

**Anti-Racist Activist Pedagogy Towards Socio-Political Transformation: A Case Study of
LUNDU's *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Campaign**

by

Sonia Medel

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ABSTRACT

The present case study examines the anti-racism campaign *Apúntate Contra el Racismo*, launched by the Afro-Peruvian non-profit organization, LUNDU: Centro de Estudios y Promoción Afroperuanos, to illustrate how a marginalized group utilizes forms of activist pedagogy to call for the articulation of alternative notions of politics that promote social justice oriented national development. The study is concerned with the ways through which the meanings of public political participation are taught and the goals of development are redefined through the enactment of radical constructions of citizenship. I attempt to address: how LUNDU leaders conceive of themselves as activists and how they construct their activism in relation to discourses of education, development and participatory politics within the context of Peruvian society, how LUNDU leaders come to articulate the public pedagogy that frames the *raison d'être* of the campaign and through what means LUNDU leaders leverage political power by conceiving spaces for greater visibility, participatory politics, and civic engagement towards socio-political transformation. To answer the aforementioned I employ a critical conceptual framework on development, citizenship, pedagogy and activism. I also draw on an overall anti-oppressive methodology that engages feminist standpoint perspective, personal narrative, extensive field work and data collection of varied textual and visual document sources and interviews, applied thematic analysis with a critical discourse analysis theoretical approach, and triangulation and organization of data based on the facets of activist pedagogy which this study focuses primarily on. The main case study highlights reveal the campaign impact as 'successful' in enacting socio-political transformation, forcing state acknowledgement of re-articulations of development and exemplifying critical modes of citizenship towards a radical participatory democracy through anti-racist and anti-patriarchal activist pedagogical campaign initiatives.

PREFACE

This thesis is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, S. A. Medel and received approval from the UBC Behavioural Research Ethics Board.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACEJUNEP- Asociación Cultural para la Juventud Negra Peruana [Cultural Association for Black Peruvian Youth]

ADFP- Asociación Deportiva de Fútbol Profesional [Sports Association of Professional Football]

AJWS- American Jewish World Service Fund

ANDA- Asociación Nacional de Anunciantes [National Association of Advertisers]

CDD- Católicas por el Derecho a Decidir [Catholics for the Right to Decide]

CEDET- Centro de Desarrollo Étnico [Centre for Ethnic Development]

CERD- Comité para la Eliminación de la Discriminación Racial [Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination]

CHIRAPAQ- Centro de Culturas Indígenas del Perú [Centre of Indigenous Cultures of Peru]

CIES- Consorcio de Investigación Económica y Social [Consortium of Economic and Social Research]

CLADE- Campaña Latinoamericana por el Derecho a la Educación [Latin American Campaign for the Right to Education]

CNDDHH- Coordinadora Nacional de los Derechos Humanos [National Coordinator for Human Rights]

CONAR- Consejo Nacional de Autorregulación Publicitaria [Advisory Council for Advertising Regulation]

CONAPA- Comisión Nacional de los Pueblos Indígenas del Perú [National Commission of the Indigenous Peoples of Peru]

CONCORTV- Consejo Consultivo de Radio y Televisión [Advisory Council for Radio and Television]

DARS- Dirección Académica de Responsabilidad Social [Academic Directive of Social Responsibility]

GCE- Global Campaign for Education

GRADE- Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo [Development Analysis Group]

IEP- Instituto de Estudios Peruanos [Institute of Peruvian Studies]

IDRC- Canadian International Development Research Centre

INAPE- Instituto de Investigaciones Afroperuanas [Institute of Afro-Peruvian Research]

INDECOPI- Instituto Nacional de Defensa de la Competencia y de la Protección de la Propiedad Intelectual [National Institute for the Defense of Competition and Protection of Intellectual Property]

INDEPA- Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo de Pueblos Andinos, Amazónicos, y Afroperuanos [National Institute for the Development of Andean, Amazonian, and Afro-Peruvian Peoples]

INEI- Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Informática [National Institute of Information and Statistics]

LUNDU- Centro de Estudios y Promoción Afroperuanos [Centre for Afro-Peruvian Studies and Promotion]

MDGs- Millennium Development Goals

MIDIS- Ministerio de Desarrollo e Inclusión Social [Ministry of Culture and Social Inclusion]

MIMDES- Ministerio de la Mujer y Desarrollo Social [Ministry of Women and Social Development]

MNAFC- Movimiento Nacional Afroperuano Francisco Congo [National Afro-Peruvian Francisco Congo Movement]

MNFC- Movimiento Negro Francisco Congo [Black Francisco Congo Movement]

MTC- Ministerio de Transportes y Comunicaciones [Ministry of Transportation and Communication]

PDPI- Proyecto de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas y Afroperuanos [Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian Peoples Development Project]

PUC- La Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile [The Pontifical Catholic University of Chile]

PUCP- La Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [The Pontifical Catholic University of Peru]

SIEP- Sociedad de Investigación Educativa Peruana [Society for Peruvian Education Research]

SNRTV- Sociedad Nacional de Radio y Televisión [National Society of Radio and Television]

UN- United Nations

UNICEF- United Nation's Children's Fund

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DEDICATION

Para mi madre, Carmen del Rosario Borja. Fui, soy, seré y sueño gracias a ti, eres la fuerza más grande, mi alma, 'my home'.

CHAPTER 1: FRAMING THE INQUIRY

Purpose of the Study, A Personal Narrative Approach

The present study examines the anti-racism campaign *Apúntate Contra el Racismo*¹, launched by the Afro-Peruvian² non-profit organization, LUNDU: Centro de Estudios y Promoción Afroperuanos³. My aim is to understand how a marginalized group utilizes forms of activist pedagogy to call for the articulation of alternative notions of participatory politics that promote social justice oriented national development. Furthermore the study is concerned with the ways through which the meanings of public political participation are taught and the goals of development are redefined through the enactment of radical constructions of citizenship.

I began my MA program in winter of late 2010, completing all required coursework by the summer of 2011 at which point I began to focus in on writing this thesis. However, arriving to the decision of writing on LUNDU's *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign and the process of actually writing it required confronting my past and present realities. Beginning with the 'simple' purpose of completing an MA graduation requirement, my thesis purpose eventually shifted to one of transformation. Transformation took place and continues to take place in all

¹ *Sign Up Against Racism.*

² I use the term 'Afro-Peruvian' most frequently in this thesis, because when I commenced the writing of my research, literature searches revealed that it was the most utilized term by Peruvians of African ancestry who were engaged in the early beginnings of an activist movement during the 1970s and 1980s when they were referring to themselves and their communities. The term 'Afro-descendant' only began to be utilized in Peru after the 2001 World Conference Against Racism in Durban and was thus found less often throughout my literature searches (LUNDU, 2010). However, in the past two years and during the course of this research there has been a surge in the use of 'Afro-descendant' as it more broadly encompasses people who have some sort of African ancestry. It is also the term preferred in countries such as Colombia, because it connotes a political connection to all African descendants beyond Colombia's borders (LUNDU, 2010). Nonetheless, this 'broadness' has also been critiqued within the Peruvian context for failing to adequately represent the uniqueness of African-descendant communities within each diverse Latin American nation. Sue and Golash-Boza (2009) indicate that in popular slang, people with visible African ancestry are referred to as 'negro' or 'moreno', but that not all Peruvians who claim African heritage identify as Black or with Blackness, and conversely many who identify as 'negro' do so without any recognition of their African ancestry. Throughout this work I refer to Afro-Peruvians as "they" because I am currently processing how to appropriately and critically acknowledge my own mixed-Latina-Canadian ethnicity and Afro-descendant ancestry, hence I want to avoid the reader the overwhelming confusion I am experiencing, but nonetheless include this experience through my personal narrative.

³ LUNDU: Centre for Afro-Peruvian Studies and Promotion.

areas of my life thanks in part to the work I undertook as a part of this thesis. And hence one of the key pedagogical topics of this thesis became that of personal activist transformation and socio-political transformation through activism. Thus positioning this research from within the process of my narrative and personal standpoint development, I am cohesively trying to summarize my own learning process which so deeply affected and was affected by the research.

Although I have always been acutely aware of my awkward position as a Latina-Canadian and Peruvian-Chilean, the past few years culminated in me coming to terms, exploring, critically analyzing, defending, and finding agency within my multiple and intersecting identities and oppressions. In the past two years I have moved further beyond the Latina-Canadian and Peruvian-Chilean threshold of place of birth, ethnicity and parenthood, to discovering, coming to terms with and probing the rest of the hyphens in my life, such as that of Afro-descendant and academic-activist. Hyphens aside, I am the product of decades of intergenerational displacement resulting from Western colonial imperialism in the Americas. I am also the inheritor of a settler status here in Canada as the child of immigrants who through a combination of forced political exile and ‘personal choice’ (if the desperate search for an escape from depressive economic conditions in Latin American can even be termed as such). Thus I acknowledge that I wrote this thesis on unceded Musqueam territory upon which the University of British Columbia (UBC) is established and upon which I was born; I do not state this as a tokenized form of recognition. It is a commitment to continuing the arduous and fervent task of working through whatever identities and subjectivities have been imposed, internalized and invoked by me as a result of historical processes of colonization and neo-liberal imperialism which have plagued marked racialized⁴ marked bodies such as myself, in order to root myself into a subjectivity that is all my

⁴ Throughout this case study, I employ the term ‘racialized marked’ when referring to people of visible color, because through my personal and community experiences and discussions with faculty such as Dr. Vanessa

own, from which I can work in true solidarity within communities of my own and those outside. As many scholars of color such as Anzaldúa, Moraga, hooks, Lorde, Du Bois, and Hughes, amongst many others have said expressed throughout their works and artistic pieces, navigating between our multiple identities and localities of belonging and exclusion is a challenging endeavour and invokes the need for skilled ‘straddling’ of contentious subjectivities and navigating through precarious spaces.

Raised in a single-parent household with a Peruvian mother who fought hard to financially support me due to barriers of English as an additional language, I never felt ‘Canadian enough’. I always felt unsure in social situations of how to express my ‘Latinidad’ without reproducing into the stereotypes of Latinas/os, and grasped for ways to prove that I was Canadian, but just as proud of every bit of my mother’s accent as I was of the opportunities I had as a youth in a ‘peaceful’ and democratic country. In essence choking down the mixed anguish most children of immigrant parents endure related to both loving and hating the ‘American/Canadian dream’, that both exalts and denies the non-Western body and spirit, was an everyday experience. Every time I was praised for creating bristle boards depicting the Machu Picchu-esque wonders of Peru, yet relegated to ‘special’ after school care for demonstrating personal/household characteristics that did not fit the ‘Canadian’ mold, I was reminded that multiculturalism was a “discourse of tokenistic colonial benevolence rather than a genuine

Andreotti on works of theorists such as Ramon Grosfoguel, I have come to the ontological perspective that everyone undergoes the discursive process of racialization. However, through the racialization process some bodies are produced as marked (according to class, gender, etc.--also discursive), others as unmarked. Through colonial encounters, non-white bodies have been subjugated and the privilege of whiteness has been hegemonically and repetitively complexly constructed, sustaining white structural privilege. Thus racialization is highly contextual and constantly shifting according to the privileging of whiteness in localities. Some white people have historically experienced racism (Jews, Irish, Italians, etc.), but this has also occurred because of the continuous entrenching of notions of whiteness which pathologize marked bodies as not being ‘fit’ and therefore deserving of subjugation (some theorists date this to imperial colonization, whilst others date it back to Greco-Roman antiquity and more recently in history to scientific racism of the Enlightenment and evolutionary physical anthropology). Hence, I use the terms ‘racialized marked’ and ‘racialized unmarked’ to indicate that although racialization is not solely correlated to phenotypical markers, unmarked bodies have the privilege of some/ oftentimes exempting themselves from such oppressive experiences. See Grosfoguel (2003), Ahmed (2007), Collison (2012) and Lundstrom (2013).

decolonizing act” (Gill, 2012, p. 2). I first stepped onto the UBC campus in 2004 as a dazed undergrad fresh out of high school joining the sea of frosh week students. I was embarking on the Canadian post-secondary ‘dream’, joining the societal ‘majority’ as someone with a degree and the opportunity to become anything I wanted to be. Flash forward two years and I was depressed by how not a part of campus life I was. I completed my undergraduate completely drained from years of trying to belong; of trying to ‘dream’ the same as others and being reminded that I never would because I would never really fit the image of the white ivory tower world of privilege. I was too low-income to partake in sororities or any other party that involved a cover charge, I was too not white looking to fit in with the sustainability hippies, yet I also did not fit in with the wealthy foreign Latin American students which the Latin American Studies department consisted of mostly during my undergraduate period. I was painfully aware of my difference, my condition, but unaware of how to claim and fight with it.

I wallowed in insecurity because I could not ‘read’ into the depth of my condition (Spivak, 2004). It was the self-denial of being an outsider that impeded my politicization. I took two and half years away from academia during which employment experiences within the education sector locally in Vancouver and abroad in Mexico and Peru, gave me a crash course in violent work space race relations, neocolonialism, and systemic inequalities. I returned to graduate school in late 2010 with a purpose rooted in every one of my oppressions from a place of continued “Othering of body, nation, place, and culture” (Wahab, 2005, p.16) and a determination to read into, confront, and educate myself about the colonizing discourses impacting me. I understood that it was not that I had failed to empower myself, but rather that the Eurocentrism of the institution had failed to provide pedagogical spaces for me to develop a critical understanding of oppression. It became my goal as a graduate student engaging a

research centred educational studies program to explore, learn, question, and understand the “simultaneity of oppression” (Dei and Johal, 2005, p. 2). Yet to no surprise, I realized that not much within the ivory tower had changed; there was a disproportionate low number of faculty and instructors of color and therefore few spaces where I could receive academic support in relation to critical scholarship. However, I was fortunate enough to encounter and intern for the Centre of Race, Autobiography, Gender and Age (RAGA)⁵, as well as receive the informal mentorship of several critical faculty members and formal support from my supervisor.

It was as a part of RAGA that I began questioning my ‘identities’, unpacking my ‘Latinidad’ and ‘Western-born’ privilege, immersing myself in the work of critical scholars and using critical theories to unpack how power, privilege and oppression work within us and amongst our relations, challenging white entitlement in academia and the rhetoric of multiculturalism’s community engagement. My status as a female student from a very low-income single parent household was affected by encounters with male domination, white privilege, classism, globalization, and empire. As a graduate student I continuously feel displaced amongst a sea of privilege, because of course most others like me who may share elements of my struggle, find it easier to cling to masks as I once did than to claim the position of the ‘Other’. Although the masks are our familiar protection, they “drive a wedge between our intersubjective personhood and the persona we present to the world” (Anzaldúa, 1990, p. xv). I had to learn the skill of ‘tearing’ off these masks to “confront and oust the internalized oppression embedded in them” and find my agency (Anzaldúa, 1990, p. xv). I now embrace the

⁵ RAGA officially opened as the SAGA (Studies in Autobiography, Gender and Aging) Centre in May 2002, but was transformed into the RAGA (Race, Autobiography, Gender and Age) studies, with a particular emphasis on critical race and feminist scholarship. Currently, the Centre is student run by the RAGA Collective and the Undergraduate and Graduate Student Networks and receives no funding from the university. Yet it continues to provide marginalized students with much needed services such as cross-disciplinary access to critical race scholarship and critical racialized marked mentors, critical Indigeneities, and safety. For more information about current and upcoming events please visit the RAGA Network Blog, <http://ragastudentnetwork.wordpress.com/>

feelings of “extreme estrangement and alienation” to theorize and comprehend not just my own abyss, but that of others (hooks, 2004, pg. 155). I continuously “work through internalized violence and decolonize” myself to “find ways to survive personally, culturally and racially” (Anzaldúa, 1990, p. xvii). In discovering my standpoint I became prepared to master the “oppressor’s language” (hooks, 2004, p. 154) to speak back to the marginalizing entities in my, and confront them with the emotion of the oppressed so often concealed by our own denial.

Ultimately, my experience within a prestigious Western university was that more often than not, education and its institutions are spaces where the new generations of dominant sectors of society gain the tools and learn the strategies of hegemonic control. Propaganda, rhetoric, and polite exchanges, are tactics of the hegemonic and can serve to protect the interests of the dominant and convince the marginalized that the powerful strive to meet their needs. Racialized marked peoples seeking social justice today are often more silenced as they grow more visible in positions of leadership. The enactment of true democratic elements are considered ‘radicalized’ as dangers to societal order. Alternative expressions of citizenship, critiques of the status quo are vilified. Cole’s (21 March, 2012) response to backlash he received for his Tweets on the Kony 2012 video and the concept of the ‘White Saviour’ in relation to development work and humanitarian interventions, perfectly sums up the attitude currently driving my research:

But there's a place in the political sphere for direct speech and, in the past few years in the U.S., there has been a chilling effect on a certain kind of direct speech pertaining to rights. The president is wary of being seen as the "angry Black man." People of color, women, and gays -- who now have greater access to the centers of influence than ever before -- are under pressure to be well-behaved when talking about their struggles. There is an expectation that we can talk about sins but no one must be identified as a sinner: newspapers love to describe words or deeds as "racially charged" even in those cases when it would be more honest to say "racist"; we agree that there is rampant misogyny, but misogynists are nowhere to be found; homophobia is a problem but no one is homophobic. One cumulative effect of this policed language is that when someone dares to point out something as obvious as white privilege, it is seen as unduly provocative. Marginalized voices in America have fewer and fewer avenues to speak plainly about what they suffer; the effect of this enforced civility is that those voices are falsified or blocked entirely from the discourse. (Cole, 2012)

Whilst undergoing this process of militant scholarly training and sketching out my thesis I was also working with Latina/o migrant and first generation-born Canadians and reconnecting with Afro-Peruvian leaders back in Lima, Peru. As academic and life pressures mounted I began to practice Afro-Peruvian dancing again, a folkloric Peruvian style of dance which I had engaged every time I returned to Peru. It was during this time that I reflected on the source of strength that Afro-Peruvian leaders and arts were in my life.

During my undergraduate years I had travelled to Chile to complete coursework in Chilean history, culture, and politics and to learn what the experiences of my father (he rarely spoke of this period in his life) had been during the fall of Allende and Pinochet's dictatorship as a leftist-activist youth. I was welcomed by my family, but experienced challenging feelings of displacement and exclusion in the rest of the Chilean social spheres I navigated. Academic opportunities afforded me a place at the highly conservative La Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile (PUC) and home-stays with two very prominent Chilean families, but in those spaces I was treated with suspicion based on my father's status as an exile and inferior for my 'darker' features and Peruvian background. Thus right after this experience was over, I flew back to Peru and further immersed myself in Afro-Peruvian dance, yet having been bluntly confronted with racial and ethnic questions in Chile, I realized that although my Peruvian family side expressed deep passions for blends of Criollo music and Afro-Peruvian arts, and would often discuss Spanish heritage, Blackness was not. No one ever remarked on the fact that several family members were Black, whilst others varied on the 'racial' color spectrum, but nonetheless possessed very dark skin and aesthetic features that to most (especially those in the West) would be associated to some sort of Afro-descendancy. This came as no surprise as the most popular

social saying in Peru is, “El que no tiene de Inga, tiene de Mandinga,”⁶ Not unlike in the rest of Peru, racial nicknames such as ‘Negro’ or ‘Negrita’ were used in my family without any sort of analysis of employment of the terms. After asking several family members about certain family ‘looks’, I realized that few family members were willing to discuss the fact that my grandfather’s family was mixed-race. There was an overall aversion of the ‘race topic’ unless it was ‘comedically explored’ often in racist language, something not uncommon in Peruvian society. I grew motivated to uncover my full ancestry and heritage and began to seek more exchanges with Afro-Peruvian organizations, building my familiarity with pedagogical techniques of self empowerment devised by Afro-Peruvian leaders to cope with the quotidian violence they experienced.

The latter reflection drove me in graduate school to take on a scholastic approach to investigating Afro-Peruvian education development initiatives and the state’s response or lack thereof and couple this with a return to Afro-Peruvian dancing in Vancouver for both Peruvian and non-Peruvian circles. I tried to always fuse some sort of introduction to Afro-Peruvian ‘pedagogical-development’ initiatives and anti-racism work with anecdotes of personal learning in relation to the meaning of certain dance moves. Through these brief ‘exposés’ I was shocked to discover just how unprepared the Peruvian diaspora community in Vancouver was for such discourses. I was looked at with bewilderment, when I spoke of how ‘massive’ Afro-Peruvians’ contributions were to overall Peruvian culture and laughed at when I said we should try not to use terms such as ‘Negroide’ to refer to music and dancing. For most Peruvians I encountered, my ‘critical’ interference with the ‘uncomplicated visual fun’ which folkloric dance presentations usually provided them, was problematic to say the least. I began to fully grasp that although Afro-Peruvians rhythms and flavours are embedded within the national Peruvian fabric;

⁶ “He who doesn’t have Indigenous in him, has African.”

Afro-Peruvians are racially stigmatized, criminalized, and excluded from formal national dialogues on citizenship and development. Hence I pushed forward to further confront internalized and manifested familial and diasporic expressions of racism, whilst continuously researching the growing educational and political initiatives of Afro-descendants in Peru and across the rest of the Americas.

My initial and broad inquiries into Afro-Peruvian citizenship and development scholarship led me to the conclusion⁷ which Rodríguez (2008) articulates as, “Afro-Peruvians want to be officially recognized as more than an urban myth relegated to the “callejones” (ghetto side streets) of popular culture” (p. 32). In his articulation of Afro-Peruvians as a movement Rodríguez (2008) shares that Afro-Peruvians are determinedly concerned with: the creation of Afro-Peruvian organizations since the 1950s, continual work towards promoting Afro-Peruvian culture, combating racism, defending human rights for all oppressed and minoritized groups, and creating and fighting for new modes of inclusion into Peruvian society for Afro-Peruvians (p. 36-37). Rodríguez (2008) stresses that Afro-Peruvians recognize that to achieve a democratic society that is inclusive and respectful of ethno-cultural differences, it is pivotal that they develop and aim organizational strength towards holding the state accountable for incorporating the proposals of Afro-Peruvians across the various levels of political spaces and social institutions to ensure a holistic treatment of development (p. 38).

The commencement of my academic graduate work aligned with a period of fastly developing Afro-Peruvian initiatives in Peru and growing activism, as well as with intense societal backlash which glaringly revealed the violently racist tendencies of Peruvian society and exclusionary practices of its heavily rhetoric maintained democracy. Afro-Peruvians were not

⁷ I do not speak for all Afro-Peruvians and realize that the literature from which this conclusion is drawn is representative of Afro-Peruvians involved with activism projects, research, or academia, and highlight there are anticipated contradictions amongst Afro-Peruvians including those involved in grassroots and anti-racism work.

remaining quiet about social injustice and inequality in Peru. In 2010 I came across LUNDU's extensive anti-racism and social justice work and discovered its fight against *El Especial del Humor's*, popular 'comedic' character of *El Negro Mama*⁸, to put an end to blatant systemic racism (LUNDU, 2012). Such instances of 'struggle' which every day are being pushed to the forefront of the 'political' by Afro-Peruvians themselves, revealed that dominant middle-upper class Peruvians negate the reality of racism within their state's borders and dismiss anti-racist activism or educational initiatives as irrelevant, pointless, or civically destructive and 'anti-Peruvian'.

This entire personal narrative brings me to one overarching question that inspires this study: *what can research into the intersections of democracy, citizenship, development and pedagogical activism teach us about the process of social transformation in deeply divided societies such as Peru?* The answer to this question is vital to grasp what is required for democracy to be truly participatory in Peru and for leaders of marginalized groups to obtain official recognition for their lived pedagogical contributions to citizenship and development. In this study I will focus on what this nexus teaches us about the process of social transformation.

As a Society, Culture and Politics in Education student within the Department of Educational Studies at the University of British Columbia, I approach this study from a critical multidisciplinary research lens that is currently lacking in Peru. Current studies of education undertaken in Peru remain highly gendered (Stromquist, 1986; 2004; 2006; & 2007) and limited to quantitative studies on school attendance, teacher curriculum and practice, and bilingual education. Missing are critical discussions, public commitment and practical research into the ways in which education in Peru (as in other parts of the world) cannot exist outside of the political and goes hand in hand with participatory politics. Missing as well are discussions about

⁸ The character's name has two meanings: the Blackbreast or the Blackman who sucks breast.

how education can be practiced in such ways that foster social justice, self-esteem, respect for human rights, and true interculturality. Here, I am inspired by Edelman and Haugerud (2010) who emphasize that “we need new intellectual hybrids: adventurous combinations of culture, economy, discourse, power, institutions, and history. We must imagine other paths as well: new modes of economic organization, moral aesthetics, and forms of social creativity” (p. 1).

Addressing education and pedagogical methods, can highlight issues of marginalization and exclusion, thus shedding light on the myriad of institutionalized and societal practices that reproduce systems of class, race, and gender oppression (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994). Linking critical theories of development, democracy, citizenship and activism through an education lens can permit studies of how systemic inequalities are taught, learned and reproduced impeding sustainable development and veritable democracy.

Introduction to *The Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Case Study

In this study, I argue that the *Apúntate Contra El Racismo*, a *campaign* that was launched in 2009 by Afro-Peruvian non-profit organization, LUNDU, offers an opportunity to examine the role of a grassroots organization in the re-articulation of the linkages between activist pedagogies, participatory politics, and sustainable development. It is an initiative that seeks to place the existence of racism and the limits it places on Peruvian civic engagement on the public agenda, with an emphasis on the Afro-Peruvian population. It also focuses on issues of sexism and education (*Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Blog, 6 August, 2009). The main goal is to put an end to racism in the media and affect legal changes to sanction racism.

When I hear the word campaign the first thoughts that come to mind are politics, democratic parties, a platform from which to voice one’s struggle and battle opponents, and taking a stance on an issues or perspective publicly. In its verb form, campaign is a plan or

operation, much like in the military sense a set of strategic functions. As a noun, campaign takes on the form of actions such as working or actively engaging in some sort of an organized or strategized form to accomplish certain desired outcomes, usually political. An etymological analysis of the word campaign reveals shifts from military oriented usages to more political applications of the term. Campaign conjures images of political slogans, banners with the faces of presidential candidates, peaceful slogans for world peace. But it also conjures images of activists rallying for change with posters and noise-makers (anti-homophobia and gay pride, anti and pro abortionists, feminists, anti-war supporters, etc.), and aggressive actions against regimes of power (anti-Allende and socialism in Chile pre-1973, human rights marches by the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in 1970s-80s, current day strike-hard campaigns by teacher unions, etc.).

In both French (*campagne*) and Spanish (*campaña*), the word in noun form refers to notions of the vast open country or field, and in verb form refers to fighting for a cause or taking part in a series of actions for a goal one is passionate about. Both linguistic translations imply the notions of speaking out, stepping out beyond your own and surrounding communities, building networks, and taking risks in facing possible opposition or dissent. This latter point is important to note as contemporary uses or references of the word campaign, most often link it directly to democracy. Although certain ‘aggressive’ actions can be attributed to the process of campaigning, usage has stripped from it the violent connotations related to ‘military attack’. Nonetheless there is a certain militant aspect of campaign that cannot be ignored.

In relation to politics and participatory democracy, campaigns provide an opportunity for candidates to use various tactics to portray their political perspectives and convince citizens to vote for them (Nalder, 2010). The strongest of campaigns have dynamic use of the television, radio, and digital media opportunities, live-debates, in person public addresses, and rallies for

networking and securing support. Campaigns, seen as “populist democratic tools” have been historically deployed both to use popular resentment to take the rights of marginalized or minority groups and to spotlight the needs and demands of these groups within the national arena of politics with resounding effects (Nalder, 2010).

Campaigns thus serve as platforms for the enactment of different discourses, and strategies and as instruments for marginalized groups taking action for inclusion and official recognition. However, as a political tool for change and articulation of demands, campaigns carry with them and therefore attach to those who employ them, connotations of a challenge to the status quo, usually the established means of societal control and governance. When seeking to interrogate methods and structures of governance, campaigns can therefore serve as a legitimate approach with which to challenge the state.

Apúntate Contra el Racismo is a pro-social justice campaign. It is education based and aims to eradicate systemic social racism as proliferated through the media, seeking structural change. It is a campaign that places the issues of racism and sexism front and centre in Peruvian socio-politics. In the Peruvian context, this campaign highlights the revolutionary possibilities that participatory campaign action can have for democracy. However, it is worth noting that the term campaign can open up disturbing reminders of the 1980s-1990s *Sendero Luminoso*⁹ campaign actions. The latter was led by Sendero Luminoso, Maoist guerilla insurgency group that plagued Peru since the 1980s and throughout the early 1990s. It was characterized by its random terrorist attacks on the city of Lima, coercive attempts to control the Peruvian highland peasantry, and large university student affiliation from Peru’s poorer province areas (Hinojosa, 1998). It accomplished its agenda by taking advantage of the brewing disengagement with national conceptions of ‘citizenship’ experienced by youth who entered universities, especially

⁹ Shining Path.

those from highland areas who entered Lima's institutions and were treated as inferior and were seeking group identities, but also the intellectual fervor inspired since the 1920s by Peru's first leftist leader Jose Carlos Mariategui (Hinojosa, 1998). Thus in Peru, the face of a student/ youth campaigner became immediately linked with that of an internal terrorist.

Since then contemporary politics of education in Peru have taken a huge shift towards the right. Yet, as memories of human rights atrocities and disappearances of students associated with the extreme activities of *Sendero Luminoso* agenda permeated society, visions of progress in Peru began to be shaped by the technological manifestations of globalization and by world organizations such as the World Bank and the United Nations (UN). The latter focused on education as a key development factor through such initiatives as the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Educational institutions were identified by the state as sites for the 'internationalization' of Peru. Education began to be seen as a pathway to aligning Peru and its people to world standards of business and development. Within this context, the state maintained a high level of intolerance towards student/ youth mobilization as still present in its memory was the *Sendero Luminoso* campaign.

Over this backdrop the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign, promoted by LUNDU, should therefore be understood as one case in a much larger multifaceted and contested political history of participatory politics in Peru. Within this context Mónica Carrillo, Executive President of LUNDU, describes LUNDU as "dedicated to promoting new political and cultural understandings of racism, sexism, homophobia, and other types of discrimination" (Jones, 2007, p. 321). Carrillo argues that LUNDU aims to prove that social justice oriented political proposals can be generated through new understandings of citizenship, history, art and culture. With alarmingly few Afro-Peruvians achieving high levels of leadership in Peruvian politics, it is no

surprise that LUNDU highlights the need for more Afro-Peruvian youth to learn not just about how to counter the hegemonic forces that sustain practices such as racism. Thus, for Afro-Peruvians, pedagogy- the act of piecing together critical curricula together through action to actively engage student's formation of social justice oriented knowledge and skills- is the pivotal site for learning the participatory democratic skills to engage politics and become leaders of their own development.

Apúntate Contra el Racismo has as an overall objective to place upon the public political agenda the issue of racism as a barrier to sustainable national development, its focus of course being the Afro-Peruvian population, but not limited to it. It also seeks to address issues of sexism and education. The campaign's direct proposal on behalf of all Afro-Peruvians is for Peruvians as a whole to recognize that racism is real and rampant (*Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Blog, 6 August, 2009). It seeks to create awareness about racism by revealing the importance of "inclusion" as a characteristic of national citizenship practice. It highlights the appalling consequences of racist media representations on minoritized groups. Finally it is a campaign that seeks to utilize the concept of activist pedagogy to stir a conscientious understanding of racism and other forms of oppression in youth, teach anti-oppressive language and methodologies of practice, and cultivate alliances for a more socially just Peru. The campaign is as much about creating reflection and action around social responsibility at the personal, institutional, and political level as it is about the struggle of anti-racism. The LUNDU campaign is therefore essentially a form of public pedagogy rooted in citizenship and learning through activist socio-political action.

The present case study of the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign seeks to understand how activists use strategic democratic action and enact participatory politics to combat racism

and transform existing hierarchies and understandings of democracy and development. Central to this concern are the questions regarding political efficacy, which are central to the campaign. The lessons learned from the study of the campaign should shed light on what benefits there are for Afro-Peruvians to gain in terms of their civic engagement, beyond the period of campaign duration in relation to engaging participatory politics. This case study of the campaign will also help to understand what ‘spaces’ and ‘support’ networks are available within Peru for LUNDU to consolidate and use to enhance its anti-oppressive development work. Finally, I hope to bring forward and elaborate on the critical impact of conceptions of democracy when activist pedagogy and participatory politics are engaged to further alternative and sustainable notions of development.

By focusing on the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign case study, I attempt to answer the following questions:

- 1.) How did LUNDU leaders come to view themselves as activists and construct their activism in relation to discourses of education, development and participatory politics within the context of Peruvian society?

The aim of this question is to grasp how the notion of the campaign came to be through a contextual understanding of their perspectives on critical national discourses and the possible intersections amongst them. I am specifically interested in the antecedents or facilitating factors that gave birth to the campaign.

- 2.) How did LUNDU leaders come to view and construct an ‘activist pedagogy’ and how does it play out in relation to the campaign?

The aim of this second question is to understand the learning experienced throughout the creation, implementation and conclusion of the campaign.

- 3.) How did LUNDU leverage political power through the campaign in order to attain greater public visibility, participatory politics and civic engagement towards socio-political transformation?

The aim of this question is to gain a deeper understanding of how the campaign and its leaders were engaged in relation to various constituencies and the possibilities and limits these engagements offer marginalized peoples.

Situating the Study

Peru is a country rich in culture and diverse in identities that portrays itself on the international stage to tourists and policymakers as a true multiethnic state. The social reality is another issue. Political rhetoric in official development documents and public presentations expresses the narrative that the interculturalization of Peruvian education is fundamentally interconnected with the interculturalization of Peru as a democratic state. As Laurie and Bonnett (2002) highlight, “programmes in equity education, especially in “multicultural”, “intercultural”, and “antiracist” education, are integral components of the modernisation” and “democratisation” process” (p. 32). Devastatingly, such initiatives have served in many instances as covers for the systemic racism that has been engrained in the fabric of Peruvian society since colonial times and diverted attention from the State’s aversion of responsibility for its affective role in ‘Othering’. Afro-Peruvians are attempting to provide answers to many of the questions posed about intercultural education and what it means to be a ‘citizen’ in such a context. Afro-Peruvians, especially Afro-Peruvian youth, are a movement whose voice is getting louder in relation to both on the international and national arenas of development. They represent themselves as not seeking to destabilize the nation, insisting that they are working to “achieve national unity” (Garcia, 2004). Within this context, Afro-Peruvians are attempting to take into account the many perspectives and needs of Peru’s marginalized groups. They acknowledge the

necessity of empowering Peru's plural population to engage politics and ensure that they are governed by leaders that listen to their needs, shape and utilize institutions that validate their perspectives, and participate in the development of policies and laws that correspond to their lived realities.

The literature on Afro-Peruvians offers insight into their history of enslavement (Hunefeldt, 1994; N'gom, Choppy, Scheibel, and Berstein, 2011; Orihuela, 2011), cultural contributions to society (Rodríguez Pastor, 2008), the status of Afro-Peruvian women and gendered racism (Falcon, 2008), experiences of discrimination (Mayorga, 2010; Velarde, 2012a), and contributions to agriculture (Castello, 2008). Extensive charting of the usage of color labels in Peru and racial identification has also been completed (Golash-Boza, 2010; Sue, 2009). There has also been extensive research on Afro-Peruvian intercultural education projects and perspectives by both outsiders (foreign and non-Afro-descendant Peruvian nationals) and Afro-Peruvian researchers (Valdiviezo Arista & Valdiviezo, 2008; Valdiviezo, 2012; Chartock, 2011; Velarde, 2011; Estupiñan, 2012).

In contradistinction, there has been little if scarce analysis and publication of Afro-Peruvians' pedagogical activism and contributions to democratic development re-articulations. Lewis (2012) and Valdiviezo (2006 and 2012), researched the efforts of Afro-Peruvians in charting their own intercultural education proposals and inter-generational perspectives amongst Afro-Peruvian activists of two NGOs to a greater extent. This said, there has been no sustained nor in-depth research into the role that Afro-Peruvians play in re-articulating the meanings of citizenship, development, and democracy in Peru through their pedagogical and publicly political anti-racism activism.

Racism in Peru

Van Dijk explains that racism is a system of social domination (oppression on the basis of ethnicity, gender, age, etc.) where one group abuses their power over the other and it consists of discriminatory practices across various societal spaces and ideological prejudices that become internalized to varying degrees by both the dominant and the oppressed. According to Van Dijk (2010) racism is learned and not an inherent trait in people. When talking about being ‘Blacks in Peru’ Afro-Peruvians are referring to a way of identifying to the culture and traditions, more so than just physical characteristics. The latter is important when trying to understand racism in Peru, because as Gamarra (2010) states, Peru is a country of “all the bloods” (p. 9).¹⁰ Therefore, it is extremely hard to denote ‘Blackness’ by physical features or miscegenation. Racism thus manifests itself as a ‘cultural norm’ that establishes labels, delineates roles and organizes ‘differences’ in levels of inferiority pitting shade against shade (Gamarra, 2010).

Gamarra (2010) highlights that apart from agreeing that racism has been sustained by its often subliminal hold of Peruvians’ consciousness and is one of Peru’s most ‘solid institutions of practice’, researchers (including those that are Afro-Peruvian) struggle to reach consensus on an explanation for contemporary racism. Some suggest that answers to the aforementioned question can be found in market capital based studies of society and interactions, while others study the roots of racism through more sociological or psychological lenses, yet most reach the same undeniable conclusion (Ñopo, Chong, Moro, 2010). Whether the outstanding factors are education, market, or demographically related, there is discrimination, and more specifically racism, in Peruvian society, and it is most palpable to those historically ‘Othered’ through colonialism (Gamarra, 2010). Through colonialism and intricately related clientelistic practices, the democracy that has been learned in Peru has been ‘exclusive’, ‘marginalizing’, and

¹⁰ The original text in Spanish: “el Peru es un pais de todas las sangres,” Gamarra (2010).

‘aggressive’ (Gamarra, 2010),¹¹ ensuring that power remains solidly in the hands of ‘whitened’ mestizo/ criollo elites. The contemporary and most notorious vehicle for the aforementioned practices of marginalization is the Peruvian media.

Lopez¹² (2010) questions whether racism in the media resulted from a spontaneous process or whether it was a concerted effort on behalf of hegemonic circles dominated by whites. He concludes that it is difficult to conceive that there could be people who sit around planning on how to implement racist content to impede the development of their own country. However, he does think that there is some sort of systemic mechanism in place, perhaps ‘societal brainwashing’, one of the ‘gifts’ of colonization, that keeps ensuring a high degree of racist content across all public media forms- television, newsprint, radio, comedic advertising, etc.

Lopez (2010) highlights that in the growing public struggle against racism Afro-Peruvians are often questioned for their understanding of oppression and stance on racism. He responds that Afro-Peruvians acknowledge that racism in Peru is not just directed towards those that are ‘Black’. He points out, however, that there are at least over ten hours a week of television dedicated to Andean cultural programming, and that Indigenous heroes, poets and warriors are at least included in all school curricula texts and illustrations. In relation to Afro-Peruvian history children are mistakenly taught that freedom was magnanimously given to the Black slaves, some of which turned down this freedom preferring to keep serving their ‘loving’ white masters vowing to continue dedicating their lives to them. Schmidt is not attempting to create an antagonistic split between Andeans and Afro-Peruvians, however, he is trying to establish that it is Afro-Peruvian culture (history and contemporary practices) that is omitted

¹¹The original text in Spanish: “La democracia que han aprendido ha sido excluyente y agresiva. Ha sido una democracia sin ventajas.” See Gamarra, 2010, pp. 9-10 for an extended explanation on the effect colonialism and racism have on Peruvian society.

¹² Carlos Lopez Schmidt is an Afro-Peruvian director, actor and president of Cimarrones, an institution of interethnic global communication.

from official state representations of national culture and constantly *mis*represented in educational and cultural arenas as criollo.

In the struggle against oppression, Schmidt (2010) calls for zero tolerance when it comes to racist action. The latter means no tolerance whatsoever for racist media and advertisements, writing letters to media channels in protest of racist content, and publicly denouncing acts of racism so that authorities will have no choice but to pay attention. Gamarra (2010) says that it is time to call all Afro-Peruvians and unite them with the rest of civil society, especially other groups for fighting for their rights, to construct a true democratic Peru, through the strengthening of public politics, the redesigning of public spaces, the critique of existing laws and mechanisms for public engagement, the rearticulating of the latter, and the overall improvement of how citizens relate to one another.

As I have reviewed, there is considerable scholarship conducted into the concept of racism, Afro-Peruvians' historical and contemporary experiences of slavery and racism, and their inter/cultural insights. However, my study addresses a gap, in that it investigates the relevance of the Afro-Peruvian struggle for questions of citizenship and participatory politics in Peruvian society. By focusing on LUNDU's anti-racism *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign, the study provides an opportunity to critically analyze participatory and politically oriented initiatives and how activists' learning and their perspectives on public pedagogy play out with the larger struggle in which they are embedded. Furthermore, it reveals LUNDU's fervent commitment to Afro-Peruvian empowerment, but also to the strengthening of public politics through alliance building with other civil society groups and constant surveillance and re-articulation of public politics.

Significance of the Study

The proposed study is justified on the basis of three converging viewpoints. Firstly it is my belief that contradictory notions of citizenship collide in the education sphere precisely because pedagogical processes and institutions are supposed to privilege the unpacking and re-articulation of knowledge. This study examines the part that the activist pedagogy of a marginalized group plays in promoting modes of participatory citizenship that are inclusive and socially just. Secondly, Peru faces significant challenges regarding the articulation and promotion of sustainable forms of development grounded in participatory democratic engagement. LUNDU's *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign, offers the opportunity to address anti-oppressive citizenship and teach participation in relation to the 'politics' of development. Thirdly, in a climate of political and economic insecurity in Peru, what remains unclear is the extent to which the anti-racism struggles of marginalized communities, such as LUNDU's, provide these communities with an opportunity to build and consolidate alliances and strategic engagements towards larger social and political transformation.

The aforementioned three viewpoints inform my critical theoretical lens and subsequent analysis. My analysis rests on three key conceptual understandings of activist pedagogy, development and citizenship in relation to democracy. Democracy has been until now discussed as something standing alone in itself. However, I argue that a meaningful discussion of democracy cannot occur without considering what activist pedagogy stands for in relation to development and 'citizenship'. Only when development and democracy happen in conjunction can 'difference' and 'sustainable change' for authentic democratic politics for development be achieved. This study posits as crucial for a healthy and inclusive democracy, an understanding of development considered alternative to one that premises indicators of material prosperity,

because it premises ‘ethical responsibility’ and often immeasurable holistic well-being (Spivak, 2004). The error of development planners, political technocrats, and institutional leaders is to reduce development to a set of skills or knowledges, or worse, to indicators of material prosperity. The same is true of citizenship: it is not just voting, or even the skills and knowledge to vote, but the exercise of these in a context of freedom and equality. The analysis of development and democracy from the perspective of a community that has experienced inequality and slavery should cast light on these issues. Citizenship and education must therefore also be included in the discussion. This study highlights the importance of focusing on the conceptualization of citizenship¹³ as having ancient roots and is more closely linked to equality and participation than modernity. Any critiques of citizenship posited within this study are not directed at the egalitarian and participatory dimension of citizenship, but rather at the way that citizenship is used, for example, in neoliberal discourse to refer only to voting or home ownership. I position activist pedagogy as a critically important model for the learning of democratic citizenship and social justice oriented public participation with a significant role in the democracy-development discussion. It is a model through which politics are learned, enacted, and contested- a model through which the tools for societal transformation and democratic revolution can be learned. It attains its privilege from its pivotal functions in shaping educated, solidary and engaged citizens of the future. At the “2013 Maestros, Sociedad y Estado: Bases

¹³Citizenship is a highly contested and loaded term. It has been used in relevance to claims of nationality in attempts to delineate who does or does not belong to a nation, and thus who has rights to participate civically within the nation. Conflated with contested theories of belonging, immigration, interculturalism, human rights, and globalization, citizenship is often used as an interchangeable term for nationality. I do not use the term in relation to the technical sense of who deserves the title and rights of being a citizen of a particular state as I believe that nobody should be excluded from political participation solely on the basis of nationality. Rather, I discuss citizenship in relation to the systemic barriers that can limit and narrow the definition and enactment of citizenship, how the concept of citizenship is approached in Latin America, the ways in which people acquire the civic competencies to challenge traditional constructions of citizenship itself, and the various modes of civic engagement through which peoples seek to express their needs and perspectives and affect political change.

para un acuerdo Nacional por el Maestro Peruano,¹⁴ national conference hosted by Foro Educativo¹⁵ in Lima, panelist Cotler¹⁶ declared that ‘modern’ education (education that is geared towards producing citizens that will be productive in the labour market) must be taught alongside an education that teaches the skills for the praxis of critical democratic citizenship (Foro Educativo, 2012). Fellow panelist Cuenca¹⁷, also emphasized that researchers must think of teachers as active social and political figures and that classrooms are where the politics of education must be developed (Foro Educativo, 2012). I maintain that if notions of activism and teaching can be coupled together in Peru to shape critical democratic curricula and pedagogical positions, clearer notions of civic engagement, development and democracy, socio-political transformation, could be articulated. The new vision for socio-political transformation should not just be focused on the re-articulation of a plan for the student, the teacher, the politician and the activist as separate entities. Rather, such a vision should contemplate the creation of a platform on which to unite strategic initiatives by students, teachers, politicians, and community activists and create linkages between societal sectors (so fragmented in Peru) along notions of social justice. Studying LUNDU’s campaign, as a case study is of activist pedagogy, is of vital importance because it contributes to the theoretical discussion of democracy by highlighting the imminent need to inquire into how the implementation of an anti-racism campaign by Afro-Peruvians teaches participatory citizenship, consolidates alliances, exposes systemic inequalities, and reconfigures patterns of both social and political governance to chart a new path of

¹⁴ 2013 Teachers, Society, and the State: Bases for National Plan for the Peruvian Teacher; the two part conference took place on February 14-16th, 2013 (Part I) and August 7-9th, 2013 (Part II); panelists cited in this research presented during Part I of the conference.

