THE CONTESTED POLITICS OF ANTI-RACISM

CONCEPTS, PUBLIC DEBATES & POLITICAL PROJECTS

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**POLITICS project
booklet**

AUGUST —— **2023**

PHOTO 01 Posters of the National Mobilization against Racism, Lisbon, 2018 | Author: Silvia Maeso

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The contested politics of anti-racism booklet is aimed at academics, students, social movements and other people interested in understanding anti-racism from different fronts of analysis and dispute in the spheres of academia, public policy and social activism. The booklet presents, in an illustrative and pedagogical way, the main results of the research developed within the scope of the POLITICS project - The politics of anti-racism in Europe and Latin America: knowledge production, decision-making and collective struggles (2017-2023). The project sought to answer, based on the relationship between processes that take place in the contexts of Brazil, Spain, Peru and Portugal, the following question:

What different and divergent understandings of anti-racism are at work in European and Latin American contexts, concerning approaches and interpretations of colonial histories and current configurations of structural injustices?

The POLITICS project identified five word strings that guide the reflections presented in this booklet, encompassing the different vocabularies present in the processes of fighting against racism, as well as the grammars adopted by the State and public policies:

01.
MULTICULTURALISM/ DIVERSITY/ INTERCULTURALITY

Refers to social engineering projects adopted by the State based on identity understandings of the so-called "minorities" or "vulnerable groups". The historical situation of Roma, black and indigenous people is mainly conceptualised from their cultural difference, and the policies that address this situation are thought of as processes of promoting "integration", "intercultural dialogue" or "diversity".

02.
DEMOCRACY/ HUMAN RIGHTS/ DEVELOPMENT

Refers to processes of updating the civilising mission contained in concepts that, although they are generally understood as universally emancipatory, are embedded with racial logic

03.
RACIAL JUSTICE/ DECOLONISATION/ HISTORICAL REPARATION

Encompasses the demands of the field of anti-racist struggle, and the vocabularies used by social movements and absorbed by institutions for the production of knowledge and/or public policies.

04.
INSTITUTIONAL RACISM/ GENOCIDE/ COLONIALISM

Refers to State practices, evidencing the racist violence perpetuated in institutionalised and normalised logics that reproduce racial violence in its various facets.

05.
LIBERATION/ AUTONOMY/ RESISTANCE

Illuminates the narratives of liberation struggles, the autonomous and out-of-state processes, which encompass the narratives and practices of resistance to racism, but above all, the experience of freedom and autonomy.

The five word strings illustrate how the research dialogued with the challenges presented by concrete struggles and their ramifications, focusing on black and Roma movements and organisations in different contexts where the project developed research (Brazil, Peru, Portugal and Spain).

Accordingly, the booklet is organised into five sections: each begins with a brief explanatory text of the processes and political debates associated with the specific word string, followed by provocative questions that open us to new fronts of reflection. Then, in each section we present themes, cases and examples that were collected over the course of the research, with a recommendation on complementary readings and other materials that allow the reader to expand their knowledge on that specific topic. The topics exemplify the main tensions and contradictions between anti-racism, social demands and institutional practices in different contexts

At the end of the booklet, we present a glossary with the conceptualisation of key terms (which appear highlighted throughout the text), as well as the recommended readings for further study. We relate institutional practices, legal and normative grammars and knowledge production with the vocabularies of collective struggle, and situate them within the globalised logics of

racism and anti-racism, aiming to challenge understandings based on ideas of exceptionalism or particularism of national contexts.

The research, as well as this booklet, are the result of several exchanges that we had with numerous people who welcomed us for interviews, invited us to be in spaces and events, sharing knowledge, experiences in militancy/activism, and in the construction of public policies for racial justice. Therefore, we are grateful for the availability and generosity of all the people in the metropolitan areas and cities of Lima, Callao, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, Redenção (Ceará), São Francisco do Conde (Bahia), Lisbon, Amadora, Coimbra, Madrid and Seville, who contributed decisively to the production of this booklet.

The POLITICS project - The politics of anti-racism in Europe and Latin America: knowledge production, decision-making and collective struggles (2017-2023) aimed to analyse the power relations that configure anti-racism in different contexts, the links among the global, national and local levels, as well as the processes of dialogue and conflict between grassroots organisations and institutions. The project acted on two main areas of research: a) knowledge production about race and (anti)racism in the spheres of (inter)national government policy, public universities and social movements; b) the processes of denunciation and collective mobilisation against racial discrimination and institutional racism, with a focus on police violence. Fieldwork was carried out in public institutions, public universities and grassroots organisations located in cities in Brazil, Peru, Portugal and Spain.

The project was based on the premise that the different ways in which racism has been conceptually addressed have an impact on the formulation of public policies and initiatives to confront it, as well as on the modes of collective organisation and understanding of resistance practices. Thus, the understanding of anti-racism is not only heterogeneous, but also permeated by power relations, conflicts and tensions. The study faced the following conceptual and methodological challenges:

RETHINKING

The grammar of comparison that has privileged evaluative approaches of "degrees of racism" in different national contexts, to focus on the relational logics between different processes of domination and geopolitical contexts.

PROBLEMATISING

The implications of the different approaches to anti-racism adopted by State institutions and grassroots movements, identifying dominant grammars and counter-discourses.

ENCOURAGING

Interdisciplinary perspectives for the analysis of institutional racism, articulating three main lines of investigation: (i) public policies and (inter)national contexts; (ii) academic cultures and public universities; and (iii) police violence, media, and public denunciation.

01.

DOMINANT GRAMMARS OF "DIVERSITY" —— FROM THE INTERCULTURAL SUBJECT TO THE POLITICAL SUBJECT

The grammar of the "management" of cultural diversity (multiculturality, interculturality, integration and inclusion) has been incorporated in recent decades into the logic of the State in relation to Roma, black and indigenous populations. This approach is based on the presumption that the nation-state needs to recognise and celebrate the cultural diversity of the populations that inhabit its territory, in order to promote living together in peace. This requires knowing the "other", accepting their "differences", but also integrating "them" into the national culture. In this discourse, culture is seen as something static and essentialist and not as a product of a historical process of domination that created differences between humans, which are hierarchically conceived between "civilised" culture and the "others" that must still develop or be integrated.

Thus, interculturality is a project that aims to establish dialogues between "the different cultures", instead of historicising the system of domination or challenging the colonial assumptions on which colonised societies are based. Incorporated in recent decades as a mandatory grammar of States to deal with the "different", the focus on culture denies the existence of race and racism, updating the privileged locus of whiteness as possessing a standard culture to which the "others of Europe" must integrate, whilst reproducing **racialisation** through the constant identification and diagnosis of difference.

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Anti-racism ends up collapsing in institutional spaces, becoming a matter of management, promotion and respect for the cultural diversity of nations and their "plural" identities: why does this hegemonic perspective persist?

How, and to what extent, does the intercultural approach in different fields of institutional life consider racism and its institutionalisation?

Integrating the Roma
—— the Roma people as an object of permanent intervention

PHOTO 02 Romani Resistance. Vallecas, Madrid, 2018 | Author: Cayetano Fernández

Political control over the **Roma people** is a historical practice developed throughout Europe since the beginnings of Modernity and its white civilising ambitions. The current political landscape inherited this mission in the form of integrative public policies directed towards the Roma. In recent years, this policy framework has been reinforced and endorsed by national and international projects and strategies developed within the sphere of broader political agreements, such as the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005 – 2015, the National Roma strategic frameworks and the post-2020 initiative on Roma equality, inclusion and participation, among others.

Through public policy interventions and academic knowledge production, **anti-Roma racism** is framed "as a matter of individual racist attitudes, rather than as symptoms of a long-ignored structural political problem, which ends up constituting the Roma people as an object of permanent intervention and 'civilisation'" (Fejzula and Fernández 2022, 399). Thus, decades of implementation of integration as the only possible and desired orientation have shaped a political debate where urgencies and priorities are decided by political institutions, which often leave aside autonomous political demands coming from Roma communities, resulting in the co-option of the debate.

Furthermore, the impact of these policies on Roma communities remains questionable, particularly when considering the distrust of Roma people toward institutions and their ability to represent their interests.

Institutional approaches to the so-called "Roma question" in Europe have generally been adulterated by paternalistic and essentialist approaches, and thus, public policies have been mainly limited to fields related to access to basic rights and social welfare. For example, the 2020-2030 EU Roma Strategic Framework, a ten-year plan launched by the European Commission in collaboration with Member States, presents as key areas of intervention: equality, inclusion, participation, education, employment, health and housing. These priorities do not differ much from previously implemented integration strategies, in which anti-Roma/anti-Gypsy racism is cloaked in rhetoric of "multiculturalism", "interculturality", "diversity" and "integration": hallmarks of Europe's self-perception. This approach is reflected in the statement by President von der Leyen, Vice-President Jourová and Commissioner Dalli on the occasion of the 2020 Roma Holocaust Remembrance Day:

"Europe has a duty to protect its minorities from racism and discrimination. We must replace anti-gypsyism with openness and acceptance, hate speech and hate crime with tolerance and respect for human dignity, and bullying with education about the Holocaust. Above all, we must promote diversity as a wonderful gift that makes Europe strong and resilient. This is why the Commission calls on all Member States to join the pledge to end racism and discrimination, which blatantly affects our large ethnic Roma minorities. We urge Member States to commit to a new EU Roma strategic framework for equality, inclusion and participation to bring social fairness and more equality in all senses of the word" (European Commission, Declaration 20/1423).

