



Journalist Fellowship Paper

The human impact of racial representation in Brazilian newsrooms

By **Luiz Fernando Teixeira**

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Introduction

There is an African proverb: until the lion learns to speak, the story of the hunt will always glorify the hunter. This saying, popularised by Nigerian author Chinua Achebe, reflects how I feel about the state of representation in Brazilian media.

In a country where 43.2% of the population identifies as White, and 55.7% as Afro-Brazilian, newsrooms are staffed by 77% White employees. Is it any wonder that Black, Brown, Yellow and Indigenous Brazilians have [frequent complaints](#) about how they are portrayed in the news?

I wanted to use my time at the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism not only to set out the statistical case for representation, but to explain the human impact of working in a newsroom that is not diverse. For this reason, I spoke to 61 journalists – in questionnaires and long-form interviews – to capture their stories.

I also spoke to newsroom leaders about what is being done to change the situation, and asked if there were any programmes for change in other countries that we could learn from.

My aim here is not to accuse the industry I work in of being consciously racist – although many of the stories on these pages might leave that impression.

Instead, I want to call out the continued risk of under-representation in our newsrooms. Unaddressed, this will continue to lead to [un-nuanced coverage](#), make our products [less innovative and competitive](#), promote [systemic racism](#), and create the conditions for actual racism to go unrecognised and unchecked.

Brazilian dialogue on this topic is often muddled by the use of terms without shared understanding of their meaning. For the sake of clarity, I will outline what I mean when I refer to some of the terminology on this topic:

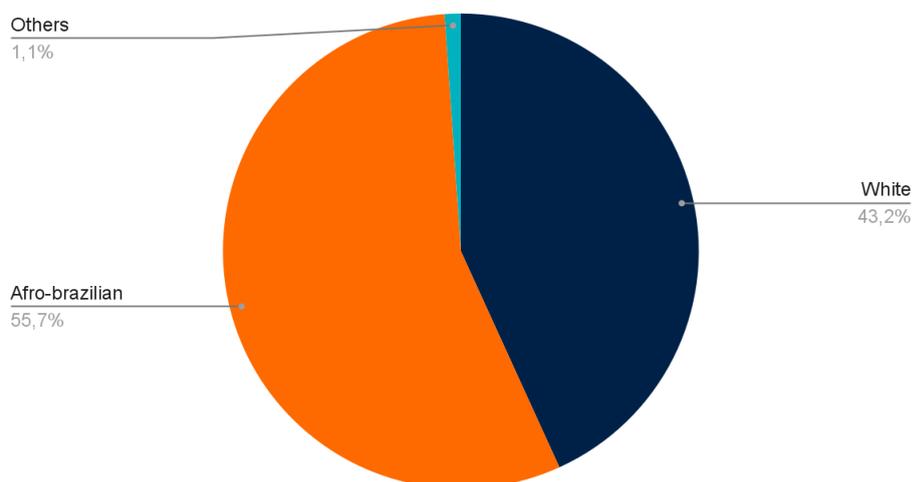
- **Race** – shared biologically inherited physical characteristics.
- **Ethnicity** – chosen or learned cultural identity from family or community.
- **Diversity** – the conscious creation of an environment that is welcoming of the lived experiences of different races, ethnicities, sexualities, genders, religions [...], for the purpose of encouraging the exchange of different ideas and viewpoints. When I refer to diversity in this paper, I am typically referring to racial diversity.
- **Representation** – the employment of a [newsroom] workforce that is reflective of the population it seeks to serve – not just in junior positions, but in decision making positions, too. When I refer to representation in this paper, I am typically referring to racial representation.
- **Racism** – using inherited biological race traits to classify a group of (typically marginalised) people as inferior, and to discriminate against or antagonise them on these grounds.
- **Systemic/structural/institutional racism** – When unchecked racial under-representation within a system or institution creates an environment that favours people of a certain race or ethnicity, and creates a hostile or punitive environment for people of the under-represented race or ethnicity.

Because this work was written in English for an international audience, it may contain some information Brazilians already know. If you are already familiar with racial dynamics in Brazil, and under-representation in different sectors of our society, please skip forward to the section on [*The effects of the lack of diversity in newsrooms.*](#)

Race and representation in Brazil

Around 3 million Indigenous people inhabited Brazil before it was colonised by Portugal in the 1500s, and it is estimated that as many as 700,000 Portuguese immigrated to Brazil over the next 300 years. Between 1700 and 1888, when slavery was abolished, 4.9 million slaves were taken from Africa to Brazil. About 350,000 immigrants came from Germany, Italy and Spain in the middle of the 1800s. A further 2 million arrived in the late 1800s, while the 1900s drew political exiles and immigrants from Japan, Lebanon, Syria, Poland, Russia and Romania.

In 2022, race in Brazil is self-determined, and extremely nuanced. The most recent census results from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, Q1 2021) show 55.7% of the population identify as Black or Brown (“Afro-Brazilian”) and that 43.2% identify as White.¹ A further 1.1% identify as “Indigenous”, “Yellow”, or did not declare their race.



Pie chart shows break down of self-determined racial groups in Brazil (IBGE, Q1 2021)

¹ Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics. [Tabela 6403: População, por cor ou raça \(ibge.gov.br\)](https://ibge.gov.br/tabela/6403-populacao-por-cor-ou-raça)

While the government clumps together those who identify as Black and Brown as “Afro-Brazilian”, these are distinct categories. As researcher Rafael Guerreiro Osorio notes in his 2003 report, *IBGE’s classification system by colour or race*: Brown people in Brazil “enjoy an intermediate position between Blacks and Whites”. “In this way,” he said, “[Brazil has] an important racial dichotomy between Blacks and Non-Blacks rather than Whites and Non-Whites.”²

More recent research by Verônica Toste Daflon (2014) finds that Black and Brown people in Brazil are close in terms of their socio-economic status and patterns of discrimination but experience it in different ways. Daflon examined inequalities, discrimination, sociability, culture, identity stereotypes and the relationship between reported discrimination, colour and social class”.³ Afro-Brazilians with different skin tones may identify themselves as Black, Brown or even White depending on where they live and or which economic group they are included in.

The term “Yellow” (Amarelo) may require further explanation: it is an identifier for Brazilians of East Asian descent (often Japanese).

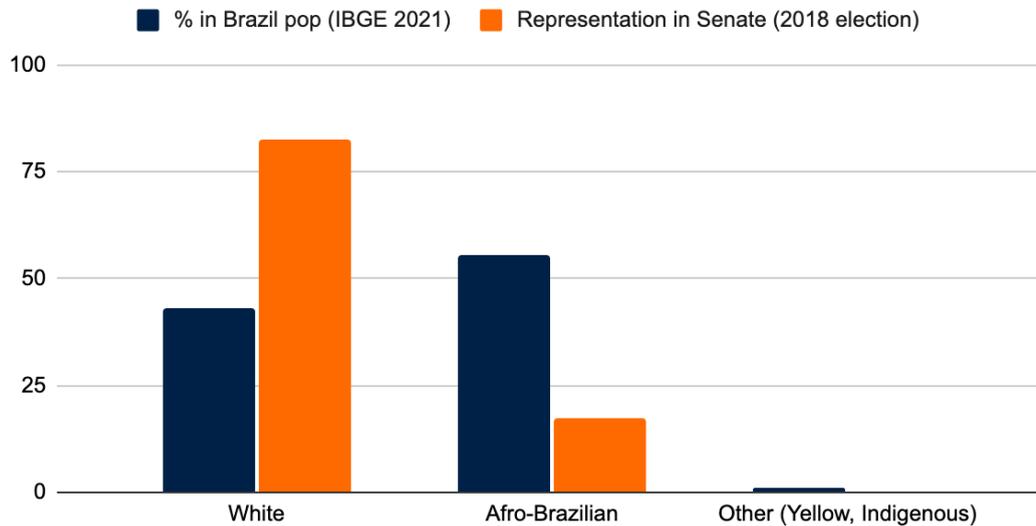
These demographic nuances are an important consideration in any report on Brazilian diversity. But how well representative of that nuance are the institutions that make up our society? Consider the statistics for parliament, universities, and the judiciary:

