

**LAW NO. 12.711/2012 AND RACISM: STRATEGIES AND CONTROVERSIES IN  
THE IMPLEMENTATION OF HETEROIDENTIFICATION COMMITTEES IN  
FEDERAL INSTITUTES**

***A LEI 12.711/2012 E O RACISMO: ESTRATÉGIAS E CONTROVÉRSIAS NA  
IMPLANTAÇÃO DAS COMISSÕES DE HETEROIDENTIFICAÇÃO NOS INSTITUTOS  
FEDERAIS***

***LEY 12.711/2012 Y RACISMO: ESTRATEGIAS Y CONTROVERSIAS EN LA  
IMPLEMENTACIÓN DE COMITÉS DE HETEROIDENTIFICACIÓN EN LOS  
INSTITUTOS FEDERALES***



Jacklady Dutra NASCIMENTO  
e-mail: jacklady.dutra@ifma.edu.br



Leudjane Michelle Viegas Diniz PORTO  
e-mail: leudjanediniz@ifma.edu.br



Regyna Kleyde de Holanda DUARTE  
e-mail: regynakleyde@hotmail.com

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**ABSTRACT:** This work aims to conduct a systematic literature review, analyzing scientific productions related to implementing Heteroidentification Committees in Federal Institutes and the strategies and controversies associated with the affirmative action endorsed by Law 12.711/12. It is understood that these committees represent instruments of guaranteeing and monitoring the effectiveness of this public policy, ensuring the rights of black and mixed-race individuals as beneficiaries of this affirmative action. For this purpose, a survey of scientific productions was conducted in the Web of Science Clarivate, Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (BDTD) databases, using the descriptor "Heteroidentificação," with the inclusion factor being works in the Portuguese language from the last five years. It is concluded that the Heteroidentification committees in Federal Institutes play a crucial role in safeguarding rights and mitigating fraud in the admission process to these public institutions. However, deepening the debate about the category "grayish-brown," that is, the light-skinned black individual, raises numerous controversies.

**KEYWORDS:** Heteroidentification. Racism. Law no. 12.711/2012. Federal Institutes.

**RESUMO:** O objetivo deste trabalho consiste em realizar uma revisão sistemática da literatura, analisando as produções científicas relacionadas à implementação das Comissões de Heteroidentificação nos Institutos Federais, bem como as estratégias e controvérsias relacionadas à égide da ação afirmativa homologada pela Lei 12.711/12. Entende-se que essas comissões representam instrumentos de garantia e fiscalização da efetividade dessa política pública, assegurando os direitos das pessoas negras e pardas como beneficiárias dessa ação afirmativa. Para tanto, foi conduzido um levantamento de produções científicas nas bases de dados Web Of Science Clarivates e Biblioteca Digital de Teses e dissertações (BDTD), com o descritor "Heteroidentificação", tendo como fator de inclusão trabalhos em língua portuguesa dos últimos cinco anos. Conclui-se que as bancas de heteroidentificação nos Institutos Federais desempenham um papel crucial na garantia dos direitos e na mitigação das fraudes no processo de ingresso nessas instituições públicas. Entretanto, é imprescindível aprofundar o debate sobre a categoria "pardo", ou seja, o(a) negro(a) de pele clara, que suscita inúmeras controvérsias.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Heteroidentificação. Racismo. Lei 12.711/2012. Institutos Federais.

