

FIU

Arts & Sciences



International Conference

**Afro Latino Social Movements From “Monocultural Mestizaje” and
“Invisibility” to Multiculturalism and State
Corporatism/Cooptation**

*Movimientos Sociales Afro Latinos Desde "Mestizaje Mono-cultural"
e "Invisibilidad" al Multiculturalismo y Corporativismo/Cooptación
de Estado*

February 24 -25, 2010



Afro Latino Social Movements

African & African Diaspora Studies

School of International and Public Affairs

From “Monocultural Mestizaje” and “Invisibility” to Multiculturalism and State Corporatism/Cooptation

Movimientos Sociales Afro Latinos Desde "Mestizaje Mono-cultural" e "Invisibilidad" al Multiculturalismo y Corporativismo/Cooptación de Estado

An international conference

African & African Diaspora Studies Program, AADS

Co-Sponsored by the Latin American & Caribbean Center (LACC), the Department of Global and Sociocultural Studies (GSS), the AADS Graduate Student Association, The Haitian Students Association, the Council for Students Organizations, and TAM Airlines.

Florida International University
Graham Center Ballroom
February 24 & 25, 2011

Conference Concept

This conference aims to explore the transformations of the political landscapes within which Afro Latino social movements have been operating since the end of the 1970s. It is premised on the assertion that, distinctively in different national contexts, the major characteristic of these transformations is the passage from “monocultural mestizaje” and “invisibilization” of Afro Latinos organized by the State and other social actors to multiculturalism and State corporatism (or State cooptation, as some prefer to call it). A special emphasis will be placed on the consequences of State corporatism on Afro Latino social movements.

In the 1970s and 1980s, activists and scholars alike wrote a great deal about the processes of “invisibilization” of Afro Latinos, along with Indigenous peoples, in a great many Latin American national contexts. Official versions of history failed to mention black populations’ participation in, and contributions to, the Nation. Critical scholars denounced the fact that many Latin American academic traditions reproduced national processes of invisibilizing Afro Latino populations. At the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, new Afro Latino organizations developed in accordance with the specificity of their national contexts and with the eventual support of other national, regional, and transnational organizations. They often clashed against the misrecognizing state and demanded full recognition as citizens.

Some scholars have called the period from the 1920s to the end of the 1980s the Latin American ideological period of “monocultural mestizaje.” At the time, in a continental wave going from Mexico and including the Caribbean, to the southern extremity of Argentina, national white and white-mestizo elites imagined and elaborated national identities in terms of mestizaje or, in the case of Argentina, as directly opposed to it. In many cases, unlike Brazil and Cuba, which all point to the polysemic nature of “ideological mestizaje,” blacks were not part of official mestizaje, which included exclusively the mixing of European and Native American ancestry. In those cases, blacks were seen as existing off to one side: they did not constitute “an ingredient” in what has sometimes been called “the ideological biologies of national identity.”

That premise of exclusion has very much been shaping up the daily experiences of Afro Latino peoples, wherever they live.

With the political effervescence of the early 1990s that accompanied the transnational indigenous movement's preparation of "500 Years of Resistance," a counter celebration of 1992 that was referred to in official presentations as "the anniversary of 500 years of Discovery," black organizations became more visible. Some made alliances with indigenous organizations, while others entered in traditional politics, investing in political parties on the left. The publication in 1995 of the Minority Rights Group's famous book, *No Longer Invisible: Afro-Latin Americans Today*, was a direct testimony of this growing reality.

In the last two decades, following the adoption of "multicultural" policies specifically targeting Indigenous and African diasporic populations by institutions of international development and global governance, and also as a result of the political activism of Indigenous and African diasporic communities, many Latin American nation-states revised their Constitutions and sometimes passed special laws that express a concern for greater inclusion of African diasporic and Indigenous populations. This is a context in which Latin American African diasporic populations gained relatively greater agency in comparison to the marked exclusion that characterized their situation during monocultural mestizaje.

Since the late 2000s and early 2010s, a new reality of Afro Latino participation at the higher echelons of state institutions has emerged. New Constitutions finally acknowledge Afro Latinos' existence and declare the nation-state to be diverse and multicultural. Constitutions and new special laws give Afro Latinos collective rights and some protection against racist crimes. Political reforms created new state agencies that have as their objective the management of state funds and other resources for Afro Latino communities. Leadership of such agencies is given to Afro Latino community leaders, who are chosen by the political group(s) in government. In addition, new electoral laws have created districts with exclusively ethnically based representation, and have sent some Afro Latino leaders to national Congress. Other leaders have been chosen for upper level positions of leadership in the governments' administrations.

This points to the Latin American tradition of state corporatism, which has consisted in the populist and corporatist incorporation of the popular sectors into the State, in structures that organize the relation between civil society and the State. In that way, the State co-opts or re-creates interest groups with the intent to regulate their numbers and to give them the appearance of having a quasi-representational monopoly with special prerogatives. In exchange for these prerogatives and monopolies, the State demands the right to monitor the groups represented. This is how special State agencies were specifically created to deal with Afro Latino populations in the new multiculturalist States.

