Introduction

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Over the past decade, the acceleration across Latin America of state- and social-movement-led initiatives to remedy five centuries of racial injustice has rendered increasingly urgent the need for an examination of Afro-Latin America that is geographically broad, comparative, and analytically focused. *Comparative Perspectives on Afro-Latin America* is our effort to address this need, by engaging in a single volume key intellectual and political debates currently unfolding across the black Americas. Our understanding of these debates has led us to divide the volume into three main sections: Part 1 examines the processes and politics of black identity; Part 2 analyzes black political mobilization; and Part 3 addresses state responses to that mobilization.

The volume seeks to provide a range of disciplinary perspectives, in-depth regional coverage, and cutting-edge analyses of Afro-descendant peoples in Latin America and the Caribbean. In recent scholarship, considerable attention has been paid to indigenous social mobilization across Latin America (e.g., Warren 1998; Yashar 2005; Becker 2008; Lucero 2008), and a comparable degree of attention has begun to be paid to the recent political mobilizations of the region's populations of African descent (e.g., Sawyer 2005; Dixon 2008; Mullings and Marable 2009; Pinho 2010). Informed and challenged by this scholarship, this volume investigates how the region's Afro-descendants are reconfiguring notions of citizenship, territory, race, gender, belonging, and nation.

For many years the image in the scholarship about Latin America and the Caribbean was of a region where antiracism movements were weak or nonexistent (e.g., Wright 1993; Wade 1993; Hanchard 1994). For many scholars, class rather than race explained socioeconomic inequality, racial oppression was rare, and black identities were overshadowed by powerful ideologies of racial democracy. Today, these perspectives have been fundamentally challenged by a growing awareness among scholars that a new balance of forces has emerged in the growing network of civil society organizations and social movements, and the uneven growth of state legislation to correct centuries of discrimination. Building on this surge of scholarship (Reiter and Mitchell 2010; Davis 2007; Dzidzienyo and Oboler 2005; Andrews 2004), we seek to enrich theory about race in Latin America by exploring the region's various forms of black consciousness and identity, distinct kinds and levels of political mobilization, and the nature of state responses to these. The continent is currently witnessing a sea change with regard to all of these dimensions and we have sought to capture this change by focusing on new democratic spaces opening up for Afro-descendants to construct citizenship, intensify political participation, and claim rights. Most broadly, in this volume we trace how people of African descent are making their presence felt in new ways.

What follows is a summary of the key arguments developed in the volume's three sections.

Part 1: Blackness and Cultural Difference

In order to contextualize Afro political mobilization in Latin America we begin with what "being black" means in the region. For us, "being black," "black identities" or "blacknesses" (we use the terms interchangeably) refer to bundles of ideas and meanings held by particular actors in particular societies about people who are socially defined as "black" ("*negro*") or "afro-descended" (Wade 2008a; Jackson 2005). Blackness is, variously, a form of consciousness among black people, a deliberate project to produce such consciousness, and ideas about blacks held by nonblacks (Hartigan 2010, 117). Throughout the hemisphere, consciousness and projects of blackness cluster around the ideas of common descent from Africa, a common history of enslavement and emancipation, and common experiences of social oppression (Wade 2008b), while ideas nonblacks have about black people center on racist stereotypes that articulate white fears of loss of dominance (ibid., 118). The contents of each of the categories—"Africa," slavery, emancipation, oppression, fear, and dominance—and how these concepts cluster together vary from place to place and context to context.

