- The lost ethnic group -
Afro-Latinos in Latin America

A comparative study of the negotiation and reconstruction of
ethnic boundaries of Afro-Latinos in Brazil and Colombia

Brazilian Afro-Latina activist honours her African heritage
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Andrea Ringvad Friederich
Supervisor: Yahia Mahmoud

Abstract

This thesis examines the exclusion and socioeconomic marginalization of Afro-Latinos in Latin America. This population has historically been put in the ambiguous position of continuous inclusion and alienation within Latin American societies, which serves as the foundation for their marginalization and social exclusion. One way to investigate this unique position is to analyze the negotiation and reconstruction of ethnic boundaries on a discursive level by utilizing the theory of Fredrik Barth and Norman Fairclough's methodology of critical discourse analysis. Brazil and Colombia are analyzed to shed light on regional developments and on how demographic, geographic, and historic factors influence and impact the process of social exclusion. The ways in which the discursive negotiation of ethnic boundaries has transformed Brazil and Colombia since 1980s until 2010s is analyzed comparatively. It is discovered that this transformation centers on the dichotomies of past/present, rural/urban, and ethnicity/race among several others. It is concluded that Colombia constructs Afro-Latinos in a negotiation between geographical spaces; between the urban highlands and the tropical Pacific coast, whereas in Brazil, the connection to the past, the history of slavery and a lost connection to Africa is the focal point. Ethnic boundaries are fluid and constantly negotiated, but are also fixed on stable elements in the social world. The exclusion of Afro-Latinos discursively, as well as in the social world, persists.

Keywords: Racial discrimination, social exclusion, ethnic boundaries, Afro-Latinos, Latin America, Brazil, Colombia, Fredrik Barth, critical discourse analysis.

Thesis Word Count: 20.057

0. Abbreviations & definitions

0.1. Abbreviations

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CIMARRÓN: Movimiento Nacional por los Derechos Humanos de La Población Afro-Colombiana

MNU: Movimento Negro Unificado

0.2. Definitions

Afro-Brazilians/Colombians: A self-declared name used to refer to people of African decent who reside Brazil/Colombia (Mosquera 1985, Nascimento 1980).

Afro-Latinos: A name used by several scholars to refer to people of African decent who reside in Latin America (Hooker 2005, Dzidzienyo & Oboler 2005, Wade 2006).

Black: The word black is used with reference to the Portuguese/Spanish word *negro,* referring to a non-discriminatory and self-declared name for people of a specific appearance and/or African descent (Mosquera 1985, Nascimento 1980).

Note: These three categories will be used interchangeably referring to the population in Latin American who identify as black and/or of African descent.

Blackness: Referring to Afro-Latino/black culture in Latin America. A fluid concept, which shifts meaning according to time and space (Wade 1993).

Ethnicity: A socially constructed individual or group identity often rooted in culture and ancestry (Barth 1969:9, Eriksen 2002:4, Wade 1997:16).

Race: A socially constructed individual or group identity often rooted in visual or bodily characteristics, which nevertheless can have material consequences in the real world (Eriksen 2002:5, Wade 1997:6).

Racial democracy/Mestizaje: *Racial democracy* (Brazil) and *mestizaje* (rest of Latin America) are two variations of the same ideology: The belief that the high level of miscegenation and interethnic contact has made Latin America escape racism and racial discrimination (Telles 2004:33-34, Wade 1993:19).

Rurality: The opposite of urbanity meaning rural life and quality of being rural.

Quilombo/Cimarrón: Communities of refugee slaves formed during colonization in rural areas in Brazil/Colombia, known for practicing resistance and Afro-Brazilian/Colombian cultural traditions (Hooker 2005:295, Leite 2015, Wade 1993:332).

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1. Introduction

Latin America is the region in the world with the largest range of economic inequality and the most unbalanced distribution of resources (Hoffman & Centeno 2003: 363, Ibarra & Byanyima 2016). Several scholars claim that this economic inequality is connected to class, gender, and race (Dulitsky 2005:39, Goldstein 1999:565). For decades, it has been believed that Latin America is a continent free of racial discrimination, due to the high level of racial mixture and the region's fluid racial boundaries (Goldstein 1999:565, Telles 2004:5) Therefore, Latin America has been called *a region in denial* (Dulitzky 2005:39).

Both the indigenous populations and Afro-Latino populations have been victims of racial discrimination and social exclusion (Dulitzky 2005: 41, Hooker 2005:287). Yet their position within the Latin American society are different and they are discriminated against and excluded in distinct ways. The Afro-Latinos have historically held an ambiguous and dubious position within Latin American societies, shifting between a constant process of inclusion and exclusion (Hooker 2005:3001, Fry 2000:83-84). This interchangeable position serves as a foundation for their socioeconomic marginalization.

The denial of this reality has begun to change as Latin American governments have begun to recognize that racial discrimination exists and focus on discrimination and social exclusion of their Afro-populations (Htun 2004:61, Ng'Weno 2007:414, Paschel 2010:729). A set of rights was given to Afro-Latinos during multiculturalism in the 1980s and 1990s in several Latin American countries (Hooker 2009:137-138). Policies and discourses on how to handle the Afro-population started to change and a negotiation began on their position within society, which have lasted until present-day.

Despite this renewed focus on the rights for Afro-Latinos, their social exclusion and marginalization persists (Hooker 2005:287, Pierri 2009). One way to understand the persistence of this social exclusion and marginalization is by the

investigation of ethnic relations. Ethnicity is the study of types of social organization, which consider themselves and are considered by others and as culturally distinct (Eriksen 2001:1). Social anthropologist Fredrik Barth claims that interethnic contact is what creates ethnic identities – not isolation (Barth 1969).

Barth's thesis serves as a point of departure for understanding how ethnic identities in Latin American countries, despite the high level of ethnic mixture and contact, still persists. The persistence of these ethnic identities and groupings can be seen as a way to maintain unequal structures of power and to justify racial discrimination, inequalities, and social exclusion (Barth 1969:27). The constant dichotomization between *us* and *them* and between Self and Other demarcate ethnic boundaries and justifies segregation within societies (Barth 1969:27).

Therefore, in order to attempt to understand the processes of social exclusion and the marginalization of Afro-Latinos in Latin America, this thesis will investigate the negotiation and reconstruction of ethnic boundaries. This will be done by a comparative investigation of Brazil and Colombia; countries with a dominant black population, though highly different ways of incorporating and excluding this population (Wade 1997: 47-48). While Colombia is a country with geo-cultural divides and a *regionalization of blackness* (Wade 1993:54), Brazil has highly fluid racial boundaries and has historically incorporated blackness into national imageries (Telles 2004:5). In spite of these differences, Brazil and Colombia have undergone similar transitions and been granted comparable rights to rural black communities during multiculturalism (Wade 1997:35-37).

Therefore, a comparison between Brazil and Colombia serves as a relevant case in the investigation of the process of social exclusion of Afro-Latinos, in order to discover regional tendencies and how geographic, demographic, and historic factors influence this process on a national level. This thesis will shed light on the nature of social exclusion of Afro-Latinos in Latin America and serve as a foundation for further research but more importantly, for political action against racial discrimination and the continued marginalization of this population.

1.1. Problem statement

The black population in Latin America has historically been discriminated against and marginalized socio-economically (Dulitzsky 2005:39-42, Hoffman & Centeno 2003:364, Hooker 2005:289, Telles 2004:107-109, Wade 1993:3). The social processes that exclude the black population in various different ways persist in Latin America's highly socioeconomically unequal societies (Dulitzsky 2005:39, Hooker 2005:285, Ibarra & Byanyima 2016). These processes of social exclusion are actualized in daily experiences, material conditions, and in the livelihoods of those people who are classified within this social category. In order to confront these social processes that result in a highly unequal distribution of power and resources, it is first essential to understand how these social processes are created and maintained. The construction of ethnic boundaries and the creation of difference can be seen as one of the social processes and is what this thesis will analyze.

1.2. Research question

How can the differences in the construction of ethnic boundaries in Brazil and Colombia, explained by geographical, demographic and historical factors, shed light on the nature of the process of social exclusion of Afro-Latinos in Latin America?

1.2.1. Sub-question

How has the construction of ethnic boundaries in Brazil and Colombia been discursively transformed from 1980s to 2010s by looking at the actors 1) black social movements and 2) the state?

2. Research design

In this chapter, the methodological considerations behind this thesis will be presented. Starting with, a note on comparative methods employed to compare Brazil and Colombia, *followed by*, empirical data and analytical strategy, and discussion of my use of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis as the overall method. This section concludes with my reflections and limitations as a researcher.

2.1. A comparative approach

A comparative approach is utilized in this thesis in order to compare ethnic relations in Brazil and Colombia. Comparative research is constituted by the act of comparing two or more entities in order to raise the level of abstraction (Punch 2014:179). In social science, comparative research can be used to compare national, regional, or local developments in pursuit of a broader understanding of how different factors impact the topic being studied (Peters 2013:1).

In the past, Afro-Latinos and ethnic relations in Latin America have primarily been studied with a national focus or by comparing a Latin American country to the United States (Telles 2004:1-2, Wade 2012:35). By comparing two Latin American countries it is my aim to help fill out an existing gap in current research. I am furthermore enabling this thesis to: 1) understand the process of social exclusion of Afro-Latinos on a regional level in Latin America, 2) illustrate the particularities of this process, which only a comparison enables and 3) depict how different geographical, demographical, and historical factors influence this process. Since my methodology is based on Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, I will not go into a larger methodological discussion of comparative methods in this thesis.

2.1.1. Comparing Brazil and Colombia

Scholar Juliet Hooker has identified three different groups of Latin American countries and has categorized their policies towards Afro-Latinos as listed below (Hooker 2009:137-138).

Group 1) indigenous and Afro-Latinos are treated as almost the same, which has been the case in Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua.

Group 2) the indigenous have several rights and the Afro-Latinos have none, as seen in Venezuela and Mexico.

Group 3) indigenous are seen as ethnic minorities while the Afro-Latinos are seen as a cultural and racial group, being the situation in Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru (Hooker 2009:137-138).

Brazil and Colombia share essential similarities, such as an influential history of slavery and the ensuing struggle to incorporate three distinct ethnic groups into one national identity (Telles 2004, Wade 1993, Wade 2006: 42-44). However, as Brazil and Colombia are highly different demographically, geographically, and historically, there are resulting differences in the ways in which the black population has been incorporated into the society and into the national identity (Fry 2000, Wade 1993). Comparing two countries with these essential historical and social similarities highlights the way various other factors influence and shape the development of ethnic relations in different contexts.

2.2. Analytical strategy

The focus of this thesis is to shed light on the process of social exclusion by analyzing the negotiation and reconstruction of ethnic boundaries in Latin America. According to Fredrik Barth, ethnic identities are non-static and are constructed in a constant process of negotiation (Barth 1969). Therefore, in order to understand ethnic boundaries as a process and not as a static state, it is necessary to look at different moments in time to understand the dynamics of this process. I have chosen two historical focal points and delimited my research to

investigate the negotiation of ethnic boundaries between these two historical moments.

In the 1980s many Latin American countries started a democratization process, which in the name of multiculturalism brought an increased focus on the incorporation of otherwise neglected ethnic groups into the society (Hooker 2005:285, Ng'weno 2007:414-415). This process started a new era for the negotiation of ethnic identities in the region, which had previously been influenced by the dominant ideologies of racial democracy and mestizaje (Telles 2004:34, Wade 1993:3). Therefore my research starts at this moment in time. This process of renegotiating ethnic identities in Latin America continued in the 90s, 00s and 10s and is still on-going (Caracol TV, Presidência da República 2012). In the beginning of the 2010s several drastic changes occurred and therefore my research ends here.

Barth claims that actors both inside and outside of the ethnic group in question create ethnic identities (Barth 1969:10). Therefore, it is necessary in this thesis to analyze the discursive practices of actors identifying as Afro-Latinos and outside actors who do not identify as such. The most influential actors constructing the Afro-Latino's ethnic identity have been black social movements (inside the ethnic group) and the state (outside the ethnic group). To sum up, this thesis analyzes the construction of these ethnic boundaries for Afro-Latinos with a focus on the process between 1980s and 2010s, by looking at the negotiation between the two main actors. The analysis is therefore structured in the following way:

1) The geographical divide between Brazil and Colombia

2) within each country, the divisions over time, between 1980s and the 2010s is created

3) within the 1980s and the 2010s, respectively, the two actors will be analyzed; *first,* black social movements and *second,* the actions of the states.

The analysis of the eight texts, which constitute my empirical data, will also be centered on the concepts *actors*, *place,* and *time*. These concepts are

chosen to construct the framework for the textual analysis, because they are found useful in highlighting the differences between Brazil and Colombia and furthermore, because they are essential components of all eight texts. In other words, I work with the conceptual actors, place and time on two levels: 1) in structuring the analysis in order to detect discursive transformations and 2) opening up the analysis of each text to discover essential discursive practices.

2.3. Empirical data

The empirical data analyzed in this thesis is comprised of eight different texts from the Brazilian and Colombian context. Each text represents the discursive practices of the given actor at the given historical moment. They are chosen to be the most representative possible, by focusing on their impact on the social world and their reception in the society. Some texts, such as the two constitutions have been highly influential, whereas others, such as the texts penned by social movement leaders, have been less widely circulated. However, they still represent the discursive practices of the given actor at the given time. The empirical data consists of a highly varied material, which will now be introduced.

2.3.1. Brazil

Abdias do Nascimento's *Quilombismo* (1980): This text, by black activist, intellectual and politician Abdias do Nascimento, is an essential read when studying *Movimento Negro Unificado* (henceforth MNU), which is the main black social movement in Brazil. The ideology of Quilombismo served as a foundation for the discursive practices of MNU in the 1980s and in the following decades (Fanfan 2015:110, Leite 2015: 1228). This text is analysed in an English translated version and in the original language, Portuguese (Nascimento 1980).

