

1. The new citizenship transcends the liberal concept of the claim to access, inclusion, and membership in an already given political system: “what is at stake is ... *the right to participate in the very definition of that system, to define what we want to be members of*, that is to say, the invention of a new society” (51).
2. The new citizenship is a “*project for a new sociability*: not only an incorporation into the political system ... but a more egalitarian format for social relations at all levels, including new rules for living together in society” (e.g. new sense of public order and responsibility, a new social contract, conflict negotiation) (52).
3. Citizenship “is no longer confined within the limits of the relationship with the state or between the state and the individual but must be established within civil society itself” (52).

Establishing new citizenship is a “process of transformation of practices rooted in [Brazilian] society as a whole” (Dagnino 1998: 52). In the struggle for redemocratization, Brazilian citizens sought not only a recovery of democracy, they fought for the more active citizenship articulated in the new citizenship. Particularly, many opposition groups pushed for the creation of a democratic state that involves its citizens actively in the political processes of administration. A consequence of this effort and vision is the emergence of *espaços públicos*,<sup>1</sup> or public spaces (institutions), including those that seek to promote an ample debate within civil society about themes

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<sup>1</sup> *Espaços Públicos* translates literally to “Public Spaces.” In Portuguese and in the Brazilian context, the notion of Public Spaces in the political sense signifies a governmental institutional space. In the examples mentioned in the Dagnino quote, these are public institutions that aim at expanding participation or involvement of individuals who are not traditionally associated with working within or with the government. *Espaços Públicos* seek to increase dialogue between the government and civil society, such as the tripartite sectoral chambers that involve business, labor, and government or the municipal management councils that involve government and civil society groups of all types.

that have previously been excluded from the public agenda, as well as those spaces constituted to amplify and democratize state administration. “We are referring here to the implementation, over the past decade [1990s], of the various councils, forums, sectoral chambers, participatory budgets, etc.” (Dagnino 2002: 10). Here, public spaces signify forums created in the law where citizens can dialogue with government representatives and/or participate in policy creation directly. Some of these forums only have deliberative power and not necessarily legislative power.

The struggle for the creation of official forums intends to break with *social authoritarianism*, where the struggle for rights and the articulation of the “new citizenship” is a direct response to the class, race, and gender differences on which social classification and hierarchy have been based in Brazilian society. The new citizenship is a rearticulation and reformulation of the the rights and responsibilities of citizens. For Afro-Brazilians, the struggle against racial inequality articulates with this new citizenship as support can be found within it for the right to equality and to difference. Afro-Brazilians attempt to elaborate ‘Black’ as an identity and ‘Black subjects’ as bearers and writers of rights and responsibilities, as equal citizens. By asserting the difference and specificity of the Black experience within the councils, a Black politics of identity negotiates the complex dynamics of the new citizenship.

By emphasizing the specificities of the Afro-Brazilian experience, a Black politics of identity asserts citizenship as a political strategy regarding minority rights where “race” is interpreted as one dimension of a citizenship complicated by a substantive conception of rights. Citizenships character is emphasized “as a historical construct that expresses concrete interests and practices not previously defined by a given universal essence,” and where “its contents and meanings are not previously defined and limited but constitute a response to the dynamics of real conflicts and the political struggle lived by a particular society at a given historical moment” (Dagnino

1998: 50). The new citizenship, arising out of the context of a historically exclusionary political system and a totalitarian regime, can be seen as the Brazilian response to exclusion. Because of the exclusion of various segments in society from political institutions and the economic benefits of development, the citizenship struggle involved the articulation of a new citizenship by social movements and civil society within this context. Moreover, these segments struggled to not only redefine rights in the burgeoning Brazilian democracy, they sought to inscribe them in institutions that gave citizens power to monitor and influence policy-makers.

