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AFRI 0210: Afro-Latin Americans and Blackness in the Americas
Final Paper
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**Classism, Racism, and the Complexities of Afro Latinidad:
A Look into the History of Whitening, Political Movements, and Reggaetón,
and their Relationship to Black Folklore**

<i>A los blancos hizo Dios</i>	<i>The Whites were made by God.</i>
<i>A los mulatos San Pedro</i>	<i>The Mulattoes by Saint Peter</i>
<i>A los negros hizo el diablo</i>	<i>The Devil made the Blacks</i>
<i>Para tizón del infierno.</i>	<i>As a stain in Hell.</i>

(Carvalho-Neto 67)

1. Introduction

Is classism and racism intertwined in Latin America? How do we understand race politics in a region where the majority of the population is mixed between White, Indigenous¹ and Black? How do we view racism in countries where it was not as institutionalized as in the United States? Is Latin America "café *con* leche" or "café *y* leche"² (Sánchez 1)? How does *reggaetón* represent Blackness? Has its rise in popularity become a form of "whitening" the musical genre? Should Cardi B, a female rapper of Dominican and Trinidadian descent, say the n-word in her music?

These are some of the questions that I will explore in the following essay, which seeks to provide an overview of the position of Afro Latinidad in Latin American societies, from the point of view of different scholars, specifically: Winthrop Wright's perspective on racial

¹ For the purpose of this essay, I will use the words Indigenous and Native to refer to the "pre-Columbian" peoples of the Americas and their descendants.

² "Coffee *with* milk" (in reference to racial mixture) or "coffee *and* milk"

dynamics in Venezuela, Tianna Paschel and Jean Rahier's views on Black political movements in Colombia and Brazil, and Paulo de Carvalho-Neto's overview of the stereotypes and literary representations that have determined Latin American Black folklore throughout history.

In Latin America, many times the discourse in regards to race states that it is a homogenous mixed society, with no racial prejudice. However, in reality, societal discrimination exists for certain racial groups. In this essay, I will explore the relationship between classism and racism in Latin America. To further explain societal perceptions on this debate, I will present results of a survey related to this topic, that was conducted to 148 Venezuelans. I will then look into how Afro Latino identity has changed from the time of slavery, to the time of miscegenation and subsequent "whitening" of the population, and lastly, to the rise of Black political movements, focusing on how socio political movements related to Blackness³, negate the assumption that racism is non-existent. Additionally, I will show how the musical genre *reggaetón*— and its sub genre, *Latin trap*— followed a similar process in its relationship to Blackness, and pose a variety of questions to challenge our view of this musical genre within a racial context. I will then conclude with some final thoughts in regards to the question of Afro Latinidad, and its relationship to socioeconomic class, politics, and music.

2. Survey: *Classism and Racism in Venezuela*

To gain a better understanding of Venezuelans' perception of how classism and racism have influenced social stratification and the current political situation, I decided to conduct a survey. The survey had 148 respondents, with no specific age or gender parameters, who have

³ Or Indigeneity, although this is not in the scope of this paper.

lived in Venezuela or have lived in Venezuela at some point of their life. The questions and answers were the following (see Appendix A for graphs and complete responses):

(1) In your opinion, what is the root of the socioeconomic disparity and discrimination in Venezuela? 68.2% Classism; 2.7% Racism, 25.7% a mix of both; 3.4% Other

(2) In your opinion, are there any other main causes for the socioeconomic disparity and discrimination in Venezuela? There were many answers but some of the most predominant ones were the following: education, politics, corruption, lack of education, resentment, economic model, and Marxism. One respondent even claimed that he considered that viewing racism or Blackness as a factor that can influence socioeconomic disparity was *absurd*: "Yes. There is no such a thing as socioeconomic discrimination related to racism or Blackness. That is just absurd. In Venezuela such a thing doesn't exist. The socioeconomic disparity bigger contributor is the lack of culture and education. That's our main problem."

(3) Do you consider that classism is one of the causes of the rise and strength of Chavismo? 80.4% Yes; 10.8% No; 8.8% Other

(4) Do you consider that racism is one of the causes of the rise and strength of Chavismo? 36.5% Yes; 57.4% No

(5) If you desire, please elaborate on your previous responses. As in question 2, there were many different answers but some of the answers that stood out the most are the following:

- "In my opinion, although racism in Venezuela exists, and it is a reality, I consider that classism is stronger and more damaging to society. In Venezuela there are many races, culturally the Black, Indian natives and mixed race population has had less educational opportunities and therefore are less likely to succeed economically and culturally, but

when they do they are very well respected and has almost the same opportunities. Political conflict has sparked more because of difference in economic status."