References and further reading:

European Commission (2020), "European Roma Holocaust Memorial Day: Statement by President von der Leyen, Vice-President Jourová and Commissioner Dalli". Consultado a 19.08.2023, em https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/news/european-roma-holocaust-memorial-day-statement-president-von-der-leyen-vice-president-jourova-and-2021-07-30_en

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Black bodies moving

"between spaces" and the role of universities

The introduction of Affirmative Action Policies in Brazil through Law No. 12.711/2012 deriving from intense struggles of the Brazilian Black Movement, enabled black bodies, mainly black youth, to occupy spaces that were previously denied to them. Young blacks began to move in spaces primarily frequented by white elites and middle classes, including public universities.

Despite this occupation signifying a new shift in Brazilian society, led by these young black people, there is still a process of regulation of the black body that takes place in a "tense and dialectical way, with the struggle for social emancipation undertaken by black people as a subject" (Gomes 2017, 98).

I have defended that we need to have institutional mechanisms to deal with institutional racism and with situations of discrimination that happen at the university, because they happen. And with affirmative actions, they tend to increase, because these black students, they weren't here before, and they weren't in certain courses. So, there is this situation of conflict, resistance and racism, which is placed both from the perspective of students, white students, and from the perspective of teachers. We have several reports of cases of racism practiced by teachers. The problem is that all of this remains informal, undocumented, invisible, right? So, I think we should have a kind of ombudsman, focused on denouncing cases of racism. But we can only do that if we have mechanisms to deal with it afterwards. Because if the student has suffered racism, a situation of racism by a teacher, he goes there, complains, and if the institution doesn't resolve it, that generates even more frustration, doesn't it? So today we have to create some kind of mechanism within the ombudsman itself, and the ombudsman already exists. Also, it is not necessary to create a separate thing. But the students know that if they suffer from a situation of racism, they can go to the ombudsman and the university will take care of it. How will it proceed? It's going to open an investigation, it's going to listen to the parties, it's going to move forward…, understand? For you to be able to create a culture of saying: "Look, this is unacceptable, isn't it? The institution doesn't want this".

UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR
INTERVIEW HELD IN 2019, RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

The condition of black men and women in Brazilian society still reflects constant social struggles to face racism, mainly attributed to the heritage of slavery, the whitening policy from the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, the historical condescension of Brazilian elites with social inequalities and contemporary structural racism. Racism still creates barriers to the free movement of the black population, especially young black people in Brazil. Statistics about the denial of the right to life of black youth are alarming and have shown the existence of racial stereotypes in the construction of the "suspect".

The inclusion of black men and women in university spaces —despite the impact it has on the production of knowledge and institutions' historical exclusivity for whites— has not been able to stop the machinery of death that puts the black body under eternal surveillance. Police surveillance continues to target these supposedly "included" black youth. In this context, the limitations of the logic of inclusion manifest in the narratives of affirmative action as the logic of obliteration, as argued by Denise Ferreira da Silva (2016). This means that the narrative of exclusion allows for a celebratory language of legal achievements, despite the growing impact of the logic of obliteration, which perpetuates a genocide on the daily lives of black people.

PHOTO 03 Institutional Racism | Author: Carlos Latuff

> I'm going to tell you a little story that I suffered the day before yesterday when giving three black university students a ride. The day before yesterday, I suffered a situation that is absolutely unusual in my life. Me, in the car, driving with three black students, who I gave a ride from the university exit in the south zone of Rio to the Botafogo metro [Rio de Janeiro], as I always do. However, we stopped at a Blitz [police stop], the Blitz stopped us, and I was searched like I had never been in my life.

I believe that's because of how socially I am seen here in Rio de Janeiro, right? My lighter skin gives me a series of privileges, including the privilege of having suffered my first "tough" [police stop] at the age of 40. Of course, I was only searched because I was with black people in the car, and there were three young black men, in particular, one of the young men was bearded, with curly hair, braided and pinned up.

> When the police looked at us, they searched us, searched the whole car, in a way that I had never experienced in my life. Clearly it was a racialised approach, isn't it? Due to the "appearance" of the students, and racism, right? This "appearance" is a reading made by police officers about black bodies in the country".

UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR
INTERVIEW CONDUCTED IN 2018, RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

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The pitfalls and limits of "inclusion" policies at the University

The debate around policies to combat racism has gained increasing institutional recognition in recent decades. In some contexts, affirmative action policies have been employed in several areas, such as public tenders, party politics, the labour market and education. In the case of the latter, we highlight higher education, which has been the target of social movement demands for decades, principally by black movements.

Affirmative action policies in universities concern the institutionalisation of devices that promote the access and permanence of students belonging to social groups that have historically been deprived of access to higher education. Despite the expansion of this type of policy in different parts of the world (e.g. India, United States, Brazil), institutional initiatives seem to be defining the fight against racism only as a matter of "managing integration" and "tolerance for diversity", without deeply reflecting and acting on the unequal power relations that sustain racism. In the Brazilian case, in recent decades, we have witnessed the creation of spaces in public universities aimed at discussing means and strategies to supposedly meet the demands of the Brazilian black movement for the democratisation of universities (already sanctioned by federal and state laws). Below, we present one of these bodies that was created in one of the highest rated Brazilian universities, as reported in a news item:

"University creates a Pro-Rectory to expand inclusion and belonging actions.

The new Pro-Rectory of Inclusion and Belonging will incorporate bodies such as the Superintendence of Social Assistance and the University Women's Office.

(...)

'Belonging must be built from the recognition, at the University and in social life, of the value of differences. The [university] is not detached from the society we live in and the pursuit of equity must guide all the University's policies', emphasised the Rector".

(...)

Acting on ethnic-racial, cultural, socioeconomic, gender, mental health, disability, [historical/public] memory and human rights issues, the Pro-Rectory of Inclusion and Belonging should propose actions to create opportunities for more equality and convergence at the University and encourage a culture guided by respect and appreciation of diversity. (Yamamoto 2022, np).

The focus of action of the aforementioned Pro-Rectory seems to be concerned with issues related to the management of "diverse identities" and less with confronting the practices and dynamics that keep racism functioning in universities, such as: the lack of diversity of the faculty, the Eurocentrism in curricula and teaching methodologies, the lack of resources for permanence programs for poor, black and indigenous students and the lack of specific incentives for the progression of black teachers. To the detriment of these demands, the Pro-Rectory chooses "belonging" and "valuing diversity" as priorities and we ask ourselves: to what extent does this choice reflect the silencing of the existence of **institutional racism**? In what way does the focus on "identity" allow for the questioning of power in the hands of white people – when in the case of the aforementioned institution, only 2.3% of its faculty is black (Adusp 2023).

The emphasis on "identity" (through a focus on belonging and recognition) may be removing the focus from collectivity and **racial justice**, simplifying a social problem based on power relations through measures to encourage belonging and diversity that are not capable, by themselves, of disrupting the racist mechanisms of the university environment.

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DEMOCRACY/ HUMAN RIGHTS/ DEVELOPMENT

UPDATING THE
CIVILISING MISSION
—— DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT

The narratives of development and progress update the colonial narratives of the need to bring civilisation to indigenous peoples, Roma people, black/Afro-descendant and Muslim populations, among others. While the essence of Europeanness is still built on the idea of democracy and human rights, the "others" of Europe conform racially as traditional, authoritarian and culturally different peoples.

The concept and policies of development, which have been the subject of significant critical studies (e.g. Arturo Escobar 1995), have continued to be central in Latin American contexts over the last 20 years, and also in the European scope, linked to programmes that target immigrant populations and so-called "ethnic minorities". In this context, the concept of development has been linked to the formation of the problem of "security" and, in particular, "**citizen security**", since "criminality" and the "feeling of insecurity" are considered among the main obstacles to the economic, social and cultural development of so-called "vulnerable" populations in urban contexts. More precisely, they are considered an obstacle to the economic development/growth of countries, with children, young people and women/mothers the main target of "citizen security" policies and initiatives.

The human rights field is formed as a community of experts and interventionists (i.e. academics, NGOs, activists) that have dominated approaches and vocabularies, generally ignoring racism as a fundamental analytical input, against which the black movement and **radical black thought** have posed the concept of genocide.

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How has the Human Rights discourse and legal apparatus addressed institutional racism, and in particular, state-sanctioned racial violence?

How does the language of human rights, controlled by States, sterilise the debates brought by black, Roma and Indigenous movements to national and international forums for the construction of political advances in the anti-racist struggle?

Inter-American Convention against Racism

—— updating racism denial regimes

In 2013, the Organization of American States (OAS) approved the Inter-American Convention against Racism, Racial Discrimination, and All Forms of Discrimination and Intolerance. Almost ten years of discussion of the text of the document demonstrates the challenges in facing the racism denial regimes that still perpetuate in the region. The progress made during the Santiago Conference (2000) —preparatory to the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held in Durban in 2001—, alongside the mobilisation of social movements, especially the black movement in the Americas, gave hope that the region could advance in the fight against racism. However, what the debates for the elaboration of the Convention demonstrate is how racism is still a politically challenging topic for the logics that command the racial structures on which the States are sustained.

The biggest controversies that made it difficult to reach a consensus on the text of the draft of the convention, proposed by the Brazilian delegation, illustrate these challenges.

First, the specific focus on racism was seen by many countries as a way to create hierarchies between oppressions, suggesting that a more comprehensive convention be made to combat all forms of discrimination. However, this is not the OAS methodology, which has specific conventions, for example, for women and people with disabilities. The defence of a comprehensive convention, when the objective was to discuss racism, already demonstrates how the option for "multiple forms of discrimination" can evade the debate on racial violence, especially when understood as a product of historical processes such as colonialism and racial enslavement. For example, people in situations of poverty or forced migration were indicated as "other victims", making invisible the effect of racism on the impoverishment of indigenous and black peoples in the Americas, or the fact that they are also the most affected by phenomena such as migration or forced displacement.