Reframing the question of racial inequality as a citizenship issue questions the formal notion that citizens are equal regardless of their race and should be treated so in the eyes of the state. This new citizenship recognizes that substantive equality must be actively constructed through the formation of political subjects. It also recognizes difference and the construction and assertion of new interests and practices. The assertion of a Black identity in the current conjuncture constitutes a response to inequality and to a debunking of racial democracy. The construction of race-based policies such as affirmative action are the product of institutionalizing a politics of race in the councils.

Forums such as state and municipal councils are the basis for the new citizenship, redefining what should be considered a right and what it means to be a citizen. Afro-Brazilians have had to contest ingrained ideologies of a Brazilian nation characterized by racial harmony and equality. The struggle for citizen-led participatory forums is part of recreating a democratic form of governance. For Afro-Brazilians, the multiplication of official forums for the contestation and resignification of racial exclusion is integral to the expansion and deepening of democracy (Alvarez, Dagnino, and Escobar 1998). Afro-Brazilians are pushing to make government more responsive both within and beyond these forums. The next section expands on the specific

creation of the councils for the black community and their role in fostering new citizenship.

## **2.2 Municipal Councils for the Participation and Development of the Black Community**

This demand for inclusion by Brazilian citizens and democratization of Brazil's elitist and exclusionary political system increased throughout the 1990s as a variety of official forums were created (Tatagiba 2002). The creation of these forums "unsettle[s] dominant political culture by forcing it to confront other cultures and politics" (Paoli and Telles 1998: 66). These forums, "constructed at the interface between state and society ... [remove] from the state the exclusive monopoly of defining the agenda of society's priorities and pertinent problems" implying "another *mode of constructing a notion of public interest*: a plural and decentered notion, capable of transmitting the diversity and complexity of society, breaking therefore with the authoritarian version of society" (Ibid.: 75). Such forums accomplish several things: they confer validity to interests articulated around particular issues, construct new public parameters that reinvent politics, and empower formerly excluded citizens' right to public dialogue, destabilizing and subverting symbolic hierarchies that have "held them in a subordinate position through a dense web of discrimination and exclusion" (Ibid.: 66).

Certain forums have the direct ability to influence legislation while others are locations where debates take place and recommendations are made to local or state governments regarding policy. Councils have been created at various governmental levels, including state and municipal levels, giving citizens direct access to discussions, debates, and decision-making over everything from budgets to social policy. Moreover, particular populations with special needs or histories of

discrimination and exclusion can organize councils to address their own particular issues. With the exclusion of race from public and policy debates throughout the military regime, the councils provide an opportunity for the creation of a forum for deliberation of issues affecting Afro-Brazilians.

As part of the substance of the new citizenship, councils for the black community represent the formation of an entity that unifies groups such as NGOs, political organizations, religious organizations, social movements, and government officials for discussions of issues affecting the Afro-Brazilian population in a particular municipality. They also serve to formulate projects and advocate for their approval and implementation. Finally, the councils also serve to *fiscalizar*, or supervise both monetarily and more generally, the municipal government's decisions regarding budgets and policies affecting the Afro-Brazilian community (personal interviews with Ciro, April 7, 2004; Sergio, April 27, 2004; and Sandra, 2004).

The Council serves as a meeting ground not only for representatives of different groups in civil society, but also for these government officials to participate in the discussion. Members of the different municipal secretariats (education, health, housing, etc.) as well as a representative from the mayor's office, attend Council meetings to participate in the discussion. In the Council, members of civil society and the government interact and engage issues related to the Black community in that particular municipality, changing the relationship between Afro-Brazilians and the Brazilian state:

“I think the councils were an accomplishment. In the decade of the 1980s in Brazil, during the military dictatorship, we didn't only fight for the democratization of the country. We also made demands on the state so that we would have instruments that would help us in the dialogue between the state and organized civil society. We didn't have a means of more direct communication. The councils could provide this, they could take the demands from discriminated segments of society and into

the state and transform them into public policies for the promotion of equality” (Sandra, SEPPIR staff, June 23, 2004).

