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Black Women and Digital Resistance: The Impact of Social Media on Racial Justice Activism in Brazil and the United States

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2019

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ABSTRACT

This study compares the experiences of Black women activists' experiences using social media in racial justice activism in Brazil and the United States. Specifically, this thesis analyzes the implications of social media for Black liberation in a broader historical and transnational context. Employing a Black feminist anthropological frame, the project uses historical analysis, and semi-structured interviews conducted in Austin, Texas, U.S.A. and in Porto Alegre and Pelotas, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, to examine the effectiveness and risks involved with digital activism at the intersection of racial justice. Social media platforms have the ability to make information more accessible for Black women activists, provide a space to collectively organize both in a national and transnational setting, and serve as a way to counteract the interpersonal and structural violence Black women face on a daily basis. However, these platforms also function as a surveillance tool that can lead to an increase in state violence. This study emphasizes the importance of understanding Black women's lived experiences, so as to form a more comprehensive analysis of the transnational and gendered implications of Black women's resistance in an increasingly digitized and global world.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to the Black women who contributed their knowledge and experiences to this project. Collective liberation is on the horizon.

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I want to thank my thesis supervisor Dr. Christen Smith for her guidance, mentorship, and countless hours of proofreading and editing. You have changed my life in many ways, and helped me see the confidence in myself to even take on a task as big as a thesis. Thank you for believing in me.

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Preface

> If Black women were free, it would mean that everyone else would have to be free since our freedom would necessitate the destruction of all the systems of oppression.
>
> —*The Combahee River Collective Statement, 1977*

The journey of writing this thesis has been the longest, most challenging, and yet eye-opening, academic work I have ever undertaken. Over the past year, this project has been as much of a part of my growth and development both as a writer and as a Black woman navigating the intricacies of identity and academia. Discovering and developing my own identity in the day to day and in the context of a broader, global African diaspora has made me see the world differently, and opened up new spaces to explore within myself. The very concept that I held of race, and how this construct operates within society has grown with this project, just as perceptions of my own racial identity have developed quite extensively. I was adopted at birth, and have maintained contact with my biological family since I was fifteen years old. Because of this, I have always struggled with my identity as someone who grew up mostly around people that looked different than me. Throughout my life, I have existed at the intersections, the in-between, of the racial binaries that permeate modern-day society and conceptions of race in America. Race has been central to my life, hyper-present even, in ways I did not fully understand growing up in a colorblind environment in the suburbs of Houston, Texas. Going away to college allowed me to view race in a different light, as I was removed from whiteness, thus emphasizing my Blackness, in a manner that was unknown to me before.

My exploration of race, both personally, and as part of a transnational definition of African diaspora community born out of the transatlantic slave trade, is both sobering and enlightening. Transnational connections among members of the African diaspora demonstrate the resilience and resistance of a people who overcame the brutal conditions of enslavement, and to this day, continue to fight for liberation from the structures that have come to define our very existence. The structural behemoths of race, capitalism, and gender are a series of systems that create a means by which “imperialist, white supremacist, capitalist, patriarchy” imposes itself upon those who exist within the established hegemonic boundaries of these “interlocking political systems” (hooks 2010, 1). Black women in particular have served as the involuntary antitheses to these hegemonic systems, and exist in a space that renders us to the margins of society. As a result, Black women have had to resist these systems since they were imposed, and will continue to do so until freedom from these systems of oppression is achieved. Through this thesis, I hope to offer a glimpse into ways that Black women are confronting and mounting a strong, transnational resistance against the omnipresent structures that inform our current existence in this world.

Chapter 1
Introduction

This thesis is a comparative study of the experiences of Black women activists in Brazil and the United States. Its objective is to understand the role of social media in racial justice activism and the implications this has for Black liberation in a broader historical and transnational context. Employing a Black feminist anthropology methodological frame, this thesis uses historical analysis and semi-structured interviews conducted in Austin, Texas, U.S.A. and in Porto Alegre and Pelotas, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, to examine the way in which activists use and experience social media and the risks associated with its use. I ask two questions: 1) How can Brazilian perceptions of race be applied to understand racial dynamics in the United States? 2) What is the role of social media in Black women's racial justice activism?

I found that social media platforms have the ability to make information more accessible for Black women activists, provide a space to collectively organize both in a national and transnational setting, and serve as a way to counteract the interpersonal and structural violence Black women face on a daily basis. Yet, paradoxically, these platforms also function as a surveillance tool that can lead to state violence. I also found that place has a double-meaning for many Black women. Both societal and geographic place have especially influenced the way in which social media is used and the type of racial justice activism women in these cities engage. Ultimately, the goal of this thesis is to demonstrate the importance of understanding Black women's lived experiences, so as

to form a more comprehensive analysis of the transnational and gendered implications of Black women's resistance in an increasingly digital and global world.

Methods and Resources

This study is part historiography and part ethnography; thus, these are the primary methodologies used in this thesis. Here I use historical analysis to situate my ethnographic interviews in a broader historical context that is essential to understanding why the present conditions and situations outlined within this thesis exist. During my two-sited ethnographic research, I conducted two interviews with Black women activists in Austin, Texas, United States and three interviews with Black women activists in Porto Alegre and Pelotas, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. In order to understand how the histories of Porto Alegre and Austin can be understood together as two parts of a story on the broader history of the African diaspora, I will analyze the histories of these cities in tandem to demonstrate how they share similarities in salient social divisions. This approach reflects the importance of transnationalism, which is at the core of this thesis. In her book *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States*, Micol Siegel (2009) argues that transnationalism has played a fundamental role in defining race and nation in the modern era, and that the concepts of race and nation are inextricably linked. She states that "their process of construction therefore involves international and transnational relations" (Siegel 2009, 4). It is this global approach that informs the bulk of this thesis.

Black feminist anthropology[1] employs historical analysis and ethnography in order to produce a critical, anti-imperialist approach to history and the present, and analyze the structures and systems through which Black women have and continue to persist. This thesis draws from both the Combahee River Collective Statement and Patricia Hill Collins' (1991) definitions of Black feminism as a critical theory that seeks to the demystify the interlocking oppressions of race, gender, and class that render Black women to a subordinate position within the global society. Today, this idea is usually described through the term intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991). While the Combahee River Collective (CRC) did not develop the term intersectionality, which was first coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) more than ten years after their statement, the CRC provided the necessary foundation for Crenshaw and many other Black feminists who came after, who understand that "sexual politics under patriarchy is as pervasive in Black women's lives as are the politics of race and class" (Combahee River Collective 1977). Furthermore, Collins writes on the significance of Black feminism, stating that

> Black feminism remains important because U.S. Black women constitute an oppressed group. As a collectivity, U.S. Black women participate in a *dialectical* relationship linking African-American women's oppression and activism. Dialectical relationships of this sort mean that two parties are opposed and opposite. As long as Black women's subordination within intersecting oppressions of race, class, gender, sexuality, and nation persists, Black feminism as an activist response to that oppression will remain needed. (Collins 1990, 22).

[1] Anthropologist Irma McClaurin defines Black feminist anthropology as seeking "to deconstruct the institutionalized racism and sexism that has characterized the history of the discipline of anthropology in the United States and Europe."

Here she demonstrates the way in which Black women's very existence and engagement with these systems necessitates activism in order to name and resist multiple oppressions. Collins emphasizes the role of Black feminism in U.S. Black women's lives in this particular excerpt. However, she is also careful to address the problematic notions behind the idea of nation and nation-states. Through this, Collins recognizes the fact that "empowerment can occur only within a transnational context of social justice " (Collins 1990, 19). Black women are part of a global, diasporic community that transcends borders and it is this global experience of Black womanhood that defines our local experiences and vice versa.

With this critical perspective of the nation in mind, I draw from Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983), in which he describes the nation as an "imagined political community" (6). Although each member of the nation may never know "their fellow-members," a sense of allegiance and comradeship exists, leading to their willingness to kill, and even sacrifice themselves for these "limited imaginings" (Anderson 1983, 6). This implies that in order to construct the idea of a nation (or nation-state) some people must be included and others excluded to demarcate boundaries between who should or should not belong to the community.

Furthermore, Black feminist anthropology applies concepts of Black feminism onto anthropological methods in order to decolonize and reconceptualize the hegemonic structures to which anthropology has, historically and extensively, contributed. Black feminist anthropology uses a radical Black political praxis to further address issues of

race as it relates to gender, class, and imperialism. It draws upon a "neo-Marxist political economy; it experiments in interpretive and reflexive ethnographic analysis," and is based in feminism that emphasizes the role that race and class play in forming ideas surrounding gender dynamics (Bolles 2013, 58).

Structure of this Study

There are two main parts to this thesis. In chapter two, I begin with a historical analysis comparing, the cities of Austin, Texas, United States and Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil as well as including some background info on the important city of Pelotas, also in Rio Grande do Sul. I chose to use these cities for my analysis for multiple reasons. First, both Austin and Porto Alegre are the capitals of their respective states, and have a majority white demographic in what are otherwise very diverse countries. Second, while there are not many studies on Black women in Brazil overall, there are even less on Black women from the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul, as this state was especially affected by state policies of whitening and European immigration in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Klafke 2016). Similarly, research on the activism and experiences of Black American women are typically done in larger cities with high numbers of Black people, again, because of Austin's increasing white population. Third, it is important to recognize the so-called progressive discourse of "racial democracy"—a term which I will explain in the paragraph below— present throughout Brazilian society, and how it can be applied to the city of Austin, in which many white residents have adopted a color-blind

perspective on race, leading to the idea that a sort of progressive racial dynamic exists among the various racial and ethnic groups present in the city.