**RESUMEN:** El objetivo de este trabajo es realizar una revisión sistemática de la literatura a partir del análisis de las producciones científicas relacionadas con la aplicación de las Comisiones de Heteroidentificación en los Institutos Federales, estrategias y controversias sobre la égide de la acción afirmativa homologada por la Ley 12.711/12. Comprende que dichas comisiones son instrumentos de garantía y supervisión de la efectividad de dicha política pública, salvaguardando a las personas negras y pardas como sujetos de derecho de esta acción afirmativa. Para ello, se realizó una encuesta de producciones científicas en las bases de datos Web Of Science Clarivates, Biblioteca Digital de Tesis y disertaciones (BDTD), con el descriptor "Heteroidentificación", teniendo como factor de inclusión trabajos en portugués de los últimos cinco años. Concluye que los puestos de heteroidentificación en los Institutos Federales son instrumentos importantes para garantizar los derechos y reducir los

*fraudes en el ingreso a estas instituciones públicas, sin embargo, es necesario ampliar el debate sobre la categoría marrón, es decir, el(la) negro(a) de piel clara, que genera tantas controversias.*

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** *Heteroidentificación. Racismo. Ley 12.711/2012. Institutos Federales.*

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## Introduction

This research<sup>1</sup> consists of a systematic literature review on affirmative action endorsed by Law 12.711/12, explicitly focusing on implementing Heteroidentification Committees in Federal Institutes. The objective is establishing dialogues between institutions and researchers to strengthen this public policy. Initially, theoretical contributions will be presented to understand the social construction of "race," the role of the black movement in the positive redefinition of socially racialized populations, and the endorsement of various legal diplomas resulting from historical struggles for the consolidation of material equality.

Within the context of the State, public policies with an ethnic-racial focus consist of measures aimed at combating the social phenomenon of racism, manifested in various forms of racial discrimination. According to Arabela Campos Oliven (2009, p. 66, our translation), they can be understood as "[...] a set [...] to protect groups that, in a given society, are or have been discriminated against." Their purpose is to break down barriers that hinder these groups' access to universities, the job market, and other positions and spaces of power and visibility.

From a sociological perspective, the construction of the idea of race in Brazil finds its roots in the 19th century, camouflaged under the guise of "science." The racial theories of that time asserted the existence of races, relegating black people to an inferior, uncivilized group destined for failure, while Europeans were considered a civilized race with the mission of guiding others. Thus, racial determinism based on skin color and geographical determinism led to stereotypes that associated immoral, lascivious, and violent behaviors with non-white individuals and attributed them to little intelligence.

The Brazilian elite inherited these racial theories from the 19th century and enjoyed great prestige in academic and political circles. Adapted to the time's political, economic, and

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<sup>1</sup> Inserted in the Graduate Program in Education (PPGEdu), in the research area of Education and Diversity at UFPA (Federal University of Grande Dourados), affiliated with GEPETIC (Research Group on Information and Communication Technologies in Education), led by Professor Dr. Reinaldo dos Santos. The research conducted encompasses various perspectives, including technologies, higher education, ethnic-racial diversity, inclusion, and accessibility, with a particular focus on the areas of deafness and visual impairment.

social scenarios, these theories turned human beings into commodities. After the post-Abolition period, the Brazilian elite implemented strategies that restricted or denied citizenship to black bodies, creating a veritable "technology of death" to maintain this control.

According to Quijano (2010), we are heirs to a network of domination that persisted even after Brazil's political emancipation, resulting in a condition of colonized peoples, subjugated by ideological authority based on Eurocentrism, coloniality, the construction of the concept of race, and epistemicide. This domination determines which knowledge should be valued and which cultural productions are considered national. We remain, thus, as the "other," subjected to a regime of power that imposes political, economic, moral, and epistemological standards linked to Eurocentrism and coloniality.

Coloniality also underlies the construction of racism, which Almeida (2021, p. 32, our translation) defines as "[...] a systematic form of discrimination based on race, manifested through conscious or unconscious practices that result in advantages or privileges for individuals depending on the social group they do not belong to." The notion of race is a crucial factor in creating new identities as it defines and naturalizes the role of groups in the division of labor, politically used to legitimize inequalities, segregate, and even promote genocides of minority groups.

Guimarães (2009, p. 59, our translation) asserts that racism in Brazil "[...] perpetuates itself through factual restrictions of citizenship, [...] the imposition of social distances created by huge differences in income and education, [...] social inequalities that separate whites and blacks, rich and poor, northerners and southerners."