Councils have a range of representatives, including those from women’s organizations, health organizations, cultural organizations, and organizations dealing with education. Each organization brings issues and projects to the Council and the Council discusses them with government officials that are present with the intent of having as many projects implemented as possible.

The first council for the Black community in the State of São Paulo was the *Conselho Estadual de Participação e Desenvolvimento da Comunidade Negra*, or State Council for the Development and Participation of the Black Community. This council was created by the political action of Blacks in the Brazilian Party for Democratic Movement (PMDB) in decree n° 22.184 on May 11, 1984 during the government of Governor Franco Montoro<sup>2</sup>. The Council was institutionalized on December 24, 1986 by State Law n° 5.466,<sup>3</sup> and was “an initial mark of a new way of executing the fight against racism.”<sup>4</sup> Since its creation, the state council has accomplished several things. It has established a legal commission within the Organization of Brazilian Lawyers (OAB) to address discrimination issues, worked on the inclusion of diversity in school curriculums, fought against racism in employment practices, worked closely with many NGOs to improve conditions for Afro-Brazilians, and helped implement government projects related to the Black community.<sup>5</sup> These activities and accomplishments illustrate the diversity of areas within which the

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<sup>2</sup> See [http://perfil.fundap.sp.gov.br/CGI-BIN/om\\_isapi.dll?clientID=17&infobase=Legislacao.nfo&jump=Dec%2022184%20-%201984&softpage=Perf\\_Document](http://perfil.fundap.sp.gov.br/CGI-BIN/om_isapi.dll?clientID=17&infobase=Legislacao.nfo&jump=Dec%2022184%20-%201984&softpage=Perf_Document) or Appendix x for full copy of law

<sup>3</sup> See <http://www.pge.sp.gov.br/centrodeestudos/bibliotecavirtual/dh/volume%20i/cileiest5466.htm> or appendix X for full copy of law

<sup>4</sup> See <http://www.conselhos.sp.gov.br/comunidadesnegra/historico.html>, the historical overview section of the *Conselho de Participação e Desenvolvimento da Comunidade Negra*’s website.

<sup>5</sup> From Tatagiba 2002, pp. 49-50.

Council may act at the state level. They also illustrate the wider range of areas where Afro-Brazilians have been historically marginalized and discriminated against, all being areas that require attention in order to end racial inequality.

In the municipalities, the councils created for the Afro-Brazilian community generally fall under the category of *Conselhos Temáticos*, or Thematic Councils. The Thematic Councils:

- 1) Have no immediate attachment to the national system or legislation;
- 2) Exist in the municipal sphere by local or State initiative;
- 3) Associate themselves with the large movements of ideas or general themes that, in that municipality, by the force of some peculiarity of political or social profile, welcome or emphasize the referred theme in its agenda;
- 4) Tend to follow the characteristics of participation and representation of society and the assumption of public responsibilities;
- 5) And include the Municipal Councils for Women's Rights, for Culture, for Sports, for Transportation, for Cultural Patrimony, for Urbanism, and for the Black Community.<sup>6</sup>

In general, the Councils for the Development and Participation of the Black Community do not have direct legislative power and generally do not occupy an office within any of the municipal governments' (for example, as Municipal Secretariats do).

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<sup>6</sup> For more on types of management councils, see Luciana Tatagiba in Dagnino 2002, *Sociedade Civil e Espaços Públicos no Brasil* and *Conselhos Municipais e Políticas Sociais*, IBAM, IPEA, etc.

Within the councils for the black community, themes such as racism, discrimination, employment, health, culture, and education are discussed with the goal of formulating policy ideas and project recommendations for the municipal government to implement with the main goal of addressing Afro-Brazilian issues in particular municipalities.