In order to understand the patterns of blackness specific to Latin America, we must begin by drawing a broad contrast with blackness as black consciousness as it developed in the "other" major empire of the hemisphere—that of Great Britain. Paul Gilroy's notion of the Black Atlantic (1993a, 1993b) articulated the view that the collective experiences of diaspora, enslavement, and emancipation among Africans caught up in the British system of Atlantic slavery generated a consciousness among blacks that was simultaneously infused by the values of the African homeland and the ideals of liberty, equality, and citizenship celebrated by Europeans (Gilroy 1993a; see also Parker 2009). While admiring

Gilroy's work, scholars of Spanish and Portuguese Latin America have long sensed that his model does not perfectly fit the societies they know best. The ideals of liberty, equality, and citizenship developed differently in these societies than they did in the British and French empires. This was generally the result of four forces: the anti-liberal political traditions of Spain and Portugal; the peculiarities of the transatlantic slave trade in the nineteenth century to Brazil and Spanish Latin America; the existence of organizations of slaves and ex-slaves that were approved by the Catholic Church; and the strong political identification of Afro-descended people in Brazil and Cuba with African homelands.

These are admittedly sweeping generalizations to which scholars will promptly find important exceptions. Still, as an overall pattern, we propose that rather than developing "double consciousness" as Afro-descended peoples arguably did in the British ex-colonies (Gilroy 1993a; Du Bois [1903] 2005; Parker 2009), people of African descent in the Spanish and Portuguese societies of the hemisphere evolved a distinctively hybrid set of consciousnesses—and consequently blacknesses—that we loosely gather under the rubric "Latin American blackness." It is our goal in the first section to offer accounts that illustrate these multiple forms of blackness and to begin to explain them as specific outcomes of political arrangements and power relationships. For the purposes of this volume, and without any claim to exhaustiveness, we have selected five key ways blackness has been socially constructed in Latin America: the Latin black Atlantic; the Latin black Pacific; blackness as class oppression; blackness as commodity; and blackness as white fear and fantasy. We do not regard these patterns as mutually exclusive; we are sure that in many cases one would find elements of all these patterns overlapping and interlocking. We have simply located strong examples of each pattern and argue that each reveals distinctive arrangements of social power.

Patricia Pinho's chapter offers a glimpse of the Latin black Atlantic. Here we note two major ideological features that distinguish this blackness from Gilroy's black Atlantic. First, in the Spanish and Portuguese territories that border on the Atlantic, people of African descent regularly and publicly recognized, valued, and enacted cultural practices traceable to specific locations on the African continent. The Latin black Atlantic thus involves an interest on the part of people of Nagô, Bantu, Yoruba, Kikongo, and Fon descent to engage in boundary negotiations with each other (see Nishida 2003; Pinho 2010; Matory 2005). Second, for Afro-descended people in these societies, the ideals of citizenship deriving from the British and French revolutions were looked upon more skeptically than they were by people of African descent in the British Empire. While admiring these lofty ideals, Afro-descended people living with the legacies of Spanish and Portuguese rule have tended to have less confidence that nonblack people would ever feel moved by idealism to concede genuine rights to black people. Consequently, for black people in the Latin black Atlantic, sources of political identity beyond their African ethnic groups derived not as much from the values of European citizenship as from cultural values embedded in African political and religious traditions and from struggles rooted in the rejection of domination (Scott 1985, 1990). Thus, in the Latin black Atlantic, the experience of inhabiting white-dominated societies forged, alongside specific African-based ethnic identities, both pan-African solidarities and broad-based identification with the oppressed.

Pinho's analysis of Bantu blackness in Bahia, Brazil, illustrates these dynamics. A major question here is on what ideological basis self-identified Bantu activists have come to claim the high ground of political universalism, declaring themselves to be committed not only to people of Bantu descent and not only to all people of "afro" descent but to *all* people suffering from any kind of marginalization. Here, where Gilroy may have seen the influence of European republicanism, we detect other forces. Bantu activists' position that they can remain deeply committed to Bantu identity while simultaneously expressing a strong commitment to the broader "afro" identity has been generated by two specific forces that have little to do with European republicanism: the fact that the Bahian state defines the key resources it wishes to allocate not in "Bantu" but in "afro" terms and the fact that evangelical Christians' attacks on both the Bantu and the Yoruba have thrown the two groups into each others' arms. But why do the Bantu wish to benefit the poor in general? One reason is a specific African spiritual ethos. Bantu Candomblé, Pinho tells us, teaches its adherents to *feed the spirits and each other,* a philosophical stance that nurtures a sense of identification with broader—and universal—humanity. Beyond this, Pinho argues, we must consider the specific historical experience of the Bantu: they have been marginalized not only by whites but also by blacks (i.e., the Yoruba), a fact that has made them very sensitive to marginalization, whoever experiences it. Overall, the political views of Bantu activists highlight a key feature of the Latin black Atlantic: though it is based in a core of specific African ethnicity, it is less directly influenced by European republicanism and hence develops its own political logic as a response to a mix of each group's internal cultural ethos and external challenges, oppositions, and injustices.

