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# Institutional Quilombos? Black Studies in Brazil and the United States

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# INSTITUTIONAL QUILOMBOS?

# BLACK STUDIES IN BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES

by

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ABSTRACT

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The literature on Black Studies, Afro-Brazilian Studies and Comparative Race Relations between Brazil and the United State has been dedicated to the study of Black activism and education. However, there is a gap in comparative studies focused on Black Studies units in the United States and Afro-Brazilian studies in Brazil. The dissertation "Institutional Quilombos? Black Studies in Brazil and the United States" investigates how Black Studies centers and departments in Brazil and the United States exist, survive and act politically as educational and anti-racist spaces in six different institutions: the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee; Harvard University; Temple University; the University of Brasilia (Universidade de Brasilia); the Federal University of Bahia (Universidade Federal da Bahia); the Federal University of Parana (Universidade Federal do Parana). The research is based on a web-based survey about Black Studies in Brazil, maps of Black Studies units in Brazil and the United States, and in-depth interviews of 25 professors. Relying on these interviews, the dissertation examines debates about the identity of Black Studies units, institutional racism in universities, and Black Studies units solutions to the challenge of being a Black space within predominantly white universities. Finally, I discuss the concept of an institutional quilombo as a goal of Black Studies.

To the Black youth of Brazil and the United States whose radical dreams shook the structures of the most conservative and innovative institution: the university.

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# CHAPTER 1

## Introduction

"One day, I was reading at my desk in the African and African Diaspora studies department at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee when someone came in from a locked door. I was keeping the door locked since a university security guard had shot Irie Payne, a Black man who had been sleeping in the Fine Arts building the week before. Three white men, each around 50-years old, wearing suits, entered my office. They had keys to all the doors in the department, and they came in like it was their office. One of them sounded like he was lecturing to the others: "here is the deposit." However, he was pointing to a professor's office; "this other room is empty." It was an office a visiting scholar was using. "Oh, man! Here are graduate students' offices. It was crazy here (…) these units used to be heated and air conditioned. But the air conditioner broke." They left, laughing about my office. They never introduced themselves, neither did I. I was not shocked, nor surprised by white people's disregard of Black spaces. However, when I moved to the United States, two years before, I believed this type of mistreatment was not as common in the United States as it was in Brazil. I used to see Black America as this wealthy cousin that could lend us some money. I remember talking about my research project with a research committee in Brazil and having to explain what Afro-Brazilian studies was to the faculty of a Brazilian university which has an Afro-Brazilian studies nuclei."

Dalila Negreiros' Ethnographic notes from March 2019

Black Studies programs, centers, and departments were created in the United States in the 1960s as an institutional response to demands for change in universities (Biondi, 2012; Harris Jr, 2004; Holloway and Keppel, 2007, Marable, 2000). In the case of Brazil, Afro-Brazilian studies became an institutional space within universities in 1959 when the *Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais* (Center of Afro-Oriental Studies) was created at the Federal University of Bahia (Oliveira Jr., 2010; Telles, 2004; Reis, 2017*)*. The presence of Black people at the university as intellectuals was the outcome of an intense political struggle in Brazil and the United States. Racial barriers created historical inequalities for the Black population in both countries. Black movements responded to the societal effects of inequality and institutions that perpetuated inequality by fighting racism in distinct ways. There have been historical demands to address inequalities. There has also been a demand to rescue, value, and center African ancestry, history, culture, and science. As a place of knowledge, higher education plays a central role in the agenda

of Black movements in both countries. In Brazil, there were demands for access to education in the early 2000s, during the institutionalization of affirmative action programs. At the same time, in both countries, activists expected education to play a role in an anti-racist agenda. In Brazil and the United States, Black movements demanded more Black representation in universities. They had an ambitious agenda of combating Eurocentrism and racism, promoting inclusion and advocating that universities present solutions to the problems Black communities faced, rather than promoting theories that stigmatized Blacks and viewed them as a social problem.

As the quote in the introduction of this chapter indicates, my research is focused on Black Studies and Afro-Brazilian studies units. In the early 2000s, like most Black student-activists in Brazil, I did not have the opportunity to choose an undergraduate major in Afro-Brazilian studies. The first undergraduate Afro-Brazilian studies degree was created in 2018. For this reason, I decided to pursue a Black Studies degree in the United States. Unfortunately, at the time, I believed the United States would be more technologically advanced and much of the intellectual advancement I expected was rooted in European intellectual traditions. I thought Black Studies in the United States would be "more advanced," recognized and prestigious than in Brazil. In the United States, Black Studies programs are a discipline. There are bachelor’s, master's, and doctoral degrees in Black Studies. While Afro-Brazilian studies are an interdisciplinary field, which means, it is an area of specialization within traditional disciplines. There is one undergraduate degree granting program in Afro-Brazilian studies and there is mention of Afro-Brazilian Studies as a thematic area in some interdisciplinary graduate programs. However, the reality of Black Studies units challenged my perception about Black institutional spaces in predominantly white institutions, as many of my experiences conducting research in the United States reminded me of Afro-Brazilian intellectual struggles. Black Studies

centers and departments have different responsibilities than other departments. For example, they offer courses on Black intellectual traditions and other fields in the social sciences and humanities, while also holding universities accountable as they challenge racism and Eurocentrism in academia. Similarly, Afro-Brazilian studies units combine academic responsibilities with policies such as implementing affirmative action in universities. However, as spaces within institutions, these centers, programs, and departments often have ontological limitations. How can they combat racism within these institutions? What kind of resources are these institutions willing to give to Black Studies centers and departments? These questions highlight how these spaces respond to the need for Black representation, and how they also operate within specific structures in each institution.

Black intellectual scholarship in search of solutions to the problems of Black communities point to deep challenges. The history of radicalism in Black activism and Black Studies differs. Should Black communities live in a permanent state of rebellion, even though many rebellions are squandered by hegemonic power? Is it possible to challenge societal institutions from the inside out? In the educational debate, the issue of challenging racial and white hegemonic power is even more complex. Challenging segregated spaces and seeking equality are fundamental to the fight for civil rights. In the past, segregation was not simply an instrument of disinvestment in Black communities (Sugrue, 2008). Black spaces also created the opportunity for community building and the creation of epistemologies went beyond official history (Walker, 1996).

Similarly, Black Studies in white dominated institutions have given rise to Black creative expression and radical Black thought. Yet, today the field of Black Studies faces the threat of its existence in a neoliberal climate that promotes a client-based model that affects American

universities. Black Studies departments also face challenges from conservative groups that do not want educational institutions to teach Black history. Budget cuts have led to the closing of departments and programs, which can result in job insecurity for Black scholars. Since the economic crisis of 2007, a number of changes affected the organization of universities such as the increasing salaries of administrators to the detriment of basic service workers such as janitors. In addition, universities hired part-time, rather than full time faculty (Hamer & Lang, 2015). In 2019, Dr. Jack Thomas, the first Black president of Western Illinois University resigned, due to pressure from internal bodies such as the Alumni Council, which blamed him for the decline in student enrollment since the start of his presidency (Jones, 2019). In September 2021, classes deemed as critical race theory or those that question the implicit racial bias of American society were forbidden in eight states: Idaho, Arizona, Texas, Oklahoma, Iowa, Tennessee, South Carolina, and New Hampshire (Ray and Gibbons, 2021). In 2021, Nikole Hannah-Jones, creator of "The 1619 Project," was denied tenure at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill (Richards, 2021). The decision was later overturned, but Hannah-Jones left UNC-Chapel Hill for the HBCU, Howard University. Over the last several years, Afro-Brazilian studies have faced similar challenges. The government's higher education budget has been reduced by 37% (Oliveira, 2021). Since 2014, instead of implementing quotas for faculty, Brazilian universities circumvented the law, thus avoiding an increase in the number of Black professors (Mello and Resende, 2019).

Black Studies units in Brazil and in the United States face challenges due to country-specific changes in universities and the economic climate in these countries. Considering that Black Studies centers and departments are both internal and external spaces of universities, I am interested in whether Black Studies spaces are institutional *quilombos.* The term institutional

*quilombo* is an ontological contradiction. *Quilombos* are similar to Cimarron communities in Colombia, formed by Black Africans who fled slavery and resisted white dominance while seeking freedom. Quilombos were established in Brazil in the 16th century with the arrival of enslaved people who fled and created self-autonomous communities. Therefore, *quilombos* are, by definition, anti-establishment and have a contentious relationship with the State (Silva, 2019). However, *quilombos* are also a philosophical idea within Black epistemologies (Nascimento, 1980; Ratts, 2006). The idea of building an eminently Black space of freedom created a political struggle within a white supremacist territory. This freedom and struggle was part of the Black experience in Brazil and the United States. Between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century in the United States, the Black freedom struggle has been organized through a myriad of methods with diverse groups and coalitions including Blacks, interracial groups, and women. Several Black-led organizations have also advocated for Black rights, and they include organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), the Black Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) (Sugrue, 2008; White, 1999). However, not every Black experience exemplifies the notion of *quilombo*. The Black struggle for freedom is not monolithic. Nevertheless, leftist and radical experiences have been overlooked in the historiography of the African American struggle (Dawson, 2013; James, 1997; Joseph, 2006). It is difficult to accurately describe the political and institutional place of Black intellectuals. While some may be viewed as having radical thought, this seems an inherent contradiction for Black intellectuals within predominantly white universities (Asante, 2003; Carneiro, 2006; Cruse, 1976). Therefore, I define institutional quilombos as established spaces within universities conquered by Black intellectuals that enable

the strengthening and recognition of the research agenda of Black Studies and Afro-Brazilian Studies, and that relate to or promote debates about radical Black epistemologies and currents of Black thought. The term "institutional" refers to the institutionalization of a unit, that is, a formally created space with a specific function in relation to Black Studies or Afro-Brazilian Studies. Thus, informal spaces, although relevant, cannot be described as such. Also, this institutionalization is part of a movement that challenges academic Eurocentrism in both countries. The term "quilombo" connects those spaces with Black radical traditions that challenge racism, capitalism and sexism.

One important question is, if Black scholars successfully create and maintain Black spaces, will these places be places of prestige and advancement in the academic careers of Black faculty in the centers and departments as they are for white scholars? Would these spaces only be partially supported by the university and carry the stigma of including activists who are not scholars? Will they simply be a small and often overlooked unit at the university to provide diversity? In 2020, Shardé Davis and Joy Melody Woods, two black women scholars, created the hashtag #BlackInTheIvory to share Black intellectuals' experiences in academia. The use of the hashtag revealed daily experiences of institutional racism, unpaid work, constraints for junior scholars and greater barriers for Black women intellectuals to gain tenure which offers more stability (Subbaraman, 2020). It showed that some of the challenges Black intellectuals faced in the 1960s are not very different from today's challenges. Black professors are in an inferior position, as they are sometimes silenced and denied tenure even when they outperform white scholars.

Black intellectuals in Brazil face similar challenges. In 2020, Brazil did not conduct its national census because of a lack of funds (Zanfer, 2021). Public universities, which are

responsible for most of the academic research in Brazil, have experienced continuous attacks on funding (G1, 2021; Redação RBA, 2019). While Brazilian universities offer an opportunity for Black social mobility, they are under attack in Brazil. In addition, the promise of inclusion and economic mobility that affirmative action was expected to provide, is yet to be fulfilled. In the decades prior to affirmative action, a slow and gradual process of curricular debate was waged on Afro-Brazilian studies. This debate was fought in a specific context in which white intellectuals were gatekeepers of Afro-Brazilian studies. However, Black intellectuals claimed this institutional space as their numbers increased in universities from the 1970s onward. It is questionable whether Black intellectuals are leaders in the field of Black Studies. It is not clear if the university is a place for Black advancement, especially in predominantly white institutions. Another important question is whether Black Studies are changing the university as they originally intended or if they are being changed by the university.

The impact of Black Studies depends on the history of its creation and institutionalization. If the university is not changing because of Black Studies and the Black intellectuals in them, what is changing? Are these departments and centers pushing the universities to be more inclusive and diverse? Black movement activists who advocated for Black inclusion sought an increase in Black faculty and students. However, considering the current financial challenges pre and post-Covid-19, are universities capable of creating change? This project seeks to understand the specific challenges Black Studies and Afro-Brazilian studies face, and if Black Studies are institutional quilombos and whether they are radical, conservative, or if they politically challenge the universities.

### 1.1 Statement of the Problem and Purpose of the Study

In this dissertation, I examine how Black Studies centers and departments in Brazil and the United States exist, survive and act politically as educational and anti-racist spaces in six different institutions: the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee; Harvard University; Temple University; the University of Brasilia (Universidade de Brasilia); the Federal University of Bahia (Universidade Federal da Bahia); and the Federal University of Parana (Universidade Federal do Parana).

My research question is, 'What techniques and strategies do Black Studies centers and departments employ to exist and survive in predominantly white institutions in Brazil and the United States?' My hypothesis is that Black Studies centers and departments are "institutional *quilombos*", therefore act politically as educational and anti-racist spaces. As a *quilombo*, they enable the collective construction of a Black space that, by strengthening itself in the Black community, creates its own Black community within the academy.

To effectively answer my research question, I analyze the history of these centers and departments in parallel with the history of Black Studies and Afro-Brazilian studies. The history of these universities give context to the challenges of the institutionalization of Black Studies. I also provide a literature review that highlights the genesis of Black Studies in the United States in the 1960s, as well as the field's relationship with contemporary movements such as the Black Lives Matter movement. It is important to highlight the relationship established between local Black movements and Black struggle, and efforts to establish Black Studies in universities. Despite being a phenomenon that occurs in the institutional environment of universities, Black Studies units are also the result of spatial dynamics in which Black movements in Brasília, Boston, Curitiba, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, and Salvador had extensive participation. In the case

of Brazil, the relationship between white and Black intellectuals inside and outside the field set the tone for the institutional debate over Afro-Brazilian studies. In the 2000s, debates on affirmative action were the main policy debate in higher education. My historical research also introduces the challenges Black Studies centers and departments face in universities in the United States and Brazil. In the United States, Black Studies centers sought departmental status to acquire autonomy. Another strategy used notably at Temple University and the UW-Milwaukee, was the creation of graduate programs to institutionalize the department and to legitimize Black Studies as a field. Despite the existence of programs, nuclei, laboratories and centers, there were no Afro-Brazilian studies departments in Brazilian institutions surveyed. In fact, one of the goals of this project is to gain a better understanding of Afro-Brazilian studies units relying on an original survey. Finally, the qualitative research investigated the challenges, survival techniques, similarities and differences between Black Studies units in Brazil and the United States.

### 1.2 Site Selection

Given the limitations of the research, I selected a sample of six institutions. The sample was chosen to provide a comparison of institutions in both countries, the history of Black movements in relation to advocating for Black Studies, and the diversity of the field. In the case of the United States, there are 361 institutions with Black Studies departments, centers, and programs (Alkalimat, 2013). I used two criteria to reduce the sample, which were the status of the department and the existence of a doctoral program (Edozie, 2012; Reid-Merritt & Mazama, 2018; Smith, 1971). In scholarly literature on Black Studies, both criteria are commonly considered as indicators of institutionalization and the strength of the department. Additionally, political orientation and type of appointment of faculty and certification of the program were

categories for inclusion in the study (Boyd, 2000; Marable, 2000; Small, 1999). These criteria resulted in the inclusion of Harvard University, Temple University, and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. In the case of Brazil, the current literature does not have any published work on the number and type of Afro-Brazilian studies units in the current literature (Lima, 2012; Passos, 2006). The only criterion adopted was the date of creation of the units, thus I included the Federal University of Bahia, the University of Brasília, and the Federal University of Paraná.

### 1.3 Significance of the Dissertation

The United States and Brazil have a legal framework of racial policies to address educational inequality. Black Studies is an area of knowledge, and as such, is a result of scholarship produced by intellectuals within this area of knowledge. However, as a response to the demand for inclusion and diversity in universities, Black Studies are not only departments, faculty, and students but are also included in policies carried out by public and private bodies. I argue that they function to carry out public policies, therefore it is important that Black Studies be analyzed in relation to the goals they established. Furthermore, these spaces need to be examined due to the specific institutional difficulties they face in the institutions that host them. I argue the creation of Black Studies departments is a public policy of inclusion within a broad perspective of racial equality and education policies. It is important to understand the debates around the creation of these six departments and centers, how they work, the challenges they face and the strategies they develop to demonstrate that Black Studies departments are an important instrument of public policy. Another benefit of the research is to make visible the relevancy of the work of these centers and departments. The recent increased interest in Black Studies and anti-racist scholarship is an example of its relevance.

Although the African American experience is widely cited in the discussion of affirmative action in Brazil, there are not many comparative studies about other types of racial equality policies for Afro-descendants. Comparing Black Studies in the United States to Afro-Brazilian studies highlights similarities and differences in the point of view and strategies of scholars, activists, and decision-makers. Country-specific solutions to deal with the same problems have great potential for providing strategies for the implementation of Black Studies. In the United States based literature, there are some general studies about the history of Black Studies departments and many case studies about specific university departments. In the case of Brazil, there are some studies, including case studies on Afro-Brazilian studies centers. However, in both countries, there are no comparative studies on Black Studies departments in the United States and Afro-Brazilian studies centers in Brazil. My research is the first comparative study on Black Studies departments and centers in Brazil and the United States.

This study is important because it highlights Black survival techniques in privileged spaces such as the university. Focusing on the university reveals different aspects of Black people's work of Black people, often invisible both as intellectuals and as activists. A comparative analysis reveals how two diasporic countries use education to further a Black agenda. Transnational dialogue has the potential to highlight patterns and trends in the field, as well as to present new solutions to shared challenges. This work is a first step in the comparison between Black Studies centers and departments in the two countries. However, it is also a continuity of comparative studies on race. The field of comparative race studies in the United States and Brazil is prolific and comprehensive.

The study brings visibility to understudied spaces such as the African and African Diaspora studies department at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and the Nuclei of Afro-

Brazilian Studies at the University of Brasília. It provides an updated overview of the number and definition of Afro-Brazilian studies units, as well as adds to previous comparative studies of Black Studies such as Mario Smalls'(1999) "Departmental conditions and the emergence of new disciplines: Two cases in the legitimation of African-American Studies," William Smith's (1971) "Black Studies: A Survey of Models and Curricula," and Farah Jasmine Griffin's (2007) "Inclusive Scholarship : Developing Black Studies in the United States : a 25th Anniversary Retrospective of Ford Foundation Grant Making."

### 1.4 Theoretical Framework

This research is qualitative and quantitative. I employ three theoretical frameworks which include African diaspora theory, *Quilombismo* and Black feminism. I rely on African diaspora theory to demonstrate a parallel development of Black Studies in Brazil and the United States. I apply the concept of *Amefricanidade* of the Afro-Brazilian intellectual and activist Lélia Gonzalez to lay the foundation for comparative study of Brazil and the United States, thus seeking a non-hierarchical comparison. Yet, *amefricanidade* also encompasses analysis that conclude that the strategies developed to overcome racial discrimination may have similar and different patterns of development. In the United States, the Black Studies movement had a specific genesis in the 1960s; and it is embedded in debates of Black power with clear leadership from Black students. In the case of Brazil, the creation of Afro-Brazilian studies was the outcome of white scholars who attempted to produce a distinct Brazilian social science. However, Black intellectual ideas were present from the beginning of the field although Black intellectuals were a minority. Over time, Black scholars continuously reframed the field and reclaimed leadership. There have been changing racial dynamics within the field, but white

intellectuals remain in leading positions. While I locate this research within a tradition of comparative racial studies between Brazil and the United States, I present a distinctive epistemology from the traditions of Afro-Brazilian studies and Black Studies. I applied Abdias do Nascimento's *Quilombismo* as an epistemology and political framework, capable of reconciling the anti-racist struggle with the construction of a society that would overcome the social, economic, and unequal political dynamics of capitalism. I included Black feminist epistemology as well because of its analytical framework to analyze universities. In dialogue with Afro-Brazilian scholars, Black feminist concepts such as Sueli Carneiro's epistemicide and African American scholar Patricia Hill Collins' "outsider within," I analyze the political relationships established by Black Studies units in universities.

In dialogue with these theoretical frameworks, I explore specific paradigms in dialogue with the work of authors discussed in the literature review. In order to distinguish the two different ideological tendencies within Black Studies, I suggest the revolutionary approach, which focuses on the origin of Black Studies in connection to Black Power movements (Asante, 2009; Biondi, 2012; Bobo, 2004; Holloway & Keppel, 2007; Marable, 2000, 2005; Thewell,1970; Van Horne, 2007) and the institutional approach, in which intellectuals are more concerned with legitimacy and, in many cases, sought the *modus operandi* of the departments of Black Studies to those of other traditional departments (Gates & Marable, 2000; Glasker, 2002; Itibari, 2012, Jones, 2008; Reid-Merritt, 2018). In the case of Afro-Brazilian studies, I agree with Edward Telles's (2006) distinction of race relations. In *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*, Telles notes that, at its inception, Afro-Brazilian studies had a focus on cultural studies, but later this focus was shifted to race relations studies. I disagree with the idea that one approach eclipsed the other. On the contrary, even today the two

approaches coexist in the field. I align myself with Black intellectuals such as Alex Ratts in *Eu Sou Atlântica*, who seek to establish an intellectual historiography to reveal the contribution of Black intellectuals, especially Black women, who are overlooked in establishing the canon of Afro-Brazilian studies. Finally, applying African diaspora theory, I propose the paradigm of difference and the paradigm of similarity to classify comparative race relations studies in Brazil and the United States. The paradigm of difference describes the difference between Brazil and the United States as a research premise, while the paradigm of similarity effectively investigates similarities and differences between race relations in Brazil and the United States. The paradigm of similarity compares race relations establishing similarities or differences as research hypotheses.

### 1.5 Dissertation Outline

This dissertation is organized into eight chapters. First, I outline the research. Then I present the epistemologies, and paradigms that frame the literature, the research methods and premises. Two chapters focus on historical research, one specific to American institutions, and another specific to Brazilian institutions. The quantitative part of the research is summarized in a chapter detailing the findings of the survey on Afro-Brazilian studies and an analysis of the cartography of Black Studies in Brazil and the United States. The subsequent chapters focus on the findings from interviews followed by the conclusion. I present an overview of the contents of the chapters.

Chapter 2 is a literature review and timeline of Black Studies and Afro-Brazilian studies. It also provides an analysis of Brazil-United States comparative race relations studies. I argue Black Studies served as a political and intellectual instrument to overcome racism inside and outside of the university and the institutionalization debates internally polarized the field based

on the revolutionary and institutional approaches. Then I present a timeline of the development of the field considering its genesis in the 1960s, its institutionalization and growth in the 1970s, the 1980s neoliberal crisis in universities which culminated with the attack on affirmative action policies in the 1990s,  and the contemporary challenges Black movements such as Black Lives Matter face. In the section on Afro-Brazilian studies, there is a debate about white and Black intellectuals in the field. This debate is also reflected in the field's theoretical approaches. I propose a timeline for Afro-Brazilian studies linking its origins in the 1930s, when Black intellectuals struggled to reclaim the field in the 1970s and 1980s, to the emergence of racial equality policies in the 2000s that impacted the field. Finally, I discuss how my research contributes to comparative race relations studies on Brazil and the United States.

Chapter Three introduces my methodological approach which is based on three epistemologies including African Diaspora Theory, *Quilombismo* and Black Feminism. The chapter is organized into five parts which are positionality, conducting research during the covid-19 pandemic in Brazil and the United States, epistemology, qualitative and quantitative methods, and the limitations of the research. In this chapter I outline the consequences of my positionality as a Black woman and activist. I address the consequences that the Covid-19 pandemic had on conducting research. I present the qualitative methods utilized which include case study analysis, archival work, and in-depth interviews. In addition, I introduce the limitations of quantitative research which in this case is based on an online survey and GSS-created maps.

Chapter 4, entitled "The Historical Context of Black Studies Departments and Centers in the United States," explores the history of the African and African American Studies Department at Harvard University, the Africology and African American Studies Department at Temple University and the African and African Diaspora Studies Department at the University of

Wisconsin-Milwaukee. I focus on Black people's participation in the creation and development of these departments. There is also a discussion of the interfaces between Black Studies and Black mobilization in Boston, Philadelphia, and Milwaukee. Subsequently, I present a timeline of the creation of Black Studies based on institutionalization and events of the time. In the case of American institutions, the timeline of Black Studies is longer than Brazil considering Black history in institutions such as Harvard University which had enslaved Black people on campus. Black history at universities also involves other forms of violence such as the violent repression of Black activists in Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Madison, and Oshkosh in Wisconsin.

In chapter 5, there is a historical account of the creation of the Center of Afro-Asian Studies and the Multidisciplinary Graduate Program in Ethnic and African Studies at the Federal University of Bahia, the Nuclei of Afro-Brazilian Studies at the Federal University of Paraná, and the Nuclei of Afro-Brazilian Studies at the University of Brasília. These centers and nuclei were created in 1959, 1986, and 2004 respectively and align with important moments in the political action of Black movements focused on higher education. The University of Brasília played a prominent role in the affirmative action debate. Black intellectuals also played a key role during the incorporation of pioneering institutions such as the Federal University of Paraná and the Federal University of Bahia. These three universities underwent important changes as affirmative action debates developed. In the cases of the University of Brasília and the University of Paraná, those debates strengthened and created spaces for Afro-Brazilian studies.

Chapter 6 delves into the cartographical representation of Black and Afro-Brazilian Studies units in Brazil and in the United States. There are 133 Afro-Brazilian studies units in higher education institutions, including 96 in public universities, 5 in private universities, and 32 in federal technological institutes. Thirty-two percent of Afro-Brazilian studies units are

concentrated in the Southeast, followed by the Northeast with 28%, the South with 20%, the Midwest with 12% and the North with 10% of the units. In general, the Southern region of Brazil is predominantly white, while the Northeast is predominantly Black. In the case of the United States, maps were developed relying on Alkalimat's (2013) data. The maps reveal the geographic concentration of Black Studies units in the Northeast and California, a western state, which increases the number of units in the Western region, while the South and Midwest states have a moderate number of units. Interestingly, most Black Americans live in the Southern region of the United States.

In chapter 7, I analyze the in-depth interviews of key stakeholders such as current faculty and retired faculty. The chapter highlights the institutional identities, curriculum, scholarship, relationship to activism and the Black community and institutional racism. I find evidence of scarcity politics in which universities consistently deprive Black Studies departments, centers, and nuclei. Financial constraints lead to precarious situations where professors are unpaid volunteers teaching classes for free, or in the case of the United States, retired faculty are never replaced. This creates problems in departments. Nonetheless, there are survival strategies and, in some cases, an expansion of the field, where there are cooperative international activities, partnerships with the State Public Prosecutor's Office and the secretariats of education, and the gradual "blackening" of some spaces in Brazilian universities. The outlier is a small percentage of faculty participants from Harvard University, which was the only institution where respondents did not mention financial problems.

In the concluding chapter, I propose opportunities for Black Studies units which have been created during the pandemic. The financial constraints of cross collaboration in the intellectual exchange between scholars in Brazil and American universities have been lowered

as seminars, workshops, and conferences have been moved online. While the cycle of financial limitations and racial strife continues, scholars have been creatively engaged in methods to sustain and grow Black Studies. I also propose some policy solutions to support the sustainability of Black Studies programs.

# CHAPTER 2

## Literature Review

The main goal of "Institutional Quilombos? Black Studies in Brazil and the United States" is to examine how Black Studies centers and departments in Brazil and the United States exist, survive, and act politically as educational anti-racist spaces in six different institutions: (1) the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee; (2) Harvard University; (3) Temple University; (4) the University of Brasilia (Universidade de Brasilia); (5) the Federal University of Bahia (Universidade Federal da Bahia); and (6) the Federal University of Parana (Universidade Federal do Parana). Three theoretical premises undergird this research. First, this study is a transnational one. Second, it engages debates that span Black Studies and Afro-Brazilian Studies, both of which are academic fields born from critiques of traditional sciences. Third, this dissertation centers the notion of *quilombo* in the scholarly conversation on institutional spaces; in doing so, this study engages a wider dialogue with Black radical epistemologies. To carry out an analysis of institutional Black spaces within universities in Brazil and in the United States, I rely on different areas of knowledge. Afro-Brazilian studies are an interdisciplinary area of knowledge (Bastide 1973; Oliveira 2019; Sansone 2012). In the United States, Black Studies are defined as a science, an outcome of Black activism and an institutional space (Asante 2009; Biondi 2012; Bobo 2004; Marable 2000; Thelwell 1970). Furthermore, researchers from different areas of knowledge have compared race relations in Brazil and the United States for over a hundred years (Alberto 2017; Du Bois 2001; Schueler 2016). However, Afro-Brazilian Studies and Black Studies have different contexts, timelines, and debates. Therefore, my literature review will cover three major themes which include United States Black Studies, Afro-Brazilian Studies, and comparative Brazil-United States race relations studies. In this literature review, I center the

debate on the creation and institutionalization of Black Studies departments in the United States (Biondi 2012; Harris 2004; Holloway and Keppel 2007; Marable 2000; Thelwell 1970), the creation of the field of Afro-Brazilian Studies (Bastide 1973; Carneiro 1968; Oliveira 2004), the emergence of race relations in Afro-Brazilian Studies (Barbosa 2006; Gomes 2013; Gonzalez 1988; Maio 1997; Oliveira 2007), Black intellectuals criticism of Afro-Brazilian Studies (Martins et al. 2015; Ratts 2009, 2011; Santos 2011), and the similarities and differences in race relations between Black and white people in the United States and Brazil (Degler 1971; Gonzalez and Hasenbalg 1982; Hanchard 1994; Lamont et al. 2016; Marx 1998; Moura 1994; Vargas 2003, 2018).

In the debate on Black Studies in the United States, I identify two major approaches, which I call the *revolutionary* approach and the *institutional* approach. The revolutionary approach highlights the relationship between Black Studies and the Black Power movement and therefore, engage a Black revolutionary agenda (Asante 2009; Biondi 2012; Brown 2007; Marable 2005; Rooks 2006). In contrast, the institutional approach focuses on Black Studies within academic institutions and focuses on challenges to institutionalization (Itibari 2012; Jones 2008; Marable 2000; Reid-Merritt 2018). Afro-Brazilian studies have been analyzed through the culturalist approach, which focuses on Afro-Brazilian culture and the paradigm of Africanity (Bastide 1973; Olivera 2017; Oliveira 2004, Telles 2006); and the last approach is race relations (Barbosa 2006; Gomes 2013; Gonzalez 1988; Maio 1997; Oliveira 2007). Race relations in Brazil have been analyzed, in two different paradigms, that I call the paradigm of similarity (Daniel 2006; Gonzalez and Hasenbalg 1982; Lamont et al. 2016; Marx 1998; Vargas 2003, 2018), and the paradigm of difference (Andrews 1985, Degler 1971; Hanchard 1994; Moura 1994; Nogueira 2006).

The literature helps us to understand the formation of Black Studies in the United States, and its expansion and institutionalization from the 1960s to 2000s, as well as the current challenges to the field in the Black Lives Matter era. This literature review also examines the creation of Afro-Brazilian Studies, which involved debates on culturalism and race relations research. Finally, comparative race relations scholarship highlights similarities and differences in racial identity, racial equality policies and Black movements in the United States and Brazil. There are some gaps in the literature as there is an absence of comparison between Black Studies in the United States and Afro-Brazilian Studies. In the Brazilian literature, there are ruptures in the timeline. Some Afro-Brazilian Studies historians date the field's creation to the 1930s and date Black intellectuals involvement back to the 1970s. However, they do not further connect the scholarship with the current issues between Afro-Brazilian Studies and the university, represented by the Nuclei of Afro-Brazilian studies (NEABs).

NEABs are administrative units at universities aimed to provide institutional support to scholars in the field of Afro-Brazilian studies. NEABs are different from departments because NEABs do not have autonomy to hire professors and are often not an independent academic unit. There are NEABs linked to a university's administration, but it is a structure where professors and students interested on Afro-Brazilian studies gather. However, these professors and students are linked to a main department. NEABs are less expensive than a department or a center. An important shortcoming in building a timeline between these intellectual traditions is that one must note the race relations approach is epistemologically distinct from culturalism. Is there a transition from culturalism to race relations or do the two paradigms co-exist in the field? Is the second generation of race relations studies (Telles 2006) hegemonic in Afro-Brazilian Studies? Are Black intellectuals today the leaders of Afro-Brazilian Studies? How is this transition

reflected in Afro-Brazilian Studies institutions at universities? One of my research goals is to answer these questions by expanding the historical scope and timeline of Afro-Brazilian Studies so that it extends from the early 1930s through 2020.

In this literature review, I connect those timelines. Additionally, I made a concerted effort to engage Black scholars in the literature. Quite often, Afro-Brazilian Studies research disregards Black scholars. Notably, many of the so-called "stars" of the field are white intellectuals. The history and traditional structure of many universities present challenges to the presence of Black intellectuals in the academy; it has only been in the past 10 years that Brazil has implemented affirmative action policies and quotas for professors at universities. This disparity is also reflected in academic publications. In this sense, even bibliographical research requires researchers in the field to question the canon and conduct their own research that brings Black intellectuals to the center of the debate. My research contributes to published scholarship by investigating the contemporary challenges of Black Studies departments and centers. The transnational dialogue amplifies the scope of investigations about Black Studies centers and departments in Brazil and the United States.

This literature review is organized into three sections, each one dedicated to a particular field: (1) Black Studies in the United States, (2) Afro-Brazilian Studies, and (3) Comparative Race Studies between Brazil and the United States. In the first section, I present the main debates over the genesis and institutionalization of Black Studies in the United States. I then discuss the definitions of the field and the proposed timeline of the development of the field considering the historical background and development of the field from the 1960s to the 2010s. Next, I present the paradigms of the revolutionary and institutional approaches. I then present contemporary

challenges for the field, considering the Black Lives Matter era and the current state of higher education in the United States.

In the second section of the literature review, I present the debates about the creation and structure of Afro-Brazilian Studies as an academic field. This debate includes the perspectives of intellectuals responsible for founding the field as well as Black intellectual activists who were often excluded. This discussion segues into an exploration of the two most influential approaches of Afro-Brazilian Studies that despite analytical differences, were politically similar to the hegemony of white intellectuals in both approaches. Within this same section, I bring together discussions focusing on the first Afro-Brazilian Studies centers in the 1950s with discussions about the contemporary centers of the 2000s and 2010s. Finally, in the last and third section of this literature review, I focus on the comparative race relations studies between Brazil and the United States.

## 2.1 The Institutionalization of Black Studies in the United States

As a field of study, Black Studies has been defined, analyzed, and reframed with the intention of relying on a robust science to overcome racism (Asante 2009; Biondi 2012; Bobo 2004; Holloway and Keppel 2007; Marable 2000, 2005; Thelwell 1970; Van Horne 2007). As an academic discipline, Black Studies have several sub-areas. Intellectuals inside of Black Studies promote interdisciplinary and methodological dialogue. One important element of Black Studies is the definition of the Black struggle. Intellectuals from Black Studies traditions promote a pragmatic shift to approaches in social sciences that separated Black people and communities from the social problems they face because of racial discrimination (Du Bois 1994). Rather, Black Studies centers and departments were involved in Black mobilization that involved Black communities and they sought solutions to the problems Black people and communities faced.

Additionally, Black Studies also challenge the Eurocentric curriculum of universities and other educational institutions. The institutionalization of Black Studies was a challenging and complicated effort. Institutionalization is marked by debates about the genesis of the field, strategies to achieve stability, political trends, and deviations from the original intentions of the field. In this section, I will focus on debates about the definition and institutionalization of Black Studies. First, I examine how Black Studies scholars defined the field and determined its timeline. Black Studies is described as an area of knowledge (Biondi 2012; Cole 2004; Marable 2000; Gates and Marable 2000), a discipline (Asante 2009; Biondi 2012; Van Horne 2007), and an institutional space (Adams 1984; Bobo 2004; Glasker 2002; Jones 2008; Thelwell 1970). The definition is important to further compare if the institutions I chose in the sample fit those definitions. This definition can also illuminate different expectations of a department. Second, I identify two major approaches which I call the revolutionary approach and the institutional approach in the field of Black Studies. The revolutionary approach highlights the relationship between Black Studies and the Black Power movement. Therefore, Black Studies have a Black revolutionary agenda (Asante 2009; Biondi 2012; Brown 2007; Marable 2005; Rooks 2006). The institutional approach is focused on Black Studies as academic institutions or academic units seeking institutionalization within the larger university (Gates and Marable 2000; Glasker 2002; Itibari 2012; Jones 2008; Reid-Merritt 2018).

### 2.1.1 Definition and timeline

The definition of Black Studies includes convergences and differences. Scholars agreed Black Studies is a field dedicated to Black people, the Black struggle, and Black intellectual contributions. On the one hand, there is a debate about whether the field is a discipline that interacts with other fields (Asante 2009; Biondi 2012; Marable 2000, 2005; Van Horne 2007) or

if the field is multidisciplinary and complementary to the established traditional sciences (Akoma and Johnson 2010; Daniel 1980). Another debate is about the role of activism in defining the field and whether activism is inexplicably linked to the field or if it was only necessary at the outset and is now unsuitable to the professional (Adams 1984; Gates and Marable 2000) .

Authors such as Biondi (2012), Bobo (2004), Cole (2004), Marable (2000), and Thelwell (1970) define Black Studies as a tool to dismantle oppressive systems of knowledge at the university. However, authors such as Adams (1984) , Kilson (2006) and Gates and Marable (2000) criticize a political definition of the field and the unfair burden of intellectuals inside of Black Studies. In "Black Studies and the Racial Mountain," Marable believes Black Studies as a descriptive, corrective, and prescriptive science that seeks Black liberation through Black mobilization. Black Studies scholarship is politically oriented towards the struggle against white supremacy and originated from Black intellectual traditions. Authors Martha Biondi, Michael Thelwell, Johnnetta Cole, and Molefi Asante also framed Black Studies as an instrument of political struggle against racial oppression. Martha Biondi (2012) posits that Black Studies have a dependent relationship with the Black Power movement. The creation of an institutional space for Black Studies in universities was a result of structural conditions, such as the low number of Black students in predominantly white institutions, the students' demands for knowledge about and by Black people, and the previous existence of Black intellectual traditions. In *The Black Studies Reader* Jacqueline Bobo, Cynthia Hudley, and Claudine Michel define Black Studies as a socially engaged field that originated in a centenary intellectual tradition that challenges white male mainstream academic discourse. Akoma and Johnson (2010) define Black Studies as interdisciplinary in nature, the close relationship between Black Studies programs and departments and the Black community, and the opportunity for Black Studies units to become a

Black community inside of a university's campus. On the one hand, Biondi (2012) argued that Black Studies seek a paradigm shift towards the modus operandi of the university. This agenda included changing the curriculum and practices of the university. However, the specific role of Black Studies units in this change is questionable.

Black Studies was founded as an interdisciplinary area (Biondi 2012; Thelwell 1970). However, the development of a Black Studies epistemology led to a debate about its definition. Daniel (1980) finds that the debate about Black Studies as an academic discipline or an area of knowledge has been around since it was founded. Daniel (1980) concludes that the best term is discipline with an interdisciplinary view. Biondi (2012), Cole (2004), Marable (2000), and Gates Jr. (2000) define Black Studies as an interdisciplinary field. Marable (2000) and Biondi (2012) believe the multiplicity of perspectives is one of the strengths of Black Studies. Asante (2003) and Van Horne (2007) believed Black Studies should be considered a science which they called Africology. In the essay, "Africology: Considerations concerning a discipline", Winston Van Horne proposes that Black Studies be framed as a discipline named Africology. The discussion of the name of the field is embedded in debates about ideological affiliation and political orientations within the field (Asante 2009). In "Africology and the Puzzle of Nomenclature," Asante defends the use of the name Africology because that name indicates a science. There is both a concern about strengthening the field and maintaining control over the field. Asante (2009) believes it is important to differentiate Black Studies from any other field doing research on Black people. Van Horne (2007) posited that Africology was an interdisciplinary science. The name of the field, its status as interdisciplinary or disciplinary are important to consider as strategies for institutionalization will rely on how the field defines itself. This debate is directly related to the search for an institutional space for Black Studies.

The name and structure of Black Studies units in universities gave rise to important debates linked to institutionalization. Authors such as Harris (2004) and Fenderson (2009) believe the development of the field is due to the structures and units created inside of universities and to the scope of what Black Studies encompasses. In "The Intellectual and Institutional Development of Africana Studies," Robert L. Harris (2004) conceptualizes Africa and African Diaspora Studies as a multidisciplinary field and creates a handbook for Black Studies units. He defines the period from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s as the legitimation and institutionalization phases of Black Studies. To guarantee the maintenance and stability of Black Studies, he suggests the creation of departments. Harris further laments the fact that the majority of Black Studies units on college and university campuses consist of programs and joint appointments, which hold less decision-making power in hiring, promotion, and tenure, than full-fledged departments. Jonathan Fenderson (2009) offers an additional view that Black Studies units have a variety of names that are connected to the particular geographical emphasis of the unit. Names such as Afro-American and African American Studies center Black people in the United States. African Diaspora Studies include a more regional analysis in its focus on diaspora, while Africana Studies, Pan-African Studies, and Africology all feature a global component that addresses the Black world in a way that does not always rely only on the nation-state or region. As Fenderson (2009) notes, given that academic units have adopted these names at different historical times and places, it is not possible to trace a definitive timeline of Black Studies based on nomenclature. However, the general trend is that the name Black Studies was more prevalent at its beginning whereas there was a proliferation of names afterwards.

Despite the undeniable relationship between the creation of an institutional space for Black Studies within universities and different forms of Black mobilization (Asante 2009; Biondi

2012; Brown 2007; Marable 2005; Rooks 2006), the relationship between Black Studies and activism is a matter of debate when defining the field. Russel Adams (1984) argued that political ideologies should not be orienting paradigms in Black Studies. The political activity of departments should be restricted because "Black academicians are not politicians." (Adams 1984, 377). Adams argues the first generation of Black Studies intellectuals suffered the pressure of dedicating more of their time to activism than to academic activities. Additionally, Black Studies intellectuals had to master the intellectual depth of Black Studies and be well versed in 'traditional sciences.' For Gates and Marable (2000), there is a difference between scholarship that is political and politicized scholarship. The goal of Black Studies is to establish itself as a critical science. To achieve this goal, it would be necessary to maintain guidelines between what is militancy and what is academic work. On the other hand, authors such as Gates and Marable (2000) argue the dichotomy between activism and scholarship is false for many reasons. Some of the greatest scholars who founded the field of Black Studies were also important activists. Therefore, activism and intellectual accuracy are not dichotomous. At the same time, there are social issues in Black communities that intellectuals in the field of Black Studies need to address. Activism has allowed scholars in the field to practice a Black political agenda (Gates and Marable 2000). According to Joy James (2000) Black Studies is rooted in activism which has an impact on its future. Black Studies subvert the isolation and exclusion of academia by bringing the knowledge produced by Black intellectuals inside and outside universities to the center of debate. Black Studies' institutionalization distance itself from activism. When Black Studies are disconnected from Black activism and Black radical political agendas, it becomes a form of Black elitism in much the same way as W. E. B. Du Bois' view of the "talented tenth." Black Studies should be engaged in activism in Black communities as this relationship is essential for

its survival. Moreover, Black Studies is not only defined by its activism it is also important as a field because its intellectual and political commitments expand beyond the university campus.

The historical timeline of Black Studies is marked by two main concerns: the intellectual history of the field and the institutional history of Black Studies within universities. Intellectuals such as James Stewart (2015), Ricard Brown (2008), and Robert Harris Jr. (2004) have chronicled the history of Black Studies and the work of Black intellectuals and institutions at the time of its founding. Manning Marable (2005), Martha Biondi (2012), and Jonathan Fenderson (2009) have all examined the institutionalization of Black Studies. Accordingly, their work allows for a timeline of the development of Black Studies. However, in the twentieth century, Black intellectuals created important institutions that became milestones for the development of Black Studies before the existence of spaces within universities. During the 1960s national movement for Black Studies increased. In the 1970s, Black Studies expanded in universities. In the 1980s, American universities took a conservative turn which interrupted the expansion of these studies. The 1990s and 2000s were marked by setbacks to affirmative action policies. However, in 2010, field experienced growth and in 2021, the struggle for expansion, institutionalization, and autonomy continued.

James Stewart (2015) proposes a timeline of Black Studies composed of two different moments: the "proto-Africana Studies Movements" and the "Africana Studies Movements." The proto-Africana studies movement encompasses the intellectual discussions, institutions and movements that created the structure that made Black Studies possible. Ricard and Brown (2008) highlighted the role of Black churches such as the Bethel Historical and Literary Society (1881) and the African Methodist Episcopal (AME). Black churches held events and trainings for Black intellectuals in the nineteenth century. The notable presence of Black people in higher

educational institutions is an important milestone for Black Studies. The first college to accept Black students was Oberlin College which was created in 1835 in Ohio (Bauman 2009). The first historically Black college (HBCU) is Cheyney University of Pennsylvania which was created in 1837 (Ricard and Brown 2008). Michael Thelwell (1970) believes that white institutions had an important role in educating Black students because there were not enough vacancies at HBCUs, and HBCUS were not geographically distributed all around the country. In 1870, Richard Theodore Greener was the first African American to graduate from Harvard and he later became dean of Howard University (Cross 1998). Stewart (2015) notes the important role of peer-reviewed Black journals such as the *Journal of Negro History* (JNH), established by Carter G. Woodson in 1916, and the *Journal of Negro Life*, created in 1923.

The Africana Studies Movement is focused on the political movements directly related to the institutionalization of Black Studies in the 1960s (Stewart 2015). Additionally, there is a connection between political mobilization and intellectual institutions. In the literature, great importance has been given to the Black Power movement (Biondi 2012; Rooks 2006; Thelwell 1970). Many radical movement leaders such as Stokley Carmichael graduated from HBCUs (Lewis 1998). In the book *The Black Revolution on Campus*, Martha Biondi (2012) contextualizes the genesis and the institutionalization of Black Studies programs in universities in the United States. Biondi conducted historical research highlighting the role of HBCUs in the struggle for Black Studies, as well as Black organizations such as the Black Panther Party, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Black Student Unions. The demand for Black Studies was also paralleled by several movements for change in the university such as Free Speech and Antiwar movements.

In his essay, “Beyond Brown: The Revolution in Black Studies,” Manning Marable (2005) presents a timeline of Black Studies that he splits into two waves. The first wave spans 1968 and 1971. This first wave is characterized by the exponential growth in the number of Black Studies centers and by the radical ideological character of these institutions. In the 1970s, the number of Black Studies programs and departments in the United States peaked at an estimated 500 programs and/or departments (Marable 2005). For comparative purposes, at the end of the 1970s, there were 3,231 institutions of higher education in the United States. The enrollment of Black Studies also increased 330% from 200,000 students in the 1960s to 660,000 students in the middle of the 1970s. Publications, events, and institutions were important for the process of institutionalizing Black Studies as an academic field. Examples are the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (1969), The Black Scholar (1969), the Journal of Black Studies (1970), The Afrocentric Scholar (1975), National Council of Black Studies (1975), the Western Journal of Black Studies (1977), Southern Conference on African American Studies ( 1979), The Griot: The Journal of African American Studies (1979), and the Journal of Pan-African Studies (1987) (Stewart 2015).

However, in the 1980s, the Reagan administration attacked Black Studies and race-based policies. Marable (2005) places the second Black Studies wave as one spanning the end of the 1980s to the beginning of the 1990s. There was a small increase in Black Studies programs during the second wave. When universities refused to host Black Studies in the 1960s but in the 1980s began creating programs such as those at Chicago State University and Columbia University. Marable (2005) emphasizes the importance of the hiring and tenure of Black professors in universities such as Harvard as important to challenge the stereotype of scarcity and low funding in the field. The African and American Studies department at Harvard attracted

financial resources, and they attracted financial resources with notable scholars such as Henry Louis Gates Jr., Cornell West, and William Julius Wilson. In 1988, Temple University created the first PHD program in Black Studies (Reid-Merritt and Mazama 2018). The creation of graduate programs is an important step in consolidating the field because universities invest in research and graduate training.

Notwithstanding the consolidation of Black Studies, actions against policies aimed for Black students led to important setbacks in university policies. In, 1996, Proposition 209 outlawed affirmative action based on race (Griffin 2007). Despite an attack on the presence of Black Studies in universities, there was an expansion of Black peer-reviewed publications such as The Journal of African American Studies (1995), and Souls: A Critical Review of Black Culture and Politics (1999). However, for Marable (2005) the elimination of affirmative action represents the change in the national debate on racial inequality. The alignment of white liberals with white conservatives relegated affirmative action to the realm of radicalism. In the previous decades, adherence to affirmative action policies was part of a moderate liberal agenda. The decade of 2000 was followed by a shift in affirmative action programs to include more non-Black students and a federal governmental policy to suppress dissent. Between 2003 and 2004, one hundred minority-oriented programs were shut down or reformed in universities (Marable 2005). Marable does not identify any new wave related to Black Studies' growth or strengthening. On the contrary, he sees even greater challenges for the field.

Brown (2007) and Zulu (2018) exemplify the recurrent pessimism of the 2000s. In "Dude, Where's My Black Studies Department," Cecil Brown recalls his memories and analyzes the evolution of Black Studies at the University of California Berkeley. Although Brown does not always support his claims with evidence, his resentment and experiences reveal important

questions for Black Studies in the twenty-first century. Brown (2007) finds that Black students are less visible in the 2000s than they were in the 1980s. The proportion of Black faculty has remained unchanged as they are below 6% of the total faculty population. Brown (2007) raised some concerns about the faculty in Black Studies departments. He believes universities are more willing to hire professors from African countries and other countries from the African Diaspora, compared to Black Americans. The Caribbeanization of Black Studies would partly be responsible for the de-politization of departments. Zulu (2018) asserts that Brown's (2007) study was not taken seriously when it was published. However, ten years later, Zulu (2018) reached the same conclusions by visiting UC Berkeley. Zulu (2018) believes that the field is changing, but not for the better. He highlights the name change of the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee's Africology department to African and African Diaspora Studies as an example of a rhetorical shift. He believes departments are changing how they define themselves but these new definitions are often generic and designed to attract non-Black students.

Although characterized by a number of name changes, the field of Black Studies did not drastically decrease its presence in universities. In 2007 and 2013, Abdul Alkalimat conducted two surveys about Black Studies in higher education institutions. In 2007, Alkalimat found 311 Black Studies units. There were 10 PhD programs in Black Studies, 6 of those were exclusively Black Studies and 4 were Black Studies associated with another field (Alkalimat 2007). In 2013, Alkalimat coordinated a web-based survey that included 1,777 higher education institutions. The survey found 361 Black Studies units between programs and departments, and 999 universities offering Black Studies courses. In 2020, the National Council of Black Studies listed 19 doctoral programs in Black Studies, 16 exclusively in Black Studies and 3 were associated. In 2021, it is not possible to confirm whether the field is expanding or decreasing. The sharp decline from the

1980s to the 2000s seems to have slowed, and there was an expansion between 2007 and 2013. In 2019, Boston College created its bachelor's degree in Africa and African Diaspora studies. Since the 1960s Boston has had a Black Studies program (The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education 2019). In 2020, the University of Oregon created its minor in Black Studies as a response to student protests (Leslie 2020). Also in 2020, Stanford Black students protested to departmentalize African and African American studies for the creation of a Black Studies department with autonomy (Piper 2020). Notably, these programs and departments have differing approaches to Black Studies. The next section evaluates the main approaches that have emerged in academic Black Studies units.

### 2.1.2 Revolutionary and Institutional approaches

Black Studies is a field characterized by constant debate. In the *prolific* paper "Black Studies and the Racial Mountain," Manning Marable discusses some distinctions inside the field of Black Studies. Marable classified Black Studies programs into two categories: (1) liberal and (2) Afrocentric. Marable based this division on many factors, such as funding, internal university politics, and scholarship. In "From the Birth to a Mature Afro-American Studies at Harvard, 1969–2002," Martin Kilson identifies political tendencies within Black Studies as "xenophobic and chauvinist forms of Black-ethnic activism" (Kilson 2006). Joy James offers another critique of Black Studies in "The Future of Black Studies: Political Communities and the "Talented Tenth," in which she analyzes how the more radical and leftist tendencies of Black Studies are sidelined by the neoliberal mainstream of universities, especially elite ones. Some field's debates are combative as when intellectuals use unflattering adjectives to define opposing ideologies. Examples of name calling are neoliberal or chauvinist. In my analysis, these types of

adjectives tend to keep intellectuals and departments at bay. In order to embrace the historical intellectual foundation of Black Studies I suggest the *revolutionary* and *institutional* approaches. Within the revolutionary debate, I bring together intellectuals who define revolution as the reason for the origin of the field, and those who are concerned with how the field can bring about revolution that was so important in its emergence in the 1960s. Within the institutional debate, I bring together intellectuals who tend to be concerned with institutionalization as a method of survival and legitimacy of the field rather than bringing about revolutionary change.

The revolutionary approach to Black Studies has focused on relations between the emergence of the Black Studies movement in the United States in the 1960s and the radicalization of Black movements influenced by Black power movements. Martha Biondi's *Black Revolution on Campus* covers the early roots of Black Studies movements to its epicenter in 1968, and examines its aftermath in the 1980s and 1990s. Biondi takes a revolutionary position as she emphasizes Black Power. Four of the eight chapters of the book are about the genesis and relationship of Black Studies in different universities with Black Power. While there is a time line of Black intellectual thinking connecting Black Studies to intellectual traditions born before the abolition of slavery in the United States, the point of inflection in the 1960s and the focus on the genesis of Black Studies in these debates are part of this approach. Manning Marable relies on the revolutionary approach to present answers to the challenges Black Studies faced in the 1990s. In the paper "Beyond Brown: The Revolution in Black Studies," Marable proposes that debates and struggles about its genesis be updated and reapplied to include the new challenges the field faced after its institutionalization. Cecil Brown (2007) proposes a rather pessimistic analysis by noting that the Black Studies model inspired by the Black Power movement is no longer adopted at the University of California - Berkeley. Brown's (2007) work

is inspired by Noliwe M. Rooks' analysis in the book, "White Money/Black Power: The Surprising History of African American Studies and the Crisis in Higher Education." Rooks (2006) focuses her analysis on the revolutionary way the field arose. However, Rooks concludes that Black Studies moved away from its revolutionary roots after the 1970s. Black nationalism was the main political ideology of student protests that led to Black Studies in the 1960s. However, the author criticizes the institutionalization of Black Studies, arguing that institutionalization shifted the original ideology of Black Studies and that the influence of funding from white institutions such as the Ford Foundation reinforced this shift. In addition, after the 1970s, Black Studies departments suffered a continuous lack of student interest and enrollment of Black students in Black Studies programs as well as disinvestment from universities. In "Black Studies: A Political Perspective," Michael Thelwell (1970) cited the increase in the presence of Black students in the 1960s as the main catalyst for the creation of Black Studies. The students' discontentment, coupled with the political debates of the time, boosted the movement. The institutionalization of Black Studies was marked by an unwelcome reception. Traditional departments had chosen to exclude, neglect and diminish Black intellectuality, experience, and paradigms. The challenge to sustain stability nurtured the debate about creating an autonomous interdisciplinary unit inside of the university. This institution should be able to influence the curriculum of traditional disciplines yet be flexible enough to promote social action in Black communities.

The institutional approach is connected to debates about institutionalization in academia. In this approach, the minority status of Black Studies departments, institutional contingencies, and relations between professors, students, staff, and the university are a key concern and focus of scholarship. They tend to analyze the field as an academic field that is Black, and therefore

suffers the consequences of the minority status of Black people in academia (Glasker 2002; Itibari 2012, Jones 2008; Reid-Merritt 2018). In “Black Students in the Ivory Tower: African American Student Activism at the University of Pennsylvania, 1967-1990,” Wayne Glasker bases his analysis on the institutional approach when investigating the institutionalization of Black Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. Thus, the author is focused on issues of institutionalization between the field and the university. The traditional political debate between specific strands and trends in the trajectories of Black movements is less relevant than the institutional question. Itibari M. Zulu takes the same approach in the essay “Discipline Born of Struggle: African American and African Studies at Ohio State University.” Additionally Rhett Jones writes in a similar manner in "Dreams, Nightmares, and Realities: Afro-American Studies at Brown University, 1969– 1986.” Zulu (2012) claims the Black Studies department was not received well at the Ohio State University. Black professors, staff, and students were threatened by hate crimes. Jones (2012) describes the relationship between the Black Studies department and the other units at Brown University as a war. Zulu (2012) and Jones (2012) demonstrate the difficulty of institutionalization and the insecurity of Black Studies departments at both universities.

In contrast with the *institutional* approach, the *revolutionary* approach asks questions about the reasoning for the creation of the field of Black Studies, and the multiple cases of students’ leadership roles in the mobilization for Black Studies (Biondi 2012; Thelwell 1970), the reasoning behind the disappearance of Black students from the campuses of universities in the 1990s (Brown 2007), the role of funding institutions that weakened the revolutionary agenda of Black Studies (Ferguson 2013, Rooks 2006), and how to overcome the liberal policies implemented in universities to reorient Black Studies towards a revolutionary agenda (Marable

2005). The institutional approach focused on the institutionalization of Black Studies, what Black Studies departments and programs could achieve, and the internal and external forces explaining the state of Black Studies in the institution, such as the reasoning behind the absence of the creation of a specific department (Glasker 2002), the relationship between Black Studies departments and the community (Zulu 2012), the problems of the institutionalization and the political classes inside of departments (Harris 2004; Jones 2012), and the successful processes of implementing a PhD program (Reid-Merritt 2018). Studies within the revolutionary tradition tend to focus considerably on the beginning of the field in the 1960s. Some of those studies also aided in the implementation of programs and departments that deviated from their original political intent.

### 2.1.3 Black Studies in the Black Lives Matter Era

This section of the literature review helps us understand how Black Studies was created, the main challenges of institutionalization, the revolutionary and institutional approaches in the field, and its current challenges. The number of programs and departments fluctuate, and the affirmative action agenda has been considered an indicator of the strength and political support of Black Studies. However, questions remain, such as, how does the revolution that Black Studies represented actualize itself, become re-signified, reborn, or even end in different institutions? How is institutionalization measured? Why should the creation of a department be considered relevant, rather than the number of students taking courses in the field of Black Studies? My research aids in understanding how different institutions respond to demands within universities for department's maintenance, as well as how different departments and centers create alternatives to institutional, or even political issues within universities.

As a field born in struggle, Black Studies are potentially affected by political debates affecting Black communities in each era. There are new and old challenges to Blacks' presence and permanence in universities and violence and institutional racism have been prominent in the last six years and remain on the agendas of educational institutions. The Black Lives Matter era encompasses the challenges of brutality against Black bodies, new forms of Black activism, and the current challenges to overcome institutional racism (Taylor 2016). I use the Black Lives Matter era to characterize the current phase of the North American Black struggle (Taylor 2016), formed by the aftermath of Obama's presidency (Zeleja 2011) and the continuity and new forms of institutional racism. This environment affected the field of Black Studies both in teaching practices and in students' demands for equality, the mental health of students, institutional responses to racism and, above all, for justice. Once again, the university campus becomes a focus point of political debate as people note the role of education in seeking justice. This section of the literature review presents debates about the outcome of the Obama era to Black Studies (Zeleza 2011), how the Black Lives Matter framework should be incorporated in higher education (Farmer-Hinton 2017), the challenges it brings to Black Studies (Finley et al. 2017; Marie 2016; Wallege 2016) and the challenges that the field of Black Studies still faces to legitimize itself in relation to students and the publishing market (Hine 2014; Marie 2016; Weissinger 2015).

The Barack Obama administration challenges the field of Black Studies. Obama was America's first Black president during a time when racial strife continued which led to the Black Lives Matter movement and some view his administration as a failure as he did not only represent the interest of Black Americans. In "Building Intellectual Bridges: from African studies and African American studies to Africana studies in the United States," Paul Tiyambe

Zeleza (2011) portrays the Obama era as simultaneously hopeful and hopeless. On the hopeful side, Obama and his family Blackened the American social imagination as he held the most important political position in the country. On the other hand, Obama's commitment to a Black agenda was questionable. Zeleza's (2011) allegoric comparison of Obama's significance to Black Studies is represented in Obama's ancestry as post-colonial African Migration. Similarly, Black Studies surges a new relationship to Africa and the African Diaspora. However, Obama´s era also challenges the field to seek solutions to the continuing absence of structural changes in the conditions of Black citizenship. A similar critique of Obama is found in Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor's (2016) book "From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation." Taylor explores the relationship between the frustrations of Black youth with Obama's government and the rising of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. BLM represents a paradigm shift in Black mobilization. Instead of preaching respectability politics or debating strategies within institutions, the movement took to social media and the streets in 2015 with an agenda against the criminalization of Black bodies and against Black genocide. The movement's leadership is queer and female, and BLM's platform represented a shift in communication, Black mobilization, rhetoric, strategies and a change from traditional organizations such as the NAACP. BLM influences and challenges the field of Black Studies in different ways. In "Liberation through Education: Teaching #BlackLivesMatter in Africana Studies," Danielle Wallace (2016) claims the Black Lives Matter movement brought a pedagogical challenge to Black Studies. Many of Wallace's undergraduate students were incapable of connecting today's demands with historical Black movements. The students of the 2010s were far from civil rights demonstrations and agendas. The challenge she purports, is to update the pedagogical tools to explain new racist rhetoric and methods, as well as to build a timeline to connect Black Lives

Matter to other Black radical traditions. For Raquel Farmer-Hinton (2017) in "Going to College: Why Black Lives Matter Too," the Black Lives Matter paradigm offers an opportunity to increase Black students admissions to universities. The Black Lives Matter platform values community and intellectual investment. In this way, it helps to focus on ways to help Black students to access the university considering gender, social class, sexual orientation, and family background. In "Lifting as We Climb: #BlackLivesMatter and the Resurrection of Black Studies in America?", Finley et al. (2017) suggest that Black Lives Matter can be a lifeline for Black Studies. Finley et al. (2017) conducts an afro-pessimist analysis of Black Lives Matter's impact on Black Studies. They highlight that Black Studies was suffering extensive disinvestment as programs and departments closed. Black Studies were already protesting institutional racism in predominantly white institutions. However, Black Lives Matter emerged as a watchword to add a set of demands to dissatisfaction within universities. Black Lives Matter challenges Black Studies curriculum by advocating for forward-thinking gender, sexuality, class, and other intersectional agendas. In addition, BLM had an impact on the way Black Studies units mobilize to meet the demands of Black students in universities.

The Black Lives Matter era goes beyond the specific movement. Besides the fluctuating number of departments, the second decade of the twenty-first century brought some important challenges to Black Studies. In "Racial Identity Development of African American Students in Relation to Black Studies Courses," Jakia Marie (2016) conducts a qualitative study among Black undergraduate students at Northern Superior State University (NSSU) to understand why they choose to enroll or not in Black Studies courses. The two important reasons why students do not enroll in Black Studies courses were (1) because it was not a requirement to their major and (2) because they were not aware of the existence of the program. Yet Black students who took

Black Studies courses had a positive experience. The discipline reinforced their Black identity, gave them intellectual tools to debate, and they felt supported by the family-like approach of Black faculty. However, as good as the students' experience in Black Studies courses was, it did not make up for the institutional challenges of the Black students at the university.

Despite some scholars' characterizations of Black Studies as a long-established field of study (Gates 2016; Marable 2000), the problems inside the field are often depicted as those that afflict a young discipline (Hine 2014; Phillips 2010). In 2019, several Black Studies departments celebrated their fiftieth anniversary. In the context of these fifty-year anniversaries, scholars have raised the serious question of how long Black Studies will be considered a "young" discipline and whether the challenges undergone are not incidental but structural. In the paper "Black Studies Journal Assessment: Two Possibilities," Thomas Weissinger finds that Black Studies journals have less impact and prestige than traditional academic publications. Most Black Studies journals are not part of standard journal ranking systems. Therefore, Weissinger (2015) proposes criteria for differentiation and internal relevance within a group of thirty academic journals in the field. The lack of prestige of Black Studies journals has the potential to affect the careers of professors, especially those in departments with joint appointments. In the paper "A Black Studies Manifesto," Darlene Clark Hine presents an update of the type of scrutiny in which Black Studies is subjected. Hine (2014) analyzes the criticism that Black Studies departments suffer because of the focus of dissertations in the field. She finds that as the field advances, there is an increase in criticism and political debate.

In the second decade of the twenty-first century, challenges to the field of Black Studies have increased. On the one hand, the struggle to implement programs does not seem to have been completely overcome. The literature indicates the double work of departments as determined by

presenting academic excellence according to university standards, and at the same time, being victimized by different forms of disinvestment. Whereas students, natural allies of departments, have their own challenges in consonance and conflict with departments, knowing departments' responses to these issues in the literature, is essential to envision solutions to the challenges facing the field.

### 2.2 Afro-Brazilian Studies

It is difficult to separate the history of Afro-Brazilian Studies from the history of social thought in Brazil. Afro-Brazilian Studies started as an area of research between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Bastide 1973; Oliveira 2019). Afro-Brazilian Studies started from a niche of Brazilian intelligentsia in the 1920s and 1930s. The field of Afro-Brazilian Studies was very prominent, especially in the Humanities, in the 1930s and 1940s. Even though there were institutions of higher education in the nineteenth century, the creation of universities with multiple courses and diverse areas of knowledge is a relatively contemporaneous phenomenon in Brazil. The first university in Brazil was inaugurated in 1912. The development of Afro-Brazilian Studies was influenced by the work of American social scientists such as Melville Herskovits and Donald Pierson (Oliveira 2019; Sansone 2012). Afro-Brazilian Studies were also highly influenced by European intellectuals such as Roger Bastide (Bastide 1973). After the 1960s, the field was reclaimed by Black intellectuals (Santos 2011; Ratts 2009, 2011; Xavier 1998). From the 2000s onwards, university affirmative action policies challenged Afro-Brazilian Studies units. Black intellectual activists in universities demanded the occupation and expansion of spaces for Afro-Brazilian Studies as a political agenda (Lima 2012; Passos 2006; Rezende and Pereira 2014).

The history of Black intelligentsia in Brazil is longer and deeper than the history of Afro-Brazilian Studies. To make theoretical assumptions for a parallel analysis between Afro-Brazilian Studies and Black Studies is highly complex for three main reasons: 1) the close relationship between Afro-Brazilian Studies and the social history of Brazil, 2) the exclusion of Black intellectuals from the genesis and development of Afro-Brazilian Studies, and 3) the way institutions established Afro-Brazilian studies. In this section I will address the specificities of Afro-Brazilian Studies in dialogue with a proposed timeline of its development. I emphasize how the field emerges, but also its relationship with Black intellectuals. I argue that until the 1960s, Black intellectuals were a minority in the field as they were excluded at various times. In the 1970s, Black intellectuals organized to overtake Afro-Brazilian Studies. In the 2000s, affirmative action strengthened their integration. However, I also question whether there is a real transition within the field considering white hegemony towards racial diversity as well as if there is a transition from its genesis in cultural studies to research on race relations and anti-racism.