Brazilian racism is not limited to individual and everyday aspects but also encompasses them. There is institutional and structural racism closely related to the idea of restricting citizenship for specific social categories. Institutional racism occurs when institutions act in a way that confers, even indirectly, disadvantages and privileges based on race. Structural racism is manifested in power relations in Brazil, permeating the educational system, elite professions, and the marginalization of the black population in the country. This is reflected in the dominance of white men in public institutions, such as the legislature, judiciary, public prosecutor's office, and university rectors, as well as in private institutions, such as corporate boards (ALMEIDA, 2021).

Racism is evident in the inequalities present in the structures of the social order, permeating political, economic, legal, and familial relationships. It is a historical and political



process that creates social conditions for racially identified groups to be systematically, directly, or indirectly discriminated against (ALMEIDA, 2021).

On the other hand, the black movement in Brazil has denounced the lack of access of black populations to social goods and full citizenship, consolidating a crucial political project, the quota system, along with various other legal diplomas that seek to ensure not only the representation of the black population in institutional spaces but also promote equality and diversity, mitigating the structures that hinder the access of black individuals to these spaces.

Law 12.711/2012, known as the Quota Law, has contributed to the admission of black individuals to universities. However, it is still necessary to create and implement new policies to combat dropout rates and strengthen the retention of these students in higher education. Additionally, it is essential to reassess the quota percentage and ensure effective monitoring to guarantee that this policy benefits those who genuinely have the right to it (BRASIL, 2012).

In 2014, another affirmative action policy was endorsed to address the historical debt of the Brazilian State concerning the education of black and grayish-brown populations: Law 12.990/14, which reserves 20% of vacancies in federal public competitions for black and mixed-race individuals, aims to reduce social inequalities, deconstruct structural racism, and promote material equality (BRASIL, 2014).

Gomes (2012) asserts that the black movement attributes significance to the racial issue, understanding it as an element of autonomy, operating in a relevant way in the construction of positively affirmed ethnic-racial identities, questioning the history of the country and the black population, and incorporating and continuing to build new theoretical arguments and epistemologies to elucidate how Brazilian racism manifests.

However, these affirmative actions have been questioned, as they deconstruct the founding myth of racial relations in Brazil, that of racial democracy, and denounce the racism and privileges historically granted to whiteness. In this sense, the Federal Supreme Court (STF) ruled through Declaratory Action of Constitutionality (ADC) No. 41, unanimously declaring the full constitutionality of Law No. 12.990/2014, basing its decision in line with the principle of equality, the need to overcome structural and institutional racism, and to ensure material equality among citizens, through a more equitable distribution of social goods and recognition of the Afro-descendant population.

The Law establishes the self-declaration of the candidate as black to apply for the quotas. However, since the STF above ruling, Heteroidentification committees have considered the subsidiary use of Heteroidentification legitimate, as provided for in Article 2, heading, and

sole paragraph of Law 12.990/2014, as a measure to prevent frauds, such as the practice known as "afroconvenience" - the false self-declaration of belonging to the black ethnic group to obtain the benefits of this public policy.

According to Nunes (2018, p. 29, our translation), "[...] the commissions do not pass judgment on bodies but initiate a political process of welcoming and reception to bodies forgotten, interdicted, and normalized by racism [...]". The Heteroidentification Board has the procedural responsibility to ascertain the social race of the individual, using phenotypic criteria, to ensure that the candidate continues in the selection process for admission to the university, college, school, or public competition.

Ethnic-racial affirmative actions promote disputes that destabilize structures of power and privileges, allowing socially minority groups access to spaces previously denied to them. In this context of conflicts, various controversies and advances in consolidating these policies arise.

Therefore, we will proceed with the systematic literature review to analyze the productions on these topics, especially the strategies and controversies faced by the Heteroidentification boards, aiming to promote necessary dialogues for strengthening this essential policy in pursuing material equality or, at least, mitigating inequalities.