On the Atlantic coast, we are in the presence of well-established, dense, publicly self-identifying populations of African descent. This is not the case on the Pacific seaboard (with several key exceptions). Here, people of African descent arrived in a second migration, cut off from the demographic and cultural density of the African-descended populations of the Atlantic coast and the Caribbean. In societies where powerful assimilative ideologies of *mestizaje* and *criollismo* have left little room for recognizing African cultural survivals; where people of African descent have not settled together in large, visible concentrations that might serve as refuges of black culture; where archival and oral resources offer only the sparsest of evidence of cultural continuities to Africa; and where African-based religions have never developed—here, cultural and political activists are obliged to build blackness from the bottom up, as it were, piecing together the shards where they can find them and when necessary reaching out to non-African traditions to assist in the reconstruction.

Enter Heidi Feldman's important notion of a "black Pacific"—the cluster of ideological elements that activists have begun to identify as components of a revival of blackness in the wide swath of societies on the Pacific seaboard. Feldman suggests three ideological elements of this blackness. First, activists on the Pacific coast, distanced from African roots, turn instead to the closer, more readily available traditions of Cuba and Brazil, claiming that any cultural resemblance between these countries and those of the Pacific coast must be due to a common African source. Second, black Pacific activists posit that African cultural "memory" has been sustained not by intergenerational social learning but by being lodged within the very bodies of people of African descent. While bodily essentialism is also present in the black Atlantic, it generally occurs there alongside a belief in the mechanism of cultural transmission, a belief rendered plausible by the existence of large, visible African-descended communities. And third, the black Pacific, unable to find much in the way of African cultural resources, turns instead to the other non-European cultural resource at hand—that of indigenous Americans—and redefines it as "African." Feldman's analysis of this ideological cluster opens a new path of understanding blackness in Latin America (and elsewhere) by drawing our attention to the creative, agentive role of activists in framing identities (see McAdam and Snow 2000; Escobar 2008). Some identities—in our case, some blacknesses—require more framing work than others. A key question that the contrast between the black Atlantic and black Pacific raises is how successfully these blacknesses have resonated with their targeted constituencies at the grassroots. It would not surprise us to learn that the black Pacific has had a harder time of it. We look forward to future analyses that conduct careful, detailed comparisons of the relative capacity of the two blacknesses to mobilize constituencies.

While a common feature of Atlantic and Pacific blacknesses is their invocation of Africa, it is important to recall that such invocations are secondary among many populations of African descent in Latin America. Indeed, phenotype itself is not always a primary marker of identity among people of visibly African descent, especially when they live side by side with people of no such visible descent inside the sprawling, explosively growing cities of the continent (Streicker

1995; Burdick 2009; Ferreira da Silva 2005). The third chapter in this section, by Sujatha Fernandes, exemplifies this pattern: for many people of African descent who live in the shantytowns, peripheries, and *favelas* of the continent, the logic of "being black" is not so much about descent from Africa but about connecting phenotype to the identity of living in poverty in socially marginalized places. For the rappers Fernandes studies, the term "*negro*" connects phenotype directly to poverty and marginalization. The primary identity reference for these rappers is the streets of the barrios, places that are very racially mixed. Hence, they are reticent about embracing the term "Afro-Venezuelan," as they are less interested in invoking common descent than in drawing attention to the oppressions of the barrio that affect everyone who lives there. El Gordo and Ochoa prefer "*negro*" to "Afro-descendant" because their everyday reality is that all people suffer equally in the barrios; they wish to use a term that "open[s] the possibility of building broader solidarities among the racially diverse urban poor."