² Osório, Rafael Guerreiro. O sistema classificatório de " cor ou raça" do IBGE. Brasília, DF: Ipea, 2003. [TD_996.doc \(ipea.gov.br\)](http://ipea.gov.br/TD_996.doc)

³ Daflon, Verônica Toste, et al. Tão longe, tão perto: pretos e pardos e o enigma racial brasileiro. 2014. [Tão-longe-tão-perto-pretos-e-pardos-e-o-enigma-racial-brasileiro-Verônica-Toste-Daflon.pdf \(uerj.br\)](http://uerj.br/Tao-longe-tao-perto-pretos-e-pardos-e-o-enigma-racial-brasileiro-Veronica-Toste-Daflon.pdf)

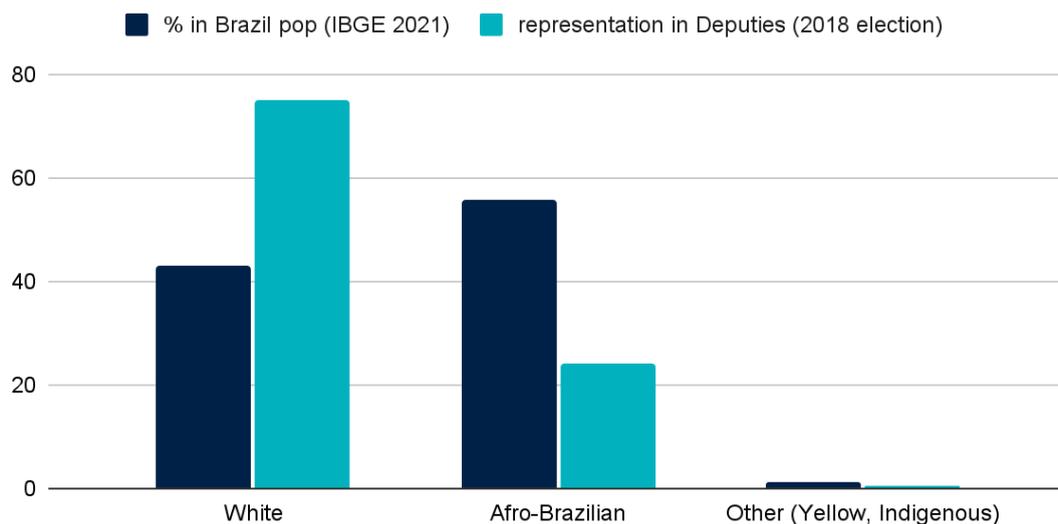
Representation in politics

In the last elections (2018), among the 81 senators elected to the Federal Senate, 67 self-identified as White (82.71%), 11 Brown (13.58%) and 3 Black (3.7%).



Demographic breakdown of Brazilian Federal Senate by self-determined race criteria

Of the 513 deputies (MPs) elected to the Chamber, 385 self-identified as White (75%), 104 Brown (20.2%), 21 Black (4.09%) and three as Other (0.38%).



Demographic breakdown of Brazilian Chamber of Deputies by self-determined race criteria

It is worth noting an anomaly in these statistics: some candidates change their racial declaration over the course of their term. For example, the former president of the Chamber, Rodrigo Maia, identified as Brown during the 2018 elections but answered “White” to the same question in 2014. After being questioned by the press, the official website was updated and lists him as White again.^{4,5} “This demonstrates the lack of seriousness of the Brazilian population regarding self-declaration, and this legitimises the fact that many people defraud public competitions,” said Rosália Lemos, coordinator of the Nucleus of Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous Studies and Research in 2019, in an interview with *The Intercept Brazil*.⁶ (The competitions she refers to are affirmative action quotas for Black people in public office and universities that are frequently abused.)

Brazilian data journalist Rodrigo Menegat identified that [over 50,000 Brazilian politicians candidates changed their race declarations](#) between 2014 and 2022.⁷

“Most of the changes involve Whites and Blacks who then declare themselves to be Brown or vice-versa. (...),” he wrote after analysing data from the Brazilian Superior Electoral Court (TSE).

Representation in universities

An [analysis](#) by *O Estado de S. Paulo* newspaper used data from the 2019 Census of Higher Education (the latest released by the Ministry of Education), and found that less than 3% of Brazilian higher education institutions had representatively diverse

⁴ Sousa, Bruno. 2019. “Rodrigo Maia ajudou a engordar bancada negra na Câmara.” *The Intercept*. <https://theintercept.com/2019/03/26/maia-presidente-negro/>

⁵ [Divulgação de Candidaturas e Contas Eleitorais \(tse.jus.br\)](#)

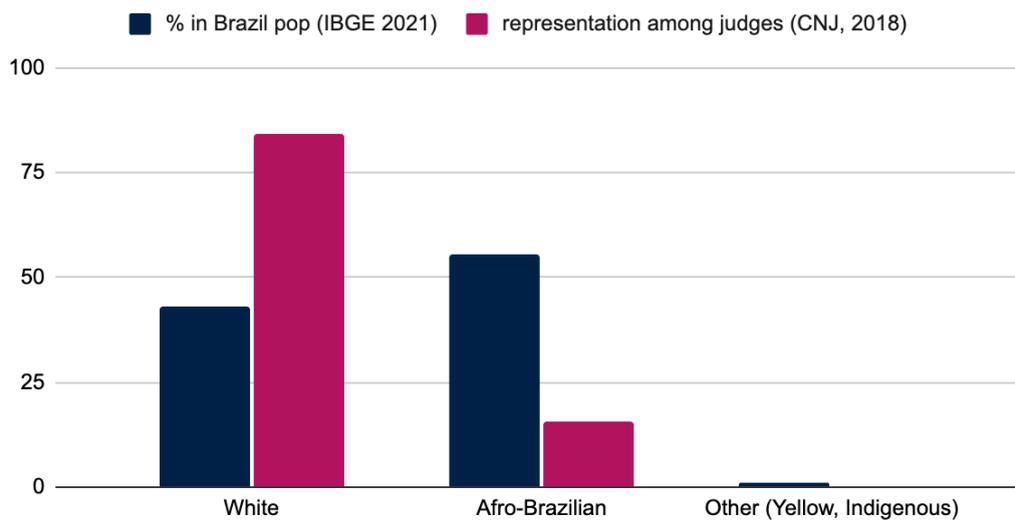
⁶ Sousa, Bruno. 2019. “Rodrigo Maia ajudou a engordar bancada negra na Câmara.” *The Intercept*. <https://theintercept.com/2019/03/26/maia-presidente-negro/>

⁷ Rodrigo Menegat, Twitter post, <https://twitter.com/RodrigoMenegat/status/1557204824864821248>: Sobre Mourão e sua declaração de raça para o TSE: fiz um levantamento rápido com dados históricos e, desde 2014, mais de 50 mil candidatos “mudaram de raça” de uma eleição para outra.

teaching staff.⁸ They also note that it is difficult to measure numbers accurately due to gaps in the (optional) self-declaration records. They also noted that public universities employed even fewer Black faculty members than private ones.

Representation in the judiciary

There is a further misrepresentation of Brazilian society in the composition of the Brazilian Judiciary. The Supreme Federal Court (STF) – created in 1891 as the highest organ of national justice – has 11 seats that have been filled by 170 individuals. Only three Afro-Brazilian judges have held a seat since its inception.⁹ According to the National Council of Justice (CNJ), the sociodemographic profile of Brazilian magistrates in 2018 includes only 15.6% Afro-Brazilians.¹⁰



Demographic breakdown of Brazilian magistrates compared to general population

⁸Marques, Júlia, and Mariana Hallal. 2021. “Universidades incluem mais alunos negros, mas só 3% têm equidade racial entre professores - Infográficos.” Estadão.

<https://www.estadao.com.br/infograficos/educacao/universidades-incluem-mais-alunos-negros-com-as-cotas-mas-so-3-tem-equidade-racial-entre-professores,1209742>.