This conference will provide a space wherein participants will contribute to an interrogation of the current situations involving State corporatism of Afro Latino social movements. The papers presented will explore the recent history of Afro Latino social movements and interrogate current formations that have been functioning from within States' institutions and institutionality, while also operating within transnational networks of cultural politics. The following non-exhaustive list presents questions the conference might explore:

What is the history of the relation, in a given national context, between the State and Afro Latino social movements? What are the direct consequences of State corporatism on Afro Latino social movements? If fragmentation is occurring, what are the organizing principles of that fragmentation? Are the notions of "leadership" and "leader" under discussion and redefinition? How did State corporatism influence or change the internal

political landscape of Afro Latino social movements? How did it impact their political strategies in national politics? How is State corporatism impacting the relations between Afro Latino social movements and Indigenous organizations? Did State corporatism facilitate transnational connections, and how? Is State corporatism having an impact on gender relations within the movements? How are contemporary Afro Latino social movements dealing with the notions of modernity and traditions? Is the current State corporatism of Afro Latinos pushing the boundaries of Diaspora theorizing? If so, how?

Concepto de la Conferencia

Esta Conferencia pretende explorar las transformaciones de los panoramas políticos en los cuales se han desarrollado los movimientos sociales Afro latinos desde finales de la década de los años 70s. Está basada en el concepto que, apropiadamente en diferentes contextos nacionales, la característica principal de estas transformaciones ha sido el cambio del “mestizaje mono-cultural” y la invisibilidad de los Afro latinos organizados por el Estado hacia el multiculturalismo y el corporativismo/cooptación de Estado. Se dará así un gran énfasis a las consecuencias del corporativismo/cooptación de Estado sobre los movimientos sociales Afro latinos.

En las décadas de los años 70s y 80s, tanto activistas como académicos escribieron considerablemente acerca del proceso de “invisibilización” de los Afro latinos, así como de los pueblos indígenas, en varios contextos nacionales de América Latina. Versiones oficiales de la historia omitieron mencionar la participación y las contribuciones a la nación por las poblaciones negras. Eruditos críticos denunciaron el hecho de que muchas tradiciones académicas de América Latina contribuyeron a los procesos nacionales de invisibilización de las poblaciones Afro latinas. Nuevas organizaciones Afro latinas se desarrollaron en determinados contextos nacionales y con el eventual apoyo de otras entidades nacionales, regionales y transnacionales al final de la década de los años 70s y principios de los 80s. Estas a menudo enfrentaron al Estado anti-reconocedor, exigiendo el reconocimiento inambiguo como ciudadanos.

Algunos académicos han llamado el período entre los años 20s hasta el final de la década de los 80s como “el período de la ideología del ‘mestizaje mono-cultural’”. En ese período, en una ola continental que abarcó desde México e incluyó el Caribe, hasta el extremo sur de la Argentina, las élites blancas y blanco-mestizas nacionales imaginaron y elaboraron identidades nacionales en términos de mestizaje o, en el caso de Argentina, directamente opuesta a éste. En muchos de los casos, y a diferencia de Brasil y Cuba, los cuales apuntan a la naturaleza polisémica del “mestizaje ideológico”, los negros no fueron parte del “mestizaje oficial”, que incluía exclusivamente ascendencia europea e indígena. En esos casos, los negros eran vistos como existiendo en el margen: sin constituir “un ingrediente” en lo que ha sido llamado “la ideología biológica de la identidad nacional”. Esa proposición de exclusión ha moldeado las experiencias cotidianas de los pueblos Afro latinos, dondequiera que vivan.

Con la efervescencia política de principios de los años 90, la cual acompañó a los movimientos transnacionales indígenas en preparación de los “500 años de resistencia”, una celebración en contra de 1992 mencionada en presentaciones oficiales como “el aniversario de los 500 años del descubrimiento”, las organizaciones negras se hicieron más visibles. Algunas hicieron alianzas con organizaciones indígenas, mientras que otras entraron en la política tradicional, invirtiendo en partidos políticos de izquierda. La publicación en 1995 del famoso

libro *No Longer Invisible: Afro-Latin Americans Today*, por el Minority Rights Group, fue un testimonio directo de esta realidad emergente.

En las últimas dos décadas, tras la aprobación de políticas “multiculturales” destinadas específicamente a las poblaciones indígenas y de la diáspora africana por instituciones de desarrollo internacional y de gobernanza global, y también como resultado del activismo político de las comunidades indígenas y de la diáspora africana, muchos Estados de América Latina revisaron sus Constituciones, a veces promulgando también leyes especiales, que expresan una preocupación por una mayor inclusión de las poblaciones indígenas y de la diáspora africana. Este es el contexto en el cual las poblaciones de la diáspora africana en América Latina pudieron manejar una mayor margen de maniobra política en comparación con la marcada exclusión que caracterizó su situación durante el período de mestizaje mono-cultural.