### **Academic productions on Heteroidentification boards**

This work consists of a descriptive and documentary study with qualitative and quantitative analysis using selected productions from scientific databases.

The survey was conducted to map the main discussions about implementing Heteroidentification committees, the strategies used, and the challenges faced in this process. The research was carried out between December 1, 2022, and January 10, 2023, using credible databases from the *Web of Science*, on December 16, 2022. Six studies were found for the descriptor <<Heteroidentification>>, with four in Portuguese and two in English. When including the descriptors <<Heteroidentification >>, <<law 12.711/2012>> and <<Federal Institute >> in *Web of Science*; no results were obtained. The same outcome was observed in BDTD, as shown in the table below:

**Table 1 - Survey in the databases**

Platform	Day	Descriptors	Outcomes	Inclusion criteria
Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (BDTD)	22/12/2022	Heteroidentification AND Law 12.711/2012 AND Federal Institute	0	0
Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (BDTD)	22/12/2022	Heteroidentification	17	17 in the Portuguese language; last five years
<i>Web of Science Clarivates</i>	16/12/2022	Heteroidentification, Law 12.711/2012, and Federal Institute	0	0
<i>Web of Science Clarivates</i>	16/12/2022	Heteroidentification	6	4 in the Portuguese language; last five years

Source: Research Data (2022)

In the survey conducted on December 16, 2022, in BDTD, using the descriptor <<Heteroidentification>>, 17 productions from the last five years in the Portuguese language were obtained as results. Exclusion criteria were applied, which included removing duplicated works and reading the title and abstract to identify those that did not address the central theme - Heteroidentification committees. Works that covered other subjects, such as effectiveness, judicialization processes, identity construction, NEABIS implementation, and ethnography of victims of State violence, were excluded. At the end of this process, seven productions remained for a more precise and in-depth examination of the subject, which is listed below:

**Table 2 - Web of Science Clarivate**

Title / Author / Year / Keywords	Objective	Methodological Approach	Final Considerations
Cotas raciais e heteroidentificação: análise dos parâmetros utilizados para a validação da autodeclaração.  PICORRETI, Gilsilene Passon Francischetto; MACHADO; Amanda Misael (2020).  Inequalities; Racial Quotas; Self-Identification; Heteroidentification.	To appreciate the lack of unified criteria among these institutions for validating ethnic-racial self-declaration and to identify the best approaches for implementing racial quotas	The deductive method was employed based on bibliographic sources.	The ratification of ethnic-racial self-declaration in genealogy provides an opportunity for white individuals. Considering subjectivity, the Heteroidentification board should interview candidates to identify their social context, ensuring that racial quotas achieve their objectives.
Direito à liberdade e à igualdade nas políticas de reconhecimento: fundamentos jurídicos da	The debate over the identity/identification of the concrete beneficiaries of racial	Bibliographic	Biological, medical-legal, or genetic expertise cannot solve the problem of defining who should benefit from affirmative action programs since