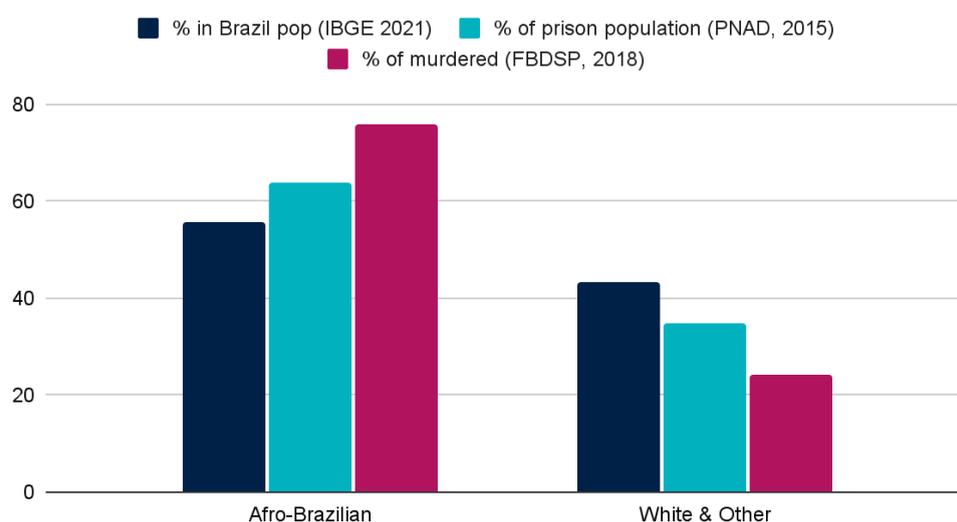
⁹Machado, Uirá. 2022. “Mulheres negras são minoria da minoria no Judiciário brasileiro.” Folha. <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2022/02/mulheres-negras-sao-minoria-da-minoria-no-judiciario-brasileiro.shtml>.

¹⁰Otoni, Luciana, and Agência CNJ de Notícias. 2018. “Pesquisa do CNJ: quantos juízes negros? Quantas mulheres?” Conselho Nacional de Justiça.

<https://www.cnj.jus.br/pesquisa-do-cnj-quantos-juizes-negros-quantas-mulheres/>

Where are Afro-Brazilians over-represented?

There are areas in which Afro-Brazilians are overrepresented: 76.2% of people murdered in 2020 were Afro-Brazilians, according to data released by The Brazilian Public Security Forum in November 2021.¹¹ It also found 63% of children younger than 9 who are victims of lethal violence are Afro-Brazilians. This percentage rises to 81% among adolescents aged 15 to 19. The chance of an Afro-Brazilian person being a victim of homicide in Brazil is 2.6 times higher than those who are not. The *Brazilian Yearbook of Public Security* (also published by the Brazilian Forum of Public Security) records that 66.3% of the prison population in Brazil identified as Afro-descendants.^{12,13}



Demographic breakdown of Brazilian population, prison population and murder victims

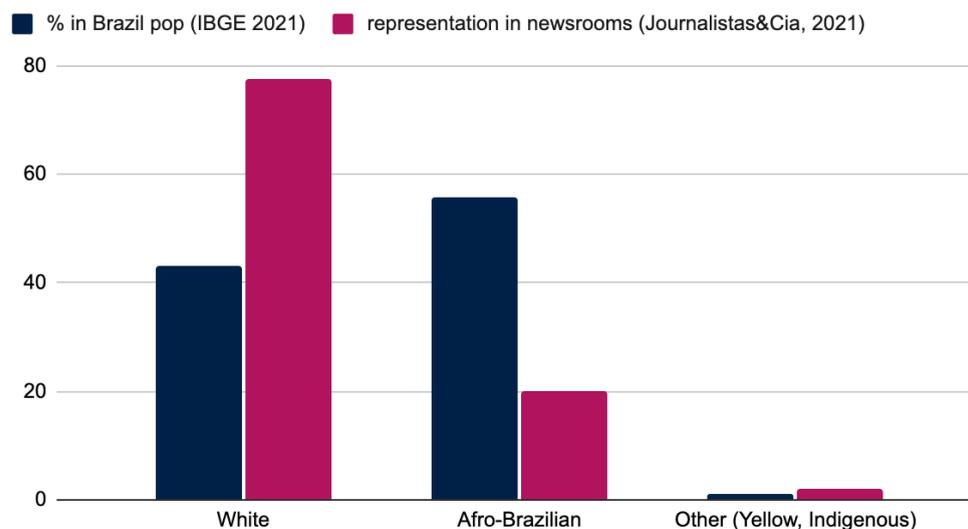
¹¹ Anuário Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, ano 15, 2021; Atlas da Violência, 2021; Visível e invisível: a vitimização de mulheres no Brasil, 3^a ed., 2021; Panorama da violência letal e sexual contra crianças e adolescentes no Brasil, 2021, UNICEF e Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública. [A Violência contra Pessoas Negras no Brasil 2021 - Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública \(forumseguranca.org.br\)](https://forumseguranca.org.br)

¹² Barros, Betina W. 2021. "O sistema prisional em 2020-2021: entre a Covid-19, o atraso na vacinação e a continuidade dos problemas estruturais." Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública. Accessed May 23, 2022. <https://forumseguranca.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/11-o-sistema-prisional-em-2020-2021-e-entre-a-covid-19-o-atraso-na-vacinacao-e-a-continuidade-dos-problemas-estruturais.pdf>

¹³ Anuário Brasileiro de Segurança Pública - Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública (forumseguranca.org.br)

Representation in Brazilian newsrooms

As with the institutions above, newsrooms in Brazil are also not representative of the country’s demographics. A recent survey of 2,000 journalists released in November 2021 (*The Racial Profile of the Brazilian Press*) found only 20.1% identified as Afro-Brazilian.¹⁴ Of that percentage, 39.8% were employed in management positions.



According to the *Race and Leadership 2022* factsheet released by Reuters Institute from the Studies of Journalism, none of the top editors in Brazil’s biggest outlets are non-white.¹⁵ The same finding was reported in their 2021 factsheet, while the 2020 factsheet identified one non-white person.^{16,17}

¹⁴ Jornalistas&Cia, Instituto Corda, I’MAX, and Portal dos Jornalistas. n.d. “Perfil Racial da Imprensa Brasileira.” Accessed May 23, 2022.

<http://www.jornalistasecia.com.br/files/perfilracialdaimprensabrasileira.pdf>

¹⁵ Eddy, Kirsten, Meera Selva, and Rasmus K. Nielsen. 2022. “Race and leadership in the news media 2022: evidence from five markets.” Accessed May 23, 2022.

<https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/race-and-leadership-news-media-2022-evidence-five-markets>

¹⁶ Robertson, Craig T., Meera Selva, and Rasmus K. Nielsen. 2021. “Race and Leadership in the News Media 2021: Evidence from Five Markets.” Reuters Institute. Accessed May 23, 2022.

[https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2021-03/Robertson et al Race and Leadership_FINAL.pdf](https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2021-03/Robertson%20et%20al%20Race%20and%20Leadership_FINAL.pdf)

¹⁷ Nielsen, Rasmus K., Meera Selva, and Simge Andi. 2020. “Race and leadership in the news media 2020: evidence from five markets.” Reuters Institute. Accessed May 23, 2022.

To borrow the words of journalist Yasmim Santos: “The few blacks who make up the ranks of Brazilian journalism disappear in the midst of the news, which remains whitened.”¹⁸

The effect on the output of news is well documented, but what impact does the racial profile of newsrooms have on journalists themselves?

