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CREATING IDENTITY: HOW STEVE BIKO CULTURAL INSTITUTE'S BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND CITIZENSHIP INFLUENCES STUDENT IDENTITY FORMATION IN SALVADOR, BAHIA, BRAZIL

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FORMATION IN SALVADOR, BAHIA, BRAZIL

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
the College of Education
at the University of Kentucky

By
Sheryl Felecia Means

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Beth L. Goldstein, Professor of Educational Policy Studies and Evaluation

Lexington, Kentucky

2018

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

CREATING IDENTITY: HOW STEVE BIKO CULTURAL INSTITUTE'S BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND CITIZENSHIP INFLUENCES STUDENT IDENTITY FORMATION IN SALVADOR, BAHIA, BRAZIL

The research presented in “Creating Identity” investigates Black identity formation within the Steve Biko Cultural Institute (Biko) in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil, a *pre-vestibular* – or college entrance exam preparation course – for Afro-Brazilian high school and aspiring college students. The curriculum, *Cidadania e Consciência Negra* (Black Consciousness and Citizenship; abbreviated CCN) serves as a vital pillar to the institutional approach to Black identity. In a Eurocentric society like Brazil and a world where Black identity is largely discriminated against including in educational spaces, Biko represents a movement to combat the exclusion of Afro-descendant youth from university, improve self-esteem and perceptions of the value of Black identity, and change who graduates from Bahia state universities.

Over the course of nine months, in 2015 and 2016, field data were collected in the city of Salvador, Brazil and at the Biko institute. Since the research was cross-linguistic, cross-cultural, and hosted internationally, I assumed a methodologically narrative approach. The research design incorporated a survey, interviews, observations, and document analysis. Forty-two students completed surveys, twenty-six Biko students, staff and alumni participated in interviews, and well over 400 hours of participatory field observation were completed. Policy, demographic and curricular documents were also analyzed.

CCN heavily influenced participants' identity development through student and teacher discourse. The institution is a center of critical activism in the community. Aside from being a major part of the instructional approach to preparation for the college entrance exam, CCN heavily influenced the relationships between participants and their families and friends over newly affirmed Black identities. Although Biko students and alumni became more socially alert to the racial issues in their communities, they remain at risk of being racially profiled. Additionally, understanding blackness through the eyes of participants required an understanding of class and gender structures in Brazil. One major implication of the research for the participants is: blackness is CCN is Biko. Thereby, knowledge production and interaction with universities by Biko students are heavily

influenced by Biko tenets and ideologies discussing race and racism, prejudice, discrimination, women's rights, and economic development.

KEYWORDS: Bahia, Race and Education, Racial Identity Formation, Culture and Education, Black Identity

_Sheryl Felecia Means_____

_29 April 2018_____

Date

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Dr. Beth L. Goldstein
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29 April 2018
Date

“May the words of my mouth and the meditations of my heart be acceptable in your sight, O Lord, my strength and my redeemer.”

Thank you, Abba, for the opportunity to do a mighty work.

Thank you, mom, for giving me love and support while you were here to give it.

Thank you, dad, grandma, Vin, for being my family; it is entirely optional and you still said yes.

Thank you, grandpa Fred and grandma Helen; from Monroe to Salvador, you still call.

Obrigada, os meus Bikud@s.

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Introduction

It was a Thursday and only my second full day back in Salvador since my trip in 2015. Most of my time was spent acclimating to starting my day at almost five in the morning. I'd dedicated myself to journaling fully the events of the two days prior and figuring out where and how to take time to do that on a daily basis. The heat wasn't oppressive just yet but I knew the mercury would eventually rise. The majority of that second day was spent inside of the house, emerging mostly for food and small talk in my very busy host household. By all accounts, the day was supposed to be unremarkable – me, writing and eating, my hosts going about their business.

Then, I learned that my host had alerted almost the entire neighborhood to my arrival, would be out selling *churrasco*, expected me to accompany her, and that a certain little girl by the name of Maria Clara was expecting me at her birthday celebration that night.

Since I didn't have anything else to do and it would be rude of me, culturally, not to attend the party simply because I didn't want to go, I went with my host to the corner where she sells *churrasco* (for street vendors, small chunks of meat served on a skewer; in a restaurant, meat carved and sliced off of a larger portion of meat) and waited for Maria Clara's mother to arrive. We didn't wait long; Maria's mother, Leke, was there shortly after us and I learned that she was waiting for the school children to get back from a field trip to the observatory. Leke is an overweight woman with a large bust and naturally dirty-blond hair; she is around my height, speaks quickly and always seems to be blushing. A number of families were waiting to pick up their children and they spoke to my host and other parents over food (and beer, in some cases); clique-like conversation

formed amongst the waiting parents. I was comforted in knowing that “mom cliques” are a Brazilian thing as much as they are a U.S. thing.

The corner where my host worked was the site of a giant *Bom Preço* that had burned to the ground; they’ve begun rebuilding the store using imported labor in the form of male migrant workers from the state of Minas Gerais. The plaza-like space is now a location for *acarajé* (local fare), *churrasco* and *cerveja* (beers) that are *estupidamente gelada* (stupid cold). Littered with dust, bottle caps, trash and the occasional fecal matter from the numerous stray dogs, local pocket economy and micro businesses have sprung up, improvising electric wiring to feed extremely bright lamps and to play music from a stereo system that gets carted out every night. Plastic tailgate-grade tables and chairs are arranged quickly, some for my host’s business – but most for the *acarajé* stand – and some for *Carla de cerveja* -- an informal business partner of my host who is known as *Carla de churrasco*). *Carla de cerveja* is Leke’s sister, another overweight woman with long, sleek, black hair that falls just below the waistband of her shorts, a dusky complexion when she’s been out in the sun and a very thin mouth. Most of it looks – and likely is – illegal. But it is unlikely anyone will police these small businessmen and women.

My host packed a veritable feast for me but I couldn’t enjoy it as much as I would’ve liked because Leke was speaking with me very quickly, gesturing and touching my face. The conversation ranged from commentary on my nose shape – and reaching out to touch my nose – to saying her nephew would be at the party and “he’s lived in Boston before so he speaks English.” I had so many questions: why does she always talk about my *traços finos* (fine features), why does she think she can touch me, how can her

nephew afford to go to Boston, why are we having a birthday party in the middle of the week for a little girl who has to go to school in the morning, and how long will I be expected to be in attendance? Undoubtedly, I was visibly irritable but no one commented on it. After a long two days of travelling just to get to Salvador, not having showered, and wondering if I would make it on time at all, the day prior was taxing and I really and truly wanted to rest through the weekend. Having an unsolicited hand in my face was certainly not something I anticipated. I was humoring my host and Leke by being there at all. In short, I was grouchy but, when the bus finally arrived and Maria Clara excitedly looked up when her mother alerted her to the fact that I was here, I changed my attitude. Maria is a small, wiry framed girl with dark brown hair, wide bright eyes, and skin like porcelain; the word *clara* in Portuguese carries connotations of whiteness but I have never asked about the term of endearment permanently affixed to Maria. I never saw another Maria in the neighborhood and didn't see the need to make a distinction with such a nickname beyond pride. The students had to file into the school first and then come out as attendance was called one last time. It was around eight in the evening when they got back but we didn't head to the house until about half past the hour because Leke was talking to other mothers and telling them about the food and the cake she got for her daughter's birthday...

Around fifteen children were running around in the street just outside their small house when word spread that Maria was finally back from school. Leke made at least four apologies for everything from the shape, to the size, to the state of her home before we got there, calling it a humble place and comparing her house to that of my host's. I tried to reassure her that I was just happy to be invited and asked Maria how her day was

at school, what they did at the observatory and whether or not she was excited that it was her birthday. When we got into the house, Maria, her mother, and some family went to her room to change her into her new birthday outfit and open a few simple gifts. From the entryway, I looked back into the house and saw, just beyond the kitchen, what looked to be both a bedroom and laundry room toward the back of the house. The bathroom was just off from the kitchen where I saw food and soda for the party. I sat in the small room at the entry where there was a couch, a giant freezer, and an oversized television, speaking with the nephew (son of Carla *de cerveja*) in English. He is almost fluent and barely has an accent when he speaks. His curly hair is shaped into a Mohawk but not shaved on the sides, he wore his glasses close to his face and had a fair complexion; like his aunt and his cousin, he is white by Brazilian phenotype. I asked him all about himself because I was curious about his interest in English and his brother's apparent disinterest as his younger brother was also in attendance. When Maria emerged from the room, she was transformed – she had on a new dress and a decorative headband. She was ready to go outside and play while the adults prepared a party for her.

The party was in full effect twenty minutes later with children from all over the neighborhood coming to get cake. One little girl arrived – who had never met Maria – with a present just to participate. Birthday parties, even at the young age of six or seven, set the social standard for children and adults alike in Brazil. The kind of cake that you serve, how many people you can entertain, whether or not you were invited, whether you can bring a gift, how you are dressed – the presence of a foreigner – all of these things contribute significantly to how you're portrayed and understood by others in the social hierarchy. I watched as the girl who no one knew shyly approached with a gift and

another little boy came up and quickly said, “this gift is from *both of us*” then ran and got a slice of cake as she furiously swatted at him. The little girl had a brown complexion, very curly hair, and thick glasses and was as wiry (if not more) as Maria Clara. The adults around asked and she timidly revealed that she didn’t know Maria but heard there was a party and wanted to give a gift. She was ushered inside, given cake and soda and then summarily ignored by the rest of the children while Maria asked who she was, where she lived in the neighborhood, and how she heard it was her birthday. Following Maria’s birthday, I saw the two of them together all of the time.

Also amongst the attendees were two young girls around the age of two or three; I saw one girl enter with her mother who was helping to cut the cake and serve the children but didn’t know where the other little one came from. There was one chair in the room small enough for either of them to sit in and I watched as the two of them grappled with the concept that only one girl could sit at a time. Neither of them fussed and it wasn’t exactly a dispute – they simply didn’t understand that they couldn’t share the seat. The young girl who was accompanied by her mother had medium brown skin, and curly, dark hair and dark eyes. The other girl had very light skin and brown and blonde hair with lighter colored eyes. I watched a few minutes longer and, during this time, it seemed as though I was the only one engaging the two of them at all. Adults and children were everywhere now but I seemed to be the only person watching the two struggling.

When I looked up, the mother of the brown-skinned girl had stopped to watch, too, and when she saw her daughter try to stop the blonde girl from sitting, she said, “no, sweetheart, milk before coffee – let her sit.” Everyone in the room laughed loudly while I sank deeply into the couch, mortified.

Toward a *Transnational Blackness*

Almost every Black person I know from the United States has always been Black. That is to say, there was never a choice or a doubt in most of my relatives or friends' minds – they were born Black, they are living Black, they will die Black. We understand our identity as Black people as non-negotiable in the United States; even my friends of “mixed” race acknowledge this part of their racial identity and Black people who try to “pass” racially typically do so in an attempt to negotiate or eradicate their blackness. My experience, in Brazil, however, taught me something about the Black identity I have assumed my entire life – an identity that I have intense pride in and wouldn't trade. As I explain below, I learned and came to discuss Black identity as plural and shifting based on the experiences of the individual. Warnke (2007) posits the following:

Our racial identities and identifications... are ways of understanding individuals within a certain context from a particular point of view and in light of certain relations. (86)

The blackness that I observe amongst other national and cultural groups is contextual and particular, complicated and plural. Whereas the relative assurance I have in the “one drop rule” to define race suffices in the United States, Brazil presented the challenge of *mestiçagem* (or mixture) that implies that everyone has a “drop” (Bailey, 2009; Hernández, 2013; Nascimento, 1992; Telles, 2013).

In a country that has claimed for years to be a racial democracy, race is a major factor in everyday conversation and social interactions, so much so that it is embedded in humor and job advertisements (Hernández, 2013). Depending upon whom it is that you speak with in Salvador, you will receive various definitions for what it means to be a Black person. Some people will tell you that being Black is something that you are born

with or that if your parents are Black, you are Black. One interpretation offered: if God makes you Black, you have no choice in being Black or white unless God himself changes your skin and even then, “[your] mind will always be Black” (victor, personal interview, July 15 2015). Through my research, “the boundaries of group membership” were expanded and “grounded in dynamic conceptions of racial kinship and group consciousness” (Hayes, 2008, 176). That is, my understanding of what it means to be Black was pushed beyond “the one drop rule” into notions of group consciousness experienced at the institute.

Students at my research site often articulated blackness as based in the struggle and identity of Afro-descendants in Brazil. This blackness acknowledges and recognizes that historically openly Afro-descendants struggled for basic human rights and that now, as their descendants, participants in this study have the same fight to maintain the gains of their ancestors. Within the bounds of Brazil – in Salvador, more specifically – blackness can be mitigated by physical appearance, by speaking English or being identified as from another country (Bailey, 2009; Telles, 2013).

The Brazilian context of race opens doors for complex and complicated analyses of society, race, and identity. This dissertation focuses on one view into this complexity by comparing the racial and societal picture of Black identity with that of the identity some students at Steve Biko Cultural Institute assume through Black Consciousness and Citizenship (CCN). This research, and its subsequent analysis, was conducted in order to define blackness through the eyes of participants and examine the ways that students who attend the community school interact with their society. Interview excerpts are presented in their English translation only, whether they were conducted in English or Portuguese.

Where words do not translate well or there is particular nuance or emphasis in the Portuguese term, the Portuguese is included and the term is explained as best as possible.

Understandably, there will be eyebrows raised and questions asked pertaining to the capitalization of Black and Indigenous but not white. Prior to further presentation, I would like to address my reasoning. It is important to ensure the placement of mental emphasis in the reading of this document on blackness not as compared to or in relation to whiteness but as its own identity. Although “various kinds of racial identity can exist” (Helms, 1993, 7), the focus of this research is “the various ways in which Blacks can identify... [as and] with other Blacks” (Helms, 1993, 5) through the processes of reference group orientation, ascribed identity, and racial consciousness as explained in the Black Racial Identity Development model (Helms, 1993). Capitalization of Black is a priority because of the research focus. Dumas (2016) further explains this in the following fashion:

In my work, I have decided to capitalize Black when referencing Black people, organizations, and cultural products. Here, Black is understood as a self-determined name of a racialized social group that shares a specific set of histories, cultural processes, and imagined and performed kinships. Black ... (however imperfect) ... replaces previous terms like Negro and Colored, which were also eventually capitalized, after years of struggle against media that resisted recognition of Black people as an actual political group within civil society (Tharps, 2014, November 18). White is not capitalized in my work because it is nothing but a social construct, and does not describe a group with a sense of common experiences or kinship ... white is employed almost solely as a negation of others... Thus, although European or French are rightly capitalized, I see no reason to capitalize white. Similarly, I write blackness and antiblackness in lowercase, because they refer not to Black people per se, but to a social construction of racial meaning, much as whiteness does. (p. 12-13)

In her essay, Hardiman (2001), quoting Helms (1984), rightfully asserts, “‘ all people regardless of race, go through a stagewise process of developing racial consciousness’ (Helms 1984:154)” (113). Yet, blackness and whiteness are both

inventions and social constructions of meaning to ascribe alterity and distance from one another. There is an understanding that I want to make abundantly clear in this research. Although millions of kidnapped and enslaved Africans were brought to Brazil and their progeny are responsible for a number of cultural practices linked to Brazil (samba, for example), Brazil has never been a country *for* Afro-descendant people but a country built *by* Afro-descendant people. In spite of the insistence of many in my social outings that “Brazil is a Black country” – punctuated by the speaker or a passerby with a “thank God!” – the appeal of identifying as *negro* in the country is minimal. To illustrate: one expatriate I met from Maryland argued with nurses in a hospital in Salvador when her daughter was born. The doctors and nurses persisted until the birth certificate was finalized that she should indicate her daughter, a child with sandalwood skin, as *parda* (mixed) while the expatriate insisted that her daughter was *negra* (Black). Black thought about blackness defined the process of racial identity formation I present here. Therefore, the mechanical emphasis in capitalizing Black is a necessity.

Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement

The Black Consciousness Movement was started by Bantu Stephen Biko (also, Steve Biko) during the 1960s and aimed to help Black South Africans rise above a “slave mentality” (Bikud@s, pp. 22-23). In a paper presented to the South African Student Organization (SASO) in December of 1971, Biko himself wrote the following:

Briefly defined therefore, Black Consciousness is in essence the realization by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression - the blackness of their skin - and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the "normal" which is white. It is a manifestation of a new realization that by seeking to run away from themselves and to emulate the white man, black are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black. Black Consciousness, therefore takes cognizance of

the deliberateness of the God's plan in creating black people black. It seeks to infuse the black community with a new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life. The interrelationship between the consciousness of the self and the emancipatory programme is of a paramount importance. Blacks no longer seek to reform the system because so doing implies acceptance of the major points around which the system revolves. Blacks are out to completely transform the system and to make of it what they wish. Such a major undertaking can only be realized in an atmosphere where people are convinced of the truth inherent in their stand. Liberation therefore is of paramount importance in the concept of Black Consciousness, for we cannot be conscious of ourselves and yet remain in bondage. We want to attain the envisioned self which is a free self. (Biko, 1971)

According to Biko, there are five aspects of Black consciousness: 1) Black people's need to rally around the common cause and source of oppression, 2) operating as a group, 3) liberation from servitude, 4) accepting the divine nature of being Black, and 5) being proud of being Black. These five aspects are key to Stephen Biko's emancipatory agenda and parallel the iterations of Black Identity development models (discussed below). This emancipatory agenda encourages Black people to transform the system as a whole – moving the Black racial identity models from praxis to practice. Stephen Biko's aspiration for Black Consciousness was “to attain the envisioned self which is a free self” and that “self” cannot exist within an individual who has not come to terms with their Black identity.

This teaching rooted in self-esteem has become an integral part of the founding and teachings of the Brazilian Steve Biko Cultural Institute (commonly called Biko) in its course entitled Black Consciousness and Citizenship (CCN). Stephen Biko's international concepts have been adopted by the institute to fit Brazilian society; in other words, notions about race that are not unique to Brazil are being applied to Brazilian society as had been done through the adoption of *Négritude* and *Pan Africanismo* which were largely employed by Dr. Abdias do Nascimento, founder of *Teatro Experimental do*

Negro (TEN, Black Experimental Theater) in the 1940s and 50s (Davis and Williams, 2006). In order to fill gaps in traditional educational curricula (such as preparation for college entrance exams, careers and social or political participation), locally based institutions or projects, commonly referred to as community schools, provide a supplementary education for students marginalized economically, politically, socially and/or racially. These schools, each with its own political agenda, aim to challenge the status quo and enable their students to create identities that are self-affirmed.

Steve Biko Cultural Institute (Biko) is one such community school or project, located in Pelourinho, the historic heart of Salvador, Bahia, Brazil. The school lives on the second floor of Building Four of Rua do Paço; directly opposite the school are a museum that was once a Catholic church and a hotel. The majority of the automobile and foot traffic on the street moves beyond the building with the exception of about a dozen parked cars. Downhill from Biko, Pelourinho comes alive with music from *Olodum* in an area populated by stores vending handcrafted pieces, taxis, cars and buses, residents and tourists (accompanied by a heavy police presence). Biko started in July of 1992 as a result of the efforts of local pro-Black activists, academicians, and politicians in Salvador acknowledging the need for Black college-bound youth to have a place where they could prepare for the college entrance exam, learn about themselves as Black people, and voice their concerns with their community. These activists adopted Bantu Stephen Biko's name and ideals to formalize their presence in Pelourinho and become recognized as an organization. Occupying only a few rooms crowded with desks, chalkboards, white boards and posters (one of which read: "You can stop racism") and a small cubicle space between the two rooms at the top of the stairs for administrative assistants, it is difficult

to imagine that so much programming comes out of so small a space. Biko is home to Black Consciousness and Citizenship (CCN), OGUNTEC (a science and technology careers program), a pre-vestibular program to prepare students for the national college entrance examination, DHAR and POMPA (forums to discuss current events and issues), and several other programs. During the 2016 academic year, morning and evening class sessions were held at the institute but, traditionally, the school has hosted morning sessions only. The headquarters in Pelourinho serve as a meeting space for protest organization, talks and conferences with local and visiting university and professors, and counseling for students with social workers. Biko and other community schools in the area have arisen in response to racial inequality in Brazil and the production of a second-class citizenry in the country. Students who attend the institute are affectionately referred to as Bikud@s in the plural – Bikuda (feminine) and Bikudo (masculine) in the singular.

This dissertation research is an analysis of how blackness is defined and lived by current and former students of Biko's CCN program, how CCN teachers go about educating their students, and how and whether former students maintain the tenets of CCN in their daily lives. Whether or not students, as part of a Biko community and culture, adopt all of the Pan-Africanist racial and cultural identity, Afrocentricity, and Black identity promoted at the institute or just parts of these is one focus of this research. I also examine Biko as a community school to understand how CCN produces students who are empowered members of their community (Jara, 2010). I hope to contribute to the body of literature on racial identity formation in Brazil. In the following pages, I introduce race and identity in the country and the significance of these to the organization

of the social structure. As I identify Biko as a community school, I also briefly discuss the community school presence in Latin America.

Race, Culture, and Identity in Brazil

For almost a century, the Brazilian rhetoric of citizenship was nestled in the notion of racial democracy (Bailey, 2009, p. 30; Telles, 2013, pp. 4-5). This is the notion that race and racism did not exist in Brazil and that Brazil's population is a unique "meta-race" that is neither Indigenous nor African nor European. Many Brazilians still subscribe to this ideology. However, racial subordination in Brazil is more a matter of historical fact. In fact, Hernández (2013) presents the case for legal precedent of race-based politics in Brazil that served and serve to oppress the Afro-descendant population, asserting further: "the popular vision of Brazil as a nation without a version of U.S. Jim Crow segregation should be revised to account for the regional experiences of racial segregation and their customary law status" (59). These included not only housing segregation laws but *blanqueamento*, the polity that the country should "whiten" itself by encouraging immigration from Europe and Asia and closing immigration from Africa (Hernández, 2013; Levine, 1997, p. 18).

Issues surrounding race and identity have become increasingly prevalent in the media and policy making, manifesting as affirmative action in university education and Indigenous protest over land rights (Hernández, 2013). These recent challenges are not new but borne of the protests of many groups over the years. Though their contributions were small and largely unsustainable, the agenda of groups like Frente Negra (Black Front) of the 1930s is reflected in the policy changes of today (Levine, 1997, p. 13). During the 20th century, Brazilian Blacks who challenged the racial democracy myth with

the reality of racism and discrimination were often accused of complaining. The same accusers also argued these groups were themselves racist, since they promoted blackness and civil rights and therefore threatened the national rhetoric of a racial democracy in Brazilian society.

Because Brazilian society has been focused on minimizing the concepts of race and color, many identities are subordinated for the sake of valorizing a uniquely “Brazilian” identity. This identity usually presents itself as Euro descendant in politics and media, the school curriculum (Levine, 1997, p. 23) and employment (Levine and Crocitti, 1999, p. 382). What is more, there are major divisions within Brazilian society about identity in general. For example, in 1976, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IGBE) conducted a poll that produced a list of 134 terms people use to identify themselves by their skin color; this undertaking was the result of the people’s complaint that “the five categories used by the agency [IGBE] – white, Black, brown (*parda*), Indian, or Asian – were insufficient” (Levine and Crocitti, 1999, p. 386). Yet, with the exception of a few obscure terms (*roxa, verde, rosada*) and less than a dozen terms relating to Indigenous ancestry (*mestiça, cabocla, bugrezinha-escura*), the majority of these 134 terms reflect either European or African ancestry (*alva-escura, baiano, café-com-leite*) (Levine and Crocitti, 1999, p. 386-390).

The generation of such a long list of identities demonstrates that all racial identities within Brazil are not equally represented in history, policy, or the media. Although the effects of this absence are difficult to measure, the absence of racial representation, particularly in education, is known to be salient with regard to identity formation (Hernández, 2013; Twine, 1998). With racialized attitudes made manifest

through school classroom materials “in which black people are consistently depicted as animallike, as socially subordinate and in other stereotyped manners” (Hernández, 2013, 90), those racial and social hierarchies outside of school are “converted... into academic hierarchies” (Bourdieu, 1973, 84). Through this means of reproduction, “the educational system fulfills a function of legitimation which is more and more necessary to the perpetuation of the ‘social order’” (Bourdieu, 1973, 84). Though Bourdieu was writing about class differences here, race is very much a part of the hierarchical stratification in Brazil. Further more, Hernández (2013) asserts that in Bahia, specifically, “school officials... view children of Afrodescent as deficient in their capacity to learn” (90).

In the milieu of social and color classifications, Bahians (the term used to describe Black people in some other parts of Brazil, the citizens of the state of Bahia and residents of Salvador; here meaning the latter) experience “a temporary unitary identity” by “contrast[ing] themselves with other Brazilians” (McCallum, 2005, p. 105). This is to say that the shared identity of *soteropolitano* (another term for residents of Salvador, singular) is extended to all from Salvador. The songstress Belô Velloso sings in “Toda Sexta-Feira”, “toda sexta-feira, toda roupa branca, toda pela é preta... toda sexta-feira, todo mundo é baiano junto” (every Friday, all clothes are white, all skin is Black... every Friday, everyone is Bahian together). This joint claim to Bahian identity is unique in that it is all encompassing racially as Black. This contrasts with Brazilian families in which it is common to have members of different racial identifications. This is underscored by an understanding of shared ancestry.

... I know that I'm Black. Just like there are people here – in Bahia, in Salvador – that I know who are white but say, “so what, my blood is Black.” (Victor, personal interview, July 15, 2015)

Still, residential segregation makes socioeconomic and class lines clear in Bahia, with the middle and upper classes residing in coastal high-rises and the *povão* (the masses) residing in the *cidade baixa* (lower city) or the extremely impoverished periphery (McCallum, 2005, p. 106).

A person can move across these color and class lines and be temporarily whitened through real or perceived affluence by being a guest at a social event, for example (McCallum, 2005, p. 107). Status is encoded in actions as simple as riding the bus, an act that “darkens” demonstrating that racial and class relationship is inextricably tied to daily experiences (McCallum, 2005, p. 108). Class and social positioning are thereby established and re-established through these day-to-day actions (McCallum, 2005, p. 113).

Thus, when Soteropolitans move through the city, they are engaged, both wittingly and unwittingly, in a process that operates at various levels. They constitute their own subjective identities, seated in the body; they mold the subjectivities of others; and they participate in the structuring, practical work that underlies the social and economic hierarchy. (McCallum, 2005, p. 113)

Baianos (Bahians) participate in the creation of unconscious intersections, making identity meanings through action. Because they oscillate between these racialized and classist boundaries, *Baianos* can be “conceptualized as [a] coalition(s) by virtue of their internal heterogeneity and the tacit or explicit creative acts through which they are organized and represented as unified” (Carastathis, 2016, 184).

... Intersectionality reveals that this distinction between “identity” and “coalition” rests upon an exclusive focus on differences between groups, failing to consider differences within groups, which an intersectional critique of existing identity categories illuminates. (Carastathis, 2016, 184)

How temporary or lasting the unifying identifier of *Baiano* may be is dependent on the focus on difference between and within the group. Dominant in this discussion of

difference in Salvador is race as a major determinant of social place and positioning, as is class.

Agier (1995) also asserts that social positioning is a product of urban relations and that “identities [are] defined in relation to the access to social and political recognition of the individual” (p. 246). Following this logic, poverty in Bahia is synonymous with political invisibility and, in the case of Afro descendants in particular, this is reminiscent of enslaved people’s political invisibility during the colonial era. This affirms that forming identity is part of “a political process that rests on social definitions of difference, with the resulting identity not as an inherent truth about one’s being but a self-reinforcing ‘circle of significations’” (Farquhar and Fitzsimons, 2011, p. 658). Part of this identity formation is also resisting the ways identity is cast (Farquhar and Fitzsimons, 2011, p. 658). One example of this is Victor.

Victor: ... Therefore, I am proud of my color – I am proud of my race. I don’t have to – many times, racism is part of being Black. Sometimes, Black people don’t like Black people... Therefore, this also comes from education, family; it comes from the family base. From childhood, parents teach this. You live with these people, you know? So, I think that this is very important. So, my... I don’t have anything against white people. I have nothing against white people. But if I’m going to have a girlfriend, if I have to... to go one way... I prefer to go the Black way.

SFM: Yes, yes –

Victor: Understand?

SFM: I understand.

Victor: I am very proud, I have no shame. And between all the stores, you – in the mall, sometimes you are seen as bad, they don’t see you, they don’t attend to you. If there’s a white and a Black, the white is attended – *preto* or *Negro* is not attended. But I don’t – I have – I am a person that speaks to people, if it’s possible to argue or defend. You know? I fight over this. I don’t accept it. (Victor, personal interview, July 15, 2015)

Victor, as with many others I interviewed, had no hesitation to identify as Black and defend his blackness. He also notes that he has experienced racism, counting it as “part

of being Black”. Noted Pan-Africanist Abdias do Nascimento wrote frequently about Black identity in Brazil during the last quarter of the 20th century. “Progressive” Latinos, he asserted, go out of their way to present themselves as Latin but “the employment of a European-identifying term to signify racial amalgamation... reflects the bias against non-Europeans” or non Euro descendants (Nascimento, 1992, p. 87). As a result, their Indigenous and/or African lineage is “repressed or despised” (Nascimento, 1992, p. 87). Yet, African consciousness is present in Brazil as religious expression, music and martial arts (*candomblé*, samba and *capoeira*), art (Luiz Gama), and political movements (*Reaja ou Seja Morto* [Black Lives Matter’s Brazilian corollary]).

Concepts of culture, community, and identity are extremely important to the socio-political structure of Brazil and in policy-making circles. Yet, each is debated conceptually for its validity and applicability; there is no one definition for any of these three ideas. For example, in the United States, shared neighborhoods and “common identity” are troublesome to theorize because many may live in the same area but not share neighborly feelings or do not have the desire to be lumped into categories like “Black”, “white”, and the ever-elusive “Asian” (Mayo, 2000, p. 2). Additionally, singular understandings of identity do not exist because each identity is attached to highly varied lived-experiences. Throughout this dissertation, I refer to Black identity which is grammatically singular but refers to a plurality of identity which shifts from person to person, group to group, and nation to nation across the African Diaspora.

Community and identity are particularly important to Latin American polity and society because most Latin American nations perceive their citizenry as belonging to a single, nationalist identity. However, national identity is rarely inclusive; for example,

although numerous nations and religions are represented in the United States, people who “look” Middle Eastern or Muslim are socially excluded, receive undue hate and paranoia. Similarly, Afro-descendant and “apparently” Indigenous populations in Latin America are socially excluded or made politically invisible (Hernández, 2013). The charge of assimilation makes little room in the national arena to accept difference but “national identities can and do change across time and space” (Mayo, 2000, p. 140). “Ethnic minority cultures need to be understood... not as frozen entities, but as processes, developing to and fro between the diaspora and the homeland” (Mayo, 2000, p. 140).

Dealing with cultural identity means dealing with everything from place and family of birth to individual agency. Defining the nature of a cultural identity is dependent on whether a) the culture ascribes a specific set of rights to certain groups (intentionally or unintentionally oppressing others) or b) the culture is used to oppress (Mayo, 2000; Pierce, 2012).