- "Socialism (Cuban) has planned to conquer power in Latin America through the systematic use of a) miscommunication; b) promising to fix poverty and injustice; c) seizing all power branches; d) changing rules; e) making it impossible to revert the situation; f) impoverishing the population to avoid reaction/ emigration; g) massive propaganda"
- "Whoever decided to talk about this is someone that apparently has little or no idea about Venezuelan culture and its political situation. It is very sad that now people want to make everything about racism."
- "Racism was used as a tool to motivate hatred and for Chavez stay in power."
- "Hugo Chávez won the first election due to promises about taking down rich people who had forgotten about the poor for over 20 years. The campaign was not based on race, but on social status. Racism has not ever been a problem in Venezuela since we are all mixed, we have people from different backgrounds, and we Venezuelans are warm and welcoming. It is part of our cultural identity."

As we can see, most people consider that classism is a much more prominent problem in Venezuela than racism, even stating that it is "part of our culture" to be a mixed race. I will use the responses from this survey later in this paper to illustrate how people's perceptions can conflict with the reality, and how intertwined these two forms of prejudice are in Latin America.

3. Afro Latinidad Throughout History: Slavery, Mestizaje and Whitening, and Black Political Movements

In Puerto Rico there is a saying that goes: "God made the Black man so that the animal could rest" (Carvalho-Neto 72). During the period of colonization of the Americas, which started in the 16th century, more than ten times the number of enslaved Africans were sent to Latin America than to the United States. In many countries in the region, those who were enslaved greatly outnumbered the free population (Paschel 28). This experience of slavery that existed for so long, created the stereotype of the Black as a "beast of burden," supposed to be born to do heavy, physical, muscular work (Carvalho-Neto 72).

Stereotypes can be considered "one of the currencies of social life" given that they represent long-established prejudices and exclusions (Dzidzienyo & Oboler 101). That is why it is very interesting to explore how this initial history of slavery, which perpetuates a cycle of poor access to education and "culture" for the group of African descent, has created a certain view of Blackness that permeates up to this day. Paulo de Carvalho-Neto explores what he calls the "folklore of the Black struggle in Latin America" and has established some of these examples of the negative stereotypes related to the Black population: the Indecent Black, the Bad Black, the Stupid Black, the Dirty Black, the Bad-Mannered Black, the Conceited Black, the Black without Feelings, the Untrustworthy Black, the Black Devil, the Black Thief, the Ugly Black, the Lazy Black and the Worthless Black (Carvalho-Neto 57-86; Wright 44).

In spite of all of these negative connotations related to Blackness, a large difference that Latin America had with the United States, is the prevalence of the phenomenon of *mestizaje* (racial mixture or miscegenation) between people of White, Black, and Native descent, which

created many racial categories: Mulatto (White and Black), Mestizo (White and Native), Zambo (Native and Black), Pardo (mixture of all three), and other sub-categories.

Throughout history, there was an idea that racial mixture would give way to a culturally and biologically homogeneous people that were stronger than any of their individual roots (Paschel 40). This resulted in a very complicated view of race for Latin Americans, which to this day is not truly understood. The phenomenon of racial mixture was described differently in different countries: in Mexico "the cosmic race," in Brazil "the Brazilian race," in Venezuela "café con leche" ("coffee with milk"), in Panama a "crisol de razas" ("melting pot of races"). (Paschel 29). Given the view of Latinos as mixed and "brown", the idea that racism was never a problem became the common discourse. For example, a 20th century Colombian census goes as far as to state that "very few countries give less importance to race than this one. Whites, blacks and Indians live together and mix without any fuss" (Paschel 40).

This all seems like an amazing racial utopia, right? Tianna Paschel critiques this view. She considers that stating that every Colombian is more or less mestizo or that every Brazilian is at least a little African is similar to the notion that all Americans are middle class, given that it obscures the very real ways that these societies are differentiated along class and ethno-racial lines. Moreover, it serves to depoliticize such inequalities. She says that the myths of homogeneity "make it difficult for those on the bottom of a social hierarchy to develop an oppositional consciousness" (Paschel 47).