Another example is the definition of racism, which stalled discussions for two years. This is because the proposed text of the draft conceptualised racism in order to encompass its institutional dimension, describing that the concept "includes structural racism, which refers to a system in which public policies, institutional practices, cultural representations and other norms in general reinforce inequality between different racial groups" (Article 2, OAS Committee of Juridical and Political Affairs 2008). This narrative was seen as dissonant from internationally recognised concepts and led to a change in the proposal to finally conceptualise racism as "any theory, doctrine, ideology or set of ideas that enunciate a causal link between the phenotypic or genotypic characteristics of individuals or groups and their intellectual, cultural and personality traits, including the false concept of racial superiority" (Article 4, OAS General Assembly 2013).

The controversy over the concept of racism present in the Convention is just one example of the control exercised by States over the scope of recognition of the phenomenon. The consensus on what racism would be was only possible because dialogue with the "Durban language" was denied, which recognised the causal link between contemporary forms of racism and historical processes of colonialism and racial enslavement. Furthermore, OAS States rejected the concept that encompassed institutional practices, to ensure that racism is understood as a phenomenon that survives in the world of ideas, an ideology of people who hold false beliefs about racial distinctions.

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The "citizen security" paradigm

—— and the silences surrounding the debate on racial and territorial control

PHOTO 04 "We are watching you". Surquillo, Lima, 2022 | Author: Silvia Maeso

In the 1990s, in European and Latin American contexts, the thinking and political initiatives called "citizen security" and "proximity policing" were developed, and later consolidated in the 2000s. These models are presented as alternative proposals to the doctrine of internal security, which centred on the needs of the State and so-called "punitive populism" or "strong hand against crime": understood in Latin American contexts, as those that would manage to overcome sustainably as one of the main obstacles to economic and social development.

"Citizen security", as a problem and solution, is combined with debates on economic growth, human rights and democracy, especially in the governance of urban lives and territories. Human rights NGOs, experts from international organisations and academic sectors have been transformed into "policy entrepreneurs" of "citizen security" (i.e. agents who try to influence and guide the course of approaches and implementation of public policies), at the same time that this paradigm was assimilated by local authorities and by sectors of the police. In the European context, and namely in Portugal and Spain, security and community policing or outreach programmes were implemented in response to recognition and particular perceptions of "cultural diversity" and the presence of a population with an immigrant background (mainly black populations from African and Latin American contexts, Arab populations, those perceived as Muslim, populations of indigenous and mestizo origin from Latin American contexts) and "ethnic minorities" (mainly Roma people), with a specific concern for youth in peripheral neighbourhoods.

One of the main elements of these paradigms is the narrowing between social and police aspects, through the emphasis on multidimensional policies for social and police crime prevention, in supposed contrast with repressive and penal measures, and in the strengthening of trusting relationships between grassroots organisations, families (especially women) and police forces in the most "dangerous" or "vulnerable to crime" territories. Implemented programmes such as: the Barrio Seguro Multisectoral Strategy (since 2017) in the Peruvian context; Local Security Contracts (2008-2010, the new generation, since 2016) and the Choices Programme (since 2001) in Portugal; the Pacifying Police Units in the State of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil); and civil society and police force initiatives like the Platform for the Police Management of Diversity in Spain (since 2010), are all examples that, in different contexts, seek to establish a virtuous circle between social policies and police control and surveillance.

In contexts such as Peru, Portugal, Spain and Brazil, the relationship between racial inequality, urban territory and police control is a reality, which in general, is seldom addressed or absent from public discourse. Official programmes are centred on "diversity management" or the rhetoric of "interculturality", or even "community policing" and "proximity policing", which seeks a synergy between institutions, grassroots organisations (e.g. schools, health centres, youth organisations, or clubes de madres) and police forces, in the role of controlling these populations and legitimising police activity.

Anti-racist organisations, the black movement and autonomous grassroots organisations have broken the silence regarding the logics of racial control, incarceration and death that are otherwise detached from the centrality of public safety and citizen security in political discourse and praxis. Grassroots organisations of the black movement have produced alternative knowledge and concepts centred on the experience of black people. Thus, "**the genocide of black youth**" in Brazil and the focus on "**institutional racism**" in Spain and Portugal, bring a historical perspective that challenges and enriches the discourse of human rights and "new" public security policies.

Based on this analysis of the reality of racism, prevention policies are seen as a continuation of civilising processes, namely making "young people from the periphery", "second and third generations of migrants", "gypsy families" into good citizens. Combating racism in this paradigm is reduced to a matter of "training" and "raising awareness" within police bodies (e.g. training in human rights, cultural diversity and intercultural management).

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03.

THE HORIZONS OF RACIAL JUSTICE

DECOLONISATION AND HISTORICAL REPARATION

Movements fighting racism have demanded racial justice, which involves recognising the colonial structures that sustain the State and its institutions and promoting real changes in power structures. By being incorporated by the State and through public policies of historical reparation or decolonisation, the destabilising meanings of the proposals are transformed, often confirming themselves in the logic of inclusion. Reparations are a demand which presupposes recognising violence and acting to dismantle the structures that continue to promote it. However, when demands for reparations reach the State, they can be limited to symbolic actions that do not change the power structures and processes that perpetuate **racialisation**, that is, the production of racial hierarchy as a process of domination.

The criminalisation of racism or racial discrimination has also been an objective of the anti-racist struggle, despite the contradictions inherent in the search for justice for black, Roma and indigenous peoples in legal systems that were designed to depict these same peoples as "deviants" and control them to protect white interests. Despite recognising the limits of **racial justice**, many black social movements still dispute the meanings of justice in State institutions, understanding that this action is part of the political process of fighting racism.

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To what extent can the grammar of "inclusive diversity" contribute to limiting demands for profound changes coming from black and Roma movements?

To what extent has the construction of counter-narratives made it possible to think of new horizons, political and symbolic, for blacks, Roma and indigenous people?

Curricular inclusion of the history and culture of the Roma people in Spain

The inclusion of Roma history and culture in the educational system has been a historic demand of the Roma movement in Spain for decades. For generations, Roma students have been educated in a system that silences the history of the persecution of the Roma and the historic agency of **Roma people** in Spanish territory. However, due to the Spanish political scenario in which "Roma integration" is the only "political action", this claim for the inclusion of Roma history and culture in the educational system was once again depoliticised and usurped from both sides, both by the State and by Roma associations appointed by the same government. What was meant to be an emancipatory demand for the Spanish Roma people, became teaching guidance resources to be used at the goodwill of teachers. In 2020, the Spanish Ministry of Education, in collaboration with some Roma associations, published a guide of Didactic Materials on Roma culture for primary and secondary education, as part of the National Strategy for Roma Inclusion 2012-2020.

Despite the relevance of the materials, by not including an approach to the colonial legacy and its impact on current education in Spain, this action missed a historic opportunity to transform the educational debate related to the Roma people in public education. It is crucial to emphasise that these educational materials are not part of the mandatory curriculum taught at these levels of education, only general mentions of Roma people and ethnic minorities are included in the state curriculum. In the same way, the process of including these materials was not accompanied by any special training for basic education teachers and employees, being limited to the publication of a guide that only offers recommendations. Most importantly, the content of this material gives the impression that Roma history is an annex to traditional Spanish history, thus causing no change in official curricula in the field of history with regard to how colonial and racist processes are depicted.

PHOTO 05 Justicia y Reparación | Author: Kale Amenge

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Memorial in honour of enslaved people in Portugal

Over the past few decades, we have witnessed a growing denunciation of the white supremacist character of the sociopolitical and economic structures that shape policies in the Portuguese context, thanks to anti-racist movements and especially the actions of black movements. The struggle waged by both movements has managed to confront the national narratives and mechanisms of control over black and Roma bodies forged by the state and its institutions. In this context of confrontations, predominantly in the 2010s, we witness in the world and in the Portuguese context, the production of counter-narratives within the scope of the politics of collective memory.

The proposal for the Memorial of Homage to Enslaved People was presented by a black association to the Lisbon participatory budget in 2017 and approved in 2019, but has not yet materialised. The result of an intense debate in the public sphere, the purpose of the Memorial was, on the one hand, "to problematise the colonial configuration of the city" (Djass - Associação de Afro-descendentes 2019, np), preventing the erasure of city spaces that were part of the slave system and, on the other hand, to oppose the dominant narrative of celebrating the Discoveries, which glorifies the colonial system and constitutes one of the key imaginaries in the orientation of memorialisation policies in Portugal.

"Plantation", a project by the Angolan artist Kiluanji Kia Henda, was the winning proposal in the public competition, selected as the artistic project for the Memorial. The mobilisation around the Memorial proposal was something unprecedented in the Portuguese context, also for black communities, largely involved in the debate[1]. The debate shed light on the colonial violence practiced in Portuguese territory (going against the collective discourse that slavery was not present in Portugal) as well as inviting Portuguese society to conceive enslaved people in their integrity as human "giving them subjectivity and humanity", constraining public discourse and forcing society to rethink its collective memories (Lança 2020, np).

The presentation of the proposal unveils a confrontation with the public policies of memory in the Portuguese context, circumscribing the construction of the Memorial as "a form of reparation" (Canelas 2017, np). At the same time, it contradicts the idea that slavery and its legacy ceased with the end of the African slave trade, reaffirming that "slavery is not something fixed in the past. There is a clear continuity between slavery, the forced labour that persisted after it was abolished, and the racism that permeates society today, which Portugal continues to refuse to discuss in depth" (Canelas 2017, np).

