tesis/Disertaciones y siete Artículos, con un solo artículo empírico. Los resultados

encontrados indican que el tema es poco abordado y disperso, es decir, analizado por una gran diversidad de áreas, que se enfocan en diferentes formas de expresión del racismo con poca profundidad conceptual y empírica. Concluye enfatizando la necesidad de profundizar en los estudios, dada la demostración de su importancia para que la ciencia no reproduzca actitudes racistas e de invisibilidad contra los pueblos indígenas.

*Palabras clave:* racismo, pueblos indígenas, Brasil, psicología, colonialismo

The theme of racism is recurrent in international academic studies, and when applied to social interactions in Brazil, this phenomenon takes on specific forms and characteristics. The process of colonization gradually introduced the virus of racism into Brazilian society. Consequently, the interest in national science in studying this subject has been impacted. Bibliometric analyses reveal relatively limited scientific production on the topic, with a greater concentration on the anti-racist struggle of the Black population. This leads to the question: How does racism manifest against other groups in Brazilian society, and who are these victimized groups?

Before addressing this question, it is necessary to define racism. As mentioned, racism is a historical phenomenon that has accompanied social conflicts since ancient times. It can be likened to a virus, constantly adapting to new contexts, and adopting new, less socially sanctioned forms (Lima, 2023). Given the malleability and adaptability of racism, conceptualizing it becomes a complex task. Various conceptualizations exist, including viewing racism as a structure (Almeida, 2019), a multidimensional element in the formation of social class structures (Souza, 2021), an ideology that legitimizes myths, practices, and oppressive social actions, or as an essential social representation of differences between groups (Lima, 2020).

This text adopts the conceptualization proposed by Lima and Vala (2004), who define racism as a process of hierarchization, exclusion, and discrimination against individuals or social groups based on perceived physical characteristics, whether real or imaginary. These characteristics are reinterpreted as internal cultural markers that define models of behavior. This definition integrates the perspective of the “articulation of the two Ps”: Racism = Prejudice + Power. Racism is therefore seen as an action that maintains privileges and social domination (power) and is manifested through negative images and attitudes towards others (prejudice) (Lima, 2020).

Michel Wieviorka (1995) proposes four levels of racism, ranging from the individual to the cultural and institutional. At the individual level, there is infra-racism and fragmented racism: the former is more rooted in individual emotions and thoughts, often unconscious and not translated into action, while the latter is more openly expressed and quantifiable. At the cultural level, political racism emerges, in which a racist culture becomes structured, creating an ideological space. Finally, at the institutional level, “total racism” arises when the State or society organizes itself explicitly in racist terms, with its institutions reproducing racism, as seen in the case of Apartheid in South Africa.

Going back to the initial question and considering the adopted definition, it is evident that the issue of racism can profoundly affect various social groups, including indigenous peoples. Throughout history, the social interaction between white individuals and indigenous peoples in Brazil has followed a racist colonial pattern that continues to have lasting effects. In the context of (re)democratization struggles and the expansion of social movements in the 1970s, a political-indigenous movement emerged with the support of non-governmental organizations, aiming to recognize the rights of indigenous peoples (Cunha, 1992). Despite the gains in some rights, these communities continue to be victims of daily attacks on their integrity and identity.

This historic turning point is the milestone of the inclusion of indigenous peoples in social debates, extending to the academic realm. In recent years, numerous reports of violence against indigenous peoples have emerged, particularly due to illegal mining activities on their lands. These incidents include direct attacks on villages and indigenous communities, as well as the detrimental consequences of deforestation and resource contamination. A recent example is the intrusion of over 20,000 miners into a constitutionally demarcated area, resulting in a humanitarian crisis for the Yanomami people. Tragically, this crisis has led to deaths from malnutrition, malaria, and respiratory diseases (Maes, 01/24/2023).

Given the current Brazilian context, several questions arise: Does racism against indigenous peoples exist? When and how does racism against this social group originate? How does it manifest? To what extent is it normalized and socially sanctioned? Are there studies analyzing this phenomenon? What has been explored regarding this topic thus far? What are the theoretical and methodological gaps in understanding this theme? These questions guided the scope of this text. By examining the various forms of violence experienced by indigenous peoples, racism emerges as a fundamental explanatory hypothesis for these aggressions.

In summary, this text presents a review of the topic, aiming to analyze racism against indigenous peoples in Brazilian society. Specifically, it explores relevant literature on the subject to identify theories that study this phenomenon, examine potential intersections with the issue, explore the various manifestations of racism, and explore new research possibilities that have recently emerged.

Given the contemporary nature of this topic, this analysis aims to contribute to mobilization and debate. Additionally, by providing an overview of existing publications across different fields of knowledge, it intends to inspire new directions for future studies, considering the potential and limitations that may arise. To achieve this, a scoping review was conducted, following Ferreira et al. (2021) methodology, which aims to map the current state of knowledge on a specific topic, describing the findings using rigorous and reproducible methods. However, it should be noted that the review does not intend to compile or critically assess the quality of the evidence found.

## Method

### The databases

The research was carried out in April 2021, utilizing several databases including the *Biblioteca Digital Brasileira de Teses e Dissertações* (BDTD, Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations), American Psychological Association (APA PSYCOINFO), Virtual Health Library – Psychology Brazil (BVS–Psi), CAPES, and SCIELO Journals.