### 2.2.1 Definition and Timeline

Afro-Brazilian Studies are defined in different ways. First, it should be noted that although the term Afro-Brazilian Studies was coined and institutionalized to refer to studies about Black Brazilian people, as in the case of American Black Studies, the term is not universal. It is important to define Afro-Brazilian studies as an area of knowledge, not an academic discipline (Bastide 1973; Sansone 2012). The field was developed in the 1930s as an interdisciplinary field (Oliveira 2019). The intellectuals who developed the field in the 1930s were from diverse traditional academic disciplines such as the social sciences, linguistics, anthropology, and humanities. However, the field also included intellectuals in biology and health sciences. The genesis of the field is characterized by its connections to North America

(Sansone 2012; Oliveira 2019*)*. The field is characterized by the types of studies conducted (Campos 2017; Telles 2006; Maio 1997), if studies are more focused on cultural traits or the sociological condition of the Black population. At first, even Black intellectuals within the field sought to view the Black population as a scientific object (Carneiro 1968). However, the relationship of Black intellectuals with the field of Afro-Brazilian Studies was not one of mutual contribution or massive presence (Barbosa 2006; Figueiredo and Grosfoguel 2007; Gomes 2013). Afterwards, the debate on the transition of Black people from object of study to political subjects strained power relations in the field (Santos 2011, 2015; Schucman and Martins 2017).

At the time of the genesis of Afro-Brazilian Studies, its definition was based on the themes of the research. These themes were developed from papers presented at the first and second Congresses of Afro-Brazilian Studies. From the 1930s and 1940s, Afro-Brazilian Studies had a cultural emphasis, but also a religious emphasis focused on *Candomble*, especially of the Yoruba tradition (Bastide 1973; Morais 2020). Considering the content of these studies, Telles (2006) argues the first generation of Afro-Brazilian Studies began between the 1930s and the 1960s and they focused on miscegenation, and a second generation started in the 1950s, which were dedicated to analyzing racial discrimination. The first generation was dedicated to analyzing interracial sociability, which Telles (2007) defines as horizontal relations; and the second generation was dedicated to examining inequality, defined as vertical relations. For Telles, these two intellectual generations ignored each other, and the second generation became hegemonic in the field. The first generation of Afro-Brazilian Studies was divided between the Baiana School and the Recife School. From a theoretical point of view, the two schools were similar (Morais 2020; Skolaude 2020). However, they disagreed in the establishment of Afro-Brazilian Studies. Campos (2015) posits that Afro-Brazilian Studies can be classified by four

paradigms: the scientific racism paradigm, consisting of studies from the late twentieth century to the 1920s; the hybrid paradigm best exemplified by Gilberto Freyre's theories on the positive aspects of racial mixing; the paradigm of racism as a pre-modern vestige, vestige promulgated by the UNESCO Project; and the racial inequality paradigm demonstrated by studies in the 1970s and contemporary studies on inequality. Telles (2006) and Campos' (2015) studies present a coherent characterization of the field, but do not focus on the presence of Black intellectuals. In order to consider the literature on Black intellectuals within the field of Afro-Brazilian Studies, one must step outside the canon. Until the 1980s, the field largely excluded Black intellectuals. I will use Telles' (2006) conceptualization of the first and second generations but add a third generation that includes leading participation of Black intellectuals from the 1970s onwards.

The creation of the term “Afro-Brazilian Studies”(estudos afro-brasileiros) is credited to the anthropologist Nina Rodrigues (Bastide, 1973). Rodrigues was a renowned white male Brazilian intellectual at the end of the twentieth century. He was responsible for important studies that traced the relationship of the Black Brazilian population to different African ethnic groups (Rodrigues 1988). However, Nina Rodrigues is also infamous today due to his racist theoretical assumptions. Part of Rodrigues' work is based on the biological notion of races and the search for distinctive attributes and features of the Black population associated with crime. Although his work has been discredited, it had an impact on Brazilian social theory. Regarding Afro-Brazilian Studies, the first generation had intellectuals such as Oliveira Vianna and Leonidio Ribeiro, who supported Rodrigues' idea regarding biological views of races and human behavior (Gutman 2010; Skolaude 2020). The relationship of Afro-Brazilian Studies with its racist past is still very complex. On the one hand, the literature gives credit to Nina Rodrigues for having coined the term “Afro-Brazilian Studies.” On the other hand, the school of thought he

began remained in the first generation of Afro-Brazilian Studies. More importantly it might also impact the way in which white intellectuals historically dominated the field. Yet there was another perspective based on the cultural celebration of diversity and racial mixing inaugurated by Gilberto Freyre and continued by Roger Bastide. In 1934, Gilberto Freyre organized the first Congress of Afro-Brazilian Studies in Pernambuco. In 1937, Edison Carneiro organized the second Congress which occurred in Bahia.

Black intellectuals presented the ideas of the positive aspects of racial mixing before Gilberto Freyre. Antonio Sérgio Alfredo Guimarães in "Intelectuais negros e formas de integração nacional (Black Intellectuals and forms of national integration)" argues that since the abolitionist movement in the twentieth century, Black Brazilian intellectuals formulated the ideas of positive contributions from Africans, and this idea was part of the abolitionist campaign. In the aftermath of the abolition of slavery, the Black newspapers *The Clarin* and *The Progress* actively participated in a campaign to erect a statue in honor of *Mãe Preta* (the Black mother) (Alberto 2017). This statue was representative of the struggle for Black inclusion, by affirming miscegenation as a possibility for the recognition of Black citizenship. The period from 1897 to 1930 was one of intense activity of Black groups involving educational projects. However, these initiatives were mainly directed at middle and high school levels of education. Movements such as the Brazilian Black Front focused their critiques and attention to elementary and middle school education and the centrality of education to promote opportunities for Black people (Alberto 2017).

This first generation of Afro-Brazilian Studies has some distinctive characteristics which include the following: the minimal participation of Black intellectuals within the field, the presence of European intellectuals, the characterization of race relations in Brazil as harmonious,

and a focus on the question of folklore or the remnants of African cultures in Brazil, especially in artistic practices and religions. Edison Carneiro was the most visible Black intellectual of the first generation of Afro-Brazilian Studies. The Black writer Mário de Andrade was present in the first congress of Afro-Brazilian Studies (Skolaude 2020). Andrade was supposed to organize the third congress, which he planned to take place in 1939 in São Paulo (Morais 2020), but the third congress occurred many decades later. Oliveira highlighted the social sciences research produced in the United States which were highly influential for the first generation of Afro-Brazilian Studies. Prominent figures such as Gilberto Freyre were trained in the United States. Sansone (2012) finds that American intellectuals such as Lorenzo Dow Turner, Franklin Frazier and Donald Pierson who traveled to Brazil were in dialogue with the first tradition of Afro-Brazilian Studies. Pierson conducted a study on Black people in Bahia and created a school of sociology. However, as Livio Sansone, who is Italian, other European intellectuals were highly influential and prominent in the field such as the French intellectuals Roger Bastide and Pierre Verger and the Portuguese scholar, Agostinho Silva.

From an intellectual and political point of view, the generation of Black intellectuals of the 1970s strongly criticized the first Afro-Brazilian Studies tradition, which included Gilberto Freyre (Domingues 2005; Ratts 2009; Santos 2015). However, from the point of view of Afro-Brazilian Studies' institutionalization, the first generation served as a reference point. Despite being a predominantly Black state, the elite spaces of Bahia are historically white. The emergence of Bahian intellectuals on the national scene dates to the 1930s. However, Black intellectuals were the minority in the intellectual positions of the state. When the Center of Afro-Oriental Studies (CEAO) was created at the University of Bahia in 1959, its creator, Agostinho Silva, consulted Pierre Verger to develop the center's program. The original idea was to create

an African Studies center. However, the influence of the political forces of the university pressed for the inclusion of Oriental studies. Nina Rodrigues' and Pierre Verger's work influenced Afro-Brazilian Studies, especially studies of Yoruba language and Candomblé. Despite being an important milestone for Afro-Brazilian Studies, the creation of the CEAO did not represent the creation of an institutional space for Black intellectuals, even though there was interest in the Yoruba course from Black communities in Bahia, especially those involved in Candomblé. The creation and establishment of CEAO did not mean an institutional change in the role of Black people neither at UFBA nor in the Brazilian academic universe (Oliveira 2010).

Between 1951 and 1952, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) sponsored national research on race relations in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Recife. The UNESCO project is viewed as an important milestone in the debate on racism within Brazilian social sciences (Campos 2015; Schucman and Martins 2017). In many timelines of racial studies, the UNESCO project is the starting point (Winant 1994, Hasenbalg 1996) because it was the first broad study that found evidence of racial discrimination as a mechanism of social and economic subalternization of the Black population in Brazil. The UNESCO project is interpreted as the rejection of Gilberto Freyre's ideology of racial democracy. However, from the point of view of academic debate, the UNESCO project not only demonstrated the effects of racial discrimination in the lives of Black people in the country, but also showed Black people's perceptions of racial discrimination. The UNESCO project led to important career opportunities for intellectuals such as Florestan Fernandes, Thales de Azevedo, and Oracy Nogueira (Maio 2000).

The UNESCO Project and its aftermath add to the racial debate in the country. Pereira and Sansone (2007) believed the research published based on the UNESCO Project was of high

quality and socially relevant. The UNESCO project became an important reference point in Brazilian social sciences, and it raised the prestige of Brazilian Sociology and Anthropology internationally. The impact of the UNESCO project popularized the utilization of the term "race relations" in Afro-Brazilian Studies. The term "race relations" can be defined as the study of racial inequality in Brazil between Blacks and whites. Sociology began to play an important role in the racial debate in the country (Campos 2015; Maio 2000; Pereira and Sansone 2007). Unfortunately, the UNESCO Project also silenced and excluded Black intellectuals such as Virginia Bicudo and Guerreiro Ramos. In 1945, Virginia Bicudo published a pioneering study on race relations in Brazil. She was the only Black researcher in the group of intellectuals who were part of the UNESCO Project. Her work was excluded from the final publication of the UNESCO Report on Race Relations in Brazil (Gomes 2013). However, this was not the only experience of exclusion in the project. In 1950, the first Congresso Negro Brasileiro (Negro Brazilian Congress) took place with important Afro-Brazilian intellectuals such as Abdias do Nascimento, Guerreiro Ramos and Edison Carneiro. White intellectuals were also present such as Darcy Ribeiro and Roger Bastide. The congress proposed that UNESCO come up with solutions to inequality between racialized minority groups and dominant groups (Pereira 2007). These researchers were aware of the UNESCO Project and attempted to influence it. Guerreiro Ramos came up with the idea of challenging UNESCO's research agenda. However, neither Guerreiro Ramos, Abdias do Nascimento, nor Edison Carneiro were invited to participate in the UNESCO Project. Possible explanations for not inviting Nascimento, who at the time was seen more as an activist and leader of the Teatro Experimental do Negro - TEN (Negro Experimental Theater) rather than an academic. Perhaps there were reasons for not inviting Edison Carneiro, who was linked to the first generation of Afro-Brazilian Studies as he focused on Afro-Brazilian culture.

Yet, the non-invitation of Guerreiro Ramos who was already a prominent sociologist, was unjustifiable (Figueiredo and Gosrfoguel 2007).

While Afro-Brazilian Studies was taking root in academia from the 1930s to the 1950s, at the same time, Black intellectuals and activists organized themselves. Between 1934 and 1958, Black organizations organized six national congresses and conferences in 1934, 1937, 1945, 1946, 1949, 1950 and 1958 (Gomes 2007). In 1949, the Teatro Experimental do Negro - TEN hosted the National Conference Black Brazilians (Silva 2003). TEN was an important organization involved in artistic work, intellectual work, activism, and social policy. Guerreiro Ramos viewed TEN's experience with theater and Black mobilization as an important study case. Ramos believed it was important to analyze Black organizations to find solutions to the problems of Black communities. TEN linked itself to Guerreiro Ramos's Instituto Nacional do Negro (National Institute of the Negro), a research institute (Nascimento et al. 1950).

Guerreiro Ramos was an important critic of Afro-Brazilian Studies, as well as a scholar of Brazilian sociology and anthropology (Maio 2005; Ramos 1995). Ramos concluded that one of the problems of Brazilian social sciences is that it reduced Black people to a "theme." These social sciences disciplines "mummified" and "scalped" Black life (Ramos 1995, 215), and they failed to show the dynamism and nuance of Black life. Social sciences, including Afro-Brazilian Studies, continuously analyzed Black people as the problem. Yet for Ramos, social sciences should analyze white people's socially pathologic behavior, including social scientists specializing on Black people. Guerreiro Ramos introduced the beginning of this idea during his presentation at the Brazilian Negro Congress. Ramos believed that studies of Black people should at least be concerned with providing alternatives to reality, rather than just describing it,

or worse, universalizing specific experiences. Some of the issues such as nagocentrismo1 raised by Ramos in 1957 were analyzed in the twenty-first century. Nagocentrismo is the study of candomblé within Afro-Brazilian Studies that misconceptualizes and mythologizes the Bantu ethnic group (Adorno 2007). However, Guerreiro Ramos' criticisms were either not received, or not publicized by his peers. Ramos was a prolific intellectual between the 1940s and 1980s. He worked in various academic and political institutions, and published more than 10 books in his lifetime, not counting posthumous books. Later, in a review of his political and intellectual trajectory, Ramos did not mention the repercussions of his criticism of Afro-Brazilian Studies as the reason that his peers did not engage his intellectual work. Rather, he believed it was his criticism of the theoretical positivism of Marxism-Leninism that had a more negative impact on his career (Ramos 2016).

While the exclusion of Black intellectuals was not addressed in the field, Afro-Brazilian Studies advanced institutionally (Reis 2009; Segura-Ramirez 2000). In 1965, the Afro-Asia Journal was created. The Journal Afro-Asia is edited by the Center of Afro Oriental Studies at the Federal University of Bahia. Initially the journal was supposed to produce publications from the center and was supposed to be dedicated to Afro-Brazilian Studies, African studies, and Asian studies (Reis 2009). However, it became a prominent peer-reviewed journal for fields such as history, anthropology, linguistics, arts, and many other disciplines in the humanities. In 1973, the Center of Afro-Asian Studies was created at the Candido Mendes University. The creation of the Center of Afro-Asian Studies linked to the politics of political and intellectual proximity of Brazil and Africa politically and intellectually. In 1978 the Journal Afro-Asian Studies was created at the Center of Afro-Asian studies (Segura-Ramirez 2000).

1 Centered on Yoruba culture.

The literature views the 1970s as the emergence of Black mobilization (Andrews 1995; Hanchard 1994; Santos 2011). In the 1960s, a military dictatorship began in Brazil which posed limitations to Black movement activists engaged in political struggle. In the late 1970s these groups reorganized. During this period, the contemporary Black movement formed. In the scholarly literature, the 1970's is viewed as a period of tremendous growth of Black mobilization. A number of groups began such as Grupo Palmares (Palmares Group), Sociedade Brasil África - SINBA (Africa Brazil Society) in 1974, the Instituto de Pesquisas e Culturas Negras – IPCN (Institute for Research of Black Cultures) in 1975 and the Movimento Negro Unificado – MNU (Unified Black Movement) in 1978 (Campos 2006; Martins et al. 2015). However, the beginning of the 1970s was particularly important for Black intellectuals because it was a period in which Black intellectuals allied with Black movements and began to organize institutionally within universities. In the paper "Redemocratizando a Raça: Sobre Memórias, Intelectuais Negros e Movimentos Sociais Contemporâneos" (Redemocratizing Race: Memories, Black Intellectuals, and Contemporary Social Movements) Sandra Martins, Togo Ioruba and Flávio Gomes interviewed many Black intellectuals who were at universities in the 1970s and 1980s. Black students created working groups within universities to research and fight racism in Rio de Janeiro. One such group was the Grupo de Trabalho André Rebouças (Working Group André Rebouças) at the Federal Fluminense University. Deivison Moacir Cezar de Campos (2006) recounts a similar experience when discussing the Palmares Group in Rio Grande do Sul. These activists came from a political background of activism as they were involved in student movements in their respective universities. Héctor Fernando Segura-Ramirez (2000) claims it was the formation of a group of students at the Universidade Federal Fluminese – UFF (Federal Fluminense University) that led to mobilization at various institutions such as the UFF and the

Cândido Mendes University. Sales Augusto dos Santos (2011) recalls that Catholic universities were important institutions for Black intellectual growth and mobilization in the 1970s and 1980s. Black students at Catholic universities also created institutional spaces for Afro-Brazilian Studies such as the Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAFRO (Afro-Brazilian Studies Nucleus) at PUC-SP.

Despite Black students organizing, universities still excluded Black intellectuals in their teaching staff. Sales Santos (2011) finds that important Black intellectuals such as Milton Santos, Guerreiro Ramos, Edison Carneiro, Clovis Moura and Abdias Nascimento were prevented from occupying prestigious positions, or whose hopes of an academic career were disillusioned due to racism. In the paper, "Encruzilhadas por todo o percurso: individualidade e coletividade no movimento negro de base acadêmica" (Crossroads All the Way: Individuality and Collectivity in the Academic Black Movement), Alex Ratts (2009) defines the academic Black movement in Brazil as being at the crossroads of different academic debates, Black organizations, and society. An important part of this duality is in the relationship between academia and the Black community. Historically, universities are places of Black exclusion and white privilege. When Black intellectuals break the glass ceiling to access the university, they often find themselves isolated in elite white spaces. In the 1980s, many Black intellectuals who became professors were also activists. On the other hand, most of the intellectuals Ratts (2009) references such as Eduardo Oliveira e Oliveira, Lélia Gonzalez, Beatriz Nascimento, and Hamilton Cardoso had brief academic careers because of their untimely deaths. Nevertheless, in 1989 the first Encounter of Black Faculty, Researchers and Graduate students occurred at universities in São Paulo such as the Universidade Estadual Paulista – UNESP (Sao Paulo State University) (Pires 2014). In 1993, the National Seminar of Black University Students was held in Salvador (Ratts

2011). These seminars allowed Black students and professors to come together to create a space for themselves in a place that excluded them.

Just as the professional market presented barriers to Black intellectuals, so did the publishing market. Black writers and intellectuals sought to ease the difficulty of publishing their writings. One of the most successful Black Brazilian publications was the Coleção Cadernos Negros (Black Notebooks Collection) created in 1978. The purpose of the collection was to publish writings by Black intellectuals from Brazil, the African diaspora, and Africa (Fonseca 2010). The collection provided a mixture of artistic and intellectual work. Ribeiro and Pereira (2021) highlighted the creation of Black publishers in the 1970 and 1980s that focused on both the literary and academic market. They cite the publishers Corrupio created in Salvador in 1979 and Mazza Editions created in Belo Horizonte in 1981. Both publishers were created by Black women.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the internal strategy of Black organizations within institutions remained (Martins et al. 2015). In the paper, "Mobilização Racial no Brasil: uma revisão crítica (Black Mobilization in Brazil: A Critical Revision)," Luiz Claudio Barcelos highlighted the 1980s as the moment in which Black organizations sought power within Brazilian democratic institutions. Barcelos (1991) cites the creation of the Council of Participation and Development of the Black Community in Sao Paulo in 1984 and the creation of the Extraordinary Secretariat in Defense and Promotion of the Afro-Brazilian Population in Rio de Janeiro in 1991. Both were outcomes of Black political agendas. In the 1990s, Black mobilization proliferated in different ways with nationally visible protests such as the Zumbi dos Palmares March for Citizenship and Life (Santos 2006). However, the debate about the role of educational institutions in the struggle against racism also continued. Brazilian participation in the 2001World Conference against

Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance in Durban, South Africa was an important milestone for several anti-racist policies in Brazil, especially in education (Bairros and Alvarez 2016).

Before the Durban Conference in 2000, in one of the preparatory meetings in Recife, the first Brazilian Congress of Black Researchers occurred. The theme of the Congress was "Black People and Knowledge Production from 1500 to the 21st Century." In 2002 at their 2nd Congress of Black Researchers, the Associação Brasileira de Pesquisadores Negros – ABPN (Brazilian Association of Black Researchers) was created. Some of ABPN's goals were to gather Black scholars; to advocate for funds and research, and to coordinate conferences biannually (Pires 2014). As a Black national association, ABPN was part of the National Council for the Promotion of Racial Equality until 2020 (Brasil 2018).

It is undeniable that an important outcome of the Durban Conference and a milestone for Afro-Brazilian studies, is the institution of affirmative action policies for Black university students (Johnson and Heringer 2015; Martins et al. 2004; Santos 2006) . The affirmative action debate moved from local universities to national discourse as the mainstream media and even soap operas debated affirmative action policies (Januário 2011). From the first universities to implement affirmative action between 2003 and 2004 to the passage of a law that made affirmative action mandatory in public universities in 2012, Black intellectuals played a key role in the extensive debate. In 2014 the quotas bill for public servants was approved, which includes university professors. On the one hand, the affirmative action debate highlighted important elements of racial inequality in Brazil. On the other hand, it highlighted ruptures and debates within Afro-Brazilian Studies. White intellectuals such as Peter Fry and Yvonne Maggie , both scholar affiliated with Afro-Brazilian Studies were staunch opponents of quotas. On May 30,

2006, 113 intellectuals wrote a letter addressed to the National Congress against university affirmative action for Black students (Folha de Sao Paulo 2006). In addition to Fry and Maggie, there were a considerable number of anthropologists, sociologists, linguists, and historians from several Brazilian universities, especially in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, who opposed affirmative action. Over time some of these intellectuals changed their position. The debate over who speaks on behalf of Black people, Black intellectuals themselves, or white intellectuals was evident. The whiteness of Afro-Brazilian Studies was also clear. Despite the victory that approval of quotas represented, the history of the field has not been reconciled in the literature before, during or after the debate on affirmative action.

### 2.2.2 Culturalism versus Race Relations

The culturalist approach to Afro-Brazilian Studies focused on the cultural distinction of Afro-Brazilian culture and its connections to African ancestry (Bastide 1973; Oliveira 2019). This approach is based on the celebration of diversity and racial mixing promulgated by Gilberto Freyre (1933) and continued by Roger Bastide (1973). In 1934, Gilberto Freyre organized the first Congress of Afro-Brazilian Studies in Pernambuco. The Congress focused on folklore and the remnants of African cultures still present in Brazil, especially in artistic and religious practices (Bastide 1973). In the book "Estudos Afro-Brasileiros (Afro-Brazilian Studies)", Roger Bastide outlines the genesis and organization of the field as entrenched in studies about Black Brazilians such as those created by Nina Rodriguez. Bastide explains the shift from the biologic approach of the early studies to the cultural approach, influenced by Freyre. Waldir Oliveira in "As Pesquisas na Bahia sobre os Afro-brasileiros" (The research in Bahia about Afro-Brazilians) highlights the emphasis of Afro-Brazilian Studies to understand the "underdevelopment" and 'attitudes' of Black people in Bahia. The institutionalization of the field of Afro-Brazilian

Studies was founded on culturalism and folkloric studies of Freyre and Bastide's followers. However, Afro-Brazilian Studies was also an amalgamation that encompassed studies about Black people in a broader way. As mentioned earlier, the Black intellectual, Edison Carneiro has been part of Afro-Brazilian Studies since its beginning (Rossi 2015). In "O Negro Como Objeto da Ciência" (Black people as scientific object), Carneiro evaluates the result of culturalism in Afro-Brazilian Studies. Carneiro argues that Afro-Brazilian Studies should consider Black culture as capable of producing knowledge. Since Brazil's independence, intellectuals viewed Black people as synonymous with enslaved people. Afro-Brazilian Studies challenged assumptions about Black people during the Republic of Brazil, and it re-introduced Black people as citizens.

In the 1950s, the culturalist approach in Afro-Brazilian Studies was challenged by the race relations approach. The term "racial relations" was popularized in the study of racial inequality between Blacks and whites in Brazil (Maio 1997). Sociology played an important role in the racial debate in the country and it was in dialogue with studies of America's racial reality. The racial relations debate was part of the comparative studies of race agenda. In 1945, Virginia Bicudo published the pioneering study, "A Study of Racial Attitudes of Blacks and Mulattos in São Paulo." Bicudo's study provides evidence that racial discrimination affected professional opportunities for Blacks in São Paulo (Gomes 2013). Roger Bastide and Florestan Fernandes' book "Relações Raciais entre Brancos e Negros em São Paulo (Racial Relations of Black and Whites in Sao Paulo)" became a classic work of Brazilian sociology. Bastide and Fernandes (1955) analyze the situation of Black people in Brazil interrogating the racial dynamics inherited from slavery, the social structure that made socio-economic mobility of Blacks impossible and the social, psycho-social, and cultural consequences of racial discrimination. In the paper "A

Psicologia e o Discurso Racial sobre o Negro: do 'Objeto da Ciência' ao Sujeito Político" (The Psychology and the Racial Discourse about Black People: form "Object of Science" to Political Subject), Schucman and Martins assert that the UNESCO projects led to a rupture in the portrayal that racial relations in Brazil were harmonious. The studies initiated by the UNESCO project shifted the way race was discussed in Brazil. It popularized the study of racial inequalities in other areas of knowledge beyond the social sciences.

Racial inequality studies are quite prevalent in Brazilian social sciences. Telles argued the race relations approach became hegemonic in the field of Afro-Brazilian Studies (2006). However, race relations studies have been criticized for the hegemony of white researchers within the field. In "Por Que Não Guerreiro Ramos? Novos Desafios a serem Enfrentados pelas Universidades Públicas Brasileiras" (Why not Guerreiro Ramos? New challenges to Brazilian Public Universities) Angela Figueiredo and Ramón Grosfoguel argue Brazilian universities erased Black intellectuals. Figueiredo and Grosfoguel (2007) discuss the race relations field as one created by white male intellectuals studying Black people. White intellectuals, influenced by Melville Herskovits and Donald Pierson, coordinated the UNESCO Project, while important Black intellectuals like Guerreiro Ramos as previously mentioned, were no invited to the UNESCO project. Black intellectuals who were "included" in academia, like Edison Carneiro, were considered an exception to the rule. This exclusion occurred because white intellectuals used their privileged position to control and restrict Blacks presence in spaces of knowledge production. In the book "Race in Another America," Edward Telles compares race ideology and social analysis in Brazil and the United States. Regarding the race relations debates in Brazil, Telles (2007) states that since the 1990s, the field has become one of the most important topics of scholarship produced in Brazil. Therefore, some of the studies produced by the field,

especially quantitative ones, were incorporated into the work of government agencies. However, when Telles highlights some of the prominent scholars in the field that achieved academic and institutional recognition, he cites two white intellectuals Antonio Sergio Guimarães and Livio Sansone.

Moreover, since the 1950s, Black intellectuals have criticized the race relations research agenda and practices (Ramos 1957). They criticized the race relations approach because there were few Black scholars studying Black people, there was no connection to Black activism, and race relations intellectuals did not challenge the racist structure of universities. In the introduction of the seminal paper "Racismo e Sexismo na Cultura Brasileira" (Racism and Sexism in Brazilian Culture), Lélia Gonzalez describes an allegorical experience with white intellectuals supposedly interested in Black people who would be unable to listen or give space to Black people (Gonzalez 2018). In "A Metamorfose de Militantes Negros em Negros Intelectuais" (The Metamorphosis of Black Militants into Black Intellectuals), Sales Augusto dos Santos argues Black intellectuals are present in the Brazilian academy today but until the 1970s, these intellectuals encountered great barriers in accessing the university, especially as professors. Santos (2011) interviewed Black intellectuals who admitted they decided to pursue graduate school due to their political commitment to the Black struggle. As graduate students at the *Pontificia Universidade Católica de São Paulo* (PUC- Catholic University of São Paulo), they made up Neafro (Racial Relations, Memory, Identity, and Imaginary) study group which was an Afro-Brazilian Studies center. Santos (2011) finds that most of the intellectuals that formed Neafro, later created the Brazilian Association of Black Researchers (*Associação Brasileira de Pesquisadores Negros* -ABPN). In "Movimento Negro Brasileiro: Alguns Apontamentos Históricos" (Brazilian Black Movements: Some Historic Notes), Petrônio Domingues (2007)

argues that the third phase of Black mobilization in Brazil began in the 1970s. Some important characteristics of this phase are its inseparability from empowering and contributing to the Black community. The Black movement was committed to a political project that would play a central role in education curriculum. As a form of political and intellectual struggle, Black intellectuals challenged white hegemony in Afro-Brazilian Studies. Inside of the race relations approach, Lélia Gonzalez proposed a paradigm shift from what Guerreiro Ramos called sociological reductionism, when white intellectuals study Blacks but do not allow Blacks to study society (Barbosa 2006). Gonzalez focused on the lived experiences of Black people, and their relations with society and the white world (Gonzalez 1988). Black intellectuals debated the field, not simply paradigms or approaches. In "Corpos Negros Educados: Notas acerca do Movimento Negro de Base Acadêmica" (Educated Black Bodies: Notes Over the Black Movement of the Academic Base), Alex Ratts argued that increasing the number of Blacks at universities was an important goal of Black intellectuals in the 1970s and 1980s. Ratts (2011) cites the Andre Rebouças Working Group as a Black academic endeavor. Inside the group, they groomed intellectual activists who became race relations researchers. Black students and intellectual groups confronted universities more explicitly for their exclusionary practices, including spaces where race relation studies were carried out.

Although the literature has presented the paradigms of culturalism and race relations as opposing each other, there is space for both paradigms in the field. Reis (2009) finds that cultural studies that relied on a paradigm of culturalism or cultural studies made up most of the Afro-Asia journal's publications in the 1990s. Even the Journal of the Association of Black Researchers has culturalist (Cossa 2019) and race relations approaches in its publications (De Oliveira 2020). Nonetheless, it is worth noting that one of the important questions raised by Black intellectuals in

contemporary times is whether the transition from Black people as objects of research to subjects of knowledge has been achieved and if this has happened, how is this reflected in the institutional spaces of Afro-Brazilian Studies?

Historically, Afro-Brazilian Studies is a field inside of many fields that include the social sciences, pedagogy, history, and linguistics. In the culturalist debate of Afro-Brazilian Studies, the research questions focus on the investigation of Black cultural practices in Brazil and their relationship with an African heritage, how African practices are continued and re-signified in Brazilian territory (Verger 1955; Carneiro 1968), how European and African influence cultures influenced hybridization in Brazilian culture (Freyre 1933), and the influence of African worldviews on Afro-Brazilian culture (Bastide 1973; Oliveira 2004). The race relations approach questions the differences between white and Black workers in terms of behavior, expectations, and opportunities (Bastide and Fernandes 1955; Campos 2015; Gomes 2013). It also proposes theories and methods for analyzing Black peoples' positions in society (Barbosa 2006; Maio 1997; Oliveira 2007). The race relations debate incorporates Afro-Brazilian Studies as the intellectual locus of the formation of a critical theory. Both the culturalist and race relations approaches were dominated by Euro-descendant intellectuals until the 1950s. By 1970, the Black intelligentsia expanded its participation in the field of Afro-Brazilian Studies (Ratts 2009, 2011; Santos 2011). Whether the Black movement was successful in its goal of leading the field is a matter of investigation. The relationship between the culturalist and the racial relations approaches in Afro-Brazilian Studies is a debate. Some studies about Afro-Brazilian Studies do not discuss the theoretical debates inside of the field and its white origins (Bastide 1973; Oliveira 2004). Other studies present race relations as a hegemonic approach in Afro-Brazilian Studies

from the 1950s (Campos 2015; Figueiredo and Grosfoguel 2007; Telles 2006). However, a preliminary analysis of journals in the field shows the continuity of both paradigms.

### 2.2.3 The Expansion of Afro-Brazilian Studies: CEAO, CEAA, NEABs and NEABIs

In the previous sections, I connected the historical timeline of Afro-Brazilian Studies to its culturalist origins in the 1930s, and to its race relations approach in which racial inequality and Black intellectuality were key components. However, the debate about Afro-Brazilian studies is a more contemporary debate. Despite the studies about pioneer institutions such as the Center for Afro-Oriental Studies (CEAO/UFBA), the Center of Afro-Asian Studies (CEAA), the Afro-Asia Journal and the Journal Afro-Asian Studies *(*Oliveira 2010; Reis 2009; Segura-Ramirez 2000), most of the studies about Afro-Brazilian Studies units are about Afro-Brazilian Studies Nuclei - NEABs, especially after the institution of affirmative action policies in 2003 (Lima 2016; Passos 2006*;* Rezende and Pereira 2014; Santos 2011; Siss et al. 2013*)*. The literature on Afro-Brazilian studies presents NEABs as an outcome of affirmative action policies which were connected to Black organizations. However, the literature mainly presents NEABs in relation to the affirmative action debate than to the history of Brazilian studies and pioneering institutions (Lima 2016; Passos 2006; Rezende and Pereira 2014; Siss et al. 2013*)*. In this section, in addition to presenting the terms of the debate on centers of Afro-Brazilian Studies, I also connect long-lived institutions like CEAO/UFBA with organizations such as NEABs and Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous Studies Nuclei (NEABIs).

The first Afro-Brazilian Studies center, CEAO/UFBA, is described as a center dedicated to Afro-Brazilian studies. However, CEAO/UFBA was also part of Brazil's diplomatic efforts to

the African continent (Telles 2004). Oliveira Júnior (2010) claims African studies were the original intent of CEAO. However, the strength of Afro-Brazilian Studies in the social sciences at the time expanded the scope of what was originally the center. Oliveira Júnior highlights another aspect which is CEAO's influence on Portuguese intellectual and theories. However, neither Telles (2004) nor Oliveira Júnior (2010) mention Black intellectuals. In the paper "África in Loco: Itinerários de Pesquisadores do Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais (1959-1972)" (Africa in Loco: Itineraries of the Researchers of the Center of Afro-Oriental Studies), Luiza Nascimento dos Reis highlights the presence of Afro-Brazilian intellectuals among CEAO/UFBA's faculty such as Júlio Santana Braga. However, when CEAO/UFBA was created, they had more freedom in the partnerships they sought and in hiring. As a result, some of the researchers linked to the center were not faculty at UFBA. This type of affiliation brought instability to these researchers and to the center (Reis 2017). In 1973, the Center of Afro-Asian Studies was created at the Candido Mendes University. The creation of the Center of Afro-Asian Studies (CEAA) is linked to political and intellectual commonalities. However, CEAA gradually incorporated Black activists both in the student body and among faculty (Segura-Ramírez 2000). Unlike CEAO, CEAA was closed in the 2000s.

Rezende and Pereira (2014) posit that the creation of NEABs is an outcome of affirmative action policies for Black students and the curricular changes brought about by the mandatory teaching of African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture. They argue the Afro-Brazilian Studies centers created before 2003, such as CEAO/UFBA and the CEAA at Candido Mendes University were different because they received resources from the Ford Foundation. Rezende and Pereira (2014) argued that in 2005, ABPN's advocacy with the Ministry of Education symbolized the implementation of a program to support NEABs. In the thesis

“Reflexão Acadêmica e Afrodescendência: um Estudo da Contribuição de Três Núcleos de Pesquisa de Universidades do Rio de Janeiro para o Enfrentamento do Racismo no Brasil” (Academic Reflection and Blackness: a Study about the Contribution of Three Research Nuclei in Universities in Rio de Janeiro to the Struggle Against Racism), Passos (2006) defines NEAB as antiracist spaces. She believes NEAB's activities are grounded in “the production of critical scientific knowledge about race relations; its dimension of space for the articulation of the academy with Black social movements and the training of Black researchers” (Passos 2006, 91). Therefore, NEABS are spaces of resistance where Black intellectuals have operated. As Black spaces, they suffer academic scrutiny. However, NEABs are also spaces of conflicting views of Black militancy especially among students who have more radical agendas. NEABs sometimes take on an institutional stance. In the thesis “A Permanência de Estudantes Negros (as) na Universidade Federal do Paraná: Aspectos Material e Simbólico” (The permanence of Black students at the Federal University of Parana: Material and Symbolic Aspects), Silvia Lima describes NEABs as political and academic units as affirmative action policies in universities led to an increased responsibility for NEABS. NEABs were important actors who advocate on behalf of affirmative action, and also implemented policies to support Black students in universities. In the paper “Processos Formativos e as Contribuições dos Núcleos de Estudos Afro-brasileiros da UFES e da UFRRJ” (Formation processes and the contribution of the Afro-Brazilian Studies Nuclei of UFES and UFRRJ) Siss et al. (2013) highlighted the process of implementing the Afro-Brazilian Studies Nucleus at the University of Espírito Santo. It took eight years from the proposal of the nucleus in 1998 to the creation of NEAB/UFES in 2006. NEABs’ institutionalization is part of the timeline of Black mobilization in Brazil, especially after the

Zumbi dos Palmares March in 1995. Therefore, NEABS are the institutional locus of Black intellectual thought in higher education.

Although the literature on NEABs tends to decouple the centers created before the 1980s from the phenomenon of NEABS in the 2000s (Lima 2016; Passos 2006*;* Rezende and Pereira 2014; Santos 2011), the same does not happen with the Brazilian Association of Black Researchers (ABPN) and the federal government. In 2010, ABPN published a catalog of NEABS 2010. They Included CEAO from UFBA as one of the NEABs. In 2012, the federal government listed CEAO as one of the NEABs. Also, ABPN included another type of NEAB on their list, the Núcleos de Estudos Afro-brasileiros e Indígenas – NEABI *(*Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous Studies Nuclei). NEABIs are associated with Federal institutes of Education, Science, and Technology. In 2008, Brazil's government created the Federal Institutes of Education, Science and Technology. These free public institutes are the outcome of the federalization of higher education that transformed former technical schools into federal institutes by Law No. 11.645/08. The government also created and expanded institutes. The technological institutes are secondary and higher education institutions. Federal institutes are responsible both for training students in higher education, as they offer higher level courses specifically in education and technology (Brasil 2008).

NEABIs are an outcome of racial equality policies proposed by the Secretariat of Policies for Racial Equality, affirmative action policies and the mandatory teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture (Law No. 10.639 2003). According to Silva Martins and Souza (2021), Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous Nuclei Centers' (NEABIs) were created as an outcome of the Racial Equality Secretariat. After the enactment of Law No. 11.645/08, SEPPIR played a leading role in the creation of NEABIs. Araújo et al. (2018) explain that the NEABIs at federal

institutes are responsible for studying the condition of Black and Indigenous students, to create policies to connect indigenous, *quilombolas* and Black communities to the institutes. In the case of the Federal Institute of Ceará, their NEABI was created in 2017. Its mission is to conduct research to promote racial equality and human rights (Araújo et al. 2018). Botton and Breno (2020) believe NEABIs, as well as other nuclei within federal institutes, must advocate for inclusive policies within institutions and should establish a relationship with populations related to the nucleus outside the university.

### 2.3 Race Relations in Brazil and the United States

Historically, Afro-Brazilian Studies and comparative studies of Brazil and the United States were not entirely separated (Oliveira 2019; Sansone 2012). The genesis of Afro-Brazilian Studies was highly influenced by anthropological studies about African Americans. Later, the policies to correct the effects of racial discrimination in countries such as South Africa and the United States has been an important element of Afro-Brazilian movement activists' rhetoric. Afro-diasporic interconnections have made the political struggle of Blacks in several countries a mirror and catalyst for local agendas. The terms "apartheid" or "Jim Crow" are used to illustrate racial issues in both Brazil and the United States (Alberto 2017; Domingues 2005; Washington 2006). However, the comparison to white supremacy in the United States was a key element of silencing Black movements (Grin 2011; Martins 2004). It is important to understand what we gain and what we lose—in analytical terms—when comparing countries. Considering the frequency of these comparisons, I limited the literature on race relations by relevance and type of research. Unfortunately, there are less serious publications aimed at denying racism in Brazil that use the comparison with the United States to confirm the 'nonexistence of racism in Brazil.' However, the lack of accuracy in comparative race relations studies is not only a problem of bad

faith. It is also connected to country-specific tendencies in racial studies, translation problems and the access of Black intellectuals to academia and the publishing market. In the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a tradition of comparative studies in the United States which considered Brazil more harmonious or less racist than the United Studies. Many of these studies were carried out by Black intellectuals such as J. A. Rogers, Herbert B Alexander and Mary W. Williams who sought, through comparison, to emphasize the harshness of race relations in the United States (Hellwig 1990). Until the 1990s, the media used the term "cordial racism" to describe race relations in Brazil (Turra and Venturini 1995). Given that racism in Brazil was defined in softer ways within the country, it is no surprise it was also viewed in this way outside the country. The debates developed in the previous sections about the presence and visibility of Black intellectuals in Brazil may also explain why for many years, the mainstream racial discourse tended to diminish or deny the impact of racism in the daily lives of Brazilians.

In the case of comparative race relations studies of Brazil and the United States I identify two distinct paradigms, the paradigm of difference, and the paradigm of similarity. I define the paradigm of difference as the group of studies that start from the differences between racial relations in Brazil and the USA as a research premise. Comparative studies of race relations have often been used to promote hierarchies between countries. The paradigm of difference does not investigate differences, it presents difference as a proposition, and tries to prove it in scientific investigation. On the one hand, this paradigm is in dialogue with the intellectual history of comparisons between Brazil and the United States, because the racial difference between these countries was considered undeniable reality. There are studies by North American Brazilianists such as Carl Degler and Michael Hanchard, and Afro-Brazilians such as Clovis Moura, who, even while primarily analyzing one country, compared it to the other. There are also studies of

difference between racial discrimination in Brazil and the United States by white Brazilian intellectuals such as Oracy Nogueira and Americans such as George Andrews. I classify these studies as belonging to the paradigm of similarity in comparative studies on race relations in Brazil and the United States. The similarity paradigm is contemporary in the literature on race relations. It is an outcome of criticisms of some analytical models rooted in the paradigm of difference (Bairros, 1996), and the debates about the similarity of discrimination and social structures in the African diaspora presented in studies focused on racial order (Daniel 2006), slavery (Marx 1998), inequality (Andrews 2014), affirmative action (Feres 2007; Grin 2011), violence (Vargas 2018), discrimination (Lamont et al. 2016), and mobilization (Gonzalez and Hasenbalg 1982). Thus, the classification of a study as being categorized as a paradigm of similarity simply means this study compares race relations in Brazil and the United States having similarities as hypotheses to be proved.

Carl Degler's book "Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States" was highly influential in the field of comparative studies between Brazil and the United States. The publication won a Pulitzer Prize for the innovation of the mixed-race category in Brazil as the key-difference between the outcomes of Black movements in Brazil and the United States. In the book "Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo," Michal Hanchard purports that Black movement's achievements in Brazil have shortcomings based on his comparison with mass protests during the Civil Rights movement in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s. Yet his subsequent book, "Party/Politics: Horizons in Black Political Thought" clarifies Brazil´s sustained movements as he includes political parties as forms of mobilization. In "O Negro no Brasil e nos Estados Unidos (The Black person in Brazil and in the United States)", George Reid Andrews starts from the same premise as

Hanchard in *Orpheus and Power*. Andrews (1985) effectively makes a comparison between Black movements in Brazil and the United States. However, Andrews (1985) affirms that Brazilian Black movements "would have to learn" from North America and not the other way around. Andrews also makes statements not supported by evidence, such as the Black movement in São Paulo was more powerful than in other states because racism there was more explicit. Clovis Moura proposes an epistemological change in Brazilian social sciences in “Dialética Radical do Brasil Negro (Radical Dialectic of Black Brazil)”. The book proposes the use of historical and dialectical materialism to explain the reality of Black people in Brazil. Moura compares Brazil to the United States to criticize the fact that there is less academic publishing of Black Brazilian authors. The author was impressed with slave narratives, the cultural anthologies of Henry Louis Gates, and Ana Julia Cooper’s essays. Moura believed the lack of publications of Black intellectuals delayed the intellectual development of the Black community. He was unaware of many intellectuals outside of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Historiographical works reveal there had been prominent Black intellectuals in Brazil since the nineteenth century and they formed coalitions in defense of an eminently Black collective agenda from different regions of the country (Pinto 2018). In “Preconceito Racial de Marca e Preconceito Racial de Origem” (Racial Prejudice of Race and Racial Prejudice of Origin) Oracy Nogueira investigates the differences in racial prejudice in Brazil and the United States. Nogueira believes race relations in Brazil and the United States are distinct due to prejudice in the United States being based on origin, and in Brazil based on color. However, Nogueira relies on the notion of the one drop rule for the United States and entirely dissociates racial belonging from phenotype (Nogueira 2006, 299). Nogueira also generalizes the racial behavior of North Americans saying Black Americans would be more aware, sensitive, and reactive than Black Brazilians, and Black Brazilians were

friendlier with other racial groups than Black Americans. Overall, the study is the outcome of debates in the 1950s and 1960s, and Nogueira tried to prove there were different forms of discrimination existed in these countries rather than simply denying the existence of racial discrimination in Brazil. However, in all these comparative studies of Brazil and the United States, prejudice in Brazil is viewed as milder. In relation to Brazil, Nogueira focuses on opportunities of inclusion that would not exist in the United States in social relations, public spaces, ideology, and social etiquette. Some of Nogueira's statements were questioned by future studies.

Many scholars such as Anthony Marks and Reginald Daniel presented alternatives to Degler's remarks. Anthony Marx, in "Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil" analyzes some similarities in race relations and national discourse in Brazil and the United States. Marx's study is a response to intellectuals such as Carl Degler. Even in acknowledging some differences, Marx highlights similarities in the consequences of the system of slavery in both countries as the system was brutal, yet he characterizes the figure of the worker-city-slave as someone with limited "freedom" to work around the city while also showing Black people's status as non-citizens. Reginald Daniel also questions Carl Degler's conclusions when analyzing racial dynamics in Brazil and the United States in "Race and Multiraciality in Brazil and the United States: Converging Paths?," Daniel claims the end of legal segregation in the United States and the debunking of racial democracy ideology in Brazil brought the racial order in both countries. The multiracial reality in the United States and the existence of affirmative action policies for Black students in Brazil are evidence of the converging paths between both countries. In the study, "Racial Inequality in Brazil and the United States, 1990-2010," George Andrews compares a set of indicators between Blacks and

whites in both countries. By concluding that levels of racial inequality are higher in Brazil than in the United States, Andrews based his work on the similarity paradigm by similar labor and socioeconomic indicators in both countries. In “Combatendo o Racismo: Brasil, África do Sul e Estados Unidos” (Combating Racism: Brazil, South Africa, and the United States), Antonio Guimarães (1999) compares structures of racism in the three countries. He claims that Black mobilization in Brazil has distinct contours due to the influence of class organizations such as unions and political parties on the social agenda. In the case of the United States, despite the visibility and potency of Black mobilization, the history of racial policies produced updated discriminatory practices, rather than an end to the color line.

Another scholar considering differences in race relations in the two countries is Thomas Skidmore who was one of the most prominent Brazilianists of his generation (Carrijo 2007). An important part of his contribution is to the field of race relations in Brazil, but also race relations in comparative perspective. In “Toward a Comparative Analysis of Race Relations Since Abolition in Brazil and the United States” initially, Skidmore highlights important differences in the slave system in Brazil such as its size because slavery was national instead of regional, and the presence of slavery in different forms of economic activities such as plantations, mining activities and commerce. He focuses on the racial classification model between countries defining the United States as bi-racial and Brazil as multiracial. However, in “Bi-racial U.S.A. vs. Multi-racial Brazil: Is the Contrast Still Valid?”, Skidmore changes his discussion on distinctions between racial classification in Brazil and the United States. Skidmore highlights racial mixing was not exclusive to Brazil; it also happened in the United States. However, in Brazil this mixing was more prevalent during slavery among white European men and enslaved women than in the United States. The race of the father was important in defining the children's

racial belonging, but race relations during slavery were not enough to explain contemporary race relations. The United States is not a bi-racial nation, not only because of Hispanic immigration, but because it has different ethnic groups. In addition, the notion of a biracial nation excluded divergent experiences of mixed-race Americans. In the case of Brazil, contemporary demography has shown that the living conditions of *pardos* and Blacks are not substantially different. He denied the possibility of a "mulatto escape hatch." Demography and research also supported Black movements claims about racial inequality in Brazil. The scholarship and claims of Black activists bring together the social realities of the two countries, despite important historical and demographic differences.

Lélia Gonzalez and Carlos Hasenbalg initiated an epistemological change by comparing the parallel socioeconomic status and Black mobilization in Brazil and the United States. They were followed by intellectuals such as João Vargas (2008, 2018), Anthony Marx (1998), George Andrews (2014), João Feres (2007), and Michèle Lamont (2016). The work of Andrews (2014), Feres (2007), and Marx (1998) are derived from the pioneering work of Lélia Gonzalez and Carlos Hasenbalg (1982). Lélia Gonzalez and Carlos Hasenbalg's book, "O Lugar do Negro (The Place of Black People)" discusses a number of topics such as American assimilation, Black mobilization, and the need for a paradigm shift in Afro-Brazilian and Black Studies. Gonzalez and Hasenbalg (1982) advocate that the comparison between Brazil and the United States be a dialogue that answers the book's main question, "Where are Black people in Brazil and in the United States?" In this sense, by analyzing that Black people occupy a low socio-economic position in both countries, the study fits into the similarity paradigm. In the book, "Getting Respect: Responding to Stigma and Discrimination in the United States, Brazil, and Israel," Michèle Lamont et al. analyzed the perception of bias and discrimination in three countries

including Brazil, Israel, and the United States. Brazil and the United States are viewed as countries where racial inequality persisted after the abolition of slavery because of legal segregation and/ or institutionalized discriminatory practices. The interviewees in the United States perceive the prevalence of racial bias over class issues. In the case of Afro-Brazilians, there is a great level of awareness of race and racism in daily life.

The comparison between Brazil and the United States was important to the rhetoric supporting affirmative action policies in Brazil. The literature analyzes justifications for comparison of affirmative action and public opinion. In the article "Comparando Justificações das Políticas de Ação Afirmativa: EUA e Brasil" (Comparing Affirmative Action Justifications: Brazil and the United States) Feres (2007) argues affirmative action in the United States was based on ideas of reparations, social justice, and diversity. The United States created a model that was later adopted by Brazil. However instead of copying the American model, Brazilian policy makers adapted affirmative action to Brazil's reality. In the paper, "Políticas Contra o Racismo e Opinião Pública: Comparações entre Brasil e Estados Unidos" (Policies Against Racism and Public Opinion: Comparisons between Brazil and the United States) Edward Telles and Stanley Bailey (2002) conducted a comparative analysis of affirmative action's support among Black and white communities in Brazil and the United States. They found greater support for policies to correct racial inequalities in Brazil. Blacks are more supportive of those policies than whites. In the United States, the level of rejection of whites to racial equality policies is more accentuated. Monica Grin (2011), in "Direito, Opinião Pública e Racismo nos Estados Unidos e no Brasil: Duas Experiências de Ações Afirmativas" (Law, Public Opinion and Racism in the United States and Brazil: Two Affirmative Action Experiences) finds there is controversy in the affirmative action debate in Brazil because of the comparison to the United States. Affirmative action

policies began to lose public support in the United States. The United States Supreme Court has ruled in favor and against affirmative action in different cases. In Brazil, it is difficult to come up with an egalitarian solution to inequality. Yet the adoption of affirmative action policies is the present solution to combat inequality.

In the book, "The Denial of Antiblackness: Multiracial Redemption and Black Suffering," João Costa Vargas (2018) discusses antiblackness as a theoretical framework to analyze surveillance and racial violence in Brazil and the United States. Vargas finds similar inequality in residential segregation, school punishment, and youth imprisonment in Brazil and the United States. Antiblackness is the logic of surveillance and incarceration policies in Rio de Janeiro and Texas. However, antiblackness is denied by racial democracy claims in Brazil and colorblindness in the United States. Vargas conducted a similar study before in his book, "Never Meant to Survive: Genocide and Utopias in Black Diaspora Communities" (2008). The author compares genocidal politics in Brazil and the United States based on the relationship between race and urban space. Hypersegregation is a mechanism of Black genocide in Los Angeles where Black communities are segregated. They are subjected to many forms of surveillance and institutional violence. The media portrays Black mobilization as dangerous and extreme, even when there is evidence that Black communities are the victim. In the case of Rio de Janeiro, Vargas (2008) explains the hyperconsciousness of race and negation dialectic. On the one hand, the practices of racialization reinforce racist structures. On the other hand, the role of racism in the structure of both societies is negated.

Another book that compares the two countries and social relations is Chinyere Osuji's "Boundaries of Love: Interracial Marriage and the Meaning of Race." Osuji investigates interracial boundaries in the United States and Brazil by focusing on marriage. Racial mixing is

part of national history and identity in both counties. In the United States' racial mixing was policed by means of legal segregation, prohibition of interracial marriage, and lynching. In Brazil, in the in the nineteenth century, the federal government implemented whitening policies. Osuji (2019) concludes that interracial relationships in both countries are immersed in everyday practices of discrimination, social, racial and gender hierarchies. Not only do interracial relationships not challenge racial biases, they adapt and reproduce racial ideologies inside families in both countries. In the paper, "Racial Democracy and Intermarriage in Brazil and the United States," Jack Draper (2011) analyzes the increase in interracial marriages in Brazil and in the United States. However, the author claims that interracial relationships have different meanings in both countries. In the United States, given the history of prohibition of interracial marriage, an increase in interracial marriages led some authors to believe this increase was a sign of racial integration. In Brazil, the history of encouraging interracial marriage as a form of whitening, made interracial marriage seen by activists as a form of low racial consciousness.

Altogether, the paradigms of difference and similarity are a point of difference in the field. Historically, comparative studies have created hierarchies between countries. However, the paradigm of similarity includes authors interested in investigating transnational patterns in race relations.

Comparative studies in race relations asked questions why Black movements in Brazil did not perform the same way as Black movements in the United States (Hanchard 1994; Moura 1994), how racial identity and racial mixing affected racial identification in Brazil (Degler 1971), the contradictions between the national discourse, oppressive structures and racial identity (Marx 1998, Nogueira 2006), interracial relationships (Draper 2011; Osuji 2019), the outcome of public policies to reduce inequalities (Andrews 2014; Feres 2007; Guimarães 1999; Telles and Bailey

2002), and the theoretical approach best suited to encompass the Black experience in Brazil and the United States (Gonzalez and Hasenbalg 1982; Nogueira 2006; Skidmore 1972, 1992; Vargas 2008, 2018). Comparative studies of race relations in Brazil and the United States help to demonstrate the impact of similar phenomena, such as racialization, interracial relations, police brutality, and slavery, and reality of Black people in these countries. Public policy comparative studies are recent. Generations and viewpoints within racial comparative studies vary widely. Degler (1971) and Hanchard (1994) disregarded different forms of Black mobilization and Black Brazilian intellectuals' analysis. Hanchard's (1998) book does not cite Gonzalez and Hasenbalg's (1982) work. A problem within this tradition is that transnational dialogue is often one-sided, as many publications and authors in Brazil are not cited in the United States. On the other hand, American authors such as Degler (1971) are overly cited, even though their theories have been challenged by more accurate explanations of reality.

This study brings all of those scholars together, as it is a comparative project that intentionally cites Black Brazilian intellectuals and brings them into critical dialogue with Black Studies conversations. Comparative studies of Brazil and the United States have not been devoted to the issue of Black Studies centers and departments. There are comparisons of the implementation of public policies such as affirmative action, but there have been no analyses of specific policy issues affecting higher education curriculum, such as Black Studies. Although the literature has advanced much in narrating the genesis of Black Studies in the United States; in the case of Afro-Brazilian Studies, the literature is still recent, and most scholarship is published in Portuguese, with only a few available in English.

To that end, my research study contributes to comparative studies about Black Studies in Brazil and the United States. I use a theoretical framework that draws from both the

revolutionary approach and the institutional approach of Black Studies. The intention of the present study is to understand how and if departments and centers work according to their mission. However, there is also an ideological issue. Historically, the project of institutionalizing Black Studies is not merely academic or institutional. It is part of the Black movement's agenda for equality. How and whether these departments relate to this political agenda is a topic I address. I position this research inside the post-1970 race relation traditions in Brazil. Afro-Brazilian Studies are related not only to Black culture, but to anti-racism and Black leadership. I adopt the paradigm of similarity within comparative racial studies to investigate the similarities and differences between both countries. Rather than assuming Black Studies and Afro-Brazilian Studies are similar or different by default, I investigate those institutions to understand its role in the broader agendas of Black movements in higher education. Despite the differences in public policies and educational models, Black intellectuals dialogue and debate these spaces.

# CHAPTER 3

## Methodology

I rely on qualitative and quantitative methodologies. This methodology chapter is organized into five parts which are positionality, conducting research during the Covid-19 pandemic in Brazil and the United States, epistemology, qualitative and quantitative methods, and limitations of the research. The section on epistemology is subdivided into Diaspora theory, Black feminist epistemology, and *Quilombismo*. The research is based on qualitative and quantitative methods and this chapter includes a discussion of the Web-based survey and distribution, sample and case study, archival work and secondary sources, and the in-depth interviews. Before discussing the methodology, I examine my positionality as a Black woman, activist, and graduate student in a Black studies department. After discussing my positionality, I present the challenges and adaptations I made to conduct research during the Covid-19 pandemic. I explain the quantitative methods of the survey on Afro-Brazilian Studies nuclei and centers, and the qualitative methods.

Initially the criteria I used to choose institutions for my United States sample was based on the existence of a doctoral program, the type of certification and political affiliation. For the Brazilian sample, I used the centers' date of creation as a determinant of study inclusion. I conducted a total of 25 interviews via online platforms with chairs, faculty, and retired faculty from selected departments and centers. I conducted archival in-person work at the University of Brasilia and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and accessed Harvard University and Temple University's digital archives. I collected data on the Federal University of Bahia and the Federal University of Paraná based on their websites.

The decision about the methodology to employ is an outcome of the research itself. My research goal is to understand how Black studies centers and departments in Brazil and the United States exist, survive and act politically as educational and anti-racist spaces in six different institutions. For this reason, I chose methodologies that would address these research interests. One of the most important goals is to highlight the voice of intellectuals in Black studies. At the start of my research, I established a relationship with departments, programs, centers, and intellectuals. This relationship building aided in access to information such as archives and the ability to reach scholars. Interviews with faculty contributed to the qualitative methods of the study. In terms of existing quantitative work, there is a discrepancy of quantitative information about Black studies departments and centers in Brazil and the United States. In the United States, systematic surveys track fluctuating number and characteristics of Black studies programs, centers, and departments. In Brazil, despite the mention of the number of centers in the literature, there is no official number of Afro-Brazilian studies centers, programs, and departments. For this reason, part of my work is dedicated to providing accurate numbers. My methodology is also a consequence of the period in which this research took place. In my case the Covid-19 pandemic began and has been ongoing during the research and writing of this project. Therefore, the Covid-19 pandemic had a considerable impact on the research methodology due to its global impact, in my life, family, and the universities in which I interacted.

### 3.1 Positionality

The purpose of this research is intrinsically connected to the intersections of my identity as an Afro-Brazilian woman, activist, and teacher. I completed my undergraduate studies in the second half of the 2000s. I was a student at the University of Brasília, one of the pioneer

universities of affirmative action in Brazil. However, I experienced the contradiction of being inside a university that – at that moment – was the vanguard of affirmative action. However, the university refused to change both its structure and its curriculum to accommodate Black students. In my first book, "Education of Ethnic-Racial Relations," I analyzed federal policies to implement the mandatory education of African and Afro-Brazilian History and Culture in basic education in Brazil (Law no 10.639/2003). One of my research questions was "What were universities doing to train teachers about African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture?" I identified the university as a focal point for future research. This led to my current research about Black Studies departments and centers in Brazil and the United States as institutional spaces that have the potential to fight eurocentrism and institutional racism in universities. I believe the work of these departments and centers are public policy instruments that can aid in racial equality. Later, I moved to the United States thinking that the field of Black studies was more institutionalized than in Brazil. While, I discovered a different environment, in the United States I found that Black intellectuals face similar challenges as Black intellectuals in Brazil.

I had many expectations, frustrations, and disappointments with the University of Brasilia and the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. In both universities there was an official discourse of diversity and inclusion. However, the institutional practices were of disinvestment and devaluation of Black intellectuals in Black Studies and Afro-Brazilian studies. These experiences made me question the institutions discourse, especially in relation to the commitment to policies aimed at Black Studies and Black students. It became evident that one must be suspicious of supposedly progressive spaces, especially in anti-Black and violent contexts such as those in Brazil and the United States. I believe organizations and institutions are aimed to achieve what individuals cannot. I realized that the existence of spaces dedicated to

Black Studies was often a safe conduit to exempt institutions from doing more for their Black students, staff, and faculty, as well as for combating racism.

The fact that I am currently a graduate student in a Black Studies department offered some opportunities and challenges. As a historically young discipline in higher education, Black Studies have faced the challenge of legitimizing itself. This makes some professionals inside the field cautious of external evaluation and analysis. Being from the field aligned me with the major goals of the institutions I analyzed and professionals I interviewed. I am not an outsider, and therefore, I may have access to information and people someone outside of the field may not. I had pleasant experiences of genuine joy, support, and interest in my research from my interviewees. On the other hand, the need to critically analyze the institutions and departments located at these institutions was a concern, as some of my informants might hope that my solidarity and understanding of the institutional fragility of some centers and departments would lead me to remain silent about the challenges they face. Another concern was that my position could soften the kind of criticism I would make. Because I am a doctoral student in a Black Studies department, and a Black Studies department could be a potential workplace for me in the future, a plausible critique is that I would not provide a critical assessment of these departments. However, in both countries, some of my interviewees used this opportunity to reflect critically on their departments' relation to the university and their relation to the university. They were self-critical rather than glossing over challenges. While there are always pitfalls for "insiders" research, this project considers Black studies spaces to be reflective of larger Black struggles and the limitations of universities. In a way, I can say that if I were not from the field of Black studies, this research would have been impossible because my solidarity networks in the field introduced me to important research sources.

Outside the field of Black studies, my positionality can be questioned because of my insider status. Social sciences have historically questioned the positionality of insiders in research on race (Collins, 1986; Young 2004). The emergence of Black studies, feminist epistemology, Black feminism, activist research, and many other critical theories challenge the idea of scientific neutrality and the positionality of white men, who are viewed as objective scholars who can research everyone. However, the insider and outsider status are eminently fluid (Young 2004). By analyzing my own field, I am an insider. However, I am an outsider in several other ways, I am a Brazilian conducting research in the United States and although Brazilian I am a doctoral student in an American University conducting research in Brazil. My experiences at Brazilian universities were different than my experiences in the United States. In Brazil I had less financial support than the United States. However, in the United States I felt less a part of an academic community than in Brazil. Yet, in both countries, I felt that the area of knowledge of Black studies was discredited. Also, as an intellectual in training, I am not a university professor and I do not experience the conflicts and dilemmas that this position causes in everyday life. In this way, I am in a space of constant similarity and foreignness.

Overall, I believe my positionality helped me to overcome potential dilemmas. The field of Black studies is an important institutional locus for Black intellectuals, which is why I decided to change my original field of Geography to pursue a degree in Black studies, even acknowledging in Brazil my degree might not fit many job positions at universities. At the same time, I believe denying the challenges in the field will not strengthen it. Black Studies were born as a critique of traditional sciences, but its institutionalization may or may not challenge the structures the field was born to criticize. However, the resistance of those in the field indicates

that intellectuals continue to believe in Black studies as a project that values Black contributions to the sciences, and, in some way, challenge the *status quo* of higher education.

### 3.2 Conducting Research During the Covid-19 Pandemic in Brazil and the United States of America

The Covid-19 pandemic hit Brazil and the United States significantly, with both countries leading in Covid-related deaths (Johns Hopkins University, 2021). The Covid-19 pandemic has profound effects on academic work, not only because of the limitations that are imposed on research, but also because of the accumulating losses, decrease in resources, and changes in perspectives and priorities of universities and countries. The Covid-19 pandemic changed transnational relations between Brazil and the United States. Since May of 2020, the United States imposed travel restrictions to people coming from Brazil. I received an award from the Center of Latin American and Caribbean studies from UWM to support my research trip to Brazil. However, I was unable to use it due to these restrictions. The university could not support research in Brazil due to the uncontrolled pandemic. In addition to bureaucratic restrictions, I lost ten family members, friends, or colleagues to Covid-19. The constant grief had a drastic impact on my mental health which also impacted this research. Covid-19 also revealed other parallels between Brazil and the United States. In November 2020, when I moved from the United States to Brazil, I had access to free Covid-19 tests at the UWM. When I arrived in Brazil, public health centers did not provide me tests, even though I came from the United States at the height of the pandemic. In March 2021, when I took my mother to receive the first dose of the vaccine in Brazil, I had already received 2 emails from the UWM inviting students to get vaccinated in the USA. My mother was 69 years old, thus eligible for the vaccine. There was no prospect of me

having access to the vaccine until July of 2021 as I am 35 years old, and this age group was set for later vaccination. I got my first dose on July 29th and the second dose on August 26th.

Universities, including those in my sample, adopted measures to decrease the presence of people on campus. University restrictions limited my ability to do work on campus, thus I was mostly limited to the internet and the telephone. In the case of Brazil, the communication channels with faculty were inefficient and overloaded. An employee at one of the universities informed me that she also had difficulty communicating with staff. The pandemic has overwhelmed faculty members emails. In many cases, they were simply unable to read all their emails, so they opened them according to the name of the sender. Even when I had telephone contact with professors, it was very difficult to schedule interviews. In the case of the United States, emails were more efficient. However, many of the interviews that were not conducted were due to people refusing to be interviewed. I incessantly sent many emails, and I did not want to overwhelm faculty already burdened with online teaching and meetings. The pandemic proliferated academic events in Brazil, which, until then, were in decline due to budgetary reasons. Still, the worst outcome of the pandemic was death. I had to reschedule or suspend interviews due to the death of friends and relatives of the interviewees. One potential interviewee died due to Covid-19 and some others were infected and hospitalized.

The Covid-19 pandemic made it impossible for me to do onsite fieldwork at the six universities. I could not travel between Brazil and the United States and there were travel limitations within the countries. Once I returned to Brazil I could not return to the United States. I could not meet professors and department staff in person. Nor could I do onsite archival work. It reduced the number of people available to be interviewed. Some people died, others were in grief, sick, and some people were busy helping family members affected by the pandemic. To get

around these problems, I used virtual means to contact people and institutions. I publicized the call for interviews to several people who knew professors in the selected departments.

### 3.3 Epistemology

In chapter two, I defined Black studies program, centers, and departments as political instruments of the Black struggle. The relationship between Black studies and the Black political struggle encompasses a set of theoretical frameworks. Methodologically, this research is embedded in three Black intellectual traditions: African diaspora theory, *Quilombismo* and Black feminism. I rely on African diaspora theory to analyze education in Brazil and the United States by focusing on Black studies centers and departments in the university. Therefore, the African diaspora goes beyond the transatlantic migration (Edwards, et al 2000). It is based on shared strategies of survival, resistance, citizenship, and dignity. Black feminism in Brazil and in the United States developed a body of fruitful analysis to undercover institutional racism and sexism. It also presents different techniques to raise the voice of Black intellectuals to the status of knowledge makers. *Quilombismo* has re-emerged in the literature as an epistemology capable of integrating anti-capitalism and anti-racism (Afolabi, 2012; Da Costa; 2018). It challenges neoliberal policies and racism in Brazil and in United States.