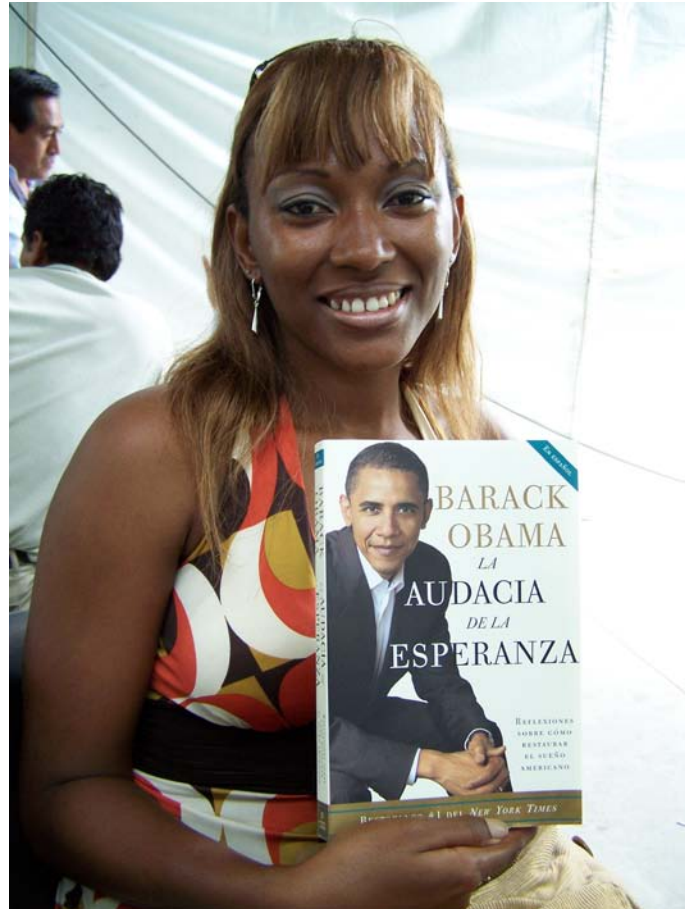
Desde finales de los años 2000 y principios del 2010 ha surgido una nueva realidad marcada por la creciente participación de Afro latinos en escalones superiores de instituciones estatal. Nuevas Constituciones finalmente reconocen la existencia de los Afro latinos y declaran el Estado-nación como diverso y multicultural. Las Constituciones y nuevas leyes especiales dan derechos colectivos a los Afro latinos y ciertas protecciones contra el racismo. Reformas políticas crearon nuevas agencias estatales que tienen como objetivo el manejo de fondos para las comunidades Afro latinas. El liderazgo de dichos organismos se ha otorgado a líderes proveniente de dichos movimientos sociales Afro latinos, los cuales son seleccionados por grupos políticos en el gobierno de turno. Además, en ciertos casos, nuevas leyes electorales han creado distritos basados exclusivamente en representación étnica o racial, y han enviado algunos líderes Afro latinos al Congreso Nacional. Otros líderes han sido seleccionados para cargos de niveles superiores de dirección en las administraciones de estos gobiernos (ministros, embajadores, etc.).

Esta realidad apunta a la tradición latinoamericana de corporativismo estatal, que ha consistido en la incorporación populista y corporativista de sectores populares en el Estado, en estructuras que organizan a la relación entre la sociedad civil y el Estado. De ese modo, el Estado co-opta o re-crea los grupos de interés con la intención de regular sus números y darles la apariencia de tener un cuasi-monopolio representacional con prerrogativas especiales. A cambio de estas prerrogativas y monopolios, el estado exige el derecho a supervisar los grupos representados. Es así cómo fueron creados específicamente organismos de Estado especiales que hacen frente a las poblaciones de Afro latinos en los nuevos Estados multiculturales.

Esta Conferencia proporcionará un espacio en donde los participantes contribuirán a una interogación de situaciones actuales de los movimientos sociales Afro latinos dentro de procesos caracterizados por un marcado corporativismo/cooptación de Estado. Las ponencias presentadas explorarán la historia reciente de los movimientos sociales Afro latinos e interrogarán formaciones actuales que han ido funcionando desde adentro de las instituciones de Estado, mientras que operan también dentro de redes políticas transnacionales. Aunque no es exhaustiva, la siguiente lista presenta cuestiones que la Conferencia podría explorar:

¿Cuál es la historia de la relación, en un determinado contexto nacional, entre el Estado y los movimientos sociales Afro latinos? ¿Cuáles son las consecuencias directas del corporativismo de Estado sobre los movimientos sociales Afro latinos? Si se produce una fragmentación de los movimientos, ¿cuáles son los principios organizacionales de esa fragmentación? ¿Son las nociones de “liderazgo” y “líder” sometidas a discusión y redefinición? ¿Cómo influyó o cambió el corporativismo de estado el panorama político interno de los movimientos sociales de Afro latinos? ¿Cómo impactó sus estrategias políticas en la política nacional? ¿Cómo está afectando el

corporativismo de Estado las relaciones entre organizaciones indígenas y los movimientos sociales Afro latinos? ¿Ha facilitado el corporativismo de Estado conexiones transnacionales? ¿De que manera? ¿Está el corporativismo de Estado teniendo un impacto en las relaciones de género dentro de los movimientos sociales? ¿Cómo están los movimientos sociales contemporáneos debatiendo o discutiendo las nociones de modernidad y tradición? ¿Está la participación en instituciones estatales de movimientos sociales Afro latinos empujando los límites teóricos de la definición del concepto de “diáspora”? Si es el caso, ¿de qué manera? Etc.