Article 68, the Brazilian Constitution (1988): This article grants collective land rights to rural black communities for the first time in Brazilian history and hereby represents the introduction of multiculturalist policies in Brazil in the

1980s (Farfán 2011:1, Poets 2016:1). This article became highly influential in the Brazilian society and was discussed and renegotiated for the decades to come (French 2002: 19-20, Malighetti 2010: 97-99, O'Dwyer 2002:13-42). This text is analyzed in its original language, Portuguese (República Federal do Brasil 1988).

Interview with Vanda Pinedo (2016): In this interview with the Brazilian TV station *Catarinas*, Vanda Pinedo, the president of MNU describes their focus, goals, and strategies as the main black social movement in Brazil. This interview serves as representative material to analyze the discursive practices of MNU in the 2010s. This text is analyzed in the original language, Portuguese (Catarinas 2016).

Law 12.711: Racial quotas (2012): This law introduces racial quotas in Brazil by granting black, brown, and indigenous Brazilians the right to take up 50% of all admissions at federal universities. This law represents the discursive practices of the Brazilian state pertaining to race and inequality in the 2010's. This text is analyzed in its original language, Portuguese (Presidência da República 2012).

2.3.2. Colombia

Juan de Dios Mosquera's *Las Comunidades Negras en Colombia* (1985): This text, by black activist and intellectual Juan de Dios Mosquera, is essential to understand when studying the main black social movement in Colombia CIMARRÒN. The ideology presented in this book, served as a base for the discursive practices of CIMARRÒN in the late 1980s and over the following decades (Wade 1993:332). This text is analyzed in its original language, Spanish (Mosquera 1985).

Law 70, Colombian Constitution (1991): This law grants collective land rights to rural black communities living by the Pacific coast for the first time in Colombian history and hereby represents the introduction of multiculturalist policies in Colombia in the 1980s (Ng'weno 2007:414-415, Paschel 2010:729-730). This article became influential in the construction of blackness in the

country. This text is analyzed in its original language, Spanish (El Congresso de Colombia 1993).

Juan de Dios Mosquera's *El Racismo en Colombia* (2010): In this presentation, Juan de Dios Mosquera, still the president of CIMARRÒN, describes the focus, goals, and strategies employed to combat racism and racial inequality as the main black social movement in Colombia. This interview serves as representative material to analyze the discursive practices of CIMARRÒN in the 2010s (Wade 2012:42). This text is analyzed in its original language, Spanish (CIMARRÒN 2010).

Campaña Nacional Contra el Racismo (2009): This campaign funded by the Colombian state, introduces the fight against racism and racial inequality on a national level in Colombia (Wade 2012:42). This campaign represents the discursive practices of the Colombian state focusing on race and inequality in the early 2010's. This text is analyzed in its original language, Spanish (Caracol TV 2009).

A short note on translation: These texts are respectively in English, Spanish and Portuguese. To make the analysis comfortable to read, I will not refer to words or terms in the original language, which are translated before hand. To find the original expressions, one is referred to the original data. When quoting an entire phrase, the original version will though be found in a footnote.

2.4. Reflections & limitations

The academic discussion in this thesis is limited by the following: *Firstly*, as I am a light skinned North-European, I have never embodied the experience of racism. Studying racial discrimination and issues relating to race is in this thesis examined from the perspective of an outsider. *Secondly*, I am not Afro-Latino nor do I belong to the Brazilian or Colombian society and culture. I am not a part of the social, cultural, historical, and political context being studied, but from a context which is quite different. *Thirdly*, in my research, I do not cite Latin American

scholars, but primarily European academics. A theory from the regional context could have shed a constructive light of this theme, but Fairclough and Barth are both general theoreticians whose methods are meant to be used in any context. This of course comes with its limitations, as there are aspects of the regional context that I will not be able to discover by using Western scholars. *Fourthly*, the empirical data is primarily in Spanish and Portuguese, neither of which is my mother tongue. I am neither apart of the Spanish/Portuguese speaking world or field of discourse. Language is culture and I am an outsider to both.

2.5. Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis

Discursive practices are in Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) an important form of social practice, which contribute to the building blocks of the social world such as ethnic identities and social exclusion (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002:61). *A discourse is a way of talking about and understanding the world or an aspect of it* (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002:1), which according to Fairclough is a form of social practice that both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices (Fairclough 1995:1). In other words, discourses not only contribute to the shaping and reshaping of social structures - it also reflects them (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002:61). The discursive practices produced in the empirical data of this thesis are seen to take part in shaping new forms of ethnic identities, while also being influenced by societal forces such as the ideology of racial democracy and mestizaje or the demographics of the specific country.

Fairclough's dialectic distinction between discursive and non-discursive practices is formulated from a point of departure in critical realism (Fairclough 1995:16; Langergaard 2006:69). According to Fairclough, an empirical reality exists outside discourse, yet it is still influenced by discourse, distancing himself from pure realism (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002:62). On the other hand, Fairclough also claims that things do actually exist apart from our experience and knowledge of them. Fairclough hereby finds himself in this dialectic position between

discursive and non-discursive practices, between realism and constructivism, which positions this thesis in the same dialectic position.

2.5.1. Power and ideology

The main goal of CDA is to reveal unequal power structures and thereby contribute to social change, which makes the concept of power an important one to grasp (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002:63). In CDA it is claimed that discursive practices contribute to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups. In this case, inequalities between ethnic groups in Latin America. CDA is thereby not departing entirely from Marxist traditions of theorizing power as a tool of domination but have incorporated a dialectic definition of this concept (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002:63). On one hand, Fairclough is slightly influenced by the Foucauldian view of power as a productive force creating subjects and agents. However, on the other hand, he places an important emphasis on unequal power structures and employs the concept of ideology to theorise the oppression of one social group over another (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002:63). The concept of ideology is used to describe those discourses, which contribute to either the maintenance or transformation of power relations. These ideologies are created in societies where power relations are based on social structures such as class, in the case of Latin America (Fairclough 1995: 71). The ideology of racial democracy has for example, been a powerful tool for the Brazilian elite to maintain power and dictate an established social order for decades (Telles 2004:36-38).

Ideologies can also be essential in challenging the order of discourse in a certain social domain. The order of discourse is the sum of all discourses, which are used within a given field and delimits what can and cannot be said (Fairclough 1995:10-11). The order of discourse is both shaping and shaped by discourses and it is exactly here that different ideologies have the power to both maintain and challenge the given order of discourse in a social domain (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002:72).

2.5.2. Three dimensional analytical framework

In addition to providing this thesis with a methodology, CDA also provides the analytical framework, which is constituted of a three dimensional model. This model is meant to transcend the link between the analysis of 1) *texts and language*, 2) *discursive practices* and 3) *sociocultural change* (Fairclough 1995:3-17) and consists on the following three dimensions:

Dimension one (text and language): This includes a *description* of the language in the text by performing a textual and linguistic analysis (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002:68). In this dimension, I will analyze vocabulary, word choice, tone of the language, and when analyzing videos, both body language and scenery. Dimension two (discursive practices): The analyst must look into the production, consumption, and distribution procedures, as well as detect the discursive practices of the given text (Fairclough 1995:9). Because of limitations caused by time and pages, I will solely be focusing on analyzing and detecting the main discursive practices in my empirical data. Dimension three (sociocultural change): This is an explanation of the relationship between the discursive practices and the wider social practices (Fairclough 1995:97-98). In this dimension I will investigate whether the discourses detected are contributing to social change or to the sustaining of social order. This is done by comparing the eight texts of my analysis and relating them to dominant national ideologies. This step will take place primarily within the conclusive chapter of each country.

2.5.3. Critique of CDA and my modifications

One of the main critiques pointed towards CDA, is the fact that the distinction between the discursive and the non-discursive remains unclear (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002:89). Fairclough has argued that it is easier to show this dialectic relation and how discursive practices play a part in changing the social world when analyzing discourses across a range of texts (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002:89). He has furthermore argued that CDA analysts often fail to focus on changing discourses as part of wider processes of social change over time (Fairclough

1995:19). This is exactly the essence of this thesis: An analysis of a range of texts, in order to detect wider discursive transformations over time, which takes part in the maintenance of social order or process of social change.

Fairclough's CDA is created mainly to analyze few texts in-depth, which means I will be using a slightly modified version of this methodology. Because of the limitations of the length in this thesis, I am not able to do a proper in-depth CDA on all eight texts. I will utilize the three dimensions on all texts. However, I will focus less on dimension one, and concentrate more on dimension two and three in order to detect discursive changes *between* the texts. Incorporating the three dimensional framework in an analysis of eight different texts, creates the risk of using this methodology shallowly. While acknowledging this risk, I argue that it *is* possible and even appropriate, in order to be able to detect main discursive transformations in the reconstruction of ethnic boundaries in Brazil and Colombia.

3. Theoretical framework

In this chapter, the theoretical considerations behind this thesis will be presented: *Firstly*, the overall concept of ethnicity, *secondly*, Fredrick Barth's theory of ethnic groups and boundaries, *and thirdly*, an operationalization of Barth's theory and elaboration of tools for analysis.

3.1. Introduction to the study of ethnicity

The study of distinct social groups has been a well-established tradition within social anthropology since the 1960s and has also been popular in political science, sociology and other social sciences since the 1980s and 1990s (Eriksen 2002: 1, Guibernau & Rex 2010:1). Therefore, numerous different approaches and theories have been developed to advance the understanding of ethnicity, which is still a highly relevant concept today. They are mainly used to investigate multi-ethnic societies, issues of ethnic and racial discrimination, ethnic conflicts, indigenous peoples, minority rights and nationalism (Eriksen 2002:1). Ethnicity is both a word used in everyday language as well as an academic concept. While ethnicity in everyday language often refers to minorities or people who are different from the dominant group, ethnicity in academia is the study of types of social organization, which consider themselves and are considered by others and as culturally distinct (Eriksen 2002:1). In other words, dominant groups are just a much an ethnic group as is minorities.

3.1.1. Ethnicity and race

No scholars today believe that inherited characteristics explain cultural variation and the practice of dividing humanity into different races have therefore largely been abandoned scientifically (Eriksen 2002:5, Wade 1997:6). Race is today seen as a social construction with no biological truth to it, created in order for people to make sense of the social reality (Eriksen 2002:5, Guibernau & Rex 2010:17,

Wade 1997:6). This explains for example why some people are defined as mixed race in Brazil, but would be defined as black in the United States. Even though the concept of race has been scientifically abandoned, the concept is still relevant in the way that it informs the continuation of the usage of race as a social category (Eriksen 2002:5, Wade 1997:6-16). For example, racism defined as *the assumption that personality is somehow linked with inherited characteristics, which differ systematically between races* (Eriksen 2002:5), still exist in the social world, therefore scholars need to continue to study racial categorizations.

Today the study of race is a part of the study of ethnicity, as race is just one marker of difference (Guibernau & Rex 2010:57, Wade 1997:19). Race and ethnicity might carry different meanings and be used to categorize differently in the social world (as will be described below), but academically speaking, they are both types of social organization. Therefore, there are no clear lines between race and ethnicity that would justify establishing separate analytical tools or a different academic discipline to the study of race (Wade 1997:19).

3.1.2. Ethnicity and social class

Social class is another marker of difference that is intertwined on different levels with race and ethnicity in Latin America (Eriksen 2002:7, Wade 1997:22). Social classes refer to systems of social ranking and distribution of assets, wealth, and power, whereas ethnicity and race do not necessarily refer to rank (Eriksen 2002:7). Social class is a type of *social stratification*, meaning a system by which a society ranks categories of people in a hierarchy resulting in an unequal distribution of power and resources (Barth 1969: 27-28). In this system, one ethnic group establishes itself as the dominant and creates social institutions and ideologies to legitimize and justify the stratification and the resultant inequalities (Barth 1969: 28). This is done by for example employing ideas of white supremacy and racist ideologies – or the ideology of racial democracy and mestizaje in Latin America.

3.2. Fredrik Barth: A focus on ethnic boundaries

The role of *culture* in the study of ethnicity has always been a theme of great discussion (Eriksen 2002:57). Some scholars argue that ethnic groups are defined by their culture, whereas others claim that culture is only important when utilized for a specific goal (Eriksen 2002:56, Hummel 2014:46). This debate is essential in studies of ethnicity, as it is about how much the internal workings of an ethnic group matter compared to the external processes and influences. This relates to the debate between *primordialists* and *instrumentalists,* respectively arguing that ethnicity is an unchangeable aspect of the social person and that ethnic identities exist only due to their political functioning (Wimmer 2008:970).

The primordialist perspective of ethnicity as being deeply rooted in culture permeated the academic study of ethnicity until the end of 1960s, when Fredrick Barth and his collages published the book *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969) (Hummel 2014:46). Fredrik Barth, a Norwegian social anthropologist, was the first to present a clear departure from the understanding of culture as essential to ethnic groups. This was done by stressing that the boundaries delimiting an ethnic group should be the main focus of analysis, not the 'cultural stuff' it encloses (Barth 1969:11).

3.2.1. Ethnicity as a process of inclusion and exclusion

Barth presented a focus on *interethnic relations* and explains his focus clearly in the following quote: *It makes no difference how dissimilar members may be in their overt behaviour – if they say they are A, in contrast to another cognate category B ... they declare their loyalty to the shared culture of A's* (Barth 1969:15). According to Barth, it is in creating boundaries to other ethnic groups that a group is essentially defined. The culture of an ethnic group may change completely over time, but the fact of continuing a dichotomization between members and outsiders defines the persistence of the ethnic group (Barth 1969:15). It is not that which lies *inside*, but what is *between* that creates social life, identity, and an interesting topic for social scientists (Eriksen 2015:104). A

focus on culture wrongly supposes that ethnic identities are created in isolation, whereas Barth formulates ethnicity as an aspect of a relationship (Eriksen 2015:104). Interaction between ethnic groups does not lead to minimizing ethnic identities, as was earlier believed, quite on the contrary – it lead to their persistence. In interaction, ethnic groups constantly have to draw their boundaries to what is *us* and what is *them*, to what is *included* and what is *excluded* (Barth 1969:15).