## **2.3 The Council of Campinas**

### ***2.3.1 History of the Council in Campinas***

The CMCN in Campinas was founded in 2001 and became official in municipal law (law number 10,813) on the 26<sup>th</sup> of April, 2001. In the law the Council is given various characteristics including a deliberative character, and the “objective of promoting the organized participation of the Black community in the process of discussing and defining public policies that are anti-discriminatory and geared towards the affirmation of the rights of this community in the Municipality of Campinas<sup>1</sup>” (See Appendix A for the complete Council duties):

The duties of the CMCN do not only involve analyzing, formulating, and proposing policies and projects, they involve scrutinizing government action, developing contacts and dialogue within the Afro-Brazilian community, and contributing to the general realization of affirming and valorizing the Black community. These duties demonstrate that, for the Council, the task of ending racial inequality is broader than the policy arena, requiring activities that promote networks and knowledge pertaining to issues affecting Afro-Brazilians. The comprehensive nature of the duties of the Council illustrates the understanding that combating racial inequality is a complex process and needs to be extensive enough to reach all areas

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<sup>1</sup> See section Conselho de Desenvolvimento at [http://www.campinas.sp.gov.br/portal\\_2003\\_sites/governo/secretarias\\_de\\_governo/sm\\_gabinete\\_governo/coordenadoria\\_comunidade\\_negra/coordenadoria\\_comunidade\\_negra\\_conteudo.htm](http://www.campinas.sp.gov.br/portal_2003_sites/governo/secretarias_de_governo/sm_gabinete_governo/coordenadoria_comunidade_negra/coordenadoria_comunidade_negra_conteudo.htm) or Appendix B for a full copy of Law 10,813.

affected by it. The CMCN is an institution for political representation, but it is also a site where activities revolving around the Afro-Brazilian community can be coordinated. The presence of a variety of groups (as will be discussed below) indicates the wide range of areas where Afro-Brazilians involve themselves in the community and local government. The Council unites this diversity of activity and draws on the varying expertise of the Afro-Brazilian representatives to formulate initiatives that, in their view, will serve to reach the goal of equality through the valorization, affirmation, and development of the Black community.

The Council in Campinas is a “space won by society that function as bridges between the population and the government, assuming the co-management of public policy.”<sup>3</sup> State congressman Sebastião Arcanjo, known as Tiãozinho, formerly a city councilman, elaborated the law to form the Council. An Afro-Brazilian himself, Tiãozinho made the issues of the Black community a primary platform of his policies. Many involved in the Council see him and his work as a fundamental part of achieving what the Black community has achieved.<sup>7</sup>

The creation and constitution of the Council in Campinas was primarily orchestrated by the *Coordenadoria Especial de Assuntos da Comunidade Negra*, or Special Coordinating Body for Issues of the Black Community (henceforth *Coordenadoria*). The *Coordenadoria* is municipal organ within the Workers’ Party (PT) government administration with capabilities to develop, promote, and forward policies that guarantee equal treatment and opportunity for Afro-Brazilians in areas such as health, education, and culture. The *Coordenadoria* is more directly connected to legislation because of their place within the municipal administration. The creation of the CMCN was one of the first projects the *Coordenadoria* undertook in order to

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<sup>3</sup>[http://www.campinas.sp.gov.br/portal\\_2003\\_sites/governo/secretarias\\_de\\_governo/sm\\_gabinete\\_governo/coordenadoria\\_op/participacao\\_popular/conselho\\_municipais.htm](http://www.campinas.sp.gov.br/portal_2003_sites/governo/secretarias_de_governo/sm_gabinete_governo/coordenadoria_op/participacao_popular/conselho_municipais.htm)

<sup>7</sup> Personal interviews given in Campinas in April-June, 2004.

initiate debate about the racial question in Campinas.<sup>8</sup> To form the Council, it asked for the names of entities that work with Afro-Brazilian issues or engage in social issues from the perspective of race. These are entities in the city that historically, or at some point each year, work with the ethno-racial theme,<sup>9</sup> including social, cultural, religious, and student organizations, as well as universities, labor unions, and social movements.