¹⁵ Educational Forum, is a plural and independent non-profit association based out of Lima, Peru, from diverse backgrounds, dedicated to the transformation and development of Peruvian education from a sustainable and democratic framework, whose aim is also to support both state and civil society initiatives; for more information see, <http://foroeducativo.com/>

¹⁶ Julio Cotler is anthropologist and principle investigator at the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP).

¹⁷ Ricardo Cuenca is Director of Research at the IEP and founding member of the Sociedad de Investigación Educativa Peruana (SIEP), where he is currently director of publications.

development and strengthen an inclusive notion of democracy in Peru. Finally, and most importantly, it highlights that democracy and citizenship reflect multifaceted and dialectic dynamics that are powerfully situated in relation to specific contexts of political action.

CHAPTER 2: THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMING

Introduction: Critical Pillars

I approach the study of the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign from a ‘critical theory’ perspective. The term ‘critical theory’ was first used in the late 1930s by members of the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt, Germany, after they emigrated to the United States, following the rise of Hitler (Kellner, 1990). For them, the term served as a code word for their version of Marxist social theory and research (Kellner, 1990). More recently, Billings and Jennings (2001) pointed out that:

[Critical theory] now refers primarily to Marxist studies done or inspired by this so-called Frankfurt School and its contemporary representatives such as Jurgen Habermas. Critical sociologists working in this tradition share several common tenets including a rejection of sociological positivism and its separation of facts from values; a commitment to the emancipation of humanity from all forms of exploitation, domination, or oppression; and a stress on the importance of human agency in social relations. (Billings & Jennings, 2001, p. 539)

By drawing on critical theory, I seek to unpack the impact of activist pedagogy on citizenship and development in a way that unsettles hegemonic systems of power in Peru contributing to a re-articulation of democracy. More recent applications and reiterations of critical theory emphasize the impact of hegemonic manifestations of imperialism and colonization on class, gender and race relations and the need to investigate the systemic interrelatedness of forms of oppression through alternative articulations of pedagogy, development, citizenship and democracy. It is to these critical intersectionalities that I hope my study will add further depth.

Engaging Citizenship, Democracy, and Development

In the following section I set the stage for the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign case study with a theoretical discussion of citizenship, democracy and development because it is important to grasp how development is being implemented by neo-liberalism in ways that are re-colonizing and displacing historically marginalized peoples, excluding them from participation in the politics of democracy and limiting their civic agency. Following a discussion of dominant

development discourse I continue to examine how development can be re-articulated through an analysis of citizenship and democracy scholarship which propose the proliferation of critical civic competencies and pedagogies. I try to create a map for how the public activist campaign work of LUNDU reveals the democratic citizen action necessary for an inclusive socio-political re-imagining of Peru.

“D” evelopment as the All-Knowingly Neoliberal Saviour

Discourses on ‘development’ sprung up and began to take sweeping force in the 1940s as World War II drew to a close, communist fear brewed, and the US declared that poverty was a threat to world peace and its interests (Senarclens, 1997). However, ‘development’ as a strategy of imperialist control and requirement for ‘modernity’ had begun to unfold many centuries ago as lands were seized and peoples became enslaved to foreign and domestic masters. In the 1940s, the “logic of imperialism required that development be taken on as a burden of the metropolitan powers” (Senarclens, 1997, p. 191). It was implied that ‘development’ would play out according to Western modes of reasoning and social and cultural production (Senarclens, 1997, p. 192). Development reflected an educational discourse with which to instill and reproduce the values and norms of the hegemonic groups of the world, specifically American modes of consumption and industrialization. It was a notion that premised economic wealth above any other.

Such theorists as Walt Rostow, Edward Shils, Samuel Huntington, and Davis Lewis led the way in conceptualizing development as intricately dependent on American processes of production, consumption, and planning (Chari & Corbridge, 2008, p. 126). Rostow’s Five Stages of Economic Growth theory predominated development planning post-1960s, sharply privileging US modernisation theory. The latter premised an age of high mass consumption and cold war competition while the US and the Soviet Union raced for the “hearts and minds of the people in

the global periphery” (Chari & Corbridge, 2008, p. 126). Efficiency and productivity became the order of the day with democracy taking a back seat to often authoritarian and non-participatory practices that sought to promote modernisation through stringent policies. (Chari & Corbridge, 2008). Within this context, the ideal of democratic citizenship was shaped in relation to modernity and development. Being a good citizen meant gaining an education to obtain the skills required to thrive in the market (human capital approach), contribute to the consumer economy, and relieve the state of its welfare duties. Although democracy itself is grounded upon the ideals of plural freedoms and a diversity of rights, development and citizenship were rigidly defined. Development with a capital D, ‘Development,’ became recognized and taught as a process directed by governments, private companies, and powerful international and state institutions (Chari & Corbridge, 2008). Escobar (1992a) points out:

Development was characterized from the outset by certain basic statements relating a few variables such as capital, technology and resources. Once established through theories and institutionalized in practices (embodied in strategies and programmes), this set of statements determined what could be said, thought, imagined: it defined the space of Development. Industrialization, family planning, the green revolution, macroeconomic policy etc, all refer to the same space, all repeat in different ways that same set of statements. But since the discourse creates endless prescriptions, views, institutions, programmes and so forth, it gives the impression of a great learning process, of constituting a vast terrain for expression and innovation. (p. 414)

As Ferguson (1997) affirms, development is seen as something only possible through official government action and decision-making. Escobar (1992a) underscores the major flaw of this construction of development arguing:

Development was the result of refined forms of knowledge and greater potentialities of science and technology that could be put to the service of the non-industrialized world. But none of these conventional explanations accounts for the concrete form that Development took, and for the pervasive way in which it became the one and only way to think and act. In short, they would be at pains to explain how Development became an inescapable and totalizing domain which in turn made possible certain states of domination. (p. 413)

Fals Borda (1988; 1992) sums up the devastating effects of neoliberal development as exploitative, destructive, invisibilizing, paralyzing, indebting, and marginalizing, rendering many people voiceless and breaking down conventional political mechanisms and eventually democracy itself. Thus if we are to envision the transformation from neoliberal societies with

weak democratic governance structures into sustainably oriented democracies that support their citizens' participatory actions for greater social justice, we should consider research and pedagogy that considers civil society projects with plural perspectives that are closely linked with the expansion of concepts of citizenship and development, integral.

Democracy and Citizenship for Alternative Development Possibilities

In this section I unpack the concepts of democracy and citizenship and discuss how strong democracies with sustainable processes of development attempt to foster and support citizens' deliberative, participatory and radical qualities and skills. I begin by briefly diverging to address why, democracy, of all forms of state governance was selected for this case study analysis. With this overall discussion I foreground the practical relevance and innovation of the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign. Scholarship calling for participation as political adversaries, citing the importance of the ways in which marginalized groups leverage power, the ways in which neocolonial dominance is countered, and an analysis of how injustice, that which is suffered individually and collectively can be narrativisable and thus challengeable, indicates that democracy, citizenship and development are contextually malleable concepts. This case study speaks to the radical, participatory, and anti-oppressive forms of critical civic action with which a marginalized group takes legitimate democratic action to re-take the epistemic concepts which have been imposed since colonial times. Thus discussing democracy, citizenship and development guides an analysis of how alternative socio-political realities are possible and leads to the contested juncture of education where these discourses collide.

In relation to Peru's context, democracy was the only fathomable option (putting my own political passions aside). Recent Latin American elections indicated that there is widespread popular support for leftist leaders and governments. Even those labelled as 'bad leftists' have

proven in many cases to provide more mass stability, opened up venues for new forms of democratic participation, and for the most part avoided the violent rights abuses of authoritarian governments which claimed democratic identities as Fujimori's regime (Cameron, 2013a, para. 1). Yet, despite the election of so-called 'leftist' leader Ollanta Humala into the Peruvian presidency, the Peruvian state has taken large shifts to the right. Cameron (2013a) states that it is the 'will' of the "powerful minorities--economically powerful groups, the media, the armed forces, and so forth--that prevents the social change demanded by majorities" and any possibility of a cohesive 'majority' in Peru is inhibited by an experience based fear of military and authoritarian rule (para. 8). So in the case of Peru it is more productive for any sustainable development and social justice based possible envisioning of society and state to focus on expanding and strengthening participatory mechanisms, and as Cameron (2013a) beckons:

[imagining] a wider range of possible democracies in which constitutionalism, the rule of law, fundamental rights and freedoms, and full and active participation are brought together in mutually reinforcing ways to make it possible to collectively achieve a better future for our children and our planet. (para. 12)

Thus, I proceed to connect core elements of participatory and radical forms of democracy to establish the framework for a Peruvian democratic state that values deliberation skills in its citizens and politicians moving beyond just a 'voting' concept of democratic engagement, supports the creation of spaces and mechanisms for greater citizen participation especially those from historically marginalized groups, and productively channels 'difference' and 'dissent' for the evolution of a democratic state that is truly respectful of diversity amongst its peoples.

A deep analysis of Mouffe's (2005) concept of 'agonistic democracy'¹⁸ allows for a critical, yet practical and realistic, view of Peruvian politics and society. It also facilitates the

¹⁸ 'Agonistic democracy' also referred to as 'radical pluralist democracy' by Chantal Mouffe, was selected for the democratic theoretical grounding discussion of the Peruvian state and LUNDU's *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign, because it was deemed most appropriate over a deliberative or communicative democracy model for the following reasons: 1.) I understand Peru to be a state where the rhetoric of public and participatory spaces has dominated supposed democratic practice and reports, without actually existing; 2.) there is a socially systemic

proposal of a radical pluralist form of democracy that challenges Peru's empty rhetoric of intercultural inclusion and pushes for the opening up of public political spaces even to those who may not have a constitutional claim on the state. Succeeding presidents and their parties have enthusiastically and widely employed 'democratic' rhetoric such as 'interculturalism' and 'minority rights' and also constructed corresponding institutions, without actually adhering to their pluralistic definitions. Mouffe theorizes the latter as the consequences of neoliberal politics which do not foster, nor lend support for the discussion of varying perspectives. Such neo-liberal constructions of democracy reveal for Mouffe a "complete lack of understanding of what is at stake in democratic politics and of the dynamics of constitution of political identities and, as we will see, it contributes to exacerbating the antagonistic potential existing in society" (p. 2). Mouffe's argument is twofold: 1.) When the channels are not available through which conflicts could take an 'agonistic' form, those conflicts tend to emerge on the 'antagonistic' mode 2.) Collective identities play a central part in politics and the task of democratic politics is not to overcome through consensus but to construct them in a way that energizes the democratic confrontation. Mouffe indicates the mistake of liberal rationalism is to ignore the affective dimension mobilized by collective identifications and to imagine that those supposedly archaic 'passions' are bound to disappear with the advance of individualism and the progress of

embedded hierarchy resulting from (neo) colonization, that certain individuals are less 'rational' or 'reasonable', thus these marginalizing perspectives need to first be exposed; 3.) without spaces and institutions for agonistic encounter, there are just 'public' encounters where people 'perform' democratic attitudes; 4.) power constitutes all social relations, therefore, there is no freedom from coercion and hegemonic coercive patterns need to be revealed, but there also needs to be an acceptance that total transparency and harmony can never be claimed or acquired, and thus there needs to be constant civic action to 'check' democratic institutions and processes; 5.) political 'equality' cannot be beckoned in Peru without first outlining who has historically been excluded and included; 6.) and Peru has a history of fraudulent and violent 'democracies' and too much emphasis on consensus and the repetitive negation of confrontation can lead to political apathy. For further justifications for and arguments against radical agonistic and deliberative forms of democracy see Martin (2000) and Young (2000) from which I drew comparative understandings of democracy for the previously outlined reasons.

rationality; also why democratic theory is so badly prepared to grasp the nature of ‘mass’ political movements as well as phenomena such as nationalism.

Mouffe (2005) argues that constructing a radical pluralist democracy requires the building of predispositions within people to contend with difference and affective dimensions of citizenship. It is about opening-up spaces for non-state actors, apart from parties, to engage in the political in ways which consolidate a ‘democratic’ sphere. Mouffe’s (1993, 2005) perspective of citizenship is ‘agonistic’; the idea that to act as a citizen means acting only in one way is irrational. There is a multiplicity of ways of enacting citizenship. Therefore she promotes a form of conflictual consensus in relation to the creation of discourses of governance and development. This concept of conflictual consensus derives from her belief that hegemony is always the result of articulations of citizenship that amass power for certain groups at certain times. In Carpentier and Cammaerts, (2006) Mouffe discusses hegemony and any of its articulations as never final nor total, and continuously open to re-articulations (p. 966). Mouffe’s model of radical and effective citizenship, is one that calls for a synergy between civil society, political parties, and democratic institutions (p. 970). Hence there is also a need for marginalized groups seeking to alter hegemonic patterns of dominance and gain official recognition to create a “chain of equivalence between different democratic struggles;” so that the demands of one group will not be met at the expense of another (p. 971).

For democratic forces to counter the dominating neo-liberal hand, “new identities are required,” grounded in the “common political identity as radical democratic citizens” (Mouffe, 1993, p. 71). Mouffe emphasizes that the latter can only be formulated and understood through the conceptualization of a problematic that “conceives of the social agent not as a unitary subject but as the articulation of an ensemble of subject positions, constructed within specific

discourses and always precariously and temporarily sutured at the intersection of those subject positions” (p. 71). Therefore it is vital to not essentialize the needs of any one group of citizens and to approach political change through intersectional lenses. Although Mouffe’s perspectives on democracy and the characteristics which qualify states to engage a radical re-articulation of the concept are heavily Eurocentric, she does convey her belief that there can be as many forms of citizenship as there are interpretations of democracy. For her, the tension that exists between one’s individual concerns and the duties of being a citizen of a democracy which can never be reconciled is what characterizes democracy. As Mouffe (in Carpentier and Cammaerts, 2006) highlights, “Agonism removes the violent and destructive aspects from the antagonistic and transfers the enemy-other into the adversary-other” (p. 971). Mouffe’s perspective that the “political struggle is political struggle over the transformation of the (always contingent) patterns of power relations that organize society” (Rummens, 2009, p. 379) reveals that in ‘true’ democracy there will never be complete consensus amongst and between peoples over the ethico-political values of liberty and equality (Rummens, 2009). Rather, it is in the process of defining one’s views of this, that forms of identification are strengthened and ‘justice’ is neared.

Mouffe (1993) stresses that relations of domination must be challenged if the democratic principles liberty and equality are to apply in ‘democratic’ governance (p. 70). The latter is also true for the re-structuring of top-down and conventional forms of ‘development’ to be re-structured into sustainable and inclusive methods. Mouffe (1993) emphasizes that plural communities owe the ‘ethical’ state dedication, and the state in return owes it plural citizen masses a very clear explanation of what it stands for. This crucial ‘partnership’ grounded in the agonistic struggle is the challenge to the hegemonic articulation of capitalism. Nonetheless, the question remains how does one move from the agonistic encounter of the state and plural groups

to a participatory collective force of action in the defense of legitimate democracy? In other words, how will the democratic state contend with the various plural voices and how will these plural voices forge ‘democratic alliances’ to transform state democratic functions along participatory lines and also establish national stability? A radical democratic government provides surfaces of inscription, agonistic spaces, where the diverse demands could be articulated with cultural and artistic practices playing an importance role in the agonistic struggle because they are a privileged terrain for the construction of new subjectivities (Mouffe, 2010). How can these ‘agonistic’ spaces be fostered? Alternative conceptions of development tell us that the answer to the aforementioned questions lies in the rhizomatic (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004) efforts of grassroots groups and social movements. The idea behind rhizomatic action is that connections are propagated in various directions and the limits of norms, binaries, and dualistic structures are countered. Grassroots groups often develop an identity based on their plural understanding, historic yet evolving identities, and vast efforts to build counter-capitalist networks which allow them to carry on with their work despite often challenging circumstances. Through their daily rhizomatic activities, they contend with hegemonic relations, confront internalized colonialism and “epistemic violence” (Spivak, 2003), and push forward with critical and participatory strategies that peel away the falsities of empty rhetoric and check the ‘democratic’ validity of institutions.

Although Mouffe proposes a radical re-articulation of democracy and citizenship, she lacks a thorough explanation of what ‘citizen actions’ and ‘development’ for an alternative and stronger construction of democracy would look like. She leaves the concept of ‘alternatives’ and the methods for establishing them quite vague. Escobar provides insight into the aforementioned. He elaborates that the notion of ‘democracy’ is not the same around the globe and thus

‘development’ must look different according to the varying needs of the people it is meant to serve. Thus, as Escobar underscores the myriad of ways in which these ‘expressed’ modes of citizenship require in-depth analysis and charting in relation to theories of critical pedagogy, development and democracy. He therefore also counters Mouffe and Laclau’s view that pluralistic manifestations and alternative articulations are only possible in countries labelled as ‘advanced’ because the Third World, lacks the ‘connaissance’ of democratic political diversities due to their continued confinement by imperial confines. Escobar furthers that post World War II hegemonic development has pushed and inspired people, especially those in Latin America in a myriad of ways to create not just tactics of survival but new pedagogies that preserve traditional knowledge systems and give birth to new ones.

Modernity gave birth to the imperial-colonial paradigm of development. Thus, Escobar begins by challenging its Eurocentric theorization and application. Vital for a stronger conceptualization of radical participatory democracy is Escobar’s deeper analysis of Mouffe’s employment of the concept of ‘modernity’ in relation to development (Escobar, 1992b, p. 67). He contends that “modernity can be seen as an attempt to provide a foundation for society that is grounded in reason, the economy, and a project of global emancipation. ...overlooked are the manifold techniques of power necessary to create modern classes, modern rationalities, and, especially the modern subject” (Escobar, 1992, p. 67). For Escobar, the greatest consequence of the “modernity” concept of that it converted “modern man” into the “policed subject” and the consequences included the marginalization of other types of knowledge and the control of women, nature and subaltern classes” (p. 67). Modernity has impacted Latin America in a unique way and thus Latin American modernity has a social and temporal heterogeneity related to the co-existence of “premodern modern, and even antimodern forms” (Escobar, 1995, p. 218). In

Latin America, the concept of “modernity” takes on multifaceted and hybrid manifestations. Unsurprisingly, Escobar disagrees with Mouffe and Laclau’s view that such pluralistic manifestations and articulations are only possible in countries labelled as ‘advanced’ because the Third World, lacks the ‘connaissance’ of democratic political diversities due to their continued confinement by imperial confines. Escobar argues that the post-war hegemonic form of development, which has served as a tool of neoliberal imperialism, has also resulted in a multiplicity of antagonisms and identities (all of the victims of development who are the subjects of recent forms of protest) (Escobar, 1990).

Despite their distinct paradigmatic approaches to the concept of modernity, both Mouffe’s and Escobar’s respective theories on radical democracy and its relation to development reveal that socially and politically marginalized actors redefine how spaces of civic engagement look, offering insights for the re-articulations of the links between democracy and development (Escobar, 1992b, p. 68). But for Escobar, this ‘alternative path’, as he terms it, is entirely Latin American, because unlike any other place, it “is the most ancient source of an historical rationality made up by the confluence of many conquests and many rationalities and cultures” (Quijano, 1988, p. 34; cited in Escobar and Alvarez, 1992, p. 68).

Thus, Escobar’s perspective on development in the Latin American context is key to comprehend Peru’s development challenges and their contribution to the consolidation of participatory and inclusive politics. He states that “it has become customary to see development either as a series of strategies intended to bring about “progress” or, in the opposing view, as a form of neo-colonialism and dependency, that is, an instrument of control over the Third World (Escobar, 1992b, p.65). However, “that the development process implies the destruction of traditions, the normalization of living conditions along Western criteria, and the restructuring of

entire societies does not seem to concern those who advocate “progress” and the modernizations of national societies” (Escobar, 1992b, p. 65). Development and democracy do not require the oppression of pluralistic histories and contemporary realities. There is no one single version of democracy which should be adhered to by all countries. There is also no sole path of development that should be applied to all groups of peoples or areas in the globe, for the sole purpose of ‘being democratically progressive’. A more direct valuing of history and cultural epistemic knowledge systems is missing from the development-democracy discussion. Thus, many countries and groups of people around the globe continue to internalize that they are not developed enough and agree to a development premised upon external agendas.

Escobar (2010) interrogates the continual reference to and application of the term ‘development’. He states that many civil society grassroots leaders in Latin America are rejecting the entire development paradigm in so far as it posits comparisons with the West and a drive to ‘catch-up’ with the latter and instead trying to “experiment with different ways of organizing societies and economies” (p. 343); hence the search for ‘alternatives to development’ rather than ‘development alternatives’. Yet it is also important that the discussion of ‘alternatives’ can often get heavy with ‘contra-development’ rhetoric, prevalent in ‘post’-critical/ colonial theorization, which can unconsciously restrict dialogue amongst groups practicing their own ‘development visions’ (for lack of a better term) and at times even paralyze critical personal and communal applications of counter knowledges and practices (some of which may be hybrids of foreign models). As Andreotti (2014; forthcoming) highlights, post-critical narratives of development struggle to offer viable political answers to challenge systemic forms of oppression and often fail to address historically and collectively defined hegemonic power relations. Throughout this case study research I employ the terms ‘development’, ‘sustainable development’ and ‘societal

transformation' in an attempt to linguistically facilitate comprehension of LUNDU's contemporary struggle with the "D" evelopment paradigm, critical engagement with the discourse and search for socio-political transformation. My research inquiries revealed that Afro-Peruvians prefer referencing development, as 'desarrollo humano'¹⁹ which as I understand moves beyond Sen's (1999) theorization of 'human development'²⁰ and imagines development according to holistic principles of well being especially grounded in Afro-descendant (from Peru and neighboring countries such as Colombia)²¹ perspectives. These perspectives call for a leading focus on the wellbeing and wealth (cultural, spiritual, and physical) of human life, greater access to knowledge as social progress, social justice as an overall aim, protection for cultural and bio diversity, and true freedom for full personal development and political participation, rather than on the well being of the economy and the acquisition of capital and power. Above all public and inclusive dialogue is emphasized by Afro-Peruvians in discussions as needing to precede any changes, especially foreign imposed ones, as it is the space where people create their own logics and power to check any injustices of the state and mass society. Through a resistance to development marginalized groups in Third World countries create new identities through processes and categories that are "more flexible, modest, and mobile relying

¹⁹ Human development.

²⁰ Amartya Sen's work provided the conceptual foundation for an alternative and broader human development approach defined as a process of enlarging people's choices and enhancing human capabilities and freedoms, enabling them to: live a long and healthy life, have access to knowledge and a decent standard of living, and participate in the life of their community and decisions affecting their lives (Human Development Reports, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/what-human-development-paradigm-and-how-does-it-guide-reports>). However, despite serving as an alternative development model, Sen's work has been critiqued for lacking critical analysis of power relations that cause and reproduce underdevelopment through national and international political institutions and also of the state political contexts in which 'development' unfolds; Sen also fails to account for the element of political struggle and social mobilization required for marginalized or impoverished groups to acquire greater freedoms (Navarro, 2000; Corbridge, 2002).

²¹ Here I am referring specifically to the work of Colombian Afro-descendant Activist, Carlos Rua Angulo, who refers to development as "bienestar" [well-being] and new ways (although perhaps grounded in ancestral knowledges) of establishing relationships for the construction of the best universe possible; see CEDET, 2011.

on tactical articulations arising out of the conditions and practices of daily life” (Escobar, 1995, p. 216).

It becomes critical for researchers and policy-makers alike to avoid essentializing, romanticizing or relegating marginalized peoples into traditional spheres. Although many groups may address nature, societal construction and overall human relations from different sociocultural paradigms, this does not mean that they do not want inclusion or autonomy in market oriented projects and re-articulations of governance that will benefit their peoples’ well-being and the environments. Locking them into ‘pristine’ spheres of existence can often be another form of marginalization, whether intentional or not. Escobar (1995) speaks to the latter stating that, “rather than being eliminated by development, many “traditional cultures” survive through their transformative engagement with modernity” furthermore “popular sectors rarely attempt to reproduce a normalized tradition: on the contrary, they often exhibit an openness toward modernity that is at times critical and at times transgressive and even humorous” and if we “continue to speak of tradition and modernity, it is because we continually fall into the trap of not saying anything new because the language does not permit it” (p. 219).

Thus for Escobar “Latin America oscillates between two logics, two forms of politics: a logic of popular struggles in a relatively (“tendentially”) unified political space (against oligarchies, imperialism and developmentalist states), and a logic of “democratic” struggles in a plural space,” yet examples of both forms of political engagement can be found. There is a political treasure of alternatives, which he seems to suggest lies waiting in the study of how these aforementioned methods of articulation inform each other and how through both logics and a constant analysis of the influence of culture, Latin America can develop a more “autonomous and satisfactory political practice and social order” (Escobar, 1990, p. 40).

The task at hand for this case study becomes about discussing what type of pedagogies are necessary for the preparation of people to participate publicly as political adversaries, analyzing the “complex semiotics of protest” (Escobar, 1995, p. 219), and piecing together the impact of ‘alternative’ actions on new forms of doing politics. In this study, I approach LUNDU’s leaders as social actors who question the mechanisms underpinning the production of meanings, identities, and social relations in Peruvian society (Escobar, 1992b, p. 68). But these new social actors, to the extent that they question the existing mechanisms for the production of meanings, identities, and social relations meet significant resistance in their social justice based struggle for greater political engagement. The previously outlined conceptualization of democracy and development shows how both processes of societal governance and change (for purposes of the improvement of living conditions and rights) are intricately webbed together and dependent on each other. Of vital importance is *how* marginalized groups utilize institutions and engage democratic processes in participatory ways for a re-articulation of democracy in their national contexts and the growth of sustainable development projects (which can take on many forms). Escobar’s work highlights that Latin America is a cradle where groups of peoples who have suffered marginalization by repeated similar processes of hegemonic colonization, have found ways to preserve their cultural epistemic forms of knowledge in the face of sweeping agendas of modernization to teach their societies alternatives ways of knowing, being, and moving forward. This case study places as a central focus the ways in which Afro-Peruvians utilize their struggles to craft a social justice anti-racism campaign to demonstrate a pathway of critical public and political engagement to participative democracy and inclusive development. It also illustrates how Afro-Peruvians are taking on the role of public activist pedagogues, opening the door wider to diverse conceptualizations of citizenship missing in Peru.

Citizenship, Participatory Politics, and the Role of Critical Pedagogy

The world has been witness to the unfolding of the “two logics” which Escobar identifies Latin America oscillates between. Apart from these two logics, Latin America is in the glaring eye of neoliberal leaders (be it countries or the heads of capitalist corporations) that first target the traditionally colonized sectors of the world through the mechanisms of globalization such as technologies and business treaties that pillage entire ecosystems displacing peoples and cultures, and academic capitalism’s technocratic planning that strips away notions of justice from public landscapes replacing them through capitalist media with market driven messages. Cotler (Foro Educativo, 2012) highlights that Peru, which is currently undergoing its most massive economic growth in decades, is suffering from near total political “desafecto”²². While the country is propelled forward through new neoliberal trade deals in the mining, forestry, and engineering sectors which were signed by previous president Alan Garcia, the entire state is floundering in a cesspool of participatory incapacity and foreign models that destabilize any attempts at democratic political action by both public social actors and government ministers. Education is thus currently prey to the same negative impact of neocolonialism visible in the thoughtless changes being instated to the national curriculum, the stripping away of critical learning courses and goals from higher education institutional planning, cutbacks to teacher support, massive upspring of private education institutions and ‘universities’ in general (there are currently one hundred universities in Peru, of which the ‘good’ ones are constituted by those who promote business/ information technologies/ engineering skills related learning), and the focus on only learning things that ‘serve’ the market and foreign interests (Cotler, Foro Educativo, 2012). Education, the relationship between student and teacher, is for the market. There is a lack of

²² The closest English translation for this term is “disaffection” or “hostility”.

critical pedagogy. Hence, there is little to nothing being taught to cultivate a Peruvian citizen versed in notions of social justice and prepared to participate in society democratically.

The Need for Critical Citizenship

In this section I introduce how scholars theorize what citizenship for a radical participatory democracy entails, and the many possibilities for re-articulations of development and democracy extending from the latter. I draw on citizenship scholars to speak to Mouffe's and Escobar's most pertinent call in relation to socio-political transformation which is the teaching of skills for the politics of everyday life as needed by people to engage each other and engage processes of socio-political re-conceptualization to counter neo-liberal marginalization and re-colonization.

In the previous section I introduced Mouffe's conceptualization of agonistic citizenship, a way of acting such that differences and emotions are channeled towards healthy democratic discussions and political participation. Ruitenberg (2009) clarifies that educational projects or programmes that seek to increase civic competencies should look to the following three areas as objectives: education of the emotions, fostering an understanding of the difference between moral and political disputes, and of power as constitutive of society, and developing an awareness of the historical and contemporary political projects of the "left" and "right". She furthers that civic education is required to educate youth to become political adversaries rather than moral enemies or competitors. Thus, Ruitenberg first calls for emotions to be given greater legitimacy in the field and praxis of education. Ruitenberg describes Mouffe's concept of political emotions as having a 'political object' "bound up with the power relations in a society and with a substantive vision of a just society" (p. 277). If the object is political then the aim is to teach commitment to a view with political ends and how to demonstrate this commitment, in

spaces of direct confrontation. Ruitenberg highlights the difference between adversary and competitor because ‘competition’ has become an educational goal thanks to neoliberalism. She contributes to the discussion on citizenship education that educating political adversaries “requires that the supposed neutrality of the terrain in which different groups fight for their view of a just society is contested, and that the economic paradigm that pervades both politics and education is made explicit as paradigm” (p. 278). Finally she calls for a re-engagement of youth with formal political practices and institutions, indicating that single issue campaigning in civic spheres must be coupled with direct engagement with “politics qua the political” (p. 280) capturing why and how the LUNDU campaign was structured.

Oslar and Starkey (2003) contribute that how citizenship education responds to diversity and to the formal and informal barriers faced by minorities should be analyzed. Moreover, focus should be placed on how young people contribute to controversial citizenship debates as how they understand their present and future roles within the constitutional and legal framework of the state is crucial for teaching citizenship. The authors conclude that it is the experience of minority youth who in post-colonial societies are often more harshly judged and exposed to everyday racism we should be drawing from them to shape citizenship programmes and development strategies. Here it is important to note that Oslar and Starkey promote a specific form of citizenship education--education for cosmopolitan citizenship. They suggest that “cosmopolitan citizens will be confident in their own identities and will work to achieve peace, human rights and democracy within the local community and at a global level” which in many ways speaks to LUNDU’s work (p. 246). Oslar and Starkey also identify characteristics²³ that should be fostered in youth such as: accepting personal responsibility, recognizing the

²³ Oslar and Starkey cite a previous work Oslar and Vincent (2002) where they first used UNESCO (1995) as the framework from which they identified characteristics of an educated cosmopolitan citizen.

importance of civic commitment, working collaboratively to solve issues, respecting diversity, recognizing that worldviews are shaped by personal and societal histories and cultural traditions, respecting cultural heritage, and promoting solidarity and equity at national and international levels. These characteristics align with Escobar and Mouffe's calls for the learning of critical citizenship skills along a principle of action, striving constantly towards the common--yet discursive and open for interpretation-democratic ethico-political values of liberty and equality for all. However, according to Mouffe's theorization on agonistic and plural citizenship, Escobar's emphasis of place-based and participatory development and governance, and their mutual distaste for the privileging of universalism and global/ cosmocentrism, there is a deeper analysis missing in Oslar and Starkey's (2003) promotion of citizenship education premised upon 'cosmopolitanism'. Mouffe and Escobar stress that looking to 'cosmopolitanism' and for a citizenship education response to diversity at local, national, regional, and global levels, could provide opportunities for greater Westerncentrism, ahistoricism, paternalism, elitism, and dehumanization despite calling for inclusion of marginalized youth voices, and the privileging of engagement with international institutions and global exotics, versus local and state issues and politics (Escobar, 2001; Worsham & Olson, 1999; Thaler, 2010).

Salman (2004) approaches writing on citizenship from the context of Latin American societies. He states that there is an "apocryphal" side with respect to citizenship (p. 855). According to Salman, much of the literature on citizenship focuses on the deficiencies of the system and its institutions and on the alleged absence of citizenship awareness among poor or marginalized Latin Americans (p. 855). Hence there is very little informing the construction and learning of citizenship in Latin America and also the various conceptions of citizenships that exist amongst diverse groups. Thus, because literature is lacking on how rights are taught and

learned in Latin America, Latin America with its turbulent and unstable democratic histories is often further portrayed in citizenship discussions as ‘lacking democratic competency’. As is the case with Peru, citizenship analysis focuses upon “political culture, highlighting the vices of authoritarianism, elitism, clientalism, nepotism, populism, corruption, and prebendalism, declaring all those cultural traits premodern” and culture becomes an obstacle (p. 859).

Alternately, emphasis is placed on the ‘informal’ and practices and how Latin Americans for the most part, self-exclude themselves from the domain of legal regulations, formal ruling, and most public and political spaces, considering politics and legislation a hostile and inaccessible (Salman, 2004, p. 861). For Salman, citizenship as a concept only makes sense if people have some knowledge and awareness of their social and political rights, and if necessary make state institutions or other actors and resorts, apply them (p. 857). The aforementioned aligns with LUNDU’s overall organizational goals and initiatives. I argue further on in this research that Afro-Peruvians and LUNDU in particular are engaging a multi-pronged approach of mass popular citizen techniques and formal democratic mechanisms to have their claims heard, re-shape state development and re-articulate Peruvian democracy. Salman’s (2004) work lacks a deeper and more critical analysis of how citizenship plays out in Latin America especially at the grassroots level.

Cameron, Hershberg and Sharpe (2012), directly counter Salman’s discourse of citizenship in Latin America indicating that a watershed has been established in relation to the proliferation of informal and formal spaces where political participation takes place. Hence, we can conclude that the opportunities for reconceptualizations of democracy and citizenship are growing. Yet, for any of these participatory spaces to effect any change, “citizens have to learn how to exercise their voice in ways that strive to some level of agreement on agendas, decisions,

and coherent policies” (Cameron, Hershberg, & Sharpe, 2012, p. 12). Thus, learning for democracy means strengthening the adversarial and ally skills to navigate the public and political with a constant critical awareness of the rhetorics of participation that may not actually serve democracy’s goals.

In summary, with critical citizenship skills, the radical democracy theorized by Mouffe and the alternatives to “D”evelopment posed by Escobar are possible. Some of the questions that remain from this discussion of democracy and citizenship are: how do we educate political adversaries? What are ways to legitimize emotions in the realm of education and politics? How can we prepare people firstly for informal public participation and secondly for formal political participation? How do we reconnect citizens with the true goals of democracy? Do we need to further broaden our conception of citizenship and what is needed to teach citizens if we aim to transform societies into social justice based models? Which citizens are being excluded and how? How can power be leveraged by marginalized groups for space-making? How can the latter be taught? While questions are endless, we understand from all of the aforementioned scholars that education for political participation and re-articulations of development need to be grounded in already existing struggles of those most marginalized. Escobar’s work highlights that there is a breadth of manifestations of citizenship within counter-neoliberal and other social movement or civil society initiatives. Hence I begin to turn to critical pedagogy and its role in the construction of citizens, possibilities for re-articulations of democracy, and an alignment of development with the actual needs of the plural peoples of Latin American countries such as Peru. Critical pedagogy theorists have for a long time grounded their theories in the lived experiences of grassroots civil society initiatives and activist understandings.

Critical Pedagogy for Critical Citizenship

Peruvians need to begin by re-addressing as a group a notion that can be seen as clearly understood by Afro-Peruvians through their education initiatives- that of pedagogy. Pedagogy is a much confused term for Peruvians, sociologists, and even education specialists worldwide. There is much hesitation to define or engage its historical origins as an extra-institutional practice or to Freire-inspired demands for critical engagement inside and outside of schools and reconceptualization of embodied spaces and workings (Sandlin, Schultz, & Burdick, 2010, p. 2). For many, the aforementioned seem like daunting and destabilizing undertakings. Critical scholars began establishing theoretical connections between hindrances to true democracy and forms of oppression such as racism, with the ‘acquisitive’ society in the mid-eighteenth century (Douglass 1845 and 1968; and DuBois 1903; Provenzo, 2002). These theoretical connections have been woven together by critical scholars into ‘pedagogies’ grounded in the oppressions of their lived experiences. Loosely defined by Andreotti (forthcoming,) as an “educational practice that emphasizes the connections between language, knowledge, power and subjectivities”, an analysis of ‘critical pedagogy’ is necessary for grasping the ways in which revolutionary civic actions that re-articulate democracy and development are taught and learned (p. 1).

W. E. B. Du Bois, born in 1868 in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, was the first Black education activist to counter not just white America society but also the educational and political constructs of some of the Black men of his time, such as Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Booker T. Washington and other leading Black businessmen of his time, who did not challenge traditional social power (Provenzo, 2002). Du Bois challenged the concept of educational segregation stating that the idea of separating citizens of a nation was the biggest threat to democracy. Yet, Du Bois believed, “that Black children were introduced, in their textbooks, to

the world too much in terms of white culture and society” and needed a “broader idea of how their struggle for personal freedom and dignity was connected to a much larger Pan-African struggle” (Provenzo, 2002, p. 15). His emphasis resonates with John Dewey’s (1916) envisioning of schooling as one dimension of public pedagogy wherein the reorganization of experience could occur; and schools themselves as miniature societies in which democracy and reconstructive individual inquiry might flourish (Sandlin, Schultz, & Burdick, 2010, p. 2). By the 1930s Dewey was convinced that “democratic education that is built upon individual and communal interests” oriented towards critical meaningful inquiry, had met a “nearly ubiquitous obelisk of resistance: the acquisitive society” (p. 2). Thus, the term ‘pedagogy’ became preferred in critical spheres when discussing education, teaching, and learning needs in relation to larger social transformation. This is perhaps best exemplified in the work of Paulo Freire (1970), who approached pedagogy as “inherently being directive and must always be transformative” (p. 25).

Freire first introduced the world to his philosophy of education in 1959 in his doctoral dissertation at the University of Recife (Shaull, 2003, p. 31). Freire’s (1970) pedagogy of the oppressed,

animated by authentic, humanist (not humanitarian) generosity, presents itself as a pedagogy of humankind. Pedagogy which begins with the egoistic interests of the oppressors (an egoism cloaked in the false generosity of paternalism) and makes of the oppressed the objects of its humanitarianism, itself maintains and embodies oppression. (p. 54)

Freire contemplated how it could be possible for liberating education to be practiced if the oppressed have no political power. He determined that one way is realized in the distinction between systematic education, which can only be changed by political power, and educational projects that can be carried out with the oppressed (p. 54). Freire outlined the two distinct stages of the pedagogy of the oppressed as firstly the oppressed unveiling the world of oppression and through praxis committing themselves to its transformation and secondly, the pedagogy ceasing to be just of the oppressed and becoming a pedagogy of all people in the process of liberation.

Macedo (2000) highlights that “Freire’s later works make it clear that what is important is to approach the analysis of oppression through a convergent theoretical framework where the object of oppression is cut across by such factors as race, class, gender, culture, language, and ethnicity” (p. 15). Evident in Freire’s final publications (2004, 2006) with his insertion of the female referent, is that he himself realized his failure in properly addressing the facet of gender as a critical component of oppression and liberation by excluding a focus on the experiences of women (of diverse classes and ethnic backgrounds). Finally, Freire contributes to the discussion of critical pedagogy the integral process of *conscientização* which is the “deepening of the attitude of awareness characteristic of all emergence” (p. 109). This process calls for a continual reflection on and awareness of themes²⁴ which impact our lives, history and situationality, as without this holistic approach to our contemporary positions we cannot emerge from past oppressions, nor proactively problem-solve our present ones. Thus the truly critical dialogical teacher does not just approach ‘critical pedagogy’ as a simplifiable methodology, but to *re-present* the realities or issues revealed by the students back to them as a problem to be thematically investigated²⁵, decoded, and transformed.

If it has yet to be noted from this very theoretical discussion, although education is stereotypically portrayed as a ‘gendered’ field dominated by women, very few *female* scholars, *especially scholars of color*, are actually included in formal theoretical discussions of critical pedagogy. The latter becomes even more relevant in the case of scholarship by Black feminists.

As I experienced within higher education, Black feminist scholarship on issues of race, class, and

²⁴Freire (1970) refers to ‘themes’ as the “doubts, values, and challenges in dialectical interaction with their opposites, striving towards plenitude. The concrete representation of many of these ideas, values, concepts, and hopes, as well as the obstacles which impede the people’s full humanization, constitute the themes of that epoch” (p. 101).

²⁵Freire (1970) cites unpublished work of sociologist Maria Edy Ferreira, to explain that ‘thematic investigation’ are “only justified to the extent that it returns to the people what truly belongs to them; to the extent that it represents, not an attempt to learn about the people, but to come to know with them the reality which challenges them” (p. 110).

gender are usually excluded to discussions of ‘critical race’ or ‘feminist’ initiatives without explicitly linking their direct contributions to the theorization and praxis of pedagogy and activism.

At this point bell hooks’ contributions to our understanding of what a radical revolutionary and activist pedagogy stands for, allows us to expand on the notion from a ‘revolutionary feminist intersectional perspective’. Like Freire, hooks theorizes that oppression is multi-dimensional and cannot be reduced solely to race, gender, nor class. Although using intersectional theory to analyze racism and anti-racism activism is outside the original scope of this case study, I need to point out that hooks’ use of intersectionality to theorize about racism and oppression shapes her pedagogical perspectives and methodologies. This is pivotal for LUNDU’s work because LUNDU’s leaders are women, hence bringing into play a gender dimension both implicitly and explicitly. I can only assume that along with having to confront racism through a political perspective, LUNDU activists have had to tackle oppression in relation to gender, ethnicity, class, and age through their frontline activism within the context of patriarchal Peruvian society. Jaramillo and McLaren (2009) interpret hooks as calling for the use of the particulars of oppression to “come to voice and revolutionary action” (p. 24), and using these “liminal pedagogical spaces [as a] means to move outside the immediacy of personal experience and into the realm of critical agency” (p. 25). hooks re-centers the experiences of women amongst the dominant male theorists of the education field. hooks (2004) states that radical Black activist women are as “much often an ‘Other’, a threat to Black people from privileged class backgrounds who do not understand or share our perspective, as we are to uninformed white folks” (p. 156). Hence, she advocates the feminist praxis of “self-recovery as a

process of education for critical consciousness and thinking and writing, as an act of reclamation”²⁶ (hooks, (1989); cited in Jaramillo and McLaren, 2009, p. 22).