Barth furthermore sees ethnicity as something, which is not static, but rather constantly negotiated and reconstructed by both external ascriptions and internal self-identification (Barth 1969:10). When looking at Brazil and Colombia, Barth's theory is relevant, as Latin America is defined as a region with a high level of interethnic contact – yet ethnic boundaries persist over time. The ideologies of racial democracy and mestizaje are claiming exactly the opposite of Barth; that the high level of interethnic contact and mixture has resulted in vague and non-exiting ethnic identities. Barth's theory is thus a counter thesis to these dominant ideologies.

3.2.2. An instrumental & actor-oriented approach

There is an on-going discussion of whether Barth is a primordialist or an instrumentalist (Eriksen 2002:54). Barth seems to suggest that ethnic identities are constant but which may grow or be hidden away depending on the situation. Despite of this, Barth is almost always referred to as an instrumentalist, because of his way of seeing ethnic identities as mainly created to have a political or social purpose - as being an instrument for something (Eriksen 2002:54). In this thesis, ethnicity is examined with an instrumentalist perspective and is seen as being used mainly to maintain existing structures of inequality.

Furthermore, Barth focuses on acting individuals and believes in the agency of social actors more than in the domination of structures (Hummel 2014:107). This thesis' main focus is on the structures of social exclusion and the creation of inequality in the Latin American society and how actors, by the use of

ethnic boundaries, maintain or challenge these structures. The approach of this thesis is actor based, as the analysis of discursive practices of different actors is the focal point. However, the structural aspects are important as well, since the structures of social exclusion and inequality are the overarching issues. This perspective is incorporated by the utilization of Fairclough's methodology. Although Fairclough is not a structuralist per se, this method has a larger structural focus than Barth (Phillips & Jørgensen 2002:139). Fairclough emphasizes structures of inequality and domination in the society, yet his main focus is on how texts (and actors) are capable of challenging these structures and creating social change (Fairclough 1995:1). In this way Barth and Fairclough are speaking together with their focus on social agents, while Fairclough has a slightly more structured approach. This thesis carries an actors-based point of departure, while maintaining a focus on how dominant structures are maintained, challenged, and shape the social world.

3.2.3. The return of culture

The main point of criticism against Barth's theory has been his dismissal of the importance of culture as several scholars have claimed that culture and ethnicity are indeed intimately entwined (Hummel 2014:53-55). Ethnicity is not merely about boundary processes and the strategic use of ethnic identities - it is also and primarily about *creating meaning* (Hummel 2014:55). Thirty years after publishing his theory of ethnic boundaries, Barth himself noted that this 'cultural stuff' might indeed make a difference (Hummel 2014:55). In this thesis, while it is recognized that ethnic identities in Latin America are primarily used as a tool for domination, the culture of the Afro-Latinos is also recognized as important in creating their social identities. Afro-Latino culture exists and plays a role in defining and reconstructing this ethnic group over time.

3.3. Operationalization

According to Barth, ethnic boundaries are primarily marked by *boundary defining characteristics: Cultural features that are distinguishing marks or characteristics of the given group, which defines what the group is and is not* (Barth 1970:38). In order to operationalize this further, I will focus on the following boundary constructing mechanisms.

3.3.1. Dichotomization

The most essential feature of ethnicity is the application of systemical distinctions between insiders and outsiders, us and them and Self and Other (Barth 1969:14). Dichotomization is the division of something into two parts, which are often in opposition of each other (Eriksen 2002:27-28). The process of Othering, that is establishing something as different, is essential in understanding the Self of an ethnic group (Barth 1969:15). The boundary defining characteristics of an ethnic group can thus be detected in the dichotomization between the Other and the Self. This thesis will work with the following dichotomies: Ethnicity/race, urban/rural, past/present, regionality/nationality, included/excluded, and oppressor/oppressed.

3.3.2. Stereotyping

Analytically speaking, the concept of stereotyping refers to *the creating of consistent application of standardised notions of the cultural distinctiveness of a group* (Eriksen 2002:23-24). Stereotyping is another mechanism to identify the Other and can be used to justify privileges and social exclusion or to alleviate feelings of powerlessness and symbolic revenge (Eriksen 2002:23-25). Stereotypes are held by dominant groups as well as dominated groups, can be both positive and negative and are often widespread in societies with significant power differences such as Brazil and Colombia (Eriksen 2002:23). In this thesis, positive as well as negative stereotypings by both the dominant group (the state) and the dominated group (the black social movements) will be analyzed.

3.3.3. Race, ethnicity and class

Race and ethnicity are socially constructed categories used to dichotomize between the Self and the Other and to create ethnic boundaries (Barth 1969:14, Wade 1997:6-18). In Latin America, the Afro-Latinos have historically been connected to both categories interchangeably (Farfan 2011:41-42, Wade 1997). The meanings of these two categories are constantly being redefined as their meanings changed. The concept of race, as described above, has been used to refer to phono-typical and biological differences. Race has in Latin America mainly been connected with colonization, slavery, and scientific racism in the beginning of the 20th century (Wade 1997:14). Because of this, the concept has carried strong connotations of racism and oppression (Wade 1997:12). In the late 20th century there was a shift towards viewing race as a social construct, which opened up new ways of using the racial categories (Wade 1997:12). Today *negro/negra* is used to refer to Afro-Latinos and to claim black identity, without carrying racist connotations (Nascimento 1980, Mosquera 1985). Race has come to be a social category mainly referring to descent and appearance (Wade 2012: 46).

Ethnicity on the other hand has a shorter history in Latin America and is not as value loaded as race (Wade 1997: 16). Ethnicity has been and still is mainly connected with cultural difference as opposed to biology, carries more positive connotations, and has been used to refer to minorities such as the indigenous populations (Eriksen 2002:1). Race and ethnicity are highly fluid and constantly change meaning, but they are both consistently used to mark difference and define ethnic boundaries. Both categories can be at play at the same time and the line between them can be highly blurred (Wade 1997:19-20). They are nevertheless used in this thesis to understand how Afro-Latinos are constructed as an ethnic group, by a constant dichotomizing between these two categories.

As described above, class, which refers to rank, is an entirely different concept than race and ethnicity. Many scholars claim that Latin America is a continent that is dominated by class structures and is defined by the persistent

concentration of wealth in the top of the society (Portes & Hoffman 2003:41). The concept of class is present in my empirical data, where actors verbally discuss this concept and furthermore attempt to challenge these structures. Therefore, class will be analyzed along with race and ethnicity, as these three concepts are intertwined in Latin America (Goldstein 1999:565, Telles 2004:107, Wade 1997:22-24), while acknowledging that class is a different analytical concept than race and ethnicity, which are more interlinked.

4. Setting the scene: The creation of race & ethnicity in Latin America

The colonial period introduced three main racial categories to the Latin America continent: the white, the African and the indigenous (Telles 2004:25, Wade 1997:25). These three distinct ethnic groups were brought together in a hierarchal system of social stratification, where one ethnic group claimed supremacy and enslaved the other two (Telles 2004:24-25, Wade 1993:8-9). Ideologies and social institutions to rationalize and justify this ethnic hierarchy were created and have been redefined and negotiated since. Several scholars claim that these hierarchies and systems of social stratification still somehow exist in modified and renewed versions in the Latin American society (Appelbaum et al. 2003: xi+2-3, Dulitzsky 2005:39-41, Hooker 2005:285). Despite of these general trends, Latin American countries have employed different approaches to interpret the question of race, depending on different geographies, demographics, and historical development (Wade 2012).

This chapter will *firstly*, provide a brief historical and regional overview of ideologies creating ethnic difference in Latin America, though with a focus on the particularities of Brazil and Colombia. *Secondly*, introduce multiculturalism as the most recent ideology to interpret ethnic difference and the position of black social movements under the multiculturalist era. After these general introductions to Latin America, I will shift focus to the differences between Brazil and Colombia, *first* by looking at geographical and demographical factors and *second*, by describing their different historical interpretations of race and Afro-Latinos.

4.1. Regional historical outline

4.1.1. Colonization and slavery

Latin America was colonized in the early 1500s by the Portuguese and Spanish settlers for a period lasting approximately 300 years (Mabry 2002: v). Slaves, mainly from West Africa were imported in high quantities to provide labour in the gold mines and sugar and coffee plantations (Mabry:2002:179, Wade 1993:30). The indigenous were also enslaved, but were held under milder circumstances and indigenous slavery was prohibited significantly earlier than black slavery (Marby 2002:178-179, Wade 1993:30-33). During colonization race was mostly described by one's descent rather than biological types and the subjugation of the black and indigenous was founded on moral and religious ground (Telles 2004:25). Slavery was more prevalent in Brazil than in Colombia, as it lasted longer and more slaves were imported to the country (Telles 2004:25, Wade 2012:42). Consequently, after abolition, the black population formed a much larger proportion of the Brazilian nation than in Colombia. The population was also distributed differently, as the Afro-Latinos in Brazil resided all over the country, in cities as well as in rural areas, whereas in Colombia they were more concentrated along the Pacific and Caribbean coastal areas (Wade 2012:43).

4.1.2. Scientific racism and racial whitening

As slavery was being abolished throughout Latin America in the 19th century, science would take over in validating racial stratification (Skidmore 1974:54-60). Scientific racism and eugenics became useful in justifying racial hierarchies, claiming that blacks were biologically inferior to whites and that mixed race represented degeneration (Skidmore 1974:53-64). It was believed that the mixing of races in Latin America had made the population less prosperous and a clear racial hierarchy based on biology, claimed that the white population were racially superior (Skidmore 1974:59, Telles 2004: 26-28). Because of this reasoning, many Latin American countries created policies to attract European immigrants in

order to 'whiten' the population and to minimize and ultimately eradicate the 'bad influence' of the black population (Telles 2004: 28-29, Wade 1993:295).

4.1.3. The ideologies of racial democracy and mestizaje

Scientific racism and racial whitening were influential in Latin America, until the 1920s when a newfound goal to modernize Latin America came into play (Telles 2004:33). This modernization process contained a key dilemma: The clearly mixed nature of the population was in direct opposition to the white connotations of progress and modernity that the countries were striving for (Wade 1993:10-11). The solution was found in the ideologies of racial democracy (Brazil) and mestizaje (Colombia and rest of Latin America), emphasizing Latin America as unique for its racial and cultural blending, fluid racial boundaries, and lack of racial discrimination (Freyre 1946, Telles 2004:33, Wade 1993:8-9). Racial categories were discursively rubbed out and became blurred, yet they continued to exist along with racial discrimination in the social world (Dulitzsky 2005:39, Goldstein 1999:563-565, Hooker 2005:287). In Brazil, the mulatto identity was celebrated and Afro-Brazilian culture was incorporated into national identity, albeit in a profoundly whitened and commercialized manner (Telles 2004: 37, Nascimento 1980:154). In Colombia the indigenous population took the same position, although they embodied an ancient and distinct culture with a natural relation to the Latin American land (Wade 1993:33). The essence of these ideologies was an ambiguous coexistence of inclusion and exclusion, of celebration and discrimination, of hierarchization and invisibility alongside a continuous preference of whiteness (Wade 1993:22). These ideologies were promoted on a national level until the end of the 1980s, when a democratization process began in Latin America (Telles 2004:47).

4.2. The era of multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is the newest ideology for interpreting racial and ethnic difference, similar to the ones described above (Farfan 2011:38, Kymlicka 2010:100). It is within multiculturalism this thesis takes its point of departure, as the first section of the empirical data analyzed, stems from the 1980s; the heydays of multiculturalism in Latin America. Multiculturalism, neoliberal reforms, and minority rights marked the 1980s and the 1990s in Latin America (Lehman 2016:2). Multiculturalism emerged within a context of human rights as a way to deal with racial and ethnic difference in multiethnic societies (Kymlicka, 2010:100). Containing a focus on culture and ethnicity rather than race created a focus on diversity, democracy, equality, and civil rights as symbols of civilized, developed and Western nation, which Latin American were striving to become (Hooker 2005: 285, Poets 2016:9).

Several scholars have argued that the indigenous populations became more successful than Afro-Latinos in gaining rights under multiculturalism, due to their history of acting as the ethnic and cultural Other (Hooker 2005:286, Farfan 2011:41). Yet in Brazil and Colombia, along with several other Latin American countries, Afro-Latinos managed to gain several rights in the name of multiculturalism and democratic transformations (Hooker 2009:137-138). Respectively, in the Brazilian 1988 and the Colombian 1991 constitutions, a specific law was passed, granting collective land titles to black rural communities (El Congresso de Colombia 1993, República Federal do Brasil 1988). Law 68 in Brazil granted collective land rights for black communities nationally, by naming them as descendants of the symbolic quilombos (communities of refugee slaves formed during colonization in rural areas in Brazil). Article 70 in the Colombian constitution was very similar as it also granted collective land rights to rural black communities, through focusing on the Pacific Coast and claiming their historical and traditional relation to the environment.

4.2.1. Black social movements

These rights gained by the black population in Latin American during multiculturalism, were to a high degree due to the protesting and advocacy of black social movements (Paschel 2011:748, Rahier 2012:1-3). The influential *Movimento Negro Unificado* in Brazil and *Cimarrón* in Colombia, were advocating for civil rights, equal treatment, and recognition of Afro-Latinos within a framework of culture, ethnicity, and reparations for the damages caused by slavery (Paschel 2011:748-750, Farfan 2011:38-39). In both Brazil and Colombia, black movements have been actively seeking to redress racial inequalities for decades. Yet in Brazil, black movements date back to the 1910s, whereas they only came to exist much later in Colombia (Paschel 2016:1-5, Wade 2012:43). In both countries, black political organization takes its point of departure in the historical quilombos (Brazil) and cimarrónes (Colombia), symbols of black resistance and African cultural traditions (Leite 2015, Almeida 2011, Wade 1993:87). Although in Brazil, the quilombo has is a stronger symbol, than in the Colombian context.

4.3. Geographical locations of ethnicity

Space and the geography of culture are important aspects of race and ethnicity in Brazil and Colombia. Colombia is divided between three main geographical regions: the temperate Andean highland region, the tropical Pacific and Caribbean coast, and the Amazonian jungle. The predominantly white and mixed Colombian cities were built in the comfortable highlands; the indigenous populations primarily inhabited the Amazonian region but were also present in the highlands, and the African slaves were mainly imported to work in the tropical coast (Wade 1993:55). According to Wade, because of these geographical, climate related, and environmental divides, a *regionalization of race* and a highland/lowland divide was created in Colombia (Wade 1993:54). This segregated the predominantly white and mixed Andean highlands from the lowland indigenous Amazon and the

black coast. Because of lack of migration between these geo-cultural divides, a marginalization of blackness as belonging to the tropical coast far away from the Colombian society was created (Garavito et al 2009:51, DANE 2010, Wade 1993:59).