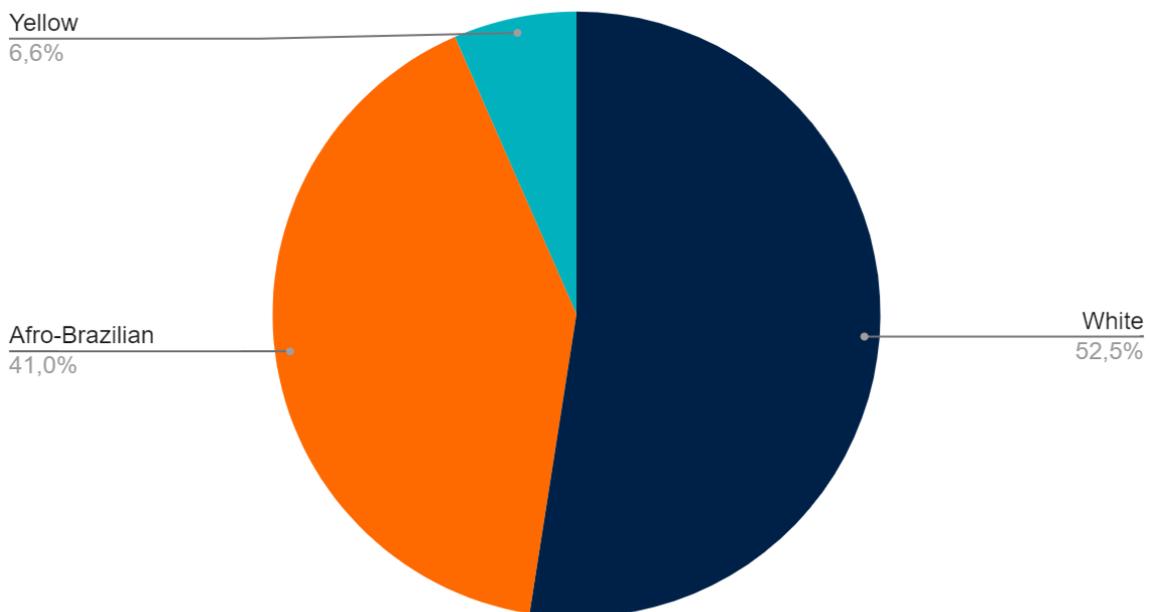
<https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/race-and-leadership-news-media-2020-evidence-five-markets>

¹⁸ Santos, Yasmin. 2019. “Letra preta: Os negros na imprensa brasileira.” Revista Piauí. Accessed May 23, 2022. <https://piaui.folha.uol.com.br/materia/letra-preta/>

The effects of a lack of diversity

To measure the human impact of racial representation in Brazilian newsrooms, I created a questionnaire, asking basic biographical details and inviting journalists to indicate if they would like to talk further about their experiences.

I received 61 responses to my questionnaire, and conducted 32 long-form interviews in April 2022. The sample of 61 included 27 men and 34 women working for TV stations, radio stations, newspapers, websites and magazines – mostly as reporters, some freelancers and a few in management positions. The racial breakdown included 52.5% White, 41% Afro-Brazilian, and 6.6% Yellow. Unfortunately, no Indigenous reporters responded to my query.



Racial breakdown of reporters who responded to questionnaire

Two major themes emerged during interviews: the effect of a lack of diversity on news production, and the effect of a lack of diversity on the journalists themselves.

All quotes gathered during interviews remain anonymous to prevent backlash against those who spoke to me for this project. Quotes from interviews are incorporated in the purple boxes throughout the sections that follow.

Production process impact

“Diversity is pretty much non-existent, not only racial. The newsrooms here are composed predominantly of white cisgender heterosexual men, usually upper-class, and those in management roles are [just] older version of them.”

We know from [gatekeeping theory](#) that newsrooms are mediators of information – filtering it through their own views and lived experiences. Employing editors and journalists from the same background will result in coverage reflective of what one demographic group thinks.¹⁹

“People in Brazilian newsrooms simply do not understand why movements like Black Lives Matter are newsworthy, for example.”

In 2021, Bianca Santana, a journalist with a PhD in information science from the School of Communications and Arts, at the University of São Paulo, ended her collaboration with UOL (one of the largest news websites in the country) after the

¹⁹ See: Kurt Lewin's publication "Forces Behind Food Habits and Methods of Change" in 1943, and David Manning White, a professor at Boston University, who concluded in 1950 that the process of publication in newsrooms were "made by highly subjective decisions based on the editor's own set of experiences, attitudes and expectations".

seeing [how the outlet chose to cover](#) the death of a pregnant black woman in Rio de Janeiro after a police shooting.

She wrote in her [farewell column](#): “It was also evident that the hours spent talking to the entire editorial staff of UOL, at two different times, about how essential it is to contextualise executions of black people and not report them as an isolated fact – fulfilling the role of public relations of the police – had been unproductive. It is not a question of ignorance. But of choice. Complicity. Co-authorship.”²⁰

“I believe that we are always reproducing some kind of racist stereotype and that people don’t actually mean to change it inside the newsroom.”

Stuart Hall studied the effects of representation in media in [The Spectacle of the ‘Other’](#): “Stereotyping reduces, essentializes, naturalises and fixes ‘difference’,” he wrote. This has been the subject of Brazilian-specific study for years: researcher [Solange de Couceiro](#) found: “journalists [...] are socialised in a way to [...] absorb, believe and defend the idea of racial democracy. Therefore, the manifestations of prejudice and racism that they transmit [...] act efficiently in the production of Brazilian racism.”²¹

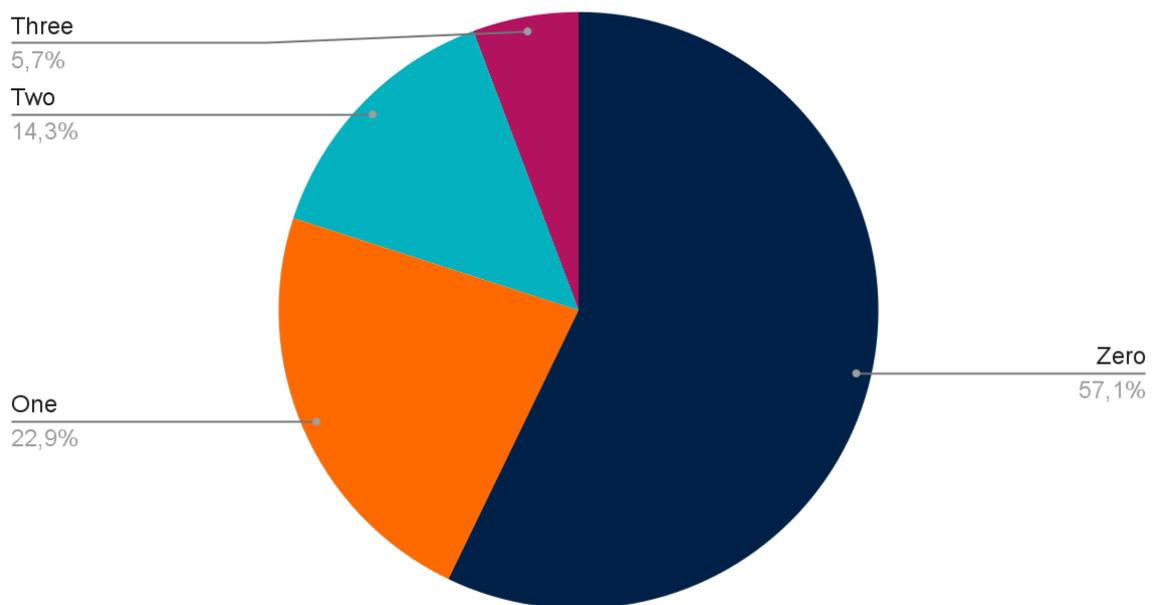
Journalists I spoke to felt that things could be different if there was more racially diversity in leadership positions:

²⁰Santana, Bianca. 2021. “Opinião: Passar pano para o genocídio negro: não em meu nome.” UOL. Accessed May 23, 2022. <https://www.uol.com.br/ecoa/colunas/bianca-santana/2021/06/09/passar-pano-para-o-genocidio-negro-nao-em-meu-nome.htm>

²¹COUCEIRO, SOLANGE MARTINS DE. 1997. “REFLEXOS DO “RACISMO À BRASILEIRA” NA MÍDIA”. Revista USP, n° 32 (fevereiro):56-65. <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2316-9036.v0i32p56-65>

“I once wrote an article that only gained attention because my editor, a black woman, personally said that the proper angle should be about race and not only put that on the front cover of the newspaper but also pushed for a headline that didn’t mince words. I had never seen anything like that in the media before”.

I asked journalists to record how many non-White editors they had worked for. The majority (57.1%) had never had one, 22.9% had worked for one, 14.3% had worked for two, and 5.7% had worked for three.



Pie chart shows how many journalists surveyed have worked for a non-White editor

How did working for majority White editors materially impact the work of journalists in newsrooms? My sample reported:

“There was an occasion on which my boss – a White woman – threatened to quit her job because her own boss wanted to shut down an entire article that featured four Afro-Brazilians that was labelled ‘too activist’ to be published. Months later, my team and I received a warning that we were publishing too many stories ‘about minorities.’”