In order to understand the basis of the ideas present in this study, it is crucial to understand the definition of the term "racial democracy." Racial democracy is an ideology that was popularized by Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre in the 1930's. The ideology posited that Brazilian society was free from racism, in which there was a "smooth blending of European, Indian, and African peoples and cultures," unlike the rest of the world at the time (Telles 2004, 33). Furthermore, the word "democracy," in Freyre's notion of the word, refers to the "Spanish connotation of the term, which referred to brotherhood or fluid social relations," and not to the system of government (Telles 2004, 33). Since its initial popularity from the 1930s until the 1980s, this ideology has been challenged, especially by Black Brazilian women, such as Black feminist scholars Sueli Carneiro (2003) and Lélia Gonzalez (1983). Carneiro, in one of her most famous articles titled "*Mulheres em Movimento* (Women in Movement)," stated that "the myth of racial democracy is still prevalent among the general population," even as the Brazilian feminist movement had grown somewhat in its understanding of the role race plays in (Black) women's inequality (Carneiro 2016, 36).

The second main part of this thesis begins with chapter three. Through a series of interviews with Black women activists, I demonstrate the essential role of social media in their racial justice activism as women living in the capital of Porto Alegre in Rio Grande do Sul. Black women in Porto Alegre also emphasize the role of place—as in their place

and society as well as geographic place—in their reflections on race and racism in the city.

In chapter four, I explore how the 'post-racial' perspective is being disrupted in Austin, just as in the rest of the United States, as race and racism are brought to the forefront of conversation in almost all spaces, private and public, but especially in the digital realm. The proliferation of Black women's activism in particular has allowed race to permeate the city's politics. From police brutality to gentrification, Black women—many informed by a revolutionary praxis—are spearheading resistance efforts to address some of the most pressing issues within the city. Black women are reimagining, rather than reforming, the oppressive systems that impact their lives on a daily basis. The same is also true for Porto Alegre.

Overall, in my ethnography, I argue that, through social media, organizing and communication is streamlined, and become more accessible for the average person. However, I also acknowledge the pitfalls of social media, according to my interviewees, as these platforms have been used as a tool of surveillance by the state, potentially compromising activists' work.

Finally, chapter five will conclude this thesis by synthesizing the experiences of the women I interviewed to form a transnational perspective on Black women's activism, the impact of social media, and what it means to work towards a collective future that allows us to better understand the hegemonic forces that inform our daily lives.

Chapter 2
Making the Case for Transnational Histories

Scholars have long compared and contrasted the histories of racial politics in Brazil and the United States due to both countries' involvement in the over three hundred years-long transatlantic slave trade (e.g., Hanchard 1999, Siegel 2009; Telles 2004). And as a result of this, Brazil and the U.S. currently have the largest African-descendant populations in the Americas. This history of enslavement, legitimized through the idea of biological inferiority, has since created two societies marked by rigid hierarchies of racial difference. The colonial relationship between Europe, Africa and the Americas in particular has helped solidify the core tenets of Western socio-political and economic structures—so much so that the structures of race, patriarchy, and capitalism now permeate present day societies across the world. This fraught history has rendered Brazil and the United States' African-descendant populations to the margins of society—albeit through different political and social practices. Racial politics in Brazil and the United States is neither marked by ideas of racial inclusivity, as it was promoted by the early nineteenth century intellectuals in Brazil, nor is it as different as many American scholars have purported since the late 1990's and early 2000's. However, it is undeniable that the modern day implications of race have impacted the social, political, and economic structures of American and Brazilian social life in almost every way.

It is important not to disentangle the various institutions of slavery that existed in the Americas for almost four hundred years. Therefore, in this chapter I will line up the histories of both the United States and Brazil, with a specific focus on the cities of

Austin, Texas and Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul in order to demonstrate the similar histories of each respective city.

For most scholars, both Brazilians and non-Brazilians, who study race in Brazil, race relations in the U.S. have often served as a foundation for understanding the way that race functions in the Brazilian context (Telles 2004). However, for the purpose of this chapter I would like to propose something different—to invert a sort of power imbalance that exists among those who produce knowledge in the West and non-West. Here, I will use Brazilian ideas of race to understand racial politics in an American context, specifically in the case of Austin, Texas. This idea is reflective of a more recent turn in anthropology towards decolonizing the discipline, and examining the hegemonic narratives that affect the way we as anthropologists think about knowledge production. In this chapter, I will argue that the ideology of racial democracy can be applied to the city of Austin. In order to understand how race operates in this particular context, it is necessary to have an understanding of how Austin's own racial democracy and ideas of racial harmony are promoted as a way to create an image of social cohesion and political progressiveness. The structures of race, patriarchy, and capitalism would not have been as pervasive, and arguably, even possible, without the existence of colonial expansion and chattel slavery. This ultimately demonstrates the ability of these systems to intertwine so that power is compounded twofold, allowing them to persist despite resistance. Therefore, to understand contemporary expressions of race and the implications of it, it is important to start at the beginning, when the relationship between

Europe, Africa, and the Americas became solidified through the institution of slavery that would last for over three centuries.

Slavery and Abolition in the Americas

Beginning in the early 1500s, the Portuguese began colonizing their newly captured territory, where they encountered an abundance of brazilwood, a valuable crop that would be used to create clothing dyes, and which served as the country's namesake. Due to the difficult harvesting techniques needed to cut and collect the hard wood, and the absence of pack animals, the Portuguese first enslaved the local indigenous populations to do this labor (Léry 1990). However, Brazil's native population soon began to decline as a result of disease and the harsh labor conditions. It is estimated that by 1530, the Portuguese initiated the importation of Africans to serve as a new source of labor in the colony, the first of which were captured from the shores of Luanda, in present day Angola. After a month long trip across the Atlantic Ocean, the first Africans were brought to Brazil in overcrowded slave ships. This journey, known as the Middle Passage, brought enslaved Africans into new and unfamiliar territory, as those who survived the arduous journey stepped off the ships and onto the coast of northeastern Brazil. Africans first arrived in the city of Salvador da Bahia, Brazil's colonial capital, to work as enslaved laborers. Brazilwood was soon replaced by sugarcane, an equally difficult crop to harvest, and would serve as the main economic driver in colonial Brazil (Taylor 1970, 267). The harsh conditions and labor intensive practices of sugarcane harvest infamously marked Brazil's system of slavery as one of the most brutal forms of

enslavement in all of the Americas. This system would last for more than three hundred and fifty years, and estimates of close to four million slaves would be imported to Brazil over that time period (Bourcier 2012).

Slavery in the English colonies began about one hundred years after Brazil had established its own system of enslavement. Not long after the first African slaves arrived in Jamestown, Virginia in 1619, the process of "codifying racial attitudes" began to increase in a manner that would solidify these attitudes into the fabric of the budding American nation-state (Laher 2012, 106). Establishing a racial hierarchy, that superseded class, primarily served to quell fears of uprisings among the upper-class elites, as Africans and lower-class whites were able to build alliances in order to resist their conditions of enslavement and servitude. One of the most famous of these uprisings known as Bacon's Rebellion, occurred in 1667, and can be viewed as one of the catalysts for the institutionalization of racism in the form of a system of bondage based on racial inferiority (Laher 2012). Along with the shift in racial attitudes in the late seventeenth century came an entire economy based on the enslavement of human beings. This change in the role race played in the colonies would influence the way in which this construct is conceived, and put into practice, even up to the present day.

Chattel slavery in the United States of America would begin its downfall as civil war broke out in 1861 over the legality of owning other humans as a source of labor. Four years after, this particular manifestation of slavery would come to an end. It would take another twenty-three years before Brazil would eradicate its own system of enslavement,

and in 1888, slavery in Brazil was abolished—the last holdout in the Western hemisphere.

In order to justify these processes of forced migration, the brutal conditions of chattel slavery, and the oppression of African-descendant peoples that persisted even after abolition, scientific racism became popular among anthropologists and other scientists of the day. As products of European colonization, the nation-states of Brazil and the United States adopted ideas of Social Darwinism that could apply to the postcolonial conditions in the Americas. The eugenics movement and biological determinism gained special attention among U.S. social scientists as late as the early 1900s. Some social scientists even went as far to use these theories to explain violent lynchings as a "by-product of evolution," in that white mobs only lynched Black men accused of rape, in order to protect their race from Black men who hoped to "[by raping white women] raise his race to a little higher-level (Taylor 1981, 452)." Racially-motivated lynchings were not solely a U.S. phenomenon, but were widely accepted in Brazil as well (Swift 2018).

While anti-Black violence was also prevalent in post-slavery Brazil, most actions behind biological ideas of race manifested in the *branqueamento*, or whitening, ideology that, in contrast to the American case, encouraged racial mixing and miscegenation. J.B. Lacerda, a Brazilian physical anthropologist who drew heavily from Charles Darwin's theories of sexual selection, suggested that racial intermixing, in order to purify the blood and erase all traces of Blackness, would lead to a "healthy population, almost as perfectible, as capable of progress and cultural evolution as 'pure' Caucasians" (Arteaga

2017, 301). These ideas gained traction among elites in the late nineteenth century, and remained part of dominant scientific discourse through the World War I era (Brattain 2007). Although scientific racism has not been officially relevant in the scientific community for the past century, its legacies have persisted, informing and shaping present day racial biases and attitudes.