## Procedures

### *Eligibility criteria*

Regarding the article filtering method, specific eligibility criteria were established before the data collection process. The criteria included the presence of the terms “*racismo* and *indígenas*” or “*racismo* and *índios*” in the title or abstract of the articles. Failure to meet this criterion resulted in the exclusion of the material. Only peer-reviewed journal articles that addressed the topic of racism against indigenous peoples, specifically in the Brazilian context, were included. Duplicate, incomplete, or articles that could not be accessed were also excluded.

### *Collection and articles*

Considering the objective of the study, article collection involved the use of Boolean command lines (“AND”) and the specified descriptor words on all platforms. The search terms “*racismo* and *indígenas*” and “*racismo* and *índios*” were used in four separate searches to ensure comprehensive coverage. Initially, the command lines were applied to the title, followed by the abstract to capture any potential articles.

Due to technical issues with the Scielo website server, the search procedure spanned two days, April 8<sup>th</sup> (when most of the data were collected) and April 13<sup>th</sup>, 2021. Two independent reviewers searched simultaneously to ensure reliability. Given the hypothesis of limited available material, specific periods, fields, or languages were not specified in the collection process. The bibliographic management software Zotero<sup>1</sup> was utilized to organize the files and facilitate the filtering process, which was performed to select the documents.

Initially, the eligibility criteria were examined, which included 1) the presence of the search terms in the title/abstract and 2) the articles being from peer-reviewed journals. Files meeting these criteria were separated for further in-depth reading. Articles that did not provide free access to the full text were excluded. Subsequently, a second round of filtering was conducted, involving a closer analysis of the summaries of the remaining articles. Publications lacking clear outlines or objectives were read in their entirety for final determination. At this stage, eligibility criterion “3” was assessed, focusing on whether the articles addressed the theme of racism against indigenous peoples in the Brazilian reality. Finally, the remaining articles underwent a thorough and detailed reading.

## Results

Firstly, there are few publications on racism against indigenous peoples in Brazil. Secondly, production is scattered, many articles were not concentrated in a single specific field, and a considerable portion of the research production is in languages other than Portuguese. Finally, a few papers fit the theme proposed in this scope review. Indeed, when collecting data through the Theses and Dissertations platform of the BDTD, seven documents were retrieved,

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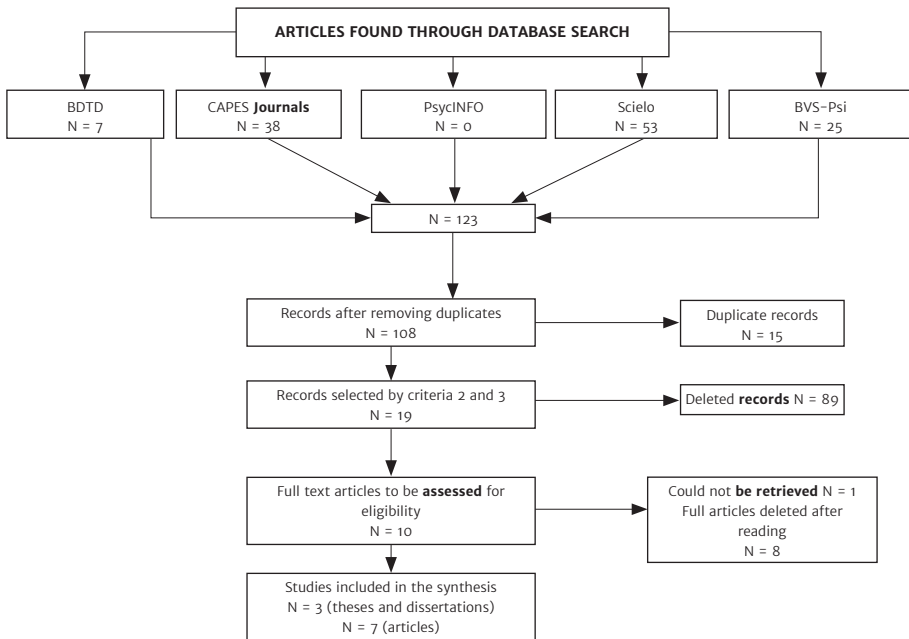
1 Zotero is a bibliographic manager that allows you to store, organize, cite, and share bibliographic references.

and located (at the time of reading the abstracts) using eligibility criterion 1 (terms in the title and abstract). Among these, three fulfilled criterion 3 (theme of racism against indigenous peoples in Brazil), while three were excluded for not meeting the criteria.

On the CAPES Journals platform, 38 papers were found, which also had the terms in the title or abstract, with only 30 meetings criterion 2 (peer-reviewed articles). Twenty-three were excluded for not fully meeting the eligibility criteria, four duplicates were identified, and only three were selected. Searches performed at the American Psychological Association (APA PSYCOINFO) returned no results. The Virtual Health Library – Psychology Brazil (BVS-Psi) retrieved 25 papers with the terms. Eighteen of them did not meet any of the criteria. Two of the files were duplicates. One of the articles could not be downloaded for reading, and only four were selected for this review. Finally, on the second day of collection, due to the access problems presented in of the Scielo Database, a total of 53 articles met criterion 1; 45 papers were excluded for not meeting criteria 2 and 3, and four contained duplicates, leaving four documents in total.