“I pitched a multimedia special about racism in the workplace and I basically had to do everything by myself because my bosses wouldn’t give me resources to go to places in person or let me have a cameraman to record the interviews. They thought that it wasn’t that important. However, after it was released and had major positive reviews and recognition, it was sold as a company effort, which was a lie.”

“My boss apparently never noticed that almost all of the sources we used were old white men, and was confused when we pointed this out to him. He seemingly did not think that it was an issue because ‘we should not choose our sources’, but complained to us when we used quotes not from sources that he already knew.”

My interviewees mentioned an impact of under-representation in newsrooms was the development of tokenism in assignments, wherein Afro-Brazilian journalists became responsible for all stories about race by default, because “they were the only ones there”. Speaking about coverage during the month of November, when Brazil marks Black Awareness Day on the 20th in honour of the death of Zumbi, journalists told me:²²

²² If you are interested in the story of Zumbi, see the novel *Palmares* by Gayl Jones (2021) and Eisner-winning graphic novel *Cumbe*, by Brazilian artist Marcelo D’Saete.

“Every year in November they approach me and ask to do something special even though I cover Economics and I'm not comfortable with this subject.”

“There was a particular year in which our newsroom had absolutely nothing prepared for the Black Awareness Day. However, our main competitor ran a special about it the day before, and our editors panicked. So, it was me – literally the only non-white person in the newsroom – that had the responsibility to do something (anything!) with a day's notice, just because they didn't want to look bad.”

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Human impact

“It is frustrating to work in an environment with mostly white people.”

You won't be surprised to read that one of my interviewees said this. You might be surprised that the interviewee who said it was white. Yes, the human impact of under-representation affects white journalists, too. Although the impact I recorded on Afro-Brazilians and Yellow people was far beyond mere frustration.

Interviewees related stories about micro-aggressions and limited access that had far-reaching mental health impacts.²³

Comments about physical appearance, and specifically about the hair of Afro-Brazilians, were shared with me most frequently:

“When I decided to braid my hair I became the joke of the newsroom. Even my boss was comfortable saying things like ‘here comes the real negro,’ and everybody laughed. They never respected me.”

“I once was invited to an important meeting with the board. I dressed to impress, head-to-toe, but as soon as the meeting was over they said that I should be more careful about how I looked. It took me some time to understand that the problem was that I decided to wear my naturally curly hair instead of straightening it.”

Another frequent issue related was that they were mistaken for someone that worked as a janitor or driver for the company, not as journalists.

“I don’t have anything against those professions, but I can’t help but feel humiliated when my colleagues are not capable of seeing me as equal to them.”

²³ Perceptions of a racially unsupportive environment can result in adverse outcomes such as poor performance, poor mental health, and increased stress levels (Torres-Harding and Turner, 2014). Assessing racial microaggression distress in a diverse sample. *Evaluation & the Health Professions*, 38(4), 464–490. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163278714550860>

This happens inside the workplace and outside when they are reporting.

“Whenever I had to go cover something on our local court I had to make sure to be well dressed only to be allowed inside, even with my press credentials. On the other hand, my white colleague walked around wearing a rugged heavy metal T-shirt and jeans with holes and never had to worry about this.”

“A source said to me that I didn’t look like a journalist just because I’m Yellow. There is this stigma that Asian people are only supposed to be good at maths or something and he thought that he was complimenting me because of the way I look and did not take me seriously – I also felt that inside the newsroom.”

My interviewees spoke frequently of the impact of working in a predominantly white space. The concept of “Predominantly White Institutions” (PWIs) was coined to describe the institutions in the United States whose histories, policies, practices, and ideologies centre whiteness. PWIs, by design, tend to marginalise the identities, perspectives, and practices of people of colour.²⁴

²⁴ For more, see: Morales, A. R., & Raible, J. (2021). To Teach as We Are Known: The “Heart and Soul” Labour of Teacher Educators of Colour Working in PWIs. In K. Sprott, J. O’Connor Jr., & C. Msengi (Ed.), *Designing Culturally Competent Programming for PK-20 Classrooms* (pp. 79-97). IGI Global. <https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-7998-3652-0.ch005>

“You can tell by the looks, by the preferences. I depend a lot on being able to talk to members of parliament, with secretaries, with ministers, and this is very difficult for me. I think that this racial issue influences me because other colleagues who aren't black don't have to go through this, they have much easier access, even to these places. They circulate in the office, in the Chamber – they are more well received. I notice that I'm not, let's say, a 'priority' for the sources. They generally prefer to talk to those people who are white, even when they are new to coverage and don't have a previous relationship”

These “looks” and comments can be classified as “microaggressions”: a term coined by African American psychiatrist Chester Pierce to describe the relationship between black and white interactions.²⁵ “Microaggressions are brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioural, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative slights and insults toward people who are not classified within the ‘normative’ standard. Perpetrators of microaggressions are often unaware that they engage in such communications when they interact with people who differ from themselves.”²⁶

Ruchika Tulshyan, writing in the [Harvard Business Review](#), said the term fails to capture the “emotional and material effects or how it impacts [...] career progression”. She added: “Experiencing what we know as microaggressions can be just as harmful, if not more, than more overt forms of racism.”²⁷

²⁵ Pierce, C. (1974). Psychiatric problems of the Black minority. *American Handbook of Psychiatry*, 2, 512-523.

²⁶ Johnson, N. N., & Johnson, T. L. (2019). Microaggressions: An Introduction. In Thomas, U. (Ed.), *Navigating Micro-Aggressions Toward Women in Higher Education* (pp. 1-22). IGI Global. <https://doi:10.4018/978-1-5225-5942-9.ch001>

²⁷ Tulshyan, Ruchika. 2022. “We Need to Retire the Term “Microaggressions.”” *Harvard Business Review*. <https://hbr.org/2022/03/we-need-to-retire-the-term-microaggressions>

My interviewees also spoke of struggling to [develop a sense of belonging](#) in the workplace, which Filstad, Traavik and Gorli summarised as: “1) being part of something, 2) the process of becoming through constant mediation between material aspects and social components, 3) the process of experiencing boundaries and 4) the attempt to perform, engage and participate (and find spaces for shared practices) in a workplace”.²⁸ One of my interviewees put it this way:

“I always felt very out of place in the newsroom because I didn't have the same background as them. It was common for my colleagues to talk about trips abroad that I had never taken, for example, or talk about a teacher they all had in college. I could never really blend in.”

Retired judge Luislinda Valois famously used the expression “[quota of one](#)” to criticise the presence of only one black person in each space of power. Referring to this, another interviewee told me:

“Once I asked another journalist, ‘How do you feel about being the quota of one in your newsroom?’ Then he said to me ‘It’s bad, yes, but it would be worse not to have one. So I go after the space and open the doors to more people. Am I going to face racism? Yes, but worse than the quota of one is not having any quota at all.’”

²⁸ Filstad, C., Traavik, L. and Gorli, M. (2019), "Belonging at work: the experiences, representations and meanings of belonging", *Journal of Workplace Learning*, Vol. 31 No. 2, pp. 116-142. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IWL-06-2018-0081>

In the article *A Question of Belonging: Race, Social Fit, and Achievement* by Gregory Walton and Geoffrey Cohen (2007) they write: “One of the most important questions that people ask themselves in deciding to enter, continue, or abandon a pursuit is, “Do I belong?” Among socially stigmatised individuals, this question may be visited and revisited. Stigmatisation can create a global uncertainty about the quality of one’s social bonds in academic and professional domains — a state of belonging uncertainty. As a consequence, events that threaten one’s social connectedness, although seen as minor by other individuals, *can have big effects on the motivation* of those contending with a threatened social identity.”²⁹

I have highlighted “big effect on motivation” because this, to me, is key. Some of those I interviewed had given up working in newsrooms because they didn’t feel represented there and had no hope the scenario would change.³⁰

“For at least 5 or 6 years I’ve been saying that I’m leaving the newsroom. I was really getting ready to do something else, you know? To leave Brazil, to change areas, because I had already reached a career level that is my limit; I am already walled in. I’m a senior journalist but I don’t feel I have any chance of taking on management positions in big newsrooms.”