The process of constructing counter-narratives confronts us with some questions: In what way does the presence of statues and symbols of the slave system perpetrate the naturalisation of the horrors of that period? How could academia contribute to disrupting the systematic erasure and denial of history and memories of resistance as well as black and Roma peoples? How does the production of counter-narratives challenge stereotypes and fixed images, opposing the production and global circulation of *images of control*?

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1   Throughout the submission of the proposal, the Djass organisation carried out focus groups in territories inhabited by African communities in order to inform these communities about the importance of the debate, as well as providing materials on the proposal in areas with large flows of people in the city of Lisbon (mainly at public transport stations). In addition, six public sessions were held to vote on the design proposal for the Memorial.
For more information, see: **https://www.memorialescravatura.com/sobre-o-memorial**

Decolonisation of university curricula in Brazil

In Brazil, an analysis of the implementation of Laws No. 10.639/2003 and 11.645/2008 that make the teaching of Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous History and Culture mandatory, as well as its "National Curriculum Guidelines for the Education of Ethno-Racial Relations and for the Teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture" (CNE/CP Resolution No. 1/2004), demonstrates that the university curriculum has been a territory of constant dispute. On the one hand, accommodating colonial thinking that needs to be questioned, whilst on the other hand, proposing the **decolonisation of the curriculum**. Changes will only be possible from the adoption of curricular and pedagogical strategies with the objective of promoting the valorisation of Afro-Brazilian, African and indigenous people's history and culture and the fight against racism, questioning the power relations in the production of knowledge that is not Eurocentric, in order to provide training that is connected to reparations for racial injustices in Brazilian society.

In general, with rare exceptions, Brazilian State universities have not included studies of ethno-racial relations[2] as mandatory disciplines in their curricula. Most of the time, curriculum components that discuss this theme are optional. We understand that the absence of ethno-racial debate and theory in the curriculum, especially in teacher training, has contributed to reproducing Eurocentric views and to the silencing of the racial debate. The Analysis carried out by the POLITICS project of some Pedagogical Projects of Courses (PPCs) of State universities, as created during the progressive governments of the 2000s in different Brazilian regions, allowed us to foreground several issues, which despite their exploratory and non-conclusive character, make it possible to reflect on the directions of the debate about the decolonisation of curricula and **anti-racist education** in the curricula of Brazilian federal universities:

The way of approaching the racial debate continues to be through the promotion of diversity or via valuing the black legacy, hiding other dimensions of the discussion contained in the "Guidelines", such as: pre-colonial civilisations and political organisations; the "slave"-trade and slavery from the point of view of the enslaved; colonial occupation from the perspective of Africans; the struggles for the political independence of African countries; the struggle of blacks in Brazil;

Repeatedly, there is a mere rearrangement of disciplines, which call themselves interdisciplinary, in an isolated and non-transversal way in relation to the curriculum, ruling out the possibility of promoting pedagogical practices that involve African and diasporic knowledge in the field of ethno-racial relations;

The conception of what constitutes anti-racist education in the Pedagogical Projects and the announcement of educational actions aimed at teacher training are part of the curriculum. However, with rare exceptions, these have not yet been implemented in the curriculum guidelines in order to actually configure an anti-racist curriculum, aiming at non-European referenced training and connected with reparations for racial injustices in Brazilian society.

You will see how the institution's curriculum, and I know the curriculum well, that being the curriculum with which I work most directly, is an absolutely Eurocentric curriculum. We need to change this curriculum, and doing so is a fundamental political effort, to bring references that simply escape Eurocentrism. So, in my courses, I always work with professors, with texts by black authors".

UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR
INTERVIEW CONDUCTED IN 2019, RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

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The invisibility of Afro-Peruvians and racism in Peruvian higher education

The study of **anti-black racism**, based on the experiences and reports of students and university professors in Lima, as well as Afro-Peruvian social activists regarding the theoretical production on **race** and (anti)racism, has indicated that Afro-Peruvians are "particularly invisible in social science curricula in universities in Lima, whilst the knowledge produced by Afro-Peruvians is also absent from university bibliographies. Lack of knowledge or 'disinterest' in the subject is a reflection of anti-black racism, since the Peruvian nation was largely theorised from the colonial heritage and the relationship with indigenous peoples" (Silva and Coelho 2020, 122). However, we have a paradox: Afro-Peruvians are the protagonists of both the theoretical production on racism and the anti-racist struggle.

If, on the one hand, the study of racism and Afro-centred anti-racism continues to be incipient in academia, on the other hand, studies on race are not a new topic for Peruvian universities, which became involved from the end of the 19th and early 20th century in academic studies related to race in the formation of the nation-state (Carazas 2019). Peruvian social theory is rich in reflections on the nation and colonialism; however, the most critical studies do not depart from an Afrocentric view. The relationship between discourses about the nation, Peruvianness and the national miscegenation project do not reflect in depth the legacies of racial slavery and anti-black racism in the country (Silva and Coelho 2020). Black authors, such as Pepe Luciano (2012), who critically reflect on the situation of the Afro-Peruvian people, are absent from university curricula. We understand that anti-black racism, as a repeated social practice, represents an obstacle to the reduction of racial inequalities, which can only be fought with the mobilisation of specific efforts. However, it is not enough for more Afro-Peruvians to have access to universities, and it is crucial "that knowledge production institutions promote a profound review of their founding bases, through a concrete and real commitment to anti-racism" (Silva and Coelho 2020, 122).

In Peru we live in a tremendously racist society. We understand that the university is a social institution that also reproduces what happens beyond the university walls."

AFRO-PERUVIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT, INTERVIEW CONDUCTED IN LIMA, PERU, 2019
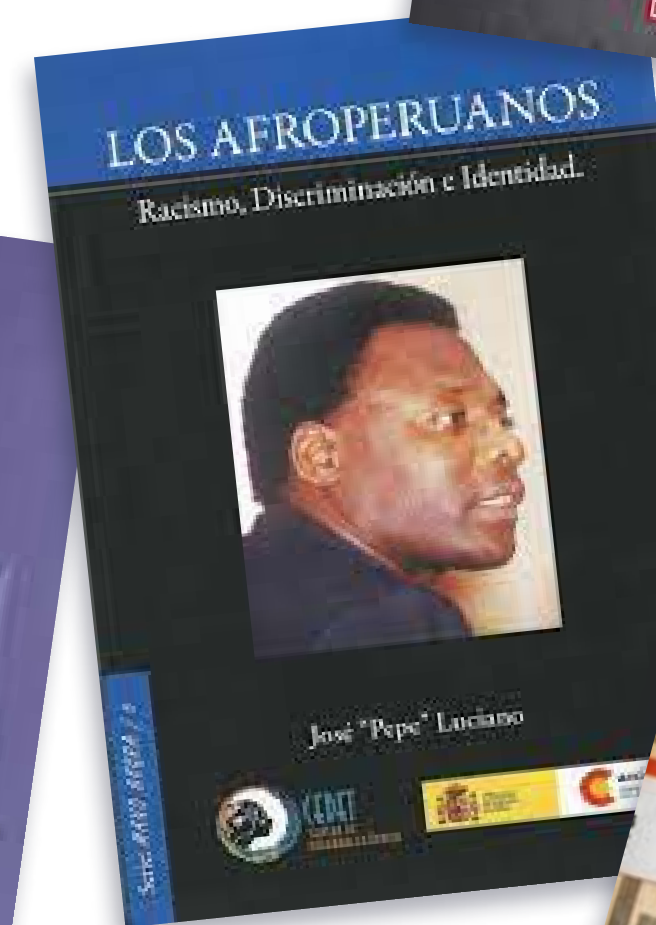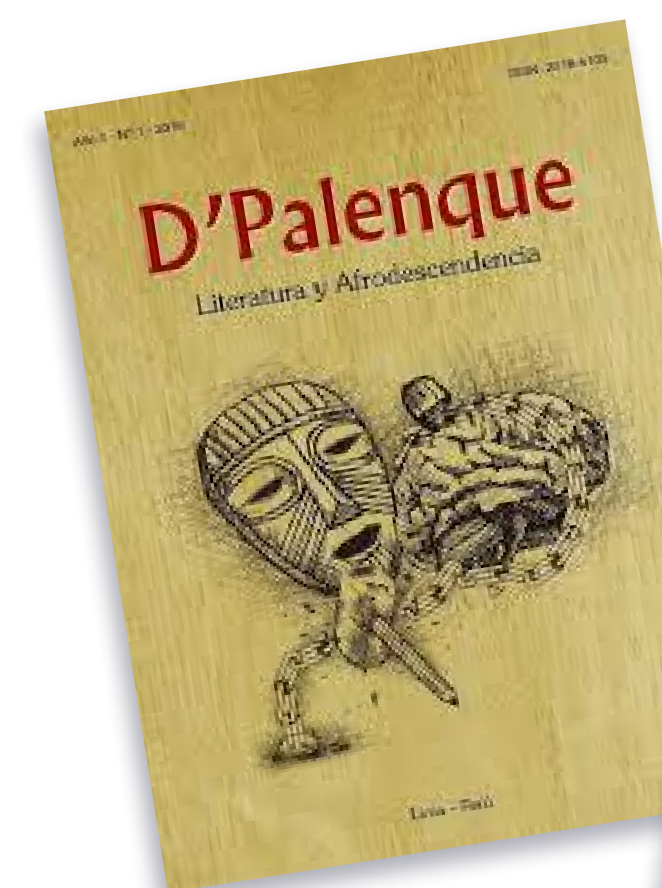
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Anti-black racism and Peruvian justice

— the case of Azucena Algendones

The approval of laws that criminalise racial discrimination or racism is a historical demand of black movements, understood as a political dispute for justice, in addition to exposing the contradictions of the liberal proposition of equality of all before the law. In Peru, Law No. 27270/2000 amends the Penal Code to introduce the crime of discrimination, including racial discrimination, in article 323. Its wording underwent several changes, the last made in 2017 (Legislative Decree No. 1323). There has only been one conviction under article 323 to date: the case of Azucena Algendones, a black woman who sought the protection of her dignity in an anti-black justice system. This case exposes the challenges of denouncing racism in Peru.

