The Council is a site through which the new citizenship is being constructed as an active engagement between local government and its citizens. It not only signifies a victory for the Black movement, it departs from a previous history of the social exclusion of a majority of Brazilians, particulary those of African descent, from political representation and the benefits of economic growth and development.

Brazilian history is characterized by the ideology of "racial democracy," which in its more extreme form is the belief that race and skin color make virtually no difference in Brazilian society (Skidmore 1985: 12). It involves the idea that race relations are harmonious and that discrimination and racism are virtually non-existent. Racial democracy is supported by claims that the "absence of state-sponsored segregation, a history of miscegenation, and social recognition of intermediate racial categories have upheld a unique racial order" that is harmonious (Htun 2004: 64). The ideology is a myth used historically by elites, including the authoritarian Brazilian regime, to preserve the social structure of society, deny racial difference, and suppress mobilization (Hanchard 1994; Reichmann 1999; Winant 1994; 1999). Racial democracy has dominated conceptions of race and race relations in twentieth century Brazil both in common beliefs about race and as a compelling subject of inquiry for social scientists studying the behaviors and structures of society.

1.2 The Trajectory of "Racial Democracy"

The racial democracy ideology was further legitimated by anthropologist Gilberto Freyre who wrote positively of the Portuguese colonial experience in his notion of "Lusotropicalism." Lusotropicalism is the idea that the Portuguese colonization of Brazil created a new civilization in the tropics, the only one by a European colonizer, "an accomplishment attributed above all to [Portuguese] racial tolerance" (Skidmore 1985: 14). Freyre turned the idea of racial mixture into

something distinct and positive for Brazil, where the mixed race of African, European, and Indian would produce an "intellectually sophisticated but sensualized race of people, neither black nor white but Brazilian" (Hanchard 1994: 54). For Freyre, this unique *moreno* (mixed/brown), or meta-race, would not only give Brazilian hybridity its resilience, it would unify the country (Reichmann 1999). Freyre's theories had a tremendous effect of reinforcing Brazilians' self-image as a mixed-race and harmonious society. Moreover, generations of appropriation of symbols of Africanness by all of Brazil "has effectively denied racial difference, enabling elites to maintain an official discourse of racial harmony and equality" (Reichmann 1999: 8). The notion of *moreno* is directly linked to the underlying process of *embranqeamento*, or whitening, which has placed an emphasis on white, European culture and physical traits as desirable and associated with modernity. The construction of race in Brazil, that of a color spectrum ranging from light- to dark-skinned stemming from *mestiçagem*, or mixture between "races", has created ambiguous and fluid identifications that vary depending on particular histories, interactions, and contexts,[1] but are always based on the white as a symbol of beauty and modernity and the African, or Black, as symbolic of something pre-modern and archaic. The ambiguity, fluidity, and apparent lack of racial categories were fundamental to the construction of the Brazilian nation as one free of racial prejudice because of the lack of any true, discernable "races."

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[1] For example, see anthropologist Livio Sansone's (2003) work on Blacks in Salvador, Bahia: *Blackness Without Ethnicity: Constructing Race in Brazil*. The following quote captures how Sansone approaches race in his arguments for examining the specificity of Brazilian (and Latin American) constructions of race: "The category 'black people' and blackness (or *negritude*) are cultural constructions that both reflect and distort the position of black people in society and the local system of race relations. In Brazil, blackness is not a racial category fixed in some biological difference, but both a racial and an ethnic identity that can be based on a variety of factors: the management of black physical appearance; the use of cultural traits associated with Afro-Brazilian tradition (particularly religion, music, and cuisine); status; or the combination of these factors."

The defense and adoption of this notion of *morenidade* by elites and international visitors to Brazil solidified the image of racial democracy in the national imagination. Furthermore, racial democracy and elite acceptance helped silence the debate on race. Skidmore cites three factors that prevented the discussion of race: (1) the tenacious defense by elites of racial democracy, often by attacking those who raised serious questions about race relations as "un-Brazilian"; (2) government repression during the military regime (1964-1985), which labeled scholars raising questions about racial democracy as subversive, and suppressed news that contradicted the official image of racial harmony; and (3) the belief by the Left that class, as opposed to race, is significant in relation to social inequality, contributing to the silence on the subject until the late 1970s (1999: 15-17).