**Figure 1**

*Selection process of studies on racism against indigenous peoples in Brazil following the PRISMA methodology information flow diagram*



After the data collection process, two dissertations and a thesis were included in addition to seven articles, all meeting the established criteria. Subsequently, an in-depth reading of the articles was undertaken. Simultaneously, a separate file was created for each selected text,

containing notes on the studies' key findings. Furthermore, a checklist was completed, capturing relevant information such as authors, language, field of knowledge, journal of publication, and year. These details were meticulously recorded to be described in the scope review (Tables 1 and 2).

The identified publications were limited to the period between 2010 and 2020. Tables 1 and 2 reveal that these publications are spread across various fields of study, indicating a recent and fragmented interest in the topic of racism against indigenous peoples. Notably, the oldest publication retrieved dates to 2010. Another noteworthy observation pertains to the geographical origin of the publications. A substantial majority originates from Latin American countries, specifically Mexico, Peru, Argentina, Colombia, and Guatemala. This prevalence could be attributed to the significant ethnographic impact of indigenous communities in these regions, who also endure the experience of racism. However, there is a noticeable scarcity of Brazilian productions specifically addressing racism against native peoples. This may stem from the marginalization of indigenous peoples within the framework of the national *ethos* (De Jesus, 2011).

From the detailed reading of the articles, it was observed that certain texts included the terms "racism and indigenous peoples". However, upon closer examination, these texts did not reference to the issues concerning indigenous peoples, and as a result, they were excluded from this review as they did not align with the intended purpose. Another notable finding is that the corpus of studies consisted predominantly of theoretical studies, with only one master's dissertation presenting empirical data.

An evident research gap exists concerning studies involving urban indigenous peoples. Among the analyzed texts, only one of them addresses this phenomenon. In contrast, the others focus on indigenous communities residing in their ancestral territories or constitutionally demarcated lands, as defined by the articles enacted in the 1988 constitution. It is important to acknowledge that over 300,000 indigenous people reside in urban areas (*Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* [IBGE, Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics]<sup>2</sup>). The invisibilization of more than 30% of the indigenous population by scientific research reflects the operation of racism at both cultural and individual levels.

Science has historically functioned as an institution, based on the symbolic constructs of each society. Within the Brazilian context, in which the colonial ideal forms its foundation, the influence of racism permeates scientific productions (Cardoso & Coimbra, 2019; Lima, 2019). This leads us to consider the various levels of racism described by Lima (2020), encompassing individual and cultural dimensions. It becomes apparent that most studies primarily focus on indigenous peoples in ancestral territories, with limited attention paid to urban indigenous communities. In a racist culture, which is a characteristic of the Brazilian territory, it perpetuates predetermined social mobility spaces and produces negative stereotypes, effectively marginalizing

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2 Retrieved from [https://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/Quantos\\_s%C3%A3o%3F#:text=Segundo%20o%20Censo%20IBGE%202010,da%20popula%C3%A7%C3%A3o%20total%20do%20pa%C3%ADs](https://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/Quantos_s%C3%A3o%3F#:text=Segundo%20o%20Censo%20IBGE%202010,da%20popula%C3%A7%C3%A3o%20total%20do%20pa%C3%ADs)



and essentializing these populations, rendering them invisible or even declaring their “non-existence.”

Among the analyzed publications, only two studies involved self-declared indigenous authors discussing their experiences. The studies entitled “My life as a student in the world of whites” by Nelly Duarte and “Existence and Difference: Racism against Indigenous Peoples” by Ailton Krenak and Taquary Pataxó exemplify this inclusion, in addition to presenting speech passages of indigenous people in the text. These instances within scientific research replicate explicit acts of racism, such as epistemicide, which institutionalizes certain groups as intellectually inferior, devaluing their contributions as less scientific, or restricting institutional access exclusively to privileged groups (Cardoso & Coimbra, 2019).

### Discussion

Based on the presented data, to systematize the analyses, the articles were categorized into two thematic groups. The first category, “**Contexts for the Study of Racism**,” encompasses the contexts or societies examined in the studies. The second category, “**Forms of Expression of Racism**,” focuses on the specific racist practices described in each publication. Before discussing the composition of these categories, a synthesis was provided regarding the concepts and types of racism analyzed in the reviewed studies. Gomes et al. (2020), building upon Silvio de Almeida (2018) conceptualization of structural racism, define racism as:

[...] a systematic form of discrimination based on race, and which is manifested through conscious or unconscious practices that culminate in disadvantages or privileges for individuals, depending on the racial group to which they belong (Gomes et al., 2020, p. 319).

Cardoso and Coimbra (2019) adopt the concept of institutional racism in their article “*Banzeirar*: making certain care practices riverine,” defining it as systems and institutions — whether public or private — that act in various ways toward ethnic-racial groups, benefiting some while harming others based on socially constructed codes and shared ideals. Another type of racism identified in the literature is environmental racism. Rabelo (2010) describes it as a form of violence that extends beyond skin color, targeting economically vulnerable populations who face prejudice, are treated as non-citizens, objectified as disposable entities being considered, in their environments, as an obstacle to capital and the development of matters of “State interest”. This phenomenon affects not only indigenous peoples but also riverside communities.