Brazil, on the other hand, is about seven times bigger and has a significantly smaller indigenous population and a larger black population (IBGE 2010). No clear geo-cultural divisions exist in Brazil except from the predominantly indigenous Amazonian region in contrast to the rest of the country. During colonization, slaves were distributed all over the Brazilian nation and the black migration towards important Brazilian cities happened at a very early stage (Telles 2004:24-25). Therefore blackness never became marginalized in Brazil the same way it was as in Colombia. Consequently, today the differences in the geographical distribution of people who identify as Afro-Latino in Brazil and Colombia, respectively, are shown in the figures below. The picture is clear, a regionalization and marginalization of blackness has occurred in Colombia and not in Brazil.
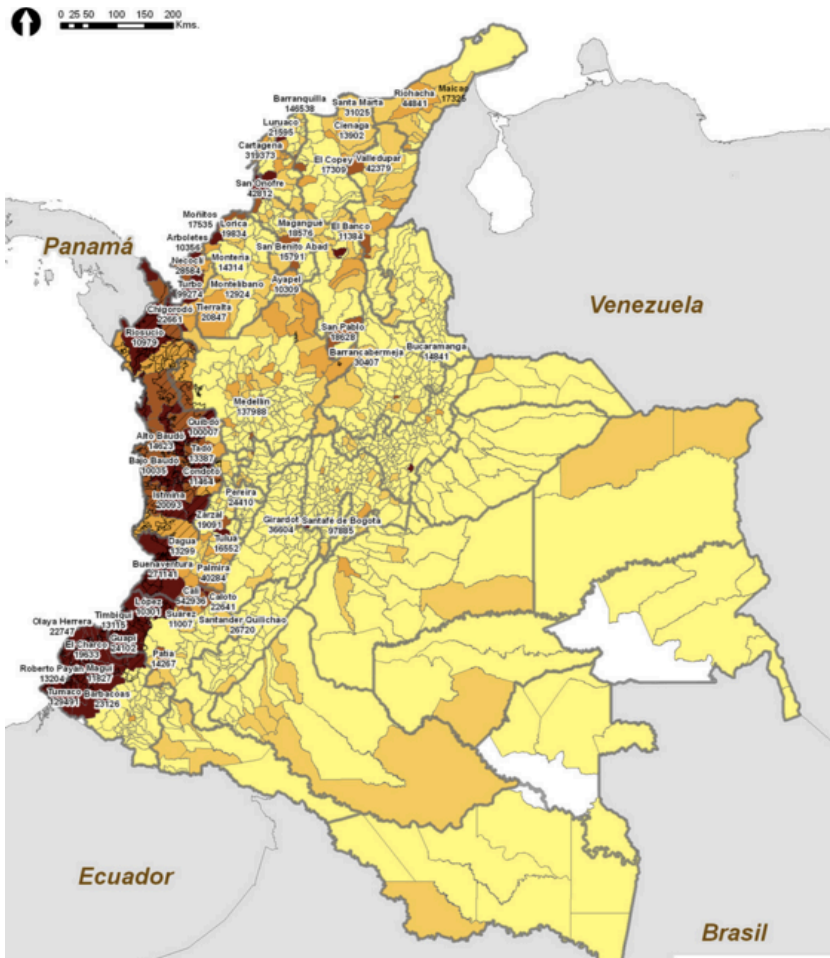
COLOMBIA

The red areas illustrate the distribution of people who identify as black in Colombia.

(DANE CENSO 2010 pp. 33.)
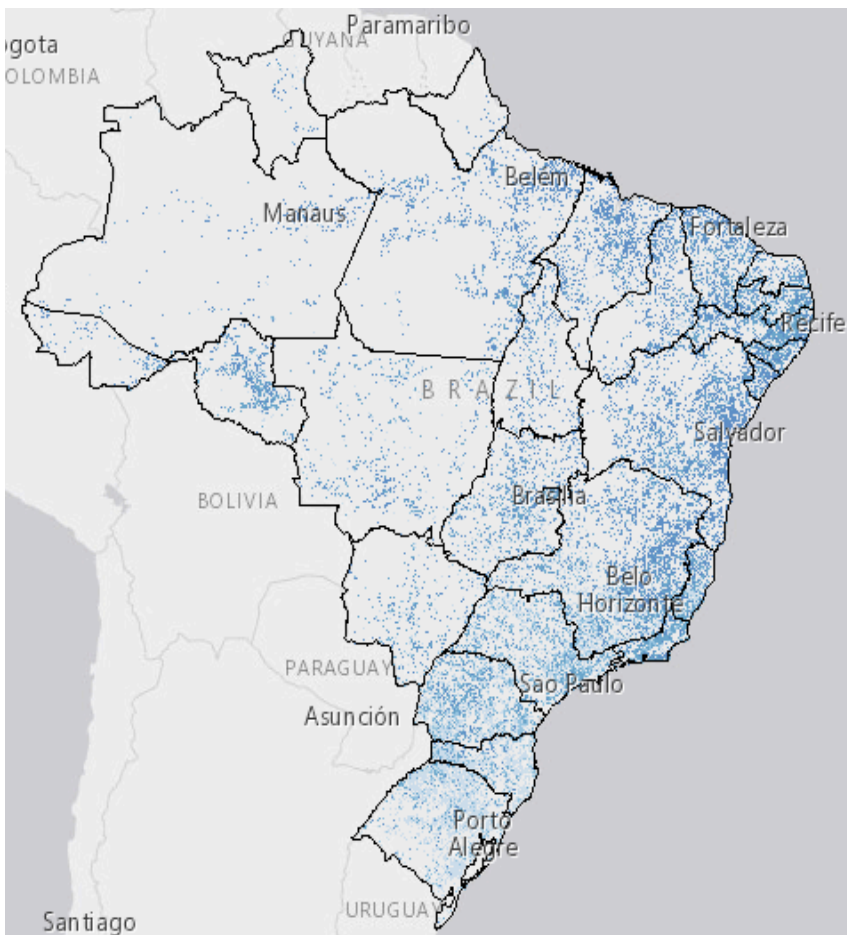
BRAZIL

The blue dots illustrate the distribution of people who identify as black or mixed race in Brazil.

(Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE) CENSO 2010.)

4.4. The position of Afro-Latinos in Brazil & Colombia

Common historical developments and ideologies, along with geographical and demographical differences have created two different ways of incorporating blackness and dealing with race in Brazil and Colombia. Brazil has historically had a high level of racial mixture and therefore, a remarkably nuanced racial classification system containing numerous fluid racial categories, depending not only on race, but also on classifications such as income, gender, and social status (Goldstein 1999:564-565). Due to the high level of miscegenation along with the influential ideology of racial democracy, racial categories in Brazil have become unspoken and fluid and have had their existence denied (Freyre 1946, Goldstein 1999:564, Telles 2004:37). In Colombia, the level of racial mixture has been lower and a clearer and more hierarchal divide between the three ethnic groups exists (Wade 1993:54, Campos de Sousa & Nascimento 2008:130). Wade has named race relations in Colombia as *a triangular racial order* (Wade 1993:20), which is the hierarchal ordering of the white race in the top of the triangle and the indigenous and black at the two bottom corners. Brazil has a national identity, which to a high degree has incorporated elements of Afro-Brazilian culture such as samba and carnival, while blackness has been largely excluded in Colombia where the indigenous populations occupy this symbolic role.

Invisibility, denial, and inclusion combined with exclusion are thus the essential characteristics defining Brazilian racial relations, whereas hierarchization, regionalization, and marginalization of blackness to a higher degree define Colombia. Despite of these differences, these two countries have one major tendency in common: A historical process of social exclusion of their black population (Dulitzky 2005:40, Garavito et al 2009:5-6, Telles 2004:4-5).

5. Analysis of Brazil

How the discursive practices of different social actors have negotiated and reconstructed ethnic boundaries in Brazil over time will now be analyzed. *Firstly*, the discursive practices during the 1980s will be analyzed by looking at the then MNU leader Abdias do Nascimento's *Quilombismo* followed by an examination of law 68 in the Brazilian 1988 constitution. *Secondly*, the 2010s will be investigated by looking at an interview with current MNU leader Vanda Pinedo's and then discussing law 12.711, which deals with racial quotas. All texts will be analyzed according to their discursive practices revolving *actors, space,* and *time*.

5.1. 1980s: Racism in reverse & a historic examination of race

In 1985, Brazil's military dictatorship ended and the country opened up politically, creating new space for black social movements to operate and present their ideologies, which had been prohibited during the years of military dictatorship (Telles 2004:47). The 1980's became an essential era in the reconstructing and renegotiation of ethnic boundaries, which would influence the social reality of the Brazilian society for decades.

5.1.1. Nascimento's *Quilombismo*: A counter ideology to racial democracy

Quilombismo (1980) is a political manifest by black social movement leader Abdias do Nascimento, advocating for Afro-Brazilians to rise up and create a black political alternative in Brazil.

5.1.1.1. Afro-Brazilians & the white ruling elite

The two main actors in Nascimento's text are the *Afro-Brazilians/Brazilian Black people* and the *white ruling elite* (Nascimento 1980:141+144-145). Afro-

Brazilians are described vividly, passionately, figuratively, and in detail by using words such as *memory, identity, culture, spirit, ancient, generosity, collectivity, cultural heritage* and *soul of Brazil,* but also by words such as *poverty, unemployment, racism,* and *exclusion* (Nascimento 1980:141-143+148). The white ruling elite on the other hand, is described in a tone marked by aggressiveness, hostility, and is not described figuratively but in cold and dehumanizing manner (Nascimento 1980:145-146). Nascimento uses words such as *Western-inspired, slavery elite, Eurocentric, dominant class, capitalist, arrogant, white supremacy, racist,* and *structures of domination* (Nascimento 1980:141-145). A harsh dichotomization is created between the two actors; the Afro-Brazilians as representing goodness standing in opposition to the evil white ruling elite.

The depictions of the Afro-Brazilians are two sided: *First*, they have a rich deep culture, a strong collective identity, and are generally good hearted and *second*, despite these factors they are suffering from poverty, inequality, and violence due to the oppression of the white elite (Nascimento 1980:149-150). On the other hand, the white elite defined by dehumanizing characteristics such as structures, capitalism, supremacy, and eurocentrism. They are not portrayed as having a cultural identity nor as an ethnic group, but merely referred to as a class (Nascimento 1980:141). By stating that the white ruling elite is a class, Nascimento claims Brazil to be dominated by class structures, with the white ruling elite as the dominant class. Afro-Brazilians are not referred to as a class and Nascimento does therefore not accept these class structures but rejects them. According to Nascimento, this class society represents white supremacy and should be removed and substituted by a black political alternative, which finds its foundation in the historical quilombos, symbolizing black identity, resistance and human dignity (Nascimento 1980:148).

It is noticeable that Nascimento consistently writes the word black with capital B, while he writes white with small w (Nascimento 1980:144). This might refer to the fact that Nascimento sees the word black as a category and therefore

writes it with capital letter. Thereby he avoids degrading Afro-Brazilians to a racial category by referring to the colour of their skin, which is historically connected to colonialism and slavery. He turns the word Black into a self-declared category and hereby changes its meaning from implying racism and oppression to signifying black confidence and identity. On the other hand, is he gladly referring to the white ruling elite as a racial category. In this way, Nascimento connects the white ruling elite to their race while he connects Afro-Brazilians to culture and identity. He reverses the colonial dichotomy and connects the white ruling elite to their race in order to exclude them in the same way as the Afro-Brazilians have been excluded historically.

5.1.1.2. Mother Africa versus Europe as a symbol of evilness

Afro-Brazilians are connected to *Mother Africa* by spirituality and a collective memory of their motherland, native home, and family (Nascimento 1980:142). Nascimento states that the memory of Afro-Brazilians does not begin with the history of slavery, it begins long before that on the African continent (Nascimento 1980:147-148). Africa belongs to the past, as a memory or a myth and is depicted as an unearthly almost heavenly space that represents the Afro-Brazilian people's true ethnic culture (Nascimento 1980:142). Africa becomes constructed as a symbol of Afro-Brazilian identity detached from the fact that it is an actual continent on the other side of the Atlantic. Afro-Brazilians are thus connected to *Mother Africa* as the geographical epicenter of their cultural historical identity.

On the other hand, the white ruling elite are connected to Europe ad represent civilization, white supremacy, and racial superiority (Nascimento 1980:145). Europe is also described more as a myth than an actual region of the world, but is not historicized in the same way as Africa. It is represented as more static and fixed, thus denying the cultural and human development of this continent (Nascimento 1980:145-146). In this way, Nascimento dehumanizes the white ruling elite, rips them from their cultural identity, and historical background, thus representing them in a static state of viciousness. The metaphor

men are from mars, women are from venus is used to refer to the deep psychological differences between men and women, symbolized in them being from two distinct planets. Nascimento portrays Afro-Brazilians and the white ruling elite as coming from two different mythical spaces, from two different planets symbolizing the key and opposing differences between these two groups. They are fundamentally different, psychologically as well as physically, and there is therefore little common ground for communication and collaboration, which is the essence of Nascimento's message: Brazil is black and needs to be ruled by black political ideals (Nascimento 1980:155-156).