<p>identificação dos beneficiários nas cotas raciais.</p> <p>DUARTE, Evandro Pizza; BERTULIO, Dora Lucia de Lima (2020).</p> <p>Public Policies. Racial Quotas. Ethnic-Racial Identity. Heteroidentification. Affirmative Actions.</p>	<p>quota policies occurs within the tension between the principles of equality and freedom.</p>		<p>they cannot prove what needs to be confirmed: the existence of a factual situation of social disadvantage. An inclusive policy should avoid two extremes: compulsory participation (addressed through self-identification) and the inclusion of individuals who are not recognized as belonging to the discriminated group or society (managed through Heteroidentification).</p>
<p>A Universidade Federal do Amapá e a comissão de heteroidentificação: entraves, desafios e possibilidades.</p> <p>DA SILVA, Miriam Carvalho; CUSTODIO, Elivaldo Serão (2021)</p> <p>Heteroidentification Committee; Affirmative Actions; UNIFAP; Amapá.</p>	<p>To analyze the establishment of the heteroidentification committee formation process at the Federal University of Amapá (UNIFAP) and its accreditation.</p>	<p>The research approach was qualitative, exploratory, and reflexive, with a bibliographic and documentary focus.</p>	<p>The results indicate that UNIFAP has already regulated three commissions, and based on the data, only two adhere to the requirement of diversity of color and the presence of researchers with knowledge and expertise in racial relations in Amapá. The data also point to a need for the commissions to be composed of diversity in terms of color and gender, as well as researchers and activists from the black movement, considering the particularities of each region in Brazil.</p>
<p>Desafios das comissões de heteroidentificação na Universidade Federal de São Paulo.</p> <p>MARTINS, E.; MELLO, M. P. D., RIBEIRO, F. B. (2021).</p> <p>Racial Policy. Quota System. Affirmative Action.</p>	<p>To present some paths, challenges, and outcomes related to the organization and implementation of heteroidentification boards in the student admission selection system at the Federal University of São Paulo (Unifesp).</p>	<p>The study adopted an exploratory, analytical, and qualitative approach.</p>	<p>Based on this experience, it can be concluded that such institutional procedures are indispensable in selection processes, as they seek to guarantee the rights of black and indigenous individuals to access Brazilian public universities.</p>

Source: Research Data (2023).



**Table 3 - Survey of the Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (BDTD)**

Title / Author / Year / Keywords	Objective	Methodological Approach	Final Considerations
<p>A implementação de cotas raciais na Prefeitura de São Paulo: Análises sobre os procedimentos de comissões de heteroidentificação.</p> <p>COSTA, Najara Lima (2019). Dissertação.</p> <p>Affirmative Actions. Racial Quotas. Institutional Racism. Heteroidentification Committees. Public Services.</p>	<p>Analysis of the universe surrounding the implementation of quotas by the public administration of São Paulo City Hall in the execution of Law No. 15.939/2013, including the methods of Heteroidentification.</p>	<p>Ethnographic research, documentary analysis, and interviews.</p>	<p>The procedures of Heteroidentification in accessing affirmative action's require, in addition to constant training for their operators (whether they belong to the institutional body or the civil society interested in participating in the execution of the procedures), clarifications regarding the operationalization of race as a sociological concept, as well as considerations about the process of racialization experienced in Brazil.</p>
<p>O ingresso de negros/as nos cursos de graduação nas universidades federais do Brasil: análise da implantação das comissões de heteroidentificação.</p> <p>OLIVEIRA, Fabiana Corrêa Garcia Pereira de (2019).</p> <p>Quota Law. Higher Education. Affirmative Actions. Heteroidentification. Dissertation.</p>	<p>The general objective of the research is to analyze the implementation of Heteroidentification committees as a complement to ethnic-racial self-declaration established in Brazilian federal universities.</p>	<p>Exploratory and analytical, both quantitative and qualitative.</p>	<p>The research results indicate that affirmative policies for the black population are of utmost importance in terms of access to higher education and the strengthening of black identity. However, to prevent the distortion of the law, universities must adopt monitoring mechanisms to suppress fraud in the system, ensuring the right of the actual beneficiaries. Establishing a committee to conduct the Heteroidentification procedure as a complement to self-declaration has proven to be positive in achieving the legislation's intended purpose.</p>
<p>Papel das comissões de heteroidentificação, como mecanismo efetivo de seletivo de negros aos cargos das universidades públicas federais.</p> <p>PACE, Ângela Ferreira (2019) Theses.</p> <p>Self-Declaration, Heteroidentification, Institutional Racism, Black Individuals, Subjects of Rights.</p>	<p>Analysis of the implementation of Heteroidentification committees in Federal Public Universities</p>	<p>Qualitative research, supported by tabulated data, bibliographic and documentary survey, as well as participatory action research.</p>	<p>The system of compensatory actions, through reserved quotas in competitions, is an effective mechanism for black individuals to access public positions, and racial Heteroidentification committees are subsidiary and indispensable in selecting the rightful subjects of this public policy.</p>
<p>Heteroidentificação racial para concursos públicos de professores/as na Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto - UFOP.</p>	<p>Analysis of the performance of racial self-declaration verification</p>	<p>Qualitative research, case study, documentary analysis,</p>	<p>Heteroidentification has its limitations, and it is suggested to increase the number of qualified personnel to act, train more individuals, enhance the</p>