In 2012, Algendones suffered racist insults in her workplace, in addition to racist practices such as the replacement of her photo identification with that of a monkey. When she complained to her superiors about the violence she suffered, she was internally persecuted until a fabricated misdemeanour led to her dismissal. While she was fighting a legal battle in the labour court, she was also trying to file a criminal lawsuit against her aggressors for the crime of racial discrimination. The challenges she faced were numerous. For example, many lawyers did not want to represent her in a racial discrimination lawsuit, suggesting she file a defamation complaint instead. Institutional responses often minimised her ordeal, using the argument that it is normal to have "jokes" in the workplace. Despite these challenges, Algendones filed a criminal lawsuit and, in 2015, the initial sentence concurred that the crime of multiple and aggravated discrimination had occurred and her defendants were convicted. However, these convictions were overturned by the judgement of the appeal to the Court of Junín cleared the attackers in 2016. In 2019, after Algendones appealed to the higher court, the procedure prescribed.

PHOTO 06 Mural dedicated to Victória Santa Cruz Gamarra in Downtown Lima, Peru | Author: Silvia Maeso

The case of Azucena Algendones illustrates the various mechanisms of **institutional racism** that make it impossible to protect the rights of people historically understood as non-subjects. The law maintains its neutrality by resorting to procedural aspects (e.g. proof, intentionality, prescription) to deny the request for justice in the face of racism. However, the naturalisation of the violence Algendones suffered means that her case is not seen with the necessary gravity to mobilise existing institutions for the defence of human rights or the fight against racial

I believe that, if at some point the State had protected me, it would not have done me so much harm, [...], but so much mistreatment that you cannot imagine. In that sense, I had many obstacles to denounce, many obstacles to continue... and I also think that what strengthened me to continue with the grievance is that I knew that if I dropped it I would not survive. At a certain point I also realised that I couldn't stop the process because I got to [...] yes, there is emotional fatigue, I was very tired, physically and emotionally. They broke my spirit [...]."

INTERVIEW CONDUCTED WITH AZUCENA ALGENDONES IN 2018, LIMA, PERU

discrimination. In the judicial process, proof of racist intent —or in the case of Peru, proof that the victim's rights were effectively impacted or suppressed by intentionally racist acts— frames racism as an isolated and conscious act by a racist person; that is, it distances racism from a system of oppression historically rooted in the daily practices of institutions.

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INSTITUTIONAL RACISM/ GENOCIDE/ COLONIALISM

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM
——COLONIAL AND GENOCIDAL LOGICS

The power relations that shape the understandings and practices of anti-racism are explicitly revealed in the struggle for the definition of racism; its logic, which diagnoses were developed and which political responsibilities were assumed or denied. In this context, a dispute takes shape between approaches that have been developing since the beginning of the 20th century, becoming dominant in the second half of the century, and those that are being conceived in radical anti-racist movements and on the margins of academia. In European and Latin American contexts, several myths around national identities and social relations have created narratives such as the lusotropicalism and interculturality of Portuguese identity, Brazilian racial democracy, *mestizaje* as a characteristic of "Latin Americanness" and colonialism of the Spanish Crown. Cumulatively, these narratives have blocked the debate on **race** as a technology of government that is central to the formation of Europeanness and the white supremacy that structure social and economic relations and the formation of the State.

The concept of **institutional racism**, theorised as part of the notion and political struggle of Black Power in the second half of the 1960s by Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton, and adopted as a central concept of autonomous anti-racist movements, has been a focus of political disputes. In the European context, two processes in particular reveal these disputes: the first refers to the debates within the European Union (EU) during the second half of the 1990s around the approval of a Directive to combat racial discrimination; and the second regards the criminalisation of activists from anti-racist organisations for denouncing institutional racism.

Fear of the extreme right's electoral success has played a decisive role in debates on the implementation of legal provisions to combat racial discrimination within the EU since the 1980s. The approval of Directive 2000/43/EC, of 29 June, which applies the principle of equal treatment between people, took place in the context of controversies that arose in the EU and the European Parliament after the electoral success of the Freedom Party, led by Jörg Haider, in the parliamentary elections in Austria in 1999. The debate on "institutionalised forms of racism or discrimination", although present in Parliament, has lost its centrality. Indeed, none of the amendments proposed by Parliament to the Directive that recommended including the concept of "institutional racism" were approved.

The rejection, and even criminalisation, of the use of the notion of **institutional racism** or State racism (in the French context, for example) is mainly determined by the analysis that this concept foregrounds, that of the nature of political relationships between the State, public and private interests, on the one hand, and black and Roma peoples, on the other: a relationship guided by racial violence and coloniality.

What possibilities are there to situate the everyday experiences of black and Roma people within the framework of genocide?

How do current policing practices continue to update assumptions of control, surveillance and violence against black and Roma bodies?

How does the criminalisation of black protest (i.e. grievances, actions, public demonstrations, declarations) by the state maintain the colonial racial order in full force in liberal democracies?

Ethno-racial data collection and studies on racial selectivity and profiling

In Portugal, the debate on the collection of racial and ethnic data has erupted in recent years due to pressure and demands from the anti-racist movement that managed to get the issue on the political agenda, despite many efforts of the State machine to avoid it. For example, the Portuguese State decided to reject the favourable opinion of the "Census Working Group 2021" - which was in operation between February 2018 and April 2019 - for the inclusion of questions related to ethnic-racial origin in census data from 2021. In Spain, Roma anti-racist organisations have demanded official racial data for more than a decade.

Requests have been repeatedly denied by state authorities, who claim that, according to the Spanish constitution, it is illegal to collect and record such data. Due to such limitations, it is very difficult to develop a quantitative analysis on the state of racism in Spain with regard to the situation of racial segregation in the educational field, cases of police violence or overrepresentation in the prison system. Furthermore, it inhibits the ability to develop a substantial debate on historic reparations and compensation.

However, a study carried out in the early 2000s on the presence of Roma women in the Spanish prison system (Martín, 2002) already offered very alarming data, such as:

I. Romani women represent around 25% of all imprisoned women and approximately 20% of imprisoned women in Spain are foreigners.

II. The estimated percentage of Romani women in Spain is 1.4% of the total female population, which means that the representation of Romani women in prisons is 20 times higher than their presence in Spanish society.

III. In accordance with this study, the overrepresentation of Romani women in the penal system is even greater than that of other historically oppressed communities, such as African Americans in the United States or Aboriginal peoples in Australia.

PHOTO 07 Mobilization against racist police violence. Lisbon, Portugal, February 2020 | Author: Ana Cruz

More recently, studies on racist police harassment show:

■   According to a survey published by the University of Valencia in 2013, whites who underwent police stop and search in the last two years represented 6% compared to 22% of Latin Americans, 39% of blacks, 45% of Arabs and 65% of Roma. Similar results were found in a 2008 study by the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA).

■   In the municipality of Fuenlabrada (Madrid), data which included nationality and the number of stop and searches that resulted in detention or a fine from 2007 onwards, demonstrated that "people of Moroccan origin were 6.3 times more likely to undergo a stop and search than a white Spaniard" (Open Society Foundation 2019, 15).

■   In 2016, the Andalusian Pro-Human Rights Association (APDHA) carried out a study of direct observation of police checkpoints at Granada's main bus station: for every 12 Roma people stopped by police controls, only 1 white was stopped: a ratio of 12:1.

Demands for public administrations to publish ethno-racial data have grown to the point of provoking a public debate and forcing the Spanish State to respond.

However, the State tries to curb the debate: it has carefully selected political leaders that meet its interests and excluded the anti-racist voices that originally raised these demands.

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From racism as a taboo word to the criminalisation of denunciations of institutional racism

In 2017, French Education Minister Jean Michel Blanquer was one of the most prominent voices criticising the Sud Education 93 union's initiative to organise decolonial seminars for racialised people at French universities. Through Twitter, Minister Blanquer qualified this initiative as "unconstitutional" and announced to Parliament that he would file a defamation complaint against the union for the use of the term "State racism".

In 2018, 35-year-old Mame Mbaye, a Senegalese citizen who had lived in Spain for over a decade, died of a heart attack following a police chase in Lavapiés – a central neighbourhood in Madrid where many immigrants from an African background live and work. Mbaye was a street vendor (known as "*manteros*"), a common means of subsistence for many black people of African nationality who, even after many years in the country, do not have a work/residence permit. Hours after Mbaye's death, a riot took place in Lavapiés, resulting in the arrests of six people.

The Manteros Union - an autonomous anti-racist organisation - called for a demonstration, using the political slogan "Against Murderous Institutional Racism", denouncing the continuous police harassment and the effects of immigration laws on undocumented street vendors, with the complicity of the city council. The union spokesman, Malick Gueye, offered statements to the media, where he denounced *institutional racism*, the constant aggressions of the police and the lack of response to previously raised grievances. Two police unions filed charges against several individuals, including Gueye, for hate speech, insults and defamation. Gueye went to trial, which took place in 2021, and was acquitted.

Also in 2018, in the city of Zaragoza, the Senegalese Association of Immigrants of Aragon (AISA), after sending a document to the councillor responsible for local police services in the city with a series of grievances and testimonies of police harassment, misconduct and practices of racial profiling against black street vendors with an immigrant background, a union of city council workers filed a complaint against the Senegalese association for defamation and hate speech against the police forces. Idrissa Gueye, former president of the association, was tried and convicted in the first instance, but after appeal, the Provincial Court acquitted Gueye in 2020.