#### 3.3.1 Diaspora Theory

Diaspora theory is at the foundation of Black Studies and Afro-Brazilian studies. One tenant of this theory is examining the relationship of Africa to the African diaspora. In the book *The Negro*, originally published in 1915, Du Bois presents a geopolitical analysis of Africa and the African diaspora starting from the transatlantic slave trade. Du Bois (2001) contextualizes the origin of racial prejudice against darker people and the characterization of Africa as the land of Blacks. In this sense, Du Bois examines Black people in historical and geographical terms. This

is important because the idea of Black people with no culture and undetermined origin was recurrent. Also, it represents anti-black discrimination as a transnational phenomenon, rather than an isolated phenomenon. Another component of Diaspora theory is examining the social science studies of Afro-descendants throughout the diaspora. The Afro-Brazilian press in the 1920s had already contrasted the life of Black Americans under Jim Crow to the second-class citizenship of Afro-Brazilians (Alberto, 2017).

Many studies based on African diaspora experiences focus on cultural studies and literary experiences (Chassot, 2018; Gates, 2010; Gilroy, 1993). Paul Gilroy believes the Black Atlantic represents a complex unit of analysis of the modern world (Gilroy, 1993). The transnational and intercultural dialogue that resulted from the Black Atlantic is highlighted as a common practice of African diaspora culture. Not only is there a dialogue among those in the Diaspora, but there is also stigma against diasporic people. Hanchard (2004) connects the global character of anti-Blackness to the formation of Black transnational politics. The African diaspora and the African continent are historically connected by different forms of struggle and political mobilization. Hanchard (2004) argues that African diaspora networks and linkages have debated political, cultural, and social issues for decades. Therefore, Black Studies should analyze these experiences with the same degree given to the African American experience.

An example of including African Diaspora people beyond African Americans, is the study of African descendant people in Latin America. From contact with diverse cultures and populations in Latin America, Gonzalez (1988) argued that the African presence of the Americas and the Caribbean changed the culture of the region. Colonialism played an important role in present-day racial hierarchies on the American continent. Lélia Gonzalez was concerned with highlighting the leadership and struggle of Black communities in the making of Brazil (1982;

1983). However, two other issues were central to her work. There was a need to build a concept beyond Brazil that encompassed the experiences of people of African descent in the Americas, and the need for a theory that challenged the imperialist and politico-ideological domination of the United States. Even in the case of political minorities, such as the American Black population, there was a tendency for higher visibility of events in the United States to the detriment of the rest of the Black population living in South and Central America. The *Amefricanidade* political category was created out of this growing concern. *Amefricanidade* is a concept that contrasts with the limitations of the term African American which is often utilized in the United States. The use of "American" as a synonym for North American conceals America's continental diversity. Thus, *Améfrica* encompasses the African diaspora experiences in America, highlighting the diversity of experiences in the North, Center, Caribbean and South, and the diasporic experiences in concepts such as Negritude, Pan-Africanism, and Afrocentricity.

Comparative studies on race are an important part of social science studies in Brazil and the United States. However, those studies are methodologically different from studies based in African and African diaspora studies' epistemologies. African diaspora theory applied in Africa and African Diaspora studies epistemology is connected and inseparable from analyses that have an objective of producing knowledge related to the demands of Black communities (Tillotson & McDougal, 2013). For Tillotson and McDougal (2013) African and African diaspora studies models and methodology should serve the collective interests of Black communities. Thus, there is a difference in studies about Black people, or made by Black people, and studies aimed to provide solutions for problems in cooperation with Black communities. Considering this debate, I frame Black and Afro-Brazilian studies departments and centers as institutional spaces created to find solutions to the Black struggle in higher education.

Historically, Black and grassroots communities developed solutions to their own problems. This community's knowledge is often overlooked by a perspective that solutions to problems of marginalized communities are top-down. Social and grassroots technologies for social inclusion can bring solutions to the needs of Latin American communities, especially in terms of knowledge and education (Smith, 2014; Thomas, 2009). The concept of social technologies has two premises. The first is a criticism of the idea that technology and innovation are exclusively associated with capitalist production, and the second is the need to recognize social movements and organizations as holders of knowledge to solve social problems. Therefore, social technologies include development, inclusion, and democracy solutions that collectively generate knowledge (Dagnino, 2010). Black Studies are an African diasporic social technology which deals with a set of topics such as the need to create spaces for studies of Black people and communities, the need to occupy spaces of power such as the production of knowledge, and the urge to transform the university into a place with the potential to combat racism. The debate about the need for change in higher education and the role of Black intellectuals and epistemologies are issues present in Black Studies and Afro-Brazilian Studies. An analysis based on diaspora theory can reveal how Black Studies is a social technology and how these departments and centers engage in Black struggle in both countries.

### 3.3.2 Black Feminist Epistemology

Black feminist epistemology highlights the structures of oppression in the production of knowledge (Collins, 2000). The knowledge Black women produce is historically subjugated and located outside of academia. The analytical framework of intersectionality positions the experiences of women of color at the intersection of race, class, and gender (Crenshaw, 1991). Afro-Latin American feminism challenges mainstream feminism by incorporating the racial

dynamic that formed social relations in Latin America (Gonzalez, 1988). For Sueli Carneiro, racism determines gender hierarchies. However mainstream feminists were reluctant to incorporate an antiracist agenda (Carneiro, 2003). In the Brazilian context, Lélia Gonzalez highlighted the flaws in Brazilian social sciences that disregard Black women's intellectual contributions (Cardoso, 2014). Gonzalez (1983) finds that research models in the social sciences disregard the experiences of Black people in general, and Black women particularly. Thus, it is necessary to build a specific theoretical framework to encompass Black women's experiences.

Sueli Carneiro (2005) advocates that the project of educational exclusion of Black people has two dimensions: institutional barriers for educational attainment of Black people and the systematic erasure of Black intellectual contributions. She adapts the notion of *Epistemicide* (epistemic + homicide) from Boaventura Souza Santos (1995) to characterize the unfeasibility of Black intellectuals in academia. In dialogue with bell hooks and Cornell West in *Breaking Bread : Insurgent Black Intellectual Life*, Carneiro argues Black intellectuals are often portrayed as outsiders in academia. These historical instruments of exclusion made Black intellectuals form their own intellectual communities. However, these communities do not overcome the isolation and hardship Black intellectuals face in universities. To be recognized, Black intellectuals must surrender to the canon of traditional sciences. For Black women intellectuals, epistemicide has specific patterns of trauma. Carneiro narrates her own insecurity and self-doubt as a philosopher. The continuing intellectual devaluation she was subjected to as a Black woman is not easily undone. To do her work as activist and intellectual, she had to overcome the internalized doubts about her intellectual capacity daily.

Epistemicide and Black feminist theory have the potential to reveal power dynamics in institutions responsible for knowledge production institutions. In the context of research about

Black studies, Black feminist theory helps to highlight how departments enable and articulate diverse Black contributions. However, the task of centering Black women's experiences bring special challenges to institutional research in a white male dominated space such as the university. On the one hand, it is important to note if Black women are professors in these departments in Brazil and the United States. On the other hand, I must investigate if Black women intellectual production guides the direction of departments of Black studies departments and centers. Finally, it is important to examine how the theoretical, methodological, and political contributions of Black women are incorporated in Black studies departments. Black Feminist epistemology provides a tool of dialogue for potential for institutional research (Collins, 2000). The comparative approach used for this research promotes dialogue instead of hierarchies. In this way, the experiences of these intellectuals are the basis of knowledge that I explore in this work. The research on the institutional history of these spaces seeks the voices of intellectuals and activists. The intention is not to compare department's work to find the best model. Rather, I will highlight experiences that can provide an analysis of the solutions and challenges. These departments and centers are not isolated institutions. They are part of the history of Black intellectuality.

By applying the concept of "outsider within" to Black studies centers and departments in Brazil and the United States, I highlight the contradictions inherent in anti-racist spaces in predominantly white institutions. Patricia Hill Collins uses the concept of "outsider within" to describe the situation of African American women in academia and domestic workers who worked for white families, where they gained inside knowledge although they were outsiders. It articulates a position of marginality as producers of knowledge, but it is also a strategic insight that allows an outward look and closeness. As places of Black intellectuality, or even Black

people as objects of study, these centers and departments are relatively new academic sites in universities. They are a foreign body within a traditional structure. From the perspective of Black feminism, this work is intended to explore the invisible work of a group of intellectuals and activists. The department of Black studies, theoretically, is part of a Black community. It is necessary to investigate to what extent these spaces of Black studies are Black in their faculty. However, a department is a physical building within a space which is not necessarily willing to be the host of that community. Departments and centers are the outsider within (Collins, 1986) of the university as they are places of self-definition that wish to overcome an externally defined image of Black people, Black communities, and Africa as intellectually unworthy of academia. As an academic place, these spaces have the work of doing research and employing methodologies that grapple with issues important to Black people and communities and do the corrective work of undoing the work that white epistemologies have done in characterizing Black people as a social problem and disabling Black intellectual production.

Black feminist epistemology guides not only the definition of the methods used for this research but also the ethical background that supports it. The research is about institutions, not individuals. If, on the one hand, institutions are less vulnerable than individuals, then being criticized is an important part of their improvement. On the other hand, Black Studies centers and departments are very vulnerable to criticism. For this reason, I practice an ethic considering their position. The first ethical principle is derived from the ethics of caring (Collins, 2000) and purports those institutions are made of the work of many individuals with their singularities and important points of view and intellectual contributions. Even when disagreeing between them, or when I disagree with all of them, they have the right to a voice and to their unique opinion. Using the ethics of personal accountability, I contextualize their institutional outcomes. The

centers and departments are the outcome of the actions of the people in those departments. These people are reacting to a set of historical, social, racial, and gender conditions.

Another element to consider is the fragility of Black faculty, especially Black women in academia. Croom and Patton (2011) highlight the tense and vulnerable position of Black women professors at universities. The faculty of most universities are still predominantly white and male. It is harder for Black women intellectuals to achieve the status of professor. Yet Black women who access this space of power are often more vulnerable to academic pressures and policies. In the paper "How Does It Feel to Be a Problem? A Conversation between Two Feminist Black Queer Femme Chairs," professors Mel Michelle Lewis and Shannon J. Miller emphasize that narrating their experiences at universities as Black feminists and queer women is a sign of "bravery." It is alarming that speaking openly about career challenges is an act of bravery for Black intellectuals. For this reason, I avoid exposing my interviewees to future constraints, or even institutional barriers in their careers. As a result, I decided to make my interviewees anonymous.

### 3.3.3 Quilombismo

Now that I have discussed how Black feminist epistemology contributes to this project, I turn to another framework that is integral. *Quilombismo* is a theoretical framework and a political handbook created by Abdias do Nascimento in the 1970s. Inspired by *The African Origin of Civilization* of Cheikh Anta Diop, Nascimento proposed a Brazilian version of Afrocentricity. According to Nascimento, in Brazil, people of African descent and indigenous communities have an ancestral solidarity in fighting together for mutual liberation from European colonialism. In that notion, the *quilombo* (communities of run-away Brazilian enslaved people) represent a pivotal example of Afro-Brazilian insurgency. Black radicalism is associated

with different agendas throughout the history of Black activism. Michael C. Dawson (2013) believes American Black radicalism is connected to the work of Black leftist activists such as the Hubert Harrison, A. Philip Randolph, and Claudia Jones. Dawson (2013) points out that the work of Black activists within the communist party is often excluded from both the history of Black activism and the history of communism. However, the work of Black activists such as Ida B. Wells in the anti-lynching campaign is also a relevant radical Black activism. Different movements in Brazil and in the United States were once classified as Black radical movements such as the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), the Black Power Party and the Unified Black Movement (Movimento Negro Unificado – MNU) (Dawson, 2013; Figueirêdo 2018; Joseph, 2006). In the intellectual traditions of the Brazil and the United States, this radicalism establishes a causal relationship between anti- racism, anti-capitalism, decolonization, and combating all forms of oppression encompassing gender, sexuality and social class struggle. Thus, *quilombismo* represents the rescue of this Black radicalism by incorporating Black insurgency, communal living, and valorization of African and Afro-Brazilian traditions.

*Quilombismo* is highlighted as an epistemology capable of integrating anti-racism, anticapitalism  and it proposes to search for solutions to the problems of Black communities within their own insurgency and political struggle practices. For Afolabi (2012) *quilombismo* articulates the political struggle of citizenship rights for Black Brazilians and Black radicalism. The institutionalization of the Black struggle provided new forms of Black cooptation. Afolabi was concerned with affirmative action being viewed as an end in itself, and that reformative enterprises, such as affirmative action, pushed the Black agenda away from radicality. Thus, *quilombismo* provided a powerful remedy by articulating memory construction, aesthetical commitment, and an insurgent political agenda. Alexandre Emboaba Da Costa (2018) defines

quilombismo as an Afro-Brazilian multidimensional praxis that articulates cultural, epistemological, and political anti-racist strategies. Da Costa (2018) uses *quilombismo* as an epistemology to analyze anti-Black racism and institutional anti-racist politics. The Lula (2002-2010) and Dilma Rousseff (2011-2015) governments were important for the adoption of racial equality policies in Brazil. While Brazil has had leftist leaders fighting for anti-racist policies, these leaders did not face structural issues of anti-racism in the country. Da Costa (2018) argues neoliberalism suffered a brief interruption but was resumed in Brazil with the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff in 2016.

The parallels between *Quilombismo* and Afrocentricity can be traced to different lenses. Both theories are centered in the experiences of African and African descendant people. However, in proposing *quilombismo* as a manifesto, Nascimento is less prescriptive than Asante. Despite the undeniable intellectual validity of Afrocentricity, the framework is immersed in many legitimacy debates (Alkebulan, 2007; Boyd, 2000). On the one hand, themes in Afrocentricity are still associated with Diop's ideas about the origin of African civilizations (Alkebulan, 2007). It also has some messianic tendencies such as calling intellectuals prophets (Asante, 2003). Although *quilombismo* has a theoretical character, its epistemological apparatus is more limited than Afrocentricity. I propose that even though Asante and Nascimento were politically aligned in terms of pan-Africanist debates, the relationship with the African continent, and the need to propose a theory that would align both intellectual and political aspirations of the Black diaspora community, they have different concerns. Asante is more concerned with prescribing an epistemology that serves the field of Black studies. While Nascimento is concerned with pushing the centrality of Black thought to the anti-racist, anti-capitalist, and revolutionary experiences of the diaspora, and advocating a dialogue with African heritages and

traditions. For this research, the main issue is the philosophical provocation that *quilombismo* brings to the relationship between Black insurgency and the relationship that the insurgent Black space establishes with hegemonic forces. Seeking to be a *quilombo*, represents the pursuit of a challenging, independent, and unapologetically Black political action.

The search for quilombo-like experiences is an important part of Afro-Brazilian intellectuality. In *Radical Dialectic of Black Brazil*, Clóvis Moura believes the centrality of the issues that affect Black people, and the social dynamics that engender these issues are important. Moura (1994) rescues historical experiences of Black radicalism, such as the *quilombos*, to highlight a continuity of Black insurgency, but also the development of Black technologies to combat racism and protect Black people from a state aimed at our annihilation. Lélia Gonzalez (2018) uses "quilombola" to exemplify resistance but also to connect current dilemmas with the past. Gonzalez (2018) highlighted the need of the same resilience and strategy of the ancestors who, while barely knowing the territory of Brazil built Black cities where they were able to live in freedom. Joao Vargas (2008) refers to the African and African Diaspora Studies department at the University of Texas as a *quilombo*. For Alex Ratts (2006) *quilombo* assumes different meanings in Afro-Brazilian intellectual analysis. It represents different forms of resistance against oppression, including academia. *Quilombos* were a theme overlooked in the beginning of Afro-Brazilian studies. It was the effort of Black intellectuals that elevated *quilombos* into a research theme. Beatriz Nascimento analyzed *quilombos* as Black alternative society's systems. Quilombos are an African phenomenon because of its connections with African forms of organization of the territory. It is the citizenship impediment of the slave society that form the need for the formation of segregated Black communities. However, it is also an African diasporic

structure, because quilombos merged different African contributions and responds to specific dynamics within African diaspora territories.

I apply *quilombismo* in Black studies and Afro-Brazilian studies centers and departments as a tool to understand the dialectic relationship of those spaces. Therefore, to be an intellectual in a Black studies department, the Black community should be a priority. If Black Studies centers and departments are academic quilombos, they must be spaces of protection, mobilization, and Black insurgency. However, as quilombos, they can also be spaces of isolation, scarcity of resources, and attacked by hegemonic powers. Therefore, a Black studies center or department fulfills its function not necessarily because of its academic recognition or merit, but because of its impact on creating Black intellectual communities, its relevance to the Black community, and, above all, its political and intellectual insurgency. In its academic production, a variety of methodologies are employed.

### 3.4 Qualitative and quantitative research

Qualitative methods have been an important research tool in African and African diaspora studies (Best & Byrd, 2014; Conyers, 2018; Few et al, 2003). Similarly, quantitative research is essential to showcase the situation of the black population that guide public policies. In this research, I applied qualitative and quantitative methods. I conducted case study analysis, archival work, and in-depth interviews. The quantitative methods consisted of an online survey. In addition, I also employ GSS to create maps. I acknowledge that Black communities have been subjected to quantitative and qualitative research that stigmatized poverty and Black family structures. Robin Kelley (1997) highlights racist ideas and stereotypes of Black women and families that shaped social science from the beginning of American sociology to the present day. In qualitative and quantitative research, there are exhaustive examples of research that diminish,

jeopardize, and punish Black families. On the other hand, Black intellectuals and non-Black intellectuals committed to dismantling scientific racism apply quantitative and qualitative methods. These intellectuals have worked to bring different methodologies in conversation at the same time as conduct well-grounded research while being aware of the bias and distortions present in traditional sciences (Collins, 2000; Kelley, 1997; Oliver &Shapiro, 2006). Many intellectuals create and conduct surveys to expand the scope of research on Black people to challenge stereotypes and produce ethical research to undo these distortions (Washington, 2006). I follow in this tradition. In this dissertation, I also seek to conduct research in an ethical manner that relies on both quantitative and qualitative methods.

My research focuses on how departments and centers exist and resist as institutions. Therefore, it is necessary to interact with intellectuals inside of these institutions taking account of their histories and realities which requires qualitative research techniques. In grounding the research in Black feminist epistemology and *quilombismo*, I employ qualitative methods. The universities selected for this project were based on a variety of information about Black Studies departments in the academic literature as well as selection criteria such as whether departments in the United States have a doctoral program in the United States case. It was important to me to choose departments that highlighted the diversity within the field of Black Studies. In the case of Brazil, when I started the research, I had a list of Afro-Brazilian studies centers provided by the Ministry of Education in 2012, and from this list, I chose the sample. Additionally, I was able to analyze these data on NEABs and other centers and departments of Afro-Brazilian studies, relying on Alkalimat's surveys of Black studies as a model (et al, 2013; 2007). In his surveys, he included questions on the following themes: the existence of Black studies units, whether this unit is a department, center or program and the geographical distribution of Black Studies units

in the United States. To have a better idea of how I could include these themes appropriate to Brazil, I conducted archival research. I also conducted archival research to historicize and contextualize the departments chosen for this study. Finally, I interviewed twenty-five faculty and retired faculty from Black Studies departments and centers.

### 3.4.1 Web-based survey and distribution

Alkalimat uses two similar models in his surveys about Black Studies in 2007 and 2013. Both studies were web-based. Initially, he used the official list of postsecondary education institutions provided by the Board of Higher Education. In 2007 and 2013, he accessed the websites of those institutions to find their Black studies programs, centers, and departments. In 2007 one of the research questions was, "How many Black studies programs exist?" In 2013, it was "How many colleges and universities have Black studies?" I applied this model to Brazilian universities. However, unlike Alkalimat I did not have a research team, so, I only selected universities rather than colleges and universities. I also simplified my questions. My question on the survey was, "How many universities have Afro-Brazilian studies units?" I also researched how and when the centers were established.

I used the list of Afro-Brazilian studies centers provided by the Ministry of Education in 2012 as a starting point to update the list of centers. Employers of the ministry provided the original list when I was doing institutional research as a master's student. This list has 94 higher education institutions with Afro-Brazilian studies centers, programs, or nuclei. According to the Higher Education Census of 2018, Brazil has 2,537 higher education institutions, 299 are public and 2,238 are private institutions. This number includes universities, colleges, and technical schools. Technical schools are hybrid institutions that operate as high schools and offer higher education courses. The Brazilian higher education system includes a rage of institutions much

like the United States. The difference between these institutions is based on the quantity of courses offered, and a focus on research, teaching, and extension courses. The university is the most complex institution. To be considered a university, the institution must have a wide range of courses from different areas of knowledge. The university is not just an educational institution, it is a space for research and community engagement. When I only considered universities, the number of institutions in Brazil dropped from 2,537 to 199. The relationship between public and private institutions also changes dramatically. There are 107 public universities and 92 private universities.

Relying on Alkalimat`s surveys, I examined websites of the 199 universities listed on the 2018 Higher Education Census. Initially I checked if there was an expansion from universities with nuclei, center, or programs of Afro-Brazilian studies. I also collected information about the NEABs at Federal Institutes of Higher Education. Second, I created distribution maps of NEABs. I used the official political map of Brazil from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics and created maps with GIS - ArcMap Program. I also produced a map for the United States relying on Alkalimat`s 2013 survey. To produce the map of the United States I used the information provided by the 2020 US Census to create the map. These maps are useful visual representation of where centers, nuclei, and departments are located. I discuss results in Chapter 5.

### 3.4.2 Sample Selection and Case Study

Sample size in qualitative research is an important theme (Boddy,2016; Sandelowski, 1995; Trotter, 2012). There are exhaustive debates about the relevance of research with small sample sizes (Boddy,2016; Sandelowski, 1995; Trotter, 2012). However, qualitative research

generally does not seek to be generalizable for large populations. Yet it is important to justify the sample size in relation to the research (Sandelowski, 1995). As mentioned earlier, this research is limited due to resources and the timeframe. This research considers 6 institutions. My goal is a diverse sample of distinct Black Studies units. In line with previous research, I considered the existence of a doctoral program, the political affiliation or ideology of the departments, the type of certification, and date of creation of the departments or centers, which are characteristics other scholars considered. While diverse, these 6 institutions all provide case studies for similarly situated centers or departments. The use of case study is recommended to provide a richer analysis of a given subject (Marshall & Rosmann, 2016).

The creation of doctoral programs is highlighted in the literature as an element of the institutionalization of Black Studies (Edozie, 2012; Karenga, 2018; Reid-Merritt & Mazama, 2018). The creation of doctoral programs meant an important step for undergraduate and graduate programs in the field. Black Studies doctoral programs strengthened the institutionalization of the field by guaranteeing the training of qualified intellectuals to teach in these departments. It also solidified the institutions' research agenda of Black Studies. On the one hand, the reduction of my sample to institutions with doctoral degrees biases my sample as institutions with established PHD programs may have stronger institutionalization. However, institutions with established doctoral programs are a good starting point for research on resistance and existence strategies. Alkalimat (2013) found 361 formal units of Black Studies in universities, departments, and programs. From that list, there are eighteen institutions with a doctoral program in Black Studies: Brown University; Cornell University; Harvard University; Indiana University; Michigan State University; Northwestern University; Pennsylvania State University; Rutgers University; Temple University; The Ohio State University; University of

California-Berkeley; University of Colorado Boulder; University of Louisville; University of Massachusetts-Amherst; University of Pennsylvania; University of Texas at Austin; University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University and Yale University.

The literature presents three different types of Black Studies departments based on date of creation, type of certification and political or ideological orientation. Marable (2005) believes Black Studies departments were created as movements in two waves. The first wave is between 1968 and 1974 and the second wave is between 1980 and 1995. Among the institutions that have doctoral programs, four of them have Black Studies departments created after the year 2000. Therefore, I consider if the departments existed more than two generations. Another criterion is the type of certificate program, such as if the department is the main part of the certification, is joint certificate with other departments and the if certification in Black studies is a secondary field. In the early years of Black Studies, William D. Smith (1971) found five models of Black Studies: programs, departments, centers, institutes, and interdisciplinary programs. Alkalimat (2013) confirms that most Black Studies units are not departments, but interdisciplinary programs and projects. Nathan L. Huggins (1985) finds that departments are the most common model of autonomous units of Black Studies. The most common of department type was with joint appointments. In many cases, joint appointments were the only model accepted by a university's administration. In this model, Black Studies departments hire faculty joined with traditional, or even other interdisciplinary departments and those departments allow students to have double certificates in Black Studies and other disciplines.

Political orientation is often mentioned as a reason for division within Black Studies (Boyd, 2000; Kilson, 2006; Marable, 2000). However, the names of those political categories

vary considerably. Manning Marable classifies Black Studies departments between liberal and Afrocentric. Liberal Black Studies departments and centers received more funding, and they are more prestigious because they conform to academic standards of universities. While Afrocentric programs were less tended to believe the "black experience" as a unity. However, they had a romantic, idealized, and unscientific view of Africa (Marable, 2000). Melba Joyce Boyd identifies Afrocentrics and Afro-elitists, as types of Black Studies praxis. Afro-elitists were academics that besides analyzing Black people, were incapable of engagement with Black communities. Afrocentrics were more concerned with building Black people's self-esteem than making accurate scholarship. Mario Small (1999) classified Black Studies departments according to status, methodology and "the relationship between theory and practice (Small, 1999, 664)." Smalls defines as relationship between theory and practice the ideologies about the role of Black Studies departments in Temple and Harvard University. Therefore, in Temple the engagement with the Black community and the Black liberation were considered part of the definition of the department, while in Harvard Black Studies were defined as an academic discipline like traditional disciplines. Small's category 'relationship between theory and practice', the praxis of Boyd (2000), and the departments identifies of Marable (2000) is what I call political orientation. This category defines the department's political commitment, whether with the academic community, or the Black community. It also encompasses political concerns with the role of activism in Black studies and the relationship between epistemologies and ideologies. Marable (2000) purports that the conservatism of universities had an impact on the political debates within Black Studies departments. Specific universities hired scholars according to their political orientation. Black studies departments can be characterized in two categories of political orientation: Black radicalism and Black institutionalism. Black radicalism

accommodates the work of institutions and intellectuals connected to Black radical traditions such as Pan-Africanism, Afrocentricity, and other approaches connected to ideas of a political and epistemological commitment to fight racism and capitalism. The Black institutionalism category is based on ideas that derive from Black liberalism (Marable, 1998) and Black cultural studies. However, there are institutions that do not define their political orientations or that do not lean towards any specific political orientation. I considered these departments as having an 'unspecified political orientation.'

I consider type of unit and political orientation the key categories to define a sample of Black studies departments. Even though the date of creation is relevant, it was not clear to me whether the departments created before the 1970s had specific characteristics. On the other hand, the type of appointment and certification, and whether joint or autonomous departments , indicates the structure of a department. With this consideration, I chose a sample of three departments that are representative of the diversity of the field with the following characteristics: Harvard University (secondary field certification, institutional), Temple University (primary field certification, radical), and University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (primary field certification, unspecified category).

According to the Ministry of Education, in 2012 there were ninety-four Afro-Brazilian studies centers (NEABs). However, these data only included one private institution, because it was based on partnerships developed between the federal government and higher education institutions. The data from the consortium of NEABs found 84 institutions, but some of these are led by students and professors' and are not institutional spaces inside of the universities (ABPN, 2021). The Brazilian Association of Black Researchers (Associação Brasileira de Pesquisadores Negros – ABPN) found 40 NEABs, but these data are from 2010 (Cavalleiro,

2010). Given these inconsistencies, I decided to use the information from the Ministry of Education. However, after a preliminary check, I found 95 institutions with NEABs. I was only able to find the NEABs which were formally created by their institutions. Only 50 of the institutions had information about their objectives on their websites. Most of the objectives are similar. Some are more devoted to academic activities such as carrying out studies and research focused on African and Afro-Brazilian studies. On the other hand, especially for NEABs created after 2003, some specific objectives are combating racism, implementing the Law 10.639/2003, and supporting affirmative action. Intellectual debates about Afro-Brazilian studies do not focus on the political orientation of the units, but on the implementation challenges. Additionally, information available on the website of these institutions did not mention specific political orientations of the nuclei. Considering the lack of information about political orientation, and the interdisciplinarity of the field, I decided to base the Brazilian sample on the date of creation. I considered the date of creation important to understand the epistemological and political debates around the creation of each unit. Notably, the units in Brazil often mention Brazilian legislation both for education in Afro-Brazilian and African history, based on Law 10.639/2003, and affirmative action programs. In this way, I consider that different dates of creation may encompass different political debates. To contextualize the situation of Afro-Brazilian Studies, I chose the Center for Afro-Oriental Studies based at the Federal University of Bahia (CEAO - UFBA). The CEAO was created in 1951, making it the first Black studies center in the country. I also chose the Afro Brazilian Studies Nucleus at the University of Brasilia (NEAB / UNB) because it was created in 1986. Finally, I included the Afro Brazilian Studies Nucleus based at the Federal University of Parana (NEAB/UFPR), which was created in 2004. The sample contains centers and nuclei. Brazil still has no Afro-Brazilian studies departments. There is one

undergraduate degree in interdisciplinary African and Afro-Brazilian studies at the Federal University of Maranhão, but they do not have a department yet. In the expanded list of institutions, there is no evidence that the structure of centers and nuclei is significantly different. There are nuclei with their own professors and specific disciplines, or even graduate programs connected to centers or nuclei. There are also centers with a severely reduced structure, without a physical space or staff. On the other hand, there are many nuclei with reduced scope and budget. Recently the name laboratory has been used for Afro-Brazilian studies units. However, they are not just a research group. Similar to the United States, the names of Afro-Brazilian study units vary considerably. However, there is also variation in the institutional definition. Unfortunately, there is no single rule about the difference between nuclei and centers. There is a tendency to believe that centers would have a more robust structure, but this does not happen in all cases. In the case of CEAO, in addition to being the oldest center, it is also a center with a considerable structure, considering that the CEAO's building offers academic activities, black movement trainings and activities and CEAO is linked to a graduate program called the Multidisciplinary Graduate Program in Ethnic and African Studies (Pós-Afro).

In 2018, I did preliminary research in 3 universities in Brazil which included the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), the Federal University of ABC and the University of Luso-Afro Brazilian Integration. I decided to include UFBA in my sample because CEAO was fully operational when I visited. The Federal University of ABC was still struggling to implement its NEAB and UNILAB was a complicated research site. For example, UNILAB has campuses in different states. It has a high percentage of foreign students from the African continent, but the Afro-Brazilian studies differs from institution to institution. Considering these complications, I chose to continue research in institutions that already had an established Black studies center.

### 3.4.3 Archival Work and Secondary Sources

The analysis of departments histories relies on primary and secondary sources. I had full access to UWM's archives and limited access to UnB's archives. I conducted research relying on the digital archives of Harvard and Temple universities. However, the data available online is limited. CEAO/UFBA has a *Museu Afro-Digital da Memória Africana e Afro-Brasileira* (Afro-digital Museum of African and Afro-Brazilian memory). However, it has no information about Pós-Afro or CEAO in the digital archives. NEAB/UFPR does not have a digital archive. However, the website of these institutions holds files and information about Afro-Brazilian studies centers. Archival research, especially on minorized populations are limited (Bastian, 2019; Holt, 2017). Institutional archives are linked to the organization's objectives. Often in the case of Black populations, institutional archives silence voices, especially of Black women (Holt, 2017). In order to carry out this type of research, deep archeology work is needed to find and contextualize the presence of Black people. In some cases, spaces for Black Studies have their own archives. In 2019, I conducted preliminary research on the African and African diaspora studies departments at the UWM archives. In 2020, I requested access to digitalized folders of the archives I previously selected, such as UWM AC 7 (Department of Africology), UWM AC 134 (UWM University Communications) and UWM AC 137 (UWM Academic Program & Curriculum). In 2020, I contacted the chair of NEAB/UnB. They informed me that I could have access to the archives. However, when I moved to Brasília, the chair of the center had changed, and they refused me access to the archives because of the pandemic. However, the institution's staff was interested in my research, and granted me access to some files of the *Decanato de Extensão*, to which NEAB/UnB is linked.

I have visited the websites of the six selected institutions and was able to collect basic information and data from all institutions. I accessed reports about the African and African American Studies department at Harvard, CEAO/UFBA and NEAB/UFPR. Harvard and Temple's departments have been mentioned in the literature frequently (Biondi, 2012; Karenga, 2018; Kendi, 2018; Kilson, 2001, 2006; Marable, 2000; Reid-Merritt & Mazama, 2018; Small, 1999). In the case of Harvard, information such as the annual reports of The W. E. B. Du Bois Institute for African and African American Research, which include the department of African and African American studies, is available on the website. In the case of Temple, there are dissertations that analyze the work done by the Africology and African American Studies department such as Ibram Henry Rogers' "The Black Campus Movement: An Afrocentric narrative history of the struggle to diversify higher education, 1965–1972," Timothy E. Sams' "Reinforcing the Afrocentric Paradigm: A Theoretical Project," Joshua Maurice Myers' "Reconceptualizing Intellectual Histories of Africana Studies: A Review of the Literature," and Abu Noman's "Africological Reconceptualization of the Epistemological Crises in Postcolonial Studies."

From the Brazilian sample, UFBA's CEAO and UFPR's NEAB have been analyzed in previous academic publications (Cervi, 2013; Ghiggi, 2018; Reis, 2018; Silva et al, 2018). The NEAB at the University of Brasília does not have a website, and the NEAB of UFPR has a website with minimal available data. Only CEAO at UFBA has a website with detailed information about the center such as the names of professors and publications. In general, some information about NEABs is available in the Official Governmental Information Database (Diário Oficial da União - DOU), which contains the documents of public administration. In the DOU, I can find information about projects carried out by Afro-Brazilian centers financed by the

federal government. Considering that all universities in the Brazilian sample are public, the federal government is the main supporter of these centers.

### 3.4.4 In-Depth Interviews

Interviewing is one of the most common qualitative research strategies because they allow a deeper analysis and extraction of data (Marshall & Rosmann, 2016). However, interviews also require an establishment of trust. As someone interviewing prestigious, busy, and expert intellectuals, I had to use some strategies to demonstrate my prior knowledge and commitment to the field of Black Studies. In-depth interviews require the use of different strategies to approach and engage the interviewees (Marshall & Rosmann, 2016). The identity of the interviewer and the quality of questions can influence the type of answers the interviewee will give (Young, 1995). It is also important to anticipate sensitive topics when interviewing Black women (Few et al, 2003). The relationship between Black people on both sides of the interview creates an important degree of responsibility for the researcher, because familiarity can make the interviewee talk more than they normally would. Taking that debate into consideration, I decided to use semi-structured interviews because I needed parameters to compare the interviewees' information, given that I would use online platforms to conduct the interviews. I also wanted to make sure I could explain to the interviewees themes that could emerge from these interviews. I anticipated there would be people who would only participate in the interviews if they had prior knowledge of the questions. I also predicted that there would be people more comfortable doing the written interview than be recorded.

My research was approved by UWM's IRB on December 22 of 2020. I planned on interviewing 30 people (5 people from each institution), including faculty and retired faculty. In August 2020, I contacted faculty of Harvard, Temple and UnB. In January of 2021, I officially

communicated with the chairs of all 6 departments and centers that my research had been approved and that I wanted to interview faculty. I predicted easier access at UWM because I am a current student, and I already know the professors. In the case of Temple and Harvard, even though I contacted them by email, I did not receive a response from all the professors. In the case of UFBA, UFPR, Harvard and Temple, I established a contact person who helped me to contact professors more effectively. However, in some cases, scheduling the interviews took as long as 120 days. I ended up interviewing 25 people between faculty and retired faculty. I interviewed 3 faculty from Temple, 6 from UWM, 3 from Harvard, 4 from UFPR, 5 from UnB and 4 from UFBA. In the case of UFBA, I interviewed faculty affiliated with CEAO and the Afro-Brazilian studies program Pós-Afro. However, those programs include faculty from other universities in Bahia such as the Bahia State University and the Federal University of Bahia Recôncavo. My sample is made up of a distinct set of people with university ties. I interviewed active, retired faculty with temporary contracts as well as unpaid scholars/researchers.

*Interview questions and research questions*

My research question is, 'What techniques and strategies do Black Studies centers and departments employ to exist and survive in predominantly white institutions in Brazil and the United States?' This question has at least three parts. The first is about the department's existence. I wanted interviewees to explain their own analysis of why their department exist, and the overall role the department has in the field of Black Studies. The second part of the question is about survival techniques. I inquired about threats and strategies to overcome hardships in their departments. The third part of the question asks how the departments act as an antiracist space. I wanted to understand the political activities of the department in relation to the university, the Black community and activism. Admittedly, my research has some underlying

assumptions about Black Studies departments and centers such as them serving as antiracist spaces, and predominantly Black spaces. The goal of the interview was to confirm or reject those assumptions. To answer the main question, I made supplementary questions to connect my research findings with the literature. The supplementary questions are: How does the history of these centers /departments fit into the history of Black Studies/Afro-Brazilian studies? What are the challenges Black Studies centers and departments face in universities in the United States and Brazil? What actions and survival strategies have these centers and departments developed? What do Afro-Brazilian Studies centers and United States Black Studies departments have in common? What are their differences? How can the Brazilian experience help the American one, and vice versa? I prepared my interview questions based on my main and supplementary research questions. Below is a chart showing the research theme of interest and the interview question related to the theme. I separated my interview questions into categories thar include personal experience, institutional experiences, relationship with University's administration and other departments, the Black community and organized Black movements, according to the following table:

| Themes | Interview Questions |
|---|---|
| Personal experience | Tell me a little bit about your background and how you came to be in Black Studies.<br><br>What was your relationship to Black Studies before working in this department/center?<br><br>How would you describe your relationship to Black Studies now?<br><br>How do you compare the experience of working in a Black Studies department/center with your previous/current professional and academic experiences?<br><br>What are the biggest challenges you faced, or face, in your department/center?<br><br>What were the biggest achievements you had working in your |

| | |
|---|---|
| | department/center?<br>What advice would you give to new PhDs going into Black studies today? |
| Institutional experience | Within the field of Black Studies there are discussions of many different ideological orientations and/or theoretical approaches.<br>Do you think your department/center is more oriented towards one or some of these concepts within the field of Black studies?<br>Can you tell me a little bit about why you think that is?<br>What kind of experience have you had in this department/center that you think would not happen in other spaces, if any?<br>What are the internal challenges within your department?<br>How does the department handle internal conflicts?<br>What are the particular internal strengths within your department? *Follow-up*: How, if at all, do you see those strengths being used to help the department survive and thrive?<br>How does the work from your department contribute to the field of Blacks Studies?<br>How do you imagine the future of your department/center?<br>How do you imagine the future of the discipline/field of Black Studies as a whole? |
| Relationship to universities' administration and other departments | How would you describe the relationship between this department / center and the other departments of the university? What about the relationship between your department/center and the university's administration?<br>Have there ever been times when you felt the department/center was in a period of particular strength, demand, and/or university support? If so, can you tell me a little bit about that: When was it, did it last, and why do you think that was? |
| Relationship to Black communities and activism | Would you describe your department as one engaged in activism? If so, can you discuss this? If not, can you tell me why you think that is? *Follow up question*: Can you explain to me how you define "activism" in this case?<br>What is the department/center's relationship with the black community? *Follow-up questions*: Could you give me some examples? Has this changed over time? If yes, how so? And why do you think this is? |

Table 1: Interview questions

My questions were open ended; therefore, the interviewees had the opportunity to develop their answers openly. However, the questions were not restricted to a single topic. It became obvious to me at the start of interviews, that my interviewees were also historical sources. Some interviewees shared institutional experiences that sometimes, have not been

published or archived. Also, they helped me to consider them as primary sources. They recommended literature, references, and authors I had not considered previously.

One important element in the process of approaching my interviewees was explaining how I would use their interviews. Most of the interviews were not concerned about being identified. In some cases, some of them asked to be identified to record their testimony about their respective departments/centers. However, considering my small sample size, and that some departments are very small, I do not identify subjects. In addition, my research was approved by IRB with the understanding interviewees would not be identified.

I de-identified the interviews by omitting the names of my interviewees. In some cases, I hid their names and names of their peers. I did not hide the names of Deans and Provosts. I also kept the name of former chairs and retired faculty when they were mentioned. When they mentioned a specific department as sociology, political science, philosophy, or history, I omitted that information and put 'traditional departments' or 'other departments.' When they mentioned department names more broadly, not directly related to their institution or connection with their department, I kept the name. I edited transcriptions colloquialisms that could identify the interviewee.

After data collection, I classify answers and information by institution and theme. I analyzed the interview transcriptions within the theoretical frameworks of Black Studies, Afro-Brazilian studies, and comparative racial studies. My interest is to understand if these departments and centers present themselves as a continuity of a revolutionary project, a rupture with a revolutionary project or as an update of a revolutionary project. I will also explore what institutionalization represents for these institutions.

### 3.5 Limitations

Research limitations are part of qualitative research because these data are not generalizable (Marshall & Rosmann, 2016). Nevertheless, there are other limitations due to the timeframe for carrying out the dissertation research, financial and human resources, and the covid-19 pandemic. Ideally this research would involve more than six institutions. There are important variables excluded, such as the experiences of Black studies departments at Historically Black Colleges and Universities in the United States and the NEABs and NEABIs at federal Technological Institutes and private higher education institutions in Brazil. However, the definition of a sample is inherently exclusive. I made efforts to ensure diversity within the sample knowing the temporal limitation of research resources.

The Covid-19 pandemic imposed a limitation to my research making it impossible to conduct ethnographic work in the six institutions. These centers and departments are also territorial spaces, as they are a part of the physical structure of the university. To visit the buildings and observe the atmosphere of each center and department offer context to these departments and centers. Although I could not conduct in-person visits, I was able to rely on virtual campus tours, archival images, information available on the website and the interviews to bring more of the atmosphere of those spaces to the research. This limitation made it difficult to access students, and due to the research objectives, students were not interviewed. Still, I was able to view some student organizations published statements about the departments and universities. In this way, the point of view of students in organizations were incorporated from secondary sources.

Rather than face-to-face interviews, I used videoconference and electronic messages to conduct the interviews. This impacted the outcome of interviews. I had some problems with the

quality of the internet: both mine and the interviewees. There were also problems with the power grid in Brazil, due to the lack of electricity on the interview days. However, those problems could happen in in-person interviews as well. Despite these inconveniences, I successfully conducted interviews. However, the biggest impact of the scheduled and online interviews was the impossibility of reaching some retired faculty, in part due to the difficulty of accessing digital platforms. In other cases, professors had scheduling problems. It is possible that if I were onsite, I could have reached some professors in between classes and hallways to speak briefly to with those I could not interview. In future research, this project can be expanded in another time without a devastating pandemic and with a team of researchers.

# CHAPTER 4

## The Historical Context of Black Studies Departments and Centers in the United States

Debates about the field of Black Studies often bring up discussions of Black struggles over issues that include access to education, the Civil Rights movement, the Black Power movement, and Black intellectual history in the United States. In this study, I focus on the institutional history of three Black Studies departments based in the United States: (1) the African and African Diaspora Studies Department at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, (2) the Africology and African American Studies Department at Temple University, and (3) the African and African American Studies Department at Harvard University. These departments and centers were created during the time of Black struggle for access to higher education in Milwaukee, Philadelphia, and Boston, respectively. In this chapter, I situate my research in the context of the debates about Black Studies, public policy, and the role of the university in the struggles to establish Black Studies units (which, in some cases, responded to the demands of Black activists and, in others, maintained white supremacy).

This chapter first contextualizes academic institutions in relation to Black struggle in education on and off campus and then presents an overview of the institutional history from genesis of Black Studies to the present day. In historizing and contextualizing the conditions in which Black Studies were created, I asked myself where Black people were in those institutions, what role Black women played in these stories, and how Black insurgent experiences were expressed in archival records. Considering there are different backgrounds, I present the history of these institutions in relation to the Black struggle locally and nationally. In this research it is important to understand where Black people were in the creation of these institutions, in the

development of centers and departments of Black Studies, and the role they play today. I applied the framework of *Quilombismo* and Black feminist theory to highlight Black women and Black radical experiences. Each institution is presented in the context of its creation and in relation to their established relationship with Black people and communities. I then present the historical facts about the creation of departments and centers of Black Studies, and the development of institutions from the beginning to the present.

The university has been a central site for social movement demands for many reasons. As places for the production and dissemination of knowledge, as well as for political struggle, universities play a central role in reflecting and shaping public opinion. In the United States, higher education was established during colonization in the seventeenth century (Geiger 2014). Colonial colleges formed an important social and political group responsible for dictating the nation's future. In the case of Brazil, in the colonial period, economic elites maintained close relations with educational institutions in Europe. Universities played an important role on strengthening racist institutions and practices. However, it is important to understand the dynamics between universities and racist practices, ideas, and institutional decisions. Although the claim that universities are built as racist institutions may seem a little obvious to most scholars of race, it is important to understand how racist dynamics are reproduced in the institution over time. Sometimes the debate on institutional racism portrays the university as a neutral and passive entity. Universities are important because of the ideas they choose to disseminate or to avoid.

Colonization in the United States was based on two different economic models which included the plantation economy and slavery in the South and free colonies seeking political and economic autonomy in the North (Ribeiro 1975, 52). Educational investments in North America

were higher than in the South. This American two-fold model would have generated two traditions, such as universities following an English tradition, and utilitarian colleges designed for the needs of the local labor market. However, the American higher education model is based on different types of higher education institutions such as junior colleges, colleges, and universities. For Ribeiro (1975), this structure mirrored the social stratification of society, because junior colleges were destinations for poor students, colleges for the middle classes and universities for wealthy students. According to Geiger (2014), the contemporary landscape of higher education in the United States is the outcome of three hundred years of education reforms. In the nineteenth century, the model of junior colleges, colleges, and universities was institutionalized. However, higher education was not intended for the poor. Despite their longevity, prior to the nineteenth century, higher education institutions in the United States historically served a small population. Before 1819, there were only 49 higher education institutions in the United States. However, by 1899, there were 721 higher educational institutions. This increase of higher education institutions is due to public policies such as the Morrill Land-Grant Acts, which provided government funding for the expansion of higher education in the nineteenth century (Goldin and Katz 1999).

The problem with analyzing the general history of higher education is that Black people are not central in this history. For example, when Darcy Ribeiro (1975) writes about the universalization of literacy in the United States in the early twentieth century, Ribeiro mentions there was no consideration of the Black population. Nor does Ribeiro (1975) analyze HBCUs as a university model. Similarly, Roger Geiger (2014) does not list Eurocentrism as a central problem in American universities. The author also only mentions the white supremacy in the context of Jim Crow.

Barriers to the employment of Black intellectuals at universities have historically existed. At different times, Black activists have prioritized different issues in their struggle for university access. The Black Studies movement was a national movement in the 1960s, but the roots of Black Studies have been connected to the struggle for education since the nineteenth century. Black social movements in the United States have historically incorporated affirmative action policies and demands for broader inclusion.

### 4.1 Black Studies at Harvard

Harvard is considered the first American university; it was founded in 1636 by the General Court of Massachusetts Bay. At first the institution was named Newtown, later the name was changed to Cambridge as a tribute to the English city. The name was changed again to Harvard in homage to the Reverend John Harvard (Peirce, 1833). Harvard is important in the academic imagination of Brazil and the United States. The institution has consolidated itself internationally as a synonym for academic excellence (Bradley 2018). In a way, like many institutions throughout its centenary history, Harvard participated and engaged in eurocentrism and scientific racism, the very social issues Black Studies aimed to combat (Menand 2001). Black people played different roles within the university during its centuries of existence. As one of the oldest universities in the United States, Harvard had a close relationship to racist institutions such as slavery, racial segregation, and the Ku Klux Klan. The university not only benefited from slavery, but also was an important instrument to justify it (Beckert et al. 2017, Sollors 1993). Harvard did not accept Black students for hundreds of years, and even when they started to accept Black students, the institution was segregated. The presence and actions of the Ku Klux Klan are not part of institutional history such as slavery and segregation, but the activities of the branch of Ku Klux Klan formed by Harvard's students in the university's

campus are registered in the archives and the memory of Black students who attended the institution (Garrett 2020; Levien 2021).

The Black presence in Harvard dates to 1639, the earliest year in which official university reports document enslaved Black people on campus (Titcomb 1993). In 1676, a group of students was investigated due disorderly conduct. In one of the pages of the report, the name "Silvanus Negro" is listed below other names (Harvard University 1676). It is reported that servants were found together with students in the event. The evidence points out that Silvanus could be a servant or an enslaved Black person. In 1773, Harvard held a debate about the legality of slavery between two senior students, Theodore Parsons and Eliphalet Person. Both sides of the debate refer to Africans highlighting "the misery and wretchedness of these people in their native land" (Sollors 1993, 15). However, Harvard's relationship with slavery was not only rhetorical. In 1775, two enslaved men named Mark and Phillis, were dragged away by the university and they were killed. According to Sven Beckert, "Harvard's connection to the executions of Mark and Phillis went well beyond the smoke from the stake wafting over the Yard. Three of the four justices who oversaw the case, as well as the prosecuting attorney, were Harvard graduates" (Beckert et al. 2017, 13). Harvard's students, faculty, and presidents were slave owners. Enslaved people lived and worked at Harvard, and the institution profited from slave labor.

Though Harvard did not accept Black students for 229 years, Boston's Black community developed their own educational initiatives independent of Harvard admissions. In 1808, the first school for Black children was opened at the African Meeting House. In 1838, the Adelphic Union Library Association was created as a space for intellectual debates and lectures (Hayden 1991). In 1847, Harvard admitted its first Black student, Beverly Garnett Williams. Unfortunately, Williams died of tuberculosis before the start of the academic year. In 1850,

Harvard made another exception, and accepted a group of three Black students in the medical school. Two of these medical students were part of the American Colonization Society's project. The purpose of the students, after graduating, was to practice medicine in Liberia. The third student was Martin Delany who was on a crusade to get a medical degree. He tried to obtain a medical degree at the University of Pennsylvania, Geneva, Albany Medical College and Berkshire Medical College. Finally, after meeting Dean Holmes of Harvard Medical School, he was accepted. (Sollors et al. 1993). The Medical School also accepted a white woman at a time when women were not accepted. However, a group of white students wrote four petitions to ban the Black students and the white woman from the university's medical school. White students threatened to leave the university if the Black students and the white woman were not expelled. In 1851, the university bowed to these demnds and expelled them. It was only in 1865 that Harvard accepted Black students again (Chaddock 2017). However, it took many more decades before the first Black women students matriculated at Harvard. In 1951, Mildred Fay Jefferson became the first Black woman to graduate from Harvard's Medical School (Hevesi 2010). Lila Fenwick was the first Black woman to graduate from the Law School in 1956 (Green 2020). In 1969, the first Black woman, Lillian Lambert, graduated from the Business School (Lambert 2012).

The experiences of Black students at Harvard in the late nineteenth century reveal important questions that would return during the struggle for Black Studies. W. E. B. Du Bois explained the situation of Black students at Harvard in the nineteenth century in a simple and meaningful way saying this: "in Harvard but not of it" (Sollors et al. 1993, 76). Du Bois started his academic career at Harvard in 1888. He reports the quality of teaching of Harvard professors, in comparison to professors he had previously, was not at the highest quality, but that these

intellectuals were renowned. Du Bois was critical and disappointed by Harvard's economists. He highlights the lack of intellectual diversity in the department, which resulted in a poor analysis of Karl Marx's work. Despite his romanticized and pragmatic account, Du Bois reveals that his expectations regarding social relations that would be established at Harvard were low. He was correct, and in the few attempts he undertook, such as trying to participate in the Glee Club, he was rejected. Du Bois recounts being mistaken as a waiter at an event. Du Bois' Harvard experience confirmed what he already knew about race relations in the United States. Du Bois concluded:

> "I was happy at Harvard, but for unusual reasons. One of these was my acceptance of racial segregation. Had I gone from Great Barrington High School directly to Harvard, I would have sought companionship with my white fellows and been disappointed and embittered by a discovery of social limitations to which I had not been used. But I came by way of Fisk and the South and there I had accepted color caste and embraced eagerly the companionship of those of my own color. This was of course no final solution" (Sollors et al. 1993, 74).

Du Bois' disappointing experiences with social interaction at Harvard resemble student experiences in the following decades. Du Bois did stay in Harvard's dormitory because of his lack of financial resources. However, in the 1920's, Harvard president Lawrence Lowell banned Black students from the freshmen dormitory. In 1922, several student organizations protested. The NAACP contacted the university to request a review of the measure. In 1923, the Board of Overseers decided that Black students could not be excluded from the dormitory, however, Black, and white students should not be forced to coexist. This established a kind of internal segregation in the dormitories (Bradley 2018; Sollors et al. 1993). In 1952, it was in front of Black students' dormitory that two white freshmen burned a cross in 1952. The threat was considered a prank by the university's administration. Also, Black students like J. Max Bond Jr. were threatened with suspension if they reported the event to the press (Levien 2021). Nevertheless, it is important to question how occurrences inside the campus were the cause or

consequence of what happened in the city of Boston. It is important to mention that Black Harvard students were not necessarily from Massachusetts. Ivy League institutions such Harvard, that accepted Black students, even if minimally, attracted Black middle classes students whose parents had studied at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (Marable 2015). While Black students were mistreated in Cambridge, the Black community presented solutions to their problems. Despite Boston's mentioning of Brown v. Board of Education as a desegregated school system, this was far from reality (Miletsky 2017). Though legally banned in 1855, segregation in Boston's public schools remained, and was even the object of extensive Black movements political struggle . In 1924, led by Wilhelmina Cross a group of Black women teachers created the Aristo Club which promoted Black history education in public schools (Hayden 1991).

Part of the literature on twentieth century Bostonian Black movements has been devoted to analyzing the Black social and cultural elite (Cromwell 1994; Doughty 2019; Roses 2017). It is significant that Boston constituted a Black elite that organized itself politically into artistic and cultural movements like the Boston Renaissance and social groups such as the League of Women for Community Service (LWCS). This Black elite is not defined exclusively in socio-economic terms. On the one hand, some Black people experienced some level of economic mobility, but they were still subjected to the glass ceiling of racial discrimination. In order to exercise their leadership Black elites made alliances with white elites (Fleming 2007). Boston's Black organizations assimilated to white elites' notions of fine arts , and they sought to promote Black art, but at the same time distinguish it from popular culture and bring it closer to European standards (Fleming and Roses 2007). On the other hand, Boston also had Black national organizations such as the Boston branch of the National Association for the Advancement of

Colored People (NAACP) and the National Equal Rights League (NERL). NERL was created by William Monroe Trotter to challenge the NAACP. Trotter was a "vocal critique of the NAACP for its lack of African American leadership. Part of the stated rationale for founding the National Equal Rights League, which was emblematic of Trotter's unapologetic, uncompromising style, was the sense that there needed to be a black-led group" (Miletsky 2016). In 1901, William Trotter created the Black newspaper *The Guardian* (*Boston Guardian*), which ran until 1950. The Guardian was an important vehicle of agitation and propagation of radical ideas, as well as social criticism of the accommodation of Black elites (Greenidge 2020). This relationship between elitist and radical movements is of paramount importance. There is an ideological dispute that presents itself in different ways in the history of Bostonian Black mobilization. There were times when Black conservatives achieved greater expression and visibility, such as in the election of Republican Edward W. Brooke in 1966 (Marable 2015), and moments when Black radicalism was more evident. An example is mobilization for the desegregation of public schools in the 1970s and 1980 led by Black mothers like Ruth Batson (Batson 1988). The relationship between Black radicalism and Black accommodation resulted in important conflicts in the creation of the department of Black Studies at Harvard.

#### 4.1.1 Born in Conflict: Black students versus Black faculty at Harvard Center of African American Studies

Until the 1950s, Harvard's curriculum was not dedicated to Black or Latin American Studies (Sollors et al. 1993). As a consequence of *Brown v. Board of Education* there was the slow increase in Black students' admissions (Garrett and Ellsworth 2020). Before 1941 Harvard used to admit around two Black students a year (Karabel 2005). In 1959, Harvard accepted eighteen Black students. Kent Garrett calls the last generation of students from the 1950s "the

last Negroes." They were the last generation for three main reasons: they were still influenced by the background of the previous generations of Black students, who had low expectations for institutional change at Harvard. They were, to borrow Du Bois' terms, "at Harvard, but not of Harvard." They were in but not of the institution. Additionally, the term "negro" would be dropped by the term "Black," and because this generation created the conditions for Black protests at Harvard in the 1960s. Examples of this influence of the new generation of students is that in 1961, Malcolm X was invited to a debate on campus (Garrett and Ellsworth 2020), and in 1963 B lack students created the Association of African and Afro-American Students at Harvard and Radcliffe - AAAAS. AAAAS was a Pan-African organization. The students formed study groups to study Black intellectuals. In 1964, AAAAS created the Journal of Negro Affairs. In 1967, they joined the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee to organize the New England Regional Conference for the "Talented 10%" of Negro college students at white universities in Roxbury (*Bay State Banner* 1967). The students protested the death of 2,500 Black men at the Vietnam War.

From 1965 to 1966, Harvard increased its enrollment of Black students from 40 to 50. For comparison purposes, the total number of students in 1965 was 1370 (Phelan Jr. 1961). Thus, Black students represented between 2% and 3% of the institution's total students. Despite the different backgrounds of Black students, they shared experiences of carrying the responsibility of potential social mobility for their families and the responsibility of being aware what was happening in the Black communities they came from (Bradley 2018). The national mobilization for Black Studies was already taking shape and students exchanged information and techniques to pressure universities. Among Ivy League institutions, the advancement of Black student agendas from one institution pressured the others. After the assassination of Martin Luther King

Jr., protests intensified (Rogers 2012). On April of 1968, AAAAS put an advertisement in Harvard's student newspaper *The Crimson*. The advertisement was a list of demands from Black students such as the creation of courses relevant to Black students, to admit Black students in the same proportion as the population in the country, to hire Black faculty and to "establish an endowed chair for a Black Professor" (Haily 2018). The students formed their own Ad Hoc Committee of Black Studies, which included Octavia Hudson, , Ernest Wilson III, Lani Guinier, Robert Hall, Robert Listebee, Fran Farmer, Charles J Hamilton, Herbert Nickens and Constance Hilliard. The committee collected 1,100 signatures to create Black Studies and they worked hard to build a comprehensive proposal for the university. The students presented the curriculum vitae of the intellectuals demanding for the university to hire faculty, and different from other universities, Harvard's Black Studies efforts were concerned with a graduate program with its initial efforts. They demanded Harvard treat Black students the same way they did foreigners to increase enrollment, such as having flexible language requirements. Also, Black students wanted to be a part of the decision-making board of the future Black Studies unit. They sought to have an impact on hiring, tenure, and the curriculum (Bradley 2018). In response to the students committee, the university created the Faculty Committee on African and Afro-American Studies with Henry Rosovsky, Martin Kilson, among others.

Despite the determination of the students, the demands were not taken very seriously as they were viewed as naive and unrealistic (Kilson 2001, 2006). In the beginning of January, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences approved the creation of a program. Black students established an important alliance with Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). SDS had a broad agenda, including being against the Vietnam war. On April 9, 1969, the SDS stormed the president's house with a list of demands. The police arrested nearly two hundred students which caused an

eight-day students' strike. The AAAAS students took the opportunity to radicalize the movement by including Black students demands in the broad agenda (Lambert 2019). The pressure from the students was effective, and the university decided to create the Black Studies center, which later became a department. However, the institution did not accept the complete package of demands (Bradley 2018). Dr. Martin Kilson was one of the few Black faculty at Harvard in the 1960s and was a severe opponent of Black Studies. Kilson considered the students mobilization anti-intellectual (Hamilton Jr. 1968). On the other hand, Kilson was not an enemy of Black students *per se*(Bradley 2018). His point of view summarizes some of the dilemmas Black intellectuals would face in the field at Harvard. Many Black intellectuals had dedicated themselves to gaining acceptance into traditional disciplines and held shared visions of academic excellence at the university.

In opposition to students view, Martin Kilson supported the joint appointment of the faculty to teach Harvard's Afro-American Studies curriculum. When students opposed his position he defended himself affirming: "I, like most of the old guard African-American academics on White campuses in this period (Kenneth Clark, John Hope Franklin, John Aubrey Davis, St. Clair Drake, John Blasingame, Charles V. Hamilton, etc.), favored filtering faculty for new Black Studies curricula through established disciplinary departments in the humanities and social sciences, through joint appointments" (Kilson 2006, 64). The Ford Foundation defended this model and was an important funder of the field of Black Studies. The foundation believed the allowance of joint appointments could "dispels suspicion about the quality of a department's faculty, especially necessary in a new field in which standards and reputation are in question. Furthermore, it gives Afro-American Studies a voice and an advocate within the conventional departments, which is quite useful for communication and goodwill" (Griffin 2007, 56).

However, even with this concession, it is not evident the university held goodwill towards the department.

Nathan Irving Huggins affirmed that when Black Studies were institutionalized at Harvard, the students were more radical and progressive than the faculty (Sollors et al. 1993). This clash between students and faculty formed the first ten years of the department. Kilson was one of the first faculty from Afro-American Studies at Harvard (Kilson 2008). Ewart Guinier, a Black visiting scholar at Harvard, was appointed to be the chair of Afro-American Studies. Initially, two thousand students registered for Black Studies courses. Harvard also invited visiting instructors such as Hoyt Fuller, Rhode McCoy, CLR James and Stokely Carmichael (who later changed his name to Kwame Ture). In 1972, 14 students graduated in Afro-American Studies. Black students created the Organization of Black Unity (OBU) focused on increasing the number of Black employers (Bradley 2018). Black faculty created the Association of Black Faculty Members, Fellows and Administration of Harvard University.

Despite the participation of students, the administration did not treat the department like the other departments were treated. They could not choose their own chair and were subjected to university's hirings. Considering Harvard's administration's unwillingness to meet the needs of the Black Studies Department, Ewart Guinier described the administration as "plantation politics administration." In this system, the university hired Black intellectuals not aligned, and even opposed to the creation of Black Studies. Those intellectuals would demoralize, boycott, and sought over control Black students and Black faculty (Guinier 1975). Black students' tensions with the administration were also due their demand of the Du Bois Institute. The students wanted the Institute to be linked to the department, and, like the department, it would respond to the demands of the Black community. Instead, in 1975, the W.E.B. Du Bois Institute for African and

African American Research was established at Harvard University as a research institute. Interestingly, Guinier criticized naming the institute after Du Bois', because he claimed that Du Bois was never invited to be a professor at Harvard, yet they used his name (Guinier 1975).

The 1960s and 1970s merged the Black agenda of Boston's Black community with that of Black Harvard students. Like the university, Boston's Black community was taken by storm by Black movements. In the 1970s, the school desegregation movement occupied the cities across the nation (Miletsky 2017). Since the 1950s, Black movements in Boston struggled to desegregate and improve the quality of education provided to Black children. In subsequent decades, these initiatives were radicalized with sit-ins, marches, and protests by young Black students. Communities and mothers organizations struggled in the institutional and legal spheres (Delmont and Theoharis 2017). In 1974, a group of Black women lesbian intellectuals and activists in Boston formed the Combahee River Collective. The collective was anti-capitalist, anti-racist, and promoted Black feminism (Marable 2015). In 1975, Eileen J. Southern was the first Black women hired as a professor at Harvard. She had a position in the Afro-American Studies and music departments. In 1976, she became the chair of Afro-American Studies (Smith 2002). In 1980 Nathan Irving Huggins became the chair of the department. Huggins as well as Kilson recognized the legitimacy of the students' demand, but he too was not convinced students recommendations about the department structure. Thus, he defended the interdisciplinary model and believed there should be less participation from students in the department's decisions (Sollors et al. 1993).

Black movements in Boston presented even more revolutionary agendas. Despite the failure of attempts to desegregate schools, the Roxbury community and the Black community in Boston developed bold initiatives. In 1986, the mostly Black neighborhood of Roxbury held a

referendum to decide whether they would change the neighborhood's name to Mandela and separate from the city of Boston. Most of the population voted against the change; however, the initiative started from a deep discontent and disillusionment about public policies to promote equality, equity, and the protection of Black communities in Boston (Miletsky and Tomás González 2016). Despite the consolidation of the department of Afro-American Studies at Harvard, until 1990, the department did not have stable and sufficient funding for Black Studies (Kilson 2006). Meanwhile, student groups continued to put pressure on the institution. Student mobilization among Ivy league universities were coordinated to push for more minority hiring. In 1990, the first Black Law professor, Derrick Bell protested the lack of women of color faculty in the Law School by taking an unpaid leave. Bell had left Harvard before in 1980 when he became the Dean of the University of Oregon's School of Law. Upon his return, Bell protested the absence of Black women, but also the ideological filters that Harvard imposed on the Black people they hired, he said: "the ends of diversity are not served by persons who look black and think white" (Lopez 1993, 103). Harvard Law students formed the Harvard Law School Coalition for Civil Rights. The coalition filed a lawsuit against Harvard Law School because of its lack of racial, gender, sexual orientation, and physical disability representation among faculty. However, the Law did not respond their demands, stating that "diversity requires a trade-off of "excellence" (Lopez 1993, 128).

#### 4.1.2. The So-called Dream Team

The year 1991 marked a very important moment for the institutional change that took place in the Department of Black Studies at Harvard. The hiring of Henry Louis Gates, Jr., is often seen as the heart of this change. Like his predecessors (with the exception of Ewart Guinier), Gates was hired by two departments: English and Black Studies. He came from a

recognized intellectual family and was well versed in the universe of Ivy League institutions. Gates affirms it was Barbara Johnson who invited him and Anthony Appiah to join Afro-American Studies at Harvard. It is not clear if it was the hiring of Gates Jr. that opened the opportunity for other hires, or if because he was hired, this opportunity was already open. Gates Jr. established a good relationship with Harvard's president Neil Rudenstine, and the Dean of Arts and Sciences Henry Rosovsky. The department began to have a more robust budget to hire recognized professors. The field of Black Studies took notice of Harvard's financial resources and, consequently, their human resources . This new Harvard model is defined by Brown (2007) as a big budget to attract celebrity academics. Gates Jr. hired Philip Harper, J. Lorand Matory, Jamaica Kincaid, Spike Lee, Evelyn Higginbotham, A. Leon Higginbotham, Cornel West, Suzanne Blier, William Julius Wilson, Lawrence Bobo, and Marcyliena Morgan. In the account of these hires, Gates mentions a *modus operandi* very similar to the functioning of traditional university departments, with dinners where recruitment invitations were made. Gates, and other professors from the department proclaim themselves stars of the Dream Team. In addition to social skills, the department had more positive coverage in the press thereafter (Class Report Office 2021). This department's honeymoon with the university administration lasted 10 years. In 2000, the department created its interdisciplinary doctoral program in African and African American Studies.