If culture refers in the first place to customs and practices, then one might think that persons enjoy a certain agency in relation to the sorts of practices they adopt; that customs and practices, in other words, are among the social goods that individuals choose to pursue. But if cultures refer in the first place to the groups themselves, then culture seems more like an identity than a social good, and one might think that it is more a constitutive condition of agency than an object of choice. (Pierce, 2012, p. 12)

This is to say that culture either encourages or discourages agency to the individual (as a member of the group) to assume certain values. This allows individuals to develop their own definition or understanding of that culture or to identify as part of the group, thereby subscribing to the signifiers of that group and its culture.

Warnke (2007) asserts, “our racial identities and identifications... are ways of understanding individuals within a certain context, from a particular point of view and in

light of certain relations” (86). Although Brazilian racial identities exist on a fluid continuum socially, national centers and organizations that collect and use census data assess *negro* and *pardo* as a single variable, “one Afro-Brazilian unit of analysis in order to obviate concerns about the ambiguity in how individuals choose to racially identify themselves” (Hernández, 2013, 85). In this way, looking at the racial identity process students at Biko (Bikud@s) undergo covers a wide range of socially racialized meaning within Brazil.

Biko, as an entity nestled within a larger grouping of ideologies within the broad and varied Brazilian society, may be operating in both capacities introduced by Pierce (2012): as a group producing culture that 1) provides or 2) denies agency to its members. CCN may serve as the catalyst for the development of agency in society as well as a politicized racial identity for students but the institute may deny agency by offering only one set of values through CCN. As Mason contends, “all communities are groups, but not all groups are communities”; it may also be argued that all cultures are composed of groups, but not all groups practice culture the same way (Mason, 2000, p. 21). That is to say that all who go through Biko become Bikud@s but not all accept every aspect of what Biko represents. Yes, they identify as Black but that blackness is fluid, not fixed.

The Community School

Many who use Paulo Freire’s work link his ideas for education to community. In Freire’s view, “education must be linked to societal questions, especially to political and economic struggles between social classes” (LaBelle, 1987, p. 202). Freire’s “*conscientização*” is a critical consciousness necessary for active participation in an increasingly political world, investigation into the nature of society and the economy

provides the tools necessary to combat injustice in a meaningful way (Freire, 1974, pp. 41-45).

Community development workers, youth workers and community education workers concerned with participation, empowerment and social transformation have seen their role in terms of social and political education, in this broad sense... professionals informed by such approaches have set out to empower the communities they work with to question dominant assumptions – in Freire’s terms, to get the oppressor out of their own heads. (Mayo, 2000, p. 6)

Questioning the dominant assumption means the rejection of the “oppressor” and is meant to bring change socially and politically through “praxis,” the social action infused in everyday life to forward the mission of social change (LaBelle, 1987, p. 205). Freire is just one of the theorizers whose ideals are made manifest in “popular education” – the people’s education. Community workers and activists also draw from Oscar Jara (whose work is introduced below), Carlos Nuñez, and Pedro Pontual, and put their ideals into practice across Latin America (Kane, 2010, p. 280).

Popular education is a “generic educational practice that sides with [the] ‘people’... based on the belief that all people possess important knowledge arising from their own particular experiences” and that education should consist of that lived experience and other sets of knowledge (Kane, 2010, p. 277). Popular education takes many forms. It may never deal explicitly with politics or it may be radical and revolutionary against politics (Kane, 2010, p 278). Some centers of popular education are IMDEC (Mexican Institute for Community Development) in Mexico, CANTERA in Nicaragua, and CEAAL (Council of Popular Education in Latin America) which serves the whole of Latin America; IMDEC brings Mexican activists together to develop principles of popular education (Kane, 2010, p. 280). These schools vary in size and purpose; some focus on the young while others focus on the community as a whole.

Community education is not new to Latin America or limited to Brazil, and several communities value popular education.

Jara posits that popular education centers and the activists who run them operate in five key capacities that serve the communities in which they are based. The most pertinent of these to my research are the second, third and fifth (italicized here for emphasis) because they relate directly to the expressed purpose of CCN at Biko.

1. "... they are able to break the ruling social order that is imposed upon them and presented as the only historical possibility (i.e. the model of neo-liberal globalization)..."
2. *"... they are able to question existing ideological and ethical stereotypes and patterns which are presented as absolute truths (e. g. individualism, competition)..."*
3. *people gain "... ownership of a capacity to think"*
4. "... people are able to imagine and create new spaces and relations between human beings... and have the capacity to generate a vital sympathetic disposition towards the social and environmental surroundings..."
5. *people are "... enable[d] to affirm themselves as autonomous... and build new power relations in their everyday lives and in the system of social, political and cultural relations..."* (Jara, 2010, p. 295)

Whether or not community schools achieve all of these goals, most begin committed to attaining them with a specific group and/or its youth to make their students "more worthy members of our 'communities'" (Muntyan, 1948, p. 597). Jara's key capacities are useful lenses for understanding Biko's organizing principles. The three italicized of Jara's capacities are particularly important to my investigation of identity formation as they deal with CCN's emphasis on autonomy and questioning the "natural" order. Hayes' (2008) "racial kinship and group consciousness" also informs this relationship and the discussion of institutions "indigenous to the African Diaspora" (176).

Institutions indigenous to the African Diaspora help facilitate transnational exchanges between black social movements in three ways. First, indigenous institutions devote their resources to gathering and sharing information about social movement organizations and activists throughout the Diaspora. Second,

these institutions filter this information through the *master injustice frames* that their communities use to continuously oppose their marginalization. *Master injustice frames* are the philosophies, narratives, symbols, and actions that historically marginalized communities most consistently utilize over time to articulate their subjugation as unjust and build collective identity. Third, indigenous institutions authenticate the claims and work of black social movements in other countries that are consistent with the parameters of their communities' *master injustice frames*. In performing these functions, institutions indigenous to the African Diaspora enhance and perpetuate the mutual identification across national boundaries that are necessary for transnational exchanges between social movements. (Hayes, 2008, 185).

Educational Structures in Brazil

Social structures, political decisions, and economic factors in Brazil nation-wide influence schools at the local and state levels in Salvador and Bahia in spite of Brazil's highly decentralized education system. For example, in Bahia, the perpetuation of old socio-political and economic structures enables social and economic stratification that affect the implementation of education reform at the state and municipal levels (Agier 1995). According to my pilot study findings, there are three other school types in Brazil - the public school, the military academy and the particular school (or private school), Each of these are diploma granting institutions. In contrast, Biko only grants a certificate for certain students who participate in a non-vestibular related English course. According to my pilot study, funding disparities are inherent across the types of schools. The government invests in public schools sparingly, providing inadequately for facilities and instructional resources. Public education has not been high on the list of policy maker concerns in Brazil even though the 25-33 percent of the population who are poor would be the largest beneficiaries of such an opportunity (Hunter & Sugiyama, 2004, p. 30).

During Cardoso's presidency (1995-2003), the Fund and Development of Basic Education and Teaching (FUNDEF; later replaced by FUNDEB) was organized in order

to “provide[s] federal funds and technical assistance to poorer states and municipalities that apply the constitutionally mandated percentage of their budgets to education” (Hunter & Sugiyama, 2004, p. 39). The benefits of this shift of interest in social priorities were greatly felt in the north and northeast of the country. Still, educational mobility is low in those parts of the country in need and the other reforms put in place are often counterintuitive. As an example, ProUni (*Programa Universidade para Todos*; University for All Program) provides financial aid for low-income students attending private institutions “instead of trying to institute tuition charges for the affluent or to bring lower-income students into public universities by making the students more competitive through better public elementary and secondary schooling” (Hunter & Sugiyama, 2004, p. 41). That is to say that, this policy chose not to work from the bottom up to make the primary and secondary education more equitable and provide the training students need to be more competitive at the collegiate level. Additionally, this did not change tuition policies for affluent students who can afford private university. Instead, the government instituted a financial aid policy for low-income students who, often, due to their low-income status, work to support their families and can attend school on a part-time or sporadic basis. As a result, their ability to compete academically is impaired. The military schools are highly supported by the government but students can only enroll into a military school if they have a parent employed by the military police or if they pass the admissions exam (which was expressed to me by both formal and informal participants to be exclusionary and unfair). The only other well-supported schools in Salvador are the particular schools, equivalent to private schools (tuition-based schools) in the U.S. The

particular schools tend to serve families with significant financial means, providing scholarships for only a few students.

Public education puts all of its students at a disadvantage regardless of race because it is severely underfunded according to former students and current teachers. Teachers frequently go on strike in protest of the lack of funding from the government according to a professor I spoke with at Federal University of Bahia (UFBA). The school year is often interrupted for students not only as a result of employee strikes but because of the high rate of “stop-out” during which students step out of school in order to assist their families.

Felipe: ... Because there is a really inequality between the private institution and the public institution, even to high school, because like... You study less – the amount of time that you study in the public institution is less – is too much less if you study in a private one.

SFM: Okay.

Felipe: Okay? And, also, sometimes we didn't – we didn't have class at school because there was no water, no lights, no professor, like –

SFM: No *water* and no lights?

Felipe: No water, no lights, because we have these kind of problems – problems that you can't see in a private institution. In a public -

SFM: Wow –

Felipe: it happen often, right?

SFM: Okay.

Felipe: So, it were complicated sometimes, like... the professor. We didn't have professors sometimes to teach the class um... if it raining, like really hard rain, the whole school is completely wet, right? Water everywhere.

SFM: Oh my God.

Felipe: I remember the day (laughter) we were um, (laughter) we were having class and then started to rain and we to had to open up our umbrellas because (laughter) it would rain inside the, the class.

SFM: Oh my God!

Felipe: And we keeping having class with the umbrellas on because were-was (laughter) too much water.

SFM: Oh my God. Wow. That's insane.

Felipe: Yeah, so this you will never see in a private institution of education.

SFM: So, you attended private school before the public –

Felipe: Yeah, I went to the private school like in the elementary school and the middle school but my family had some financially problems and I had to mov-ed

the public education of my high school. So, the moment that I just mov-ed, I saw the difference –

SFM: You saw the difference –

Felipe: The great difference between the both, the, these two kind of education, this two systems of education and I saw that, “oh my God, these people will be completely... ru-ned” –

SFM: ruined?

Felipe: If they, if they don't dedicate themself a lot, too much more than anyone.

SFM: Yeah.

Felipe: Like, just to be in that condition, you have to be better at least ten times more than the people that had all of the privilege to have teachers every day, to have all the class in a day of school, to have good ekipment of learning –

SFM: Uh-huh, good equipment.

Feipe: - all of this make a real different. Any case I had also my privilege to find a place like BIKO institute so, over that, I had all of this that my col- my school didn't offer to me. (Felipe, personal interview, July 9, 2015)

According to my pilot study participants, military and particular school students are provided significantly better resources in the classroom, teachers who are better trained and opportunities for educational experiences including but not limited to excursions out of the state and out of the country. The teachers work to keep their classes entertained and engaged, and parents are willing to pay in order to have certain teachers fired for not meeting their expectations or for not passing their students. Private school students are said to have more opportunities for English language learning and training for the college entrance exam (*vestibular*) – the same college entrance exam that students who attend public school are expected to pass in order to attend university.

According to pilot study participants Carla and Mari, public school instructors and teachers are not equipped to engage critically the nature of some of their students' realities including but not limited to gang violence, domestic violence, and abject poverty (Carla). Mari asserted that those families that cannot afford the military or particular school suffer from the level of disenfranchisement that accompanies a lower quality education. This effect is compounded when race is also taken into account. Carla, who

worked at both a private and a public school, expressed that Black students are not expected to perform at a high-level if at all in the class setting or outside of the classroom setting (Hernández, 2013). She continued that Black students are often considered lazy and “are told Blacks won't work, Blacks won't think, and, even when they leave school, they will have low-level jobs and there will be no future for them”. Yet another participant, Carina, expressed during the main study in 2016 that Black students who strive to succeed academically in public schools often find that they are met with a large amount of resistance from their teachers and classmates or with extreme exceptionalism from teachers who treat them as rarities from the Black community. Carina found herself in this situation when she reached out for help from a teacher who told her “there’s no need for you to study further; you’re going to wash clothes for a living like your mother.”

I was further informed by Carla and Mari that, by their observations and experiences, they note that public school students are socially and economically marginalized through the failure of these schools to prepare students for success. The general separation of student populations between public and private spaces, which tends to also reflect a Black and white continuum, further reinforces the socioeconomic divide (Bailey, 2009; Telles, 2013). The following quotes from the interview session with Marinilda Gomes and Carla Marinho reflect a similar sentiment.

“... With these schools, you don’t get adequate preparation for the student to finish high school and enter the job market or get into the university. We need to turn to other projects for college entrance exams. And in this case the school leaves much to be desired because it did not actually prepare, in fact, the student to go out to have a stable life, as I said, to enter the labor market ...” (Mari, personal interview, June 29, 2015)

“... These private school students are students whose parents pay for the course, whose parents expect them to have class every day – the teacher cannot miss a day, not even when sick because they run the risk of dismissal for that. So the

teachers are highly charged to do their best work. They are forced to truly work and conduct a lesson. Therefore these private school students are much better prepared than public school students...” (Carla, personal interview, June 29, 2015)

Carla asserted that the few Black students who attended particular school she taught in did not come to their schools with the mentality of blackness but affluence. These students identify more with their affluent backgrounds and do not consider themselves to be affected by the plight of other Black people from different classes. The distinction they make by affluence is, apparently, reinforced by the absence of education on Black history in Brazil. Although the law states that schools are required to provide some form of education on Afro descendent history and culture, many schools do not have this curriculum in place. Another Biko teacher and public and private high school chemistry teacher, Carlos, explains further.

... And we perceive that our Black identity as Black people, of African descent - we perceive how much this... the lack of legislation, the lack of it, right, for Afro-descendant people. And what mother Val talked about the law 10639 ... 1779, we were guaranteed, you know, this approximation, this legislation - that the current education it does not fulfill. And then, our lives ... our ... we say ... our main tool is a discipline called CCN, Black citizenship and consciousness that today... it is up to us teachers from other areas - in my case, natural sciences – to seek elements that link ... tie the 10,639th law, right? (Carlos, personal interview, July 2, 2015)

Carlos expresses that, though the law is in place, institutions like Biko are necessary to implement what the laws promise. The course, CCN, is one tool or discipline that teachers of other areas of study must draw from to link those requirements in Law #10.639 that are not actualized in the public or private schools.

Escola Criativa Olodum (Olodum) is one community school in Salvador where the school mission is to “develop citizenship and preserve Black culture” (King-Calnek, 2006, p. 147). Olodum was founded in 1991 with the aim of providing “basic academic

support to students who studied in other schools and to educate local children from the impoverished neighborhood for citizenship” (King-Calnek, 2006, p. 150). This notion of citizenship was focused on *Négritude* (defined as a “cultural and political movement” which “advocated human rights for blacks globally” and adopted “the negative term *nègre* (or nigger), which denigrated blacks, and reconfigured it into a philosophy that celebrated blackness”) and Olodum began with members of the *Movimento Negro Unificado* (Unified Black Movement) (Davis and Williams, 2006, 148). Olodum employs an interethnic pedagogy, a curriculum with the values of “lower status” ethnic groups (King-Calnek, 2006, p. 149). King-Calnek (2006) found that Olodum engaged interethnic pedagogy as a form of critical pedagogy where citizenship, as taught in the school, is based on “the sentiment of belonging to a community, territory, nation, and... substantiated in a solid base, constructed from a conquest of an identity” based on *Négritude* and Afro-Brazilian heritage (King-Calnek, 2006, p. 150). Olodum teachers, hard-pressed to find any textbooks or classroom materials with positive (or any) representations of Afro-Brazilians, created their own (King-Calnek, 2006, p. 154). The teachers challenge students to look at learning as a form of cultural production (King-Calnek, 2006, p. 151).

Olodum is tailored to the population of the *povão*, the majority Black and brown peoples of Salvador, and actively seeks to validate and maintain the culture of its student body. Olodum’s curriculum was developed by Afro-Brazilian community activists and critics of public, federally funded schools.

Afro-Brazilian activists and intellectuals countered that if education is to somehow be a means of bridging social inequalities, there is a need to revisit and redefine education, both its content and pedagogical methods with the ultimate goal of empowering Afro-Brazilians so they are better equipped to negotiate their

was through the dynamics that obstruct their full and equal participation in Brazilian society. Furthermore, they assert that Brazil's formal education system has failed its population of color and perpetuates racial inequalities. (King-Calnek, 2006, p. 148)

This introduction of Olodum here introduces the kinds of institutions, programs, and social projects that exist in Brazil to facilitate education and set the stage for Biko. Multiple community schools may exist in the same area, each with a distinct particular mission. For example, Olodum has a musical program while Biko boasts a science program and political agenda. Many organizations serve the Black and/or Afro descendent population but enrollment at these sites varies. Dominant societal constructions of blackness are negative so many people resist being identified as or choosing to identify as Black and do not participate in programs designed to reify Black identity (Hordge-Freeman, 2015). Blackness in Brazil is associated with ugliness and incompetence as well as stupidity and poverty (Horge-Freeman, 2015; McCallum, 2005; Telles, 2004). Social projects like Olodum work hard to counter this narrative and engage their students in deeply rooted Black thinking to produce a critical consciousness. Olodum provides a positive way of thinking about, viewing, and understanding the Black community, Black identity, and Black history (King-Calnek, 2006). Olodum thus provides an example of how social and community based projects play an important role in opening opportunity for Black students in the city and illustrates some of the ways Jara's capacities are put into action. This is part of the work necessary to reverse social oppression in Brazil.

Positionality and Reflexivity

Researcher positionality and voice can easily influence or disrupt the voice of research participants (Milner, 2007). The continued maintenance of researcher reflexivity

throughout the research process is instrumental to a thorough investigation, even when deciding which methods will be used for the research (Milner, 2007). For me, this begins with a careful consideration of myself as a researcher. First and foremost, I am a Black woman from a Black family from the U.S. All of my grandparents were born and raised in the U.S. south. I have been raised to identify as a Black woman and understand this to be my identity because I was steeped in the history and culture considered unique to the descendants of enslaved Africans in the United States. According to some, my status as a doctoral student and my family history make me lower-upper class or higher-middle class in the United States. On my mother's side, my great grandparents, grandparents and parents all attended and graduated from college; two of these ancestors were self employed and, with the exception of my mother and father, the rest taught in public schools. My mother had a master's degree and worked for the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey and my father is employed as an investigator for the Essex County Police Department. On my paternal side, my grandparents attended and graduated from college; my grandfather earned his PhD and served as a dean at Jersey City State University, now New Jersey City University and my grandmother was a guidance counselor at a public high school in Newark. My grandmother and grandfather (maternal) were teachers in Newark Public Schools in Newark, New Jersey.

Since I was born, I have lived in a number of different environments and engaged a great deal of cultural diversity. Living in New Jersey and attending a culturally, ethnically, and racially diverse high school meant constantly connecting, combining, and cooperating with new groups and communities. Every day, I sat in classrooms with first and second-generation Nigerian, Ethiopian, Haitian, Dominican, Mexican, Korean,

Polish, and Chinese students, amongst others. These classmates often spoke about their family life, their cultures, and their families' home countries. Having the opportunity to engage and interact with so many diverse groups helped me to learn about many different ideologies and religions and to keep an open mind. My interest in Latin America, however, was spurred long before high school when I first saw Celia Cruz on television and learned about the existence of Afro-descendant Latinos. My curiosity became a research agenda when I studied the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and learned more about the nature of blackness in the Caribbean, Central, and South America at Spelman College and during my first year at University of Kentucky. Spelman opened the door for an even broader understanding of diversity as a Black woman. At Spelman, Black women from all over the world of various social and economic backgrounds all came together as "Spelmanites", in the required course, African Diaspora and the World (ADW), and as students engaging the "Choice to Change the World". As a Spelman graduate, my perception is also heightened by an extensive liberal arts education in Black history, art, and culture.

My interpretation of data from Biko is undeniably influenced by my identity and the way that I perceive the world as a Black woman from the United States. I define blackness by phenotype and personal aesthetic. That is, the one-drop rule and the manifestation and acceptance of that "one drop" in each individual are pivotal to my identifying a person as Black. Everything from the style of a person's hair and their complexion to the assumption of a "politicized Black consciousness" is part of my understanding of Black racial identity (Mahon, 2008, 116).

That said, my definition of racism encapsulates various forms and levels of racism in the United States including systemic or institutional racism which involves five “major dimensions”:

“the (1) dominant racial hierarchy, (2) comprehensive white racial framing, (3) individual and collective discrimination, (4) social reproduction of racial-material inequalities, and (5) racist institutions integral to white domination of Americans of color” (Feagin and Bennefield, 2014, 7). I also consider individual racism which I define as acts perpetrated against an individual because of those aspects of their identity that they purposefully assume (in the case of clothing and hair, for example) or aspects of their identity that they cannot change or alter readily like complexion, the geographic and/or class space they occupy. Identity is the embodiment, visibly and invisibly, of all of these aspects of personhood encapsulated in race, gender, class, politics, geography, religion, and cultural practices. Entering Brazil illuminated the various layers of interplay between these factors that contribute to identity. However, the main conflict I encountered was the perception or reading of particular encounters as racist or classist. During my pilot study, it was challenging to make distinctions between what I perceived to be true based on my own ideas and a Brazilian understanding of various scenarios as race or class based confrontations. It is only through communication with those around me that my perceptions of different events could be mediated by a native understanding of those events.

Dissertation Structure

This dissertation is organized by several themes developed during initial coding stages, which will be discussed further in the following methods chapter. A total of four

major themes – Black identity, social interactions and Black bodies (extra-filial), family interactions (especially as informed by society), race and class – cover the data collected between 2015 and 2016. These themes were formalized as the chapter names listed below. Following the second chapter on methodology, methods and design, chapters three through six are dedicated to the dominant themes in the research. Chapter seven is the discussion section and includes a more in-depth analysis of the results as well as an analysis of the Biko institute through the theoretical lenses of of Jara and Helms.

Chapter Two: Methods

The second chapter is a comprehensive overview of the proposed methodology and design and the implemented methods and design. Additionally, this chapter covers the data collected in the survey, a sketch of the institute and participants, the data analysis process and ethical considerations undertaken during fieldwork

Chapter Three: CCN and a Black Identity

In the third chapter I cover CCN, Biko and conceptualizations of blackness introduced by teachers and founders at the institute. This chapter includes a discussion of the founding of Biko, the establishment of CCN as a curricular pillar and an overview of what a day in a CCN class is like.

Chapter Four: Black Bodies and white Spaces

Within the fourth chapter, I address the manifestations of conceptualizations of blackness outside of the institute as well as the racial, social and gender prejudices enacted in the Brazilian racial and color continuum. Issues particular to race and class are discussed in greater detail in chapter six.

Chapter Five: Family and Relationships

Family and relationships were particularly important to understanding race-based identity choices in the research so, in the fifth chapter, I unfold the nature of interactions within the families of student participants from the student point of view.

Chapter Six: Race and Class

Since Brazil is a country in which race and class are inextricably tied, the research eventually turned back to the relationship between racial identification and class status for the participants, as discussed in the sixth chapter.

Chapter Seven: Discussion

The final chapter puts all of the themes – Black identity, social interactions and Black bodies (extra-filial), family interactions (especially as informed by society), race and class – in conversation with one another to the purpose of understanding CCN, Biko, Black identity and Brazil.

CHAPTER TWO: Methods and Design

In this chapter I discuss my proposed methodology and how the proposal plans shifted during the fieldwork to the implemented methods and design. The method and design originally adhered to an ethnographic project using a *testimonio* approach. However, the plans for design and analysis evolved into a cross-case thematic analysis. The emergent design reflected changing field conditions and the learning process I underwent during data collection and analysis. These changes in approach are described below. Constant throughout the process were the original guiding research questions:

1. How is blackness defined and lived by current and former CCN (Black Consciousness and Citizenship) students at Steve Biko Cultural Institute (Biko)? In other words, for those students who have been attending or attended CCN, how do they conceive of themselves/their identity and others and how do they act on this conception/identity beyond Biko?
2. What are some of the ways CCN students develop identities of and as Black Brazilians? How does it compare to their self-identification prior to CCN?
3. How do teachers educate their students about Black identity?
4. What are the goals of the CCN curriculum? Are students coming away from the course having met these curricular objectives and understandings? In other words, are the curricular objectives of CCN reflected in students' perceptions and survey responses?

Below, I discuss the proposed and enacted methods, research design (including information on research participants, the survey instrument developed, the implemented interview protocols, and process for document analysis), data analysis and ethical considerations. I also provide a statement of my positionality as a researcher.

Proposed Methods

In the proposed methods, *testimonio* was highlighted as a method for extensive insight to participant perspectives, lived experiences and ideologies. *Testimonio* was employed by Diniz-Pereira in *How the Dreamers are Born* (2012), one of many texts that encouraged me to pursue an ethnographic investigation of Biko. This form of

investigation is one type of narrative research, “a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher studies the lives of individuals and asks one or more individuals to provide stories about their lives” (Creswell, 2009, p. 13). *Testimonio* is translated as “testimony” from Spanish. It is a life history of the particular participant as told by the participant. I intended to use this method to engage my participants in such a way as to learn the full gamut of their experiences. I anticipated hearing life histories. My interview questions and design approach were crafted to accomplish this goal.

However, in the case of many interviews, despite probing, participants did not share extensively enough to inform a *testimonio* investigation since I was only able to interview participants once. Multiple interviews would have opened the door for greater rapport and more candid reflection on participant lives. Additionally, the questions pointed more to specific issues, such as how people identified participants and the ways Biko influenced self-identification as opposed to broader questions about participant lives. Instead of testimonies, I was gleaning sketches and glimpses of participants’ lives relevant to a number of anticipated research themes. In spite of my pursuit of more in-depth understanding through the interviews, the information was not substantial enough for *testimonio*. The main barriers to completing a *testimonio* project were time and the interview protocol. Since this research was self-funded, I was not able to stay in the field as long as a *testimonio* project would warrant. Also, since the interview protocol included questions that were too pointed to yield testimonies but were necessary to answer the specific questions I had, I did not adjust the protocol. Therefore, after leaving the field, I chose to utilize thematic narrative analysis instead of *testimonio* to organize

my data (Glesne, 2006; Riessman, 2008). This methodological approach opened analysis under broader thematic umbrellas than the *testimonio* biographical approach.

Implemented Methods

Thematic narrative analysis is “a process that involves coding and then segregating” data. It focuses on the “data clumps for further analysis and description” (Glesne, 2006, p. 147); the data clumps were segments of interviews and these data clumps were identified by themes. The main use of thematic analysis is that the “primary interest is in generating thematic categories across individuals” (Riessman, 2008, p. 62). In my research process, I adhered to two of the four approaches cited in the Riessman (2008) text. In the first, researchers bound a “segment of interview text about an incident” to create a “brief interview excerpt” (p. 75); here, I call these excerpts narrative vignettes. In the second approach, the author used the “life story” of a speaker (that is, the narrative that person shared about their life) and used the vignette “as written” (that is, unaltered and unedited) (Riessman, 2008, p. 75). Using this latter example to find a common pattern across interviews (and observations), the author developed an “overarching master narrative” for each theme (Riessman, 2008, p. 68). Using my data, I use each vignette as a contribution to the nuance of Black identity.

The key differences I found between these two methods are that: 1) narrative vignettes (also called “brief interview excerpts” intended to illustrate a specific point, Riessman, p. 75 2008) are shorter in length than testimonies; 2) narrative vignettes can be used for thematic analysis and; 3) narrative vignettes are more easily compared across interviews than entire testimonies. Based on the decision I made following my return from the field to use segmented portions of my interviews for thematic narrative analysis

across participants, I found I could draw on narrative vignettes more appropriately address my research questions. For presentation, utilizing vignettes to provide depth across themes as opposed to depth within individual stories offers the benefit of broader analysis of a specific issue within the Biko population, students, teachers, and administrators alike (Riessman, 2008, p. 75).

It is important, in any inquiry, not to approach the participants presuming answers to the research question but remaining open to possible responses (Etherington, 2011; Trahar, 2009). It is equally important to remain aware of personal convictions that manifest in analysis, to be reflexive and responsive. Several writers have expressed concern about what stories participants elect to tell and why, particularly in cross-cultural research (Janusch, 2011; Trahar, 2009). What view of their lives do participants choose to share with researchers? In my research, I attended to the participants' choices about what information to provide about their experiences. At the same time, my survey (Appendix 4) and interview questions pointed participants to share particular lived experiences and memories. To the extent that they responded to this prompting, within their accounts I identified themes for common or uncommon (similar/dissimilar) accounts of experiences or reactions to events. One thing I remained alert to was that "research participants will often find ways to tell the stories they want to tell rather than or perhaps as well as those that they think the listener wants to hear" (Trahar, 2009, p. 4).

DESIGN

In June of 2015, I went to Brazil for the first time to conduct a pilot study for two months. This study had four main goals: 1) to understand the social context in Salvador through a home stay experience and cultural exchanges across Bahia; 2) to interview an

informal sample of people willing to answer questions about identity and education in Brazil; 3) to gain access to Biko, meet the director, teachers, former students and others associated with my prospective research site and 4) to increase fluency in Portuguese. A number of potential research projects arose from this study. However, most important was the beginning of my conversation with the executive director of the institute, Jucy Silva. She and I negotiated the terms of my engagement at the institute. I was able to use our conversation to prepare the tools and instruments for the dissertation research. Several interviews conducted during this period became the foundation for this dissertation and are included herein.

Upon returning to Salvador in April of 2016, I met with Executive Director Jucy Silva in person a second time to discuss my obligations as a volunteer English teacher along with my plans as a researcher. This trip also served to acclimate me to daily Biko rhythms as class was already in session. I made three trips to Salvador, in total. The first was the pilot study in June of 2015. The second and third trips were from April to June and August to October of 2016, two trips of three months each.

Participants

In 2016, Biko opened and filled 150 slots for students, instructed by fifteen teachers from various disciplines. Biko students range in age from 16 to 60 and older and the majority of these students attend with the hope of passing the college entrance exam, *vestibular*. Survey participants attended either morning or evening sessions at the institute; this was the first time that the institute implemented two sessions in a day. The night session also included class time on Saturday afternoon to supplement the extra hours of instruction the morning class routinely received. The institute did not provide

any further information about age or gender of the total student population. CCN is a required course for students who enroll at Biko. During my time in the field, I interacted almost exclusively with the morning students; due to travel costs, I was unable to attend both morning and evening sessions. The two or three night students I interacted with on Saturday mornings came when I taught English.

Participants were currently or formerly enrolled in CCN, teachers, staff, administrators and founders. Administrators included in my study were either current or former directors. For example, one of the research participants is a founding member, former director, and is now a local politician – an elected councilman. Interview participants are all aged 18 and older, male and female. All participants identify as *negro/a* (Black). Network and convenience sampling were used to identify former student participants with current students and participants from my pilot study in 2015. One of the gatekeepers and interviewees, Gabriela, and executive director Jucy Silva emailed staff and teachers and those who were interested in being interviewed approached me via email or in person at the institute. Similarly, Gabriela reached out to former Bikud@s the same way. Gabriela was instrumental in scheduling and organizing the interviews I conducted with former students and teachers.