“When you are part of a minority and try to claim something, there are no bonuses, only burdens. After 10 years I gave up”.

²⁹ A Question of Belonging: Race, Social Fit, and Achievement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 2007, Vol. 92, No. 1, 82–96.
<https://www.goshen.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2016/08/WaltonCohen2007.pdf?msclkid=3ae581cfc4d211ec91efc5678c152ec5>

³⁰ There is a research called ‘Leavers’, made with a survey of 101 former journalists of colour (JOC) to understand when and why they left the journalism industry, as race/ethnic representation and accurate coverage remain a challenge in U.S. newsrooms. The survey was developed by Carla Murphy: [Introducing ‘Leavers’: results from a survey of 101 former journalists of colour - Features - Source: An OpenNews project](#)

In her paper *Journalists and mental health* (2019) Natalee Seely notes that traditional newsroom culture encourages journalists to “check their feelings at the door”:³¹

“Bravado and denial were considered values, especially in war reporting (Feinstein, 2006). Admitting weakness did not fit with the trope of the detached reporter; there was no place for emotion in objective reporting, because emotion means involvement, and involvement gets in the way of truth-telling (Hammond, 2002). This idea creates a newsroom culture that promotes silence and suppression rather than expression. In other words, ‘An admission of emotional distress in a macho world was feared as a sign of weakness and a career liability’ (Feinstein et al., 2002, p. 1574).”

In the Brazilian context, marginalised journalists do not discuss the impact of under-representation with their colleagues. But speaking to me off-the-record, several mentioned depression, anxiety, and even suicidal ideation.

Are media outlets aware that 98% of Black and Brown-identifying journalists surveyed for the *Racial Profile of the Brazilian Press* felt that Afro-Brazilians face more difficulties in their careers than their white colleagues?³² If so, what are they doing about it?

³¹ Seely, Natalee. “Journalists and Mental Health: The Psychological Toll of Covering Everyday Trauma.” *Newspaper Research Journal* 40, no. 2 (June 2019): 239–59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739532919835612>.

³² Important note: when asked if they believed Afro-Brazilians faced more difficulties, 98% said yes. When asked if they themselves had faced more difficulties, only 35% said yes.

Improving Brazilian Newsrooms

Part of thinking about solutions to the problems outlined above includes considering what solutions have been tried. I looked at the three biggest newspapers in Brazil: *O Globo*, *Estadão* and *Folha de S. Paulo*, where [researchers recently found](#) that 84% of journalists identified as White and two-thirds were men.³³

O Globo

O Globo did not respond to emailed interview requests for this paper. The Rio de Janeiro-based outlet employs 12% Afro-Brazilian staff, according to 2021 GEMAA research.³⁴ In a *mea culpa* published following George Floyd’s death in 2020, the paper acknowledged that “the number of Afro-Brazilian journalists does not reach 10% of the total, a far cry from the current proportion of black and brown journalists in the country”.³⁵

In order “to correct this distortion”, they wrote at the time, race would now be considered as a factor in the selection criteria for interns and trainees. A 2% increase in representation between the 2020 column and GEMAA research would suggest that the effort is working, but this is hard to confirm without an interview – and a trainee programme will take decades to impact leadership diversity.

³³ Poema Portela, and João F. Júnior. 2021. “Jornalismo brasileiro: raça e gênero de quem escreve nos principais jornais do país. | gemaa.” gemaa. <https://gemaa.iesp.uerj.br/infografico/jornalismo-brasileiro-raca-e-genero-de-quem-escreve-nos-principais-jornais-do-pais>

³⁴ Poema Portela, and João F. Júnior. 2021. “Jornalismo brasileiro: raça e gênero de quem escreve nos principais jornais do país. | gemaa.” gemaa. <https://gemaa.iesp.uerj.br/infografico/jornalismo-brasileiro-raca-e-genero-de-quem-escreve-nos-principais-jornais-do-pais>

³⁵ “Preto no branco: 9 visões sobre onde está o racismo estrutural.” 2020. *O Globo*. <https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/preto-no-branco-9-visoes-sobre-onde-esta-racismo-estrutural-24466876>

At Estadão, Afro-Brazilians were only 6% of the professionals. At Folha de S. Paulo, only 10%. Finally, O Globo had 12%. The researchers conclude that “When we analyse race and gender together, we notice an almost identical division: newsrooms dominated by white men, followed by white women, and in way lesser proportions, Black men and women.”

Folha de S.Paulo

At *Folha de S. Paulo*, Afro-Brazilians made up 10% of the newsroom, according to GEMAA research. The paper faced controversy earlier this year when 200 of its own journalists signed an open letter to the management expressing “concern about the recurrent publication of racist content in the newspaper’s pages”.^{36,37} The letter was written in response to the publication of an opinion column by White poet Antônio Risério, calling for the recognition of supposed Black racism against other racial groups.³⁸

Initially *Folha* responded that “criticism and self-criticism are healthy” and “always encouraged by the newspaper.” The text then adds: “What is worrying is the content [of the journalists’] text, which goes against one of the basic and non-negotiable tenets of the Folha Project: plurality and the uncompromising defence of freedom of expression”.³⁹

In 2019, *Folha de S.Paulo* created a Diversity section to “reflect the variety of social life in the country, and on the daily life of the newsroom”.⁴⁰ The first person to fill

³⁶ [Carta aberta de jornalistas da Folha - assinada \(poder360.com.br\)](https://poder360.com.br/carta-aberta-de-jornalistas-da-folha-assinada/)

³⁷ [‘Editorial criteria could be rethought and strengthened,’ Folha’s diversity editor said after controversy over racism in Brazilian newspaper - LatAm Journalism Review by the Knight Center](#)

³⁸ [Racismo de negros contra brancos ganha força com identitarismo - 15/01/2022 - Ilustríssima - Folha \(uol.com.br\)](https://www.uol.com.br/ilustrissima/2022/01/15/racismo-de-negros-contra-brancos-ganha-forca-com-identitarismo/)

³⁹ [Folha é acusada de veicular textos racistas em busca de audiência - 19/01/2022 - Poder - Folha \(uol.com.br\)](https://www.uol.com.br/poder/2022/01/19/folha-e-acusada-de-veicular-textos-racistas-em-busca-de-audiencia/)

⁴⁰ [Folha cria editoria com missão de estimular diversidade em reportagens - 28/04/2019 - Poder - Folha \(uol.com.br\)](https://www.uol.com.br/poder/2019/04/28/folha-cria-editoria-com-missao-de-estimular-diversidade-em-reportagens/)

the role of diversity editor was Paula Cesarino Costa, who had been serving as *Folha's* ombudsman before taking the role.

“Contrary to what many people think, the section was not created because of the racial issue,” she told me. “What triggered the project was an analysis of the profile of *Folha* readers that showed that fewer and fewer women were reading it.”⁴¹ A secondary objective was to improve the presence of journalists and coverage in different states across the country.

Cesarino was given full control of the project, although she had no specific diversity qualifications. “Diversity has always been a topic in my columns [as Ombudsman] and I fought for these issues when I was editorial secretary; it was part of our internal discussions, but I was not a specialist in this. It was interesting because it gave me time to develop this work, and time is a rare thing in journalism,” she said.

The newspaper began by gathering data for newsroom on race, gender, sexual orientation and state of origin. Cesarino then held a meeting with the entire newsroom to present her plan, which she says was met with a certain amount of scepticism. “They didn't believe management was interested, although they recognised the importance of the project.” She then talked with Sérgio D'Ávila, *Folha's* editorial director, to say that the example needed to come from him – in each meeting, agenda discussion, to show that there was going to be a change of culture in the newsroom. “There were also occasional cases of people who thought it was all nonsense,” she said.

⁴¹ All quotes from Paula Cesarino Costa are provenient from an interview that she gave to me on May 9th, 2022.

The project evolved after Cesarino's departure from *Folha*. She was replaced by Alexandra Moraes, who launched a trainee program for Afro-Brazilians in February 2021.^{42,43}

Flávia Lima, current Diversity Editor and also former Ombudsman, said she was called in to run the programme.⁴⁴ According to her, the programme was designed exclusively for Afro-Brazilians professionals, and incorporated changes to the regular trainee programme. "We stopped requiring English proficiency, for example," she told me. "Another change is that it takes place at night, because we know that most of these professionals work during the day and cannot dedicate themselves exclusively to the programme for three months."