In 2001, Harvard's new president Lawrence Summers—who was opposed to affirmative action—questioned the scholarship of Professor Cornel West (Banks 2006; West 2005). Summers was not an exception. During the department's first decades, it would be an exaggeration to assume there was support for the political agenda of Black Studies. On the contrary, the university chose the agendas that would be carried out sharply, as an attempt to

control the students. Even so, conservatives expressed extreme discontent with the department's existence, affirmative action, or even a professor who could release a rap CD (Finn 2002). There was a nostalgia for the old days in which no one questioned white intellectuals, but white intellectuals. Cornel West and K. Anthony Appiah left Harvard for Princeton. Princeton also wanted to hire Gates Jr. (Steinberg 2001). In 2006, when Lawrence Summers left, Henry Louis Gates Jr. attempted to bring Cornel West back to the department. In the same year, Gates Jr. stepped down as chair of the department, he later became the director of the W. E. B. Du Bois Institute.

The W. E. B. Du Bois Institute does high-profile work to support Black researchers by providing scholarships and visiting researcher positions to African and African diaspora scholars. Gates Jr remains the director of the W. E. B. Du Bois Institute. On the one hand, the relationship between the department and the institute is direct; several professors from the department are part of the executive committee of W. E. B. Du Bois Institute. On the other hand, the institute's work has broad scope including international research (Gates 2007). Another interface of this international work is carried out within the framework of the Afro-Latin American Research Institute (ALARI). The Institute develops collaborative work with the department, but unlike the Du Bois Institute, the ALARI's administration is not predominantly carried out by professors from the African and African American Studies department. Rather it relies on professors from other areas.

#### 4.1.3. “Don’t Beat me”

In 2019, Harvard had 2,142 faculty. 4% were Black. Among tenured faculty, Harvard has 1,081 people, 13 Black women tenured professors, which represents 1% of the total (The Chronicle of Higher Education 2021). In August of 2021, the African and African American

Studies department had 48 faculty listed on its website, approximately 56% are Black people, with Black men representing the largest quantity, followed by white women and Black women2. In a simplistic analysis, it could be stated that if there were no African and African American Studies department, the percentage of Black professors on Harvard's campus would be cut in half . However, if the department did not exist, this reduction would be even more significant. Among the students, the percentage of Black people is higher, around 15% of admissions. However, this is only one facet of the issue of representation. Black student movements express concerns related to the history of Black mobilization in the field of Black Studies. In 2015, Black students at Harvard expressed solidarity for Black Lives Matter. In the same year, photographs of Black professors on campus were vandalized, causing more student protests (Mineo 2015). In 2018, a group of students protested racial violence after campus security guards beat up a Black student. Protesters carried signs saying, "Don't Beat me, Treat me" (Wang and Xie 2018). The student assaulted was mentally disturbed, and according to the police, he responded aggressively when approached. Black students formed the organization Black Students Organizing for Change. They demanded Black psychologists to provide counseling to students, a revision of the university's security protocol and better policies to newly admitted Black students (Franklin and Wang 2018). Black students also experience different forms of discrimination on campus, such as having to present their student identification in contexts that white students do not need to provide theirs, and they suffered micro-aggressions from professors and peers (Thorne 2018). In 2020, students from Harvard were among the Black Lives Matter protests which took over the country (Siliezar 2020). A group of organizations issued a statement to make the academic

2 This quantity is based on my counting and classification of pictures and the available curriculum vitae of faculty. The department also has faculty from other ethnic groups such as white Hispanic/Latino, among others.

community aware of their concerns, and at the same time, they requested counseling resources for Black students. In a letter written by Black Harvard students they asked the administration "not to stay silent but to show us that you hear our cries, see our tears, and help us with our mission. Together, we have the power to make real change." Instead, university police officers participated in cracking down on Black Lives Matter protests in Boston in 2020. The students presented demands to the university such as the extinction of the campus police, previously accused of racial and gender discrimination (Schumer 2020). Unlike the 2015 protests, those of 2020 caused more supportive and *mea culpa* positions from academic units and departments issued statements. Harvard Business School issued a public apology for their lack of initiatives against racial discrimination and their support of the Black community (Nitin 2020). However, the initiatives seem timid and delayed. Meanwhile, the challenges for faculty were equally significant.

In 2019, the Latin American professor Lorgia García-Peña's tenure was denied. García-Peña is an accomplished scholar and was the only AfroaLatin American women in a tenure track position (Aviles 2019). The students protested and petitioned that her tenure file be re-evaluated. In 2021, Cornel West was also denied tenure. West returned to Harvard in 2016. His case led to immense controversy. Initially there was surprise that he was hired for a non-tenure track position. Cornel West is well-known and beloved by students. He had already been tenured at Harvard and Princeton, so it was surprising that he had been hired for a position below his previous rank. West's tenure was denied shortly after the institution expressed its commitment to the Black struggle in the aftermath of George Floyd's assassination (Kelley 2021). Both cases revealed the lack of transparency in tenure processes, and how this impacts people of color, especially when these people are politically engaged in left-aligned political agendas. In his

resignation letter, Cornel West affirmed that “The shadow of Jim Crow was cast in its new glittering room expressed in the language of superficial diversity” (West 2021). In terms of the African and African American Studies department, he stated that “even my good friends in the Afro-American and African Studies Department were paralyzed, given their close relations to the administration” (West 2021). Indeed, unlike West's first exit, the department is close to administration, and has long-standing institutional stability. However, it is not clear to what extent this stability will protect both the faculty and the students, and whether this stability reflects the presence and sustainability of radical Black intellectuals.

### 4.2 Black Studies at Temple University

Temple University was founded by Russell Herman Conwell in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Cornwell was a white man, a former soldier, journalist, and church minister. The name “Temple” is due to the fact Conwell started lecturing in a church basement. In 1887, he found instructors who volunteered to lecture, and he created Temple College (Hilty 2009). In 1889, Temple College was incorporated by the state. Temple College focused on working- class students. When Temple College started its activities, it had free tuition. In 1907, Temple achieved the status of university (Bakley 2014). Reid-Merritt and Mazama (2009) stated that Temple’s working-class status contrasted with the Ivy League status of the University of Pennsylvania. University of Pennsylvania was the destination of the white elite, while Temple was dedicated to the white working class. Temple's working-class vocation was in opposition to the wishes of the Black community at Philadelphia.

In the book, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* W. E. B. Du Bois described Black people’s condition in Philadelphia as similar to other northern cities of the country around the

end of the nineteenth century. The Black population was excluded from the best living conditions and from upward social mobility. However, the sociological study of the causality of poverty and segregation of the Black community forced Du Bois to expand the scope of analysis beyond the "Negro slums of Philadelphia" (Du Bois 1995, 6). In the history of the impoverishment of Philadelphia's Black community, education had a central role. Du Bois highlighted the prevalence of illiteracy among Black people, segregation in education, the absence of public high schools for Black people and the impossibility of Black people attending professional schools such as the University of Pennsylvania. However, in 1896, when Du Bois collected the data, he found that the number of Black children at school was increasing. Nonetheless, the difficulty of promoting the inclusion of Black people in universities continued (Du Bois 2000).

Despite its inequality, Philadelphia plays an important role in the history of Black higher education in the United States. The first historically Black College created in the United States, Cheyney State Teachers College, was created in 1837. Cheyney is 20 miles away from Philadelphia. Black Churches born in Philadelphia, such as Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church were part of abolitionist efforts and offered educational services (Newman 2007). Philadelphia also gave rise to important social organizations that played a key role in the fight for civil rights such as the Fellowship House and the Fellowship Commission. The first Black woman to earn a doctoral degree in economics in the United States was Sadie T. Mossell of the University of Pennsylvania in 1921 (Miller 1984). However, University of Pennsylvania took 239 years from its foundation in 1640 to the acceptance of its first Black students in 1879 (Penn University Archives and Record Center 2021).

Temple is listed in Du Bois's report "The Negro Church". Du Bois found that despite having had Black students; no student graduated with a degree in theology from Temple until 1903. Du Bois approached Temple university's administration to understand the reason behind this lack of academic success among Black students. Du Bois' questionnaire was answered by Laura Carnell. Carnell held an administrative position at Temple for several years. Carnell blamed Black students for their lack of academic success. The university believed Black students were ill prepared for university courses. They claimed Black students lacked skills such as spelling and grammar (Bakley 2014). On the one hand, the quality of education provided to Black people in public schools in Philadelphia was increasingly inferior to the education provided to white students (Spencer 2012). Spencer highlights that segregation increased in Philadelphia with the Great Migration in the 1920s. Even in cases of high schools, that were more integrated than elementary schools due to the lack of educational facilities, there was internal segregation. Black students were put in vocational courses, instead of liberal arts. Nevertheless, there was discrimination against Black students based on IQ scores. Those tests were performed regardless of Black students' social conditions. IQ tests were used to determine whether Black students could study and if they had intellectual capabilities to pursue education. Standardized tests were also used to limit academic opportunities to Black students. The practice of considering Black students incapable of learning was updated in the following decades with the characterization of Black students as intellectually disabled. ''Retarded educable'' were classes where Black students were if they performed below the educational average. These classes were concentrated on Black schools (Dyson 2013).

Until the 1950s, Temple was an intangible dream for many Black students (Spencer 2012). Spencer believed Cheyney State Teachers College was the most accessible higher

education institution for Black students in Philadelphia. However, Cheyney although a solution, was part of a larger problem. The institution was created in 1837 as the Institute for Colored Youth by the Quakers (Conyers 1960). Cheyney State was accredited as a state college in 1951. Leslie Pinckney Hill believed Cheyney was an outcome of *de facto* segregation in Philadelphia. However, the institution provided quality education for Black people. For the author, the financial support of white people does not invalidate the role of Black people in institutional prioritization and pedagogical training. Cheyney was an opportunity for educational training and social mobility. Hill (1932) found that Black students at Cheyney had an opportunity "to develop fully and freely without withering social embarrassment. They know that they are wanted and not merely tolerated. Here, too, their instructors are sympathetically and intelligently interested in the social and physical background and environment of the Negro child, because these men and women live the life of Negroes" (Hill 1932, 409).

Despite the quality of HBCUs, Black students went to predominantly white institutions in Philadelphia as well. For Michael Thelwell (1970), Black students had to go to predominantly white institutions to study because there were not enough vacancies in HBCUs, and those institutions were not evenly distributed throughout the United States territory. There was also the issue of training provided at HBCUs relative to the courses offered at predominantly white institutions. In the case of Temple, in 1908, four years after the approval of its Medical Degree, Temple enrolled its first African American woman MD, Agnes Berry Montier. The timeline of Black students at the University of Pennsylvania starts in 1879 when the first group of African Americans was enrolled. However,  Black enrollment at the University of Pennsylvania was very small. The existence of a significant proportion of Black students on campus was widely propagated by Temple University as it was a difference from other comparable predominantly

white institutions in Pennsylvania in the 1950s (Hilty 2009). However, the proportion of Black students and faculty was also small.

Between the 1930s and the 1940s, Philadelphia suffered the consequences of several phenomena such as the effect of the Great Migration and the return of soldiers of the 2nd World War. On the one hand, the migration of Black people from the South to the North of the United States continued. Population pressure had displaced Blacks settlement to different parts of the city. However, this constant influx of Blacks meant they did not find the same opportunities as the first arrivals. The return of the soldiers after war and the GI Bill promoted an increase in the number of university students. Between 1945 and 1960, the Black school age population , especially in elementary education, had increased from 25 to 47 percent of the student population.

> "As African American communities grew more isolated and impoverished in the 1950s, the schools that served them increasingly struggled to function, much less to serve as an engine of social advancement. In addition to the continuing (in some cases, worsening) problems of segregation, low expectations, and unequal resources, inner-city schools increasingly were plagued by truancy, violent behavior, and other social problems associated with urban poverty beyond school walls" (Spencer 2012, 53).

Like other northern cities, school segregation in Philadelphia created deep inequalities in access to quality services and financial investments. In 1959, the Philadelphia chapter of the NAACP requested the Philadelphia School Board desegregate schools . However, the effort yielded no results, and the struggle to end segregation, and consequently improve the quality of education for Black community, would extend into the following decades (Phillips 2005).

### 4.2.1 "Get Their Black Asses": Student protests and the Creation of the Pan African Department at Temple

In the 1960s, school segregation increased in Philadelphia. The Philadelphia School Board redesigned school districts to maintain segregation in schools after the desegregation decision of Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka. In short, they gerrymandered schools (Phillips 2005). In 1967, protests erupted all over the city against school segregation and racial inequality. On November 17th, more than 300 high school students from ten different schools protested in front of the courtyard of the Board of Education Building. The protest was violently repressed (Bixler 2018; Spencer 2012). Witnesses confirmed that the Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo, ordered the police to "get their black asses," referring to the students. Most of the students were teenage Black boys and girls. They were beaten and more than 50 protesters were arrested. The event was called Black Friday (Spencer 2012). In addition to the lack of accountability for police violence, Frank Rizzo was elected mayor. However, the agenda of desegregation and improving the quality of education for Black students achieved greater visibility, with the support of Black organizations and white human rights organizations. In 1970, the Office of African American Studies was created in the School District of Philadelphia (Giddings 2001). This coalition of Black and white organization was also part of the Black Studies movement at Temple University.

Like other universities, Temple's students protested the Vietnam War and Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program as part of the anti-war protests (Hilty and Hanson 2009). National organizations such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) were also present at Temple. Besides the national agenda, Temple students and the Black community also protested the expansion of the campus. The expansion of Temple involved displacing thousands

of people in a predominately Black, low-income neighborhood. The Black community felt betrayed by the techniques used to convince people to leave. The Black newspaper "The Voice of Black Students" stated that "Temple has used "friendly persuasion", slick students' "advisors", and outright political trickery to move, "relocate" and re-zone our Black Community. (…) They always dealt with us separately. By frightening one Black out, others have automatically followed suit" (*Black Torch* 1964).

Black students articulated the inclusion of their demands such as the creation of Black Studies in their agenda's (Rogers 2009). Students organized protest and sit-ins against Temple's President Paul Anderson. Despite Anderson's assertion that the police were only called upon as a last resort against the protests (Hilty and Hanson 2009), Temple University hired more than one hundred security officers in addition to their police officers (Rogers 2009). The pressure was built from the inside out, and from the outside in. In 1968, the Church of the Advocate hosted the city's Black Power Conference. The conference brought to Philadelphia great civil rights leaders such as Rosa Parks, Ron Karenga, LeRoi Jones (Imamu Amiri Baraka), and Jesse Jackson. The Revered Paul Washington was a key figure at the conference, and he was also an important voice of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention at Temple. In 1970, Huey P. Newton and other Black Panther Party members hosted the convention at the University's McGonigle Hall (Black Panther Community News Service 1970). Temple released the use of the auditorium for the church, but later they were upset with the presence of the Black Panthers on campus. However, they believed canceling the event would escalate tensions and lead to violence. In the same year, the unrest continued at Temple (Hilty and Hanson 2009).

In response to students' mobilization, the Afro-Asian institute was created in 1969 (Hilty and Hanson 2009; Rogers 2009). In 1971, the Afro-Asian Institute was turned into the Pan-

African Studies Institute. And later, the department's name was changed to the African American Studies Department (Hilty and Hanson 2009). Since its inception, Temple's Pan-African Studies Institute has been enhanced by Black currents of thought and activism within what can be classified as a radical movement. In the first years of the Pan-African Studies Institute, it was described as "semi-political, semi-academic institute, unaffiliated with the College of Liberal Arts" (Small 1999, 669). The first chair was the Kenyan assistant professor Odeyo Ayaga (Ayaga 1973). Ayaga remained as chair for the first seven years of the department, and was followed by Dr. Wilbert Roget (Benin 2013). In 1974, the institute was turned into a department and placed within Liberal Arts (Hilty and Hanson 2009; Small 1999). Since the creation of the program, there have been attempts to de-legitimate, or even harm the careers of associate professors. The transformation of the institute into a department was an attempt to gain more autonomy. However, it forced the department to get rid of instructors who did not hold a BA or a MA. Yet, the department grew internally. In the late 1970s, it had approximately 15 professors and more than 40 courses (Asante & Mazama 2004; Small 1999). Since the beginning of the department's institutionalization, the project, the African Study Tour was established to take students to the African continent, particularly Ghana and Nigeria (Benin 2013).

As the department institutionalized itself, so did Black mobilization in Philadelphia. In 1968, the civil rights activist Samuel L. Evans created the American Foundation for Negro Affairs (AFNA). The foundation provided a mentorship program for Black high school students to access the university (Pray et a.l 2008). Traditional civil rights agenda organizations grew with more radical Philadelphian Black movement organizations, such as the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), the Black Peoples Unity Movement (BPUM), the Philadelphia Freedom Organization, Black Panther Party chapter and Philadelphia's MOVE (Gammage 2017). The

relationship of the Black movements with the department was not only related to its creation. In 1975, Annie D. Hyman created the Pan-African Studies Community Education Program (PASCEP) in North Central Philadelphia. In 1979, Hyman established a partnership with the Pan African Studies department at Temple to turn PASCEP into an outreach program. The university offered courses to bring the Black community closer to the university. The community strengthened the department by increasing interest in the courses and visibility of the program. The department provided faculty to teach courses, undergraduate students to assist with literacy programs and the department offered the use of university facilities. On the one hand, the university benefited from this alliance because it pacified the complaints of the Black community both about the institution's presence in the neighborhood and about the difficulty of accessing the university. On the other hand, the program created a mutually protective relationship between the department and the Black community that would be sorely needed in subsequent periods.

### 4.2.2 Afrocentricity versus Temple

In the beginning of the 1980s, the African American Studies department faced a delicate moment. The university was convinced they should shut down the department. To do it, they started to offer professors' positions in traditional departments. Wilbert Roget went to the French Department and Sonia Sanchez went to the English Department (Asante and Manzana 2004). The faculty who were not redirected to another department were not supported by the institution, such as Egyptologist Yosef Ben-Jochannan. The university denied a professor position to Yosef Ben-Jochannan. In the end, the department was reduced to three professors Odeyo Ayaga, Alfred Moleah, and Tran van Dinh. In response to this attempt to empty and close the department, Black students led by Adeelah Bosely protested on campus demanding the hiring of Ben-Jochannan and the end of practices against Black people and Black Studies at the university (Rally for Black

Studies 1971). Ayaga networked through the university to raise support for the department (Asante and Manzana 2004).

Just as there was political instability at the university, the city of Philadelphia also challenged Black movements. In 1978, the journalist and Black Panther Party member Mumia Abu Jamal criticized the state action involving 600 police officers surrounding the first residence of the Black organization MOVE. MOVE was a one-of-a-kind organization, that combined antiracist rhetoric with a natural diet, communal living, and the open carry of guns (Rooney 2020). Jamal lost his job as a journalist and started working as a taxi driver. In 1981, his car was pulled over and he was beaten by cops and was accused of killing a police officer. In 1982, Jamal was sentenced to death. All his appeals were denied (Jamal 2001). In 1985, police officers bombed the house that served as the headquarters of the Black organization MOVE and the Africa family. The bombing killed six adults, including John Africa, Conrad Hampton Africa, Frank James Africa, Raymond Foster Africa, Rhonda Ward Africa, and Theresa Brooks Africa – and five children Delisha (12 years old), Phil (10 years old), Tomaso (9 years old), Tree (14 years old), and Zanetta (13 years old). The fire destroyed 61 houses in the neighborhood. The group had to change their address due to complaints from neighbors. Nonetheless, on May 12, police officers requested the residents of the neighborhood to leave their houses, and on May 13, they bombed the house. In addition to killing 11 people, police left 250 people homeless. The only victim who survived, Ramona Africa was sentenced on charges of conspiracy and riot. She was imprisoned for 7 years (Rooney 2020). This attack took place during the term of the first Black mayor of Philadelphia, Wilson Goode.

In 1984, Temple's President Peter J. Liacouras agreed to the invitation of Molefi Asante to be the chair of the department as a last attempt to not shut it down. Ayaga invited Molefi

Asante to be the next chair of the department. This moment inaugurated a new phase of Black Studies at Temple (Asante 2009, Hilty and Hanson 2009; Small 1999). Initially Asante requested volunteers of other departments to lecture in African American Studies (Small 1999) . Later he was allowed to hire more faculty. Then, Asante proposed the creation of a master's degree in African American Studies based on the program he wrote while at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). However, the proposal was denied by the Graduate Committee of the College of Arts and Sciences (GCCAS). Asante reframed the proposal to include a masters and doctoral degree. He did extensive research to counter the arguments of the previous denial, such that other doctoral programs had a less professors than African American Studies department at Temple. Also, Asante campaigned for the department by collecting endorsement letters and support from the National Council of Black Studies (NCBS). In 1987, the program as approved by the GCCAS, and classes started the following year (Asante 2009). This investment in institutionalization and the national leadership of the department was not divorced from activism. In the 1980s, the department continued with activists on staff, including Black Panther Party member Bobby Seale who was a community liaison for the African American Studies department at Temple University (Seale 1987).

In the graduate proposal, Afrocentricity was presented as a theoretical basis for studies at Temple (Asante 2009). The movement to create the program was embedded on the debates on Afrocentricity and Africology (Myers 2013). In the middle of the 1990, the Egyptologist Theophile Obenga was hired to help to set the foundations of the Afrocentric project of the department (Myers 2013). The department was connected to the Association for the Study of Classical African Civilizations. "Obenga oversaw the dissertations of the first group of ASCAC-trained scholars to obtain a PhD in African American Studies in 1998" (Myers 2013, p. xxx). In

the mid-1990s, African American Studies at Temple achieved relative stability and recognition for its first doctoral program. But stability would not last.

In 1990, Black student Sean Patrick Anderson was beaten by a group of white students at a fraternity party. Other Black students at the party came to rescue him, and a general scuffle broke out. The police came and they beat Anderson, a Black female student named Tiffany Adams, and six more Black students. Black students were arrested while white students were released. The next three days were followed with students protest against police brutality. African American MA student Eddie Glaude represented the students in a meeting with Peter Liacouras. They demanded the university punish the police, the removal of the fraternity from campus, and mandatory anti-racist training. The first two requests were not met by the university. The only demand met was the inclusion of two courses from the department of African American Studies in core curriculum (Watanabe 2005).

There were also internal conflicts. In 1992, Ella Forbes, a junior faculty member in the African American Studies Department was invited to co-write the textbook *African American History: A Journal of Liberation* with Molefi Asante. In 1995, Forbes' tenure was denied by Temple, after she signed a document withdrawing herself from the publication of the book because of intellectual differences with Asante. However, later she complained that the book was published with the parts she wrote, without proper credit, and that there was a conflict of interest in her tenure assessment made by Asante (Goodman 1996; Kitwana 2001). Asante denied plagiarism, claiming to be the victim of retaliation because he was responsible for Forbes' assessment. The university created a commission to investigate the case and recommended punishment for Asante, but Temple's president Peter J. Liacouras did not follow the recommendation. The case was dealt with internally. Asante and Ella Forbes remained in the

department. However, Ella Forbes was not the only one unhappy with the department's management. Students complained about ideological policing within the department, some described the department as a fiefdom (Goodman 1996). In 1996, Asante resigned as chair of the department. In 1997, the literary critic Joyce Ann Joyce was the first Black women invited to be the chair.

Joyce had a stellar career before working at Temple. She was one of the first African American students at Valdosta State University. After finishing her Ph.D. in American Literature at the University of Georgia, Joyce worked at several universities. Before coming to Temple, she was known as a bold intellectual in criticizing the canon of cultural and literary criticism in Black Studies for its classism (Joyce 1987). However, at Temple, Joyce faced a war. On the one hand, her hiring as chair without any involvement from the department led to an outrage from faculty. On the other hand, the tactics employed against Joyce called the attention of the press (Kitwana 2001). She was seen by faculty and students as a representative of the white university's leadership, not as the critical and recognized Black scholar that she is. Students and faculty protested on campus against her appointment as chair with posters saying "Joyce must go. " In a public letter, Molefi Asante referred to Joyce as "an incompetent, self-hating, weak-minded, administrative novice." However, these were still the most cordial attempts to convince her to leave. Later Temple received a prototype of her represented as a voodoo doll saying, "Joyce must die," and someone put glue on the keyhole of Joyce's office. Meanwhile, Joyce adopted unpopular measures that were interpreted as retaliations by imposing the rules of the university's administration upon the department such as regulating professors' photocopying and phone calls (Kitwana 2001; Magner and Heller 1997). In 2001, Joyce left the African American

Studies department for the Women's Studies department at Temple. Nathaniel Norment was appointed as the next chair of the department.

Norment's mandate represented an armistice to the turbulence of the late 1990s. However, his relationship with Asante was not serene either as they both had public disagreements (Flaherty 2012). In 2003, Asante presented a proposal to change the curriculum of Philadelphia's schools, based on an Afrocentric education. The proposal was not accepted, yet it caused a restless debate (Noman 2018). Since the 1990s, faculty from African American Studies have published teaching materials and content for school curriculum (Giddings 2001). In 2008, Asante affirmed that there was a group inside of the department who wanted to change the name from African American Studies to Africology. However, this group was the minority because there were only two "Afrocentrists" at the department. Yet, in 2016, f the department changed its name to Africology (Hong 2016). This change is a result of an internal power shift in the department due to internal and external factors.

In 2012, Nathaniel Norment retired. The faculty voted Kariamu Welsh to be the chair, but the administration refused to accept him further explanation. Temple selected Jayne Drake as the chair of the department. Jayne Drake is a white woman and was the vice dean of the College of Liberal Arts, and she was not from the field of Black Studies. Her appointment, as well as the non-replacement of the Norment vacancy, caused protests, especially from graduate students (Stan 2012). Joshua Maurice Myers stated in his dissertation that Temple was against African American Studies:

> Its most apparent manifestation has been its recent denial by the academic bureaucracy of the opportunity to fill its vacant chairpersonship, which has resulted in outside control of the department. Temple's receivership appears to be less about collapsing the program, as it has with smaller degree programs, and more about remaking Africana Studies into a discipline that explicitly relies on traditional disciplines and paradigms for its sustenance. A sleight-of-hand that may in fact be embraced by those willing to concede the question of intellectual warfare to the

> dross of mere survival, it seems that Temple is currently in a period of transition toward this end. (Myers 2013, xxiii)

In 2013, Asante was appointed by faculty to be the chair of African American Studies again (Moritz 2013). Yet the relationship with the university administration had not improved. In 2014, Temple terminated Antony Monteiro's contract. Monteiro had worked in the African American Studies Department since 2003. Monteiro saw his resignation as the university's retaliation for protests over the choice of chair. After numerous protests and requests to hire him, including Cornel West's presence at protests, and letters of support, Monteiro was not rehired (Chang 2014; Ulen 2014).

### 4.2.3 Black Lives Matter at Temple

Black students' mobilization at Temple in the Black Lives Matter generation aims to rescue the institution's history in relation to Black people, and of the city's relationship with radical Black activism. Black students participate in grassroots organizations such as Philly's Coalition for REAL Justice, which fights for restorative justice for racial violence against Black people and organizations such as MOVE (Savage 2017). In 2016, the Black Student Union issued a statement affirming they would protest racial inequality at Temple's football games by remaining seated during the national anthem (Chang 2016). In 2017, Black students complained after finding a banana at their door in an ostensible act of racism. The incident happened twice in the same week, and only in dorms where Black students lived. In response, the university released a statement affirming their commitment to diversity and that they would conduct an investigation (John 2017).

Black students attempt to celebrate their friendship and fraternity they found at Temple in different ways. In 2018, the Black Student Union member Spencer Hamilton created the magazine EMPOWERED to highlight the creative work of Black Temple Students (News One

2018). However, some other celebrations sparked controversies. In 2019, students posted pictures wearing a T-shirt that read, "HBCU-ish Temple University." The T-shirt writing copied the logo of the sitcom series *Black-ish*. Black students were interviewed to explain if they felt the HBCU experience was somehow like their experiences at Temple (Owens 2019). However, media outlets highlighted Temple University is not like HBCUs not only because Temple does not carry the legacy and history of HBCUs, but also because most of the students at Temple are not Black students. The percentage of Black students is decreasing at Temple.

In 2020, 12.9% of students at Temple were Black or African American (Temple University 2021). The percentage of Black students has continuously drop since the 1990s, when it peaked at 20% (Savage-El 2008). Temple University disguises this decrease by gathering data on all minority students as "people of color" in its diversity assessments (Lochrie 2020). Among faculty, the percentage of Black professors is 18% (Temple 2021). Interestingly, Black women are the majority of Black faculty at Temple representing around 63% of the total. However, in 2019, among tenured professors, Black women were 4% of the total (*Chronicle of Higher Education* 2021).

In June of 2020, a group of students marched on campus protesting the institution's failure to punish or adequately respond to racist acts committed by Temple students. After the protests over George Floyd's murder, a Temple white student named Jimmy Freas posted social media videos mocking George Floyd (Elvas and Evans 2020). Graduate student teaching assistants from the Department of Africology issued a letter calling out the university's hypocrisy and contradiction by celebrating alumni from Africology who have achieved national recognition, such as Ibram Kendi (formerly known as Ibram Rogers), while department and graduate students suffer from scarce resources. The students' demands were to change the name

of the department to Africology only, without African American studies, more funding for research and assistantships, four more faculty to be added to the seven faculty of the department, the allowance of the department to offer African languages courses, and intellectual autonomy over general education courses.

In the aftermath of Black Lives Matter protests and the Temple student protest, Temple announced an investment of one million dollars in the Africology Department and the recently created Center for Anti-Racism Research. The funds will be used to hire more faculty, to develop the center, and to create a new outreach project with the youth of North Philadelphia (Oputu 2020). Molefi Asante is the coordinator of the project, which was announced in October 2020 and is currently being developed by the department.

### 4.3 Black Studies at the University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee

The University of Wisconsin Milwaukee (UWM) officially started its operation in 1956 (Cassell et al. 1992). The University of Wisconsin System is formed by 13 institutions, 2 research universities including UW-Madison and UW-Milwaukee (Milwaukee is the city with the largest share of Black residents in the state), and 11 more universities in Eau Claire, Green Bay, La Crosse, Oshkosh, Parkside, Platteville, River Falls, Stevens Point, Stout, Superior, and Whitewater. In 1848, the state constitution established the University of Wisconsin. In 1971, the University of Wisconsin System (UW System) was created to organize merging public state universities and colleges (Brady 2020). The history of Black Studies at the UWM is related to the University of Wisconsin Madison (UW-Madison), because Madison established a relationship to Black students and intellectuals before the creation of UWM, and because the process of implementation and independence of UWM from the UW-Madison campus took

about 10 years. Nevertheless, Black protest at other universities in the UW System, such as Oshkosh, also had an impact on the creation of Black Studies at UWM.

The first Black student at UW-Madison was William Noland Smith. In 1875, Noland Smith graduated from the Law School. In 1928, he passed the Bar exam, and he moved to Milwaukee where he became the president of the Milwaukee chapter of the NAACP (Slater 1996). The Black Canadian, William T. Green had a similar history. In 1892, he graduated with a Law degree from UW-Madison. In 1893, he opened a legal office in Milwaukee. William T. Green was one of the lawyers of the Howell v. Litt case in the Wisconsin Supreme Court which decided race discrimination was illegal in Wisconsin in 1895 (WAAL 2019). In 1918, Mabel Watson Raimey became the first Black woman to earn a degree at UW- Madison where she received a B.A in English. In 1922, she enrolled at Marquette Law School. In 1926, she became the first Black woman lawyer in Wisconsin. Mabel Watson Raimey is also one of the founders of the Milwaukee Urban League (WAAL 2019).

It is not by chance the Black graduates from Madison, settled in Milwaukee. Between 1915 and 1960 the Black population in Milwaukee increased from 1,500 to 62,458. Milwaukee experienced a later migration that was more concentrated after the 1950s (Geib 1998). The settlement of the Black population was conditioned by two phenomena: industrialization and segregation. The industrialization of Milwaukee created opportunities for Black people migrating from the south. The migration increased the Black population in the city and created a Black proletariat (Trotter 2007). However, Black women were not fully included in industrial job opportunities. They worked as domestic and personal service workers. This marginal inclusion still represented a possibility of social mobility. Even though there was a job ceiling for Black workers. The labor market was segregated as well as every other aspect of society such as

housing, recreation, and education. Segregation was not the only consequence of racial discrimination. Milwaukee's history of racial violence can be traced back to before Marshall Clack's death in a lynching of 1861 (Little 2000). Black lawyers trained at UW-Madison, as well as intellectuals and activists formed Milwaukee's Black civil rights institutions such as the Milwaukee Urban League and the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People – NAACP. The Milwaukee Urban League had an important emphasis on education, housing, and jobs. The Urban League did an advocacy work in dialogue with public authorities. Within this strategy, the organization aimed to guarantee that Black people occupied important positions in the labor market. Thus, in the 1930s, the first Black teachers were hired by public schools in Milwaukee due to pressure from activists from the Milwaukee Urban League such as William Kelley (Dougherty 2004). However, Black teachers were assigned to teach at elementary schools instead of junior or high schools (Dougherty 1998).

In the 1950s, the creation of UWM was an outcome of the merger of the Milwaukee State Teachers College and the University of Wisconsin-Extension. The UW- Extension was focused on offering two-year programs (Schroeder 2018), while the Milwaukee State Teachers College offered four-year teacher training programs. The Milwaukee State Teachers College was created in 1927, then called the Milwaukee State Normal School. In 1951, the name was changed again to Wisconsin State College, Milwaukee. Although in a minority, there were Black students at the Milwaukee State Teachers College. In the 1930 and 1940s, some students felt the lack of professional prospects for graduates in Milwaukee (Dougherty 1998). Initially, UWM had two different academic units: the College of Letters and Science and the School of Education. Over the following years UWM expanded its academic units adding the Schools of Fine Arts,

Business and Social Welfare (Klotsche 1972). Most UWM's faculty were graduates from UW-Madison (Schroeder 2018).

Since its the opening, the presence of Black students on campus have been reduced. This reality was not restricted to UWM. However, Milwaukee became the city with the highest percentage of Black people in the state of Wisconsin. In the 1970s, the Black population reached 105,088, surpassing 14% of the city's population (Geib 1998). In the 1950s, white leaders feared the growth of the Black population . In previous decades, activists had compromises to get small gains in the labor market. Black teachers were hired, but exclusively in predominantly Black schools such as Fourth Street and Ninth Street elementary schools. In the 1950s, Black teachers started to be assigned to most valued positions at Roosevelt Junior High School. However, in the 1960s, the living condition of the Black population was not improving. Intimidation and institutional violence were employed against the Black population, and especially against Black men by the police. Also, the stigma that Black migrants were culturally deprived was incorporated into the city discourse and educational policies (Dougherty 2004).

The aftermath of Brown v. Board of Education had consequences in Milwaukee. The next generations of UW-Madison-trained Black lawyers like Lloyd Barbee and Vel Phillips were important actors in the struggle for equality from the 1950s and 1960s. In 1956, Vel Phillips became the first Black alderperson on the Common Council in Milwaukee. In 1962 she presented an ordinance proposal against housing segregation, and she continued to present the project for six years until she achieved some results (McCallister 2018). The desegregation agenda whether in education, housing or jobs had a greater objective: the improvement of living conditions and the opportunity for socio-economic mobility for Black Milwaukee (Dougherty 2004). As in many other American cities, the 1960s were tumultuous in Milwaukee. Freedom

schools in Milwaukee trained a younger generation of activists. As in other cities, Freedom schools exemplified the kind of education that the movements for desegregation demanded, an education with Black instructors, that welcomed Black students, that valued Black contributions rather than erasing Black students and Black culture (Suchor 2020). The housing and school segregation protests took over streets and forced the state to act. It should be noted that segregation was not the cause of the problems of the Black population in Milwaukee. Racial segregation is the consequence of the institutional racism that informs the city's policies. Therefore, it is necessary to interpret racial mobilizations in Milwaukee in a systematic context. Mobilization to desegregate education was not restricted to this theme, just as the mobilizations at the university were not restricted to higher education. However, the protest is connected to a racial equality agenda that, through education, could spread to other institutions, and to society. Similarly, when the great riots erupted in Milwaukee in 1967, rather than identifying one exclusive reason for the specific day of the uprising (Jones 2009), it is necessary to recognize the fact that: a city that is segregated, violent, limits Black people to poverty and has organized white supremacist groups, gave rise to various forms of resistance and to the struggle for equality.

In 1966, Milwaukee erupted in anti-segregation demonstrations. However, it was not only Black protests from the NAACP Youth Council, leaders such as like Lloyd Barbee and Vel Phillips, and white allies such as Father Groppi, who took to the streets. White supremacists also marched against Black protesters in Milwaukee and Wauwatosa. The non-violent Black protests were received with violence from white mobs. On August 9, Milwaukee Ku Klux Klan members bombed the Milwaukee chapter of the NAACP office (Jones 2009). The domestic bomb partially destroyed the office. In response to bombing and Black vulnerability at protests, members of the NAACP Youth Council formed the internal organization called Commandos. Commandos were

exclusively made of men and intended to protect the protesters and the organization, but they did not use weapons (Metcalfe 2014). However, they represented an important image for the pre-Black power movement rhetorical shift in Milwaukee. In July 31 of 1967, Milwaukee was among the cities experiencing Black riots. However, Milwaukee's riots are usually explained in vague terms. Aukofer (2007) explained the Milwaukee riot more as an inexplicable incident involving Black youth and cops.

> From a statistical standpoint, it was not much of a riot compared to others in the summer of 1967. Milwaukee's riot left three persons dead of gunshot wounds — one of them an accidental shooting — about 100 persons injured, including 44 policemen, and 1,740 persons arrested. Most of the arrests were for violation of the mayor's tight curfew, which was widely credited with keeping the lid from blowing off. (Aukofer 2007, 21)

If we consider that the city had constant protests for some years, had a troubled relationship between Black youth and the police and a Black political agenda that did not advance, the exhaustion of a dialogue with the police, or even retaliation by the abuses committed over decades it is not surprise that were involved in protests. In 1967, the NAACP Youth Council marched for 200 days against housing segregation in Milwaukee. The 1967 protests were met with more hostility and violence than those of 1966. Hundreds of unarmed protesters against segregation being confronted with thousands of racist whites; some of them armed. On December 31, 1967, members of the Commandos and the NAACP Youth Council protested all over the city with the temperature reaching -20°C (-7°F) degrees. Besides the protests, the Black community boycotted Schlitz beer to pressure the approval of Vel Phillips' desegregation ordinance (McCallister 2018). In 1968, open house laws were approved in Milwaukee and in the suburbs (Aukofer 2007).

### 4.3.1 "What We Are Angry About": Black Thursday and Student Protest at UW-Milwaukee

In the 1960s, the Black population in the Wisconsin city of Oshkosh was reduced dramatically. Oshkosh was a sundown town, a name given to places where African American visitors could not stay overnight given the antiblack hostility of the predominantly white residents. Additionally, most of Oshkosh's white business owners practiced different forms of racial discrimination to prevent the growth of its Black population, in one notable example working to prevent Black people from renting apartments in the city. As a result of policies and practices like this one, Black students at Wisconsin State University-Oshkosh (WSU-O) suffered from a lack of access to housing (Kercher 2008). Oshkosh and Milwaukee were opposite sides of the same problems. In Oshkosh, segregation policies prevented Black people from staying in the city. Most of the Black population unable to stay in other Wisconsin cities moved to Milwaukee, but segregation impeded social mobility. This highly unequal context led to the protests of the mid-1960s, which ruptured the official discourse about the absence of racial discrimination in the Northern United States. In 1968, WSU-O enrolled 116 Black students. Some of these students were from Milwaukee and had been involved in Black activism including the city's desegregation movement. Black students experienced discrimination from peers, staff, and faculty. They also faced obstacles to accessing student assistance. In October, 94 Black students submitted a letter of demands. In November this group occupied the rectory demanding answers from the institution. When their demands were not met, some students vandalized the office, throwing papers on the floor, and breaking some furniture. Ninety Black students were expelled from WSU-O and banned from enrolling in any UW university for life (Kercher 2008). The institutional response to Black student demands in this case demonstrates the lengths to which

the university would go to not only ignore the demands of Black students in the short term but also to exclude them from educational opportunities and futures in Wisconsin in the long term.

In May of 1968, many organizations mobilized to create the Center of Afro-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee (UWM). These groups included the UWM NAACP Chapter, the United Community Action Group, the Northtown Planning and Development Council, the Milwaukee County Department of Public Welfare, the Social Development Commission, and the Inner-City Development Project. In addition, Lloyd Barbee was a Wisconsin State Assemblyman and had previously been involved in desegregation efforts. The UWM NAACP Chapter argued the university was failing its academic responsibility by not teaching about the Black contribution to culture (*UWM Post* 1968). Also, the Black enrollment was extremely low; in 1968 Black students in UWM represented 1% of the total number of students on campus (UWM news release 1968–70). The UWM NAACP Chapter, the United Community Action Group, the Northtown Planning and Development Council, the Milwaukee County Department of Public Welfare, the Social Development Commission, and the Inner-City Development Project concluded UWM, like many other American universities maintained white supremacy by teaching based on the oppressor's point of view instead of minorities' perspectives. These organizations demanded the university provide resources for Black students to face and solve the problems they faced inside and outside campus and to increase their enrollment.

A group of organizations formed the United Black Student Front to pressure the University to implement a broad program of inclusion and transformation (Holzhauer 1968). This student mobilization resulted on the creation of the Center of Afro-American Studies. It is important to highlight that the creation of the Center of Afro-American Studies was not an

objective on its own; the creation of the center was part of a strategy to change the mission and operating structure of UWM. Those organizations wanted five main changes at UWM, including a curricular change capable of providing Black students the epistemological tools to change their realities and address the problems their communities faced; a shift from the Eurocentrism of disciplines such as History, Education, Arts and Literature towards an African and African American perspective; special attention to the training of social workers and teachers working in Black communities; the creation of an institutional space headed by students with autonomy and the ability to select and retain its staff; a Student Affairs program to promote services for Black students and the Black community and to increase the recruitment of Black students in high school, as well as develop exchange programs with institutions such as Fisk University, North Carolina College, Howard University and San Francisco State College (Substitute Proposal 1968-1972).

Originally Black students demanded the creation of the Black Student Union as a programmatic structure aimed at developing courses, a program of Afro-American Culture, the hiring of professionals and represent acting of Black students on campus. The student organizations were responsible for starting protests and they were led by a coalition of five organizations on campus: Alpha Kappa Alpha, Delta Sigma Theta, Kappa Alpha Psi, the Alliance of Black Students, and UWM Black Students. Since the proposal for the Black Student Union was met with some resistance, students focused on the proposal to create the Center of Afro-American Culture (United Black Student Front 1968).

In June of 1968 the university created an Ad Hoc Committee responsible for writing the proposal for the Center of Afro-American Culture. The committee included seven professors and six students. The comparison between the demands presented by the United Black Student Front

and what UWM was willing to accept is indicative of what would be the next 26 years of Black studies at the institution (UWM Chancellor's Statement 1985). The university acknowledged the demands of the students were necessary. Each department was requested to analyze the best way to incorporate the demands of inclusion throughout the campuses disciplines, and further studies to respond to the demands for scholarships and student services.

Throughout the documents, meetings and discussions, demands were summarized by the creation of the Center itself, as if the creation of the center were the demand, and not only how the demands would be satisfied. It is important to emphasize that what organizations wanted was not only to include a group of disciplines, or the inclusion of Black people on campus, but to change the university. This change would be satisfied by the creation of the center only if the center effectively encompassed the set of demands presented by the organizations, but also if it had the autonomy and power to implement the actions.

The Monday of February of 1969 was extremely tumultuous at UWM. After a fire alarm was pulled, a protest of one hundred students took over the campus. The leaders were two Black women, Barbara Gibson and Lovetta Brown. The main goal was to show support for the hiring of James E. Turner as the director of the recently created Center of Afro-American Culture. In addition to not reaching its goal, the protest resulted in the arrest of five students for allegedly trying to throw mud on the cops. The students arrested were Bernard O'Loughlin, Tomas R. Schmitt, Linda Dahl, Marsa L. Cutting, and Shed Spring (*Milwaukee Sentinel* 1969).

Right before the protest, Black students concluded that UWM did not want to appoint the director the students chose, or to allow the students to fully participate in the decisions about the management of the center. The university wanted to create a center as an answer to Black activists demands, but the institution was not committed to making the center what the

organizations wanted, nor to change its structure to fulfill the objectives of the center. Another complaint of the students was the lack of an explicit position from the institution.

Although the commitment to allow a working proposal for a center that would incorporate students among the coalition of organizers, there were several questions about the creation of the center. Even though the students were involved in mobilization efforts, university's leadership disagreed with their participation in the decision-making process (Kirkhorn), because the students were willing to pressure the institution to accept the demands of social movements (Draft to Ernest Spaights). Another problem was where the university would place the center in the organizational chart of the university. There was no consensus about how to build an institution inside campus with autonomy to challenge other units inside the university. Also, at the time of the Ad-Hoc Committee's appearance, the Center's proposal had been completed, but there were some basic issues that were problematic for the creation of the center such as what kind of administrative entity it would be, what level of autonomy it would have, and the nature of the academic unit (Brown and Bloomberg 1968).

The curriculum became one of the most pressing issues. The core of each university is its courses and curriculum. It was clear Black movements wanted a change; the problem was to decide if the changes would be structural or incremental. There was an important debate in the field of Black Studies about how and why to change the curricula. The changes Black Studies needed were not merely including disciplines but to understand what was meaningful to Black students (Hale 1968). There was an element of Black radicals who did not think American universities were the appropriate spaces to hold Black Studies. UWM was no different.

In order to receive external support for the creation of the center and to make the UWM part of the national debate about the creation of a Black Studies center, the Ad-Hoc Committee

initiated a process of consulting intellectuals and institutions about the curricular proposal of the center. Ernest Spaights was hired as a savior to quell the racial tensions that followed the students' initial protests in 1968 (New Top Aide at UWM). Spaights played a key role in advising then chancellor, Klotsche. He was responsible for consulting other universities and intellectuals about the curriculum of the center. The center's proposal received input from Nathan Hare from San Francisco State College, Darwin T. Turner from the Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, Saunders Redding from the National Foundation of the Arts and the Humanities and James E. Turner, a PhD Candidate at Northwestern University. James E. Turner argued Black Studies was "the comprehensive study of the Afro-American community: its people, its problems, art, culture, politics, economics, history and social development" (Turner).

The quality of James Turner's recommendations, added to the explicit radical point of view of his proposal which is likely why students recommended him as the director of the Center. As an example of how bold Turner's proposal was, he proposed the creation of a course called "the Black Ghetto as a Product of White Society" (Turner). UWM did not hire James Turner as director of the Center of Afro-American Studies; instead, the university hired Chestyn Everett. However, not hiring Turner was a political choice that would have an impact on the institutionalization of the Black Studies department.

After the first year, four instructors—Chestyn Everett, Geraldine Corbin, Mary Mosley, and Joseph Mabwa—resigned from the center. The reasons for their departure of from UWM are many. For one, they felt the university did not support the Center as the Fine Arts Department tried to sabotage it. Students were disgruntled by the services the center offered. The director appointed by UWM, Dan Burrell was considered too insensitive of the needs of instructors.

Institutional racism in the daily life of the faculty also played a role in their political point by collectively resigning (*Milwaukee Star* 1970). Some of the issues the Center struggled with on its first year was the lack of their presence on the Ad Hoc Committee. This led to an imbalance in coalitions formed within the committee. The committee also created obstacles for student participation, and the center's demands were not met. Apparently, there was a dispute between the Committee and the Center regarding decisions. In practice, the requests of the center were forwarded and analyzed at various meetings of the Ad Hoc Committee, which in many cases took too long. In addition, there was the assessment that the Committee was working to prevent changes in the University (Everett 1970).

The students continually protested from 1969 to 1971, not only for the hiring of Turner, but also for of the center's infrastructure would allow it to challenge institutional racism on campus (Cassell, Klotsche, and Olson 1992, p. 71). The Black students continued to demand a radical turn not only at UWM but in the UW System as a whole. They proclaimed, "the university is like an 18$^{th}$ century structure, run by a nineteenth century thinker, in a twentieth century setting" (Garrison 1969, p. 2). The students were radicalized in the rhetoric, and it was evident there was an erosion between them in their dialogue and negotiation with the University. In 1969, UWM celebrated the increase in enrollment of Black students from 142 to 377. If on one hand the enrollment of Black students more than doubled, on the other side the Black presence was still only 2% student population. The university administration used multiple tactics to avoid the hiring of professors the students recommended. They would send an invitation to an intellectual the students recommended, but after the acceptance, the administration would stop the communication with the person, or they would change the job position and offer a lower position, or a lower salary (Garrison 1969).

The creation of a Department of Afro-American Studies was part of the proposal of the creation of the Center. The plan to create the center was hinged on three important changes: the creation of the Department and the bachelor's degree in 1971 and the creation of a master's degree in 1972 (Five Aims 1968–72). From the original planning schedule, only the Department was created in 1971, and it was incorporated in the College of Letters and Science. From the practical point of view, the creation of the department demanded even less structural changes than the creation of the center. In practice, the structure of the center led to the creation of the department, but the creation of the department carried forward all the issues that were already pending in the center.

The process of institutionalization of the department from 1971 to the 1980s was accomplished through a set of issues that were not necessarily solved: the professors, the relationship with the College of Letter and Sciences, the creation of the bachelor's degree and the autonomy of the department. The problem of recruiting professors was an issue since its inception. Just as the collective resignation in 1970 indicates, there were also problems retaining instructors and professors. The university had a problem hiring Black professors on the whole campus and this also occurred in the Afro-American department. Also, the department's professors and instructors had difficulty evolving in their careers, both because of the extra difficulties in being in the department and because of a lack of effective support for professors to achieve tenure (Report of the Ad Hoc 1977).

The relationship of the department to the College of Letters and Science one of conflict. There was notion the department was not well managed. The lack of trust in the capacity of the department to self-manage was expressed by the creation of an augmented Executive Committee in 1973 to co-manage the department, and it was made up of members from other departments.

In essence, the Executive committee patronized the Department. This co-management meant the department had no autonomy. If their intention was to help a newly established unit, they did not do a good job, because in 1974 the Department underwent a financial intervention by the College of Letters and Science (Report of the Ad Hoc 1977).

At the same time, the Ad Hoc Committee used Lloyd Barbee's critique of the Department saying it was "not in a position of respect within the university System, or outside of it" (Report of the Ad Hoc 1997, p. 6). The Committee blamed the faculty for the isolation of the department as an outcome of the lack of credentials of the professors hired. However, the criticism of Lloyd Barbee could be extended to UWM. Moreover, the experience necessary to circulate in decision-making environments in the University was related to racial discrimination. In fact, the committee itself recognized that the university demanded a special type of know-how. Regarding the problems the department faced, because of leadership the committee highlighted that "as one person put it, problems arose because of the chair's 'lack of awareness of the informal mechanisms which enable a department to circumvent bureaucratic barriers, make trade-offs, and develop documentation to support request for resources" (Report of the Ad Hoc 1977, p. 7). Therefore, the fact that sometimes universities deals are resolved in hallway conversations and dinners is the problem. Black professors were excluded from these social events. Therefore, the problem could not be solved by the department, precisely because the criticism of universities elitism and excluding techniques led to the creation of the department. Interestingly, despite all the criticisms, in 1973, the department was held a high number of activities. In addition to the 49 courses offered per year to 1,371 students, the faculty were informal advisors of 200 students, served as consultants for the creation of community centers and churches such as Epworth Methodist Church, they raised funds for Association for Education in Journalism (AEJ)

Internship Program, and the Sickle Cell Anemia Foundation, and they prepared to host the National and Regional meeting of the Association of Black Psychologists at UWM (Annual Summary 1973, p. 4).

In both 1974 and 1977, the department attempted twice to create its bachelor's degree in Afro-American Studies. It is interesting to note that the proposals were based on what was already being done by the department in terms of the offering of courses. Briefly, the department offered courses in four areas: (1) History, (2) People and Society, (3) Thought and Expression, and (4) Special Topics (Afro-American Studies Proposal 1975–1976). Reasons for the rejection of the proposal were the diffuseness of the curriculum and the "weaknesses of the faculty" (Report of the Ad Hoc 1977, p. 10). Considering that most of the courses were previously offered, their appears the administration was not satisfied with the faculty. The main problem was that in the first eight years of the program, the professors' turnover was frequent; many members were overworked, with fragile institutional ties to UWM. In 1973, the department had two professors, Daniel Burrel and Joseph Carpenter, five lecturers, Agola Auma-Osolo, Lionel C Barrow Jr., John Palmer, Robert Creecy, Rockie D Taylor and one counselor, Frederick Brits (Annual Summary 1973). This turnover meant that many courses were not offered regularly. In addition, the 'quality' issues are very complex. Even though UWM was continually hiring, and the salary range was considered equivalent to the position, the fact that the university was not selecting and retaining Black professors was a reality in all departments. Of course, this issue had even a greater impact on the Black department.

One possibility of interpreting of these historical facts that is that some strategies to maintain the viability of the department were to hire professors in the Afro-Studies department as joint appointments with other departments and hiring well-known activists and intellectuals such

as Vel Phillips and Lloyd Barbee. The joint hiring was already a policy supported by UWM. However, the prominent Milwaukee civil rights movement leaders hired as faculty could strengthen the department by increasing the visibility of the program. In the previous attempts to create the bachelor degree, the hiring and retention of professors was one of key-problem that led to the refusal to create the BA. Apparently, these new recruitments helped the approval of the BA in 1979 ("Minutes of Faculty Meeting" 1979).

### 4.3.2 From Afro-American Studies to Africology at UW-Milwaukee

The internal strengthening of the department was connected to external relationships that the department was able to maintain and deepen. One important organization that supported the department was the National Council for Black Studies. Through the conferences, the department's professors collaborated with other institutions, as well as sought solutions to the problems encountered at UWM. As a result of institutionalization in the 1980s, the department became responsible for organizing Black History Month activities on campus (Van Horne 1981). The department also celebrated Kwanzaa (Brander 1983). The number of faculty had not increased significantly, but the number of faculty with professor status increased. The department had six faculty, two professors dedicated exclusively to the department, Winston Van Horne, and Osei-Mensah Aborampah, three professors with joint appointments, Frank Martin, Deborah G. White, and Richard Lewis, and one instructor, Virginia L. Stamper (Van Horne 1980). The discussion over the theoretical paradigm of the field was an important part of the consolidation of the department of Afro-American Studies at UWM.

The discussion about Africology as a discipline in the Afro-American Studies department started in 1985. The idea was to contribute to the field of Black Studies towards the creation of "a sound body of analytical and empirical knowledge of the phenomena of the lives of Black

people throughout the Afroworld" (Van Horne 1985). In 1987, UWM held the First Symposium on Africology, which sought to define and clarify the idea of Africology (Myers 2013). In July 28 of 1988, Winston Van Horne formally gave a presentation of the concept Africology at the National Council of Black Studies Meeting in Tennessee. He advocated all Black Studies departments adopt the name. The main goals of Africology as a concept were (1) to overcome the "studies" as an appositive and to use a suffix that denoted science through the suffix "-ology," (2) to position Africa at the center of the science in name, and (3) to overcome the debates of terminology in a Pan-African and Afrocentric direction (Van Horne 1988). However, more than an issue of nomenclature, Africology was a political question. Van Horne was important to distinguish Africology stating:

> Africology is not an 'African discipline' just as sociology is not a European discipline— even if much of its literature has been produced by Europeans/Americans. (…). Before the end of the century, and for the first time, graduate students with PhDs, who have been educated/trained in the discipline of Africology will be available to join the faculties of departments of Afro-American/Black Studies which, for the most part, offer only undergraduate degrees. The disciplinary and Historical significance of teachers-researchers in Africology having done their doctoral and post-doctoral work in the discipline of their specialization can in no wise be overstated. (Van Horne 1988)

In 1990, the Department of Afro-American Studies started the process that led to the department 's name change in 1994. Osei Mensah Aborampah became the chair of the department. Through an articulation with other departments of Black Studies, especially that of Temple University that had already adopted the name Africology, UWM's department held a set of forums discussing the conceptual and practical in change the name of the department. This change was part of a strategy to consolidate the department, but it was also a political direction in favor of Afrocentricity (Aborampah 1990–1991). In the 1990s, Afrocentrism was an aesthetic movement, with diverse philosophical elements, that was part of African American music and film culture. The name change an outcome of the possibility of a turn from internal debates of

about surviving, to external debates of relevance and the institutionalization of the field as a science. The department hired more faculty such as Ahmed Mbalia, a teacher at Milwaukee Technical Institute and a PhD candidate at the University of Maryland (*Milwaukee Community Journal* 1988), Linda Heddle Mistele, specialist on folktales and PhD candidate at UW-Madison, Willian Rogers, Lennell Dade, Bartholemew Armah, and the renowned activist Vel Phillips. In 1992, the department formalized a partnership with the University of Cape Coast in Ghana. In 1993, Molefi Asante was invited to give a lecture on Afrocentricity at UWM. In 1994, Barbara Smith, a Black feminist, was a guest speaker of Afro-American studies department and gave a public address. After intensive investment in scholarship and visibility, the department managed to change its name to Africology in 1994. The change was well received by the media, causing curiosity in the new concept (*MCJ* 1995). On the other hand, the department was under scrutiny for other reasons. White students criticized the classes as too political or anti-Western (Abdul-Alim 2016). In 1994, the department extended an invitation to Leonard Jeffries, chairman of African American Studies at the City University of New York. Jeffries made national headlines in the years before because he affirmed Jewish people had a relationship with the slave system, and those statements were interpreted as racism (Benjamin 1993). Even so, from the second half of the 1990s, new professors appeared in events held by the department, such as Virginia Gran Stampersuch, Patrick Bellegarde Smith, Joyce Kirk, and Marvin Hannah (Folder 2, Box 489, UWM Archival Collection 134).

From 1997 to 2008, the Africology department struggled to create a graduate program. In 1997, Professor Winston Van Horne sent a Preliminary Entitlement to Plan a Proposal for a PhD/MA in Africology to the university's administration (Van Horne 1997). However, the university requested a review with more details, especially concerning funding, resources, and

comparison with other similar programs (Thibodeau). In 2005, the department's requested an entitlement to plan a PhD in Africology. In 2006, it was approved by commissions in University of Wisconsin-EAU Claire, University of Wisconsin- Oshkosh, University of Wisconsin – Stevens Point, University of Wisconsin- Parkside, University of Wisconsin – Platteville, University of Wisconsin- Whitewater, and UWM departments such as English, Religious Studies and Anthropology, Geography and Urban Planning (Folder 1, Box 9, UWM Archival Collection 137). On paper, the biggest opponent of the creation of the program was the department of African and African American studies at UW-Madison. They argued the creation of the PhD was not in the interests of the students (Werner 2006). Despite the work around Africology, the program had a more interdisciplinary approach. It aimed to have an interface with Economics, English, Political Science and Sociology departments. Also, the creation of the doctoral program was made in dialogue with the Afro-American studies department of UW-Madison. They were aware UW-Madison was not willing to accept a doctoral program in Black studies (Werner 2006). The department at Madison already had bachelor and master's degree, therefore the UWM Africology Department wanted to allow UW-Madison to transfer students who wanted to pursue an Africology degree in Milwaukee. The plan was to admit 5 graduate students each year, and to provide funding to those students by means of Teaching Assistant positions, Advanced Opportunity Fellowships, and external funding. The plan was created and based on the expertise of the faculty including Osei Mensah Aborampah, Bartholomew Armah, Patrick Bellegarde-Smith, Abera Gelan, Sandra E. Jones, Joyce F. Kirk, Doreatha Mbalia, Wiston Var Horne, Anika Wilson, Erin Winker and Ahmed Mbalia (Proposal for Authorization to Implement a Ph.D. in Africology 2008-2009). They also wanted to hire another professor to be a specialist in political economy. The plan was approved in 2008. Despite the institutional achievements of the

department, the scenario of inequality and racial violence in the city of Milwaukee continued and updated. This brought a new phase of race riots in the next decade.

### 4.3.3 Out of Africology

As many American cities, in the 2010s and 2020s Milwaukee presented in the systematic murder of Black people, especially Black men, the intersection between a Black political, social and intellectual agenda. On April 30, 2014, Dontre Hamilton was killed by police officer Christopher Manney. Hamilton was a 31 years-old Black men who had schizophrenia and was sleeping at Red Arrow Park in Milwaukee. Hamilton was approached by cops three times while sleeping. The third time, Christopher Manney tried to force him to move. Hamilton fought Manney, and Hamilton was shot 14 times. Protests against police brutality broke out in the city. Despite losing his job, Christopher Manney was not charged for the murder (Koplowitz 2014). In 2016, Sylville K. Smith, a 23-year-old Black man, was killed by Milwaukee police officer Dominique Heaggan-Brown. Sylville Smith was said to be armed and fled the police approach, however, when he was killed, he was found unarmed (Nolan and Bosman 2017). For two days, riots took over the Sherman Park neighborhood. The crowd burned down six businesses and confronted police officers with rocks. On August 23, 2020, Jacob Blake was shot seven times by police officers who were called in to pacify a family feud in Kenosha, Wisconsin. When he was shot, Jacob Black was trying to get into his car with his 3 children. Three days of riots took over Kenosha, Milwaukee, Madison and the entire country. The 2020 Black Lives Matter protests responded to Blake's shooting and the murder of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor. On August 25, 2020, two people were murdered in protests after Kyle Rittenhouse white militia took to the streets shooting at protesters in Kenosha (Tolan 2020). Some analysts have linked the 2016 protests in Sherman Park to the 1967 riots (Speltz 2016) wondering if the struggle that took

hundreds of activists onto the streets in the 1960s had somehow gotten worse in Milwaukee. Over the past 10 years, Milwaukee has consistently been ranked among the worst American cities for African Americans to live in (Comen and Sauter 2017; 24/7 Wall St. 2015). The Black population continued to grow after the 1970s, reaching 40% of the population in 2015. As a city that has remained deeply segregated and suffers the consequences of deindustrialization, Milwaukee has failed to provide opportunities for Black people. Instead, African Americans have the highest unemployment rate of the city, reaching almost 17%. Blacks have lower high school graduation rates than whites, and are more punished in school, earn less than half the income of whites and have the highest rate of incarceration. White incarceration rate decreased while Black incarceration increased in Milwaukee (24/7 Wall St. 2015; Roberts 2004).

After the riots in Sherman Park, Africology Department faculty Ahmed Mbalia connected the protests in Milwaukee with the new wave of Black protests in America that originated from Black Lives Matter, such as the protests in Ferguson after the assassination of Michael Brown in 2014. The riots represent the disillusionment of the Black community with America. Ahmed Mbalia believed the solution would be a regime change inspired by the Cuban Revolution and Ghanaian communism under Kwame Nkrumah's administration (Abdul-Alim 2016). Ahmed Mbalia gave an interview in the year before his death. Before Ahmed Mbalia, Winston Van Horne passed away in 2013 (Perry 2013). In addition to racial unrest in the city, there were internal changes at UWM.

In 2018, the Africology department at UWM changed its name to the African and African Diaspora Studies department. The chair was Professor Jeffrey Sommers. The department argued the name Africology “was becoming a liability” for some faculty and students, and that it did not represent the identity of the department anymore (College of Letters and Science Faculty 2018).

This identity was created by a group of professors that were in the department since the creation of the doctoral program such as Erin Winkler, Abera Gelan, and Anika Wilson. It also included new professors such as Harwood K. McClerking, Jeffrey Sommers, Nolan Kopkin, Gladys Mitchell-Walthour, and Ermitte Saint Jacques. The internally negotiated name change caused external debates. The former editor of "Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies " Itibari M. Zulu, who died in 2019, wrote in his last paper about the change:

> The former Department of Africology at the University of Wisconsin became the Department of African and African Diaspora Studies. My question is why? What is/was wrong with Africology? I thought the Department of Africology at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee was a leader in further advancing Africology in academe, but to my disappointment, they have taken another direction, and they are not alone, others have taken a similar road, but most interesting about the Department of African and African Diaspora Studies at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee is that after their description of their program, they state that 'African and African Diaspora Studies is relevant to everyone, regardless of race, gender, ethnicity, nationality or religion.' I don't think such a notice is needed, but it seems to meet some requirement, and simultaneously, it seems to be part of a pattern to let Black folks know that 'this is not just for you all.' (Zulu 2020, 57)

On the one hand, intellectual and generational issues can be raised concerning the name change. On the other hand, Zulu raised a question about the intended audience of Black Studies . He questioned if it is meant to educate the academic community as a whole, and should it be receptive to the white community, or whether it should be for Black students, and therefore unapologetically Black. In 2020 the department of African and African Diaspora studies had one less faculty from the 2019 group 9, with the departure of Harwood K. McClerking and the university did not replace him.

In 2017, only 21% of Black students who enrolled full time graduated in 6 years (Herzog 2017). Considering that Black students were 7% of enrolled students in 2020 (UWM Facts 2020), this means the percentage of Black students graduating every year is less than 7%. Among faculty, in 2019 UWM had 1,056 faculty, 3.4% of them were Black. In the same year, UWM had 556 tenured faculty, and only 9 of them were Black women, which represents 2% of

the total (Chronicle of Higher Education 2021). In 2021, the rate of Black faculty reached 3.91% of the total (UWM Office of Assessment and Institutional Research). In addition to representational inequality, considering the city of Milwaukee is 40% Black and UWM is a public university, there is wage inequality. In 2020, the African and African Diaspora studies department had 7 professors, one instructor and one lecturer. This group is composed at 4 Black women, 2 Black men, 2 white men, and 1 white woman. However, those with the highest salaries in the department are two white men professors (*Journal Sentinel* 2020). These inequalities are institutional.

Black students on college campuses mobilized with multiple agendas. In 2014, the Black Student Union (BSU) protested racial violence on the two-year anniversary of the assassination of Trayvon Martin (*Fight Back News* 2014). BSU protested against acts of racial violence on and off campus. In 2019, Black students were taken out of UW-Madison homecoming video, (Chappell 2019). In July of 2020, students protested and requested the firing of lecturer, Betsy Schoeller, a Senior Lecturer at UWM. Schoeller wrote on a Facebook page that "Sexual harassment is the price of admission for women into the good ole boy club. If you're gonna cry like a snowflake about it, you're gonna pay the price" (Buff 2020). Despite decades of Black protest on campus and growing racial inequality inside and outside of the university, UWM administration is shy and reticent in addressing the issue. In the aftermath of George Floyd's protests, the university chancellor, Mark A. Mone wrote a piece called "A Time for Change." In it, the university did not address any change it was willing to make to fight for Black lives (Mone 2020). Instead, Mone recommended the university community to check the website of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture. Later, UWM offered grants for anti-racist projects on campus as well as anti-racist training for faculty and staff.