While this blackness thus has considerable political potential, Fernandes challenges us to see its limitations. While rappers may denounce the misery of the barrios, their analysis of this misery and what is to be done about it often remains bound to the realm of the immediate. This is a blackness that is class-oriented and place-based but is immersed in the politics of "voice" and "experience." For the rappers Fernandes describes, like rappers in other Latin American societies (see Burdick 2009; Pardue 2004, 2008), the solutions often remain individual—altering the company one keeps, renouncing drugs, developing inner peace—while collective solutions remain vague, abstract, and distant. Venezuelan rappers are thus carving their own hybrid path of blackness: uninterested in black nationalist or pan-African identity politics and unprepared for structural or class analysis, they gravitate to NGO projects based in poor neighborhoods, celebrating voice and looking for a shred of opportunity that might lead to upward mobility.

A very different pattern may be found in contexts where blackness has been discovered as a commodity in the international tourism circuit. In such places (e.g., Pinho 2010; Wade 2005) blackness is passing through a process of complex public redefinition, and the components of it that receive publicity, legitimacy, and authorization are the ones that developers and investors believe will bring maximum market share and minimum controversy. In contexts with robust preexisting black communities, the effort to commoditize blackness leads to a complex compromise between forces (see Collins 2007 for Brazil), but in places with relatively weak preexisting black communities, the forces of commodification enjoy the upper hand. Mexico is a case in point. Throughout Mexican history, the massive availability of indigenous labor meant that African slaves in Mexico never grew very numerous or influential. Thus, Mexico's nationalist ideology of *mestizaje* could keep blackness invisible (Vinson 2009), and when migrants from the Caribbean in the twentieth century created an "Afro" region along Mexico's Caribbean coast that was impossible to ignore, white elites promptly characterized it as "non-Mexican." Then the power of commoditization entered the scene. The discovery of Mexico's coastal "Afro" population as a legitimate—though, to be sure, distinctly *regional*—identity took off in the 1990s, when investors, boosters, and government officials found in it the possibility of attracting tourists. As Angela Castañeda argues in her contribution, the blackness offered to tourists on the Vera Cruz coast is a reassuring, unthreatening one: in it the spirituality of Santería has been sanitized of its controversial aspects such as animal sacrifice and spirit possession and reduced to dance, beads, and colorful costumes.

Yet the pattern of commodifying blackness at work in Vera Cruz is a complex one, in which dialectical forces are working themselves out. The revalorization of blackness as a commodity does not necessarily contradict nationalist ideologies of *mestizaje* (Wade 2008c), but it can, by opening up new discursive spaces for reflection, lead to new identities that may not fit neatly into authorized blackness. A glimpse of this hybridity (Escobar 1998; Canclini 1995) is suggested by Castañeda's argument that opening up Caribbean blackness for public consumption unleashed a rediscovery of Mexico's African past, leading the Vera Cruz community of Yanga to begin celebrating its history as a runaway slave community. While appealing to tourists, this narrative may also lead to increased recognition of the presence of Africans in Mexico.