The programme is now in its second edition, with the current class of 15 students. Lima's role is not limited to the training programme. "I take part in the newspaper's recruitment processes for journalists [...] precisely to keep an eye on the expansion of diversity. So we try to absorb professionals not only through training programmes, but also through other channels".

Thirdly, after the Risério incident, the newspaper created an Inclusion and Equity Committee, which Lima leads.⁴⁵ "The idea is to meet quarterly to present demands, suggestions and criticisms to the newspaper coming from the editorial staff itself," said Lima. The committee represents the interests of Black, women and transgender staff at the outlet.

⁴² [Folha lança programa de treinamento destinado a profissionais negros - 18/02/2021 - Folha 100 anos - Folha \(uol.com.br\)](#)

⁴³ I approached Alexandra Moraes about this paper, but she declined to be interviewed.

⁴⁴ All quotes from Flávia Lima are provenient from an interview that she gave to me on May 9th, 2022.

⁴⁵ [Jornalistas da Folha criam Comitê de Inclusão e Equidade para diversidade no jornal - 13/05/2022 - Novo em Folha - Folha \(uol.com.br\)](#)

A lack of diversity hurts business as a whole, Lima said. “We know that the business model of newspapers is going through profound changes. The weight of ads in the revenue has decreased, [we’ve] migrated to large digital platforms. As a consequence of this movement, the revenue coming from circulation, especially subscriptions, is increasingly important. In this sense, as I said, [serving] the largest number of readers is fundamental.”

Estadão

Folha’s biggest competitor in the state of São Paulo, *Estadão*, carried out an internal survey in August last year and concluded that 83% of the editorial staff were white, 13.2% were Afro-Brazilians and 3% were yellow. These figures were provided in an interview with editor-in-chief David Friedlander.

“The policy of increasing racial diversity – as well as that of gender or social class – is [delivered via] courses dedicated to the training of new journalists. These are the Focas and Focas Econômico courses, which today are the gateway to the newsrooms of the Estado Group. The objective is to attract people from various social classes, from all regions of the country, from all origins and genders,” he said.⁴⁶

The company no longer conducts tests of general knowledge or English during the recruitment process, which favoured candidates from more privileged classes. “The selection process focuses only on journalism,” he said. The results are showing, with the last four trainee classes having 25% Black participants. The newspaper also had a transgender journalist and another with a disability complete training.

Some of those trainees remain at the company as permanent employees or as freelancers. “We are working to increase diversity within the *Estadão* staff. But that’s

⁴⁶ All quotes from David Friedlander are provenient of an interview that he responded via email on May 16th, 2022.

not all. Our journalists are in close contact with sectors of civil society dedicated to the defence of diversity and social inclusion. This can be seen in the volume of content that deals with these issues in *Estadão*,” said Friedlander.

The newspaper does not yet have a policy to address the lack of non-white managers in editorial.

What has worked elsewhere?

The [Changing Newsrooms 2021](#) report by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism found only 29% of our newsrooms surveyed had a budget for actively promoting diversity. A full 27% of survey respondents said they were doing none of the initiatives listed: collecting data on diversity, having someone in charge of DEI practices, or having a dedicated budget for promoting diversity.⁴⁷

But a 2019 report about diversity in news organisations in Germany, Sweden and the United Kingdom, by Alex Borchardt et al, showed some hopeful progress.⁴⁸

It highlighted efforts in Sweden, where diversity is enshrined in national law designed to address gender equality, but which can also include “other aspects of diversity”. In the UK, the report mentions several programs outside of newsrooms such as apprentice training by the National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ) and the John Schofield Trust, which aim to support social mobility in UK newsrooms by offering mentorship schemes. Germany also had special mentoring programmes in place where younger staff are paired with older mentors as well as designated “leadership programmes” – although some acknowledged they should have implemented the latter programmes earlier.

Researchers found that, in Germany and the United Kingdom, diversity efforts were very focused on gender, not on socioeconomic or minority status. “While we could not identify why this was the case, possible explanations could be that participants

⁴⁷ Changing Newsrooms 2021, Reuters Institute ofr the Study of Journalism
<https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/changing-newsrooms-2021-hybrid-working-and-improving-diversity-remain-twin-challenges-publishers#sub3>

⁴⁸Borchardt, A, J Lück, S Kieslich, T Schultz, and F Simon. 2019. “Are Journalists Today’s Coal Miners? The Struggle for Talent and Diversity in Modern Newsrooms – A Study On Journalists in Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.” Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
<https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:768056fb-f96c-40e5-bd98-05f19706f87c>

were unsure how to promote these groups or hesitant to single them out, thus engaging in a form of positive discrimination.”

In the U.S., at the *New York Times*, they’ve implemented a four-step diversity programme: “1) Transform our culture to create an environment where we all can do our best work; 2) Elevate how we lead and manage people; 3) Strengthen systems and practices for developing people, and for supporting work to make The Times more diverse, equitable and inclusive; 4) Ensure our coverage benefits from the judgement of a more diverse and inclusive newsroom.”⁴⁹

Progress towards this end has been slow, and reports have noted internal criticism – particularly in diversifying leadership.⁵⁰

The *Washington Post* introduced several new positions in 2020 in an effort to expand diversity in the newsroom after the murder of George Floyd, including a new post for managing editor of diversity and inclusion.⁵¹

Appointed to the role was [Krissah Thompson](#), who said of her new role: “No one person can shift a newsroom’s culture or make a place more inclusive. It will take a collective body working together toward the same ambitions.”⁵²

⁴⁹ “Making a More Diverse, Equitable and Inclusive New York Times.” n.d. The New York Times Company. Accessed May 23, 2022.

<https://www.nytimes.com/company/diversity-and-inclusion/a-call-to-action/>

⁵⁰ Robertson, Katie. 2021. “New York Times Calls for Workplace Changes in Diversity Report (Published 2021).” The New York Times. Accessed May 24, 2022

<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/24/business/media/new-york-times-workplace-diversity.html>

⁵¹ “The Washington Post announces more than a dozen newsroom positions to be focused on race, including Managing Editor for Diversity and Inclusion.” 2020. The Washington Post. Accessed May 25, 2022

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/pr/2020/06/18/washington-post-announces-more-than-dozen-newsroom-positions-be-focused-race-including-managing-editor-diversity-inclusion/>

⁵² Vales, Aldana. 2020. “The Washington Post is building a newsroom that looks like America.” International Journalists' Network. Accessed May 25, 2022

<https://ijnet.org/en/story/washington-post-building-newsroom-looks-america>

Different workplaces will need to adopt different approaches to diversity. Zoe Ramushu, a former RISJ fellow, designed the 'Chiriseri Test' that "aims to ask key thought-provoking questions about diversity in your newsroom instead of offering a one-size-fits-all solution".⁵³

The four questions are:

1. Do you picture your entire newsroom when you think about diversity, and not just specific members of staff?
2. Does everyone feel empowered to pitch and greenlight stories that are important to their communities?
3. Are your journalists able to tell stories from the perspective of their people in a way that resonates with them?
4. Do you have diverse sources for 'all' your stories?

According to Ramushu: "If your answer is 'no' to any of the above, then I'm afraid you haven't started [addressing your diversity problem]."

⁵³ Ramushu, Zoe. 2021. "The 'Chiriseri Test': four questions to ask about diversity in your newsroom." Reuters Institute. Accessed May 25, 2022 <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/chiriseri-test-four-questions-ask-about-diversity-your-newsroom>

Burden of responsibility

I asked my interviewees for their thoughts on how to solve the representation problem in Brazilian newsrooms. The most common answer was that there should be more hiring in entry positions.

There is a supply chain hurdle here: most Brazilian newsrooms only hire those with a degree in Journalism and, in 2016, only 40% of journalism students identified as Afro-Brazilians according to INEP (Anísio Teixeira National Institute of Educational Studies and Research).^{54,55} Additionally, many new hires are made on the basis of internal nominations. These are not necessarily made on the basis of the professional quality of the nominee, but rather on personal affinity.