Thus, hooks along with other intersectional theorists such as Audrey Lorde, show us that community-building or ‘working in the margins’ takes on a whole new “impact of multiple oppressions and social relations” for racialized marked bodies (Bunjun, 2012, p. 54). hooks firmly advocates for pedagogy that is ‘engaged’ rather than just critical, demanding that those who take on the role of teacher involve themselves in a constant process of ‘self-actualization’²⁷ and community building (Jaramillo & McLaren, 2009; Generett, 2009). Generett (2009) elaborates that the process of community building can be most challenging and exhaustive because of peoples’ (even those supposedly working together against oppression) aversion of critically addressing their own personal narratives and mental models which white academia has passed on. hooks teaches us of the need to carve out personal and community spaces for healing and regeneration when engaging in activist work. Along with this a reflection on and valuing of emotions (rage, frustration, pain, love, happiness, excitement, etc.) is encouraged by hooks throughout her work through the use of methods such as writing, academic or creative, and the arts, to strategically develop ourselves, to learn how to confront our insecurities and traumas, and to learn how to confront others for understanding. Furthermore, hooks (1994; 1995; 2001; 2003) beckons for an activist and political ‘knowing’ of love elaborating that ‘political love’ (not the sentimental type that can sometimes lead to mis-self-representations and attempts at domination) was at the root of Martin Luther King’s work and the civil rights movements’ successes facilitating for Blacks and whites to ally across differences. hooks emphasizes that love is

²⁶ hooks acknowledges throughout her works, building on the work of Freire; Jaramillo and McLaren (pp. 22-24) relate this to Freire’s theorization of ‘conscientizacao’ (consciousness raising), “the deepening of the attitude of awareness characteristic of all emergence”; also see Freire (2000), *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

²⁷ hooks (1994) refers to this as the pivotal need to focus on holistic personal well-being in order to be able to empower and teach others.

necessary for anti-oppressive struggle to avoid becoming consumed by self-centred desires of power and to continue developing solidarity for racial and other forms of justice.

hooks' (1990; 1989) work provides various critical and transformation centred points to address when engaging in revolutionary activist forms of pedagogy: an awareness of the commodification of Blackness by institutions for purposes of diversity legitimacy; stimulating learning versus just depositing knowledge into academia; an avoidance of exploitative Black-white relations where whites tokenize bodies of color or use them to further their own agendas, but nonetheless maintaining an openness to white people who are committed to the struggle against white supremacy based on critical terms of reciprocal allyship; and the need for 'talk back' as an activist tool of resistance in strategic forms of speech, writing, and artistic and political presentations. Finally, hooks states that through critiques of essentialism one can create conditions for Blacks to escape practices that undermine Black subjectivity such as 'dissimulation'²⁸ (Headley, 2009) and locking themselves into restricting paradigms²⁹ that inhibit the transformative act of talking to each other across their differences and working together politically.

The work of Peter McLaren and Henry Giroux further expands the potential of critical pedagogy as a means to counter various forms of oppression that impede the enactment of participatory citizenship for democracy. McLaren (1997) highlights that the central struggle of

²⁸ hooks defines 'dissimulation' as: the practice of taking on any appearance needed to manipulate a situation- is a form of masking that Blackfolk have historically used to survive in white supremacist settings. As a social practice it promoted duplicity, the wearing of masks, hiding true feelings and intent. While this may have been useful in daily relations with all-powerful white exploiters and oppressors during a situation of extreme racial apartheid when our lives were constantly at risk, as a paradigm for social relations it has undermined bonds of love and intimacy by encouraging the overvaluation of duplicity, lying, masking, etc.; see hooks (1995).

²⁹ The paradigms Headley (2009) refers to are: 1. The master narrative amongst Black militants which advocates for separatism and negates any possibility of Blacks and whites sharing the same interests or having the same political agenda; 2. Cultural Blackness, Blackness as having unique cultural characteristics in opposition to whiteness rather than rooted in the experience of shared suffering and as a strategy for survival; 3. The promise of an integrative society where racial difference had no impact on an individual's future, focused on promoting and ethos of humanism that emphasizes commonalities between whites and Blacks; also see hooks (1995).

critical education should be about choosing against ‘whiteness’, and all of its manifestations, as a position of privilege, “Whiteness, then, can be considered as a form of social amnesia associated with modes of subjectivity within particular social sites considered to be normative” (p. 267). He describes the effect of whiteness as being the displacement of “Blackness and brownness, specific forms of nonwhiteness- into signifiers of deviance and criminality within social, cultural, cognitive, and political contexts” (p. 268), excluding many from political participation. Critical pedagogy is envisioned as ‘public’ awareness of oppressive systems. ‘Popular action’ and activism by civil society can be seen as a public vehicle through which to teach the masses critical awareness outside of the classroom. McLaren goes so far as to include Noam Chomsky’s argument that what government officials fear the most- from conservatives to liberals- is “the crisis of democracy,” crisis referring to popular democracy by the people (p. 248). In support of Chomsky’s perspective, McLaren declares

...critical educators need to constantly struggle around the issue of naming and defining democracy in ways that unsettle and destabilize Eurocentric and white supremacist forms of procedural, difference-neutral citizenship based on the liberal compact as the telic point of history and civilization. (McLaren, 1997, p. 249)

From this perspective, pedagogues act as part of a struggle against the neoliberal and oppressive interpretations of democracy. They develop not just curricula through which to teach critical thought, but also pedagogical strategies to surpass social and political barriers, thus emphasizing the centrality of social justice awareness and activist consciousness in “recreating culture and agency through the practice of criticism and the criticism of practice” (McLaren, 1997, p. 283). In this regard, McLaren illustrates critical pedagogy “not as a set of classroom teaching practices” but as imbedded within the larger political problematic (p. 289). Pedagogy is about developing a “disposition” to being politically informed and committed to those that are marginalized in the “service of justice and freedom” (p. 289).

In his earlier work, Giroux used the term ‘public pedagogy’ more liberally to refer to the concept that teaching, learning, and the development of learning materials had transformational political power. Giroux’s (2010) current use of ‘public pedagogy’ refers to neoliberal ensembles of ideological and institutional forces aiming to produce competitive, self-interested individuals vying for their own material ideological gain and ‘critical pedagogy’ to refer to education that allows for power to be made visible enabling the possibility to challenge the ideological circuitry of hegemonic knowledge especially in relation to efforts for political change. For Giroux, critical pedagogy fosters the creation and development of ‘politics by the people’ which centres where politics happen and “how proliferating sites of pedagogy bring into being new forms of resistance, raise new questions, and necessitate alternative visions regarding autonomy and the possibility of democracy itself” (Giroux, 2010, p. 486). In relation to communications and media technologies, the ‘public’, is a sphere dominated by corporate entities (Giroux, 2010). However, it is also a sphere that can be used for the purposes of critical pedagogy by marginalized groups to turn youth into political actors, rather than passive consumerist spectators as neoliberalism aims to create. Giroux stresses that to combat ‘communicative capitalism’³⁰, teaching becomes not just about getting students to learn texts, but about bringing in their lived experiences and situating them within the broader politics of the state, and assisting them to critically analyze the impact of media on their lives and focus on the messages portrayed by media.

Citizenship and democracy theorists looking for socio-political transformation premised upon greater social justice call for critical analysis of power relations, the media, and political engagement. Critical pedagogy scholarship speaks to this critical awareness. It illustrates the reflective and reflexive elements needed to enable people to think and make decisions from the

³⁰ Political media theorist Dean (2009 & 2010) conceptualizes that ‘communicative capitalism’ (technological network communication capitalism) affectively draws the public into the democratic rhetorics of neoliberalism through capitalist networking projects such as Facebook.

myriad of possibilities that exist (Andreotti, forthcoming) to create socio-politically transformative leaders, actions and spaces. Transformative leadership focuses on “redressing wrongs, and on ways to intervene in educational processes to ensure that equitable outcomes are accompanied by more equitable use of power and widespread empowerment. Transformative leadership challenges deficit thinking as well as attitudes, policies, and practices that pathologize” (Shields, Bishop, & Mazawi, 2005, p. 21). Hence, centering the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo Campaign* within critical pedagogy scholarship allows for an analysis of the ways in which LUNDU is actively reconstructing civic action norms and challenging the status quo through both informal and formal political processes. Furthermore, by approaching LUNDU’s campaign work from this conceptual lens guided by critical pedagogy scholarship, it is possible to understand their activities as participatory political action with learning value not just for Afro-Peruvians, but for other groups strategically pathologized by the state and dominant society into static, depoliticized, minority, and marginal positions.

Critical Pedagogy for Participatory Politics: the Case of Peru

The discussion of critical pedagogy and its relation to development, democracy, and its contributions to the enactment of participatory citizenship is fundamental for Peru. Peruvian higher education institutions have become just as swept up by the rush of ‘academic capitalism’ as their Western and European counterparts, although perhaps under much more desperate conditions of competition exacerbated by dependency patterns linked to the information technology boom (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Hoffman, 2012; Altbach, 2003). Increasing numbers of youth look for training and knowledge to get them into global work markets (Schwartzman, 2002; Yamada, 2009). Academic freedoms used to address socio-political issues and foster creative intellectual spaces grow more threatened each day as faculty and

administration become expendable commodities, especially when they challenge or derive from market oriented learning. The current development climate of Peru makes necessary an exploration of how marginalized groups are engaging activist work as a platform to voice their societal concerns and build alliances to support pedagogical initiatives that challenge socially unjust development agendas and modes of governance. LUNDU's work recenters public focus on how institutions in Peru, even non-state-run higher education institutions, are still politicized sites whose 'neocapitalist' leanings can perilously impact any possibilities of a true democratic future.

The nexus between critical pedagogy and participatory engagement with politics has yet to be clearly delineated in research, as the effects of its 'transformative impacts' are not obvious. Nor is the claim regarding the transformative power of this nexus clear in relation to the consolidation of socially just, inclusive, and participative modes of civic engagement. Researchers such as Hordijk (2005) have outlined the need for shifts in "the ways in which citizens' voices are represented in the political process and a reconceptualization of the meanings of participation and citizenship in relation to local governance" (p. 219). In the Peruvian context I would argue that research on 'radical' and 'activist' civic engagement has not been supported, neither by Peruvian state institutions, nor even by NGOs. In more direct terms, 'participatory engagement' has been deployed by both governments and researchers in non-radical ways to reference civic action. It serves as a "hegemonic control mechanism by which governments- sometimes deliberately- alleviate themselves of certain responsibilities by expecting civil organisations to carry out those tasks" (Marquardt, 2012). This point is well captured by Panfichi (2007), who observes that there has been increasing proverbialization of the benefits of 'participation'. Most 'official' attempts in Peru at moving forward with actualizing the vision of

a stronger participatory democracy have resulted in discourses that have been more homogenizing than representative of Peru's diversity (Panfichi, 2007). Panfichi points out that not just the political arena, but academia (including community engaged academics) as well have neglected and perhaps even avoided research on particular 'participatory action' experiences. Although Panfichi does not elaborate on the aforementioned statement, I attribute the latter to any of the following possibilities: disheartening struggles and small gains which citizens and groups, especially marginalized groups such as Afro-Peruvians, have encountered when engaging the rhetoric heavy 'participatory' projects that have multiplied since the Toledo regime; participatory initiatives may cover up or result in "clientalistic practices" (Cameron, Hershberg, & Sharpe, 2012); and/ or precarious political triumphs. Cameron and Sharpe (2012) highlight that even within a democratic context "participation may be designed not to deepen or even radicalize democracy" (p. 245). At the 2013 Foro Educativo Conference panelists Crosso³¹ and Robalino³² both emphasized that the concept and practice of education cannot exist outside of the 'political' because pedagogy and participatory politics go hand in hand. It was a shared conference sentiment that civil society engagement with politics shapes policymaking that directly (if they are specifically education related) and indirectly (if they are related to development, rights, etc.) effects how education plays out in Peru, and educational institutions then produce citizens which will or will not engage in democracy. However, beyond indicating that pedagogues should be considered political figures and that teaching should be about critical praxis grounded in civil society experiences and needs, it was never explained how state policymaking and anti-oppressive grassroots initiatives could complement each other to transform education planning,

³¹ Camilla Crosso is president of the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) and coordinator of the Campaña Latinoamericana por el Derecho a la Educación (CLADE); GCE, <http://www.campaignforeducation.org/en/>

³² Magaly Robalino is the Program Specialist for United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, (UNESCO), Quito, Ecuador; UNESCO, <http://www.unesco.org/new/es/quito>

especially in cases where civil society action might be very relevant for societal transformation but outside of what would be considered the official education sector. Thus focusing on participatory politics launched by Afro-Peruvians would spotlight the vast potential for transformation that lies in grassroots activist pedagogical initiatives and the massive amount of work that grassroots organizations do to have their voices included in formal institutional and political spheres. This campaign case study also contributes to a knowledge gap on participatory political action that unfolds as a result of junctures between popular interventions and ‘formal’ participatory institutions (Cameron, Hershberg, & Sharpe, 2012)

From ‘Critical’ to ‘Activist’ Pedagogy: Towards a Radical Socio-Political Transformation in Peru

In this section I conceptualize why it is important to shift beyond ‘critical’ pedagogy to grasping the relevance for transformative socio-political transformation of ‘activist’ pedagogy. Without devaluing the contributions of the breadth of critical pedagogical studies theorization, I emphasize that ‘activist pedagogy’ better frames this case study because it is the *call to action* part of critical pedagogy. It also succinctly captures the calls for critical pedagogy to be valued as needing to occur outside of classroom walls and the myriad of ways in which citizens are engaging forms of critical pedagogy that challenge and disrupt established configurations of power to ‘shift power back to all of us for a safe, democratic, and equitable and present future’ and learn “how to be agents of social change” (DePape, 2012, p. 19). However, I want to highlight that in drawing attention to the need for more engagement with ‘activist pedagogy’, I am not saying that only more ‘radical’ forms of actions can lead to transformation. Rather, I am trying to show that if “critical pedagogy is a pedagogy of action that aims to an informed transformation of society through a praxis involving the articulation between theory and practice,

thinking and doing” than activist pedagogy is that action in its myriad of multifaceted forms. Hence, I am trying to underline the stigma that has been associated to ‘activism’. The need for activist pedagogy is not about teachers “trying to indoctrinate students into one ideology” nor a “one-sided perspective”, but it is about finally acquiring the independent and collective consciousness as societies and human beings that we need to take action together for social justice and having enough courage to stop just citing theories, analyzing and dialoguing them, and shift to grappling with the raw-real life impacts of taking action for socio-political transformation and blurring the lines between academia and community. Therefore, embracing activist pedagogy will hopefully reduce the tendencies for critical pedagogues to utilize methodologies without acknowledging activist experiences and contexts and attempt to dissociate themselves from any type of political position into a supposedly objective stance. Hence, further breaking down the misconception of pedagogy and institutions as neutral spaces and developing the urgency for theory and praxis to be developed simultaneously.

I begin now by first addressing how scholars in Peru versed in aspects of critical pedagogy are trying to develop critical approaches to intercultural education. I highlight the need for pedagogy in Peru to be more action and activist centred. My aim is to emphasize the differences between critical discussions of intercultural and other models of multi/plural education, and actual transformation focused pedagogy. After which, I proceed to clarify a framework of activist pedagogy theory for this case study.

In Peru, critical pedagogy has most popularly become known as ‘intercultural education’³³. Instructors and education planners have all been heard tossing around pro-

³³ My literature review revealed that recent Latin American scholarship on critical education, refers to the terms ‘ethnoeducation’/ ‘ethnopedagogy’/ ‘intercultural education’/ ‘interculturality’/ ‘interculturalism’/ ‘interculturalization’ that were adopted during the late eighties and nineties by Peruvian and other Latin American states based on cultural and educational programming and in relation to Indigenous communities which were later

intercultural terminology and speaking about how critical their curriculum is becoming thanks to new ‘intercultural’ infusions. National education and development conferences have also spoken of the need for more democratic education to strengthen critical skills for the growth of social justice understanding and political knowledge. Supporting the enhancement of intercultural curricula for greater societal representation is referenced in relation to the latter, but it is rarely discussed how intercultural curricula will be more than just another rhetoric filled methodology. Hornberger (1988, 2000), Freeland (1996), Freeland and Howard-Malverde (1995), Aikman (1997, 2003), Valdiviezo (2006), Valdiviezo and Valdiviezo (2008) and Walsh (2011) have all hypothesized that the problem with interculturality in Peru is that the concept was imported and heavily interrelated with foreign aid dollars, therefore the government has struggled unsuccessfully to internalize intercultural education as a social justice oriented method to challenge discrimination and exclusion, hence promoting very ‘apolitical’ models of it and directing interculturalization towards those most discriminated as a required process for them to engage. The overall point is that throughout the world, ‘critical’ is applied too liberally to pedagogical enterprises, but this is especially the case of Latin America and more specifically, Peru. Of particular interest to this case study research is how critical researchers/ pedagogues/ professionals/ activists grounded in Afro-descendant perspectives are according to varying degrees approaching interculturality.

For example, the work of education sociologist Estupiñan (2012) stands out in this regard. Estupiñan created a pedagogical manual for intercultural education in Peru where he

applied to Afro-descendant peoples (Velarde, 2011; Garces, 2011; Walsh, 2011; Valdiezo, 2011). Ethnoeducation is most often referred to as being grounded in the perspectives, cultural practices, identities and curricular design of the very communities it refers to (as is the case with Colombia where Afro-descendant communities design their own ethno-education plans), whereas intercultural education is referred to as an education model that respectfully considers the diverse characteristics of different ethnic and socio-cultural groups and invites cross-engagement to improve societal dynamics of unity and political cohesion (Velarde, 2011; Garces, 2011; Walsh, 2011). I focus in on the ‘inter’ terms as they represent the models most employed by the Peruvian state, Ministry of Education and Peruvian Afro-descendant researchers.

defines the purpose of intercultural education and its learning opportunities for students, proposes an intercultural methodology to counter racism, discusses racism in relation to Peru's societal context (elaborating that it is a contemporary psychological and relational issue versus structural), and provides some tools for intercultural education. However, Estupiñan only extends his methodology towards formal classroom spaces through the proposal of learning and evaluation activities. Estupiñan identifies twelve student intercultural learning outcomes³⁴ and seven learning outcomes³⁵ for teachers. The main idea behind one of his activities of the non-scientific existence of races, that everyone should believe in human equality, and adopting a more democratic, rational and autonomous stance, sums up the tone of his intercultural teaching methods (Estupiñan, 2012, p. 91). His manual provides no critical analysis of the reparative and static employment of intercultural terminology by the state, nor tools to unpack meta-narratives, and fails to explicitly value Afro-Peruvian perspectives in the process of interculturalization creating what Andreotti (forthcoming) describes as a "simplistic analysis" which can do "more harm than good" (p. 6). The manual also reflects several exploitative hegemonic tendencies, termed by Andreotti (forthcoming) as "HEADS UP", an acronym which stands for hegemonic, ethnocentric, ahistorical, depoliticized, salvationist, un-complicated, and paternalistic pedagogical tendencies (p. 6).

In hyper contradistinction, Walsh (2011) calls "multi-pluri-inter-cultural[ism]" (p. 93) initiatives part of the trending societal vocabulary and tools of colonization and transnational capitalism that assist in sustaining the false discourse of intercultural democracy and social inclusion. She promotes ethnoeducation as a strategy and action of intercultural education that derives pedagogical initiatives from Afro-Peruvian perspectives and challenges the overall

³⁴ See Estupiñan (2012), pp. 75-76, for the complete list of twelve student learning outcomes.

³⁵ See Estupiñan (2012), pp. 76-77, for the complete list of seven learning outcomes for teachers and schools.

‘system’ (education, development, and democracy). Walsh sums up any prospective of interculturality contributing to liberation and transformation as needing to include methods to directly challenge hegemonic constructs of power relations, oppressive social and structural issues such as racism, and an assessment of how they can be inversely used as neoliberal tools. Overall she assumes a critical intercultural stance, yet declares that a formal critical understanding of interculturality does not exist. Hence she beckons for utilizing interculturalization as an action grounded strategy reclaiming it as ‘critical intercultural pedagogy’, that constructs itself as part of a political, social, ethical and epistemic project that seeks to change rather than just fix the education system, preventing it from being utilized as an instrument of ‘foreign control’ albeit state or international tied to funding.

Valdiviezo’s (2012) dissertation verges on a more in depth critical literary and socio-political exploration of the concept of intercultural education aligning itself with Walsh’s discourse. He charts examples of how lived experiences of Black leaders such as Senegalese Leopold Sedar Senghor (1906-2001), and Afro-Peruvians Nicomedes Santa Cruz Gamarra (1925-1992) and Jose Carlos “Pepe” Luciano Huapaya (1956-2002) can contribute to “rethinking Peruvian cultural diversity and intercultural policies from decolonized, democratic, and global perspectives” (p. vi). Valdiviezo argues that “one important component of the difficulties in democratizing Peruvians educational intercultural policy is ideological in origin, based on a colonial tradition that assumes a Eurocentric and hierarchical order among Peruvian cultures” (p. 170) and privileges the “duality Spanish-Inca” (p. 144). However he highlights that the “discourse of Negritude³⁶ can be understood as a political tool in order to overcome racism and Euro-centric colonialism, but not to promote an alleged Negritude supremacy” (p. 144). Thus he

³⁶ For a greater understanding of the concept of Negritude, see Senghor, L. S., 1964, 1971, 1974, 1977, 1988, & 1993 and Luciano, J. C., 2012.

elaborates through discussion of African and Afro-Peruvian philosophies, politics, and sociological proposals how interculturality can be rethought from a contextualized non Eurocentric framework.

Although Valdiviezo begins a solid discussion on the necessity for ‘decolonizing pedagogies’, and refers principally to Senghor’s principle of ‘complementary cultures’³⁷ and Luciano’s activist perspectives, he does not provide material examples of what these decolonizing and or activist pedagogies³⁸ look like in contemporary Peruvian society (p. 172). Valdiviezo’s analysis of critical pedagogies grounded in discourses of Negritude, also fails to address the pivotal contributions of women such as Victoria Santa Cruz Gamarra, Nicomedes Santa Cruz’s very own sister, who also established pivotal counter-colonial thought through their activist infused artistic creations and representations of Afro-Peruvian and national dance, theatre, and musical culture. Hence he reproduces a patriarchal conception of militant

³⁷ For an explanation of how Senghor developed and utilized the concept of ‘complementary cultures,’ (drawn from the theory of negritude) see Valdiviezo, 2012.

³⁸ Valdiviezo refers to ‘decolonizing pedagogies’ and ‘activist perspectives/ pedagogies’ interchangeably. However, I do not feel they are interchangeable terms. I understand ‘activist perspectives and pedagogy’ as highly contextualized and in relation to discourses of action, usually social justice oriented, however, the ‘action’ does not necessarily in all cases equate opposition to colonialism/ neocolonialism, nor acknowledgement of struggles for sovereignty or land repatriation. It would seem more appropriate to understand activist and other critical revolutionary pedagogies as decolonial consciousness-raising towards true decolonization action. I question Valdiviezo’s employment of ‘decolonizing’. Tuck (2012) states that “decolonization is not a metaphor” nor is it “a swappable term for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools” (p. 3). Tuck goes on to highlight that “‘decolonizing’ creates a convenient ambiguity between decolonization and social justice work, especially among people of color, queer people, and other groups minoritized by the settler nation-state” (p. 17). I understand decolonization as an ongoing process that includes and acknowledges Indigenous struggles and socio-political and theoretical contributions, and extends much further beyond the anti-colonial counter to socio-political and economic subordination which Valdiviezo seems to be illustrating. ‘Decolonization’ did not appear frequently employed by Afro-Peruvians in the literature search I conducted for this case study. When it was employed, it was unclear whether or not Afro-Peruvians consider themselves as ‘colonial subjects’. It is with more frequency that some refer to being descendants of Indigenous lands and peoples in Africa, but do not discuss land ‘rights’ in reference to the current state of Peru, as is more common amongst Afro-descendant communities for example in Colombia. The case study research process revealed to me the ‘different’ approaches to ‘decolonization’ theory and praxis according to ones own identity and geo-political positionality. It also highlighted the immense research that is left to be done into Afro-Peruvian and Indigenous relations. Therefore, at no point in this case study, did it feel contextually appropriate for me to impose decolonization theories, pedagogical frameworks or terminology as they are understood from Western academic frameworks onto Afro-Peruvian action.

consciousness and action--the illusion that women had no leading roles in Peruvian democratization.

I shift directly to Luciano's (as cited and discussed in Velarde, 2012a) work because he was the first academic to merge his sociological training with his activist experiences as an Afro-Peruvian to theorize about an alternative Peruvian society, more participatory politics, critical citizenship (Velarde, 2012b). Luciano outlined that the Afro-Peruvian movement should commence from a point of self-esteem founded in an empowering notion of Afro-Peruvian identity, an awareness of history as experienced by Afro-Peruvians (not the official version that excludes their contributions), a revision of society's structures, their policies and guiding politics, and a proposal for transformation that guarantees for militant work towards ensuring that the state is not a prime facilitator for racism and discrimination in society (Velarde, 2012b). He also theorized some guiding points on how to deconstruct racism internally, societally and politically. Luciano (1998) believed that racism was a structural issue, because politicians were not undergoing processes of critical self-examination (as cited in Velarde, 2012a). According to him although laws have been passed in Peru criminalizing racism, few politicians, institutional representatives, and organizational leaders have internalized an anti-racist standpoint inherently preventing a true end to structural racism. Luciano pointed out that 'Peruvians' identity crisis' is linked to an identity crisis suffered by those who have led the country. He proceeds to explain that the crisis of national identity is rooted in a colonial (Spanish conquest) and neoliberal (whiteness perpetuated through the global market) rooted in a privileging of whiteness. Luciano therefore stressed that although color had to be addressed in relation to racism, it should not be the uniting force for the movement because Peru's ethnic make-up and racial appearance are not always representative of each other, unlike it could be more of the case in other Latin American

countries. He focused in on building a critical and proud consciousness of ‘roots’, Indigenous, Asian, Middle Eastern, etc., and in the case of Afro-descendants of African-Peruvian ancestry, hence calling for a stop the cyclical ‘schizophrenic’ self and peer bashing (Luciano, 1998; as cited in Velarde, 2012a).

Valdiviezo (2012) emphasizes Luciano’s belief that, “the struggle against social injustice should use political and democratic tools, which meant the this should be done through public discussion, legislation, programs, elections, not be sacrificing the live[sic] of individuals and communities in order to impose one political doctrine” (p. 141). Luciano explicitly underscored the element of ‘participation’. He expressed that it was vital for Afro-Peruvians to participate in Peruvian democracy through everyday political and public action by discussing, negotiating, and conversing openly.³⁹ This said he did not outline how this participation should look like or take place both in ‘informal’ civic public spheres and ‘official’ spaces of politics and legislation-making.⁴⁰ However, Luciano did actively demonstrate the vital importance of engaging in dialogue across various spaces. Most who knew Luciano share that it was his personal goal to engage as many people as he could in all of the communities across Peru and Latin America that he would come to work in around concepts of identity and democracy through his Afro-descendant lens (Velarde, 2012). And for the latter, he strived to listen reciprocally and to make sure that whatever theory he was conveying was first reflected and analyzed through his own experiences, with an awareness of his personal subjectivity and worldview. Hence he tried to end most conversations whether in social, academic, or political spheres by asking: what type of identity are we as Peruvians constructing today?, what is the role that groups such as that of the Afro-Peruvian people, can play within this process?, What do we expect from this nation?, and

³⁹ For the Spanish text see Drzewieniecki’s interview with Luciano in 2002, published in CEDET, 2012, p. 193.

⁴⁰ For the extensive Spanish text see, Luciano, 2012, p. 132.

What can we propose to this nation to ensure that the tensions that exist between inequality and diversity do not become obstacles for the development of the country, nor our own, as people who deserve to have the best conditions for complete self-development? (Luciano; as cited in Velarde, 2012a).

Deriving from Luciano's conceptualizations of personal and political engagement for transformation, I shift to a more focused discussion on activist pedagogy. Activism is defined by Oxford Dictionaries Online (2013) as 'the policy or action of using vigorous campaigning to bring about political or social change'. Yet it is so much more. Activism is critical pedagogy alive in the 'real' world. It is the expression of social justice awareness. I am approaching activism and activist pedagogy from a working and diverse standpoint seeing it enacted in a multiplicity of ways throughout Latin America and by Latin American diaspora. Experiencing the vast difference that exists amongst activists and hence within resulting pedagogy, I pose that the discussion of activist pedagogy in this thesis be considered just one case of many that together constitute the political potential of activist pedagogy. Key questions to always consider are: who identifies with the term and how does one come to identify with the term and later define it? I believe that it is important for those partaking in or leading social justice action to define for themselves what the entire process entails- emotions, relational constructs, ideological perspectives, skills acquisition, etc. It is critical that static notions of activism, which often times even activists themselves hold, be interrupted so that new pedagogical possibilities can be established in and outside of classroom walls. Related to the latter, is the pivotal need to shift away from notions of activism only leading to transformation if it seeks the overall overthrow of democracy, versus trying to re-align democracy with its true ideals, and as such utilize some of its 'tools'. As Walia (2012) highlights, using certain tools or methods such as disciplined

attempts at ‘consensus decision-making’ can become ‘testaments’ to an ability to organize according to principles of direct democracy.

LUNDU’s *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign allows me to treat learning and education as “complex and contested social activities” and “develop a picture of this complexity, ... [by writing] ... [a case study] of learning in struggle, making explanatory connections between the broad political and economic context, micro-politics, ideologies, discourses and learning” (Foley, 1999, p. 132). Ultimately, the case study will contribute to a better understanding of activist pedagogy in context, from the point of view of engaged actors and their lived experiences. Indeed, Sandlin, Schultz, and Burdick (2010) use the term “social activist counter-hegemonic and resistance efforts” (p. 4) to describe the work of grassroots organizations, NGOs, artists, and advocates. In this regard, Ollis (2012) states that “there is an enormous amount of skill that is developed as activists go about their important work, mainly informally” and “on the job” (p. 2). It is activists and the groups to which they belong that usually bear the more offensive brunt of societal critique and oppressive discrimination because of the more ‘public’ threat they pose to hegemonic circles. My study of LUNDU’s campaign allows me to focus on the complex dynamics of learning and teaching that happen in one such civil society grassroots organization. To that end, I draw on the works of Ollis (2012), Luciano (in Velarde, 2012), Zambrana-Ortiz (2011), hooks (as discussed in Davidson & Yancy, 2009), and Foley (1999), in order to identify the main facets of an activist pedagogy this study focuses on more particularly:

Facet 1: Development of ‘Militant Consciousness’ (Luciano, in Velarde, 2012). This facet captures how activists develop revolutionary and feminist forms of consciousness (hooks, as cited in Davidson & Yancy, 2009), political consciousness (Foley, 1999) and how they become

aware of oppositional ideologies and the totalizing discourses that dominate society (Foley, 1999).

The term ‘militant consciousness’ is derived from Luciano’s reference to the need for people to move to a critical state of mind where they are able to recognize their subjugation and move to take action to counter their own and societal oppression. The latter resonates with hooks’ calls for women, especially racialized marked women, to grasp how their oppression is constructed by a myriad of factors and develop a revolutionary feminist consciousness to counter intricately embedded patriarchal models and the micro-politics are obscured. Thus learning through interactions informs a critical understanding of how “power” and “hegemonic struggle plays itself out in instances of social action” (Foley, 1999, p. 26). Foley highlights how French scholar Michel Foucault brought to the forefront the dominating power of totalising discourses that are often so systemically embedded in the ways societies function that the very people often subjugated by these discourses unconsciously reproduce and support them. Overall this category speaks to the development of an activist consciousness that intersectionally challenges prejudices through a hyperawareness of formal and informal politics that assists in the recognition of external and self-prejudices and marginalizing assumptions. A militant consciousness speaks to the beginning of an activist identity and pedagogy that seeks societal transformation.

Facet 2: Embodied Learning (Ollis, 2012). This facet captures how activists learn on the job (Ollis, 2012) and how they develop critical reflection and emotional reflexivity (Ollis, 2012). This facet also includes how activists come to construct emotions as pivotal for taking action (Zambrana-Ortiz, 2011).

Ollis (2012) states that almost all learning that activists undergo is “often driven by emotional agency, is social, is informal, and critically cognitive” (Ollis, p. 2). She uses the term

to summarize and characterize activists' overall learning. However, I treat 'embodied learning' as a compact category to analyze aspects of activist learning and pedagogy that include what Ollis (2012) refers to as, "the embodied nature of activists' knowing. She states that "if reason and the emotions are entwined, the emotions are not something that can be ignored or cordoned off" (Ollis, 2012, p. 52). Ollis indicates the greater "agency" experienced by activists as their "knowing includes the mind, body, emotions, and self, all of which contribute to their effective mastery of learning" and overall empowerment (p. 52). Embodied learning forefronts a merging of engaged 'formal' and 'informal' learning techniques and spaces. This is critical because activists are often cordoned off, especially in educational or political discussions, behind limiting categorizations of 'public' pedagogues, 'informal' learners, 'unprofessional', and 'community-based' (as if this meant they are not or could not also be academically grounded and trained, nor have rigorous theoretical understanding). Zambrana-Ortiz (2011) captures the immense pedagogical and political potential of emotions with her term, 'pedagogy in (e)motion', which "proposes that emotions lead and enrich our pedagogy because it implies movement within ourselves" (p. 17). Ortiz emphasizes that "the moment we become conscious of emotions we have the flexibility of response based on the particular history of our interactions with the world; means as environments, human landscaping, and contexts" (p. 5).

Facet 3: Learning from Micro-Politics and Tensions Between Professional/ Academic and Activist Discourses (Foley, 1999). This facet refers to how activists develop awareness of the micro-politics that operate within society. It inquires into how activists position themselves in relation to professionals'/ academics' discourses and activist ones and how they navigate the tensions and clashes that operate between these discourses (Foley, 1999).

Often times, activists act and are perceived by professionals and the media as being emotion-driven and radical, whereas professionals and academics are portrayed as emotionally collected and strategic. Foley (1999) states that the clash of professional/ academic and activist discourses often sets up dynamics that are “highly educative” for activists (p. 19). I would argue that, sensing the tensions and contradictions between these discourses and analyzing why activism is usually conceptualized as non-professional/ academic, renders the process educative for both sides, especially when those partaking in the action are able to identify with new perspectives and perhaps even inhabit the others’ roles, thus invigorating transformative dynamics. Foley (1999) indicates that activists experiencing a clash of perspectives develop tactics that are “more sophisticated and confrontational” (p. 19).

Facet 4: Strategic Acquisition of Democratic Skills (Foley, 1999; Ollis, 2012). This facet captures how activists learn participatory forms of communication, networking, the strategic use of media technologies, and official engagement with government and other NGOs through report writing and presentations (Foley, 1999; Ollis, 2012).

Ollis (2012) indicates that although some knowledge is acquired by activists through formal high school and university schooling, most skills pivotal for activists’ work are gained on the job as they are thrown daily curve balls and have to manage unexpected situations (p. 71). Some of the skills listed by Foley (1999) and Ollis (2012) are: interactive teamwork skills, strong leadership and task management coordination abilities, strong communication and participatory facilitation skills, technical expertise, strategic use of media sources, etc. It is important to note that the acquisition and/ or development of democratic skills speaks to the merging of practical and theoretical knowledge, and draws from ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ learning spaces.

Facet 5: Space-Making (hooks, as discussed in Davidson & Yancy, 2009). This facet captures how activists come to build community, alliances and develop advocate competencies (hooks, as discussed in Davidson & Yancy, 2009)

hooks (2004) refers to the concept of space-making in relation to both the struggle to remove yourself from the space of ‘the Other’ to which many are relegated to suit the purposes of those hegemonically in power and to the process of forging relationships of understanding to transform society. Both require extreme patience, dedication, and critical awareness and are intertwined with the ability to conceptualize alternatives. Only lived experiences can shift the perspective of the margins as a space of oppression to one of the margins as a space of resistance and also a space for complete reconceptualization of social relations and discourses. Hence, creating spaces is concerned with a process of personal action but also alliance and advocacy building. For the latter there has to be self-interrogation followed by learning how and when to put your personal agenda aside in order to truly be able to support the needs of others and become an advocate for their platform, even if there are subtle differences in perspectives. Thus space-making, the learning of advocate competencies and the participatory skills needed to construct a sustainable and alternative form of development and democratic visioning become interlinked. Finally the concept of space-making re-highlights the importance of emotions and the process of cultivating ‘political’ emotions in order to facilitate the creation of strategic alliances for socio-political transformation.

In this study, I examine how these five facets played out among LUNDU leaders along the various stages of the campaign, their struggles and alliance building. These five facets will also allow me to contextualize the impact that the campaign has had and to compile an understanding of the micro-politics and embodied learning related to anti-oppressive action.

Drawing on the aforementioned five facets I formulated the following three research questions that will guide my study:

- 1.) How do LUNDU leaders conceive of themselves as activists and how do they construct their activism in relation to discourses of education, development and participatory politics within the context of Peruvian society? The aim of this question is to understand the form of political and militant consciousness that facilitated the emergence of the campaign as a viable strategy of civic engagement.
- 2.) How did LUNDU leaders come to articulate the public pedagogy that frames the *raison d' être* of the campaign? The aim of this second question captures the learning experiences of LUNDU leaders in relation to how they created, implemented and advocated for the campaign.
- 3.) Through what means did LUNDU leaders leverage political power by conceiving spaces for greater visibility, participatory politics, and civic engagement towards socio-political transformation? To answer it I focus on the 'strategic methods and skills' (Foley, 1999; Ollis, 2012) with which LUNDU leaders carved out spaces for greater political participation. By also focusing on the ways through which they learned from micro-political and discourse tensions to and moved on to develop advocate competencies and create alliances, I will also be able to gain a better grasp of the partnerships and or end of partnerships that resulted from the campaign process, hence also what potential there is for further space-making. The aim of this question is to gain a deeper understanding of how the campaign and its leaders were engaged by various constituencies active within the public sphere, and the extent to which they leveraged the visibility of the campaign's agenda through advocacy strategies and coalition and alliance building.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS

Methodology & Ethical Considerations

This inquiry is grounded in a critical and anti-racist framework as charted by Dei and Johal (2005). This framework is ideal for research conducted with Afro-Peruvians because in my work I view them as “theorists of their own everyday lives and practices” (Dei, 2005, p. 5) and take on a highly discursive view of development, citizenship, and democracy. This inquiry is an expressly political project aimed at creating knowledge about the social relations and practices of domination for challenging and changing the systemic inequalities put into place, first by imperial colonial forces and now neocolonial groups (Hughes, 2005). Using a critical and anti-oppressive lens allows me to shift the development gaze from one rooted in unitary notions of society and polity, to one that recognizes the voices of the marginalised as part and parcel of a radical participatory democracy.

I commenced my research by analyzing my role as an “insider-outsider” (Merriam et. al, 2001). My focus on the “insider-outsider” dilemma resulted from theoretical inquiries I carried out whilst completing community service learning work with Latinas/os in Vancouver. I cannot deny that to a certain extent when I was beginning my trajectory as a graduate student I felt that I was “authorized by virtue of our academic positions to develop theories that express and encompass the ideas, needs, and goals of others” (Alcoff, 1991, p. 7). I was encouraged within the few critical educational studies classes available at the time, by my supervisor and community mentors, to keep contemplating this insider-outsider status as a method to challenge my own privilege and power. I thought that as someone with mixed Peruvian ethnic ancestry who has spent a lifetime engaging Afro-Peruvian communities through dance, immersing myself in studies of Afro-Peruvian culture, and completing community service learning projects locally

with new immigrants utilizing feminist anti-oppressive theoretical frameworks, that I was somehow more able to and 'in the right' to bring forward critical understandings of the historicity of the social dynamics of Afro-Peruvians and Peruvian society.

However, months before departing for my research in Peru I began to question the position most researchers engage without being aware of. Alcoff (1991) terms the position as 'speaking for others'. I grew more perturbed pondering what authorization I ever had to conduct research on anything related to Afro-Peruvians. The former is still very unresolved for me. I proceeded to unpack and question my own identity and process of self-indentification, growing painfully aware of my intricate positionality as a Latina-Canadian of African-Mestizo descendency who has received academic training in a Western nation. Although I experienced marginalization as a racialized marked body and I struggled for 'inclusion' within Canadian society, I had to come to terms with accepting that I was a born-citizen of a settler colonial state, and as such I possess certain privileges other researchers may not. I had to begin confronting the 'colonial' privileges I had internalized (something I remain hyper-critically reflective of). An example of the latter, was that although I struggled and continue to struggle with linguistic barriers, being that my mind has always thought in Spanish, but has been forced to communicate publicly and academically in English, I had as a result of twelve years of tutoring assistance developed a completely 'anglo' accent. No previously experienced oppression in relation to language struggles can cover up the power and privilege that one gains in Canada and even moreso abroad, with a perfect anglo accent. Alcoff highlights that, a speaker's location (which I take here to refer to their social location, or social identity) has an epistemically significant impact on that speaker's claims and can serve either to authorize or disauthorize one's speech (p. 7). The fact that my skin is not 'Black' and I possess an anglo accent leaves me with the 'choice'

of negating my mixed ethnic ancestry. It also made me realize the danger I ran of essentializing notions of 'Blackness' or misrepresenting the struggles of Afro-Peruvians which, although I felt a connection to, I had not experienced firsthand on a daily basis. Alcoff's (1991) words resonate with my identity and research dilemmas perfectly when she references her own "membership in many conflicting groups" and refers to all of her memberships as "problematic" (p. 8). She complicates the entire concept of rationalizing research and ones' role with the following:

On what basis can we justify a decision to demarcate groups and define membership in one way rather than another? No easy solution to this problem can be found by simply restricting the practice of speaking for others to speaking for groups of which one is a member. Moreover, adopting the position that one should only speak for oneself raises similarly problematic questions. For example, we might ask, if I don't speak for those less privileged than myself, am I abandoning my political responsibility to speak out against oppression, a responsibility incurred by the very fact of my privilege? If I should not speak for others, should I restrict myself to following their lead uncritically? Is my greatest contribution to move over and get out of the way? And if so, what is the best way to do this-to keep silent or to deconstruct my discourse? (p. 8)

The aforementioned correlates to my comprehension of positionality as a notion that "rests on the assumption that a culture is more than a monolithic entity to which one belongs or not," (Merriam et al., 2001, p. 411). Rather it is "characterized by internal variation" (Aguilar, 1981, p. 25 as cited in Merriam et al., 2001, p. 411). Therefore, to say that one is an insider or outsider, raises the questions posed by Merriam et al. (2001), "What is it that an insider is insider of?" (p. 411).

I decided to 'get real' with my reasons for setting out to conduct research abroad in Peru and related to Afro-Peruvians. I was aware I needed to address my role as a child of immigrant settler-colonialism and develop my knowledge of issues of marginalization in Vancouver to strive towards decolonizing allied work together with Indigenous peoples. However, something inside of me needed to first return to the only place of belonging I had known since I was a child, Peru. I needed answers to questions regarding intersecting issues I experienced or witnessed in Peruvian society, and I needed in order to genuinely reach the core of my standpoint, to learn as

much as I could about the missing voices from my personal history, but also overall Peruvian constructions of nationhood and development.

I want to rehighlight Escobar's (1995) concept of 'hybridity' and 'hybrid identities'. Colonialism and now neocolonialism has had a hybridizing effect on Latin America, its people and diasporas. However, this process of 'hybridization' has not been one necessarily of pacification, but has consisted of unique ways of dealing with multiple oppressions and identity struggles; hybridized methods of 'survival' and 'coping' have also been created by different peoples for alternative revisioning. Part of this hybrid nature is being very sensitive to differences but also seeing the lines of difference constantly and simultaneously blurring and redrawing themselves. On their own, critical feminist scholarship did not provide me with the tools to understand my 'hybridity'. A lack of overall scholarship by and on Latinas/os in the Canadian context led me to the work of Chicana scholars which is assisting me in grappling with coming to terms with my own process of understanding privilege, power, and oppression. This thesis became far more than fulfilment of a graduation requirement; it essentially became what I will term my first theoretical attempt at 'de/re-rooting *my* self'. What this entails is facing the *borders, emotional barriers*, and attempting to *balance* the various cultures I carry, which Anzaldua (1999) captures as:

... neither hispana india negra
ni gabacha, eres mestiza, mulata, half-breed
caught in the crossfire between camps
while carrying all five races on your back
not knowing which way to turn to, run from; (p. 216)

Part of this process has also been the challenging realization that although I have to strive to see the many ways in which I am or can be an oppressor (I believe that because power is relational we at times unconsciously become oppressors ourselves). I must take critiques as learning opportunities whilst understanding that no one but myself can truly grasp my hybridity nor the

roots I need to cut and those I need to lay. Most women of color within the overall social justice movement, including those who have mentored me, have acquired privilege through their own moments of “cognition” (Rebolledo, 1990, p. 366). Hence, because “sameness” is still venerated and often plays out as feminism’s most internalized ‘denial’ even amongst women of color, I can only do my best to deconstruct my differences and those of others and then move on to accept and celebrate them (Molina, 1999, p. 330). Thus I established a critical working baseline for myself with the following goals:

- 1.) to remain constantly reflexive of personal and relational moments out in the field, striving to dismantle the harsh divides between the ‘self’ and ‘Other’(Lal, 1999), especially because separations of ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’, ‘us’ and ‘them’, are all subject to both institutional and internal reproductions of power (Kirsh, 1999);
- 2.) strive to create wherever possible the conditions for dialogue and the practice of speaking *with* and *to* rather than speaking for others (Alcoff, 1991, p. 23);
- 3.) constantly check my ‘Western’ perspectives, to ensure that I do not impose foreign discourses onto those of LUNDU;
- 4.) address critical feedback to the best of my ability at this point in life, but not change my standpoint perspectives simply to appease others;
- 5.) and do my best to keep ‘nourishing’ the roots established through continued reciprocal research engagement from a place of honest personal-political motivation.