Winthrop Wright would agree. In his analysis of race relations in Venezuela in the book *Café con Leche*, his first chapter is called "The Myth of Racial Democracy," in which he explains how the view that in Latin America it is "only one unified race" is false, and many times what it

is actually trying to do is to deny or suppress the existence of Blackness. For example, in a letter to Andrés Eloy Blanco in the 1800s, the Brazilian government stated that they would solve the "Negro problem" by offering stipends to Whites who married Blacks (Wright 1). Similarly, in 20th century Venezuela, the elites and politicians openly encouraged immigration of white Europeans while excluding entry of non-Whites, calling for miscegenation to reduce the size of the "pure Black" racial minority (Wright 2). As Wright states, "it seems like Venezuelans want only a little *café* with their *leche*." (131) In other words, they can be Black, but not too Black, because Blackness carries with it negative connotations.

This idea of mixture also created the concept of "silent racism." In Latin America there started to be a refusal to acknowledge that racial discrimination existed. This gave rise to the use of *classism* to achieve a "post-racial" society⁴. As we saw previously in the survey responses, most Venezuelans have a strong belief that there is no racial prejudice, but rather prejudice in on the basis of your level of wealth and education. Apart from the fact that these are necessarily intertwined— because the history of slavery and colonization created structures that made the socioeconomic mobility of certain racial groups much more difficult— the idea previously stated of achieving a homogenous mixture, makes the intersection between racism and classism so convoluted, that many people never acknowledge their unconscious racial prejudices. A clear example that Wright states of this bias is that even today, most Venezuelan elites do not want their children to marry Blacks, for fear of losing important social status as a result (Wright 5). Moreover, racism is so ingrained that some people are surprised to see Blacks who show signs of "good upbringing" (Carvalho-Neto 61).

⁴ Discussed in class on October 12.

In his paper on racism in Venezuela, Sánchez poses an interesting thought experiment. Although these are not specific numbers, if we assume that the idea that skin color is not a variable that influences distribution of wealth is true, then out of every ten wealthy individuals in Venezuela, we would have roughly: one White, eight mixed, and one "pure" Black. However, this is far from the truth. A simple look at any private Club in Caracas, and you can quickly observe that the vast majority of people are White. Moreover, the three Venezuelans that are listed on Forbes (El Nacional, 2016)— Juan Carlos Escotet (#421), Gustavo Cisneros (#906) and Lorenzo Mendoza (#1198) — are all White men (Sánchez 2).

Even though it would be amazing to live in a society without racial prejudice, Mirjana Najcevska, chair of the UN's Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent, made an amazing statement in 2010 about talking about race. She explains how, even though recently she heard that the terms race and racism should not be used, because "there is only one human race and the use of the term race and racism perpetuates the problem," the social construct of race exists even if genetics suggests the contrary. Given that the problem of racism is connected with privilege and power, eliminating the words for the different races will not result in less discrimination or prejudice (Rahier 21). Hence, to all of this discourse on homogenization, came the inevitable backlash: *Black political movements* (Paschel; Rahier).

The title of Tianna Paschel's book is *Becoming Black Political Subjects*. Why does she not simply say Black Political Movements? Because the use of the word "becoming" is a political statement in and of itself. She states that she has taken seriously the idea of *becoming* Black— rather than *being* Black— by examining its political articulation (Paschel 238). Given the long history of miscegenation and denial of race issues in Latin America, which were

substituted by the discourse of "socioeconomic" difference, it was necessary for Blacks to *reassert* their Blackness, in order to demand their rights. As Stuart Hall (1996) says, identities are not about '*who we are*' or '*where we came from,*' so much as what we might *become*, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves, given that identity formation is a process that is never quite complete (Paschel 238).

The 1970s and 1980s marked the emergence of a contemporary black movement made up of diverse organizations in Brazil and Colombia (Paschel 79). Nonetheless, in the 1980s, political elites and society still understood Black political organizations as illegitimate, divisive, and unpatriotic. By the end of the decade, things began to change dramatically: Blackness became a legitimate category of political struggle in the eyes of the state, and the Black movement in each country became increasingly incorporated into formal political institutions and state bureaucracies (Paschel 80). The discourse in the 1990s was one of "multiculturalism," asking for territorial rights, political autonomy and language rights, which started recognizing the cultural, ethnic, and racial diversity of national populations, making visible Afro descendant populations (Rahier 1). Lastly, in the 2000s, the Brazilian state, and the Colombian state to a lesser degree, began to shift their approach to one of "racial equality alignment" to adopt a set of policies, including affirmative action, predicated on the idea that there was racism, or at the very least racial inequality, in society (Paschel 116).

The main differences that Paschel presents between the movements in Brazil and Colombia, are the following. In Brazil, the African past is more celebrated and takes place in urban areas, but maintains anti-Blackness, and there is more mobilization promoting racial

equality, and demanding reparations. On the other hand, in Colombia, Africanity and Blackness are pushed more to the margins, and mobilization is focused more on territorial rights.