5.1.1.3. Sub-conclusion

The boundaries constructed between the Afro-Brazilians and the white ruling elite are drawn with an extreme use of dichotomizations and stereotyping. Nascimento draws the boundaries so sharply that he depicts these two groups as being from different planets, in addition to being psychologically and physically distinct. Afro-Brazilians are depicted with a cultural identity and soul, while the white ruling elite is dehumanized and degraded to a class, defined by structures rather than identity. Afro-Brazilians come from planet Africa, while the white ruling elite is from planet Europe, each representing and symbolizing the boundary defining characteristics between them. There are no common spaces of interaction and no similarities. Nascimento's *Quilombismo* directly opposes and attacks the ideology of racial democracy, stating that Brazil is one mixed nation and that no ethnic or racial distinctions exist. During the 1980s, racial and ethnic differences were still denied nationally as they had been for decades (Telles 2004:34-35). Nascimento goes directly against this line of thinking and draws the ethnic boundaries extremely vividly and advocates a severe level of separatism. He wants to make up for the damages of slavery and all the years of racial democracy, by reclaiming black identity and addressing Brazil's racially divided class society.

5.1.2. The Brazilian 1988 Constitution: A reparation for slavery

Article 68 officially granted land rights to poor black communities in Brazil, defined as *descendants of quilombo communities*. This article represents the first attempt by the Brazilian state to officially address its black population and repay for the damages of slavery.

5.1.2.1 The four components of the Brazilian society

There are four different social actors in this article: 1) the state & *popular culture* 2) the indigenous 3) Afro-Brazilian culture and 4) the *descendants from quilombo communities* (República Federal do Brasil 1988:Art.215 § 1).

Popular culture in this context refers to Brazilian society more generally, encompassing both mainstream Brazilian culture and the state (República Federal do Brasil 1988:Title I). The Brazilian state defines the main objective of the constitution as to promote the of well-being for all citizens without prejudice as to origin, race, sex, color, age, and any other forms of discrimination (República Federal do Brasil 1988:Title I). The state hereby defines itself as non-discriminatory and embracing and hereby affirms international tendencies of multiculturalism (Kymlicka 2010). Secondly, the indigenous peoples are recognized for their *costumes, languages, beliefs,* and *traditions* (República Federal do Brasil 1988: CapituloVIII). They are defined by their culture and their connection to the environment, which is essential to their cultural practices and reproduction. Thirdly, Afro-Brazilian culture is mentioned separately to the quilombo descendants (República Federal do Brasil 1988: Art.68). In the 1980s, Afro-Brazilian culture was recognized in mainstream Brazilian society as samba, carnival, and capoeira; forms of black cultural expressions that were not threatening to the Brazilian state and dominant culture (Nascimento 1980:154). Therefore, when mentioning Afro-Brazilian culture in this constitution, it might be a reference to these more commercialized and whitened aspects of black culture. Fourthly, the quilombo descendants are discursively separated from the Afro-Brazilian culture and are referred to by their connection to the historical

quilombos and by a strong connection to slavery (República Federal do Brasil 1988: Art.68).

5.1.2.2. An imagined connection to the past

While neither the Brazilian state, the indigenous people, nor the Afro-Brazilian culture are marked by history – the quilombo descendants to a high degree are. The quilombo descendants are not described as contemporary communities, but are defined exclusively by their connection to the past. They are connected to the quilombos representing ancient Afro-Brazilian culture, historical oppression from slavery, and political resistance (República Federal do Brasil 1988: Art.68). The reasoning for granting rights to these communities are exclusively based in historical events and a theoretical connection to the past. While the indigenous are given rights, because their culture is closely connected to nature, the quilombo descendants are given rights because of their land's connection to history. In this sense, the 1988 constitution can be seen a kind of slavery reparation program, a way of trying to deal with the uncomfortable memory of Brazil's harsh history of slavery.

5.1.2.3. A ruralization of the history of slavery

The indigenous and the quilombo descendants are depicted as connected to their land. In Brazil, the indigenous mostly reside in the Amazon region, while contemporary black communities, referred to as quilombo descendants, reside all over the country and almost exclusively inhabit rural areas (Leite 2015:1225, Almeida 2011:56). The indigenous are culturally connected to nature and protecting their rights is seen as a preservation of their culture and of nature. Granting rights to the indigenous is hereby created within the same discursive practice as preserving the environment and biodiversity in the Amazon region. On the other hand, protecting the rights of the quilombo descendants is a way of dealing with history. Focusing on quilombo descendants as separate from urban Afro-Brazilian culture creates a regionalization of the history of slavery and the problems originating from this historical event. A *ruralization* of slavery and

colonization is established, which is separated from Afro-Brazilian culture and spoken of in national and urban terms.

5.1.2.4. Sub-conclusion

Descendants of quilombo communities are connected to their history of black traditions and past suffering. In this way the Brazilian state deals with race, history of slavery, and racism only in the past and fails to modernize these issues and to address present-day racial inequalities. One might argue that the constitution reproduces old ideas of racial democracy by creating a division between popular urban Afro-Brazilian culture and poor black communities connected to slavery and issues of racism. Both Afro-Brazilian culture and issues of racism stem from the same string of historical events, yet in this case they are divided, which enables the Brazilian state to promote inclusion and diversity, without dealing with the history of slavery as a part of Brazilian history. Racism and poverty are marginalized and connected to the historical and symbolic rural quilombos. Slavery and racism as an integral part of Brazilian society and history are denied and race remains as an unpleasant present-day reality.

5.2. 2010s: A return to race

The 1980s represented the first attempt for black social movements and the state to redefine ethnic boundaries in Brazil since the departure from military dictatorship. In the decades after these initial reconstructions, several discursive changes occurred within these two actors and in the Brazilian civil society in general (Farfan 2011:38-47). The discursive practices of MNU adapted to the new constitution and other racial policies during the 1990s. The Brazilian state revised how to frame race as a more general and contemporary issue, as opposed to the narrow incorporation of the historical quilombo descendants (Wade 2012:45).

5.2.1. Vanda Pinedo: Black confidence and subtle racial categories

Catarinas, a Brazilian TV production company, interviewed the president of MNU Vanda Pinedo in 2016 in Florianopolis about black identity, politics, and racial inequality.

5.2.1.1. Black confidence and mainstream whiteness

The main actors in this text are Vanda Pinedo, the female leader of MNU and the interviewee, a white female journalist (Catarinas 2016). These are the two physical actors in the video and they also represent the two actors present at the discursive level. On one side, we have Pinedo representing blackness with her full figured body, African clothes, a turban on her head, confident and proud, yet serious and demanding (Catarinas 2016). On the other side we have the interviewer representing Brazilian whiteness, with her small body, pale skin, flat brown hair, and outfit comprising of a white t-shirt and jeans (Catarinas 2016).

During the interview, Afro-Brazilians are described as *black, cultural, confident,* and *proud* by referring to ideologies of negritude and the memory of the quilombos representing black culture and resistance (Catarinas 2016: 02:30-02:50). Contrasting to these positive representations, Afro-Brazilians are also connected to the current racial discrimination they are suffering from (Catarinas 2016: 02:55-03:02). White Brazilians are referred to more vaguely by using terms such as *white* and *European looking* (Catarinas 2016: 01:29) but also by referring to *history of slavery*, *the Brazilian state,* and *the Brazilian society* in general (Catarinas 2016: 02:00+02:50+02:56).

Both Pinedo and the interviewer use the categories *white* and *black* consistently in the interview without negative connotations and the categories seem to be apart of everyday language (Catarinas 2016: 01:29+01:56). Referring to black and white has now become detached from connotations of racism and has become a way to refer to social groups, yet still marked by descent and the colour of their skin. It is evident to see in this interview that the ethnic boundaries are more subtle and less sharply divided than was seen with Nascimento. Pinedo is

calm and confident and the lines between the two ethnic groups are not drawn by emphasizing hate or aggressiveness – they seem more natural and accepted by both parties.

5.2.1.2. A subtle reference to slavery

The history of slavery is used as a clear reference to draw the boundaries between the two groups, as was also seen with Nascimento and the 1988 constitution (Catarinas 2016: 02:00). But in Pinedo's text it remains subtle. One already knows that the words *quilombos* and *slavery* encapsulate a historical dichotomization between oppressor/oppressed and evil/good, which was particularly vividly emphasized by Nascimento in the 1980s. The history of slavery is still essential in the discursive practices of MNU in 2010s but now more subtle.

Secondly, the historical quilombos persist as a symbol of black identity, Afro-Brazilian culture and resistance against white oppression (Catarinas 2016: 01:03). Pinedo uses the quilombos both to refer to Afro-Brazilian culture, but mainly to the political manifestations they symbolize (Catarinas 2016: 01:15). Nascimento's reference to Africa as the source of black Brazilian identity is not used by Pinedo, who refers solely to the quilombos as a symbol of black identity.

5.2.1.3. Race as a present-day urban issue

Pinedo uses the reference of the quilombo to represent epicenters of black political protest, in order to open up a discussion of the issue of racial discrimination in Brazilian society, which is her main focal point. She claims that racial discrimination is a central problem in Brazil and that exclusion from various aspects of society are founded on the history of enslavement (Catarinas 2016: 02:00). Race is framed by Pinedo within a predominantly urban and contemporary perspective (Catarinas 2016: 03:29). The focus has thus shifted from Nascimento's focus on Afro-Brazilian identity and consciousness connected to the rural quilombos, to a larger focus on contemporary political issues of racial discrimination and structural racism within the focus of urbanity.

5.2.1.4. Sub-conclusion

The boundaries between the Afro-Brazilians and the white Brazilian society, which were symbolically and aggressively drawn by Nascimento, are now more subtle, unmentioned, and seem natural – yet they still persist and are embodied by the two women in the interview. Racial boundaries are now acknowledged and accepted and the racial categories *black* and *white* have turned into a legitimate and 'normal' way of reconstructing ethnic boundaries in everyday language. There is no need for Pinedo to verbalize ethnic boundaries and employ a hostile tone, as it seems the discussion of racial discrimination have become more accepted in Brazilian society, compared to the 1980s. Pinedo has shifted focus since Nascimento's *Quilombismo* to emphasize culture and identity less and focus more on contemporary structural issues of racism. The image of Mother Africa as symbol of ancient cultural heritage is not present. The discursive practices of MNU has left its references to the mythical past behind and entered into a focus on the present.

The racial boundaries are somehow back to being unspoken as during racial democracy. But the new discourse on racial discrimination, which contradicts sharply the ideology of racial democracy, has now been added. The quilombos remain as an essential symbol of Afro-Brazilian resistance with their reference to past suffering and identity, yet the significance of the symbolic quilombo is less. A shift has occurred from a central focus on past slavery, lost cultural identity, and reconstructing ethnic boundaries towards a focus on the present, on structural racism, and urban aspects of race.

5.2.2. Racial quotas: Class, inequality and the fluidity of race

Law 12.711 was passed by the Brazilian government in 2012 and marked the introduction of affirmative action policies and racial quotas to Brazilian society. It represented a drastic shift in the Brazilian state's discourses on race.

5.2.2.1. Racial self-declaration

There are several actors in this legislation: 1) the state, 2) public school graduates, 3) students from families with an income equal to or lower than minimum salary, and 4) self-declared blacks, mixed race, and indigenous people (Presidência da República 2012:Art.1, Art. 2, Art.3). The first article of the law states that all federal higher educational institutions across the country, should allocate 50 % of all admission spots to *public high school graduates* (Presidência da República 2012:Art.1). Public universities in Brazil are more prestigious and well known than the private universities (The Atlantic 2015). Paradoxically in Brazil, the students who pass the tests to enter public universities, are the ones who have a private high-school education and are thus from the more well-off segment of the population (The Atlantic 2015). This means that the well-off, often white students, are accepted to the preferable public state funded universities. Meanwhile, the less well-off, often black students must pay to receive an average education in a private university (The Atlantic 2015). This article is therefore a challenge of Brazilian social structures of class.

The second paragraph states that of those spots described above, half go to students from *families who earn less than or equal to 1.5 minimum wage* (Presidência da República 2012:Art.2). The high level of economic inequality that exists in Brazil is thus also taken into consideration and dealt with in this law. The third paragraph, states that a percentage of the spaces in both categories above is set aside for *self-declared black, brown, and indigenous people* (Presidência da República 2012:Art.3). This percentage is in proportion to the weight of the racial category in the given region. There is no mentioning of the word race or ethnicity in this article. The racial categories of black, brown, and indigenous are mentioned, but not referred to as racial categories. Instead of using the world race, the word *self-declared* is used (Presidência da República 2012:Art.3). In order to take advantage of these racial quotas, one has to identify with one of these categories. Self-declaration with racial categories entails several paradoxes and complexities.

Self-declaration somehow denies the fact that racial categories are used in present-day to stereotype others, to exclude, and to discriminate. Racial categories are still morally loaded and imposed on people without regard for their will. Brazilian racial categories may be fluid, but if you are a dark skinned person, you are seen and treated as a black – whether you identify as black or not. Emphasizing self-declaration can therefore be seen as a way of denying the existing racial discrimination. The state is not unaware of the historical weight of these racial categories; as it is hesitant to use them without the modifying note of self-declaration, precisely because of their colonial and racist connotations.

5.2.2.2. A contemporary and national perspective on race

In Nascimento and Pinedo's texts as well as in the 1988 constitution, Afro-Brazilians were historicized and connected to the past by a constant reference to the myth of the quilombos. In this legislation there is no direct reference to the past as the issues dealt with are contemporary. Actively dealing with issues related to race means the discussion is taken out of the history books and brought into the present. This legislation furthermore concerns the entire country and racial inequality is therefore recognized as a national issue rather than one that is regionalized to rural areas. Since the 1988 constitution, a shift can be detected from a regionalization of race centered in rural areas to race becoming mainly urban, as this is where most universities are located.

5.2.2.3. Sub-conclusion

The boundaries between the state and the black, mixed race, and indigenous populations, who are now merged into one group, still persists but have now reached higher levels of discursive complexities. By dealing with class inequality, economic inequality, and racial inequality in the same short two-page legislation, these issues are constructed as interrelated and as going hand in hand. This correlation, which was advocated by both Nascimento and Pinedo, is now recognized by the state. This represents a major discursive change from the 1988

constitution not dealing with class nor inequality, but with a historicized and regionalized version of race.