February 24

- 1:00pm** Registration: \$10.00 per person. Free for students with ID.
- 2:00pm** Welcoming Remarks
John Stack, Director of the School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA)
Cristina Eguizabal, Director of the Latin American and Caribbean Center (LACC)
Jean Rahier, Director of the African & African Diaspora Studies Program (AADS)
- 2:15pm** **Conference Introduction**
Afro Latino Social Movements: From “Monocultural Mestizaje” and “Invisibility” to Multiculturalism and State Corporatism/Cooptation
Jean Muteba Rahier, Florida International University
- 2:40pm** **A Glimpse at a Black Movement in Miami/the U.S. “Third World America”: Land Struggles in the United States**
Max Rameau, Take Back the Land Movement

Session I – Afro Latino Continued Exclusion / Afro Latino Experiences of State Corporatism

- 3:05pm** Chair: Dionne Stephens, Florida International University
- 3:10pm** *Ausencia de la Población Afrocolombiana en el Diseño y Ejecución de Políticas Públicas*
Luz Marina Becerra, *Representante Legal, Asociación Nacional de Afrocolombianos Desplazados (AFRODES)* Colombia
- 3:35pm** *Construyendo la Política desde lo Afro: Análisis del Movimiento Afroecuatoriano en el Marco de un Estado Plurinacional e Intercultural*
Alexandra Ocles Padilla, Minister, *Secretaría de Pueblos, Movimientos Sociales y Participación Ciudadana*, Ecuador
- 4:00pm** **The challenges of Conceiving the National Racial Promotion Plan as a Fundamental Instrument/Proposal of the Brazilian Government: 2004–2007**
Maria Inês Barbosa, Ex-Vice-Minister, *Secretaria Especial de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial (SEPPIR)*, Brazil
- 4:25pm** **Afro In/Exclusion, Resistance, and the “Progressive” State: (De)colonial Struggles, Questions, and Reflexions**
Catherine Walsh, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Ecuador/Andrew W. Mellon Visiting Professor Duke University

4:50pm Questions & Answers

5:30pm Opening Reception with Dinner

9:00pm An Evening at Hoy Como Ayer, Bar and Lounge
2212 SW 8th Street, Miami FL 33135 – Phone (305) 541-2631
<http://www.hoycomoayer.us>

Hoy Como Ayer presenta Fuacata! Noches con sabor, presentando música en vivo en un ambiente en el que se respira nostalgia vibrando al compas de **DJ Spam All Stars**

Con reminiscencias de otras noches de juerga. Música latina local y de nivel internacional, shows en vivo, cocina cubana de alto nivel y proyección de películas para recordar. Ven a disfrutar una experiencia única.

Café Hoy Como Ayer a place of Nostalgia located in the herat of Little Havana as become the best reflection of the Cuban phenomenon today.

February 25

- 8:30am** Registration \$10 per person. Free for students with ID.
Continental Breakfast – Graham Center Ballroom Lobby
- 9:30am** **Welcoming Remarks**
Jean Muteba Rahier, Director of the African & African Diaspora Studies Program, Florida International University, USA
- 9:40am** **Afro-Latinos, the Multicultural Turn and the “New” Latin American Constitutions and Other Special Legislations**
Mamyrah Prosper & Jean Muteba Rahier, Florida International University, USA

Session II – A Focus on Central America

- 10:05am** Chair: Andrea Queeley, Florida International University, USA
- 10:10am** **Garifuna Activism and the Corporatist Honduran State since the 2009 Coup**
Mark Anderson, University of California, Santa Cruz, USA
- 10:25am** **Black Politics in a Multicultural State: Creole Mobilization in Contemporary Nicaragua**
Juliet Hooker, University of Texas, Austin, USA
- 10:40am** *La Movilización Política de los Afroguatemaltecos: Entre Influencias Globales e Institucionalización*
Carlos Agudelo, Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos, Mexico
- 10:55am** *La Excepción Afro-Mexicana: La Fuerza de las Debilidades*
Odile Hoffmann, Institut de Recherches pour le Développement-URMIS, France
- 11:10am** Questions & Answers
- 11:50am** Lunch

Session III – A Focus on the Afro-Andean Region

- 1:30pm** Chair: Erika Edwards, Florida International University, USA
- 1:35pm** **The Quest for a Counter-Space in the Colombian Pacific Coast Region: Towards Alternative Black Territorialities or Cooptation by Dominant Power?**
Ulrich Oslender, Florida International University, USA