The evidence of racial discrimination, unequal status of Afro-Brazilian citizens, and the invisibility of the black population in political institutions belie state rhetoric and social beliefs. In spite of being 45 percent of the total population in 1999, blacks[2] composed 64 percent of the people living below the poverty line (Henriques 2001 cited in Htun 2004). The most recent study of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) conducted in 2003[3] showed disparities in income, education, and employment between the white and black population (IBGE 2004).

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[2] I have attempted throughout the thesis to be consistent in my use of the terms, but, generally, when speaking of the black community in the thesis, it includes blacks and browns. I use the terms black and brown here as they are used to count for individuals that categorize themselves as black and those that categorize themselves as brown in the IBGE surveyIn many surveys people often categorized themselves in multiple ways between the categories of white and black, or subcategories of brown. For example, in the 1980 census, when asked to describe their skin color, Brazilians canvassed responded with 136 color and racial labels (Andrews 1991: Appendix B). For the same question in the 1976 National Household Survey, respondents provided over 200 such terms (Ibid.). Due to the ambiguity in the multiple categorizations, many have advocated for the use of only two categories to classify Afro-Brazilians, black and brown. For a detailed explanation of the variations and meanings of self-classification and color/race terminology in Brazil, see George Reid Andrews *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo Brazil 1888-1988* (1991: Appendix B). Also see chapter 4 in Edward Telles, *Race in Another America* (2004) for a detailed description of racial classification and meaning in the Black movement and censuses.

[3] *Sintese de Indicadores Sociais 2003*, Estudos e Pesquisas Informação Demográfica e Socioeconômica, numero 12. Instituto de Pesquisas de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE), Rio de Janeiro, 2004.

According to the study, blacks represent 65 percent of the poorest decile of Brazilians. Even with 12 or more years of education for both populations, whites still have double the earnings in comparison to the black and brown population. The distribution of students by age group, color, and level of schooling frequented shows that by age 17, 60 percent of whites have already finished secondary education while only 36.3 percent of blacks and browns have. Finally, for students between the ages of 20 and 24, 57.2 percent of whites are enrolled in higher education as compared to 18.4 percent of blacks and browns (this result stems from the fact that many Afro-Brazilians at this age are still enrolled in primary and secondary education or not enrolled at all).

Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, there have been challenges to racial inequality and the ideology of racial democracy as some Afro-Brazilians, activists and scholars, among others, recognized that racism was a systemic issue. These individuals often fought for the creation of Black newspapers, political parties, and organizations with the goal of uplifting Afro-Brazilians and raising Black consciousness. These challenges have been discussed in much of the literature on the history of race-based mobilization in Brazil.[4] In the 1920s and 1930s, a Black political party called the *Frente Negra Brasileira*, or Brazilian Black Front (FNB), was active in promoting race issues, only to be outlawed by the Getulio Vargas Regime in 1937. During this time, many Black newspapers of varying political viewpoints were produced.[5] During the 1940s and 1950s, Abdias do Nascmimento created the *Teatro Experimental do Negro*, or Black Experimental Theater (TEN), which used theater to

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[4] Understanding the continuity and change of Black political mobilization between these particular historical moments remains under-researched, or at least under-analyzed, in the literature on racial mobilization in Brazil. These instances here are often the most discussed Afro-Brazilian mobilizations during the 20th century and have been included here to note that racism and racial hegemony were challenged in different instances throughout Brazil's history (both pre- and post-abolition).

[5] See George Reid Andrews (1991) and Kim Butler (1998).

promote and increase racial consciousness. During the 1950s and 1960s sociologists at

the University of São Paulo began to uncover racial inequalities through their research,

but the department was closed down by the military regime. In the late 1970s, the push

for citizenship by a variety of identity groups during the redemocratization of Brazil as

well as specific violent and discriminatory acts perpetrated upon Blacks,[6] amounted to

the official creation of the *Movimento Negro Unificado* (MNU), or Unified Black

Movement. This collective movement pressured the state through direct action and

advocacy regarding racial inequality. The MNU represented a significant intervention

in relation to racial inequality as they advocated, and continue to advocate, for the

assumption of a black political identity.