So far we have been considering blackness as black consciousness, but we also need to understand what whites think about people of African descent (cf. Bonilla Silva 2003; Caldwell 2007). Here the patterns are complex: whites' ideas about blacks in Latin America vary according to the political circumstances of each country—the balance of power between whites and blacks, how fearful whites feel about losing their power, and the extent to which whites can fit people of African descent into their nation-building projects and ideologies (Applebaum, Macpherson, and Rosemblatt 2007; Thomas 2004; Williams 1993). Whites' images of black slaves in nineteenth-century Cuba, for example, as analyzed by Elizabeth Morán through the paintings of Victor Landaluze, were shaped by slaveholders' nervous desire to reassure themselves that faced with slaves' growing numbers and organization, they had little to fear from them. That is why, Morán argues, the paintings show blacks as childlike, effeminate, sexualized, and unworthy of being taken seriously. In the nineteenth century, Cuban whites had no clear long-term vision of their nation that could incorporate people of African descent as citizens, due, in part, to white Cubans' inability to trust mulattos: the experience of the Haitian Revolution, which was led by mulattos, was simply too close and too raw. The experience of Brazil offers an instructive contrast. In the 1920s, Brazilian middle-class whites had come to feel quite unthreatened by Afro-Brazilians, having cowed them into submission by the massive importation of European labor. Indeed, by the 1920s Brazil's middle-class whites had come to see themselves as influential on the world stage. They thus began to rebel against European insinuations that miscegenation rendered them and their nation inferior (Skidmore 1993) and began instead to construct images of Afro-Brazilians (and their blood) as carriers of a rich and meritorious culture at the heart of a distinctive national identity independent of Europe (Vianna 1999).

But we must always be mindful of the contradictory dialectics of history. Cuban whites' images of blacks were undoubtedly part of the process of sustaining white supremacy, but they were also, ironically, the cause of constant white stress and, ultimately, political fragility. Cuban whites' self-affirming fantasies undoubtedly allowed them to achieve psychological calm in the face of a restless black population, yet the fantastic images of blacks white ideologues such as Landaluze created ensured that the elite remained dangerously ignorant of blacks' true sentiments. This ignorance led many white Cubans to assume that little harm to their interests could be done by allowing slaves to own property and perform their religious rituals. By not taking African ritual seriously and by failing to understand how landholding increased black power, white Cubans destined themselves to generation after generation of challenge from below and to at least one near-revolution. In contrast, by conceding, at least rhetorically, that people of African descent had helped build the nation and that their culture helped enrich it, Brazilian whites forged a national ideology to which generation after generation of Brazilian blacks have consented. Blackness in the white Latin American imagination, while serving in one way or another to uphold white supremacy, does so in ways that vary according to differing degrees of whites' security in their social power.

Part 2: Afro Social Movements and Political Mobilization

The second section of the volume situates Afro mobilization and grassroots protests within the broader frame of Latin American social movements. Over the past two decades there has been a sharp uptick in social movements organized at the grassroots across the Americas. These movements—as new formulations of activism—contest the region's political and economic systems and challenge narrowly constructed definitions of citizenship, democracy, and participation. As they contest power and policy these mobilizations call into question traditional rule by the dominant classes and the politicians who enable it (Vanden

2003). These social actors and the networks they create are commonly referred to as new social movements because they seek to define a new relation to the formal realm by fundamentally reworking relations of power (Stahler-Sholk, Vanden, and Kuecker 2008, 2). However, in sharp contrast to traditional guerilla movements or expressions of the electoral left in Latin America, new social movements are not organized to seize power (ibid., 12). Their main objective is to put maximum pressure on the state in order to extract specific demands. New social movements have the following characteristics: 1) a tendency to seek autonomy from conventional/hierarchical political institutions; 2) horizontal and participatory decision making; and 3) a quest for solidarity derived from notions of social justice linked to shared identities such as race, ethnicity, and/or gender (Hellman 1995).

Many new social movements (hereafter referred to as social movements) originate in civil society, nongovernmental organizations, and from "below." And while many social movements promote agendas of social justice, not all social movements are progressive. What is absent from the current discussion of social movements in Latin America is the role played by Afro social movements and their struggles to address centuries of neglect and social discrimination. This volume places Afro social movements in the larger context of these "new" social movements, and by doing so, fills a gap in the social movement literature.