- 1:50pm** **Multicultural Citizens or Victims of War? The Cooptation of Colombia's Black Social Movements through the Discourse of Human Rights**
Roosbelinda Cardenas, University of California, Santa Cruz, USA
- 2:05pm** **The Afroecuadorian Social Movement: Between Empowerment and Cooptation**
Carlos de la Torre, *Facultad de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO)*, Quito, Ecuador
- 2:20pm** **Does "Still Relatively Invisible" Mean "Less Likely to be Co-opted"?**
Reflections on the Afro-Peruvian Case
Shane Greene, Indiana University, USA
- 2:35pm** Questions & Answers

Session IV – A Focus on the Brazilian Experiences

- 3:00pm** Chair: Jean-Robert Cadely, Florida International University, USA
- 3:05pm** **From Black Councils to the Federal Special Secretariat for Policies that Promote Racial Equality: New Identities of the Black Brazilian Movement**
Joselina da Silva, *Universidade Federal do Ceará, Campus avançado do Cariri*, Brazil
- 3:20pm** *Estado e Movimentos Sociais no Brasil: Uma Análise Sobre Participação de Intelectuais Negros em Órgãos Estatais.*
Carlos Benedito Rodrigues da Silva, Universidade Federal do Maranhão, São Luis do Maranhão, Brazil
- 3:35pm** Questions & Answers
- 3:50pm** Coffee Break

Session V - By Way of Conclusion, a Roundtable **Are Latin American Multiculturalisms Increased** **Openings for Afro-Latin American Social Movements or** **Ploys for Cooptation?**

- 4:10pm** Chair: Jean Muteba Rahier, Florida International University, USA
- 4:15pm** Fassil Demmessie, DePaul University, USA
- 4:30pm** Pierre-Michel Fontaine, University of Miami, USA
- 4:45pm** Victor Uribe, Florida International University, USA
- 5:00pm** Percy Hintzen, University of California, Berkeley, USA
- 5:15pm** Questions & Answers
- 6:00pm** Closing Reception

ABSTRACTS

La Movilización Política de los Afroguatemaltecos: Entre Influencias Globales e Institucionalización

Carlos Agudelo, *Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos*, Mexico

En Guatemala los descendientes de africanos habitan las ciudades caribeñas de Livingston y Puerto Barrios. Se trata mayoritariamente de los Garifuna (pueblo surgido en las Antillas menores del mestizaje durante el periodo colonial entre negros africanos e indígenas caribes que van a asentarse desde finales del siglo XVIII en las costas caribes de Belice, Guatemala, Honduras y Nicaragua).

Aunque son una pequeña minoría demográfica, han sido reconocidos como parte de las expresiones de la diversidad étnica y cultural de Guatemala y en ese marco, a partir de los Acuerdos de Paz de los años 1990, comienzan a participar en algunos espacios de representación nacional.

Simultáneamente en 1992 surge en Belice la ONECA–Organización Negra Centroamericana–que se transformará en una red transnacional de movimientos negros de toda la región a su vez conectados con procesos que coordinan acciones continentales y globales de lo que se afirmará en esos años como la diáspora afrodescendiente. Bajo la influencia de la ONECA surge en Guatemala en 1995 la ONEGUA–Organización Negra Guatemalteca.

Esta ponencia presenta los procesos de articulación entre dinámicas políticas nacionales y globales en las formas de acción del movimiento negro en Guatemala y el rol protagonista que ha jugado el Estado a través de la apertura de espacios de participación política.

Garifuna Activism and the Corporatist Honduran State since the 2009 Coup

Mark Anderson, University of California, Santa Cruz

This essay analyzes contemporary relationships between Garifuna organizations and state institutions. In June of 2009, President Manuel Zelaya of the Liberal Party was removed from the country by the state military. The state proceeded with elections under conditions of intense polarization and violence against members of the resistance to the new government. In early 2010, the presidency passed into the hands of Porfirio Lobo of the National Party. What is the character of Garifuna participation in state institutions under the current regime? Do recent changes at the helm of the state represent the end of official multiculturalism, the continuation of policies and practices of state recognition of indigenous and Afro-Honduran collective rights adopted in the early to mid 1990s, or a brand new set of relationships between the state and Garifuna organizations?

The first part of the presentation traces the development of Garifuna activism in relation to indigenous rights and anti-racism over the past two decades. By the mid-1990s, the Honduran state instituted a series of legal reforms recognizing the “multicultural” and “multiethnic” reforms, including Garifuna within this purview. Since this period of “recognition” and the (incomplete) titling of Garifuna communal lands, state agencies achieved little in resolving Garifuna demands, particularly demands for territorial protection. Nonetheless, in partial conformity with Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization on indigenous rights, state agencies and the presidential office did open spaces for indigenous and Afro-Honduran

organizations to participate in state programs and dialogue with state officials. However, state politics of participation has also facilitated and exacerbated divisions between organizations, including the two most important Garifuna organizations.