# CHAPTER 5

## Historical Context of Afro-Brazilian Studies Centers and Nuclei

The history of Afro-Brazilian Studies units can be periodized into two major stages: first, the initial consolidation of the field in pioneer universities, and second, the expansion of the units from the 1980s and 1990s onwards. The movement for Afro-Brazilian Studies has more variation in its time and political agenda. Following its creation as a formal field of study in the 1930s, Afro-Brazilian Studies  became involved in a set of intellectual debates about the need to produce a genuinely Brazilian social science. Starting in the 2000s, Black activists and intellectuals mobilized a national movement against racism and for inclusion in education by focusing on affirmative action policies in universities. This affirmative action agenda strengthened the field and Black intellectuals' struggles to lead Afro-Brazilian Studies units on university campuses. In this chapter, I focus on contextualizing four distinct sites of Afro-Brazilian Studies: (1) Nuclei of Afro-Brazilian Studies at the University of Brasília, (2) the Nuclei of Afro-Brazilian Studies at the University of Paraná, (3) the Center of Afro-Asian Studies at the University of Bahia, and (4) the Multidisciplinary Graduate Program in Ethnic and African Studies, also at the University of Bahia. These four academic units were created during the time of Black struggle for access to higher education in Brasilia, Curitiba, and Salvador. In this chapter, I provide a historical overview of Afro-Brazilian Studies units that spans more than 60 years; in doing so, I also incorporate debates about public policy, racial equality, and the role of the university that have emerged in those six decades.

The historical context of Afro-Brazilian Studies academic units requires a brief history of universities in the country. The first universities in Brazil were created in the twentieth century (Barreto and Filgueiras 2007; Ribeiro 1975), though they were long predated by higher education

courses, schools, and faculties (Barreto and Filgueiras 2007; Souza 1996). Colonial higher education in Brazil was primarily concerned with the training of Catholic priests (Toutain and Silva 2010). Brazil did not create its colleges until the nineteenth century, and these colleges eventually became incorporated into the universities in the twentieth century. The pioneer educational institutions of the colonial regime were religion-based. Some institutions had relationships with Portuguese universities, to which they received students to effectively confer the higher-level diploma. In 1808, the same year that the Portuguese monarchy fled Portugal for Brazil, the first Brazilian colleges were created. In 1912, the University of Paraná became the first Brazilian university created in Curitiba. In 1913, the University of Manaus was created. Notably, the first universities were also private institutions. However, the creation of universities was accompanied by the creation of other educational institutions that conferred higher degrees, without necessarily defining criteria to measure how these degrees were obtained. In 1915, the *Maximiliano* Reform instituted the Department of Education, which made admission exams to access higher education mandatory. In 1930, the first graduate courses started in universities (Vanali and Silva 2019). In 1931, the Francisco Campos Reform created rules for the administrative structure and expansion of higher education. This reform establishes the structure that public universities still have today. The universities have a Dean and Boards made up of department representatives (Marques 2010). Brazilian universities such as Universidade Federal of Bahia (UFBA) and Universidade Federal do Paraná (UFPR)—which still exist today but have a historical relationship with higher education institutions from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—have a complex relationship with their history of institutionalized antiblackness (Toutain and Silva 2010). In other words, these universities often assert their longevity based on the history of previous institutions that were incorporated into universities; however, they

ostensibly fail to critically reflect on what this longevity means from the point of view of the historical exclusion of Black intellectuals and professionals.

### 5.1 Afro-Brazilian Studies at UFBA

The Federal University of Bahia (Universidade Federal of Bahia, or UFBA) was created in 1946 in Salvador. Bahia is one of the states with the highest percentage of Blacks.3 In Salvador more than 80% of the population is Black (Queiroz 2004). Higher education in Bahia has an important relationship with Salvador. From 1549 to 1763, Salvador was the capitol of Brazil. Given that Salvador served as the first capital of the country, the history of higher education in Salvador is entangled in different historical and colonial contexts (Brazil was a Portuguese colony until 1822). For most of the period that Brazil was colonized by Portugal, Salvador was the political center of the colony. So, it is not by chance that the Jesuit schools in Salvador established an important relationship with universities of Portugal. In the seventeenth century, a Mathematics School at the Jesuit school was created (Toutain and Silva 2010). When the royal court of Portugal moved to Brazil in 1808 (in response to the Napoleonic invasion of Portugal in 1807), they created institutions of higher education and research, as well as cultural institutions such as museums and the School of Medicine (Schwartzman and Paim 1998). The institutionalization of UFBA was based on the merger of seven different faculties and schools that existed previously, including the School of Medicine, the School of Nursing and Odontology, the School of Law, the Polytechnic School, the School of Economics, and the School of Philosophy (Toutain and Silva 2010). The School of Medicine of Bahia was one of the first higher education institutions of Brazil (Schwartzman and Paim 1998).

3 Statistically, Black people in Brazil refer to both Black and brown people.

There are some complex issues that arise in analyzing race relations and the creation of UFBA and the institutions that preceded it. On the one hand, there was a low enrollment of Black people in Brazilian universities, especially elite universities such as the public federal universities (Medeiros 2019; Queiroz 2004). On the other hand, historiographic studies have shown that the number of Blacks in higher education was not negligible. In the case of the Medical School of Rio de Janeiro, for example, which was eventually integrated into the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, there were more Black students in the 1920s than in the 1970s (Medeiros 2019). In another case, the School of Medicine of Bahia had prominent Black students and professors in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries such as Luís Anselmo da Fonseca (Santana 2016), Ernesto Carneiro Ribeiro (Pitanga 2019), and Juliano Moreira (Jacobina 2013). However, it was only in the nineteenth century that Bahia's Faculty of Medicine admitted its first Black woman student. In 1909, Maria Odília Teixeira was the first Black woman to obtain a degree in medicine at the School of Medicine (Santos 2019). Like the School of Medicine, other pioneer higher education institutions trained Black intellectuals before the institutionalization of UFBA. The School of Law trained Black intellectuals such as Edison Carneiro (Rossi 2020), and the Polytechnic School enrolled Black students such as famed activist Carlos Marighella. However, simply demonstrating a Black presence in the institutional memory of the University of Bahia is not sufficient to address issues of race. Scholars are still researching the history of Blacks at UFBA, and the institutions that preceded the consolidation into UFBA. In many cases, there is no record of whether the students and professors were Black, white, or indigenous. On the other hand, it is important to emphasize not only the presence of Blacks (numerical, archival, or otherwise), but how their presence impacted institutional policies. Finally, although relevant, the number of Blacks was small considering the percentage of Blacks in the state's population.

In 1946, when UFBA was founded by Edgard Santos, the creation of the university was largely an outcome of the education reform movements that had initially started in the 1920s. The New School movement tasked the State with the responsibility of providing education to the citizenry. One movement's precursors, Anísio Teixeira, served as Bahia's secretary of education. However, universities were not part of the educational system did not reach universities. Ensuring literacy was an important goal of educational policies. Until 1950, more than half of the Brazilian population was illiterate. Access to formal education was a major challenge in the first decades of the twentieth century. From 1931 to 1971, Brazil had mandatory admission exams to access secondary education. The admission exams and the maximum age rules per grade were major factors in excluding Blacks and poor people from the highest educational levels, even in elementary school (Gama and Almeida 2018). In 1935, the Federal Deputy Pedro Calmon proposed the creation of a university in Bahia. Though Calmon's proposal was not accepted, he started a major discussion that led to the implementation of the university.

The 1950s captured a set of social asymmetries that characterized Brazil nationally and Bahia specifically in ways that center the university as a key site of analysis. The existing academic literature refers to Bahia as the most mixed-race state. In addition, the literature offers a dominant narrative that presents affective relationships between whites and Blacks as evidence of a low rate of racial discrimination (Azevedo 1955). However, even these studies show evidence of racism and hardship, especially for dark-skinned Black people. For example, physical appearance mattered for opportunities for economic advancement. While this does not confirm Carl Degler's (1971) thesis, because it is not about the lack of intra-racial solidarity of brown people, but about an eminently Black state that, by forging its elite, provides few spaces for lighter-skinned brown people. Antonia Almeida Silva believed the Brazilian government

showcases a “fictional equality” as social-economic elites maintain power and control over the population. This control is exercised in an authoritarian or cordial manner, with paternalism being one of the important forms of non-coercive control. An analysis of this complex relationship is important to understand the dynamics at UFBA. As I argue in this study, Bahia’s white intellectual elites established social relationships with Black communities; these relationships, in turn, had a profound impact on Afro-Brazilian Studies and the field’s development. Ferreira Filho claims Black women are in important positions in candomblé developed different strategies to politically protect their culture. One was to offer to intellectual authorities the religious title of *ogã*.4 This religious title was given to Nina Rodrigues and Pierre Verger. For Black intellectuals, the techniques of assimilation or dialogue with traditional institutions controlled by white people were diverse (Azevedo 1955). In the first half of the twentieth century, Black intellectuals constituted an integral part of Bahia’s intellectual landscape (Azevedo 1955; Santos 2020). However, there is no evidence those Black intellectuals were fully incorporated into the board of professors at the University of Bahia (Leal 2016; Rossi 2020).

### 5.1.1 The Center of Afro-Asian Studies (CEAO)

The Center of Afro-Brazilian Studies was created in 1959 by George Agostinho Baptista da Silva, known as Agostinho da Silva. He was a Portuguese philosopher and linguist. In 1944, Agostinho da Silva, who was a communist, was exiled from Portugal by the Salazar dictatorship. In the 1950s, Agostinho da Silva was a professor at the Federal University of Santa Catarina. In 1959, Silva approached Edgard Santos, who still was the Dean of UFBA; Silva proposed the creation of a Center of African Studies. In the same year Roberto de Assunção, Brazilian

4 Ogã means boss or chief in Yoruba. In Candomblé it refers to a male position.

ambassador at UNESCO, also approached Edgard Santos to propose the creation of an Asian studies center. Therefore, Edgard Santos decided to merge the two center's ideas into the Center of Afro-Asian Studies (Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais, or CEAO). Institutionally, CEAO was connected to the Dean's office. The creation of the center was not involved in an intense process of political debate. Agostinho Silva emphasizes the university's board did not have interest for the center. However, they supported its creation with the only condition that the center did not demand a better location, and that the center did not exclusively hire faculty for itself. Thus, Agostinho Silva assumed a teaching position in UFBA's Theater Department (Reis 2010; Silva 1995). In the same year of its creation, CEAO instituted their own library (Lima 2009).

The first group of researchers associated with CEAO was formed by Vivaldo da Costa Lima, Yeda Pessoa de Castro, Guilherme de Souza Castro, Júlio Santana Braga, Pedro Moacir Maia, Waldir Oliveira, and Agostinho da Silva. Among the group, only Júlio Braga was Black. Rather than specialists, they were intellectuals in training such as PhD students, and intellectuals curious about African studies (Reis 2011, 2017). Agostinho da Silva was frank in asserting that he knew little about African studies, but he saw the center as an opportunity for intellectual training (Silva 1995). Researchers of CEAO had important opportunities such as international trips to the African continent. This occurred at a time when international travel was extremely restricted, thus giving an advantage to the careers of these intellectuals. It is not very clear what selection criteria were used to determine the researchers associated with the CEAO. Agostinho Silva mentioned he met some of the intellectuals at the Candomblé temple of Olga Alaketu (Silva 1995, 7). In 1959, the IV Colóquio de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros (Fourth Conference of Luso-Brazilian Studies) in Bahia was also used to connect Agostinho da Silva with some potential researchers of CEAO (Reis 2017).

In the first years of CEAO's creation, one of its main goals was to strengthen Brazil's relationship with the African continent (Marques 2010). One of CEAOs initial efforts was to encourage the creation of Brazilian Studies centers at African universities. CEAO was considered part of diplomatic efforts between Brazil and Africa, especially the countries colonized by Portugal. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs provided funds to support the CEAO's researchers. They acted sometimes as cultural ambassadors providing Portuguese courses and political networks. The relationship between countries was also mediated by both research and diplomatic interests. Reis (2010) highlights in Benin, the ethnic group Agudás showed interest in receiving Portuguese teachers from Brazil. Agudás are descendants of freed Afro-Brazilians who returned to Benin. This group demanded Brazilian teachers so they would not lose contact with the Brazilian Portuguese language, but this partnership was never established. CEAO established partnerships with the Universities of Dakar in Senegal, University of Ibadan in Nigeria, and the University College of Ghana. Also, CEAO established a program to bring African students to Brazil. In 1960, CEAO brought Ebenézer Latunde Lasebikam, a Nigerian scholar to teach a Yoruba course in CEAO.

The historiography of CEAO does not point to major racial debates in the initial years of the creation of the center (Marques 2010; Reis 2010; Silva 1995; Teles 2004) . It is clear that at first, CEAO did not hire professors. People who were hired to provide services at CEAO were not on a career track at the university. However, the racial debate appeared in other ways. In some ways, the center's communication with African countries was problematic. Scholars from African countries were interested in establishing contacts with Afro-Brazilian researchers (Reis 2010). However, the majority of CEAO's researchers were not Black. On the other hand, there was a demand for African studies in Black communities in Salvador. Lasebikam was surprised

with the results of his Yoruba language course at CEAO. The student body was mainly made up of practitioners of candomblé, who were was not only interested in the language, and they wanted to understand the reminiscences of traditional Yoruba language in Brazil (Reis 2010). However, the public interests in the courses offered by the CEAO, especially in the Yoruba language, bothered the university and even the external academic community. Additionally, African students brought by CEAO's partnerships faced racial discriminated at UFBA.

In the first Yoruba course offered at CEAO from 1960 to 1965 and the entrance of African students presented a contradiction that would mark the following decades at the center. Who the audience of the Afro-Asian Studies center? Candomblé practitioners were excited about the arrival of Ebenézer Latunde Lasebikam in Bahia (Reis 2010). They filled the courses, which contrasted with the traditional university audience. Most of the of CEAO students were low-income people, without higher education and most were Black. The university pressured the center to not allow students from these populations in the course. The fact that most of the students were from Candomblé was used to discredit the course. Waldir Oliveira, director of CEAO from 1961 to 1972, agreed with the criticism, and he attempted to shut down the course (Oliveira 2004). Some of the white intellectuals from CEAO had paternalistic, racist, and misconceptions about Black Bahians. Waldir Oliveira denied racism was structural in Bahia. He believed Afro-baianos were responsible for their social marginality. In addition, Waldir Oliveira claimed it was reverse racism when activists questioned why a white man, like him, was the director of the CEAO. Oliveira claimed the Black Power movement in the United States had a negative influence on Black movements in Bahia and that this "was when they began the reverse prejudice in Bahia. The prejudice of black people against white people. The fact that I was director of CEAO was questioned. As if because it was an institution of African studies, the

director should be black" (Oliveira 2004). However, even in the 1960's, when CEAO's director was a white women named Yeda Castro, Black movements protested the absence of a Black director of CEAO (UFBA 2017).

The relationship between Black communities and CEAO had different phases. Initially, CEAO was praised by Black intellectuals such as Edison Carneiro, as an important milestone in the institutionalization of Afro-Brazilian Studies (Carneiro 1968). Prestigious and well-versed white intellectuals such as Pierre Verger were important for establishing a strong relationship between CEAO and Afro-Bahian and African communities in countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, and Benin. Also, the Afro-Brazilian religious and cultural communities were enthusiastic and supported the CEAO's work, not only because of the Yoruba language courses, but also because of the positive visibility that African and Afro-Brazilian Studies brought to practitioners of Candomblé, Umbanda, and traditional cults of African origin (Reis 2010, 2017; Teles 2004). However, in the 1970s these CEAO initiatives were not sufficient for the agenda of Black movements in Bahia.

Like Black movements throughout the country, Bahia's Black movements also have different strands and characteristics. Many of the cultural movements of the first decades of the twentieth century struggled for cultural recognition as a form of social inclusion (Ickes 2013; Ferreira Filho 1999). Cultural movements around carnival and popular festivals were concerned with defining the Black presence and their Africanity, as integral parts of the city. In the 1970s, a generation of Black movements consolidated a new Black political agenda. Black organizations such as the Núcleo de Cultura Afro Brasileiro (NCAB, Nuclei of Afro-Brazilian Culture) provided training for activists, promoted seminars and advocacy with the government (Figueirêdo 2018). NCAB developed their own anti-racist pedagogy, and they implemented it at

the Creative School of Olodum and at the Municipal School Alexandrina dos Santos Pita (Lima 2009). By the end of the 1970s, the Group Nêgo was one of the most important political forces in the formation of the Movimento Negro Unificado (MNU), created in 1978. In the 1970s, Black cultural groups such as Ilê Aiyê (1974), o Malê de Cultura e Arte Negra (Malê of Black Art and Culture) (1979) and Olodum (1979) were created (Figueirêdo 2018).

The relationship between the Black activists of the 1970s and the university was more contentious. Many of the leaders of Black political movements were university students (Figueirêdo 2018). The presence of Afro-American intellectuals from Bahia such as Clyde Wesley Morgan at the UFBA Dance School and the national articulation of Black movements with intellectual exchange throughout the country was a strengthening factor in the political formation of Bahian movements (Oliveira 2006). The 1980s were important in consolidating a model for Black movements in Brazil and Bahia in the education agenda. These actions included experiences in teacher training, policies in educational, artistic, and cultural institutions with an emphasis on expanding access to education and Afro-Brazilian and African culture curriculum (Gonçalves and Silva 2000). In 1981, the annual meeting of the Sociedade Brasileira para o Progresso da Ciência (SBPC, Brazilian Society for Science Progress) was held at UFBA. In response to the meeting, Black organizations lead a protest at UFBA's campus. The protest demands were in response to UFBA and the Brazilian academy. The demonstrators demanded a review of social science research agenda so that it was more inclusive of working-class people and minority groups. They criticized the stigmatization of Black culture as folkloric and the violence against Black people. They also demanded the teaching of Black history and culture (Silva 2020).

In the 1980s, CEAO made an intentional, political decision by joining Black movement organizations to demand that the State Department of Education carry out actions to include Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture in the school curriculum of Bahia. These organizations included the Sociedade Protetora dos Desvalidos (Society for the Protection of the Disadvantaged); Movimento Negro Unificado-BA (Unified Black Movement of Bahia); Adé Dudo; Versos Negros (Black Verses); Grupo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros (GEAB) (Afro-Brazilian Studies Group); Grupo Cultural "Os Negões" (Cultural Group The Blacks); Ilê-Aiyê; Olodum; Urunmilá; Grupo Negro do Garcia (Black Group of Garcia); Sociedade São Jorge do Engenho Velho; Núcleo Cultural Niger-Okan; Legião Rasta; Associação Centro Operário da Bahia (Worker Center Association of Bahia); and the Conselho de Entidades Negras da Bahia (Council of Black Institutions of Bahia). Since 1983, CEAO had a partnership with the Ford Foundation to offer specific trainings for teachers of Afro-Brazilian Studies. Black movement activists demanded that CEAO's experts be considered to shape a larger policy to train teachers (Boaventura 2009).

In 1986, CEAO began offering a Specialization in African History and Culture. CEAO's efforts were extremely important to preserve Afro-Bahian historical artifacts, the building of historical and cultural collections that included the purchase of African and Brazilian artifacts, and research on African and Afro-Brazilian cultures. CEAO's partnerships were fundamental for the creation of the Afro-Brazilian Museum (MAFRO). CEAO had Black directors such as Ubiratan Castro, who directed CEAO from 1999 to 2002, and Paula Barreto. Despite these initiatives, CEAO was not a Black space in the university from an institutional point of view (Oliveira 2004; Telles 2004). The center was more aligned and at the service of cultural and Afro-religious groups such as the *terreiro Opô Afonjá* and the *terreiro* of *Alaketu* (Santos 2021),

than Black movement organizations that challenged UFBA, such as the MNU. Almost ten years after MNU's protests at UFBA, the working group A Cor da Bahia (The Color of Bahia) was instituted. A Cor da Bahia is linked to the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities, and its main goal is to do research on racial inequality. A Cor da Bahia gave institutional support to research on racial inequality in a period during which the CEAO was not linked to any department or faculty. Also, CEAO's culturalist emphasis made it less open to research on race relations.

As an independent university body, CEAO was funded through public and private partnerships. In the first decade of CEAO's creation, its main partner was the Ministry of Foreign Relations (MRE). The MRE funded research, the international travels of CEAO researchers, and the coming of African students to UFBA. Gradually, CEAO has expanded its partnerships with international bodies, agencies from the United Nations, the Palmares Cultural Foundation, Ministries of Culture and Education and other institutions such as the Ford Foundation, the Kellogg Foundation, and embassies. The activities included the publication of Afro-Asia Journal, books, courses, graduation, and undergraduate courses. From its creation in the 1950s to the emergence of the affirmative action debate in the 2000s, CEAO remained an independent space within the university. The center developed academic activities in partnership with the campus, and it suffered setbacks because of the political decisions of the university administration (Reis 2010). However, in addition to providing opportunities for the presence of Black people within its activities, the role that the CEAO had in the challenge of institutional racism within the university was not evident until the affirmative action debate. During the 1990s, when affirmative action became highly contested, the CEAO emerged as a central player.

### 5.1.2 The Era of Black Youth: CEAFRO and Affirmative Action at UFBA

In 1995, the project CEAFRO (Educação e Profissionalização para a Igualdade Racial e de Gênero, or Education and Professionalization of Race and Gender Equality) was established at CEAO (Santos 2021). Initially, CEAFRO was an inclusion initiative led by civil society in partnership with CEAO. In the 1990s, CEAFRO developed educational and professional projects of inclusion like those CEAO was already implementing in previous decades (Dias 2007). Gradually, CEAFRO became an entity that articulated the initiatives of the Black movement within UFBA. CEAFRO developed activities typical of the Black movement, but also academic actions such as racial and gender diversity training for educators, the training of managers to fight racism, the training to combat gender violence, advocacy for labor rights of domestic workers, and scientific production (BBC-Brasil 2003; Rogério 2010).

In the 2000s, CEAFRO played a leading role in implementing affirmative action policy at UFBA. Prior to 1998, UFBA did not collect racial data of its students. In 2003, UFBA conducted a survey about the race of the students admitted between 1998 and 2001. The university found that 51% of its students were Black. However, their distribution among majors was uneven. High prestige courses such as Law, Engineering, Architecture, and Medicine reported less than 30% enrollment of Black students (Santos 2012). The first of the proposals for the adoption of affirmative action policies for Black students at UFBA was sent to the Dean's office by a group of Black students. The office requested CEAO to coordinate the activities aimed at analyzing the proposal. Through CEAO, CEAFRO/UFBA managed to bring together various entities of the Black Movement and set up the Pro-Quotas Committee that presented a proposal for Affirmative Action policies to UFBA in 2002 (Almeida Filho et al. 2005; Lopes and Braga 2007). The goal of these organizations was to reserve a least 80% of vacancies for Black students who had

attended elementary and high school public schools. However, the faculty representatives opposed affirmative action policies (Santos 2012). After nearly two years of debates, protests, and meetings, affirmative action policies were approved. The policies stipulated that 43% of seats be reserved for students from public schools, and of that percentage, 85% of seats would be reserved for Black students specifically. There was no mechanism for confirming students' racial self-declaration. The Black leadership in affirmative action intensified the definition of the university not only as a territory of debate for the Black movement, but also as a place to be the headquarters of Black organizations. These Black activists and movement leaders—who made demands, mobilized, and organized within the university—created both political and geographical meaning for the university as a key site of Black struggle, around affirmative action and other issues relevant to Black people.

In addition, Black youth demands became a clear driving force in the implementation of quotas in institutions such as the State University of Rio de Janeiro, University of Brasília, State University of Bahia, and the Federal University of Bahia. In 2005, the Zumbi + 10 March consolidated the new moment of Black activism in Brazil. This new movement was the result of both the beginning of affirmative action policies in universities and by a broader agenda that challenged institutional racism and the government's pro-diversity discourse that has not reflected in public policies. The Black youth organizations present at the march formed their own agenda for political action. In 2006, two Black youth organizations—Junegra (Black Youth Against Racism) and RNA (Black Resistance in Action)—took control of CEAFRO (Bochicchio 2006). Many Black women directed the center, including Vanda Sá Barreto, Wilma Reis, and Céres Santos (Borges 2020; Rogério 2010). In 2007, the National Meeting of Black Youth was held in Lauro de Freitas, Bahia. This meeting was the outcome of the articulation of several

Black organizations, especially young Black university students from institutions with affirmative action policies. The National Meeting produced recommendations about the role of universities. They demanded scholarships for Black and indigenous students in elementary education, high school, undergraduate and graduate school, the institutionalization of affirmative action in public service, the continuity of the Afroatitude program, which provided scholarships for affirmative action students, night classes in public universities, public campaigns explaining affirmative action programs to the general public, trainings about sexual orientation for university staff, the legalization of same sex marriage, the adoption of exchange programs with African universities and the creation of a Black university (Thomas 2007).

The Black youth agenda in 2007 was essential in shaping a robust set of public policies. In 2012, affirmative action policy was approved nationally at federal public universities. In 2014, affirmative action programs in public service careers were approved, and these policies included university professor at public universities. In CEAO/UFBA, Black organizations developed a set of actions that included both academic and activist aspects. On October 7, 2016, Coletivo Luiza Bairros (Luiza Bairros Collective) protested the underrepresentation of Black people among professors at UFBA. The organization conducted their own survey and found only 2% of UFBA's faculty were Black. They presented an agenda to address institutional racism at UFBA, and one of the first actions of this agenda was the institution of affirmative action policies for graduate programs (Soledad 2018). In 2017, UFBA approved its affirmative action proposal for graduate studies so that 30% of the positions in graduate school would be reserved for Black students (Lopes 2017).

### 5.1.3 Pós Afro - Multidisciplinary Program for Post-Graduation in Ethnic and African Studies

In 2005, the Multidisciplinary Program of Ethnic and African Studies (Pós-Afro) was created at UFBA. Pós-Afro is one of the first master's and doctoral program in ethnic and African studies in Brazil. Pós-Afro has an emphasis on cultural and ethnic studies, but it also included research on racism and racial inequality. Currently, the program has approximately 25 professors5, from several universities with campuses in Bahia, such as the Federal University of Bahia, State University of Bahia, Federal University of Recôncavo Baiano and the State University of Feira de Santana (Pós-Afro 2021). Pós-Afro was created in conjunction with several multidisciplinary programs at the UFBA and in Brazil (UFBA 2005). Lívio Sansone, one of the creators of Pós-Afro, argues the program is part of a set of efforts to institutionalize multiculturalism in academia. The increase in Black students in universities through affirmative action policies created a need for universities to re-evaluate their programs and to institute anti-racist training (Sansone 2007).

The relationship of Pós-Afro with Afro-Brazilian Studies and with the CEAO is complex. Pós-Afro is headquartered at the CEAO, and like CEAO, Pós-Afro is linked to the Faculty of Philosophy and Human Sciences. However, the two bodies function relatively independently, as they have separate chairs and parallel activities. Pós-Afro's name does not mention Afro-Brazilian Studies, or race relations. In the description of its objectives, it mentions that it seeks to implement the Education of Ethnic-Racial Relations under terms of the Brazilian anti-racist legislation (Pós-Afro 2021). However, Pós-Afro was not the outcome of debates within CEAO,

5 Pós-Afro's website has a list of faculty members, but I contacted the list to interview the professors, and some of them confirmed they were not associated with Pós-Afro anymore. However, from the available list on the website most of the faculty were white men.

in which CEAO served more as a host than an involved entity. Within, the Pós-Afro student body most of the students are Black students, which is a great advantage compared to most graduate programs in Brazilian universities (Redação RBA 2018). The faculty is considerably Black, but not the majority. However, the existence of the Pós-Afro within CEAO is an important step in the institutionalization of research and teaching topics related to Afro-Brazilian Studies. Yet, the moment Post-Afro emerged also was the decay of the CEAO.

Until 2017, UFBA's professors and researchers coordinated activities at the CEAO (Reis 2010). Now a university administrative technician coordinates activities at CEAO. Currently, CEAO has ten staff members. Brazilian universities have positions held by administrative technicians and professors. In the academy, professors are hierarchically superior to administrative staff, and they exercise this power. Given their structurally subordinate position within the hierarchy, an administrative staff member—no matter how qualified they may be—will always encounter limitations in bargaining power at the negotiation table with a professor or a dean. The fact that CEAO is now led by an administrative staff member indicates that negotiations between the center and other university bodies will likely be more challenging. In the last few decades, there have been an emergence of political force from Black movements that have transformed the university. However, it has also been a period of difficulty for the CEAO. Over its more than 60 years of existence, CEAO has gone from an institution linked to the Dean's office, to an institution connected to the Faculty of Philosophy and Human Sciences. Raising funds and distributing resources were also changed within Brazilian universities. It is impossible to distinguish whether the CEAO lives in crisis because the university is in crisis, or whether the CEAO's management caused the disinvestment that currently afflicts the center

(Lima 2016). Nonetheless, the CEAO should not be financially penalized because it is inclusive of Black movement activities.

### 5.2 Afro-Brazilian Studies at the Federal University of Paraná

The University of Paraná was created in 1912 by Victor Ferreira do Amaral e Silva, Nilo Cairo, João Pamphilo de Assumpção, Hugo Simas, Flávio Luz, Chichorro Júnior, Ernesto Canac, Fernando Moreira, Manoel Miranda, and Euclides Bevilácqua. At its inception, the University of Paraná was not a federal institution but rather a private one (Glaser 1988; Santana 2011). And the classes were taught in a small building in Curitiba. Initially, the university had seven programs which included Law, Social Sciences, Civil Engineering, Odontology, Pharmacy, Commerce and Obstetrics. In 1913, there were 97 students and 29 professors. As an institution established over a century ago, the University of Paraná was required to adapt to many federal reforms in higher education in 1915, 1925, 1931, 1937, 1946 (Glaser 1988). In 1925 the university had to organize itself in faculties of Engineering, Law and Medicine, and slowly expanded its courses. In 1938, the Faculty of Philosophy, Science and Letters of Paraná was created. The Faculty of Philosophy was created with the assistance of the University of Paraná, but it was an independent faculty with external funding. In 1939, the faculty of Philosophy started to be funded and controlled by the União Brasileira de Educação e Ensino (Brazilian Union of Education and Teaching, or UBEE). UBEE was a non-governmental organization connected to the catholic church. UBEE's resources was essential to Faculty of Philosophy due to the limited resources of the state of Paraná (Vieira and Gonçalves 2016). In 1949, Professor Fábio Suplicy Lacerda started a campaign to make the University of Parana a federal institution. In 1950, the University of Paraná became the Federal University of Paraná (Universidade

Federal do Paraná, or UFPR), and the Faculty of Philosophy was fully incorporated to UFPR (Glaser 1988).

Southern Brazilian states such as Paraná showcase many of the racist policies implemented to whiten the country and to make the Black population invisible (Silva 2010; Moraes and Souza 1999). The Black population is historically smaller in the South of Brazil than in the Northeast. The settlement of European and Asian immigrants in Paraná were due to public policies meant to reduce of the Black and indigenous population (Felipe 2018; Gonçalves and Teruya 2019; Moraes and Souza 1999; Oliveira 2007; Santos et al. 2018). Governors and intellectuals represented Paraná as white and European, and they made explicit efforts to erase the Black presence and their historical contributions. However, the Black population is not small. Paraná is the southern state with the highest proportion of Blacks. In the 1850s, the Black population of Paraná was around 40%, and in 2018 the Black population of Paraná was 34% (Felipe 2016; IBGE 2018). The Black presence is undeniable in Paraná's history. Not only did Black communities resist several attempts at annihilation, but they formed their own associations, social clubs, and intellectuals (Bacharo 2020; Braga 2019; Fabris and Hoshino 2018). Black scholar João Pamphilo Velloso D'Assumpção was among the founders of the University of Paraná. In the nineteenth century, Velloso D'Assumpção studied Law at the Faculty of Law of São Paulo. He returned to Curitiba where he had a successful career as a lawyer, and president of the Chamber of Commerce of Curitiba. He made the opening speech on the inauguration day of the University of Paraná. (Vanali and Kominek 2020). Velloso D'Assumpção also founded the School of Apprentices and Craftsmen, which was the starting point for the creation of the Federal Technological University of Paraná started decades later.

Black intellectuals flourished in vibrant communities and organizations in Brazil during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. During this time, Black social clubs and professional societies were important for the intellectual and political training of Black intellectuals in Paraná (Braga 2019). Through the beginning of the twentieth century, some of the renowned Black intellectuals in Paraná such as Justiniano Clímaco da Silva and João Pamphilo Velloso D'Assumpção studied at universities in São Paulo (Silva 2010; Vanali and Kominek 2020). Barbosa et al. (2020) claims historical research on Black intellectuals in Paraná finds there is limited research on scholars because there was less media coverage of their activities and reports never mentioned their race or color. However, the Paraná's Black history evidenced through the Black social clubs and unions, such as May 13th Workers Society, May 13th Recreation and Literary Society, the Rio Branco Club, the Morning Star Club, the Campos Gerais Club, and the Recreation Worker Society of Londrina (AROL) (Silva 2003). Until the mid-twentieth century, some organizations such as May 13th Workers Society provided night classes for its members (Silva 2018). Other organizations such as the Princess Isabel Guild provided childcare and early education services (Santiago 2019). Black activists from Paraná also participated in national organizations such as the União dos Homens de Cor (UHC, Colored Men Union). One of the goals of the UHC was to raise the intellectual level of Black people. In the late 1940s, UHC-Paraná had chapters in 26 cities. UHC-Paraná members were also renowned Black intellectuals, including its president Nilton Oliveira Condessa, who was a lawyer and professor; Justiniano Climático da Silva; and the city councilmember Antenor Pamphilo dos Santos (Silva 2003).

Despite the intense political activity of Black intellectuals in Paraná, access to higher education was difficult for Black people in the state. In the first decades of the University of Paraná the proportion of Black students was considerably small. This is due to the costs on

admission requirements. Until 1950, besides the admission exams, the university charged its students a very high tuition. The institution offered scholarship programs for employees' relatives. This resulted in scholarships awarded to affluent students rather than low-income students (Santana 2011). Antenor Pamphilo dos Santos was the first Black student accepted in the Medical School of the University of Paraná in the 1920s. Pamphilo Santos eventually became a professor of physiology at the university's medical school. However, it took 20 years for the medical school to accept its second student, Oswaldo Ferreira dos Santos. Oswaldo Ferreira dos Santos was a professional soccer player and continued working as a soccer player until he graduated in 1945 (Maros 2019). In the same year, Enedina Alves Marques graduated in engineering. Enedina Marques was the first Black woman engineer to graduate at the University of Paraná and she is considered the first Black women engineer in Brazil (Santana 2011). Enedina Marques' academic trajectory exemplifies some of the main challenges Black students, especially Black women students, faced at the University of Paraná in the 1940s. She had to prepare two years before her studies. Enedina Marques failed several classes and had to retake classes and exams several times. Santana (2011) indicates that she may have been discriminated against and underestimated by her professors in when they compared her performance to other students. However, it is evident that to graduate, she had to rely on a wide support network both to acquire books and to study. After Enedina's time at the University of Paraná, a Black man, Adelino Alves da Silva, graduated in 1947. Though there were a few notable cases of Black students enrolling in the university, Black students at the University of Parana were more of an exception than the rule.

After its federalization in 1950, the Federal University of Paraná expanded its structure. In 1959, the UFPR created its history department, and in 1970, the Faculty of Education was

created (Vieira and Gonçalves 2016). As the first higher education institution in the state, the Federal University of Paraná hosted important intellectual movements that defined the history of the state. One of these movements was the *Paranista* movement (Felipe 2018). This movement defined the identity of Paraná the outcome of European immigration (Felipe 2018; Oliveira 2007). Parana was viewed as melting pot of various European nationalities. This movement was intended to be a southern version of Gilberto Freyre's notion of racial democracy in northeastern Brazil (Oliveira 2007). Two racial ideas were embedded in the *Paranista* movement: the idea of southern European exceptionality, and the prevalence of European culture instead of indigenous and Black. Even though there was recognition of the indigenous presence in Paraná, this presence is idealized. The Black presence was erased. These ideas are articulated in the book *Um Brasil Diferente* (A Different Brazil) by literature professor Wilson Martins. Martins' book became a classic in Paraná. This book was questioned by the Black movements in the south. This questioning highlighted the racism that manifests in the invisibility and silences about the existence of Blacks in the region (Carvalho 2016; Felipe 2018).

The contestation of the project of invisibility of the Black population of Paraná was carried out outside of the UFPR by movements such as Grupo União e Consciência Negra (Union and Black Consciousness), the State Secretariat Against Racism from Partido dos Trabalhadores/PR, the Associação Cultural de Negritude (Negritude Cultura Association), the Collective for Racial Equality from the Teachers Union, and the Black Pastoral. Black activists and intellectuals sought opportunities for access to higher education in other institutions as well. The Pontific Catholic University was institution potentially accessible for Black students in the 1980s. The networks built among Black Catholics provided this access to Catholic universities. These networks also created Black organizations such as the Associação Cultural de Negritude

(Negritude Culture Association) and Ação Popular dos Agentes de Pastoral Negros (Popular Action of Pastoral Agents) (Queiroz et al. 2018).

### 5.2.1 The creation of the Nuclei of Afro-Brazilian Studies at the Federal University of Paraná (NEAB – UFPR)

In the 1991 Brazil general census, the Black population from Paraná was approximately 23% of the general population. Afro-Paranaeses were only 5% among the population with higher education degrees, and they were 47% of the illiterate people (IBGE 1991). In the 2000 Brazil general census, the Blacks remained as only 5% of people who held a higher education degree (IBGE 2000). During debates about affirmative action policies that place throughout Brazil in 2001, UFPR was one of the institutions analyzed in the influential study, "Racial inequalities in higher education in Brazil." The study claimed in 2002, that the percentage of Black students at UFPR was 8.6% (Queiroz 2002). However, Black organizations such as Associação Cultural Negritude (Negritude Cultural Association) claimed in 2002 that UFPR only admitted 36 Black students (Folha de Londrina 2002). UFPR's efforts to enact affirmative action programs have been controversial. On the one hand, the university claims that it began implementing affirmative action by organizing seminars in 2001 (Porto and Silva 2011). However, Black organizations pressured the institution to adopt affirmative action policies (Folha de Londrina 2002).

In 2002, the Dean of UFPR instituted a commission to implement a proposal for affirmative action policy. However, after almost one year of work, the commission never submitted a proposal. Subsequently, another commission was formed with professors, students, and university staff (Cervi 2013). The second commission proposed 20% of quota seats for Black students, and 20% of quota seats for students coming from public schools. In 2004, affirmative action was approved by UFPR's council. In the same year, the Afro-Brazilian Studies

Nuclei of the Federal University of Paraná (NEAB/UFPR) was created. In 2005, UFPR instituted its affirmative action program.

The creation of NEAB/UFPR was the result of a set of articulations. The group of professors and students who were part of the affirmative action committee was a starting point. In addition, the Brazilian Association of Black Researchers (ABPN) established a dialogue with the university, encouraging the formation of NEAB/UFPR (Ghiggi 2017). Also, Black students such as Marcilene Garcia de Souza and Eduardo Davide Oliveira, both activists from Negritude Cultural Association, pressured UFPR to create NEAB (Lima 2016). The creation of NEAB/UFPR was embedded in the debate about affirmative action for Black students and the mandatory teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture instituted by Law 10.639/2003. Initially, NEAB/UFPR defined itself as a "reference center that articulates and promotes teaching, research and extension activities related to the field of Afro-Brazilian studies" (Ghiggi 2017, 58).

NEAB/UFPR organized academic and political functions such as supporting research and trainings in Afro-Brazilian Studies, monitoring the selection processes of affirmative action students, promoting anti-racist actions on the university campus and being a link between the Black movement and the university (Ghiggi 2018). NEAB/UFPR received funding from the Ministry of Education. NEAB/UFPR provided short-term teacher training on Afro-Brazilian Studies, granted scholarships to Black students, and promoted publications and research on Afro-Brazilian Studies.

In 2005, the result of affirmative action had become evident: the percentage of Black students enrolled at UFPR had increased. However, the affirmative action policy was not accompanied by retention policies for Black students. These students were of lower economic

status than the average student at the institution. Despite NEAB's scholarships, actions were needed to help more students bear the costs of higher education. Also, UFPR adopted a policy of secrecy on data of quota students, which made it difficult for the NEAB to monitor the performance of these students (Porto and Silva 2011). At the request of NEAB, the university updated its policy regarding student data privacy. Yet, at the time of the federalization of affirmative action policy in 2012, the university had not reached its goal of 20% of Black students (Cervi 2013).

From 2005 to 2012, NEAB was academically consolidated. NEAB/UFPR was an important agent to pressure a change in the curriculum of traditional department courses such as Pedagogy. In 2005, the Pedagogy department created the discipline "Education and Ethnic-racial relations." The creation of the discipline involved political pressure from the NEAB, the Black movement and students. The chair of the nucleus at the time, Paulo Vinicius Baptista da Silva, was responsible for teaching the discipline. However, this course was not a required course and students were not required to take the course to graduate (Gaudio 2021).In 2006 and 2008, NEAB/UFPR received funding from the Ministry of Education (Negreiros 2017). With the support of the Ministry of Education, the center developed a partnership with the Department of Education and the Teachers' Union to promote teacher training from 2005 to 2007. NEAB developed several seminars with the participation of the Black movement to educate both the academic community and the public. Beyond the Ministry of Education, NEAB partnered with the Paraná Secretariat of Education (Lima 2016). In 2011, the Nucleus began to offer *lato sensu* (non-degree) specializations aimed at teachers in the public school system. The purpose of the course is to enable teachers to teach the contents of Law 10.639/2003 (Ghiggi 2018). In addition to holding academic events, NEAB provided the financial means for Black students to attend

conferences and seminars outside of Paraná. In 2005, NEAB became the coordinator of the Program Afro-Attitude. Afro-Attitude was an initiative of the Federal Government to provide scholarships for affirmative action students. The students had to participate in meetings and NEAB-sponsored trainings. NEAB provided formation with intellectual and activist for Black Studies. Another condition was that students had to participate in classes and research about Sexually Transmitted Diseases and HIV/AIDS, because the scholarship was provided by the Ministry of Health. After two years, the federal government cut Afro-Attitude's funding. Initially the university maintained the project, but it was gradually discontinued (Lima 2016).

From 2005 to 2012, UFPR did not reach the planned 20% proportion of Black students in any year of the policy's adoption. This failure is due to a set of factors. In 2007, the university changed the entrance exam adding two phases. The initial phase was an exam without affirmative action. The candidates who passed the first exam, could compete for affirmative action only in the second phase. This change had a negative impact on the access of Black students to quota seats (Cervi 2013; Porto and Silva 2011). However, in the second year of implementing affirmative action at UFPR, the proportion of Black students that were approved with quotas reduced from 11% in 2005 to 7% in 2006, and 6% in the following years. Still, the absolute numbers of Black students increased at the institution, because Black students could choose to not utilize the affirmative action program, and because the university expanded its enrollment slots (Cervi 2013). The proportion of Black students applying using affirmative action declined from 2005 to 2010 (Porto et al. 2012). In 2012, Federal Law 12.711/2012 changed affirmative action policy in UFPR, as it increased the percentage of vacancies for students from public schools to 50%.

### 5.2.2 White supremacy on campus

The handful of universities like UFPR that pioneered the implementation of affirmative action policies witnessed increased racial tensions and acts of racism against Black students on campus. This increase in racial tensions and racial violence cannot be divorced from a genealogy of antiblack racial violence at the university. Paraná had historically been the site of extreme cases of racial violence such as the murder of the Black man Carlos Adilson Siqueira by a group of white supremacist "skinheads" in 1996 (Queiroz et al. 2018). In the wake of the implementation of affirmative action at Paraná, the increase of enrolled Black students in such an environment already steeped in a legacy of antiblack racial violence exposed the discomfort and, in some cases, incited the racial animus of non-Black students.

The heightened visibility of affirmative action has led to several acts of racism on universities campuses that have continued through the present. In 2006, for example, a group of students protested in response to racist comments made by law professor Nílton Bussi, who said in class he supported affirmative action for Blacks, Indigenous people and "all the monkeys." The students filed a complaint to the department and requested sanctions against the professor, though Bussi was never held accountable (Künzel 2006). In another instance in 2009, UFPR's newspaper published an article about the graduation of the first group of Black students who utilized affirmative action. Despite some attempts to undermine episodes of racial discrimination on campus, the article mentioned Black students fear of being identified as affirmative action students because of discrimination on campus. They felt there was a lack of effective communication and information about these policies in the academic community (Hoshiguti 2009). In 2012, two Black women students from the education department were eating a snack in class when Professor Ligia Regina Klein called them "little monkeys eating their bananas" in

front of the class. The students filed a police report at the police station for racial injury against the professors (Aníbal and Costa 2012). Klein then retired, claiming that the episode with the students had caused her psychological damage. She was acquitted in the criminal due to a lack of evidence (Baran 2016).

NEAB was central to supporting Black students. Its goals were to struggle against racism on campus. However, the unit does not have institutional power to sanction professors or departments, nor to carry out any independent investigations. Also, NEAB professors are vulnerable to racism. In 2020, Black woman professor, Lucimar Rosa Dias coordinator of the Study and Research Group on Education for Ethnic-Racial Relations (ErêYá) and former chair of NEAB, was chased by three supermarket security guards in downtown Curitiba. She had to go back to the market and show all her purchases and checks to prove she was not stealing. When denouncing what happened on social networks, the market defended itself by claiming that the security guards were also Black (APUFPR 2020).

As a training institute for race relations, the work developed by NEAB to educate off-campus teachers is expected to have some interface with university's curriculum. There are examples of neglect regarding the curricular revision of the contents of ethnic-racial relations education in the university outside the NEAB. In 2014, Professor Karina Belotti from the History department showed a computer game to encourage students to use innovative materials to explain slavery in class. However, the game was from the point of view of slave owners, not enslaved people. The game suggested the torture of enslaved people in the production of sugar. The game was developed by a graduate student from the history department (G1-PR 2014).

In 2017, “out *cotistas*,6 white power” was written on a bathroom in the Faculty of Medicine of UFPR. The media connected the act of hatred with the white supremacist protests of Charlottesville in the same year (Longo 2017). Interestingly, the press failed to establish the historical connection between racist hatred acts on campus and Paraná's own legacy of racial violence and white supremacist groups. The faculty of medicine condemned the act and requested an investigation. However, racism on campus is not just restricted to extreme acts of spectacular violence, but also everyday actions that have profound impacts. One notable example of these more quotidian modes of racial violence at Paraná involved administrative technician Maria Tereza da Silva, who was the only Black staff member in the education department of UFPR in 2018. Silva started her career as a cleaning woman and later became a public servant. After working at UFPR for 30 years, Silva cited racism as the primary reason why she never graduated from the university. Professors continually discouraged her from pursuing her academic interests. In 2018, Silva retired without a higher education degree (Sequinel 2019). Despite NEAB's responsibilities in promoting anti-racist actions, the UFPR structures that reproduce racism are broad in scope. It is not by chance that throughout NEAB’s institutionalization, new institutions and policies were formed in response.

### 5.2.3 Building Expertise

Throughout its existence, NEAB/UFPR has found funding and support in the form of various public policy initiatives. In 2011, NEAB/UFPR launched the Interinstitutional Forum in Defense of Affirmative Action in Higher Education, which aimed to strengthen affirmative action and policies to support Black students at universities. Participants of the forum were required to fulfill certain activities in order to receive funding from the Ford Foundation. Those

6 *Cotista* can be translated as affirmative action recipient.

activities were to provide second language courses for Black and Indigenous students, supplementary courses to help students in their academic careers, produce research about affirmative action and to build a community center for Black and Indigenous students. (Porto and Silva 2011). In 2014, NEAB/UFPR established a partnership with the State Public Prosecutor's Office to evaluate the implementation of Law 10.639/2003 in municipalities in Paraná. NEAB provided a group of specialists such professors Paulo Vinicius Baptista da Silva, Josafá Moreira da Cunha, Lucimar Rosa Dias, and Claudemira Vieira Gusmão Lopes to analyze the implementation of education in ethnic-racial relations. In 2017, the State Public Prosecutor's Office pressured schools to comply with their and NEAB's recommendations or be penalized (Silva 2017). In 2015, NEAB and the Department of Sociology and Pedagogy requested the hiring of a professor specializing in gender and ethnic-racial relations to teach a class entitled "Education of Ethnic-Racial Relations" the NEAB had created the class10 years earlier (Gaudio 2021).

In 2017, UFPR took a bolder step in relation to racial policies. The coordination of affirmative action programs was no longer part of the NEAB and was now part a new unit called the Superintendence of Inclusion, Affirmative Actions and Diversity (SIPAD). On the one hand, SIPAD changed the focus of NEAB from an administrative unit focused on student activities. On the other hand, SIPAD is not exclusive to Black student affairs, but it serves other groups such as people with disabilities, gifted students, deaf people, indigenous people, quilombolas, traditional communities, rural people, women, LGBTIs, migrants, refugees and historically minoritized groups (Rodrigues 2019). Due to changes in its activities and responsibilities, NEAB/UFPR updated its objectives by focusing more on academic activities in the field of Afro-Brazilian Studies. The center's goals are "to spread knowledge produced in the field of studies; to promote

exchange of information; to be a forum of articulation and discussion of the actions developed at UFPR on Africa and African descendant history and culture in Brazil" (SIPAD 2021). Nevertheless, NEAB/UFPR continued to make efforts to promote affirmative action policies, especially in graduate and professorial careers.

Despite the intense debate on affirmative action in undergraduate courses in 2002, the debate on affirmative action in graduate school took a few years at UFPR. In 2014, Brazil passed a law that established affirmative action in public service. This law required that 30% of the vacancies in the federal government, which included jobs at federal public universities, be filled by Black candidates. The law aimed to address a glaring racial disparity in the data. As the higher education data of UFPR shows, both Black students and professors are underrepresented in graduate studies. In 2017, 2.9% of graduate school professors were Black, and 6 of the 53 doctoral programs had no Black professors. Among students, 11.4% of graduate students were Black (Vanali and Silva 2019). These data are not complete because of the high number of people who did not answer the race/color question. Among professors, 39% did not answer the question, and 14.1% of students did not answer. However, there is evidence of a Black underrepresentation at UFPR. In the case of the implementation of affirmative actions for public servants, the university was denounced by the Public Ministry for not complying with quota opening. In 2018, the Public Ministry filed a lawsuit against the university for non-compliance with the reservation of quota seats for Black and people with disabilities. Nevertheless, a new generation of Black professors has entered the university.

In 2017, Megg Rayara Gomes de Oliveira became the first Black trans woman to obtain a PhD at the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR 2017). In 2019, she became a professor in the Department of Education at UFPR and chair of NEAB/UFPR. Since then, the nuclei have

included Black transsexuality and transfeminism in their discussions and seminars (Bropp 2020). In 2020, NEAB/UFPR hosted the 11th Congress of Black Researchers (COPENE). Hosting COPENE acknowledges the work and development of NEAB/UFPR, but the congress was held virtually due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

### 5.3 Afro-Brazilian Studies at UnB

The University of Brasília was created in 1961 by the president João Goulart. The city of Brasilia, capital of Brazil, was inaugurated in 1960. Brasília was part of project to increase the population in the countryside. Brazil has an extensive coastline where the population has been concentrated for centuries. Like the United States, Brazil expanded its territory in several different ways, including buying and annexing land from neighboring countries. However, until the 1960s the mid-western part of the country had a reduced population. The university was not part of the original project of the city in the 1950s. The first governor of Federal District, Israel Pinheiro, once stated there could not be undergraduate students and construction workers in the same city as a reason to not create a university with the creation of the city (Ribeiro 2000) . The history of the University of Brasília is linked to important chapters of Brazil's educational reform. The creation of the university was an outcome of an original project for a university in the Federal District. This pursuit was Anísio Teixeira's in 1930. He was an intellectual focused on "New Education." This project was set to be implemented in Rio de Janeiro, at the university that is currently called the Universidade Estadual do Rio de Janeiro (State University of Rio de Janeiro). However, the project was updated by Darcy Ribeiro to be implemented it in Brasília. The project sought integrated institutes, instead of isolated schools. This integration was also made by three administrative units dedicated to the central objectives of the university: teaching, research, and extension. The extension connects the university to the community through

educational and cultural projects, and the application of what is taught on campus in the community. Unlike previous universities, the University of Brasília did not start from the gathering of other institutions, but from a political project of a leading university. The university was built in parts, so that at the inauguration, only part of the campus was constructed.

From 1955 to 1960, Brasília was built to be the center of political power and as part of the federal bureaucracy. The Distrito Federal (DF, Federal District) is the unit of the federation in which Brasília is included. DF holds the status of a state, has its own governor, but has no municipalities. The original plan was to transfer government agencies to Brasília, so it was designed as a place where the middle-class people working in the public service could live and work. The construction workers were not part of the original project for settlement in Brasilia. This mass of Black construction workers made up most of the population of the city in the 1950s and 1960s. Construction workers in Brasília were named *candangos*. *Candango* is a derivation of the Kimbundu word *candongo*. *Candongo* was historically used to refer to Black and mixed-race people, but it was also used to refer to sugarcane cutters and manual workers, who were often Black and mixed-race. The word *candango* was part of official government speeches during the construction of Brasília. Subsequently, the official discourse attempted to empty the racial and social sense of the word *candango*, using it as a synonym for pioneer and worker (Luiz 2007; Silva and Queiroz 2020; Videsott 2008). The parallels of the Black settlement in DF go beyond the etymology of the word *candango*. The territory where Brasília was built was previously inhabited. About a hundred farms were expropriated for the construction of the Federal District (Correio Braziliense 2012). In addition to workers from other states and regions attracted to the construction of Brasília, the city also served as a host to Black civil servants and Black intellectuals such as the designer Willy Bezerra de Mello and the pianist Lydia Garcia (Baqui

2019; Castro 2008). The workers who came to Brasília built a settlement called "Cidade Livre" (Free City). The urban planners of Brasília wanted to dissolve the settlement because it contrasted with the city's urban plan. However, after political pressure, President João Goulart regularized the city, and the name was changed to Núcleo Bandeirante. The pattern urban planning where the working classes lived on the outskirts of the central region gave rise to the racial and social segregation of the city. The Federal District grew out of Brasília and the city remains racially and socially segregated (Sant'ana 2006).

In 1962, the University of Brasília (UnB) was inaugurated in the auditorium of the education department. Two workers named Expedito Xavier Gomes and Gedelmar Marques died during the construction of the auditorium. They were buried in the concrete of the building. As a result, the auditorium was named “Dois Candangos” (Two Candangos) (Ribeiro 2000; Roitman 2017). However, UnB's relationship with its workers is less tragic. The conception of the University of Brasilia was made in dialogue with important intellectuals of Brazilian education. As mentioned earlier, the university was conceived by Darcy Ribeiro and Anísio Teixeira. Initially, the group of professors at UnB were invited by Darcy Ribeiro. Paulo Freire was the minister of education (Souza 2014). This convergence of left-wing intellectuals positively affected the educational concept of the university, so the university began by developing a broad literacy project. The University offered literacy courses both in Brasília and in the new administrative regions around the city. Those courses were based on the methodology of Paulo Freire, who developed a pedagogical model focused both on the knowledge of individuals and communities and who emphasized the cultivation of critical thinking and student autonomy (Costa et al. 2020).

In 1964, the university's project was interrupted. President João Goulart was removed from power due to a coup d'état. A military dictatorship took office in Brazil. The three leading intellectuals of the University of Brasília suffered the consequences of the dictatorship. Anísio Teixeira and Paulo Freire were arrested. Later, Anísio Teixeira was murdered, and Darcy Ribeiro was exiled. In 1964, the military imposed Zeferino Vaz the Dean of the university, and was replaced by Laerte Ramos de Carvallho. They fired 15 professors. In 1965 a group of 223 professors resigned, which represented 79% of the faculty of UnB. From 1964 to 1984, the army, the military and civil police, and the Department of Political and Social Order7 (DOPS) invaded UnB several times. At least three students, Honestino Guimarães, Ieda Delgado and Paulo de Tarso Celestino, were killed or disappeared after they were taken to testify by the military (Jorge 2012; Relatório da Comissão Anísio Teixeira de Memória 2016).

In the 1970s, Black organizations re-emerged in the Federal District. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Umbanda and Candomblé houses such as houses of Pai Tito de Omolu, Mãe Railda, and Mãe Bete began to settle in the Federal District (Bessoni 2012). The DF has a considerable number of traditional houses of African derived religious traditions. In 1961, the samba school Associação Recreativa Cultural Unidos do Cruzeiro (ARUC, United Cultural Recreation of Cruzeiro Association) was created by a group of neighborhood residents of Cruzeiro. Paulo Costa and Pedro Souza were the first presidents (ARUC 2021). In 1963, the Bumba Meu Boi of Seu Teodoro was created in Sobradinho (Santos 2019). Like in other states, the contemporary Black movement begins with a debate between cultural celebration and the formation of a political advocacy group against racism (Pereira 2010). In 1978, the Centro de

7 Political policy of the military dictatorship.

Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - CEAB (Center of Afro-Brazilian Studies) was created in Brasília by Maria Luiza Junior (Santos 2019).

In 1976, the activist and intellectual Edemir Carvalho was a graduate student and Maria Luiza Junior was an undergraduate at UnB. Edemir Carvalho was from Campinas, and he publicized the activities of Black movements from Campinas in Brasília. One example was the Week of Black Art and Culture. Inspired by her trip to Campinas, Maria Luiza Junior gathered Black people who were already involved in racial debates such as Maria Graça Santos and Lydia Garcia Mello,8 and they formed CEAB (Santos 2019). Later they were joined by Black intellectuals such as Carlos Moura and Nelson Inocêncio. CEAB was a Black movement organization with a broad education agenda. In the 1980s, they organized seminars and exhibitions, mainly establishing partnerships with embassies. They also carried out training with the Secretariat of Education to train teachers in Afro-Brazilian studies (Mello 1987). In 1981, a section of the Unified Black Movement (MNU) was formed in Brasília with some dissidents from CEAB (Santos 2019). CEAB was one of the organizations who conceived the creation of the Palmares Cultural Foundation. Carlos Moura was the first president of the Palmares Cultural Foundation (Inocêncio 2020). The proximity of Black organizations in Brasília to the federal government made these organizations the focal point of national mobilization efforts in Brasília.

Meanwhile, the University of Brasília was still suffering the consequences of the military regime. The university had few enrolled Black students, but their Black movement activists maintained their political networks. In the late 1970s, Gloria Moura came to Brasilia from Rio de Janeiro and completed her master's degree at UnB. She later managed to be hired as a professor

8 Lydia Garcia Bezerra de Mello's name is written in different ways in the biography. In some sources, her name appears as Lígia Garcia Mello. My hypothesis is that her name was misspelled in the transcription of the Convention of the Negro in the Constituent Assembly in 1986. As a result, the studies that consulted this source started to write her name incorrectly. However, she also sometimes introduces herself as Lydia Garcia.

in the early 1980s.The Black presence at the University of Brasilia was small among the faculty but not among the staff. In 1986, the conductor of the staff choir was a Black woman named Isaltina ("Lançamento" 1986). In the same year, there were Black employee's attending literacy classes for university workers ("Aula inaugural" 1986). As the construction of the university continued in the decades following its creation, there were also workers in the roles of civil construction, such as the carpenter Braulio Silva Santos (Jorge 2012).

### 5.3.1 The Creation of The Nuclei of Afro-Brazilian Studies at the University of Brasília (NEAB/UNB)

The Nuclei of Afro-Brazilian Studies (NEAB) was founded in 1986 by Cristovam Buarque. In 1984, Buarque became the first Dean elected after the re-democratization in the University of Brasília. Buarque created the Center of Multidisciplinary Studies in which NEAB/UnB is located. The project of the Center for Multidisciplinary Studies was to promote interdepartmental dialogue and, thus, to unite researchers by theme rather than discipline (Longo 2014). The first chair of NEAB/UnB was the professor from the history department Adalgisa Maria Vieira do Rosário9. Initially, NEAB/UnB supported researchers interested in Afro-Brazilian Studies, without proper support from their departments (Inocêncio 2006). Despite Darcy Ribeiro's plan, UnB emphasized classical and Eurocentric studies in various departments. Thematic nuclei opened the opportunity for academic decentralization. In the first decade of NEAB/UnB, the nuclei supported historical research on Black populations in the Federal District and Goiás. In 1988, NEAB and the Núcleo de Estudos do Centro Oeste (NECO, Center for the Study of the Midwest) were coordinated by the same person, Adalgisa Maria Vieira do Rosário;

9 Professor Rosário was described by my father, who studied at UnB in the 1980s, as a mixed-race Afro-Brazilian woman, but when I saw her picture, I considered her white passing for Mid-West Brazilian racial standards.

thus, the centers worked together (UnB, Relatório de Gestão 2019 a 07/2020). The Afro-Brazilian anthropologist Glória Moura became associated with NEAB in its creation, and later became the chair.

In 1988 the Fundação Cultural Palmares (Palmares Cultural Foundation) was created by José Sarney. The Foundation was the outcome of a national mobilization around 100 years of the abolition of slavery. However, it was a result of intellectual mobilization and social movements in Brasília. From 1988 to 1990, Carlos Moura was the foundation's president, and he was also the husband of Professor Gloria Moura. As the seat of federal power, Brasília hosted several Black movements from such as the Zumbi dos Palmares March for citizenship and life in 1995. These events had repercussions at the university. In 1996, the former president of Tanzania Julius Nyerere went to Brasília to lecture about the African perspective for the twenty-first century. However, when he arrived in Brazil at Guarulhos airport, Nyerere was detained by security guards on the grounds that he should be investigated on suspicion of drug trafficking. He was later released and traveled to Brasília. However, this event did not go unnoticed by Black organizations in relation to the treatment given to their distinguished guest (IROHIN 1996). In the same year, UnB held a seminar on affirmative action where the president of the republic, Fernando Henrique Cardoso attended (Almeida and Souza 2013). In 2000, Carlos Moura was again appointed to the presidency of the Palmares foundation. The foundation was responsible for taking care of the Brazilian participation in the Durban World Conference against Racism. Several national and regional pre-conferences were held (Xavier 2018). In 2001, NEAB/UNB was one of the participating organizations. Professor Nelson Inocêncio went to the conference to represent the university. NEAB was registered among hundreds of Black participants in the conference that had an expressive leadership of Black Brazilian organizations, and which

resulted in resolutions that strengthened affirmative action policies in Brazil. In a way, NEAB/UnB challenged the separation between being an academic and an activist.

In 1999, NEAB/UnB established partnerships with institutions such as Banco do Brasil (Bank of Brazil) Foundation and the Ministry of Education. The Banco do Brasil Foundation carries out educational and cultural activities (UnB, Memorando 27827). When professor Gloria Moura was coordinator, the Nucleus established a partnership with the Ministry of Education for the development of textbooks for quilombola communities. In this partnership, the Kalunga quilombola community , located in the state of Goiás, was included. Until the establishment of affirmative action policies, NEAB/UnB developed community outreach community and cultural activities.

### 5.3.2 EnegreSer10 the University: Black Movements on Campus

In 2001, UnB hosted the Foro Estudantil Latino-Americano de Antropología Y Arqueología (Latin American Student Forum on Anthropology and Archeology). It was a large event with students from different countries and fields. At the end of the forum, there was a student party . UnB's security guards requested a group of Black students to leave the party. Security guards thought the Black students were not university students. This group made a public letter denouncing racism at UnB and they formed EnegreSer- Coletivo Negro do Distrito Federal e Entorno (Black Collective of Federal District and Surroundings). This letter was discussed with the NEAB, then chaired by Professor Nelson Inocêncio. In 2001, EnegreSer and NEAB/UnB organized a "Racial (Un)conscious Forum" to discuss the political agenda of the African diaspora (Santos and Santos 2012). In 2002, EnegreSer and NEAB/UnB held an event to

10 EnegreSer is a neologism of the word *enegrecer* which means to blacken something. The spelling with "Ser" (Being) highlighted refers to the book *Tornar-se Negro* (Becoming Black) by Neuza Santos Souza and to Fanon's zone of non-being in Black Skin, White Masks. Thus, EnegreSer the university is blackening the university and transforming Black people from objects of study into subjects of knowledge.

analyze the propositions of the Durban conference. The existence and radicalism of EnegreSer were one of the central factors for the pioneering spirit of the University of Brasília in the adoption of affirmative action. The affirmative action model with quotas for Black students adopted at UnB was not based on socio-economic criteria, derives from the agenda of the Black movement after Durban. However, the racial discrimination suffered by Black students of EnegreSer was not an isolated event on campus. Another event was the "Ari Case".

In 1998, the Black graduate student Ariovaldo Alves Lima (Ari Lima) failed a doctoral class offered by professor Klaas Woortmann. Woortmann was a renowned Harvard-trained white anthropologist(Lima 2017). Ari Lima was one of the few Black graduate students in anthropology, and the only Black student in the doctoral program. Before this class, he was already struggling with mistreatment in the department. Lima stated that as "black, homosexual, Bahian, from another disciplinary area, in a conservative environment, I became a potential victim and destabilizing agent of a social structure whose regular course of norms, I was unaware of" (Lima 2017, 307). The astonishment of the case occurred because the class that Ari Lima failed was not one in which it was common for students to fail. When Ari Lima appealed the grade, the professor was reluctant, even when the failure became inexplicable. Ari Lima wrote a letter to the president of the Brazilian Association of Anthropology (ABA) requesting support in the face of injustice that occurred at UnB. ABA never replied to his letter (Carvalho 2005). He requested support from the department and the Institute of Human Sciences, but it was also unsuccessful, so he turned to higher levels of the university, such as the Teaching, Research and Extension Council (CEPE). In 2000, CEPE considered Klaas Woortmann failure for Ari Lima was unjustifiable and he was approved. However, after two years, the negative effect of the event on both the life of Ari Lima and other Black students was detrimental. The process revealed

institutional racist practices in the university. Ari Lima was called "mediocre" due to being Bahian, among other intimidation tactics. In the Institute of Human Sciences, they chose professors from his own department, who were close associates of the professor who failed him, to analyze his case. There was evidence of the lack of impartiality when the case was handled within the Department of Anthropology and the Institute of Human Sciences (Lima 2017).

In 2002, a survey found that only 2% of students at the University of Brasília were Black (Pompeu and Alcântara 2012). The proposal for affirmative action policies at the University of Brasília stemmed from both the "Ari case," the tension promoted by EnegreSer and data proving racial inequality at UnB. NEAB/UnB was a relevant actor in this dialogue, but the leading role was played by Black students (Inocêncio 2006). Initially, EnegreSer conducted a group of studies on affirmative action, analyzing previous experiences in countries such as the United States and India (Santos and Santos 2012). Later, EnegreSer participated in the university's meetings and debates on affirmative action, as well as NEAB/UnB. As affirmative action policies were already on the agenda at other universities such as the State University of Rio de Janeiro, Black student groups followed up proposals and advocate strategies for the implementation of these policies. NEAB/UnB was asked to monitor and implement propositions of affirmative action policies for Black students (Jorge 2012) . In 2003, quotas were approved at UnB. The affirmative action program reserved 20% of vacancies in undergraduate courses for Black students, and students who wanted to compete for quotas had to prove their racial self-declaration with a photograph. In 2002, the federal government had launched the University Diversity program, which allocated specific resources to support minority groups in universities (Soares 2004). The affirmative action policy was initiated in 2004. However, the debate on quotas placed UnB under national scrutiny and visibility. There were several books, reviews, and

reports on the "controversy" of quotas. Cases of racism at the university did not reach national news, unlike the implementation of affirmative action.