A Tale of Two Southern Cities: Post-Abolition and Segregation from Texas to Rio Grande do Sul

In the previous section, I demonstrated the impact of the slave trade on the Americas. Now, I turn to my two cities of interest and continue this timeline into post-abolition and segregation. The previous history established some of the similarities present throughout the Americas and the continent's relationship to the transatlantic slave trade. In this section, I will show how the processes that occurred after abolition manifested into two different types of segregation in both the U.S. and Brazilian contexts by examining the cases of Austin, Texas and Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul.

The post-civil war period in the US would bring an ambitious era of prosperity for African Americans. This era, known as reconstruction, lasted from the end of the Civil War in 1865 until 1877 in order to rebuild a new south, socially, politically and economically. During this time, African Americans, for the first time, were elected to office across the southern US, ushering in a glimpse of what the future could mean for a unified, post-slavery US society. However, this period was short-lived, as northern troops left the south and Jim Crow laws rolled back reforms.

While not considered part of the Deep South, Texas lies at a "crossroads between the south and southwest" both culturally and geographically (McDonald 2012, 66). For this reason, Austin, Texas provides an important case study for how race operates in many parts of the US, including but not limited to the south. During the civil war and for part of the post-civil war era, Austin became home to many freedmen's communities.

There is sparse literature on the particular histories of post-abolition in Texas, and even less literature on individual Texas cities, making it somewhat difficult to analyze the historical racial dynamics in Austin, Texas. In the first book written on African-American history in Austin during the period of 1865-1928, *And Grace Will Lead Me Home* by historian Michelle Mears, the author identifies and traces the history of these communities until Jim Crow segregation was codified into city law in the Texas capital. At the time, Texas was a rather lawless state, and many freedmen found it safer to move to communities within or on the outskirts of cities for fear of racial violence (Mears 2009). Although the war was over, many white people "expected [Black people] to behave the way they had during slavery," and that they should act in a subordinate manner (Mears 2009, 9). Even with the protection these communities offered to freedmen, racial violence committed by white Texans was, arguably, worse than in other states due to the "lack of devastation during the Civil War, Texas' remote location on the frontier, and the low population density of the state" (Mears 2009, 10). The 1868 report by the Committee on Lawlessness and Violence supports this idea regarding the massive amounts of violence, and "if the remainder of the old Confederacy" had similar scales of violence to that of Texas, "the southern Black populace faced an even more desperate

situation than had been earlier assumed" (Crouch 2007, 110). This argument pushes back against the idea that Texas, despite being part of the Confederacy, was somehow less violent than the primary slaveholding states in the Deep South. Furthermore, Austin and other cities in central Texas were seen as a sort of respite from racial violence in the rest of the state. Historian Barry Crouch (2007) cites multiple counties in Texas where anti-Black violence occurred, however, Travis County is never mentioned. As a result, many freedmen settled in Austin and the surrounding areas outside the city.

While these communities were spread throughout the city in post-civil war Austin, white Austinites, through de facto segregation, ensured that many of the city's amenities such as parks, theaters, and other social gathering spaces would exclude Black Austinites (McDonald 2012). This informal segregation was codified under Jim Crow, and in 1928, the new city plan would create a legacy that continues to exist in law today, even if these laws are not wholly enforced.

The "1928 Master Plan," formally known as *A City Plan for Austin, Texas* enacted by Austin City Planning Commission (ACPC) was a supposed 'progressive' plan that sought to confine Austin's Black populations into a single geographic area. In order to implement laws that would legally enforce segregation, the city hired the Koch and Fowler consulting firm to devise the plan that would solve the "race segregation problem" (Koch and Fowler 1928, 57). This comprehensive city plan did not solely deal with issues of race, but also sought to expand the means of transportation, pave roads, and create new city parks and schools. However, the infamous legacy of this document lies in its creation of a "Negro District," on the eastside of the city. The recommendations

of the firm regarding race is outlined in the following quote regarding the creation of a segregated Black district, known as East Austin today. Koch and Fowler write:

> In our studies in Austin we have found that the negroes are present in small numbers, in practically all sections of the city, excepting the area just east of East Avenue and south of the City Cemetery. This area seems to be all negro population. It is our recommendation that the nearest approach to the solution of the race segregation problem will be the recommendation of this district as a negro district; and that all the facilities and conveniences be provided the negroes in this district, as an incentive to draw the negro population to this area. This will eliminate the necessity of duplication of white and black schools, white and black parks, and other duplicate facilities for this area. (Koch and Fowler 1928, 57)

It is important to note that this city plan solution to Austin's racial problem was only put in place after all other forms of zoning laws that would enforce segregation were deemed unconstitutional (Koch and Fowler 1928). Instead, the city implemented the firm's recommendations by only allowing Black Austinites to access utilities and public services within the geographic area of the eastside, without actually forcing them to move to the eastside, situating Black Austinites to become coerced agents of their own segregation. Eventually, though, for Black residents who had already established themselves in white neighborhoods, the ACPC forced them out of their homes to move to East Austin.

***

In Porto Alegre, slavery was outlawed in 1884, four years before it was abolished by the Brazilian state (Kittelson 2001). Interestingly, white women were the primary leaders of this abolitionist movement, and were heralded as an "example of the 'civic courage peculiar to the Rio-Grandense character'" (Kittelson 2001, 83). However, this demonstration of progressivism should not be mistaken for equitable treatment of Porto

Alegre's African-descendant population. Although Porto Alegre did not have a rigid segregation enacted by law, as in the US, a de facto segregation was and continues to affect Black geographies throughout the city and country.

Because of Brazil's history of miscegenation that encouraged racial mixing, it is much more difficult to trace the racial history of a city like Porto Alegre. This is reflected in the gaps of information missing from this thesis regarding the historical experiences of Black Brazilians in Porto Alegre. This lack of information makes sense, since the ideology of racial democracy is fueled by a lack of statistics and demographics on de facto racial inequalities (Paixão 2004). This lack of literature on the city's racial dynamics marks another parallel among the histories of the city of Porto Alegre in comparison to Austin. There are no known demographic records on the city during post-abolition, however, the city primarily consisted of German and Italian immigrants that arrived starting in the early 19th century and lasted until the late 20th century. This lack of demographic information is reflective of the broader idea of race being "nonexistent" in Brazil, and thus not worthy of being studied in academic settings. While there is much literature on slavery in Brazil, as academics found this much more pertinent to study, there is a "certain consensus about the fact that blacks were studied much more while they remained slaves, that is, as non-citizens… and as a result, "the historiography moved to focus towards immigrant groups" (Rosa 2014, 6). This invisibilization of Porto Alegre's Black population and the construction of Rio Grande do Sul as less Brazilian, and more 'European' lends itself to a host of issues that have rendered Black Brazilians in the capital to subordinate places within society up until today.

It is evident that shifting race relations are amplified today in both Brazilian and American urban areas. The symptoms of a racist society manifest in the structures of everyday life for African-descendant people. Structural racism presents itself in the form of housing discrimination, poor quality of education, high maternal mortality and unemployment rates, and disproportionate acts of state-sanctioned violence. Some scholars, such as Michelle Alexander (2010), have argued that although segregation is over, in practice, the application and interpretation of law resembles that of the Jim Crow era. Today, it has morphed into a system even more complex in the form of mass incarceration in the United States and beyond. All of these and more have become a reality in Black communities transnationally.

Implications for the Present

Constructing a city's identity, as a microcosm of the capitalist nation-state, requires a rigid, hierarchical structure that serves to place some individuals at the metaphorical, and physical, 'core,' just as others are forced to the 'periphery.' The cities of Austin and Porto Alegre are not excluded from this idea. Austin specifically is heralded as being an inclusive, progressive place, both by those living within and outside the city (Story 2018). In Brazilian cities, Porto Alegre included, "spatial exclusion is at the core of gendered racial stratification," resulting in "mass black political organization" (Perry 2013, xv). Yet, Austin and Porto Alegre have essentially sought to invisibilize their Black populations through processes of segregation, displacement, and discrimination. Therefore, it is pertinent to analyze and situate these histories together to

emphasize the transnationality of race and gender dynamics, in particular, in a city like Austin or Porto Alegre.

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's thesis on the "Latin Americanization" of racial dynamics, offers some background to this idea. He theorizes about a "tri-racial" system comprised of Whites, "honorary" Whites, and a "collective" Black, reflective of a Latin American or Caribbean type of racial stratification (Bonilla-Silva 2002, 4). The "accompanying ideology" of this system, according to Bonilla-Silva, is a "color-blind racism," similar to that of *mestizaje* and racial democracy, which will further entrench white supremacy into the fabric of the U.S. nation-state (Bonilla-Silva 2002, 6). While Bonilla-Silva focuses on the broader U.S., as well as other Western nations, in this chapter I delve deeper into this idea to apply the theory to a case today.

The idea of racial democracy, a distinctly Brazilian racial ideology, has not been applied to a U.S. city, let alone one that is considered to be progressive and to the left of the rest of the state's more conservative politics. One of the reasons for this is the colonial legacy of academia—especially within the social sciences—that uses theories derived from Western academics to then apply them to non-western contexts. Thus, it is rare to use racial ideologies from the non-West to explain social phenomena in Western society, especially in a country like the U.S. I would argue that in a city like Austin, often seen as a bastion of progressive liberalism, the political elite and citizenry have collectively proclaimed their own racial democracy in the capital of the Lone Star State.