Survey

Prior to interviewing participants, I wanted to engage the *pré-vestibular* student body as a whole. I decided to create a survey to identify general attitudes about race, racism, Black identity, class and classism amongst students at the institute. Since the inaugural class day on March 8, 2016 passed before I had returned to Salvador and Biko, I was unable to engage students at the onset of institute activities. The survey was

intended to inform general attitudes about race, racism, black identity, class, and classism amongst students at the institute. However, the survey items alone did not provide sufficient information to understand how students develop their identities or beliefs, nor was it intended to do so. Since CCN is taught and used to deconstruct dominant notions of racial normativity in Brazil and counter the devaluation Black identity, survey items were intended to probe the effectiveness of that curriculum and yielded the first insights as the research began. Originally, the survey was written in English and was translated by CCLS in Newark, New Jersey. The survey was then cross-translated by Rafa Lombardino. Prior to distribution, the survey was reviewed by the institutional director but was not piloted. All of the items on the survey were original to this study. I created the survey and did not pilot it because I relied on the discretion of the executive director who reviewed all of my survey and interview materials prior to my study. I recognize that her approval was culturally and socially constructive but not equivalent to developing a psychometrically sound survey instrument or the best interview protocols. As I discuss in the limitations section in chapter seven, I would develop my instruments differently in my next project.

Importantly, the survey items were designed with no neutral option; respondents were only able disagree, strongly disagree, agree or strongly agree to the survey items. Removing the neutral option required the students to choose a side, which meant that they either had to explain their ambivalence in the written responses or skip the question. The survey mixed Likert and open-ended items, and was administered in Portuguese. Survey questions were designed based on the guiding research questions and the attitudes listed in the previous paragraph that I understood to be major issues in Brazil based on

1. Biko has been more beneficial to me as an educational opportunity than public school. 1 2 3 4

IN MY OWN WORDS

1. I define blackness as...

Surveys were distributed in a window of three weeks. Due to the timing of clearance from the University of Kentucky IRB, surveys were distributed for the first time on May 14 though I had begun teaching at the institute Saturday, April 16 and had conducted informal observations of the institute and the social environment surrounding, Pelourinho, and Salvador at large before the first survey was distributed. I anticipated a minimum of 60 respondents but only 42 questionnaires came back (20 from the night session and 22 from the morning), some of which were partially completed. I report on all of the surveys. The majority of students enrolled were under the age of 18, which limited responses because IRB stipulated that my participants had to be eighteen and older. After the first round of surveys was distributed May 14 to students, almost half of the surveys were administered on June 3 during the night course at the institute to be completed in class in the presence of the evening course instructors.

Responses to survey questions varied more from the night students than from other groups of students, with the variation mostly reflected in the latter half of the Brazil, Race, and Class and CCN and Difference items. No good explanation arose for this variation of response between the night students and the morning students; I discuss the composition of the morning and night classes in chapter three. In the case of the surveys where age was not reported on survey responses, I had no way of verifying participant age beyond the submitted survey and the teachers who helped co-facilitate interviews. This may mean that some of the responses were recorded by students who were underage or over the eldest age that I listed on the survey (30) since there were

several students who were significantly older than some of the teachers and myself. Even though the letter at the beginning of the survey makes it clear that respondents cannot be under 18 and the teachers who distributed the survey were instructed likewise, the inability to verify the ages of the survey respondents means that many of the survey responses may be inadmissible.

Since the survey was not piloted and was not developed for psychometric analysis but general attitudes, no statistical analyses were run. Three statements can be made about the survey results: 1) 100% of survey respondents identify as Black; 2) 93% of the respondents have seen others treated differently for being Black; 3) 93% believe there is racism in Brazil. The survey items served three important purposes for the research. First, since I would have been unable to interview every Biko student over the age of 18, the survey provided small insight to majority conceptions of race and classism amongst Bikud@s and identified some of the ideas, beliefs, and experiences students have had with racism and classism. The survey helped to provide insight to attitudes from the general student body. Second, the survey identified potential interviewees. The final item on the survey offered respondents the opportunity to participate further in the research via interview. Third, the survey was useful in the development of codes and themes for the research. These codes were generated through in vivo coding; this process is discussed further later in this chapter (King, 2008). The dominant codes became broad themes and, later, the means by which I isolated vignettes for interviews and organized my chapters; this process is also described later in this chapter.

Interview

While surveys were distributed, survey respondents who communicated an interest in participating further in the research were contacted via email. Those who responded and scheduled with me were subsequently interviewed. There were a total of 26 potential current student interviewees contacted but only five current students were interviewed. There may have been some level of misunderstanding on the part of the participants. Many filled out contact information but circled "no" in response to the statement regarding their willingness to be interviewed. Following the survey, I also contacted potential alumni interviewees by email and several of those interview appear here.

By conducting interviews with current and former students about how they identify and why, approaches, understandings, and conceptualizations of blackness came to light in the interviewees' own words. These same questions posed to teachers and administrators provided background for identity formation processes. Administrative interviews developed an understanding of instructors' thinking and curricular development at Biko as well as how or whether they subscribe to CCN. I considered this the best way to tap into the emic perspective of research participants for etic understanding. Interview protocols (Appendices 1, 2, and 3) were not piloted before entering the field since the original instruments were sent to director Jucy Silva in Portuguese and English. She did not object to the proposed questions. However, survey item responses and conversations with my committee yielded one important additional question: "Is there a difference between being a Black man and a Black woman?"

Here are some of the key interview questions posed; these questions were derived from the main research question and informed the general understanding of CCN, the

“how” and “why” of identity for the participant and their family, and life experiences participants have had with discrimination and alterity. I have organized the questions here by the target respondent: current student, former student, and staff (including administrators, teachers, and founders). The questions I have chosen to include here are sample items to illustrate what kinds of questions were posed during the interviews. Prior to all of these questions, demographic questions asked the interviewee to identify themselves, talk about where they were born and their family makeup, where they went to school, and speak to their lived experiences. The interview items between the current and former student interview protocols did not vary greatly beyond the tense the question was asked in since I wanted similar information from both parties.

CURRENT STUDENT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Identity Questions:

1. How do you identify yourself? Why? (note to self: explore blackness, Afro-Brazilian, race, class)
 - a. How do other people identify you?
 - b. Has enrolling at Biko affected the way you think about yourself?
 - c. How would you explain your identity to someone who never came to Brazil?

FORMER STUDENT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Life Experience Questions:

1. In what ways does your identity affect your daily life?
 - a. Do you feel that you are discriminated against? Why?
 - b. Tell me about a time that you were discriminated against.
 - c. How did your parents feel about your attending Biko?

BIKO STAFF INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Teacher Questions:

1. What does a typical CCN class look like?
 - a. Can you walk me through a class?
2. What are the parts of CCN that you feel are most pertinent for students to grasp? How do you ensure that these concepts are understood? Can you give some examples? What is most challenging about the curriculum?
3. How do students initially react to CCN? Give an example.
 - a. Are there students that challenge the content of CCN? Give an example.
4. What do you do when students resist CCN?
 - a. How do you respond? Give an example.

5. What use have you seen students make of what they learn at Biko outside of its walls?

I conducted the interviews in Portuguese with the exception of three that I conducted in English at the request of the participants. I discuss cross-linguistic issues later in the ethical considerations section of this chapter.

A total of 26 interviews were conducted between the preliminary research period in 2015 (7) and the final field period (19); participants are briefly introduced in the following table. I completed five interviews with current students and eight with former students, two of whom are also current teachers or curricular coordinators with the institute. Two interviews were with founders (one of whom is a current teacher), and three were with administrators -- the director, a curricular coordinator and the institute's financier. Three interviews were conducted with teachers, one with an affiliate of the institute, three with people unaffiliated with the institute in any way to provide a small sketch of the attitudes of *soteropolitanos*, and one former teacher and native researcher of CCN and the institute. The longest interview was approximately one hour and the shortest was fifteen minutes; the average was thirty minutes. No second interviews were conducted due to scheduling constraints and cost of travel for the participants and myself; several of my interviewees were no longer able to afford travel to the institute and I could not afford travel to their homes. This impacted the interview data I was able to gather for the study. Interviews varied in length and depth depending on participants' willingness to share and how quickly interviewees spoke and communicated their ideas. Those who agreed to interview had the same opportunities to withdraw as the current students.

Table 1: Interviewees

Name	Gender	Approx. Age (at interview)	Interview Language	Interview Year	Role
Felipe	M	25	English	2015	Former Student
Luisa	F	23	English	2015	Former Student
Mari	F	23	Portuguese	2015	Quilombo Ilha Student
Carla	F	30	Portuguese	2015	Teacher (English)
Carlos	M	37	Portuguese	2015	Teacher (Chemistry)
Mãe Val	F	58	Portuguese	2015	Candomble Leader
Victor	M	28	Portuguese	2015	Local Resident
Lucas	M	59	Portuguese	2015	Local Resident
Gabriela	F	34	Portuguese	2016	Pedagogy and Curriculum Coordinator
Rita	F	40	Portuguese	2016	Financial Officer
Jucy	F	45	Portuguese	2016	Executive Director
Carina	F	40	Portuguese	2016	Former Student
Layane	F	28	Portuguese	2016	Former Student
Cristiane	F	45	Portuguese	2016	Former Student; OGUNTEC Director
Rubens	M	19	English	2016	Former Student
George	M	37	Portuguese	2016	Former Student; Teacher (CCN)
Victoria	F	19	Portuguese	2016	Former Student
Ivo	M	50	Portuguese	2016	Founder
Sílvio	M	53	Portuguese	2016	Founder
Heide	F	35	Portuguese	2016	Social Worker; Teacher (CCN)
Mariane	F	19	Portuguese	2016	Current Student
Moises	M	20	Portuguese	2016	Current Student
Paulinha	F	20	Portuguese	2016	Current Student (2 nd Enrollment)
Raldiney	M	21	Portuguese	2016	Current Student)
Uelberte	M	21	Portuguese	2016	Current Student
Alex	M	33	Portuguese	2016	Teacher (Biology)
Guimario	M	48	Portuguese	2016	Teacher; Historian

Interviewees decided whether to participate, where and when the interviews were conducted. Participants were presented the option to remain anonymous and choose a pseudonym. However, only two in the 2015 study and none of the participants in the 2016 chose this option. Participants chose to be identified by their legal names as outlined on the consent form. All interviewees received a signed copy of the consent form. The majority of the interviews were conducted in privacy following the morning session of courses or in the small cubicle outside of the classroom during the class day. Only three were conducted in the presence of others passing by on particularly busy days at the institute during 2016; two were conducted around others passing by during the pilot study in 2015. Interviews conducted in English were done at the whim of the participants to practice their language skills. In two interviews, English words were used mid-sentence to communicate a specific idea where the Portuguese translation didn't seem to carry as much weight. One example was Obama's catchphrase, "Yes, we can" or Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s most familiar refrain, "I have a dream." While transcribing, I had interviews translated as I completed them. Where my lack of understanding of Portuguese nuance became apparent, I made note of it in my transcription and asked for further clarification from my native Brazilian translator, Rafa Lombardino.

Observations

Observations were extensive and included not only my time in the classroom but my experiences traveling to and from the site, in the neighborhoods and districts of Salvador, and the many homes, restaurants and public spaces I frequented. Observations at the institute were conducted a scheduled minimum of three times a week (Monday, Wednesday, and Friday) as well as the days I had interviews and taught English

(Saturday). My observations during each trip to the institute over the course of my data collection period in 2016 involved student and teacher activity at the institute and focused on interactions between groups, identifying key educative moments in the classroom. Observations were recorded through handwritten field notes and, when possible, through photographs. I would spend six hours a day at the institute – from seven in the morning to one in the afternoon – observing the classroom and the general operations of the institute three to five days a week. Additionally, I attended four panels and talks where I observed student interactions with exchange groups and local scholars and activists. When I was financially able, I also observed the *palestras* (talks or lectures) hosted on the weekends and the visits from different U.S. colleges and universities. These were recorded as field notes in a separate journal to the one I brought with me for interviews.

Observations of *palestras* lent themselves to a more in-depth understanding of the current social issue that the Black community was facing in Brazil and the student response to those matters. When other visitors from the United States came, I witnessed Bikud@s disassociate me with U.S. students by the second U.S. student visit. For me, this felt natural since I'd spent considerably more time at the institute than the visiting students would spend in Bahia. Bikud@s interacted with their temporary guests in a more stand-offish manner, having already begun to refer to me as a Bikuda. At this juncture, I became a co-translator along with those traveling with the groups and I helped to facilitate communication between institutional administrators and visitors. Around the city of Salvador, I also conducted observations and remarked on the ways strangers reacted to me as a Portuguese speaking "American." I also began to note when and in what contexts I was named Black (or any other related term) as opposed to "American"

first. This difference was most noted depending on whether or not I was with Bikud@s (who identified me as Black) or with my host family (who identified me as “American”). This, in public spaces, had bearing on how I would be treated relative to other people. To further illustrate several of the themes that emerged from the research, I draw extensively from observational research in each chapter. Aside from a journal I carried with me to interviews and classes, I also kept an in depth diary to chronicle my daily experiences and kept a record of electronic correspondence of my personal encounters with friends. During observations, I chose not to use names unless the participant already signed a consent form for an interview (see Appendices). Biko also authorized my use of photography and recordings: all of the students and teachers signed a release for Biko to use their likeness and words in materials produced by the school. However, I did not extend that authorization to my own research.

Observations were key to understanding the way students developed their identities because they revealed the thought processes students undertook in order to participate in Biko coursework and the kinds of ideas presented to them by their teachers. Since the tenets of CCN are interwoven with all aspects of the Biko curriculum (discussed in the following chapter), observing CCN alone or relying on student interviews would have been insufficient to understanding the cause behind the creation of a positive association with Black identity amongst these particular students. The observations were also a very useful contrast to the experiences I had beyond the walls of the institute and the observations I made in the city of Salvador.

Document Analysis

Documents, books, and other artifacts were collected with the consent of director Silva and participants. Documents analyzed include any texts pertaining to the institute, texts available to students and visitors in the institute, and the *Bikud@s* text. These items, with the exception of the *Bikud@s* text, were those that the students most interacted with and ranged from the *pre-vestibular* student workbook, the promotional materials for community events, and the popular publications printed by local universities and other open media sources. I reviewed these documents to inform which aspects imbedded in the curriculum are most prevalent throughout the institutional practices. Interviews, artifact collection, and observations ran concurrently – during institute hours, as a volunteer, I conducted observations.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis process is commonly an iterative process that occurs before, during and after fieldwork. I therefore start this section with a summary of the timeline of the processes I undertook from before entering the field to writing this dissertation. For example, alongside developing a survey instrument and interview protocols, you will note that I created a ““start list”” of codes for my research which was derived from “the conceptual framework, list of research questions, hypotheses, problem areas, and key variables” I anticipated emerging in the study (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p. 57). Some of these initial codes were blackness, Race, Racism, Black, Classism, Self-esteem, and Black Power. These initial codes were used following data collection along with new codes that emerged from the data set. Here is the general timeline of my research process:

Table 2: Research Process

1.	I distributed the surveys over the course of three weeks and collected them from students in the morning course and teachers who helped to administer surveys for the night course.
2.	Surveys in hand, I compiled the data from the surveys and I began conducting interviews; both the surveys and the interviews were written/conducted in Portuguese with the exception of the aforementioned three.
3.	Compiled survey data was sent to Rafa Lombardino in encrypted, password-protected folders for translation.
4.	All interviews that were transcribed were sent to Rafa Lombardino in encrypted, password-protected folders (and returned the same way) for translation. Codes were generated from the compiled survey responses using in vivo in Portuguese.
5.	Using both the originally generated codes (during the pilot study) and the Portuguese language codes, I began to define the vignettes (or narrative excerpts) within each interview. This process was repeated with the English language versions of the materials.
6.	With the same codes, field note data was analyzed for corresponding information from observations at the institute. When the field notes were analyzed, specific encounters were isolated.
7.	Using the codes, vignettes, and isolated incidents from field notes, I began to develop thematic concepts to organize the chapters of the written report of the study (this dissertation). I also engaged in document analysis at this stage.

Over the course of the first five stages of this process in the field and before leaving for Brazil, I worked with the aforementioned translator named Rafa Lombardino to translate the survey and interview protocols from English to Portuguese and Portuguese to English. The American Translators' Association (ATA) has certified Rafa Lombardino for both English to Portuguese and Portuguese to English language translation; she has not gone through CITI training. I made contact with Rafa through the ATA website directory after contacting several other translators. We are engaged in a contractual agreement that guarantees both legal confidentiality and her services on a

monthly basis. Because I am not a native speaker of Portuguese and I am unfamiliar with all of the nuance, I made notes within the transcription of where I was unsure of meaning. In the cases where Rafa assumed I was unsure of meaning, she made note in the transcript document and reached out through email. Rafa was always careful to explain colloquial speech within the translations. According to the literature, a collaborative relationship with the translator is highly instrumental to the success of the research (Baird, 2011; Choi, et. al, 2012; Squires, 2009) because translators are gatekeepers to the data (Baird, 2011, p. 120). As a result, I was selective when choosing translators since translation “is not just about the direct translation of the words; it also involves portraying as many layers of meaning as possible” (Choi, et. al, 2012, p. 656). The relationship between the translator and the participants is equally important. That is to say, I chose Rafa because she has the same cultural background and was, arguably, more successful at achieving conceptual equivalence than other translators (Choi, et. al, 2012, p. 657). I provided Rafa with information about the research as early as possible in the project and explained the purpose of the study to convey “the importance of accurate translation of the interviews... to producing accurate and truthful transcripts” (Choi, et. al, 2012, p. 658).

Compiling survey data meant typing written responses in Microsoft Word and inputting numerical responses to Likert and “yes or no” items in an Excel sheet. From the Portuguese language written responses, I began the coding process. Miles and Huberman (1984) define codes as “efficient data-labeling and data-retrieval devices” (p. 64); the authors also encourage the creation of codes prior to entering the field and assert that “coding should not be put off to the end of data gathering” (Miles and Huberman, 1984,

p. 64). To produce a second list of codes using the survey data, I engaged in vivo coding. In vivo coding is “the practice of assigning a label to a section of data, such as an interview transcript, using a word or short phrase taken from that section of the data” (King, 2008, p. 473). Since I was using anonymous survey responses purposed for generating a picture of the general attitudes at the institute, I looked at all of the responses as one document in the compilation. I conducted a word count for the number of times words or phrases appeared across the written response to surveys and did the same thing again later across the interview responses. Following this process, I produced a list of the most commonly appearing words and revised my original list of codes in correlation with the new or “postdefined” list (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p. 60). The top ten of the post-defined codes were:

Table 3: Post-Defined Codes

1	<i>negro/negra</i>	Black
2	<i>cultura</i>	culture
3	<i>preconceito</i>	preconception or prejudice
4	<i>sociedade</i>	society
5	<i>identidade</i>	identity
6	<i>pele</i>	skin
7	<i>consciência</i>	consciousness
8	<i>social</i>	social
9	<i>cabelo</i>	hair
10	<i>raça</i>	race

From these in vivo codes, I looked into how these could be expanded to broader structures that would involve all of the data collected. This is a process defined as pattern coding which typically follows initial coding that is intended to summarize data (Miles and Huberman, 1984). Pattern coding is “a way of grouping those summaries into a smaller number of overarching themes or constructs” (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p. 68).

The pattern codes were developed by looking at how often the in vivo codes appeared in within interviews in association with other topics. For example, where hair and identity appeared within the context of discussion about participant's family life, I correlated the in vivo themes with a broader issue associated with family life. These, in turn, became umbrella themes to categorize narrative vignettes and observations for analysis and discussion. The codes also informed the questions I sought to answer within each theme (which later translated to the organization of chapters).

Four major themes emerged after several rounds of reading and coding for dominant terms. These four major themes are: CCN and Black Identity, Black Bodies in white Spaces, Race and Class and Family and Relationships.

Theme 1: CCN and A Black Identity: Focus on blackness within CCN: How is blackness defined in CCN curriculum? How is the CCN curriculum situated within Biko?

Theme 2, Black Bodies, white Spaces: How do students take curriculum beyond Biko? How is blackness defined and lived by current and former students? What are some of the ways students develop identities of and as Black Brazilians? How do students act on this conception of identity beyond Biko? How do they conceive of themselves/their identity and that of others?

Theme 3: Race and Class: What are the ways that blackness and class compound? How do participants combine blackness and class? What are the ways students relate their economic status to their identity? How are race and class important according to student narratives? What is the relationship between race and class and what impact does this relationship have on students?

Theme 4: Family and Relationships: How do students get along with people who do not participate in Biko activities (family members, friends, significant others)? If students self perceptions have changed (pre-Biko vs. post-Biko) what effect does that have on their living situations and existing relationships?

The four major themes were developed as a result of the extensive coding process of survey data, interviews, and field notes. Documents were analyzed, however, for their inclusion of CCN related themes as I came to understand them during my investigation. I looked for evidence or prevalence of Black leaders, Pan-African and Afro-centric concepts, affirmative language around Black identity, and alternative perspectives to

history and science. For example, I looked for references to Egyptian mathematical concepts or references to Black Brazilian political leaders.

Theoretical Framework

Theory was applied as a final stage of data analysis during the writing process. The data and questions all pointed to and were generally concerned with racial identity processes. The theorists informing this post analysis are: Alcoff (2006) who informs the discussion on the visibility of racial identity and social identities, generally speaking, as “concrete sites of interpretation and understanding” (195); Warnke (2007), forwarding Alcoff’s assertions, arguing that “racial identities... are ways of understanding individuals” (86) and that outwardly ascribed identities impact the individual’s “sense of how one fits into one’s society” (64); Mahon’s (2008) brief discussion of Diasporic identity and belonging as informed by Eslanda Goode Robeson; Helms (1993) Black Racial Identity Model; Hayes’ (2008) exploration of institutional impact on racial identity formation across the African Diaspora; and the description and definitions of microaggressions and microinvalidations by Sue (2015). Other theorists included but not integral to the theoretical layer of analysis are Adams (2001), Carastathis (2016), and Hardiman (2001).

Paramount to understanding racial identity formation is a model through which the process of assuming identity can be traced. Helms (1993), working from Cross’ earlier models of Nigrescence, developed a four phase process through which “a person ‘becomes Black’ where Black is defined in terms of one’s manner of thinking about and evaluating oneself and one’s reference groups rather than in terms of skin color per se” (17). The four phases of the developmental process are *Preencounter*, *Encounter*,

Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization. In the Preencounter phase, an individual idealizes “the dominant traditional White worldview and consequently, denigration of a Black world view” which can be both active and passive (Helms, 1993, 20). Through Encounter, an individual gains “conscious awareness that the old Euro-American or White world view is not viable and that one must find another identity constitutes the first phase of Encounter” (Helms, 1993, 25). A second and equally important aspect of Encounter and the struggle for a new identity, an individual might “oscillate(s) between the recently abandoned Preencounter identity and an as yet unformed Black identity” (Helms, 1993, 25). Immersion and Emersion are originally separate phases in Cross’ model. However, Helms (1993) conceives of the two as part and parcel of the same phase during which the individual “psychologically and physically withdraws into Blackness and a Black world” (26) and “into Black community... to engage in catharsis within a supportive environment” (28). The final stage, Internalization, involves “the internalization of a positive personally relevant black identity... one blends one’s personal identity... with a Black ascribed identity” (Helms, 1993, 28-29).

Helms’ Black Racial Identity Model is particularly useful to understanding the processes of socialization and racialization at Biko. Through extension of this model, I am able to draw contrasts between those identities internalized, assumed, and performed by participants and those they used to engage or that society imposes upon them (Warnke, 2007). Helms’ model offered the best fit to describe the various phases of identity formation that I observed at the institute, particularly because she joined Immersion and Emersion which I viewed as part and parcel of the same step. Additionally, Helms’ model was useful to analyzing my changing understanding of Black

identity as transient and varied by looking at Black identity as scalar. That is to say, Helms proposes a scale that an individual might traverse in their identity development as marked by different stages. Helms' model, however, is US-centric and is not fully applicable across borders and, therefore, as I explain further in a few moments, cannot be taken as the sole model or the best model for analyzing identity formation at the Biko institute. Also, by situating Biko as part of Hayes' (2008) conversation about African Diasporic institutions, the visible racial identities in Alcoff's (2006) theorizations become politicized and expand notions and meanings of racial group belonging. This discussion also serves to tease out the incidences of microaggression and microinvalidation that research participant engage in (Sue 2015). Relevant to all of this, however, is the fact that these theories and concepts were conceived of by racial theorists outside of Brazil. This is salient to the transferability/applicability/application of these theories to an international context. Certain aspects of these theories, particularly Helms, do not directly transfer or apply to Brazil since they are written for and about the U.S. However, the theory can still be used to create cross-cultural understanding for how these systems of racial identification function for a US audience.

Ethical Considerations & Positionality

Since the research was conducted in an international, cross-cultural, and cross-linguistic context, I engaged participants as an outsider. Throughout, the literature on ethics and the maintenance of ethical integrity in cross-cultural research (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004; Janusch, 2011) and cross-linguistic research (Baird, 2011; Koulouriotis, 2011; Marshall, 2004; Perry, 2011) suggests that the IRB guidelines do not sufficiently address all of the potential issues that arise in field research, particularly those related to

language, translation, and engaging a translator. Since “IRBs often do not possess the professional competence to evaluate qualitative protocols”, several mechanisms have been suggested by the authors to mitigate potential problems (Perry, 2011, p. 900). Being an outsider put me at a disadvantage insofar as my understanding of society, race and identity was challenged. Being so challenged was not a setback but strength because it forced me, as a researcher, to acknowledge how I might impose my voice on my participants. By observing those subtle and overt differences in interactions between and within groups, I was able to produce more robust information in my observations.

As an outsider coming to conduct research, my own understandings of race, identity inevitably differed from Brazilians and influenced my voice during data analysis. This, at times, interfered with the voice of participants in my data. For example, the lens through which I assess racial issues is colored by my identity as a Black woman from the United States, a social environment where – in my experience – most racial issues are highly polarized between white Anglo-Saxon patriarchal (WASP) groups and “Other” (including not just Black people but immigrants, members of non-“normative” gender and sex identities, and members of faith groups other than Christianity). In many cases in Brazil and a few in my observations and interviews, participants of both Afro and Euro descent blurred lines between white and Black. In the United States, I have come to understand Black identity by social experiences and the “one drop rule” that extends from slavery – one drop of “Black blood” indicating that the carrier is, therefore, Black. However, my position as an outsider and the impartation and discussion of my social understanding did not appear to impact the willingness of participants to share and engage with my research. If anything, it opened the discussion for participants and added

an additional layer of personal reflection to my observations. In some cases, though, I still felt as though I was receiving more than I gave. Salvador is my participants' home; the things we talked about for the sake of my interviews are things that they had to return to and could very well have opened emotional wounds. My temporal is their permanent; I have already left Salvador but they had to stay in the same environment I was both investigating and critiquing. I will use the stories of my participants for personal professional gain when the same stories earned my participants nothing before.

Also important to the collection and analysis of the data were 1) my home stay and 2) the political period in Brazil. From the very beginning of my data analysis, Former President Dilma Rouseff was under political duress. Many of her supporters had now become the strongest proponents of her impeachment. The family I stayed with – both during my 2015 pilot study and my 2016 dissertation study – was pro-impeachment. Biko, on the whole, was anti-impeachment (and *overwhelmingly* anti-Temer, the man who is serving as interim president). With *manifestações*, strikes, and general uproar, there were days when buses weren't running, where it was almost dangerous to be in certain neighborhoods and police were constantly on edge. However, all of these experiences enriched my conversations, interviews, and social understandings. My home stay family appeared to be almost anti-Biko at times – this, too, contributed to my understanding of race, identity, and racism. I include the names of the people I interacted with socially since they were important to my observations, the opinions and ideas I developed during the time in Salvador; also, their views certainly contributed to my interpretations of the data.

As a researcher and volunteer, teaching conversational English and helping in other capacities as requested, per my agreement with the executive director, Jucy Silva, I was able to give and receive throughout my research process. All of this, however, increased my personal relationship with people at all levels at the institute including students who were “underage” by IRB standards. Marshall (2004) stipulates “anthropologists should be explicit about strategies for obtaining and documenting informed consent, protecting participants from unintentional risks and harms, and methods for ensuring confidentiality” in their communications with and applications for IRB approval (p. 278). With this in mind during my time in the field, I was careful not to note the names of students I observed who did not sign on as interviewees to ensure their protection. While volunteering at Biko, I taught English on Saturday mornings to small groups of students. Some of the students were enrolled in the *pre-vestibular* and others were former students; some students were members of the evening course at the institute who I only interacted with on Saturday. Teaching the course was mutually beneficial: students were able to engage with a native English speaker and I was able to tap into subjective perspectives of Bikud@s in many stages of life *and* their academic careers (two of the students were already enrolled in college and one hadn’t finished high school). I was also given privileged access to the dreams and aspirations of these students through written documents. I was grateful but chose not to share these documents as part of my dissertation.

These “ethics in practice” had important implications for the research (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004, p. 265). Practicing micro-ethics, “the complex dynamics between researcher and participant in research”, was a means by which my relationship with

participants added value to the research (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004, p. 266) By sharing both original (English) and translated (Portuguese) versions of my research tools with executive director Silva for her input and review, I sought guidance on the situational appropriateness of the research protocols. My volunteering as a teacher shifted my relationship from “objective” observer to active participant in the knowledge generated at the school since I contributed English language subject matter. Inevitably, this had bearing on my data collection (e.g. observations) because I influenced the subject matter; as a result, I do not include observations from my own class in this dissertation.

An additional ethical issue for my research was enlisting a translator to aid in the production and translation of data collection instruments from English to Portuguese and the reproduction of transcribed data from Portuguese to English. I use the term reproduction because the translated transcript is intrinsically new information by virtue of it being presented in a different way from its original version and its being a re-imagination of events by the participants, potentially several years removed from the original date of the event. In fact, each of the various iterations of the interview also constitute an act of interpretation – from voice recording to original language transcript to translated transcript to analyzed and incorporated data, placed side by side with other data (Riessman, 2008). Each time the data is changed it is also re-interpreted and, therefore, re-produced. Rafa Lombardino, my translator, is a Brazilian woman with African lineage; this adds an additional layer of interpretive nuance to the final translated versions of the interviews. For example, in cases where interviewees talk about racially sensitive family issues, Rafa explained similar experiences in her own life to provide context. Considering that Rafa is much older than my participants, her experiences added credence to the

longstanding nature of race of color-based conflict. This had significant implications as language constructs “different ways of seeing social life” (Larkin and de Casterlé, 2007, p. 468) and has the power “to create what is ‘real’: through image, metaphor, and interpretation” (Farquhar and Fitzsimons, 2011, p. 653).

Translation is, thus, a mode of power in which language creates possibilities for multiplicity and difference. (Farquhar and Fitzsimons, 2011, p. 653)

The relationship between a researcher and translator greatly influences the kinds of meaning produced in translation as do the translators life experiences and the experiences of the researcher. Therefore, in selecting the translator for my interview transcriptions, I ensured she is not only trained and certified but also open to developing an important relationship with me as the researcher and, indirectly, with my participants.