In 2004, the Brazilian Association of Anthropology publicly positioned itself against the affirmative action policies adopted at UnB. They claimed that the analysis of photographs was against people's right to self-affirm their racial identity, that social theories were being disregarded, and that the UnB policy set a precedent for other institutions to adopt the same model (Valente 2006). It is not by chance that similar arguments were presented later in the action of a Democrats (DEM) right-wing conservative party against affirmative actions at the University of Brasília in the Supreme Court in 2009. Some cases of photo evaluation errors caused the system to be updated for face-to-face interview. Meanwhile, EnegreSer established several partnerships with the university. Since 2005, Black students from UnB participated in the Ministry of Education's Afroatitude program, which provides scholarships for these students (Leitão 2005). In the same year, a booklet on affirmative action, published by the university, was launched by EnegreSer (Jacinto 2005). In the same year, EnegreSer organized the first Encounter of Black University Students in the rectory auditorium with intellectuals such as Luiza Bairros. In 2006, the Centro de Convivência Negra (Center of Black Community Coexistence) was inaugurated as a space for Black quota students to express grievances and discuss their experiences. In 2008, Pensamento Negro Contemporâneo (Contemporary Black Thought) course was offered at UnB, and EnegreSer created it. It was formatted to be offered to both university students and the community (Correio Braziliense 2008). Members of EnegreSer intellectuals such as Ana Luiza Pinheiro Flauzina, Lia Maria and Rafael Nunes, as well as Black intellectual activists such as Edson Cardoso and Nelson Inocêncio lectured in the course.

On March 28 of 2007, ten African students living on campus were attacked. Someone pulled the floor's fire extinguishers and set fire to the doors of three apartments. The students claimed that the incident was racially motivated and that there were animosities in the student housing towards African students (Pariz 2007) . In the same year, Professor Paulo Kramer of the political science department referred to the Black movement in the university as “aquela crioulada”11 in the classroom. The students took the issue to the university, and Kramer was punished with a fine. However, as the UnB was highly visible, both cases received national attention by conservative media outlets. Conservative rhetoric claimed that affirmative action caused racial tension at UnB, denying the existence of racial discrimination and research on race relations in Brazil. The case of Professor Paulo Kramer was presented as only “freedom of speech” and the fire against African students was viewed as a simple misunderstanding between students (Azevedo 2007; Azevedo 2007). In 2009, the Democratas (Democrats) party file a lawsuit in Brazil’s Supreme Court against affirmative action policies at the University of Brasília. In response to the lawsuit, Black students and intellectuals gathered at the University of Brasília to prepare an advocacy strategy to support affirmative action policies in court. This group formed an organization called Coletivo de Articulação em Defesa das Cotas (Collective of Articulation in Support of Affirmative Action). Later, the group changed its name to Nosso Coletivo Negro (Our Black Collective). They defended affirmative action at supreme court as *amicus curiae*12 (Nosso Coletivo Negro 2021).

The cases of racial offenses by faculty, the burning of the apartments of African students, and the Supreme Court's action against quotas cases led to a mass mobilization of both Black

11 Those niggers.

12 Amicus curiae means “friend of the court,” it is a legal instrument to guarantee the participation of interested groups in expressing their position to the supreme court to influence the judges' vote.

movements and NEAB/UnB. In 2007, African students and EnegreSer led a march on campus to request measures to protect African students and the adoption of anti-racist program (Folha Online 2007; G1 2007). However, gradually, affirmative action issues were taken by other administrative instances, and NEAB/UnB shifted its actions from affirmative action implementation to academic activities.

### 5.3.3 The Umbrella of Projects

NEAB/UnB undertook several actions to implement affirmative action policies. NEAB/UnB participated in the elaboration of the policy, the follow-up of actions, the racial declaration verification panels, academic and outreach activities, and NEAB/UnB offered two pioneering courses exclusively dedicated to the racial debate called "Contemporary Black Thought," and "Culture, Power and Racial Relations" (Inocêncio 2006; Jorge 2012). However, the administrative structure of the NEAB at UnB decreased. In addition to associate professors, the nucleus did not have employees, only interns. In response to the acts of racial violence on campus, in 2007 the Deans office created the Nucleus for the Promotion of Racial Equality (Nepir) which would be responsible for combating racism and xenophobia on campus (UnB, Ato da Reitoria n. 759 2007). Like other university units, NEAB's activities are directly related to structure and resources. Thus, between 2004 and 2011, NEAB/UnB had a more robust set of activities.

Since 2005, NEAB began offering trainings and courses on Afro-Brazilian Studies and education of ethnic-racial relations. In 2005, NEAB was one of the institutions competing for funding from the Ministry of Education in the UNIAFRO program. Resources were requested for Africa week and courses to implement Education in Ethnic-Racial Relations. In 2006, NEAB/UNB received funds to offer a specialized course and scholarships to affirmative action

Black students (Negreiros 2017). Between 2005 and 2006, NEAB/UnB partnered with the Distance Learning Center to offer a teacher training course for twenty-five thousand teachers from all over Brazil. This was also funded by Ministry of Education (Negreiros 2007). Several Black professors from UnB such as Denise Botelho, Rafael Sanzio, Gloria Moura, and Nelson Inocêncio prepared course materials. In 2006, NEAB/UnB created a specialization called "Black Cultures of the Atlantic." This course was the outcome of a partnership between SEPPIR, the Ministry of Education and NEAB/UnB. This specialization was a paid course aimed at teachers of basic education in Humanities or Social Sciences (Fundação Cultural Palmares 2008). In 2011, the Ford Foundation supported a Seminar held by NEAB/UnB, the Department of Sociology and the Institute of Socioeconomic Studies (Inesc) to discuss a proposal for an Inter-American Convention to Combat Racism and Discrimination (Souza 2011). As mentioned earlier, NEAB offered the course "Culture, Power and Race Relations", and then began to offer "Contemporary Black Thought." These courses were elective courses to undergraduate students. Both were taught by Professor Nelson Inocêncio, and temporary faculty were hired to offer more classes.

At the beginning of the institutionalization of affirmative action policies, the centrality of the racial debate, and even the defense of quotas, was extremely relevant to the university. However, over time, this debate became less prominent. In addition to other administrative units on campus dedicated to racial equality policies, there were changes in the management of the policy. In 2012, with Law 12.711/2012, which required affirmative action programs for Black students at all public federal universities, the quota policy at UnB changed. As in 2012, quotas became social and racial. Previously, quotas at UnB were only racial, so initially there was a decrease in the number of places reserved for Black students. Until 2012, the UnB carried out

panels to verify the racial identification of Black candidates, but when the quota law was approved, the panels ended, only returning years later. In 2011 the Ministry of Education's UNIAFRO program was discontinued (Negreiros 2017). This program had a specific objective of strengthening the NEABs, because in many cases, such as the University of Brasília, the universities did not provide specific financial resources for the centers.

This reduction in funding diminished the scope of NEAB's projects. The Black Cultures of the Atlantic specialization stopped being offered. Since the second semester of 2016, the course Contemporary Black Thought began to be offered exclusively or mostly by volunteer faculty. There were semesters that the course was only offered at the end of the enrollment process due to the difficulty of recruiting faculty to teach the classes. Previously, there were volunteer faculty teaching at NEAB both in the "Contemporary Black Thought" and in "Culture, Power and Racial Relations." However, the existence of unpaid volunteers became the only way to offer "Contemporary Black Thought." The course "Culture, Power and Race Relations" is usually offered by more than one faculty sharing the same class. From 2010 to 2020, the professors teaching one of both those courses were Nelson Inocêncio, Rita Silvana Santana dos Santos, Renísia Filice and Gloria Moura. The volunteers teaching were Danielle Soares Gomes, Joaquim Antonildo Pinho Pinheiro, Carlos Vinicius Da Silva Mendes, Hamilton Richard Alexandrino Ferreira Dos Santos, Maria do Carmo Rebouças dos Santos, Givania Maria Da Silva, Edileuza Penha and Marjorie Nogueira Chaves. However, the disciplines offered by NEAB does not count towards the hours worked by professors, it is unpaid overtime. NEAB's only two courses rely heavily on this precarious institutional relationship between intellectuals and the university.

It is difficult to conduct research about NEAB/UnB with the goal of understanding whether the activities carried by the administrative structure of the Nucleus or if the activities are carried by the departments of the professors linked to NEAB. Just as at the beginning of its creation, the professor who coordinated NEAB/UnB also coordinated another center, so many of the activities overlapped, and the same occurred in subsequent administrations. Professor Nelson Inocêncio was coordinator of NEAB for over a decade, creating the class “Culture, Power and Racial Relations” at the Center for Advanced Multidisciplinary Studies – CEAM. Later discipline was incorporated into NEAB/UnB13. In 2012, Professor Renísia Cristina Garcia Filice coordinated NEAB/UnB . Since then, there was a combination of activities of NEAB/UnB and a research group of professors from the Department of Education(UnB, Relatório de Gestão 2019 a 07/2020). In the 2013-2014 NEAB/UnB Report, Renísia Filice wrote: "I declare that, as I also coordinate the Geppherg - Group of Studies and Research in Public Policy Management, History, Racial Relations and Gender Education, of the Faculty of Education (FE-UnB), we have incorporated the Neab to all the activities of the study group (UnB, Relatório de Gestão 2019 a 07/2020)." There are activities such as offering the Specialization in Public Policy Management, Gender and Race that are listed under the NEAB/UnB, but this specialization is offered by the Faculty of Education and coordinated by Renísia Filice. In addition to the fact that some of the professors of the course are also linked to NEAB/UnB, it is not evident there is logistical, operational, or financial support from NEAB/UnB.

In 2012, NEAB/2012 was defined as “a center dedicated to research, policy proposals and evaluation of government projects and programs aimed at discussing racial and ethnic relations” (Caldas and Baptista 2013). Despite this emphasis on research, the center continued to

13 Institutionally this discipline is still at CEAM, however it appears at NEAB/UnB’s reports as if the discipline was from NEAB/UnB.

offer courses. Under Renísia Filice's mandate, NEAB/UnB established a partnership with the Federal District's Public Ministry to offer courses on ethnic-racial relations to the organization's employees. NEAB/UnB continued to run short-term extension courses and seminars. The nucleus is also responsible for monitoring the verification panels of affirmative action policies accompanied by professors such as Renísia C. Garcia, Nelson Inocêncio, Joaze Bernardino Costa and Breitner Tavares and Wanderson Flor do Nascimento (UnB, Relatório de Gestão 2019 a 07/2020).

Today, NEAB/UnB has become an umbrella of several projects of its associates including tenured professors at the university, volunteer professors and teachers from the Secretariat of Education of the Federal District, graduate students, and professors from other universities. By 2020, NEAB/UnB had 15 associated professors, one retired faculty, 5 volunteer teachers and 11 affiliated students (UnB, Relatório de Gestão 2019 a 07/2020). In 2019, NEAB was mainly composed Black women faculty. NEAB/UnB does not have a specific fund, so the costs of its activities such as travel expenses and per diem are funded by the Center for Advanced Multidisciplinary Studies, and other projects depend on partnerships with external institutions.

**Conclusion**

In Chapters 4 and 5, I analyzed the status of Blacks in education and the parallel realities of Brazil and the United States to understand the role of intellectuals and social movements on universities. Both countries have distinct timelines regarding education. The United States developed its educational policies and invested in higher education before Brazil. However, when analyzing exclusively the situation of Black people, this development gap is less accentuated. For example, in the debate about the literacy rate of the population, it is not clear if

the United States invested more in education because the Black population was excluded from educational opportunities. In Brazil, is the systematic disinvestment in education a reflection of the Black population being most of the population? These questions are necessary to compare the relationship between Black people and the university in both countries. In Brazil and the United States activists have denounced universities' exclusion of Black intellectuals from work and the exclusion of Blacks in education. In both countries, Black intellectuals existed at the university, albeit in a minority. In the United States, the movement for Black Studies combined the curriculum debate with inclusion policies. In Brazil, at the beginning Afro-Brazilian Studies did not challenge the institutional barriers to Blacks to the access the university. Only when Black movement intellectuals occupied Afro-Brazilian Studies, it sought challenged systematically university's access policies.

The detailed analysis of the institutions points to important themes and debates. In the case of universities in the United States, after the struggle to create Black Studies units, the three institutions went through periods of crisis in which the existence of departments was threatened. In the case of Temple University, this threat was circumvented by hiring Molefi Asante, a famous and well-connected intellectual who brought his networks to the department. In the case of Harvard, the department was formed in ways that did not align with the requests of the students, bringing in professors with a less radical stance than that demanded by the students. When Harvard decided to invest in the department in the 1990s, it also hired a renowned intellectual, Henry Louis Gates Jr., who had his own networks in and out of Black Studies. In the case of UWM, state aspects were important in the relationship between UWM, UW-Madison and UW-Oshkosh. Despite the continuous disinvestment, student movements and social movements sustained the department internally and externally. Black women were an essential part of the

department's training and consolidation movements. However, when analyzed to leadership positions, some of these experiences placed Black female intellectuals in extreme conditions, as notably the case of Temple.

In the case of the institutions in Brazil, the history of the three universities highlights different moments in the Black intellectual debate. Initially, the creation of CEAO/UFBA strengthened the debate on the valorization of Black culture as an object of analysis with its own characteristics. The creation of NEAB/UnB revealed a more cohesive dialogue between the demands of Black movements and the agenda of Black Studies. And with the creation of NEAB/UFPR, there was an overlapping of affirmative action policy agendas and Afro-Brazilian Studies. As in the American case, Black women played essential roles in leading Afro-Brazilian Studies. This is notably evident in the case of the occupation of the CEAO by Black movements in UFBA. However, there is also victimization by racial violence, as in the case of Black women students at UFPR and the former chair of NEAB/UFPR, Lucimar Dias.

# CHAPTER 6

## Cartographical Representation of Black and Afro-Brazilian Studies Units

The number of Black Studies departments, centers and programs is often used as an indicator of the strength, institutionalization, and acceptance of the field in predominately white institutions (Alkalimat 2007, 2013; Brown, 2007; Dawkins et al, 2021; Marable, 2000, 2005; Zulu, 2019). In order to analyze universities support for Black Studies, I examine the change in number of departments and centers, as well as the type of Black Studies unit (department, center or program) at particular universities. Some research studies argued that Black Studies peaked in the early 1970s and dropped in subsequent years (Marable, 2000, 2005). Other scholars have analyzed the structure of Black Studies units (Alkalimat 2007, 2013; Smith 1970), the names of these units (Dawkins et al, 2021; Kopkin & Winkler, 2019), the date of creation (Marable, 2005), and curriculum (Alkalimat & Bailey, 2012). Emeritus professor of the African American studies department at the University of Illinois-Champaign, Abdul Alkalimat, conducted a survey model that examines the field of Black Studies (Alkalimat 2007, 2012, 2013). Based on data analysis, Alkalimat and his research team analyzed the geographical distribution of Black Studies among regions of the United States, the type of the university hosting Black Studies such as public, private and for profit, and the size of the unit of departments, centers, or programs. In the 2013 survey, Alkalimat also analyzed the number of Black women's leadership in Black Studies. Despite being a detailed and useful survey, the 2013 Alkalimat survey did not cartographically display results with maps. Maps are useful as visual data on the distribution and location of Black Studies departments, centers, and programs.

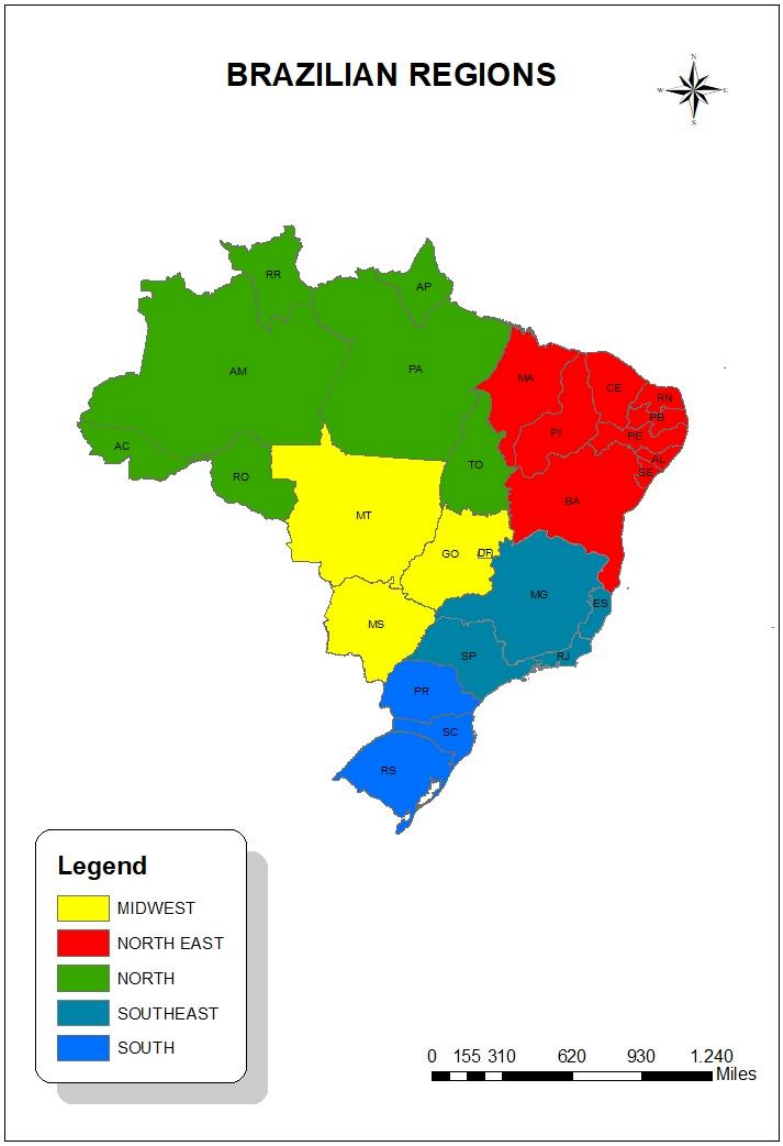
In the case of Afro-Brazilian studies institutions, there is variance in the reported number of NEABS as informed by the Brazilian Association of Black Researchers and the Ministry of

Education. The number of NEABs from the National Consortium of NEABs, collected by the Brazilian Association of Black Researchers, is 140 units (ABPN, 2021). However, from the total, 37 are federal technological institutes, 9 are study groups, 2 are affirmative action programs and 2 are high schools. Therefore, only 90 of the 140 Afro-Brazilian studies institutions were created by universities. As I mentioned in the methodology section, in 2012, in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, I collected a list of Afro-Brazilian studies centers and NEABs and found 94 institutions. However, that list still had centers such as the center of Afro-Asian studies of the University Candido Mendes, which was no longer in operation. In 2021, the website of the Ministry of Education lists 40 NEABS (MEC, 2021). The lack of an updated number presents a challenge when giving an overview of Afro-Brazilian units in universities.

Thus, this chapter has two objectives. One is to adapt Alkalimat's (2013) survey for universities and federal technological institutes in Brazil. This adaptation gives an overview of Afro-Brazilian studies units in Brazilian universities. The second objective is to showcase Alkalimat's 2013 survey findings on Black Studies in the United States in the form of maps. Between May and June of 2021, I collected data on Brazilian universities websites about Afro-Brazilian studies units. In addition, I collected information such as names, the date of creation, goals, state, region, and the name of the chair. The gender of the chair was not available. I avoided a theoretical and methodological error by not assuming the gender identification by the name of the chair. Alkalimat's survey model has some additional advantages for research in the Covid-19 pandemic given the difficulty of carrying out research during this time. In 2010, the Ombudsman for Racial Equality carried out a survey with universities focused on ethnic-racial relations. The ombudsman sent questionnaires to more than 800 universities. However, a little more than 300 responded. Furthermore, responses took several months to arrive, and many

participants did not fully understand the questions (Negreiros, 2017). However, this adaptation of Alkalimat's survey model, in which data is collected on the institutions' websites, has two disadvantages. Some websites are not updated, which means universities cannot correct the information. Therefore, the data represent exclusively the information available on those institutions' websites between May and June of 2021. However, it also shows a level of institutionalization because units that are not mentioned on the website are less visible than those that are on the website. As expected, the volume of information available among the universities was remarkably uneven. Some institutions did not have information other than the name of the unit. This incompleteness of data is especially reflected in the analysis of the creation date and objectives of the institutions.

Brazil has 26 states and one federal district. The Brazilian territory is subdivided into five geographical regions which include the North, Northeast, Mid-West, Southeast and South. The North is made up of the following states Acre, Amazonas, Amapá, Pará, Rondônia, Roraima and Tocantins. The Northeast includes Alagoas, Bahia, Ceará, Maranhão, Piauí, Pernambuco, Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte and Sergipe. Mid-Western states are Goiás, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul and the Distrito Federal (Federal District). The Southeast includes Espírito Santo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, and the South includes Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina. The map below represents Brazilian regions. This map is the cartographic base in which maps of Brazil were developed based on information from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE). The Brazilian regions are useful as references for analysis of the distribution of Afro-Brazilian studies units.

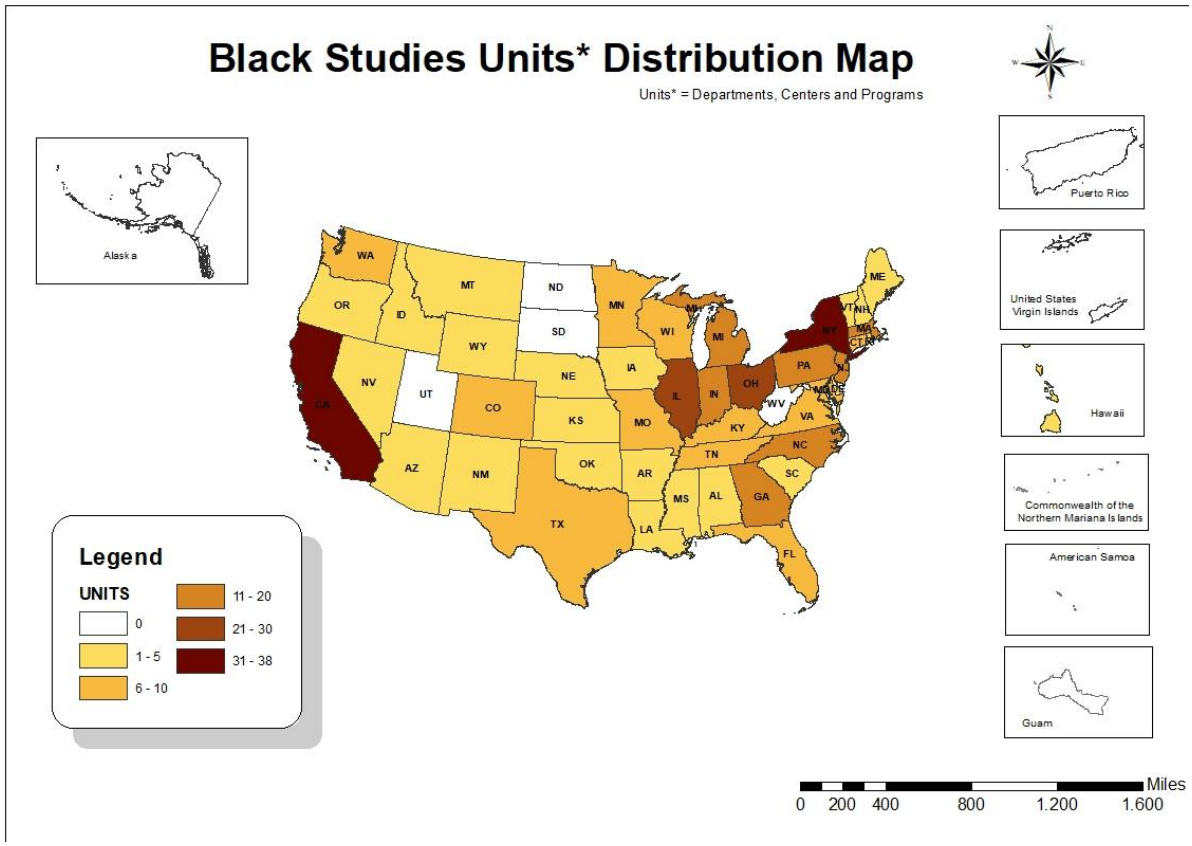



Map 1: Brazilian Regions

### 6.1 African and African Diaspora Studies Centers Distribution

In 2020, Marvin P. Dawkins (et al, 2021) conducted a survey about the status of Black Studies units in 4-year public institutions. As the selection criteria was restrictive, Dawkins's survey was based on 196 institutions. Therefore, Alkalimat's 2013 survey is still the most comprehensive survey of Black Studies units, as he includes 1,777 universities in his survey. In

2013, Alkalimat's survey found 361 institutions with Black studies units and 999 institutions with courses in Black Studies. Most Black studies units, 213, were in public institutions, while 148 units were in private institutions. Considering the total of higher education institutions, Black Studies units are in 37% of public institutions and in 15% of private institutions in the United States.




Map 2: Black Studies Units Distribution

In terms of the regional distribution of Black Studies, Alkalimat (2013) found Black Studies units are present in the four geographical regions of the United States. The U. S. Census Bureau delineates these regions as the Northeast, the Midwest, the South, and the West. However, most units are concentrated in regions such as the Northeast and the West. I relied on Alkalimat's data to produce two distribution maps. The first focused on distribution and the

second focuses on quantity by state. The main goal of the maps is to highlight the distribution of Black studies units in the United States territory, the presence and absence of units in different states and regions of the country. However, the United States' territory has specific characteristics in relation to the higher education institutions, and the Black population.

Higher educational institutions and the Black population are unevenly distributed in the American territory (Taylor & Cantwell, 2019). In 2020, 59.2 % of higher education institutions were private, while 40.8% were public institutions. Higher education institutions are concentrated in some states, 10 states including California, New York, Texas, Florida, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Georgia, and North Carolina where more than 51% of American higher education institutions are located (U.S. Department of Education, 2020). Additionally, the number of degree-granting institutions of higher education significantly varies each year. From 2013, when Alkalimat's survey was performed, to 2020, the number of higher education institutions dropped from 4,724 to 3,982 institutions. According to the 2020 Census, the Black or African American Alone or in Combination14 population is 14.2% of the general population. Some detailed data from the Census15 are not yet available. There is considerable criticism about the quality of data about Black people in the 2020 Census. Some specialists claim the Black population is undercounted based on state records (Bahrampour, 2021). Considering the data from the 2010 Census, Blacks are concentrated in the South of the United States, 54 % of Black people lived in the South, 19% lived in the Midwest, 18% lived in the Northeast and

14 The 2020 Census had three categories relative to the Black population which were "Black or African American Alone", "Black or African American in Combination" and "Black or African American Alone or in Combination." Therefore, I used Black or African American Alone or in Combination because it is encompassing people who declared themselves Black, or mixed-race with Black.

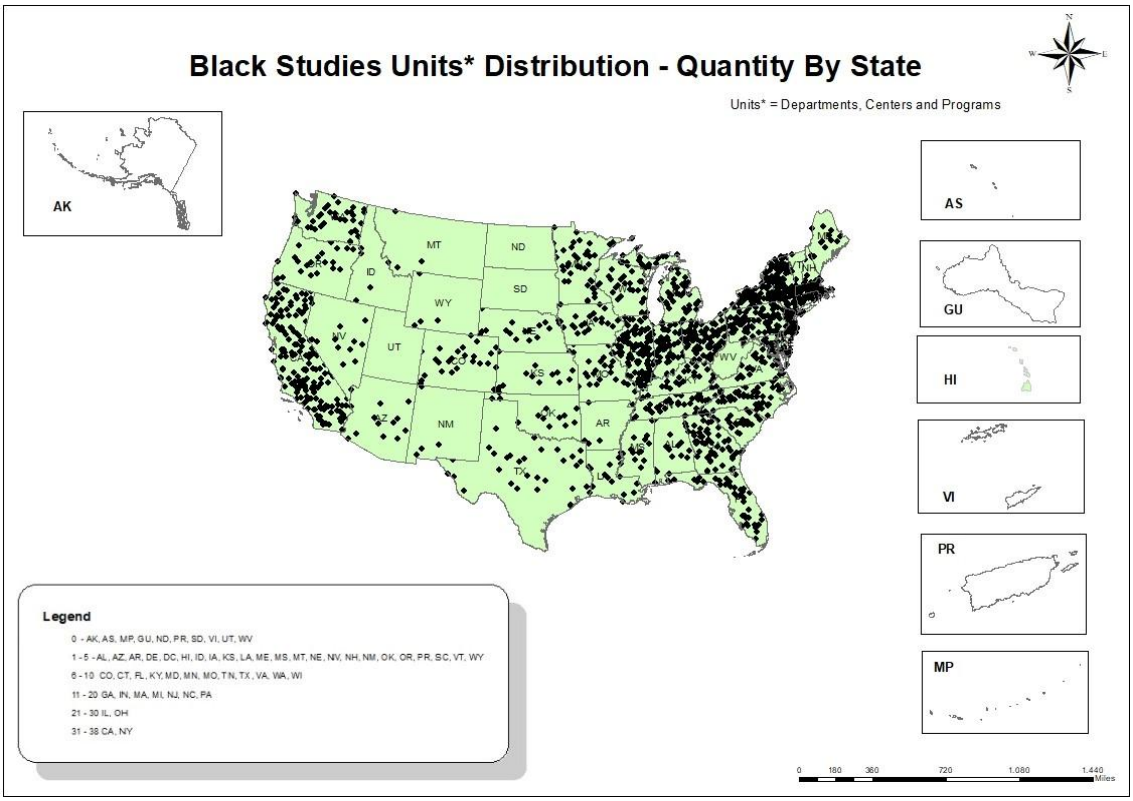
15 The standard 2020 ACS 1-year estimates was not disclosed because of the Census Bureau could not fully collect the data because of the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on data collection.

10% lived in the West. Considering the general population of each region, the South has 20% of Blacks , followed by the Northeast 12% , the Midwest 11% percent, and the West 6%.

Until 2017, there were 102 historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). In 2016, there were 95 HBCUs in the South, while there were 4 HBCUs in the Midwest and 2 in the Northeast (de Brey et al, 2019). Historically HBCUs offer courses on Black Studies, but there are not many Black Studies units in HBCUs. According to Herschelle Challenor (2002) there are 11 HBCUs16 with Black Studies units or with a high number of courses in Black Studies. However, Alkalimat (2013) only found Black Studies units in 6 HBCUs that are Howard University, Clark Atlanta University, Savannah State University, Jackson State University, Morehouse College, and Spelman College.

Despite having a great percentage of Black Studies courses, the Southern United States is less likely to have Black Studies units. Alkalimat's research is not limited to units. Rather, he considers the 999 institutions that offer Black Studies courses. However, since I am concerned exclusively with Black Studies units, my analysis differs. For example, Alkalimat (2013) claims Black Studies were weak in the West based on the number of courses. However, the state of California, a high population state, is among the places with the most units of Black Studies, which increases the number of units in the Western region. While the South and Midwest states have a moderate number of units, except for Illinois. Furthermore, the Midwest has two states, North Dakota, and South Dakota, with no Black Studies units. In Map 3 is easier to visualize this unequal distribution.

16 The HBCUs with Black Studies units or with a high number of courses in Black Studies are Howard University, Clark Atlanta University, Claflin University, Dillard University, Fisk University, Kentucky State University, Morgan State University, Savannah State University, Shaw University, Wilberforce University, Jackson State University, Morehouse College, and Spelman College (Challenor, 2002).




Map 3: Black Studies Units Distribution – Quantity By State

The map above represents the distribution of Black studies units by state. It is clear there is a high concentration of units in states such as California, New York, Illinois, and Ohio, while there are states with no units such as Alaska, West Virginia, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Utah. The 8 states with higher number of Black Studies units were New York with 38 units, California with 37, Illinois with 25, Ohio with 21, Pennsylvania with 18, Massachusetts with 15, Georgia with 13, Michigan with 13 and New Jersey with 13. In 2010, the 10 States with the largest Black population were New York (3.3 million), Florida (3.2 million), Texas (3.2 million), Georgia (3.1 million), California (2.7 million), North Carolina (2.2 million), Illinois (2 million), Maryland (1.8 million), Virginia (1.7 million) and Ohio (1.5 million). The relationship between the number of Black people and the number of Black Studies units in the states is a matter of

investigation. While 5 of the states with the largest Black population, New York, California, Illinois, Ohio, and Georgia are among those with the highest number of Black Studies units, this proportion is only established in absolute and non-proportional numbers. The District of Columbia (DC) has the highest percentage of Black people among the states. The Black population in DC is 50%. However, it is among the lower half of institutions with Black Studies units, with only 3 units. Additionally, 7 of the 8 states with the higher number of Black Studies units are among the states with a higher number of higher education institutions such as California, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and Georgia. One reason for caution in correlating population with the existence of Black Studies units is that the Black population fluctuates. For example, from 2000 to 2010 the Black population grew by 165% in North Carolina and South Carolina, and 147% in West Virginia (Rastogi et al, 2001). In comparison, based on Alkalimat's survey from 2007 to 2013, Black Studies units fluctuate as well. In North Carolina it went from 8 to 11 units; South Carolina from 3 to 5 units and West Virginia it remained with no Black Studies unit. However, from 2000 to 2010 the Black population from California increased from 2.5 million to 2.7 million, while Black Studies units decreased from 80 to 37 units (Alkalimat, 2007, 2013). Therefore, there are other variables influencing the quantity of Black Studies units in each state.

Nonetheless, the small number of units in a state may indicate relevant questions about the importance of these units for the field. When a Black Studies unit is in a state with a small number of units, the institutional value of these minority units may be more relevant. Conversely, the more units present in a state, the more institutional power of the field in that state. It is necessary to understand if states with more units have their own dynamics of mutual collaboration with other departments or centers at those universities, and if states with fewer

units have specific challenges or opportunities to serve students, faculty, and communities in the state.

Two of the states I selected in my sample are Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. They are from the same region, the Northeast, and they have a similar number of Black Studies units. Pennsylvania has 18 and Massachusetts has 15 Black Studies units. Thus, both states occupy an intermediate position in the distribution of units per state. The other state selected in my sample is Wisconsin which has 7 Black Studies units, which means it has around 5% less units than both Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Alkalimat (2013) found that in most regions, only 20% of universities have Black Studies units. Alkalimat's survey is based on the 1,777 US colleges and universities that award bachelors, masters, and/or doctoral degrees identified by the Carnegie Foundation. However, the U.S. Department of Education counted 3,026 4-year degree-granting postsecondary institutions. Alkalimat (2013) compared the proportion of units and courses with the Black population in the regions. However, this conclusion lacks a necessary and detailed analysis about the impact of the Black population on the units' creation. For instance, although the Black population can advocate for the existence of the units, it seems relevant to evaluate units in relation to the proportion of institutions per state, since many of the states with the most institutions of higher education, are also the states with the greatest number of Black Studies units. In addition to the events that led to the creation of the units, there are variables for the extinction of programs that can be influenced by other factors. The qualitative analysis developed in the previous chapter reveals that, despite the importance of the Black population, there are also other relevant factors such as the success of Black movements, the proportion of Black students, and the presence of Black intellectuals among university professors, among several other variables.

### 6.2 Afro-Brazilian Centers, NEABs and NEABIs

In 2018, Brazil had 2,537 higher education institutions. From those institutions, 199 were universities and 40 were federal technological institutes. I conducted my survey exclusively on universities and federal technological institutes, which total 239 institutions. Initially, I checked if the 94 Afro-Brazilian studies centers listed by the Ministry of Education still existed. From that list, only Cândido Mendes University's Afro-Asian Studies Center was no longer in operation. Secondly, I searched the websites of the 105 remaining universities to find new centers. I contacted staff from the federal technological institute of Brasília, and they provided me a table with information on the 778 campuses from 40 federal technological institutes. My question in the survey was: How many Afro-Brazilian studies units are in Brazilian universities and federal technological institutes? This unit could hold different institutional status such as: a nucleus, center, department, or program formally created by the university. I did not consider study groups as units, because they are structures that often do not depend on the university's administration to be created. In the Ministry of Education outdated list and in the consortium of NEABs list, they listed laboratories as Afro-Brazilian studies units. Despite the exclusive research nature of laboratories, I kept them on my list. Laboratories are teaching and research units intended for conducting classes and research. For example, the Laboratory for Economic, Historical, Social and Statistical Analysis of Racial Relations (LAESER) from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) is linked to the Institute of Economics at UFRJ. LAESER/UFRJ was created in 2006. It is responsible for gathering researchers doing statistical research on race relations. A laboratory, depending on the administrative structure, can raise funds. To identify the units, I researched the website to find institutions by names that contained words such as Afro-Brazilian, Black, race relations, African or Afro-Asian studies, in other

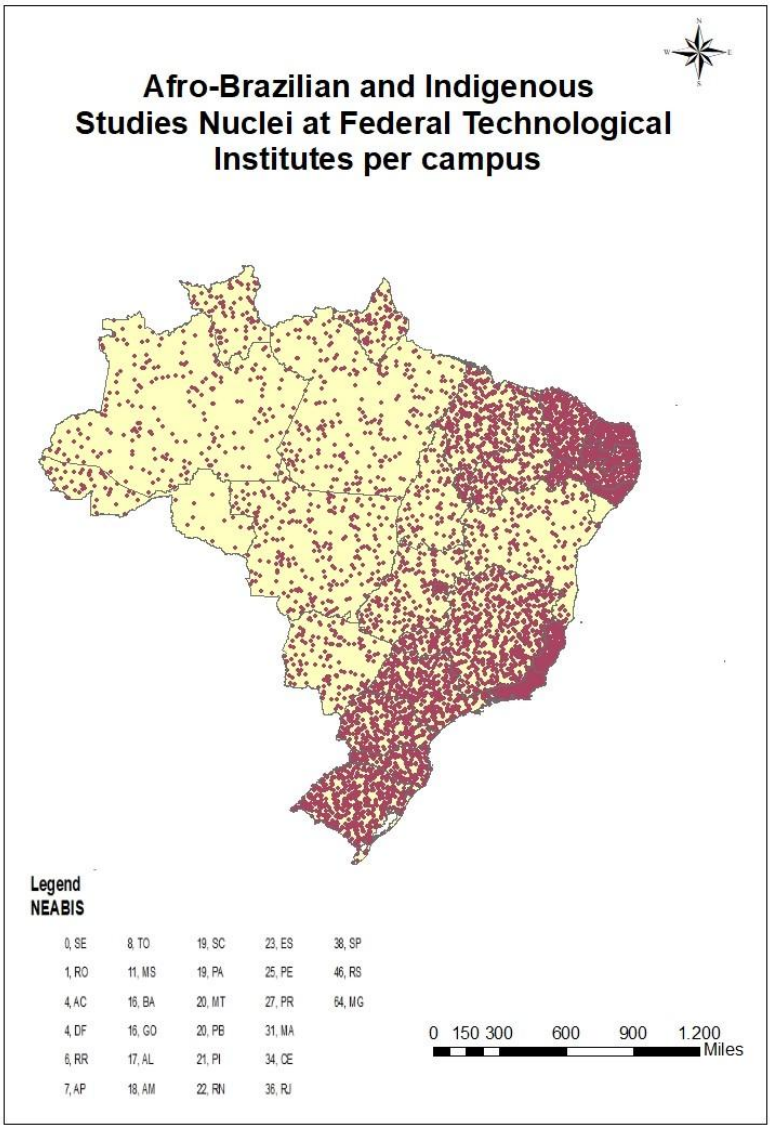
words, any name related to Black Studies. Next, I collected the name of these units, creation date, document of creation (which can be an ordinance or administrative act of the university) and coordinator's name.

The web-based survey resulted in 133 Afro-Brazilian studies units in higher education institutions. In universities, there are 101 Afro-Brazilian studies centers and nuclei, 5 in private universities and 96 in public universities. According to data from the federal technological institutes, there was a Nuclei of Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous (NEABI) studies in at least one campus of each of the 40 federal technological institutes of Brazil. As stated in the literature review, Afro-Brazilian studies units created at federal technological institutes are usually called Nuclei of Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous studies, because they include Black and Indigenous studies. In 2008, Indigenous studies were included in the school curriculum by Law 11.645/2008. However, this inclusion was made through the amendment to Law 10639/2003, which included Afro-Brazilian studies. The federal technological institutes are the outcome of an educational reform that was also carried out in 2008. Therefore, they incorporated this debate into the creation of their Afro-Brazilian studies units. However, I selected only 32 NEABIs of federal technological institutes because I selected the ones that the NEABIs was created by the Dean of the institute, and, therefore, the NEABI is administratively located at the Dean's office. In the following sections, I present a separate analysis of universities and federal institutes, and the conclusion of this chapter demonstrates the data in the final section.

### 6.2.1 Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous Studies Nuclei at Federal Technological Institutes

In May of 2021, the staff from the federal institute of Brasília provided a spreadsheet with the Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous Studies Nuclei (NEABI) at Federal Technological

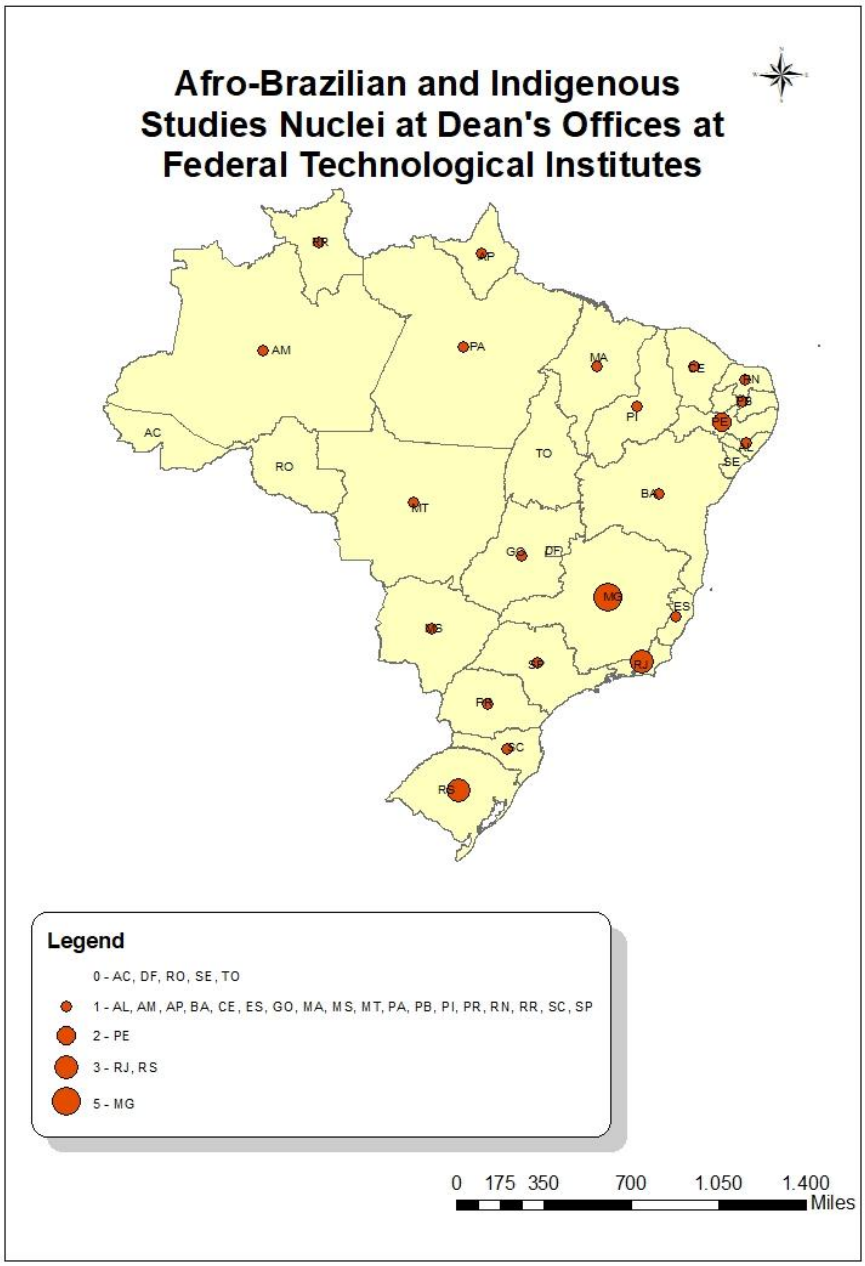
Institutes. The spreadsheet showed 553 NEABIs in federal technological institutes. This multiplication of nuclei occurs because technological institutes have several campuses in different cities. Usually, the courses are offered in different regions of the state, and the campuses are separated by specialty. For example, there is campus focused on health courses, while others focus on engineering, communication, etc. In other cases, they are more focused on high school classes or non-degree programs. Therefore, simply adding 553 units of Afro-Brazilian studies to university spreadsheets would inflate the number and dilute the information. Some federal technological institutes are more a high school than college, offering non-academic professional courses, others are highly academic and offer graduate courses. Afro-Brazilian studies units at federal technological institutes were extremely important for the institutionalization of Afro-Brazilian studies. There are institutions such as the Centro Federal de Educação Tecnológica Celso Suckow da Fonseca (CEFET/RJ) that in addition to having a NEABI, CEFET/RJ has a graduate program with a specialization in Ethnic Racial relations and an academic master's degree (Borges, 2016). CEFET/RJ offers more graduate Afro-Brazilian studies courses than many universities. Even though the experience of technological institutes cannot be discarded, it should be analyzed specifically. Initially, I made the map of the NEABIs on all campuses without data correction. This map illustrates that using the data without considering the specificity of federal technological institutes would clutter the map and diminish the explanatory potential of the results.




Map 4: Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous Studies Nuclei at Federal Technological Institutes per campus

The map above shows an inflated number of Afro-Brazilian studies units and cannot be considered for some reasons. First, as federal technological institutes are high schools that offer higher education courses, not all campuses are higher education institutions. Second, the campuses of federal technological institutes are independent decentralized units. Some of the NEABIs were created without the participation of the institute's central administration. It is

possible to assume that the level of institutionalization is different and the nature of the actions to be carried out by the NEABIs likely differ. Third, it is important to treat the data on federal institutes' NEABIs as equivalents to universities' NEABs. Considering this challenge, I decided to consider the NEABIs of federal institutes, but did not count NEABIs of each campus. Instead, I decided to consider only the NEABI's created and institutionally located at the Dean's office of each federal institute. The Dean's office is where most of the administrative structure of the federal technological institute is located. The law determines that the Federal Institute is organized in a multicampus structure (Brasil, 2008). However, the institutes have only one Dean's office or rectory. The Dean's office decides the annual budget and is considered the central administration body of the federal institute. Most institutes created their NEABI via a Dean's office. In other cases, the campus created their NEABI independently, without the participation of the Dean's office. However, in the last case, the NEABI works independently without specific resources from the Dean's office. For this reason, I decided to choose Dean's office support as a criterion of institutionalization to differentiate the NEABI's with administrative support from institutes with no support.




**Map 5: Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous Studies Nuclei at Dean's Offices at Federal Technological institutes**

There are 32 federal institutes with NEABIs in the Dean's office17. They are in 22 states, which are Alagoas (AL), Amapá (AP), Amazonas (AM), Bahia (BA), Ceará (CE), Espírito

17 The federal technological institutes with NEABI at Dean's offices are the Federal Institute of Alagoas (Instituto Federal de Alagoas), the Federal Institute of Amazonas (Instituto Federal do Amazonas), the Federal Institute of Amapá (Instituto Federal do Amapá), the Bahian Federal Institute (Instituto Federal Baiano), the

Santo (ES), Goiás (GO), Maranhão (MA), Mato Grosso (MT), Mato Grosso do Sul (MS), Minas Gerais (MG), Pará (PA), Paraíba (PB), Paraná (PR), Pernambuco (PE), Piauí (PI), Rio de Janeiro (RJ), Rio Grande do Norte (RN), Rio Grande do Sul (RS), Roraima (RR), Santa Catarina (SC), and São Paulo (SP) There were institutes that did not create their NEABIs in the Dean's office and these were in Acre, Goiás, Bahia, Minas Gerais, Federal District, Rondônia, Sergipe and Santa Catarina18. However, Bahia, Goiás, Minas Gerais and Santa Catarina have more than one institute. The states with no NEABI in the Deans office of any institute were Acre, Rondônia, Sergipe and the Federal District.

The geographic distribution of the NEABIs is linked more to the distribution of the Federal Institutes rather than determined by other reasons such as the Black population from each state, given that 100% of the institutes have NEABIs, and of these institutes, 75% are in the Dean's office. There are also federal technological institutes without NEABIs in the Dean's

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Federal Institute of Ceará (Instituto Federal do Ceará), the Federal Institute of Espírito Santo (Instituto Federal do Espírito Santo), the Goiano Federal Institute (Instituto Federal Goiano), the Federal Institute of Maranhão (Instituto Federal do Maranhão), CEFET MG, the Federal Institute of the North of Minas Gerais (Instituto Federal do Norte de Minas Gerais), the Federal Institute of the Southeast of Minas Gerais (Instituto Federal do Sudeste de Minas Gerais), the Federal Institute of the South of Minas Gerais (Instituto Federal do Sul Minas Gerais), the Federal Institute of Triângulo Mineiro (Instituto Federal do Triângulo Mineiro), the Federal Institute of Mato Grosso do Sul (Instituto Federal de Mato Grosso do Sul), the Federal Institute of Mato Grosso (Instituto Federal de Mato Grosso), the Federal Institute of Pará (Instituto Federal do Pará) , the Federal Institute of Paraíba (Instituto Federal da Paraíba), the Federal Institute of Pernambuco (Instituto Federal de Pernambuco), the Federal Institute of Sertão of Pernambuco (Instituto Federal do Sertão Pernambucano), the Federal Institute of Piauí (Instituto Federal do Piauí), the Federal Institute of Paraná (Instituto Federal do Paraná), CEFET RJ, the Federal Institute of Rio de Janeiro (Instituto Federal do Rio de Janeiro), the Fluminense Federal Institute (Instituto Federal Fluminense), the Federal Institute of Rio Grande do Norte (Instituto Federal do Rio Grande do Norte), the Federal Institute of Roraima (Instituto Federal de Roraima), the Federal Institute of Rio Grande do Sul (Instituto Federal do Rio Grande do Sul), the Farroupilha Federal Institute (Instituto Federal Farroupilha), the Sul-Rio-Grandense Federal Institute (Instituto Federal Sul-Rio-Grandense), the Catarinense Federal Institute (Instituto Federal Catarinense), the Federal Institute of Tocantins (Instituto Federal de Tocantins) and the Federal Institute of São Paulo (Instituto Federal de São Paulo).

18 The institutes without NEABI in the Dean offices are Federal Institute of Acre (Instituto Federal do Acre), Federal Institute of Goiás (Instituto Federal de Goiás), Federal Institute of Bahia (Instituto Federal da Bahia), Federal Institute of Minas Gerais ( Instituto Federal de Minas Gerais), Federal Institute of Brasília (Instituto Federal de Brasília), Federal Institute of Rondônia (Instituto Federal de Rondônia), Federal Institute of Sergipe (Instituto Federal de Sergipe) and Federal Institute of Santa Catarina (Instituto Federal de Santa Catarina).

office in all regions. Thus, the Midwest region has the lowest concentration with three units, followed by the Southern region with five, the North region with five, the Southeast with nine and the Northeast with ten NEABIs.

### 6.2.2 Afro-Brazilian Studies Nuclei at Universities

The 101 Afro-Brazilian studies units at universities can be classified by the type of unit, name, objectives, and date of creation. Most Afro-Brazilian studies units are nuclei which correspond to 90 units. However, there are 7 centers, 3 laboratories, and 1 program. The most common name is *Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros* – NEAB (Nuclei of Afro-Brazilian studies), representing 44% of the names of Afro-Brazilian studies units. Just as in the case of North American Black Studies, there is no unity in the name of Afro-Brazilian studies. Another prevalent name was *Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros e Indígenas* – NEABI (Nuclei of Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous studies), representing 12% of the names. There were other names combining Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous studies such as Afro-Indigenous studies and Afro-American Indigenous studies. After NEAB and NEABI there is no prevalent name, but a diverse set of names referring to specific areas of the field, regions, or even areas of knowledge to which the units are linked. There are names that were common from the genesis of the field such as Afro-Asian studies, Afro-Oriental studies and Africanity and Afro-descendancy. Also, there are names related to approaches in the field such as race relations, ethnic relations, identity, and inter-ethnic relations, interdisciplinarity and African and African diaspora. Other units are linked to the field where the unit is located such as Education of Black People in Society; Documentation and Afro-Brazilian Culture; Geography, Racial relations, and Social Movements; Health of Black Ethnicity and Reflection and Afro-descendant memory. Some are more region-

specific names such as Regional Afro-Bahian studies, *Cearence* Africanity, Brazil-Africa studies and Africa-America studies.

From the 101 Afro-Brazilian studies units, only 69 provided information about the creation date and 54 provided information on the objectives of the centers, nuclei, laboratories, or programs on the universities' websites. The objectives of Afro-Brazilian studies are similar. NEABs are defined as an antiracist space aimed at training activists and the academic community and as responsible for the implementation of affirmative action policies and other racial equality policies on campus. Eleven institutions hold Afro-Brazilian studies units responsible for developing teaching, research, and outreach to communities in the field of Afro-Brazilian studies, 8 units are defined as responsible for combating racism and racial discrimination and among other activities, 9 institutions are expected to train elementary education teachers. Outreach to Black communities is listed among the responsibilities of 20 institutions. Some NEABs have a broader scope of actions, such as the Federal University of ABC, which mentions "supporting and developing actions for the empowerment of Black women and Black youth" among its objectives. Nine institutions are involved in gender and race issues. Three NEABS list actions for *quilombola* communities. Units such as the Núcleo de Estudos, Pesquisa e Extensão em Relações Étnico-Raciais, Movimentos Sociais e Educação - N'UNBUNTU (Nuclei of Studies, Research and Outreach in Ethnic Relations, Social Movements and Education) mention creating dialogue between Black movements and traditional Afro-Brazilian communities among their responsibilities. Overall, despite differences in wording, the units are defined in similar terms, but the lack of information about all institutions makes it impossible to generalize the definition. However, relying on the available information I identify trends such as the identification of spaces with anti-racist policies beyond education, and

the intersection of gender and race. The 69 institutions that have the date of creation available on the website created their Afro-Brazilian studies units between 1959 and 2019. The chart below shows the number of Afro-Brazilian studies units created by year. The x-axis displays the dates and the y-axis the number of units created in each period.

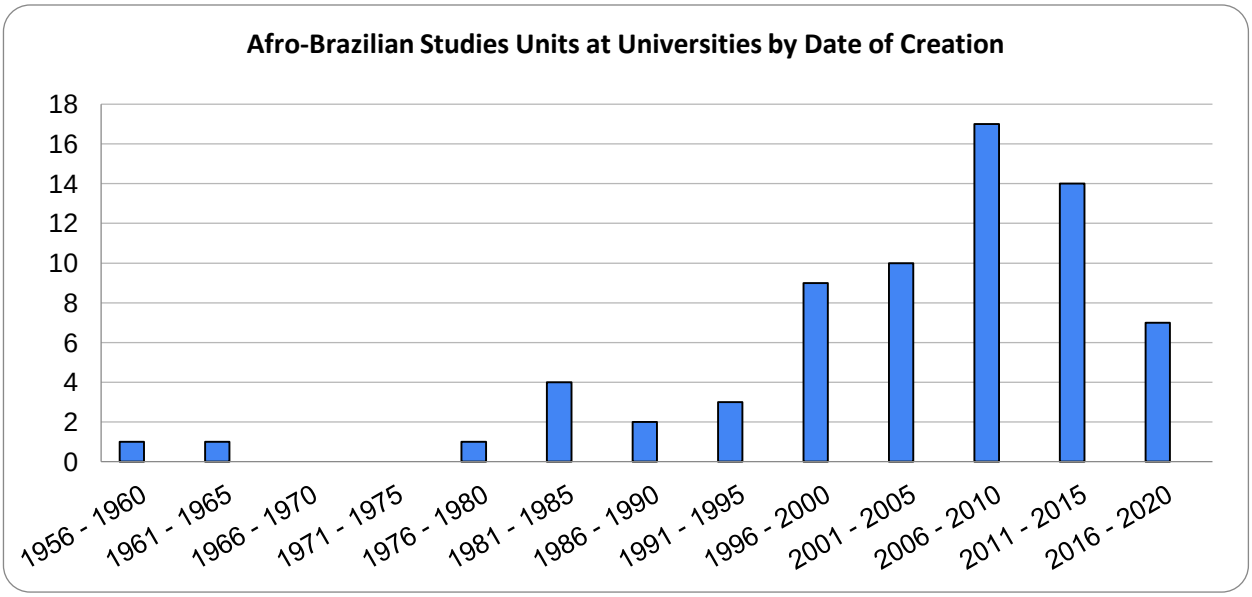


**Chart 1: Afro-Brazilian Studies Units at Universities by Date of Creation**

The graph of dates of creation represents different dynamics in Afro-Brazilian studies. Initially, there is an emergence of the first units between 1959 and the beginning of the 1960s. The number of units increases very slowly with a sudden rise from 1980 to 1985 followed by stagnation. In 1995, there is small boom followed by stagnation. In 2000 there is the most significant increase, a 300% increase, that marked a change in the rate of unit creation so far. In the first 43 years after the creation of the first Afro-Brazilian studies units, from 1959 to 2002, 23 Afro-Brazilian unities were created in universities. Over the next 18 years, from 2003 to 2020, 46 units were created, double the number created in the previous 40 years. This graph confirms

the findings of the literature highlighting the considerable increase since the 2000s (Lima, 2016; Passos, 2006; Rezende and Pereira, 2014; Santos, 2011; Siss et al, 2013). However, the increase also indicates specific dynamics explored in the previous chapter of this dissertation. In the 1980s, there was an emergence of a racial debate within universities in dialogue with the field of Afro-Brazilian studies. However, this change also indicates specific dynamics explored in the previous chapter of this dissertation. Chart 2 graphically represents the distribution of units across Brazilian regions.

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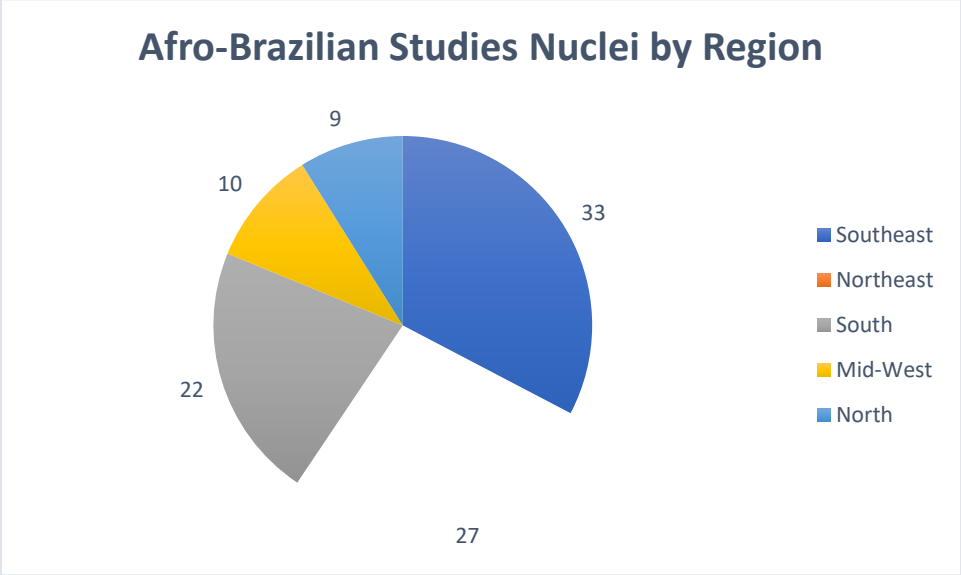
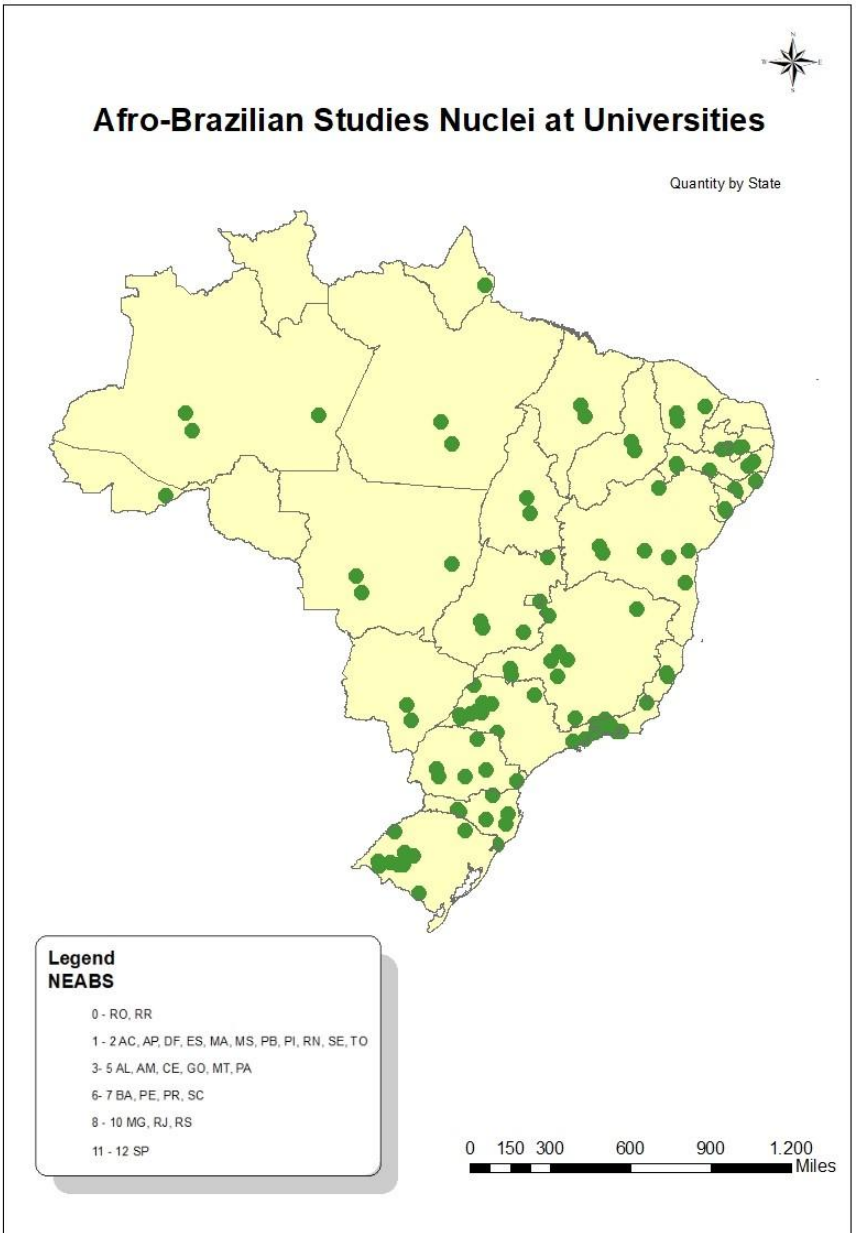



Chart 2: Afro-Brazilian Studies Nuclei by Region

The chart shows that most of NEABs, 33 units, are in the southeastern part of the country, which represents 32% of the total, while 27% are in the northeast, 22% in the south, 10% in the mid-west and 9% in the north. The order between the region with the highest and lowest amount of NEABs is the same as the distribution of higher education institutions. Universities in Brazil are highly concentrated in the southeast part of the country; 49% of higher

education institutions are concentrated in the Southeast, followed by the Northeast with 18%, the South (17%), the Mid-west (10%) and the North holds 6% of universities (Alvarez, 2013). There is a positive correlation between the number of universities in the region and the presence of NEABs, because the greater the proportion of universities, the greater the proportion of NEABs. This distribution is the outcome of the quantitative units per state, represented in the map below.

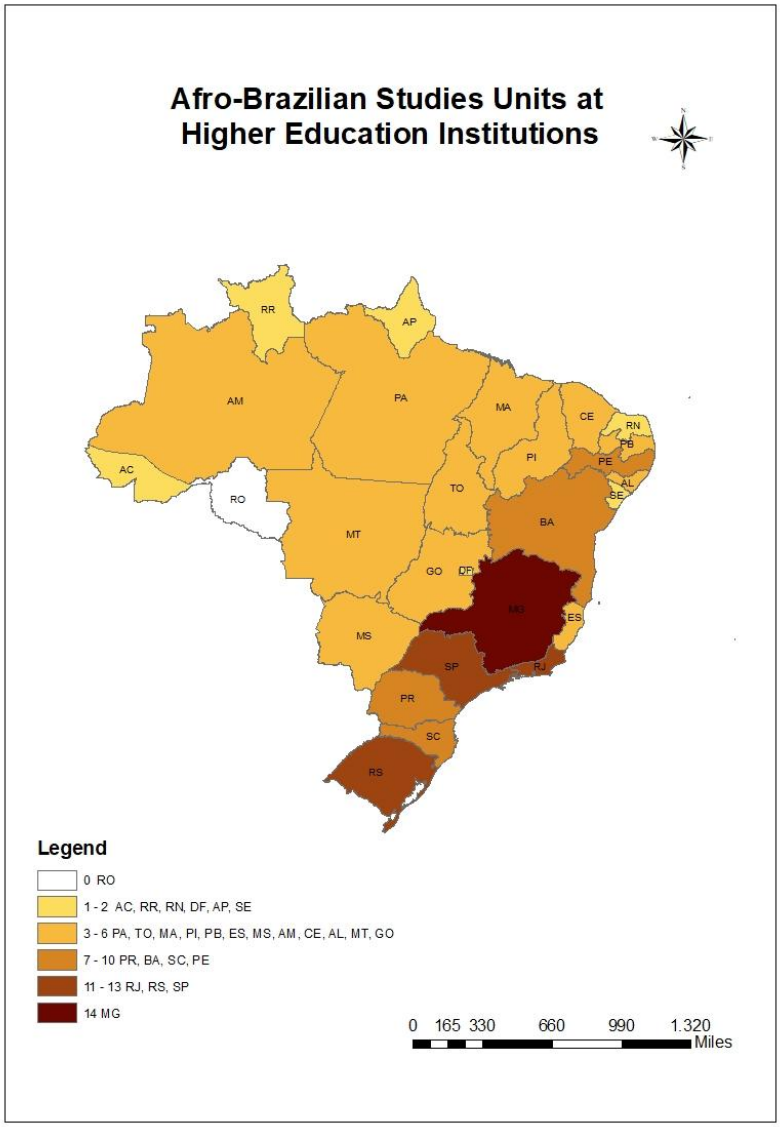



Map 6: Afro-Brazilian studies Nuclei at Universities

The map reveals that in addition to regional concentration, there is a concentration in certain states. Six States, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Rio Grande do Sul, Minas Gerais, Santa Catarina and Pernambuco include more than 50% of the units. While two states, Rondônia and Roraima, have zero units. This discrepancy is highlighted in the relationship between the mean, which is 7.48, and the median, which is 2.5. The exceptional cases of states that have more than 5 units increase the average. However, the median reveals that in fact, most states have between 2 or 3 Afro-Brazilian studies units.