Given the way that Black political movements have emerged in the past three decades, I think that an interesting question we must ask ourselves is the following: Is the rise of political representation, yet another form of social "whitening"? In other words, when becoming Black political subjects, do people seize to be socially Black?⁵

4. Reggaetón and its Relationship to Blackness in Latin America

(Muñoz, Pichardo, & Paula 2017)

Reggaetón is a musical genre which consists of a mix of mainly Panamanian reggae, Jamaican Reggae, and Dancehall, which originated in Puerto Rico in the 1990s. It was originally rejected by society and perceived as inauthentic music, and in its initial days it was even banned by the Puerto Rican Government due to its vulgar language and feared impact. I argue that the same historical process that occurred with Afro Latinidad, from slavery and forming of stereotypes, to miscegenation and Whitening, to political backlash, occurred with this musical genre.

In its origin, reggaetón artists were mainly low-income folks who, apart from the more romantic lyrics, related their experiences with police brutality, intimidation, and hyper-policing. In the words of Tego Calderón, "reggaetón is street, [...] reggaetón is the struggle." Julio Voltio also expressed that people related to him because "people here, they know me, they know I'm from the street, I represent the street" (My Block Puerto Rico 2011).

⁵ Discussed in class on December 5.

Some have stated that by listening to or participating in, reggaetón, one *darkens* themselves. In this way, its origins stem from the oppression of people in lower socioeconomic status, yes, but this is a clear example of how race and class intertwine. In its early days reggaetón represented the "underground," the people who live in the slums or in poverty, but in a way, this was associated with Blackness.

Subsequently, as reggaetón became more "mainstream" with the release of hits such as La Gasolina by Daddy Yankee (2004), reggaetón starting to become less about "the street struggle" and more about women, sex, drugs, material goods, and money. The musical genre also started mixing with pop, merengue, salsa, and other Latino genres. Some of the hits have been: "Atrevete te te" by Calle 13 (2006), Ella Me Levantó by Daddy Yankee (2007), and Andas En Mi Cabeza by Chino y Nacho (2016).

Some songs, such as Despacito by Luis Fonsi (2017), even started collaborating with pop artists such as Justin Bieber. This can be equated with the phenomenon of mestizaje. In a way, there was a sort of mixture between cultures, that led to the popular songs that now people all around the world, regardless of their race and socioeconomic status, sing and dance. Furthermore, an interesting aspect of reggaetón, is the predominance of the use of word *morena*. Some examples are: Baila Morena by Hector y Tito (2004), Sensacion del Bloque by De La Ghetto (2006), and Ven Bailalo by Angel y Khris (2004). Carvalho-Neto describes the use of the words *moreno* and *morena* as synonyms for Black, but used euphemistically (Carvalho-Neto 77). Were "reggaetoneros" unconsciously praising *or separating themselves* from Blackness through their lyrics?

Currently, there is a new wave of reggaeton songs that fall under a sub-genre called Latin trap, that in a sense tries to bring back the "underground" aspect of the music. Many older artists such as Arcangel, De La Ghetto, and Farruko, have transitioned into trap, but there are many new actors in the scene such as Bad Bunny and Ozuna. Ozuna calls himself "El Negrito Ojos Claros" (Black with Clear Eyes), which is in a sense a way of bringing him closer to Whiteness to be viewed as more attractive. In Ozuna's music video of the song "Dile Que Tú Me Quieres" (2016), he presents a situation in which the women he loves, and who loves him, leaves him for another White wealthy man. I consider that this another clear example of how the relationship between class and race is truly ingrained into Latin Americans. The lyrics of Latin trap explore a lot of hypersexualization and drugs, but are also appealing to a different audience. For example, Venezuelan Latin trap artist Akapellah, with his song "Milki" (2016) describes the Venezuelan hyperinflation, and how the artist wants to help his family financially. Thus, in a way, we can equate the rise of trap and its controversial lyrics, to a form of Black political movement.

An interesting example of the debate of Blackness within this type of trap music is Cardi B, an Afro Latina female rapper of Dominican and Trinidadian descent. She is the most successful Afro Latina in the hip hop scene nowadays. Most of her music is in English, although she recently collaborated with Ozuna on a song called "La Modelo" (2017). Cardi B recently had to deal with some controversy for her use of the n-word in her music and everyday language. In an interview she said that both Latinos and Blacks can use the n-word because "they are both minorities." Yet, she did not address the fact that there are Blacks who are Latinos. In that interview, I'm sure she was startled, but it would have been a great opportunity to explain the fact that Latinos come in all colors, shapes and sizes, given that the traditional representation of

Latinos in the media is that of a brown-skinned individuals, and "curvy" women. Regardless, the truth is that Latinos, whether they are Black or not, have had a different relationship with this word. In the United States there is a long history of institutional racism and the word comes from a history of hatred. In Latin America the history isn't exactly the same. But where do we draw the line? Are Latinos living in the US considered as "Black" as Afro Latinos living in Latin America? Can a rich black person say the n-word or is it tied to class?