All these concepts and types of racism express the multidimensionality of the phenomenon. In the selected articles, racism was analyzed in different settings. Virtually every text primarily focuses on racism within a specific Brazilian state, examining the communities directly affected. Despite the local and individual particularities of each indigenous ethnic group, an immersion in the social reality faced by indigenous peoples reveals certain commonalities in the phenomenon across the studies. Overall, the literature comprising the analyzed articles

emphasizes that racism against indigenous peoples is a product of past colonialism, which continues to persist in the present, as evident in the following excerpt:

With institutional racism as a determining root in the country's structure, certain social codes were well delimited, hierarchical places were postulated and ideals introjected. (...) To be treated as an equal, it was imperative to become white and behave like a white person (Cardoso & Coimbra, 2019, p. 186).

The ideology of whitening is also discussed in the text, indicating that the ideals of whiteness were more unattainable for Black individuals compared to indigenous peoples, as the latter were perceived to achieve whitening more easily due to their lighter pigmentation. However, this project was replaced by the stereotype that indigenous people were “too lazy to be civilized.” Subsequently, more overt separatist policies emerged, encompassing physical extermination through violence or symbolic extermination by eradicating of their knowledge and ways of life (Cardoso & Coimbra, 2019).

Milanez et al. (2019) assert that the challenges faced by indigenous peoples today directly correlate with the ongoing legacy of slavery, which has not been relegated to the past but rather denied, perpetuating through, for example, the exploitation of these peoples in agricultural frontiers. All these aspects illustrate how racism has historically been and continues to be present, shaping Brazilian society to this day (Souza, 2021). To further enhance our understanding of this aspect, the analysis of the first thematic category follows the contexts for the study of racism.

### **Contexts for the Study of Racism**

The review encompasses ten studies categorized into six areas of racism research: territorial conflict and racism against indigenous peoples, racism in the media, racism, and psychology, the denial of racism, the racist state, and a life story. The first area refers to **territorial conflicts** experienced by indigenous peoples and their connection to racism. The first featured study, entitled “Massacre and resistance: Kaiowá and Guarani: Interrogations to Psychology in the traces of the intolerable,” focuses on the conflicts between the Kaiowá and Guarani ethnic groups and the non-indigenous population of the region, sparking a debate on Foucauldian notions of biopower:

The shedding of blood, without echoes that lead to actions capable of changing this situation, can only be analyzed in the midst of the racism of a society that lets die, kills and does not give life to those it considers less, those it classifies as uncivilized, normalized and who are branded inferior by those who call themselves superior and better – racist practice, war of races, biopower (Lemos & Galindo, 2013, p. 982).

Within the same analytical context, Rabelo (2010) in “Environmental Conflicts Generated by Environmental Racism in the Implementation Process of the Management Council of Rebio

Serra Negra in Indigenous Lands, PE”, adopts a socio-environmental perspective, analyzing the conflicts faced by the Pipipã and Kambiwá during the preparation of the Management Council for the Biological Reserve of Serra Negra in the state of Pernambuco, Brazil. The author represents the environmental conflicts that highlight the significance of indigenous lands in biodiversity preservation policies, emphasizing their environmental and sociocultural importance as places inhabited by peoples who manage forest preservation areas with high biodiversity.

The second area refers to **racism in the media**. The first study examined is a Master's Dissertation in the field of Portuguese Language entitled “The Raposa/Serra do Sol Indigenous Question in the Written Media: from stereotype to Racism” by Elisangela Dias Barbosa (2010). Barbosa employs Critical Discourse Studies, drawing upon the ideas of Teun A. Van Dijk, Walter Lippmann's reflections on stereotypes in the media context (1922/2008), and Patrick Charaudeau's theory (2007) to analyze the portrayal of indigenous issues in the written media of the state of Roraima. In her doctoral thesis in Sociology, entitled “History, Memory, and Exclusion: The Xavante and National Development Policies in Nova Xavantina-MT,” Natália Araújo de Oliveira (2017) investigates the memory and history of Nova Xavantina (state of Mato Grosso, Brazil) and the segregationist discourses against indigenous peoples used to justify racist discourses perpetuated in the city.

Of the selected texts, two focus on **racism and psychology**, taking different approaches. The first work is a Master's Dissertation in Psychology entitled “Ethnic Racial Attitude of College Students Towards Indigenous People: Contributions from Behavior Analysis” by Rivail Farias Santana (2020). The author proposes a social experiment, which is the only empirical study found in this review. The study involves individual assessments of white and Black university students aged 18 to 20 using the Implicit Relational Assessment Procedure (IRAP), a computer test that assesses the relationship between different stimuli, and Matching-to-sample (MTS), a procedure to assess conditional discriminations (Santana, 2020). Out of the 16 participants, three exhibited a negative racial bias towards indigenous figures. Only one participant potentially displayed a reversal of racial bias after using the MTS. Santana discusses his findings referring to the limitations of the research in terms of a small sample size and the potential for different results when applied to the general population. The second article in this category is Cardoso and Coimbra's (2019) “*Banzeirar*: making certain care practices riverine,” which problematizes psychology practices purportedly related to care but are structured in repressive, controlling, and punitive ways. The authors propose alternative practices that challenge the dominant paradigm, highlighting that the foundations of psychology are based on racism, which has historically authorized the genocide of certain populations.