Municipal councils are generally structured in a way to include not only representatives of groups from civil society organizations that deal with the particular issue of the Council, but also representatives from the municipal government in the mayor's cabinet and secretariats that the black community sees as important for policy creation. Each organization or government entity that desires to take part in the Council selects one principal representative and one or two substitute representatives. The organizations in the Council include 14 representatives from entities in civil society and 7 representatives from government entities. Once the Council is constituted, the organizations involved remain represented as long as they wish to or participate in the meetings. Recently, some organizations were removed from the Council because they rarely participated, providing opportunity for other organizations to get involved.

The CMCN has an executive commission consisting of a president, vice president, coordinator, executive secretary, and second secretary. In addition to the Council body and the executive commission, the Council designates permanent and temporary working groups.<sup>10</sup> The permanent working groups each have 5 members and exist in the areas of: (1) social, human, and citizenship rights; (2) health; (3) education; (4) culture, sport and tourism; (5) religious issues. Each permanent working

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<sup>8</sup> Personal interview with Sergio, April 27, 2004.

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Nicea Quintino Amauro, April 14, 2004.

<sup>10</sup> The make-up of the council is taken from the Internal Rules. See Appendix A.

group deals with the particular area—analyzing and evaluating plans—and then presents their conclusions to the body of the Council at meetings held once a month where all primary representatives are expected to attend. The absence of council members can cause difficulty when certain issues are being discussed as well as when the Council votes on certain items, as there is a need for a Quorum for a vote to be official. A Quorum in the CMCN consists of 50% of the members plus 1.

### ***2.3.2 The Position of the CMCN in the Municipal Structure***

The CMCN has no power to directly implement policies and projects, as it is a consultative body without official legislative power. Implementation of policies and projects depends on the legislative and executive branches of the municipal government. The CMCN has the capability to discuss issues and decide what areas need to be addressed, as well as their preferred method to do so. The consultative power comes into play when the CMCN proposes or suggests to the municipality how to deal with particular issues. Because the CMCN deals specifically with issues affecting the Black community and discusses them in a forum including diverse organizations and government representatives, they feel they have a sense of the variety of issues, their particularities, and ideas for how to address them. The participation of a variety of organizations working in a range of areas gives the CMCN a reach into spaces which the government may not have access. It exposes government representatives to organizations working “on the ground” that may have a more nuanced view of issues. Moreover, with the PT government in the municipality, the CMCN used its ties to the Coordenadoria to further promote policy and project suggestions.

The Council’s location can be characterized as “mid-level” or in between a fully government run institution and an organization fully located in civil society. It is

technically located within the secretariat for social assistance. The possibilities for councils exist in Brazilian law, but they must be created by either a government official who sees the need for the Council, a citizen or citizen group, or both. In the case of the CMCN, it was pressure from the community in association with a city councilman sympathetic to the Afro-Brazilian cause and himself an advocate of policies to address racial equality. Councils place members of civil society into direct contact with representatives of various government branches allowing them to discuss the need for policies and projects using the expertise of all members. It remains available to consult with the government on particular issues when the the Council sees fit, with consultations taking place primarily at the initiative of the members themselves. In sum, the Council is an official forum with consultative capabilities created by citizen initiative in municipal law. Once created in law, it cannot be removed. Its operation is solely the responsibility of the members—the local government does not staff it with any personnel, and as will be seen below, do not provide a physical space or a large budget for its operation.

Despite the lack of legislative power, the CMCN pressures the municipal government through protests, campaigns, and other events, as well as through working with particular individuals within the government to implement projects. One or two of the secretariats have representatives that are either from the Black movement or sympathetic to the issues affecting Afro-Brazilians. This sympathy and understanding, as well as the desire for change, provides a voice within government branches to advocate for initiatives pursued by the CMCN. Without these individuals in the government, the connection between the CMCN and local administration may not be as personal, but part of the task of the Council is to foster these contacts and an understanding of their goals among the local administrators.