Saldivar-Hull (1999) states that “a radical re-construction of space in the Americas where political struggles and alliances are forged” is possible “only after risking conflicts, appropriations, and contradictions in the face of power and domination” (p. 13). Hybridity implies a ‘non-static’ quality, hence I am not engaging it as a tool as a tool with which to shirk

my responsibility nor mask actions that increase conflicts or appropriations. Instead it is what fuels my relentless daily hyper drive to forge research alliances towards social justice transformation. As Rebolledo (1999) highlights in relation to Anzaldúa, hybrids are in a position as “object[s] of multiple indoctrinations of the oppositional thinking of others” to “help [them] come to terms with the politics of varied discourses and their antagonistic relations” (p. 366).

For the overall framing of the case study I made specific critical and anti-racist methodological choices. I utilize standpoint⁴¹ perspective, of which my personal narrative forms a part of, to introduce and discuss the study. Working from a standpoint perspective means that I cannot claim nor do I wish to claim ‘objectivity’. I do my best through methods of triangulation to review my data and report ‘findings’ that arise from the data, I cannot claim nor do I wish to claim complete ‘scientific ‘neutrality’ as I view all knowledge and forms of knowledge production as ‘value-laden’ regardless of what methodological procedures are followed or what positional perspectives are declared. Harding (1995) calls attention to the colonial character of ‘objective neutrality’ referring to it as the dominant scientific discourse that has throughout the decades hegemonically limited the proliferation of social justice oriented research. Harding (1995) agrees with the notion that methodological rigour is often missing in the social sciences; however, she critiques the notion that taking a standpoint inhibits identifying androcentric or Eurocentric assumptions. In critique of ‘weak objective’ efforts to ‘neutralize’ research through claims of ‘systemization’ Harding (1995) states,

... where the social constitutes scientific projects, the neutrality ideal provides no resistance to the production of systematically distorted results of research, as I shall shortly show in more detail. But to put the matter this way is too mild a criticism of it. It is not just useless in these

⁴¹ Standpoint theory emerged in the late 1970s and 1980s as a feminist critical theory about relations between the production of knowledge and practices of power. It is characterized by its ability to merge fields and disciplines standardly kept separate and identified as both a feminist social theory and a political strategy. The ‘logic of a standpoint’ has also been utilized by race, ethnicity-based, anti-imperial and Queer social movements, therefore it is a “kind of organic epistemology, methodology, philosophy of science, and social theory that can arise whenever oppressed peoples gain public voice”; see Harding, 2004, pp. 1-4.

circumstances; worse, it becomes part of the problem. Objectivism defends and legitimates the institutions and practices through which the distortions and their often exploitative consequences are generated. It certifies as value-neutral, normal, natural, and therefore not political at all the policies and practices through which powerful groups can gain the information and explanations that they need to advance their priorities. (p. 337)

To address my ethical concerns of ‘favouring privilege’ I seek to establish through my research a ‘strong objectivity’ (Harding, 1995). Objectivity as an ideal is not necessarily wrong, as for many it represents the effort to be fair and understand others’ perspectives. However, Harding says that it should be stripped from the notion that one needs to claim impartiality, to ignore historicity, or negate emotion. Harding affirms, “In order to gain a causal critical view of the interests and values that constitute the dominant conceptual projects, one must start one's thought, one's research project, from outside those conceptual schemes and the activities that generate them; one must start from the lives excluded as origins of their design--from "marginal lives" (p. 342).

I made a conscious effort to establish a conceptual analysis and literature review that drew from both racialized marked and racialized unmarked critical scholars and also scholars that may not necessarily construct their work from a ‘critical’ standpoint, but that are nonetheless pivotal for a comprehensive discussion of the impact of a civil society anti-racism campaign on reconceptualizations of citizenship, development and democracy. Rebolledo (1999) points out that “as the complexities and shades of our literature grows, we must be careful not to canonize a certain few to the exclusion of other equally fine writers” (p. 352). The case study focus on activist pedagogy of which conceptualizations are still very broad calls for a mixed, but strategic literature review which unpacks the terrain of pedagogy more broadly and politically, and then narrows in on the work of theorists directly engaging the activist field. As I believe is the case with any pedagogy seeking to be transformative, activist pedagogy requires a contextualized

approach as activism itself in relation to citizenship, development, and democracy is such a dynamic concept.

Beginning the Research Process

After several years of engaging in literature reviews and maintaining up to date on Afro-Peruvian social justice oriented initiatives in the arenas of education, development, and democracy, I narrowed in on LUNDU's *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign, because of the unique and transformational political impact I felt it was having on Peruvian society. Originally, I had intended for my research to focus on how Afro-Peruvians engage higher education as a platform for their initiatives, and how higher education responds to initiatives by traditionally marginalized civil society groups. I believed that there was critical importance in studying Afro-Peruvian and higher education relationships to develop knowledge on how civil society and higher education shape discussions of development and citizenship in Peru.

I initiated email exchanges with LUNDU, El Centro de Desarrollo Étnico (CEDET), universities in Peru which through internet searches seemed to be supporting Afro-Peruvian initiatives, and development institutions in late 2012. Most responses I received prior to departing for my Lima fieldwork from development institutions some of which receive Canadian International Development Research Centre (IDRC) funding and have mission statements stating goals to elevate national discussions over political and social issues with academics, civil society groups, communication industry representatives, private industry leaders and international bodies towards sustainable development⁴², included direct statements that research projects focusing on such research projects by Afro-Peruvians were not considered of importance for their institutes' development focus. This type of response indicated to me the importance of continuing on with

⁴² This is part of the mission statement of CIES.

the research. There was a clear disjuncture between ‘development and democracy’ articulation in Peru and the reality of Afro-Peruvian civil society perspectives.

Fieldwork: From Limitations to Organic Shifts

I conducted fieldwork interviews in Peru during February/ March 2013, many of which included follow-ups via Skype which concluded August 2013. Upon arrival I had general discussion meeting set up with Afro-Peruvian organizations CEDET and LUNDU to discuss my intended research focus. The discussion with LUNDU was extremely important, because I was set on not proceeding with any research until the focus was collaboratively agreed upon with LUNDU’s executive president and activist Monica Carrillo, but it was also critical to gain a thorough grasp of areas deemed by other Afro-Peruvian organizations as requiring research inquiry.

The meeting with CEDET was extremely informative. Several of CEDET’s staff, including executive director Oswaldo Bilbao, sat down to discuss my research interests during which they provided me with extensive books and published materials on the topics of activism, education, racism in the media, and development grounded in Afro-Peruvian perspectives. They also expressed the clear need for there to be in-depth and structured research on the lack of Afro-Peruvian inclusion within higher education planning and the contrasting views that exist in Peru in regards to the relationship between racism, development, higher education and democracy. However, to do justice to a study seeking to unpack the actual role of higher education and its historical and contemporary support for or lack thereof for Afro-Peruvians, would require much more time and networking.

Discussions with LUNDU’s Gloria Castro also highlighted how pictures with Afro-Peruvian leaders and LUNDU volunteers and statements of ‘growing engagement with civil

society groups' posted by higher education institutions falsely promoted the idea of existing formal support for Afro-Peruvian organizations and their initiatives. Hence after more discussion with Castro and Carrillo it was agreed that a focused case study on the contributions of *Apúntate Contra el Racismo*'s anti-racist work and the overall concept of activist pedagogy in Peru could really contribute to future studies on the re-articulation of development and democracy, but most of all the concepts of citizen action that could contribute to the latter. Intensely occupied with work on their new campaign, Castro and Carrillo encouraged a study on *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* and generously provided me with extensive materials on the campaign including publicity materials, pamphlets, and directions to online blog and news postings, along with other materials on LUNDU's broader projects and perspectives such as booklets, the *Estética en Negro* cd, and other published materials. I shared with Castro and Carrillo that I was aware of the time and energy they would be committing to the case study and inquired as to how our relationship could be more reciprocal. Hence, it was agreed that as LUNDU needed administrative or workshop assistance in relation the new campaign or any prospective educational projects, that I would remain connected and assist via my remote location with any administrative or logistical need, such as quick Spanish to English translations or summaries, an agreement which I remained very committed to.

I faced very specific challenges that were overall related to the threat of danger and unsafe political atmosphere for Afro-Peruvian activists and any people working the legal or political field to represent their interests. As this case study highlights, despite there being recent political accomplishments by Afro-Peruvians and anti-racist and discrimination legal changes instituted or proposed, Afro-Peruvians are still publicly demonized as peace-disturbers. Although I intended to include interviews by ministry officials and was recommended by Carrillo to

include legal perspectives by lawyers who had not worked on the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign or related legal case, but were known to support Afro-Peruvian and social justice reforms in Peru. Originally, I was approved by representatives of the Ministerio de Cultura⁴³, Ministerio de Desarrollo e Inclusion Social⁴⁴ (MIDIS), and lawyer who is extremely familiar with the campaign for interviews. However, with numerous last minute re-schedules (some as I was making my way to the meeting) it became increasingly challenging to conduct the interviews. The interviews I was able to conduct I decided not to incorporate into the research, as ministry and legal interviewees did not agree to sign consent forms and showed intense resignation and formally being associated to any perspectives directly supporting Afro-Peruvian initiatives.

The entire research process poignantly taught me how my overall mixed identity was both a limiter and facilitator in the Peruvian context. My graduate student affiliation to the University of British Columbia and yet mixed Peruvian ethnicity seemed to evoke general uneasiness on the part of ministry and higher education representatives. Interestingly, they voiced their opinions of more ‘critical’ research taking place out of Canadian universities. It proved impossible to schedule any meetings with higher education representatives working in the areas of social responsibility or community engagement to inquire into their possible familiarity with the campaign, as their responses conveyed complete hesitation at any inquiries into their ‘community engagement’ structures and planning, even going so far as to state that they would only carry out meetings with doctoral students looking to complete approved research through their institutions. When I was engaging people face-to-face, it was also not uncommon for people, especially non-Afro-Peruvians, to comment on what was evidently a seemingly

⁴³ Ministry of Culture.

⁴⁴ Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion.

confusing and hence worrisome identity to them, “Por los correos electrónicos, nuestra conversación por teléfono y que vienes de Vancouver, pensé que sería hmmm diferente (referring here to my non ‘gringa’ racial appearance)... de donde dijo que era?”⁴⁵ This attitude correlated to the often rude, dismissive and then suspicious attention I was given by ministry office security. Usually I was first abruptly told, “Hoy no atendemos al publico!”⁴⁶, despite the website explicitly stating it was open office hours for public attention. Yet after I expressed I had a meeting scheduled and provided my information, I was usually expressed something along the lines of, “*Usted es de Canadá?! Hmmm, voy a confirmar si tiene cita, espere afuera,*”⁴⁷ with an overall look of suspicion and confusion. While conducting my research in Peru and transiting throughout the city, I tried to dress as plainly as possible, without ostentatious or fine clothing as thefts for any objects assumed of worth are of high frequency. My skin which aside from being ‘darker toned’ and what often has people refer to me as ‘morena’ according to Latin American descriptions, was even darker due to extreme heat and sun exposure, clearly posed a barrier, because other ‘whiter’ bodies entering the building were barely checked for identity cards. My Spanish with hints of perfectly pronounced English words and tones of Chicano, Mexican, and Chilean drew suspicion.

Engaging staff and leaders from Afro-Peruvian organizations was a different story. On the one hand, my Western institutional background threatened most of the Afro-Peruvians I dialogued with of a possibly neo-liberal agenda. It was expressed by several Afro-Peruvian NGO staff members and activists that they were used to students conducting research and then somehow producing through their research a highly positive spin on Western and national state

⁴⁵ “Because of the emails, our conversation over the phone and that you come from Vancouver, I thought you’d be more gringa... where did you say you were from?”

⁴⁶ “Today, we are not tending to the public!”

⁴⁷ “You are from Canada, I will confirm if you have an appointment, please wait outside.”

development interventions, despite more critical insight provided to them by the NGOs. However, on the other hand, I also experienced from them a high degree of understanding. Although at first they too inquired into my research background and motives, they allowed me the time and space to express my precarious identity situation. I did not feel ‘Othered’ by them upon any first encounter. And they seemed prepared to engage and even support an individual such as myself who was seeking to develop an understanding of their mixed ethnic roots and considered it an integral part of the research process. I was even probed about my research experiences in Lima and encouraged to discuss experiences of racialization and/ or preferential treatment I had undergone. My ability to speak in Spanish, although I lacked the ability to interpret some forms of slang or ‘sayings’ and general honest disposition of my research intentions and curiosities, fostered open dialogue even during meetings and interviews. In many instances highly personal information disconnected from the research topic was shared. I made sure to take notes of points that should remain private and excluded from the formal data. Carrillo also shared a couple of in-progress poetic pieces on the topics of racism, violence, and identity, which although very insightful into her activist perspective I refrain from referencing in this study.

Methods of Inquiry and Analysis: Case Study Research

The present *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign case-study research seeks to contribute to scholarship on activist pedagogy which focuses on the relevance of the struggles of marginalized groups and the strategies which they undertake to develop participatory methods of democracy and obtain formal inclusive recognition by governments. Understanding the strategic decisions undertaken by LUNDU leaders in relation to the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign is essential for acquiring an in-depth response to the research questions I seek to answer. As outlined by Yin (2009),

- A case study is an empirical inquiry that
- investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when
 - the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.

The case study inquiry

- copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result
- relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulation fashion, and as another result
- benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis. (p. 18)

Links from Yin's classification of a case study inquiry to my specific case study can be directly made. I seek to develop understanding of LUNDU's real life context, day to day interactions and alliances, because despite there being existing research on Afro-Peruvians, the aforementioned is an area that has not been consistently or analytically approached. Due to the fact that I am 'case-oriented' I am therefore, not seeking to generalize beyond the case but rather to gain and map a holistic understanding of the case as a point of departure for further discussion and to explore causal processes. Thus, I draw on "process theory" which "deals with events and the processes that connect them; it is based on an analysis of the causal processes by which some events influence others" (Maxwell, 2004, p. 5). I am not studying the totality of Afro-Peruvian communities, although an understanding of other Afro-Peruvian organizations was necessary to grasp LUNDU's alliances and critically locate it amongst the Peru's diverse societal context. I also draw from several sources both from within and outside the Afro-Peruvian community to properly contextualize the case study and build a thorough 'warehouse' of information on the vast contributions of Afro-Peruvians of which LUNDU is a case in point, to the nexus arena of development, participatory politics, and democracy. As Maxwell (2004) points out "process-oriented" approach to explanation "recognizes the reality and importance of meaning, as well as of physical and behavioural phenomena, as having explanatory and revelatory significance, and the essentially interpretive nature of our understanding of the former" (p. 8). Single case studies that are "process-oriented" rather than variable oriented, highlight the "importance of the context

of the phenomena studied, and does so in a way that does not simply reduce this context to a set of extraneous variables” (Maxwell, 2004, p. 9).

Case studies are conducted for their unique qualities and the in-depth information that they usually provide on focused issues, people, or programs. Stake (1995) explains that some case-studies are ‘intrinsic’, because the particular case itself is of focal interest, whereas others are ‘instrumental’, because although they are of particular interest, it is because they are seen as vital for the comprehension of larger research questions. This research is an ‘instrumental case-study’ because it is about more than understanding the successes or failures of the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign or how an anti-racism campaign is carried out. The *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign case-study is necessary to further knowledge of alternative notions of participatory citizenship, reconceptualizations of development, and how activist pedagogy can be used by marginalized groups as sites of political and social activism from which to promote participatory politics and re-articulations of democracy.

According to Stake (2000) the case study’s “best use appears... to be for adding to existing experiences and humanistic understanding,” which to me seems critical for scholarship on development and democratic citizenship, as they are areas of social science research lacking focus on the participatory and social movement raw lived encounters of peoples, especially those whom development and state governance policies most oppress. Stake (1995) also highlights that the “case study is the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances” (p. xi). This means that the researcher must remain aware that no case is “identical with the settings to which they relate: they involve emphasis only on those aspects of these that are relevant to the research focus” (Stake, 1995, p. 108). The latter supports my case study approach because research on Afro-Peruvians, their

alliances, civic action, political participation, democratic and development views, and overall societal condition is lacking and what does exist is fragmented, therefore many questions regarding the plurality of the Afro-Peruvian community remain to be researched with precision and care that are outside the scope of this research.

Finally, *as a case study investigator* it was my duty to be as open as possible to “contrary findings” throughout the research process (Yin, 2009, p. 72). Although it was not my intentional goal to focus on LUNDU’s organizational weaknesses or controversies amongst Afro-Peruvian organizations, it was my duty to ensure that my data findings and analysis reflect surprising or “compelling evidence” (Yin, 2009, p. 73). In more straightforward terms, it is my ethical concern that I do not seek to ‘*serve privilege*’ in any sort of way within the frame of this case study research or during the dissemination process.

Data Collection

In case study research, data can be collected from many sources (Yin, 2009, p. 99). Data types include interviews and document analysis (includes electronic media sources). Interviews provide “causal inferences and explanations” (Yin, 2009, p. 102). However, they may also reveal inaccuracies due to poor recall, articulation abilities or reflexivity (giving the interviewer what they want to hear) (Yin, 2009, p. 103). Documents serve as a data source that can be reviewed and reflected upon frequently; they are also unobtrusive, contain exact information regarding people or events, and can provide broad coverage of events allowing for a better grasp of contexts and factors influencing the case study (Yin, 2009, p. 102). Documents found on or part of electronic media sources and publications offered alternative points of entry into the case study by revealing varied perspectives on the campaign. This offered me the opportunity to gage the public’s opinions in relation to the campaign and contributes to stronger triangulation and

contextualization of the data. The combination of interview and document analysis will also provide valuable insight into the “dimensions of dominance” (van Dijk, 1996, p. 84).

Translation: Necessary Gaps

It is important to highlight that I present all of my data in its original language. Due to the fact that most of the documents I engaged were published in Lima and I also made an effort to seek out original versions of documents, the majority required analysis in Spanish. In many ways Spanish was my first language being that it was what I first spoke at home as a child, so I was able to transition out of the Spanish and English texts with relative ease. However, because I have not lived for an extensive period of time in Peru since I was a child and my Spanish has absorbed Chicano, Mexican, and Chilean linguistic influences, I at times struggled with specific cultural and linguistic references. Hence, I did my best to keep all Spanish quotes from interviews exactly as they were expressed to me to avoid their true meaning getting lost in my translation. However, to facilitate comprehension for the reader I included English translations next to all Spanish text included as case study data.

I engaged in conversations with Afro-Peruvian interviewees around certain terms--such as *estética* [aesthetic], which comes up in the following chapter--and how we understood, felt and experienced them according to the societies and communities we had grown up in and the current work we were involved with. Yet, I felt immense academic pressure to make my data and the overall case study completely comprehensible by Western readers and concise for academic standards. The reality was I would never quite be able to convey, “the feel of things, the contribution of exact words, tone, look, etc. in producing the fury and humiliation of a racist treatment” (Bannerji, 1995, p. 168). “Context” plays an important part in the act of interpreting data--despite my best attempts at contextualizing the data, there would be gaps (González y González & Lincoln, 2006, p. 2). Needing to meet academic standards of thesis length, I had to

cut back on 'context'--this caused me much guilt and nausea. Hence, I maintained the contextualizing throughout this case study quite extensive and the quotations in Spanish for the most part, as they were first expressed, despite any seemingly odd syntax. I also found myself footnoting to elaborate on translations. A footnote is a device that "might offer on the one hand the danger of objectification, of producing introductory anthropology, on the other, conversely, might rescue the text from being an orientalist, i.e. an objectified experience and expression" (p. 169). After extensive hours of translating I understood that 'gaps' are necessary (Bannerji, 1995; González y González & Lincoln, 2006). It became evident that the depth, emotion, experience, and diverse multiplicity of words, phrases, and stories, especially from interviewees, could never be captured in translation. Therefore, I had to come to terms with and learn the value of this case study being "a text with holes for the Western reader. It needs extensive footnotes, glossaries, comments, etc.--otherwise it has gaps in meaning, missing edges" (p. 169). I now believe some things should not be precisely captured in text. It was ok for the Western reader to suffer such a loss. As Bannerji (1995) highlights, "A whole new story has to be told, with fragments, with disruptions, and with self-conscious and critical reflections. And one has to do it right. Creating seamless narratives, engaging in exercises in dramatic plot creating, simply make cultural brokers, propagators of orientalism and self-reificationists out of us" (pp. 178-179).

Interviews

During the research ethics approval phase and prior to conducting the research fieldwork, data collection, and analysis, I completed an interview guide that would allow me to probe interviewees on topics that would inform the research questions. The interview guide was approved by my supervisory committee. I conducted in-depth interviews that were semi-structured in format. In-depth semi-structured interviews allowed me to guide the interview process, while allowing the "interviewee to propose her or his own insights into certain

occurrences and may use such propositions as the basis for further inquiry” (Yin, 2009, p. 107). In such interviews, the interviewee is considered more of an “informant” rather than just a straightforward “respondent” (Yin, 2009, p. 107). The target duration of each interview was between one to two hours. I selected interviewees through a literature search of publicly available documents and publications on Afro-Peruvians and their activism. Therefore, I only interviewed people about their publicly available work trying to pose as minimal risk to their privacy and safety as possible. However, personal perspectives were shared with me during the interview process. Therefore I made sure to ask for special permission in regards to these disclosures, especially if I felt that they were relevant to the study focus.

In the interviews I asked them about their work in a conversational format. Throughout each interview I pursued certain threads as long as they were connected to the thematic structures from the guide. Originally I conducted interviews with two LUNDU staff members and government ministry representatives, however, due to a refusal by ministry representatives to sign consent forms, I was unable to formally include their insights, but did draw from my own reflections annotated prior, during, and after all of the interviews. By conducting these interviews and triangulating them with analysis of other document sources, I was able to identify configurations of power relations associated with the minoritisation and marginalization of Afro-Peruvians and also that underpin their persisting social and civic engagement for political change and transformation.

Documents

Documents can be highly useful and invaluable tools for case study research even though they are not always accurate and may contain bias (Yin, 2009, p, 103). Therefore, I only used documents selected carefully and understood I should not accept them as “literal recordings” (Yin, 2009, p. 103). I used documents to corroborate information provided by interviewees and

to make inferences, for example by studying the names of supporters listed on a website, I developed new questions about strategic networking or alliances with other organizations (Yin, 2009, p. 103). Extended research into the case study and interviews in Peru, led me to uncover integral document sources. Systematic searches of the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign led me to invaluable documents of the following types: LUNDU publicity materials including the organizational website and campaign products such as posters, official development reports created by LUNDU, relevant reports from ‘official’ development bodies i.e. the World Bank or the State Department of Development, and electronic newspaper articles on LUNDU’s work and campaign efforts. Due to the large quantity of publicity materials produced both by LUNDU and external parties, I ‘triaged’ the document materials by their centrality to my inquiry (Yin, 2009).

Data Analysis

Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) feel that good data analysis (and research design, for that matter) combines appropriate elements and techniques from across traditions and epistemological perspectives (p. 3). In this vein, I engaged a system of applied thematic analysis (ATA). However, I also did my best to ground the review and analysis of my textual data in critical discourses analysis (CDA) theory. Although completing CDA to a depth that does it justice, with careful analysis of stylistic, linguistic, and lexicogrammatical features of texts, ended up falling outside of the scope of this thesis, I still attempted to apply the tenets of CDA to data readings.

Applied Thematic Analysis:

ATA as defined by Guest, MacQueen, and Namey (2012) “comprises a bit of everything—grounded theory, positivism, interpretivism, and phenomenology—synthesized into one methodological framework” (p. 15), however its “primary concern is with presenting the stories and experiences voiced by study participants as accurately and comprehensively as

possible” (p. 16). Hence, ATA provided the ideal analysis structure to address the diversity of the case study data, whilst honoring the depth and value of the learning expressed by the interviewees. ATA also strategically facilitated analysis of the data in a shorter period of time. As Guest et al. (2012) highlight, with ATA, you do not sacrifice quality, nor do you discard valuable data. If there are more data than you can analyze with the given resources and time frame available, it is not discarded; it is systematically cataloged so you and others can come back to it as opportunity allows” (p. 29).

With ATA I was able to easily organize the breadth of data I collected. ATA prompts the researcher to remain hyper aware of the research questions which prompted the data collection and return to them frequently. Guest et al. (2012) indicate that if there is “more than one research objective, then you should translate each of those objectives into an analysis objective and then outline the steps necessary to achieve that objective” (p. 29). Therefore I returned to the activist pedagogy facets and research questions elaborated at the end of Chapter 2, to establish an analysis framework which evolved into a practical chart with which to organize my data and emerging themes.

Figure 3.1: Analysis Framework Chart

Research Questions:	How did LUNDU leaders conceive of themselves as activists and how do they construct their activism in relation to discourses of education, development and participatory politics within the context of Peruvian society?	How did LUNDU leaders come to articulate the public pedagogy that frames the <i>raison d’ être</i> of the campaign? How did LUNDU leaders come to articulate the public pedagogy that frames the <i>raison d’ être</i> of the campaign?	Through what means did LUNDU leaders leverage political power by conceiving spaces for greater visibility, participatory politics, and civic engagement?
Facets	1	2 & 3	4 & 5
Data Analysis			
Implications			

This process of organizing my data, allowed me to see and grasp ‘common threads’ and draw implications assisting an overall critically analytical and descriptive approach that nonetheless, considers context throughout the data analysis process (Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013).

Critical Discourse Analysis Theoretical Approach to Analysis:

The works of Wodak (2000 & 2002), van Dijk (1996 & 2010), van Leeuwen (1996), and Fairclough (1985 & 2003) aided me in developing a critical and deconstructive awareness of the case study data. Critical discourse analysis theory accounts for how language produces and reproduces hegemonic discourses that sustain systemic inequalities. Therefore, as an analytical model, CDA allowed me to uncover the social reality of Afro-Peruvians, rather than just recycle the dominant conservative and limiting development discourses through which they are portrayed. I utilized the CDA model to review my data and examine how power relations work across networks of structures and to extrapolate the contradictions in the ways in which Afro-Peruvians represent themselves and their social justice initiatives in comparison to how they are often misrepresented by the wider Peruvian public, and state and development officials (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough (2003) brilliantly observes that what is ‘said’ in a text is always said against the background of what is ‘unsaid’--what is made explicit is always grounded in what is left implicit” (p. 17) and “Seeking hegemony is a matter of seeking to universalize particular meanings in the service of achieving and maintaining dominance” (p. 58). Therefore, I collect and triangulate data to reveal how LUNDU’s self-representations through the campaign process, products and related encounters, counter existing notions of who the ‘democratic actor’ ‘development leader’ is and should be. According to van Dijk (2010), CDA offers the most sophisticated strategy for conducting qualitative analysis of racism and anti-racism efforts because it focuses on the experiences of racism by those that live it day to day, it facilitates the

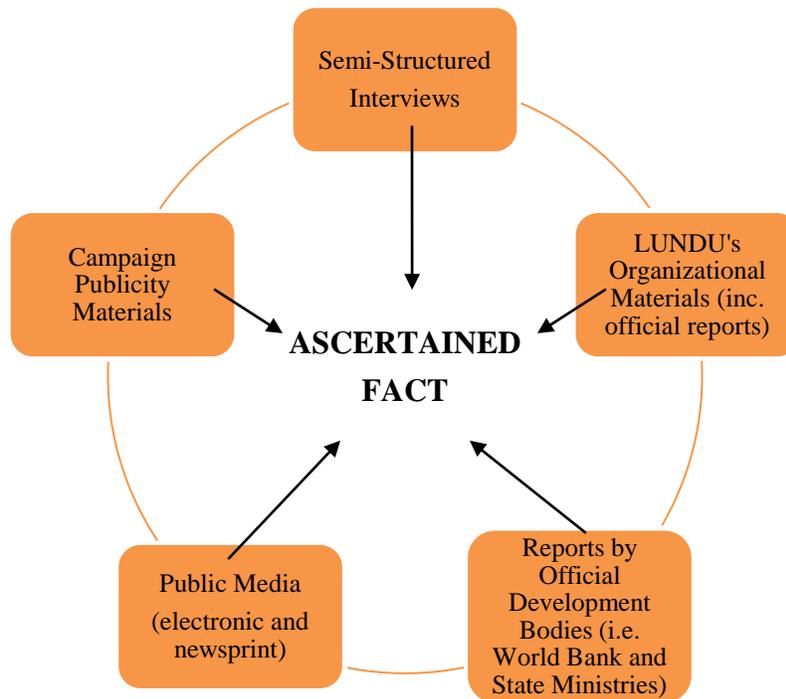
unpacking of propaganda, interviews of state officials, political representations, texts both inside and outside the classroom, and legal discourses--all pieces involved in the fundamental reproductive process through which racism is systematized. As van Dijk (1996) emphasizes, through analyzing 'patterns of access', ways in which Afro-Peruvians are excluded from key development and state documents and the ways in which they have limited access or circumstantial access to the media, academia, and politics, I seek to show how discourse becomes cognitively marginalizing for Afro-Peruvian initiatives. If we couple van Dijk's argument with Fairclough's (1985) perspective that institutions are pluralistic, with their own actors and goals and also grasp that there is heterogeneity within institutions and amongst the perspectives of their participants, it becomes vital to use CDA theory to analyze institutional diversity. Utilizing CDA theory I paid critical attention to the discourses employed by institutional and organizational representatives and how these discourses relate to those espoused by the state in regards to development and democracy. Applying CDA theory allowed me to grasp the controversial discourses surrounding LUNDU's work and the phenomenon of racism in Peru. Ultimately through the use of CDA theory, I focused in on the ideological constructs and hegemonic forces circumscribing LUNDU's initiatives and marginalizing Afro-Peruvians.

Triangulation:

Yin (2009) states that "a major strength of case study data collection is the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence" (p. 115). I triangulated my different sources of data to strengthen the resulting arguments from the case study in relevance to the research questions. The critical value of triangulating data are the resulting "converging lines of inquiry" (p. 115). Triangulation assisted me in supporting my case study 'claims' with multiple sources of evidence which provided "multiple measures of the same phenomenon" (p. 117).

Triangulating sources is pivotal when engaging CDA, because it sheds light on contradictory discourses and ideological patterns, thus revealing dominant forces. In Peru, the media is predominated by white figures. Media coverage does not focus on Afro-Peruvians unless it is to report an act of mass violence against them portraying them as helpless victims, or the opposite as violent criminals. Thus it will be of critical value to compare, contrast, and corroborate LUNDU's campaign materials and self-reports on their initiatives and the status of Afro-Peruvians, with public media depictions of Afro-Peruvians and the 'official' claims made by development and state bodies. This document-media triangulation will provide information about the "access" of Afro-Peruvians to the mass media, which is a "critical condition for their participation in the public definition of their situation" (van Dijk, 1996, p. 92). As van Dijk (1996) highlights, marginalized and minoritized groups usually have limited access to academia's institutions and scholarly discourse. Critical issues such as racism and other forms of discrimination which hinder sustainable development and impact democracy are also usually left properly unaddressed and research on such issues, unfunded by development institutions and governments. Therefore it was extremely insightful to triangulate interview perspectives and documents on Afro-Peruvian participatory initiatives of which the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* development and democracy in Peru. Figure 3.2 represents the triangulation system I adhere to.

Figure 3.2: Convergence of Evidence



(Modified by Medel, S., 2012 from Yin, 2009, p. 117)

CHAPTER 4: *APÚNTATE CONTRA EL RACISMO*, THE CAMPAIGN FINDINGS

Socio-Political Context of Afro-Peruvian Action

The History in Brief of Afro-descendants in Peru

The first Afro-descendants arrived in Peru during the beginning of the Spanish conquest of Peru as colonized and displaced peoples removed from their Indigenous African lands. As Rodríguez (2008) indicates, Africans or “ladinos” (p. 15),⁴⁸ would have at the time arrived with some of the first Spanish conquerors such as Francisco Pizarro, as forced assistants whose main role seems to have originally been translation between the Indigenous peoples of Peru and the Spaniards. However as the slave trade grew more profitable and colonization spurred the acquisition of resource rich lands for which European colonizers needed cheap labour, so did the number of slaves brought to Peru totaling more than 100, 000 between 1528 and 1821 (although this was notably less than were brought to Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, and Venezuela) most of which were forced into coastal agriculture work (Hunefeldt, 1994). Approximately 85% of Afro-descendant slavery was concentrated along the Peruvian coastlines where eventually they would also be forced into the roles of agricultural labourers, domestic servants, cooks, gardeners, and cattle workers, etc (Velázquez , 2005; Rodríguez, 2008).

During the mid-nineteenth century, the industry of slavery began to change as an underground counter movement began to brew stemming from the slaves themselves (Rodríguez Pastor, 2008). Slaves at the time, Afro-Peruvians cultivated their culinary and musical traditions despite oppressive daily living conditions. This growing behaviour of ‘challenge’ on behalf of the slaves along with the rapid increase of liberal anti-slavery scholarship and politics, led to the declaration by Ramon Castilla (Peruvian President 1845-1851 and 1854-1858) of the abolition of slavery on December 3rd, 1854. Yet despite the abolition of slavery, the trajectory of Afro-

⁴⁸ The term is sometimes used to refer to Black slaves who spoke Spanish.

Peruvians being treated and written into Peru's national story as 'inferior' had already been cemented and continued to be entrenched through leadership of first the Spanish and then the Republican criollo state. Valdiviezo (2012) highlights,

In the transition between the 19th and 20th century, criollo intellectuals re-elaborated images and discourses on what it meant to be Peruvian in order to design a national identity more appropriate to the social diversity of the country. It was necessary to recognize the massive exchange between socio-cultural groups for centuries. They designed a Castilian-Inca mestizo model of national identity. Based on this model, the history of the Republic was written. This model kept the idea of superiority of the Hispanic over the Inca's culture and omitted Peru's African and Middle Eastern roots. (p. 29)

De la Cadena (2000) illustrates that during the twentieth century education was promoted by leaders such as Mario Vargas Llosa and other criollo elites, especially those in Lima, as a vehicle through which poor uneducated 'Others' such as Indigenous peoples, could evolve from a 'primitive Indianness' into more civilized and cultured mestizo ways of being. However, De la Cadena also points out that 'mestizo' was given another meaning by 'Indigenistas' in Cuzco who use the term to "identify literate and economically successful people who share Indigenous cultural practices yet do not perceive themselves as miserable, a condition that they consider 'Indian'" (p. 6). Counters to the criollo mestizaje project therefore came from Indigenista intellectuals such as Eduardo Valcarcel, who represented Andean Cuzqueños that were proud of their "Indigenous cultural heritage" and thus advocated for the superiority of the latter (De la Cadena, 2000, p. 6). Important to grasp is the glaring reality that Afro-Peruvians were excluded from the central debates of race, ethnicity and nation-building, unless it was to reinforce the notion that there were Peruvian citizens trapped in a colonial backwardness in need of a project of cultural improvement such as mestizaje (Valdiviezo, 2012). N'gom Faye (2010) states that Afro-descendants in Peru were disenfranchised from claims to resources of the nation state through a process of systematic trivialization, through which they were stripped of their historical roles, thus leading to their contemporary invisibilization (p. 19). These ideas of physical and cultural whitening through miscegenation became so embedded in the psyche of Peruvians

and Peruvian society that they continue to play a massive role in Peru's social organization in terms of influencing who is considered educated and who is allowed to navigate through higher societal echelons.

Rodríguez (2008) highlights that the early 1900s marked a challenging psychological turning point for Afro-Peruvians. Decades after slavery was abolished, they were the ones tormented by the memory of the immense labor they had contributed to the construction of a nation that had abandoned and marginalized them into what many described a desperate attempt through *mestizaje* to escape their social realities. It is important to make a few critical notes on often misinterpreted topics. Afro-Peruvians living in rural coastal areas cultivating sugar cane and cotton continued to suffer much more intense forms of violence as hacienda owner's 'power' went unchecked and they often inflicted their own forms of 'state' control, limiting freedoms and restricting rights (Rodríguez, 2008). This led to massive migration tides of Afro-Peruvians into the city beginning and after the 1950s, although many today recall their parents or grandparents regrettably voicing having to leave the lands they 'shared their souls with'. Researchers highlight that historically, it was easier for Afro-Peruvian women to relocate to Lima, where they were able to acquire work much quicker than men, as domestic servants and it was most often the case that both within rural and urban households, women in domestic service positions experienced much better treatment from their employers (Velázquez, 2005; Rodríguez, 2008). Servants in Lima households were able to access greater social mobilization through often times easier access to education, foreign trends, and better treatment from their employers. However, the latter should not override the physical and psychological trauma that Afro-Peruvians endured individually and collectively within Peruvian society both during and after slavery.

Researchers such as Velázquez (2005) and Mannerelli (1994) highlight that colonization and colonial society created and reinforced complex and asymmetric gender divisions and (mis)representations. On the one hand they reinforced illegitimacy, hypergamy, the disrespect for women and the female body--the material view of women solely as reproducers and property for sexual pleasure, and promoted male-female sexist and patriarchal dichotomies, while at the same time also demasculinizing males (Velázquez, 2005). Viceregal law had also stipulated that women passed on their slave/ free status to their children. The fact that women ended up occupying work positions in Lima and within households, and thus often developing affective relationships with their owners that facilitated their freedom from slavery, also impacted their relationships with Afro-Peruvian men. Colonial processes continue to affect gender relations in Peruvian society, amongst Afro-Peruvians and inter-ethnically.

Rodríguez (2008) indicates two powerful opposed juxtapositions that unfolded for Afro-Peruvians. Leading up to the 1950s Afro-Peruvians began to reveal their impressive strengths and skills in areas such as civil construction, textile design and manufacturing, cooking, and music composition. The aforementioned two especially served as vehicles for the dissemination of Afro-Peruvian practices into almost every Lima household. Yet, whilst the Afro-Peruvian mark was being cemented in monumental cultural practices such as the religious procession, El Señor de Los Milagros, and the establishment of Club Alianza Lima which has always featured a majority of talented Afro-Peruvian soccer players, Afro-Peruvians were being constructed in societies' psyche through systemic and rapidly developing internalized forms of racism from 'victims to victimizers, innocent to guilty'. Apart from suffering 'criminalization', Afro-Peruvians also suffered invisibilization by the state.⁴⁹ The 1940 census by the Instituto Nacional

⁴⁹ Velázquez (2005) theorizes that right after the War of the Pacific with Chile and the sweeping onslaught of modernist writings and state political projects, the memory of Afro-Peruvians as individuals who had empowered

de Estadística e Informática (INEI) incorrectly published the Afro-Peruvian population at 0.47%, after which it admitted several discrepancies; however it did not proceed to include sufficient questions relevant to the Afro-Peruvian condition on following censuses (Defensoría del Pueblo, 2013). Based on statistics collected by international development organizations, Thomas (2011) cites the current Afro-Peruvian population at somewhere between five to ten percent and states most are currently located along the Peruvian coasts, in central Peru⁵⁰, the south, and north, with a heavier concentration in the departments of Piura, Lambayeque, Ancash, Lima, El Callao, Ica, Arequipa y Tacna. Overall, inaccurate population statistics⁵¹ on Afro-Peruvians, have further minoritized them and entrenched perceptions of them as ‘non-existent’ and ‘marginal’.

The Contemporary Groundings of the Apúntate Contra el Racismo Campaign

The Beginnings of Afro-Peruvian Activism

As mentioned in the section situating this study, most researchers addressing Afro-Peruvian work or organizational initiatives, usually focus on their resistance to colonial slavery and or their cultural/ artistic music and dance related work beginning in the 1950s. With the emergence and rapidly growing popularity amongst criollo elites of Afro-Peruvian artists such as

themselves to survive, negotiate, undermine and bring an end to slavery was troubling. Unprepared to handle such a monumental ethnic ‘Other’, Afro-Peruvians were applied a myriad of antagonistic identities by criollos--barbarics, superstitious, incapable, unprofessional, etc.--but the misrepresentation that would impact them the most socio-economically would be that of politically irrational. Afro-Peruvians were seen as incapable of having any political rationality. Perhaps related, is the fact that although there is evidence that a great number of Afro-Peruvians practiced medicine and hence had close exchanges with Lima elites in the 1800s, their participation in such professional networks was omitted from both official and more popular accounts of Peruvian history.

⁵⁰ Lima districts: Barrios Altos, La Victoria, El Rímac, Breña, El Callao, San Miguel, Lince, San Juan de Lurigancho, Villa el Salvador, Surquillo, Chorrillos, San Martín de Porras y Comas.

⁵¹ Velázquez (2005) collects a wide range of statistics from censuses and colonial documents dating back to the 1700s and until the mid 1900s on the Afro-Peruvian population in Lima throughout and post-slavery. He concludes the following: 1.) From the mid 1600s Lima was a city with a high African presence (with people of African descent and features totaling nearly 46% of the overall population); 2.) the number of slaves (especially female slaves) decreased drastically after the wars of independence; 3.) the wars of independence eroded the practice of slavery, favouring freedom for men; 4.) despite a growth in the Peruvian economy due to the guano industry boom, the number of Afro-Peruvians begins to decline drastically in the mid-1800s; 5.) it can be concluded that there were low levels of new births and growing levels of pre-natal mortality; 6.) there was a drastic increase in hypergamy and miscegenation due to worsening exclusion and conditions of increasing poverty experienced by Afro-Peruvians as colonial markets shifted; 7.) and from 1790-1930, the population of Afro-descendants went from being the most important ethnic community to being the least important in qualitative and quantitative terms.

Nicomedes Santa Cruz, Victoria Santa Cruz Gamarra, Lucha Reyes, Edith Bar, and Arturo ‘Zambo Caverro’ Velasquez throughout the 1950s and onwards, Afro-Peruvian musical culture was spotlighted nationally. With the development of newer talents during the 1970s and onwards such as Peru Negro, Eva Ayllon, and Susana Baca, Afro-Peruvian culture gained international recognition drawing in researchers mostly focusing on Afro-Peruvian percussion, dance, and lyrical traditions (Leon, 2006). Rodríguez (2008) relates the growth and popularity of Afro-Peruvian arts to an overall awakening of “Black conscience”⁵² (p. 427). Apart from the public Peruvian recognition of Afro-Peruvian musical traditions, Rodríguez (2008) highlights the sudden cultural renaissance and upspring of diverse institutions and centres that attempted to first rescue Afro-Peruvian history and societal contributions and attain the contemporary acknowledgement they deserve, and then struggle against racism, working to revindicate the presence of Afro-descendants in Peruvian society. These institutions and centres were also there to prove that Afro-Peruvians were not just ‘entertainers’ of Peru, but citizens of the nation who should not receive inferior treatment by the law, nor by the ‘informal’ sectors of Peruvian society.

As Luciano and Rodríguez (1995) recount, the first Afro-Peruvian groups inspired by the U.S. Civil Rights Movement appeared in the 1960s and were focused on promoting Afro-Peruvian racial and cultural pride. In 1972 the Asociación Cultural para la Juventud Negra Peruana⁵³ (ACEJUNEP) was formed with international funding to execute rural development projects in Afro-Peruvian communities (Golash-Boza, 2011). In 1983 the Instituto de Investigaciones Afroperuanas⁵⁴ (INAPE) was founded by Afro-Peruvian activists José Campos,

⁵² Rodríguez’s (2010) original phrasing for this in Spanish is “un despertar de la conciencia de nuestra negritude” (p. 427).

⁵³ Cultural Association for Black Peruvian Youth.

⁵⁴ Institute of Afro-Peruvian Research.

José Luciano and Juan José Vasquez, which along with the participation of several other Afro-Peruvians succeeded in conducting numerous reports on the rural condition of Afro-Peruvians amongst other topics, but above all introduced the concept of Afro-Peruvian research into academia (Rodríguez, 2008). However, both collapsed due to lack of overall support from the greater Afro-Peruvian community and international funds (primarily from the Ford Foundation) running out (Golash-Boza, 2011, Rodríguez, 2008). However, on November 30th, 1986, members from the former two groups came together, along with other Afro and non-Afro-descendant multi-racial Peruvians, unified to form the Movimiento Negro Francisco Congo⁵⁵ (MNFC), and as such became the only Afro-Peruvian group which self-identified as a social ‘movement’ (Thomas, 2011).

MNFC grew rapidly during the 1980s and 1990s, successfully organizing regional committees and coordinating the first national assemblies on issues related to Afro-Peruvians (Thomas, 2011). Their main focus was carrying out projects to improve the socio-economic position of Afro-Peruvians. However, in 1992⁵⁶, Rodríguez (member of MNFC) was published stating that there was a need for an Afro-Peruvian movement because of the raw need for greater institutional, organizational and government representation to defend the rights of Afro-descendants (Rodríguez, 2010). In 1995, they were the first collective group of Afro-Peruvians to present a document of political proposals to the presidential parties and candidates running for president elect that year (Rodríguez, 2008).