The Brazilian state is attempting to deal with issues of class, economic, and racial inequality, but constructs these issues within the light of self-declaration. By determining racial categories as self-declared, the state does not fully recognize their historic complexities and denies the fact that people still suffer socio-material consequences from these categories. On the other hand, the state itself is influenced by these historical connotations, shown in its hesitation and carefulness when using these racial categories. One should think that a legislation introducing affirmative action and racial quotas goes directly against the idea of fluid racial boundaries as promoted within racial democracy. However, the issue is not so simple. On one hand, by introducing this law in the first place, the state is acknowledging the existence of racial boundaries and racial discrimination. On the other hand, the legislation is portraying racial categories as fluid, unfixed, and flexible. The ideology of racial democracy is undoubtedly challenged, but major parts of it are still preserved: A confirmation of Brazil's fluid racial boundaries and a hesitation to explicitly discuss the issue of race still persists.

5.3. Conclusion on Brazilian case

I have now analyzed how black social movements and the state have reconstructed and renegotiated the national ethnic boundaries in their discursive practices from the 1980s through the 2010s.

5.3.1. Detecting discursive changes

In the 1980s Nascimento constructs Afro-Brazilian's as a group with a rich cultural identity and spirituality stemming from Mother Africa. Furthermore is a sharp distinction between black and white created, as Nascimento advocates for a black Brazil, advocates separatism and exercises racism in reverse.

Simultaneously we see the Brazilian 1988 constitution, constructing Afro-Brazilians mainly by creating a dichotomy between Afro-Brazilian culture, representing the urban, the popular and the present, while the quilombo descendants represent the past, slavery, racism, poverty and backwardness. A ruralization of the history of slavery is created and blackness in Brazil is mainly connected to this ruralization.

These two texts share a focus on culture as well as a strong reference to the past. However, while Nascimento connects Afro-Brazilian culture to the past, the constitution connects it to the present. The constitution detaches quilombos, descendants from Afro-Brazilian culture, and locates them in a rural web of the past. The history of slavery is confined to rural areas and is thus disconnected from the cities and the heart of the Brazilian nation. Nascimento presents a counter ideology to dominant ideas of racial democracy, whereas the constitution reproduces it by celebrating Afro-Brazilian culture while regionalizing race, the history of slavery and present-day poverty.

When turning to the 2010s, a discursive transformation has occurred in five main ways:

1) downplaying culture while enlarging the issue of racial discrimination

2) shifting focus from the past to the present

3) shifting from rurality to urbanity

4) a newfound acknowledgement of class and inequality

5) hesitance to speak openly about or address racial categories.

Both Pinedo and the law on racial quotas have left the previous emphasis on Afro-Brazilian culture behind and now focus on issues regarding racial discrimination. A transformation from a discourse of the past, slavery, and historicity of Afro-Brazilian culture towards a new discourse dealing with racial discrimination in a contemporary light has occurred. This shift goes hand in hand with the shift from rurality to urbanity, as rurality represents the past and urbanity represents the present.

Another essential transformation has occurred in the way that racial categories are spoken about and ethnic boundaries are drawn. In the 1980s a sharp dichotomizing between us/them, black/white, urban/rural, and opresser/oppressed took place. In the 2010s a larger hesitance to address racial categories and to speak about difference is found. Racial categories are more subtle, defined by *self-declaration* and have thus become fluid and somehow disconnected from the history these categories carries. In other words, newfound focus on race and racial discrimination goes hand in hand with a detachment from the history of enslavement and oppression in Brazil.

5.3.2. Order of discourse in the field

It seems that in Brazil, it is only possible to deal with the past in the past and the present in the present. Dealing with issues of racial discrimination in contemporary Brazil as a product of the past history of slavery is non-existing discursively. Race is addressed, but in a version that is fitting to Brazil's self-image of fluid racial boundaries.

In other words, the discursive practices in this field are centered on how to deal with the past history of slavery and contemporary racism in Brazilian society. There is on one hand, a discursive attempt to address the history of race in Brazil and on the other hand, the fact that present-day racism originates from this history is denied and constantly hidden away under the blanket of racial democracy. These complexities, contradictory discourse, and constant renegotiations underline the difficulties of dealing with the question of blackness in a post-colonial social reality as seen in Brazil.

6. Analysis of Colombia

How the discursive practices of different social actors have been constructed in order to maintain and shape ethnic boundaries in Colombia over time will now be analyzed. *Firstly*, the discursive practices during the 1980s will be analyzed by looking at 1) Mosquera's *Las Comunidades Negras en Colombia* followed by 2) law 70 in the Colombian 1991 constitution. *Secondly*, the 2010s will be investigated by looking at 1) Mosquera's *El Racismo en Colombia* and 2) a national campaign against racism funded by the Colombian government from 2009. All texts will be analyzed according to their construction around *actors*, *space,* and *time.*

6.1. 1980s: A newfound focus on Afro-Colombians

The National Front regime ended in 1974 in Colombia and afterwards, the 1980s were marked by political unrest and a national armed conflict at its peak (Farnsworth-Alvear et al. 2017:4). The Colombian civil society were demanding political changes, and black social movements were advocating for black rights (Paschel 2011:755). In 1991 a new constitution was adopted and opened up a space in Colombia to focus on human rights, multiculturalism, and minority rights (Wade 2012:42). The 1980's became an essential era in the reconstruction and renegotiation of ethnic boundaries in Colombia.

6.1.1. Mosquera: Black promotion of inclusion and unity

Juan de Dios Mosquera's text (1985) is an academic paper rather than a political manifesto in which, he, as the president of CIMARRÓN, presents his thoughts on the state of Afro-Colombians in Colombian society.

6.1.1.1. White friends & racial unity

Mosquera's main goal in this text is to underline the necessity to create a community of conscience for black people: a black consciousness (Mosquera

1985:25). He consistently uses the word black and not Afro-Colombian (Mosquera 1985:144). As mentioned earlier, black is a common way to refer to Afro-Latinos in Latin America without employing the connotations of racism or discrimination, but referring to skin colour and descent. By choosing to use the word black instead of Afro-Colombian, Mosquera focuses less on culture and ethnicity and more on racial and structural aspects like the awareness of economic exploitation (Mosquera 1985:146).

Mosquera has two ways of referring to the white aspect of Colombian society. Firstly, by referring to his *white friends* and secondly by referring to *capitalist society* and the ideology of *whiteness* (Mosquera 1985:146+144). Mosquera describes capitalist society as being connected to whiteness, which together have oppressed black Colombians and treated them as inferior (Mosquera 1985:143). Yet Mosquera does not formulate white people in general as the enemy but rather refers to them by emphasizing friendship and common ground (Mosquera 1985:135+137). In doing so, he constructs a distinction between structural aspects of whiteness as connected to the oppression of blackness and whiteness on the personal and individual level. In this way he criticizes structural racism at the same time as he maintains a good relationship with his fellow Colombians and advocates communication and collaboration rather than hostility.

6.1.1.2. Internationalization of black identity

Despite the common trend in Colombia of talking about race in regionalized terms by referring to the Pacific region, Mosquera is not referring to any specific regions of the country. He thereby advocates for a Colombian black unity without regard for region. Mosquera states that assuming a consciousness of ethnic identity is to recognize and appreciate *our brothers everywhere* (Mosquera 1985:146). By saying *brothers everywhere* Mosquera creates international connections to black social movements, fighting for the same cause globally. By using the word brother, he creates specific connections to black power movements in United States, who have used this word to mobilize black people and to

construct a black consciousness. Mosquera also mentions human rights, as an international discourse important for why blackness should be respected in Colombia (Mosquera 1985:23-25). In this way, Mosquera avoids creating a regionalization of race and instead creates an internationalization of black consciousness and brings in a human rights-based approach.

6.1.1.3. A continuation of the duality of black history

Mosquera claims that the purpose of black consciousness is to recognize the ethnic and cultural identity of blacks as a historical component of national culture with an awareness of historical oppression (Mosquera 1985:20-24). Mosquera is arguing for the historical identity of black people to be reconstructed in the present. He asserts that the identity of black Colombians is based on their *history* in two ways: 1) their shared culture and 2) their history of suffering from colonialism (Mosquera 1985:45+50). This is in line with both Nascimento and the 1988 Brazilian constitution, which both drew the same two connections. Furthermore Mosquera stresses that black identity should be recognized as being a historical component of national identity. He is advocating for inclusion and recognition of black culture into the Colombian nation in a historical perspective. The history of past suffering and cultural identity thus plays a major part in Mosquera's construction of Afro-Latinos, similar to Nascimento and the Brazilian constitution's increased focus on the historicity of blackness.

6.1.1.4. Sub-conclusion

Mosquera advocates for creating a black consciousness in Colombia, which recognizes past oppression and historical cultural identity. With Mosquera's focus on race over culture, he attempts to make ethnic boundaries in Colombia less significant and in attempt to create unity and sameness. Mosquera focuses on race in a contemporary light and he advocates for unity instead of cultural difference and separatism. In Colombia, blackness has been invisible and still to a high degree was in the 1980s. Creating unity, inclusion and awareness of Afro-Colombians was the first step necessary in this context.

Mosquera furthermore draws linkages to international discourses of human rights and global black movements. These linkages might be due to the armed conflict in the country, the extreme levels of violence and the fact that the global eye was at Colombia at this time due to this conflict. Because of Mosquera's focus on race and structural inequality, he is able to draw on these international discourses.

6.1.2. The 1991 Constitution: An ethnification of blackness

In the 1991 Colombian constitution, law 70 was passed granting collective land rights to rural black communities residing by the Pacific coast in Colombia. This law was similar to the Brazilian article 68 and was the first time that Afro-Latinos were recognized by the Colombian state.

6.1.2.1. Afro-Colombian descendants

The black communities in Colombia are the main actors in this text, as the law is solely directed against them. The black communities are defined in the following sentence: ... *a group of families of Afro-Colombian descent who possesses its own culture, shares a common history and has its own traditions and customs ... and which reveals and preserves a consciousness of identity that distinguishes it from other ethnic groups*[1] (El Congresso de Colombia 1993:Art.20,5). From this description and from the law in general there are three major themes to detect: 1) Culture and identity 3) history and 3) rural and regional focus. *Firstly*, the law defines the black communities as ethnic groups, with a focus on their culture, traditions, customs, and identity (El Congresso de Colombia 1993:Art.20,6). The communities are constructed as being culturally distinct to the Colombian society, but their culture is still of value and somehow apart of the Colombian nation.

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[1] Free translation from: *El conjunto de familias de ascendencia afrocolombiana que poseen una cultura propia, comparten una historia y tienen sus propias tradiciones y costumbres dentro de la relación compro poblado, que revelan y conservan conciencia de identidad que las distinguen de otros grupos étnicos.*

6.1.2.2. A cultural relation to land

The communities are furthermore constructed with a focus on their history, by referring to their descent from African culture and their traditions (El Congresso de Colombia 1993:Art.20,7). This is the main argument for why the black communities are granted rights to the land they inhabit: their ancestral relations to their land, which encompasses collective land use and traditional practices of production. The historical *cultural* relation to land and nature is thus emphasized rather than the relation to slavery, as was seen in the Brazilian context. These communities represent a connection to nature and to traditional practices via their culture – a connection, which the rest of the Colombian society has lost.

6.1.2.3. Preservation of the Pacific basin and its people

A focus on the Pacific region is elaborated on in this law and is defined figuratively and vividly by describing its rivers, mountains, and valleys (El Congresso de Colombia 1993:Art.20,1). It creates connotations of respect for nature, biodiversity and for the communities' relation to territories and nature. This land, which these communities inhabit, is connected to their traditional production practices such as hunting, fishing, and harvesting activities (El Congresso de Colombia 1993: Art. 20, 7). The cultural activities mentioned are all highly related to nature and are not cultural practices such as dance, language, religion, clothing or art. This creates the discourse that the black communities have a special connection to the nature and are therefore somehow seen as 'backwards' and uncivilized. The vivid and figurative description of the environment of the Pacific Basin makes the reader understand how important it is to preserve this nature as a part of Colombian territory. The lively and colourful description of the black communities living in the Pacific Basin is similar to and of equal importance to the description of the nature of the Pacific Basin. The black communities become an integral part of the environment in this region and they should both be preserved as a part of Colombia. In this way, blackness in

Colombia is constructed as a part of nature and limited to the regional area of the Pacific.

6.1.2.4. Sub-conclusion

The black rural communities are constructed by a focus on their culture, identity, and their historical relation to nature. These communities contribute to the Colombian national identity because of their connection to an ancient culture and because they represent nature and a natural state of human beings. They are hereby *ethnified*, *naturalized*, historicized, depicted as backwards, and connected to the past more than the present. This portrayal is highly similar to how the indigenous have been portrayed in Latin America for decades (Wade 1993:33-35). Black communities should be protected because they represent old ancient Colombian cultural practices, which the state desires to maintain as a part of a national image, in order to promote themselves as multicultural. The law does not mention the history of slavery, the question of race inequality, or discrimination. Rather, discusses blackness as marginalized to the Pacific region of Colombia.

The constitution challenges the ideology of mestizaje by focusing on the Afro-Colombian population and officially claiming blackness to be a part of Colombian national identity. But this is done in a highly limited way by representing a regionalized, historicized, and marginalized view of the Afro-Latinos, similarly to how the indigenous have been constructed for centuries. The Colombian state merges the indigenous population with the Afro-Colombians, incorporating the blacks communities into a category, which originally belonged to the indigenous. In this way, the hierarchal order of mestizaje is not fundamentally challenged and the two ethnic groups at the bottom of the hierarchy have merely been merged together into one fluid category of ethnicity and culture.

6.2. 2010s: The creation of an urban/rural division of blackness

The 1980s represented the first attempt for black social movements and the state to redefine ethnic boundaries and blackness in Colombia within the new framework of multiculturalism. In the decades after these initial reconstructions, several discursive changes occurred (Wade 2012:41-42). The discursive practices of CIMARRÓN changed to adapt to the new constitution and the Colombian state revised how to deal with blackness in a more general and less regional and ethnic version (Wade 2012:42).

6.2.1. Mosquera: Urban versus rural blackness

This text is a presentation by Juan de Dios Mosquera, the leader CIMARRÒN, whose text from 1985 was also analyzed above. The goal of this presentation is to promote the work of CIMARRÒN in 2009 and to educate the public about racism in Colombian society.