There are many questions that arise when we critically think about the musical genres of Reggaetón and Latin trap: If reggaeton is representative of lower socioeconomic backgrounds, and most artists are Afro Latinos, doesn't this say a lot about the relationship between classism and racism in Latin America? What does it mean that there are more reggaetón artists from the Caribbean (Puerto Rico mainly, but also Cuba, Venezuela and Colombia) which are the regions of Latin America with the most people of African descent? What does it mean for reggaetón to "whiten" itself and become more mainstream? What does Cardi B's relationship with Blackness say about the larger Afro Latino community?

5. Concluding Thoughts

In the survey, one respondent states that it is "absurd" to say that there exists racism in Latin American countries. Latinos, time and time again, have tried to deny the fact that there is racism in their communities, in spite of the variety of discriminatory cultural representations of Blackness and societal prejudice against Afro Latinos. The mere fact that racial mixture was pushed in order to diminish the amount of "pure Blacks" is a clear example of the ways in which there is a negation of Blackness in the Latino community. I do not have the answer of why

Latinos deny the existence of racism... Maybe they do not want to remember their past of slavery; maybe they want to feel like, although they have other socioeconomic and political issues, the problem of racism is one that they have transcended. Nonetheless, the survey I conducted, and the historical literature in regards to Afro Latinos that I have explored, points to the conclusion that there is much to be said about race relations in Latin America, and people's understanding of the topic.

Apart from reggaetón, there are many examples of cultural expressions of Black culture, that show how Afro Latinidad is a fluid concept which will keep evolving throughout time. What does it mean to be Latino and is being Latino and being Black mutually exclusive? I argue that it is not, and a diversification of cultural representations of Afro Latinos will advance this point of view. Now that we have explored the history of Afro Latinidad and the formation of Black folklore throughout history, my main question for future research is: *will a post-racial society ever be possible in Latin America?*

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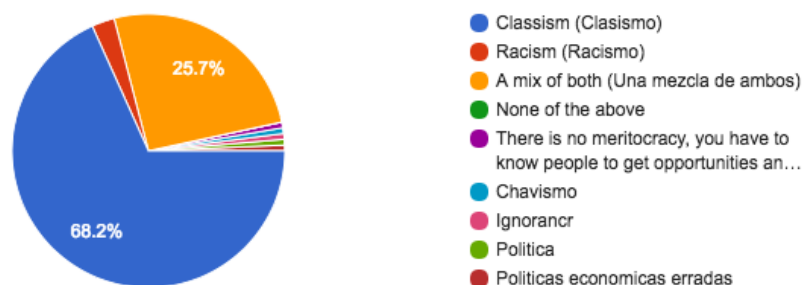
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Appendix A: Graphs and responses from survey

(1) In your opinion, what is the root of the socioeconomic disparity and discrimination in Venezuela?



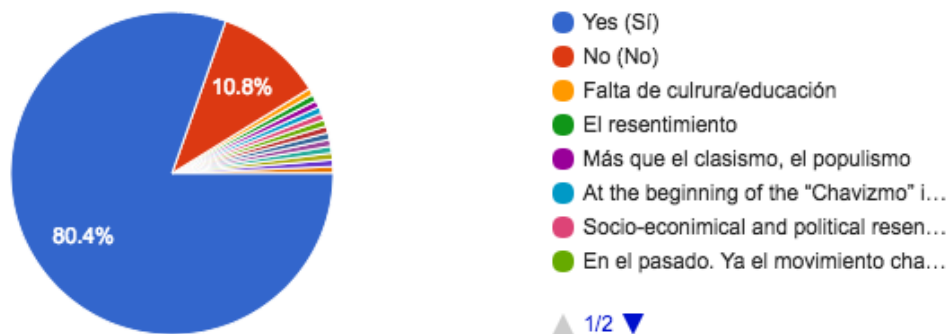
(2) In your opinion, are there any other main causes for the socioeconomic disparity and discrimination in Venezuela?