The irony of racial harmony within a city that has been historically violent towards its African-American population is only a possible through these processes of

invisibilization that create a false sense of social cohesion. In Austin, the coerced segregation of Black residents as a result of the city's 1928's master plan was seen as 'progressive' for the time, in that it did not illegally segregate through zoning laws, but instead cut off city services to African-Americans in other parts of the city to force them to move to the eastside of the city, and solve the "race problem (Koch and Fowler 1928, 57)." Similarly, the current displacement of Black residents through processes of gentrification serves as a modern-day form of invisibilization that encourages processes of urban renewal and real estate development at the expense of Black livelihoods.

A recent report from the University of Toronto's Martin Prosperity Institute found that the Austin-Round Rock metro area is the most economically-segregated large metro area in the United States, and third for U.S. metros overall (Florida and Mellander 2015). And while this study focuses on class segregation, one could hypothesize that similar conclusions can be drawn on the basis of racial segregation as well. Yet, despite these factors that have forced Black women in particular to the margins, the following two chapters will outline the experiences of Black women activists located in Austin and Porto Alegre who are using activism and social media as a way to counteract and supplement their fight to be visible and liberated from the interlocking oppressions of race, gender, and class.

Chapter 3
Ciberativistas Negras: Racial Justice in Porto Alegre

> As I walked down the wobbly stairs and onto the tarmac, I got my first taste of the sweltering hot summer air. The effect of heat was exacerbated by the stark contrast in temperature from the airplane, and the jet lag that had me left unable to sleep despite the ten-hour flight from Houston to São Paulo, and the connection to Porto Alegre. The Black asphalt glistened beneath my feet, making it clear that it had just rained, the humidity hanging in the air under the gray sky. The beginning of January was the dead heat of summer in Brazil, and in the south, rain was quite common during the summer months. It was 3 pm in the afternoon, and the temperature had reached almost 95 degrees Fahrenheit. Between the temperature and the high humidity, I was already sweating as I dragged my bag on the damp ground towards the airport terminal doors. As I entered the terminal, I was immediately surrounded by the chatter amongst the crowd of people waiting for their flights, and the echo of the loud speaker speaking in a language I felt like I had never heard before. It was the first time I had been immersed in Portuguese, and despite the years of teaching myself the language, it was as if all that studying went out the window. I'm finally in Brazil, a journey I had not even planned until about two months ago.
>
> — Personal field notes; January 3, 2019

My time in Brazil was one of the most incredible experiences of my undergraduate years. I had never visited a country in which the majority of the people who lived there looked like me. Even if there was somewhat of a language barrier between us, the connection I felt with other women of the African diaspora was indescribable. The friendly, hospitable nature of Brazilians that I had heard so much about before traveling there was 100% true in my experience. Each of the women I interviewed gave me a small gift, welcoming me into their lives through the universal language of selfless giving, despite the fact that they were doing me a favor by agreeing to be interviewed for my thesis.

In *Negras in Brazil: Re-envisioning Black Women, Citizenship, and the Politics of Identity*, Black feminist anthropologist Kia Lilly Caldwell (2007) analyzes Black Brazilian women's everyday experiences and how certain aspects of citizenship disenfranchise and marginalize these women. Similar to the rest of the Americas, the dark shadow of slavery permeates the structures of Brazilian culture and society to this day. The racial and gendered implications of this enslavement and its "reconfiguration in post-abolition Brazilian society have led to markedly different social experiences and social locations for most black and white women" (Caldwell 2007, 153). In 1998, Black Brazilians accounted for about 35% of the no income population, and "66.9% of wage earners receiving less than half a minimum wage" (Paixão 2004, 749). Furthermore, the 1998 Human Development Index (HDI)—a tool developed by the United Nations, that measures "the quality of life of countries, regions, or specific population groups"—ranked the HDI of Brazil's white population as 'high,' while Black Brazilians ranked medium-low, just above that of Bolivia, the most economically impoverished country on the Latin American continent (Paixão 2007, 751). These statistics alone illuminate the dire situation and stark inequality that Black Brazilians face. What they do not show, however, is the individuals' lived experiences who make up these numbers within the bureaucratic database.

In this chapter, I will discuss Black Brazilian women's perceptions on the politics of identity and place, and the essential role of social media in their racial justice activism, as women living in Porto Alegre and Pelotas, Rio Grande do Sul. I conducted three interviews, one in Porto Alegre and two in Pelotas, but will focus primarily on two

women's stories for the purpose of this chapter. These interviews attempt to explore how women today navigate through the racial history I described in the previous chapter, and find their voices to advocate for transformative change. Originally, I had hoped to conduct all my interviews in Pelotas, a medium-size city three hours from Porto Alegre, since I already had connections there. However, finding women who were willing to speak to a stranger—who also happened to be foreign—about intimate details of their lives, their identity, was not an easy task.

Most of the questions I asked revolved around ideas of self-reflection on race and gender, and what it means to be a Black woman in majority white spaces. These questions then led to my primary interest in understanding how Black women involved in racial justice activism use and experience various social media platforms. The role of social media in activism has been relatively unstudied due to the relative novelty of these platforms. The power of social media platforms lies in the ability for people to communicate across time and geographic space. Social media has essentially flattened and compressed time zones into an unending 24-hour cycle of information flowing from news outlets, blogs, and global citizens making and maintaining instant connection to anyone and everything on and offline.

Yarimar Bonilla and Jonathan Rosa (2015) emphasize the importance of social media platforms, especially Twitter, as sites in which marginalized people are now equipped with "new tools for documenting incidents of state-sanctioned violence" in order to "[contest] media representations of racialized bodies" (Bonilla and Rosa 2015, 5). They treat hashtags as field sites that should be taken seriously, even if the

"heightened temporality" renders events more ephemeral. The rapid transmission of information through the virality of hashtags creates a sense of urgency, making a topic or event more visible. In the case of #BlackLivesMatter, Bonilla and Rosa (2015) asses the often paradoxical relationship in mainstream media between the hyper-racialization, surveillance, and stigmatization of Black bodies against the backdrop of invisibilization that often occurs. It is for this reason that many Black activists have turned to social media. Through platforms like Twitter, these organizers can elevate their cause and contest the "media silences" surrounding the "state-sanctioned violence against racialized populations" (Bonilla and Rosa 2015, 12).

Becoming an Activist

The first woman I interviewed in Brazil was a 30-year-old scholar-activist named Winnie, originally from Porto Alegre, who had grown up in Pelotas and attended university there. Her parents were part of the *Movimento Negro* (Black Movement) in Porto, so when I asked her how she had become involved in activism, she informed me that she had engaged with *militância* (organizing) from a young age and how that has shaped her as a person today.

> I started to understand the Black movement in Porto Alegre because my mom was an organizer. She brought us into the movement spaces, so I have an education in the Black movement. I was created by the Black movement. (Winnie, personal interview, January 2019) [2i]

[2] All quotes in this chapter were translated by the author of this thesis.

Similar to the other organizers I will speak about below, Winnie's involvement in organizing and activism from a young age has deeply influenced the way she moves throughout the world today. She was heavily involved in activism as an undergraduate student at the University of Pelotas, and has continued her organizing work since she moved to Porto Alegre. She coordinates a local activist group called *Rede de Ciberativistas Negras* (Black Women Cyberactivists Network), a local chapter of a national organization in which members use social media to connect and organize through tactics of digital resistance.

Another woman I spoke to was Brenda, a 37-year-old professor and scholar-activist. Growing up in the *perifería* (outskirts) of Pelotas, Brenda came from a humble working class family. Her mother was a domestic worker and her father a factory worker. Brenda, along with all the other Brazilian women I spoke to, had become involved in racial justice activism during their time as undergraduate students at their respective universities.

> First, I was involved in class-based movements… I entered into the black movement through research. Research is a port of entrance. I got to know the Black movement and began to involve myself in activism on the question of ethnicity, the question of Blackness, and on class, too… But I was always in the student movement, from the academic center, I always participated. But my insertion into the Black movement made me into a scholar-activist. (Brenda, personal interview, January 2019) [ii]

I was interested to hear the way in which becoming a scholar, as well as coming from a working class background, increased the black women's propensity to become involved in activism and organizing. Although this was not a quantitative study, I came to this conclusion after speaking to the activists, in which they also informed me that the

women they organized with came from similar underprivileged backgrounds, who then became more deeply engaged with activist causes in college. This brings validity to the idea that, through education, critical consciousness often arises for those who are most oppressed within society (Freire 1970). Black, working-class women have often lead racial justice movements, even when patriarchal gender norms have sought to exclude them from being the face of these movements.

The Politics of Identity and Place

Since the 2018 election of right-wing president Jair Bolsonaro, a former army captain who served during Brazil's military dictatorship, Brazil has seen a resurgence in active resistance across the country. While the reality for Black Brazilians has never been ideal, the global turn towards conservatism has been especially detrimental to Black women. Winnie expressed this in the following quote about her thoughts on the current political situation in Brazil.