Mass movements and the more recognized or visible forms of resistance to

racial inequality were not the only manner in which Afro-Brazilians negotiated the

contradictions of racism in a supposed racial democracy. Many scholars have

examined how race and color are experienced "on the ground," and found that the

situation is much more complex than a mere acceptance of an overarching ideology.

Research has shown that Afro-Brazilians have been well aware of racism in their

society, although they may not openly engage the issue politically in the form of a

social movement or visible political protest.[7] These studies demonstrate that the

complexity of the "fluid color line" that exists in Brazil has led to complicated self-

categorizations based on race and color, as well as how Brazilians categorize and treat

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[6] The decision to form a movement was motivated by events in Brazil and abroad, for example Black movements in other countries such as struggles for independence in Portuguese Africa, redemocratization within Brazil, and the desire to go beyond the 'cultural' approach to Afro-Brazilian mobilization (see Andrews 1991; 1995). The events that "galvanized black activists in São Paulo, and subsequently other areas of Brazil" were the torture and murder of Robson Luz (Hanchard 1994: 125-126; Andrews 1991), a Black taxi driver by the São Paulo police and the expulsion of four Afro-Brazilian youths from the Tietê Boating Club in São Paulo, where they were playing as part of a volleyball team (Andrews 1991).

[7] For examinations of how race is understood, negotiated, and treated by Afro-Brazilians at the personal and local community level, see Donna M. Goldstein (2003), Livio Sansone (2003), Robin E. Sheriff (2001), and France Winddance Twine (2001).

each other based on these notions. What is important to note is that resistance comes in many forms and happens daily in many different spheres and social interactions, for example, on the street corner, at the bank, or in the home.

1.3 The *Abertura Democrática*

The loosening of the military regime and the democratization of the Brazilian state—the *Abertura Democrática*—occurred from the mid-1970s to 1985. The *Abertura* was driven by political maneuvering within the Brazilian state between competing factions of the military government, the pressure from oppositional social movements pushing for democracy, and international impressions of the oppressive military regime. General Ernesto Geisel, who had assumed power in 1974, initiated the *distensão*, or distension, of the military government in 1974-75 by easing censorship and police surveillance (Skidmore 1999). Geisel was part of the moderate faction within the military regime, and his easing of repressive rule, or "soft-line military" approach, combined with the increasingly vocal civilian opposition to erode the authoritarianism of the military government (Ibid.). The transition continued with João Batista Figueiredo, Geisel's handpicked successor, but was not smooth within the regime, as hard-liners fought to continue a strong authoritarian government. The policies pursued by Geisel and Figueiredo, including an amnesty law applied by the latter to all political crimes, ensured that the transition was "slow, gradual, and certain," as Geisel had declared in relation to the *distensão* (Ibid. 187).

As the authoritarian regime eased during the 1970s, the civilian opposition demanded the right to vote for their president, an increase in citizenship rights, and inclusion in the benefits of economic growth. The movements of excluded sectors such as women, Blacks, and homosexuals, pursued an aggressive discourse that showed their awareness of their exclusion from the benefits they expected from a

modern state with a growing economy (Cardoso 1992). For Afro-Brazilians, the creation of public forums known as *conselhos da comunidade Negra*, or Councils for the Black community, is one demand that stands out in its challenge against racial discrimination. The creation of these forums at the state and municipal level has occurred since the early 1980s, with the first being created at the state level in São Paulo in 1982. The *Abertura* created the opportunity for Black social movements to insert their specific claims into the process of redemocratization.