Title / Author / Year / Keywords	Objective	Methodological Approach	Final Considerations
<p>FAGUNDES, Isabela Perucci Esteves (2020) Dissertation.</p> <p>Professors. Competitive Exams. Quota System. Black Individuals. Racial Identity. Federal University of Ouro Preto.</p>	<p>committees to reserve positions in public competitive exams for permanent teaching positions at the Federal University of Ouro Preto (UFOP).</p>	<p>interviews, and observation.</p>	<p>discussion about Brazil's racial divide, and establish administrative sectors responsible for implementing and monitoring these policies.</p>
<p>(Contra)mestiçagem negra: pele clara, anti-colorismo e comissões de heteroidentificação racial</p> <p>RODRIGUES, Gabriela Machado Bacelar (2021) Dissertation.</p> <p>Light-skinned Black Individuals. Heteroidentification Committees. Colorism.o</p>	<p>Analysis of racial self-declaration and heteroclassification dynamics among light-skinned black individuals and the so-called racial transition in candidates applying for positions at the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA).</p>	<p>Ethnographic study conducted during the University's Ethnic-Racial Self-Declaration Verification Committee proceedings.</p>	<p>Controversies and uncertainties surrounding the category "grayish-brown," which includes light-skinned black individuals, can undermine the analysis of the verification carried out by Heteroidentification committees.</p>
<p>O direito à educação, a legislação de cotas e a implantação de uma comissão de heteroidentificação: a experiência de uma universidade federal brasileira</p> <p>SANTOS, Larice Nunes (2021) Dissertação</p> <p>Quotas. Affirmative Actions. Heteroidentification Committees.</p>	<p>Addressing the importance of Heteroidentification Boards in deterring fraud in admission to Public Universities, based on the experience of the Federal University of Triângulo Mineiro (UFTM), as well as creating a Handbook for the implementation of Heteroidentification Committees for other Federal Institutions of Higher Education (IFES).</p>	<p>Case study. Interviews. Creation of a handbook.</p>	<p>The main achievement is to guarantee access and provide the opportunity for individuals entitled to benefit from racial quotas to enter Public Educational Institutions.</p>
<p>A efetivação da política de cotas como estratégia de enfrentamento ao racismo: tensões e avanços na atuação da Comissão de Heteroidentificação da UFMA nos anos de 2020 e 2021.</p> <p>MORAES, Alan Jefferson Lima de (2022)</p>	<p>Analyzing the process of implementing racial quota policies at the Federal University of Maranhão, especially the role of the Heteroidentification Committee in identifying the beneficiaries of</p>	<p>Qualitative research is supported by tabulated data, bibliographic and documentary surveys, and participatory action research.</p>	<p>The system of compensatory actions, through reserved quotas in competitions, is an effective mechanism for black individuals to access public positions, and racial Heteroidentification committees are subsidiary and indispensable in selecting the rightful subjects of this public policy.</p>

Title / Author / Year / Keywords	Objective	Methodological Approach	Final Considerations
Racial Identification. Structural Racism. Racial Quota System. Heteroidentification Committee.	affirmative action policies for admission to higher education.		