⁵⁵ The BlackFrancisco Congo Movement.

⁵⁶ Rodríguez (2010) cites, Boletín N. 1 del Primer Encuentro de Comunidades Negras en el Perú, Lima, October 1992, as the original source of his statement.

Afro-Peruvian NGO Relations

A study by Thomas (2011)⁵⁷ provides a starting point for analysis of LUNDU's campaign work and organizational positioning in relation to other Afro-Peruvian groups. Thomas' study categorizes Afro-Peruvian institutions into the following groups: community organizations, social movement organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and cultural entities. In the 1990s MNFC, decided to separate into two independent branches: the continuation of the social movement became known as el Movimiento Nacional Afroperuano Francisco Congo (MNAFC) and the development of an NGO whose purpose would be providing technical and academic assistance (eventually this would result in the creation of CEDET). The aforementioned process was for the strategic purposes of creating a solid platform for the dissemination of Afro-Peruvian work nationally and internationally, and thus also gaining greater financing for projects benefitting Afro-Peruvian communities from international sources (Thomas, 2011). In 1998, Luciano referred to MNAFC as 'a group of Black brothers' who he proudly associated himself to and congratulated for their sustained commitment of over a decade to the improvement of Afro-Peruvian conditions (Luciano, 2012). MNAFC was indeed through its male leadership a 'brotherhood'. Sadly, however, the MNAFC is no longer engaging activist work and its activities have for the most part ceased, while CEDET has continued with the mission of community activism, research production, and social development concerning Afro-Peruvians.

CEDET also followed in this 'brotherhood' form of leadership. It has been under the same male directorship of Oswaldo Bilbao Lobaton, since its founding (Lewis, 2012). Despite its continued male leadership, CEDET has provided spaces for women such as Lilia Mayorga

⁵⁷ Political scientist John Thomas III conducted a study of the context of Afro-Peruvian institutions in Peru with funding from the World Bank.

Balcazar, to take on key positions of publishing coordinator of several key projects. Nonetheless, CEDET became publicly known throughout patriarchal Peru as a male spearheaded Afro-Peruvian NGO, possibly facilitating its inclusion in a myriad of ‘official’ development and political spaces. CEDET’s current work focuses on the production of academic works and the production of educational seminars for Afro-Peruvians in rural areas; however its audience is limited in scope, predominantly consisting of an established academic/ professional community and young researchers (Thomas, 2011). Nonetheless it is the most active and best known Afro-Peruvian NGO in Peru often referenced for academic and state studies on Afro-descendants.

LUNDU was officially created on March 21st, 2001, as a space for dialogue (primarily targeting Afro-Peruvian youth) focused on promoting the social organization of Afro-Peruvians from a gendered perspective (LUNDU 2013b). LUNDU’s leader has always been *predominantly female*. It’s founder and Executive President remains former ‘youth’ leader and practicing artist, Mónica Carrillo. LUNDU is differentiated from other Afro-Peruvian organizations by its youth focus, and *very public anti-racism activist and feminist stance*. It has since its inception proclaimed to be anti-all oppression and pro solidarity with other marginalized groups. During the 2007 to 2010 period when Roció Muñoz (current Representative of Afro-Peruvian Populations for the Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo de Pueblos Andinos, Amazónicos y Afroperuanos (INDEPA)) served as Executive Director of LUNDU, the organization joined Peru Afroperuanas Feministas (Peru’s Network of Afro-Peruvian Feminists), formally including womens’ issues as central on their anti-oppressive work agenda. LUNDU is currently characterized as an NGO which under Carrillo’s directorship received financial support from international organizations such as UNICEF to develop youth projects in the El Carmen region,

education projects in el Callao, and reconstruction efforts in Chincha after the 2007 earthquake.⁵⁸ Described as a recognized poet who is active in international networks and leading the fight against racist media for the achievement of anti-discriminatory legislation changes in Peru, Carrillo and LUNDU are placed in the difficult balancing position amidst the activist realm of social movements, the hands-on terrain of community workers, and the arena of ‘official’ political work.

It needs to be understood, as Thomas (2011) points out, that there is vast discrepancy between the highly visible public activism of Afro-Peruvian organizations in Lima and the assistance they receive. Although Thomas highlights that Afro-descendant rural and urban communities’ needs vary in certain aspects, LUNDU’s work has aimed to reveal that they share that the issues they struggle with share the same root causes. Thomas (2011) continues on to point out that international development funding bodies have constructed urban and rural needs in often self serving ways. Rural communities and their organizations are disproportionately self-represented within international networks, as it is usually urban organizations that are invited to or are economically assisted to attend international conferences. Yet, funding for urban organizations has been allotted according to the ‘rural projects’ that they carry out. I attribute this to a neoliberal salvationist conceptualization of poverty which pervasively positions ‘rural’ people in a ‘worse off’ position of subalternity that requires heroic gestures, versus those who live closer to or in urban centres and supposedly have a ‘better’ chance of accessing modernity’s technologies. Thus, although it has historically (and continues) to be Lima-based NGOs that are leading the creation of a social movement agenda, they receive very little funding for projects that engage the needs of urban dwellers, because it is commonly perceived that the relative poverty by Limeño Afro-descendants, pales in comparison to the extreme poverty that is ‘visible’

⁵⁸ For an extensive descriptive list of other Afro-Peruvian institutions see Thomas, J. (2011).

in the south, which is a very superficial conclusion by donors (Thomas, 2011). The latter disenfranchises Lima-dwelling Afro-Peruvians and has created a relation of dependency of rural NGOs on urban NGOs. Thomas (2011) lays down the groundwork for understanding the lack of cohesive decision-making amongst Afro-Peruvian organizations stating that Afro-Peruvians have expressed feeling a sense of fractured leadership and lack of clarity in regards to how Afro-Peruvian organizations want to shape an Afro movement. Although some organizations, such as CEDET and LUNDU collaborate occasionally on projects and lend each other public support for select initiatives, there is clear lack of cohesion between leadership styles, issues selected for focus, methods for tackling issues publicly, and perspectives on how to engage critical issues such as racism.

LUNDU's Fight Against Racism

LUNDU began its work with youth in 2002 when it launched its first projects in Lima and Chincha, Ica, titled, *Reencontrar las Raíces*⁵⁹ (LUNDU, 2013b). This project resulted in the formation of an Afro-Peruvian youth network which is still active. In 2005, LUNDU began concerted efforts to eliminate discrimination amongst children through the development of an educational project titled, *Estética en Negro*,⁶⁰ which targeted the impoverished and mostly Afro-descendant population of the district of El Callao. This project had as its objectives to contribute to the strengthening of identity and self-esteem in children through the implementation of critical art and music projects focused on identifying stereotypes and delineating baselines for the

⁵⁹ "Rediscovering the roots".

⁶⁰ "Aesthetic in Black". It is important to note here that this term will reappear in relation to the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign and to describe much of LUNDU's work and goals as it was frequently used by Carrillo, Castro and even former staff member Muñoz when describing the impact of LUNDU's initiatives on the elaboration of forms of visual representation and public engagement rooted in Afro-Peruvian experiences and perspectives. When the term 'Estética' was employed, it was done so in relation to one and/ or more of the following: 1.) the principles and goals of physical and/ or visual representation in relation to beauty; 2.) the physical appearance/ attributes of a certain aspect of a project; 3.) creative processes for visual representations of development and education; 4.) and forms of self expression for engaging the Peruvian and international public, but also for personal holistic well-being.

valuing of others' abilities (LUNDU Website). In 2008, the project was transferred over to El Carmen, Chincha, and continues to operate there. A discussion with Carrillo about the *Estética* project revealed the extensive collaborative effort that was put into creating everything from the pedagogy of the project to the actual final CD product. Indicative of the teamwork, participatory and artistic pedagogical experience it allowed them to gain, Carrillo shared with me several email exchanges between LUNDU staff members. The exchanges illustrate how they strived to incorporate the paintings and symbols created over a span of five years by the children they were working with in El Callao during the '*Estética*' workshops, into every aspect of the project. This grassroots pedagogy which resulted in a unique Afro-Peruvian aesthetic creatively designed by the children led to their receiving a prize for innovative methodology by the United Nations (UN).

Over the course of their first few years running projects, LUNDU began to develop a stronger gendered and feminist perspective, advocating for women's rights and bringing to the forefront the additional marginalization faced by Afro-Peruvian women as a result of the high levels of sexism in Peruvian society. They designed a reference centre to develop and advocate for the sexual and reproductive rights of women. This centre, located in El Carmen, is not only a resource space for women, but a place for the creation and delivery of educational workshops targeted towards children and youth and focused on capacity and self-esteem building (LUNDU, 2013b).

In 2007 after the August earthquake which destroyed most of Pisco, Ica, and Chincha's infrastructure, LUNDU received funds from the Ford Foundation to assist with temporary housing and reconstruction efforts in El Carmen. As a result of a collapsed infrastructure in the South, LUNDU had to tackle rapidly growing rates of sexual tourism and prostitution amongst

other issues affecting Afro-Peruvian women and young males in particular, such as HIV/ Aids, vandalism, and theft/ assaults.

Through the myriad of their education-based projects, LUNDU leaders witnessed the widespread negative impacts which experiencing racism had on youth's overall development. Thus LUNDU began to strive for decolonizing and anti-oppressive curricular change in schools which included promoting the necessary inclusion of the historical and contemporary achievements of Afro-Peruvians. Fostering a social justice oriented mind at an early age became of vital importance so LUNDU worked to develop anti-racist kindergarten curricula in conjunction with officials of the Ministry of Education. Their intense involvement with youth engaging critical topics of race and sexuality led LUNDU to develop a firm activist stance on racist media content. LUNDU leaders saw how Afro-Peruvian youth (especially women) are berated every day with images of Afro-Peruvians as whores, thieves, and ignorant peoples and the drastically negative effects this has on their self-esteem. It also became clearer as time passed that despite pardons and the creation of institutions meant to support Afro-Peruvians and curb racism, development in Peru was not democratic development, because it was still marginalizing Afro-Peruvians by disregarding the critical need to directly address racism and sidestepping their initiatives. Thus the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* became LUNDU'S *politically public step* in the fight against racism for a more participatory democratic Peru.

Apúntate Contra el Racismo: Unpacking the Impact of Activist Pedagogy

The Afro-Peruvian struggle against oppression and for participation within national development discourses has been growing in clarity and strength alongside the turbulent machinations of state governance. The campaign is a clear expression of the latter. Throughout the periods of Fujimori, Toledo, and Garcia, LUNDU steadily mastered the rhetoric and real

meaning of radical participatory democratic citizenship. LUNDU has been taking stringent notice of the state's claims of participatory initiatives, engaging new or restructured institutional bodies and checking the efficacy of the both of the aforementioned while growing evermore political in voicing their own communities' needs.

I now begin analysis of the campaign to answer the research questions outlined in Chapter 3. Data findings are organized according to the questions and the facets I believe best inform them. As I discuss elements, alliances, actions, attitudes, and experiences of, and surrounding the campaign, it is important to understand the sequence of events of which the campaign consisted of. Organized from an in-depth blog review and confirmed by Mónica Carrillo, I created a Chronological Chart of the Campaign Action included in this thesis as appendix A which will help in navigating the various stages of the campaign and its overall impact.

The Development of 'Militant Consciousness' and the Articulation of Oppositional Ideologies and Discourses

In the first section I seek to answer: how did LUNDU leaders come to conceive of themselves as activists and how they began to challenge totalizing discourses of education, development and participatory politics within the context of Peruvian society? The aim of this question is to understand the forms of political and militant consciousness that facilitated the emergence of the campaign as a viable strategy of civic engagement.

As a point of departure for the overall analysis of data on the campaign, I began by reviewing my interview with LUNDU's Executive President, Mónica Carrillo and LUNDU's Chief Communication's Consultant, Gloria Castro Alvarez. I understood that the study of the marginalization of Afro-Peruvians was a chief concern of LUNDU's along with the use of

feminist perspectives to address issues. However, I wanted to understand the elements that led to the precise birth of the campaign and their campaign related activism.

As the months and years went by leading up to the precise creation of the campaign, Carrillo underwent a hyper personal process of conscientization along feminist, political and revolutionary lines. This process was interrelated with a series of events that began to unfold between 2001 and 2009 both in Peru and internationally which directly and indirectly impacted Afro-Peruvians. The campaign and other related projects that were to be initiated by LUNDU were therefore going to be inevitably injected with Carrillo's experiential feminist and anti-neoliberal standpoint. Carrillo shares that she "acquired the feminist perspective from being in the trenches" (Carrillo in Jones, 2011, p. 322).

If there are extremely limited numbers of Afro-Peruvians that hold social capital sufficient enough with which to acquire positions of authority in politics or academia, there are even less women. Carrillo is therefore in many ways an anomaly for Peruvian society and a bullseye for those to whose benefit it is to stigmatize women taking action. Carrillo was only twenty-one when she created LUNDU (Falcon, 2008). She was also one of only three Afro-Peruvian women to attend the UN World Conference Against Racism, Xenophobia, Racial Discrimination and Related Intolerance in Durban, 2001 (WCAR 2001) (Falcon, 2008). Carrillo herself draws the picture, "To create an organization when you're Afro-Peruvian is very difficult because you're young and because you're young and because you're a Black woman (Jones, 2011, p. 323)". Falcon (2008) highlights Monica's post-WCAR 2001 experiences of developing a critical 'conciencia de mujer' similar to that of a 'mestiza consciousness' as theorized by Anzaldúa (1989) which clarified the raw intersectionality of oppression. Carrillo shared with Falcon, that she had also reached the conclusion that Afro-descendant organizations and anti-

racist initiatives have to adopt a “non-negotiable principle” of “anti-capitalist politics” (Carrillo in Falcon, 2008). Carrillo came to understand what she identified as a “failure to recognize the detrimental effects of capitalism in the lives of Afro-Peruvians” (Carrillo in Falcon, 2008) through its influence on ‘development’ perspectives, government initiatives, and media production.

The Development Reports: Afro-Peruvians, the Elephant in the Room

June 30th, 2004 saw the conclusion of a massive project led by the World Bank project which was launched on February 10th, 2000. Titled *Proyecto de Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas y Afroperuanos*⁶¹ (PDPI), its total cost stood at 6.7 million dollars of which 5 million had to be paid back to the Peruvian government in monthly quotas between July 2005 and July 2017 (World Bank, 2004). This project brought to the forefront for Afro-Peruvians the raw reality of their official exclusion from state, development, and education planning. Although during the course of the project, World Bank representatives worked to establish greater institutional support for Afro-Peruvian and Indigenous proposals, they failed to branch out into the cultural and constitutional claims of the Afro-Peruvian people.

PDPI was intended to contribute to the reduction of poverty through the strengthening of participatory institutional processes. The objective and plan was the following: “reducing an extreme poverty, by building the capacity of communities, and organizations to foster their own development” (World Bank, 2000). Despite applying emerging post-structuralist vocabulary such as “participatory” and “community rights” to the project, World Bank project leaders failed to take an in-depth approach to understanding the historical and systemic obstacles of oppression, mainly racism, still operating violently in Peru. PDPI components included: institutional development, the development of Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian project building

⁶¹ *Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian Peoples Development Project.*

capacities (planning, preparation, administrative and financial skills, cultural patrimony and organizational formats), societal information and conscientization campaign of Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian demands, technical and legal assistance, the development of independent communal sub-projects developed via models of action learning, and monitoring and evaluation of the project (World Bank, 2004). The World Bank intended for the latter to be carried through a participatory development framework.

The project team deemed the final outcome ‘unsatisfactory.’ The following were deemed as the key project failures: lack of a focus on institutional inadequacies, inability to restructure administrative planning across government departments, inability to secure public participation, and deterioration in the relationship between Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian groups and the Comisión Nacional de los Pueblos Indígenas del Perú⁶² (CONAPA). The slow execution of the project by Peruvian governmental representatives, led to disintegration in talks between NGO leaders and the government (World Bank, 2004, p.7). Overall, the project’s failure highlighted at a very pivotal point in Peru’s timeline regarding economic development and human rights atrocities, the missing presence of Afro-Peruvian initiatives in the realm of development planning not because they do not exist, but because they are overlooked both by national and international leading development bodies. The only notable success of the project was that it established to bring to the national and international discussion table, the need for institutional support of Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian development claims (World Bank, 2004, p.10).

Toledo’s presidency created CONAPA in order to highlight to Peruvian bureaucrats and society the importance of the Indigenous agenda. However, the latter left Afro-Peruvians with limited institutional representation. After reading the Results Report (World Bank, 2004) it is shocking to realize that although “Afro-Peruvians” were included in the project title, the project

⁶² National Commission of the Indigenous Peoples of Peru.

itself had very little to do with and shed relatively no light on the societal conditions of the Afro-Peruvian population having in the end only succeeded in supporting the development of a participatory project of the Asheninka Indigenous group. During the project and afterwards, CONAPA was fraught with counter claims of funds mismanagement and neglect of Afro-Peruvian needs by Afro-Peruvian activists (Greene, 2012). In fact, CONAPA did not even include Afro-Peruvians at all in their name until February 13th, 2003 when supreme decree 012-2003-PCM was passed including the title of ‘Pueblo Afroperuano’ into the name (LUNDU, 2010). Most Afro-Peruvians referred to CONAPA as more of Toledo’s ‘participatory antics’ stating that they had never even been invited to the creation of the first commission, despite what World Bank reports cited. CONAPA hit a major stumbling block in 2003 when Peru’s First Lady was accused of mismanaging the PDPI funds to selectively benefit Indigenous groups she supported and stepped down from her leadership role appointing a Shipibo-Conibo activist to replace her (Green, 2007). In an interview with Rowell, Jones, Carrillo and Martinez (2011), former LUNDU Executive Director Muñoz explains that at that time CONAPA’s documents, supposedly drawn up with Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian participation, looked as if they had been “drawn up by elementary school children” and there was “no technical” nor “political skill” (p. 370). Muñoz also cites that all of a sudden over forty organizations that worked on the subject of Afro-Peruvians sprung up without actually outlining what their work specifically concerned, “It was a shocking process for those of us who at least have political, ideological convictions. We would say, “How is it possible that things can degenerate to this magnitude?”” (p. 370). Therefore, in 2004, Toledo recommenced the first constitutionally supported ‘multicultural initiative’ under Ley NO. 28495 and the new name, the Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo de Pueblos Andinos, Amazonicos y Afroperuanos⁶³ (INDEPA). The law was ratified by congress in

⁶³ National Institute for the Development of Andean, Amazonian and Afro-Peruvian Peoples.

2005 (Greene, 2007). Thomas (2011) highlights that although INDEPA includes ‘Afro-Peruvians’ in their institutional name and promotional materials, their website does not indicate any support of current Afro-Peruvian projects or initiatives. He questions INDEPA’s actual commitment to Afro-Peruvian issues and support for their projects, indicating that most of INDEPA’s resources continue to be aimed towards Amazonian and Indigenous development/cultural projects. Brought to the forefront is the shared concern of Afro-Peruvian activists that INDEPA’s institutionalization under the State Ministry of Culture may be another step back from the creation of public politics and the growth of a critical civic sphere of action. Greene (2007) highlights that what INDEPA continues to accomplish best is affording those Andean organizations accredited by INDEPA, the “opportunity to redeploy their own Incaic rhetoric” but with a more multicultural slant. According to LUNDU, INDEPA forms part of the ‘generic’ or ‘superficial’ regulation of racism against Afro-Peruvians in the country (LUNDU, 2010). Institutions such as INDEPA created to monitor, penalize, and prevent racism through the creation, support, and promotion of inclusive initiatives, only regulate racism in a ‘general’ manner. Proof of INDEPA’s inefficiency was its failure to address the need for amendments to anti-discrimination/ racism laws (despite the specific needs being forwarded by longstanding Afro-Peruvian organizations such as LUNDU), and total lack of attention to establishing a census that would gather reliable data on Afro-descendants. In LUNDU’s opinion ministry branches or official ‘development’ initiatives meant to support Afro-Peruvians and defend them against racism, only do so in conjunction with defending other groups, always avoiding addressing independently the issue of racism against Afro-Peruvians. The next big gesture of ‘multiculturalism’ on behalf of the government that was experienced by LUNDU leaders and

other Afro-Peruvians alike, was the state declaration of the Día Nacional de la Cultura Afroperuana⁶⁴, on June 19th, 2006.

Despite its sweeping multicultural gestures between 2000 and 2007, the state took until April of 2009 to submit (ten years late) its' periodic report on racial discrimination to the United Nation's Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) (UN CERD, 2009a). Analysis of this report with a focus on the Afro-Peruvian population of the state proves that although the nation highlighted its general recognition of the need to focus on human rights development, it seemed unable to fully take responsibility for the systemic racism that is bred in its institutions and societal climate. It also left a lot to question in regards to particular strategy implementation. Sec. IA. 2 states that Peru has been working since 29 September 1971 to end discriminatory practices in the country and formally promote equality and justice for all of the people under its jurisdiction through the adoption of "diversas tecnicas" [diverse techniques] (p. 5). This initial sweeping statement begs the question that shadows the entire document: How (what specific measures) has the government been working on an efficient and participatory manner to end racial discrimination? To achieve an end to discriminatory practices which the state recognizes as

uno de los retos más grandes que tiene la gobernabilidad democrática en el Perú: demostrar con hechos que el sistema democrático tiene un efecto positivo en la vida de cada uno de sus ciudadanos; que en el sistema democrático no solo hay una vigencia mayor de las libertades fundamentales- un logro inestimable en sí mismo- sino que se consagran cada vez mas todos los derechos humanos. (pp. 5-6)

[one of the biggest challenges facing democratic governance in Peru: demonstrating with doings that the democratic system has a positive effect on the lives of each of its citizens; that within the democratic system there isn't just rigorous enforcement of all fundamental liberties- an invaluable achievement it itself- but an increasing devotion to all human rights.]

the report reiterates and implementation of "diversos programas al nivel nacional" [diverse programs at the national level] towards which in 2007 "3.200 millones de soles" [3.2 million soles] and in 2008 "4.500 millones de soles" [4.5 million soles] were directed. However, it once

⁶⁴ National Day of Afro-Peruvian Culture.

again excludes any direct mention of successful programs. Sec. B.11 established that the Constitutional Tribunal has been successful in establishing certain jurisprudential precedents for the protection of human rights: 1.) equality should be fought for and protected by the democratic state 2.) Equality is a fundamental right of the person. However, it leaves for questioning what political action the state takes to promote a human rights focus within the state.

The report was extremely vague in describing what intercultural education in Peru looks like. It cites the “Plan Nacional de Educación Para Todos 2005-2015”, which aims to establish new education policies premised upon the concept of equity and outlines its objectives as “garantizar la equidad en la educación orientada a superar las brechas que devienen de la inequidad de género y de la discriminación sociocultural, étnica y lingüística” [guarantee equitable education with the purpose of bridging societal divides of gender inequity and sociocultural, ethnic, and linguistic discrimination] (UN CERD, 2009, Sec. IIIB. 2. 114, p. 30). However, it does not state the details of this plan, nor what the steps for ‘recognizing cultural patrimony and community initiatives’ will be.

Finally and most importantly, the section specifically on Afro-Peruvians and their experience of discriminatory practices is one of the shortest in the report. Although it cites a study conducted in 2002 by INEI on the Afro-Peruvian population, it glaringly fails to discuss any of the research results (UN CERD, 2009, IIB.60-62, p. 19). The section on Afro- Peruvians does a disservice to Afro-Peruvians as it states that 13.2% of the Afro-Peruvian population signalled having experienced some type of discrimination, and one out of four Afro-Peruvians has not completed primary schooling, as if there were no correlation between experienced oppression and low levels of education acquisition (UN CERD, 2009, IIB. 62, p. 19). This illustrates the lack of concise and collaborative investigations about the Afro-Peruvian

contemporary condition. Lastly, it is extremely crucial to note that despite sharing current state intentions to incorporate Afro-Peruvian history and culture into the educational curriculum, the report delineates no action towards the execution of such a plan, nor does it cite any of the existing development proposals forwarded by Afro-Peruvians (UN CERD, 2009, VIA.196-201, p. 46).

A World Bank study (Cotlear, 2006) and the UN CERD (2009b) consideration of the Peruvian report on racial discrimination both concluded that Peruvian ministers and policy-makers needed to provide more concise information on the conditions faced by Afro-Peruvians and Indigenous peoples, take more measurable steps to establish an anti-racist curricula and educational policies, and collaborate more effectively and pro-actively with civic organizations. The UN CERD (2009b) response to the Peruvian report recommended began by recommending that INDEPA should “assert the rights of the Andean, Amazonian, and Afro-Peruvian peoples” equally and their “development with identity” (p. 2). It also called for the Peruvian state to draw a “comprehensive national policy against racism and racial discrimination” and collect “indicators on the enjoyment by the various Indigenous peoples and Afro-Peruvian communities of the rights guaranteed in the draft Constitution, disaggregated by urban or rural population, age and sex” (p. 3). It also poignantly stated its concern for Indigenous peoples and Afro-Peruvians who are not yet established as campesino or native communities and thus suggested the adoption of a framework law harmonizing terminology to better protect the rights of diverse groups. Most importantly this ‘official’ rights body highlighted that its concern with appalling “racial discrimination directed against Indigenous peoples and Afro-Peruvian communities in the media, including stereotyped and demeaning portrayals of those peoples and communities in television programmes and the press” (p. 5). It proceeds to emphasize concern at the “evidence of racial

discrimination in everyday life and at information it has received of racial discrimination committed by government officials” calling for the state to “take appropriate steps to combat the racial prejudice, that leads to racial discrimination in the media” through the possible “adoption of a media code of ethics” (p. 6).

In 2009, under the presidency of Alan Garcia, the Ministerio de la Mujer y Desarrollo Social (MIMDES) published a supreme resolution expressing a historical pardon to Afro-Peruvian peoples for the abuse and exclusion that they were made to suffer during the colonial era, whilst acknowledging their identity and participation in Peruvian society. According to LUNDU (2010) this historical pardon represented a few pivotal shifts, such as that the state recognized that the products of colonial slavery continue to pose barriers to the social, economic, labour, and educational development of the country, but especially Afro-Peruvians and that MIMDES, was now accountable to establishing and carrying public politics that would support the sustainable development for Afro-Peruvians. However, following this public pardon, many Afro-Peruvian organizations and leaders began to focus in more critically on the impact of such a historical pardon. Scepticism quickly grew in regards to the pardon as it followed the Bagua Massacre, a massive scandal for the Garcia regime. The massacre that was led by government military troops in conjunction with a civil liberties suspension was to put an end to Indigenous Amazonian protests against aggressive oil development in the Peruvian Amazon. This event which resulted in the deaths of thirty Indigenous peoples and over 150 injured, became known as the ‘Baguazo’, and pitted Garcia as a violent capitalist capable of human rights atrocities. LUNDU expressed that it would not allow for Afro-Peruvians to be used as tools of a stale democracy to cover up human rights disasters. Although Garcia’s grand gesture made Peru the first Latin American country to apologize to its Afro-descendants, his government failed to

acknowledge racism as a barrier to development and outline steps to reduce its systemic societal condition. LUNDU highlights a frustration against the government for not doing more sooner to address racism directly and include Afro-Peruvians in formal political spaces and development planning. Carrillo summed up LUNDU's perspective on the pardon by sharing that although the historical pardon was an advance, its potential to have any transformative effects was only seen by herself and fellow Afro-Peruvian leaders as plausible if it was immediately translated into public policies related to health, education, work and mechanisms, focused on inclusivity for Afro-Peruvians, for greater civic participation in formal politics. Otherwise it was just another political performance. Carrillo took front and centre action to begin combating racism publicly and politically. It was clear that hundreds of more reports could be created by both the state and international organizations charting Peru's development and democratic direction. However, the 'realities' experienced by Afro-Peruvians were going to continue either being conveniently ignored, diffused, or misrepresented. Neoliberal democratic rhetoric would live on, with civil liberties being cut and colonial examples of citizenship being instituted unless public action was taken.

Striving to make sense of how such a public and political campaign was born, I asked Carrillo for some clarifications. How did LUNDU's actions shift into the production of the campaign itself? LUNDU was dedicating itself to improving Afro-Peruvian children's lives through weekly Saturday educational empowerment workshops focused on ethnicity and identity and providing them with extra learning assistance with the help of teachers specialized in critical pedagogy and knowledgeable of Afro-Peruvian perspectives. However, it became increasingly clear that the challenge would be to reach both Afro-Peruvian youth and non-Afro-Peruvian youth in the struggle for greater conscientization. The 2001-2009 period was a time of growing

awareness for Carrillo where there was a shift from the personal to the political, to a point where she grasped the immense importance of breaking out of her Afro world to publicize not just her experiences of racism, but also those experienced by others to create cross-ethnic understandings and alliances for change. Carrillo explains LUNDU's programming struggle, "*... lo otro que es más amplio y difícil y es la educación o concientización para chicos afros y no-afros con relación a tener acceso a nuevas paradigmas*" [the most challenging became fostering a conscientization for Afro and non-Afro youth through the creation of a means for them to be able to access new paradigms]. I related the latter as well to Carrillo's growing understanding that Peru needs a public and political education that fosters critical awareness, ethical responsibility and solidarity. The latter were elements missing amongst Indigenous Andean, Amazonian, and Afro-Peruvians during the 2000-2009 multicultural and development planning talks initiated by the state administrations, INDEPA and Indigenous group leaders.

Carrillo explained her holistic view of development and citizenship prior to relating how the campaign slowly took shape as a sustainable response to the re-articulation of democracy and development. Development for Carrillo,

... es aquello estado de la sociedad, aquel estado de realización del ser humano donde uno puede tener la posibilidad de acceder a una educación, un empleo, la salud... libres sin la presión de siempre estar defendiéndonos y respondiendo al racismo... tener espacio para el sentido ludico como seres humanos verdaderamente libres.

[...it is that state of society, that state of realization that to reach one's potential one needs the opportunity to access education, a job, health, while being free of constantly needing to defend oneself or respond to racism, and to have space for creativity as truly free human beings should.]

Connected to the latter is Carrillo's understanding of citizenship as a right and ability to belong to society and inhabit spaces freely and without concern of suffering aggression. She therefore illustrates violations of citizenship as they play out in daily life for women, especially Afro-Peruvian women on the streets, a reality of quotidian systemic societal violence that development initiatives fail to take into consideration:

Con respeto a la ciudadanía, ese derecho al tránsito libre es una cosa super básica pero eso también es... esa libertad a tránsito es una cosa muy marcada hacia las mujeres Afroperuanas... en el Perú esa manera de agresión y de cercanía de tocamiento y de abuso es muy común y es una de las maneras más populares de vulnerar a la ciudadanía...

[In relation to citizenship, the right to free transit is something super basic but it's also that... the freedom to travel safely is something restricted for Afro-Peruvian women... in Peru that form of aggression, violent approach and abuse is very common and is one of the ways with which the right to equal citizenship is violated.]

Carrillo elaborates that citizenship is “*el derecho de la identidad propia*” [the right to a personal identity] and “*el derecho a un nombre*” [the right to a name]. Hence every time Afro-descendants in Peru are referred to in racial terms such as ‘morena’ [dark skinned girl] or ‘negrita’ [Blackie], the prevalence of systemically reproduced racist barriers which limit freedoms of existence and citizen participation are exposed. Carrillo spoke to the lack of state against quotidian aggressive and racist acts. For her, real rights to citizenship go much further than voting rights and highlighting the way that limitations on citizenship are enacted:

Cuando hay un trato diferente de algún funcionario hacia ti por ser afrodescendiente. Uno se ha cuenta como tratan a una persona blanca, con respeto, los tratan de usted y no de tu, tu sabes que en el Español hay una diferencia de respeto, y no los hacen esperar demás tiempo para ser servidos... y luego como te tratan a ti como Afro... es una diferencia, algo que puede ser muy evidente.

[When a functionary treats you differently because you are Afro-descendant. You realize how they treat a white person, with respect, with the proper nouns, yet they make us wait to be served... and later how they treat you as an Afro... its different, something that can be very evident.]

Thus Carrillo expressed demanding “*respeto*” [respect], referring to the sentiment that Afro-Peruvians have done their fair share of work towards ‘belonging’ in Peruvian democracy.

Carrillo shared her belief held prior to, during and after the campaign that if Afro-Peruvians have ‘achieved development’ it is because of personal and familial efforts and work on behalf of Afro-Peruvian activists and community organizations, not because of large state development schemes, nor INDEPA’s existence.

Mira creo yo que hay un avance de los Afroperuanos especialmente en estas dos últimas generaciones. Sin embargo yo creo que eso no ha sido porque el estado ha hecho algo para reducir las brechas sino más bien ha sido un esfuerzo personal y familiar de los afroperuanos. [Look I think that there has been progress for Afro-Peruvians especially in these last two generations. Nonetheless, I don’t think that this has been because the state has done anything to reduce the obstacles, but rather because of personal and familial efforts on behalf of Afro-Peruvians themselves.]

Carrillo further explained that the campaign was born and run out of a “*democracia limitada*” [limited democracy]. Peru is a democracy that on paper fulfills the required elements of what a democracy should have i.e. a constitution and a voting system, but that in actuality does not defend its citizens from marginalizing practices nor support the civil society organizations that attempt to step into this role. Carrillo illustrated Peruvian democracy as one that punishes women, especially Black or Indigenous women for speaking out, and hence is an elite mestizo-criollo democracy:

Permite votar y postular a una puesto de trabajo como todos... pero no es un sistema de democracia que me permite tener las mismas oportunidades. Yo puedo postular a un puesto pero vamos a ver si el resultado del examen o del los contratadores no es racista o equilibrado. ... es una democracia limitada porque ... porque todo el mundo puede hablar mucho de las razas y de los credos... pero cuando una mujer afro con trenzas habla y levanta la voz es absolutamente objeto de burla y de humillación y de violencia porque para esta democracia ,nosotras, una mujer como yo no deber de tener voz, ... además no con mucha edad... y eso tu lo puedes ver también si haces un análisis de toda la visibilidad publica o los ciudadanos que opinan de otros ciudadanos... que opinan que una mujer afro este dando una declaración que no este en concordancia con lo que los demás piensan... la manera de atacarla es una manera violenta, sexista, y racista.]

[Allows voting and applying for jobs like everyone else... but it is not a democratic system that permits us have the same opportunities. I can apply for a job but we shall see if the exam or hiring results are not racist or unequitable. ... it is a limited democracy because you know that here in this country... because the whole world can talk about races and credos... but when an Afro woman with braids speaks and raises her voice she is absolutely object of laughter and humiliation and violence because for this democracy, we, a woman like me should not have a voice... and also being so young... and you can see this also if you do an analysis of public forums... or what citizens’ opinions are of other citizens... what their opinions are of an Afro woman who is declaring something that is not aligned with what the rest think... the form of attacking her is violent, sexist and racist.]

Carrillo explained that *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* was born out of a campaign that was launched by LUNDU in 2005 called, *Racismo Nunca Mas*. She described the latter as the unorganized precursor to the strategic *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign which began to take shape in 2007, planned in 2008-2009, and formally launched in 2009. During a period when LUNDU was fervently embracing its more politicized stance on neoliberal, gendered and racist oppression, Carrillo stated there was a need to, “*articular a toda la gente interesada en la propuesta de LUNDU,*” [articulate to everyone interested LUNDU’s proposal]. Carrillo recounted,

... cada salida publica que podíamos tener, decíamos, “estamos en una campaña y esta campaña es Racismo Nunca Mas, súmense a esto, participen, den su opinión, etc.”... Pero nos dimos cuenta de que tenía que tener una estructura, algo mas solido y que podamos medir y utilizar como una herramienta política... .. entonces, por eso fue que de Racismo Nunca Mas ya diseñamos la campaña Apúntate Contra el Racismo que tenía como objetivo la movilización.] [... during every outing, we would say that we were campaigning, and that this campaign was called *Racismo Nunca Mas*, sign up, participate, give your opinion, etc.”... But we realized that the ‘campaign’ had to have a structure, something more solid that we could measure and use as a political tool... .. therefore, this was why from *Racismo Nunca Mas* we designed the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign which had as an objective mobilization.]

Castro, LUNDU’s Chief Communication’s Consultant, shared that the campaign sought to create mobilization around racism, a massive point of contention amongst all Peruvians and Afro-Peruvians, “*Racismo- es un punto de mucha contencion entre los Peruanos y Afroperuanos tambien. El atentar a difinirlo, explicar sus raíces, y para muchos hasta determinar si existe hoy en dia (porque hay esos que lo niegan)... causa conflicto*” [Racism- is a point of much contention amongst Peruvians and Afro-Peruvians as well. Attempting to define it, explaining its roots, and for many even trying to establish whether or not it really exists nowadays (because there are those who deny it does)... causes conflict]. Yet, despite its conflictual nature, there was an awareness in LUNDU that racism and all of its promoters had to be confronted publicly and politically. Castro’s opinion was that Peruvian society and Afro-Peruvians had reached a critical juncture where action needed to be taken, “*un punto donde no podemos seguir perdiendo tiempo solo reflejando y discutiendo sobre las definiciones del racismo- por eso LUNDU decidió tomar acción*” [a point where we can’t keep wasting time just reflecting and arguing about the definitions of racism- this is why LUNDU decided to take action]. A review of reports and Carrillo and Castro’s recollection of the period leading up to when *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* was formally launched, reveals that LUNDU as an Afro-Peruvian organization concerned with the rights of Afro-Peruvians, the empowerment of women (especially Afro-Peruvian women), and sustainable development, could not sit idly by anymore while ‘participatory’ projects and

state planning were conducted that rendered Afro-Peruvians invisible and denied them the right to be authors of their own futures.

Embodied Learning and Learning from Tensions between Professional/ Academic and Activist Discourses

In this second section I attempt to clarify, how LUNDU leaders came to articulate the public pedagogy that frames the *raison d' être* of the campaign. The aim of this second question captures the learning experiences of LUNDU leaders in relation to how they created, implemented and advocated for the campaign focusing in on embodied forms of learning and learning from tensions between professional/ academic and activist discourses.

Creating and Articulating *Apúntate Contra el Racismo*

Carrillo recounted a moment of clarity in mid 2009, when LUNDU staff realized the importance of confronting racism directly, politically and with specific actions. Thus they began to research how a campaign would be pieced together, delineating the tasks at hand such as articulating their objectives clearly, focusing on specific audiences and developing the strategies to best reach these targeted groups. These tasks formed an integral part of the campaign implementation and pedagogical process both for those involved in the production of the campaign and groups that engaged it. In this section I illustrate the organization stages leading to the implementation of the campaign and the implementation process.

Once the shift to a focused campaign format received consensus support from LUNDU staff, Carrillo consulted extensively in informal settings with diverse media, legal, and political experts such as lawyers, journalists, and politicians, sharing with them the campaign idea and discussing the pros and cons that would be encountered through the launch of a public political campaign. Carrillo shared wanting the unrestricted and direct opinions of these professionals.

This continued research and visioning period lasted nearly another year. It was explicitly understood by the LUNDU team that the campaign objectives were political. Therefore, they had to exercise a lot of critical democratic thinking. They focused in on the historical purpose and contextually related social justice efficacy of campaigns within democracies to devise strategies that were inclusive and equality oriented. In developing the campaign objectives it was clear that violence, oppression, and marginalization as a result of racism would be at the core, “*la propuesta... que esta manera de insulta que es tan agresivo y común en el Peru hacia los afro, especialmente las mujeres, sea penado, que vayan a la carcel los racistas*” [The proposal... that this form of insult that is so aggressive and commonplace in Peru against Afro-Peruvians, especially women, be penalized, that racists be sent to prison]. The question then became, how could they accomplish the penalization of racism? Carrillo explained that they realized that they had to accomplish a law that sanctioned effectively against racism, and specifically racist insult,

Teniamos que lograr que haya una ley que sancione eso de manera efectiva como lo hacen en otros países. Para que la ley se aprueba... ahhh... esa era una cosa, pero también queríamos lograr que de los medios de comunicación esta injuria racista también salga. La injuria racista fue principal objetivo realmente. Entonces vuelvo a decir, nuestro objetivo fue hacer que los medios de comunicación dejen de ser racistas y de colocar esos adjetivos tan obyectos a los afros y que en la calle la gente pueda ser sancionada por insultarte racistamente.

[We have to accomplish that a law be passed that sanctioned racism effectively as it is done in other countries. However for that law to be passed... ahhh... that was one thing, but we also wanted for racist content to be banned from communication and media channels. That racist actions be punishable by law was our main objective. I reiterate, our objective was putting an end to racist media content and making racist actions out on the street punishable by law.]

Entonces sabíamos que teníamos que hacer una campaña y esta campaña pública tenía que tener esas dos acciones como objetivo.

[So we knew we had to make a campaign and that this public campaign had to have two action objectives.]

These two action oriented objectives were later broken down into the following points that were publicized on 6 August, 2009, on the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Blog:

- 1.) Recognition that racism is rampant in Peruvian society and that the majority of Peruvians manifest racist expressions in their daily encounters;
- 2.) their needs to be greater acceptance of “the Other,” or those outside of the norm;

- 3.) recognition that racist and overall all oppressive practices have a negative impact on society as a whole and create limitations to stable national progress;
- 4.) the regulation and elimination of racist media content;
- 5.) and a more conscientious Peruvian society that premises anti-oppressive modes of communication (6 August, 2009).

Although at first the overall goal in mind was to promote public awareness of the campaign's objectives, it became important that the strategic elements of the campaign were pedagogical in themselves educating diverse Peruvian audiences on racism. The campaign and what would later become its pedagogical strategies and tools began with a very basic yet strategic question. How would LUNDU gain support for the fight against racism if 'fighting against' something or activist action, was a notion heavily stigmatized in Peru? A campaign creative team was assembled by Carrillo to discuss implementation. After a series of these meetings where Carrillo explains that they discussed and realized that what they needed was to create a positive way for people to engage the struggle against racism without having them be paralyzed with a fear rooted in possible persecution for signing onto the campaign, she suggested the action verb of "*Apúntate*" for the campaign name, meaning to sign on in favor of positive change, against racism, and in support of diversity, because according to Carrillo, "... *discutimos mucho sobre si la campaña debería decir 'contar' algo o 'al favor de' algo positivo, ósea equilibrar ideológicamente hablando lo de la suma con algo que sea confrontaciones*" [... discussed at length that that campaign should 'inform' something or 'be in favor of' something positive, therefore balancing out ideologically signing on to something with that of confrontation]. For Carrillo, the campaign name represented actions of informed unity and allyship,

... ese concepto del nombre tuvo mucha discusión. ... necesitamos que el pueblo afro sea informado, se sume, porque necesitamos tener una validez dentro de nuestra propia comunidad. ... no nos vamos a centrar solo en el tema Afro sin no en el tema del racismo que afecta a todos los ciudadanos y con eso vamos a tener un pueblo Peruano que se sume a una acción de LUNDU mas allá de las razas.

[... that concept of the name involved much discussion. ... we need for the Afro-Peruvian people to be informed, to join, because we need to have a validity within our own community... we won't concentrate just on the theme of Afro but on racism which affects all citizens and with this we will have the Afro-Peruvian people that is joining an action of LUNDU that goes beyond races.]

Castro elaborated that along with fostering a sense of positivity and solidarity against racism, it was also important for the name of the campaign to clearly portray the anti-racist objectives thus enhancing a level of confidence in the struggle that LUNDU was leading and an overall less 'radical' and more comprehensible message from the onset,

El nombre 'Racismo Nunca Más', era un poco demasiado radical, muy 'político' para el comienzo- no mucha gente se estaba identificando con el nombre... 'Apúntate' era más directo, la meta era específica, el público entendía el punto mejor de la campaña

[The name 'Racismo Nunca Más', was a little too radical, too political for the beginning- not many people were identifying with the name... 'Apúntate' was more direct, the goal was specific, the public understood the point of the campaign a lot better.]

For Castro and Carrillo the name change was also a strategic move to position Afro-Peruvians as a non-threatening group in relation to the state, emphasizing the democratic features of a project that would strengthen conceptions of citizenship and contribute to sustainable development. As Carrillo highlighted,

tenemos que hacer que el pueblo afro sea el líder de un movimiento de justicia social amplio, y de un movimiento que convoque diversas razas, porque eso es lo que hace que tengas una fuerza política.

[We have to ensure that Afro-Peruvians are leaders within the broader social justice movement, within a movement that draws together diverse races, because this is what ensures political strength.]

Y para eso, obviamente, se necesitaban hacer herramientas para diversos públicos.

[And for this you need diverse tools for diverse publics.]