Issues of trustworthiness (the rigor of the study) and conceptual equivalence in qualitative research are particularly important (Squires, 2009). Conceptual equivalence pertains to the successful conveyance of the meaning of a concept from one language to another and is poorly communicated when a translator alters the meaning of participants’ words (Baird, 2011, p. 116; Squires, 2009, p. 278). Following Squires (2009), I engaged the same translator throughout the research process and coded in the language of participants. However, for the IRB process, I originally enlisted the services of an organization called Cultural Center for Language Studies (CCLS) in Newark, NJ to translate the survey and the interview instruments; Rafa in turn, reviewed these for cultural and conceptual congruence, particularly when developing the definitions used on the survey.

One major concern when conducting research with non-native English speakers is to address all ethical issues and how to address potential issues (Koulouriotis, 2011). For example, informed consent must be expressed in language that is understandable to the reader (Koulouriotis, 2011) but, must constantly acknowledge that informed consent in a written format is privileged over oral consent (Perry, 2011). Language, positionality (which I've addressed in this section) and voice were also important to address ethically when conducting this kind of research because: 1) accessing a participant's experience can be difficult while interviewing – as was the case for one participant I discuss earlier in this chapter (Koulouriotis, 2011); 2) “the researcher-participant relationship could sometimes become blurred” and the researcher's world view influences research (Koulouriotis, 2011, p. 8); and 3) researchers must seek to make their participants voices “authentic”, ensuring they have “the opportunity to make sense of their own experiences” (Koulouriotis, 2011, p. 9). In order to ensure that my participants' voices were communicated in an unadulterated fashion, I do alter the segments of the interviews I included.

CHAPTER THREE: CCN and a Black Identity

CCN and Biko

Traveling from *Amaralina* to *Praça da Sé* doesn't look like a long trip on a map – what makes the trip long are the staggering heat and the overwhelming amount of traffic. Matters don't improve when you finally arrive in *Praça da Sé* and have to walk up a hill, unshielded from the heat, to get to Steve Biko Cultural Institute (Biko). You take *Ladeira Largo do Carmo* and then climb two flights of stairs to the Biko Headquarters. However, since 1992, neither the heat, nor the climb, nor the stairs have deterred hundreds of students from all over Salvador getting to the institute and then gaining admission to the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), Bahia State University (UNEB), and the dozens of other private colleges and universities in Salvador as well as universities in other parts of Brazil. Currently headquartered in Pelourinho, the historic center of Salvador, Bahia, Biko now serves as one of several places for Black youth to learn about themselves as Black people in Brazil, prepare for college, and voice their socio-political and personal concerns.

Biko got its name from the leader of a South African movement. During the middle of the 1960s, an anti-apartheid activist group, led principally by Stephen Biko, began the Black Consciousness Movement. The object of this movement was to liberate the minds of Black South Africans from what is called a “slave mentality” (or the mindset of policing or controlling oneself based on socio-normative and often racialized standards), a form of self-policing that Black people engage which, in turn, sustains white racism (South African History Organization). Thirty years later, a group of Brazilian activists founded the Biko institute with the same objectives in mind. On 31 July 1992, Biko's work began officially with a *pré-vestibular* course. Over time during the first year,

the course came to include the class Black Consciousness and Citizenship (*Cidadania e Consciência Negra*, CCN). The concepts of CCN are intended to fill a gap in Brazilian education, the void where Black history and self-esteem building should be. Eventually, the class expanded to also encompass the guiding principles of the institute and become a pillar of thought. Now, though the institute was founded to increase access to higher education, many characterize the institute programming as “CCN with a *pré-vestibular*.” Other programs Biko houses include OGUNTEC (a science and technology careers program), a pre-vestibular program to prepare students for the national college entrance examination, DHAR and POMPA (both of which are forums to discuss current events and issues).

Upon entering the buzzer operated gate at the top of the stairs, there is a small vestibule with a mosaic tile of the institute’s symbol – the tree of knowledge (common to African folklore and legend) designed so that the branches on either side form faces, one looking to the future and one looking to the past. To the right of the vestibule is an office space complete with a bathroom and five desks with computers and to the left, a cubicle space for signing in and for student/teacher conferences, and the main classroom (and from April 2016 to October 2016, my interviews). The main classroom holds around 90 to 100 desks, a CPU with a small, wall-mounted monitor that serves as a television and computer screen, a white board, and a sound system. Four large windows look out to the city and the hill below.

Potential students fill out an online form for admittance to the program and go through a screening process to assess their need for a free *pré-vestibular*. Students come exclusively from public schools and take a test with an essay as part of their application.

This process also aids in identifying the professional goals of incoming students. From this point, students are enrolled in the institute based on their scores and the number of vacancies. At the time the fieldwork was conducted, there were two sessions being hosted at the institute. The two sessions were used to facilitate the growing enrollment at the institute. There were 66 students in the morning and 76 students enrolled at night in the *pré-vestibular*. The schedule for the different sessions is explained below:

... In the morning, we have all subjects, Monday through Friday: Portuguese, Math, Geography, and History. At night, classes go from Monday through Saturday. And some of these students have Sunday classes, because nightly classes have fewer hours of class compared to the morning period. For the morning period, classes go from 7:30 a.m. to 12:10 p.m. Night classes go from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m., so there are only three hours of class. The nightly period has a lot fewer classes. That's why they need classes on Saturday and Sunday. (Gabriela, personal interview, May 25, 2016)

During fieldwork, around twenty teachers volunteered at the institute. As volunteers, teachers receive some help with transportation to the institute and a small amount of money for lunch. This funding from funding organizations like Coca-Cola and fundraising¹. I did not request additional funding for transportation to and from the institute or lunch money from the institute. The CCN course serves as a training module for a number of the former students who now serve as instructors at the institute. Additionally, they train other public school teachers. For those who never went through the institute themselves, there are “meetings every quarter, so that we can talk, check out how they're working in the classroom, adjusting the methodology” to best facilitate coherent instruction at the institute (Gabriela, personal interview, May 25 2016).

¹ Biko received funding from Coca-Cola through the Joe Beasley Foundation which is based out of Atlanta; this organization has been influential in a number Brazilian projects like Biko.



Figure 1. The Tree of Knowledge Emblem

The Purpose of CCN

It was in the office space where the student bathroom and daily coordinator/conference cubicle are that I first spoke with the current Executive Director of the institute, Jucy Silva. As a teacher in the public schools and someone who has participated in Biko related activities and projects for over a decade, Director Silva presented me with information that situated CCN at Biko in contrast with the law and within the local landscape of public and private education.

So, when the Steve Biko Institute was first conceived, it came to fill a void. Due to the absence of university students, they [the founders] thought they shouldn't have only a technical preparation course with the same subjects of study tested during an entrance exam, so people can apply for higher education. So, they thought it [CCN] could be a way to rescue people's self-esteem. And, how did they do that then? They shared quotes by important leaders and Black poets like Jonatas Conceição to make students aware. That's how we created a subject of study that is now called Black Consciousness and Citizenship (CCN). At first, the class was basically focused on race and didn't establish a dialog with other needs. With time, we incorporated other aspects related to other needs identified within the Black community, such as religious intolerance, environmental racism, and sexism comes later on, when relations are then established. At CCN classes and in the Institute, this subject of study works like a pillar that supports the self-esteem of students. So, with CCN, people recognize themselves as Black and learn about the history of Black people, which is not told in schools — even though today we have Law # 10,639/03 that says it's mandatory that schools teach the history of Africa and African-Brazilians. So, with this awareness, they leave the institute and became engaged in other organizations, participating in them, then they get to the university environment, which is Eurocentric, but they have a higher ability to stay there and leave one day, right? The thing is that the university environment is extremely elitist and Eurocentric. It doesn't respect diversity and does everything for Black people to leave that environment, because it's very convenient for them to have a white supremacy, white people controlling everything, while Black people are always subordinates. So, throughout these 24 years, CCN grew and reinvented itself to incorporate this kind of debate. (Jucy, personal interview, September 10, 2016)

Biko works with Black youth from around the city and periphery of Salvador, Bahia 1) to develop self-esteem and unification through the concept community and identity, 2) to “rescue people’s self esteem” by valorizing Black people and identity, and 3) increase

student awareness of shared problems for the Afro-Brazilian population (Jucy, personal interview, September 10, 2016). In line with Mahon's (2008) conceptualizations of "institutions indigenous to the African Diaspora" Biko "draw[s] upon their communities' cultural frameworks to delineate (and sometimes expand) the boundaries of group membership" (176). As the institutional mission statement explicitly states, Biko seeks to "promote the social and political ascension of the Black population through education and the valorization of Black ancestry" (stevebiko.org.br). Another key part of the CCN education and valorization of Black ancestry is the promotion of civic engagement and preparation to persist in Eurocentric and "elitist" environments. CCN is both an institutional concept and its own course; it is an integral part of most every aspect of the education Biko offers. The induction of principles from Stephen Biko's Black Consciousness Movement into the institutional mission and the name of the institute itself is a kind of "transnational exchange(s) between social movements are usually based on some form of mutual identification between the organizations or activist involved" (Hayes, 2008, 175). Since, social organization and racial structures differ from South Africa, Biko activists likely had to adapt concepts of Black identity to fit their needs. However, this was not discussed during data collection. As part of this transnational exchange, however, Biko becomes part of the list of "institutions... [that offer] identity transforming mechanisms... [and] draw upon their communities' cultural frameworks to delineate (and sometimes expand) the boundaries of group members" (Hayes, 2008, 176). Interwoven in the way teachers engage their students and the tools they use, students and teachers alike engage blackness and Black consciousness alongside science, mathematics and all topics taught at the institute. By incorporating CCN into other subject matter and

opening the dialogue with a variety of issues within the Black community in Brazil, Black consciousness and citizenship become a natural part of the daily ebb and flow of institutional education.

Race, Education and Affirmative Action in Brazil

The legislation that director Silva refers to, law #10.639/03 (passed on 9 January 2003), stems from Law #9.394 (passed on 29 December 1996) which established the curricular guidelines and base for national education to include Afro-Brazilian History and Culture as an obligatory subject. Law #10.639/03 established the following:

- All schools must teach Afro-Brazilian History and Culture in *all* public and private schools (article 26)
- All schools must incorporate the study of African History and African people, the Black struggle in Brazil, Black Brazilian culture, Black presence in Brazilian national society, acknowledge the contributions of Black Brazilian people in the social, economic, political arenas relevant to Brazilian History
- The subject must be taught across school curricula, Art Education, Brazilian Literature and History, in particular
- National Black Consciousness Day (20 November) must be celebrated (Lei No. #10.639/03; italics mine)

Although these policies have all been established in the law, various participants expressed that they are not enacted across the vast majority of schools. My informal conversations with local teachers also revealed this to be the case. Biko aims to fulfill the curricular policy objective intended in the 1996 and 2003 legislation.

During Twine's (2000) research, a typical Brazilian classroom presented students with marginalized representations of their society.

... in [Brazilian] school textbooks Blacks are: (1) depicted as the social inferiors of whites, (2) not portrayed in families, (3) stereotyped as similar to animals (4) excluded from references in history or social science texts, and (5) when mentioned in history textbooks, Afro-Brazilian contributions were limited to traditional Africans. (Twine, 2000, p. 55)

Schools are sites of social and cultural reproduction; through the textbook imagery, by disassociating Black people from humanity and success, students internalize the idea that Black and brown people are beneath whites. The national rhetoric of Brazil has historically contended that it is a society without racial strife yet, it is “at the forefront of Latin American race-based affirmative action policies and census racial data collection” (Hernández, 2013, 148) having “the greatest number of race-based affirmative action policies that target Afro-descendants” (Hernández, 2013, 151). Additionally, statistical evidence from recent studies conducted across Latin America show that lighter skin correlates with higher levels of education (Telles & Steele, et. al, 2012; Telles, 2004). As part of a closer examination using data from Americas Barometer questionnaires, the findings indicate that skin color and education are closely correlated in Latin America and the United States, that color is the best predictor of education and income, and that “race and class operate together to shape stratification in the Americas” (Telles & Steele, et. al, 2012, p. 6; Telles, 2004) For Brazil this was also found to be true.

The push for affirmative action in Brazil began in the 1990s when politicians, academics and the public at large more widely acknowledged that almost no Afro-Brazilians held positions of power throughout Brazilian society – in politics, academia, and on local levels like primary and secondary school classrooms (Hernández, 2013; Skidmore, 2010, p. 199). In response, former president Cardoso (1995-2003) “issued a decree applying to all federal ministries, ordering them to establish affirmative action quotas for personnel recruitment of Afro-Brazilians and women, among other minorities” (Skidmore, 2010, p. 223). This was followed by an executive decree in 2002, which led to the creation of the National Affirmative Action Program that mandated the adoption of

quotas (Skidmore, 2010, p. 223).

The implementation of quotas was instrumental to revealing the nature of enrollment processes of Brazilian universities. The public universities are more competitive for admission than the private colleges and only take up 30% of the post-secondary institutions in Brazil. Also important: those who attend public universities typically come from private secondary schools while the opposite is true for those who attend private universities (Telles, 2013). In a step toward equality of access to higher education, the Quota Law was approved in 2012 and mandated that by 2016, all federal universities institute a quota system to raise enrollment for public high school attendance, by household income, or non-white racial identity (Telles, 2013).

Conversations within the education policy arena around affirmative action “most commonly deal with the issue of racial inequality in educational achievement and attainment” (Darby, 2010, 409). In Darby’s 2010 research, racial disparity and inequality in Brazilian education is measured “by access to quality education, school performance, promotion and graduation rates, entry into quality higher education, and labor market returns on educational skills”; at the time 73 percent of the population of public universities was white (Darby, 2010, 409).

Education is the key to and the maintaining force of a number of sociopolitical and socioeconomic liberties (Bourdieu, 1973); these are liberties that white or Euro-descendant Brazilians enjoy as a result of the privilege that has been maintained through their controlling interest in policymaking (Hunter, 2009). Privilege maintenance starts in elementary and secondary school. Affluent students who have attended private elementary and secondary schools also tend to attend high-quality public universities that

are subsidized by the government. Poor students who attend publicly funded primary and secondary schools receive fewer resources than those who attend private schools (Telles, 2004). Further demonstration of government subsidy for federal universities is evident in state and federal spending; 56% of the federal education budget goes to public federal universities even though they only serve two percent of college students nationwide (Montero, 2014). Nonwhites in post-secondary education “are particularly likely to drop out early because they tend to have less resources than whites and perceive less chance of school success” (Telles, 2004, p. 125). Educational outcomes for nonwhites with a college degree have apparent and less obvious benefits; “an average nonwhite man with a college education in Brazil earns 11.3 times as much as his counterpart with no schooling” and he/she also enjoys a social exemption from the discrimination that plagues his uneducated counterpart (Telles, 2004, p. 126).

Some policy makers have attributed exclusion in Brazilian education to individual choice. However, individual choice cannot account for “how these choices are shaped by legacies of injustice” some of which I discuss further in chapter six (Darby, 2010, p. 414). It has been acknowledged by members of the Brazilian government that “... ‘without access to education, Blacks are condemned to segregation’” (Htun, 2004, p. 70). Therefore, a lack of educational access and minimal concern on the part of the government to institute the necessary social reforms to enable the poor Black majority keeps this particular community at a major disadvantage. Hernández (2013) forwards:

... the extent to which ongoing white privilege and racial bias influence the marginalization of the larger number of Afro-Brazilians strongly suggests that in all the other countries where Afro-descendants are less numerous and often less politically powerful, the Afro-Brazilian pattern of racial exclusion can serve as a useful representation of how racial bias influences the socioeconomic status and exclusion of Afro-descendants. (85)

CCN: Causing Change

In one of the textbooks developed and used at the institute, the introduction to the CCN portion reads: “‘Think differently and things begin to change.’ Steve Biko.” As I heard from participants, this is what happened with students – they began to think differently and their perspectives began to change. Throughout the textbook, which covers a variety of subjects (Portuguese Grammar, Spanish, English, Literature, Mathematics, Chemistry, and Redação – essay writing), there are images of political and social activist figures, political cartoons and lyrics from songs by African Diasporic artists like Bob Marley and Pedro Infante. Over the years, this text has been used principally to prepare and guide students for the *vestibular* while the CCN section, specifically, incorporates discussion about everything from *Négritude*, national legislation, and self-esteem, to Black feminism and Sueli Carneiro (noted Black Brazilian feminist) in every module within the chapter.

... that's the kind of issue that must be worked on by all teachers, because it's a racial issue that shouldn't be developed only in History and Geography classes, but in all classes, because black people are present in the classroom. Difficulties present themselves so all teachers must be trained to work these issues. And that's what we work on here. We have CCN, in which teachers work more on the content, but doesn't mean that other subjects don't include CCN. (Gabriela, personal interview, May 25 2016)

So, what exactly does CCN do? According to Director Silva, CCN aims to “rescue(s) people’s self esteem”, makes race an educational focus, addresses the issues within the Black community like “religious intolerance, environmental racism, sexism”; “supports the self-esteem of students”, helps students “recognize themselves as Black and learn about the history of Black people”, and aims to fortifies students in such a way as to help them in Eurocentric spaces like the university (Jucy, personal interview, September

10, 2016). The aspiration is that students apply what they learn through CCN in impactful ways, many of which are described in the following chapters. To illustrate, CCN teacher Heide explains how this “transformation” has influenced her and the students.

You know, CCN at Biko is fantastic, in the sense of the transformation you see people going through every day. I have to suppress my emotions when I’m talking to someone and hear how being at Biko is something that changes their lives, because here they hear that, yes, they’re beautiful! That their Black aesthetics are important, so they’re contradicting things they’ve heard from other people all their lives, things that made them suffer. It’s fantastic how much this has changed people’s lives and, consequently, these people’s families. There are endless examples. Like, the group I’m supervising: they’re 10 teenagers who are learning English, and I started working with them in March, when the Director told me that I would take over CCN with these 10 students every Wednesday afternoon. Every week, all year long, I have to plan ahead and come up with entertaining things, because they’re teenagers. I’m extremely in awe of them these past few months, because they’ve been bringing a lot of references (credentials) to Biko. The articles they write, the movies we recommend for discussion, how much they’ve matured with the theoretical discussion, and even how much they’ve helped me by bringing many topics up for discussion about their personal experiences, their family, their life at school, things they have heard. There are so many statements that I hear during individual talks, and they’re reaffirmed during our group talks. These things that are actually being said help them have a new perspective about their lives, and that makes them stronger when they have to face such a situation. (Heide, personal interview, June 3, 2016)

As a licensed social worker and CCN co-teacher, Heide bears witness to some of the most personal aspects of student transformations, learning first-hand how life changing the process is for students. The ten students Heide was supervising weren’t just learning for themselves but also for their families. They are developing “a new perspective about their lives,” breaking it apart, and building new strength to “face such a situation” the next time around (Heide, personal interview, June 3, 2016). That students have been suffering their whole lives is not an exaggeration. On many student surveys, Bikud@s revealed some of the hurtful things they’ve experienced because of their blackness while growing up like the anonymous survey respondent who was sent away

from her fairer skinned family because she was born too dark or yet another who was told by a classmate that he would never date a Black girl; consider, also, those students in CCN who reported being followed and harassed by police (like Uelberte) or told by their parents, peers, and teachers that they shouldn't aspire to a college education. However, these same experiences inform their dialogue in the classroom and they are the "references" Heide uses to "top topics up for discussion about their personal experiences, their family, their life at school, things they have heard" (Heide, personal interview, June 3, 2016). The references and topics students bring to discussion come from lived experiences and then, through the transformative education provided by CCN, they gain a "new perspective about their lives" (Heide, personal interview, June 3 2016). They are trained on how to respond to their situations, simultaneously countering the messages they've received about being Black their whole lives.

CCN in Action

CCN teachers are tasked with imparting some form of Black consciousness, self-esteem, and an awareness and urge to fight oppression as informed citizens into Bikud@s. During one memorable course observation, George, a co-teacher with Heide for the CCN course taught on Friday afternoons, separated the class into three groups and asked them to create their own definitions for three words: discrimination, racism, and preconception (prejudice). The groups were given a large piece of post-it paper, the kind used in presentations and meetings, and a marker; they were divided between the main classroom, the cubicle area and the main office. All of the groups were mixed across age and gender; there were around four students between the ages of forty and sixty that were divided amongst the groups but the majority of the students were between sixteen and

twenty-two. Each of the groups was required to develop definitions and identify two group members to present the definitions to the class. The second group to go was the group that defined discrimination. Prior to class time, George forewarned that discussion becomes animated but encouraged me to listen and participate. I was seated with the group writing about preconception/prejudice. Walking from group to group, I saw that girls predominated the discrimination group but the racism group had the most boys. Each of the groups posted their final definitions to the board. However, the one group presentation that most stood out was the discrimination group. The two young ladies who presented for the group offered the following analysis, pointing to the text written on their presentation paper as they went along (copied below):

Dis crimi nação

Dis or di = 2.

Crimi or crime.

Nação = nation.

“Discrimination is the crime that divides the nation.”

George beamed with pride. Everyone in the class gave roaring applause and I joined in their enthusiasm. These students, ranging in age between sixteen and 22, had provided a comprehensive explanation of a complex concept without using anything but the word itself. It was a wonderful example of the kind of critical thinking and analytical skills students develop in CCN to assess the society they live in. In Helms' (1993)

Immersion/Emersion phase, the individual “psychologically and physically withdraws into Blackness and a Black world” (26) and “into Black community... to engage in catharsis within a supportive environment” (28). The final stage, Internalization, involves “the internalization of a positive personally relevant black identity... [in which] one blends one's personal identity... with a Black ascribed identity” (Helms, 1993, 28-29).

The analysis that these students engaged in during the CCN session is an example of what Immersion and Emersion look like and the definition for discrimination is one of the outputs of Internalization. The final student definitions for all of the terms were as follows:

Discrimination: the most perverse way of subjugating The Other because we separate it in the name of people's convictions.

Preconception/Prejudice: a precipitous concept, formed by the constructions of standards that society has embedded in our minds since the earliest times.

Racism: a behavior of a particular person, if they find themselves superior to the other in relation to the pigmentation of skin color.

Relevant to this is the understanding that the teachers didn't participate in the production of these definitions. This process was entirely student led. And, these are just some of the concepts that students begin to develop, understand, and use in their analyses of their society. They are expected to, eventually, carry these analyses into their knowledge production processes and beyond the institution into their communication with others, as discussed in the following chapters. Teachers, however, have a specific responsibility to make their material relatable, as explained by the pedagogical coordinator Gabriela. Underscoring the necessity for relatable and relevant materials is Carlos, a science teacher at the institute.

We have CCN as a subject and it's up to us, teachers from other disciplines — for example, Natural Sciences, which is my case — we have to bring in elements that connect, that are related to Law 10639, you know? I mean... if we are not empowered by this knowledge, if we don't know it... How am I supposed to tie it all together and provide this knowledge to Black people? I need to get in the classroom and show each one of my students, each one of them, that this knowledge came from slave ships. This knowledge was developed and readapted within Brazilian borders, so my students will leave the classroom with a racial identity and say, "Hey, I'm proud of being of African descent. Did you know about my ancestors? They invented this here! It was us, our people!" (Carlos, personal interview, July 2, 2015)

Carlos, like Heide, reveals how he brings CCN into his teaching material for chemistry and the impact of CCN on his students. He relates CCN directly to his subject matter, natural sciences. One of the most important things to him as a teacher is to explain “that this knowledge came from slave ships”; in other words, the chemical processes he explains in his classes and products that emerged from these processes, which are attributed to companies and associated with brand names now, began as by-products from the western coast of Africa (Carlos, personal interview, July 2, 2015). One example he gives is the alcoholic beverage *cachaça*, a popular and widely produced product that is now dominated by German companies but originated in Brazilian slave quarters. It is important for the students to understand this because they can develop their self-esteem and self-efficacy around a history that they have not previously been taught.

A Word From a Founder

I'm the president of the Steve Biko Institute, as well as a co-founder. We founded the institute 24 years ago. It was the kind of experience, as we say, where we "learn as you go." Our goal was to increase the number of Black students at universities. The proposal was to have a common entrance exam preparation class. But we'd use it... We'd make a political intervention through education... thus organizing this entrance exam preparation class and taking this opportunity to talk about Black consciousness. That's how the subject of Black Consciousness and Citizenship was created. Initially, it wasn't a subject of study. Each teacher came to class and, at any given time, would talk about Malcolm X or Zumbi dos Palmares... And that's how we decided that it should be a regular subject to be taught along with others... Consequently, you can motivate students and students can understand why it's important for you to go to a university — and it's not just an individual issue. You must understand that it's a collective movement, because it is collectively that people sought help to take the entrance exam in order to go to university... CCN has a paramount, crucial role. It's very important to make it all come true, because we were working on some aspects, drilling down subjective aspects that result from racism and affect their self-esteem directly, that interfere in their ability to fully becoming people.... It's not about victimization and being paralyzed. It's about becoming aware of the mechanisms that oppress you and prevent a collective sense, that prevent the collective sense of the Afro-Brazilian population, of the Black and Indigenous population. So, CCN has that

power and that's how Biko started to grow. And it started to become a space for job creation, which is something that we didn't even think about when we first started. People learned to teach at the Institute. They've had their first job experience at the Institute. There was job creation and income generation while fighting racism, fighting inequality. And these were masters and doctors — people became qualified after going through the Institute. (Silvio, personal interview, October 11, 2016)

Although his title as president is an honorific, city councilman Silvio Humberto represents Biko in government and is an active member of the Biko community. I interviewed the councilman in his office – staffed fully by Bikud@s – and, as one of the last people I interviewed, he was one of the most informative.

Councilman Humberto alludes to the initial goals of Biko (objectives that still stand) – “to increase the number of Black students at universities” and to “have a common entrance exam preparation class.” However, he spoke about these in the past tense, as though they are just a part of the parcel of a Biko education. Additionally, he pointed to Biko as an opportunity for “political intervention through education,” a facet of Biko that has become pertinent to the experience and the development of Black consciousness. Through the courses in the beginning years of the Biko institute and today, a major goal for the teachers and the institution is to “motivate students” so that they “can understand why it is important for you to go to a university” as part of a “collective movement.” This is one of the underpinnings of Stephen Biko’s Black Consciousness Movement.

An additionally important aspect of CCN is that it is designed to be relatable; the class aims to increase and support the self-esteem of students by presenting material and encouraging participation that is pertinent and relevant to student experiences. From there, students are more motivated to attend university and then see that entering the

university is a form of collective action. Heide points out, it is often the students who generate ideas for new material. It is a joint venture: the teachers bring some source material and the students bring the attitudes, ideas, personal references, and discussion. These conversations “help them [students] have a new perspective about their lives.”

CCN and Biko are transformative and help to, essentially, change the minds of the students enrolled. Students express that Biko is “something that changes their lives” because of the collective approach to the valorization of blackness within the institutional community (Heide, personal interview, June 3, 2016). With the new perspective, students are “‘contradicting’ things they’ve heard from people all their lives, things that made them suffer” (discussed in the following chapters) (Heide, personal interview, June 3, 2016). Through survey responses and personal experiences in Salvador, I learned that these things could vary in range from being called monkey to being followed by police in department stores to being denied by family members for being too dark. CCN aims to give students a language to talk back, develop a critical form of self-efficacy and empower them to challenge racism, prejudice, and discrimination in various social situations.

However, all of this exposition is not to say that every student is motivated to attend Biko because of CCN or because they have assumed a Black identity; the value of a tuition free *pré-vestibular* cannot be understated. In recent years, Biko has received government funding and money from Coca-Cola and other foundations to continue to support free education. Those who chose to participate in my study identified as Black but there were students I observed and spoke to who did not directly identify as Black or said things like, “I am kind of Black but, look at me – I can’t say it like *she* can,”

gesturing toward another student with a deeper complexion or more tightly coiled hair. It was usually a true statement; these students usually had naturally straighter hair that was generally thinner or less tightly coiled, fairer or lighter brown complexions – signals that would point to dominant Indigenous heritage in the Brazilian racial identification strata. Also enrolled were students whose older siblings had attended the institute. For such students, I can only imagine that CCN was not so unfamiliar and, perhaps, familiarity was a motivation to attend. Since the *vestibular* training elsewhere is extremely expensive, it is unlikely that, once students have gained entrance, they will leave. For many observed students, CCN may have been just another class where they were able to debate their classmates. I discuss one such counter narrative case further in the chapter seven. For interview participants, however, CCN gave them tools for understanding Brazilian social norms as constructions and not facts.

Key to Councilman Humberto’s exposition was his description of CCN as having a “paramount, crucial role” (Silvio, personal interview, October 11, 2016). In developing CCN, Humberto says they were trying to get to the root of racism and self-esteem that interferes in students’ ability “to fully becom[ing] people” and become “aware of the mechanisms that oppress [you] and prevent a collective sense” of being Black/Afro-Brazilian (Silvio, personal interview, October 11, 2016). This is something that I did not observe amongst people unaffiliated with the institute. As a result, the way that Biko students and alumni interact in the world beyond the walls of the headquarters in Pelourinho is important to understand. This relationship is explored in the next chapter, Black bodies in white spaces.

CHAPTER FOUR: Black Bodies in white spaces

Yes. So, uh, in Brazil, we see the social problem, too, that involves Black people. When slavery was finally abolished in Brazil, we didn't have any reparation politics to fix this terrible past that we had and because of that a lot of Black people, they – it is kind of hard to find Black people that actually stand to a high position in society and that are actually in a better position, with a position to help others. So, Black people, the whole history of Brazil, they were demonized and that is something that we can see today. So Black people today, they are seen as sometimes as thieves or whores or, you know, just servants – people like this. So if you go to a community (*favela*), you won't find white people, it's very hard to find white people because there is this white privilege that they can get and if you go to a rich area, to a rich neighborhood and if you are Black, people are seeing you first – in the first moment as a servant or someone who is going there just to work or to worry you or something like that. Because we had this separation in the country when the slavery was abolished so Black people they go into a place and white people, they had their place. So when people were like creating HBCUs in America, in Brazil, we still had – we were still in the slavery process and we didn't get the chance to study so we didn't also have the chance to ascend, to get knowledge and ascend a high position in the society to have a better life and you can see this today. This goes back to this moment in history and if you were seeing things like less Black people in universities or in high positions in the government or just in the society or if Black people are still seen as bad people, it's something that goes back to that time. (Rubens, personal interview, October 12, 2016)

Black Bodies in white spaces

Walking around Salvador, I visually identified Black people from the social construct of the United States: blackness as a complexion, a hair texture and style, a clothing choice. I adhere largely to Helms' (1993) conceptualization of racial identity, “a sense of group or collective identity based on one's *perception* that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group” (p. 3). Therefore, from my perspective, if you appear to be Black, outwardly, I consider you to be Black. In this discussion, it is important to note that I understand Brazilian society to be hegemonically Eurocentric with Afrocentric and Indigenous underpinnings. Chavez and Guido-DiBrito (1999) argued that whiteness/Eurocentricity, which stem from a colonial definition and function, is normalized in Brazil. This dominant sociopolitical value set served to

marginalize Indigenous cultural ideals, Black identity and Afrocentricity. During my conversations with the general public, most people claimed to be “un-interested” in race altogether, denouncing racism and racists, simultaneously relying on racial categories to describe themselves, insult others, or make jokes. I observed this on the bus, in my neighborhood, and walking through Pelourinho. In my interactions with *soteropolitanos* - - 85-95% of the people I talked to -- I would identify myself as Black. But most of them said they did not see themselves as Black until they were discriminated against in white spaces – until they’ve been reminded of “their place” or subordinated in some way, the way my host mother says she was when she wore flip-flops in a higher end store while shopping for her daughter.