In the context of the **denial of racism**, there is the study entitled “Existence and Difference: Racism Against Indigenous Peoples” by Milanez et al. (2019), produced from a meeting between intellectuals, artists, and indigenous leaders aimed at discussing racism. The authors present the invisibilization or silencing of racism against indigenous peoples in Brazil, which results from the denial of this phenomenon. For the authors, it became evident that the

term racism is contested when applied to indigenous peoples, even if historically these peoples are marked by dehumanizing treatment, devaluation of their culture and stigmatized as savages. They have been compelled to suppress or omit their customs to conform to “Christian/civilized” customs (Milanez et al., 2019).

The article entitled “My Life as a Student in the World of Whites” by Nelly Duarte (2017), framed as a **report of life experience**, explores the author’s journey as a Marubuco indigenous student, describing the path that led her to university and the obstacles encountered. Duarte reflects on how her relatives’ perspectives changed upon her entry into the university. Having initially studied Marubuco crafts, she pursued a bachelor’s degree in Anthropology at the Federal University of Amazonas from 2008 to 2014. Currently, she is pursuing a doctorate in the Graduate Program in Social Anthropology at the National Museum, still focusing on the same subject. Duarte notes that new families are undergoing similar experiences, having young students who move to cities but no longer face the sense of being “the only one of its kind in the world, of not seeing anyone like-minded speaking your language.” In today’s metropolises, the author concludes, there are more indigenous people, allowing for greater contact with individuals who share similar backgrounds.

Finally, the review includes two studies that analyze the **racist state** concept: “Is Brazil a Racist State? Two or Three Notes and Some Definitions” by Junior and Passos (2014) and “Racial Justice and Human Rights of Traditional Peoples and Communities” by Gomes et al. (2020). Both studies examine the historical relationship between race and the Brazilian territory. Junior and Passos (2014), drawing on the theories of Giorgio Agamben and Hannah Arendt, argue that when the Brazilian State uses violence against indigenous peoples, either through direct actions or through the omission of intervention, its legitimacy as a democratic regime is questioned. Instead, it aligns itself with a totalitarian ideology that denies the rights of others and supports their elimination and exclusion from society. The authors suggest that Europe’s historical violence against indigenous peoples played a significant role in shaping Eurocentric power dynamics, with Latin American countries like Brazil becoming both colonized and colonizers. Gomes et al. (2020), on the other hand, revisit the history of exploitation and discrimination experienced by indigenous peoples. They highlight how the notion of race has been instrumental in separating socially excluded and marginalized groups. The authors demonstrate how structural racism continues to shape public policies and restrict access to human rights in contemporary society, failing to bring about substantial changes to the existing power structures in capitalist societies.

In conclusion, the analysis of the ten selected texts reveals the transversal nature of the theme of racism. The third stage of the analysis will explore the various forms through which racism is expressed.

### **Forms of expression of racism**

In addition to the discussions, the reviewed articles also shed light on certain racist practices that have become so naturalized that they often go unnoticed or fail to be recognized as racism due to the historical invisibilization of indigenous peoples. One prominent form of racism identified in the literature is **genocide**, which is understood, according to the Policy Dictionary by Bobbio et al. (1998), as the deliberate and systematic extermination of a racial or ethnic group.

Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such: a) Extermination of members of the group. b) Serious attack against the physical or mental integrity of the members of the group. c) Intentional submission of the group to conditions of existence tending to bring about its total or partial physical destruction. d) Measures tending to prevent births within the group. e) Forced transfer of children from one group to another group (Bobbio et al., p. 544, 1998).

Genocide, often referred to as “domination by the sword” (Cardoso & Coimbra, 2019), stands out as one of the earliest acts of violence inflicted upon indigenous peoples. Reaching its peak during the colonization of Brazilian lands, Europeans engaged in deliberate and systematic actions that led to the death of millions of indigenous individuals. These acts encompassed not only direct physical violence but also biological warfare, as contact with Europeans introduced diseases that decimated indigenous populations (Cardoso & Coimbra, 2019). According to authors such as Milanez et al. (2019), there is no prospect of overcoming the legacy of genocide. The media regularly reports the ongoing struggles faced by indigenous peoples in defending their lands against encroachments by agribusiness and mining, resulting in the shedding of indigenous blood and perpetuating the cycle of violence.

**Ethnocide** represents another form of cultural destruction experienced by indigenous civilizations. It occurs when the culture of native peoples is eradicated or their freedom to express their traditions is impeded. Consequently, many indigenous peoples were forced into abandoning their religious practices to ensure their survival during the colonization process. Although some authors, such as Milanez et al. (2019), have analyzed this process as a form of “full assimilation through miscegenation,” the theorists discussed here draw on Darcy Ribeiro’s concept of ethnic transfiguration as presented in his study “The Indians and Civilization,” where the author highlights:

Ribeiro pointed out that “according to the almost unanimous view of Brazilian historians and even of the anthropologists who studied the problem, this confrontation would have the effect of causing the disappearance of tribes or their absorption by national society” (Ribeiro, 1970, p. 8). The expected result was “full assimilation through miscegenation” (Ibid., p. 8). His research revealed the opposite: most of the indigenous population was exterminated, and those who survived remain indigenous “in self-identification”. The ideal

of “full assimilation”, miscegenation and racial democracy expected by UNESCO, gave way to what Ribeiro called at the time of “ethnic transfiguration” (Ibid., p.17) (Ribeiro, 1970 apud Milanez et al., p.2166, 2019).