> And about this political moment, I think it's horrible. But I think cycles exist. Now we're living in a cycle of conservatism. Brazil isn't disassociated from this, right. There's European conservatism in the Global North, just like in Brazil and Latin America, demonstrating the advancement of conservatism. But I believe that people are very scared and we've already passed through a lot of difficult moments in which Black women fought and survived. Then you have an ongoing politic of Brazilian genocide, and we're alive and doing things. I think it's a difficult political moment, but a moment of reorganization of Black women's political movements in the country. (Winnie, personal interview, January 2019)[iii]

The southern part of Brazil has rarely been an object of study in regards to race and the African diaspora, because of the small Black population in comparison to the rest of the country. This is one of the reasons I chose this region instead of the northeastern and southeastern regions, in which cities such as Salvador, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro,

have often been researched in terms of Brazilian racial politics. As a result, one of the questions I was interested in is whether the women I spoke to had given thought to the idea of different racisms existing in different places around Brazil, specifically in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Winnie states that

> the south of Brazil is perverse, cruel. If you think about Black women in Salvador, they all have a relation to the aesthetic that we don't have here, because the cities are really white. The cultures referenced from here are very white and the people don't recognize you as a person from Rio Grande do Sul. Since the external image of the state is linked to white people, when you leave here, people also don't recognize you as a person from Rio Grande do Sul. You're not recognized anywhere. When I travel people always ask if I'm from Salvador, or from São Paulo. Anywhere except for Rio Grande do Sul. This is crazy. It sucks, but it's also strategic, right. It makes you have a little more mobility in the sense of not being from anywhere. It gives you a greater freedom, I think. (Winnie, personal interview, January 2019)[iv]

Winnie describes this idea of being from *nenhum lugar* as a "strategic" tool in achieving liberation in that she is able to find autonomy through this. When one is not allowed to identify with the place they are from because of internal and external ideas of that place, it creates the "mobility" to navigate and adapt to many places and spaces. Essentially, the perception of whiteness on the landscape of Rio Grande do Sul alienates Black people, but also gives them the power to be mobile in ways non-Black people cannot be.

Furthermore, the sentiment Winnie expresses demonstrates the invisibilization that Black people, and Black women specifically, face in a state constructed as a predominantly white space—a state that prides itself on its proximity to European heritage. Through this process of invisibilization, the state of Rio Grande do Sul, essentially, removes cultural citizenship from Black *gaúchos* (people from Rio Grande do Sul). Here I understand cultural citizenship as the "cultural practices and beliefs produced

out of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state" and the hegemonic processes that formalize connection to and "belonging within a national population and territory" (Ong 1996, 738). While Rio Grande do Sul is not the only state in Brazil that has effectively denied cultural citizenship to Black people—in fact, this is a transnational phenomenon—it seems to be more pronounced in that Rio Grande do Sul is able to exclude Black Brazilians because of the state's dominant white population. This is something that would not be possible in many other states in Brazil, as Black Brazilians make up the majority across the country.

The idea of belonging to the nation and questions of citizenship are echoed in Black feminist anthropologist Christen Smith's (2019) book, *Afro-Paradise: Blackness, Violence, and Performance in Brazil*. In it, she indicates that Blackness in Brazil is "caught somewhere between biopolitics and necropolitics" and that "the state's project is not to produce black citizen-subjects but rather black national objects, and to exclude black people from the nation rather than incorporate them into the citizenry" (82). Smith (2016) calls this a paradox in which "black people are at once nationals and noncitizens" (82). For Black gaúchos, they are both and neither. On the macro-level, this statement is true in that Black gaúcho*s* are included as "national objects" in the context of the Brazilian state. However, on the micro-level, they are not part of the microcosm of the nation that exists in Rio Grande do Sul, because of its construction as a white, European-adjacent, nation-place, and by default this designates them as neither objects of that nation, nor citizens. Within Rio Grande do Sul, Black people are not even perceived as national objects, but are invisibilized entirely.

Brenda also talked about place in a related but different way, stating that,

> There's a psychiatrist author that I'm reading that talks about the socially constructed place for Blacks in Brazil. I feel myself leaving this constructed place and constructing new places. Always serving, sweeping, cleaning, or [serving] sexually, never choosing and creating our own paths…We don't need to stay in the place that society has reserved for Black Brazilian women. (Brenda, personal interview, January 2019)[v]

The social place that Brenda speaks about contrasts the geographic space that Winnie articulated in my interview with her. However, in both instances, place is directly tied to the way in which Black women are simultaneously constructing and deconstructing their identities in order to fit in or stand out in the way we are perceived by those outside of their community.

This double, yet overlapping, meaning of place echoes the way in which Kathrerine McKittrick (2011) conceptualizes a "black sense of place." This geographic, as well as social metaphorical, place should "be understood as the process of materially and imaginatively *situating* historical and contemporary struggles against practices of domination and the difficult entanglements of racial encounter (McKittrick 2011, 949)." Through McKittrick's academic writing and the everyday lived experiences of the women I interviewed, we are able to understand the way in which hegemony functions as a system that relies not only on social relations, but also on space and place, in order to sustain the structures of white supremacy, patriarchy, and global capitalism. These structures also inform the way in which activists are navigating digital space through social media platforms.

Merging Social Media and Activism

Guobin Yang (2016) discusses the important role of narrative agency in contemporary social media activism. He argues that "in contrast to 'traditional' forms of digital activism, such as signing online petitions," there is a distinct form of narrative in what he calls "hashtag activism" that separates it from other forms of online activism (Yang 2016, 14). Through the narratives that activists create via hashtags, they are offered a sense of agency that allows these organizers to take control of their story, and have an infinite audience and a 24 hour a day, 7 days per week platform within the digital space. Further, people are able to share personal thoughts on an issue, yet others are able to join in as well, creating a narrative that has multiple contributors.

Just as in many countries around the world, hashtag activism has played a significant role in civil protest in Brazil. In 2017, Rio de Janeiro councilwoman Marielle Franco, a Black queer woman from the favelas who won the most votes of any candidate in the city's history, was assassinated along with the driver of her vehicle. She was a sociologist, ardent Black feminist, and an expert on police brutality who often spoke out against the military occupation of Rio's predominantly-Black favelas. Her death sparked protests across Brazil and international outrage after it was revealed that the bullets that struck her car were linked to ammunition that had been sold to the Federal Police (Alves 2018). The hashtag *#MariellePresente* (Marielle is here) immediately began to trend, and many began to ask "*quem mandou matar Marielle"* (Who ordered the killing of Marielle?) in thousands of threads and comment sections across social media. This tragic event brought the issue of state-sanctioned violence against Black Brazilians to the

national conversation, just as police killings reached an all-time high that year—1,444 from January to November in Rio de Janeiro alone, according to the Public Security Insitute (Human Rights Watch 2018).

More recently, the hashtag #*EleNão* (Not him) started by opponents of Jair Bolsonaro during the 2018 Brazilian presidential campaign, began as a rallying cry for women that spread across all social media platforms. Bolsonaro's previous offensive comments about women, Black people, and queer people, spurred the creation of this digital protest (Uchoa 2018).

This type of digital activism is often criticized by those engaging with the "so-called 'Slacktivism hypothesis"—the idea that "engaging in low-threshold acts of political participation online will decrease willingness to engage in more effortful action offline" (Kwak et al. 2018). I asked Brenda about this criticism of digital activism, in contrast to more traditional forms of activism, like protests, sit-ins, and boycotts. She explained that

> Black movements use [social media] a lot as a tool to spread information. Social media helps a lot in this…With the advent of social media, it changes things, right? But they have their impact, as with the #EleNão movement that began on social media and took to the streets. I think they complement each other, and it would be impossible not to use social networks. I think we have to use them as a tool…[It] is necessary, but we still need to take to the streets. (Brenda, personal interview, January 2019)[vi]

Here, Brenda addresses the critique of slacktivism and is able to demonstrate the way in which social media is used as a complementary organizing tool to more traditional forms of resistance. In one anecdote about her experience with the #EleNão movement, she told me about the time she went to a protest march in downtown Pelotas. Although she said

she did not help organize it, she was invited to give a speech. She eventually ended up on the front of the newspaper, exposing her to a whole host of problems that seeped into her professional life as a professor.

> I didn't organize it, there were white women who did. I was invited to give a speech. Let's contextualize this. A political movement, super complicated, no one knew what would happen. I was on the front page of the city newspaper. This caused me problems with my students. I arrived in class and had a student chanting "BOLSONARO!" Out of all the white women who spoke, I was on the front page of the newspaper, the only Black woman there… the whole city saw me, my bosses. I didn't organize the movement, I was invited and then I left. I made my speech exciting, but why was I the focus? These questions are about representation. We [Black women] are the most exposed. No one knows who are the white women that spoke, but why was I shown [on the newspaper]? (Brenda, personal interview, January 2019)[vii]

Brenda's quote emphasizes the simultaneous dichotomy of invisibility and hypervisibility that Black women face in their daily lives. She was in no way a part of organizing this protest but somehow ended up on the newspaper, which had broader implications for her as the only Black woman at the march, as well as being part of the small demographic of Black Brazilians in the city of Pelotas. She used the word "exposed" and "danger" several more times after as she explained the aftermath of the situation, demonstrating the way in which hypervisibility for Black women does not just mean being noticed more, but rather how being put in precarious situations then opens the door for more encounters with interpersonal, and structural, racism.