Thus the campaign name, *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* summed up:

una campaña que pretende decir con fuerza y voz alta, que el racismo existe y es una de las principales causas de subdesarrollo, pobreza, violencia y exclusión. Apúntate Contra el Racismo, es una propuesta positiva, creativa y necesita de ti, de tu voz, tu historia, tu sonrisa, tu compromiso, tu deseo de un país inclusivo y diverso... estamos en campaña y solo faltas tú!

[a campaign that aims to proclaim with a loud voice, that racism exists and that it is one of the principal barriers to development, poverty, violence and exclusion. *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* is a positive and creative proposal that needs you, your voice, your history, your smile, your commitment, your desire for an inclusive and diverse nation... we are campaigning and we're only missing you!] (LUNDU, *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Blog, August 6, 2009)

The campaign's objectives targeted four audiences within Peruvian society: Afro-Peruvians, non-Afro-Peruvians, influential public opinion figures, and political decision-makers. The campaign would not succeed without significant reach to all of the audiences and without in some way becoming a vehicle with which different civil society groups and Peruvians from the wider public could come together for social justice, even if personal objectives were not precisely aligned.

Campaign tools were then created around the notion of instituting societal and political social justice change with 'wide ranging effects'. Carrillo also considered it a validation if the campaign could rally in people who either were not considered natural allies of the campaign, disagreed with its objectives or who denied the existence of racism,

Si hacemos toda la movilización para que después no haiga ningún cambio de ley o no se discuta el tema por los decisores políticos entonces... para qué? No queríamos que nuestra campaña sea una campaña que este marginalizada a la esquina donde estén solamente los convencidos.

[If we do all this mobilization so that afterwards there is no discussion on behalf political decision-makers... for what? We did want our campaign to be a campaign that was marginalized to the corner where only its supporters stood.]

LUNDU leaders wanted the campaign to withstand and survive adversity. It had to be about more than preaching to the choir. However, Carrillo explained that despite extensive strategic planning, the LUNDU team was realistic from that beginning that in a country such as Peru with so little social and political stability, there was only so much pre-planning that they could do and they would have to figure things out throughout the duration of the campaign. The central and baseline campaign strategies that were firmly outlined were: mobilization of supporters in various public sectors, learning and teaching allyship, establishing widespread public visual presence, public discussion of the campaign goals, critical monitoring of public racist actions and political gestures, strategic logistic planning for conferences to establish physical and ideological presence in highly public and official political spaces such as within central parks, universities, and congress buildings, developing both academic-professional and streetwise skills, and the

overall public education of how racism unfolds every day in Peru, the effects of racism on development and citizenship, and what citizens can do to play a role in the sustainable development of their country.

Of course the aforementioned strategies required precise tools. The tools that emerged from extensive planning and participatory discussions amongst LUNDU members were:

- 1.) the pen;
- 2.) the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* logo itself;
- 3.) additional publicity materials: the t-shirts, the Stickers, the keychains, and the Posters;
- 4.) the large notebooks;
- 5.) the blog;
- 6.) the ‘accion publica’ i.e public marches/ peaceful protests;
- 7.) published materials i.e. the booklet *Políticas Publicas y Afrodescendientes en el Peru*;
- 8.) the ‘*Observatorio Afroperuano*’⁶⁵;
- 9.) the academic/ professional conferences;
- 10.) and the Essay Competition.

All of these tools were planned prior to the commencement of the campaign and revised throughout its duration.

Implementing *Apúntate Contra el Racismo*

The word ‘*Apúntate*’ best summed up the purpose and objective of the campaign so Carrillo began to design a draft logo sketch around this theme. After several iterations of the logo design, playing around with fonts and the placement of a *pen* which would become the main symbol of the campaign, designer Angie Saravia created the final version which the entire LUNDU team agreed upon. The logo included the words, “*Apúntate*” highlighted in red, and the

⁶⁵ *Afro-Peruvian Observatory.*

words “*contra el racismo*” in Black block print. A black pen, was positioned to the right of the campaign name with a stream of vibrant colors flowing from its tip in a downwards and widening rainbow wave (dark red, red, orange, yellow, black, light green, darker green, dark turquoise green, light purple, fuchsia, and indigo). The rainbow steam of colors was added to represent respect for diversity. It is important to note that after this period, Castro took over the creative design lead and hiring over Carrillo.

Figure 4.1: *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Campaign Logo



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Before knowing about the campaign and when I first saw the logo on the blog, I was immediately drawn in with curiosity to click on the rest of the links which provided me with in-depth information. The logo permeated energy and dynamism. Although the words, “*contra el racismo*” were placed upper middle-centre-right of the entire logo and conveyed a sense of stark certainty, the word “*Apúntate*” and the rainbow wave of colors were what focused my attention drawing a sense of positivity, lightness and determination from somewhere within me. My eyes next shifted towards the imaging of the solid black pen which seemed to ground the positively

invasive spew of colors inspiring the feeling that anything is possible. I even felt like the illustration was beckoning me to go and write out my identity. Carrillo and Gloria emphasized that the logo was one that drew the public in and that several people that came across the logo and eventually engaged the campaign voiced feeling encouraged to write out their own stories and experiences as a part of the anti-racist collective.

The pen, a basic and rudimentary tool, but nonetheless essential for expressing one's opinions and building democratic societies, represented LUNDU's desire to cross out racism, educate the public about racism as a barrier to sustainable development and re-articulate participatory democratic practices. LUNDU made a call to the public on the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Blog, for people to use the pen to, "*Escribe tu compromiso, Afirma tu identidad nacional, Tacha toda forma de discriminación, Subraya la equidad y el respeto, Remarca la vida unidos en la diferencia*" [Write out their commitment, Affirm their national identity, Cross out all forms of discrimination, Underline equality and diversity, Inscribe/ make note of the importance of living united across differences] (6 August, 2009). LUNDU included the figure of the pen with the campaign name on all of its materials. It also ordered actual pens to be made with the campaign name to be handed out to people throughout the city as LUNDU's volunteers canvassed for signatures.

The logo became a leading expression of LUNDU's creative mission to introduce new Afro-Peruvian aesthetics. The logo strategically led to additional publicity tools such as the stickers, the t-shirts, and the posters. The stickers were distributed to the public widely at the campaign's public action sites. Thus both during the campaign, and still today, some of the stickers appear on peoples' bumpers or around the city of Lima. Keychains were also designed with the campaign logo to be handed out to those who stopped to listen to information and ask

questions. T-shirts with the campaign logo and LUNDU name were also made and provided to staff, volunteers, researchers, politicians, students, and anyone else who engaged the campaign. Posters were made in several sizes and splattered with the logo and anti-racist pro-solidarity slogans such as “*El racismo mata/ también es violencia*” [Racism kills/ it’s also violence] and “*Apúntate*” [sign up] (*Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Blog, August 27th, 2009). Enlarged versions of these posters were carried by LUNDU staff and volunteers at every public event.

Along with the publicity tools and the pen, LUNDU volunteers and campaign staff carried along to all public events the oversized accordion shaped notebooks. These notebooks were described by Carrillo as one of the key tools of “*movilización*” [mobilization] with which the people not only signed their name but also shared and amplified their stories of how racism had affected their lives and the positive aspects of true diversity. Castro and Carrillo pointed out that to this day these books are still carried around to conferences and events as a tangible indicator of people’s engagement with the campaign.

Another vital and remaining visible tool of the campaign is the official *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Blog⁶⁶, which until the end of October 2013 was featured on the main home page or ‘Inicio’ of LUNDU’s official website⁶⁷. Since then it has been replaced with LUNDU’s latest campaign. The blog was planned from the 2007 to 2009 early planning stages of the campaign. It was finally launched on August 6th 2009, the same day that the campaign was publicly launched. The blog publicized the campaigns purpose, objectives, racism monitoring strategies, and information for any public and academic activities. It also informed the public of any news related to or impacting Afro-Peruvians and other marginalized groups. The blog was active both

⁶⁶ The blog can now be accessed at, *Apúntate Contra el Racismo*, <http://apuntatecontraelracismo.blogspot.ca/>

⁶⁷ The homepage for the official centre website can be accessed at, LUNDU (Centro de Estudios y Promoción Afroperuanos), <http://lundu.org.pe/http://lundu.org.pe/>

with postings by LUNDU staff and comments by the public between 2009 and December 2012, a year after the campaign was officially declared closed.

Although *Apúntate*'s blog was LUNDU's first campaign blogging initiative, it garnered a lot of public attention for its constant and up to date monitoring of racist incidents, people leading the campaign, people who signed up in direct support of the campaign, interviews with Afro-Peruvian and media leaders, newsprint and radio news updates on stories involving LUNDU and Afro-Peruvians, updates on the initiative to remove *El Negro Mama* from television, alliances with other social justice oriented civil society groups, and accomplishments related to reforms in policies and laws.

Aesthetically and interactively, the blog was a new tool of public engagement used by an Afro-Peruvian organization. Other Afro-Peruvian organizations had previously developed their own websites where they posted information about their initiatives and published articles, however none had sought as aggressively to draw in the public through the use of frequent posting, colorful and easy to access content and images, polls, questionnaires and public submission forms. The blog still remains open for commenting on past posts. For Peruvian people and others from around the world it publicizes different perspectives on the blog's content, campaign initiatives and LUNDU through the 'Comentarios' section at the bottom of each blog page. The blog therefore became in itself a space for civic participation opening up the anti-racist conversation twenty-four hours a day and seven days a week to anyone wanting to engage. The blog also included polls about television personality *El Negro Mama* and racism.

The blog (August 2009) questions and response rates included the following:

Considera usted que el personaje del Negro Mama es racista? [Do you consider that the *El Negro Mama* character is racist?]

Si [Yes]: 19 (67%)

No: 10 (34%)

Considera usted que los peruanos somos racistas? [Do you think that we Peruvians are racists?]

Si [Yes]: 15 (93%)

No: (6%)

The blog also provided throughout the duration of the campaign the opportunity for people to sign up or denounce racism with a section, “*Apúntate, Participa, Denuncia*”⁶⁸ [Sign up, Participate, Denounce].

Along with submitting through the blog information on racist acts and experiences, the public also had the opportunity to access the campaign’s *Observatorio Afroperuano*. Conceptual planning for the *Observatorio Afroperuano*, also began during the 2007 to 2009 early planning stages of the campaign as it was intended to be a monitoring tool racist media content and public politics. The public could use the link previously available on the blog and currently it is available through LUNDU’s website. The *Observatorio* was also a way to create a public archive of racist content to use as evidence in the struggle to obtain official acknowledgement for LUNDU’s re-articulation of development, proof of racism to push for the establishment of laws against racist actions. In 2010 the online *Observatorio* was published into the *Observatorio* booklet.⁶⁹ Publishing of the high image content booklet was funded by the International Women’s Health Coalition (IWHC). It was circulated at all public and academic events, as well as at presentations held by government bodies. The *Observatorio* included the following sections: a introduction on how racism has unfolded in Peru and examples of how other democratic countries monitor racism, the purposes and reasons for the *Observatorio*, how its information is gathered and the methodology for analyzing racist media contents (heavy concentration on racist and gender discriminatory newsprint), principal results from the first year of analysis, an explanation of the case against the *El Negro Mama* character, the perspectives of

⁶⁸ This interactive submission section was still available for the public when I analyzed the blog on June 21st, 2013, however it is no longer appearing on the blog site.

⁶⁹ Publishing of the booklet was led by Mónica Carrillo and Sergio Molina (coordination), Carmen Olle (visual style editing), Gloria Castro (supervision), Martin Alvarado (photography and selection of LUNDU’s Photographic Archive), and Bonnie Ramirez and Henry Gutierrez (design and diagram creation); see LUNDU: Centro de Estudios y Promocion Afroperuanos. (2010). *Observatorio afroperuano*.

media associations, and what has happened since the historical pardon to Afro-Peruvians by the Peruvian state. The *Observatorio* became a clear pedagogical tool for the Peruvian public and ministry officials on how racism unfolds in Peruvian society and how it can be combated. It's easy to read large font and print format filled with visuals and illustrative diagrams. Although other Afro-Peruvian organizations and Afro and non-Afro academics had published critical and informative books on racism and ethnic stereotypes in the media, none had compiled such an accessible for all 'guide' on racism and gendered marginalization in Peru. The *Observatorio* was deposited in the National Library of Peru to be widely accessed by the public. Olle best sums up the *Observatorio's* direct purpose and message to ministry officials with the conclusion to her introductory note,

El Observatorio Afroperuano es una medida urgente y necesaria para inducir al Estado y a otros organismos competentes a observar el comportamiento de los medios, pero sobre todo, para despertar en el ciudadano y ciudadana de a pie la sensibilidad por estos temas, generalmente presentados de manera burlona e irresponsable. (LUNDU, p. 7)

[The Afro-Peruvian Observatory is an urgent and necessary tool to force the state and other relevant agencies to observe the behaviour of the media, but above all to awaken citizens' sensitivity to these subjects, which are generally presented in mocking and irresponsible ways.]

The first *Observatorio* made some critical conclusions. It highlighted that there were nearly 350 racist news stories printed across six of Peru's major newspapers, the frequent use of illustrations and adjectives to 'animalize' both female and male Afro-descendants, the intense hyper-sexualization of Afro-descendant women and objectification of Afro-descendant men, the overall 'anti-esthetic' of Afro-descendants which promotes false cultural values, principals and trends in relation to Afros, the 'shocking' factor of interracial relationships and progeny, the positioning into and acceptance of Afro-descendants in dehumanizing and marginalizing social roles, and the misuse of comedy and comics to entrench the systemic norm of racist ideas. Thus a second edition, *Observatorio Afroperuano 2*⁷⁰, was published in December of 2012 after the campaign

⁷⁰ Publishing of the second observatory was led by: Mónica Carrillo, Gloria Castro, Julissa Andrade, and Carlos Reyes (content coordination), Gloria Castro (chief coordinator and graphics supervisor), Elid R. Brindis (visual

had been formally closed, with funding assistance from the American Jewish World Service (AJWS).

Aside from the *Observatorios*, LUNDU published in 2010 a comprehensive handbook on history and contemporary public politics and policies impacting Afro-Peruvians. Titled *Políticas públicas y afrodescendientes en el Perú*,⁷¹ the handbook was funded by the Urgent Action Fund, the IWHC and AJWS. The handbook resulted from a LUNDU research project that was undertaken as part of the campaign. It compiled critical information on the lack of national policies that directly support Afro-Peruvian people and defend their rights, and outlined the broad spectrum of historical and contemporary events and policies that have somehow impacted them. It also included analyses and proposals on the relation between the Peruvian state and the Afro-Peruvian people, underscoring the understanding that their relationships should be governed by the international conventions that Peru has signed (LUNDU, 2010). Thus the handbook indicates that the lack of systemized information on Afro-Peruvians, one of the barriers to writing the handbook is linked to the lack of public politics and participatory spaces for Afro-Peruvians to engage in official politics and that gender, an aspect emphasized by the handbook, has been excluded from the principle policy decisions involving Afro-Peruvians undertaken by the national, regional and local state levels. The handbook provided LUNDU with the opportunity to publicize after a year of campaign work some of its most concrete, research

design and style), Claudia Rospigliosi (design and diagram creation); with writing collaboration from Alberto Goachet, Elejalder Godos, Gisella Ocampo, Jorge Bruce, Karen Juanita Carrillo, Leonor Perez-Durand, Rodolfo Leon, and Sofia Carrillo; see LUNDU: Centro de Estudios y Promocion Afroperuanos. (2012). *Observatorio afroperuano 2*. Lima: R&F Publicaciones y Servicios S. A. C.

⁷¹ Publishing of this policy handbook was led by: Cecilia Reynoso Rendon, Gustavo Ore Aguilar, and Mónica Carrillo (authors), Gloria Castro Alvarez (general coordination and graphics supervision), Raul Behr Vargas (style editing), Joan Jimenez Suero (cover design and illustrations), Henry Gutierrez Rendon (design and diagram creation); see LUNDU: Centro de Estudios y Promocion Afroperuanos. (2012). *Políticas públicas y Afrodescendientes en el Perú*. Lima: R&F Publicaciones y Servicios S. A. C.

and action based perspectives on public politics and participatory democracy as they affect Afro-Peruvians. In the Prologue, Gamarra (2010) states,

No se trata de acumular citas de normas internacionales, o de emplear las herramientas jurídicas solamente como fetiches. Se trata de una herramienta clave en la gestión pública moderna, de un principio ético por el cual los Estados deben garantizar el respeto efectivo de los derechos humanos, a través de las políticas públicas. Y esto significa: definir con claridad el titular del derecho, definir el garante del derecho, definir el modo concreto de garantizarlo (la institucionalidad y los procedimientos), definir el modo de participar del titular del derecho, definir el modo de hacer transparente la gestión, rendir cuentas, exigir cumplimientos, evaluar resultados, y evaluar los efectos e impactos diferenciados de la implementación de dichas políticas, etc. No son palabras: es gestión. (p. 11)

[It's not about accumulating quotes of international norms or to using legal tools only as fetishes. It is about a key tool in modern public governance, an ethical principle for which States must ensure the effective respect of human rights, through public policies. And this means: clearly defining who has what rights, defining the guarantor of law, defining the specific way to guarantee how the law will be upheld (the institutions and procedures), defining the mode of participation of the rights holder, and defining how to establish transparent governance, accountability, demand compliance, evaluate results, and evaluate the effects and impacts of different implementations of these policies, etc.. More than words: it is governance.]

LUNDU asserted that public political excellence is manifested through direct courses of action and communication flows of information with clear political objectives in mind defined along strong democratic terms (p. 15). Furthermore, according to LUNDU, public politics should be developed by the public sector and frequently supported by community participation and also some private sector input thus defining quality public politics as being based or drawing upon frameworks, mechanisms and institutional modifications as needed for sustainable social justice oriented development (p. 15). Hence in a simplified and easy to follow along with format, the handbook begins by reviewing the appropriate and publically effective terms with which to refer to Afro-Peruvians, the available statistics on the population numbers and habitation areas of Afro-Peruvians, and the extreme conditions of marginalization and violence that Afro-Peruvian women face. It then proceeds to set the international framework for the protection and rights of peoples of African descent, covering from 1966 to 2010, the national framework for anti-discriminatory and human rights oriented politics spanning from the constitution to consumer

laws and concluding with a review of national plans and public politics for sustainable development and social justice.

Aligned with its perspective that public politics have to involve direct action both for their creation, establishment and fulfillment, LUNDU carried out “acciones publicas⁷²” as an integral part of the campaign. They took the form of peaceful protests, marches, and open ‘educational’ fora that were conducted in highly centralized urban areas garnering high attention from the Peruvian and international public. It is important to highlight that public collective civic action in the form of peaceful protests is not a practice that Peruvians are accustomed to. Carrillo pointed out that LUNDU’s public campaign actions took Peruvian society, including other Afro-Peruvian organizations by surprise. However, responses to the public actions were overall positive and constructive. I interpret this as a sign that although LUNDU’s actions and anti-racism posters were jarring visuals for some citizens, LUNDU did not face major backlash until it proceeded to take direct action against popular racist media, threatening the status quo of Peruvian society. The campaign was launched in the high traffic transit area of the Ovalo de Miraflores in Parque Kennedy at noon on August 14th, 2009.⁷³ It was here that LUNDU first demonstrated to the world with its promotional materials and supporters. Several ‘famous’ personalities such as acclaimed singer Susana Baca, former congressman Luis Delgado Aparicio, actress Ebelin Ortiz, artist Julio Perez, composer-rapper Luis Alberto Mendoza Laynes, boxer Jonathan Maicelo signed on in support of the campaign during and right after this public launching. LUNDU staff also brought forward proof of foreign diplomats such as those from the South Africa Embassy.

⁷² “*public actions*”; this is the term used both on the campaign blog and by Carrillo in our interview.

⁷³ Description of this event was taken from the August 6th, 11th and 14th, 2009 *Apuntate Contra el Racismo* Blog entries.

Figure 4.2: LUNDU's Public Launch



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The next *acción pública* took place on August 27th, 2009 in the busy historical centre of Lima.⁷⁴ This event included the lining of streets and four main corners of streets Avenida Paseo Colon and Wilson with over forty campaign volunteers carrying/ wearing large posters, banners and the multi-colored campaign t-shirts. The action called for heavy public interaction and volunteers were encouraged to paste campaign stickers wherever possible throughout the downtown core, hand out pens, approach people for signatures and listen to peoples stories of marginalization. This second public action garnered the interest of passerbys, tourists, drivers, and workers in the downtown core from all stratas of society. This peaceful public campaigning also counted on the physical attendance and assistance of representatives from the Coordinadora Nacional de los Derechos Humanos⁷⁵ (CNDDHH), CEDET, students from the Universidad

⁷⁴ Description for this event was taken from the August 27th, 2009, *Apuntate Contra el Racismo* Blog entry.

⁷⁵ National Coordinator for Human Rights.

Nacional Mayor de San Marcos⁷⁶, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú⁷⁷ (PUCP), and members from Teatro del Milenio⁷⁸ and the Afro-Peruvian museum in Zaña.

On December 12th, 2009, LUNDU staff led the closing of the first year of the campaign in the Parque La Muralla of Lima which was done to draw in the public to the campaign's achievements in the struggle against racism thus far and to motivate the public, but especially youth, to sign their "testimonios"⁷⁹ against racism, with pens, spray paint, paint, markers, and other tools on large wooden panels.⁸⁰ By this point in time the large campaign notebooks had gathered approximately 3000 signatures. The goal of this event which included the attendance of several 'famous' personalities, the Brigada Muralista⁸¹ and students from the Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes⁸², was an 'artistic intervention' and preamble to the fair "Somos Comunidad Andina"⁸³, organized by the Comunidad Andina⁸⁴ to present the diverse initiatives of groups within Latin American working towards the integration of the various countries. LUNDU contributed to that year's initiatives by developing and leading a project for the political training of Afro-descendant women in Peru, Colombia, Bolivia and Ecuador. The wooden panels were later carried throughout the interior and coastal provinces of Peru in an effort to garner support against racism.

After another six months of campaigning, on June 16th, 2010, the LUNDU volunteers and campaign staff were once again present in the centre of Lima for an 'urban intervention' demanding "Humor sin discriminación!" [Humor without discrimination!].

⁷⁶ National University of San Marcos.

⁷⁷ The Pontifical Catholic University of Peru.

⁷⁸ The Millennium Theatre Group.

⁷⁹ "testimonies".

⁸⁰ Description of this event was taken from the December 10-14th, 2009 *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Blog entries.

⁸¹ Muralist Brigade.

⁸² The National School of Arts.

⁸³ "We Are An Andean Community".

⁸⁴ Andean Community.

Figure 4.3: LUNDU's Urban Intervention



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Both the blog and posters asked the following questions, “Cual es el tipo de televisión que desean? Si existe racismo, machismo y homofobia en los programas televisas?” [What type of television programming do you want? Does racism, machismo, and homophobia exist in our television programs?]. Citizens were encouraged to be even more vocal about racism in the Peruvian media. This protest was in direct opposition to Frecuencia Latina’s programming and the television characters of *El Negro Mama* and *Paisana Jacinta*. Despite the controversy surrounding the particular case around Frecuencia Latina and the topic of racist comedy in the media, LUNDU was able to count on widespread support during the protest action from parties such as CEDET, the CNDDHH, the Movimiento Homosexual de Lima⁸⁵ (MHOL), the Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristan⁸⁶, the Programa de Soporte a la Autoayuda de Personas Seropositivas⁸⁷ (PROSA), the Instituto Peruano de Paternidad Responsable⁸⁸ (INPPARES), and the Grupo Impulsor Contra el Racismo⁸⁹ (GIM).

⁸⁵ The Homosexual Movement of Lima.

⁸⁶ The Flora Tristan Centre for Peruvian Women.

⁸⁷ Self-Help Program for HIV Positive Peoples.

⁸⁸ The Peruvian Institute for Responsible Fatherhood.

⁸⁹ The Anti-Racism Reform Group

In December of 2010, LUNDU began to take its biggest and most public steps to counter racism in Peru. On December 14th, Carrillo declared LUNDU's official stance and sharpened campaign mission that racists should be penalized and thus the penal code should be amended to include laws protecting people against racist insults, slander, and other injuries, sentencing those that commit the acts to jail. Carrillo shared that when planning the campaign, television shows such as *El Especial del Humor* on Frecuencia Latina (Channel 2) which had extremely racist characters depicting Indigenous and Afro-Peruvians in hyper-stereotyped derogatory roles such as that of a delinquent, were an integral focus of what the campaign would be working to challenge. On March 25th, 2010 LUNDU made its public pronouncement against the *El Negro Mama* character for contributing to the reinforcement of racism against Afro-Peruvians through its representation of a black man as someone who made a million dollar robbery and has animalesque features and traits. LUNDU highlighted the shows aggressively racist lines with the following from an episode, “se volverá blanco para despistar a la policía. (...) Terminara preso pero al menos preso pero al menos será blanco” [he will become white to distract the police. (...) He'll end up imprisoned but at least he'll be white]. LUNDU defended its stance by stating that the Consejo Consultivo de Radio y Television (CONCORTV) which answers to the Ministerio de Transportes y Comunicaciones (MTC), has as part of its code of norms and ethics principles stating that communication media have to comply with their stance protecting children and adolescents and the defense of all human beings and respect for their dignity. Frecuencia Latina who also answers to the MTC, adhered to the same code of norms and ethics.

LUNDU's battle against *El Especial del Humor* and its character, *El Negro Mama*, through the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign and constant monitoring through the *Observatorio* led to the suspension of the character on the television show on April 7th, 2010 by

Frecuencia Latina. Carrillo agreed with the suspension, but furthered that the character should ultimately be terminated along with that of *Paisana Jacinta* whose parody of Andean women was another form of visual Indigenous oppression. Ronald Gamarra, executive secretary of the CNDDHH, supported the campaign's action,

Es un avance importante que el Negro Mama desaparezca, Pero la “Paisana Jacinta” y otros personajes que promueven estereotipos racistas, denigrantes y que se mofen de la dignidad de las personas por su orientación sexual en los medios de comunicación, también deben ser eliminados porque constituyen una violación de los derechos humanos de los pueblos o grupos que caracterizan. (*Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Blog, April 8th, 2010).

[It is an advance that El Negro Mama disappeared, But the “Paisana Jacinta” and other characters that promote racist stereotypes, denigrating and that scoff at peoples' dignity for their sexual orientation on media and communication channels, also should be eliminated because they constitute a violation of the human rights of the peoples or groups they characterize.]

After extreme backlash on the campaign blog that published the press news releases on the legal action against Frecuencia Latina and el *Especial del Humor's* characters *El Negro Mama*, the Centro de Culturas Indígenas del Perú⁹⁰ (CHIRAPAQ) congratulated LUNDU for its campaign success in achieving the removal of the *El Negro Mama* character, but pronounced that they were appalled that the character of *Paisana Jacinta* was not. They furthered that media and communications codes of ethics should be more explicit in outlining a firm line against programming that promotes racism and violence against any culture or community. CHIRAPAQ asked for parents who sometimes deny accepting their own Andean, Amazonian, or migrant origins, and perhaps even their own intolerance for ‘Others’ to see,

con claridad el prejuicio oculto tras la broma y a reflexionar sobre el impacto que estos estereotipos, aparentemente inofensivos, pueden tener en la construcción de la identidad y los valores de nuestra niñez y juventud. (*Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Blog, April 14th, 2010. [with clarity the hidden prejudice in comedy and reflect on the impact which these stereotypes, apparently inoffensive ones, can have on the construction of identity and values of our childhood and youth.]

LUNDU had the support of CHIRAPAQ and also that of the Centro de la Mujer Flora Tristan, who summarized their deep worry for the ways in which within Peru, comedy that promotes violence and discrimination has become commonplace and even normalized fostering the

⁹⁰ Centre of Indigenous Cultures of Peru.

internalized acceptance of jokes and images involving the physical abuse of women and homosexuals and the characterization of Afro-Peruvians and Indigenous peoples as ignorant and criminals. They along with LUNDU and Centre de la Mujer Flora Tristan called for the Asociación Nacional de Anunciantes⁹¹ (ANANDA) to reinforce its ethics code and put a stop to violent comedy.

During the following months, violent verbal and physical attacks against LUNDU ensued. Nonetheless LUNDU continued its campaign, encouraging people to sign to the campaign against racism and lend their support in the fight to stop racist television programming. On May 3rd, 2010, a document with Makungu para el Desarrollo, CEDET, and Todas Las Sangres: Asociación Cultural de Promoción y Desarrollo was published denouncing racism in the media. Many NGOs added their support such as Amnesty International, the Asociación Humanidad Libre, CHIRAPAQ, Milenia Comunicaciones, Católicas por el Derecho a Decidir (CDD- Perú), and a long list of independent supporters. They demanded that the social responsibility of communication media be to not foster racism or discrimination through any means, develop explicit public politics regarding ethnic, racial, sexual and cultural diversity in Peru, and support effective legislation sanctioning against racism and all other forms of discrimination, and for all citizens to assume responsibility and inform themselves about the need to stop racism, by not consuming racist products (*Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Blog, May 4th, 2010).

The case against *El Negro Mama* underlined the need for LUNDU to enter ‘official’ political spaces. On October 12th, 2010, during the “Día de los Pueblos Originarios y Dialogo Intercultural,”⁹² LUNDU presented the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign to the Comisión

⁹¹ The National Association of Broadcasters.

⁹² Day of the Original Peoples and Intercultural Dialogue.

de Pueblos Andinos, Amazónicos y Afroperuanos, Ambiente y Ecología del Congreso de la Republica.⁹³

Figure 4.4: Presenting *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* to the Comisión de Pueblos Andinos, Amazónicos y Afroperuanos, Ambiente y Ecología del Congreso de la Republica



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The commission unanimously agreed to ‘sign’ its support for the campaign and went on further to state that they would organize a forum against racism and accept the legislative proposal being forwarded by LUNDU for legal reform sanctioning against racism.

November 26th saw the execution of the Foro, Peru Contra El Racismo,⁹⁴ which included a panel with representatives from the commission, Amnesty International, CHIRAPAQ, CEDET, and LUNDU, took place within the Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores del Perú auditorium. The event was open to members of the public who emailed LUNDU in advance to reserve their spot. The objective of the event were to discuss the racism prevalent in Peruvian society and reflect on its social impacts, bring civil society anti-racism initiatives to the state’s direct attention in an effort to formulate through participatory means laws against discrimination and support the fight and racism.

⁹³ Congress of the Republic, Commission for Andean Amazonian, Afro-Peruvian peoples, Environment and Ecology.

⁹⁴ Forum, Peru Against Racism.

During the campaign, LUNDU was a part of several academic events on campuses all around Peru, which due to their location could be labeled ‘academic’ actions. However, Carrillo explained that the underlining message for the students, staff and faculty was still always about learning how to be active citizens and take action, become ‘politicized’ against racism and oppression. Campaigning also led LUNDU to host several panel events inviting people from diverse societal backgrounds to participate. On November 13th, 2009, LUNDU hosted, the Primer Encuentro Internacional de Estudios de Diáspora Africana en el Perú⁹⁵ to discuss

- 1.) promoting studies on African diaspora within universities and other academic institutions and spaces;
- 2.) recommendations being forwarded by Afro-Peruvian and other civil society groups to the state to eliminate racism;
- 3.) and developing strategies for the collection of information on the health, education, employment, and rights of Afro-Peruvians.

This conference style event which was coordinated by LUNDU with some support from CEDET and it featured international researchers, Luis Rocca, historian and co founder of the Afro-Peruvian museum in Zana; Rocío Muñoz, Programs Coordinator for LUNDU; Pastor Murillo, member of CERD of the United Nations (Colombia); Monica Carrillo, Executive President of LUNDU; Jhon Anton Sanchez, social researcher (Colombia); Milagros Carazas, professor and facilitator (Peru); M’ Bare N’gom Faye, professor for Morgan University (Senegal); miembro de CERD de la ONU (Colombia); Oswaldo Bilbao, Executive Director of the Centro de Desarrollo Étnico - CEDET (Perú); and Martin Benavides, education sociologist and Director and Principle Researcher for Grupo de Analisis para el Desarrollo⁹⁶ (GRADE). Participants concluded that

⁹⁵ The First International Meeting on African Diaspora Studies in Peru.

⁹⁶ Development Analysis Group.

Afro-Peruvians, their historical and contemporary initiatives do not exist within higher education and therefore are not surprisingly absent from public politics. Pastor Murillo explained that unlike Colombia, in Peru there are no public universities engaged in promoting Afro-Peruvian access into higher education and in the development of social justice oriented teaching. Carrillo highlighted that it is critical for bridges to be made between academia and universities' research and teaching in order for higher education to truly foster citizens equipped with practical and theoretical knowledge to address critical social issues, such as racism and discrimination, through policy creation and political action. Professor N'gom Faye, concluded that the university is the trampolín from which to re-educate society. He further pointed out that as things stand in Peru, there is a lack of information that challenges barriers to sustainable development. Panelists strongly emphasized the need for higher education curricula, pedagogies, and public politics in this field.

On August 26th, 2010, LUNDU hosted “Apúntate al Dialogo Contra el Racismo: Racismo, Sexismo, y Medios de Comunicación,”⁹⁷ which brought together representatives from El Comercio newspaper, CONCORTV, ANDA, Ministerio de la Mujer⁹⁸, Flora Tristan, and LUNDU.

⁹⁷ Description of this event was taken from the August 24th, 2010, *Apuntate Contra el Racismo* Blog entry.

⁹⁸ The Ministry of Women.

Figure 4.5: Poster for Apúntate al Dialogo Contra el Racismo: Racismo, Sexismo y Medios de Comunicación, Panel Discussion



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This public event, which was entirely organized by LUNDU asked panelists to identify effective strategies to combat racism and sexism. The panel raised questions regarding the racist news stories are published monthly and the role of ANDA and of the state in regulating racism and sexism in communication media by applying the Radio and Television Law.

The August dialogue on racism and the media led to a final roundtable, “El Papel de la Comunicación Masiva en la Lucha Por La Inclusión Social y Racial”⁹⁹, organized by LUNDU in collaboration with ANDA on July 20th, 2011.¹⁰⁰ This roundtable had as its objective the creation of a space in which to publicly debate racism and the responsibilities that communications media groups have to restrict racist content. Several publicists, psychoanalysts, sociologists, actors

⁹⁹ The Role of Mass Communication Media and the Fight for Social and Racial Inclusion.

¹⁰⁰ Description of this event was taken from the July 17th, 2011, *Apuntate Contra el Racismo* Blog entry.

and comedians participated, along with institutional representatives from ANDA, the Consejo de la Prensa Peruana¹⁰¹, CONCORTV, the Consejo Nacional de Autoregulacion Publicitaria¹⁰² (CONAR), the Defensoria del Pueblo¹⁰³, LUNDU, and the Sociedad Nacional de Radio y Television¹⁰⁴ (SNRTV). What was interesting about this roundtable was the deep discussion that unfolded regarding the need for the communications industry to not just defend, but promote the respect and dignity so intrinsic for all peoples through the construction and reproduction of messages that cultivate equality, respect and ethnic and gender diversity within Peru. It is important to note that all events were free admission and utilized the campaign logo and terminology in promotional materials. These events drew in people from different spheres and walks of life.

The process of including and drawing from the public's perspective for the creation and implementation of anti-racist initiatives was integrated throughout the campaign. Although few of LUNDU's campaign actions employed the terms pedagogical or educational within event titles or descriptions, within the educational sphere there were some explicitly 'pedagogical' activities created to mobilize children and youth to contemplate on how racism affects their everyday realities. Most noticeably on April 19th, 2011, during the final leg of the campaign, LUNDU launched a critical essay competition in honor of the International Year of Afro-descendants¹⁰⁵. The essay competition was open to students from universities and other higher education institutions both nationally and in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia to apply and encouraged to submit on the following topics: culture and identity, Racial Justice, Regional Integration, and the Afro-Peruvian Woman. On December 8th, 2011, LUNDU awarded prizes to

¹⁰¹ Peruvian Press Council.

¹⁰² Advisory Council for Advertising Regulation.

¹⁰³ Ombudsman.

¹⁰⁴ National Society of Radio and Television.

¹⁰⁵ Description of this event was taken from the April 18th, 2011, *Apuntate Contra el Racismo* Blog entry.

nine students from different regions. However, Carrillo noted that the topic of the Afro-Peruvian Woman received no entries.

In the Midst of *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Action

Ollis (2012) collapses “embodied learning” into the adult learning section in her book on “learning on the job” as a characteristic of the latter (pp. 48 & 51). Foley (1999), describes this “learning on the job” as “learning in social action” (p. 33) which I think is more relevant to the type of learning experienced by LUNDU leaders such as Castro and Carrillo, as they expressed learning through a combination of ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ processes. This merging of formal and informal processes resonates with Foley’s (1999) conception of activists’ learnings, which is “incidental to, or embedded in, the action taken by the activists” and usually “not articulated systematically at the time of the campaign or subsequently” precisely because of the highly emotion charged and political nature which “learning in the struggle” can take on (p. 39). I use “embodied learning” to describe learning experiences during the campaign because it refers to activists’ ways of knowing which include “the mind, body, emotions, and self, all of which contribute to their effective mastery of learning” (Ollis, 2012, p. 52). I feel this approach best illustrates the learning of Carrillo and Castro in relation to personal learning from highly emotive “micro-politics” (Foley, 1999; Alvarez, 1990) of gender and age relations, legal issues, and tensions between academic and activist discourses that ensured the campaign’s survival. It is also important to note that as the “whole person” (Foley, 1999, p. 40) experiences the micro-politics of activist work and spur of the moment occurrences that draw upon all of their senses and require critical thinking, a process of re-conscientization and reflexivity occurs. This prompts a personal self-reflexive ‘re-education’ of militant and de-colonizing understandings illustrative of constant motion within the self as theorized by Zambrana-Ortiz (2011).

As Foley (1999) explains in his case studies, the “direct action” phases of campaigns create “unforeseen difficulties” related to the “intensity and stress generated by the campaign” (p. 33). Carrillo highlighted, that LUNDU tried to plan as much as possible in relation to the campaign and foresee obstacles. Yet, considering Peru’s political and social instability, she and other LUNDU staff working on the campaign at the time, tried to prepare themselves for ‘radical’ shifts in the campaign’s vision. Yet, the quick changing nature of activist work is precisely what creates the need and organic process of “rapid” (Ollis, 2012, p. 119) embodied learning.

Carrillo organically communicated most of her personal learning in relation to gender, age and formal-informal learning processes, despite my not asking questions on the latter aside from a broad inquiry into her experiences as a female leader of an Afro-Peruvian organization. Yet her identity as a young woman holding the role of Executive President of LUNDU and leading a highly politicized campaign exacerbated elements of other micro-politics creating tension not just for herself, but also for the organization as a unit. Thus in the interviews with Castro and Carrillo, when I asked about differences between their perspectives on the campaign and those expressed by other Afro and non-Afro activists, academics and professionals, discussions of Carrillo’s gender and age factored into to their personal and pedagogical construction of the micro-politics. Carrillo’s understanding of the need for LUNDU to exist and conduct anti-racist work began from her standpoint as a racialized marked woman. The campaign process informed her knowledge of the intricate, challenging and violent reality of conducting work for anti-racist change, even at times, amongst her own ‘Afro-Peruvian’ people.

Challenging Patriarchy

LUNDU has always been led by women, with its original founder Mónica Carrillo, still serving as Executive President. Nonetheless, although Carrillo began leading LUNDU’s work

from a personal understanding of the marginalized reality of women, especially Afro-Peruvian women in Peruvian society, the campaign work allowed her to experience the assumptions, stereotypes, barriers and limits placed on women who are enacting their democratic citizen rights and working for political change within public and official arenas. For instance, the campaign received further opposition because a black *woman* led it. On this Castro observed that, “*Empecemos con que mucha gente no quería ver a Mónica, una mujer y Afroperuana, tan visible en los foros públicos...*” [Let’s begin with many people didn’t want to see a woman, and an Afro-Peruvian on top of that, so visible in public forums...].

Carrillo explained that as the campaign began to gain momentum and incite highly polarized reactions from the Peruvian public, she had to quickly learn ways with which to deal with the onslaught of stereotypes and assumptions that Peruvian society had normalized about women,

por ejemplo lo de las emociones... que por ejemplo, ... ante un debate la gente espera que te... o te pongas nerviosa, o llores, o te exaltes, todas aquellas cosas que son normales y expresiones de cualquier ser humano pero están muy estereotipadas en una mujer, no?

[For example, emotions... for example, ... before a debate people expect that you... will get nervous... or cry, or become agitated, all of which are normal human expressions but that are stereotyped in relation to women, right?]

First in developing the concept of the campaign and later during the execution of the campaign actions, Carrillo shared coming to terms with the realization that she would have to push harder, past many more barriers than for example her friend and fellow Afro-Peruvian leader Bilbao from CEDET, in order for the campaign to be taken seriously in any arena. She noted:

... siempre ellos están esperando, si eres mujer además eres bruta, si eres Afro, no estás preparada, si eres joven, entonces mucho menos, son varias dimensiones que yo siento que he tenido que cumplir para que la propuesta que llevo hacia adelante haya tenido un mediano éxito político, no?

[... they are always waiting, if you are a woman you are additionally stupid, if you are Afro, you are not prepared, if you are young, then even less, they are various dimensions which I feel that I have had to meet for the proposal which I carry forward to have some sort of political success, right?]

As the campaign received more attention and more people came to learn about its direct and highly political anti-racist objectives, Carrillo was pushed into the role of being the ‘face’ for the

campaign. She explained realizing how unfathomable it was for many, including some Afro-Peruvian men, to accept a very young, Afro-Peruvian woman, decrying racism, exercising her civic rights so publicly and demanding inclusion into white male dominated spaces of politics:

eso es algo muy de género... [también] de la diferencia de edades. ... cuando yo comencé a viajar y a trabajar, yo tenía 21 años, entonces tienes a los patriarcas que tienen más de 50, entonces ellos no esperan dentro del propio movimiento Afro de que una mujer, joven además, con mucho que aprender, ... pueda estar sentada al menos en una relación de pares con ellos.

[that is something very much about gender... [also] about the difference in ages. ... when I began to travel and work, I was 21 years old, you have the patriarchs which are over 50, so they don't expect even within the Afro movement that a woman, a young one at that, with a lot to learn, ... could be sitting across from them at the same table relating as peers.]

Carrillo's experience resonates with what Ahmed (2009) theorizes how bodies of color are "encountered as being negative" before any words are spoken or actions are taken (p. 48).

Ahmed highlights, that "to speak out as black woman is then to confirm your position as the cause of tension" (p. 49).

Carrillo highlighted that emotional processes, internalized frustration, impacted the campaign, yet few people made the connection between the 'personal' and the 'political':

es interesante cuando en temas como estas [referring to interviews] situaciones la gente de pregunta como salió todo pero no te preguntan como estas.... no se es una cosa quizás de Latinoamérica, uno es más expresivo, uno muestra, uno manifiesta, pero no necesariamente implica de que se genere una relación con el interés de conocer a la persona que está adentro de la persona que hace acciones afuera.

[it's interesting when in situations such as these (referring to interviews), people ask how everything turned out, but they don't ask you how you are doing. ... I don't know maybe it's a Latin America thing, one is more expressive, one shows, one manifests, but this doesn't necessarily imply that a relation with interest to get to know who the person is inside the person who takes external actions.]

Carrillo acknowledged being hyper aware during and after the campaign, but coming to a specific point of realization in the midst of the *El Negro Mama* controversy, of the precarious line she was walking throughout her activist efforts. According to Carrillo, she and other LUNDU activists ran the risk of becoming victims of their own rage,

Si la mayoría de la gente te trate de una manera despectiva, tu actitud también es a la defensiva porque tu ya estas esperando en qué momento van decirte alguna cosa o tratarte de alguna manera ofensiva. Y te puedes volver a ser una persona muy molesta, agresiva también, es una respuesta a la violencia que primero llega hacia ti.

[If the majority of the people treat you despectively, you're attitude is also on the defensive because you are waiting for the moment when they will say something to you or treat you in an

offensively. And you can turn into a very angry person, as well as aggressive, it's a response to the violence that first affects you.]

Carrillo and I discussed this engagement with one's emotions. We agreed that as racialized marked bodies we are constantly faced with "points" (Ahmed, 2009) of racism, of marginalization, often times when we are not even able to properly wrap our minds around our experiences and question our own rationalities. According to Ahmed, anger and rage become consuming when black women internalize the colonialist need for them to "let go of their anger" so that men (white and of color) and white women can move on with nationbuilding projects (p. 49). She highlights that "political work becomes harder when your feelings become proximate to their fantasy" (p. 50).

hooks (1995), Lorde (1984), and Ahmed (2009) are racialized marked theorists who have shared their encounters with rage and how they have been able to empower themselves so that rage will serve them. Ahmed states, "anger is creative, and it gives us room to do other things. And nor is it our duty; I am not obliged to keep hitting that wall, sometimes I will, and sometimes I won't" (p. 51). Carrillo cited numerous examples of being criticized, stereotyped, and presented as 'villain' for her 'black woman anger'. Yet, she kept on talking. LUNDU kept working through the emotional battles, taking decisions, and making society listen. Ahmed emphasizes that in confronting and using rage for transformation, choices have to be made about when and where to make points.