Currently, ethnocide is observable in situations where indigenous cultural practices are impeded or suppressed. An illustrative example of this is the forced displacement of indigenous peoples from their territories, subjecting them to unhealthy conditions, separating them from familiar spaces, and disrupting their worldview. Such actions contaminate their lands, interfere with their religious practices, and disrupt their way of life (Rabelo, 2010).

In addition to the aforementioned forms of violence, another expression of racism against indigenous peoples is **epistemicide**, which refers to the deliberate destruction of knowledge and belonging, driven by a vision of control and domination. Within the racist apparatus, cultural poverty through the devaluation of indigenous peoples and their ancestral knowledge leads to the perpetuation of cultural poverty, forging a notion of incapacity, allowing for the normalization, erasure, and decimation of differences that challenge the existing hierarchical system. In a society that claims to be democratic and controlling, but remains disciplinary, this becomes a mechanism for individual and group domination, aligned with colonial ideals, which need the destruction or removal of zones of belonging/protagonism (Cardoso & Coimbra, 2019).

The **territorial problem** emerges as a significant concern in the literature examined, representing one of the biggest issues faced by indigenous peoples since the earliest encounters with colonization. This issue is intertwined with various other aspects previously discussed. Native peoples advocate for environmental preservation and biodiversity, but they have endured a history of expropriation and dispossession (Gomes et al., 2020). Due to capital-related interests, their lands have been seized for the benefit of agribusiness. The increasing exploitation of environmental reserves has profound implications for the indigenous peoples’ way of life and existence.

According to Júnior and Passos (2014), there is a legal rationalization and instrumentalization of violence that serves capitalist interests, despite contradicting the Federal Constitution. This has involved the deprivation of indigenous peoples’ rights to their lands, a practice that originated with the Europeans who regarded them as non-citizens, children, or even sub-human. The expropriation of indigenous territories and the imposition of alternative ways of life persist to this day. This ongoing violence is evident in the lengthy legal processes of land demarcation, which deny indigenous peoples’ participation in decision-making, despite their rights being enshrined in Articles 231 and 232 of the Brazilian Constitution. An analysis of demographic indicators reveals a decrease in the territories occupied by indigenous peoples in recent years.

Another form of racism is the **fossilization of the indigenous culture** in the perception of other groups, which perpetuates the need for constant validation of its existence by indigenous peoples. This is one of the most common forms of racism against this population, prevalent in

various discourses, contexts, and subjects. The fossilization of culture refers to the belief that indigenous culture is unchanging and stuck in the past. Milanez et al. (2019) exemplify this phenomenon, in which they report that an indigenous person engaging in activities such as being a writer (which are beyond the norm of the social imaginary of what it means to be “indigenous”) or using technologies that fall outside the stereotypical image of what it means to be “indigenous” may receive comments that may seem innocuous but are structurally racist. For instance, remarks like “you don’t look like an Indian” or being labeled as an “ex-Indian” reflect the fossilization of culture. Other instances of racism through fossilization occur when non-indigenous people encounter indigenous individuals in urban settings and fail to recognize them as indigenous, leading to situations like the refusal to register a child as indigenous at a notary office or referring to indigenous people as “self-proclaimed indigenous” in *Fundação Nacional dos Povos Indígenas* (FUNAI, National Indigenous People Foundation) meetings (Milanez et al., 2019).

All the aspects described so far stem from the **invisibility** of indigenous peoples, resulting in the denial and fossilization of their existence. Such issues are seldom discussed in social and academic debates. An illustrative example is the belated consideration of public policies and affirmative actions that are still influenced by a colonizing perspective. Junior and Passos (2014) emphasize that the knowledge, practices, and social organizations of indigenous peoples have been excluded and silenced by the colonial ideal.

Consequently, the subject remains relatively unknown due to its denial. How does one address the racism faced by forgotten peoples? The abovementioned authors complement that the State perpetuates this process of violence and exclusion by adopting a colonial and racist paradigm or a developmental model that disregards and crushes alternative ways of life, different from what is considered hegemonic. Indigenous voices are ignored, their demands go unaddressed, and they are relegated to a space of non-being, treated as subhuman. This pattern of domination reinforces the racist structure, influences the organization and implementation of public policies, and becomes a model entrenched in racism, exclusion, and violence (Junior & Passos, 2014).