The activists in Brazil had mixed things to say as far as the type of platforms they deemed best to engage with activism. I went into my interviews thinking that most of the women would be using Twitter most for activism, because of the important role that hashtags play on the platform. Additionally, many of the articles I have read on digital

activism has focused primarily on Twitter, because of the rapid, temporal availability of information (e.g., Baer 2016; Bonilla and Rosa 2015; Bosch 2016). Therefore, I was surprised to hear that each woman I spoke to had a different take on which platform they preferred, and that Twitter was not the main platform of choice. Winnie was by far the most avid social media user when it came to organizing work. She expressed why she left Facebook and began to use Twitter, stating that

> I acted a lot on Facebook, and now I move more through Twitter. I think it's safer in a mental health sense, because Facebook leaves you more exposed. It's much more reactive. This is something that change and I've focused more on maybe translating a bit of my academic experience on Twitter. I try a little bit to put my academic knowledge into accessible language. On Twitter, I believe that this inspires people and later makes them go back to search for more knowledge. Because I really believe that this is a moment in which we need to study. With the advance of conservativism, we [need to] retreat and study to have knowledge about how to have a perspective of resistance. (Winnie, personal interview, January 2019)[viii]

Brenda, essentially, said the opposite and said that she preferred Facebook to Twitter, since "Facebook is more for the people" and that "Twitter is more politicized… and for the elite."

Finally, on the function of social media overall, the women echoed the sentiments related to its importance in sharing experiences, being able to know what others think and to understand each other's lived experiences, giving visibility to the Black women's movement, and connecting on a personal level with people across vast spaces of the country and the world.

> Knowing what others think, what they live, and you don't feel lonely. Finally, I think that it's an important thing in terms of facilitation and I think that the increase in access to the Internet also helped to give another appearance to the Black women's movement, and at the same time created a series of other problems… It seems like the Black women's movement emerged on Youtube and

> that's not it. There's a trajectory, a history, and I think that this is the problem of social media. But at the same time it's the platforms that give visibility. For example, what I have today as an activist comes from social media, without a doubt. (Winnie, personal interview, January 2019)[ix]

At the end of the interview, Winnie emphasized how crucial it is to understand the history of a movement, and not just the contemporary history of activism in the digital age. It is easy to forget how a movement begins with the rapid relaying of information via the Internet. Yet, the roots of racial justice movements go back to the times of enslavement, and despite the ebbs and flows over the years of activist and organizing tactics, Black women have resisted since then, and will continue to resist until liberation is achieved.

Chapter 4
(Re)conceptualizing Systems: Racial Justice in Austin

> So how I operate every day, I try to make sure little things are part of my liberation. Like smiling at all the Black women I see on campus, or acknowledging other Black people as I walk down the street. Because those are small moments of liberation. Small moments of acknowledging that you are a person, I'm a person, we're in the same space together. So I think that [activism] has become more continual for me.
>
> —Iris, personal interview, January 2019

In an article published in January 2019, Lakeya Omogun (2019) detailed her experiences as a Black woman moving from New York City to Austin. Omogun, a doctoral candidate at the University of Texas at Austin's School of Education, expressed her nervousness about moving to the south. However, she was then consoled by a friend from Austin who described it as a liberal place, as a "blue dot in the red sea (Omogun 2019)." To many in Austin, this phrase is one that is often echoed by both longtime residents and visitors alike. There is some validity to this in that Austin has been consistently voted for "blue" Democrats, from city council to statewide and national elections. Yet, any analysis of U.S. would demonstrate the way in which the election of Democrats to office does not necessarily bring about the type of progressive change to improve the lives of poor, Black, or any other marginalized group in society. The essence of Omogun's article is that she describes the type of racism she experienced in Austin as being peculiar in that often times it came from those who would consider themselves "liberal" or "progressive." Omogun questioned how Austin can be defined as "liberal when its history and policies have been strategically crafted to keep Black and Brown people on the outskirts of society. This sentiment is neither surprising nor uncommon to

Black women in Austin, and is reflected in the following ethnographic analysis of the interviews I conducted with activists in the city.

In this chapter, I argue that the prevailing "post-racial" perspective is being disrupted in Austin, just as in the rest of the United States, as race and racism are brought to the forefront of conversation in almost all spaces, but especially within the digital realm. The proliferation of Black women's activism in particular has allowed race to permeate Austin's politics, leading us to conclude that any discussion of the racialized politics of space in Austin must necessarily include the aspect of gender. From police brutality to gentrification, Black women—many informed by a revolutionary praxis—are spearheading resistance efforts to address some of the most pressing issues within the city, and social media is an essential, yet also detrimental, part of these organizing efforts. Here, Black women are reimagining, rather than reforming, the oppressive systems that impact their lives on a daily basis. The same is true for Porto Alegre. In this way, the narratives in the following pages about U.S. Black women's activism should be read alongside, rather than separate from, my ethnographic chapter on Brazilian women's activism.

In Search of Collective Autonomy

Over the course of the past year, I got to know some of the members of Black Sovereign Nation (BSN), a local activist group in Austin. BSN is a pro-Black, anti-capitalist organization founded in 2016 with the goal of achieving autonomy in Black communities. BSN is also part of a larger cooperative federation, known as 400+1

(pronounced "four hundred and one"). 400+1's mission statement from their website reads as the following:

> 400+1 is a framework for the global empowerment and wealth of Black people. We are dedicated to nurturing the collective imagination of the African Diaspora in an effort to build societies that preserve human dignity. We aim to transform not only the material condition of Black life, but the holistic condition, by respecting the spiritual and emotional experience of Black people.

BSN as an organization has a variety of programs to achieve these ends, including a community school for Black children, community gardens for low-income residents of East Austin, and in partnership with 400+1, their newest initiative, #WeMustHealOurselves, an "abolitionist and healing oriented framework" that uses restorative justice to promote reconciliation for and acknowledgment of Black sexual assault survivors (400+1 2018). Both of the women I interviewed for the following ethnographic analysis are part of this organizing collective mounting a strong resistance against the oppressive systems that inform daily life for members of the global African diaspora in Austin and beyond.

In my interview with Iris, we conversed about what it means to be a Black woman activist in Austin. Iris is in her mid-thirties, a member of Black Sovereign Nation's teaching collective, and a PhD student at the University of Texas at Austin's College of Education. Some of the topics that came up in the interview with her were the politics of aesthetics and hypervisibility within white spaces. Like Omogun (2019), Iris is from the northern U.S., and spent most of her life in Chicago, and Nassau, Bahamas where her family is from. Moving to Austin shifted the way in which she perceived her Blackness. She said:

> I am acutely aware of being a Black woman- and so- my hair was not in dreads before coming here. I always would twist it and untwist it, twist it and untwist it, then just decided to leave them in. And like, yes, I'm acutely aware of how I am not part of the dominant community here, as a Black woman, as Black woman with a different hairstyle than they're used to, as a Black woman in a university they're not expecting. And so, yeah, in Austin I'm absolutely aware that I am a Black woman and it makes me proud. I think I wear it even stronger because it's like yes, that's who I am. And there is some type of trepidation at times when I'm the only one. And it's like, you try and you read [the space] to see, like, where is my safety here? How vocal can I be about who I am? I think Austin has made me more aware [of my Blackness].

Iris's response to my question is consistent with the findings of a recent report by Santos et al. (2018). This report was part of a transnational project consisting of research teams at the University of Texas at Austin and the *Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo Research Foundation), in which researchers analyzed Black women's experiences with violence in Austin and São Paulo. Surveys and interviews conducted in Austin revealed common themes of "hyper-and-in-visibility, white liberalism, lack of safe spaces, and the need for more resources" (Santos et al. 2018, 7). Just as Iris noted in the quote above, the paradox of external forces rendering Black women as both seen and unseen in places such as Austin has also informed the way violence shapes the lives of these women amidst the backdrop of Donald Trump's election and rising ethno-national and conservative movements in the U.S. The following section goes further in detail on the implications of the current U.S. political climate for Black women in Austin.

Race, Violence, and the Contemporary U.S. Political Landscape

The election of Donald Trump as president of the United States was a continuation of the worldwide turn towards conservatism and nationalism, especially in the West. Soon after, contentious elections in France and Italy also saw the emergence of far-right political parties lead by candidates who would normally be minor figures on the political landscape. These right-wing populist political figures not only became mainstream, but even made it to the last rounds of voting, as in the case of France with Marine Le Pen. While President Trump's election came as a shock to most people in the U.S. and around the world, others knew from the beginning that his populist, "America First" rhetoric would resonate with many white and conservative voters in the U.S.

Kyla, a 26-year-old full-time organizer, womanist, and self-described aspiring revolutionary based in Austin, said of the current political climate that she originally thought that "Trump was driving us closer to revolution," and that, most likely, things would "get so bad" to the point in which a large-scale societal, economic, and political transformation would be possible. Yet, at the end of her statement, she added that "it's interesting how quickly human nature is to adapt to a situation" (Kyla 2019). She referred to specifically to the way in which many Black and people of color have become so fatigued by the constant barrage of the 24-hour news cycle focused on Trump's offensive Tweets, or the latest devastating blow to progressive policy, that they have given up achieving liberation in the near future.