> **We have to denounce this institutional racism, because when you persecute a person and he dies, you have to investigate. The fact that a person like me, who was once a mantero [street vendor], who knows what is going on, contests, speaks out and denounces racism, bothers the police a lot. It's not the same when a white person says that. This is their racism within capitalism: usually, when you make a critical reflection, what [the police] do to silence us is to use judicial tools and one of those judicial tools is grievances: "They will denounce you". We will report them for slander and defamation because they are attacking the police, saying that "they killed Mame Mbaye". I didn't attack anyone. I am attacking a system that is responsible for the death of a person and that we have been denouncing for years. It's not something new. The police attacks on street vendors, everyone who lives in Madrid has seen them, that is, it is something that you see, that you know. Police say: "Malick is accusing us of killing Mame Mbaye". No, I'm not accusing anyone of killing, I'm accusing a system that is responsible for Mame Mbaye's death. A system that is responsible for the death of people [migrants]. It's hard to overcome this, psychologically, it affects you being put in the spotlight, being put in front of a judge for four hours listening to racist arguments from four police union lawyers."**

GUEYE 2023, 88-89

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The ADPF das Favelas case

—— the judicialisation of black genocide

Black genocide has been the object of denunciation by the Brazilian black movement for decades. Brazil has highest rate of police killings in the world, and of these deaths, 77% are black people, the majority being young men (discussion for Police Lethality Reduction- ADPF 635 2021). In the statistics of violence, however, the physical and psychological damage that the terror of ostensive and violent policing in predominantly black territories causes in women, children and family members of victims of summary execution is often invisible.

In 2019, a joint action by several organisations of the black movement and the Public Defender of the State of Rio de Janeiro filed a complaint before the Supreme Federal Court of Brazil (a constitutional court) against the State of Rio de Janeiro, claiming that institutional racism embedded in public security policy and implemented by the State, constitutes black genocide. The massive mobilisation around the Claim of Non-Compliance with a Fundamental Precept No. 635 (Arguição de Descumprimento de Preceito Fundamental), known as ADPF das Favelas, is evident by the number of organisations that have asked to join the action as an interested party, which already reached almost

thirty (as of December 2022). Despite various information brought to the process showing that decisions were taken to increase police lethality (such as, for example, the withdrawal of a bonus to police officers for low lethality; the increase in police operations with a high number of deaths and the indiscriminate use of helicopters as a shooting platform, tampering with evidence at the scene of interventions, etc.), the initial decision of the action opts for a proceduralist perspective. In this sense, the solution to the "problem" boils down to compliance with due legal process and the assessment of effectiveness in the provision of public service, sterilising the debate and diverting the denunciation of institutional racism and genocide of black youth.

In the Justices' speech, racism is understood as a structural phenomenon of Brazilian society that, accordingly, also impacts on the behaviour of police officers. Thus, the use of the notion of structural racism by the judicial power has two effects. The first is to understand racism as a widespread and generalised practice and, therefore, that institutions have little control over its impacts. The second is to circumscribe the negative results of police action as an indi-

vidual problem, to be solved by retraining the police. Here, the fact that an elevated number of black people are murdered by police forces is not denied, but is interpreted as a consequence of structural racism, which pushes them to the margins of society. This reading of structural racism as a cause of black victimisation in police operations perverts the denunciation of genocide and denies the recognition of institutional racism. A discourse that shields the judiciary from its responsibility in the production of black genocide. In a public hearing held in the context of the ADPF, a grassroots community participant questioned the judicial power regarding the "externalities" of institutional security practices and their effects beyond racist intent:

> **In calculating this intelligence action, was there a risk of victimising children, what about the terror imposed on the people who were in the place, and also the terror that we had to go through listening to all these reports of despair?"**
>
> TESTIMONY OF RAQUEL BARROS DE OLIVEIRA, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MANGUINHOS FORUM, PUBLIC HEARING ON ADPF 635 IN 19/04/2021

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Control and criminalisation of black protest

The analysis of the processes of criminalisation of people and groups that dare to confront the racial order and denounce how state institutions relate to black people and communities only through violence, offers some clues for us to understand antiblackness: how fundamental rights, such as access to the city, the right to demonstrate and freedom, are not considered inherent in black populations. Control and criminalisation of black protest prohibits the possibility of self-determination for black people, as subjects with political rights.

If, on the one hand, black people and organisations are perceived as subjects to be incorporated into the agendas of the left (agendas incidentally named as universal to the detriment of the demands of black subjects, seen as "specific", "private"), on the other hand, these subjects and their organisations are not perceived as political subjects capable of formulating problems and solutions that contemplate society in general (and not just a group). As Clóvis Moura analysed for the Brazilian context in The Black, from good slave to bad citizen (1977), the white ideology that

conceived the black person as a "good slave" who submissively accepted his condition, gave way to another conception: the ideology of the black person as a "bad citizen" since now "freed", the black subject "seeks to raise (…) the problem of the racial situation in Brazil and find solutions" (Moura, 2021 [1977], 29), without asking permission from white political control. The harassment and ridicule to which black politicians and policies are subjected by the political establishment and the media is one of the examples of this type of mechanism of violence and control, such as what occurred during the term of Deputy Joacine Katar (2019-2022) in the Portuguese Parliament.

One of the examples of violence suffered by the then deputy occurred when she presented to the Assembly a proposal for the heritage artefacts of the former colonies present in museums in Portugal to be returned (part of a broader program of "decolonisation of culture"). On this occasion, a member of a Portuguese far-right party proposed on social media that "MP Joacine herself [be] returned to her country of origin, [since] it would be much more peaceful for everyone".

PHOTO 08 Protest against black and Roma genocide, remembering the deaths by the Portuguese State following the death of George Floyd on May 25, 2020 in the United States. Coimbra, Portugal, June 2020 | Author: Marcos Silva

The deputy explained that his comment was ironic, but he defended his stance because the deputy "is permanently attacking our history".

If surveillance and control mechanisms seem to be insufficient, the means of criminalising black protest are constantly activated in democratic societies. An example of the use of this type of resource gained notoriety in the Portuguese context in 2019, when four young people were accused (two convicted) of crimes of assault and threat to the physical safety of police officers. Supposedly the young people threw stones and police fired rubber bullets at an organised demonstration, mainly attended by young people from black neighbourhoods, which aimed to protest against the violent approach of police in areas mostly inhabited by black people in Lisbon. The protest took place after a video spread in which police officers, called to settle a fight between neighbours, are caught assaulting women and young people.

From infantilisation to criminalisation, black protest has been monitored and persecuted, informing us about the tensions present in modern societies that are based on white supremacy and, therefore, sedimented on the logic of slavery and colonialism, which through violence and death, imposes (not without insurgency) passivity and submission as a condition for the existence of black people. In this sense, to what extent do attempts to stifle black protest inform us about social dynamics that constantly seek to repel black people from the public space? What is the role of the media in producing the image of black protest as "threatening", "violent"? And the justice system, how has it contributed to disciplining forms of black political mobilisation?

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05.

ANTI-RACISM
—— AUTONOMY, RESISTANCE AND FREEDOM

Anti-racism, understood as a liberation struggle, links resistance processes to the construction of spaces of political and economic autonomy, outside of partisan logics and public policy-making. Thus, antiracist thinking is being constituted in dialogue with other traditions of thought and organisation, which strengthen it, but also put it in crisis, as they reveal the way in which the traditions of white and governmental politics have guided anti-racism as State policy (moral reform) and as the fundamental identity of democracy/rule of law (hence the continued rhetoric of denial). Grassroots movements and organisations have understood anti-racism as a liberation struggle linked to processes of resistance and construction of spaces of political and economic autonomy. Anti-racism is part of broader struggles and processes, and is being constituted in dialogue with other traditions of thought and organisation. In this context, autonomous, radical anti-racism is getting stronger, but ruptures and crises are also building up, which call into question the very viability of anti-racism as a collective struggle.

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In what manner has anti-racism dialogued with more radical forms of freedom or autonomy projects?

In what manner do projects and liberation struggles by historically persecuted Roma, black and indigenous peoples, continue to be criminalised?

Anti-racism disputes in the Spanish context

In contexts such as Spain or Brazil, disputes within anti-racism have been guided by the logics of incorporation and dismissal of movements' political agendas by state bodies and political parties (especially in the progressive spectrum of the white left). The political culture of white progressive forces and government bodies continue to shape anti-racism as state policy (based on rhetoric of inclusion and cultural diversity) and as an alleged fundamental identity of democracy/rule of law (which denies the central role of the state in reproducing racial oppression). As Robin Kelley (2018) pointed out about the black movement in the context of higher education and the constitution of Black Studies in the US context, these were processes of radical struggle that emerged outside and against the Eurocentric university, but which were vampirised by the dominant policies of multiculturalism, inclusion and diversity. This vampirisation, which drains the energy of radical transformation from movements, is a common institutional practice.

For example, in the context of the Spanish State, the constitution of so-called "political anti-racism" — a concept that emerged in the French context to differentiate itself from the dominant practices of anti-racism in State and related organisations, centred on the moral reform of individuals or collectives, and in understanding racism within far-right ideologies — has developed radical critiques of white leftist governments, institutions, and advocacy practices. Organisations such as the *Sindicato de Manteros de Madrid* (Street Vendors Union), *Kale Amenge, Red.Afrofem or Colectivo Conciencia Afro* (Afro--Consciousness Collective, Madrid) have been

committed to the creation of autonomous spaces for the production of knowledge, resistance and collective survival that challenge the logics of vampirisation, such as: the inclusion of black or Romani individuals in institutions, the control of collective organisation via the expansion of the third sector (NGOs) for the implementation of policies of "social integration" of "minorities" and "migrants" or even the white feminist and institutional advocacy practices that have played a central role in the imposition of the Eurocentric model of civilisation.