**Table 1***Table of article-format publications for the study*

Title	Author(s) (Year)	Knowledge field	Goal	Data Base	Theories /concepts
"Environmental Conflicts Generated by Environmental Racism in the Implementation Process of the Management Council of Rebio Serra Negra in Indigenous Lands, PE"	Josinês Barbosa Rabelo (2010)	Social Sciences (Social Studies Notebooks)	The objective of this article is to present a reflection on the main environmental conflicts experienced by the Pipipã and Kambiwá indigenous peoples, resulting from the process of elaborating the Management Plan and formation of the Management Council of the Biological Reserve of Serra Negra, in the state of Pernambuco (Brazil).	Capes	Environmental racism
"Massacre and resistance: Kaiowá and Guarani: Interrogations to Psychology in the traces of the intolerable"	Flávia Cristina Silveira Lemos & Dolores Cristina Gomes Galindo (2013)	Psychology (Journal – Psychology, Science and Profession)	The study problematizes the event of the massacre and the resistance of the Kaiowá and Guarani indigenous peoples to the racist practices of biopower that are undertaken, with a view to guaranteeing the territory and their sacred land.	BVS-Psi	Biopower (Michel Foucault)
"Is Brazil a Racist State? Two or three notes and some definitions."	Geraldo Witeze Jr. & Aruanã Antônio dos Passos (2014)	History (Brasiliana- Journal for Brazilian Studies)	Criticism of contemporary modes of domination, particularly in the Brazilian reality and exploring the idea that Brazil can be considered a racist state in relation to indigenous peoples.	Capes	Coloniality (E. Dussel and A. Quijano) and State Racism (H. Arendt)
"My life as a student in the white world"	Nelly Duarte (2017)	Anthropology (Anthropology Journal)	Experience Report to discuss the affirmative action policy in the Graduate Program in Social Anthropology of the National Museum of the <i>Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro</i> (UFRJ, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro).	Capes	None
"Existence and Difference: Racism Against Indigenous Peoples"	Felipe Milanez, Lucia Sá, Ailton Krenak, Felipe Sotto Maior Cruz, Elisa Urbano Ramos & Genilson dos Santos de Jesus (Taquary Pataxó) (2019)	Interdisciplinary (Law and Praxis Journal)	Discuss one of the most invisible aspects of racism in Brazil: the case of racism against indigenous peoples. Discussing the void in the literature on racism against indigenous people and presenting testimonials and practical and theoretical reflections on racism by indigenous authors	SciELO	None
"Banzeirar: making certain care practices riverine"	Áurea Alves Cardoso & Cecília Maria Bouças Coimbra (2019)	Psychology (Fractal: Journal of Psychology)	To problematize so-called care practices, present in the field of psychology that have been combined with repressive, controlling, and punitive logics – see the context in which it was regulated in Brazil.	BVS-Psi	<i>Escrevivência</i> (a term coined by Brazilian author Conceição Evaristo that combines the words "escrever" (to write) and "vivência" (experience). It refers to the act of writing from one's own lived experiences, particularly within the context of marginalized groups)
"Racial justice and human rights of traditional peoples and communities"	Daiane de Oliveira Gomes, Wanessa Nhayara Maria Pereira Brandão, Maria Zelma de Araújo Madeira. (2020)	Social service (Katálysis Journal)	The purpose of this article is to contextualize the current scenario of growth of authoritarianism, attacks on human rights and democracy, having the category of race as an analytical and political axis. It is interesting to understand the racial issue in the public policy and human rights agendas of traditional peoples and communities, and the perverse effects of the coloniality project.	BVS-Psi	None



**Table 2**

*Table of publications in Theses and Dissertations format for the study*

<b>Title</b>	<b>Author (Year)</b>	<b>Field</b>	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	<b>Techniques and instruments</b>
"The Raposa/Serra do Sol Indigenous Question in the written media: from stereotype to Racism"	Elisangela Dias Barbosa (2010)	Portuguese language	To investigate how the indigenous peoples involved in the Raposa/Serra do Sol indigenous issue, in the state of Roraima (Brazil), were treated in the news of the local written media and if there are manifestations of racism against the indigenous people.	Media discourse analysis	Analysis of the corpus in three stages, based on Charaudeau's process of news trans-action transformation (World to describe/to comment, described/commented world, and interpreted world)
"History, Memory and Exclusion: The Xavante and National Development Policies in Nova Xavantina – MT"	Natalia Araújo de Oliveira (2017)	Sociology	Understanding the memory and history of Nova Xavantina from a perspective that segregates the indigenous, that is, seeking to understand how notions of local memory are mobilized in order to justify the racist discourses used against these indigenous people in the city.	Qualitative Study	Qualitative Interviews (semi-structured, structured and focus group); Quiz; Observation; Document collection; Content analysis.
"Ethnic Racial Attitude of College Students Towards Indigenous People: Contributions from Behavior Analysis"	Rivail Farias Santana (2020)	Psychology	The objective of this research was to contribute to the study of ethnic and racial prejudice suffered by indigenous people, from a perspective of symbolic behavior and to test a procedure based on MTS, aiming at changing symbolic relations of prejudice. We sought to verify through implicit measures (IRAP) whether the application of an intervention to reduce ethnic-racial prejudice (MTS) would cause changes in the implicit measures (IRAP).	Experimental Study	Experimental research with university students. Instruments: Implicit Relational Assessment Procedure (IRAP) and Matching-to-sample (Pairing with the Model or simply MTS)

### Conclusion

This scope review originated from the authors' concern to analyze the phenomenon of racism against indigenous peoples in Brazil, specifically focusing on the existing literature that explores this subject from its inception to the present day. The aim was to examine theories that study the mechanisms through which racism operates in relation to these peoples, identifying intersections and gaps. It was noticed that there is a scarcity of material in the searches conducted. Despite the inclusion of this theme in academic and scientific discussions, it remains relatively understudied, resulting in a limited body of literature on the topic of racism against indigenous peoples in Brazil. This limitation highlights the need for future studies that delve into the phenomena that permeate the reality of Brazilian indigenous peoples, particularly empirical studies. However, only one such material meeting the specified criteria was found, indicating a significant gap in the literature.