- No (5)
- Education (4)
- Política (3)
- Politics (2)
- Hatred created by political speech
- La amistad con funcionarios públicos que lleva a la corrupción
- Chavismo
- No partir del mismo punto de partida. Esto genera mucha desigualdad en la población por lo que después se generan estos fenómenos políticos.
- nop
- The Government's power. The more power Governments have the more discrimination there is.
- Educacion
- Un gobierno que continuamente da a la civilización mensajes de odio y resentimiento
- El gobierno que ha causado la falta de educación
- Las ideologías políticas son la mayor causa de este mal.
- Orientación política
- lack of a good public educational system
- Sí, la corrupción en todos los niveles del gobierno.
- Lack of education
- La principal causa es el gobierno actual.
- Inclinación política
- Yes, the government
- Political issues
- La opinión política
- Opinion political differences
- DIFERENCIA de pensamientos

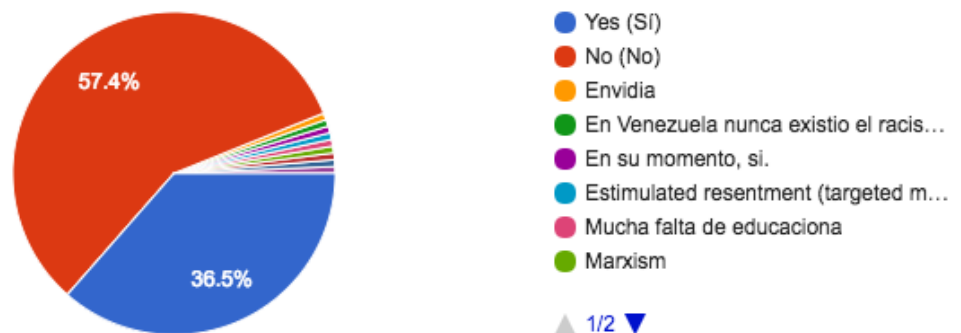
- Rencor
- The government has turned the people against each other. Therefore, there's a lot of discrimination against those who think different than the government.
- Falta de educación
- Economic model (Mercantilist) dependency on strong government
- Si, politica.
- Educational System
- Exchange control
- N/A
- Fomento del odio entre clases
- La tendencia política
- Aqui hay poco racismo y poco clasismo. Lo peor es que se ha incrementado la falta de educaciona
- Lack of education to E SEL
- Historical context
- Lack of education policy implementation
- Regionalismo en menor medida pero la hay
- La educacion
- Discrimination based in access to political power
- Falta de inclusión de clases sociales.
- Lack of real opportunities for social movement.
- Cultural subtext, what we call " viveza" which tears at the "socio- ethical mores"
- El socioeconomico
- The sole reliance on oil, at the expense of any other sector and the widespread corruption
- Lacking of equal opportunities, Education and others
- Access to power and corruption
- Yes lack of EDUCATION, double standards of society when it comes to ethics, blinded by convenience
- Falta de educación.
- Access to quality education
- lack of education
- Last 18 years political opinion has Alain become a reason for discrimination, including within families
- Si, el rencor sembrado por Chávez y Maduro hacia los que tienen más económicamente
- Socialism/ politics
- La falta de educación
- Muy mala educación pública
- Debe existir una aproximación histórica. La esclavitud es la principal causa (así que racismo, pero a razón de la esclavitud).
- Estudios
- Corrupción. La idea enterrada en la sociedad que ser vivo es algo positivo
- Falta de Educación
- Nivel cultural, educación
- Lack of good economic programs and well managed institutions that would help the poor get a better education, training, access to medical facilities
- En las últimas dos décadas, la política o mejor dicho la politiquería barata chavista es la principal causa de la discriminación social
- Marxism.
- The predisposition for corruption and the Venezuelan way (lo que llaman viveza criolla). If everybody were honest and the law efficient, the current situation of the country would be much different

- En todos los países, hay desigualdad, no hay sociedades iguales, donde todos los individuos sean iguales. Por lo tanto si hay desigualdad social y económica en Venezuela. La discriminación podría ser política, donde se supone que los chavistas son pobres e ignorantes y la oposición culta y con dinero, la verdad ahorita en Venezuela es que todos somos pobres y los que tienen el dinero son los Chavistas. Entonces sería un poco difícil de explicar esos conceptos en Venezuela.
- Yes. There is no such a thing as socioeconomic discrimination related to racism or blackness. That is just absurd. In Venezuela such a thing doesn't exist. The socioeconomic disparity bigger contributor is the lack of culture and education. That's our main problem.
- Si, la pobreza y la ausencia de políticas efectivas de educación pública
- Education
- Corrupcion
- Family origin/ background
- Lack of unbiased education and countering of leftist ideas.