This led to her having to learn physical tactics with which to channel her anger, frustration and pain. Carrillo shared with me her learning of 'coping tactics', "*aprendí que hay que tener siempre un equilibrio entre la vida política, la vida artística, y la vida personal*" [I learned that we always have to have a balance between political life, artistic life, and personal life]. There is power in deciding where one should direct their rage and how. Yet, whatever decision is taken will always be critiqued. Such is the burden for racialized marked peoples; one

is too radical or not radical enough, one is being too personal or too politically correct, one is being too focused on ones' own community or one is too focused on appeasing white people, etc. It is not a new thing for racialized marked people to judge each other and themselves the hardest. We can see these struggles in the works of Du Bois, Langston Hughes, Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, hooks, Lorde, Anzaldúa, Moraga, and Ahmed, for instance. However, Carrillo underlined her firm decision to create her identity as an artist in order to support her identity as a leader for socio-political change. I see this strategy grounded in personal well-being and a strong democratic political discipline. She candidly shared with me a poem in which the latter was vibrantly illustrated. However, one can also see it in some of her publicly available works. Poetry, spoken word and music affirm the continual development of solidarity and space creation between oneself and our communities, with and for ourselves and against the oppressors. For Carrillo her art is her outlet and her opportunity to focus on herself as a woman and Afro-Peruvian; an opportunity to be as radical and militant as a panther as she may be feeling is necessary for transformation. It is the counter-balance to her political work where she balances the personal with the greater need of democratic inclusion and spaces for integration versus segregation.

Carrillo and Castro shared realizing that although politics and in turn activist action, even that deriving from within the Afro-Peruvian 'movement', was often filled with machismo, sexism, and discrimination, that did not mean that they too could act without respecting processes and hierarchies of critical experience: "*Ahora, eso no implica que no hay que respetar procesos, hasta jerarquías, y por algo hay gente que tiene muchos más años de experiencia y de lucha*" [Now, that doesn't imply that we do not have to respect processes, even hierarchies, and its for something that there are people who have many more years of experiences and struggle].

To teach respect, they had to learn to work from a place of respect, which did not mean accepting the status quo of oppression nor setting out to challenge other's counter-methods, but rather addressing everyone and their experience from a vantage point of continual learning. Emotions are understood by Carrillo as highly undervalued by educators and by Latin American society. However, after focusing on the origins of her emotions and their relation to certain actions, she was able to gain greater insight into her thought and reaction processes. She was also able to use her emotions strategically to develop patience to ground herself and develop the tactical patience and focus to teach 'coping' and 'survival' mechanisms to other LUNDU members, but also to explain to politicians how social justice oriented social transformation can begin with them. She observed, "*Y el éxito de la incidencia publica con los decisores políticos ha sido eso porque nosotros nos hemos reunidos con muchísimos políticos que decían "negrita linda" y no sé cuánto, entonces tener la paciencia, esta vocación de explicar...*" [And the success of public incidence with the political decision-makers has been because we have met with many politicians who said, "gorgeous little Black girl", so having the patience, this dedication to explaining...].

Finally, Carrillo and Castro observed that they lacked other campaign models and mentors within the context of Peru from which to take direction from and learn from. The arena of Afro-Peruvian organizations has seen its share of cultural leaders. However, few leaders since the time of the cimarrones have come out to publicly confront racism. It was palpable throughout my interview with Carrillo that although she was proud of all of her work with LUNDU, including the challenging moments, she did not set out to take on the 'mentor role'. Rather, she wished she had been able to benefit from knowing other Afro-Peruvian female leaders working publicly for political aims.

Tensions Between Professional Academic/ Non-Academic and Activist Perspectives

As Castro and Carrillo both confided, LUNDU was an anomaly because of its female leadership and ‘public’ campaigning. These two aspects, positioned LUNDU to experience specific tensions between their perspectives and strategies to counter racism and those of other Afro-descendant and non-Afro organizational academic/ non-academic professional leaders. While in Peru I experienced several heated debates amongst Afro-descendants over the contemporary root causes of racism, and surprisingly even over the question of whether racism should be publicly countered or acknowledged.¹⁰⁶ The tensions experienced by LUNDU and the conversations which I experienced highlight how charting activist pedagogy and learning from it, requires delving much deeper than Foley’s (1999) activist and academic/ non-Academic professional divide, into an analysis that probes into the desire and accumulation of privilege, internalized colonialism, the fear of retribution and the critical roles of intellectuals, academics, and professionals.

When I asked Carrillo what she thought of Cheche Campos’ argument that Afro-Peruvian activists should steer clear of public forums and avoid the struggle against racism in favour of a ‘pro’ multiculturalism campaign, she stated that to discuss how it may not be worth to counter racism is inconsiderate, self disrespectful, and a form of re-violating any person who was a victim of racist attitudes and actions. Carrillo discussed how there are ‘neoracist’ tendencies

¹⁰⁶ A case in point being Professor Henry Gates’ 2011 PBS documentary series, *Black in Latin America* and the episode, *Mexico and Peru: The Black Grandma in the Closet*¹⁰⁶, where re-owned professor and one of the original founders of the beginning of the Afro-Peruvian movement and INAPE in Peru, Jose “Cheche” Campos. Campos (at the time he was dean of social sciences and humanities at the Universidad Nacional de Educacion Enrique Guzman y Valle, La Cantuta) shares with Gates, that in a free country the fight is not whether you are against racist television shows or not; the more attention you give to racism and the more it grows. He also shared that because Afro-Peruvians are no longer ‘invisible’ he believes it is no longer an issue about finding Africa, it is an issue about finding Peru, but its depth is about finding integration. For Campos the future of Blacks is multiculturalism and he believes, that the Black organizations have to worry more about other aspects than waste energy on the fight against discrimination and racism, the fight for development and culture is a bigger fight that in the long run brings better results. According to Campos, Obama would not have been able to take on the presidency if he had not been above the issues of color, because if you are obsessed with color, you are only the president of the Black people.

which try to establish that racism does not exist, because there is no such biological thing as ‘race’, therefore anyone that publicly counters racism is promoting the ‘false’ idea that races are real and is being counter-productive to attempts at national unity. However for those like her and historian Carlos Aguirre¹⁰⁷, race is beyond biological reasoning, it exists within people, thought processes and responses as a psychological and social construction. In regards to different ‘academic’ or ‘professional’ approaches to race and racism such as that of Cheche Campos, Carrillo stated:

Cheche Campos también ha cambiado mucho. Él fue uno de los primeros fundadores de uno de los primeros movimientos Afros pero ahora él dice contextualmente que no hay racismo. Y está siendo muy criticado por mucha gente. El dice que hay que hablar de la integración y apostar por el país, pero eso se me hace una tontería que más bien perjudica procesos que nosotros estamos consiguiendo. Claro una persona con autoridad se sienta y dice cosas y eso puede ser mal-utilizado por la gente racista porque dicen, “... si él lo dice entonces ustedes no tienen validez” y eso es una cosa bastante seria.

[Cheche Campos has changed a lot. He was one of the first founders of one of the first Afro movements but now he is saying that we need to talk about integration and strive for the country, but this seems like stupidity to me that actually endangers the processes which we are accomplishing. Clearly, a person with authority sits and says things and this can be negatively used by racist peoples because they can say, “... if he is saying that then what you’re saying has no validity” and that is something very serious.]

Carrillo emphasized that as an Afro-Peruvian man in a respected academic position with social power, Professor Campos is putting at risk the efforts of activists seeking political change.

Carrillo elaborated throughout the interview, that although there is much to admire about the initiatives of Afro-Americans in the United States, Afro-Peruvians cannot in all instances compare their case with that of Afro-Americans. Afro-Americans comprised an “African American freedom movement” that achieved affirmative action, fought back against racism (often resulting in the loss of lives) and continue to form part of campaigns that push for political reform (Joseph, p. 2). US President Obama’s ability to achieve the presidency was a result of all of these processes, not just a decision to be colorblind and nor Western multiculturalism.

¹⁰⁷ Carlos Aguirre is a social historian specializing in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Peru and Latin America.; he has written extensively about slavery, abolition, crime, and punishment, and currently holds a Professorship within the Department of History at the University of Oregon.

Furthermore the gains achieved by Afro-Americans in the US were actually the result of initiatives carried out by several social movement groups in the states during the late sixties and seventies including the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power movement, whose relations were often fraught with variant conceptual and methodological perspectives. And, they were also gains established with the activism of Black Power era feminists which injected the overall freedom movement with discourses of gender, anti-sexism, and anti-racism as grounded in the experiences of women (Springer, 2006, p. 118).

I am unsure of the precise trajectory Campos' perspective shifts have taken or the reason behind them, but what is certain is that he has amassed substantial levels of socio-political respect, academic power and privilege. hooks (1995) theorizes that when undergoing progressive acquisition of such power and privilege, people of color often eventually become the "gatekeepers, mediating between the racist white power structure and the larger mass of Black folks" (p. 226) and the "primary representations of the insistence that the American dream is intact, that it can be fulfilled" (p. 178). When Carrillo speaks about Campos' negative impact on more radical Afro-Peruvian activist efforts, she is speaking to the importance of hooks' point that those who "speak, write, and act in other ways from privileged-class locations must self-interrogate constantly so that [they] do not unwittingly become complicit in maintaining existing exploitative and oppressive structures" (p. 183). To politically counter critiques of Black intellectuals, academics and professionals as "traitors", hooks calls for Black critical thinkers to be "accountable" at all times (p. 236).

There are palpable possible correlations between the interruptions to patriarchy which LUNDU posed, their high public visibility as an Afro-Peruvian organization led by a Black woman, and also the tensions of differing approaches to anti-racism with Afro-Peruvian male

activists and academic/ non-academic professionals. Although I did not interrogate the opinions of Afro-Peruvian men towards Carrillo, and most I spoke with seemed to be very aware of the prevalent culture of sexism in Peru and expressed including anti-sexism into their agendas, it is important to highlight the constantly strenuous positions which women of color, especially Black women inhabit when speaking and acting out against the dominant status quos. hooks (1995) reminds us of how Black male academics (although this applies to men in academia more broadly as well) and intellectuals can “play lip service to a critique of sexism in their work” but not do anything to change their sexist habits, nor take action behind the leadership of a Black female (p. 64).

Castro and Carrillo both discussed extensively with me their collaborations with other organizations such as CEDET, expressing gratitude for all of the organizing support that they got for certain events during the initial phases of the campaign really strengthened the message of working together for ‘positive’ action ‘against racism’. It was pivotal to have distinct Afro-Peruvian organizations and perspectives working together to write a formal declaration denouncing racism in the communication media industry. However, Castro identified a point when other organizations expressed feeling that LUNDU was making the fight too ‘personal’. As discussed previously, many of these hesitations to engage emotions and the personal, may be that within patriarchal societies, they connote notions of womanhood and a supposed ‘inferiority’ (hooks, 1995). These often entrenched, internalized and unconsciously manifested notions are grounded in a masculinist/ machista denial of women’s intellectualness, politicization and militancy. Ahmed (2009) states that according to the latter, “The Black woman isn’t a real scholar, she is motivated by ideology. The Black woman is angry. She occupies the moral high ground” (p. 50).

Nonetheless, as an organization LUNDU had to reflect on this claim of making the campaign ‘too personal’. Foley (2012) highlights that critical reflection processes amongst activists tend to demonstrate that critical social justice learning in action is often and individually contextually shaped, and thus to deny the latter would be to deny the complexity of activist work. The struggle against racist media and racist insults/ actions was inevitably personal to a high degree, as it was experiential. It was the first time that emotions, specifically pain caused by racist insults, were being exposed so publicly and that there was such a public opposition to racism on behalf of Afro-Peruvians. The question of how to ‘deal’ with racism kept reappearing and in the face of mounting public criticism, several of the other organizations wanted to pause in order to discuss if going about it so publicly was the best method. CEDET voiced specific concern about LUNDU’s growing public and legal challenge to *Frecuencia Latina* and *El Negro Mama*. Castro observed that most discussions amongst Afro-Peruvian organizations were getting caught up in the attempt to define what was racism in a way that captured everyone’s political and personal perspectives- a daunting and time consuming task. Castro stated that it was during this time that LUNDU realized that the battle against *Frecuencia Latina* and *El Negro Mama* could not be abandoned. Only in taking down such a racist television behemoth, would spaces exist in the future where social justice tensions could be discussed and power re-shifted in agonistically democratic formats. If such an extremely racist character was allowed to remain, it would just indicate to the greater Peruvian public that social justice was defensible as long as it did not mean major interruptions to the status quo, agendas and practices of hegemonic groups. It would also support claims that insulting or violating people was permissible under claims of humor and entertainment. In walking away from such a battle, LUNDU would have demonstrated an internalized acceptance of the public’s categorization of Afro-Peruvian activist

actions as irrational, nuisance, and useless; and moreso of Black female leadership as insane and unstable. Castro and Carrillo accepted that in this way the struggle was personal, but they felt that all Afro-Peruvians had so much to lose, that they just had to push through the adversity, even if it meant losing support for the time being from other Afro-Peruvian organizations. Castro elaborated that behind closed doors and as an Afro-Peruvian organization it is necessary to reflect on racism, its meaning, origins, contemporary expressions, strategies to counter it, etc., but the system of societal oppression cannot be fought, nor can ministry representatives be convinced that change is imminent, with just ‘reflections’. Carrillo and Castro both expressed the perspective that reflection is a “continual interweaving of thinking and doing” and as reflective practitioners they have to “[reflect] on the understandings that have been implicit in [their] action, which [they] surface, [criticize, restructure, and embody] in future action (Schon, 1983; as cited in Ash in Clayton, 2009, p. 27).

Carrillo proceeded to share her appreciation for the work of other Afro-Peruvian organizations. Notwithstanding, she observed that LUNDU will continue dedicating itself publicly to the fight against racism and sexism within political and public mass foras while also engaging ‘creative artistic’ strategies. However, the focus remains on creating technical proposals:

Yo creo que hay un trabajo importante que se ha hecho sobre los Afroperuanos de las organizaciones por el hecho de tratar de introducir el tema de la identidad Afroperuana... ese es un trabajo en todas las organizaciones y particularmente en las organizaciones que tienen un área de capacitación de la identidad... El problema como digo es que hay otro paso que se tiene que dar, que pregunta, “ como esta identidad me hace un herramienta, ósea como convierto mi Afro identidad en una identidad política para la inserción por ejemplo en un partió político, para acceder al poder, para cambiar una ley, para generar una nueva paradigma estética?” Esa parte es la que aun no se avanza en el Perú y que no es parte de la agenda. Entonces, como el mundo va avanzando mucho más rápido del movimiento, entonces el movimiento Afroperuano no ha desarrollado las capacidades para poder tener por ejemplo propuestas técnicas que encajen con lo que la sociedad también necesita.

[I think that there is important work that has been done on Afro-Peruvians from organizations with the purpose of introducing the topic of Afro-Peruvian identity as such, ... this is work that is going on in all of the organizations and particularly in organizations that have a specific area for fostering identity work... The problem is that there is another step that has to be taken that asks,

“how can this identity create a tool for me, how can I convert my Afro identity into a political identity for insertion into for example a political party, to access power, to change laws, to generate a new esthetic paradigm?” That part is what is still not advancing in Peru and is not part of the agenda. So, as the world advances much faster than the movement, so the Afro-Peruvian movement has not developed the capacities to be able to have for example the technical proposals that would fit with what the society needs.]

For Carrillo, Afro-Peruvian organizations have to move beyond the identity question to strategize how to use all of this knowledge derived from work on Afro-Peruvian culture and identity to make strategic political decisions and take action. She added that there needs to be more shifts and exchanges between the ‘informal’ arena of cultural, artistic and academic practice and that of the ‘formally’ political, vis-à-vis such examples as campaigning. The Afro-Peruvian ‘movement’ needs to be more in line with the technical and political demands of the ‘developing’ world in order to have a say in the re-conceptualization and re-articulation of this ‘development’ that impacts Afro-Peruvians on various levels often as passivated subjects.

El Negro Mama: Legal Opposition to Television Media Racism

LUNDU launched its highly publicized legal actions against the Frecuencia Latina television show, *El Especial del Humor* and its character *El Negro Mama*. It also supported the request of Indigenous organizations for the removal of the character *la Paisana Jacinta*. Castro shared with me, that after the 2009 close of the campaign, LUNDU paused its activities until the March 2010 public proclamation against *El Negro Mama*. During this time, LUNDU reflected on its campaign accomplishments, mistakes, lack of clarity, and actions they should take including any consequential risks. It was agreed that with such a campaign as *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* whose objective it was to oppose racism across all societal channels, a racist character like that of *El Negro Mama*, could not go unchallenged. LUNDU proceeded with the plea against Frecuencia Latina to remove the character from the air. Although the character was temporarily removed from the show (the character of *Paisana Jacinta* was not removed, it was revived within months due to massive public request according to Jorge Benavides, the comedian who

portrays the characters and Frecuencia Latina, the network on which his show airs. However, on November 29th, 2010, the Tribunal de Ética de la Sociedad Nacional del Radio y Televisión (SNRTV) established the resolution that Frecuencia Latina owed an apology to LUNDU and Afro-Peruvians for allowing the character *El Negro Mama* to portray racist content. However, the apology was according to Carrillo dismissive. LUNDU continued its activist work against the *El Negro Mama* character and other such racist media after the close of the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign close with the same fervency. Slow in coming, but nonetheless precedent-setting, in 2013 the Peruvian state agreed the *El Negro Mama* character is racist. On August 26th, 2013, the Peruvian Ministry of Transportation and Communications agreed with LUNDU's critiques and announced that it was fining Frecuencia Latina \$27, 000 for failing to apologize to Afro-Peruvians according to the mandates of the Tribunal.¹⁰⁸

The public legal action against *El Negro Mama* blasted the campaign into its most 'visible' phase according to Castro. Although up until this point LUNDU was striving not to be just another antagonistic activist group deploying public critiques, it could not avoid being labelled as such during the controversy surrounding *El Negro Mama*. The campaign hit Peruvian society where it hurt the most, its 'normalized' racist popular culture and clientelistic practices, undoubtedly destabilizing the everyday 'norm' and rhetoric of justice and multiculturalism. Apart from the character and TV show, LUNDU posed a challenge for Frecuencia Latina's investment networks. LUNDU's blog, along with the blogs of all national newspapers and magazines that published articles on the controversy were indicative of these violent

¹⁰⁸ This information was taken from Carrillo, K. J. (September 5, 2013). Peru's 'El Negro Mama' TV station penalized. New York Amsterdam News, retrieved from <http://amsterdamnews.com/news/2013/sep/05/perus-el-negro-mama-tv-station-penalized/>; (August 28, 2013). Frecuencia Latin: Sancionan por personaje del 'Negro Mama'. LaRepublica.pe/ *Ocio*, retrieved from <http://www.larepublica.pe/28-08-2013/sancionan-a-frecuencia-latina-por-personaje-de-el-negro-mama>; NetJoven: sin limites, retrieved from <http://www.netjoven.pe/espectaculos/Negro-Mama>

micropolitics. Scrolling back through the blog entries related to *El Negro Mama* on the campaign site, one can read extremely derogatory, sexist, violent, and racist comments revealing of the ‘internally colonized’ and Peruvian normative mindset. These comments targeted Carrillo personally and LUNDU’s work, often even reaching the status of ‘threats’. The following are examples of these comments:¹⁰⁹

Deberían de entender el concepto del arte... ya que ustedes mismos están llevando “sin querer” el racismo otra vez a la labia y al ambiente social [sic]...
[You should understand the concept of art... since you are the ones stirring up “without meaning to” racism in our society once again...]

El anti-racismo es la nueva forma de racismo.
[Anti-racism is the new form of racism.]

Como se les ocurre... hacer tremenda cojudes... de hacer que retiren al personaje del el Negro Mama... no saben cómo los Odios [sic]...
[How can you dare... do such a stupid thing... to force the removal of the El Negro Mama character... you don’t know how much I hate you...]

... es mas tiren sus teles y vallan a vivir al bosque para que no ofendan a nadie... Les recuerdo que su página en cierto sentido es racista también... toda la pagina habla solo de Afro-Peruanos... nada malo en ello... pero no promueven en nada la integración... solo se quejan y se quejan..., y discriminan... se comienza por casa no creen?
[... better yet throw out your televisions and go live in the forest so that you don’t offend anybody... I remind you that your website is in a way also racist... the entire page talks solely about Afro-Peruvians... nothing wrong about that... but you don’t promote integration at all... you just complain and complain..., and discrimination... it starts at home don’t you think?]

Carrillo noted the threats which she and LUNDU received were unprecedented. They could not have predicted they would lead to a financial institutional crisis related to the need to pay for additional security and legal support,

... durante la campaña, vino una crisis institucional... los riegos que tuvimos con la campaña nos desbordo. Tuvimos que invertir mucho más en temas de seguridad, en cámaras de seguridad y yo misma tuve que tener guardaespaldas por dos años... [durante ese periodo hubieron] dos procesos [legales que el estado abrió] en mi favor... tuvimos que invertir mucho en los temas legales.

[... during the campaign, there came an institutional crisis... the risks which we had with the campaign threw us off track. We had to invest much more into security, in security cameras and I myself had to have security guards for two years... [during that period there were] two processes [legal, that were opened] in my favour... we had to invest a lot of money into legal issues.]

Yet, these security and legal related financial challenges were utilized for self and institutional empowerment. Castro and Carrillo stated that drawing the campaign to a close in 2011 did not

¹⁰⁹ These comments were taken from public comments to the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Blog postings of April 8th, 2010 and April 14th, 2010.

mean that their fight against racist programming such as *Especial del Humor* and the character of *El Negro Mama*, was over. Rather, it meant that LUNDU was going to take a period to critically analyze the impact of the campaign and results from legal action, to evaluate if taking such a public stance against such a popular media production was constructive in the fight against racism, to re-strengthen organizational capacities, and to re-focus the aims of LUNDU's pedagogical and political anti-racist work. Carrillo summarized,

[Aprovechamos] el momento para hacer una revisualización institucional y centrarnos más en el tema comunicacional [y tuvimos] que reducir nuestro equipo para volver a crecer de otra manera y fortalecer mas el tema de humanidades digitales y el tema comunicativo.
[We took advantage] of the moment to do an institutional revisualization and centre ourselves more on the communications aspect [and had] to reduce our team to be grow in a different way and strengthen more the focus on digital humanities and the communications aspect.]

Despite not having reached the specific desired outcomes during the 2009-2011 course of the campaign, the campaign drew to a close and entered its nearly two year period of reflection, internal re-organization and private programming before once again launching any major public initiatives in 2013. It was during this much needed time that LUNDU received some of the 'social justice based change results' it had been hoping for.

The Achievement of Transformative 'Spaces': A Pedagogy of Activism

In this final section I attempt to illustrate the means through which LUNDU leveraged political power to conceive spaces for greater visibility, participatory politics and civic engagement. Though the trajectory of the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign was an often times, personally and collectively arduous one for LUNDU leaders and staff, it created 'social' and 'political' spaces unimagined before in Peru. Discussion of what LUNDU considers direct campaign 'accomplishments' included an assessment of publicly spotlighting racism in Peru, direct impact on legal reform, the establishment of strategic alliances, and the construction of a platform for new critical social justice socio-political campaigns. Questions were raised regarding what the campaign had achieved with its activism and what public spaces it created for

dialogue and engagement. Additional questions raised touched on questions around activism and pedagogy, advocacy, alliance building, and how the campaign has impacted LUNDU's current and prospective projects.

Spotlighting Racism: Virtual and Physical Spaces

With *Apúntate Contra el Racismo*, LUNDU placed a spotlight on the 'existence' and 'reality' of racism in Peru. The campaign opened up the possibility for racism to both play out and be discussed in informal and formal spaces through the creation of the interactive campaign blog and overall strong online presence, industry roundtables, and professional-academic conferences.

I characterize 'informal' spaces as those virtual platforms of the campaign which LUNDU established, such as the blog, interactive participation on campaign news and events, the *Observatorio Afroperuano* website, the public notebook signings and ultimately the peaceful protests in parks and high traffic zones. Thanks to the blog and LUNDU's large online presence through media news coverages, national and international publics were able to see normalized and internalized racist attitudes within Peruvians, and what the anti-racism struggle entails. Many comments uphold Golash-Boza's (2010) claim of how certain rhetorics have been deployed by Peruvians to decry racism in Lima since the 1990s:

claiming they are not racist because they have a multiracial family; claiming they are not racist because they have a multiracial circle of friends; insisting that propagating negative cultural stereotypes about Blacks and Indians is not racist, but a description of reality; and defining racism as individual acts of bigotry in which they do not engage. (p. 319)

However, the blog also allowed LUNDU and national and international publics to witness the arduously slow, yet valuable process of public education. Comments on the campaign's blog and websites reporting on the campaign began to reveal changing public attitudes. For instance, a

gradual growing consciousness of ethnic-racial discrimination and sexism can be observed on La Republica's¹¹⁰ website in relation to the struggle against Frecuencia Latina,

Mk escribe:

Ahora todo lo ven racismo, discriminación, era solo un personaje de comedia y nada mas..[sic] que exageración, como si no hubiese otras cosas más graves.

[Now everything is seen as racism, discrimination, it was just a comedic personality and nothing else..[sic] what an exaggeration, as if there weren't other more grave issues.]

CP escribe:

Son muy lamentables varios de los comentarios expuestos. El bajísimo nivel de cultura de la gran mayoría de la población justifican que con el fin de hacer reír (particularmente no me hace porque no lo veo) tomen como objeto un tipo de persona de determinada etnia para mofarse de ella, denigrarla y finalmente subvalorarla. Acaso no hay tantos comediantes de otros países que cumplen el mismo fin sin recurrir a este método?

[It's lamentable to see the expressed comments. The low level of culture of the majority of the population justifies that with the objective of making others laugh (particularly not for me because I don't see it) people of a certain ethnicity are taken as the butt of jokes, denigrating them, treating them as inferior. Are there not tons of comedians in other countries that accomplish the same without relying on the same method?]

Irma escribe:

El personaje, grotesco y racista, tendría que desaparecer. Pensemos en la generación de niños y niñas que se están "formando" en prejuicios como los que inculca el personaje.

[The personality, grotesque and racist, has to disappear. Let's think about the generation of boys and girls that are being "formed" amongst prejudices such as those that the personality espouses.]

Chemo escribe:

Me gustaría saber, con toda sinceridad, que opinan los amigos afroperuanos al respecto. ¿Todos se sienten ofendidos? ¿O hay algunos que tienen correa más larga y menos complejos y se ríen de las exageraciones y los chistes simplones pero muchas veces graciosos de este personaje, el negro Mama.

[I would like to know, with total sincerity, what the opinions of our Afro-Peruvian friends. Do you all feel offended? Or are there some of you that have a longer belt and are less complicated and laugh at exaggerations and simple yet often hilarious jokes of this personality, el Negro Mama?]

The public notebook signings and peaceful protests revealed the raw reality to Peruvians, especially the 'privileged white criollos', that their fellow citizens were experiencing racism and oppression. When I asked Monica if firstly she identified herself as an 'educator' and how she felt about the term 'activist pedagogy' she replied that running the campaign became a daily 'pedagogical project'. Every public encounter turned into an opportunity to discuss oppression and racism. She came to understand and teach her fellow LUNDU staff and volunteers that the

¹¹⁰ La Republica (2013, August 28). Frecuencia Latina: Sancionan por personaje del 'Negro Mama'. Retrieved from <http://www.larepublica.pe/28-08-2013/sancionan-a-frecuencia-latina-por-personaje-de-el-negro-mama>

‘educational’ part was rooted in the process of dialogue, of sharing experiences, of explaining what social justice action and signing up against forms of discrimination such as racism was all about. She further pointed out that “... *y yo lo veía como un labor pedagógico de explicar porque...*” [... I saw it as a pedagogical labour of explaining why...]. Hence leading a social justice campaign taught skills with which to confront oppression, and teach about it: “*puede ser un activismo confrontacional, pero luego de la confrontación que hay veces si es necesaria, creo en el crear espacios para la enseñanza, para educar, para explicar el ‘porque’*” [it can be a confrontational activism, but after the confrontation that sometimes is necessary, I think that creating spaces for teaching, for education, for explaining the ‘why’]. Note that the praxis of combining levels of direct confrontation and teaching was a ‘learning’ for LUNDU, but also revelatory of the ‘grounded’ and ‘practical’ way in which activist pedagogy approaches resistance as an opportunity for analytical and active transformative learning.

In contradistinction, formal spaces are those which directly engaged academics and non-academic professionals and ministry officials and were related to meetings aiming for institutional and legal reforms. Carrillo noted the importance of, “*procesos que denotan que hay una continuidad en los espacios públicos y de relacionamiento político*” [processes that denote that there is a continuity between public and political spaces]. Carrillo underscored that she had come to understand campaigning as enriching the concept of how ‘formal’ spaces/ processes of politics are understood. Campaigning like citizenship, is not just about the right to cast voting ballots and the spaces in which to do so, but all of the ‘necessary formalities’ leading up to it. As Ruitenbergh (2009) highlights, it is about knowing how to combine the process of campaigning which can contribute to the formation of viewpoints and other ‘formalities’ with the actual mechanisms of politics, such as law reform, voting, and census participation.

Carrillo shared that the combination of passion driven activism, publishing for the masses and academia, and then utilizing the knowledge, support and experience gained to act politically is the critical juncture of change and what is so pivotal of both ‘informal’ and ‘formal’ spaces. However, it is important to keep a realistic grasp on organizational capacities and the time required for change to occur within unstable societies such as Peru. Castro and Carrillo both shared that they would have loved to have the resources and time to publish more academic books. However due to unexpected resource constraints, they were only able to publish in formats such as magazines and booklets. Nonetheless, the latter had a positive impact. The booklets reached diverse audiences from rural communities to youth, to industry and ministry officials who accessed the materials at meetings. Carrillo described LUNDU’s published works as ‘referentially comprehensible’,

... hay varias que hemos hecho, como el libro de políticas públicas, están los observatorios como tal, hemos hecho seis ediciones de revistas de LUNDU, cuatro ediciones de fotonovelas, entonces, la producción escrita que hemos hecho ha estado muy relacionada a una información que sea accesible a los demás gente y no necesariamente tan académica como también nos hubiera interesado. Pero bueno, no podemos.

[there are several that we have made, like the handbook on public politics, the Observatorios, we’ve made six editions of LUNDU magazines, four editions of photonovels, so, the writing production we have done has been very related to the accessibility information for others and not just necessarily academic although we also would have been interested in this. But well, we can’t.]

The greater lesson of creating accessible published spaces of knowledge, was summarized by

Carrillo with the question, “*Como mi libro, como mi documento me da información sobre indicadores sobre cultura que yo luego la voy a traducir en un cambio, un desarrollo para mi pueblo?*” [How will my book, how will my document provide me information about indicators, about my culture which I later translate into change, development for my people?].

Direct Impact on Legal Reform

During the run of the campaign, LUNDU accomplished for the proposal of amendments to Article 130¹¹¹ of the Penal Code sanctioning against racist insult/ slander/ injury to be introduced into congress and approved as a legal reform project by former president Alan Garcia one hour before the end of his term. The legal reform project proposed a minimum of 120 days of community service for racist insult/ slander/ injury. However, Carrillo shared that in 2012 the project was benched. Nonetheless, on June 11th, 2013, nearly two years after the formal close of the campaign and through continued private lobbying, LUNDU accomplished for la bancada Concertación Parlamentaria¹¹² to place it back on the current reform agenda for the Justice Commission Carrillo stated that, “*el hecho de la bancada de concertación por el cambio haya reabierto, haya vuelto a incluirse en la agenda el proyecto de la ley de la injuria racista recién ahora...*” [the fact that the bench initiative for change reopened, that it has once again been included in the agenda of the law for racist insult project just now] but also for sanctions against offenses committed against others for disabilities, gender, or religion to be included in the reform project for amendments to Article 130 of the Penal Code, indicates that LUNDU is still influencing legal reform and shaping political spaces inclusive to Afro-Peruvians.

Recently in June of 2013, the Defensoría del Pueblo¹¹³ published a report, *La lucha contra la discriminación: Avances y desafíos*.¹¹⁴ The purpose of this document is to elaborate on the efforts, but also failures and pending tasks of the State, to combat discrimination within Peru.

¹¹¹ According to the Peruvian Code as established in 1991, Article 130 currently states: Artículo 130.- Injuria: El que ofende o ultraja a una persona con palabras, gestos o vías de hecho, será reprimido con prestación de servicio comunitario de diez a cuarenta jornadas o con sesenta a noventa días-multa./ Those who offend or hurt a person with words, gestures or other means will be sanctioned to community service of ten to forty days or a sixty to ninety days' fine. For further details on Peru's Penal Code see, Ministerio de Justicia y Derechos Humanos (1991). Código Penal. Retrieved from Sistema Peruano de Información Jurídica (SPIJ), <http://spij.minjus.gob.pe/CLP/contenidos.dll?f=templates&fn=default-codpenal.htm&vid=Ciclope:CLPdemo>

¹¹² Parliamentary Consultations Bench.

¹¹³ The Peruvian Ombudsman.

¹¹⁴ The fight against discrimination: Advances and challenges.

Interestingly, the report specifically focuses in on Afro-Peruvians, the repercussions of the racism they continue to suffer, their civil society organizations and initiatives, and their requests in the arenas of education and development; and outlines actions it proposes or are currently underway supporting Afro-Peruvians. In my opinion the document does three important things:

- 1.) it makes available to the national and international public the current pending legislative initiatives aimed at hindering racism and discrimination¹¹⁵, 2.) Recognizes that there is a lack of official statistics on Afro-Peruvians (including those that are incarcerated) and that Afro-Peruvians suffer *structural* and *societal* racism due to a lack of public politics that include them and the daily reproduction of stereotyping against them in the media and other social arenas, and
- 3.) Recognizes that the fight against discrimination and racism should be led by the State, with the direct participation of Afro-Peruvian organizations, thus entailing the State to support Afro-Peruvian civil society initiatives.

Although the report does not directly articulate LUNDU's astounding impact on the overall shift in the State's stance on discrimination and race, it does acknowledge LUNDU's leading role in triggering and monitoring anti-discriminatory legislative changes and cites *Apúntate Contra el Racismo's* significant results. Thus the Defensoría concludes that the campaign's success in highlighting the high degrees of racism in Peruvian society demonstrates that,

... la lucha contra este flagelo no solo debe darse a nivel normativo. Si bien las normas buscan prevenir y sancionar la discriminación en todas sus formas, resulta indispensable promover

¹¹⁵ Please see pp. 26-31 of the report. These legal reform projects target Articles 46-D, 323, and 130 of the Penal Code in relation to greater legal support i.e. from police officers promoting anti-discriminatory civil society initiatives, expanding the concept of what discriminatory practices include, increasing sanctions against discriminatory and racist actions and speech, and including gender, disability, health status, work or union affiliation, religions, place of origin or residence, and relationship status as bases for which actions can be considered discriminatory; Article 2 of the Political Constitution in relation to the State's obligation to promoting equality and no discrimination; and the promotion of two new laws prohibiting the entrance exams for any pre-school, elementary or high school institutions and protecting employed pregnant women from discriminatory work practices and guaranteeing them the right to pre and post natal rest time.

políticas orientadas a valorar nuestra diversidad cultural, la cual nos enriquece como país. (Defensoría del Pueblo, 2013, p. 101)

[... the fight against this scourge should not just be fought at the normative level. Norms attempt to prevent and sanction against discrimination in all of its forms, yet it is indispensable to promote politics on all levels that are oriented towards valuing our cultural diversity, which enriches us as a country.]

The report also highlights the campaign's *Observatorio Afroperuano*, citing that it constitutes a critical,

herramienta para monitorear la presencia de la población Afroperuana en los medios de comunicación, pero a la vez, visibilizar los avances y retrocesos en las decisiones que se toman en relación a este sector, de manera que se pueda contar con datos objetivos y fiables. (Defensoría del Pueblo, 2013, p. 124)

[tool for monitoring the presence of Afro-Peruvians in the media, but at the same time, making visible the advances and set-backs related to political decisions being taken that impact Afro-Peruvians, in such a way that there are objective and reliable facts available.]

The report's narrative aligns with Carrillo's post campaign perspective that activist actions have to be coupled with thorough information and research, and that, in turn, activism is most transformative when it presents clear proposals, leads to accessible resources for the wider Afro and non-Afro-Peruvian society and leads to political changes whether in the form of normative legal reforms or more general public politics. She stated,

... si no tienes referentes, si tú no tienes textos, si tú no tienes indicadores, entonces tu activismo es como que vas pateando puertas y luego que entras no te dejan pasar, porque la pregunta que te hacen es, "cual es tu propuesta?" ... en el Perú, creo que hay un gran problema con eso también porque finalmente cuales son los cambios... si dices que cambio en incidencia política Afroperuana o en beneficio a los Afros se haya podido ver que haya estado muy impulsada desde el movimiento Afro acá en el Perú, creo que son muy pocos. Ósea cambio de políticas públicas Afros, cuotas, políticas de salud pública, educación, es muy poco. ... LUNDU, ha hecho su contribución más con el tema de paradigmas raciales en la esfera pública, en los medios de comunicación, también en la sociedad en general porque hay mucha gente que creo que ahora puede tener un entendimiento diferente de lo Afro muy influenciado por las campanas públicas que LUNDU ha hecho.

[... if you don't have references, if you don't have supporting texts, nor statistics, then your activism is as if you are just going around kicking doors down and once you get in you're not allowed to proceed, because the question you get asked is, "what is your proposal?"... in Peru, I think that there is a huge problem around that because in the end what are the changes... if you ask what changes in incrementing Afro-Peruvian proposed policies or politics benefitting Afro-Peruvians that have resulted directly from the Afro-Peruvian movement within Peru, there are few. Changes in public politics, statistics, policies concerning health, education, they're very few. ... LUNDU has made contributions related to race paradigms within the public sphere, within the media industry, and within society more broadly because there are many more people that I think now have a different understanding about what is Afro that is very influenced by the public campaigns LUNDU has run.]

Finally, the report points to the significance of LUNDU's strategic and landmark agreement with ANDA and CONAR to improve the standards of auto-regulation concerning discrimination in the media and promote social justice oriented publicity standards.

Building Strategic Alliances

On December 12th, 2012, LUNDU signed an agreement with ANDA and CONAR for inter-institutional cooperation against racism in the media.¹¹⁶ The purpose of this agreement is to promote a culture of inclusion and respect for diversity (race, ethnicity, religion, gender, etc.) in all of society's public forums and foster support between media industry institutions and LUNDU. Although it was signed after the close of the campaign, this landmark agreement culminated the long campaign process of alliance and advocacy building. It also clarified the need to come to terms with the end of and current unfeasibility of certain partnerships. By addressing the latter I seek to show the extent to which LUNDU engaged various constituencies to develop diverse alliances and gain power to impact the re-articulation of education, development and democracy in Peru.

Important here is Ruitenberg's (2009) argument of the importance of valuing emotions in regards to political education discussed previously in this thesis in relation to embodied learning. Ruitenberg highlights that political emotions require understanding hegemonic social relations versus fixating upon personal defensiveness. Political emotions contribute to genuinely learning how to become an advocate for someone/ another groups' needs because they, "[require] the development of a sense of solidarity, and the ability to feel anger on behalf of injustices committed against those in less powerful social positions rather than on behalf of just ones' own pride" (p. 277). Taken a step further, an education of political emotions can be used instrumentally to learn how to navigate between advocate alliances based upon organically shared moral perspectives and partnerships with organizations or institutions based on the establishment of shared political principals and aims, both of the latter being nonetheless

¹¹⁶ Information on this agreement was taken from the *Apuntate Contra el Racismo* blog entry for December 12th, 2012 and La Defensoria del Pueblo (2013, p. 124).

strategic relational camps for political change. Thus a political learning of emotions is an integral part of an activist pedagogy for understanding and politically participating in a democratic re-shifting of power.

Throughout the campaign run, LUNDU developed relations and alliances with other Afro-Peruvian organizations, national and international women's organizations, LGBT rights groups, media industry associations and companies, and Afro-Americans and Afro-descendant civil society groups from other parts of Latin America. Speaking to the challenges of learning, negotiating, gaining, and utilizing power and emotions, Carrillo explained that some of her hardest 'learnings' of activist work resulted from the 'relational' aspect that was integral for political space-making. Having to confront patriarchal, class and 'tradition-embedded' norms amongst fellow Afro-Peruvians activists was challenging. It was especially hard to learn that even once certain patriarchal boundaries were broken and surpassed by LUNDU's work, that there was still an aversion on behalf of Afro-Peruvian organizations to unite publicly to counter politics and policies, especially behind a woman with 'crazy dreadlocks' who did not fit the 'right image'. Carrillo added through chuckles,

Bueno, fue un apoyo limitado. Nosotros invitamos a otras organizaciones. Incluso a muchos eventos organizados por LUNDU los invitábamos como organizadores, pero realmente eran algo que LUNDU estaba haciendo. Era importante tener otras voces Afros. Pero hubo un punto de quiebre. Quiebre en el sentido que LUNDU demarco más su estrategia política de incidencias en medios de comunicación y de nuevas paradigmas. Y las otras organizaciones tal vez hubieran podido sentido que eso no era lo suyo.

[Well it was limited support. We invited other organizations. Actually to many events organized by LUNDU we invited them as co-organizers, but in reality they were things that LUNDU was doing. It was important to have other Afro voices. But, there was a breaking point. A break in the sense that LUNDU demarcated more its political strategy of change in relation to the media and new paradigms. And the other organizations maybe didn't feel that this was for them.]

Carrillo explained "... *también tienes a personas buenas, solidarias, que han sido más de los movimientos gays/ transgeneros y feministas...*" [you also have good, solidarity oriented

peoples, which have been more from the gay, transgender, and feminist movements...]. There was a shared understanding of suffering additional marginalization while organizing in relation

to gender. In these words, Carrillo acknowledged and genuinely accepted the solidarity of non-Afro-Peruvians. She further explained,

... quienes nos apoyaron verdaderamente mas fueron los del movimiento gay, LGTB, y grupos pro la diversidad sexual, y los grupos de mujeres, incluso más que del movimiento Afroperuano para sincera... ósea hubo mucho mas empatía, hubo más entendimiento de la necesidad de que la campaña tenga una dimensión pública de medios, que creo que es algo con lo que muchas organizaciones no están de acuerdo, pero para nosotros es el sentido de nuestro trabajo... el tema de medios, de comunicación, de insertar mas paradigmas...

[... those who supported us were mainly from the gay, LGTB movements, and other pro sexual diversity groups, and women's groups, even more so that people or groups from the Afro-Peruvian movement to be sincere... there was much more empathy, more understanding of the need for the campaign to be have a strong public dimension within the media, which is something that I think is something many organizations do not agree with, but for us it was the reason for the work... the concept of the media, communication, of inserting new paradigms...]

Receiving these groups' support entailed educating LUNDU about the needs of the other groups extensively enough to understand their experiences of social and political marginalization to be able to work strategically with them and advocate for them and their needs publicly.

Relationships were thus developed towards alliance-building so that although in some cases individual (personal or organizational) needs were not met through joint action, they were still about "commitment... responsibility. ...concrete manifestations of our rebellious spirits and our sense of justice. They [were] about shared visions of a better society for all of us" (Molina, 1990, p. 329). Of course, this entailed allotting time and space for discussions regarding their needs without letting LUNDU's agenda become a learning interrupter. Overall, Carrillo experienced that within the Afro-Peruvian movement, tradition-embedded norms restricted activist possibilities and transformational imaginings. Carrillo's reflections echoed some of Lewis' (2012) research findings. Carrillo experienced an overall aversion or lack of openness to new expressions of activism amongst other organizations, especially those consisting of members from an older generation, such as CEDET, which of course naturally led to diverging methodologies of praxis. Her statements conveyed that within the sphere of Afro-Peruvian organizations, despite mutual cooperation on some events and proposals, it was challenging

overall to overcome personal opinions; an obstacle many community activists including myself have experienced. As racialized marked bodies we deal together with the pain of long histories of systemic violation, whilst also attempting to heal personal wounds. With people from other groups, personal opinions were more easily understood as needing to sometimes be placed on the backburner in order to accomplish work that would benefit broader constituencies and diminish future experiences of pain and unfolding of marginalization and violence. In relation to this point, Carrillo concluded:

Lucha trasciende el color y estamos hablando de una lucha para ser respetados como seres humanos y para convivir simplemente de una manera feliz. Eso creo que ha sido uno de mis aprendizajes en los momentos más difíciles. ... uno puede encontrar mucha solidaridad en personas que no tienen tu color o que no tienen tu agenda racial pero tienen ese sentido que es importante tener una convivencia democrática, placentera, tranquila...