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Black and indigenous collectives in Brazilian universities

Since the implementation of Affirmative Action Policies in Brazil, there has been an observable expansion of student collectives formed by young black and indigenous peoples. These student collectives, jointly with black professors' collectives, function as a welcoming space for the black and indigenous university community. According to their own narratives, these collectives offer political spaces for the (re)construction and strengthening of identity and affectivity, for the constitution of centres of study and struggles to guarantee the maintenance of the aforementioned public policy.

Black and indigenous students' fight for anti-racist education policies that not only value the presence of this youth in universities, but produce structural transformations and provide material conditions (e.g. permanence policies, such as scholarships, support for housing, transport and food, in addition to demands for representativeness in the teaching environment). These collectives have promoted debates and emphasised the need to update the curricular structure related to the study of racial issues (i.e. the implementation of compulsory subjects, changes in the theoretical-methodological framework). They also disseminate the intellectual production of black collectives and black literature, beyond academic walls, through projects in public and private schools, proposing to exchange knowledge, creating spaces in the media (newspapers and social networks) to circulate black narratives in cultural spaces and denounce racism in Brazilian society.

Black faculty collectives, among other actions, demand: the expansion and strengthening of public policies to allocate scholarships (extension, scientific initiation, artistic and cultural) to students; guaranteeing and monitoring the provision related to the reservation of 20% of vacancies in higher education admissions for black people (Law 12.990/2014); making it obligatory to reserve places for blacks and indigenous people in postgraduate programs; valuing the memory of the academic and technological production of black and indigenous professors; monitoring the introduction of disciplines (in particular, in the different teacher training courses), including the teaching of Afro-Brazilian and indigenous history and culture in the curriculum matrix; including mental health care policies for the academic community, with emphasis on the black a nd indigenous university population, to guarantee their permanence in the institution.

PHOTO 09 "Bullying is not synonymous with racism". Banner displayed at a State university. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil | Author: Marcos Silva

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The paradigm of antiblackness and the limits of (anti-)racism

At the end of the 2010s, the debate around the conceptual and political limits of notions of racism, anti-racism and **race** had acquired renewed centrality and specific contours through the challenge brought by the paradigm of antiblackness. Although this debate (in many cases articulated around the framework of *Afropessimism* and the work of Frank Wilderson III) tends to be considered from an academic perspective (e.g. definition of concepts and theoretical approaches), this is fundamentally a debate about the liberation of black people, from their specific experience and on their own terms.

One of the catalysts for this debate and for the proposal of antiblackness is the observation of the historical continuity of the logic of the **genocide of black** people, in its various forms (criminalisation of black youth, surveillance of black families, control over the sexual and reproductive rights of black women, forced displacements). Thus, for example, anthropologist Luciane Rocha, in a debate on "The psychosocial effects of the extermination of black youth" organised in 2019 by the Brazilian Institute of Criminal Sciences, stated that: [A]ntiblackness contemplates the personal, cultural, social, legal and structural attacks that black people suffer on a daily basis. Racism is very general and malleable. When we talk about racism, it's not just the black population. We are talking about races. That's why we need to talk about antiblackness and not racism (in Cruz 2019).

The historical specificity of the experience of anti-black violence is understood as a legacy of racial enslavement, with the *fungibility* of black bodies being one of its main effects (Hartman 1997), that is, black (non)people are objectified, treated as interchangeable and disposable "things", a condition reproduced in contemporary racial capitalism. This specificity, constitutive of the modern person/humanity, calls into question the ability of the notion of racism to capture this experience, and of anti-racism to provide viable political solutions for black lives. According to João Costa Vargas (2020), the paradigm of racism is based on an interpretation of oppression stemming from the division between "white people" and "non-white people", placing the focus on white supremacy.

The antiblackness paradigm starts from the premise of "structural antagonism" between blackness and the modern political world (i.e., concepts and practices of citizenship and the rule of law, among others) and, therefore, the fundamental division is between black and non-black people: "The founding principle is antiblackness. (…) The non-existence is the black person, blackness. This is the fundamental principle of the composition of the modern person" (Vargas 2020a, 19).

Two fundamental consequences derive from the antiblackness paradigm in relation to political struggle and the understanding of freedom: on one hand, the rejection of solutions and political agendas centred on the State and on grammars, promoted, above all, by progressive forces and focused on institutional reform within the parameters of a project of "multiracial democracy" (or, other similar formulations, such as "intercultural democracy" or "multicultural nation"). The rejection of State reformism is present in the criticism developed from the autonomous and radical anti--racist movement in contexts such as Spain and France and in the wake of Black Power formulations. However, according to Costa Vargas, the autonomous project, as formulated by the Black Power movement: [S]eeks a transcendental community that is inclusive: black and non-black people cohabit under the same principles of sociability, and black and non-black people operate ontologically and socially under the same principles of an unquestionable humanity. The danger that perhaps Ture and Hamilton perceived was that, by emphasising multiracial translatability, the specificity of black experiences could be pushed to the margins and eventually denied. (Vargas 2020b, 65).

In this sense, the second consequence that emerges from the antiblackness paradigm is the impracticality of the anti-racist project, even when radical and autonomous, to recognise the specificity of antiblackness in its own terms. Rather, it ends up considering "anti-black racism" as another type of racial oppression, translatable and comparable to other types of racial oppression (e.g. anti-indigenous racism), given that "the singular, irreducible, and founding aspects of antiblackness are diluted in the universe of common and communicable oppressions as such" (Ibid., 58).

Police abuse would be one of the most illustrative examples: from an anti-racism perspective, police abuse would be considered as an index of oppression that affects different racialised and poor populations (e.g. black and Afro-descendant populations, migrants, Roma populations, residents of impoverished and peripheral neighbourhoods), without acknowledging that without antiblackness, police and prison logics would not exist or be sustainable in the modern world. Thus, political utopia through the paradigm of antiblackness is formed by the historical strength of the "slave" who "is not concerned with legality, and embraces possibilities of transformation by any necessary means" (Ibid., 67).

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GLOSSARY

Anti-black racism

As a counterpoint to universalising debates on racism that can equate the various experiences of racialisation, the use of adjectives serves to understand how race, as a technique for governing these bodies, is materialised, normalised and institutionalised by nation-states. In the case of anti-black racism, as Denise Ferreira da Silva states, "slavery and colonialism composed the historical terrain on which race, gender and nationality wrote the various versions of black subjectivity." (1998, 330). In this sense, anti-black racism conforms to the historical process of the transatlantic "slave" trade, the racial enslavement regime and colonialism. The objectification of diverse African peoples, the theoretical construction of their inhumanity, and the institutional practice of control over their bodies, knowledge and senses of freedom over the centuries, shape anti-black racism as the system of oppression in which we live in contemporary times.

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Anti-racism

Anti-racism is, first and foremost, a collective liberation struggle that seeks to combat racism and dismantle structures of racial oppression and dehumanisation. It involves challenging institutionalised racism and racial violence ingrained in society. Anti-racism seeks to understand and confront racism as a system of oppression that shapes power relations in all aspects of life, with the State playing a significant role in perpetuating racial inequalities. It requires a commitment to break with the racial State and its civilising project, as well as the development of an autonomous political agenda. Anti-racism is an epistemology embodied in the collective struggle for liberation, aiming to address historical injustices, dismantle racial violence and propose radical political horizons of justice and freedom.

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Anti-racist education

Anti-racist education refers to various organisational/institutional strategies to combat racism and eliminate forms of discrimination and oppression that affect racialised populations in the fields of politics, economics, education and in everyday relationships. An anti-racist education provides interpretative frameworks applicable to issues related to race, racism, power, privilege, discrimination, equity, justice, human rights —not just cultural aspects of race (historically and socially constructed) and ethnicity (associated with ethnic or cultural identity). In the educational space, it aims to promote pedagogical and curricular practices that value the history and culture of Africans, Afro-Descendants, indigenous peoples, Roma people, and combat institutional racism in contemporary societies.

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Anti-Roma racism

By anti-Roma racism, also called in some contexts "antigypsy racism" or "antigypsyism", we mean a system of racial domination instituted under the dehumanising hierarchies of European Modernity and exercised, to this day, in an uninterrupted and specific way against the Roma people —who are referred to by white conceptualisations as "gitanos", "ciganos", "gypsies", "sintis", "zigeuners" and their equivalents.

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Black radical thought

By black radical thought, we understand the collective legacy of creation, organisation and systematisation of perceptions and interpretations of social reality, mainly from the 19th century onwards, connected with the black tradition of struggle defined by radicality and resistance. Black radical thought, built mostly outside universities, in opposition to the Eurocentric culture and predominant white supremacy in modern societies, emerges from the recognition by black collectives and leaders that hegemonic scientific production is committed to maintaining white supremacy and, therefore, with the continued subjection of black communities to the white order. Such thinking is forged in struggle, in mass revolt and from the insurgency of black thinkers engaged in the struggle for justice and freedom, informed by respect for collectivism, memory and black radical tradition. Unlike what universities propose — the locus par excellence of the (re)production of hegemonic imaginaries and narratives that give meaning to social reality—, black thought seeks to be subversive and refuses the [illusory] search for objectivity/neutrality (central pillar of modern universities), for being committed to the abolition of white structures of subjugation.