The CMCN is made up of a diverse group of organizations that represent segments of the Black community in Campinas, amplifying the possibility for exerting public pressure due to the ability to mobilize people involved in a variety of cultural, social, and religious activities and behind particular causes and initiatives. The diversity of organizations suggests links to interaction with and understanding of different social positions within the Afro-Brazilian community. If the municipal administration ignores the Council and the issues of the Black community, they have the capability to go to city hall and protest as well as notify the media that the issues of the Black community are being ignored.<sup>11</sup> They can work to expose the lack of attention being given to racial inequality within the municipality, something that may affect the administration politically. Furthermore, with many different organizations taking part in the Council, there are always projects being suggested, and the diversity of ideas can lead to healthy exchanges within the Council about priorities and methods to move forward in their mission.

The lack of legislative and deliberative power of the Council does not undermine its strength as an official structure within the municipality, although it does affect the ability to implement formulated policies and projects. The power of the Council must be viewed as stemming from its consultative capabilities, as well as from its existence as an institution that was fought for by the Black movement. The Council is significant as a victory for the Black movement that has resulted in an officially recognized forum for the elaboration and creation of policies that will help develop, affirm, and valorize the Black community as well as aid in the fight against racism. The creation of the CMCN is one part of the broader construction of citizenship, providing an organized form of advocacy by social movements, NGOs, and government secretariats by bringing representatives from these diverse groups

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<sup>11</sup> Personal interview with council member.

together. The creation of the Council and the work that takes place within it are seen by members as steps closer towards the greater institutionalization of mechanisms to address racial inequality.

### ***2.3.3 The Composition and Areas of Focus of the Campinas Council***

There are several entities from civil society represented in the Council ranging from organizations with cultural programs to organizations that manage social programs. The variety of organizations represented symbolizes the wide range of Black civil society, as well as the broadness of activities that influence and guide the struggle to end racial discrimination. The government representatives on the Council come from secretariats and government offices considered important for addressing issues affecting the Black community, such as the health secretariat, the education secretariat, and the mayor's office (See Appendix B for the organizations and government offices represented in the Council).

There are several arenas in which the Council addresses contestations over citizenship. Council representatives highlighted four as most important: health, education, the preservation of culture and patrimony, and legal assistance. These arenas are targeted as those to which citizens have a fundamental right. The nature of the initiatives and areas the CMCN pursues are those that work towards immediate change as well as policies with long-term effects, as the struggle for equality involves addressing immediate concerns as quickly as possible, but also involves promoting education and cultural initiatives that will increase public knowledge about Afro-Brazilian culture and increase respect towards the community by eliminating stereotypes and negative portrayals of Afro-Brazilians. Addressing racism and building citizenship has practical and ideological forms. The practical forms deal with issues such as health and employment, or earnings. The ideological forms stem from

the historical devaluation of African heritage and negative stereotypes of Afro-Brazilians and have been entrenched over time in social relations and reinforced through the media, police brutality, and educational materials used in schools. The ideological barrier to addressing racial inequality is also shaped by the notion of racial democracy, which still has effects that function to inhibit some initiatives. Because Afro-Brazilians have not been given special attention or were not seen to warrant special attention, the specificity of the racial theme is hard for public officials, as well as education and health employees, to see or understand. Therefore, the CMCN not only has to convince people that Afro-Brazilians need particular attention to address their needs, they need to educate people about how to go about providing it and understanding the specificity of Afro-Brazilian needs. Claiming these rights involves not only making demands, but defining the agenda that will move in the direction of addressing them. The members of the CMCN understand that they are struggling against an ingrained ideology, which is why the valorization and affirmation of the Black community is a main focus.