The current government has yet to define a clear political agenda with regard to recognizing the demands of indigenous and Afro-Honduran peoples, though it has made a few high profile acts of multicultural inclusion. A former Garifuna presidential candidate from a secondary political party serves as head of the *Secretaría de Cultura* or Ministry of Culture and the presidential office has announced the creation of a new Ministry, *La Secretaría para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas y Afrohondureños y la Promoción de Políticas de Igualdad Racial* (the Ministry for the Development of Indigenous and Afro-Honduran Peoples and for the Promotion of Racial Equality). The new office is the product of negotiations between the government and one of the key Garifuna organizations, with minimal consultation with other indigenous and Afrodescendant organizations.

My tentative thesis in this essay, based on current research, is that despite these developments the government continues to adopt and enforce neoliberal policies characteristic of previous regimes and increasingly marginalizes organizations and activists who do not conform to its priorities. In the current conjuncture, the government appears to favor a politics voiced in the language of anti-discrimination over a politics of indigeneity and territorial rights.

Without participation from other Garifuna and indigenous organizations, including those identified with political opposition to the current government, multicultural initiatives, including the new Ministry, will likely exacerbate ongoing divisions between organizations. Understanding the challenges facing Afrodescendant leaders in new positions of power requires looking beyond the purview of their offices to the landscape of political relations between state agencies and the organizations representing their peoples.

La Excepción Afro-Mexicana: La Fuerza de las Debilidades

Odile Hoffmann, Institut de Recherches pour le Développement-URMIS

Una vez más sobre la cuestión afrodescendiente, el caso mexicano se encuentra “a contra corriente” de las situaciones más frecuentes en América latina, en las que, en la primera década del siglo XXI, el multiculturalismo se afianza en las instituciones de Estado a la vez que el movimiento afro-nacional tiende a institucionalizarse (sea en el consenso o en el conflicto). En efecto, más allá de declaraciones de principio y de una tímida modificación de la constitución en 1992, México no ha adoptado políticas ni medidas multiculturales. A la vez, las organizaciones negras se multiplican desde hace unos cinco años, sin tener hasta ahora nexos institucionales ni políticos con el aparato gubernamental. Sostengo que esta excepcionalidad le da cierta fuerza heurística al caso mexicano en la medida en que revela, como un negativo fotográfico, las relaciones que se tejen entre la esfera de los activistas y las esferas de gobernanza a distintos niveles: local, nacional y transnacional. A la vez, deja entrever otras vías de negociación política, fuera del *face-à-face* con el Estado. No se trata aquí de cooptación por el Estado sino de una convergencia histórica, de una “ventana de oportunidades” que posibilita la articulación de intereses que hasta ahora se ignoraban.

La primera parte de la comunicación se centrará en explicar las condiciones en las que el movimiento afromexicano surge, en la debacle del corporativismo mexicano pri-ista y fuera de cualquier cooptación por el Estado. Esta temporalidad desfasada suele ser interpretada por los

activistas como un “retrazo” frente a los demás países de América Latina, pero se puede también vincular a la originalidad de la configuración política mexicana, su experiencia de negociación y la amplia capacidad de cooptación del aparato priista hasta 2000. Es decir, no se trata solamente de un “retrazo” sino de una estructura de oportunidades distinta a la de otros países del continente y que empieza a modificarse con el fin de la hegemonía priista.

La segunda parte de la comunicación se enfocará hacia los vínculos tejidos entre actores del movimiento afro en los niveles local, nacional e internacional. Siguiendo el modelo propuesto por Keck and Sikkink (1998) y retomado por Tarrow (2005), mostraremos cómo en el caso mexicano el movimiento afro, todavía muy débil, moviliza los recursos políticos e intelectuales internacionales para difundir y tratar de afianzar su reclamo identitario en el plano nacional y local (el efecto boomerang). Para esto, procede vía la “externalización” de su reivindicación recurriendo a los tres recursos mencionados por los autores mencionados: la gestión de la información (*information monitoring*), la inserción en instancias internacionales (*access to external institutions*) y la acción colectiva local (*direct actions*). Esto permite a los activistas étnicos en vía de transnacionalización adquirir legitimidad y establecer redes horizontales y verticales que, a su vez, amplían su poder de negociación con el Estado.

Este modelo permite escapar a las disyuntivas binarias que suelen caracterizar el debate sobre etnicización en términos de instrumentalización / invención, rechazar el falso debate de la “autenticidad” del reclamo afro en México y reubicar la discusión en un contexto netamente político, en el sentido ciudadano de la palabra: la capacidad de hablar y ser escuchado, de negociar.

Does Still Relatively Invisible Mean Less Likely to be Co-opted? Reflections on the Afro-Peruvian Case

Shane Greene, Indiana University

Addressing the theme of the conference, the main argument of my paper is that Peru represents a possible exception to the emerging “rule” of state cooptation of Afro-Latino movements. I argue that less cooptation in the Peruvian case is contingent on the continuing invisibility of Afro-Peruvians relative to Afro-Latinos in other Latin American contexts where black politics are more robust and more tied to multicultural state politics. I attribute this to a number of factors ranging from greater visibility of the indigenous question in Peru to the relative disorganization of Afro-Peruvian politics. And I suggest that it is tied to a series of multicultural state reforms that are both peculiarly superficial compared to others in the region and particularly exclusive of Afro-descendent claims. Ultimately this raises an important question relevant to all black politics and to the conference as conceptualized. Is it better to be more visible and thus more co-optable or less multicultural and thus less likely to be co-opted?