Many people dismiss this as classism, entering a store in the mall wearing Bermuda shorts and flip-flops and being ignored by attendants. Some people just say they are “ugly” (Rebhun, 2004) or don’t fit the social standards of “*boa aparência*” – literally, “good appearance” but understood as a euphemism for whiteness (Guillermopreto, 1989; Hordge-Freeman, 2015; Joseph, 2015). Others, still, will argue to the bitter end about constructs of race being useless, claiming, “we are all human.” Yet, it is usually Black people in Brazil who have reported to me they have been ignored or followed around a store, only Black people who have to change their hair for employment or even general social acceptance (largely, more specifically, Black *women*; Pinho, 2006). Those same people I spoke with who adamantly deny the need for race and color rely almost exclusively on the same constructs to choose and describe their ideal lovers (though, in Tina’s words, this lover is “never someone you marry – unless they’re rich”), nannies and maids, to identify friends and family (“*o meu negão*” – my big Black guy), to call to

strangers (“*oi, mulata!*” – hey, brown girl!), to argue or to insult people (“*filho da puta negra*” – son of a Black whore). I also noted that, when I used terminology like “Black and non-Black,” people took offense without realizing that their use of “white and non-white” serves to normalize whiteness over blackness and legitimizes whiteness over blackness in society.

In social encounters when I traveled with my host family, I was the most conspicuous person present, having the darkest skin. My role within the family – even though some of them identified as Black – was constantly called into question until my host mother decided to invent a lie that I was her biological daughter and that I was raised in the United States. For the most part, this eased our interactions but then people demanded information about my father and why it was my first time in Brazil. Only in one social setting away from my host did someone argue that my father was white.

By virtue of my research site, I typically did not interface with white Brazilians. However, during few social incidences, I was introduced to the white side of my host family. During one particularly memorable instance, an older member of the family stopped in his tracks to comment on my appearance – “*que negra mais linda do mundo!*” (the most beautiful Black woman in the world!). At another, a guest thought that I was a Brazilian live-in maid. In yet another instance, I was with the aforementioned Tina (introduced further in chapter six) who insisted that she is *parda* (mixed) but her daughter is “*branca – e linda!*” (white – and *pretty!*) – something that she expressed with great pride. In the eyes of others, Tina and my host were also white but they seemed to distinguish themselves for some reason. My host would often comment that she would meet Black men (“*beautiful Black men,*” she would emphasize) who married white

women and proclaim that it was “such a waste” but she never dated or married a Black man and both of her children are white or *parda*. She insisted, however (in the same conversation), on my finding a rich white Brazilian man so that I could stay in Brazil forever to be with her.

This kind of dialogue is directly related to the dominant rhetoric surrounding blackness in Brazilian society and how the majority of the population conceives of itself as either Eurocentric or “uniquely” Brazilian.

The representations of blackness are overwhelmingly negative, and there are a significant number of stereotypes about blacks present in the every day life, thoughts, and actions of Brazilians. (Pinho, 2006 p. 271)

If we imagine Brazil as a white space – a place where Brazilian conceptualizations of whiteness, “white bodies and white ideologies” (Eurocentricity) are established, normalized and, therefore, invisible – Black bodies “pop out” (Heubner, 2015). Black bodies become abnormal, Other, objectifiable and conspicuous. Thereby, “people who are racialized in other ways pose a threat to the safety, cleanliness, and familiarity of [their] white spaces” (Heubner, 2015). In order for whiteness to work, it “first requires a Black presence” (Farley, 1997, p. 465). Consider the customary law of racial segregation through which Brazil did in fact seek to produce (and has maintained) white spaces through *branqueamento* (which included a “ban on immigrants from the continent of Africa”; Hernández, 2013, 51); the historical exclusion of Black people from the police force (in 1928, “whiteness was still included as an official requirement for applicants”; Hernández, 2013, 57), and “racial segregation in public spaces... enforced by the local police” (Hernández, 2013, 58).

In societies like Brazil, when white spaces, ideologies, and bodies, as well, are normalized, Black bodies are constructed as inferior; “the Black body, which is objectified through the ‘white gaze,’ becomes victimized” (Doss, 2012/13, p. 15) yet, it is simultaneously celebrated and coveted (Hobson, 2005). Certain physical attributes like the rear end and the ability to tan without turning red are celebrated, hypersexualized, coded. For example, in a photo campaign hosted on the campus of University of Brasilia, student Lorena Monique dos Santos features several of her fellow students holding a white board with phrases like, “I’ve always wanted to know what a Black woman is like in bed,” “I am not prejudiced – my maid is Black and everyone loves her,” and “Do you wash your hair?” (Iraheta, 2015). These racial microaggressions “are detrimental to mental and physical health, and create disparities in employment, education, and healthcare” (Sue, 2015, 7). Another, older example was the hiring of “a secondary, but very visible role, to a young black dancer named Adriana Bombom” on a popular Brazilian children’s show named for its host, Xuxa (Pinho, 2006, 275).

As her name suggests, Bombom is supposed to be as ‘appetising’ as a chocolate candy, which explains her erotic dancing, and the miniscule shorts and tops that (un)cover her sculpted black body. (Pinho, 2006, 275)

Black Brazilian Ascension

In his interview, conducted entirely in English (a segment of which opens this chapter), Rubens Costa -- student at one of the federal universities, a Biko alum, and my English student -- roughly draws comparison between the historical development and situation of Black people between the United States and Brazil. Rubens reflects on moments in Brazilian history when Black bodies appear in predominantly white space – the law. Rubens states, “We didn’t have any reparation politics” which points to the fact

that, without formalized legal segregation, Brazil distinguished itself as a “non-racist” society (Rubens, personal interview, October 12, 2016). When Black Brazilians exited slavery, there was no talk of reparations but there was a form of Jim Crow; however, this is rarely discussed in terms of ‘real’ racism (Hernández, 2013). As Wade (2010) reminds us, “it has been commonly said that the US is (or was) the home of ‘real’ racism, a deep racism based on genetics, while Latin America is characterized by a more superficial racism of appearance or by phenotype” (23). Although I personally disagree with this claim, there is evidence to substantiate this form of racism in Brazil.

“It is kind of hard to find Black people that actually stand to a high position in society,” Rubens explains (Rubens, personal interview, October 12, 2016). He later told me he has never had or even met a Black medical doctor and with a few exceptions, most Black political figures he knows of are from other countries. According to Rubens, Black people are often demonized and subordinated in Brazil – demonized as criminal and subordinated as inferior. In terms of employment, Rubens asserts that women are expected to be maids and nannies and men are expected to be unemployed. Everyone in Brazilian society has a ‘place’, a specific situation within the larger social order (Hordge-Freeman, 2015). This is not a legalized segregation or separation but it is a dominant way of thinking. Turning to history, we see that this social organization stems from a long standing, caste-like system which came into being during and was perpetuated beyond slavery and is common across Latin American “multiracial” populations (Skidmore, 1992, p. 3; Telles, 2013). This racial “mixture... was powerfully shaped by race, class and gender” (Wade, 2010, 27). Following the abolition of slavery in 1888, there was no model for Brazil to follow that would grant human and civil rights to the newly

manumitted. Brazil had nothing in place to deal with a new population of informal citizens in a system that was ill equipped to house, educate and employ them. While it is clear that whiteness has historically been valued at the height of Brazilian society and African and blackness has been found at the base, Brazilian social leaders argued that no “color line” was enforced within the society because miscegenation was the rule.

“Brazilian society was based on an explicit belief in white superiority, although not white supremacy” (Skidmore, 1992, p. 5). As early as colonial times in Brazil, the elite began to think that color was no longer relevant in social structures. Yet, the converse was true since race was recorded in police and court records, on driver’s licenses, and voter registration cards; in the majority of such cases, government officials and police recorded racial identification (Hernández, 2013; Skidmore, 1992). In printed news, Afro-descendant Brazilians were always carefully identified but white Brazilians were not as “whites don’t need identification” (Skidmore, 1992, pp. 6-7).

Throughout the colonial era to modernity in Brazil, “lighter skin always brought with it its advantages” (Levine, 1997, p. 9). Interestingly, however, until the early 20th century, there existed few differences with regard to education between the “three principal races” – white, Black, and Indigenous (Levine, 1997, p. 9). In fact, relatively few people in any of the class sectors of the Brazilian population were educated at the higher education level before the early 1900s.

... Brazilian cities developed far more modestly, and rural elites were not always wealthy. More often than not, they lived in simple, even austere estate houses... There were few schools and fewer cultural institutions, and there was little prospect for improvement. The effect of this was in some ways to reduce the distance between rich and poor; the scarcity of European settlers, moreover, produced a climate that was conducive to racial mixing... (Levine, 1997, p. 9)

Here Levine more clearly describes the relationship between class and social ascension where many, irrespective of race or color, can be found at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder. This shifted as social and economic subordination were more strictly enforced and became more apparent. During the early 1990s, the middle class was formalized and established, and public education (decreasing in quality) became increasingly insufficient means for members of poor or lower class populations who sought higher education. Through early economic and educational disenfranchisement, the Afro-descendant population in Brazil largely maintains its position on the lower rungs of society today. In fact, income inequality and inequity in education mirror one another (Telles, 2013). Monies are “disproportionately” distributed between wealthy and impoverished students, the former who attend private school before college and the latter who attend underfunded primary and secondary public schools (Telles, 2013, p. 124). Therefore, wealthier students attend tuition free, government subsidized public universities and poorer students “are forced to attend often poor-quality private universities” (Telles, 2013, p. 124). As a result, today, middle and upper class students who attend private schools are better prepared for college and take spaces at tuition-free public universities (Levine, 1997; Telles, 2013). This has also served to produce an academic environment that is largely affluent and Eurocentric.

The Economics of white Spaces

Bailey’s (2009) research reveals that Brazilians are aware of the complex relationship between race and class throughout history and how this impacts opportunities. Racial inequality cannot be explained away by class or “proxies” of class like education (Bailey, 2009, p. 113); however, racial inequality cannot be understood

without these proxies (education or residence, for example). In university level discussions of inequality, however, interviewee George discusses how race is muted by his fellow economists.

Because economists don't see issues as racial issues. They think it's a class issue. There are poor people and there are rich people; no Black and white people. So, that's a conflict that a Black economist must have in mind when going to the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) and learning that Marxism only sees class warfare. And the UFBA Economy program is based on a Marxist school of thought. Workers and businessmen. So, you're not able to see this racial issue that is so present here. You're there in college and here, at Praça da Piedade, there's a large Black population. They can't see it. So, once you leave college grounds — or if you simply look out the windows — can you see who are poor and who are rich in that region? You can sure see it when you look out of the window. But they'd rather not look at it, they don't see it. That's an option they have, right? ... People who have been through CCN are always seen as problematic once they get to college. That's because they question, they disagree, they don't agree with teachers, they don't agree with books — and that applies to different areas of knowledge. Mainly in the Humanities though, which I believe Economy is a part of. So, we take CCN with us wherever we may go, and we're not always welcome, you know? (George, personal interview, May 20, 2016)

For George, a Black economist, CCN teacher and former Biko student, being trained at UFBA as an economist means all social issues are class related, only. Due to their Marxist approach to economics, UFBA students are taught and expected to ignore the racial issue even though the campus is in a poor Black neighborhood. UFBA economists, according to George, do not deal with the problems facing society as racial so racial issues are rendered irrelevant to analyses of social ills and norms in the country. However, George highlights this as an option exclusive to people who have not been through CCN (or its equivalent) and non-Blacks. For him, being a Black economist means a difference in perspectives on what happens socially because of CCN. George's argument is that, as a result of the CCN curriculum, Bikud@s engage academia differently.

The UFBA trained, Marxist economist perspective seems to be used by most Brazilians. Furthermore, many Brazilians hold to Gilberto Freyre's thought of racial democracy, the assumption that, because of race mixture, Brazil "had solved problems of race relations" (Wade, 2010. p. 34). In Minas Gerais, Joseph (2015) found that people who never emigrated beyond Brazil considered several returnees to be more racialized after traveling to and working in the United States. The returnees were perceived as causing racial issues, bringing up unwanted conversation in the community, when the 'real' issues were class based. Yet, survey responses in my data revealed that, at least in the case of Salvador, Bahia, these issues were indeed racial and classist. In response to the survey's item "I have experienced racism" (respondents selected yes or no and then gave an example for yes or provided a definition of racism), students shared their experiences.

"Walking into a store and nobody helping you because of the burden that a public school uniform sometimes represents." (Survey #04)

"Going into an upscale store at the mall and the employee doesn't even come to help you because they think you don't have the means to buy anything at that store." (Survey #08)

"Because I'm Black, revolving doors get stuck out of the blue, even though I don't have anything that would trigger the metal detector, but I still have to be searched. At the mall, it always happens to me and security guards follow me around when I leave a store." (Survey #38)

Self Affirmation and Acceptance

One explanation for what prompts these reactions is prejudice. That prejudice is so loosely defined and inconsistent, even in the students' definitions of the term, that it makes it near impossible to discern acts borne of racism from those of classism or discrimination. These experiences may also have adverse consequences for the ways that

students pursue Black identity. When it would appear that being Black, poor, or both is a crime, why would you want to be either? How can you affirm yourself as Black when you are perceived as a threat or treated unfairly? Across Latin America, class ascension is prioritized and many look to education to solve this and flood major cities because they are loci of power and affluence (Gootenberg, 2010, p. 18-19; Reygadas, 2010, p. 25); this is also true for Brazil, specifically. Fortunately, students have strong examples in their teachers and former students like Cristiane who combat these notions of blackness as threat. According to Cristiane, current coordinator of the majority female OGUNTEC program (a branch of Biko that offers training in sciences and technology) and former Biko student, Salvador is experiencing a “period of acceptance” regarding Black identity but the rest of Bahia is slow to catch up to the capital city.

It's a matter of looking at yourself in the mirror and saying, "I'm having a great hair day," and stepping out on the street. We're going through a good period of acceptance here in Bahia—in Salvador especially—but we don't see it in other places. We have this identity here in Salvador. Other cities in Bahia, despite the fact that this is a Black state, don't feel the same way. I lived in the countryside and I used to feel this kind of rejection. Still, I left Biko and went there with my education, with my absolute identity. And I used to wear cornrows and looked "aggressive." I used to wear Rastafarian dreads and people would look funny at me. But students used to look at me a certain way, as if I had come from another planet, and some people thought I was married to a "gringo," considering my behavior... I'd say, "Everybody, I was born in Salvador!" "I'm normal!" That's when you realize that saying, "I'm Black and I love my color," you start being discriminated against at stores. I've had students coming to me and telling me, "Cris, they didn't want to help me at the store because I'm Black." And I say, "My God!" I heard so many absurd statements in an area that is extremely Black. Now, who's occupying the best of spaces? Non-Blacks. And many people don't realize that. They think it's normal to go to a gas station, to the doctor, to the nurse, to the bank manager, to the teacher (the teacher!) and they're all white! They don't realize that. (Cristiane, personal interview, June 3, 2016)

One of the first steps to self-acceptance would be choosing confidence when you look in the mirror and carrying that confidence outdoors. For Black women, in particular,

this can be a herculean task especially because historically (and in contemporary imagery) white women are positioned “as feminine and Black women as masculine or freakish” (Hobson, 2005, p. 13). Pinho (2006) clarifies: “The dominance of Eurocentric standards of beauty in the Brazilian media, and the cruel forms of racism that associate black bodies with ugliness, stench and criminality, have contributed to an ongoing stigma and sense of low self-esteem, especially among black youth” (269). The student who Cristiane mentions in passing could have been male or female but this prompts reflection on an important aspect of social life: Brazilians are so used to everyone with any position of authority being white that they don’t realize it; this belief runs so deeply that “favela residents firmly believe that having lighter skin and European features increases the potential for success and a better life” (Hernández, 2013, 88). She highlights that those “occupying the best of spaces” are “non-Blacks” (Cristiane, personal interview, June 3, 2016). However, of equal importance is her discussion of what it means to be a Black woman. Cristiane said that, after Biko, she went to another job with her “absolute identity” (Cristiane, personal interview, June 3, 2016). This identity encompasses much more than just her blackness as made evident by her subsequent discussion of her hair. More importantly, she discusses how her hair automatically made her “aggressive” and that the assumption was that she was not from Brazil because of the way she asserted and carried herself (Cristiane, personal interview, June 3, 2016).

I consider Cristiane to be describing a process of “un-mirroring” which Hobson (2005) describes as a process “in which struggles for Black female subjectivity constantly grate against the distorted images of the dominant culture” (p. 15). When I interviewed her, Cristiane was wearing cornrows; she has very deep brown skin and she is just a bit

taller than I am. She was unabashed and gestured with her hands when she spoke, very much at home with herself and in conversation with me, honest and candid. During her time in the countryside of Bahia, it was important to Cristiane to ignore the reactions of people around her and keep her “absolute identity” (Cristiane, personal interview, June 3, 2016) – another indication of Internalization (Helms, 1993). In the country, her hairstyles and behaviors made her foreign, aggressive, and uncharacteristic of Bahia and Brazil. That cornrows and locs are read as aggressive was not lost on me during my time in Salvador. In the street, people shied away from men with locs – I even heard people say that all men with locs do is steal, sell marijuana, and do drugs – and members of my own community in Amaralina referred to my two cornrows as “boxing braids.” Recently, there has been an overwhelming turn toward acceptance around naturally curly hair in Bahia and there is a new association made between curls and femininity, particularly in hair product ad campaigns. However, hair is a major part of how women present themselves, particularly Black women, who are known to chemically treat their hair or use extreme heat to straighten it in both Brazil and the United States.

Unfortunately, Cristiane notes, you are still discriminated against; the love you show yourself or the way that you love yourself by being self-confident, self-assured, and self-aware doesn’t protect you – especially if you’re a woman and your curly hair resembles an afro more than it does spirals and waves. In Brazilian public places, being Black or identified as Black often means being ignored and being denied access to certain living areas and professions. Whiteness is normalized and equally invisible to the benefit of white people in the broad social scope; this goes unchallenged because of a long history of Eurocentricity in Brazil. This permeates every level of society, from homes, to

television, to friend groups, to school and serves to forward the interests of the affluent white populous. For example, I observed during my time in Salvador that, in popular television shows, Black people are cast as minor characters or, in the case of one show about a plantation, the enslaved comic relief. In my time in Salvador, I did not see any white characters with Black love interests on television. My host's sister-in-law – a Black woman – is the primary care taker of a great aunt who lives with the family and, in the case of my host sister, all of her friends were white women with one exception.

Gender and Microaggressions

Maybe it's not something... Hmm... direct. Something direct. I can't tell you, "Oh, you're not capable because you're a woman, because you're Black." It's more of a discriminatory act. Like, removing you from a study group. If the task has to be completed in pairs, I'm not gonna choose you... You're not selected to give lectures... Maybe people think that, just because you're a Black woman, you should be at home, being a housewife, taking care of the kids, instead of going to school. (Ana Paula, personal interview, May 26, 2016)

Ana Paula spoke specifically to being a Black woman in academic settings. Her answer to the question, "is there a difference between being a Black man and a Black woman?" took her a bit of thought. Although no one would speak directly to her about her being Black and a woman as a drawback in the way she described, there are microaggressions and microinvalidations committed against her, things she calls "discriminatory acts" (Ana Paula, personal interview, May 26, 2016). Microaggressions and microinvalidations are common to Bahian educative spaces as noted by both Mari and Carla in the introduction and Hernández (2013). Sue (2015) defines racial microaggressions as "the everyday slights, insults, indignities, and invalidations delivered toward people of color because of their visible racial/ethnic minority characteristics" (7) and racial microinvalidations as incidents "commonly experienced by people of color

when they try to tell their stories of discrimination, prejudice, and suffering” (9). Being removed from a study group, not being selected for group tasks in a classroom or to present a lesson to the class are examples of such discriminatory practices. As a young Black woman at a private university in an engineering program, Ana Paula has articulated many times that she feels out of place or excluded in her classroom setting. This sentiment was also echoed in a number of the written survey responses about school, family, and society in general.

“This teacher at the university was talking about her trip abroad and left me completely excluded, alone.” (Survey #01)

“Being excluded from your family because they think they’re brown or white...” (Survey #25)

“... My hair isn’t accepted at my place of work.” (Survey #34)

As Ana Paula articulated above, the expectation is that, as a Black woman, “you should be at home, a housewife, taking care of the kids” and not in school (Ana Paula, personal interview, May 26, 2016). The scope of the damage that has been done to generations of young Black Brazilian women who believe the same is immeasurable. That young Black women (and women in general) should be excluded from educative spaces has permeated social thought in Brazil since the colonial era. Gender in modern Brazil was largely shaped by Catholicism and the *modelo de María* (the Virgin Mary portrayed as sexless and “powerless”) and *machismo* (a hypermasculine figure, virile and violent, particularly toward women) (Baldwin and DeSouza, 2001, p. 10-11). Although these two models for gender – María and *machismo* – are not cut and dry (or Black and white), Brazilian culture has historically “devalue[d] the private or domestic (feminine) sphere” (Baldwin and DeSouza, 2001, p. 12). White women in this model are presented as fragile and in

need of protection. However, as Ana Paula notes in her remarks, Black women “ have never been treated as fragile” (Carneiro, 1999, p. 217).

Ana Paula also speaks to something that I have heard many women in the periphery of Salvador discuss – the idea of Black women as suitable for childbearing, childrearing and house upkeep. A major part of this racialized gender issue is the bias that stems from the history of the Black woman’s place on the estate. Historically, Black women worked in the outdoors alongside men in sugar harvests or as maids and nannies in the houses; there is also an extensive history of rape and sexual abuse that took place, particularly during slavery (Klein and Luna, 2009). This long history of domestic work and exploitation plays an important role in the present day perceptions of the capacity of Black women in Brazilian society. I reference, once more, the photo campaign at the University of Brasilia: most of the quotes written by women had to do with sex and, of those by men, the capacity to think or compete in academic settings (Iraheta, 2015). As young Black students, those featured in the photo campaign represent only part of the racial and social discrimination Black Brazilians experience.

The Bikud@s in my study problematized academic whiteness and challenged the dominant Eurocentric educational model; “They question, they disagree,” George says. They do not comply with what they are taught and are rejected and even stigmatized because of it. Biko attempts to challenge, “false concepts of the Black body being inferior when juxtaposed against white bodies and white cultural values” (Doss, 2012/13, p. 16). Bikud@s enter higher education and are considered problematic from the very beginning according to George. However, university settings like UFBA are not the only places Bikud@s feel unwelcome. In several written responses to the survey, students described

feeling unwelcome in public spaces because of their assumed blackness and continued conversation and confrontation of subjects from CCN. Many attributed this to the assumptions people around them made because of their appearance – from school uniforms to complexions to presumed socioeconomic status. Biko encourages students to assume their “africanidades” (“Africanities” or Black practices) including natural hair, bold prints on clothing or African dance and religions. Young people are encouraged to consider straight hair to be a “want” and not a “need” for social acceptance. Yet, twenty years later, Farley’s (1997) statement stands that “it is the colorline, not nature, which makes people white or Black” and the reality shaped in Brazilian society tends toward imagining certain traits as innate to blackness (p. 464). Black people are seen “as thieves or whores or, you know, just servants” (Rubens, personal interview, October 12, 2016), invisible in economic analyses where there are “no Black and white people” (George, personal interview, May 20, 2016), “aggressive” in locs or cornrows (Cristiane, personal interview, June 3, 2016), and physically limited – particularly in the case of Black women – to birthing and raising children or keeping house (Ana Paula, personal interview, May 26, 2016). Interviewees revealed they did not contradict these conceptualizations of blackness until Biko. In the next chapter, I address home relationships and interactions.

CHAPTER FIVE: Family and Relationships

When I first met my host family in 2015, I was slightly shocked to learn the senior members of the family identify as Black. I specifically requested placement with an Afro-Brazilian family because I anticipated that the research I conducted would be better received in a family that already identified as Black. However, from my perspective, the family I was staying with was white. Then, one day, two men were in the house with complexions very close to what mine had become under the Bahian sun. One man was identified as my host's brother and the other, her nephew. What I considered to be unsubstantiated claims to blackness made by my host were suddenly verified. I marveled at the genetic variation in the family: my host's daughter could easily pass for a white Portuguese woman, yet, here were two men – my host's brother and his eldest son – of considerably darker complexions and the same lineage. I remembered, later on, hearing my host's daughter say something while I interviewed her cousin Victor that left me a bit incredulous.

“Que nada – meu sangue é negro.” (So what, my blood is Black.)

I laughed it off at the time, assuming it was my host sister's way of empathizing with what I was studying. But, for me, her outward appearance didn't substantiate her claim to “Black blood” anymore than my appearance might substantiate a claim to “white blood.” What's more, the relationship between the darker members and the lighter members of the family was marked by considerable deference toward the latter. This was never explained but it was evident that affiliation with her lighter, more financially successful brother was a point of pride for my host. Nevertheless, my host was insistent on laying claim to an identity as a poor Black woman who has been discriminated against and

ridiculed for her color and social positioning. My experiences with my host family bore stark contrast to those of my interviewees.

I've always seen myself as Black but, unlike me, my family members don't see themselves as Black... you can only see it in the way they talk, not in their actions. But not in the way they dress — they don't dress up as Black people, they don't behave like Black people. I don't know... It's confusing. Then, when I started taking CCN classes, I decided to wear an afro, so I started talking to my family about it. When I started dressing up as Black, my grandmother became distant towards my sister and me. She started using offensive words, treating us differently, saying I looked ugly, this and that, always with rude words. I hadn't talked to my family about it... The reason I'm saying this is that my mom signed up for a ENEM test and she wrote down that she was brown (*parda*). If she says she's brown (*parda*), she doesn't see herself as Black (*negro*). I went to sign her up for the ENEM test and they have these options: "yellow," (*amarelo*) "Black," (*preto*) "brown" (*parda*)... When I signed up for the national high school exam (ENEM), I put down "Black" (*preto*) for me, but I couldn't put "Black" (*preto*) for her because she doesn't see herself as Black (*preta*), but brown (*parda*). So, I realized I needed to be a role model for my family. So, I came here to study CCN and I have a responsibility in doing that. (Mariane, personal interview, May 21, 2016)

Contrasting Racial Narratives: The Silva Family

While preparing to conduct this research, it occurred to me that the families of some students at Biko would be farther removed from CCN principles than the students themselves. In the field, I learned that, although Biko was new to most, some attended to because their parents and siblings attended or urged them to attend. I created my interview protocols to query the dissonance within family and amongst friend groups. One of my interviewees, Uelberte, revealed that his friends had less than favorable reactions to his new perspectives after starting at Biko. Considering that I interviewed him only two months after the start of the Biko academic year, the impact of CCN and the influence of the institute was substantial.

Today, I have the personal conviction of where I come from, of my culture, of accepting myself as Black, you know? Of fighting so racism doesn't take place. So, I always talk to my friends when I see racism taking place. I get bothered, I talk

about it, you know? I say that it isn't right... I had a lot of friends who say, "After you started going to Biko, you act like a know it all, you're too sensitive!" (Uelberte, personal interview, May 20, 2016)

In the introductory chapter, I discussed three of the five key capacities that Jara (2010) considers important for community schools to achieve or aim to achieve to best serve their communities and students. Each of the key capacities that Jara (2010) posits are a part of the change that Uelberte's former friends are noticing in him. Specifically, Uelberte is developing a challenge to "existing ideological and ethical stereotypes and patterns" and an "ownership of a capacity to think" (Jara, 2010, p. 295). When Uelberte challenged racist commentary on a social media site, he was beginning to challenge the things that he used to dismiss as normal in social rhetoric. His formal dismissal and normalization of racially charged commentary is both a part of what Jara theorizes and places Uelberte in Helms' (1993) Preencounter stage. The challenge, "fighting so racism doesn't take place" begins in Immersion/Emersion stages and "the personal conviction of where I come from, of my culture, of accepting myself as Black" is Internalization (Uelberte, personal interview, May 20, 2016). Jara (2010) and Helms (1993) refer to the transformative nature of community school education and identity formation, respectively.

As Executive Director Jucy Silva put it, there is a social pyramid in Brazil; at the bottom are Black women and just slightly above, Black men. In this social order, Eurocentric values and beauty are prioritized and normalized and this contributes to the development of inequality and meaning in difference.

Though the colonial gaze is less looming in the post-slavery and post-colonial era, Black Brazilians are socialized to police themselves and emotionally invest in the legitimacy of dominant racial hierarchies. The pressures to conform in Salvador are considerable... Whiteness shapes social and racial relations in Brazil, engendering

new ideologies and concrete practices that reinforce racialization based on Black inferiority. (Hordge-Freeman, 2015, p. 75)

Therefore, it is almost unsurprising what interviewees Mariane – and later, Victoria – reveal about their in-home racialization and socialization both before and after Biko.

One of the first things that Mariane points to when we begin to discuss her family life is that her family members do not consider themselves to be Black. This harkens to several discussions in my pilot study with *soteropolitanos* (residents of Salvador) about whether or not blackness is a choice; the results were inconclusive. Mariane points to manners of speech as Black; in similar fashion, African American English Vernacular (or ebonics) may be considered a “sign” of blackness or connection to the Black community. Mariane also said, “They don’t dress up as Black people, they don’t behave like Black people” (Mariane, personal interview, May 21, 2016). Here, she is pointing to a specific code of blackness that she adheres to in her clothing choices. There are ways of manifesting blackness that she considers particularly salient to assuming a Black Brazilian identity that her family does not assume.

CCN first influenced Mariane to assume these codes of blackness. She decided to wear her hair in an Afro (as many Biko students do) to point to her alignment with Pan African values. Her identical twin sister, Marina, joined her in this change. As a result, family members, particularly their grandmother, ridiculed the two of them. This points to a generational difference of opinion about the standards of beauty and identity; her grandmother, being older, is more indoctrinated by these beauty standards and ideas of racial socialization. Dr. Hordge-Freeman posits:

Racial socialization includes the role of phenotype and color consciousness in Afro-Brazilians’ lives, as well as the ways family members racially classify themselves and the extent to which they discuss these classifications among themselves and

consider them important. (Hordge-Freeman, 2015, p. 136)

That is to say that families have expectations about conforming to socially acceptable ways of being. These classifications are important to social and racial maintenance for the family on the whole. Mariane and Marina's decision to wear their hair in natural styles was transgressive and directly contradicted these norms. As their mother's decision clearly highlights: "If she says she's brown (*pardo*), she doesn't see herself as Black (*negro*)" (Mariane, personal interview, May 21, 2016). As a result of her mother's refusal to identify as Black, Mariane assumed the position of role model in her family. She decided to impart the values and principles imbedded in CCN – she considered it a personal responsibility. Just as she was socialized through CCN, she socialized her family. Eventually, her grandmother came to appreciate her natural hair and laud it as beautiful. She did not make further mention of her mother's transformation. However, Mariane and Marina have both taken up the heavy mantel of teaching blackness as action and representation.