Source: Research Data (2023)

### Heteroidentification Committees and Racism in Federal Institutes: Discussions

We characterized each selected study in the screening, describing the title, author(s), publication year, keywords, objectives, methodology used in each study, and the presented considerations. Upon analyzing the obtained results, we found that most academic productions advocate for the relevance of Heteroidentification committees as a control tool to reduce fraud and irregularities in affirmative action policies, aiming to guarantee access to the entitled individuals established by the regulations.

One of the highlighted aspects in the discussions is the issue of self-declared "grayish-brown" (mixed-race individuals), who are considered "so close" to black people in terms of inequality indexes but "so far" about the perception of prejudice and discrimination they face (PASSOS, 2019). These productions problematize the "grayish-brown" identity, which is often questioned regarding their ethnic belonging. It is necessary to analyze the reality of miscegenation in Brazil and its repercussions on classification systems, considering that this identity is numerically superior and faces prejudice and discrimination.

On the other hand, Rodrigues (2021) criticizes Heteroidentification committees that do not accept the self-declaration of light-skinned black individuals as rightful subjects of affirmative action, alleging the supposed "grayish-brown privilege" or the existence of racial transitions, derogatorily called "afroconvenient." The author proposes reevaluating these issues in the context of racial relations in Brazil, considering racialization based on various social markers, such as social class and gender identity. Light skin is analyzed as one of these markers, informing a process of the racialization of "grayish-brown" that involves the myth of racial democracy and miscegenation within the black population.

The book "Colorism" by Devulsky (2021) also highlights the "grayish-brown privilege" as a colonial strategy to separate Afro-descendants and strengthen the racist project. Colorism is considered an ideology similar to racism, as the idea of the gradation of colors associated with social privileges contributes to the subjugation of those oppressed by the colonial project, with the colonizer setting the standard.

## Final considerations

Brazilian racism manifests itself concerning appearance, using the individual's physical traits, physiognomy, gestures, and accent as a pretext for its manifestations. When there is a presumption that the individual descends from a particular ethnic group, they may suffer the consequences of prejudice, characterizing discrimination based on origin. In this context, "race" continues to have social and sociological value, establishing classification systems that attribute a "second-class citizenship" to black and "grayish-brown" groups (GUIMARÃES, 2009).

Because of this, social movements use the term "race" to define groups that should receive public policies to promote these segments' full citizenship. In this sense, Heteroidentification committees were created to ensure adequate access for black individuals to affirmative action policies, verifying the racial self-declaration of quota candidates through phenotypic evaluation.

The systematic literature review on this topic reveals that affirmative action with an ethnic-racial focus operates in a field of power struggles, from the possibility of self-declaring as black to questioning the affirmative action policy itself regarding fraud and other elements. Some issues pointed out in the implementation of these committees include the timing of this process during the competition, the subjectivity of Heteroidentification, the need to develop objective instruments for this process, and the questioning of identifying light-skinned black individuals as black, among other aspects.

However, there have been considerable advancements, as evidenced by the number of academic productions and the dialogue on the subject, building a solid body of knowledge for the evaluation, improvement, and continuity of affirmative action with an ethnic-racial focus, demonstrating this policy's relevance and positive effects.

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## About the Authors

### Jacklady Dutra NASCIMENTO

University of Federal da Grande Dourados (UFMA), Campo Grande – MS – Brazil. Licensed degree in History (UFMA). Doctoral degree student in Education at the Postgraduate Program in Education (PPGEdu) of the University of Federal da Grande Dourados (UFGD).

### Leudjane Michelle Viegas Diniz PORTO

University of Federal do Piauí (UFPI), Piauí – PI – Brazil. Licensed degree in History (UEMA). degree in History (UEMA). Doctoral degree in Education from the Postgraduate Program in Education (PPGEdu) of the University of Federal do Piauí (UFPI).

### Regyna Kleyde de Holanda DUARTE

University of Federal do Piauí (UFPI), Piauí – PI – Brazil. Bachelor's degree in business administration (UFPI). Member of the research group GEPETIC. Doctoral degree student in Education at the PPGEdu of UFGD.

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