“It’s hard to get hired when you’re not part of the little group of people who attended the same colleges as the bosses. Sometimes it’s not even on purpose, but it’s natural for them to trust hiring those who went to the same school. The problem is that some of the best colleges in São Paulo are private and very expensive, which makes access very difficult.”

In a workplace mostly occupied by white people, these nominations are often more likely to go to other white people. Hiring more Afro-Brazilians can balance this:

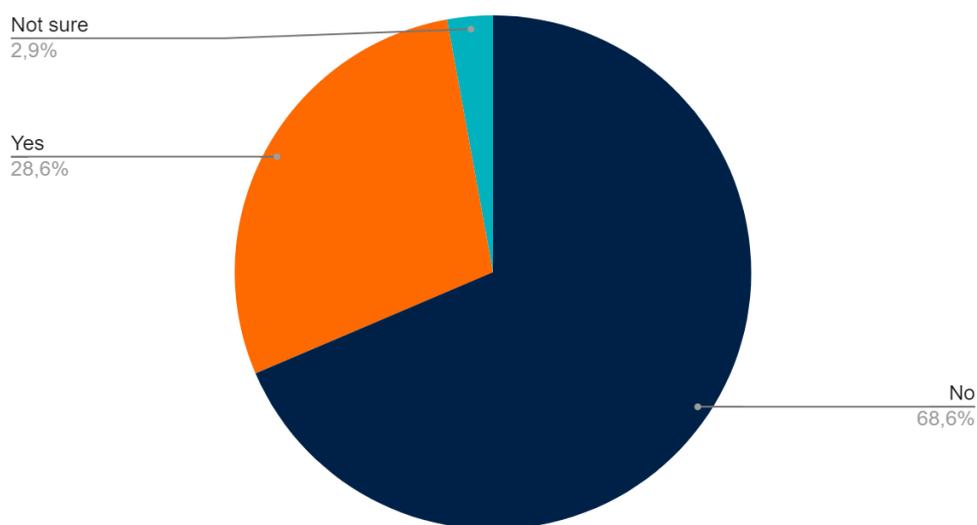
⁵⁴ The obligation to have a diploma in journalism to work in the field is the subject of controversy in Brazil. A practice imposed in the country during the military dictatorship (Decree-Law 972/69) in 1969, it was even overturned by a Federal Supreme Court decision in 2009 for not being compatible with the 1988 Federal Constitution. Despite this, the National Federation of Journalists (Fenaj) was in favour of the diploma. Since 2013, a Proposal for Amendment to the Constitution has been pending in the House of Representatives to re-establish the requirement for a diploma to exercise the profession of journalism. Currently, although it is no longer mandatory, it is very difficult for newsrooms to hire journalists without a diploma in Brazil.

⁵⁵ 2016 Higher Education Census in Brazil.

http://download.inep.gov.br/educacao_superior/censo_superior/documentos/2016/notas_sobre_o_censo_da_educacao_superior_2016.pdf

“We noticed that all our newsroom staff were white, so we purposely hired Black people for two or three vacancies in a row. When we asked for nominations for vacancies, they naturally indicated more Black people because they already had a relationship of trust with them.”

Asked if they had worked in a newsroom that made a conscious effort to increase diversity, most of my interviewees (68.6%) said they had not. About a third said they had, and mentioned individual attempts by people in management positions, or their own efforts advocating for hiring minorities.



Interviewees were asked if they had ever worked in a newsroom with a diversity plan

“My boss wanted to hire minorities and asked the HR department to select specific resumés so he could interview them. But HR refused to do it. They said that it needed to be a company policy and therefore they could not help.”

My interviewees warned against “empty” initiatives, such as – in one example – an internal channel for raising suggestions or queries that were never responded to.

“[Our company] supposedly has a committee to address diversity, but it’s been defunct for years now.”

“It [can feel like] they say that they care just for the public image.”

“The company was quick to promote a new diversity initiative, but as soon as we’d taken a group photo of the newsroom, they shut it down – and the people they hired did not last long.”

Some interviewees pointed to public pressure via social media as a potential motivator for change. Another mentioned the financial incentive. I came away with the impression that journalists are not best-suited to leading this sort of change. Instead, there are diversity and inclusion specialists that can be hired to guide newsrooms. In the words of 2017 MacArthur fellow, Nikole Hannah-Jones: “If newsroom managers wanted diverse newsrooms, they’d have diverse newsrooms.”⁵⁶

⁵⁶ McBride, Ashley. 2017. “Passion and persistence drive Nikole Hannah-Jones, a newly minted MacArthur genius.” Poynter. <https://www.poynter.org/business-work/2017/passion-and-persistence-drive-nikole-hannah-jones-a-newly-minted-macarthur-genius/>

Conclusion

“[My blog] wasn't a cry for help, or a grovelling plea for white people's understanding and compassion. It wasn't an invitation for white people to indulge in self-flagellation. I stopped talking to white people about race because I don't think giving up is a sign of weakness. Sometimes it's about self-preservation. [...] Since I set my boundary, I've done almost nothing but speak about race.”

– Reni Eddo-Lodge, *Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race*⁵⁷

When I came to Oxford, I had some misgivings about whether I was the best person to write about racial diversity. I was not the kind of person who openly discusses these issues. I'm not part of any collective of journalists, and before this fellowship I didn't spend my days reading up on race theories by Frantz Fanon or Cida Bento.^{58,59} It's certainly not something I wish to speak about for the rest of my life – I'm just a journalist who wants to do the best job possible. But I cannot deny that a lack of diversity in the workplace has impacted me personally. So here we are.

Now that the paper is done, I'd like to go back to my newsroom and focus on journalism. I am not sure that I can, though.

⁵⁷ Eddo-Lodge, Reni. 2017. *Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race*. N.p.: Bloomsbury USA.

⁵⁸ “In ‘Black Skin, White Masks’, Fanon psychoanalyses the oppressed Black person who is perceived as a lesser creature in the White world they live in, and studies how they navigate the world through a performance of Whiteness”. Gordon, Lewis R.; Cornell, Drucilla (1 January 2015). *What Fanon Said: A Philosophical Introduction to His Life and Thought*. Fordham University Press. p. 26.

⁵⁹ Psychologist and author Cida Bento, named by *The Economist* as one of the 50 most influential personalities in the world in the field of diversity, is one of the most respected voices in the fight against racism and prejudice in Brazil.

Having heard the stories, seen some of the will to change, considered the ramifications of no change on the lives of more than 30 journalists who spoke to me... I can't just drop this subject.

I don't think Brazilian newsrooms are deliberately racist; but they are not deliberately pursuing anti-racist policies that would lead to more representational hiring, more conscious selection of sources and more careful and collaborative consideration of the news agenda.⁶⁰

In my interviews, I found most journalists were aware and concerned about this, but that there was a disconnect between them and their bosses. A lack of diversity specifically in decision-making positions in the newsroom is a key factor in our inability to enact real change.

Of existing diversity initiatives, interviewees told me: "I know that my company only wants to look good and have a good public image" and "my HR representative asked me to be less vocal for my own good because they couldn't help me".

All of this trouble exists within the wider context of a Brazilian society that doesn't like to discuss race-related issues. Who would, when our president openly mocks Afro-Brazilians and Indigenous people and our vice-president denies the very existence of racism?^{61,62}

⁶⁰ "In a racist society, it is not enough to be non-racist—we must be anti-racist." Activist and scholar Angela Davis said this in 1979 and unfortunately this quote remains true and needs to be remembered more than 40 years later.

⁶¹ The full denounce, which is in public domain, can be accessed here: <http://www.mpf.mp.br/pgr/documentos/DenunciaBolsonaroTarjado.pdf>

⁶² "No Brasil, não existe racismo", diz Mourão sobre assassinato de homem negro em supermercado." 2020. G1. <https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2020/11/20/mourao-lamenta-assassinato-de-homem-negro-em-mercado-mas-diz-que-no-brasil-nao-existe-racismo.ghtml>.

“Solving” a lack of diversity in Brazilian journalism may not change the big picture: Black, Brown, Yellow and Indigenous professionals will still face problems outside the newsrooms, but they should not have to face them in the workplace.

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To my mother and my father, thank you for supporting me and my pursuit of knowledge.

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