6.2.1.1. Rural poverty and urban racial discrimination

Mosquera uses various categories to refer to Afro-Colombians. *Firstly*, he uses *Afro-Colombian population* to inform that the black population in Colombia who lives by the Caribbean and Pacific coast, as well as in the big cities of the country (CIMARRÓN 2010: 00:04-00:32). He uses *Afro-Colombian population* as overarching category in order to describe Afro-Latinos in Colombia without regard for region. Mosquera shifts to using the words *Afro-Colombian communities* to describe the black communities residing by the Pacific Coast (CIMARRÓN 2010: 01:00). According to Mosquera, these communities are suffering from the direct consequences of slavery in Colombia (CIMARRÓN 2010: 01:08). He furthermore explains how these people live deep in the jungle and are impoverished without access to health or education (CIMARRÓN 2010: 01:13-01:47). They work in the mining and agricultural industries in similar

conditions as during slavery and continue to be exploited economically and politically (CIMARRÓN 2010: 02:20-02:37).

After describing the situation of the Afro-Colombian communities, Mosquera shifts to discuss issues of racial discrimination within an urban perspective while simultaneously shifting to using the word *gente negra* (black people) (CIMARRÓN 2010: 04:21). Mosquera asserts that there are no black people working in banks, airports, big supermarkets, or in medium to high-level positions in the Colombian state (CIMARRÓN 2010: 04:21-04:46). He hereby claims racial discrimination in the urban labour market and political arena to be a problem in Colombia. Mosquera highlights a division between impoverished rural black communities and black people in general as member of urban society, fighting against racial discrimination in the higher levels of society.

6.2.1.2. From ethnicity to a human rights-based approach

Mosquera describes how the black communities residing by the Pacific coast live in poverty with no access to health services, suffer from high rates of child mortality, and are affected by educational and social backwardness (translation from the Spanish word *atraso*) (CIMARRÓN 2010: 01:21-01:56). These communities also suffer from violence provoked by the armed conflict, from an exploitation of their labour and a destruction of their territory by forestry companies (CIMARRÓN 2010: 02:26). Mosquera is constructing these communities within a human rights framework and is highlighting their inhumane conditions as a violation of human rights, in an attempt to call international attention (CIMARRÓN 2010: 00:54). This framework is used as the main argument for why the Colombian government needs to deal with the living conditions in black rural communities; it is a violation of human rights.

6.2.1.3. A newfound focus on slavery in Colombia

Mosquera's main goal is the fight against racism, racial discrimination, and social and political exclusion (CIMARRÓN 2010: 04:58). Mosquera sees these two phenomena as direct consequences of slavery and colonization (CIMARRÓN 2010: 05:08). This concerns both the black communities and the urban black people. But when referring to the urban black people, Mosquera is not mentioning slavery and colonialism but mainly discusses issues of racism and exclusion. Slavery and colonization are connected to the rural black communities, which Mosquera claims are living in the same conditions as during this era (CIMARRÓN 2010: 03:24). The history of slavery and colonization is still highly present in the Pacific coast, but not in the urban areas, where the problem is racism and exclusion based on skin colour. Racial discrimination is connected to urban areas, while the history of slavery is connected to rural poverty. Hereby the history of slavery is somehow disconnected from the issue of urban racial discrimination and marginalized to the Pacific coast.

6.2.1.4. Sub-conclusion

Mosquera divides the Afro-Colombian population into two distinct categories separating the rural from the urban as two different aspects of blackness in Colombian society. While the Afro-Colombian rural communities are depicted as poor, backwards and suffering, the urban black population is described as being affected by racial discrimination at the labour market and politically.

This distinction dichotomizes rural from urban, poverty from civilized and past from present. The urban blacks are marked by the discourse of race, by referring to them with the word *black,* while the Afro-Colombian communities are referred to as Afro, thus implying culture and ethnicity. The history of slavery resulting in racial discrimination is seen as the problem, while human rights is the solution.

6.2.2. *Campaña Nacional*: A recognition of racism

In May 2009, a national campaign, funded by the Colombian government, against racism was launched (Campaña Nacional 2009). A short video of around two minutes aired on Colombian television, advocating for this Colombian society to take action in combating racism. This video will now be analyzed.

6.2.2.1. Urban confidence and rural backwardness

Both the words *Afro-descendants* and *Colombians* are used to refer to the black population in Colombia, but while term *Afro-descendants* is primarily used to refer to rural communities, *Colombians* are used indirectly to refer to the urban (Caracol TV 2009: 00:09+00:25). The divide between the urban and rural Afro-population is highly pronounced in this video: A young black boy in a classroom in an urban area says: *want to be an airplane pilot* (Caracol TV 2009: 00:02). A young black woman walking on the street says with confidence: *I want to go to university* (Caracol TV 2009: 00:04). A black man in a suit on a top of a building says with determination: *I can be a bank manager* (Caracol TV 2009: 00:06). The urban aspect of the black population is depicted with confidence, demanding respect, and equal treatment in the labour market as well as in the educational system. Furthermore, they speak for themselves and they have careers dreams and the desire to be treated equally by higher levels of society.

Rurality of blackness is depicted quite differently than the urban. Pictures of black Colombians in rural areas show that they live in simple conditions: A young smiling boy studying with help from an older woman on a plastic table between simple huts (Caracol TV 2009: 00:10). A woman with a baby in her arms stands calmly in front of a shack on the side of a brown riverbank (Caracol TV 2009: 00:11). The rural areas are described by the voice-over as collective territories, which refer to the rural communities' collective ownership of land and their relationship with their territory and nature (Caracol TV 2009: 00:13). The rural blacks are not given the opportunity to speak for themselves; the voice-over merely speaks for them. While portraying these pictures of the rural black

communities, the voice over explains that the Afro-descendants in Colombia fight for a *better quality of life, dignity and respect* (Caracol TV 2009: 00:15-00:17). The black communities are shown as simple but happy and the campaign is not depicting how many of these communities actually live in poverty. A dichotomy is created between the urban black as confident, able to speak for themselves, civilized and demanding access to the higher levels of society. On the other hand is the rural as simply, happy, not able to speak for themselves, connected to nature and merely seeking a better quality of life, dignity and respect, which are highly unspecific terms open for interpretation.

6.2.2.2. Urban race as detached from the past

The voice-over furthermore claims that the rural communities seek their history to be known and their input to the nation to be valorized (Caracol TV 2009: 00:18-00:21). When the word history is said, a picture portraying a statue of a slave appears (Caracol TV 2009: 00:18). When the word input is said, a clip of people dancing a traditional dance in colourful dresses with trees in the background is portrayed (Caracol TV 2009: 00:20). *History* is a reference to the history of slavery and *input to the nation* is referring to Afro-Colombian culture. Because these two references are shown instantly after depicting the rural areas, one automatically assumes these two aspects as belonging to the rural side of blackness. The rural black population is therefore connected with their history of slavery and distinct culture.

The voice-over claims that Afro-Colombian's wants their history to be known and their culture to be valorized (Caracol TV 2009: 00:18-00:21). These two themes are thus constructed as something the Afro-Colombians themselves are proud of and are actively promoting. The video is not claiming slavery to be connected to the impoverished conditions many rural black communities live in today or to the racism that exists in the Colombian society. It is merely shown as a cultural aspect of the black communities distinctiveness. In Mosquera's 2010 presentation, he stated bluntly that the black communities by the Pacific Coast

live in deep poverty, which he saw as a direct outcome of the history of slavery and colonization (CIMARRÒN 2010). In this text, this is not recognized and the history of slavery is merely mentioned as a positive aspect of Afro-Colombian community's cultural heritage.

The video ends with a voice-over stating: *Racial discrimination effects the lives of millions of Colombians*, while returning to depicting urban areas, with young school girls and kids playing in the streets (Caracol TV 2009: 0:21-0:26). By returning to use the word 'Colombians' and depicting urban scenery, racial discrimination is thus instinctively connected to the urban aspect of blackness instead of the rural.

6.2.2.3. Sub-conclusion

The Afro population in Colombia finds themselves in a constant process of inclusion and exclusion. They are named *Afro-descendants* and marked by difference while they are also named Colombians, marked by *sameness*. They are dichotomized into two distinct groups in order to deal with the issue of racial discrimination but detached from rural poverty and the history of slavery. A dichotomy between urban and rural blackness is created: The urban as confidant, civilized and discriminated solely based on skin colour while the rural is simple, but content to seek dignity and respect for their culture.

This campaign also adds a new aspect to the discursive practices of the Colombian state, namely the discourse of racial discrimination. This issue is now addressed directly, yet exclusively within the frame of urbanity and thus detached Afro-Colombian culture and history. The urban blacks are also disconnected from Afro-culture and history and are constructed as being a fully assimilated into Colombia society. The black rural communities are marked as *different* because of their culture and history and are not suffering discrimination, they merely seek their history and culture to be known and treated with respect. As Mosquera described in 2009, the black communities by the Pacific Coast live in deep poverty, which is not touched upon in this campaign (Mosquera 2009). The

Colombian government denies that rural poverty exists and that it can be seen as related to issues of race and the history of slavery. In Colombia, a constant renegotiating and reconstructing the Afro-Latinos in relation to the by now familiar dichotomies of past/present, Self/Other and excluded/included takes place.

6.3. Conclusion on Colombian case

I have now analyzed how Colombian black social movements and the Colombian state respectively reconstructed and renegotiated national ethnic boundaries in their discursive practices from the 1980s through the 2010s.

6.3.1. Detecting discursive changes

In the 1980s Mosquera emphasized the need for a black consciousness and advocated for Afro-Colombian culture to be integrated into national identity. He advocated unity and integration with a focus on present-day issues of racial discrimination. The 1991 constitution paints a radically different picture with a focus on blackness as excluded to the Pacific coast and emphasizes culture and ethnicity. Mosquera and the constitution both frame their discursive practices within the discourse of human rights. Besides this, the two texts from 1980s have little in common. Mosquera highlights racial discrimination in present day Colombia without a regionalization of race while the constitution carries a regionalized, historicized, and ethnified perspective on blackness. Despite this, both texts to some extent, advocate integration of blackness into Colombian society, and attempt to construct bridges rather than create rifts – although in very different ways.

Moving on to the 2010s, Mosquera keeps a focus on racial discrimination and human rights but with a different focus; he has now adapted to discourses presented in the 1991 constitution and also emphasizes black communities by the Pacific coast. He creates a divide between rural and urban blackness, rurality

represents slavery, poverty, culture, nature, and history, while urbanity represents the Colombia society, civilization, and equal rights for all citizens. *Campaña Nacional* is in many ways in line with Mosquera's depiction, as it also creates a sharp rural/urban divide. This state funded campaign departs from the 1991 Colombian constitution with a newfound focus on race in an urban setting, yet the ethnification of black rural communities by the Pacific coast remains, although with an additional acknowledgement of slavery.

A general discursive transformation can be detected from a focus on culture, identity and ethnicity in the 1980s towards a focus on more racial aspects of blackness in the 2010s. Furthermore, is integration of the black population and their cultural heritage emphasized in the 1980s, while equality as citizens is being demanded in the 2010s. A sharp rural/urban divide was created in the 2010s, which did not exist in the 1980s. There has been a development towards a dual construction of blackness, incorporating both rural black communities representing culture and history, while also incorporating the question of race in an urban contemporary setting. In this way, some aspects of blackness are incorporated into the Colombian society while others are still marginalized. In this way, issues of poverty, racism and the history of slavery are kept from being an integrated part of the Colombian nation.

Human rights remain an important issue in Colombia, which might be related to the very violent armed conflict in the country that began in the 60s and is still on-going (Brodzinsky 2017). Colombia received international attention for violations of human rights due to this conflict and it was a clear way to draw attention to the black communities by the Pacific for the first time.

6.3.2. Order of discourse in the field

In this field there is a constant renegotiation of, one hand, the integration and national unity and on the other hand; dealing with the fact that Colombia is regionally divided according the race. The regional division of race and the hierarchy that this division symbolizes is a key factor in creating boundaries

between ethnic groups in Colombia. The white mestizo highlands are miles away, geographically as well as discursively, from the tropical and exotic Pacific coast, representing respectively civilization and backwardness. The division between the white European descendants and the Afro-Latinos is significant culturally, socially, and geographically.

Regional divisions not only exist between black, white, and indigenous – a regional divide within blackness also exits. In the 2010s in Colombia, a discursive bridge is created from the rurality of blackness towards an integration into the urban highlands and into Colombian society. It is a discursive bridge over geographical landscapes and cultural boundaries paving the way for the Afro-Latinos to become a part of the Colombian nation. A nation, which they have been ostracized from for centuries.

7. Comparing Brazil & Colombia

Comparing Brazil and Colombia reveals particularities about each country, which could not have been discovered by only investigating one and it goes on to reveal general trends of social exclusion and the creation of ethnic boundaries of Afro-Latinos in Latin America.

7.1. Similarities

7.1.1. From ethnicity to race

A general transformation can be detected in both countries from the initial focus on culture, identity, and ethnicity to a larger focus on race and racial discrimination. The focus on culture and ethnicity in the 1980s consisted of constructing the Afro-Latinos as connected to cultural heritage, Africa, black identity, and traditional cultural practices. Afro-Latinos were constructed as an ethnic group, similar to the indigenous populations in Colombia and as culturally and historically connected to slavery and Africa in Brazil. This construction was formulated within a framework of multiculturalism and popular at the time. A transformation occurred towards a focus on the more racial aspects of blackness, racial discrimination, racism, and inequality. At this point, Afro-Latinos were generally treated more like citizens and less like an ethnic group. Marked by this racial category, their distinctiveness was marked mainly by their phenotype and descent – not their culture. This discursive transition follows changes in international discourses, going from a multiculturalist emphasis on ethnicity towards a more international focus on racial discrimination in the new millennium (OHCHR 2017, Wade 2012:42). Latin America has historically been influenced by Western ideologies in dealing with the question of race and this is still the case, as shown in this analysis.