(3) Do you consider that *classism* is one of the causes of the rise and strength of **Chavismo?**



(4) Do you consider that *racism* is one of the causes of the rise and strength of **Chavismo?**



(5) If you desire, please elaborate on your previous responses.

- Chávez a lo largo de su mandato creó odio, entre la clase pobre y la clase pudiente, de tal manera que separó familias y dividió a un país entero, simplemente por pensar y opinar distinto, cuando lo más importante es que todos somos hermanos y venezolanos que queremos lo mejor para nuestro país.
- In my opinion, although Racism in Venezuela exist, and it is a reality, I consider that classism is stronger and more damaging to society. In Venezuela there are many races, culturally the black, indian natives and mix races population has had lesser education opportunities and therefore are less likely to succeed economically and culturally, but when they do they are very well respected and has almost the same opportunities. Political conflict has spark more because of difference in economic status rather than race. Nevertheless both are to be consider when analyzing political events since one tend to tie them together.
- Poor people in Venezuela felt they were not taken into account for anything. They felt discriminated. When someone started to talk to them they felt great
- El Chavismo ha utilizado el clasismo para exacerbar el resentimiento social y utilizarlo para manipular a las masas y reprimir a las clases profesional y adinerada
- classism was heavily pushed by the current regime to take advantage of the majority of the people.
- I consider once more that it is lack of education, lack of values and moral
- Venezuela's situation is caused by lack of education, years of corruption and lack of accountability for everyone involved.
- La base de la desigualdad y discriminación es la mala distribución de las riquezas. Aún así, la movilidad social es evidente. El chavismo se fortalece con la propaganda y manipulación de esa desigualdad y de los conceptos clasismo y racismo, empleados de forma perversa para crear resentimiento entre los venezolanos y desestabilizar la convivencia en Venezuela
- Es evidente el clasismo en Venezuela pero es más marcado por parte del rencor que creó Chávez en sus campañas de 1998 y 2006, haciendo que los pobres odien a los “burgueses”. Pero sin duda lo que más marca las clases sociales es la desconfianza.
- Clasismo es probablemente el origen de la diferencia económica en Vzla. Sin embargo, la falta de educación y apatía social y política de los 70 y 80 contribuyó a mayor diferencia económica y al chavismo respectivamente.
- Socialism (cuban) has planned to conquer power in LA through the systematic use of A) miscommunication B) promising to fix poverty and injustice. C) sizing all power branches d) change rules. E) make impossible to revert situation. F) impoverishing population to avoid reaction / emigration. G) massive propaganda. The use of poor and uneducated people to conquer power. None of the problems socialism has promised to solve have improved . First question is misleading as assume that either classism or racism are the causes when it may have been the tools for economical and political resentment manipulation
- Since the 17th century, Venezuela has seen how "mantuanismo". Mantuanismo was a form of classism in which the white venezuelan, not spanish, aristocracy felt superior to the rest of the venezuelan social classes, including blacks and "browns" or pardos, and these also felt aversion towards them. In the 1990s, the populist figure of Chavez took advantage of the hate that lower socioeconomic classes gathered throughout the centuries towards rich Venezuelans, especially those empowered leaders (AD, Copei)
- Fué una respuesta a un cambio del modelo político y económico
- Racism was also used as a tool to motivate hatred and to Chavez stay in power
- For me discrimination in Venezuela is not based on race. It's based on education level and access to it