It should be acknowledged, however, that data loss is a possibility in the data collection process. While efforts were made to include linguistic variations when referring to indigenous peoples, such as using both older and outdated terms like "Indian" and current terms like "Indigenous," there remains the possibility of missing some articles that did not explicitly use these terms and thus were not included in the analysis. The eligibility filters employed also impacted the number of selected studies, as the focus was specifically on the Brazilian context, resulting in the exclusion of articles that discussed the experiences of indigenous peoples in other countries. Nevertheless, the aim of this review was to address our racist reality.

The limited amount of material found can be interpreted as a reflection of the racism experienced by these peoples. As previously mentioned, racism operates on multiple levels. The scarcity of articles reveals the institutional level at which this phenomenon operates. The scientific community in Brazil, as an institution, is structured around a white-centered ideology, which is evident in the limited publications on this subject. Lemos and Galindo (2014) emphasize that the "other" is considered inferior due to their differences from the dominant group, with predefined boundaries of belonging and mobility for these minorities. Thus, the limited visibility of indigenous peoples within the national scientific community perpetuates their invisibility in our society. Additionally, the near absence of indigenous authorship in the studies found reflects institutional racism, as it not only excludes indigenous voices from the debate but also objectifies and diminishes them by speaking on their behalf (Cardoso & Coimbra, 2019).

As for the individual and cultural levels of racism, it was found that most studies focus on indigenous peoples in their original territories, with only one study centering on indigenous people living in urban areas. The racist culture produces a stereotypical image of the "indigenous being" as geographically and historically distant, living in forests (Milanez et al., 2014). But what about urban indigenous individuals who challenge some of these stereotypes (individual racism) and disrupt the crystallized symbolic image of this group (cultural racism)? This raises a crucial question about the extent to which science continues to perpetuate racist perspectives against these peoples.

Upon delving deeper into the analysis of various thematic fields, it became evident that multiple perspectives can be applied when studying racism against indigenous peoples. This highlights the interdisciplinary nature of the topic, as it can be examined in diverse contexts and themes. One positive interpretation of this diversity is the significance of a multidisciplinary approach in understanding racism against indigenous peoples, as it manifests in various domains, ranging from clinical practice to historical analysis. However, a less positive interpretation suggests that the perspectives may be scattered, lacking thematic integration, and failing to develop systematic lines of investigation.

It is noteworthy that, during the search conducted, there was a complete absence of studies on the theme in certain crucial fields, such as education. The reproduction of colonizing ideas, such as the teaching of history, which can focus on the process of “discovery” and colonization of Brazil in an uncritical way, reproducing stereotypes about indigenous peoples. Thus, it is crucial to deepen the debates on racism against these peoples in both social and academic contexts, as the racist virus permeates all spheres without barriers.

In the field of Social Psychology, which is the focus of our analysis, there is also a scarcity of studies, with only three studies found in this area. This scarcity underscores the need for further discussions on the inclusion of this theme in the curriculum of psychology training programs and the reassessment of practices. Current psychological practices may possess segregating and psychopathologizing tendencies that perpetuate racism against indigenous peoples. The best antidote to overcome this limitation lies in delving into the reality of indigenous peoples (whether urban or rural), understanding their worldview, and producing counterforces against ethnocentric approaches (Lemos & Galindo, 2013).

Despite the individual variations of racism according to the context and the individuals who suffer or perpetrate it, common aspects emerge from the conducted analyses. Racism is described as a product of the colonization process of the Brazilian territory, which, alongside slavery, has engendered the discriminations that underpin contemporary society and its institutions. Consequently, violence was, and still is, exercised against indigenous peoples and that are characterized as forms of expression of racism. Such forms depart from the most subtle and naturalized means, such as attacks on their knowledge (epistemicide), impediment of their practices (ethnocide), prejudices, discriminatory acts, inequalities and invisibilization (Junior & Passos, 2014; Oliveira, 2017), and even to the most egregious form of extreme physical violence (genocide). For a long time, this psychological, social, and historical reality was denied through the discourse of the non-existence of violence against indigenous peoples. However, in recent decades, indigenous and indigenist political movements have shed new light on this debate.

It is concluded that the findings confirm the existence and continuity of racism against indigenous peoples in Brazil, a form of violence that remains normalized and requires greater attention in social discourse in order to promote multi-level actions to combat racism. The significance of new studies and research is emphasized, particularly empirical investigations (which exhibited the greatest gap), to enhance understanding of racism against indigenous

peoples and expand studies to diverse contexts where it operates. This will enable a more comprehensive grasp of the phenomenon and, consequently, more effective implementation of anti-racist public policies.

Continued and expanded debates and studies on this subject can facilitate changes in the social structure, leading to a cultural transformation of stereotypes, institutional advancements in access and equality of indigenous peoples' rights, and individual reassessment and overcoming of prejudices. Therefore, it is imperative for the knowledge of these peoples to reach and impact the academic context and scientific knowledge, ensuring that science does not perpetuate the silencing of indigenous knowledge (epistemicide) and the perpetuation of their invisibility.

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