The current political situation in the U.S. has created an even more precarious situation for Black, Brown and other marginalized groups. The rise of hate crimes and

white-nationalist violence has spiked. According to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), "39 of the 50 extremist-related murders tallied by the group in 2018 were committed by white supremacists" (Parker and Sonmez 2019). This is a 25% increase from 2017. Further along in my interview with Iris, she reflected on the political climate in the wake of Donald Trump's presidency. She said that:

> The current political climate in the US is scary. I think it's forced me to think about how I present in the world too, like when I'm at restaurants or when I'm just- like, I decided when I moved to Texas I decided not to bring my car, because I was worried about driving as a Black woman here. Worried about how I'd be seen on the streets, and worried about my safety in my car. And so I'm finding other ways to travel around the city, because I just don't feel comfortable in a car as a Black woman in Texas. So I think that the political climate has impacted that dramatically. (Iris, personal interview, December 2018)

Here, Iris hints at her fear of interactions with the police, especially involving traffic stops. A plethora of videos depicting police violence and brutality have been woven into the fabric of social media platforms. The psychological effects of these videos blasted across all corners of the Internet could be the subject of an entire thesis in itself, but for the purpose of this section, I use this idea of trauma to contextualize Iris's sentiment above. While these instances of violence have always existed, social media gives these videos viral attention, which has changed the way the U.S. public thinks about and consumes images of violence against Black bodies. As Breea Willingham (2018) describes it, "social media has become the platform by which voyeurs can view the lynchings," thus, creating a repetitive cycle in which Black people must endure the trauma of seeing people who look like us brutalized and even killed at the hands of the state.

Kyla brought up the way in which organizing through social media, while it has its merits, is easily compromised in terms of being infiltrated by state institutions. The words of Arundhati Roy's Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture resonate with this notion, that "in the era of surveillance capitalism, a few people will know everything about us, and will use this information to control us" (Roy 2019). These platforms, used as a tool for surveillance, increases the risk of activists falling victim to state violence. Kyla went on to say:

> Like what if you're talking to somebody who's not even near your city? It can get really dicey. Because if you look at the Black Panthers, they were infiltrated and they didn't have a social media. They didn't have phones, they didn't have any of these things, so like it's like doubly dangerous. Triply, *quadruply* dangerous. The power that the state has now to look into your life and see what you're doing and track you is just insane. It's crazy, but it's been done on the back of xenophobia and fucking racism, and lies and shit. People will allow fear to control them and put themselves in a situation where now their rights are imposed upon. And now the government can say, "well, Kyla you are engaged in behavior that is a threat to the state," and like literally decide that they want to like take me away, and there's nothing that anybody can do about it… It's so dangerous for us to do this work. Especially now that you can be classified as a "Black Identity Extremist", and there'll be no reason. [We're] so heavily criminalized and looked down on that even just doing this work to the real extent, like not just like, "oh, I'm going to do a book drive" or "I'm going to like pass out stuff to kids," that shit is applauded. But like when you decide I'm actually going to like teach people how to grow their own food and police their own neighborhood, then that is like, okay, now you're a threat to the status quo. (Kyla, personal interview, December 2018)

She later gave the example of how her girlfriend, also a part of BSN and a spokesperson for 400+1, had been visited by the FBI five or six times in 2018 alone. The public nature of BSN's activist campaigns and social media use, has made the women involved with the organization vulnerable to surveillance. Kyla and her partner had never engaged in violent acts to achieve their organizing goals. They were not toting guns into the state Capitol building downtown, as the Black Panthers did some 52 years ago in Sacramento,

California. Instead, Kyla recognized the fact that the very existence of an organization that promotes autonomous, sovereign Black and communities of color is inevitably a threat to the imagined cohesion of the nation-state.

The Intricacies of Liberation

As the capital of Texas, there are many activist organizations in Austin dedicated to a multitude of city, state and national level political causes. Many of the racial justice-focused organizations that rely on a more reformist approach have become popular in Austin with the general public and politicians alike. On the contrary, BSN's radical politics of reimagining Austin and global society has made it difficult for them to amass the necessary funding for their program initiatives. This is one of the reasons 400+1 was created, as it contains a reparations-style funding model. Still, funding in general remains an issue, and the commitment to "the struggle," as Kyla called it, has posed a major problem in her organizing efforts and in her personal life. She said that

> Now you have to do all these things and you slowly see how people's politics shift a little bit after they get this money because you have to. Even with grant funding. We're really trying to get away from that at some point because that still lends you to white liberal folks who have money. They consider that they're liberal, but they will only give you this—like this little box. "You can stay in this little box. Don't deviate from this box or you won't get the money." And that in itself is a problem because what happens when it's necessary for you to leave the box in order to achieve your own freedom?... I can't take funds from certain donors. Like, we've had to pass on money and opportunities and stuff. It's so hard. I've had to turn down jobs and I'm poor. And it's so difficult because I also still need to eat and live in Austin, but at the same time I've committed myself to doing these things. So that means a lot of struggling and that means a lot of like, isolation and it means a lot of pain because everything around me reinforces that. (Kyla, personal interview, December 2018)

BSN and 400+1 are reluctant to accept grants from liberal donors, as this often forms the basis for movement co-optation, according to Kyla. As a result, however, it can be hard to build a following when the majority of people do not agree with the organization's politics. I responded with a follow-up question asking whether she thought people had given up on achieving liberation. She goes on to emphasize some of the difficulties in imagining worlds that have never been a reality, especially when it is easy to become complacent:

> So I think like it's a lot of things that go into play, especially after like the Civil Rights, what we saw with the Black Panthers, and the frustration there that really changed the game for how revolution could even be accomplished for Black folks in the United States. So I think all of that comes into play. Um, in terms of what you said about do I feel like people have just given up, I think people are complacent. I think that we're taught to be complacent. I think educationally we're not taught to critically think… But what does that do to our ability to think of something that has never been created because when we talk about revolution or freedom for Black folks, what are we talking about? Something that has never happened in the course of America. So these things that were coming up with have to be—it's almost like Sci-Fi. That's why there's such a connection between Black feminist thought, and Black revolutionary thought and Black sci-fi, because it's one in the same. (Kyla, personal interview, December 2018)

The connection she makes between Black feminism, Black revolutionaries and Black sci-fi reflects ideas of Afrofuturism, a form of speculative fiction that incorporates aspects of the African diaspora and technology (Broadnax 2018). Her perspective on the intricacies of achieving liberation demonstrate an understanding that although these worlds have never been realities, speculation about them is crucial in undoing and remaking a socially constructed world.

In the final chapter of her book *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation*, Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor (2016) demonstrates the paradox of Black people's "inclusion

into mainstream society" and politics, stating that "at a moment when African Americans have achieved what no rational person could have imagined when the Civil War ended, we have simultaneously entered a new period of Black protest," and the emergence of a new Black movement (193). Black women in Austin have taken on this paradox to fuel their resistance against gentrification, exclusion, and police brutality, to name a few causes. Black women also use the particular circumstances of the current to parse out the details of what liberation could and should look like. Iris imagines it as the following:

> I want to be active in talking about liberation, as an equitable community, not just reinforcing a hierarchy where women are higher than other groups, or Black women are higher than other groups. But recognizing that we all are bringing different strengths to the table, and valuing each of those strengths equitably. My freedom is tied to my community's freedom. And that is a community of people as scholars, a community of people as Black women, a community of different generations. There's many different communities… (Iris, personal interview, December 2018)

I found it important that she mentions that we should not reinforce "a hierarchy where Black women are higher than other groups," because often times mainstream feminist movements aspire to be equal to or above the status of self-identified men. Whether in the work place or in romantic partnerships, instead of aspiring to be equal with men in the current hierarchical system, Black feminists are aspiring to be liberated from the confines of this hierarchy all together.

At the beginning of our interview, Iris showed me the current book she was reading. She flipped through the worn copy, with pages highlighted and marked with colorful Post-It's and notes written in the margins. It was a book I had become rather familiar with and had read multiple times. Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor's *How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combahee River Collective* contains a series of interviews

with prominent Black feminists from past and present generations. Iris paraphrased one of the foundational tenets of the Combahee River Collective's statement, as she said it best summarizes why she is a Black feminist and what liberation means to her:

> I recognize that liberation is- if Black women are free, everyone else is free. Because Black women experience oppression because of race, because of gender, because of economics in the US, that if structures are shifted to respond to the needs of Black women, I think that many other oppressions are also addressed. (Iris, personal interview, December 2018)

As global politics continue to shift further right, using Black feminism as a praxis to achieve social, political, and economic liberation is becoming more relevant than ever before for Black women. Social media has heightened and made information so readily available to the point that our understanding of the world becomes increasingly complex as we attempt to consume every bit of knowledge that is thrust at us online. It is my hope, though, that this information will also provide the key to reimagining the way that not only Black women, but everyone, lives their lives in pursuit of a better future.

Chapter 5
Conclusion: Collective Futures

> Our collective imaginations must burst open in order to believe that liberation is possible. People have to feel the responsibility of liberation. History and today's movement teach us that Black folks have held the line of resistance for centuries. Resistance is not new, yet today's realities require the movement to push its growing edges, tell more complete stories, and construct more complete solutions.
>
> — Charlene A. Carruthers, *Unapologetic*

While there are not many U.S. anthropological studies on Black women in Brazil (the work of my advisor, Christen Smith, Keisha-Khan Perry, Kia Caldwell and Erica Williams are exceptions), there are even less ethnographies on Black women from the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul. Historically, Rio Grande do Sul was especially affected by state policies of "whitening" and European immigration in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Similarly, research on the activism and experiences of Black women in the United States are typically done in larger, more diverse cities. Because of Austin's smaller, and increasingly white population, I was not able to find many studies on Black women in Austin, but the political stakes of gentrification and forced displacement as a global phenomenon suggest that we should conduct more qualitative research on Black women's experiences in places like this.