### 6.2.3 Towards a Unique Cartographic Representation of Afro-Brazilian studies units

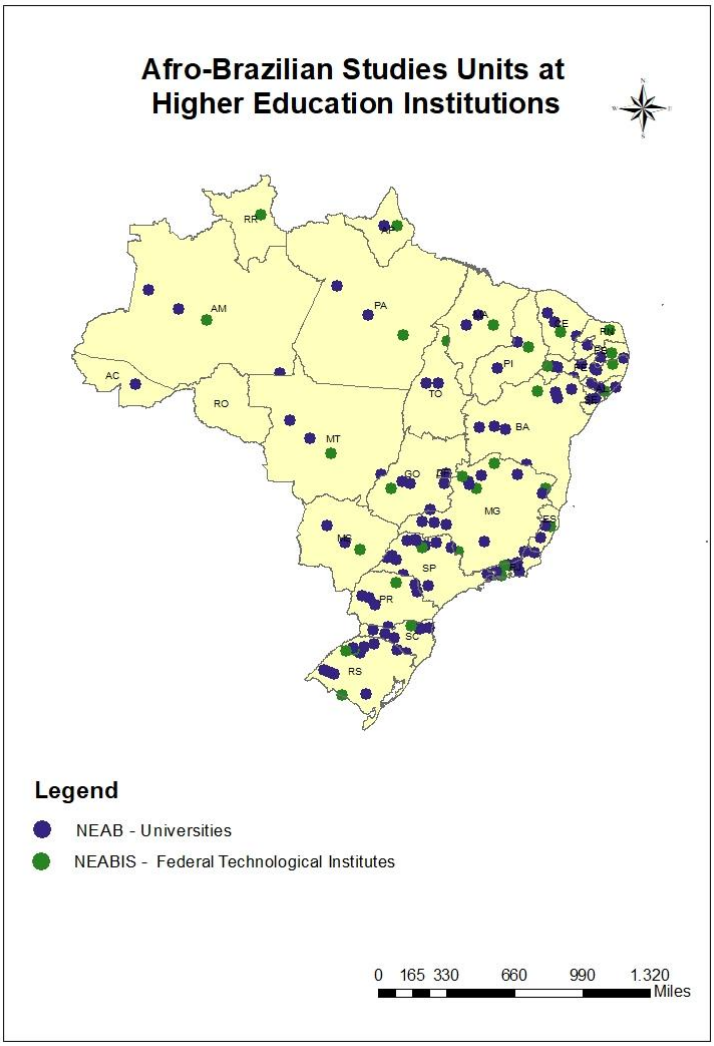
The outcome of the survey was the updated number of Afro-Brazilian studies units, which is 133. Of the 199 universities surveyed, there are101 Afro-Brazilian studies units, while 32 of 40 federal institutes included Afro-Brazilian Studies nuclei.




Map 7: Afro-Brazilian Studies Units and Higher Education Institutions

The Afro-Brazilian studies units are the sum of NEABs from universities and NEABIs from federal technological institutes. Therefore, it represents similar concentration dynamics as in previous maps. Afro-Brazilian studies units are concentrated in the Southeast region with 32% of the units, followed by the Northeast with 28%, the South with 20%, the Midwest with 12% and the North with 10% of the units. The only state with no Afro-Brazilian studies unit is Rondônia. To explain the absence of NEABs in Rondônia, a specific exam would be needed.

Rondônia has a high percentage of Black people, with more than 65% of Blacks. However, Rondônia, Acre, Roraima and Amapá are the states with only 1 federal university. Until the mandatory affirmative action policy in 2012, the Federal University of Rondônia (Universidade Federal de Rondônia) had a white student body, many students came from private schools, especially in courses such as medicine and law (Zuin & Bastos, 2019). A possible explanation for the absence of a NEAB at Rondônia is that the incorporation of a larger contingent of Black students happened in less than 10 years.




Map 8: Afro-Brazilian Studies Units and Higher Education Institutions

Afro-Brazilian studies units' distribution does not represent the proportion of the regional distribution of Black people. Black people are most of the Brazilian population. In 2010, the Census counted 50.9% of the population as Blacks, and in subsequent estimates in 2020, as the National Household Sample Survey (Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílio), Black people reached 56.2% of Brazilian population. In 2010, in the 5 geographical regions of Brazil, Blacks were most of the North (73%), Northeast (69.2%), and Mid-West (56%). Black people are not the majority in the Southeast (43,8%) and the South (20.7%) (IBGE, 2010). However, in absolute numbers, the states with the biggest Black population were São Paulo (14,367,167), Bahia (10,712,358), Minas Gerais (10,544,386), Rio de Janeiro (8,269,699) and Ceará (5,653,512). A probable explanation for the distribution of Afro-Brazilian studies units can be the outcome of a combination of variables such as the distribution of the Black population in absolute numbers, the distribution of universities, and the political performance of Black movements in each state.

This chapter includes 6 different maps that graphically represent the presence of Black Studies units in Brazil and the United States based on Alkalimat's methodology. The data on Afro-Brazilian studies units are the result of web-based collected data carried out between March and May 2021, which found 133 Afro-Brazilian studies units in universities and federal technological institutes. The research has two significant limitations. It did not include all higher education institutions, but only universities and federal technological institutes. Additionally, there was no interaction with representatives of the institutions to confirm the data collected. Nonetheless, there has been a significant growth in Afro-Brazilian studies units from 94 units in 2012 to 133 in 2021. The universities and federal technological institutes analyzed represent the most complex educational institutions in the country and are more likely to have Afro-Brazilian

studies units than other institutions such as private colleges. The strength of a cartographical analysis is that the maps add to the debates on the characterization of Black Studies units, as well as information collected about the units' name, objectives, and creation dates.

# CHAPTER 7
## Towards an Institutional Quilombo

*It doesn't matter where I would probably do the work that I do. But it definitely makes it easier for me to do the work without having to legitimize why I am doing it.* – Lelia*19 UWM

*There is always a difference in working at a NEAB. My perspective does not change because I keep working on the same issue, but it was good that I had people to dialogue with. After working at NEAB, I did my first research in a network. (...) I came from a university with no NEAB, so I used to do research by myself. But after I entered the NEAB from UFPR, I had the opportunity of doing research with a group and to hire students to participate in my research*. – Barbara* UFPR

*The logo of NEAB/UnB is the representation of Esú. The myth is based on the idea of the deconstruction of artificial structures. It is to deconstruct, to dismantle fake structures*. – Kwame* UnB

*When I was in [a traditional] department, I was like, what is my meaning? What is my purpose? Why am I here doing this? But now every day, I wake up, I'm just… I'm excited. Because there's more to study. There's more to learn.* – Milton*, Temple

*And one young lady came back in. And she raised her hand, after they finished reading. [She said] "I've been feeling this my entire life. I don't need to read anything else. This, this cleared it up for me." And so, I thought so*. – Mário*, Harvard

Resistance to forms of oppression anchored in racism and capitalism gave birth to important theoretical debates about Black resistance and insurgencies such as quilombos. Quilombos and other forms of political action by Black communities resisting slavery are present in works on the Haitian revolution such as CLR Jaimes' *Black Jacobins*, sociological essays such as Beatriz Nascimento's "The Concept of Quilombo and Cultural Black Resistance," and revolutionary political theory such as Cedric Robinson's *Black Marxism*, and Abdias Nascimento's *O Quilombismo*. Nascimento (1980) reinforces that by calling themselves quilombos, contemporary Black organizations sought to rescue radicality and to update quilombo's meaning. Thus, quilombismo "is in constant updating meeting the demands of the historical and geographical environment (Nascimento, 1980, 256)." When questioning the

19 As part of the disidentification of the interviewees, pseudonyms were used for everyone, keeping the institution of origin of the interviewee. Adaptations of disidentification were made in the text, which are marked with [brackets].

definition of Black Studies units as institutional quilombos, I seek to find in the dialogue with Black Studies professors elements to update the debate on institutional resistance to oppression, having Black radicality as a political horizon. These elements include the meaning that professors attribute to the units, the relationships established between the units and the universities' administration, and the activities and forms of resistance the units' embrace. This chapter analyzes in-depth interviews with professors seeking to identify the techniques and strategies that Black Studies centers and departments employ to exist and survive in predominantly white institutions in Brazil and the United States. This identification and analysis were the outcome of thematic groups of questions detailed in the methodological chapter such as personal experience, institutional experience, relationship to universities' administration and other departments and to Black communities and activism.

From January 4 to Abril 30 of 2021, I interviewed 25 faculty from Harvard University (3), Temple University (3), University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (6), the Federal University of Bahia (4), the Federal University of Parana (4) and the University of Brasilia (5). In UFBA, UnB and UFPR, the number of professors associated with Pós-Afro and NEABs was not accurate. In UFBA, there were 27 professors associated with Pós-Afro, however some of the professors informed that they were no longer associated with Pós-Afro. In UFPR, there was no estimate number of professors are associated with NEAB/UFPR. In UnB, NEAB/UnB had 26 members, including professors and volunteers. In UWM, Temple and Harvard University, the number of professors were 8 at UWM, 8 at Temple University and 48 at Harvard University. Therefore, the proportion of scholars interviewed from each department or center was 6% of faculty from Harvard, 37% of Temple, 75% of UWM, 14% of UFBA and 19% of UnB. However, these proportion is not precise because retired faculty, instructors and volunteer

professors were interviewed. Also, despite being part of the departments, the professors represented themselves. Therefore, the debates cannot be interpreted as an institutional position. I do not reveal the racial profile of each respondent, gender, age, or institutional affiliation with the university, nor whether the respondent is an associate professor, retired professor, instructor, or volunteer. Overall, the sample is diverse in gender, race, age, and institutional affiliation. However, there was less diversity in terms of these demographics among the interviewees of each institution. The following names were assigned to the interviewees from each institution, Harvard University: Mário, Leandro and Cleber; Temple University: Milton, Darcy and Gilza; University of Brasília (UnB): Kwame, Alice, Rebecca, Frantz, and Dorothy; University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (UWM): Lélia, Odonias, Baba, Simonal, José and Ubiratan; Federal University of Paraná (UFPR): Derrick, Kimberly, Edward, and Ida; Federal University of Bahia (UFBA): Roger, Jacques, Steve, and Robin.

All the 25 interviews were transcribed and categorized by theme. Next, I identified sensitive information that could identify the interviewee. All interviews were grouped by themes and the excerpts were extracted, and, in some cases, translated. Finally, I identified direct quotes that best represent the dilemmas and issues raised by the sample from each university. The quotes do not represent the importance of the interviews, which means that a more cited interviewee was not more important than a less cited one. Likewise, the longer interviews are not necessarily the ones with more quotes. Given the nature of the research, and the importance of the narrative for the construction of dialogue and the causal link between the questions, the length of the interview is not a determining factor. The themes are the result of all interviews and not specific quotes. However, there were interviewees who explained the internal dynamics with more details, or even that it was possible to use the examples without identifying the

interviewees. Some interviewees narrated very specific experiences that would identify them, and others brought experiences that they asked not to be included in the survey. In some cases, such as UnB, UFPR, and UWM there was a more pronounced internal difference, often related to the experiences of different intellectual generations within the unit. However, the racial, gender, and intellectual orientation of respondents has a major impact on the experiences, perceptions, or even opportunities that arise from the presence of a Black Studies unit.

The sample has some important features. In most universities, professors were already in the field of Black Studies before working in departments, programs, or nuclei. A less significant part of the sample previously held a relationship with Black movement organizations. The experiences of these 25 intellectuals show convergences especially in the challenges they face. It is no coincidence that many of the interviewees characterized experiences of exclusion and threats to the continuity of Black Studies units. The interviewees contextualized common challenges from all university departments and centers face. However, they also specified issues that would only happen in a Black Studies unit. The main themes discussed by respondents were the unit's identity, the institutional relationship to activism and Black communities, curriculum and scholarship, institutional racism, violence, challenges, and solutions. The challenges are subdivided between threats against the units, institutional weaknesses of units, internal conflicts, and external perception. The solutions are classified by policy, surviving techniques, and advantages in relation to traditional departments. A less salient theme that I investigated was how Black women's experiences were discussed in the answers and the diasporic and international interfaces of the units. A theme that commonly appears in certain institutions was the exercise of institutional power by the unit and mental health as a crucial issue for the survival of certain students and intellectuals in Black Studies units. Notably, respondents from Harvard

University were those who most expressed institutional power, but this power also appears in responses from scholars from UFBA and Temple University. The concern about mental health issues was prevalent at UnB.

The divergences among the units are both in the identity of these spaces, and the outcome of their strategies of action. Before proceeding specifically with the presentation and analysis of the results, I will address the pressing issue of this research. The debate on institutional Quilombos presented some preliminary challenges, which I address in the beginning of the chapter. The first section is about the concerns of my interviewees with the concept of institutional quilombo. Considering that *quilombismo* is a Black radical theory, it is not surprising that not all faculty associated their units identify with this idea. Also considering that the departments have different characteristics, it is plausible that there will be a considerable difference in self-definition. More than defining which unit is or is not an institutional quilombo, I intend to discuss what would make the units to be institutional quilombos. Subsequently, I discuss how the interviewees define their departments, centers, and nuclei.

### 7.1 Not an Institutional Quilombo

> *I was intrigued with your definition of institutional quilombo. CEAO could not be defined as such.* Jacques*,UFBA

> *There are pedagogical quilombos. If you ask me if Pós-Afro is a pedagogical quilombo, my answer would be no*. Steve*, UFBA

The professors linked to CEAO, and Pós-Afro objected its classification as an institutional quilombo. This objection summarizes the challenges that the idea of institutional quilombos represents for all the institutions analyzed. Pós-Afro professors were also concerned about the comparison with Black Studies in the United States, and even comparisons with NEABs in Brazil. They affirmed the impossibility of classifying the CEAO/UFBA and Pós-Afro

as an institutional quilombo because of two reasons. First, most of CEAO's associate professors were not Black. Second, CEAO is not a space politically aligned with radical Black thought. Besides those reasons presented by interviewees, the historical chapter showed most directors of CEAO were not Black either. Given that Black movement systematically decides to occupy CEAO and Pós-Afro almost 30 years after the creation of the center. CEAO and Pós-Afro were not founded by Black people and movements like some of the NEABs. Another reason for the differentiation within Brazil is that CEAO was created at a different time in the institutional history of universities. Therefore, they had more flexibility or freedom for many decades. They had professors exclusively dedicated to the center. They raised and spent funds independently of the university and carried out partnerships and exchanges more freely. Finally, perhaps the main reason, is that, as much as CEAO has historically provided opportunities for the Afro-Bahian and African presence at UFBA, it is also heir to the anthropological traditions that normalized whiteness and placed Blackness as a "different culture." Indeed, some of the interviewees classified CEAO and Pós-Afro as connected to African Studies - and its European tradition - instead of Black Studies. And in some cases, there were attempts to contemporize and enhance the intellectual tradition of Nina Rodrigues, as part of the tasks of both CEAO and Pós-Afro, even with reservations.

In this analytical framework, CEAO is part of the problem in Brazilian universities as it still has barriers to incorporate Black intellectuals as professors. Many of the Black professors associated with Pós-Afro are from the partner universities, and not from UFBA. However, the challenges that would make it impossible for the CEAO and Pós-Afro to be classified as an institutional quilombo are also present in some of the other universities. Nevertheless, the questions are more complex than these. All units have inherent contradictions with being a space

that have more Black intellectuals and academic units in a predominantly white space. In the cases of UWM, Temple and Harvard University there are experiences of political barriers for certain intellectuals, especially radical, to access the university or tenure. All universities in the sample have a small and limited percentage of Black faculty. American institutions have critical and chronic problems regarding the inclusion and retention of Black students. Brazilian institutions have a recent history of including Black students, but there are still challenges in graduate studies and hiring.

The divergence in the identification of CEAO and other units as institutional quilombos is an important finding from the interviews. However, there are other findings that reveal analytical possibilities for the definition of spaces such as CEAO as an institutional quilombos. These findings offer insights about the parameters for the definition of an institutional quilombo. It does not mean that the experiences of the intellectuals are disregarded. All four professors I interviewed from Pós-Afro said explicitly or indirectly that the unit is not an institutional quilombo. They had practical and concrete reasons for this affirmation. But what I want to emphasize is that units that do not reject the term, or even embrace the definition of institutional quilombo, may have similar characteristics that the units who reject the idea. Indeed, it does mean that these spaces need to be understood by what they provide for Black intellectuals, and how they challenge the university. Most of these institutions are also recognized by the Black movement as a locus occupation and institutional debate. Overall, it is as important to understand both how the faculty define these spaces and how, regardless of the faculty's definition, the units can represent a welcoming space for Black radical intellectuals.

Besides the differences, all the 6 institutions were places that Black intellectuals gathered in a specific moment to demand changes at the university. In my assumption, Black thought and

Black intellectuals infiltrate the university. In this infiltration process, Black Studies spaces are the crack in the wall. The literature and archival work corroborate this assertion given that most of these units started with Black students' mobilization. Students fought for the hiring of Black professors and Black Studies specialists. From the joint efforts of students, faculty and staff, a continuum is formed that tries to create an institutional locus for Black people and epistemologies, seeking the formation of the quilombo.

### 7.2 Institutional Identities

> *NEAB is a space where Black intellectuals gather. But is also a space of political representation. This representation is not only because there are Black people there. But because we are doing many things, we are involved in this.* Rebecca*, UnB

> *We feel a great sense of achievement in keeping the field together. I think that Temple is actually the only Department that I could say it straddles the theoretical, practical, and visionary aspect of it.* Milton*, Temple

The institutional identity of Black Studies units was an outcome of different interview questions. There was not a direct question about defining the department's identity, but there were questions about department's internal and external relationships, political orientation, and experiences. The units are defined in loose terms such as a space that brings together people who do research and teach about Africa and the African Diaspora, and in more clear terms linking a Black Studies unit to a specific epistemology and as part of the Black movement. In many cases, Black Studies units were defined as spaces for Black activism, with responsibilities to the Black community, whether locally, nationally, or internationally. There was no great divergence between Brazil and the United States in terms of defining the units. The biggest divergence was between institutions in each country than between countries, and within institutions. In this section, I present how each group of intellectuals defined their institution.

The NEAB from the University of Brasília was defined as space to discuss race relations, as a place to gather intellectuals and as a political unit. Some of NEAB's intellectuals believe part of their identity has shaped their participation in shifting the framework of Afro-Brazilian studies from Nina Rodrigues' and Gilberto Freyre's tradition to Black-centric epistemologies. Kwame* stated that: "We re-defined the idea of Afro-Brazilian studies. Using an expression people use nowadays, we re-signified the term Black, that was pejorative. We re-signified the ideas of Afro-Brazilian studies (Kwame*, UnB)." However, some other intellectuals highlighted that the NEAB/UnB was for many years an inaccessible place for Black intellectuals who were not professors. Rebecca * argued there was a shift in the definition of NEAB after 2008. She claimed that in the past the NEAB was more "focused on university professors or researchers who already had an established academic career." Later the nuclei became more open to graduate and undergraduate students.

Similarly, intellectuals from the NEAB from the Federal University of Paraná also defined their unit in political terms. Edward * defined NEAB/UFPR as a quilombo, because it is a "place of gathering, strengthening, and promoting activism for racial equality." Other intellectuals highlight nurturing and protection elements in NEAB/UFPR . Derrick* defines NEAB/UFPR as "a space of safety and a space of caring." However, since most of the faculty linked to NEAB/UFPR were from the field of education, there is some emphasis on the identity and role of the NEAB in education. Another important aspect is its identification as a unit that was responsible for the implementation of inclusion policies for Black people at the university. Derrick reinforces the idea that "most faculty [are from education], but there are people from humanities, technology (...) But NEAB/UFPR carried the issue of diversity on its back, and it is because of NEAB that inclusion policies were instituted at UFPR."

Among the Brazilian institutions, CEAO and Pós-Afro at UFBA were defined in distinct terms. CEAO was defined as a center dedicated to Afro-Brazilian and African studies. Besides Asian studies being part of the name of the institution, interviewees informed me that since the creation of the center, there has been limited research on Asian studies at the center. The focus of the center was on anthropological studies. One of the respondents mentioned the center was defined by a former chair as "the house of Black people (Roger*, UFBA),"and that the center aimed at "combining academic excellence with academic justice (Roger*, UFBA)." However, its relationship with activism is viewed as a characteristic of the identity of graduate students affiliated with Pós-Afro, not faculty. An important part of the definition of Pós-Afro was based on what the program is not. Pós-Afro was defined as a program "that is not Afrocentric, nor decolonial. But it does not mean there are not Afrocentric or decolonial professors among the faculty (Jacques*, UFBA)." CEAO and Pós-Afro "being the first" Afro-Brazilian studies center and graduate program was mentioned frequently. A respondent explained that " we are the field of Afro-Brazilian studies. We are one of the centers, respecting the others, but we are the reference (Roger*, UFBA)."

The assertion of a leadership position is part of the identity of the departments of Black Studies at Harvard and Temple University. However, in the African and African American Studies (AAAS) department at Harvard, the interdisciplinary identity in opposition to an Afrocentric identity. While, in Africology and African American Studies at Temple, the Afrocentric identity is contrasted with the notion of interdisciplinarity. At Harvard, the AAAS department was defined as a place that gathers "all disciplines together such as Sociology, Anthropology, History, Music, Theater, Psychology, (…) [that] have an interface with the racial

debate (Cleber*, Harvard).” However, the department is subjected to the university’s admission criteria. Therefore, a responded state that,

> Harvard sets a very high bar for membership on the faculty. Especially for membership for a tenured faculty member. And I think as a result what we have people who are, and the way we structured it here, everyone had to have a strong footing in one of the - quote unquote - traditional disciplinary fields (Mário*, Harvard).

Some respondents point to leadership in the field of Black Studies and the department's prestige as a reason for their attraction to working at the university. Mário* affirmed AAAS was “the perfect place to move if you were interested in issues of race and especially the fate and future of the African American community.” Aspects of emphasis and prominence to Africa and the Diaspora in the department's identity were also emphasized. The department was defined as Diasporic (Leandro*, Harvard). Like Pós-Afro, AAAS views its identity as denial of a single ideology, especially if it is Afrocentricity:

> We are decidedly not a cultural national Department. I think there is anybody who would describe us as a cultural nationalist. Certainly not as Afrocentrist (long pause). But I actually think we're the Department that's gone the furthest. Or among the furthest to integrate this the serious study of Africa with the study of the rest of the diaspora. So, we teach lots and lots of African language. (…) I think there's some Department where basically everybody is on the left, or some Department where everybody could be characterized as a kind of left-of-center Democratic party liberal, or Departments where everyone is a nationalist. We’re not like that. We are pretty ecumenical when we talk about ideology (Leandro*, Harvard).

The opposite of Harvard’s AAAS is the Africology and African American Studies department at Temple. Temple’s Africology department is proudly Afrocentric, and the interviewees attempted to clearly distinguish the Africology department from other Black Studies departments by stating that they are not “an aggregation of courses about Black people. (…) It's not an interdisciplinary field. We don't take Sociology, Anthropology, Political Science and put them all together and say that's Africology. We don't do that (Milton *, Temple).” This need to differentiate the praxis of the department is shared by other intellectuals who point out

that Africology is a “Pan African Department. We're not an African American department in the sense that we think that the field starts in 1619 (Gilza*, Temple).” Activism is a part of the definition of the department because of its origin, but also because of its mission and its political orientation. Therefore, the Black struggle is the main concern, since “[the department] only exists because it came out of struggle. And still there is struggle right now, as we speak there is struggle. [So], each one of the students who comes out of Africology is an emissary of that theoretical perspective, and is an activist (Gilza*, Temple).”

Despite being hegemonic among Temple`s interviewees, this definition is not free from criticism. An important criticism is about how much of the department's identity is associated with its main founder, Molefi Asante. Darcy* reinforces the idea that “ the whole goal of the Department is epistemology. It is Africa related. (…) Now on the one hand there is something very beautiful about that. There's nothing wrong, that is very beautiful. (…) It has such potential. (…) but I wouldn't say this while it's on my mind. I fear what will happen when he [Molefi Asante] either retire or gets old to do his job.” This conflict between generations of faculty, and what happens when a sizable contingent of the older generation retires, and the reflection of this concern regarding the department's identity is explicit in the debates presented by the department of African and African Diaspora Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee .

As highlighted in the historical analysis, the department of African and African Diaspora Studies (AADS) at the UWM was formerly called “Africology” department. This debate was considerable in interviews, both by advocates and detractors of the name change. Most interviewees from the AADS department highlighted that the department's identity was in transition from an Afrocentric tradition to a diasporic identity. Lelia * explained that “in the past we might have had some people who advocated for a more Afrocentric type of work. But I really

don’t see that as our identity. I see our identity as very much based in a global sense of African people. Not just Africans, but African descendants throughout the world.” This relationship with Afrocentricity is highlighted by other interviewees, who highlighted that the department was Afrocentric before, and that within this identity there was also a conception that the department should be more aligned with activism.

> You see that this was something that came out of activism. You had the students’ movement, the civil rights’ movement, the free speech, the antiwar, the Black power movement. (...) They wanted to be represented. So, they are producing this. So, the goal is to teach the Black experience in the historical on folding fight. And that was one. Two was to assemble a body of knowledge, which will contribute to, according to Karenga, both intellectual and political emancipation. So, you want this body of knowledge. Yes. You want to tell the Black experience the story from your own. You want you don't want people to tell your story. You want to tell your own story. You want to build this experience. You want someone to create intellectuals. But intellectually that I would be catered to community service. These intellectuals will help service in development in the communities... the Black communities (Odonias*, UWM).

Other interviewees had the same perception, that as the department became “less Africological,” the department also distanced itself from activism. Simonal* reveal that department used to prioritize its participation in Black community activities as part of its identity. However, the advocacy element was not an integral part of the department’s identity anymore. Neither could they identify a specific identity now. A similar remark is reinforced by José*, who said they could not identify many elements to define the department’s identity, but “that on the whole it is not aligned with Afrocentrism (José*, UWM).” Not being Afrocentric is praised by another interviewee as an accomplishment. Baba* highlighted the department is a blend of perspectives in which

> each professor bought her or his own theoretical approach, from an Afrocentric to a Marxist perspective, and everything in-between. Sometimes, some of us "blended" these approaches. Personally, I found the Afrocentric perspective limiting and inherently conservative politically, so I avoided it. Too much patriarchy, misogyny, homophobia. Too much tied to non-existent" traditions," and myth-making that denied all historical context (Baba*, UWM).

Generally, the identity of units varies in political and theoretical terms. Apart from Temple, interviewees from all units defined themselves as interdisciplinary. Temple is not

interdisciplinary because Africology is a discipline (Asante, 2009; Van Horne, 2007). Similarly, Harvard professors define their diversity in disciplinary terms. However, there is an explicit rejection of cultural nationalism. Cultural nationalism is defined as a praxis in Black Studies that turned "some departments into 'quasi-feudal enclaves which refuse entry to non-Black students and faculty as well as to 'ideologically impure' sectors of the Black community (Marable, 2000, 19)." At times it is commonly used to criticize the theoretical absolutism of certain departments and is used more by those who criticize the practice than by those who use it. In the case of UWM, the Afrocentric past is seen by some professors with nostalgia, but other professors do not seem to recognize themselves in this identity. Jose* had difficulty defining the department, however, the only thing he was sure about was that the department was not Afrocentric. In the case of Brazilian institutions, this debate was absent. Instead, the biggest differences in how professors identified the units were based in the format and services provided by units. All three Brazilian units were responsible for the debate on affirmative action in universities. However, only the NEAB/UFPR still considers this responsibility as part of its institutional identity. In Pós-Afro, as a graduate program, there was an emphasis on being the first graduate program in ethnic studies, and therefore some intellectuals define the program as "the field" of Afro-Brazilian studies. The two conflicting issues that appeared most were the identities of the units that are related to the curriculum, and the relationship of the units with activism and the Black community. I explore these themes in the next section.

### 7.3 Curriculum and Scholarship

> *The word Africology, which was at once used in Wisconsin, is the best term for it. And we really regret the fact that Milwaukee got rid of that term. Because it makes no sense to be retrogressive and to go backwards.* – Milton*, Temple

> *The field here lacks density to be polarized the way it is in the United States, being more or less Afrocentric. (...) There are people inspired by Afrocentricity, there are Black activists, there are*

*people speaking about the Black genocide, but there are people who do not agree with the use of the term genocide. Even though, we all agree there is violence*. – Roger*, UFBA

*Carolina Maria de Jesus Soares was recognized as a writer now. Who made this recognition possible? (...) Because, when it matters, they remove our Blackness from us. And then, I think that [the recognition of Carolina Maria de Jesus] is because of us; Black researchers doing research on race.* – Alice*, UnB

*What Africa interests [Afro-Brazilian studies]? Looking beyond Law 10.639/2003, where does Africa fit in? The objective of Law 10.639 was to include African studies on the agenda of Brazilian education. In my opinion, it was not the case. What matters to Brazilians is internal Africa.* – Steve*, UFBA

The interview questions had a specific topic about the department's placement towards Black Studies ideological orientations or theoretical approaches. However, the interviewees discussed the curriculum and scholarship in different questions. The curriculum is part of the department's self-definition, and, in some cases, it was presented as part of the challenges and potentials of units. Even though theories and epistemologies are part of the definition of some units, there was a specific debate about the relationship of the departments with theories in the field of Black Studies, and how they affect the curriculum and the scholarship produced from the units. The format and activities of the units inform responses. In the cases of UFBA, UnB, UFPR and Harvard, professors in Black Studies are also linked to a traditional department. Consequently, the Black Studies unit is the space where they can, in theory, deepen their specific research themes and interests. In the case of Temple and UWM, most professors are dedicated exclusively to the Black Studies department. This difference causes a change in the responses and expectations of professors at each institution.

At UnB, NEAB's curriculum development work is both internal and external. Two researchers revealed that identifying and disseminating the work of Black intellectuals was a task that the nucleus had been performing to also convince other departments at the university of their responsibility to teach Afro-Brazilian studies. Kwame* explained they used to participate in their

traditional department meetings “almost in a monologue [complaining about the lack of Black representation in the curriculum]. While in NEAB, I am debating racial issues, in my department these were issues the group of professors did not care about (Kwame*, UnB).” The lack of interest and capacity of traditional departments to address the themes of Black Studies pushes students to make demands to the NEAB. Alice* reinforced that in the department of Psychology most people do not study Frantz Fanon. “Psychology students get surprised by [the course] Contemporary Black Thought, because they were never introduced [to Fanon].)” However, NEAB also ends up becoming an excuse for the lack of depth and capacity of the departments. Kwame* explained that the university was pressured by the Prosecutor's Office to present methods or ways to fulfill the mandatory teaching of African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture, recommended by Law 10.639/2003. According to Kwame, the administration responded, "there is NEAB, but I said; NEAB has no power or resources to do this training." Instead, NEAB pressured departments to create their own Afro-Brazilian studies disciplines. Kwame* considered the pressure exerted on the Multidisciplinary Center for Advanced Studies (CEAM), to which the NEAB is linked, successful. He claims “CEAM graduate programs had no race debate. They have it today, because NEAB pressured them.” In the debate about specific epistemologies, the interviewees from NEAB/UnB mentioned interdisciplinarity and antiracism.

Multidisciplinarity differentiates CEAO and Pós-Afro from other institutions in the academic environment in Bahia. However, this multidisciplinarity is restricted to specific disciplines. Steve* believes Pós-Afro privileges History, Anthropology, and Sociology. Jacques* considers Anthropology the focus of the program. However, the program is in the process of epistemological updating due to students' demands. Robin* believes the students “demand an effective multidisciplinarity from the program.” Steve* indicates that there are major theoretical

conflicts within the program, especially regarding the issue of race and racism. Steve* and Jacques* point to decolonial critique as a challenge that has been increasingly evident to the program. However, there are challenges in knowing what is possible to save from this critique, especially given the anthropological emphasis of the program, or even its founding basis, which are "ethnic studies." Regarding these challenges, Steve* argues “it is clear that we must decolonize the epistemology. It is clear. It is a starting point, and we must give away a bibliography. When I say give away, it is not to completely ignore it, it is to give up its centrality.”

One issue that worries Pós-Afro professors is that students, most of whom are Black activists, have political and personal interests in the themes and epistemologies in the program. These interests often conflict with the program's approach. Steve* makes this problem explicit in one of the quotes at the beginning of this section. The quote focuses on the content of the African continent. Steve* believes most students do not genuinely want to know about the African continent and its contemporary dilemmas. They want to understand Africa in relation to Brazil. Steve* points out that at the beginning of the program they taught more about the African continent *per se*, in what he calls external Africa. However, in recent years they have had to adapt to the demands of students to emphasize internal Africa. Interestingly, this conflict has been present since the first decade of the program. As explained in the historical debate in Chapter 5, Yoruba teacher Ebenézer Latunde Lasebikam was frustrated by the fact that students wanted to learn the archaic Yoruba language that had been preserved in Brazil, and not the contemporary language.

The last theoretical element highlighted by UFBA’s interviewees was the differentiation of the work done in Pós-Afro in relation to debates in the United States. Jacques*, Roger* and

Robin* present three justifications for epistemological differences between the UFBA program and the US Black Studies programs. First, Jacques* states that formerly American theories were not prevalent in the program as they are now. Second, Roger* states that the field of Afro-Brazilian studies is not so polarized in Brazil because it is less intellectually dense. Third, Robin* believes the fact that Pós-Afro is based on Ethnic Studies makes it impossible to be compared with the United States because Ethnic studies and Black Studies are different fields. However, the historiography on CEAO and Black Studies contextualize some of these assertions. First, the dialogue with American researchers, such as Melville Herskovits and Franklin Frazier, is part of the origin of CEAO (Sansone, 2011). Other interviewees from Pós-Afro cite the influence of the Black Atlantic debate on the design of the program, even though Paul Gilroy is not American, and the multiculturalist debate is criticized within Black Studies debates. The importance of his work for the field is undeniable. Also, one of the interviewees cites the debates with Luiza Bairros as part of the program's intellectual tensions. Luiza Bairros debated epistemologies in Black Studies, and she had a fruitful public debate with Michael George Hanchard, in an article that became mandatory reading for comparative racial studies between Brazil and the United States (Bairros, 1996). Second, the inexistence of polarization within Pós-Afro does not mean there is no polarization in the field outside UFBA. As highlighted in the literary review, currents within Afro-Brazilian studies also diverge. However, what is less salient are the debates on the format of Afro-Brazilian studies units. Finally, at least three of the nineteen doctoral programs in Black Studies in the United States are combined programs with traditional departments. Harvard University, Yale University, and Virginia Polytech Institute (Virginia Tech) programs are associated with other departments. Virginia Tech’s program is a

concentration within the Sociology doctoral program, which is not necessarily a characteristic of doctoral programs of American universities.

In the case of UFPR's NEAB, there is no such concern either with an association with the debates in American Black Studies, or with a comparison with other units. The professors believe salient epistemologies in the NEAB are Black feminism and transfeminism, critical racial theory, decoloniality, intersectionality, and the work of Black intellectuals such as Nilma Gomes, Petronilia Gonçalves e Silva, and Kabengele Munanga in education. However, newly admitted professors to NEAB viewed theoretical debate with embarrassment. One of the professors reported that he felt embarrassed because the theoretical debate was used to question his racial belonging. Derrick* describes his first experiences at NEAB when he was in a discussion, and he "received signs that I needed to learn how to become Black. They were making jokes about Fanon. This, I thought was really violence, at that moment." As at UnB, theoretical debates led professors in NEAB to confront other departments at the university. Kimberly* reveals that NEAB's work has also challenged the university's gender studies. Kimberly* finds that the debate at the university is still carried out from the idea of "a universal woman: white, cisgender, young and heterosexual and the other women who are not the universal standard are not hegemonic. They need to be highlighted, Black women, Indigenous women, trans women and it was also a process of debate about what history matters, precisely because the racial issue is not an important marker for those who discuss gender." However, she believes that the Black movement also has challenges in incorporating debates on gender and sexuality.

Harvard professors mentioned critical race theory and Afro-Latin American studies among epistemologies and themes they explore, along with the interdisciplinary approach of the department. Some of the disadvantages of interdisciplinarity were highlighted in the theoretical

debate. Leandro* believes it is difficult to "have conversations between people whose approach is, like primarily something like ethnomusicology and people whose approaches are empirical sociology. (…). It's not always easy to have those conversations." The same element is evidenced by Cleber*. Cleber* points out that the department's interdisciplinarity makes some debates difficult because not everyone is versed in the same concepts and because "almost everyone who's there is also in another department. So, people end up maybe more divided." Mário* also agrees that multidisciplinarity is heterogeneous, thus it does not necessarily confer a collective identity on the members of the department. Mário* says that in traditional departments "all of your colleagues have basically what I call the same union card. I mean you basically have membership in the same broad identity group." This internal heterogeneity cannot be an impediment to the challenges of the canon of traditional disciplines. Mário* indicates that the debate on the centrality of race in relation to social class is still present at Harvard. It is AAAS's responsibility to promote this centrality. Mário also believes that like the field, despite being interdisciplinary, the department is still very focused on the humanities. Thus, Mário* "would like to see a better balancing of the hardnosed empirical social sciences and our more interpretive kind of qualitative humanity approaches in the field."

Like Harvard's professors, the faculty at the UWM African and African Diaspora Studies department emphasize the African diaspora as a paradigm of the department's curriculum and scholarship and interdisciplinarity. However, the curriculum is a reason for concern for some professors. Odonias* expresses concern about what he calls the department's "static curriculum." He believes the Black Lives Matter era challenges the department on to update its curriculum. Odonias* emphasizes the importance of classes dedicated to problem solving, and not just the historical characterization of racism. However, he was doubtful about how to make changes.

Odonias* prescribes that "unless we address and get alternatives to the problems, we are not going to be very effective. We're not gonna attract students. And there are also issues. It is multidisciplinary or should we have disciplines of Black studies?(…)Should we be teaching economics, politics, [health sciences]? Does this lead into multidisciplinary or changing our curriculum?"

This doubt about whether interdisciplinarity will result in the construction of a curriculum in dialogue with the other departments of the university seems to be related to the recent change in the department's identity, with the name change. Odonias* confessed that he "really liked the curriculum in which Africology was established. Africology was really studying, learning examining, identifying problems, and getting solutions for people of African descent." Still, the department kept the international endeavors of its Africological curriculum. Lelia* highlights the global perspective of the work produced in the department. This is reflected in different journals where the faculty publishes.

The biggest concern about the change in UWM's department from Africology to African and African Diaspora studies was expressed by Temple's scholars. Milton* analyzed the change as a setback. Milton's* opinion about UWM is relevant for a couple of reasons. Milton* believed that Africology was a joint project of Temple and the UWM. Historical research on the UWM revealed a link with Temple. Although predictable, Milton's negative evaluation also denotes a concern with his own department, given the possibility of isolation. In Temple's Africology department, there is homogeneity in affirming Africology as the basis of all the epistemological and theoretical practices within the department. Milton* defined Africology as a science in which "we study African phenomena. All African phenomena, South America, North America, the Caribbean. Blacks in Europe, Blacks in Australia." While Gilza* believes Africa has a

different meaning in Africology than in African and African Diaspora studies. In her understanding, African and African Diaspora studies were more focused on race than in culture. She defends Africology from an accusation it is too ideological, by affirming traditional disciplines place African and African Diaspora on the "sidelines." Eurocentrism in academia is a political project that reinforced the exclusion of theories developed by African and African descendant scholars. When analyzing the dynamics within the School of Liberal Arts where the Africology department is located, Gilza* concludes that

> Like here we are in the School of Liberal Arts. And knowing that liberal arts is an African method for attaining enlightenment, that existed thousands of years ago really places the current setting of liberal arts, which is very Eurocentric, in a proper place, so that you can see and investigate how the disciplines in the core of Liberal Arts, are kept isolated. Whereas they actually have to overlap being not much more holistic to reach enlightenment. And all these disciplines are grounded in racist theories. (…) Ideology is grounded in the culture that developed it. There is no such thing as ideology separate from culture or episteme separate from culture. It just doesn't exist, but the secret is to be able to find which cultural orientation it comes from. And you can tell by the way that a Nation state structured. When Black people are at the bottom of the hierarchy or if they're at the top. If they castrated or they're doing what the structure wants them to do. Which is also carrying out policies, and so. Which are impacting on the lives of the darker skin people in the world mostly as a global thing. This is what you can see in Africology (Gilza*, Temple).

Interestedly, another scholar also felt the need to defend the department's scholarship. Milton* affirmed the departments scholarship was solid and cited Ibram Kendi's best-selling book "How to be Antiracist" as an example of the department's success and scholarship. Gilza* believes Africology reinforces a more careful approach among students because there are family-like ties. Interestingly the department also believed the students are trained not only as intellectuals and but as activists.

### 7.4 Institutional Relationship to Activism and the Black Community

> *There were people who did not understand. They said it was 'too politized.' You know there are Africanists that do not discuss race. So, they did not want it*. – Kwame*, UnB.

*Activism? No, I would not. Our first obligation is to fulfill the mission of the University, which is research and teaching.* (…) *Do we have an agenda to be out in the streets organizing protests ? No. That's not what the world's leading Department of African and African American studies does.* – Mário*, Harvard.

*All of a sudden, most faculty departed. One of the central persons in the department, Winston died. Patrick retired, Doreatha, Joyce… These people not only talk about the community. They lived there. It was a part of their life*. – Odonias*, UWM.

*There is a contradiction in the Black movement. They want to be everywhere, but when you become a university professor (…) it is like you are not Black anymore*. – Ida*, UFPR.

I questioned the interviewees about the unit's relationship to activist and the Black community. The definition of activism and Black community was made by each participant when answering the question. Activism was defined in three distinct ways: i) part of professor's scholarship in research and teaching; ii) related to Black movement organizations on campus who may, or not, be partners of the units; and iii) a responsibility of the unit in engaging in political struggle within and outside the university. The Black community was also defined in different ways such as: i) Black communities of the cities in which the university is located, and ii) international Black communities that related to Black Studies. Of the 25 professors interviewed, 3 professors claim to be activists of the Black movement, and other 3 professors considered their intellectual production activism. Some of Brazil's activist-intellectuals claim that their intellectual base comes from the political education of the Black movement. For the interviewees from Harvard and UFBA, activism was restricted to student's performance, or professors' scholarship, it was not a collective action of the department, program, or center.

Harvard professors discussed activism and the relationship between the department and the Black community in individualistic terms. There was no prohibition or recommendations against the political actions of the professors, at least not for the professors interviewed. In some cases, they obtained institutional support to carry out some actions, but these actions were

individuals' initiatives and not the department's initiatives. Mário* believes "people are involved in different ways. Organizationally there's no formal tie. As there isn't a formal tie between the classics department and the wider communities." Mário* was one of the interviewees who most strongly opposed the idea of activism as a function of the department, seeking to compare the obligations of the AAAS with the obligations of other departments at the university. Leandro* confirmed the lack of departmental ties to activism. He affirmed that activism was not part of the functions "at the departmental level. But people do it. I mean, I feel like our Department has probably the most famous Black intellectual activist in it in the world." He is referring to Cornel West. The three Harvard interviewees referred to Cornel West as an example of the department's political engagement, because the interviews took place before his public resignation. Given that Cornel West's presence had a symbolic importance for the department, his departure accusing the university administration of political prejudice, might have an impact in the department's relationship to activism.

It is important to emphasize that Harvard professors also discussed the definition of activism. The faculty defined activism in terms of intellectual work and its consequences. Examples were the department's participation in philanthropic campaigns, the invitation of activists to participate in university activities, educational pedagogical work, and lobbying. Leandro* questioned the definition of activism.

> Activism is taking action in order to produce change in the world; concerted action usually in concert with others to produce what you see as a positive change in the world, or in your estimation, your judgment. That can be pretty broad. (...) So if people aren't marching. If they're not speaking in a certain way, in a certain register. If they are not getting arrested if they're not in direct action campaigns, then we don't consider them an activist. And I find that a pretty narrow conception of activism (Leandro*, Harvard).

Professors express concern with activism being viewed in a restrictive way and with what would be considered an acceptable form of activism in Harvard's AAAs department. They were

more comfortable with the characterization of activism as part of one's teaching practice. Mário* thinks it is possible to reconcile the vision of the department's intellectuals with activism with the condition that this action fits in to the context of intellectual debate. Mario*'s definition of activism contemplates the performance of professors as "affecting the ideas and understandings of the experiences, the contributions, the challenges and the fundamental humanity of people of African descent." The definition of activism as part of teaching practice is also present in other units.

At UWM there were different answers to the question about activism and the relationship with the Black community. The interviewers presented three distinct definitions of activism. José defined activism as "solid connections to community and/or political organizations in various Black communities designed to address their problems and/or defend their interests." Lélia* distinguishes activism as work that could benefit Black people. It can be activities such as volunteering, philanthropic work or helping students to access resources. Simonal* believes activism should be linked to "advocacy outside of academia," and this advocacy was part of the activities of the department. Simonal * reminisces about the department's activist activities that he believes no longer exist by saying that:

> I define activism from this standpoint, it is outreach to the community from which individuals we study reside. So, if Black Studies is about the study of Blackness, the study of Black people, the study of Black thought, centering Blackness, then the advocacy would be actually reaching out to those individuals that partaken it, being part of those studies in various ways. It does not necessarily mean protest. But it could mean for example outreach to elementary schools. Which actually was happening. It could mean protests. It could be advocacy for Black employees, which was happening (Simonal*, UWM).

The impression that UWM's AADS department was more activist oriented in the past, than it is now, is shared by many professors. Odonias* believed this difference is the outcome of the generational change in the department. He affirmed the department is not as known and present in the Black community as it used to be. However, Baba* reinforced this idea that

historically the department had difficulty addressing some important problems in the Black community in Milwaukee, such as incarceration. Ubiratan* also highlighted the need of the department to address mass incarceration in Wisconsin since “Blacks make up about 6% of this state and we make up more than 40% of the prison population. Papers should be coming out [from the department] on this sort of thing.” On the other hand, other faculty addressed the type of work the department is doing and what they called “unseen labor” and “the heavier burden” of Black Studies units. Lélia* highlighted that, because the department serves Black students, these students often need special help. She narrates cases in which students sought accommodation in the department due to a life crisis, or even students in situations of extreme need or poverty, who were rescued by the department's professors. This work, which is not part of the traditional work of university professors, is invisible work done within the department. Another participant highlighted the issue that the professors who died or retired were not replaced, so there were fewer professors left to balance activism activities with university work. Baba* addresses the imbalance of tasks between the departments of Black studies and the other departments. He claims that “Black faculty carry a much heavier burden than white faculty, in having to serve in many more committees, because we were so few, and felt that our voice needed to be heard, and our representation on all levels on campus [was] necessary, leaving precious little time for anything else.”

This difference in perception between faculty was also present at UnB and UFPR. At UnB, professors such as Kwame* sees the NEAB as part of the Black movement in Brasília, while Rebecca* believes that the NEAB establishes specific partnerships with the Black movement, acting internally, not externally. Kwame* believes that the intellectual work developed within the scope of NEAB is the result of a commitment to activism. This

commitment made the nucleus dedicate itself to the approval of quotas. However, for Rebecca* NEAB's faculty pool is remarkably heterogeneous, and not all professors are committed to activism. So, when NEAB takes a political stance, she believes it's "very shyly." As NEAB has a limited capacity, it does not necessarily reach the full dimension of the racial issue in both the Federal District and the UnB. Kwame* gives as an example the fact that UnB has expanded its operations to campuses in cities with a considerable contingent of Blacks in population such as Planaltina and Ceilândia. However, NEAB does not have the strength to keep up with the other campuses so well. Kwame revealed that in Planaltina,

> There is the course of Rural Teaching (Educação do Campo). There is a group of approximately 70% of quilombola students there. I never have seen anything like that. They do part of their studies at the university, then they return to the community every 6 months. I was impressed. Professor Ana Flávia Magalhães' book was launched there, and I saw all these Black people. So many people, that was amazing (…). And this is a challenge. We should create the conditions to dialogue with that community (Kwame*, UnB).

There were some negative opinions about the relationship with Black movements which were mentioned by participants at UFPR's NEAB. As a university institution, the NEAB is often called upon when there are problems between the Black movement and the university. In the specific case narrated in chapter 5, when a professor called Black students "monkeys", the university sent NEAB faculty to speak to the Black movement. Derrick* said that NEAB started to be used to "Blackwash" UFPR. So, he affirmed the university used NEABs existence as if they were saying to Black movements: 'Look there! We have this.'" In another activity, Ida* felt that the Black movement's animosity towards the university outweighed the fact that she was a Black person whose life is impacted by racism. She recalled that "it was an activity, and I didn't even want to talk. But it was good that I didn't, because the person questioned everything that was coming from the university. So, only the periphery knows what it is to be Black. A Black professor at the university also knows what is like to be Black." However, these negative

experiences did not diminish the professors' impetus to continue the partnership with the Black movement. Moreover, some Black movements were born from the development of NEAB's activities. Kimberly* points out that within the scope of NEAB, the *Só Neguinha* (Only Black Girls) collective was created with undergraduate and graduate students. However, she points out a relationship of exchange and mutual criticism between social movements and NEAB. The NEAB started a project called *Grito Negro* (Black Yell) to denounce racial violence. However, Black feminists drew attention to the fact that the movement did not speak out when "a 13-year-old Black trans girl from the Northeast was brutally murdered, with a stick, in January 2021."

These relationships of partnership and rupture with the Black movement were also made explicit by Pós-Afro professors. Jacques* recalled that when CEAO was occupied by CEAFRO activities, which was led by Black women activists, there was an adverse reaction from university professors. Despite the history of the Black movement in the CEAO, this relationship was not necessarily one of belonging, but of visiting. CEAO's space was available for Black organizations and neighborhood organizations to use the rooms. The presence of Black activists and religious leaders was part of the history of CEAO since its initial trainings in the 1960s. When Pós-Afro was created, it also attracted Black activists. Jacques*, Roger*, Robin* and Steve* highlighted Black activists form a great amount of the students of the program. Jacques* describes the experience of  Mestre Didi (Deoscóredes Maximiliano dos Santos), an important candomblé leader and writer, who received a scholarship from UFBA to do research abroad. CEAO also participated in campaigns against religious intolerance in Salvador, after neo-Pentecostal groups attacked Candomblé *terreiros*.  However, CEAO professors were also criticized and had to debate with leaders of the Black movement. Roger* believes that "Black

activism doesn't confront racist assholes20 because they are not near to be found. You don't even know where they live." He thinks Pós-Afro professors were confronted for being allies and therefore accessible to the Black movement.

Among the professors, there are some activists, but for Steve*, more than half of the graduate students are activists and some of the staff as well. Robin* believes that even though some professors are activists, Pós-Afro is not. There is a diversity of political affiliations among the students such as "candomblé practitioners, quilombola, Hip Hop artists, Black women, feminists, Afro-centrists, Africanists, [and] Afro-Marxists (Robin*, UFBA)." However, Steve* believes the program is not so well-known as it should be, especially in the neighborhood. He says, "it is very weird, because everyone who knows *Dois de Julho* neighborhood feels very comfortable everywhere, even in the bakery that the owner is fascist." But CEAO is not a place everyone in the neighborhood feels comfortable to come in.

Similarly, Harvard professors had a homogeneous answer about its relationship to activism, as well as Temple professors. Activism is part of everyday life in the Africology department at Temples for many reasons. First, Temple university is located in a Black neighborhood. Second, the Pan-African Studies Community Education Program, that still runs at Temple, was born inside of the department. Third, the interviewees recognized the centrality of activism in the departments' everyday life, and Black organizations recognized the department because of the work they provide. Milton* states all the professors and the department

> believe firmly in this notion of social activism (…). We are engaged in the community. Some of us have institutes that work in the community. Some of us work individually with schools. Our graduate students, as we probably have about 42 graduate students, our graduate students are engaged in all kinds of activities (Milton*, Temple).

20 Roger* uses the word "escroto" with is a pejorative slang that comes from the word scrotum.

Gilza* recognizes that the department is the outcome of the struggle of people from Philadelphia's Black communities. She believes the department is a "community development" project. Since the struggle that created the department continues, so does the activism. Darcy* states that, among Black faculty, there is an understanding that Temple does not provide enough attention to the Black community that surrounds it. So, the department fill this void.

### 7. 5 Institutional Racism

> *I faced a lot of obstacles there. I think that one of the things that is so true about the academy for Black faculty is that the academy is a very toxic place. It is not a place for us physically, nor mentally*. – Darcy*, Temple

> *How are they going to try to strangle our Department? And they were able to do that by some ways like just cutting the budget so thin. At one point I remember we used to have phones. But now we don't have phones*. – Lélia*, UWM

> *Someone drew an enormous graffiti saying: Death to the Blacks! The Dean was Cristovam Buarque, and they did not give enough attention to it. They just painted the wall.* – Kwame*, UnB.

> *Its racism in interpersonal relations, in every day. One example is you are in a meeting, and you are talking, when someone says: 'Hey, can you speak faster? We don't have time.' They cut you off*. – Derrick*, UFPR

The ways in which racism is present and faced by the Black Studies units deserve special attention in this work. On the one hand, it is important to emphasize the difficulties in the daily work of Black Studies units, which have repercussions on the performance of units and intellectuals. However, it is also important to map the ways in which institutional racism works, which is explicit violence anchored in the impunity of corporate codes within universities, sometimes as scarcity policies and institutional negligence. It is disturbing that in addition to the racial violence present in the cities where the universities are located, there are episodes of institutional violence that range from physical and moral aggression to political persecution. Interviewees from all institutions illustrate examples of institutional racism. However, some interviewees presented examples from the past, while most spoke of the present. Whereas hiring

and curriculum policies are part of the educational function of institutions, they are part of public educational policy.

### 7.5.1 Curriculum and hiring

Institutional racism is present in many spheres of university including curriculum and hiring. Alice* believes that the absence of disciplines focused on Black intellectuals in traditional departments at UnB reflects institutional racism. There is a lack of Black faculty at UnB. Alice* claims the university is mismanaging affirmative action policy to create barriers for Black intellectuals to access quotas. She gives an example of the mismanage of affirmative action policy in the Law School. She asserts that "in a giver year, affirmative action students had higher grades than non-affirmative action students. Therefore, the departments decided to lower the grades of affirmative action students." Some professors from UnB and UFPR expressed the universities lacked interest in Afro-Brazilian studies and Afro-Brazilian studies intellectuals. Leandro* believes racism is one of the reasons behind discussing racial issues is confined to the AAAS department in Harvard. He states,

> "[a traditional] Department routinely will go an entire year of its [theory] and philosophy workshops without inviting any Black scholar to speak, or it could go years without offering courses on African American [thought]. Or people who you think are central to the conversation about [the issue], they don't even consider to be anything other than marginal members of the field (Leandro*, Harvard).

There is disinterest from traditional departments and the academic community about the research interests' intellectuals in Afro-Brazilian studies. Edward* recounts when NEAB/UFPR brought the renown Afro-Brazilian writer Conceição Evaristo to Curitiba "to lecture on literature and race relations, the department of Letters did not attend." Kwame* narrates a similar story when the Beninois professor Elisie Somoni was a visiting professor at UnB. Despite the contemporaneity of Somoni's work, the university did not publicize his presence accordingly.

There was also disinterest from the UnB Faculty Association (Associação de Docentes da UnB – ADUnB), which works as a union. ADUnB representants usually manifest interest on organizing events with NEAB. They affirmed that they would like to discuss racial issues, but they never scheduled a specific date for a meeting. Alice* compares the implementation of Law 10.639/2003 to the Law 10.436/2002, which regulates the Brazilian Sign Language (Língua Brasileira de Sinais - Libras). She argues the Law 10.436/2002 was only regulated in 2005. However, "today all teaching courses have classes on sign language. The majority of UnB departments do not even have one course focused on race relations. And when there is a class, it is the outcome of the voluntarism of Black professors."

The disinterest of traditional departments is also reflected in the lack of support for Black Studies from the collegiate bodies, in which the traditional departments form the majority. It affects the institutional partnerships that departments need to carry out the departmental duties. Baba* remembers that he "had to fight to have my course (...) accepted by the faculty who taught [that subject]. That fight was vicious. After my course was included, their students were discouraged to take it. Why all this? Racism, of course. I remained bitter from that experience." Just as courses were rejected at UWM, so were educational and cultural tools such as museums at UFBA. Jacques* reveals that although the Afro-Brazilian Museum (Museu Afro-Brasileiro) has existed since the 1980s, the School of Health of UFBA still opposes the presence of the museum in its building. He believes that the presence of the museum bothers the faculty, because they see themselves as an independent institution and do not recognize the intersection of health and Afro-Brazilian studies. This disregard is directly linked to the status of Black Studies units.

### 7.5.2 Invisibility and Inferior Status

Except for Harvard's AAAS departments, the interviewees from all other departments, centers and NEABs chronicle contemporary experiences of subordination and invisibility. In the case of Harvard, the subordination narratives that were presented were restricted to the beginning of the department's activities, and the beginning of the 2000s. However, for the other units, the experiences of inferiority persist throughout the creation period of the units until today.

Temple's professors felt that because the university is Eurocentric; traditional departments were privileged in relation to the Africology department. Gilza* believes "the Eurocentric disciplines are in the foreground." Darcy* had a similar perception of Temple's administration when they "moved PASCEP from - what you might call - the heart of main campus" to another building. She believed that the administration felt that the project that brought the Black community into the university should be given less prominence. Professors from UWM believed their inferior status were exemplified by professors' income. Odonias* indicated the AADS department still struggles to legitimize itself and the difference in treatment is present in wages. Odonias* affirmed that "there is an obvious open discrimination in terms of our wages, between men and women. Two of my colleagues who happen to be women. They have contributed to this department no less than anybody else. You can go and see their salary." Simonal* believes the AADS department is mistreated by university's administration. He states that "part of it may be the way administration ranks us in terms of priority." Simonal* posits there would be an imbalance between the resources that are due to the department and what is expected of it, so the department is faced with the following contradiction:

> it's kind of a catch 22 situation where other departments, from my experiences, other departments even today still minimize AADS. And here is the problem. In order for AADS to gain more respectability, it used to be an old statement where if you were Black, you had to be twice as good as anybody else, to get employment. And at times, it seems like in order for AADS to be looked at the same as other Departments, it needs to be twice as good. Or they have to do twice as much. And there's a downside to that because it can limit your freedom (Simonal*, UWM).

The remarks of Simonal* are reinforced by the perception of Baba*. Baba* claims the treatment the administration gave to AADS is “abominable, disrespectful, isolated. We were considered "lesser." [A] chancellor of UWM [said] that [we] needed to hire a "white man (not a white woman) to be taken seriously.” Professors from the UnB highlighted a similar problem regarding UnB and NEAB. UnB was a leading university in affirmative action policies in Brazil. However, at the same time, UnB solemnly ignored NEAB on several occasions. Kwame* believes NEAB was ignored by UnB’s administration, because the experience of the Nuclei was disregarded when UnB decided to stop the interviews to verify if the affirmative action students were, in fact, Black. Similarly, CEAO's perspectives were ignored numerous times by the UFBA.

Jacques* recalls two different moments when CEAO was treated as inferior by UFBA’s administration. Between 2009 and 2010, the professors attempted to turn CEAO from a center to an institute. They presented the proposal at a meeting to the University Council. However, the council did not evaluate the proposal. Instead, CEAO was institutionally demoted, as it was moved to the School of Philosophy and Human Sciences. For Steve*, CEAO is seen as a pet by other departments. Steve* reinforces that CEAO’s invisibly is so extreme that the last time the center made headlines in news outlets, was when a homeless person moved to the sidewalk in front of CEAO’s building. Steve* claims “when the covid-19 pandemic started, the only time CEAO was mentioned by the press was when a homeless person moved to the entrance of CEAO. He made a studio with a bed, kitchen, etc.” Steve* believes it is evidence of the abandonment of the unit.

At UFPR, Edward* feels that there was an improvement in the status of NEAB. However, this change does not mean that the status of the NEAB is equivalent to other units in

the university. He states that "today people know it exists, they know it, but they have little interest." In the US, two professors from UWM felt this inferiority affected the treatment of the department and their professional relations within the university. Odonias* reveals a disregard of colleagues from other departments in relation to the department's name. Before the department's name change, the department was then called Africology. He said:

> I have a friend who is a very well-known professor in [a traditional department], very well-known. And I have known him for a long time. In [the traditional department]sometimes if there are presentations, and if it has something to do with Black people or [African and African Diaspora studies], he invites me. And one day, it was about two or three years ago, we were having coffee on the first floor of the Student Union. He didn't know the name of my department (Odonias, UWM).

Lelia*'s experience was slightly different but comes from the same root. She recalls that her willingness to establish relationships with professors from another department was interpreted as an availability for free labor. She reveals that

> I made sure I met with the Department chair in [traditional department]. Just to make sure the person knew who I was. And then later I did a presentation in their Department. But then I got a request to review a Journal article (...). So, it's OK, that's fine. But then I got a request from somebody who I didn't know that well, who I had met but didn't know that well, and then even though they sat beside me at meetings. They didn't know who I was. But he sent me a request for me to help him with a [project]. I was just like: what? (Lélia*, UWM).

The professors' experiences reveal the subalternization dynamics of the units, and consequently of their institutional identities. The other side of the same problem is when the existence of these spaces in the institution is used to avoid the adoption of more comprehensive policies to overcome racial inequality.

### 7.5.3 Hypervisibility and Tokenism

Hypervisibility does not exclude invisibility. On the contrary, the experiences of Black intellectuals in predominantly white institutions include experiences of invisibility, hypervisibility, tokenism, and exclusion (Settles et al, 2019). The hypervisibility of Black people

is not a phenomenon exclusive to predominantly white spaces. Hypervisibility has been analyzed in contexts of racial surveillance and racial stereotypes, especially linked to Black women's sexuality (Mowatt et al, 2013). In universities, hypervisibility experiences often include tokenism. Scholars defined tokenism as a social phenomenon when a small group, or even individuals from minorized groups, are used by institutions to represent the group as a whole and, or to represent that the institution has taken necessary inclusion efforts (Settles et al, 2019). In the case of Black women, who tends to be excluded from spaces of power, such as universities, these practices have specific connotations.

At the three universities in Brazil, professors report how the existence of centers and nuclei are used by universities to respond to complaints from the Black movement, or to highlight what the institution does in terms of inclusion, even if these units do not feel particularly supported by the institution. Two different experiences that have similar roots were narrated by two professors from UFPR.

Derrick* exemplifies tokenism with his own experience. He said in a department meeting a professor used him as an example against affirmative action. He recounts, “this professor from my department... I felt like she was opening my mouth to check my teeth. She looked at me and said: ‘Look at him. He is an excellent professor. He is one of the good ones.’ Then, continuing the conversation, she was making a speech against affirmative action.” These kind of experience of feeling like “one of the good ones” was also described by Ida*. Ida* recounts that when she was hired in the department she was well received. However, people complemented her hair instead of her scholarship. She describes that “people said they liked my skin color, that they liked my hair, those kinds of observations. It made me want to say: This is wrong.”

CEAO/UFBA and NEAB/UnB professors report that the university tokenizes the center and nucleus. When an event related to a racial issue is brought to the administration, they call the NEAB and the CEAO. In these moments, the units are made visible by the administration, but the daily life is filled with an experience of invisibility. Steve* considers "when UFBA is questioned about its caring for Afro-Bahian culture, their answer is CEAO and Pós-Afro." In this way, the existence of the nuclei and centers are used to prove the administration's commitment to Afro-Brazilian studies even if the units do not feel supported by the university administration in carrying out their actions.

At Harvard, Leandro* believes that Black professors, especially early career scholars, are more cautious at applying for jobs in universities such as Harvard because of what he calls "the Jackie Robinson role." On the one hand, the university is prestigious. On the other hand, Black intellectuals in the field of Black studies want to be able to develop their research and not remain isolated in the institution. Leandro* explained

> that people don't wanna play in the Jackie Robinson role where they're the only one.
>
> Dalila: Sorry, I think it is a cultural problem, what is the Jackie Robinson role?
>
> Leandro*: Jackie Robinson was the first African American to play in Major League Baseball. And he's the only one. He's like you know...
>
> Dalila: Like a token?
>
> Leandro*: Well, I mean, yeah. I think some people thought of him like that. Eventually a lot of Black people played it. But he was just the first. So, let's just take it as a positive set of assumptions. And think well eventually there will be other people. But do you want to be the only one for 10 years (Leandro*, Harvard)?

Leandro* believes professors should be aware of the challenges involved in developing their work in an elite institution. Instead of choosing the most prestigious institution, Black scholars should be concerned if they will be embraced by the academic community. He claims

Black scholars now are more interested in working in universities where there is less isolation of Black intellectuals, and which gives them opportunities to develop their work freely.

### 7.5.4 Scarcity Policies

All units interviewed reported experiences of resource deprivation. Those experiences varied from a lack of resources to carry out activities, professors retiring and not being replaced, staying in unheated offices in the winter below -20° C (-7° F) degrees, to floating in a cockroach storm and precarious employment links with the university. Resource deprivation was characterized as a temporary experience for the AAAS at Harvard, but permanent for UnB, UFPR and UWM. In Temple's case, despite long periods of a lack of resources, there was hope regarding the creation of the Center for Anti-Racism in the Africology department. In the case of CEAO, institutional poverty is a reality in the recent history of the center. In most cases, it is possible to classify the deprivation of resources not as exceptional, but as the norm as the university engages in scarcity politics for spaces of Black Studies units.

Professors at UnB and UFBA reported working without payment. At UFPR it was reported that for years, some professors who were dedicated to NEAB/UFPR projects did not have their working hours counted. However, the professors affirmed the issue was resolved. In the case of UFBA and UNB tenured professors reported not having their working hours in the nucleus or center counted in their weekly working hours, and there was a considerable contingent of volunteer teaching. It is important to emphasize that the experience of volunteer teaching deserves special attention. Initially, volunteer work at universities was the way retired professors were scheduled to phase out teaching and research (Krawulski et al, 2017). It was a way to carry out a transition so that the professor would not stop working abruptly, and at the same time, their intellectual contribution was valued. However, the profile of volunteer

professors has changed as many were PHD candidates or recent graduates. Gaining employment in Brazilian universities is extremely difficult. Teaching experience is relevant in hiring. Many people serve as volunteer professors to improve their curriculum vitae for future hiring. However, this is still an unpaid job. In the case of Afro-Brazilian studies, the over reliance of volunteer work is an institutional weakness.