7.1.2. From rural to urban

The rural/urban dichotomy is essential in both Brazil and Colombia, as all texts analyzed in this thesis revolves around this distinction. In the 1980s a discourse around rural areas as they are connected to culture, ethnicity, nature, and backwardness is created. In the 2010s this transforms into an urban focus connected to race and racial discrimination. Rural areas are continuously seen as the epicenter of blackness and are the main boundary defining characteristic of Afro-Latinos. The connection of blackness to rural areas, can be seen as a way of marginalizing Afro-Latinos from the epicenters of the nation; the cities. It is a way of constructing blackness as something distinct to the nation and furthermore marginalize the issues, contradiction, and paradoxes that blackness represents: Inequality, poverty, social exclusion, and the past history of slavery. When the discursive practices transform into depicting race as urban, Afro-Latinos are depicted as less culturally distinct and more as a part of the nation. This means that the Afro-Latinos only are incorporated into the nation when they are detached from their culture and history.

The Afro-Latinos are not fixed to one specific geographical place, like the indigenous to the Amazon or the white to the cities. They are constantly shifting between urban and rural members and outsiders in a search of a geographical location of their identity and position within the society. In both cases, the rural areas are connected to the past, which leads to the next dichotomy.

7.1.3. From past to present

The past/present dichotomy is both connected to the ethnicity/race and the rural/urban dichotomy. Ethnicity, rurality, and the past are constructed within one discourse, whereas race, urbanity, and the present are constructed within another. The focus on the past in the 1980s was in Colombia, centered on traditional cultural practices, historical relation to land, and black historical identity, whereas

in Brazil the focus was more on slavery and a connection to Africa. In the 2010s, both turned to a more present focus, while Brazil left the focus on the past behind and Colombia kept the focus on slavery as reasoning for the existing racial discrimination.

The dichotomization between past and present is an essential marker of Afro-Latino identity. The placement of Afro-Latinos as belonging to the past similar to the indigenous or belonging to the present as 'normal citizens' is a constant struggle. They seem to be fixed on the past by referring to their cultural identity connected to rural land, the history of slavery and to the memory of Africa, yet they are also tentatively contemporized. In their contemporization, there is on one hand, a continuous reference to slavery, while on the other hand, a denial of this history. Even when the history of slavery is not mentioned, it is still present in subtext. The Afro-Latinos seems to be stuck in time, since they do not represent a glorious past, nor a prosperous future, but rather something trapped in between.

7.1.4. Sub-conclusion

These dichotomies between ethnicity/race, rural/urban and past/present are essential to the construction of the ethnic boundaries of the Afro-Latinos in Brazil and Colombia. In both countries, blackness went from being constructed as ethnic, rural, and belonging to the past to portrayed as racial, urban, and a part of the present. An ambiguous connection to time and place seem to be important characteristics in the construction of Afro-Latinos in Latin America, which will be elaborated below.

7.2. Differences

In this highly complex, multifaceted, and contradictory field that I am operating in, there are numerous differences between Brazil and Colombia. I will now outline the most essential ones.

7.2.1. The ambiguity of slavery in Brazil

As mentioned above, the focus on slavery is more intense and constant in Brazil than it is in Colombia. Slavery and historical oppression is constructed in Brazil as the foundation for Afro-Brazilian identity and black resistance symbolized in the quilombos. As described earlier, slavery lasted longer and the number of slaves important was significantly larger in Brazil than Colombia. Blackness has been present in urban areas in Brazil since colonization and has had an essential impact on national identity. Because of the visibility of blackness and the significant slave trade to Brazil, slavery becomes constructed as discursively more essential to Afro-Latino identity, than in Colombia.

Brazilian racial boundaries have historically been fluid and vague because of the high level of racial mixture. Racial democracy went on to made racial categories unimportant and invisible, which might be the reason for the Brazilian need to re-demarcate ethnic boundaries, to mark the difference, and to construct a black identity - using history of slavery for this purpose. The memory of slavery was also found at another level; the non-verbal. A renewed hesitance to verbalize racial categories and blackness as something fixed, was detected in the 2010s. A hesitance, which might be due to the colonial connotations of these categories. In other words, the history of colonization and slavery is highly central in the construction of Afro-Latinos in Brazil, verbalized and non-verbalized. It is constantly used to demarcate difference and simultaneously denied and put under the blanket of racial democracy.

7.2.2. Regionalization and integration in Colombia

In Colombia, another picture is being drawn. While slavery was shown to be less important than in Brazil, the regionalization of blackness as belonging to the Pacific coast was, on the other hand, essential. Blackness was in the Colombian context constantly connected to the Pacific region representing backwardness, poverty, and cultural difference from the temperate highlands. This is connected to the cultural geography of the country but is also a way to discursively

marginalize blackness in Colombia, as being distinct from national identity. This discursive shift towards an urban focus represented a bridge over geo-cultural divisions to introduce Afro-Latinos to the Colombian society and to the present. Afro-Colombians could be incorporated into the Colombia society, but without bringing their rural culture and history with them.

This represents another trend that is found in Colombia; emphasis on integration and the building of bridges. As racial boundaries are already rigid due to the cultural geography of the country, this created a need to focus on integration, as opposed to separatism. While referring to the history of slavery became a way to visualize racial categories and rifts in Brazil, the urban/rural division became a way to build bridges between already existing racial categories in Colombia. In order to build these bridges, a connection to the international discourse of human rights was created, which has no equivalent in Brazil. Colombia received international attention for their violations of human rights due to the national armed conflict (Farnsworth-Alvear et al. 2007:5). This opened a window for black activists to create an international focus on the issues faced by the black population within this framework. The discourse on human rights was highly useful in creating a focus on the marginalized and regionalized black communities by the Pacific coast in Colombia.

7.3. The construction of Afro-Latinos

It is possible to conclude that the construction of the ethnic boundaries of Afro-Latinos in Brazil and Colombia center around the dichotomies of past/present, rural/urban and ethnicity/race. Afro-Latinos find themselves in a constant negotiation between these concepts; between being an ethnic or racial group, between belonging to the past or the present, and between being a member or an outsider to the nation. Placement in accordance to the two concepts of time and place; as in history and geographical location, seem to be the most essential aspects for creating Afro-Latinos as an ethnic group in Latin America.

But while Brazil has a dominant reference to the past and to slavery, the discursive practices of Colombia focus more on the Pacific coast and rurality of the black population. This is of course with numerous peculiarities, exceptions, and deviations. The explanation for these differences was found in the historic, geographic, and demographic particularities of each county. Because of Brazil's more intense history of slavery, lack of geographical divides, fluid racial boundaries and historical incorporation of blackness – the past and the concept of time; as in a reference to slavery and Africa, became the primary marker of difference. In Colombia, due to the smaller and more marginal black population, more rigid racial boundaries, and the regionalization of race – place; as it refers to the geographical placement of blackness, became the primary marker of difference. The ethnic boundaries of the Afro-Latinos are fluid, interchangeable and constantly renegotiated and reconstructed – yet they are still grounded in something more tangible in the social world; a geographical division of race and an uncomfortable past.

8. The social exclusion of Afro-Latinos in Latin America

It has been shown how Afro-Latinos are constructed as an ethnic group, by the utilization of the dichotomies ethnic/racial, rural/urban, and past/present. Geographical placement and history have shown themselves to be particularly essential in this regard. In this brief chapter, I will firstly discuss why place and history are essential concepts in the construction of ethnic groups in Latin America. Secondly, I will attempt to define the process of social excluding of Afro-Latinos in Latin America, on the basis of the findings of this thesis.

8.1. Lost in time and place

Geographical placement and history showed themselves to be essential in the analysis of the construction of Afro-Latinos in Latin America and therefore the question comes to mind: *Why is connection to time and place fundamental in the construction of ethnic identities in Latin America?* A hypothesis for this question will now be presented, which is seen more as a discussion than an integral part of the analysis. Racial categories in Latin America were created in the colonial encounter (Appelbaum et al. 2003:1-2). Colonization was a scene of cultural displacement and a merging of three distinct ethnic groups stemming from disparate geographical locations in the world. Two of these groups, the European colonizers and the Africa slaves, had been uprooted from their original geographical placements and from the epicentres of their cultures – one of them by force (Appelbaum et al. 2003:10-11).

Some scholars have argued that within the colonial setting, race became connected to space and geographical placement: *racial distinctions were created and reinforced through allusions to how place determined or shaped the racial characteristic of individuals or groups* (Appelbaum et al. 2003:11). Colonial identification of territories developed simultaneously with the construction of

racial identities. Geographical expeditions to understand the colonial land portrayed the environmental characteristics as shaping the races that inhabited them (Appelbaum et al. 2003:11). Race therefore came to indicate social groups, nations – and localities. Therefore, a connection to a locality, environment and a geographical placement was one of the markers of colonial racial identities. While the indigenous became connected to the Latin American land, the colonizers were still mentally and economically connected to the continent of Europe; the Afro-Latinos had lost their connection to a place, to Africa and to a local environment. Their lack of connection to geographical placement made them lack one of the essential markers of identity.

This could be one of the many intertwined and complex explanations for why the construction of Afro-Latinos as an ethnic group became fluid, non-fixed and up for negotiation and interpretation in the colonial setting, which carried its traits today. Their disconnection from Africa as their geographical environment and locality of their original identity, made their social position obscure in the new Latin American social setting.

In order to understand the history and the future of this new continent, time became another important maker to make sense of social identities in a post-colonial context (Wade 1993:8-11). Because the indigenous were connected to the Latin American land, they became connected to the past, while the colonizers representing Europe came to represent the future (Wade 1993:11). Because of their lack of connection to a geographical place, Afro-Latinos became lost in time - not belonging to the past, nor the present, but merely coming to symbolize the uncomfortable history of slavery, which the Latin American post-colonial nations was otherwise trying to suppress. Because of the Afro-Latino's displacement from geographical belonging; they also became stuck in limbo between the past and the present. This hypothesis could be the reason for the continuing and constant dichotomization between past/present, rural/urban and ethnicity/race in the construction of Afro-Latinos in Latin America, which serves as the fundament for their continuous social exclusion and marginalization.

8.2. The exclusion of Afro-Latinos

Barth claims that the interaction between ethnic groups does not lead to a minimization of ethnic boundaries and identities; on the contrary, it leads to strengthening them (Barth 1969). Barth's theory has been shown valid in the cases analyzed in this thesis. The high level of ethnic interaction in Latin America, particularly in Brazil, has not lead to minimization of ethnic boundaries and the lack of discrimination as is claimed by the ideologies of racial democracy and mestizaje. On the other hand, it has lead to the constant negotiation and reconstruction of said ethnic identities.

In the Latin American context, ethnic grouping can be seen as a social mechanism, used as a tool to justify inequalities, class structures and social exclusion (Dulitzky 2005:39, Goldstein 1999:565). Ethnic identities in Latin America originates on the colonial encounter (Wade 1997:1-2). In this encounter the Afro-Latinos became lost in time and place and did not gain a fixed meaning. They became trapped between a vague memory of Africa, an unpleasant remembrance of colonization, and a failure to fit into the desirable white and prosperous image of the future. The negotiation of Afro-Latinos as an ethnic group, which serves as a foundation for their social exclusion, works as a constant dichotomization between the past/present, rural/urban, ethnic/racial, civilized/uncivilized, unity/separatism, regional/national, and members/outsider. The essential paradox of the Afro-Latinos has been their placement within these dichotomies. However, the essence of the exclusion of Afro-Latinos is found within this same paradox: they are both. They are the Self and the Other, the past and the present, the rural and the urban, the member and the outsider. They are exactly defined by this ambiguity, confusion, paradox, uncertainty, and contradiction, which lay the foundation for the constant negotiation of their exclusion and inclusion in Latin American societies.

8.3. The creation of social change?

It has been shown how a constant power struggle between different agents has shifted the meaning of what it means to be Afro-Latino. Structures of domination have been constantly challenged, renegotiated, maintained, and renewed. Counter ideologies to the dominant ways of thinking about race and ethnicity in Latin America have been challenged, renegotiated, debated, recycled, and withstood direct attack. New spaces have been opened for what can be said and what cannot be said, for how to define Afro-Latinos and how to not define them. Several actors have attempted social change by challenging the dominant ideologies and structures of social exclusion in Latin America. However, fundamental changes have not occurred in the social world, since socio-economic discrimination and marginalization of Afro-Latinos still exist in Latin America today (Ibarra & Byanyima 2016). The processes of social exclusion and its materialization in daily experiences, material conditions, and the livelihoods of people classified within this social category continues. One of the ways in which the process of social exclusion is maintained in Latin America is by the upholding of existing ethnic boundaries. The knowledge discussed in this thesis serves as a modest contribution to the confrontation of this process of social exclusion of Afro-Latinos.

9. Concluding remarks

It has been concluded that the construction of ethnic boundaries of the Afro-Latinos in Brazil and Colombia center around the dichotomies of past/present, rural/urban, and ethnicity/race, among several others. It has been demonstrated how geographic, demographic, and historic factors shape and influence the ways in which ethnic boundaries are constructed and renegotiated. A country with geo-cultural divides such as Colombia, constructs Afro-Latinos in a constant negotiation between geographical spaces; between the urban highlands and the tropical Pacific coast. Brazil on the other hand, with no geographical divisions, to a higher degree positions Afro-Latinos in connection with the past, the history of slavery, and their lost connection to Africa. Geographic placement became the essential marker of Afro-Latino identity in Colombia, while history became in Brazil. This thesis has confirmed that ethnic boundaries are fluid, yet they have a connection to more tangible elements in the social world.

Besides these differences, Brazil and Colombia negotiate the identity of Afro-Latinos within the same dichotomies and discursive practices. This negotiation between contrasting concepts and discourses symbolizes the Afro-Latino's ambivalent and ambiguous position within Latin America societies. The group was displaced from Africa; their original geographical placement, and brought to the continent of Latin America by force. This history might be one of the reasons for the obscure, dubious, and unclear position held by Afro-Latinos in Latin America, which lays the foundation for the process of social exclusion, marginalization, and discrimination. Several agents in Latin America attempt at challenging this position and the structures of inequality, which lies behind. This has been shown to be extremely complicated and as a consequence, social exclusion, unequal distribution of resources in combination with racial discrimination persist as an integral part of Latin American society.

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