Two other processes occurred in relation to popular movements: the state apparatus became more receptive to popular participation, causing local grass-roots groups to reorganize into political interlocutors; and the multiparty system created in 1979 splintered a previously united opposition political party, fostering the identification of militants in grass-roots organizations with particular political parties, attempting to unite political participation through grass-roots politics with that through political parties (Cardoso 1992). The struggle of these popular sectors was a fight for the construction of a "new citizenship," which aims at forming a more egalitarian society at all levels based on the recognition of individuals as carriers of rights, including the right to difference and the right to participate actively and effectively in the administration of society (Dagnino 2002). Opportunities for creating more participatory institutions in government administration were included in the new Brazilian Constitution of 1988.

1.4 The New Citizenship

The "new citizenship" involved not only the fight for equal rights, but also the fight for the recognition and respect of difference within Brazilian society (Dagnino 1994; 1998; 2003). The new citizenship originates in the premise of the construction of rights through concrete social actions and behaviors by groups not only seeking

rights and representation, but also seeking further involvement and inclusion in creating policy that affects their lives. It is also a claim for direct democracy. Due to the history of exclusion and repression during the military regime and previous democratic systems seen as faulty in addressing the needs of the popular classes, groups that were previously marginalized or had minimal access to decision-making power asserted their right to participate actively in the democratic administration of government. Groups such as Afro-Brazilians construct group needs by claiming their right to equality through pointing out the specificity of race and the need for policy to address racial inequality.

The new citizenship allows citizens to define the very system they want to be members of, not merely help in the administration of a pre-defined system of democracy. That is, the new citizenship pushes democracy to become more dynamic by accounting for diversity and difference in order to ensure social and political equality for all citizens, recognizing that citizens in habit different locations in society.

In the struggle for citizenship, citizen pressure and initiatives, political initiative by politicians in response to this pressure or in coordination with the citizenry, and the use of legislation created during redemocratization, produced the institutions of the Councils. These institutions "seek to promote an ample debate within civil society about themes/interests that have, up to this point, been excluded from the public agenda, as well as those that constitute themselves as spaces to amplify and democratize state administration" (Dagnino 2002: 10). Councils created at the municipal level seek to address thus far neglected issues in particular municipalities. The Councils for the Black community signify a victory for the Black movement for inclusion in the decision-making processes and creation of policies relevant to the Black community. As new participatory institutions demanded and

created by citizens, the Councils are part of the very substance that defines the new citizenship.

The struggle for the new citizenship and the creation of more participatory government institutions is aimed at dismantling Brazilian *social authoritarianism*— the unequal and hierarchical organization of social relations that includes a culture of political exclusion (Dagnino 1994; 1998; 2003). Within social authoritarianism, "class, race, and gender differences constitute the main bases for a social classification that has historically pervaded Brazilian culture, establishing different categories of people hierarchically disposed in their respective 'places' in society" (Dagnino 1998: 47). This strategy seeks to create substantive equality through the recognition that an individual's race conditions their citizenship, and that formal equality is not enough to guarantee individual rights. For Afro-Brazilians, substantive equality is at the very core of their struggle in the push for a more inclusive citizenship, and the forum of the Council is one of the means with which to achieve this goal.

1.5 The Insitutionalization of the New Citizenship

In the final years of the 1980s, "the legislative and administrative creation of the Black Community Council had spread through the national territory" (Santos 2003: 94). The Councils created at the state and municipal level were not affiliated with one national party, as many political parties played a role in their creation and institutionalization in different municipalities and states. This connection between political parties and the creation of Black Community Councils are "advances" in the Black/party relationship, generally occurring in means used by the most progressive political parties to "alter their programmatic discourse and realize administrative means to defend the black population's rights," the byproduct of which is the

"strengthening of ties between sectors of black society and the party/coalition that assumes power" (Ibid.: 94-5).

The Councils signify an important advance in the fight against racial inequality, depending on a shift in the attitude towards the subject of race in society. The acknowledgement that Afro-Brazilians are a marginalized group within society and require specific resources and representation challenges "racial democracy" and formal notions of citizenship. The mobilization of social movements such as the MNU, along with religious and cultural organizations with a distinctly racial theme in their work, has helped add energy and attention to the fight against racial inequality. In many cases, these groups have been the catalysts for the creation of Councils for the black community as well as the inclusion of the racial theme in labor unions, education and health initiatives, and at other government levels.