Afro-Latin mobilizations for self-defense and against oppression in Latin America and the Caribbean have a long history, including maroon communities during slavery, the Haitian Revolution, the slave revolts in Bahia in 1835, and the Cuban Independent Party of Color (1908), to name only a few (Safa 1998). At times, blacks in Latin America formed their own independent formations such as runaway slave communities, black militias, religious confraternities and sodalities, and mutual aid societies. At other times, they forged tactical alliances with whites, Indians, and mestizos to create multiracial movements that had a profound effect on the region. The independence armies, the national liberal parties of the 1800s and early 1900s, the labor unions of the same period, and the popular parties of the mid-1900s were all broad-based interethnic coalitions that were supported and sustained by Afro-Latin Americans (Andrew 2004, 8).

Today in Latin America and the Caribbean vibrant Afro social movements are on the rise. Throughout the Americas black social movement groups are using increasingly sophisticated strategies and tactics to challenge racial and gender inequality. A new landscape has emerged as blacks are demanding more political and cultural space to advance social, cultural, and economic rights and are simultaneously articulating oppositional racial discourses (Dixon 2008). Clearly, more works focused on Afro-Latin social movements that explore the implications of race, gender, citizenship, and democracy are urgently needed.

Equally important are works rooted in black feminist perspectives that explore the cultural politics in the region (Dixon 2008).

Part 2 analyzes black political mobilization in three countries (Colombia, Ecuador, and Brazil) with distinct social and political histories. The reader should pay close attention to the process of citizenship construction and the ways social movements in these countries claim the right to full and equal citizenship. Citizenship construction is the process by which the excluded build a legal and social framework that recognizes and accepts them, transforming them from noncitizens into citizens. This political transformation is rooted in concepts such as cultural citizenship, new citizenship, and active citizenship, each of which offer legitimation to claims of rights, space, and belonging in the dominant society. By challenging racialized, gendered, and class structures and by developing strategies of empowerment, Afro social movements are expanding citizenship and opening new democratic possibilities. Each essay situates Afro movements within local, regional, or transnational networks.

Peter Wade's and Bettina Ng'weno's essays explore struggles for land rights in Colombia. These two chapters shed light on the how Afro-Colombians are negotiating collective rights and repositioning black identity within the new language of multiculturalism and pluralism. Wade highlights the constitutional reforms of the 1990s and current Afro-Colombian mobilization. He points out that organizing in Cali and elsewhere evolved through dense and sometimes contradictory ideological networks and that violence on the Pacific coast may be changing the meaning of Afro-Colombianness. He examines why the Colombian government is interested in opening up black landholding and discovers that this has to do with the routinization of relations with the state, delimitation of boundaries, taxation, and transnational pressures.

Along the same lines, Bettina Ng'weno examines how Afro-Colombians are claiming lands under the constitutional reforms of the 1990s and in light of newly created social spaces. She argues that the practices and claims of Afro-Colombians and Afro-Latin Americans profoundly challenge what it means to be a citizen in Latin America. According to Ng'weno, Afro-Colombians moved from legally invisible silenced racial groups to legally visible ethnic groups. She argues that the process of claiming territory is a form of citizenship negotiation and affirmation because Afro communities must negotiate new political relations with other ethnic groups (indigenous), economic interests (mining, coffee), and governments (local, regional, national, and transnational). Ng'weno points out that these claims open up new spaces for politics in a variety of ways. Silenced, invisible, and marginalized as black, rural, and poor, claimants are struggling for meaningful political participation and government recognition. Territories are essential for achieving this recognition.

Here we believe it may be useful to think back to the volume's first section and draw a theoretical connection between the political dynamics of black identity in the black Pacific, and the trajectories of black mobilizations in Colombia. We have suggested that black identities on the Pacific coast tend to be more readily hybrid and receptive to synthesis with indigenous identity. Seizing upon the issue of land as a basis for mobilization has multiple origins, yet clearly its plausibility in Colombia must be understood in the context of a blackness that is ready to see a deep commonality, even overlap, with indigenous peoples. Recent work among *quilombos* in Brazil (French 2009) suggests that Afro-Brazilians face a steeper uphill ideological battle in making claims modeled on indigenous land rights.