Besides exploring the voluntary work of professors, the interviewees believed universities deprived the resources of Afro-Brazilian studies units in different ways. At Harvard, professors reported a lack of resources concentrated in the initial decades of institutionalization of the department. At UnB and UFPR there was never a considerable amount of resources, but investment during the debate of affirmative action seemed more robust than in subsequent years. In the case of the CEAO, while the unit had budgetary autonomy for funding, CEAO had more resources in its first decades of existence than later, when UFBA became the main responsible for supporting the center. In the case of UWM, AADS apparently has never had abundant resources, and has faced a severe process of disinvestment since the university's financial crisis has been exacerbated since 2010. The Africology department in Temple has suffered considerable financial hardship in the 2000s, but in 2021, now has a more favorable outlook. Mario* locates the budgetary problems of AAAS at Harvard in the beginning of the department's institutionalization. He stated that "frankly for 20 years it struggled. It struggled with making appointments. It struggled gaining credibility and respect among the rest of the faculty." It is not different from Darcy*'s recollection of Temple's challenges in the 2000s. She claimed that "everything was a challenge. (…). I can say hiring was one. [There was also] sexism, homophobia, budgeting, scheduling; scheduling in terms of who will teach what. It's what I mean by scheduling. Staffing is very important, and merit, tenure, and promotion." In the case of

UFBA, budgetary problems have mainly been concentrated in the last decade. Steve* believes that

> In the last years, CEAO has been through a crisis that it did not deserve. (…) There was a pitiful period in which not even basic respect was maintained. It was partially recovered in the last years, but it coincided with the budget crisis in education, funding cuts, the political crisis, which affected the university considerably. (…) In regard to infrastructure, CEAO and Pós-Afro reached their limit. (...) It was not rare for a professor to use their own money to pay to fix [infrastructural problems] at CEAO. Not because they could not try to request UFBA's money, but it would take so long, that when the money appeared, the problem would be bigger (Steve*, UFBA).

Basic respect is a difficult thing to define in terms of how Black Studies units' work. At UnB, Kwame* believes resource deprivation was part of the history of NEAB since its creation, because NEAB was created inside of the Multidisciplinary Center for Advanced Studies (CEAM), which is also underfunded. However, Kwame* and Alice* believed that NEAB's greatest challenges are to continue to exist, or as Kwame* believed, "it was really a matter of not succumbing." Despite the lack of resources, Black Studies units are responsible for offering courses. If not for the university, for the Black movements that support the units. Regarding the implementation of the UFPR affirmative action policy, Derrick* claims that

> UFPR gave no support. They barely gave us a workspace. But NEAB/UFPR had to solve the problem and organize all the infra-structure to the verification panels (…) to confirm if people applying for the Black student's quota vacancies were Black (…). There was a huge demand of work and not enough support, and you must make it work. Only a few people and millions of demands. The verification panels were a huge amount of work (Derrick*, UFPR).

Most of the sample is made up of units in public institutions. In addition to the university's internal political decisions of the budget distribution, there are external factors. In the case of UWM, Jose* believes the department's situation has worsened since 2011, when the Republican party won the state elections and made budget cuts in education. This forced UWM to a model that, for "African-Americans this signaled a Booker T. Washington agenda for education (José, UWM)." This agenda was a disinvestment model that, combined with the

neoliberal educational reform, favored professional and vocational courses. Lélia* described a severely scarce situation. She reports that the university made so many cost cuts that it affected the maintenance of the department's offices. Some offices were left unheated, which means in Wisconsin's winter, she had to work in an office when temperature was less than -20° C (-7° F) degrees. Lélia* evaluates that budget cuts affect the university as whole, and there is an even more damaging to her department which has limited resources. Thus, cutting resources equally reinforces the structural inequality to which these spaces are subjected. She wonders:

> How are they going to try to strangle our Department? And they were able to do that by some ways like just cutting the budget so thin. At one point I remember we used to have phones. But now we don't have phones. Because in our Department we had to come together and say: " they are saying that we need to make the budget X." And the University actually allocates money to departments for whatever expenses. It could be photo copying. It could be a research budget. It could be money that could maybe be used for graduate students. And there were comparable departments with budgets that were twice the size of ours. So that clearly shows to me the University wasn't committed (Lélia*, UWM).

UFBA's professors described equally severe problems as those at UWM. CEAO's building, which is a historic monument in the center of the city of Salvador, presents a set of problems ignored by the university's administration. The professors reported an institutional abandonment of the university in the maintenance of the building's infrastructure. In many cases, they had to bear the cost of repairs to the infrastructure, which obviously does not account for the depth of the problems. Steve* recounts that "once there was in intense storm in Salvador that destroyed the roof of CEAO. The roof was compromised, and a tsunami of cockroaches invaded the yard. It showed how fragile the building was, compromising the library." These examples are similar to Lamont's (et al, 2016) studying on racial stigma where Black professionals report discrimination they identify as "assault on worth" in other works. Black professors and Black studies professionals, in this case, are not view as worthy enough to occupy habitable space. This humiliation is a form of violence and universities practice other forms of racial violence.

### 7.5.5 Racial Violence

Beyond intellectual exclusion, the most palpable element of racism is racial violence. Black activists respond to and mobilize against racial violence. It is no exaggeration that racial violence, or rather the response to racial violence, organizes the agenda of Black movements in Brazil and the United States. Racial violence visually and unmistakably represents the experiences of Black people in both countries. However, like other forms of violence, racial violence has moral, physical and patrimonial dimensions. In the case of universities, all these dimensions emerged in the research, especially in Brazilian units. However, in addition to violence, there is the institutional apathy of universities. As in the case of the NEAB at UnB, where there was a death threat to Blacks (including students, professors, technicians, and the community that frequents events at the university), and the university's response was to paint a wall, other universities have ignored violence and threats to the physical, mental, emotional, and moral health of its Black community. Derrick* believes universities such as UFPR conserve practices of violence that other institutions have already abolished. He analyzes that

> many of the practices inside universities are self-perpetuated. It would not happen in any other places in society. Almost any other place in society would not allow, for an example, a student being slapped in the head by a professor. It is so incompatible with our society, but in the university, we see those things. So, [this space was supposed to be a space of caring, networking, and collaborations. However, it cannot succeed], in an institution rooted in inequality, in high positions, titles.

Besides physical violence, the professors recollected several experiences of moral violence at UFPR. There are cases of moral violence by professors against students, such as the case of the teacher who called the students monkeys. But also, cases against professors. Derrick* was yelled at and cursed at a meeting with other professors. Kimberly* feels that people at NEAB are seen by the rest of the university as less competent. She recalled an incident where a student who barely attended classes brought a case against her. Later the case was

dropped. However, NEAB/UFPR has been harassed on social media by a conservative follower since Megg Rayara took over the coordination of the nucleus. The profile makes transphobic attacks against the nucleus. Racial and gender identity violence are present in various forms in institutions. Kimberly * states that "in 2005, a professor from education department brought a case against a trans student for an ideological falsehood since the student asked to use her social name," according to her gender, and not her birth name. Kimberly* believes that as bad it was for a professor to bring a case against a student, it was worse that the School of Education accepted the complaint to investigate the case.

The violent behavior of the university community based on a conservative political agenda is not unique to UFPR. Frantz* believes UnB "is not a liberal [university]. I do not believe UnB is on the left. It is the most conservative university that I have ever worked at21." The threats against faculty or attempts to delegitimize Black faculty were complaints made by some professors at UnB. Alice* recollects that she

> went though many attempts of disqualification by students. Students test you; things such as they ask for the professor. This was daily. You are there, with your whiteboard marker in your hand, in front of the class. But they ask you, students, professors, staff; and they are asking for the professor who cannot be a Black woman (Alice*, UnB).

Similar to UFPR, students brought accusations against Black professors at UnB. But in the case of UnB, a professor was accused of fraud. Alice* believes Black professors are convicted before the case is analyzed, and when they are found guilty, they receive harsh punishments.

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21 In this translation I adapted to the context, even though Frantz* used "left" (esquerda) and "right" (direita) to refer to the university, he was talking about political views which, in the context, I translated as conservative and liberal. The Portuguese quote is: "eu não acredito que a UnB seja de esquerda, é a universidade mais à direita que eu trabalhei até hoje."

It is not by chance, UnB and UFPR were the institutions where mental health was most pressing. In the case of UnB, professors lamented the increase in suicides among Black students, including those associated with NEAB/UnB. At UFPR, Kimberly* complained there is an absence of psychological services specific to the challenges of Black students and professionals. Rebecca* believes besides NEAB/UnB, academia is an environment that is too hostile to Black scholars. Darcy* discovered she had an ulcer after starting her work in Black Studies at Temple University.

### 7.6 Institutional Fragility and Power

As institutional spaces within universities, Black Studies units have the same challenges as other universities' spaces. In the introduction I highlighted how universities in Brazil and the United States face both a budget crisis due to the neoliberal policies, and a curricular one with ideological pressures against liberation theories. Their institutional fragility makes the threats that affect the university have a greater destructive potential for these units. The interview questions had specific inquiries about challenges, threats, and potential of the units. The professors reported different experiences of fragility linked to general problems at the university, and specific challenges of Black Studies units. The three Harvard professors interviewed had accurate comparisons to traditional department to which they are also attached. And in those comparisons, they expressed that the Black Studies department had more power than many traditional departments. While the professors from UFBA, UFPR, UnB, Temple and UWM believed their Black Studies units was more fragile than traditional units. In this section I discuss accounts of institutional fragility and challenges, as well as institutional power.

Most professors at UFBA believed CEAO was more institutionally fragile than Pós-Afro. According to Jacques* and Roger*, CEAO suffered when the university council decided to take

the center's autonomy away. Additionally, they lost financial resources such as the bonus that the director of the center received, and the possibility of working at the center to count towards professors' paid hours. It became volunteer work, and less professors were willing to be volunteers. Jacques * believes when the center lost autonomy, it became dependent on the "good will" of the university administration, which made the center wither. For Roger*, there are profound sociological reasons for a lack of radical thought and practice at CEAO and UFBA. He believes Salvador has historical racial dynamics that are hard to overcome. Roger* says

> Here in Salvador, there is a lot of theatrical games, both the relationship between whites and Blacks, where whites show submission to Black culture in some way, respects, admiration, but gives very little. (…)And one thing has nothing to do with the other, you can have a very welcoming popular culture and a very stingy culture at the elite level. Precisely because you don't talk about it, they ignore it. There is a lot of coloniality, and a lot of shame about popular culture. (Roger*, UFBA).

Steve* also believes CEAO is the outcome of how Bahian culture regards race relations. He believes the center is on the periphery of UFBA and this reflects what happens in society. Steve* defines CEAO as the "Pluto of UFBA (...) the type of institutional tie between UFBA and CEAO keeps us in the periphery of the Solar System. So, if in any given moment we are out of the Solar System, Pluto is traveling in infinite space. Yes, this is possible." Although CEAO's situation is described as worse than that of Pós-Afro, Pós-Afro also has important challenges.

The program's challenges are its multidisciplinary approach, the lack of scholarships for students and the lack of job opportunities to the program's graduates. The labor market of Brazilian universities is extremely difficult. Traditional departments, which make up most universities' programs, imposes limitations on hiring people from other areas of knowledge, such as interdisciplinary fields. Considering that for many years the Pós-Afro was the only Afro-Brazilian studies university program,  it was the only one. For this reason, there is no coalition of

Black Studies programs challenging the limited structure of universities. However, even in the case of the United States, some professors had similar complaints.

Harvard professors were also aware of interdisciplinarity's disadvantages. As professors come from very different fields, they do not have a common knowledge base. Additionally, since everyone has joint appointments, they cannot fully dedicate themselves to AAAS. Even in departments where more than half of the professors are exclusively dedicated to the department, the heterogeneity of professors training can be a problem. Odonias* referred to a specific hiring process at UWM where, the department was concerned because most of the candidates did not have training in Black Studies. José* believes the "diversity of research areas is both a strength and a weakness" and is especially a strength at the undergraduate level. At the graduate level it is more of weakness. "If UWM wants our department more centered on undergraduate education, then diversity of research is a strength. If UWM wants the focus on graduate education, then this diversity is a weakness (José*, UWM)."

Another problem highlighted by UWM professors was the small size of the department. Many professors point out that the department had as many as 12 professors at one point and now has 8. This has affected the department's ability to offer courses, especially for graduate students. The department has also had difficulty attracting students. When it attracts graduate students, the lack of professors makes the program unsuitable for much of the research that students want to do. The lack of faculty to teach the courses was also a complaint among Temple's professors. Milton* believed the department suffers because of a policy that imposed outside coordinators in the department. Additionally, there was a divestment in the department.

The lack of resources was an area of concern of UnB professors as the main problem at NEAB. However, they emphasize the lack of various resources such as funds, infrastructure,

physical space, faculty, the fact that courses are not mandatory, and the lack of support from the university administration. A common problem between UnB and UFPR is that professors join the nucleus without a specific activity to fulfill. At, both NEAB/UnB and NEAB/UFPR, professors who were engaged in any activity in the nucleus, or who only attended a meeting, were affiliated with NEAB. This caused a problem at UnB. Rebecca* detailed a situation of a conservative Black professor, who assumed a position at Fundação Cultural Palmares during Sergio Camargo's administration, and the professor claimed he was from NEAB. Sergio Camargo is an extreme right-wing politician who took over the management of the Palmares Cultural Foundation in the government of President Jair Messias Bolsonaro. Camargo is known for arguing that slavery in Brazil was beneficial, among other ahistorical and anti-scientific agendas. NEAB professors were forced to speak out publicly so as not to have the nucleus associated with Bolsonaro's mandate.

UFPR's situation was not as detrimental as others. However, some professors assume that there was little interest among professors in coordinating the NEAB. In many cases, professors newly admitted to universities were assigned the role of coordinator. Ida* believes NEAB lacks internal organization. She considers "there is no systematic, annual or semi-annual or monthly meetings of professors who are part of NEAB. Professors are planning as they think this articulation is possible." Some of Ida*'s accounts reveal that faculty are doing things in the name of the institution without meetings and a real collective sense of being a group.

Apart from the numerous accounts of institutional fragility, the experience of institutional power is an important theme to address in the research. The three Harvard professors, regardless of indicating that the department has some of the same problems as other units, reported several experiences of institutional power other units do not have. The AAAS is described as a powerful

department, even relative to traditional departments, that administrators of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences hold in highly esteem. Leandro* believes AAAS is respected at Harvard, and that the "broader university thinks extremely positively of it. We do well in tenure votes. We are promoted a lot by the university. I think we're roughly supported in the kind of projects and resources we need." This prestige was achieved from the internal activities of presence of professors in strategic positions in their traditional departments. Cleber* described the department as "the administration." Mário* states that many of AAAS professors are chairs of their traditional studies departments. On the one hand, the Harvard experience shows that there is an institutional path for a Black Studies department to exercise of power. On the other hand, it is important to analyze whether the forms of exercising institutional power within the university bring units closer or farther apart in terms of its classification of an institutional quilombo. This will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

### 7.7 Learning from the Outsider Within

> *Michel Foucault has a concept that explains certain phenomena, when something is not visible, but not hidden. It is not that you are incapable of seeing, but it is like it was not there.* – Steve*, UFBA
>
> *We are starting this as a center for antiracism research, and we hope to have people from other departments engage with that process*. – Milton*, Temple
>
> *The administration's greatest fear of African American Studies is it doesn't want the Department to approach the media. – Darcy* Temple*
>
> *We have to have a very strong relationship with the community. These are our natural allies* – Odonias*, UWM

In "Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought," Patricia Hill Collins believes Black women have historically held an insider status, as they were inside the homes of white people providing domestic services, and they held an outsider status, for not being part of the social groups for which they worked. The

“outsider within” is a standpoint in which Black women’s marginality allows them to understand their own culture and the culture that oppresses them. Differences aside, spaces for Black Studies in predominantly white institutions have an institutional locus of outsider within. These units are the result of an institutional policy that recognizes the need for the presence of the unit, and at the same time, denies the units agenda. Throughout the unit's history, they have found solutions to institutional threats and problems that affect the units, students, staff, and faculty. I questioned the professors about the potential of the units, how they saw the future of the unit and Black Studies. The professors highlighted different perspectives that indicate solutions to common challenges in Black Studies.

In all institutions, professors pointed to internationalization as a strategy for empowerment, increased visibility, or growth of networks with Africa and the African Diaspora. Cleber* claims a great advantage of Harvard’s AAAS was the possibility of traveling with students to Africa and the African diaspora to do research. Similarly, the research focused on African countries and the African diaspora was viewed as a strength at UWM. Professors feel their scholarship is diverse with specialists in different Black realities, instead of focusing exclusively on African Americans. Pós-Afro professors believed that the university administration acknowledged the program internationality as a strength. Also, faculty from NEAB/UnB believed the organization of an international seminar, before the pandemic, was the most visible event of the nucleus. Intellectuals from UnB, like Rebecca* believe that internationalization must promote "articulation with other universities, universities in Colombia, universities in Peru, universities in the United States, which could strengthen the nucleus. So, they could promote an exchange of information."

Although interdisciplinarity has some challenges, it was viewed as a factor in

strengthening the units. Interdisciplinarity has advantages such as different forms of communication and alliances the department can establish with the scientific community and the outreach community. At Temple and Harvard, the department's relationship with music and media communication was cited as a form of recognition of the department, with a positive effect on their work. Leandro* believes that these communication tools are "the best medium is for scholarship in the 21st century. And we experimented a lot with documentary film, with digital humanities outlets, music, performance art, public writing, and podcast."

Other solutions were presented to improve Black Studies units administration. Professors at UnB and UFPR believed that the chairs mandate must have a deadline. In those institutions the chairs, who are the coordinators of the nuclei, could remain in office for an indefinite period. Some interviews highlighted the need of democratic chair's election and the definition of the mandate period. In the case of UFBA, some professors believe that CEAO's discredit is linked the  loss of an office. Similarly, professors at UFPR thought that the existence of a paid position for the coordination of the nucleus could be an instrument of institutional debate. In all cases, it is necessary to discuss whether it is worth dealing with the internal debate, but at the same time having more candidates would make the appointment more competitive for the chair. Another option is to count on the willingness of whoever is available even if there are not paid. However, given the recession it is difficult to engage in unpaid labor.

The Black community was considered a source of solutions for Black Studies struggle. Some professors at UWM resented the department's withdrawal from the Black community, partly because they believe the community supports the department politically, and because serving the community is part of the department's identity. Temple's professors feel recognized and supported by the local Black community and point out some strategies to maintain this

relationship. Milton* believes the “key the founders of this program were a group of African American students from the 1960s. And they come here once or twice a year. They have meetings on campus. We have plaques on our wall that represents them. Their names are on the wall as the founders of the program.” Importantly, the founders of the program are the students who fought for them, not the dean at the time. Recognizing the founders and the Black community is fundamental. In many cases, the institutional history of the university co-opts and rewrites the history of the Black Studies units. In addition to meetings with the founders, Temple’s faculty participate in the Pan-African Studies Community Education Program, which has been running for decades, and other community forums. The participation of Africology department’s faculty and Black students in the protests over the death of George Floyd was singled out as one of the issues surrounding the creation of the Center for Anti-Racism.

Interviewees from UWM and Temple reported that the university's fear of worsening its image in many ways provides assurance the department will continue to exist. At UWM, some professors even believed that the university's image was one of the reasons the department was not shutdown, despite it being continually attacked. However, this pressure on the institution's image needs the Black community advocating of these departments. In the case of Harvard, where students were also mobilized for the Black Lives Matter movement, there was a great debate over the role of the police. In this sense, the agendas of the Black movement, such as the debate that was imposed in 2021 to defund the police, need to be part of the institutions' daily life so that they do not say one thing, while the Black community demands the opposite. This relationship also puts pressure on the curriculum of departments, which must be sensitive and flexible enough to respond to the demands of students. In the case of the UWM, where the attraction of students is a critical point, Temple can provide some insights. At Temple, some

professors indicated that a hip-hop course was the bedrock for the department's enrollment. But in the AADS department at UWM, professors indicate the need for courses that answer pressing public policy issues in Milwaukee, such as mass incarceration and police brutality. However, the university's unwillingness presents a challenge.

Universities need to commit to racial equality, especially given this is one of their main functions. Kwame* believes UnB should have a deadline for its curriculum reform. He believes students should graduate in a reasonable amount of time and should have minimal training in anti-racist policies and education in race relations, among other topics. Professors at UFBA and UnB reported that their units tried to reach a higher level of institutionalization which in the case of CEAO was an institute and of UnB, a center. However, both were not supported by the university administration. At UFPR, professors questioned whether the strengthening of the field does not involve the creation of programs. Edward* analyzes the situation saying,

> CEFET-RJ has a program in education of ethnic-racial relations; the NEAB of the Federal University of Maranhão founded  ae degree in Afro-Brazilian studies. So. you have the creation of a graduate degree, and the creation of an undergraduate course. I think this is a challenge for us. Will we be able to get a degree? Will we be able to have a specific postgraduate degree? A specific line of research (Edward*, UFPR)?

It is not reasonable to think Black Studies department in the United States can serve as a model for Brazilian institutions given that they have similar problems. Among American institutions, the diversity of ways Black Studies departments are institutionalized is also not helpful as a model. Additionally, strategies by one university, such as Harvard, may not apply to another. For instance, a department that invest in a famous scholar to attract students and resources still must be approved by the university's administration. In the cases of Harvard, UWM and Temple, they have already experienced political scrutiny in relation to intellectuals. The famous intellectuals may or not be radical. However, the history of the institution and the field indicates that radical intellectuals can be barred from hiring. Simply replicating practices of

other institution may be inappropriate. Departments bust also practice a level of compromise that each department will allow itself in dialogue with Black communities. For example, how Black is the department willing to be? How many joint appointments are needed? How can a department establish a minimally healthy relationship with traditional departments with similar interests to increase hiring? When competing for limited resources, this cooperation can be affected by scarcity politics. In other words, strategies for institutionalizing and strengthening the departments may distance them from the idea of an institutional quilombo.

### 7.8 Towards an Institutional Quilombo

> *I am finding that the most politically conscious and active students are my lesbian, gay and transgender students. They are the ones. In classes, when we speak, they understand the problem of having a democracy and a country that is as capitalist and allegedly democratic. But you can't be democratic and capitalistic in the same space. They get it*. – Darcy*, Temple
>
> *Destroying racism in Brazil means bringing Brazil down so that it can recover in a completely different way than it was before. That's the elementary challenge. (...) , but this means taking down the CEAO building as well; it will have to be rebuilt. As for this, I feel undefined, I used to be more an activist regarding our willingness to destroy this structure*.- Steve*, UFBA

If when I designed this research, I knew in advance the responses of the professors I interviewed, and the institutional history of each department, I would probably have not included the AAAS department at Harvard and the CEAO at UFBA in my sample. Initially, I would not have thought these institutions fit into my initial vision of an institutional quilombo. I thought of the institutional *quilombo* as this space of Black gathering, political struggle, insurgency, radicalism, anti-racism, anti-capitalism, and anti-sexism. However, as an intellectual idea, the institutional quilombo is above all a becoming.

The ideas of insurgency and revolution are eminently contextual. For example, there was a time in Brazil when assuming African or Afro-Brazilian ancestry was an act of courage. Since the enactment of affirmative action policies, non-Black people claim a Black ancestry to commit fraud. There are now Black intellectuals arguing that "studying what you want" is the most

revolutionary act to be done, while there are others who believe that any research agenda that is not serving the needs of the Black community is political betrayal. All Black Studies units studied, in Brazil and in the United States, represented radicalism at the time of their creation, and over the years either lost their radicality, or the social context changed faster than the institutions.

It is possible to define what an institutional quilombo based on the experiences of these institutions. Notably, the vision of the institutional space of Black Studies, led by Black scholars as an intellectual and political unit in which the relationship with the Black community forms this institutional identity is present in the notion of institutional quilombo. Another important aspect is the responsibility to challenge the Eurocentrism of universities, and the political orientation in favor of Black students, Black employees, Black professors, and the Black community inside and outside the university.

Of all the institutions studied, the closest to resembling a homogeneous political unit was the Africology department at Temple. The department is a political and intellectual space, which maintains a close relationship with the community and local Black movements. However, this homogeneity is inferred and not proven, given the impossibility of interviewing more people. And more than that, this homogeneity may have been the result of a politics of scarcity and excessive internal debates at the expense of the career of Black intellectuals, especially Black women. The idea of the institutional quilombo as a place of struggle does not mean that it is not also a place of diversity and different forms of Black struggle. Regarding the formation of an internal community, despite extreme heterogeneity, many professors reported a healthy and affectionate environment within the AAAS at Harvard. While this may be the result of less financial stress, there is a concentrated effort by the department to promote a friendly

environment for faculty. Considering that the quilombo has an affective element, the affect is not negligible. Especially, considering that caring is part of the ethical foundation of Black feminism.

An important element of institutional quilombos is Black leadership. In this aspect, UFBA presents more challenges. At UFBA, as in all the universities studied, Black students are the political leaders in the biggest institutional changes regarding inclusion policies. But students make way for Black faculty. This was not possible to verify. The minority participation of Black intellectuals in the CEAO was challenged at various times. Today there are more Black intellectuals associated with Pós-Afro than there were in CEAO decades ago. However, Salvador is a Black city, and the university still does not represent this blackness on its hiring policies. At the same time, the spaces where Black intellectuals are the majority of faculty also struggle. In UnB, UFPR and UWM, the department and nuclei lack resources, which has profound effects on the daily life and sustainability of these Black Studies units. The naturalization of overwork and lack of compensation for Black professionals is dangerous and harmful to the field of Black Studies. Despite these challenges, units such as the UFPR have challenged the field by adopting the fight against racism with the debate on transfeminism and gender identity at the forefront of the political agenda of NEAB/UFPR.

# CHAPTER 8
## Conclusion

"It existed,
A Black Eldorado in Brazil
Existed
As the sunshine created by freedom
Reflected
The divine light, and the holy fire from Olorum
Relived
The utopia of all for one, and one for all."
Gilberto Gil, Quilombo –Eldorado Negro22

In this dissertation I examined how Black Studies centers and departments in Brazil and the United States exist, survive and act politically as educational and anti-racist spaces in six different institutions: the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee; Harvard University; Temple University; the University of Brasilia (Universidade de Brasilia); the Federal University of Bahia (Universidade Federal da Bahia); and the Federal University of Parana (Universidade Federal do Parana). To conduct this analysis, I carried out archival and historical research, a web-based survey, and in-depth interviews with professors from the aforementioned universities. My analysis of the history and activities of Black Studies units included a focus on their existence, resistance, and activism. In the United States, Black radicalism was common at the advent of Black Studies units. Historically, as these units were institutionalized, radicalism has been contained, attacked, or remained depending on the institution. In the Brazilian case, it is important to consider Black insurgency which began with external pressure. Throughout the institutionalization of Afro-Brazilian studies units, Black insurgency contributed to the inclusion of Black students through affirmative action policies and in the internal debates in universities. Although Black studies units are in all regions of the country and in most states, it is unevenly

22 Original lyric in Portuguese: "Existiu/ Um eldorado negro no Brasil/ Existiu/ Como o clarão que o sol da liberdade produziu/ Refletiu/ A luz da divindade, o fogo santo de Olorum/ Reviveu/ A utopia um por todos e todos por um."

distributed. They are concentrated in the Northeast of the United States, and the Southeast of Brazil. There are 133 Afro-Brazilian studies units in universities and federal technological institutes. Although there was an increase in the number of units, professors interviewed revealed many are under resourced. Professors at UnB, UFBA, UFPR, Temple, and the UWM discussed scarcity politics and institutional racism. On the other hand, the experiences of the small sample of participants at Harvard were distinct as they focused on institutional power. These different experiences allowed me to examine whether these spaces can be classified as institutional quilombos. I conclude this dissertation examining these research findings and what they reveal about the existence, survival, and activism inside of Black Studies units. I discuss the idea of institutional quilombos as a goal for Black Studies units in Brazil and the United States and I provide recommendations for future research and policy development to support Black Studies units.

### 8.1 Existence

The creation of Black Studies units in the United States is rooted in Black Power, Free Speech, and the Anti-War movements. However, the social and political dynamics of each city and state impacted how people mobilized at each university. In the case of Harvard University, a relationship was established between the movements of Black students from other Ivy League universities as a form of joint pressure. At Temple University, the relationship is strongly related to the high school desegregation movement. In the case of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, a striking feature was the relationship between the University of Wisconsin campuses, such as Milwaukee, Madison, and Oshkosh. At Temple and Harvard, the presence of radical Black leaders on campus was a major mobilizing factor. In 1961, Malcolm X participated in a debate at Harvard. Between 1968 and 1970, two major events shaped Black students'

mobilization at Temple, the  Black Power Conference, and the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention. In Milwaukee, local leaders were the main factor of initial mobilization, and radicalization. Leaders such as Vel Phillips and Lloyd Barbee were traditional civil rights leaders. However, Black radicality is the outcome of the harsh white supremacist response to Black desegregation protests, which lead to the creation of self-protection organizations such as the Commandos.

In the Brazilian case, even though the most famous authors of the first decades of Afro-Brazilian studies were white, their ideas were not. They acknowledged Black identity and the role of Black people in founding the country. These were ideas Black intellectuals long held. There was a small incorporation of Black intellectuals such as Edison Carneiro, but Guerreiro Ramos was excluded, even after the first Congresso Negro Brasileiro (Negro Brazilian Congress) in 1950. The creation of Afro-Brazilian studies units was an intellectual movement led by white intellectuals while Black intellectuals were a minority. Over time, the struggle for the incorporation of Black intellectuals was also an effort to establish Afro-Brazilian studies. Black intellectuals were engaged on and off the field into the 1970s. Some scholars suggest there was a transition from focusing on culture to race relations (Campos, 2005; Telles, 2006). This research has shown both paradigms are present in the scholarship and in some Afro-Brazilian studies units. An example is Pós-Afro at UFBA. While culturalism is evident in the research of the time, It was not possible to examine if study participants believed Rodrigues contribute to the term Afro-Brazilian studies. It was not possible to examine if the participants in the study reconciled Rodrigues's contribution in coining the term Afro-Brazilian studies with his racism. Another question of debate within the literature is the Black presence in spaces of Afro-Brazilian studies. Are Black intellectuals the leaders in Afro-Brazilian studies? Yes and no. Blacks have chaired

NEAB at UnB for most of its history. At UFPR, the NEAB was led by a non-Black person for many years, but this has changed in recent years. For many years, white professors at UFBA led both CEAO and Pós-Afro. Gradually Blacks were integrated. Initially, Black intellectuals were included as graduate students and affiliated researchers, and then as professors, and leaders in Afro-Brazilian studies.

Throughout the institutionalization of these units, the debates between the radical demands of Black students, and attempts to control and silence mobilization at these universities resulted in the creation of different units. In American universities, institutionalization strategies were the creation of centers and programs, then departments, the bachelor's degree, and post-graduation. In the case of Brazil, units are created and institutionalized with different intentions and strategies. The CEAO was created in a period of Brazil-Africa rapprochement. At UnB, NEAB was created when the university was re-democratized. Later at UFPR, NEAB was created within the debate on affirmative action policies. In all three cases, the affirmative action debates led to demands within units and strengthened the units.

Universities adopted different techniques of demobilizing the demands of students, such as administration choosing Black professors that are clearly contrary to the demands of students, or even contrary to the existence of Black Studies. In the case of the UWM, there was a policy of winning students over by fatigue, making it impossible to choose James Turner as director of the Center for Afro-American studies. Temple's administration decided against hiring Ben-Jochannan despite student protests. At Harvard, the department did not have the autonomy to hire and choose the chair in its initial years. In the case of Brazil, universities have not adopted a comprehensive and sustainable affirmative action program which has an impact on faculty hiring. Many depended on unstable funding sources to offer scholarships to Black students. The

noncommitment to implement affirmative action policies for students extends to faculty. Moreover, institutions rarely punished students or professors accused of racism on campus.

### 8.2 Survival

Resistance and survival strategies are part of the history of Black Studies units in Brazil and the United States. At the UWM, attempts to eliminate Black Studies were similar to the challenges faced during its creation. Different strategies have been used to maintain and strengthen the department. In 1970, a group of instructors collectively resigned and this fueled the continuation of students activism. The department's professors sought support from Black students, the National Council of Black Studies, and Black leaders who also acted as instructors such as Lloyd Barbee and Vel Phillips. At Temple, threats against the department were also allayed through student protests. However, the Pan-African Studies Community Education Program (PASCEP) was important not only for the visibility it brought to the department, but also because it demonstrated a relationship between the department and the Philadelphia Black community. Archival research and interviews revealed a relationship between the Black Studies departments at UWM and Temple. Both departments strengthened each other and this was important for sustainability. Both departments renamed themselves Africology departments. In the case of UWM, in 1994, the process of redefining the department was also a period of increasing institutionalization with the creation of the graduate program in 2008. In 2018, UWM's department changed its name from Africology to African & African Diaspora Studies Department.  In Temple's case, a strategy of increasing institutionalization occurred through the creation of the first Black Studies doctoral program in 1988. In 2016, Temple’s department chance its name to Africology and African American Studies. However, some faculty members interviewed at Temple expressed annoyance with UWM's departmental name change. The name

change may have signaled challenges many departments and centers had undergone in previous years. Both units suffered important defeats and institutional downsizing, especially from the 2010s and onwards. However, in addition to the name change and political perspective of the department of African and African Diaspora Studies at UWM, substantial difference made apparent in 2020. Participants from Temple indicated that dating back to 2015, university administration responded to Black Lives Matter protests. They decided to create the Center for Anti-Racism and appointed the Africology department to oversee it. In the case of the UWM, despite some individual project funding, there was no specific sign of substantial investment in the department of African and African Diaspora Studies.

While Harvard and Temple are distinct universities, their survival strategies are similar. The literature on the Africology department at Temple chronicles the arrival of Molefi Asante as a last-ditch attempt to avoid the department from closing. Similarly, the small sample of Harvard professors highlighted the arrival of Henry Louis Gate Jr. as the department's turning point from a lack of resources to influential leadership within the university. However, at Temple the arrival of Asante was the outcome of internal pressure within the department. At Harvard, the arrival of Gates Jr. is apparently not the result of departmental demands or decisions, but rather the result of university administration. For this reason, Harvard's investment in a high-profile Black scholar is an example of a university's commitment to Black studies. It is not clear if the university made this decision to ensure the department's survival or to ensure the field had a comparative advantage over comparable universities.

In the case of Brazilian institutions, some interviewed professors believed that the greatest achievement of the units was that they still exist, which indicates the difficulty of existence in such hostile environments. Unlike the departments in the United States which may

feel threatened at attempts to shut them down, Afro-Brazilian units are threatened by administrative policies that take away their autonomy and institutionally abandon them. At UFBA and UNB, the Afro-Brazilian studies units served as institutional leaders in implementing and carrying out affirmative action policies. Affirmative action policies were in their heyday at NEAB/UNB in from 2004-2006. At UFBA, CEAO had relative autonomy and affirmative action policies did not have the same impact as it did at UNB likely due to CEAO which enabled the institutionalization of Afro-Brazilian studies before affirmative action programs were implemented. The creation of CEAFRO - Education and Professionalization for Race and Gender Equality (Education and Professionalization of Race and Gender Equality) within CEAO in 1995, strengthened the demands of Black activists within the center. In 2005, the creation of Pós-Afro (Multidisciplinary Graduate Studies in Ethnic and African Studies) which is the first program in Afro-Brazilian studies in the country, represented a major shift in institutionalization, even though Pós-Afro and CEAO work independently. However, CEAO suffered serious consequences from the disinvestment of the institution, mainly surviving due to Black activists who ran the activities of the center.

In the case of UnB and UFPR, the chair of NEABs is a voluntary position. This position is a result of the coordinator's dedication to unpaid overtime. At UFPR, the NEAB made the choice that the chair is not paid. Their rationale what that if the chair was a paid position, the position would be more susceptible to pressure from the university's administration. They explained that if the chair was a paid position, it would be more vulnerable to pressure from university’s administration. Like the AAAs department at Harvard, the NEAB of UFPR participates in administration. An example is their support for a candidate for Dean who is supported to NEAB and inclusion policies. As a result, the Dean Ricardo Fonseca created the

Superintendence of Inclusion, Affirmative Actions and Diversity (SIPAD). NEAB also established a partnership with the State Public Prosecutor's Office to help with the implementation of Law 10.639/2003. In the case of UnB, despite the establishment of partnerships throughout the institution's history with the Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Education and the Federal District Education Department, the nucleus currently survives through the work of faculty and many volunteer professors.

### 8.3 Activism

The hypothesis of this dissertation was that Black Studies centers and departments are "institutional quilombos", therefore act politically as educational and anti-racist spaces. The definition of institutional quilombo is that it is a collective Black space that establishes a link between the Black community, activism, and the university. I found evidence of this hypothesis in the cases of UNB, UFPR, UWM, and Temple University. However, it was only partially confirmed in the case of Harvard and UFBA. In the literature on Black Studies, Black Studies departments and centers came about due to pressure from the Black community. Due to this history and the demands of activists, these departments and centers are political in nature. Yet, Black movements are not homogenous and have a diverse set of agendas.

Departmental professors defined these spaces and their relationship to activism in different ways. This is not just the result of different activist agendas, but because not all units consider activism to be a function of the unit. In addition, it was unclear if the understanding of activism is different when compared to a unit and the university. Some professors believe producing scholarship is a form of activism. However, Black Studies professors defined their units or departments relationship to activism in a myriad of ways. This relationship was based on establishing a partnership with Black movements and activities, and/or establish itself within the

university as an activist-unit. Additionally, there were questions about what is for a department, center, or unit within a university. All American Back Studies departments included in this study understand that their existence is the result of the mobilization of Black activists. At UWM's AADS and the Africology department at Temple, the relationship between the department and activism were part of their institutional role for many decades. In the case of the UWM some professors in the study indicated that the department had moved away from the Black community and activism, another group believes that professors do activism individually rather than collectively, and a third group thinks the department has belonged to a Black community in a broad context which is also linked Black internationalism. Most professors believed that activism was important, if not essential to the department. In the case of Africology at Temple, the relationship with activism is still considered a *raison d'etre*. In the case of Harvard, the small sample of professors in the study considered that the department's actions could be interpreted as activism, based on the intellectual scholarship they produced. Activism and a relationship with the Black community were mentioned incidentally. However, many of those mentioning activism referred to Cornell West's presence as an example of activism in the department. Cornell West is no longer a professor at Harvard, and he was very critical of the university upon his departure; mainly due to the university's treatment of him as an activist.

In the case Afro-Brazilian Studies units, many professors also indicated that activism often depends more on an individual's personal decision than those of a collective group. Still, the relationship to Black movements is a responsibility of Afro-Brazilian studies units such as NEAB/UFPR and NEAB/UnB. UFPR's NEAB developed a set of activities together with the Black movement, movement ranging from extension activities to the continuous presence of representatives of the Black movement in quota policy verification committees. At UnB there

was a close relationship with Black movement members such as EnegreSer in carrying out joint activities. Currently, in NEAB's activities, Black movement activists are present but there is less institutionalization than at UFPR. Even the activities of the NEAB at UnB are disorganized as they have no organizational nor financial support from central planning from the university. In the case of UFBA, both in CEAO and Pós-Afro, the issue of the relationship with activism is less linear. The presence of activists in the CEAO is evident. The Center has been occupied with Black movement activities since its origin, from activities related to Candomblé and the Yoruba language, to the institution of CEAFRO as well as activities of Black collectives from UFBA such as the Luiza Bairros collective. From an institutional point of view, the center was almost abandoned at times. In the case of Pós-Afro, as a program, respondents discussed student activism more than more than Pós-Afro's activism.

### 8.4 Institutional Quilombo as Becoming

Initially, I had imagined the institutional quilombo as a locus that would support Black radicalism from the university onwards. However, an institutional quilombo should be multifaceted accommodating different Black identities and theoretical perspectives. It should be a welcoming space for diverse Black intellectuals regardless of gender and sexual orientation. Moreover, it should incorporate radical debates in classrooms, rather than sidelining classes on gender and sexuality, but would foreground these issues. In all units, support for radical agendas is not sustained over time. Ideas such as the university addressing its institutional racism that were radical in the 1960s are now a basic requirement. On the other hand, the Black Power movement can be defined as more radical than the Black Lives Matter movement. While the students were leaders at one point, they were considered too radical at the time. This is a reality not only in the United States but also in Brazil especially in the affirmative action debate.

My archival research and interviews demonstrate there is a demand for radical recentralization. However, even units that are not radical have important qualities, and radical units have important issues. I argue that Black Studies departments and centers should seek to become institutional quilombos because it is a revolutionary idea that gave rise to the field. In the context of Brazil, Afro-Brazilian studies have been politicized by Black intellectuals, but still have culturalist traditions and several white intellectuals as leaders in the field. However, Afro-Brazilian studies should be equally committed to a revolutionary agenda of Blackening the university. Essentially this research aided in imagining what an institutional quilombo could be.

An institutional quilombo should be a place that welcomes Black people (staff, faculty, students), open to Black activists, an open space for Black radicalism and is not engaged in pacification. It should be a place where Black intellectuals occupy a place of leadership, where Black women have their intellectuality and leadership valued, a place where Black people feel good, and a place that mobilizes resources for Black people.

### 8.5 Recommendations for Future Research and Policies

Like any research, this dissertation has limitations such the Covid-19 pandemic. However, there are also other limitations such as the time frame, the number of institutions analyzed, and theoretical choices. There is room for improvement. In the case of Brazil, it would be important to know the precise number of Afro-Brazilian studies units, including private colleges that do not have university status. Considering the findings of the quantitative research, specific research could be done on the types of Afro-Brazilian studies units that differentiate nuclei, centers, laboratories, and programs. In the United States, it would be important to include departments of other American Ivy League universities to understand if what was found at Harvard is a unique experience, or if there are similarities with other institutions. Similarly, it

would be important to analyze institutions that do not have departments, but programs. Additionally, it would be important to include departments without graduate programs. I was particularly curious about the perceptions of staff who work in the units. In some cases, I was able to establish a relationship with them, but there are units that do not have staff.

Most Black Studies an Afro-Brazilian Studies units suffered from a scarcity of resources. Out of the 6 institutions, 5 are public universities, and they depend on a complex set of stakeholders to, for example, to provide resources. In addition to the university, there has not been a favorable scenario for investing in the humanities. However, the history and strategies of the institutions point to possibilities. In the case of Brazilian institutions, it is an ethical practice to guarantee that an area of knowledge that is important and mandatory, by law, has paid professors teaching. Legal obligation to promote racial equality policies is the trump card of Brazilian institutions. Judicialization has also been a path, both to force universities to comply with quotas for Black professors, and to guarantee teacher training. Another solution relevant to both countries is the creation of specific funding to increase and strengthen institutionalization through the hiring of professors, research funding, and study grants for undergraduate and graduate students. In the United States there is a high level of dropout among Black students, which is directly related to financial issues, the academic environment, and the job market. Any solutions to the problems of Black students have direct impact on Black studies units.

In the United States a central issue was enrollment. In the case of institutions such as Harvard, other departments policies determine if credits will count toward AAAS. In the case of the UWM, participants noted the lack of students majoring in Black Studies. An important question to be address is what professions students with a bachelor's degree in Black Studies can obtain. It became clear to me that many students who majored in Black Studies were in areas of

the job market such as education, that generally does not pay well. It is important to question whether the professional opportunities open to graduates with Black Studies degrees are also in crises. In the case of Brazil, there is only one degree in Black studies, but the question is whether there will be an expansion of the field. Education careers suffered from low pay and prestige even before the pandemic. A professor at Harvard discussed a catastrophic scenario that is not difficult to imagine. They worried that distance learning would take hold and smaller institutions would buy entire courses created at Harvard. In Brazil, during the pandemic, there were cases of institutions using robots to correct exams and students assumed there was a professor when they interacted with the program. However, there was no engagement with their professor. Therefore, it is important to understand and discuss with  students which professions benefit from training in Black Studies. The discussion about the importance of Black Studies should be extended to Black communities and activists. This discussion can take place through communication tools such as podcasts, radio programs, and music. Academic conferences and events focused on Black Studies and continued outreach projects with Black communities to empower them are also useful steps to take to ensure people are aware of the work of professors in Black Studies. Additionally, it is necessary to pressure the labor market to recognize that training in Black Studies is important and would be a requirement for certain professions beyond educational careers.

Autonomy, for Black radical spaces, has been an especially difficult challenge for Black Studies. CEAO's experiences with fundraising and the use of non-university resources provide an interesting model. However, CEAO’s actions did not embrace a radical Black agenda. Indeed, radicalism is also a natural resource drain. Today, an alternative to this dilemma is in the promise that the Center of Anti-Racism holds at Temple. Temple's professors were proud that many

students graduating from their doctoral program are now professors at HBCUs. The movement of Black professors to HBCUs can be interpreted as an opportunity for institutional strengthening and can bring a perspective of radicalization. However, the limited participation of HBCUs among Black Studies units and even the conservative perspective of some institutions is rather limiting.

Advocating and supporting Black radicalism should be a priority on the agenda for sustaining and strengthening Black Studies. The racial debate is an ecosystem where different interpretations and political orientations need to coexist. Black radicalism is an essential part of this ecosystem. When radical ideas gain ground and put pressure on institutions, institutional responses tend to be diluted and weak. Without a radical agenda, institutional responses are even less committed to change. On the other hand, Black liberals and institutionalists are also part of the ecosystem. There is daily work being done within these institutions. Historiography shows the Black presence within these institutions before Black Power in the United States and affirmative action policies in Brazil. Black people's presence was essential for the occupation of these spaces by a radical agenda in subsequent periods. However, institutions respond more quickly to protests and media coverage than to internal debates and meetings. The commitment to combat institutional racism demands more effective actions from universities as well. In this context, universities use the existence of Black Studies units and the presence of Black professors as a form of social legitimacy and as an example of their anti-racist agenda. It is time to demand effective and wide-ranging transformative actions.

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## APPENDIX - LIST OF AFRO-BRAZILIAN STUDIES UNITS

| LIST OF AFRO-BRAZILIAN STUDIES UNITS – UNIVERSITIES AND FEDERAL TECNOLOGICAL INSTITUTES (IFS) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| NAME | | STATEUF | UNIVERSITIES/IFS LO |
| 1. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros – NEAB | DF | Universidade de Brasília - UnB |
| 2. | Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas sobre Relações Raciais e Educação – NEPRE | MT | Universidade Federal do Mato Grosso - UFMT |
| 3. | Núcleo de Estudos sobre Educação, Gênero, Raça e Alteridade - NEGRA | MT | Universidade do Estado de Mato Grosso - UNEMAT Paulo Alberto Santos |
| 4. | Laboratório de Estudos de Gênero Étnico-Raciais e Espacialidades - LaGENTE / Instituto de Estudos Sócio-Ambientais - IESA | GO | Universidade Federal de Goiás |
| 5. | Centro Interdisciplinar de Estudos África-Américas – CieAA | GO | Universidade Estadual de Goiás - UEG Júlia Bueno de Morais Silva |
| 6. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros – NEAB | MS | Universidade Federal da Grande Dourados - UFGD |
| 7. | Núcleo de Estudos Étnicos e Raciais - NEER | MS | Universidade Estadual do Mato Grosso do Sul - UEMS |
| 8. | Núcleo de Estudos Africanos e Afro-Descendentes - NEAAD | GO | Universidade Federal de Goiás - UFG |
| 9. | Núcleo de Estudos sobre Educação, Gênero, Raça e Alteridade - NEGRA | MT | Universidade do Estado de Mato Grosso - UEMT |

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| 10. | Núcleo de Estudos Africanos e Afro-Brasileiros | GO | Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Goiás - PUC - Goiás |
| 11. | Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas sobre Formação de Professores e Relações Étnico Raciais - GERA | PA | Universidade Federal do Pará – UFPA |
| 12. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | TO | Universidade Federal de Tocantins - UFT |
| 13. | Núcleo de Estudos, Pesquisa e Extensão em Relações Étnico-Raciais, Movimentos Sociais e Educação - N'UNBUNTU | PA | Universidade Federal do Sul e Sudeste Pará - Marabá/PA |
| 14. | Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas Afrobrasileiras e Indígenas -NEABI | AM | Universidade Federal do Amazonas - UFAM |
| 15. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | TO | Universidade Federal do Tocantins - UFT |
| 16. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro Indígena - NEAI/INC/BC/UFAM. | AM | Universidade Federal do Amazonas - UFAM |
| 17. | Núcle de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros | AM | Universidade do Estado do Amazonas - UEA |

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| 18. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros e Indígenas - NEABI/UFAC | AC | Universidade Federal do Acre |
| 19. | Núcle de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros | AP | Universidade Federal do Amapá |
| 20. | Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais - CEAO | BA | Universidade Federal da Bahia - UFBA |

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| 21. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | AL | União de Faculdades de Alagoas - UNIFAL |
| 22. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | MA | Universidade Federal do Maranhão – UFMA |
| 23. | Núcleo de Pesquisa sobre africanidades e afrodescendência - IFARADA | PI | Universidade Federal do Piauí - UFPI |
| 24. | Centro de Estudos dos Povos Afro-Índio-Americanos - CEPAIA | BA | Universidade do Estado da Bahia - UNEB |
| 25. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Baianos Regionais – KÀWÉ | BA | Universidade Estadual de Santa Cruz – UESC |

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| 26. | NABAIA | BA | Universidade Estadual do Sodoeste da Bahia - UESB |
| 27. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | BA | Universidade Federal do Recôncavo da Bahia - UFRB |
| 28. | NEAI - Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Indígena de Imperatriz | MA | UEMA - Universidade Estadual do Maranhão |
| 29. | Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas Afro-Brasileiros e Indígenas - NEABI | PB | Universidade Federal da Paraíba - UFPB |
| 30. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | PE | Universidade Federal de Pernambuco - UFPE |
| 31. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | CE | Universidade da Integração Internacional da Lusofonia Afro-Brasileira - UNILAB |

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| 32. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | AL | Universidade Estadual de Alagoas - UNEAL |
| 33. | Núcleo das Africanidades Cearenses - NACE | CE | Universidade Federal do Ceará |
| 34. | Núcleo Brasileiro Latino Americano e Caribenho de Estudos em Relações Raciais, Gênero e Movimentos Sociais - N'BLAC | CE | Universidade Federal do Ceará - Campus Cariri - UFC |
| 35. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros e dos Povos Indígenas - NEAB-Í | PB | Universidade Estadual da Paraíba - UEPB |
| 36. | Centro de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - CEAB | PE | Universidade de Pernambuco - UPE |
| 37. | Núcleo de Estudos Brasil-África – NEBA | PE | Universidade Federal de Pernambuco - UFPE |
| 38. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | PE | Universidade Federal Rural de Pernambuco - UFRPE |
| 39. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | PE | Fundação Joaquim Nabuco - FUNDAJ |
| 40. | NEPA - Núcleo Estudos e Pesquisas Afro | PI | Universidade estadual do Piaui – UESPI |
| 41. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros – NEAB | SE | Universidade Federal de Sergipe – UFS |
| 42. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros e Indígenas | AL | Universidade Federal de Alagoas - AL |
| 43. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros e Indígenas | BA | Universidade Estadual de Feira de Santana |
| 44. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-brasileiro e Indígena | PE | Universidade Católica de Pernambuco - Unicap |

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| 45. | Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas Afro-brasileiras, Indígenas e de Povos Tradicionais - NEABIT | PE | Centro Universitário Joaquim Nabuco - UNINABUCO |
| 46. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros | BA | Universidade Federal do Sul da Bahia - UFSB |
| 47. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Asiáticos - NEAA | PR | Universidade Estadual de Londrina - UEL |
| 48. | Núcleo de Estudos de Identidades e Relações Inter-étnicas - NUER | SC | Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina - UFSC |
| 49. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | SC | Universidade do Planalto Catarinense - UNIPLAC |
| 50. | Laboratório de Cultura e Estudos Afro-Brasileiros Universidade Estadual de Londrina - LEAFRO | PR | Universidade Estadual de Londrina – UEL |
| 51. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | PR | Universidade Federal do Paraná - UFPR |
| 52. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | RS | Universidade Federal de Santa Maria – UFSM |
| 53. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | SC | Universidade do Estado de Santa Catarina - UDESC |
| 54. | Núcleo de Documentação e Cultura Afro-Brasileira - ATABAQUE | RS | Universidade federal do Rio Grande – UFRGS |
| 55. | Núcleo de Estudos Interdisciplinares Afro-Brasileiros – NEIAB | PR | Universidade Estadual de Maringá - UEM |
| 56. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | RS | Universidade Federal do Pampa - UNIPANPA |
| 57. | Núcleo de Relações Étnico-Raciais, de Gênero e Sexualidade - NUREGS | PR | Universidade Estadual de Ponta Grossa - UEPG |

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| 58. | Núcleo de Estudos Contemporâneos – NECOM | RS | Universidade Federal de Santa Maria - UFSM |
| 59. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros – NEAB | SC | Universidade Regional de Blumenau - FURB |
| 60. | Núcleo de Estudos em Cultura Afro-Brasileira e Indígena – NEABI | RS | Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul - PUCRS |
| 61. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | RS | Universidade Feredal do Rio Grande do Sul - UFRGS |
| 62. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros e Indígena – NEABI | SC | Centro Universitário Municipal de São José - USJ |
| 63. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | SC | Universidade Federal da Fronteira Sul - UFFS |
| 64. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros – NEAB | RS | Universidade Federal de Pelotas - UFPEL |
| 65. | Núcleo de Estudos Afrobrasileiros e Indígenas - NEABI | RS | Universidade federal do vale do rio sinos - UNISINOS |
| 66. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros e Indígenas - NEABI | PR | Universidade Tecnológica Federal do Paraná |
| 67. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | SC | Universidade da Região de Joinville - UNIVILLE |

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| 68. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-brasileiros e Indígenas - NEABI | RS | Universidade Luterana do Brasil - ULBRA - Campus Canoas |
| 69. | CENTRO DE ESTUDOS AFRICANOS | SP | USP |
| 70. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - NEAB | ES | UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO ESPIRITO SANTO – UFES |
| 71. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros | SP | Universidade Federal de São Carlos - UFSCAR |
| 72. | Núcleo de Estudos Saúde da Etnia Negra - NESEN | RJ | UFF |
| 73. | NUPE – Núcleo Negro da UNESP para Pesquisa e Extensão | SP | UNESP |
| 74. | NIREMA - Núcleo Interdisciplinar de Reflexão e Memória Afrodescendente Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro | RJ | PUC-RJ |
| 75. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros – NEAB | RJ | Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro – UERJ |
| 76. | Laboratório de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros - LEAFRO | RJ | Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro - UFRRJ |

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| 77. | NEIAB - Núcleo de Estudos Indígena e Afro-Brasileiro | SP | UNAERP-Universidade de Ribeirão Preto - campus Guarujá |
| 78. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro Brasileiros -NEAB | MG | Universidade Federal de Uberlândia - UFU |
| 79. | Laboratório de Análises Econômicas, Históricas, Sociais e Estatísticas das Relações Raciais – LAESER | RJ | Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro - UFRJ |
| 80. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro Brasileiros - NEAB | MG | Universidade Estadual de Montes Claros – Unimontes. |
| 81. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro Brasileiros - NEAB | MG | UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE OURO PRETO-UFOP |
| 82. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro Brasileiros - NEAB | MG | Centro Universitário do Leste de Minas Gerais – UNILESTE |
| 83. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro Brasileiros –NEAB | MG | Fundação de Ensino Superior de Passos-FESP |
| 84. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro Brasileiros -NEAB | MG | Universidade Federal dosVales do Jequitinhonha e Mucurí - UFVJM |
| 85. | Programa de Educação sobre o Negro na Sociedade Brasileira –PENESB | RJ | Universidade Federal Fluminense - UFF |
| 86. | Núcleo de Pesquisa em Gênero, Raça e Idade. | SP | PUC |
| 87. | Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas em Africanidades e Brasilidades - NAFRICAB | ES | Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo - UFES |
| 88. | NEGRAM - Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas em Geografia, Relações Raciais e Movimentos Sociais | RJ | UERJ |

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| 89. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros | MG | Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora |
| 90. | Núceo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiro | SP | Universidade Federal de São Paulo |
| 91. | Núcleo de Estudos Africanos e Afro-Brasileiros | SP | Universidade Federal do ABC - UFABC |
| 92. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros | MG | Universidade do Estado de Minas Gerais |
| 93. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros | SP | Universidade de Araraquara |
| 94. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros | SP | Universidade do Vale do Paraíba - UNIVAP |
| 95. | Centro de Estudos Africanos e Afro-Brasileiros | SP | Universidade Estadual de Campinas |
| 96. | Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas Afro-brasileiras, Indígenas e de Povos Tradicionais - NEABIT | SE | CENTRO UNIVERSITÁRIO MAURICIO DE NASSAU DE ARACAJU |
| 97. | Núcleo de Apoio a Pesquisa em Estudos Interdisciplinares sobre o Negro Brasileiro - NEINB | SP | USP |
| 98. | Centro de Estudos Culturais Africanos e da Diáspora – CECAFRO | SP | PUC-SP |
| 99. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros e Indígenas - NEABI | RJ | Universidade Estadual do Norte Fluminense |
| 100. | Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros | MG | Universidade Federal de Viçosa |
| 101. | Núcleo de Estudos das Relações Étnicas Afro-Brasileiras e Indígenas | RJ | Universidade de Vassouras |

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| 102. | NEABI | GO | Instituto Federal Goiano |
| 103. | NEABI | MS | Instituto Federal De Mato Grosso Do Sul |
| 104. | NEABI | MT | Instituto Federal De Mato Grosso |
| 105. | NEABI | AM | Instituto Federal Do Amazonas |
| 106. | NEABI | AP | Instituto Federal Do Amapa |
| 107. | NEABI | PA | Instituto Federal Do Pará |
| 108. | NEABI | RR | Instituto Federal De Roraima |
| 109. | NEABI | TO | Instituto Federal De Tocantins |
| 110. | NEABI | AL | Instituto Federal De Alagoas |
| 111. | NEABI | BA | Instituto Federal Baiano |
| 112. | NEABI | CE | Instituto Federal Do Ceara |
| 113. | NEABI | ES | Instituto Federal Do Espirito Santo |
| 114. | NEABI | MA | Instituto Federal Do Maranhao |
| 115. | NEABI | PB | Instituto Federal Da Paraiba |
| 116. | NEABI | PE | Instituto Federal De Pernambuco |
| 117. | NEABI | PE | Instituto Federal Do Sertao Pernambucano |

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| 118. | NEABI | PI | Instituto Federal Do Piaui |
| 119. | NEABI | RN | Instituto Federal Do Rio Grande Do Norte |
| 120. | NEABI | PR | Instituto Federal Do Parana |
| 121. | NEABI | RS | Instituto Federal Do Rio Grande Do Sul |
| 122. | NEABI | RS | Instituto Federal Farroupilha |
| 123. | NEABI | RS | Instituto Federal Sul-Rio-Grandense |
| 124. | NEABI | SC | Instituto Federal Catarinense |
| 125. | NEABI | MG | Cefet Mg |
| 126. | NEABI | MG | Instituto Federal Do Norte De Minas Gerais |
| 127. | NEABI | MG | Instituto Federal Do Sudeste De Minas Gerais |
| 128. | NEABI | MG | Instituto Federal Do Sul Minas Gerais |
| 129. | NEABI | MG | Instituto Federal Do Triangulo Mineiro |
| 130. | NEABI | RJ | Cefet Rj |
| 131. | NEABI | RJ | Instituto Federal Do Rio De Janeiro |
| 132. | NEABI | RJ | Instituto Federal Fluminense |
| 133. | NEABI | SP | Instituto Federal De Sao Paulo |

**CURRICULUM VITAE**
**Dalila Fernandes de Negreiros**
**Ph.D. Expected Fall 2021**
Place of birth: São Paulo -SP, Brazil

## EDUCATION

**Doctor of Philosophy in African and African Diaspora Studies Expected Fall 2021**
University of Wisconsin Milwaukee
Dissertation Title: INSTITUTIONAL QUILOMBOS? BLACK STUDIES IN BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES
GPA: 3.973

Master's in public health, concentration: Development and Public Policies, Oswaldo Cruz Foundation - Fiocruz / Institute of Applied Economic Research - IPEA, 2010-2013. Title of dissertation: Education of ethnic-racial relations in Brazil

Specialist in Education for Diversity and Citizenship, Federal University of Goiás – UFG.

BA in Geography, University of Brasilia - UNB, 2005-2009.

## RESEARCH

Research Assistant Dr. Gladys Mitchell-Walthour Summer '2019
Conducted 7 Interviews with Afro-Brazilian Youtubers in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro Summer, 2019.

Research Assistant Dr. Gladys Mitchell-Walthour Summer '2018- Spring '2019
Conducted 40 Interviews with Afro-Brazilian Women Bolsa Família Recipients in São Paulo Fall 2018-Spring 2019.

## CONFERENCES

Negreiros, D. F. "Black Studies in Brazil: The Afro-Brazilian Studies Centers". African American Intellectual History Society's Fourth Annual Conference. March 22-23, 2019, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Negreiros, D. F. "Afro-Brazilian Studies: A Panorama of the Field". National Conference of Black Political Scientists 50th Anniversary Meeting. Baton Rouge, Louisiana March 13-17, 2019.

Negreiros, D. F.. "Education and Anti-racism in Brazil: Implementation of Law 10.639/2003". 2018 National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS) Annual Meeting.

Negreiros, D. F.. "The Education of Ethnic-Racial Relations in Brazil". UWM: Department of Africology, 2017.

Negreiros, D. F.. Igualdade Racial: Ações e Omissões (Racial Equality: Actions and Omissions). IFB, 2015.

Negreiros, D. F.. Políticas Raciais: a igualdade possível (Racial policies: the possible equality). IFB, 2013 .

Negreiros, D. F.. O Genocídio da População Negra: Uma análise de dados (Black Brazilian Population Genocide: data analysis) .UnB: 2008.

**Invited Talks**

Pensar Africanamente, O papel da população negra nas eleições dos EUA. Streamed live on Nov 12, 2020.

SEMAP, Relações Étnicos-raciais e Construção de Políticas Públicas De Educação. Streamed live on Oct 31, 2020.

Pensar Africanamente, Candidaturas Negras, Voto Negro! Streamed live on Oct 1, 2020.

Webinar: Covid-19, Racism, and Necropolitics in Brazil. Streamed live on June 2, 2020.

Negreiros, D. F. "Racial Harassment and Surveillance in Brazil". 2019 Community Brainstorming.

**Workshops**

Negreiros, D. F. "Where is the data? Doing research on gender and race in Brazil after 2015." 2019 Brazil Initiative Workshop, Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies - UWM.

**PUBLICATIONS**

***Book:***

Negreiros, D. F.. Educação das relações étnico-raciais: avaliação da formação de docentes (Education of Ethnic-Racial Relations: an Analysis of Teacher's Training). Editora UFABC. ISBN: 978-85-68576-72-4. Santo André - SP: 2017.

***Peer-review journals:***

Freitas, Felipe Da Silva & Negreiros, Dalila. (2021). TRUMP E BOLSONARO: desinformação e racismo na Pandemia de Covid-19. Revista Trabalho Política e Sociedade. 6. 35-60. 10.29404/rtps-v6i10.739.

Negreiros, D. F.. Educação das Relações Étnico-Raciais: Análise da Formação de Docentes por meio dos Programas Uniafro e Africanidades (Education of Ethnic-Racial Relations: An

Analysis of Teacher's Training Through Uniafro And Africanities Programs). PLANEJAMENTO E POLITICAS PUBLICAS, v. 48, p. 1, 2017.

Negreiros, D. F.. Raça e desterritorialização: uma proposta de análise geográfica da Diáspora Africana (Race and Deterritorialization: A Proposal Of Geographic Analysis For The African Diaspora). Revista da Associação Brasileira de Pesquisadores(as) Negros(as) - ABPN, v. 1, p. http://www.abpn, 2010.

***Op-Eds and Articles***

Negreiros, D. F. "Marielle Franco's Seeds: Black Women and the 2020 Brazilian Election," In: NACLA. November 12, 2020. Available at: https://nacla.org/Black-women-Brazil-2020-elections

Negreiros, D. F. "Black studies needed now more than ever," In: The Cap Times. Jul 5, 2020. Available at:

https://madison.com/ct/opinion/column/dalila-fernandes-de-negreiros-black-studies-needed-now-more-than-ever/article_effc4c7b-a2b4-5f7f-baf1-d08f85825907.html?fbclid=IwAR3WykbWT1yy77ezHlhGi-zUlIR2R8AAVowpRyrDiPAIgvY_xqP_rrbbhcY

Negreiros, D. F. "Um Corpo no Mundo," In: Antunes, S., O Canto do Mar: Jornal Criativo em Lingua Portuguesa, UW-Milwaukee, Spring 2020.

Negreiros, D. F. "O frio de Milwaukee," In: Antunes, S. & Filho, L., O Canto do Mar: Jornal Criativo em Lingua Portuguesa, UW-Milwaukee, Spring 2019.

Negreiros, D. F. "O canto do lago Mischigan," In: Antunes, S. & Filho, L., O Canto do Mar: Jornal Criativo em Lingua Portuguesa, UW-Milwaukee, Spring 2018.

Negreiros, D. F. "A vida política depois do golpe: a internacionalização da luta negra," In: Nosso Jornal, Ano 5, N. 1, Brasília, 2017.

Negreiros, D. F. & Araújo, A. A. "Os direitos das domésticas e a crítica Machadiana," In: Alma Preta, 30 Julho 2015

https://almapreta.com/editorias/da-ponte-pra-ca/os-direitos-das-domesticas-e-a-critica-machadiana

Negreiros, D. F., Bittencourt, J, & Oliveira, U. G., "Negra, Jovem, Mulher: Os desafios e Nuances da Multi-identidade das Mulheres Negras nos Feminismos," In: Nosso Jornal, Ano 4, N. 1, Brasília, 2013.

Negreiros, D. F. & Araújo, A. A. "Justiça Social e Justiça Histórica." In: Nosso Jornal, Ano 1, N. 2, Março, 2010.

## AWARDS & FELLOWSHIPS

UWM R1 Distinguished Dissertator Fellowship 2020/2021.

International Fellowship of American Association of University Women (AAUW): 2019/2020.

Travel Award Center of Latin American Studies at UWM 2019.

George & Winston Van Horne Prize 2019. Department of African and African Diaspora Studies at UWM.

UWM Distinguished Graduate Student Fellowship 2018/2019.

Tinker Field Research Award 2018. Center of Latin American Studies at UWM.

Travel Award. Center of Latin American Studies at UWM 2018.

UWM Chancellor Graduate Student Award 2017/2018.

UWM Scholarship – Teaching Assistant 2017/2018.

Fellowship Programme for People of African Descent – OHCHR – 2016

## TEACHING

Teaching Assistant for Black Reality Fall 2019

Teaching Assistant for  Psychological effects of Racial Spring 2018

Teaching Assistant for Black Reality Fall 2017

Geography Teacher at the Department of Education of the Federal District from 2014 to 2017.