- Though the Venezuelan national does not perceive herself as racist, there is however a racial threshold. The whiter you are the better off your family tends to be. It is a measured and proven fact that up to the early 2000s the percentile majority of people in slums/social welfare housing/poorer-more dangerous neighborhoods were darker skinned. This "perception" though not openly leading to a superiority complex did however allow for verbalizations and syntactic operations that led to a pragmatically charged psychological programming. Thus , racially charged language, perceived harmless by many did become a facilitator to the chavista movement. And the chavista discourse has focused on said "non apprehension of language" to materially construct an "apprehensive understanding" during the years.
- In Venezuela, you could use education as a tool to climb into a different socio economic level regardless of the color of your skin. Whereas, in places like the United States the color of your skin is always a determinant of inequities and disparities. Of course, everything has changed now in Venezuela.
- Considero que la discriminación y a la vez el resentimiento social de nuestro país no es debido a las clases sociales o a las razas de los ciudadanos sino a la falta de educación, la cual estancó y estanca a las personas para que los discursos populistas sean de su agrado.
- We always have institutional racism in Venezuela but the classicism was more evident. When Hugo Chavez ran the first time one of his campaign promises was to include underprivileged Venezuelans better off.
- El clasismo ha generado un gran sentido de resentimiento por el que tiene y el que no tiene. Eso ha exacerbado el odio, el sentido de revancha y ventajismo que ha apoyado al chavismo
- Creo que es importante para tu estudio no hacer un análisis anacrónico ni limitado. Si bien existen diferencias generales en Venezuela entre blancos y negros (es más común que los negros sean pobres), esto es por razones históricas superadas y por políticas económicas. Creo que sería más interesante evaluar la exclusión social de los pobres en Latinoamérica.
- Las clases pudientes y educadas en el primer mundo se dedican a hacer política. En US todos los presidentes han estudiado en reconocidas universidades en Venezuela casi ningún presidente ha tenido título universitario. Las clases pudientes en Venezuela son LOS RICOS BOBOS como muy bien lo dijo Zapata en su libro. Las clases altas deben entender el compromiso social que tienen al haber recibido tanto
- El movimiento Chavista comenzó guiado por la fuerza del clasismo pero logró la permanencia gracias a la pérdida de los valores y la falta de Educación de la población Venezolana. El Venezolano se transformó en un ser flojo y su mente a cambiado solo para pedir que alguien le resuelva el día a día.
- Un presidente resentido social que inculcó a las nuevas generaciones este sentimiento de clasismo resentimiento desigualdad
- Hugo Chávez won the first election due to promises about taking down rich people who had forgotten about the poor for over 20 years. The campaign was not based on race, but on social status. Chávez's main promise was to get rid of the statu quo so poor people could have a better access to services and opportunities not available to them by that time because of lack of financial resources to afford a good education or health. Racism has not ever been a problem in Venezuela since we are all mixed, we have people from different backgrounds, and we Venezuelans are warm and welcoming. It is part of our cultural identity. But social status is another thing. There has always been a very distinctive separation of social classes in Venezuela. It starts with where you live, what school you attend, and where you go for entertainment. That said, I think that Chávez capitalized on the disappointment the poor felt for being left aside for over 2 decades. He fed on their anger and resentment to create a class-based message that has worked for over 17 years now.
- La poca movilidad social. Es decir poder pasar de un estrato social a otro.
- The economic disparity is the main root of the issue. Classism and racism are taught from one generation to the other. Until we evolve as a society, these will not disappear. The US has the same issue!
- Pienso que en Venezuela la discriminación por raza no es común, como la de clase social y el Gobierno ha hecho énfasis en esta última, para exacerbar el odio y lo peor del ser humano, entre pobres y ricos...

- The cause of our doom is the indoctrination or culturization of Venezuelans by Marxism. Classes are groups, and Marxism pins the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, creating chaos. The bottom line is that racism or classism is magnified in a socialist, populist, or progressive society because these ideologies empowers the government to strip our individual civil rights (read George Mason) Marxism and its derivative ideologies asphyxiate our freedom, our inalienable rights given to us by God at birth: life, liberty, and private property. The more we empower the citizen and limit the government the more we would understand each other. Marxism developed in Venezuela since the 1930s and culminated with the Chavismo-Madurismo under Russian and Chinese control. Cultural Marxism, The root of our global problems. Note. To your first question please add the option of other. Thank you. I d have answered other. Of course the other being “Marxism”
- En la primera marque una solo para q se envie la encuesta. Desearia dejarla en blanco ya que no estoy de acuerdo con las opciones.
- I think this is a bit odd and quite absurd to be honest. Whoever decided to talk about this is someone that apparently have little or no idea about venezuelan culture and political situation. Or maybe this person thinks she/he knows but have actually never experienced or lived the culture of my country. Is very sad that now people want to make everything about racism. Gladly, that's not a problem for us. We might have 99 problems but racism ain't be one (emoji) advice: In the first question people should be able to answer "none of them"
- En relación a las 2 últimas preguntas, considero que actualmente el clasismo y racismo son unas consecuencias del chavismo. Pero no fueron la causa inicial de la popularidad del movimiento. Considero que inicialmente el pueblo quería un cambio político que con la corrupción reinante en ese momento. Aunque es cierto que las bases del movimiento fueron la promoción de la igualdad social. La gente asumió que la calidad de vida mejoraría por igual para todos. No que todos serían llevados a la miseria por igual.
- La explicación del chavismo es económica. Ni el clasismo ni el racismo son problemas importantes en Venezuela.
- I consider classism and racism some of the causes of the resentment that caused the polarization and led to early Chavismo. These questions are too leading.