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Black youth genocide

The Brazilian black movement has denounced the genocidal project of the Brazilian State for decades. Abdias do Nascimento, in 1978, published O Genocídio do Negro Brasileiro (The Genocide of the Black Brazilian), exposing the different facets of the process, which includes not only physical death, but also the persecution of black people's imaginaries, epistemologies, struggles and horizons of freedom. Recently, the expression "genocide of black youth" has been widely mobilised by black movements, in particular the movement of mothers of genocide victims, to denounce the racist violence of the security forces that make the Brazilian police the deadliest in the world. Most of the victims of summary executions by the police are young black men, who have been treated by various state bodies and the justice system as "collateral damage" of the war on drugs. The black genocide is not limited to the actions of the public security forces, its effects are also reproduced in the precariousness of several public policies that push the black population to premature death, such as healthcare policies (unequal or dehumanised treatment), housing (deterritorialisation and/or constant threat of eviction), environmental (pollution of territories), among others. These phenomena are not restricted to the Brazilian reality, since the logic of anti-black racism is shared by populations that inhabit other continents.

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Citizen security

The concept of citizen security has been the object of legal approaches that consider it a legal interest to be protected by the State and indispensable for the exercise of fundamental rights and public freedoms. Generally regulated by administrative sanction law, these approaches assume the duty of responding to the "social demands" for security. For example, in Spain, the Law for the Protection of Citizen Security (Organic Law No. 4/2015, of March 30) defines citizen security as "the activity aimed at protecting people and goods and ensuring the maintenance of tranquillity for citizens".

Expanding the notion of citizen security crucially rested on an understanding of security that is centred on citizenship, as opposed to one focused on state protection —key to the concept of "public security". Citizen security presents itself as a new paradigm and encompasses approaches from public policies in different areas, both social and economic, such as police sciences, criminal law and human rights. It would be mainly focused on the social prevention and control of crime and violence. Since the 1990s, especially in the Latin American context, citizen security has crystallised as an object of intervention by governments, international organisations and NGOs, as well as academic research. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, warning about the problems of imprecision and confusion with other concepts such as "public security", "public order" or "democratic security", considers citizen security as "one of the dimensions of human security and therefore of human development" and refers to the definition advanced by the United Nations Development Programme: "the social situation in which all people can freely enjoy their fundamental rights, and in which public institutions have sufficient capacity, within the framework of the rule of law, to guarantee their exercise and to react effectively in case of violation of these rights. (…) In short, citizen security becomes a necessary —though not sufficient— condition for human security, which is, in the final analysis, the ultimate guarantee of human development. Institutional interventions aimed at preventing and controlling crime and violence (citizen security policies) can therefore be seen as an indirect but significant opportunity to support sustainable economic development, on the one hand, and on the other, to strengthen democratic governance and the enforcement of human rights" (CIDH, 2009: 9).

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Decolonisation of curricula

The decolonisation of educational curricula, as Nilma Gomes has discussed, in a context where there is a demand for a curricular matrix that promotes a rupture with the Eurocentric perspective, requires the development of epistemological changes and pedagogical practices that reflect the history and culture of racialised populations (indigenous peoples, Roma people, black/Afro-descendant populations, among others) and inform the training of educators/professionals who can reflect on racism and the stories silenced in educational curricula. This process of social and political transformation requires questioning power relations, in addition to questioning "the relationship between rights and privileges ingrained in our political and educational culture, in our schools and in the university itself" (Gomes 2012, 100).

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Europeanness

The notion of Europeanness is constituted in relation to non-Europeanness (its antithesis) as embedded in the discourse of modernity as a historical epoch and process led by Europe due to its civilisational exceptionality, defined by scientific rationality, the rule of law, the enlightened secularism, liberalism and capitalism. This notion, which is largely equivalent to the division between "The West and the rest" is racial/colonial, but this property is generally silenced when referring to the alleged European cultural exceptionality that has generated universal concepts and meanings of freedom, equality and emancipation, and configured the world-system or globalisation in its contemporary form, that is, Eurocentrism as a paradigm of knowledge production. Europeanness is, therefore, a product and producer of the modern racial logics, which configure racial hierarchies and globalised forms of control of forms of distance and approximation to whiteness — beyond body markers or biologised classifications — and the condemnation of non-Europeanness and, in particular, blackness.

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Historical reparations

Historical reparations, from the point of view of racialised people, refers to the process of recognising and dealing with injustices, systemic discrimination and serious historical wrongs committed against marginalised communities based on their racialisation. It involves recognising the lasting impacts of slavery, colonisation, segregation, forced assimilation and other forms of racial oppression that have shaped societies. In addition to symbolic recognition, historical reparation seeks to correct these past injustices through the implementation of public policies and measures that aim to remedy the social, economic and political disadvantages experienced by racialised communities. This involves providing restitution, compensation and reparations for the historical harm inflicted on these communities, as well as addressing the intergenerational effects that continue to affect their lives today.

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Institutional racism

In Black Power, Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton defined institutional racism as that "which originates in the functioning of established and respected forces in society and, therefore, receives much less public condemnation than [individual racism]" and "rests in the active and pervasive operation of anti-black attitudes and practices" (Ture and Hamilton 1969 [1967], 20). Writing in the context of a democratic regime in the process of dismantling the avowedly segregationist laws and policies in the United States, in which acts of violence by supremacist individuals were recognised as racist and publicly condemned, Ture and Hamilton shift the focus to, among other elements, the poverty rates, infant mortality, discrimination in access to housing or health. Institutional racism reveals that there is no deviation or contradiction between the rights enshrined in the constitution and the reality of black people: the relationship between the state and black people is defined as a colonial situation that is routinely perpetuated through racist policies, but which are neither recognised nor named as such.

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Liberation Struggles

Liberation struggles comprise the processes against and beyond the nation-states, which encompass the narratives and practices of resistance to racism, but above all, the construction of spaces of political and economic autonomy in the modern world after the colonial process and African enslavement. The political concepts "black fugitivity" and "escaped slave" can help us understand how black struggles for liberation seek to escape complicity with the violation and degradation that defines the West, its history and political horizon. At the same time, these struggles seek to move towards radical liberation politics. Seeking to break self-alienation and self-amputation, the quilombos, cimarrones or maroons, as well as so many other examples of black collective organisation, materialise the attempts of black communities to constitute socio-political territories of self-determination, beyond —just escaping. These territories are not merely defined as a physical, fixed space and for the reproduction of a lost past, but as a search for freedom in the present, where values such as autonomy, freedom and collectivism are historically articulated. In this sense, liberation struggles are sources of insurgency, updating ancestral knowledge and possibilities for creating authentic ways of life.

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Race

The dominant theorisation of race has emphasised its status as an idea that is systematised through a set of ideologies based on the belief in the existence of biologically and culturally hierarchical races, which nourished past colonial regimes or fascist and white supremacist regimes (e.g. the Nazi State). Race is conceptualised as belonging to a "pseudo-science" and an (extremist) deviation from the governing principles of Western modernity. Departing from this hegemonic understanding, the anti-colonial and anti-slavery tradition of radical thought will produce a subversive conceptualisation of race as civilisation or culture, as an organising principle or a technology of government that is central to the formation, historically intertwined, of capitalism and nation-states, highlighting how race is embedded in Western culture, as well as in the colonial formation of the discourse of modernity and its continuity. Race organises the meaning of Europeanness as the universal human par excellence, dehumanising non-Europeanness through forms of control and violence. More importantly, this subversive conceptualisation considers that it is in anti-colonial, anti-racist and anti-slavery struggles and resistances that race as a routine domination technology is revealed (e.g. fugitive life, quilombismo, spiritual well-being).

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Racialisation

In his narration and analysis of "The lived experience of the black Man", Frantz Fanon proposes, albeit implicitly, an understanding of racialisation as the process of dehumanisation, of objectification, infringed by looks, speeches, ways of being in the world of white women and men who constitute blackness as the antithesis of "Western civilisation, even at the time when "scientific reason" had certified that "blacks were human": "[N]ot only must the black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man. Some people will argue that the situation has a double meaning. Not at all. The black man has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man" (Fanon 2008, 90). Racialisation would be a notion that, analytically, would be located "somewhere between race and racism" (Rattansi 2005, 271), and identifies, describes and interprets how racism, as a specific system of oppression, makes effective the regulation between Europeanness and non-Europeanness, and denying the admission of non-white persons and peoples in the category of the human as it has been constructed by western modernity (Weheliye 2014).

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Racial justice

The horizons of racial justice are multiple and have been asserted through various demands by black, Roma and indigenous movements. Racial justice can be understood as a process that presupposes the historical reparation of racial injustices that have already occurred, or even financial compensation, as is the case of the African and Caribbean peoples' demands for reparations for racial enslavement. It is a horizon of political demand encompassing several interpretations, which vary according to the context, but all of them have as their objective the dismantling of racist structures – ideological, institutionalised, symbolic – in order to produce a horizon of equality, which rather than align to the logic of inclusion, embraces ideas of liberation and freedom. There are reflections, however, that place limits on racial justice in capitalism, due to the intrinsic relationship between race and class (see reflections on racial capitalism); or even in the liberal horizons of justice for its inherent antiblackness (see debates on antiblackness).

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Roma people

The designation, when exercised by one human group over another, necessarily involves a power relationship, especially when it is framed in a system of racist domination, as is the case of the Roma People in relation to the white population. To highlight this fact, the authors agreed to reject terms such as "cigano" (in Portuguese) or "gitano" (in Spanish) and equivalents as semantic constructions created and instrumentalised in a disciplinary manner by the Gadji society (Romanese term to designate the white population). Instead, as an expression of political will and consistent with the demands of Roma organisations, we use the Romanese term "Roma", maintaining its grammatical form in the original language, whereby nationalities are written in capital letters.

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