On the other hand, in contrast to Brazil and Cuba, people of the black Pacific have tended not to base their common identity on religious or spiritual grounds. One consequence of this may be a certain fragility of black mobilization when faced with co-optation and the divide-and-conquer tactics of the nonblack political system. These tensions are well illustrated in the chapters on Afro-Ecuador. Ollie Johnson's and Jean Rahier's chapters focus our attention on Ecuador's burgeoning black social movements. In complementary ways Johnson and Rahier illustrate some of the deep problems faced by Afro groups as they seek to frame issues of social discrimination in the context of newly elaborated constitutions. In 1998 Ecuador adopted its first multicultural constitution, which for the first time awarded collective rights to indigenous peoples and, in a less obvious way, to Afro-Ecuadorians.

Ollie Johnson's piece situates Afro-Ecuadorian social movements within the broader frame of Ecuadorian national politics and indigenous social movements. Unlike the traditional narrative where the movements triumph at the end of the day, Johnson's piece highlights the sharp tensions, organizational problems, and ideological issues facing Afro-Ecuadorian social groups. In his view, despite many years of hard work, Afro-Ecuadorians have not been able to create effective social movements and have not been able to mobilize adequate resources to give themselves substantial power. Rahier examines the process leading to Ecuador's multicultural Constitution of 2008. He provides a close textual reading of this new constitution and how it inscribes Afro-Ecuadorians into Ecuador's national identity. Rahier and Johnson demonstrate that these new social spaces for Afro-Ecuadorian organization and mobilization must be placed in the context of international pressures placed on the Ecuadorian state by donor agencies.

Turning to Brazil, we are in the presence of a rather different style of political mobilization. Here, we witness the convergence of blackness as class with the Latin black Atlantic, articulated with gender politics. Keisha-Khan Perry turns our attention to the urban struggles over land rights—but struggles driven by a rather different conception of land—among black grassroots activists led mainly by women in Salvador, Bahia (Brazil). Black movements in Brazil have struggled since the early 1980s to influence state policies affecting black women's lives. Keisha-Khan Perry builds a gendered analysis of Afro women's grassroots urban movements that articulate racial and class-based claims to urban space. In her examination of black women activists' resistance to displacement, eviction, and uneven urbanization practices, Perry shows how black urban spaces in Salvador are racialized and gendered terrains of domination and how black women's resistance unites class, space, and gender politics. We suggest that black women's movements in Salvador neatly illustrate the power of black mobilizations that are intersectional—those that synthesize a black identity rooted in class and gender, are invigorated by spirituality, and are concretely organized around high-stakes issues of urban space.

Part 3: State Responses

The final section of the volume is dedicated to the analysis of state responses to Afro-descendants' pressures from above and below for greater social and political inclusion and for cultural recognition. In the 1990s many Latin American states implemented multicultural citizenship reforms that established collective rights for indigenous and Afro communities. It is generally recognized that indigenous collective rights (land, language, cultural identity) are more comprehensive than those of Afro-descendants (Hooker 2005). However, despite the differences in the scope and range of rights afforded, Afro-descendants have been granted an impressive set of social rights that include collective land titles, cultural recognition, affirmative action measures, and antidiscrimination laws.

Responding to transnational pressures from above (multilateral agencies) and domestic pressures from below (social movements), Latin American states over the last decade have been pushed from the notion of a homogenized *mestizo* identity to various forms of multiculturalism. How are multicultural polices being implemented? Does multiculturalism mean "more equal," and if so, in what way? The pieces in this section suggest that even when new laws are being fashioned in response to antiracist pressure, a great deal of work remains to be done to ensure that law translates into the building of antiracist societies. As recent work on Brazil's major antiracist policy initiatives suggests (Htun 2004), and as Wade has suggested for Colombia (Wade 2009; cf. Hale 2005), the motivations of the state in framing and implementing antiracism policies may have more to do with neutralizing radical political tendencies, retaining and extending state control, and scoring public relations points domestically and internationally than with seeking to fundamentally challenge the privilege and supremacy of white/mixed populations. Mindful of these cautions, the last section of the book conceptualizes the terrain of state action as a contradictory one, in which state initiatives simultaneously open up new spaces from which to challenge white/mixed supremacy while actually working in more or less visible ways to reinscribe it.