Another important shift in the debate on race was the assumption by the Brazilian government in 1995 under the Cardoso administration that racism does in fact exist in Brazilian society. This was the first time the government had ever openly acknowledged racism as an issue, marking a change in racial discourse at the federal level, with Cardoso openly discussing issues of racism[8] and declaring that policies to address it should be discussed and implemented. This, coupled with the spotlight on racial inequalities due to public debates over affirmative action (particularly quotas) and other race-based policies, has forced Brazilians to confront the issue. "The appearance of quotas in public discourse prevents anyone from denying that race matters," and "given Brazil's history of racial democracy, this is no small achievement" (Htun 2004: 85). The Cardoso administration's public

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[8] Some found the manner of Cardoso's discussion of race publicly racist in some ways, as he described himself as having racial mixture in his family's past by declaring that he also had "one foot in the kitchen". This was not the only time he mentioned race publicly, but is not a forgotten quote. The quote signifies that Cardoso was tying himself to the historical mixture in Brazilian society.

acknowledgement was significant as an official recognition that racism does exist and that there is need for policy to address racial inequality, particularly since the Brazilian state was often a proponent of the ideology of racial democracy.

International experiences also influenced the government's discourse and policy on race. The 2001 World Conference on Racism in Durban, South Africa, provided an occasion for dialogue on race, as an official report was to be produced for the event (Htun 2004). Prior to the World Congress, the Brazilian government convened a committee made up of state officials, academics, and Afro-Brazilian movement representatives that held seminars and workshops around the country, culminating in the first national conference against Racism and Intolerance, held in Rio in July 2001 (Ibid.). This process gave more attention to race in the media as the anticipation of the conference and the delegation of Brazilians that would be attending stirred debates over policies to address inequality. "For Brazil, the [Durban conference] produced a rupture with past ways of thinking" (Ibid.) and served as a source of inspiration and energy for the Black movement.[9]

Changing government policy towards race continues with the current Workers' Party (PT) administration. They created a federal office to deal specifically with issues of racial inequality known as the Special Secretariat for Policies Promoting Racial Equality (SEPPIR). Moreover, PT municipal administrations have instituted *Coordenadorias*, or "coordinating bodies" to address various themes such as gender, physical disabilities, and race. The open discussion of racial inequality and the initiatives by administrations at the federal, state, and municipal level also contribute to the process of addressing inequality. These official forums and the policy attention given to race are in part a result of the process of constructing the new citizenship, as

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[9] Personal Interview with Sergio, June 24, 2004.

Afro-Brazilians' construction of rights and demands have pointed to racial inequality and how citizenship is inflected by race.

1.6 Questions in the Council

Questions still remain about the extent to which the ideology of racial democracy has been delegitimized, as well as about the extent of the government's commitment towards guaranteeing the full citizenship of its Afro-Brazilian population and eliminating racial inequality. The Council poses an interesting site to examine the current conjuncture of the Afro-Brazilian struggle for citizenship and the politics of identity because it animates the ambiguous boundary between state and society. Institutionalization of official forums dealing with questions of race goes beyond government policy as it has the potential for changing state-society relations either as a legitimate forum for dialogue between popular movements and the government or as a forum for an extension of the state to incorporate a segment of civil society without threatening the power of elites. Councils exemplify the tension and ambiguity in the negotiation of relations between state organs and discourses within society, as well as between mobilizations within society and the government that attempt to alter the representation of social relations.

As the debate on inequality has become more visible and race-based policies are implemented, government action is still considered by some as merely a change in discourse:

> "I don't think that it is changing anything. From [the point of view of real changes], nothing is happening…everything continues to be the same. The only thing that has changed is the discourse. One comes [into power] with a different discourse, but nothing changes in practice compared with those who came before. Years change, governments change, and [the situation] doesn't change, it's all the same; it's all the

same…who truly has the power to make something better, doesn't."
(Personal interview with Ciro, April 7, 2004).