To substantiate this argument I present an analysis of the emergence of two phenomena centrally linked to contemporary Afro-Peruvian politics. The first is the complex political trajectory of Congresswoman Martha Moyano, currently one of the most visible spokespersons of the Afro-Peruvian cause working within party politics and yet notably devoid of historical connection to the Afro-Peruvian movement. The second is the creation of the *Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Andinos, Amazonicos y Afroperuano* (INDEPA), currently the national level state agency where Afro-Peruvian issues are presumably debated and yet routinely overshadowed by indigenous concerns.

The Quest for a Counter-Space in the Colombian Pacific Coast Region: Towards Alternative Black Territorialities or Cooptation by Dominant Power?

Ulrich Oslender, Florida International University

It has become commonplace today to argue that African descendant populations have emerged as new political actors in the Americas over the last decades. Many countries in Latin America have re-written their constitutions to include notions of multiculturalism and recognize the role played by so-called “ethnic minorities” in the nation-building process. This has at times been accompanied by the granting of concrete rights to hitherto marginalized or excluded population groups. Most notably perhaps, new territorial regimes have been created that held the promise of alternative territorialities for black communities, such as has been the case in Colombia. Undoubtedly the passing of Law 70 in 1993 that granted collective land rights to black communities on the Pacific coast region has been a major achievement for Afro-Colombian political mobilization. Yet, the reality on the ground today is undermining these achievements, as rural black populations are forcibly displaced in their thousands from the very lands they have acquired collective legal titles over. Whereas much academic work has focussed on this relatively recent phenomenon of forced displacement, one crucial aspect has often been ignored: the very differential interpretation of Law 70 by the social movement of black communities and Colombian government agencies respectively.

In this paper I reflect on this difference drawing on the concept of “counter-space,” as introduced by Henri Lefebvre. I will show how what was at stake for the social movement of black communities in Colombia with regard to the Pacific coast region was not merely the acquisition of collective land rights (which they achieved) but a re-conceptualization of the region that profoundly challenged the capitalist state logic of extraction and exploitation. Once the state and capital understood the implications of this “quest for a counter-space,” as I term it here, both reacted with cooptation and coercion. I will argue that not only has state cooptation of Afro-Colombian mobilization occurred by drawing black leaders into the state’s institutional framework, but I’ll also show that it was accompanied by state coercion and the deployment of violence on the ground that directly undermines the state’s very legislation. This is the grand conundrum haunting Afro-Colombian mobilization and the meaningful construction of the Pacific coast region as a differential space, a counter-space, of an alternative black territoriality.

Multicultural Citizens or Victims of War? The Cooptation of Colombia’s Black Social Movements through the Discourse of Human Rights.

Roosbelinda Cardenas, University of California, Santa Cruz

After the constitutional recognition of multiculturalism, the granting of collective territorial rights for Afrocolombians, the establishment of state agencies in charge of Afrocolombian issues, and the creation of two special seats in Congress, multicultural reforms in Colombia have come short of delivering the promise of equality for Afrodescendants. In fact, nearly two decades after the constitutional reform that gave rise to multicultural rights in Colombia, it is clear that increased visibility and political participation has come at the cost of state cooptation of Afrocolombian social movements. Given Colombia’s long history of clientelism and

corporativism in national party politics, this direct form of cooptation should come as no surprise.

In this paper, I wish to focus on an additional dimension of state intervention in black politics that is occurring in Colombia: indirect ideological cooptation. In addition to the direct cooptation that occurs through the selective inclusion of black activists, tokenism, and the monitoring of institutions, intervention in the agendas of those people and organizations who remain “outside” the state is indirectly taking place. I argue that after the brief period of triumphant ethnic politics for Afrocolombians in the 1990s, the inauguration of Uribe’s *Política de Seguridad Democrática* and the escalation of the armed conflict shifted the terms under which the state recognizes and grants rights for Afrocolombians. Briefly put, the discourse of human rights has replaced the prior dominant discourse of ethnic rights, and state funding priorities have changed accordingly. In response, black activists and organizations have been forced to frame their demands in the language of human rights, stressing their condition as “victims of the war,” and as “vulnerable or at risk populations” rather than in making reference to their right to cultural difference. While this has admittedly created some unforeseen opportunities for political participation and activists have creatively made use of newly created spaces to pursue their own agendas, the overall effect has been a shift from the more stable recognition of ethnic difference to the transitory recognition of misfortune. In practice, this constitutes a form of cooptation of Afrocolombian ideologies because it successfully folds the black social movements’ demands in with the objectives of “national security” as defined by the state.