My Racialization in Brazil

One night, during what seemed a daily block party in our part of Amaralina, I was seated at my host's *churrasco* stand, gnawing on a tough cube of beef. My host walked away when someone called her name then ran back to where I was seated, gesticulating wildly, calling for me, and grabbed my arm. "*Minha filha*, (my daughter) come with me, I have to introduce you to someone! Come with me! Come, come!" Wary of an attempt to introduce me to (another) young man in the neighborhood to "hang out with," I reluctantly got up and walked over to the gentleman in question. By this point in 2016, my host had developed an elaborate story for how we were related. As I listened to her

lie, the man stared at me, nodding occasionally to demonstrate he was listening. Finally, I heard, “she does speak Portuguese, though” and realized that was my cue to participate. I didn’t bother to introduce myself but smiled and gave a basic pleasantry – “it’s nice to meet you” – and shook his hand, something that he looked surprised about. My host blurts out, “isn’t she *gorgeous*?” to which he responds, “yes, very – completely *Cabo Verde*.”

Within the growing set of unofficial racial categories is the term *Cabo Verde*. I’d been waiting for ages for someone in the neighborhood to racialize me to see how it compared to the way I identify myself – Black. Being called by this term is a stereotypical reference to Cape Verdeans and their physical traits like complexion, hair texture, nose shape and size, and green eye color, the only thing I’m ‘missing’ according to those who ascribe the category to me. However, I am acutely aware of how accepting and adopting these identities serves to negate blackness. In my thinking, and the thinking of several of my research participants (including Raldiney, Paulinha, and Marina), categories that reference blackness without actually using the word Black (*negro* or *preto*) are purposed to distance the speaker from an Afro-descendant identity. Armed with new information about how I was racialized in the neighborhood, I began asking other people their opinions of my new qualifier. One woman agreed and told me, almost immediately, that I would be quite popular amongst men in Rio. At Biko, however, I was reminded that terms like that ascribed to me are used to say that you’re everything but Black. I cannot say that I carried myself differently or suddenly changed the way I describe myself but I did ask around to find the merit in this appraisal.

When I consider the first racialized incidents I introduce in the manuscript – the

“coffee comes before milk” incident – and how that particular scenario may have very well signaled the beginning of a life-long series of commentary for one little girl, I note, now, how being identified as Cape Verdean by strangers marked me in perpetuity. Growing up, the little girl at the beginning of my dissertation – like many of my participants -- will be racially marked in various ways. Depending upon where I was and what I was wearing, I was from Cape Verde, Angola or another part of Brazil. These identifying markers were racial and cultural and varied based on my company. At the Costa party (discussed in the next chapter), I asked the same question of some of the guests – whether they agreed I was Cape Verdean in appearance and whether they identified as Black. One man quickly responded, “everyone at this party is Black” and a woman said, “but she does look Cape Verdean.” The results were inconclusive but the ultimate impact is reflected in how or whether these identities are challenged, accepted, negated, or re-created entirely -- as Mariane has and other participants (in chapter four, for example) have, particularly within their families.

Black Role Models and References

I can't say I considered myself white before and only started considering myself Black after Biko. It had a role in it, but my mom... My parents were very important to my education in that sense because some people arrive at Biko and start to see the world from a completely different point of view, but I already talked about these things before I got here. My mom, for example, she used to tell me that there was this teacher when she was young—so, you can see that this is not something new; it happened a long time ago, when my mom was still in school. One of her teachers was very important to her. She used to say, ‘Look, I’m Black. Don’t go calling me brown.’ My great-great grandma was a slave. My grandpa’s mother and my mother understand this history, and my mom had an experience... My grandpa was Black—pitch Black—but he was very racist. So, it was important for my mom to understand it from a very early age, because her dad was Black and he felt that way, so he married a white woman. My mom’s skin is lighter than his because he hated being Black, so he tried to disassociate himself from that as much as possible. He has a daughter who is darker, and he used to say he wasn’t her father. ‘You can’t be my daughter!’ he used to say, even

though he himself is Black! [laughter] My mom says he really didn't like being who he was, so he tried to deny it as much as possible. He ended up disowning his own daughter, who was darker, who was 'Blacker,' if there is such a thing. (Victoria, personal interview, May 28, 2016)

Black identity was not new to Victoria or her family. While Biko had a role in Victoria's identity formation as a Black woman, the institute was not at the center of that personal development. Since her mother had a teacher who had a strong self-identity in spite of the social parameters of racialization, Victoria was affirmed early on in her identity formation as a Black woman by her mother but chose to attend the institute because she'd participated in an all white *pré-vestibular* and felt isolated. By attending Biko, she received the benefits of an all-Black classroom setting, all-Black teachers, and CCN. Victoria's mother, and later Victoria herself, engaged in what Helms (1993) describes as reference group orientation through which "one uses particular racial groups... to guide one's feelings, thoughts and behaviors" about racial identity (7). The teacher that served as her mother's example influenced the racial socialization process for Victoria decades later.

Racial socialization is sometimes framed in terms of explicit messages, conversations and practices that help family members learn about who they are, how they are situated in their society, and what they can expect from the future. (Hordge-Freeman, 2015, p. 166)

Victoria had the conversations and developed her Black identity with her family before entering Biko, a privilege that many Bikud@s do not have. Her Black identity was already internalized but was further informed by her experiences at Biko. At the opposite end of the spectrum of those students who did not directly identify as Black or said things like, "I am kind of Black", Victoria represents the group of Bikud@s who start at Biko

already in the Internalization stage. The majority of my participants, however, did not discuss their identities prior to Biko the same way that Victoria did.

Aspects of Racism

Racism takes several forms and can be discussed in various terms. However, for this analysis, perhaps the most pervasive and destructive form of racism is internalized racism defined as

... the situation that occurs in a racist system when a racial group oppressed by racism supports the supremacy and dominance of the dominating group by maintaining or participating in the set of attitudes, behaviors, social structures and ideologies that undergird the dominating group's power. (Bivens, 1995)

In situations of internalized racism, a member of an oppressed racial group adopts the same attitudes as the oppressor. In the case of Brazil, the oppressed are the Indigenous and Afro-descendant Brazilians and the oppressor are those who most closely resemble the colonizing Portuguese in affluence, political and social control. In this way, Black Brazilians can also exhibit “racist” attitudes. As Hordge-Freeman says, “Black Brazilians are socialized to police themselves” (2015, p. 75). However, they themselves do not have the power and control to be oppressive; enacting racial oppression requires economic, social and political control that does not exist within oppressed groups. Further,

Whereas for most whites racism is prejudice, for most people of color racism is systemic or institutionalized. (Bonilla-Silva, 2013, p. 8)

In the case of Victoria’s maternal grandfather, “he tried to disassociate himself from [blackness] as much as possible.” His internalized racism was so much a part of his decision making that he married a white woman and disowned one of his darker children. This is not an uncommon response for Afro-Brazilians who intentionally marry “up” in order to have lighter children. In some instances, when they have children with similar or

darker complexions than their own, the children are disowned or neglected (Hordge-Freeman, 2015). This desire to whiten the body through superficial or genetic aesthetic means, “is indicative of a need for acceptance in a society dominated by Eurocentric value... [which] refers here to the supremacy of white standards as ‘universal’, the idea that ‘whiteness is the norm, from which all other representations deviate” (Pinho, 2006, 270). In survey responses, students revealed that they were denied paternal attention for being darker than desirable or being ignored at family reunions for being one of the “Blacker” cousins. In yet another interview (conducted entirely in English), a former student, Luisa, talks about being in a racially mixed family.

My family is not like, um... ‘real’ (air quotation marks) racist – You know? They consider themselves like, open for everybody but... the majority part of my family is white and they are so – mainly the women – are so proud to be blonde, you know? And when I was like, fourteen or fifteen years, I had no... no fighting about this because they tell things to me and, then, I didn’t say nothing. I’m just I accepted everything. But when I start to go to Steve Biko, I could attack, too. And then, when people come like, “*cabelo duro; que cabelo de pincha*” (hard hair; prickly hair) I say, “my hair is not uh... is not bad. Bad is your, uh... *Conceito* (conception) – Your mind, change your mind. You are racist-” And the biggest fighting point was when I called them racist and they don’t accept it. “I’m not racist, I mean... I like everybody. I don’t – we don’t make difference with color of the skin.” But they always were talking about our hair. “Please, brush your hair,” right? “Hey, we are going to the wedding or some party; brush your hair.” And I say, “no, I don’t want to do it. I want to go with my curly hair.” “What are you doing to it? What will you do to it?” You know? And I say, “It’s my hair; I like it.” “But it’s too ugly.” “It’s ugly to you but not to me.” I was confronting my family about it and they don’t like it. Because they don’t recognize – they don’t recognize themselves as racists, you know? (Luisa, personal interview, July 9, 2015)

Over time, Luisa had to develop a sense of right and wrong within family interactions. Largely defenseless prior to Biko, she accepted the things that she was told because she was defenseless and unable to accurately verbally retaliate to remarks. In fact, her father’s side of the family – almost exclusively white – argues vehemently

against being racist. Luisa had a different understanding of racism and suffered from it in conversation with her family. Through her experiences at Biko, Luisa learned that even though race is a socially constructed category, “it has a social reality” (Bonilla-Silva, 2013, p. 8) and since it’s creation, has produced “real effects on the actors racialized as ‘black’ or ‘white’” (Bonilla-Silva, 2013, p. 9). This also harkens back to Jara’s (2010) capacities and the ownership of the capacity to think. Luisa developed a voice based around her racial identity through her education at Biko. This education caused her to be critical of the commentary that her family made about her appearance and racial markers like her hair. As a result, she began to defend herself against prejudicial behaviors by building a toolkit and vocabulary around salient racial and social issues in her family.

Thinking back on this time period of her life made Luisa emotional during the interview. She recounted interactions with two young girls her father encouraged her to play with. They would tease and taunt Luisa about her hair and say that it was like wood. These two young girls fit the beauty standard of Brazil as best exemplified in the opening ceremonies for the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio when Gisele Bündchen walked to “Girl of Ipanema”. Given Brazilian traditions of ‘whitening,’ it seems likely that Gisele Bündchen’s embodiment of the “Girl from Ipanema” was purposeful. What does it mean that G.B. was chosen to represent The Girl? If this was done purposefully, what message was it intended to convey?

When race emerged in human history, it formed a social structure (a racialized social system) that awarded systemic privileges to Europeans (the peoples who became “white”) over non-Europeans (the peoples who became “nonwhite”). Racialized social systems, or white supremacy for short, became global and affected all societies where Europeans extended their reach. (Bonilla-Silva, 2013, p. 9)

This white supremacy makes it possible for Luisa's family to be so proud of their blonde hair and reinforces their taunts and insults on a social level through ads, television, and other popular media. Saying someone has *cabelo duro* is just one of a few insults hurled at people in Brazil. Other very common comments are "*nariz que o boi pisou*" (nose that the cow stepped on) and "*Pelézinho*" (a reference to the Brazilian football player, Pelé, a darker skinned Black man); others are *preta* (which changes in meaning contextually from a term of endearment to the Brazilian equivalent of the "N" word to the adjective describing the color black for objects and not people) and "*nequinha*" (which also changes contextually but is broadly understood to mean "Black whore"). Black families also tend to police their children internally for their protection because parents recognize the stigma behind certain appearances. Some Bikud@s encounter this fear as well.

Change, Fear and Social Stigma

Alright, and... and... in my home what – the first struggle that I had to face because my mom – “what is- what is happening with you? Why are you letting your hair grow? Why you just don't cut it? The police will... the-you get problem with the police. They can like, confuse you with any bad guy just because your hair.” I was like “*mãe* are you serious? There's nothing wrong with my hair.” Then start the first struggle facing the society were in my own home... They consider themselves Black but they had all of this influence by the media that see that... if you have a like, *rasta* – a dread loc and you are Black power [afro], you can see... you can see that – you can have a bad vision by the society. The society can judge you as a bad person. So my mom in fact was just trying to protect me but they think of their own learning about their own lives. And that was just me telling them there is nothing wrong with my hair and the police won't want to treat me bad because I won't do any bad things uh... but I also understood their side of-of the way of they think because they were worried about me, in fact but that's where the way I choose to start uh... uh... facing the racist in the society. Is to show them that I can have my Black power and be a good guy without any problems with the police. (Felipe, personal interview, July 9, 2015)

In order to confront social scenarios like those discussed in “Black Bodies, white spaces”, many students must first confront members of their own homes. This is a major theme of this chapter: dealing with family as the first barrier of fighting against *padrões* (social norms). For Felipe, a third year electrical engineering student at Federal University of Sergipe, his parents’ negative reaction to his change had much more to do with his safety than disagreeing with identifying as Black. He shared that they identify as Black but were worried about his being criminalized for his choice in hairstyles. Here, Felipe is engaging Jara’s (2010) fifth capacity, the ability to “affirm [oneself] as autonomous... and build new power relations in their everyday lives and in the system of social, political and cultural relations” (295). By continuing to grow his hair out, Felipe may be committing a social transgression but he is challenging the social structure that has historically criminalized him by virtue of his being Black. In Helms’ (1993) eyes, Felipe is in Internalization where he has already developed his identity and is beginning to act on it in his own way.

When Mariane began wearing her hair in an afro after attending CCN classes at Biko – something that is explicitly encouraged at the institution, modeled by female teachers, and presented in class materials – her grandmother’s immediate response was resistance and rebuke. Even though this change represented a new found confidence for Mariane, her grandmother “started using offensive words, treating [them; Mariane and her twin Marina] differently, saying [they] looked ugly, this and that, always with rude words.” Since Mariane’s twin sister adopted the same changes and was not yet enrolled in the institute, it is conceivable that the change was overwhelming for the family. Even though Mariane had not yet discussed the tenets of CCN (or what it means to embody

blackness and engage in Black social issues in Brazil) with her other family members, she had with her sister, and they were both changing. This was only part and parcel of the real issue surrounding Mariane and Marina's changes to their outward appearance. Mariane and Marina's aesthetic changes were outward manifestations of their personal identity. Helms (1993) defines personal identity as "feelings and attitudes about oneself" (5) following the Black Racial Identity process Mariane was exposed to at Biko; this process exposed Mariane to racial consciousness, "socialization due to racial-group membership [which] influence[s] one's intrapsychic dynamics as well as interpersonal relationships," and helped her to develop and assert her Black racial identity (Helms, 1993, p. 7). Mariane assumed the position of role model for her family and shared that, although eventually her grandmother came to accept her natural hair and her turbans – acknowledging that if her granddaughters weren't wearing them, there must be something wrong – there is still a colored and racial expectation her family members assumed.

Luisa's case was particularly noteworthy because the racial conflict in her family came mostly from her father's side, the white side. But she talks about how her experiences at Biko armed her to retaliate against racial attacks.

But when I start to go to Steve Biko, I could attack, too. And then, when people come like, "*cabelo duro; que cabelo de pincha*" (hard hair; prickly hair) I say, "my hair is not uh... is not bad. Bad is your, uh... *Conceito* (conception) – Your mind, change your mind. (Luisa, personal interview, July 9, 2015)

Unlike Luisa, Felipe's family identifies as Black but they are also heavily influenced by social norms. Felipe struggled to communicate to his parents that there was nothing wrong with him but that society had to change. While the students work to communicate the source of the social issues they face as learned through CCN, it becomes increasingly apparent that there is a generational wedge between Bikud@s and their family members.

It is these racial conversations within their homes and friend groups that help shape the identities students choose to accept. Although Uelberte lost friends because he adopted Biko ideals and CCN attitudes, he gained strength to be all right with losing friends who did not share his outrage with social injustices that he was more keen to address.

Uelberte's newly developed racial consciousness, or the socialization he underwent in CCN, also impacted his "intrapyschic dynamics as well as interpersonal relationships" (Helms, 1993, 7). Likewise, Luisa has become better able to respond to racial insults from her family members and disparaging comments from white peers, and Felipe has taught his family that his hair has nothing to do with his behavior – both of which would reflect alignment with Biko ideals.

Black Power and Ideology

Changing hair is one of the first forms of rebellion for many Bikud@s aside from changing other outward aesthetic choices like clothing and jewelry or non-aesthetic choices like music choices and political involvement. From Mariane to Luisa to Felipe, there is a consistent message of hair as an important expression of the assumption of the Black identity. However, of note is what Black Brazilians call an afro, *Black Power*.

I can have my Black power and be a good guy without any problems with the police. (Felipe, personal interview, July 9, 2015)

Using this term, specifically, invokes a certain history and message, that of the Black Panthers and Black militancy in the United States. In this way, hair is inextricably tied to Black Brazilian identity, pro-Black activism and politics. In a considerable portion of Hordge-Freeman (2015) and Felipe's interview, media is implicated as responsible for shaping social acceptability and identity. Men with loc'd hair (*rasta*; dreadlocks) are associated with marijuana and theft. The unsuspecting viewer becomes a consumer of all

of the messages and a cycle of society copying media and media reproducing society self perpetuates (McLuhan, 1964).

When I would explain what life is like as a Black person in the United States, my host family did not object. They understood the examples that I presented to them as racism or classism in agreement with my own thinking because of Brazilian media representations of the US. From watching Brazilian television depictions of the US, I've found that it tends to criminalize the United States for being overtly racist. Many Brazilian people I interacted with were of the same mind. However, when it came to local issues, exceptions were made for the same or similar scenarios, particularly when it came to police violence and brutality. For example, one afternoon, I briefly watched the news with all of the women of the house. On the screen, a reporter stood in one small interview area while police paraded men who had recently been arrested in front of the camera². Some of the men had blood on their clothing, presumably from a physical altercation. It may or may not have been excessive police force but, since the police were the last ones to physically interact with these individuals before they were sent off to jail, I had my doubts about the cause of the injuries being sourced elsewhere. I quietly mumbled, calling attention to the blood but no one seemed to notice or respond. I asked why they were showing these handcuffed men and someone explained that they had been arrested and were going to jail; the show was the pre-internment interview. After seeing the blood, I noted, aloud, that they were all Black men. There was no response. Coming from the United States where there are plenty of media representations of the police and their work – both fictional and non-fictional – the sensationalization of sending people to jail was

² In the following chapter, I talk about Layane's perceptions of this show and learn that it is very popular to watch.

not lost on me. Further, as the daughter of a retired investigator, I am acutely aware of the protocols for arrest and internment. I was deeply disturbed and offended by what followed on the television.

The reporter shamed the men: “look how disappointing he is? Do you feel any shame for your behavior? Is there anything you want to say before they send you to jail for the rest of your life?” Some of the men cried, tried to keep their heads lowered or evade the camera and the reporter which was difficult to do since, aside from the reporter, there was only a stool and a policeman in the room. “Why do they do this?” I asked but I received no response and all of the women’s eyes were trained on the television screen. Finally, in so many words, I said, “This is intentional. All of the men are Black, poorly dressed, and being publicly ridiculed and shamed. Why put them in front of a camera?” I wanted to understand what purpose embarrassing them would serve and I kept looking around the room until, finally, I received a response: “they deserve to be humiliated. They did something stupid. They stole and hurt people.”

“Yes, but have you ever asked why they have to steal? Why they do what they do?” The response from most of the room was unsatisfactory to me since one of the women found something else to do and left the room and another started playing with the dog. But my host said, “It’s true that we don’t do much to protect people or give them a good job or education; education is everything, you know? If you’re poor, though, I guess you would have to do certain things to survive.” I was relieved that she’d at least given this moment some thought and wanted to probe her comments further until she followed this statement with, “But some of them are just stupid.”

Even though I was grateful that my host was willing to acknowledge the bigger picture of systemic and endemic poverty and inequality. I was also grateful that she considered how certain circumstances drive people to commit desperate acts. Through my own experience, I came to understand how difficult it would be for a Bikud@ to have that kind of conversation with their families. However, I never witnessed a conversation like this one between a Bikud@ and their family. If people don't have the same education about the historical factors influencing inequality and inequity, disinterested in or disrespectful of other ideologies, or they are unreceptive to the critique of the social status quo, it may seem like 'pulling teeth' to have an honest conversation about why shows like that one even exist. In the following chapter, I discuss the issues surrounding race and class from the literature, my encounters, observations and interviews, and illuminate discussions on subjects of inequality that participants have with their families and within themselves.

CHAPTER SIX: Race and Class

Buoying in the water with Tina, I never anticipated our conversation would be so revealing and intimate. Nor could I anticipate the deep betrayal of my host, Carla, who had generously provided lunch and drinks for our beach trip. From time to time, I had distrusted the friendship between the two of them. While my host, Carla, insisted they were best friends, Tina's cutting words cast a shade of doubt over whether or not the feeling was reciprocated from my perspective.

“Carla is poor,” she suddenly declared. “You're living in the poor house.”

She was laughing about it, smiling broadly and unashamed.

I wasn't certain of the relevance of the statement but I was instantly defensive. I looked back to the beach where my host was lounging in a chair watching our things and I hoped that she couldn't somehow hear the conversation. My host brought a full meal of chicken, beans, rice, bread, beer, water and cake to the beach for us to enjoy. She had financed the bus ride part of the way there and paid our entire fare on the return. She generously provided sunscreen lotion and towels and she paid the rental fee for the beach chairs Tina and I had comfortably lounged in between trips to the water. I marveled at how Tina – who complained about a R\$5 plate of French fries my host bought for me (around US\$1.75 at the time) – was able to make this judgment when I had yet to see her spend a dime.

“I don't consider her to be poor,” I retorted.

“Well, she is. She has that tiny house and she's always taking on students for more money.”

“Her house is larger than the apartment I share with my grandmother. My room here is bigger than my room at home and I have my own bathroom. And, *mãe*

Carla has never once asked me for more money for rent than we originally agreed on.” I was glaring at her now, daring her to say another unkind word.

Suddenly tight lipped, “Wow, I didn’t realize. So you have a small home, then? You don’t have much?”

“No, I don’t have much. I consider myself very fortunate to be at her house.”

Afterward, we didn’t say anything further about my host but Tina went on and on about how her daughter was housed with a rich family during her exchange year at University of Wisconsin, how the family bought her daughter a winter coat and how she was absolutely sure that her daughter would be returning to the United States to marry a rich man. I didn’t tell my host about what Tina said but I considered her words very carefully, greatly anticipating the day when I would be able to visit Tina’s house and see what grandeur and splendor she *must* have been living in to speak so unkindly about the duplex with two kitchens, five bathrooms and six bedrooms I was living in – *all* owned by my host’s aunt, another resident of the house, to eventually be bequeathed to my host.

About two weeks after the beach exchange, Tina stayed at my host’s house along with her daughter and two dogs when a pipe in her house burst. She didn’t have anyone else to turn to. When the pipes were repaired, my host rented a car and we visited Tina’s house with food for her and her family. For all of her criticisms of my host’s home, Tina’s house was considerably smaller. I reflected back on our conversation at the beach and I wondered if her comments were based on income, race, or living space. To my knowledge, Tina was unemployed beyond occasionally taking students herself but, though my host was fairer than Tina, my host identifies as Black and Tina identifies as *parda*. Was relevant to Tina’s conceptualization of poverty, as well?

Race and Class

Within this chapter, I address Bikud@ perceptions of the relationship between race and class and how one adversely effects the other. Since classism and racism are compounded in Brazil, it is often difficult to separate them when trying to pinpoint a source of injustice. For example, when I was followed around *Shopping Barra*, located in the city center of Salvador, I presumed that it was because I was a Black woman since I have had similar experiences in the United States. However, looking at it from a classist perspective, it may have been assumed that because I am a Black woman, I must also be poor and, therefore, unable to afford anything in a high-end mall like *Barra*. In another instance, I went to exchange money at one of the travel agencies in the same mall and I was summarily ignored until I spoke English. Up until they realized that I was not a Black woman from Brazil, they didn't feel the need to render services. By the time they paid attention - 27 minutes and four free attendants later, when I began complaining in English – I had already decided to leave. Here, I look at the explanations Bikud@s give for similar occurrences and the implications that they say class has on race.

Following my encounter with Tina, I considered the issues with class and race that I had observed outside of the walls of my homestay. Poor people often panhandled on the street and I was constantly warned not to wear any jewelry that even looked like gold outside of my host's house. On the bus, people often mounted selling homemade snacks and sweets, playing music and singing, or asking for spare change. These individuals were regarded with fear and suspicion; everyone clung to their bags and tried to look aloof and uninterested, sinking into their seats to evade the gaze of solicitors. More than once, students (or alleged students) mounted the bus asking for book money

and bus fare; all of these were Black Brazilians with the exception of two Argentinean musicians. During an interview with Ana Paula, I asked about the relationship between race and class, and education.

“When you look back at your educational experience, do you believe your race or social status affected your education?”

“I believe so.”

“Your race or your social status?”

“My social status.”

“Your social status more than your race?”

“Yes, too. Actually, both. I think that they’re connected. If you’re poor and Black, and you want to go to college — you’ve gone to public schools and got that education, which is not enough for you to take such a difficult exam. It’s not even sufficient if you’re trying to pass ENEM. Actually, most people who pass it are white and have gone to private schools, so they’ve been preparing to take entrance exams all their life. These are the people taking our places at public colleges. Since we’re not prepared for it, we’re not given the tools for that. They take our places there.”

“I see. So... it’s because they’re white and rich?”

“Yes.”

“And there’s prejudice against being Black and poor?”

“Yes, so much so that even buses going from poor neighborhoods to the downtown area or the islands — the beaches or the shore, as we say here — are hard to come by. Sometimes you can’t even get a direct bus there. You need to take a couple of buses to get there, and it’s too far. There’s even prejudice there.”
(Ana Paula, personal interview, May 26, 2016)

Ana Paula shared a great number of insights about race and class that I didn’t hear in interviews with other participants. As I stated in earlier chapters, my initial focus was not on the relationship between race and class. However, it often surfaced in survey responses and social encounters. In the literature, especially, race and class are

inextricably tied; that is to say that, more often than not, people discuss race and class as cogs in the same oppressive machine in Brazil as “systemically imposed exclusion” (Hernández, 2013, 95). Through Ana Paula’s eyes, being Black and being poor work in tandem to restrict access to and limit educational (and other) opportunity. Being poor and Black means that “you’ve gone to public schools and got that education, which is not enough” for the college entrance exam, ENEM (*Exame Nacional do Ensino Médio* or, National High School Exam) or any test, for that matter (Ana Paula, personal interview, May 26, 2016). In fact, some students went an entire year with no coursework in certain subjects because of teacher absences and strikes. Since, according to participants, Telles (2004) and Bailey (2009), most public school students are Black and students who attend public schools do so because of the cost of private schools, race and class are tied to the disenfranchisement of impoverished and/or Black students from Ana Paula’s perspective.

Race and Racism

Research participants do not fabricate or “make up” the relationship between race/color and class in Brazil. As a former Portuguese colony and part of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, structural inequality in Brazil began in its colonial era. As enslaved Indigenous populations died off from illnesses brought by the Portuguese and the work conditions themselves, kidnapped and enslaved African people from Portuguese settlements of the western coast of Africa were brought to replace them (Klein and Luna, 2009). Enslavement of African people was justified because they were reported by colonists to the empirical powers as better skilled agricultural workers than Indigenous people (Schwartz, 1985). Over the course of the next 330 years, over 4 million of these

“skilled agricultural workers” were forcibly brought as slaves to Brazil from Africa (Schwartz, 1985).

As a result, Brazil is the second largest Afro-descendant country in the world to Nigeria (Skidmore, 2010). Salvador in the northeastern state of Bahia was the first colonial capital of Brazil (Schwartz, 1985). As late as 1872, Afro-Brazilians outnumbered whites two to one on the Brazilian national census and had grown to outnumber the Indigenous population, as well (Skidmore, 2010). Slavery in Brazil was a highly controversial issue; there were pressures from around the world for Brazil to end slavery. The abolition of slavery in the late 19th century came in response to pressure from the British and was a slow process (Conrad, 1972). Slavery was abolished in 1888, followed by the overthrow of the monarchy in 1889 (Chaffee, 2012, p. 399).

After slavery, the definition of what it meant to be Brazilian changed dramatically and the racial boundaries became more and more blurred. Race and color, as used interchangeably with regard to ancestral background in Brazil and in this paper, have been prevalent in scholarly discourse since the beginnings of writings on Brazil as a colony-turned-independent state. Miscegenation in Portuguese colonies was the rule, not the exception during the colonial era; in their various colonial endeavors, populations of ‘mixed’ peoples were prevalent. Present day Brazilians use this long-standing history of miscegenation across color groups as the main conciliatory factor of the race problem. How can there be racism when there is intermarriage? Brazilians have a strong sense of color consciousness and classify people by their phenotypic traits (McCallum, 2005; Telles; 2004; Twine, 2000).

Over time, the Brazilian census came to include more racial categories such as *amarelo* (yellow) and *pardo* (of Indigenous, European and African descent) (IGBE, 2008). Changes in the race conversation accompany Brazilian thought that race is assigned on an individual basis (Skidmore, 2010; Gonzalez, 2008). Therefore, within one family, there can be represented all of the races covered on the census – *branco*, *pardo*, or *preto*, or *indigena*. An example was my host’s extended family including her siblings, nieces, and nephews mentioned in earlier chapters. Genetic diversity was intensified through *branqueamento* policies put in place to “improve” the Brazilian genetic makeup; *branqueamento* was the invitation of German, European and Asian immigrants to come, find work, and settle in Brazil during the 1930s (Agier, 1995; Hernández, 2013).

The geographic makeup of Brazil is also of importance when discussing race. Depending on the section of the continent-sized country, the composition of the population varies significantly. Data from a 1980 census in Brazil details the regional distribution of the population by color; at the time, brown and Black populations in the North, Northeast, Central-East and Central-West were greater than in southernmost regions, (Telles, 1992). This may contribute to why southern states of Brazil are characterized as being “particularly racist” (Twine, 2000; Telles, 1992).

Policy and Inequality

Recent legislative efforts to provide more equitable (??) access to education, jobs, policy-making and government positions serve as acknowledgement of the racial and socioeconomic issues country-wide (Hernández, 2013). Still, many Brazilians claim not to observe any racism at all. This is because Afro-Brazilians “are not *formally* prohibited by law from entering an institution” and are not, thereby, legally excluded from higher

education (Twine, 2000, p. 59). However, research indicates that socioeconomic status is directly related to a lower level of educational attainment in non-Euro-descendant groups in Brazil (Telles & Steele, 2012). Hernández (2013) underscores how uncommon and difficult it is for Afro-Brazilians to enter universities and that even “when Afro-Brazilians and white Brazilians have the same years of schooling, whites earn 40 percent more” (92).

Bailey (2004) explored racism and anti-racism attitudes further in Rio de Janeiro, hypothesizing that the myth of racial democracy creates opposition to affirmative action and other anti-racism policy measures. Bailey (2004) found most Brazilians do not believe racial discrimination to be the cause of Black disadvantage and this majority belief legitimizes social stratification (Bailey, 2004). Simultaneously, “77.4 percent of whites, 84.4 percent of browns, and 81.4 percent of dark Blacks” in Brazil support Black movements that seek to combat racial discrimination in Brazil and support affirmative action (Bailey, 2004, p. 736). Through Bailey’s (2004) research, we also learn that segregation by skin color is prevalent and that there was “a near consensus among a majority of whites and Blacks that racial discrimination is a cause of contemporary Black disadvantage in Brazil” (737).

Establishing the longevity of economic stratification along racial lines and offering additional evidence for residential segregation, Telles and Lim (1998) assessed income inequality. This data was collected through an interview process hosted by Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP). The interviewers noted what they perceived the respondents’ race or color to be on a scale with an additional item for the respondent to self-identify racially. One very compelling finding was that 20% of the people

interviewed in their study that interviewers classified as Black classified themselves as brown (Telles & Lim, 1998). In analysis, however, Telles and Lim (1998) used the interviewer classification as “perceptions of others about one’s race weigh more heavily than self-classification in determining labor market outcomes” (Telles & Lim, 1998, p. 473). Following this decision, they found that income inequality is high between white and non-white groups in Brazil (Telles & Lim, 1998).