Based on the history of race relations in Brazil, a perception such as this is not unwarranted. The new citizenship movement has pushed the government to move beyond discourse in some ways, creating forums such as the Council as well as beginning to implement affirmative action policies and punish racist crimes more severely. Although a change in discourse may illuminate complacency on the part of many municipal administrations, certain local governments have taken honest steps towards addressing the racial divide.

Even if the change in discourse has not materialized in substantial immediate changes in the daily experiences of racism, the Councils do represent an official forum from which to consolidate discourse as reality. Moreover, the Councils are a solid victory for the Black movement as they increase the participation of the Black population in the debate over issues affecting their welfare:

"If it is an effectuated council, [the mayor] cannot [get rid of the Council]. If she wants to get rid of it, she will say 'Gee! This is a project that is in the law, approved by the city council, so it is legitimate and is part of the municipal calendar.' She doesn't have to like [the Council] or agree [with it], she has to respect it" (Personal interview with Sergio, April 27, 2004).

The above quotes illustrate that participatory institutions dealing with the theme of race confront possibilities from shifts in the debate on race relations as well as constraints stemming from the history of democracy and citizenship in the Brazilian context. Some question whether public officials and local administrations want to make the effort to truly promote equality and see discussion of racial inequality by politicians as political discourse to win votes or placate activists and scholars.

Moreover, if everyday forms of racism and inequalities in basic education, the job market, and police brutality are not being addressed comprehensively and swiftly by local administrations, how deep can the effects of government policy be?

1.7 Research Questions: the New Citizenship and the Campinas Council

This study examines the experience of constructing the new citizenship through the Municipal Council for the Development and Participation of the Black Community of Campinas (CMCN). The activities of the Council work towards establishing and constructing race as a political identity from which to make claims upon the state for rights and citizenship. An examination of these processes through interviews and information collected about projects, proposals, and CMCN member organizations presents a specific case in the struggle to eliminate the racism existing at many levels of Brazilian society. Furthermore, the isolation of race as an issue needing specific policies in a forum such as the Council is unprecedented in municipal government structures and raises questions about both the possibilities and constraints this strategy may embody. The central questions of my study are: (1) in relation to citizenship, how have Afro-Brazilian organizations, social movements, and other institutions framed the issues that are affecting the Black community, and what solutions/processes are they suggesting to deal with them? (2) What kind of dialogue/interaction have Council efforts produced between groups in society and the municipal government and how has this contributed to a discourse of "new citizenship" for Afro-Brazilians? And (3) how can analyzing Afro-Brazilian politics of identity through a framework of citizenship help interpret struggles over identity in relation to the Councils?

These questions address the history of race relations, as it informs the democratic movement in Brazil, and in particular, the development of new,

substantive forms of citizenship that transcend the politics of liberalism with the politics of identity. A study of the Council seeks to illuminate what types of organizations are involved in the process of redefining representation in an urban context and the difficulties being negotiated in constituting both an Afro-Brazilian political identity and institutionalizing new state forums for citizenship in municipal administrations. In addition, the study reveals aspects of the tension-filled terrain of negotiating citizenship and the politics of identity as political practices intended to increase citizen participation and voice.

Examining the councils is "a matter of great academic interest to investigate the black/state relationship because the starting of councils has been constantly identified as a strategy to strengthen the black/power relationship" (Santos 2003: 94). Through these councils, the Black community is politically empowered in new ways. Furthermore, examining municipal councils may illuminate strategies for dealing with the issue of inequality, as the councils are sites where citizenship is exercised both through deliberation over how to address racism, as well as through encouraging participation and dialogue between government officials and non-governmental entities engaging issues of racial inequality.

Examining the Council in the current conjuncture of the politics of race in Brazil is timely, as debates over how to address inequality have come to the forefront of policy creation due to the long struggle and political and media interest in the subject. Current debates involving scholars, activists, and politicians about the approach to address inequality have varied from a support for an identity-oriented approach, where policies such as affirmative action for Afro-Brazilians are championed, to a rejection of this approach as something foreign which does not consider the specific history of Brazilian race relations or that conflicts with liberal

notions of universal citizenship and equality.[10] Proponents of the identity-oriented

approach see the assumption of a black political identity as having promise for

achieving equality for Afro-Brazilians because it conspicuously challenges the

portrayal of ideas of a unique Brazilian racial identity by organizing around a common

marker of inequality. This challenges historically veiled racism that has

simultaneously incorporated Africanness and Afro-Brazilian culture while denigrating

these symbols and marginalizing blacks. Organizing around a black identity is a means

to reclaim and rewrite Afro-Brazilian history and challenge racial stereotypes.