The right to education is a common claim made by citizens in many democracies, yet often poverty and discrimination prevent them from fully benefiting. The Council's initiatives seek to address subjects such as the basic right to a decent education, a right that would permit more Afro-Brazilians to compete within the competitive system of entrance examinations for university level education. By targeting such issues, they are making claims for basic rights that have not been fully guaranteed. Education intersects with various other aspects and initiatives that have the goal of ending racial discrimination. An important victory for Afro-Brazilians in the struggle for representation was the passing in 2003 of federal law 10, 639, which determined that the teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African history be incorporated into the primary school curriculum, a curriculum that has for the most part been

Eurocentric and valued the European in telling the story of Brazil's history. At its base, this struggle is for the right for one's history to be equally valued and understood within the formation and development of the nation.

The struggle in the arena of education occurs because education is seen as a site for the reformulation of content and meaning—the right to a *good* education that *respects and valorizes* one's place in society. For example, initiatives that address negative portrayals of Afro-Brazilians in textbooks are part of affirming the community through history and positive self-images.<sup>12</sup> These initiatives involve the right to have rights and the right to be respected for one's difference—a different history and experience. Education initiatives also work more directly with the population through literacy and professional training. Programs run by organizations such as the Casa Laudelina de Campos Mello and Força da Raça work with Afro-Brazilian women, adults and adolescents through literacy programs, training programs in management and business, and the provision of food and meals to the families of children so that they may attend school. These projects specifically target the lack of access to education and issues of employment and wages.

The access to decent healthcare for Afro-Brazilians that accounts for the specificity of diseases and conditions affecting black men and women are also debated in the Council. A main problem confronting Afro-Brazilians in the area of health is Sickle Cell Anemia. Those involved in the Council and the Coordenadoria put pressure on the municipal government to promote a greater awareness of the disease as well as implement a screening program for newborns in local hospitals in order to catch it at a young age. A second area of activity is women's health. Some organizations, such as the Casa Laudelina de Campos Mello and Força da Raça, are involved in projects related to sexuality and reproductive health. Afro-Brazilian

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<sup>12</sup> For examples see Hanchard, 1994, pp. 60-62 and Winant

women are particularly affected because they make up a larger proportion of the poor population. Obtaining assistance in cases of domestic violence or Pre-natal care is essential for guaranteeing a healthy and safe life for women and the birth of healthy babies. By pointing to these conditions that affect the black community, the Council demonstrates that certain groups of citizens may need particular forms of health care. Advocacy for these projects and attention to these diseases forces public money to be used for Afro-Brazilians' different concerns and needs. This inserts their specific health issues into policy debates and the allocation of resources to improve education and treatment for the population.

The preservation of culture and patrimony is a third arena whose importance is reflected in the work of the Instituto Babatoloji, Museu do Negro, the Capoeira Association (ACADA), and the Grupo Cultural Tainã. The museum spaces function not only to obtain and preserve artifacts, or for seeing culture as product, such as Babatoloji with African art or the Museu do Negro with local Afro-Brazilian memory, they also function as locations of exposure to African and Afro-Brazilian religion and culture, or for seeing culture as process. Both can function to combat discrimination, resonating with the construction of the new citizenship as meanings and understandings of culture are created and redefined in these spaces.

Speaking about the creation of the Instituto Babatoloji, located in a house he donated to the community, the founder Toloji stated:

“I saw ... a way to combat discrimination showing that what some people are imagining as grotesque, that being African, or something like it, is by nature something archaic, [is not true]. It is a form of showing people the greatness of [African] culture” (Toloji, June 24, 2004).

The museums also function as a space for culture as practice, where cultural activities such as musical instruction and performance such as Capoeira can take place. The museum becomes not only a space to preserve and exhibit culture, but becomes a space where cultural activities can be practiced. Practice, in this case, valorizes.

Preserving patrimony that has historical significance and emerged from the struggles and exclusion of Afro-Brazilians in the municipality of Campinas is also of great importance:

“One of the things for the survival of any population, especially the Black population that from which territory was expropriated ... is for you to guarantee that at least you have a territory [patrimony], that which was built by your ancestors” (Personal interview with Maurilio Ferreira da Silva, June 25, 2004).