Inequality has also manifested geographically in Brazil. The formerly lucrative sugar economy has given way to drought and extreme poverty in the northeast (Chaffee, 2012, p. 410; IGBE, 2012). In contrast to its colonial glory as the economic center of Brazil, the northeast now struggles. In spite of governmental efforts to improve the northeast states, “significant difference” has not been made (Chaffee, 2012, 410).

Importantly,

The Northeast’s population includes many descendents from the African slave trade, and Salvador, Bahia, is known as the capital of African Brazil... (Chaffee, 2012, p. 410)

...The Northeast is poor, literacy is low, and infant mortality is high. Political power still resides in the hands of traditional families while much of the population lives by subsistence farming, and the area is devastated every few years by drought. (Chaffee, 2012, p. 410)

Telles (2013) observes that this decline in the northeast had particularly taxing effects on Black and brown populations. Economic stratification for Black and brown working-class communities illustrates the structural racism (Telles, 2013). To illustrate:

... although 45 percent of the total population, Blacks compose 64 percent of people living below the poverty line... they make up only 15 percent of the richest decile... whereas a 25-year-old white Brazilian has an average 8.4 years of schooling, a Black Brazilian of the same age has only 6.1 years... 52 percent of Blacks live in households without adequate sanitation... 30 percent of Blacks live in households without trash collection, versus 15 percent of whites, 26 percent of

Blacks live in households without running water, versus 8 percent of whites...
(Htun, 2004, p. 63)

Race and Class Through Participant Eyes

Part of the privilege of whiteness in Brazil is private school education; according to participants, very few Black students attend private schools. This, however, is directly related to how few Black people are members of the Brazilian elite. These “white and rich” students are better prepared than public school students – “they’ve been preparing to take entrance exams all their life” and as a result, these private schools students quickly fill the seats at the publicly funded, tuition free federal universities (Ana Paula, personal interview, May 26, 2016). As Ana Paula puts it, these students are “taking” the seats that have been reserved for affirmative action quota students or, Black students (Ana Paula, personal interview, May 26, 2016). Students in public school do not receive “the tools” necessary to take the entrance exams or be competitive against their better educated counterparts (Ana Paula, personal interview, May 26, 2016). According to Telles, “schools may be the more important sites for examining how racial inequalities are produced” (Telles, 2004, p. 156). In other conversations about race and class, participants discussed family and social aspects of the race and class relationship.

When a white woman gets pregnant, she’s comforted by her family. The girl can even be white, but poor, and she’ll be judged in several ways. It’s not only about race, but it’s mainly about race that she ends up being judged. (Raldiney, personal interview, June 6, 2016)

During a conversation with his mother, Raldiney came to the defense of a young Black girl at his high school who was impregnated earlier than socially acceptable. His mother was speaking about the girl as irresponsible and hyper-sexualized her. Raldiney argued that the young Black boy who impregnated the girl was equally responsible and then expressed his opinion above. He argued that familial and societal reactions to white

women's extramarital pregnancies vary based on affluence; although Raldiney did acknowledge that race is just one of several pertinent factors contributing the judgment people issue, "it's mainly about race that she ends up being judged" (Raldiney, personal interview, June 6, 2016). Likewise, the media manipulates and dictates racial rhetoric.

I mean, here in Salvador there are cop shows that feature the Black population like the ones who kill, who steal. So, they enjoy watching these kinds of shows and they think they can judge people. Because TV makes people judge others. They show a young man at the police station after committing a crime, so people say, "You see? He didn't go to school, now he's breaking his mother's heart." I try to deconstruct that all the time. Because that human being is there because he wasn't given opportunities. Unfortunately, he'll try to take the easy way out, which is to steal, to kill, to take things from others. So, I can't judge him, because I don't know his story. I talk about it all the time, and sometimes we even fight because of that. *I keep defending people because that's what Biko has taught me* — it's about human rights, about giving people the right to defend themselves, because I always put myself in someone else's shoes in order to understand them. (Layane, personal interview, May 19, 2016)

In Felipe's interview, he explains that Black people are portrayed in media as the most dangerous members of the Brazilian population. Layane corroborates by saying that there are shows "that feature the Black population as the ones who kill, who steal" (Layane, personal interview, May 19, 2016). This fuels the *preconceito* (preconception) that exists in Brazilian society and encourages deeper prejudice on the part of the populous. People are publicly ridiculed for the purpose of reinforcing existing stereotypes of Black Brazilians – undereducated and delinquent.

Layane makes active attempts to "deconstruct" what it is that she witnesses on television (Layane, personal interview, May 19, 2016). She emphasizes the humanity of the individuals who are paraded in front of cameras after committing crimes and analyzes the reasons why they are where they are: "that human being is there because he wasn't given opportunities," she says and, in order to compensate for this lack of opportunity,

they will “try to take the easy way out” to provide for themselves and their families through theft and murder. She was very clear about her inability to pass judgment on these subjects because she doesn’t “know his story” (Layane, personal interview, May 19, 2016).

As a former Biko student (once a Bikud@, always a Bikud@) and a mother of one infant daughter, Layane’s perspective and understanding of social stigmas is informed by lived experience and Biko. “That’s what Biko has taught me – it’s about human rights” and acknowledging people’s humanity, “giving people the right to defend themselves” without ridicule or assumed guilt, and attempting to assume the position of the individual as both suspect and victim “in order to understand them” (Layane, personal interview, May 19, 2016).

To examine how race and class affect the students at the institute, enter Gabriela Gusmão. Gabriela, Biko’s director of pedagogy and instruction, served as my gatekeeper throughout my research experience, scheduling interviews and serving as an interviewee herself. When asked about the attendance rate between the morning and evening sessions at the institute, Gabriela volunteered that the numbers for each term fluctuate.

We have a big problem with students that come to the entrance exam preparation. Most of them have already finished high school. So, they can't apply for the Salvador Card, which gives them 50% discount on the bus fare. So, the difficulty that these young people face is to come to class every day, because they don't have money for transportation. So, we have identified this difficulty and many young people miss class because they can't pay for transportation... They don't give up. They miss some classes, but they show up. Not *every day*, but they come when they can. Because transportation is really expensive in Salvador. It's \$3.30 BRL one day, so \$6.60 BRL a day. For 10 days, it's \$66 BRL, and if you multiply it for four weeks, that's a lot of money. Six times four is twenty-four: \$240 BRL. So they don't — most of them don't have a job. How are they going to get funds for that? Their parents have other kids in school, so they need transportation every day to get to school, you know? So, it's very complicated, because most of them come on foot and go back by bus, or the other way around, but there are weeks

when they just don't have the funds. So, that makes it hard and, as an institute, we can't offer transportation to students, so it's very difficult. We keep looking for people who could help these young people, but it's very hard to keep it up throughout the entire year of 2016, you know. People can't fund their bus fare for the entire year. So, that's one of the main problems I can see. I saw it last year, I'm seeing it this year. It's the transportation issue. (Gabriela, personal interview, May 25, 2016)

To put it to scale, presume a student lives near St. Bartholomew's Park (Parque São Bartolomeu, Pirajá, Salvador) on the outskirts of the greater Salvador area and they need to make it to Pelourinho, Salvador. By a Google estimate, this student would travel 32 minutes by car (not accounting for traffic – and there's always traffic), 53 minutes using public transportation involving two or three buses (a massive expense of either R\$7,20 or R\$10,80 one way; alternatively, US\$3.60 and US\$5.40/day round trip), a 47 minute bicycle ride (assuming you own a bicycle) or a walk over 2 hours long (perilous by virtue of the heat and the crowded roadways). Walking is not uncommon even amongst students who live in the farthest reaches of the city limits; even students with children take the walk, young ones in tow, to get to the institute.

This is part of the socioeconomic burden Bikud@s face. Unemployed, with siblings and other financial concerns burdening the family, many students are unable to attend Biko with enough frequency to adequately prepare for the *vestibular*. Gabriela highlights transport as the main issue but also important is access to food, reliable shelter and housing, and clothing. On the other hand, if a student is employed to assist in support of their family, time to study and adequate rest also impact student success. Here is a budding population of dedicated students incapable of accessing education because of their financial impediments. Even with the tools to counter racism, classism and the inaccessibility of resources adversely affect students.

During my time in Salvador, however, I encountered both sides of the coin when it came to lack and abundance of affluence in Black families. My host described the Costa family as Black. I was dubious at the time; my host also identifies as Black even though she doesn't much 'look' the part but I tried to keep an open mind. I was pleasantly surprised when I met the family and saw that each of them – the husband, the wife (who's birthday we were celebrating), the daughter, and the son – are all Black by phenotype. Importantly to me, they identify as Black. Not *moreno*, not *Cabo Verde*, just Black, nothing more and nothing less. What is more, the Costa's are Brazilian millionaires.

After witnessing and experiencing the abject poverty in the periphery of Salvador – like St. Bartholomew's Park – where people lived in unfinished homes and seeing students at the institute share lunch with one another when someone couldn't afford to bring their own, walking into a house in a gated and heavily secured community owned by a Black family full of guests who also identify as Black partying to celebrate the birthday of the lady of the house was a bit of a shock. The children were going to private schools; the daughter had two more years left in high school and the son was waiting to hear back about medical school (he was accepted).

This was an exceptional case, however. When I asked, the majority of the people attending the party lived in places like Amaralina in houses and neighborhoods similar to the one I was residing in. Within the gated community – where even the Costas were exceptional for having a pool – only two other families identified as Black. These families were also in attendance at the party and happily greeted me, each one taking turns practicing speaking English with me. I marveled at the luxury this family lived in and I asked my host how it was that Mr. Costa managed to become so rich. I also asked how it

was that he was able to access a neighborhood like this one having read horror stories about famous and affluent Black people from the United States and Brazil being harassed or arrested by police for visiting potential housing units.

“Nobody would ever mess with him. *Everybody* knows him. He’s a business man.”

“What is his business, though, *mãe*?”

“Gás.” That is, the tanks of gas commonly found in every Brazilian household I visited during my time in Salvador, attached to a valve on the stove and used for cooking.

Several key questions specifically pertaining to blackness, class and identity for Bikud@s and the broader picture of Black people and class in Salvador are addressed through the vignettes in this chapter. Looking at the ways blackness and class compound and how the two combined are part of identity formation (Ana Paula). The relevance of race and class to student narratives (Layane and Raldiney) and the impact class, in particular, has on the students (Gabriela) brings a level of clarity to the issues surrounding Black access to higher education across Brazil. Race and class create an intersection influences the decisions students make about whether or not they will pursue an education or work. The effects of poverty are deeply entrenched in the lived experiences, educational opportunities and social standing of everyone I interacted with – even those who are (or consider themselves to be) affluent. Attending a class at Biko with students who have to share lunch with others and attending a party in a gated community with residents worth millions of *reais* and food to waste throws into sharp relief the distinction between poverty and affluence in Brazil. Though race is not always an indicator of how well or poorly a person may be treated, participants clearly demonstrate that, compounded with race, the impact of classism is deepened.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Discussion

As outlined in the introduction and methods chapters, the principle aim of this research was to answer the question: “How is blackness defined and lived by current and former Black Consciousness and Citizenship (*Cidadania e Consciência Negra*, CCN) students at Steve Biko Cultural Institute (Biko)?” Additional questions concerned the nature of the institute itself and the evolution and development of Black identity for participants. This analysis of how blackness is defined and lived by Bikud@s, how CCN teachers go about educating their students, and how and whether former students maintain the tenets of CCN in their daily lives also informs another critical question: What can we understand of Biko specifically as a community school with a mission to prepare students as empowered members of their community (Jara, 2010)? This discussion includes an analysis of the institute through Jara’s lens; a chapter-by-chapter review of the thematic questions and how the Jara and Helms’ theories apply; and consideration of the implications, limitations and drawbacks, and directions for future research. This discussion also addresses the contribution of the research as part of African Diasporic studies, particularly to deliberations about what constitutes and how to create a Black identity.

Popular Education, Citizenship and Community Schools

Jara (2010) posits that popular (defined as for and by the people) education centers and the activists who run them operate in five key capacities that serve the communities in which they are based. The most pertinent of these to my research are three of his capacities, each of which relate directly to the expressed purpose of CCN at Biko.

- participants in popular education “... are able to question existing ideological and ethical stereotypes and patterns which are presented as absolute truths (e. g. individualism, competition)...”
- people gain “... ownership of a capacity to think”
- people are “... enable[d] to affirm themselves as autonomous... and build new power relations in their everyday lives and in the system of social, political and cultural relations...” (Jara, 2010, p. 295)

These three of Jara’s key capacities are useful lenses for understanding Biko’s organizing principles and students’ identity formation processes as they deal with autonomy and questioning the “natural” social order. Following is a more in-depth discussion and application of these capacities in relation to Biko and CCN. Additionally, I analyze the data by placing Jara in conversation with Helms (1993) and the Black Racial Identity model that she conceptualized in four stages, Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization. For this analysis, I place Jara’s (2010) capacity to think in conversation with Helms (1993) Encounter and Emersion, the questioning of stereotypes in conversation with Immersion/Emersion, and affirming autonomy with Internalization.

Capacity One: Developing a Capacity to Think

Challenging the dominant notions of how Brazilian society should be organized, questioning political events, interrogating portrayals of the sexuality of Black bodies in the media, and demanding change in the status quo in education are all things students engage as part of the discipline of CCN. By nature of their training and experiences at the institute, in their homes and neighborhoods, and the general means by which education informs student socialization, Bikud@s develop language to actively challenge social ‘norms’. As George said, Bikud@s at the university challenge everything, question everything and disrupt the presentation of information as reported by one person or

another as unbiased, objective “fact.” Even before that, students challenge the things they have been taught in their homes, what they see on television, the music they hear on the radio, advertisement campaigns for popular beauty brands, and the logic behind their limited access to certain social spaces because of race and class based prejudices. Helms posits that this occurs in both Encounter and Emersion, wherein respectively “the person struggles to ‘discover’ a new identity” (Helms, 1993, 25) and ““the person is not Black yet, but he/she has made the decision to become Black”” (Helms, 1993, 26) in Encounter and “the person develops a positive nonstereotypic Afro-American” – or in this case, Afro-Brazilian – “perspective on the world” (Helms, 1993, 28) in Emersion.

Being able to think critically is essential to the development and implementation of new ideas and new identity, and is therefore an important part of CCN. Participating in Biko programming, students are able to voice their ideas and opinions without fear of being ridiculed by teachers and administrators; in fact, the direction of the course is set by active conversation between teachers, administrators and students that opens the door for new opportunities, programs, and idea sharing at the institute. This level of participation across the hierarchy of players at Biko plays a key role in the strengthening and evolution of self-esteem and self-efficacy for Bikud@s. Consider, for example, how Heide referred to the students’ reactions and thought processes when developing CCN class work. Additionally, participation across levels at the institute aids in the facilitation of new perspectives on blackness, identity, and worldview since the resulting course discussion includes issues the students themselves have raised. Their input in the topics they would like to learn creates avenues of knowledge unique to the students. Arguably, the validation of student contributions via the creation of new programming and the

development of course modules is also a means of encouraging students to think critically.

Capacity Two: Questioning Ideological and Ethical Stereotypes

Jara (2010) also posits that community school participants are able to “question... stereotypes and patterns which are presented as absolute truths” like individualism and competition, both of which are addressed through CCN at Biko (295). The institutional mission explicitly states that Biko is striving to promote and advance the Black community in Brazil through education. By discussing Black people in terms of community, individuals become part of the group. Since the goal is to better the community on the whole, within group competition is also moot on the institutional and community levels.

Telling them we're in this together, we're all on the same boat. That's the feeling, you know? That we can help one another as a group, that they're not competitors... Because, when you're going to a preparation course to take an entrance exam — not here, somewhere else — people don't get to know one another. They study together for 10 months, but they don't get to know one another. They don't help one another. They see others as competitors. So, CCN isn't only a racial issue, but a matter of collectiveness. (George, personal interview, May 20 2016)

I often observed students staying after the morning session to review concepts with one another or organize study groups at the public library. Although this is not necessarily unique to Biko, this is a crucial part of identity and capacity development since these group gatherings on a voluntary basis are indicative of personal initiative to participate in discussion of material and debate of concepts outside of Biko. Many of the students who were able to meet outside of Biko or stay after when they did not have a job to get to or siblings to babysit were willing to work together to study the complex concepts examined the *vestibular* as well as additional issues raised by CCN with regard

to community and race. Whereas other *pré-vestibular* programs are characterized by teachers and administrators (and my host family) as highly competitive, Biko is a space of collective action and community building according to former students interviewed, executive director Jucy Silva, president Silvio Humberto, and pedagogical coordinator Gabriela Gusmão. Additional ethical and ideological issues that students dealt with through CCN were sexism, religious intolerance, and environmental racism. Through the discussion of representation of women in popular media and analyses of music videos and television, candid and honest dialogue around *candomblé* and atheism, and the lack of access to healthy food in the neighborhoods where students live in the periphery of Salvador, Bikud@s began to unpack many shared personal and communal issues.

Capacity Three: Affirming Autonomy

Jara discusses popular education's ability to enable participants "to affirm themselves as autonomous people, not self-centered but able to overcome the antagonism between the other and the self, and to develop their rational, emotional and spiritual potential as men and women" (Jara, 2010, p. 295). The means by which students develop autonomy is the pinnacle of the evolutionary process of CCN and an equally important step in the Internalization phase of Helms' (1993) model. In the system of social, political and cultural relations that Bikud@s envision as the norm at the beginning of their journey through CCN, blackness – their Black identity, self-defined and reassured by Biko itself, fully embraced and informed by both their experiences in the past and their expectations of the future – is not a villainous manifestation, a thief on television, a prostitute, an athlete, or a maid on a soap opera. By affirming autonomy and internalizing "a positive personally relevant Black identity (i.e. what makes one unique) one blends one's personal

identity... with a Black ascribed identity (i.e., acknowledgment that one's Blackness influences who one is)" (Helms, 1993, 28-29). For the majority of Bikud@s, autonomy is produced through a long view of the history, identity, and culture that has shaped Brazil into the society on a grand scale. By refuting the power structures in place and demanding better for themselves and their communities, participating Bikud@s both produce and assert autonomy; engaging in debates about environmental racism and socio-political injustices, they put autonomy in process. Accessing higher education is just part of the success of student autonomy development.

Chapter Analyses

In the following discussion of the themes and topics addressed, organized by their chapter headings, I further expand upon conceptual and theoretical issues introduced in the chapters. Following this section, I conclude with the limitations and drawbacks of the research as well as the directions for future research across the Diaspora.

Chapter 3: CCN and a Black Identity

In developing the first theme, CCN and a Black identity, I focused on blackness within CCN: how is Blackness defined in the CCN curriculum? Moreover, how is the CCN curriculum situated within Biko? Since Black consciousness is an awareness and acceptance of Black identity that Biko works to develop in students through CCN, the three can be equated to cogs in the larger machine of developing Black identity and community. Additionally, the institutional mission, as articulated by Founder Silvio Humberto and Executive Director Jucy Silva, binds blackness, CCN, and Biko:

... they thought they shouldn't have only a technical preparation course with the same subjects of study tested during an entrance exam, so people can apply for

higher education. So, they thought it could be a way to rescue people's self-esteem. And, how did they do that then? They shared quotes by important leaders and Black poets like Jonatas Conceição to make students aware. That's how we created a subject of study that is now called Black Consciousness and Citizenship (CCN). (Jucy, personal interview, September 10, 2016)

Our goal was to increase the number of Black students at universities. You know the story, you've heard it from everyone you've talked to. That's the idea and it really worked. The proposal was to have a common entrance exam preparation class. But we'd use it... We'd make a political intervention through education, and the path was proportional to the access to universities, thus organizing this entrance exam preparation class and taking this opportunity to talk about Black consciousness. That's how the subject of Black Consciousness and Citizenship was created. (Silvio, personal interview, October 11, 2016)

Increasing the number of Black students in federal and private universities in the state of Bahia and beyond was always Biko's goal but the method employed to do so was political in nature; there was an intentional Afro-centric focus to the approach the institutional leaders adopted. The institution was inherently Black – it was named for a Black man, led by Black scholars and activists, populated by Black students, quotes from Black leaders, poets, politicians, used to arouse awareness and Black consciousness. Simultaneously, the development of a definition for blackness began. It was shaped and molded by the students; the public and common teaching was also personal, tangible and assumed as a Black identity as opposed to passively inhabited. The students could continue to be considered Black and deny the identity internally in spite of its application socially or they could become consciously Black and actively engage in the political nature of the intervention that the institute offers. On the Helms (1993) model/scale, students could either remain in the Preencounter or Encounter phases, being considered or ascribed a Black identity, denying it internally, or they could enter the Immersion/Emersion and Internalization phases, becoming consciously Black (Helms,

1993). This Black racial identity process was integral to developing self-esteem amongst Biko youth.

This, however, is only how CCN was created; how it became nestled in all things Biko was much less of a clear-cut process. Importantly, there were no founders who identified as Euro-descendant; all shared political views and the Diaspora. The institutional founders were not only influenced by Biko but also thought that emerged from the *Movimento Negro Unificado* and *Frente Negra*, *Pan Africanismo* and *Négritude*. Through their own political activism, institutional founders serving as teachers, rooted CCN in Afro-centric teachings. Over time, all of the coursework and educational objectives were expected to reflect some aspect of CCN.

We have CCN as a subject and it's up to us, teachers from other disciplines — for example, Natural Sciences, which is my case — we have to bring in elements that connect, that are related to Law 10639, you know? I mean... if we are not empowered by this knowledge, if we don't know it... How am I supposed to tie it all together and provide this knowledge to Black people? (Carlos, personal interview, July 2, 2015)

There are so many statements that I hear during individual talks [with students], and they're reaffirmed during our group talks [in class]. These things that are actually being said help them [students] have a new perspective about their lives, and that makes them [students] stronger when they [students] have to face such a situation [racism]. (Heide, personal interview, June 3, 2016)

CCN connects with students' every day lives and their academic studies. These connections are pivotal to the development of Bikud@s self-efficacy and self-esteem. Black youth learn about themselves as Black people in Brazil and the world and engage in “new” knowledge creation based on a “non-traditional”, or Afro-specific, worldview; this, too, is part of Mahon's (2008) “politicized Black consciousness” the products of which are “a self-conscious construction of connections among people of African descent that views their history and fates as linked and considers that link to be politically,

culturally, and emotionally meaningful” (116). For these same reasons, I am called a Bikuda and a member of the Biko community by administrators and students.

Additionally, this fosters and strengthens Bikud@s sense of self and community.

Chapter 4: Black Bodies in white spaces

The development of alterity was not phenomenal or unique to Brazil but an evolutionary process that accompanied slavery in the Western Hemisphere. This process began with the Indigenous populations of the region and the colonization of the Western coast of Africa; the “alien” ways of the former [Indigenous populations] were not unlike those “alien” methods of the later [African populations] by the time Brazil became a target of the once expansive Portuguese empire. Initially, it was more cost effective to kidnap, enslave, and “import” more African people to Brazil than to care for the sickly or dying enslaved people on the newly colonized continent (Klein and Luna, 2009). With time, for economic reasons, the number of “imports” tapered and kidnapped and enslaved African populations began to grow naturally, creating a majority Afro-descendant population (then and now) in Brazil (Klein and Luna, 2009).

However, Brazilians produced a racial caste system with specially crafted levels and ranks, each more unique than the next in negating African lineage. It was not enough to be *mulatto* (literally, mule colored; half Black and half white) alone or, worse, *parda*, (literally, part; Black, Indigenous, and white). Before long, these categories were further divided by colors like: ““*alva*” (pure white); “*amarela*” (yellow); “*brnzeada*” (bronzed tan); “*cabloca*” (mixture of white, Negro, and Indian); “*café com leite*” (coffee with milk); and “*quase-negro*” (almost Black)” (Levine and Crocitti, 1999, p. 386-390).

Fewer than a handful of these identity permutations were pervasive enough to become standard on the census and identification forms in Brazil. These identities emerged to establish distance from African lineage. Even now, Brazilians let these graded terms and categories roll off of their tongues, reinforcing the racial striation. Many people use these terms to distance themselves from blackness; in the case of terms like “*quase-negro*,” they explicitly state distance. Walters (1993) wrote about “the practice of an individual denying that he or she is ‘Black’ denying an essentially African identity,” asserting,

... even though the individual may be physically Black in appearance, it is as though there was a stench of Blackness from which everyone sought to flee. In fact, this stench was manufactured by those who gave the world the doctrines of the racial inferiority of African peoples as a way to rationalize the heinous crime of slavery and the continued subordination of Blacks. (Walters, 1993, 277)

As a consequence of white created oppression of blackness, being “less Black” was (and in some circles, still is) socially preferred. For this reason, it is no small thing when a person readily identifies as Black – not part Black, not half Black – in Brazil. When conceptualizing all that this could and does mean for Bikud@s practically, the chapter theme “Black Bodies in white spaces” emerged. Question by question, the chapter highlighted:

- How do students take curriculum beyond Biko?
- How is blackness defined and lived by current and former students?
- What are some of the ways students develop identities of and as Black Brazilians?

Beyond the security of Biko, many students face the challenges of social stigma being identified as suspicious by virtue of their melanin rich complexions. They have spoken about being followed in stores, losing family members to police violence, being associated with crime and denied access to public spaces.

In my own experiences in Salvador, I have been herded on and off of buses by military police (and, yes, their weapons matched their titles) and followed by mall security or ignored by shop employees in one of the more “upscale” establishments. It was not until I spoke English that the aggression (or neglect, in some cases) ceased and people decided that – regardless of who I was with – at least I was not a threat. The ignorant, presumably wealthy “American” girl would not rob an older white woman in the mall and she would not skip out on a tab at Outback Steakhouse, they presumed. She has the money to pay in spite of the riff-raff she is hanging out with, betrayed their facial expressions and vocal tones.

Beyond Biko, students and every day people encounter these racist hostilities, both overt and covert, on a daily basis. This serves multiple purposes: it encourages a self-extraction from Black identity (because everything Black is bad) and fulfills the social policing and maintenance necessary to keep Afro-descendant Brazilians at the foot of the social ladder.

So, Black people, the whole history of Brazil, they were demonized and that is something that we can see today. So Black people today, they are seen as sometimes as thieves or whores or, you know, just servants – people like this. (Rubens, personal interview, October 12, 2016)

This is not just reflected in personal experiences shared by students but through mass media. The more prominent and popular soap operas that I saw in Brazil portrayed Afro-descendants as enslaved (in a “period” show about plantation living) or maids, nannies, thieves and prostitutes (Pinho, 2006). Romantic relationships on these shows were never interracial. What is more, historically, the socio-economic advances availed to whiter populations in Brazil were limited for Black people. As affluence followed whiteness, so did access to education and, thereby, collegiate level education (Hernández,

2013). Additionally, by virtue of the socioeconomic setbacks from slavery, lucrative business ownership was only a possibility for those who already had the capital to invest; the same is true of political advancement in the country.

So when people were like creating HBCUs in America, in Brazil, we still had – we were still in the slavery process and we didn't get the chance to study so we didn't also have the chance to ascend, to get knowledge and ascend a high position in the society to have a better life and you can see this today. This goes back to this moment in history and if you were seeing things like less Black people in universities or in high positions in the government or just in the society or if Black people are still seen as bad people, its something that goes back to that time. (Rubens, personal interview, October 12, 2016)

The present racial and social milieu is the result of this historical legacy; the social standing of the vast majority of the Brazilian population can be traced back to pre-, during- and immediately post-slavery Brazil. Whereas Black people in the United States were bound together as altogether Black by unwritten social rules (“one drop” rule, etc.) and the perilous years of reconstruction, Jim Crow and the wide-spanning Civil Rights movement (which arguably began with the first kidnapped and enslaved African), Afro-descendant Brazilians were kept apart by divisive tactics based on color privilege (Hernández, 2013). These same tactics are used regularly today (i.e. the two little girls at the birthday party in the introduction). However, slowly but surely, more conversation has developed around wearing natural hair (hair that has not been altered by heat, chemicals or other methods to approximate European textures), turbans, locs, cornrows, etc. Women, especially, are enjoying their natural features.

We're going through a good period of acceptance here in Bahia — in Salvador especially — but we don't see it in other places. We have this identity here in Salvador. Other cities in Bahia, despite the fact that this is a Black state, don't feel the same way... [while living in the interior of the state] some people thought I was married to a "*gringo*," considering my behavior... I'd say, "Everybody, I was born in Salvador!" "I'm normal!" That's when you realize that saying, "I'm Black

and I love my color," you start being discriminated against at stores. (Cristiane, personal interview, June 3, 2016)

Cristiane worked in the interior of Bahia briefly. During her time there, several assumptions worth noting were made about her self-assured, no-nonsense approach to her identity as a Black woman. Even though she was in Bahia, a state that has been granted several monikers attesting to its predominantly Afro-Brazilian population and its history as the first place that African people were trafficked to, she found herself alienated when she left Salvador. Because Cristiane is very proud of her identity as a Black woman, she often donned hairstyles that portrayed that blackness like locs and cornrows. This made people perceive her as an aggressive woman. Similarly, I have observed that Black Brazilian women who wear turbans or cut their hair short are considered cultish (one of the rituals for newly initiated members of *candomblé* is to shave off all of your hair and many women cover their heads until their hair grows back) or lesbians. Wearing your hair wrapped is also associated with Western Africans in Salvador; on one occasion, when my own hair was tucked away, a cashier at the drug store asked me if I was from Angola and looked perplexed when I said, "no." Other things that people associated Cristiane's "behavior" with included foreignness. Here, she uses the word *gringo*, which, until my time in Salvador, I only associated with whiteness because of connotations for the word in Dominican slang in the U.S. However, in Brazilian Portuguese, I learned that *gringo* means foreigner and can be applied to anyone who is not from Brazil. In order to refute a foreign identity and re-assert herself as a *baiana*, Cristiane had to say things like "I'm normal." This belied her feelings of alienation outside of the context of Salvador but also contradicted the normalization of specific bodily aesthetics in Brazil.

They think it's normal to go to a gas station, to the doctor, to the nurse, to the bank manager, to the teacher (the teacher!) and they're all white! They don't realize that. (Cristiane, personal interview, June 3, 2016)

In Warnke's (2007) discussion of race, she points to an important aspect of what happens internally when others identify you.

The ascription establishes the circumstances of one's life, one's sense of how one fits into one's society, and the life trajectory one foresees and establishes for oneself. One's racial identification thus arranges the list of possibilities one draws from in planning one's life and it shapes the way one reacts both to others and to events. In turn, the sense that individuals have of their prospects and their expectations loops back to develop the meaning of racial classifications. (Warnke, 2007, 64-65)

Students engage a Euro-dominant world. When they come to Biko and see that all of their teachers are not only Black but very much self-assured in that blackness or when they meet foreigners like myself who have attended HBCUs they experience a shock. They are exposed to a world that doesn't look anything like their own or what they've known their entire lives. "They don't realize" that the world does not revolve around whiteness or opportunities like practicing medicine and owning business and working as teachers are not limited to white people (Cristiane, personal interview, June 3, 2016).