The Afroecuadorian Social Movement: Between Empowerment and Cooptation

Carlos de la Torre, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), Quito, Ecuador

This paper compares the relationship between the state and the Afroecuadorian movement in two historical periods. The first is characterized by multicultural neoliberalism (1990-2006), while the second could be called left wing postneoliberalism (2007-present).

The paper explores the strategies of movement organizations and of state officials that seek to include and incorporate the Afroecuadorian movement in the apparatus of the state. In the period of multicultural neoliberalism, Afroecuadorians were recognized their collective rights. State institutions were created to promote the agenda of the movement. Under the left wing government of Rafael Correa, the movement furthered its agenda for an improved recognition of collective rights in the 2008 Constitution, and pushed for the adoption of a law of affirmative action. The government also appointed leaders of the movement as Ministers and to other visible positions. How are we to evaluate the accomplishments of the Afroecuadorian social movement and the cost it incurred for seeking corporatist inclusion? Is this corporativism a state strategy to control and supervise the movement? Is this the only path available to movement organizers to push for their agenda of cultural, and social inclusion? What are the relationships between the indigenous and the Afroecuadorian movements?

In order to answer these questions, I analyze the political trajectories of activists who I interviewed in 2000 and who currently serve in the government of Rafael Correa. I also examine the recent archives of the movement to find out if and how their agenda has shifted over time. Finally, I focus on the *Secretaría de Pueblos, Movimientos Sociales y Participación Ciudadana* (Ministry for the Peoples, Social Movements and Citizen Participation), the state institution that works with Indigenous peoples and black organizations, to determine if it is coopting

autonomous ethnic organizations or on the contrary if it is helping to construct the agenda of a multicultural society?

From Black Councils to the Federal Special Secretariat for Policies that Promote Racial Equality: New Identities of the Black Brazilian Movement

Dr. Joselina da Silva, *Universidade Federal do Ceará, Campus avançado do Cariri, Brazil*

Several historical moments contributed directly to the formation of new social movements. They gave visibility to the "ineffectiveness" of the traditional forms of political representation in the face of new social agendas. As a result, the influence of social movements has brought substantial changes in public attitudes and thoughts. In the Brazilian case, given the numerous theories that assert the absence of racial tensions, the black social movement has become, over time, a catalyst for actions geared to denounce the existence of racism and racial discrimination. The history of the black social movement in Brazil, in the 20th century, may be said to have begun with the emergence of the black press produced in São Paulo in the first decade of the 1900s. It was followed by the creation of the *Frente Negra Brasileira* (Black Brazilian Front) in the 1930s and of new organizations that brought about what has been called "the fight against racism" from the 1940s until today. One of the significant political consequences of this earlier black activism was the creation of the *Conselhos da Comunidade Negra* (Black Community Councils) or *Secretarias de Desenvolvimento da Comunidade Negra* (Departments of Black Community Development) within state or local governments in several regions of the country, from the 1980s on. The very first one was the *Conselho de Participação da Comunidade Negra do Estado de São Paulo* (the State of São Paulo Council of Black Community Participation) founded in 1984, and which included a total of 37 members, coming from government agencies and civil society. Soon after, in 1991 in Rio de Janeiro, was established a *Secretaria Extraordinária de Defesa e Promoção das Populações Negras / SEDEPRON* (Extraordinary Secretariat for the Defence and Promotion of the Black Populations). As a result, new similar government bodies emerged in different parts of the country. More recently, the *Secretaria Especial de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial / SEPPIR*. (Special Secretariat for Policies to Promote Racial Equality) was established by the federal government in 2003. Its special mission is to establish initiatives against racial inequality and monitor the implementation of policies that promote racial equality, through—among other things—the adoption of affirmative action policies.

This essay has for objective to interpret the meaning of the actions of social agents in the field of race relations, especially within government agencies. My findings stem from a research project that seeks to analyze the new black social movements and their networks that developed during the struggles against racism and racial discrimination, and which is entitled "Black Social Movement within the Apparatus of the State: Brazilian perspectives." This is an ongoing investigation conducted within the Brazilian, Latin American and Caribbean Center for Studies in Race Relations, Gender and Social Movements (N'BLAC), which is based at the *Universidade Federal do Ceará, Campus avançado do Cariri, Brazil*.

Estado e Movimentos Sociais no Brasil: Uma Análise Sobre Participação de Intelectuais Negros em Órgãos Estatais.

Carlos Benedito Rodrigues da Silva, Universidade Federal do Maranhão

Pretendo apresentar neste artigo, uma breve análise sobre as trajetórias do movimento negro no Brasil, tecendo considerações sobre os mecanismos acionados, individual ou coletivamente pelos negros brasileiros no enfrentamento com as práticas discriminatórias. No primeiro momento, procuro analisar o processo organizativo desse movimento em suas especificidades no contexto dos movimentos sociais. Posteriormente, traçarei considerações sobre a atuação de ativistas oriundos das organizações nos órgãos estatais, visando debater as consequências dessas atuações. Se elas contribuem para o redimensionamento das políticas públicas afirmativas, ou para a fragmentação do movimento social negro.

This event is open to all FIU and non-FIU Students and to the entire community.

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