The specificity of the politics of identity in Brazil is colored by these debates

on how to address issues of racism and inequality, as well as particular strategies over

policy and the implementation of race-specific projects. These debates illustrate that

many Brazilians confront the puzzle of reconciling a history of perceived racial

harmony with a reality of true inequality between blacks and whites. Many Brazilians

cling to the notion of Brazilian "exceptionalism,"[11] arguing for addressing inequality

in a "Brazilian way," one that shuns the alleged racial polarization that would result

from the formation of a Black political identity. This may indicate the strength with

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[10] Debates of racial mobilization in Brazil and its existence and non-existence have been extensively
addressed by both Brazilian and foreign scholars (cf. Hanchard 1994; 1998; Winant 2001; Sansone
2003; 2004; Fry 2000; Silva 1998; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1999). These debates have revolved around
the question of race-based mobilization and its appropriateness for Brazil, whether racial-identity
formation is a United States phenomenon being imposed upon Brazil, and whether an alternative form
of racial mobilization and identity-formation is taking/can take place in Brazil. The council in Campinas
pursues a strategy of mobilizing directly around Afro-Brazilianness as an identity, particularly a
political identity. This debate is discussed in further detail at the end of the "Challenging Hegemony"
section of Chapter 2.
[11] Racial exceptionalism has "outlived racial democracy as an ideological form" (Hanchard 1994: 43).
The basic idea behind exceptionalism is that despite a recognition that racial prejudices, discrimination,
and subordination are features of Brazilian life, the belief that relative to other multiracial polities,
Brazil is a more racially and culturally accommodating society. Exceptionalism stems from several
notions, particularly the idea that Iberian colonialism had less harsh relationships between master and
slaves, the constant contrasting of "gentle" Brazilian slavery with slavery in the Anglo-dominated
culture of the United States as a source of national pride, and the notion of the creation of a Brazilian
race that, due to mixing, embodies the sensuality and adaptability of the African and the intellect of the
European (Ibid.).

which racial democracy still permeates scholarly, political, and societal thought, a permeation that complicates the operationalization the new citizenship initiatives.

The diversity within the Afro-Brazilian community, the range of racial classification and self-classification, and the visions, tensions, and definitions of what constitutes the black community and black political identity are not easily resolved, particularly in a forum such as the Council. These representations and processes are complex, reflecting that the politics of identity often raises questions about how to deploy particular identities in different contexts and for what reasons. Moreover, this complexity illustrates how political identities depend on the balance of forces in particular contexts. How do Afro-Brazilians politicize racial identity in such a way as to broaden conceptions of citizenship and civil rights? How can examining Afro-Brazilian political mobilization within the framework of a politics of citizenship connect the politics of identity to demands on/for citizenship. This thesis seeks to tease out some of these questions and contradictions and how they are manifest in the CMCN. These questions are too complex to resolve in the space of this work, but indicating where these points of tension arise and the possibilities for their resolution or negotiation may help in understanding the intricacy of identity construction and how it plays out in the particular context of racial mobilization and via the municipal councils.

Studies of participatory forums institutionalized over the past 20 years have dealt with a variety of questions and forums in many locations, yet none have thoroughly examined municipal councils for the Black community. This study seeks to open the door to understanding how local forums established around identity issues illuminate how citizenship is constructed at the local level, as well as how the politics of identity is playing out in these nascent forums. The study is not a comprehensive examination. Rather, it is an initial look at how council members are negotiating the

politics of citizenship in new participatory forums and how they are evaluating their experience.