Chapter 5: Family and Relationships

It is easy to argue that socialization begins at home: what our parents, siblings, and other household family believe, how they structure their lives, and the things they are exposed to inevitably influences the thinking and living of any individual. The people we are closest to help to shape our perceptions of reality and our understandings of the world as they know it. An investigation of interpersonal relationships outside of Biko was an undeniably important component of my research and, during coding, it became apparent that family and social relationships were a major part of how Bikud@s developed their

identities, most often as oppositional or different to that of their families. Two main questions helped to organize the theme and form the chapter on family and relationships.

My concern was with the ways that Bikud@s operate outside of the institute using the following queries:

1. How do students get along with people who do not participate in Biko activities (family members, friends, significant others)?
2. If students' self-perceptions have changed pre-Biko vs. post-Biko, what effect does that have on their living situations and existing relationships?

The responses to these questions were varied but the general undertone was that most Bikud@s, the issue was no longer fitting in with people outside of the institute but educated them (or sought to) based on what they learned in the institute, especially within families. Whether or not the people outside of the institute were receptive to the changes Bikud@s experienced and promoted, however, varied. A prime example of the varied responses to this change in thought and self-identification were Mariane and her household family, which included her grandmother. Her grandmother was initially against the physical changes that Mariane and her identical twin sister Marina made – and voiced her opinions by saying the girls looked ugly with their natural hairstyles. Mariane was able to explain her changing aesthetic in a way that her grandmother may not have understood or fully agreed with but accepted. Other Bikud@s have been disowned by family members by virtue of their outward appearances. This impacts personal development; a survey respondent noted that she was sent to live with another member of her family because she was born with dark skin.

Challenging dominant narratives is an integral part of Helms' (1993) Internalization. This phase of Helms' identity model is demonstrated in some of the challenging conversations participants had with their families. Mariane was able to

educate her family on the reasons why she chose to identify as Black and stand up for the rights of Afro-descendant people as a Black woman. In spite of the fact that her family did not necessarily stand beside her and adopt her views on the issue, they accepted her. Some participants were not so fortunate like Luisa who continues to struggle with the racism in the white side of her family, racism that they deny. Luisa dealt with the racist and hurtful remarks that her family made about her as did Heide during her younger years. Within families like Luisa's, Heide's and Ana Paula's, where one side is white by phenotype and the other Black, it is difficult to bridge the gap in understanding the pervasive nature of racism and colorism. On the other hand, not being white enough for one side or Black enough for the other can create additional conflict.

An element of fear around identifying as Black, as was the case for Felipe and his family also surfaced. Worried about how the physical manifestation of his assumed blackness might increase his chances of unpleasant interactions with police, Felipe's mother begged him to cut his hair. But Felipe continued to grow his hair and assure his mom that, since he is a "good guy", she didn't have to worry about whether or not he would have these kinds of interactions. Whether or not this assured his mother, he didn't say but this was a clear indication participants' families were not all cruel or indifferent in their responses to Bikud@s assumptions of Black racial identity. In fact, one student shared at the end of my fieldwork an older woman in attendance was her mother who only started at the institute because her daughter told her about what she was learning in CCN.

As an alternative to assuming fear, some people accused participants themselves of being overly sensitive, like Uelberte who lost friends because he challenged the racist

and sexist jokes he saw his friends making on social media. Uelberte's example illuminates that, at least for most participants, an assumed Black identity is not easily swayed. In fact, it permeates every aspect of their lives beyond the aesthetic level. The dominant conceptions that Bikud@s first learn at home and from the media, begin to be indoctrinated with at school, or come to accept in their friend groups are reckoned with to varying degrees in the context of the Biko classroom. This invariably comes into play when Bikud@s leave the institute and return home.

Chapter 6: Race and Class

Some of the questions I addressed in my data collection and analysis dealt with the relationship between race and class in Brazil. The impact of affluence on color varies since color is something you can see and affluence may not be as obvious. As the part of Brazil with the densest Afro-descendent population who also happen to be the poorest, addressing race and class became pertinent to the research (Chaffee, 2012; Htun, 2004). Understanding the relationship between these factors focused on answering the following questions:

- What are the ways students relate their economic status to their identity?
- What is the relationship between race and class and what impact does this relationship have on students?

By witnessing the social markers at play, another crucial piece of my research project came into sharp relief. As covered in chapter 6, there are definite and irrefutable relationships between race and class (Bailey 2009; Chaffee, 2012; Hernández, 2013; Telles; 2013). The nature of the relationship between these two deciding factors of social status is specific to Brazil insofar as the two are often indistinguishable markers in relation to access and privilege. In some cases, poor is synonymous to Black; this

emerges in interviews I conducted and in portrayals of poverty in Brazil. Yet in the cases of affluence amongst Black people in Brazil, that affluence is only relative to the company they keep; that is to say, an individual may be very wealthy but if they socialize with people who are less wealthy or poor and are considered indiscriminate about their company, they are relegated to the same treatment as the poor in social spaces. Affluence is an approximation to whiteness in Brazil (Telles, 2013); as poverty is associated with blackness, so is wealth associated with whiteness.

In this way, both race and class had to be treated as relevant in my investigation of Black racial identity processes through Biko, particularly in consideration of some of the participant narratives and the exposition that Gabriela gives about why student drop out is prevalent in the Biko program. For Bikud@s, race and class are conflated in such ways as to prevent accessing the institute.

Unfortunately, three or four months after the Biko year starts in March, the classrooms are less and less populous. Students are unable to afford their bus fare or they are encouraged to work by their families instead of pursuing higher education; many have younger siblings and obligations to care for those youngsters that decrease the amount of time they can dedicate to seriously studying. In a family with a single income of R\$15.00 and three children, the weekly expense for child/student travel alone totals R\$4.88 (one bus, round trip), just under 1/3 the annual income.

Considering this is the case Bikud@s (and likely, many poor families in Salvador) are Black, the prospect for educational advancement is limited even at the primary and secondary levels. Unfortunately, many students are incapable of surmounting this kind of financial burden even with temporary access to the discounted metro passes they are

granted until they finish high school. Since most Bikud@s have already completed high school by the time they enroll in the institute, they are no longer eligible for this discount.

Universidade Federal da Bahia (UFBA) matriculates economists using a Marxist curriculum; according to George, those who graduate with these degrees are not encouraged to address race and class as unified issues. Importantly, George notes that most UFBA economics graduates (and UFBA graduates in general) are white. George also states that, when challenged about the relationship between race and class, they avoid the issue.

But they [UFBA trained economists and professors] would rather not look at it, they don't see it. That's an option they [UFBA trained economists and professors] have, right? ... People who have been through CCN are always seen as problematic once they get to college. That's because they question, they disagree, they don't agree with teachers, they don't agree with books — and that applies to different areas of knowledge. (George, personal interview, May 20, 2016)

Whiteness presents the economists that George speaks about the option to ignore the complex relationship between class and race in Brazil; in this way, their education enforces their racially privileged perspective. However, Biko does not directly challenge the class structure; even though there are avenues to engage debate with other students and visitors on economics and class (and CCN discussions incorporate poverty, feminism, environmental racism, and myriad other topics), Biko's goal is to overcome these challenges explicitly through education. Class undoubtedly conflates with race but Biko's treatment of discrimination and social issues has a markedly racial bent to it.

Participants are painfully aware that the two are intricately connected. Before many of them openly identified as Black and asserted their identity as Afro-descendants, they were aware of the denial of privileges to them because of poverty.

I think that they're connected. If you're poor and Black, and you want to go to college — you've gone to public schools and got that education, which is not enough for you to take such a difficult exam. It's not even sufficient if you're trying to pass ENEM. Actually, most people who pass it are white and have gone to private schools, so they've been preparing to take entrance exams all their life. (Ana Paula, personal interview, May 26, 2016)

The [pregnant] girl can even be white, but poor, and she'll be judged in several ways. (Raldiney, personal interview, June 6, 2016)

Because that human being is there because he wasn't given opportunities. Unfortunately, he'll try to take the easy way out, which is to steal, to kill, to take things from others. So, I can't judge him, because I don't know his story... I keep defending people because that's what Biko has taught me — it's about human rights, about giving people the right to defend themselves, because I always put myself in someone else's shoes in order to understand them. (Layane, personal interview, May 19, 2016)

Access to education is guaranteed to affluent people (Hernández, 2013). One of my research participants shared that she is afraid of having more than one child because she knows she can guarantee her only son a good education if she does not have to divvy up her and her husband's small income further. The reason that attending a federal university like UFBA or UNEB is so important for Biko students is because they are tuition free institutions; expenses are limited to textbooks and travel to and from the campuses. Through the analyses conducted for this chapter, Bikud@s reiterated what is commonly understood across the literature: race and class are deeply intertwined in Brazil. That said, class positionality sometimes has adverse implications for Black and white people alike, particularly when thinking about social mobility by education. In the case of Bikud@s, these limitations manifest themselves in varying ways – not having the money to attend class at Biko or having to share lunch, for example. As class is a means to order society based not only on actual but *perceived* economic status and Black people in Brazil are more likely to be associated with poverty according to the literature and

Bikud@s, this chapter reveals that the intimate relationship between race and class creates barriers to their future success (Telles, 2013).

Limitations

Navigating international terrain to conduct ethnographic research presents a number of issues, each more challenging than the last. One of the key issues that I had to mitigate during my research periods were the unfolding political events, including the impeachment of former president Dilma Rousseff, strikes by taxi drivers who were protesting Uber and Lyft's arrival in Brazil, and strikes by bus drivers over pretty much anything from pay to politics. These events made traveling dangerous in some cases and impossible in others not just for me but, for my participants, some of whom had to take two or three buses to get to the institute at all. The evolution of Brazil into a global stage both after the World Cup, in preparation for and following the Olympics also impacted both travel to Salvador and the functions of the city. As the whole country prepared to put on its "best face", people were drawn to their televisions and interested, by and large, in the economic impact these events would have on Brazil. Preoccupation with these issues made for tense interactions with police who were always armed and ready to suppress any impromptu rebellion. Added to this unpredictability was participation on the part of those involved at Biko and the potential for miscommunication and language barriers. Equally relevant to this was developing trust and rapport with the Biko population. These aspects presented issues, particularly during the pilot study. During the early stages, my confusion of Spanish and Portuguese created many incidences of miscommunication; by the time my study was coming to an end, participants commented that they believed me to be a Brazilian from another part of the country. Had my language proficiency earlier

on been as advanced as it has come to be, the study might have progressed more smoothly.

My positionality as a Black woman from the U.S. also presented issues during data collection and analysis. It was difficult for me to extricate my own racialized understandings of what prejudice and discrimination look like from Brazilian social norms and “jokes.” For example, my host commonly referred to a Black man with vitiligo in the neighborhood as “the painted monkey” and once “joked” that I should send a video of him dancing to the United States to see if anyone would adopt him. The man protested the comment as racist but, since my host also identifies as Black, she would dismiss him and assert that it was impossible for her to be racist.

From my perspective, she’d made a blatantly racially charged joke – a manifestation of her own internalized racism – and he’d responded appropriately in naming it a racist commentary on his appearance. But there were other people present – Black, white, and *pardo* – who laughed and called the man sensitive for responding in the way that he did. There is also a story I share at the beginning of my dissertation about a comment a mother made to her daughter who was disagreeing with another little girl with a lighter complexion about a chair. The comment her mother made when she noticed the scuffle was that milk came before coffee. This, too, was laughed off but also made me incredibly uncomfortable, particularly when I considered that the young girl might grow up hearing that commentary her entire life and believe that she was somehow less important than people possessing Euro-dominant features. However, in several cases, the application of my lens as a Black woman from the United States spurred conversation about racially charged comments and incidents. For example, when I sat with my host

family to critique the television segment about pre-detainment interviews, this triggered later conversations about what was and was not racist with my host mother, Carla.

Piloting the survey and more clearly defining the purposes and uses of the data produced by the survey would have mitigated a number of issues that arose from its design and analysis. Issues with the physical layout of the survey questionnaire made it difficult, at times, for students to identify and respond to all of the items. For example, item CCND1 had very few responses. The lack of response to this item may be because the students did not see the item. During the survey sessions that I was able to oversee, I had to call respondents quickly to fill it in and many said they had not even noticed the item. Many students balked at the length of the survey. Additionally, some items were not applicable to some respondents. For example, one respondent was older than thirty and one never studied in a private school. Such items may contribute to a sense of exclusion for participants; their inability to respond to some of the survey questions might have influenced the way they responded to other items and/or inclined them to provide the responses that they thought would be most appropriate. Another unfortunate limitation is that surveys conducted on May 16 took place during class time – students had to either devote their focus to class or to the survey. This was not, of course, my intention. However, course administrators decided that there was no way around it. The nuances of writing the survey were left to my translator, Rafa Lombardino, who did not present to me any problems within the phrasing of items on the questionnaire. It is worth reiterating that the director and school administrators read and reviewed surveys before they were distributed and reviewed interview protocols on the same day.

Over the course of data collection, one participant did not fit in what I came to understand as the typical Bikud@ mold, neither did he fit in the Helms model. I first reference this participant and other similar “non-fitting” students whom I observed at Biko in “Chapter Three: CCN and a Black Identity.” Helms was writing in 1993 about racial identity for the Black population in the United States so, the fit of her model to the research is tenuous for a variety of reasons but useful for relating Brazilian blackness to U.S. readers. However, for there to be Bikud@s who do not necessarily identify with their classmates or relate to the issues presented in CCN the same way is not necessarily a limitation but a case that must be unpacked.

First, this interview participant reluctantly or passively identifies as Black. In this way, he may be described as entering and possibly oscillating between Encounter where the participant “acts as though an externally defined Black identity exists” (Helms, 1993, 26) but does not necessarily adopt it and Immersion/Emersion where a “nonstereotypic” (Helms, 1993, 28) vision of blackness is formed and a Black reference group is established but a full withdrawal into “a Black world” has not yet occurred (Helms, 1993, 26). Second, the participant and the observed students appeared to be visibly engaged in debate and CCN but cannot necessarily assume the aesthetics their classmates can to outwardly demonstrate blackness. That is to say, since many of the stereotypic and phenotypic characteristics of blackness – thicker hair, darker skin and wider noses – make wearing Afros or decorative head scarves more “appropriate” or “likely” for other students, those students with phenotypes more commonly aligned with indigeneity or whiteness – thinner hair, fairer skin, thinner facial features – did not fit in with the “typical” Black aesthetic. This is pivotal to the types of discussions they have about

racism and discrimination and the kinds of prejudice and discrimination they face. Finally, this participant did not engage in racial discussions with his family members the way that other participants did. The race question was not a part of his engagement with his family even after Biko. All of this, of course, is not to say that there is a single way of conceiving of blackness or identity nor is it intended to polarize the students. I've chosen to develop these cases here because this is a part of my research that I did not attend to explicitly while in Salvador and will seek to address in future studies. Participants like these would provide further insight to complex issues like the intersectionality between race and class. Developing this narrative during fieldwork would have aided in understanding the importance of CCN and Biko as well as the other factors that mitigate Black identities in Brazil, including those of students like Ana Paula who were not considered Black “enough” in their families..

Many of these same limitations offer the opportunity to look further into how a similar study may be better conducted. For example, with the funding to stay the entirety of the Biko year, I would be able to witness the fuller transformation from Biko students to Bikud@s. A longer stay would also create a window to explore the society surrounding such an environment would provide greater comparison and contrast. The use of a better designed survey might yield more opportunity for statistical analysis. Furthermore, conducting research for a specific population within an institution like Biko – for example, only the women who attend the institution – would afford an opportunity to investigate more specific issues related to race and gender; conversely, picking a select few students, both male and female, to follow through the *pré-vestibular* until the end would provide the *testimonio* I had originally aimed for with my study. Implementation

of any of these adjustments would extend this study to a more comprehensive portrayal of the institute and the students who attend.

Implications Beyond Biko

The research presented in “Creating Identity” investigates Black identity formation within the Steve Biko Cultural Institute (Biko) in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil, a *pre-vestibular* – or college entrance exam preparation course – for Afro-Brazilian high school graduates and aspiring college students. The curriculum, *Cidadania e Consciência Negra* (Black Consciousness and Citizenship; abbreviated CCN) serves as a vital pillar to the institutional approach to the development of a positive identification with Black identity. In a Eurocentric society like Brazil and a world where Black identity is largely discriminated against – particularly, in Brazilian educational spaces – Biko represents a movement to combat the exclusion of Afro-descendant youth from university, improve self-esteem and perceptions of the value of Black identity, and change the demographic of the graduating class of federal universities in the state of Bahia.

The three main objectives of this research were to 1) understand the ways that students learn blackness through the course Black Consciousness and Citizenship (CCN), 2) how teachers educate students on blackness, and 3) how or whether former Biko students continue to engage these principles. Findings indicate that engagement with the principles of CCN heavily influenced participants’ identity development through student and teacher discourse. The institution is a center of critical activism in the community. Aside from being a major part of the instructional approach to preparation for the college entrance exam, many participants reported that what they learned in CCN created strife amongst their families and friends over newly affirmed Black identities. Although Biko

students and alumni are more socially alert to the racial issues in their communities, they remain at risk of being racially profiled. Additionally, understanding blackness through the eyes of participants required an understanding of class and gender structures in Brazil. One major finding of the research: at Biko, CCN is equated with blackness as Biko and CCN are inextricably tied. Thereby, knowledge production is heavily influenced by Biko tenets and ideologies as CCN tenets and ideologies, encouraging discussion on race and racism, prejudice, discrimination, women's rights, economic development and other topics.

In order to speak to the implications for future research, it is important to consider that the United States and Brazil have been positioned as having opposing national rhetoric regarding race and/or color identities since the colonial era and the true nature and sociopolitical implications of the racial continua in both countries has been revealed in the past thirty years. The presence of an institution that has been operating successfully for 25 years to produce a dominant Black identity in spite of the national rhetoric in Brazil is, in and of itself, noteworthy. A contemporary investigation of the contributions of that institute to the present social makeup of that particular corner of Brazil and the broader implications on the racial conversation globally invites audiences to consider what it means not only to be Black but also, to teach people about blackness and Black identity.

This research is intended to broaden the understanding of Black identities, global educational politics pertinent to Black student populations in Latin American countries and the United States, and expand a broadening research critique of inclusiveness of the African Diaspora. Additionally, this research may provide insight to institutional policies

in developing inclusive and more comprehensive environments for Afro-descendant international scholars in U.S. higher education institutions as well as inform Lei 10.639 in Brazil. In the future, I look forward to continuing the investigation of Black identities elsewhere in Latin America, probing the issues of nurture and nature, the particulars of the matter within the contexts of class and gender and whether or not a singular definition of Black consciousness and citizenship (CCN) exists. Additionally, I have been working closely with members of the administration at Biko to establish a fund for enrolled students to commute to the institute for the full academic cycle. Since the major source of attendance decline is a lack of bus fare, I would like to develop a specific system for students to get bus passes in order to attend the institute regularly year round.

Although Helms (1993) is not the first or only theorist with a racial identity model, choosing her to discuss the aspects of Black identity present in my data collection was useful to the analysis of the dominant and counter narratives. Since I am unaware of any Afro-Brazilian racial identity models, I will use Helms and other theorists to conceive of what that model might look like; I've used the core of Helms' model in this manuscript only to the extent I considered it applicable. Moving forward in my research for Brazil and other Latin American countries, I will seek identity models that emerge from Latin America and consider other racial identity models such as Cross (year?) to understand the specific nature of identity formation in Latin American contexts, the parallels and contrasts with the United States, and the relation of identity formation with activism and political identities.

Using identity development theories focused on the U.S. for the Brazilian context is complicated by the difference between racial classification in the United States and

color classification in Brazil. The United States operates largely on a binary system: one is either white or non-white. Due to the policy of miscegenation in colonial and present day Brazil, this binary system is insufficient to qualify all of the existing racial and color categories used in the country. *Parda, preta, branca, amarela*, and *índigena* are all terms that are used to indicate the multiple levels of white, Black and brown and Indigenous phenotypes in Brazilian society (IGBE, 2008). This complicates discussion and research of societal inequity by race. As a result, organization by class is more prevalent in analysis of inequity in Brazil; still there is color privilege attached to class. Furthermore, socioeconomic segregation is also strongly correlated with racial identification. Telles calls this relationship the “money whitens” effect: “if color identification changes when individuals move up the economic ladder, then overall segregation may reflect not only inequality, but the misreporting of color by high income nonwhites” (Telles, 1992, p. 191). Thereby, affluence becomes part of racial conversation and analysis.

The formation of Afro-Brazilian identity took a different trajectory than that of Afro-descendant people in the United States because of the buy-in to racial democracy/racial harmony in Brazil. The recent installation of affirmative action policies attempts to lump together members of these color groups that tend to identify on a class basis. “The narrative of ethnic mixture... has proven more powerful” in Brazil because ethnic symbols are counted as distinctly *Brazilian* and not racial (Telles, 2004, 156). As a result, social scientists have found it useful to conduct research along class lines and not color lines. Yet, as documented by my research presented here, class analysis alone is insufficient for understanding Brazilian inequalities.

In acknowledgment of the fact that Black identity is not static or singular, answering the question, “What is Black identity?” is moot. Even in this dissertation, there is no specific answer; students and *soteropolitanos* outside of Biko that disassociated me with Black identity because of my facial features challenged my own conceptualizations of blackness when in Brazil. In this study, being Black has been attributed to everything from music choices to hairstyles to active political participation.

Throughout African Diasporic studies, the aspiration is to understand who Afro-descendants are and how they relate to other members of a shared ancestry. In fact, the last Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora (ASWAD) conference was entitled “African/Diasporic Futures: Re-Envisioning Power, Interventions, *Imaginations* and *Belonging*” (emphasis, mine) and many of the scholars that participated in that conference addressed the questions I pose here. Who belongs to the Diaspora and who decides? Is belonging in this conversation of Afro-descendent issues in the control of those who participate in academic circles alone? In many ways, I see CCN as a part of the larger discussion of who holds membership in the Diaspora, who can access this network, and the many and varied reasons why. In many ways, Biko is a prime example of the collision of a variety of Diasporic thought in one institution because of the integration of international conceptualizations of race and racism on site. By closely investigating CCN, I come away with questions about the manufacture of a Black identity – the steps and processes that others take across the African Diaspora to assert their belongings and how other members imagine their blackness as similar or dissimilar to that of places like Brazil, other parts of the Western Hemisphere, or the African and Asian continents. Inquiry to who actively chooses or denies membership in this group is

also important to the process at hand: the rejection of whiteness as normative and the assumption of blackness as positive and necessary.

Appendices

APPENDIX 1: Current Student Interview Protocol

The questions in the protocol have not been piloted. In order to pare down the number of questions, these instruments will be sent to director Jucy Silva in Portuguese and English. The questions are numerous because they will be used, as necessary, during the interview to engage participants who are reluctant to give in depth answers. In particular, those questions marked with an asterisk are intended to open the door for further inquiry should the previous question yield little information. Should the participants require multiple interview sessions, they will be accommodated accordingly.

Opening Questions:

1. Tell me about yourself and where you're from. Are you originally from Salvador?
 - a. Where are your parents from? Describe your family. Do you have siblings?
2. Have you attended public school or private school? Have you attended both?
 - a. If you have attended both, did you see differences?

CCN Questions:

1. When did you start at Biko and what are you enrolled in here?
2. How do your experiences in CCN compare with educational experiences outside of Biko?
 - a. How does it compare to other school experiences?
 - b. How does it compare with what you are taught at home?
3. What are you taught at school about being a Black person?
4. How has CCN affected your life outside of school?

Identity Questions:

2. How do you identify yourself? Why? (note to self: explore blackness, Afro-Brazilian, race, class)
 - a. How do other people identify you?
 - b. Has enrolling at Biko affected the way you think about yourself?
 - c. How would you explain your identity to someone who never came to Brazil?
3. What are the ways in which you express your identity?
 - a. In what ways is your identity important to how you participate in society?
 - b. How does the ways you express your identity differentiate you from others?
4. How do your parents identify themselves?
 - a. Have you been challenged by your parents because of the way you self-identify?
 - b. What do your parents think about the way you identify yourself?

Life Experience Questions:

2. In what ways does your identity affect your daily life?
 - a. Do you feel that you are discriminated against? Why?
 - b. Tell me about a time that you were discriminated against.

- c. How do your parents feel about your attending Biko's CCN? Reactions from other people?

Racism and Classism Questions (definitions provided):

1. When you consider your educational experiences, how have your race or your class affected your education? Please give examples.

APPENDIX 2: Former Student Interview Protocol

Opening Questions:

1. Tell me about yourself and where you're from. Are you originally from Salvador?
 - a. Where are your parents from? Describe your family. Do you have siblings?
2. Have you attended public school or private school? Have you attended both?
 - a. If you have attended both, did you see differences in demographics? Resources? Overall school or course quality?

CCN Questions:

1. When did you start at Biko and what are you enrolled in here?
2. How did your experiences in CCN compare with educational experiences outside of Biko?
 - a. How did it compare to other school experiences?
 - b. How did it compare with what you are taught at home?
3. What were you taught at school about being a Black person?
4. How has CCN affected your life outside of school?

Identity Questions:

1. How do you identify yourself? Why? (note to self: explore blackness, Afro-Brazilian, race, class)
 - a. How do other people identify you?
 - b. Did enrolling at Biko affected the way you think about yourself?
 - c. How would you explain your identity to someone who never came to Brazil?
2. What are the ways in which you express your identity?
 - a. In what ways is your identity important to how you participate in society?
 - b. How does the ways you express your identity differentiate you from others?
3. How do your parents identify themselves?
 - a. Have you been challenged by your parents because of the way you self-identify?
 - b. What do your parents think about the way you identify yourself?

Life Experience Questions:

3. In what ways does your identity affect your daily life?
 - a. Do you feel that you are discriminated against? Why?
 - b. Tell me about a time that you were discriminated against.
 - c. How did your parents feel about your attending Biko?

Racism and Classism Questions (definitions provided):

1. When you consider your educational experiences, how have your race or your class affected your education? Please give examples.

Additional Questions:

2. In what ways are teachings and experiences from CCN important to you now?
How have they informed your activity and life choices?
 - a. Since Biko, what about the way you view the world has changed? What informed that change?

APPENDIX 3: Biko Staff Interview Protocol

Opening Questions:

1. Tell me about yourself and where you're from. Are you originally from Salvador?
 - a. Describe your family. Do you have children?
2. Are you currently a teacher outside of Biko? If so, where?
 - a. If you are a teacher at a public or private school, do you see differences in resources, overall school or course quality between the two? How do you think these differences affect the social and economic future of students?
3. How long have you worked at Biko?
 - a. When did you start? What are your responsibilities?

CCN Questions:

1. What was your first reaction to CCN? Had you ever taught anything like it before? What were you taught at school about being a Black person?
2. Have you taken CCN (or any aspect of the Biko curriculum) with you from Biko to the public?
 - a. Can you give an example?

Teacher Questions:

6. What does a typical CCN class look like?
 - a. Can you walk me through a class?
7. What are the parts of CCN that you feel are most pertinent for students to grasp? How do you ensure that these concepts are understood? Can you give some examples? What is most challenging about the curriculum?
8. How do students initially react to CCN? Give an example.
 - a. Are there students that challenge the content of CCN? Give an example.
9. What do you do when students resist CCN?
 - a. How do you respond? Give an example.
10. What use have you seen students make of what they learn at Biko outside of its walls?

APPENDIX 4: Race, Class and CCN Survey

Dear research participant,

This survey is about perspectives on identity, race and class among students at Steve Biko Cultural Institute. This survey is intended for Biko students currently enrolled in CCN, ages 18 and older. It should take you about xxx minutes to complete.

Definitions for racism and classism from the Oxford dictionary are provided at the start of the survey and at the top of each page. However, these definitions are just a starting point, one that you may challenge in the spaces provided in the survey.

Throughout the survey, you will have the opportunity to assert your own ideas about identity, race, racism and classism. Your responses are anonymous.

At the end of the survey, you will be invited to participate in an interview about CCN. If you wish to be interviewed, there is a separate sheet for your name and contact information.

Thank you for participating in the survey!

S. F. Means

Racism: the belief that all members of each race possess characteristics or abilities specific to that race, especially so as to distinguish it as inferior or superior to another race or races

Classism: prejudice against or in favor of people belonging to a particular social class

Inequity: lack of fairness or justice

Please circle appropriate responses

Gender: male female other

Age: 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29
30

What programs at Biko are you currently engaged in?

a) Pré-Vestibular b) OGUNTEC c) Ingles

I have been enrolled at Biko since (give date):

BRAZIL, RACE AND CLASS

Strongly Disagree (1) Disagree (2) Agree (3) Strongly

Agree (4)

2. Racism is a major problem in Brazil. 1 2 3 4

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|-----|---|
| 3. There is no racism in Brazil. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4. Racism is a form of injustice. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. Racism is a problem in education. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 6. Many people experience injustice because of their race. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 7. Racism is different from classism. | | | Y N | |
| 8. Classism is a form of injustice. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 9. Many people experience injustice because of class. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 10. I consider most of the injustice to be caused by (circle one): racism / classism / neither | | | | |

HOW DO I IDENTIFY?

2. I identify as a Black Brazilian.

Y N

- a. I consider myself to be Black because

- b. I do not consider myself to be Black because

3. Black is an identity.

Y N

- a. If yes, I think Black is an identity because

- b. If no, I do not think Black is an identity because

4. Black is a culture.

Y N

- a. If yes, I think Black is a culture because

b. If no, I do not think Black is a culture because

5. I have experienced racism.

Y N

a. If yes, can you please give an example

b. If no, can you please provide your definition of racism

6. I have experienced classism.

Y N

a. If yes, can you please give an example

b. If no, can you please provide your definition of racism

CCN AND DIFFERENCE

2. CCN teaches me about what it means to be Black.

Y N

Strongly Disagree (1) Disagree (2) Agree (3) Strongly Agree (4)

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. I use CCN in every day life. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4. CCN is different from what I learn in school. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. At school, I have been treated differently because I am Black. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 6. I have seen other people treated differently because they are Black. | | | | |

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 7. People are denied access to education because of race. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 8. People are denied access to education because of class. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

BIKO

2. Biko has been more beneficial to me as an educational opportunity than public school. 1 2 3 4
3. Biko has been more beneficial to me as an educational opportunity than private school. 1 2 3 4

IN MY OWN WORDS

1. I define Blackness as

2. If you did not provide a definition for racism, please provide your own definition below.

3. If you did not provide a definition for classism, please provide your own definition below.

Interview Volunteer Form

1. I would be willing to participate in an interview about CCN and Black identity.
Y N

Name:

Phone Number:

Email:

APPENDIX 5: Transcription Conventions

Within the transcripts, to identify anything from breaks or pauses in the conversation, I use the following symbols and punctuation to indicate change.

Pause in speech	Ellipses (...)
Slightly or greatly raised voice	Exclamation mark (!)
Break in speech or thought	Hyphen (–)
The end of a sentence or thought	Periods (.), Question marks (?), Exclamation marks (!)
Quoting someone else’s words	Quotation marks (“”)
Vague references like “it”	Clarified with the referred term in brackets []

Words that do not translate well or have situation dependent meaning are left in Portuguese with the best English translation or meaning included in parentheses or the inverse with the English term written out and the Portuguese term in parentheses to delineate difference. For example, *preto* and *negro* both mean black but the former is commonly used to refer to objects and the latter, to human beings.

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