In the case of the Museu Afro-Brasileiro, it is located in a house formerly owned by an Afro-Brazilian and now donated as the museum space. This house is located in a community that used to be predominantly Afro-Brazilian but over time became a wealthier suburb of the city.

Religion is also strongly associated with the culture of many in the Afro-Brazilian community. There are two religious organizations that have a representative in the Council. One is a Catholic organization and the other represents the religion Candomblé, which is an Afro-Brazilian religion. The Pastoral do Negro works mainly with youth in Campinas. The *Casa de Culto Afro Inso Diá Musambu Kaiango M'boti Ofulá (Casa de Reza da Deusa do Bom Vento)*, is primarily a Candomblé house of worship for those associated with this particular Candomblé group. The Terreiro, where the Candomblé ceremonies and worshipping take place, represent another space where the culture and religion of Afro-Brazilians can be expressed and practiced. The inclusion of these organizations demonstrates the importance of religious cultural

organizations as social actors, as well as the importance of religious spaces for preservation and expression of Afro-Brazilian culture. The representation of Candomblé in the Council gives official status to Candomblé as a contemporary, living cultural practice, not an archaic religion. Mãe Corajaci, a *Mãe de Santo*, or Mother of Saints (Candomblé Priestess), explained that she is often invited to provide a blessing before some formal municipal meetings and events.<sup>13</sup> She feels that this is good exposure and that people like Tiãozinho give her the opportunity to participate in a way that allows her to practice Candomblé in a public forum. To her, this helps create an understanding of both Candomblé and Afro-Brazilian culture. The place of Candomblé and Mãe Corajaci in the Council and in municipal forums involves inclusion and “show casing” of culture. The visibility afforded to her is part of the process of creating understanding and legitimacy for this religion and aspect of many Afro-Brazilians’ culture.

Legal assistance is the fourth key arena that speaks to the development of the new citizenship. This is the activity of providing legal assistance to Afro-Brazilians who suffer discrimination or would like to denounce an act they have witnessed. The name of the service is *Serviço S.O.S. Discriminação*, or S.O.S. Discrimination Service, and it is directly managed by the Council. This program bolsters legal mechanisms to address racism as those making claims can be put into contact with the proper people to help them pursue and resolve the issue.

The Brazilian state has had a history of including very few anti-discriminatory laws in state policy. These laws would appear to protect Afro-Brazilians from acts of discrimination, but were rarely used or applied in the case of racial discrimination because of the difficulty of proving if an act was racist or not, as well as the decisions by many judges that invoked notions of racism as non-existent. What S.O.S.

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<sup>13</sup> Personal interview with Mãe Corajaci, April, 2004.

Discrimination Service does is provide an outlet for these claims that consults lawyers, allowing it to make legitimate claims under Brazilian laws, such as the Caó Law of 1988 that made discrimination a criminal act. This law has had difficulty in being implemented in many cases because the penalties are often viewed as extremely harsh, so judges are unwilling to sentence individuals, as well as for reasons stated above regarding the difficulty of proving discrimination. What the service signifies is that there is indeed a need for legal assistance. Although there are difficulties with particular cases, the development of legal counsel for these acts may assist in creating better prepared cases and ensure that those that commit these acts begin to receive punishment.

The “new citizenship” helps understand how these efforts combine to target racial inequality as Afro-Brazilians redefine, create, and advocate for educating government policy-makers and society more broadly about how race mediates citizenship both historically and presently. Claiming equality by redefining rights and making demands that push institutions to enact legislation and seek citizen involvement is neither an uncomplicated process, nor produces immediate substantial results. The next chapter examines how members perceptions, accomplishments, and difficulties demonstrate the contested process of negotiating citizenship through a newly created official forum.