1.8 Campinas and the Council: Interview and Site Selection Methodology

I chose the city of Campinas after a preliminary phone survey of the councils in the state of São Paulo. After an initial phone conversation with individuals in Campinas, the existence of a council in municipal law and the presence of a Workers' Party (PT) administration were attractive because of the structures within PT municipal governments related to citizen participation. PT administrations have historically implemented participatory structures to incorporate the needs of poorer communities on the periphery of cities, such as the participatory budget, as well as structures for broadening citizenship for women, Afro-Brazilians, the disabled, and youth. More importantly, despite the Council in Campinas being less than four years old, it seemed quite active from the descriptions of participants. Because of its recent formation, interviewing Council members on their experience in creating and implementing the Council and articulating what issues would be addressed could shed light on the process of institutionalizing such a forum.

Campinas was also chosen for its size and location. Campinas is a city in the eastern part of the state of São Paulo, Brazil and is approximately an hour north of the capital city of the state, the city of São Paulo. According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) 2000 Census, the population of Campinas in 2000 was 969,396. According to an IBGE 1991 census, the population of Campinas is 77% White, 22% Afro-Brazilian, and 1% Asian.[12] Its location near the São Paulo

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[12] Information taken from website of the Coordenadoria da Comunidade Negra of Campinas. Source: http://www.campinas.sp.gov.br/portal_2003_sites/governo/secretarias_de_governo/sm_gabinete_gover no/coordenadoria_comunidade_negra/coordenadoria_comunidade_negra_conteudo.htm

metropolitan area places it in the state where the Unified Black Movement, MNU, was founded. This movement has been a fundamental force in Black racial politics.

The goal was to interview as many Council members as possible in a semi-structured format. Answers to particular questions about the Council were sought, but historical and personal information regarding the municipality and individual involvement in local politics were also collected. I conducted a total of 14 interviews. Eleven council members were interviewed: 8 civil society representatives and 3 government office representatives. Three interviews were conducted with other individuals: one was the former president of the special coordinating body for the Black community in Campinas, having since gone to Brasilia to work at the federal level, and the two other individuals hold positions in the Coordinating Body of the PT government which deals with issues of the black community. They interact with the Council and work closely with it, as well as with organizations represented in it, on particular issues.

Not all Council members were interviewed. Despite this, the interviews provided rich information in relation to the history of racial mobilization in Campinas, the types of organizations the informants represented, the projects and policies they work on and advocate for, and how the Council was formed and functions, particularly its relation to the government and the fight against racial inequality. The lack of extensive fieldwork in this location did not permit a more in depth understanding of alliances and divisions within the Council and between organizations in the Council. These questions will be examined in future projects. Most informants gave me permission to use their real names in this thesis. In certain cases I have used my discretion to exclude their names, as well as those who did not approve the use of their name.

1.9 Organization of Thesis

This thesis analyzes the CMCN as one case in contemporary constructions of citizenship taking place amongst African descended populations in Brazil and Latin America, more broadly. The second chapter provides a more detailed account of the new citizenship and its place in the struggle against social inequality, as well as its link to the formation of forums that increase citizen participation. The chapter also provides a brief history of the creation of the Council in Campinas and examines who participates and how the types of activities and policies they promote relate to Afro-Brazilian citizenship. The third chapter examines interview data that illustrates the tensions in the process of constructing citizenship through the Council. This chapter explicates the complex process of constructing legitimate claims for racial equality and institutionalizing forums that make for a vibrant democracy that acknowledges difference and allows for the construction of new rights. The Council members describe important aspects of the Council: its legitimacy as an institution, its function as a bridge between government and civil society, and its role as a space that helps build politically engaged citizens and unify the community. The members also describe the difficulties encountered in the Council: the difficulty of outlining a clear, specific purpose, tensions and difficulties working with the government, institutional weakness and lack of resources, and fears of co-optation. As the interviews reveal, citizenship is a complex process, and in the case of Afro-Brazilians is informed and complicated by the history of race relations. The conclusion of the thesis synthesizes the analysis and indicates possibilities for future studies that may deepen the understanding of how the contemporary conjuncture of race relations and democratic development both facilitate and constrain the construction of the new citizenship and the politics of identity.