Judith Morrison's essay explores how Afro-descended populations have established national and regional organizations to combat discrimination. She emphasizes the role of civil society organizations and their unyielding pressure on the state and the role of regional and transnational organizing networks while highlighting some of the specific legislation enacted in several countries. It is an important synoptic essay that provides a continent-wide context for assessing the responses of different states in the region to these pressures.

Juliet Hooker's chapter analyzes how Afro-descendant Creoles in Nicaragua are currently reimagining their collective identities in the context of multicultural polices that extend collective rights to indigenous and Afro peoples. She examines the process of negotiation as English-speaking Creoles inscribe their identities within the boundaries of Nicaragua's national identity, which is constructed as overwhelmingly *mestizo* or Indo-Hispanic. She traces the shifting conceptions of Creole identity in relation to the changes in the Nicaraguan model of multiculturalism.

Shane Greene's chapter examines these questions in Peru, by discussing how Peruvian civil servants, in the wake of a new multicultural Constitution, continue to articulate the intersection of history and race in ways that were hegemonic before the new Constitution. Greene analyzes how Peruvian government officials have responded to Afro-Peruvians' race-based claims by striving to weaken them. He points out that even as the Peruvian Constitution declares a new day in indigenous and Afro-Peruvian rights, government officials perpetuate hackneyed ideas of "the Inca" as defining Peruvian national identity. At the same time, this discourse complicates the narrative for Afro-Peruvians who are portrayed in it as failing to contribute to Peru's national civilization.

Antônio Guimarães's piece argues that the major policy positions on race that have been influential in Brazil since the 1920s reflect changing national contexts, the influence of European and North American political thought, and the impact of anti-racist and social activism. He places Brazil's current heated policy discussion about affirmative action in historical perspective, revealing how long-existing theoretical debates on race, racial identity, and racial inequality are once again defining sides in a major political debate.

But not all the societies of the hemisphere have been touched by the influence of antiracist organizing and mobilization. The Dominican Republic is one glaring example. As a way of reminding the reader just how much remains to be done, we end the book with an essay on the continuing policy and legal injustices to which the Haitian population of the Dominican Republic are subjected. Ernesto Sagás' chapter examines the current official status of Afro-Dominicans and Haitian immigrants and the ways that social whiteness is inscribed in the Dominican Republic through law and policy.

The contributors to this volume all address the fluid interplay of culture and politics. They demonstrate how "blackness" is constructed with a specific set of cultural, social, and political meanings. The texture and range as well as the contradictions of blackness are highlighted: from "Bantu-ness" as a specific form of black consciousness in Brazil to the "black Pacific," where Afro-descendants in Peru reinterpret indigenous cultural forms as African, to hip-hop in Venezuela as a critique of neoliberal policies, to social movements in Colombia, Ecuador, and Nicaragua. Blackness across the Americas is clearly a social construction with various meanings, class-based representations, gendered structures, and spiritual significances. Each chapter presents Afro-Latin populations as history-making agents of social change. It is against this backdrop that students and activists may be able to see the current struggles of Afro-Latin Americans through a new lens and appreciate how they are based in different blacknesses that challenge outdated notions of national identity, forge new forms of democratic participation, and grapple with the contradictions of states that continue to struggle to protect the interests of white or mixed elites. The narrative we uncover here is neither linear nor simple; it is rather a cluster of narratives, in which people of African descent continue to find new ways to struggle and increase their capacity to shape their own destinies across the hemisphere.

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