Another reason I chose to do a comparative analysis of these cities, is to argue that the discourse of "racial democracy" present throughout Brazil can also be applied to understand racial dynamics in the city of Austin, in which many residents have adopted a color-blind perspective on race, leading to the idea that a sort of "racial harmony" exists among the various racial and ethnic groups present in the city. The specific issues of

racial and economic inequality are not unique to Austin. Rather, it is the "liberal blue dot in the red sea" discourse surrounding these issues—or the denial of these issues altogether—that sets Austin apart from other cities in Texas and the U.S.

Through my ethnography I interviewed five women—two in Austin and three in Porto Alegre and Pelotas—on their experiences with racial justice activism, their thoughts on Black feminism and liberation, and the impact of social media in their racial justice activism. I found that that the double-meaning of place for Black women—both as in their place in society and geographic place—have especially influenced the way in which social media is used and the type of racial justice activism women in these cities engage. I also found that social media platforms have the ability to make information more accessible for Black women activists, provide a space to collectively organize both in a national and transnational setting, and serve as a way to counteract the interpersonal and structural violence Black women face as a result of identity and place. However, organizing through these platforms can also lead to instances of surveillance state-sanctioned violence.

I also demonstrate how in Austin the 'post-racial' perspective is being disrupted and challenged, as race and racism are brought to the forefront of conversation in almost all spaces, but especially in the digital realm. The proliferation of Black women's activism in particular has forced race and Black issues to enter the political conversation in Austin, leading us to conclude that any discussion of the racialized politics of space in Austin must necessarily include a gender analysis. Black women—many informed by a revolutionary praxis—are taking issues such as police brutality, gentrification,

displacement, and education equity head on, and social media is a fundamental part of this organizing work. In Austin, Pelotas, and Porto Alegre, Black women are reimagining, rather than reforming, the oppressive systems that impact their lives on a daily basis. It is my view that future research should focus more on places that are not considered to be "Black" cities and spaces. The experiences of women in places like the cities described above will allow for a more comprehensive understanding of the gendered racial dynamics that impact the diaspora across the globe. Only then can justice and liberation be achieved.

Appendix

Interview Questions (Portuguese) – Brazil

1. Como você se identifica em termos de raça?
2. Qual é a sua identidade de gênero?
3. Quantos anos você tem?
4. Você é de Pelotas/Porto Alegre?
5. O que você acha deste momento político no Brasil? A recente eleição presidencial tem alterado a forma como você se envolve no ativismo de justiça racial, especialmente no que se refere às redes sociais?
6. Como e por que você se envolveu no seu ativismo/militância?
7. Qual é o termo que você prefere, ativismo ou militância? Qual é a diferença entre os dois na sua perspetiva?
8. O que significa ser mulher negra em Pelotas /Porto Alegre/no Brasil?
9. Qual é a função das redes sociais no seu ativismo?
10. Como mulher da geração Y, você acha que a maneira como nos envolvemos no ativismo é diferente das outras gerações?
11. Como você percebe sua função no movimento negro e/ou no movimento das mulheres negras?
12. Sabe alguma coisa sobre o ativismo das mulheres negras nos EUA? Conhece algumas ativistas?
13. Elas te influenciaram?
14. Você se identifica como feminista negra? Por que?

Interview Questions (English) – U.S.A.

1. How do you identify racially?
2. What is your gender identity?
3. What are your pronouns?

4. How old are you?
5. Are you from Austin? If not, where do you consider home?
6. What do you think of the current political climate here in the US?
7. How and why did you become involved in racial justice activism/organizing?
8. Do you prefer the term activist or organizer? Why?
9. What does it mean to be a black woman in Austin/the US?
10. Has the 2016 presidential election changed the way you involve yourself in racial justice activism, especially as it relates to social media?
11. How big of a role does social media play in your activism?
12. As a millennial, do you feel like the way we involve ourselves in activism is different than other generations?
13. How do you perceive your role in the movement for black lives?
14. How much do you know about black women's activism in Brazil? Do you know of any prominent Afro-Brazilian activists?
15. If so, how have they influenced your work?
16. Do you identify as a Black feminist? Why?

Notes

Interview Quotes (Portuguese) – Brazil

[i] Comecei a entender o movimento negro em Porto Alegre porque minha mãe era militante. Ela levava a gente nos espaços dos movimentos, então eu tenho uma educação no movimento negro. Fui criada pelo movimento negro.

[ii] Então primeiro eu me envolvi com esses movimentos de classe…entro no movimento negro pela pesquisa, a pesquisa é uma porta de entrada. Eu conheço o movimento negro e comecei a militar mais por uma questão étnica, questão de negritude e de classe também… Mas sempre fui do movimento estudantil, do centro acadêmico, sempre participei. Mas a inserção do movimento negro eu me fiz uma ativista pesquisadora.

[iii] E sobre a política, eu acho um horror. Mas acho que existem ciclos. Agora estamos vivendo um ciclo de conservadorismo. Brasil não está dissociado disso né? Estamos com conservadorismo europeu, também no Norte global como no Brasil e na América latina, mostrando o avanço do conservadorismo né? Mas eu acredito que as pessoas estão muito apavoradas e já passamos por momentos muito difíceis em que as mulheres negras lutaram e sobreviveram, então tem uma política de genocídio do Brasil em curso e estamos vivas e fazendo coisas.

[iv] O sul do Brasil é perverso, cruel e se você pensar as mulheres negras em salvador tem toda uma relação com a estética que aqui não tem porque as cidades são muito brancas e as culturas referenciadas daqui são muito brancas e as pessoas não te reconhecem como uma pessoa que é do Rio Grande do Sul, né? Como a imagem externa do estado é vinculada a pessoas muito brancas, quando você sai daqui as pessoas também não te reconhecem como uma pessoa do Rio Grande do Sul, você não é reconhecido em lugar nenhum. Quando viajo as pessoas sempre perguntam se sou de Salvador, ou de São Paulo, de qualquer lugar menos do Rio Grande do Sul. Isso é doido, é sofrido, mas também estratégico, né. Te faz ter um pouco mais de mobilidade no sentido de não ser de lugar nenhum, te dá uma liberdade maior, eu acho.

[v] Tem uma autora psiquiatra que estou lendo que fala sobre o lugar socialmente construído para o negro do Brasil e eu me sinto saindo desse lugar e construindo novos lugares. Sempre servindo, varrendo, limpando ou sexualmente, nunca escolhendo e criando caminhos próprios… não precisamos ficar naquele lugar que a sociedade reservou as mulheres negras brasileiras.

[vi] Os movimentos negros utilizam muito como uma ferramenta para difundir informação, as redes sociais auxiliam muito nisso. Mas com o advento das redes sociais modificam as coisas né? Mas tem seu impacto, como foi o movimento do #EleNão que começou nas redes sociais e tomou as ruas. Eu acho que tudo se complementa hoje e seria impossível

não utilizar as redes sociais. Acho que tem de utilizar isso como uma ferramenta... São necessárias, mas também precisa tomar as ruas.

[vii] Eu não organizei, foram mulheres brancas que fizeram. Eu fui convidada para fazer uma fala e eu fiz. Vamos contextualizar, um movimento político, supercomplicado, ninguém saberia o que aconteceria e eu fui a capa do jornal da cidade. Sendo que isso me causou problemas com meus alunos, cheguei em aula e tinha aluno cantando "Bolsonaro!" E todas as mulheres brancas que falaram, apenas eu fui a capa de jornal, apenas a única mulher negra. Eu vejo que eu fui parar lá pois era uma zona de perigo, essa é a minha visão. É uma zona de perigo, eu fui exposta em algo que poderia dar um problema. Toda a cidade me viu, meus chefes, eu nem organizei o movimento, eu fui convidada e acabei indo. Fiz minha fala empolgada, mas porque eu virei o foco, sabe? Essas questões que ainda dentro da representatividade. Nós somos as mais expostas. Ninguém sabe quem são as mulheres brancas que falaram, mas por que só eu fui mostrada?

[viii] Eu atuava muito no Facebook e agora me movimento mais pelo Twitter. Acho mais seguro e no sentido de saúde mental, porque o Facebook te deixa mais exposto, é muito mais reativo. Isso é uma coisa que mudou e eu tenho me focado mais em talvez traduzir um pouco da minha experiência acadêmica no Twitter. Tento por um pouco do meu conhecimento académico em uma linguagem mais acessível do Twitter e acredito que isso inspire as pessoas e as façam ir atrás de buscar mais conhecimento. Porque eu realmente acredito que esse é o momento em que precisamos estudar, com o avanço do conservadorismo nós recuamos e estudamos para ter conhecimento de como ter a perspetiva de resistência, né?

[ix] Saber o que os outros pensam, o que vivem, e você não se sentir só. Enfim, acho que é uma coisa importante em termos de facilitação e acho que o aumento do acesso a Internet também ajudou a dar uma outra roupagem ao movimento das mulheres negras e ao mesmo tempo criou uma série de outros problemas. Parece que o movimento de mulheres negras surgiu assim no Youtube e não é isso. Tem uma trajetória, uma história, e acho que isso é um problema das redes, mas ao mesmo tempo é nas redes que a visibilidade. Por exemplo, que eu tenho hoje como ativista vem das redes sociais sem dúvidas.

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