[The struggle transcends color and we are talking about a struggle to be respected as human beings and to live simply, happily. That is what I believe has been one of my learnings during challenging times... one can find a lot of solidarity in people who do not have share your color or who do not have your racial agenda but have that sense that it is important to co-habit democratically, enjoyably, peacefully...]

Over this backdrop, LUNDU found strength in people, groups and movements outside of their own. Realizing that other Afro-Peruvian organizations were not on the same page of political emotions or able to ultimately overhaul patriarchal power relations, Carrillo and Castro both expressed that LUNDU turned its focus towards strategic relations with industry leaders and State ministry representatives. Carrillo disclosed,

La capacidad de interlocución con decisores políticos se fue fortaleciendo y la capacidad también de interlocución en los medios de comunicación... si estas en los medios los políticos te abren las puertas. Entonces es una cosa con otra, y el hecho que estemos en los medios y las otras organizaciones no lo vean como prioritaria el tema comunicacional es un punto valido pero creo que es como un punto de quiebre con relación a las prioridades [de las organizaciones Afro] y LUNDU también fortaleció sus prioridades institucionales.

[The capacity for dialogue with policy makers was also strengthening and capacity for dialogue with media industry representatives... if you are in the media, politicians open doors for you. So it's one thing with another, and the fact that we are in the media and other organizations do not see the communications issue as a priority is a valid point but I think it is like a turning point [regarding Afro organizations' priorities] and LUNDU also strengthened its priorities.]

These strategic relations could be characterized as coalitions. However, although they are to a large degree “mechanical political exercises” (Molina, 1990, p. 329), I would characterize them further as reciprocal working agreements premised on ongoing discussions regarding the need

for greater social justice awareness. During the campaign run, LUNDU reached less formal agreements, but as Carrillo and Castro emphasized frequently, ‘binding agreements nonetheless’ with the newspaper *El Comercio*¹¹⁷, and the Ecuadorian embassy, who assisted in financially sponsoring and promoting the essay competition. Impressively, LUNDU was also able to negotiate through an in person meeting, a formal working accord, although it is not in writing, with ANDINA¹¹⁸, the national news agency which has thousands of subscribers and with the newspaper *El Peruano*¹¹⁹, Peru’s official government newspaper. The verbal accord with the agency and newspaper was as Carrillo described,

LUNDU les provee a ellos una vez al mes aproximadamente, información sobre Afros para que ellos lo saquen. Y ellos lo sacan, por ejemplo se comprometieron a colocar ‘banners’ permanentes o banners por tema en la propia web, luego hacer una edición especial de diversos temas Afros que les podemos dar y además sacarlos en sus publicaciones impresas y distribuirlos a través de todos los subscriptores de la agencia ANDINA en el Perú y por todo el mundo. ... las cosas han estado avanzando muy bien con el equipo con Gloria y yo desde haya. ... ya el hecho que nos convirtamos en una fuente, en una referencia de información hace que ya cuando salgamos con una campaña, tengamos canales como esos establecidos.

[LUNDU provides them information on Afros about once a month or so, for them to publish. And they do publish it, for example they committed to putting 'banners' permanently or according to themes on their websites, and make a special edition of various Afro-related subjects that we can provide them and to publish it in print as well and distribute it across to all of ANDINA’s subscribers in Peru and worldwide. ... things have been progressing very well with the team and Gloria. ... the fact that we have become an information and reference source for them means that when we launch new campaigns, we already have established channels.]

However, despite all of the alliances and agreements established through the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign, higher education proved to be an arena where support for LUNDU was thoroughly lacking. LUNDU’s campaign work revealed that there are few mechanisms within higher education institutions that formally support the holistic development of citizens and promote critical social justice initiatives. University curricula across all levels exclude Afro-Peruvian historical and contemporary contributions and institutions’ and Carrillo described an overall lack of critical theoretical and community engagement awareness amongst higher

¹¹⁷ For the online newspaper please visit, *El Comercio*, <http://elcomercio.pe/>

¹¹⁸ For the online news agency website please visit, ANDINA, <http://www.andina.com.pe/ingles/>

¹¹⁹ For the online newspaper please visit, *El Peruano*, <http://www.elperuano.com.pe/edicion/default.aspx>

education staff and faculty. Nonetheless, LUNDU's campaign did gradually enter into university students' radar through its youth volunteers and essay competition. For instance, during September 12th to 16th, 2011, LUNDU's *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign was welcomed onto the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú's¹²⁰ (PUCP) campus gardens. As a part of their VII Encuentro de Derechos Humanos¹²¹, which focused on promoting the visibilization of Peru's most marginalized peoples, student groups, civil society organizations, LUNDU and other Afro-Peruvian and non-Afro organizations were invited to set up booths on their campus. LUNDU presented as a part of a panel and was able to interact with numerous faculty, staff, students and professionals while collecting signatures against racism.

While I was in Peru in February of 2013, I reviewed several Peruvian university websites and attempted to connect with their campuses in relation to their familiarity and possible engagement with the campaign and other anti-racist initiatives. However, it was a struggle to find any 'community-engagement' information on their website directories. At the time, I was able to contact and meet with staff members. Few could actually explain the university's stance on support for civil society initiatives, especially in regards to Afro-Peruvians. One representative spoke only about their role in supporting volunteer initiatives and research projects that focused on development. When I asked them if they had any specific goals or projects planned to better support Afro-descendant students, Afro-Peruvian initiatives, or to deal with racism on campus and societally, the general response was that there were none. However, upon re-visiting the PUPC's website in December, I discovered that they have created a separate site for their renamed social responsibility department, Dirección Académica de Responsabilidad Social

¹²⁰ The Pontificial Catholic University of Peru.

¹²¹ VII Forum for (In) Visible Human Rights.

(DARS)¹²². On it they now explain their role in promoting the university's social and environmental responsibility and explain three core focus areas of academic research development, social development (relations between university and broader society), and organizational development (promoting ways to develop sustainable relationships between the university and civil society groups).

It must be taken into account that changes in relation to higher education governance have only just begun to be instituted as early as ten years ago. During the 1990s and 2000s an attempt to begin to merge research production with technical skills acquisition, through the expansion of more market oriented research graduate programs. However, it was not until Toledo's regime (2001-2006) established a Commission to implement a Second University Reform in Peru, that there is evidence of any attempt to address higher education's relevance to economic growth and the wider responsibility of the university community (Schwartzman, 2002).

Carrillo and I both agreed, change is slow and cannot take place in a myriad of areas at once, because organizations and activists just do not have the capacities to work and push for so much at once. Social justice work is gruelling and always underpaid. It taxes the body, the mind, the heart, but above all, the spirit. LUNDU's campaign revealed that learning ways to cooperate with people from various groups and institutions takes the greatest amount of time and energy, because collaboration is not only politically intelligent in a strategic sense, but vital for personal and organizational survival. Universities are microcosms of the outside world. They create and replicate the same imbalances, but also provide opportunities for the shifting of power through the acquisition of knowledges all while answering daily national, global market and societal demands. Nonetheless, Carrillo expressed her hopes in relation to possible future partnerships

¹²² Academic Directive of Social Responsibility; Please visit, <http://dars.pucp.edu.pe/areas/>

with Peruvian higher education institutions and their inclusion of critical scholarship and Afro-Peruvian grounded curricula.

Since the beginning of the campaign students' interest in LUNDU and in Carrillo's work as an activist has been growing steadily with the request for interviews, meetings, research support and conference speeches growing steadily over the years. During her few months in Lima this 2013 to 2014 Carrillo said that she had been asked to speak at conferences for three different universities. Notwithstanding, she recognizes the need for transitioning beyond the occasional conference that invites racialized marked and other marginalized bodies for a short presentation or discussion. I asked if this was in relation to feeling 'tokenized'. She explained that it was less in relation to that, because in such a conservative society as Peru where the State still feared 'radical' presences on campuses as a result of the Shining Path student uprisings and mobilizations, it was a huge step forward for Afro-Peruvian 'activist' voices to be welcomed into university settings. Whether shortlived or not, she considers it part of the process of lighting consciousness and activist spirit within students. Carrillo was speaking to the changing demands on academia and working as an Afro-Peruvian to be included in this process. The combination of market demands for diversified skill-sets and the critical need for education and training in social justice theories and sustainability frameworks, although often times at conflict with each other, are forcing universities in Peru to make curriculum and programming changes to respond to this need for economic and social 'community engagement'. To 'sell themselves' universities have to support diversity in all senses, Carrillo elaborated, "*...a la larga me parece que los estándares también académicos ahora están teniendo que ser mucho más integrales, he ya no funcionan, no venden de cara hacia afuera, especialmente las universidades privadas si no tienen una currículo mucho más diversa*" [... in the end I think that academic standards are also having to

be much more comprehensive,... they no longer work, they don't sell face, especially the private universities, if they don't have much more diverse curriculum]. It is important to ensure that this new terrain of 'community engagement' be premised on social justice principles led by people who have experiences working against oppression. Otherwise, 'diversity' stands to become a tool for "marketing appeal", allowing the university to sell itself as a place where "differences are celebrated, welcomed, and enjoyed" which according to Ahmed (2006), "not only does this rebranding of the university as being diverse work to conceal racism but it also works to reimagine the university as being antiracist, even beyond race- as if the colors of different races have integrated to create a new hybrid or, even, a bronzed face" (p. 121). Hence, LUNDU considers the inclusion of Afro-Peruvians in the reshaping of higher education agendas and university 'images' as necessary for shaping a truly sustainable alternative to neoliberal development and democracy in Peru,

Y bueno, habría también que ver ya para el otro año, si es que la agenda de algunas universidades va cambiando. Nosotros nos hemos acercado mucho por ejemplo ya a el Consorcio de Universidades Privadas del Perú que es con la cual queremos articular más directamente porque allí agrupa la del Pacífico, la Católica, el Cayetano y la de Lima, entonces hemos estado trabajando cosas diversas.

... esa demanda esta y esta incluyendo el tema incluso un eje temático en algún curso, pero para poder articular eso, lo que queremos es trabajar con el Consorcio de Universidades Privadas.

[We have to also see if the agenda of universities changes for next year. We have gotten closer to the Consortium of Private Universities of Peru which is with whom we want to articulate ourselves more directly with, because that group includes the universities del Pacífico, the Católica, the Cayetano, and the University of Lima, so we have been working these diverse fronts.

... that demand is there and it is even including a thematic plan for a course, but for us to be able to articulate that what we want is to work with the Consortium of Private Universities.]

Institutional uses of 'diversity' and 'community engagement' are "useful" terms because with their non-threatening reputation they allow people in, but as Ahmed (2006) observes, whilst universities are selling themselves by presenting their campuses as places where differences are celebrated, 'diversity' can also serve to point to how universities are oriented around white privilege (p. 124). Forming alliances and putting formal agreements with private or public universities in writing is not a process of 'selling out' for LUNDU. For Carrillo, it is about

utilizing the diversity rhetoric as what Ahmed calls “support devices” to further “expose gaps between words and deeds” and ensure that community engagement and development become about learning how to integrate marginalize civil society groups’ initiatives and pedagogies as representatives from those groups outline that they see fit to engage, thus deepening understandings of institutional inequalities and social justice.

Constructing the Base for New ‘Critical’ Campaigns

Aside from its role in re-distributing and shifting power, strategic alliance building for LUNDU has become critical to prevent ‘nonperformatives of racism’ (Ahmed, 2006) and state appropriation of civil society initiatives and accomplishments. During the two year duration of my *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign research, I vigilantly reviewed the websites of the Peruvian Ministerio de Cultura and MIDIS, which turned into a weekly habit I continue today. On July 17th, 2013, I stumbled upon a newly launched campaign by the Ministerio de Cultura ironically called *Alerta Contra el Racismo*¹²³. This campaign, referred to as a public “*plataforma*” [platform] that provides information and a space for citizen interaction to be better equipped to confront ethnic-racial discrimination in Peru. It highlights its purpose as generating actions articulated by the state and society to confront racism and discrimination within Peru with the objective of fostering a culture of peace where relations between Peruvians are more ‘horizontal’ premised upon difference and cultural diversity. Hence, it commits itself to providing the ‘tools’ for activating a citizen movement against racism and discrimination. On the website, one can find amongst other things, definitions of terms such as ‘ethnic-racial discrimination’, ‘racism’, ‘social exclusion’, ‘stereotyping,’ etc., citizen rights protecting against racism and discrimination, examples of discrimination in the consumer sector, self supplied

¹²³ The following information on the Ministry of Culture initiative was taken on July 17th and November 20th, 2013, from the *Alerta Contra el Racismo* website <http://alertacontraelracismo.pe/que-es-alerta-contra-el-racismo/>

reports on racism and discrimination from throughout Peru, articles on discrimination and Afro-Peruvians and interviews with civil society and international social justice organization representatives. I want to highlight that nowhere on the website was I able to find any direct recognition of LUNDU's *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign's direct contributions to the struggle against racism or what seems to me an almost direct influence in an almost identical model of surveilling and countering racism. The Defensoría del Pueblo asserted that despite being an informative platform, any such state initiatives need to incorporate support for efforts led by civil society groups to increase positive impact:

Si bien es cierto que, el Ministerio de Cultura ha lanzado la plataforma de información e interacción con la ciudadanía para enfrentar la discriminación étnico-racial en el Perú, denominada «Alerta contra el racismo», esta herramienta *requiere* de otros esfuerzos articulados con otros sectores para lograr resultados de mayor impacto, y eso pasa, por ejemplo, por impulsar campañas educativas y de sensibilización para formar y educar en valores, así como prevenir los actos de discriminación racial en los ámbitos que se producen con mayor énfasis: educativo y laboral. (p. 101)

[While it is true that the Ministry of Culture has launched the information platform to interact with citizens and combat ethno-racial discrimination in Peru, titled «Alerta Contra el Racismo», this tool requires efforts articulated with other sectors to accomplish results with a stronger impact, and this happens, for example, through supporting/ propelling education and awareness campaigns to create and educate values, and also preventing acts of racial discrimination in spheres where they are frequently reproduced: education and employment.]

LUNDU spent years crafting, developing, and promoting *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* to enact anti-racist and anti-discriminatory changes in Peruvian society and law. Hence, some observers could argue that the Ministry of Culture should curb its paternalism and publicly recognize and credit LUNDU's campaign creativity and contributions to the re-articulation of education, development, and democracy in Peru. I also want to highlight the similar slant I see in the Ministry of Culture's *Alerta Contra el Racismo* platform which is under the leadership of such figures as Rocio Muñoz, former executive director of LUNDU and current Directora General de Ciudadanía Intercultural¹²⁴ for the Ministry of Culture, who participated as staff with the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign, and had formally cited LUNDU and its campaign as

¹²⁴ General Director of Intercultural Citizenship.

being an original source of anti-racism support in the filing of claims and monitoring of diverse forms of discrimination. In Rowell et al (2011) Muñoz stated while she was still working for LUNDU, that as an organizational space independent of state bureaucracy, LUNDU offers the “possibility of having a freer, more political space where you can incorporate other elements” (p. 373), critical elements such as highly critical, “art” and “feminist” perspectives (p. 368).

Interestingly, *Alerta* has recently ‘mirrored’ LUNDU’s work in another specific way. When I met with Castro in Lima in February of 2013, she informed me that since *Apúntate*’s closing, LUNDU had been using the racist sports’ media data collected by the *Observatorio* to legally support and become an advocate for Afro-descendant soccer players that were denouncing extreme racist attacks on and off the soccer field, especially in the form of supposedly ‘comedic’ racial slurs. LUNDU posted a press release on its website February 13th, 2013, stating “LUNDU expresa su solidaridad con el futbolista Edgar Villamerin Arguedas ante su denuncia por los insultos de índole racistas” [LUNDU expresses its solidarity with soccer player Edgar Villamarin Arguedas for his denouncement of racist insults]. LUNDU’s (2013) support for soccer players suffering racism aligns with its constant monitoring of the media treatment of Afro-Peruvians:

La ridiculización de deportistas también ha sido motivo de caracterizaciones racistas, como las propuestas por Jorge Benavides, quién realizó un spot racista para “Piqueo Snax” representando a Jefferson Farfán con gestos simiescos y antiestéticos, lo que representó una burla no sólo para el futbolista sino para la comunidad afroperuana.

[The ridiculing of sports players has also been the subject of racist characterizations created by Jorge Benavides, who made racist character "Piqueo Snax", depicting Jefferson Farfán with apelike and unsightly gestures, representing a mockery not only for football but for the Afro-Peruvian community.]

The press release concludes with Carrillo’s calling for sanctions on behalf of the Peruvian Soccer Federation and the state. Recently, on October 22nd, 2013, the Ministry of Culture in collaboration with the Asociación Deportiva de Fútbol Profesional¹²⁵ (ADFP) launched in sync

¹²⁵ Sports Association of Professional Football.

with the *Alerta Contra el Racismo* platform, *Alerta Contra el Racismo en el Futbol*,¹²⁶ whose objective it is to sensitize citizens to confront acts of ethno-racial discrimination and promote sanctions against all forms of racist or discriminatory conduct. Much like the *Apúntate* campaign, *Alerta Contra el Racismo en el Futbol*, was launched with a public photo session where several soccer players donned *Alerta Contra el Racismo* t-shirts and the Minister of Culture, Diana Álvarez-Calderón promising to be present in soccer arenas, and Rocío Muñoz highlighting the overall importance of the digital platform.

When I shared with Carrillo that I had stumbled upon the *Alerta* platform and that it seemed to replicate the *Observatorio Afroperuano* model in many ways, she provided some insightful responses from which I drew some conclusions of my own. She confirmed that the Ministerio de Cultura had not included LUNDU during the formal planning and meeting stages of their platform initiative. Carrillo shared, “*no hay nada nuevo que exista, todo es parte de una idea que se va alimentando con el paso de los años y la gente y las generaciones, pero yo creo que en el caso de LUNDU si ha influenciado en muchas cosas*” [there is nothing new which does not exist, everything is part of an idea that keeps growing with the pass of the years, the people, and the generations’ but I think that in the case of LUNDU it has been an influence in many aspects], and proceeded to explain the many ways she as an artist believes that ‘inspirational’ sources should be credited and recognized. This is not the first time the Ministry of Culture ‘borrows’ something from LUNDU. Carrillo shared that for the 2011 Año Internacional de los Afrodescendientes¹²⁷, the Ministry of Culture proceeded to use the concept of the *Apúntate* logo, which was already registered as property of LUNDU with the Instituto Nacional de Defensa de

¹²⁶ The following information on the *Alerta Contra el Racismo en el Futbol*, was taken on December 20th, 2013 from <http://alertacontraelracismo.pe/ministerio-de-cultura-presento-campana-alerta-contra-el-racismo-en-el-futbol/>

¹²⁷ The 2011 International Year of for People of African Descent was declared by the UN in a resolution adopted by the General Assembly on December 18th, 2009; United Nations, <http://www.un.org/en/events/iypad2011/global.shtml>

la Competencia y de la Protección de la Propiedad Intelectual (INDECOPI) without their permission.

Despite what I believe is a legitimate sense of frustration at having their efforts appropriated by the state, Carrillo expressed pride in LUNDU's work for resonating widely in Peruvian society, "*creo que ya la agenda del Observatorio, de vigilancia, con lo de Apúntate Contra el Racismo había sido instalada*" [I think that the *Observatorio Afroperuano* agenda, of vigilancy, was already established by the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign]. For her, this is not an accomplishment that can be taken away from LUNDU. Carrillo who has not based her actions or work with LUNDU on the need for white or societal legitimization, disclosed that although in seeking legal reforms and official recognition by the state she had not been seeking 'legitimization' for LUNDU nor her own activist actions, that need for the work to be 'legitimated' by the state could not be denied. However, I understood the sentiment of legitimization to be premised on the intense challenge that it was for Afro-Peruvians such as herself and Afro-Peruvian organizations such as LUNDU, to accomplish for the state to ever publicly acknowledge such widespread racism and discrimination as what *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign was trying to reveal. The campaign message had obviously pushed through enough obstacles and reminded Carrillo that LUNDU has a "*propuesta de calidad y es una propuesta que trasciende*" [proposal of quality and that is a proposal that transcends]. But when all is said and done, we must return to the discussion of appropriation, as when LUNDU proposed its campaign texts they were acknowledged by the state, but not directly supported nor promoted, and dismissed by the wider Peruvian public as "being foolish, or grounded in resentment", "ignored" or subversive to the nation's 'well-being'. Yet the very same texts publicized by the state are drawing 'official' political recognition from the very outset (Alcoff,

1994). They are also undoubtedly gaining Peru favor with international human rights and development bodies. It is critical to develop awareness of the possible dangers that may result from institutionalizing the struggles of marginalized civil society groups and not recognizing that experiences, pain, and immense labour went into the campaign efforts that ‘inspired’ institutional textual presentations of the latter. Carrillo concluded, “*Que mas pues, queremos que nuestra estética influya una estética estatal, no? Pero esto tiene que ser reconocido*” [Well what else, we want our aesthetic to influence a state aesthetic, right? But this has to be recognized].

Alerta Contra el Racismo, is an example of how marginalized activists of color have to navigate not only the daily repercussions of societal discrimination, but also the appropriative White privilege of patriarchal state institutions, the perils of what happens when ‘diversity’ and anti-racist/ anti-discriminatory texts becomes espoused by them and also the risks of co-optation. Ahmed (1996) points to “a relationship between the new discourses of racial equality and the extension of institutional racism” (p. 106). However, in establishing such an open platform for anti-ethno/ racial discrimination in Peru where one has access not just to legal frameworks, but also a chance to read how the state is or is not creating mechanisms to support civil society and the Ministry of Culture’s policies and perspectives, we have the opportunity “to track what texts do, we need to follow them around. If texts circulate as documents or objects within public culture, then our task is to follow them, to see how they move as well as how they get stuck” (p. 105). As LUNDU showed with its critically analytical campaign work which held the state accountable for more than just a historical pardon to Afro-descendants, it is dedicated to and capable of monitoring how texts and language are crafted, appropriated, deployed, and “taken up” (p. 105) to see what sort of anti-ethno-racial discriminatory impact they actually have. *Apúntate Contra el Racismo*’s ‘observatory’ goal was exactly for the latter.

Carrillo and I discussed how in the words of Alcoff (1994),
the location of speaker and listeners affect whether a claim is taken as a true, well-reasoned,
compelling argument, or a significant idea. Thus, how what is said gets heard depends on who
says it, and who says it will affect the style and language in which it is stated, which will in turn
affect its perceived significance (for specific hearers). (p. 13)

Carrillo expressed the importance of LUNDU now taking time to cautiously reflect and re-focus
on its priorities before developing further political relations, “*Pero ahora en esta etapa...
estamos replanteando y ajustando bien nuestra prioridad, hacia qué ministerio vamos a volver a
estrechar los lazos para selección política*” [But now in this phase... we are re-establishing and
revising our priority, towards which ministry we will extend our ties politically]. Relations are
crucial for democracy to work, for antagonistic clashes between and amongst state and civil
society groups to be channeled into agonistic processes of transformation versus appropriation
and re-colonization.

When I asked Carrillo how she felt the Peruvian public now perceives the idea of
‘campaigns’ she spoke to the shift she experienced amongst Peruvian citizens and state politics
although for somewhat distinct reasons. She had experienced that the democratically grounded
and carefully devised structure of campaigns facilitated peoples’ understanding of often
complicated theories and/ or realities; hence their political usefulness. She also shared that the
‘engagement’ and ‘interactional’ component of campaigning was what created numerous
pedagogical spaces, privately, publicly, one on one, and in groups. When people could
participate in a dialogues, discussion, debates and even heated arguments about racism, they
developed a curiosity to know more, slowly opening up to the possibility of more critical
engagements, “*cuando llegan a tener interés, esas personas le bridan un seguimiento a la
información o al devenir de la misma campaña. Les interesa saber hacia dónde va, cual es el
objetivo, y que se va hacer?*” [when they start to have an interest, those people begin to follow

the information or the outcomes of the campaign. It interests them to know where is it going, what is the objective, and what will be done?].

This constant process of self and external reflection and interrogation of the campaign and socio-political dynamics was often triggered by the signing of the *Apúntate* notebook¹²⁸. Those trigger moments are what Ollis (2012) states often lead to the creation of “circumstantial activists” who were not involved in political action as young people or from personal family experience (p. 112). Circumstantial activists often contribute immensely to developing campaigns because of the sense of urgency they experience related to the changes they encounter and undergo being abrupt and overwhelming, characterized sometimes by a heightened pitch of emotional intensity (p. 114). Carrillo, herself having been a youth activist, seemed more comfortable speaking in relation to pedagogical activist processes as experienced by youth, yet she highlighted the overall benefit of the campaign having reached people with different levels of critical conscientization, “... *la gente de alguna manera se vuelve más activista y se siente parte de un proceso que va tener un resultado a largo plazo o a corto plazo. Entonces yo creo que hay un terreno muy fértil para que ahora LUNDU saque [otra] campaña.*” [... *people in some way become more activist and they feel like they are a part of a process that will have short and long term results*]. Of course, the need for mentorship to sustain the formation of activist identities was discussed at length. Direct mentorship on a daily basis for youth seeking activist training seems beyond LUNDU’s organizational capacity for the time being, but it is re-gathering strength to support citizens through the wider public pedagogy of a new campaign.

¹²⁸ The ‘notebooks’ were an opportunity for people to partake in the action objectives of the campaign, share their experiences of racism/ violence/ oppression and their understanding of their own identity, write out their questions, and also proposals for social justice based education, development, and political initiatives. See pp. 124-132 of this thesis.

When I concluded my final interview with Carrillo, LUNDU was completing work on the new campaign it publicly launched on, October 31st, 2013, called *Somos Afrodescendientes: Peruanos Orgullosos de Nuestras Raíces Africanas*¹²⁹. Carrillo disclosed that the campaign whose other slogan is “*Rumbo al Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda 2017*”, was being structured around a three year timeline leading up to Peru’s 2017 Census, where citizens will finally be provided with the opportunity to self-identify as Afro-descendants. The census will include ‘appropriate’ questions about racial ethnicity (an Afro-descendant variable) so that the Peruvian government will be able to create indicators to evaluate the sociopolitical and economic situation of Afro- Peruvians (Global Rights Organization, 2012). Of course, as is the case with most censuses, there is much controversy surrounding how and what questions regarding ethnicity should be posed. However, Afro-Peruvian organizations, including LUNDU have been undergoing consultations with representatives of INEI. These consultations seek to ensure accurate data collection. They also seek to figure out how to best address public policies and affirmative action for more equitable sustainable development and a re-articulation of democracy that meets Afro-Peruvian perspectives and needs. *Somos Afrodescendientes*, as the campaign is more frequently being called in media posts is thus seeking to accomplish two highly ‘politically’ oriented goals through highly ‘popular’ and interactional means. It seeks to: 1.) focus on the rich diversity of what it means to be a Peruvian Afro-descendant by providing a breadth of historical and contemporary examples of Afro-descendant stories (people, families, struggles, successes, etc.) and characteristics (broad spectrum of skin colors, myriad of hair textures, dress styles, musical preferences, etc.) and 2. promote and support Peruvians in recognizing their Afro-descendant roots and self-identifying ethno-racially as an ‘Afro-descendant’.

¹²⁹ We Are Afro-descendants: Peruvians Proud of Our African Roots.

Somos Afrodescendientes has already gained massive national and international support by Afro-descendants and more broadly. For the campaign, LUNDU has focused even more so than for the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign on finding ways to unite Afro-descendants in the broadest of senses and try to bridge a more cohesive language of an Afro-Peruvian movement with it. Carrillo is positive,

... estamos utilizando imágenes de referente Afro que tienen impacto en su propia comunidad, un bailarín, una persona dedicada a la artesanía, otra persona que es actriz, otra persona que juega fútbol, y cada que alguien Afro vea esa persona en esa foto diciendo, “yo me reconozco como Afro con el censo”, creemos que va motivar mucho para que se vaya generando una corriente de opinión favorable vía campana. Campaña es algo que tiene un deadline pero es algo que va creciendo, que se va alimentando.

[...we're using images of that reference the impact Afro people have on their community, a dancer, an artisan, another person is an actress, while another person plays soccer, and every time someone Afro sees that person in a photo saying, "I recognize myself as Afro in the census," will motivate a lot so that a favourable current will be generated through the campaign. A campaign is something with a deadline but it is also something that keeps growing, that keeps getting nourished.]

She indicates that the new campaign is making a concerted effort to establish another useful and accessible tool for Afro-Peruvians, the public, state representatives and international audiences such as the *Observatorio Afroperuano*, but this time collating the breadth of Afro-descendant initiatives, experiences, and identities. LUNDU is well on its way to the latter having already received broad support from numerous Afro-descendants in Peru following diverse careers and carrying out different roles in society. It also already has over 339 'likes' on Facebook¹³⁰ since becoming active in October (last reviewed on February 20th, 2013 at 12:57pm) and the social media site is only one channel of its four electronic media platforms including Twitter, YouTube and the official blog. Since launching the new campaign, Carrillo and the official LUNDU team--currently composed of Carrillo, Castro, and two additional staff members--have been busy doing presentations in Peru and the United States, meeting with ministry and other civil society

¹³⁰ *Somos Afrodescendientes Peru*, <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Somos-Afrodescendientes-Peru/347774931991605>

organizations' representatives, and connecting with local and international volunteers, whose numbers grow monthly.

LUNDU seems more poised to address both internal and external conflicts in relation to Afro-descendant people in Peru from a 'positive' framework of acknowledgement and inclusivity. It continues to work to address challenging 'race' questions that apply to most Peruvians, but specifically Afro-descendants in relation to the 2017 census.

CHAPTER 5: IMPLICATIONS

Researcher Dilemmas and Reflections

Like the process of identity formation, research is a complex iterative process. But moreover, it should be a process of metamorphosis, an opportunity for re-visioning. When we just focus on the ‘data findings’ or ‘results’ from studies, whether they are from the sciences or humanities, qualitative and or quantitative, we run the dangerous risk of missing the most valuable aspects of research knowledge, the troubling aspects, the unforeseen, the challenging lessons, etc. I interpreted and came to fully understand research as an action process prior to which, during which, and after which researchers should deconstruct their identities, realities, knowledges, to the verge of challenging every aspect of themselves and their relations, thus truly challenging the status quo of dominant discourses and hegemonic relations as they are known.

Throughout this case study research process, I underwent and continue to undergo several personal transformative shifts. I feel that that I was restricted by time in the sense that this case opened me up to a high level of research criticality, self reflexivity and reflection in relation to social justice issues, the use of terminology, research and ‘development’ work locally and abroad, standpoint, the list goes on. The case study itself also led me to several interconnecting areas lacking scholarship that I was constantly grappling with and ultimately had to deem outside the scope of this thesis. Thus, this research proves challenging to wrap up within the time constraints of an MA graduate program. Acquiring funds for my field work in Peru was also a challenge due to criticism even from a faculty member within my department around the term ‘anti-racism’ and the intended case study. I received feedback after applying for nomination for national level granted funding that I should either strategically omit use of the term or better yet, not conduct such politicized work as apparently people “struggle to understand racism/ anti-

racism overall”. This correlates directly with attitudes in Peru that are much more publicly pervasive. The case study topic posed definite barriers when attempting to set up interviews. Further challenges to the case study were posed by bureaucratic set-backs such as ministry offices in Lima unexpectedly closing public reception for several days. Email response time was also fairly slow (including a waiting period of at least three days to several weeks for responses), but I anticipated this, as most of the people I was engaging were busy public figures. During exchanges with LUNDU staff and members from other Afro-Peruvian organizations I was engaging, I felt incredibly guilty about being an additional burden on their time and staffing resources, therefore I tried my best to provide them with as much concise information as possible to facilitate their response process and also assist them with whatever work possible. I proceed to discuss the highlights of the campaign findings succinctly with dilemmas that I experienced arising from the case study process itself and thus also include in the discussion proposed directions for further research.

Highlights of the Campaign Findings and Proposed Directions

After spending several months reviewing reports, interviews, notes, publicity materials, published articles on, by, or related to LUNDU, its leaders and the campaign, it seems to me that in Peru’s democratic context, LUNDU accomplished something unique with *Apúntate Contra el Racismo*. They accomplished the creation and running of a civil society, Afro-Peruvian organization managed campaign grounded in social justice perspectives that influenced socio-political change. In this sense, I would term the overall campaign impact as ‘successful’ in forcing state acknowledgement of critical articulations of development and exemplifying critical modes of citizenship towards a radical participatory democracy. Furthermore, through *Apúntate Contra el Racismo*, LUNDU accomplished the establishment of a public, revolutionary, and

empowering Afro-Peruvian aesthetic--an aesthetic that is by no means all-encompassing of all Afro-Peruvian identity, creativity, or initiatives--but that is nonetheless an Afro-Peruvian process of self-representation, anti-oppression, democratic civic action, development, and education.

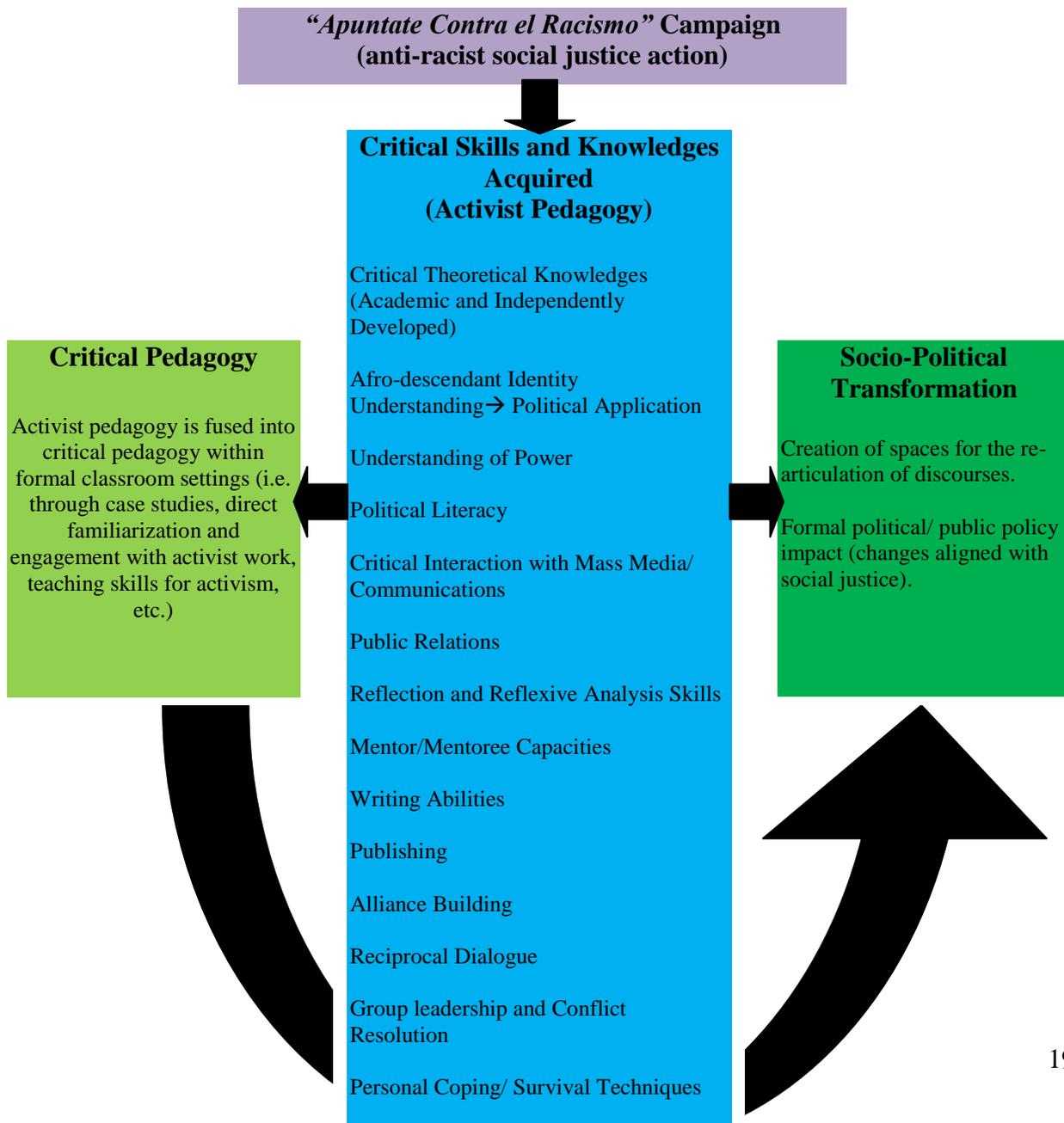
LUNDU's Activist Pedagogy

The campaign was born out of Afro-Peruvian activist views of education, citizenship, development and democracy, particularly views grounded in the personal and political experiences of LUNDU staff. Interconnecting their views on the latter are the following statements. Development is holistic intra-interpersonal and ecological well being. Critical activist pedagogy is needed to teach social justice--premised citizenship and political action. Premised upon the aforementioned two concepts, there is a need for democracy and state governance structures to directly support critical public dialogues arising from civil society's most marginalized perspectives, even if they are conflictual, towards the proliferation of inclusive spaces. With activist inclusive critical pedagogies, citizens can have the skills to forge ahead with these spaces, with or without state support and potentially influence public policymaking and democratic politics. Hence a dialectical relationship is restored to state and civil society relations, allowing for a return to true and new constructions of democracy as needed by the majority and most marginalized.

Despite all of the challenges of alliance building, the campaign accomplished most of its spaces through relational encounters, described by Carrillo and Castro as 'pedagogical' in the sense that they offered activists and LUNDU as a whole a constant learning process. These relational encounters were pedagogical in the sense that the campaign was enacted as a form of public pedagogy grounded in activist Afro-Peruvian perspectives of social justice seeking to shut-down racist and oppressive socio-political practices (cultural, relational, and uncontested as

critically needed by the state). Due to the campaign’s design, most skills were developed through ‘relational activities’ and ‘encounters’ and all were intrinsically sharpened through “on the job” campaign involvement (Ollis, 2012, p. 71). Because the campaign’s scope encompassed much more than a “single-issue” (Ruitenbergh, 2009, p. 278), the critical learning of knowledges that stemmed from it was also diverse. I attempt to capture the critical knowledges and skills from the campaign in figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: Critical Skills and Knowledges Acquired Through *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* Campaign Action



The knowledges and skills I list are derived from the entire campaign case study research and through the interviews with Carrillo and Castro. They include: critical theoretical knowledges, Afro-descendant identity understanding and political application (critical understanding of Afro-descendant identity through literary and cultural studies and then using this to devise political projects), understandings of power (analysing constructs and relations to grasp hegemonic patterns), political literacy (historical and contemporary configurations; bureaucratic processes), media/ communications critical interaction (from analyzing to strategically engaging; blogging, website creation and management, newsprint publications, etc.), public relations (networking and marketing across fields), reflection and reflexive analysis skills¹³¹, mentor/ mentee capacities (whether intended to or not various degrees of mentorship are taken on, to be a good mentor one must always be willing to be mentored; open-mindedness, respect, patience, etc.), writing abilities (reports analysis and writing, grants applications, news briefs, creative, etc.), publishing (understanding purpose, audience, access, fields, logistics), reciprocal dialogue (concise language, reciprocal listening, engaged behaviour; can be strategic/ used for mentoring), alliance building (establishing relations of solidarity, learning advocacy, navigating emotions, strategic etc.), group leadership and conflict resolution, personal coping/ survival techniques (skills needed for any involvement with social justice action, methods to work through stress, rage, insecurities such as art), and strategic staff and volunteer hiring and management (if skills are lacking in some way, hiring needs to be done in accordance with the organizations' precise needs and availability of funds).

¹³¹ Andreotti (forthcoming) refers to the practice of reflection “as thinking about individual journeys and assumptions”, whereas being self reflexive is about the practice of “tracing individual assumptions to collective socially, culturally and historically situated 'stories' with specific ontological and epistemological assumptions that define what is real, ideal and knowable (i.e. 'root' narratives)” (p. 3).

I placed the campaign top and centre to highlight that the transformative ‘power’ is in the action work itself. The knowledges and skills gained from the work, as well as socio-political impacts, resulted in the activist pedagogy. As discussed with Carrillo and drawn from activist literature, activist pedagogy can and should inform critical pedagogical classrooms which aim to teach transformative action. Activist pedagogy should be introduced into formal learning settings not as an ideological-based method of learning but rather as an integral component of challenging the status quo towards greater social justice. Whether on the streets with the *Apúntate* notebook or within congress or classrooms, Carrillo’s experiences revealed the need for a more ‘real’ approach to transformative teaching, one that balances levels of direct confrontation acknowledging the risk that some people may walk away and not come back, with patience to foster dialogue, not from an egocentric position of being more in the right, but rather from a position of total investment into the transformative power of pedagogy. The campaign provided the Peruvian public with ‘conduits’ through which to increase their personal socio-political social justice awareness. Spivak (2004) calls for the “uncoercive rearrangement of desires” yet, this case study reveals that to just teach textual readings in such ways that are discursive and critical, yet empty of political, colonial, local, historical, and contemporary context, without the story of struggle and recognition of the activist’s work, can just result in more texts empty of the ‘radical’ reality free of false objectivity necessary for socio-political transformation in Peru (p. 559). Ultimately, it may be easier from a poststructuralist/ postcolonial perspective to speak of critical pedagogy as needing to be ‘uncoercive’ and thus theorize activism as separate from pedagogy, yet, this case study suggests that for socio-political transformation to occur, there should be an acknowledgement of a certain inevitable level of adversarial engagement when critical learning is happening, of the inevitable ‘political’ and

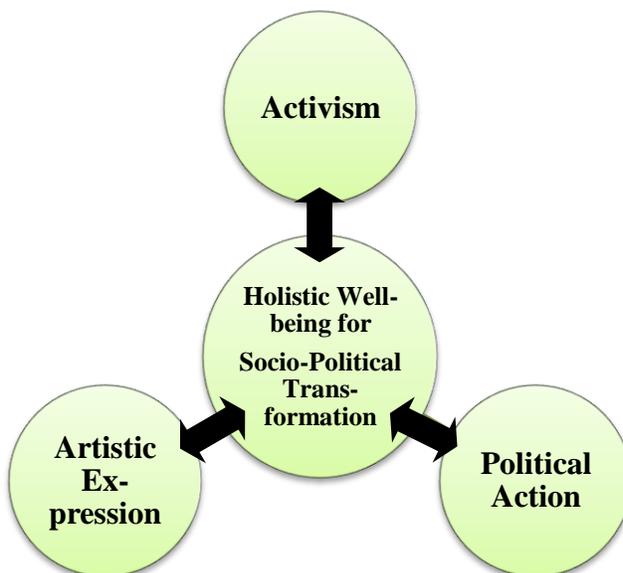
subjective nature of pedagogy. This case study highlights that what becomes pivotal is understanding the audiences and learners being engaged, and managing the pedagogical responses and cues, and employing methods, that neither allow dominant hegemonic perspectives to walk away unchallenged, nor lose the opportunity to pass on the tools for reading into and through neocolonial discourses.

In this case study, emotions came up as an important point of learning in relation to challenging dominant discourses and power constructs, as well as learning about micro-politics such as patriarchy and alliance-building. It was discussed how emotions as theorized by critical scholars such as hooks and Ruitenberg are a strategic part of learning political engagement and revolutionary transformation. Being that art and creative aesthetics form a significant part of LUNDU's anti-racist Afro-Peruvian grounded teaching and Carrillo's personal initiatives, they came up during my interview with her as an important coping and learning vehicle for critical learning in relation to emotions, stress and rage. Art (visual and music, although it was emphasized that 'art' can take many forms) surfaced as a tool with which to confront forms of violation, constructively manage rage, and learn how to use ones' emotions as organic information for nurturing and informing the activist spirit and actions. Carrillo was able to use artistic expression as a method not only to help her strategically cope with the demands of activist work, but also to channel her more radical and extreme emotions and perspectives into artistic creation and strategic political decision-making. Thus this case study spotlights the importance of expanding scholarship on art as an integral component of activist work for socio-political transformation. Although there is considerable scholarship on activist forms of public art, it would be valuable to study how art can be a coping outlet that facilitates the process of political learning and activist pedagogy. Art as a coping strategy of self preservation and

personal emotional growth was central for the endurance of the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign and its leaders. Thus I now have a compelling drive to address how the concepts of ‘artistic freedom’, ‘anti-racism’, and ‘activism’ are all engaged in relation to diverse forms of artistic practice (personal and public) by Afro-Peruvians to both support and facilitate political engagement.

The following radial figure demonstrates how throughout my discussion with Carrillo and Castro, and also my analysis of LUNDU’s overall anti-racist pedagogical initiatives, it became clear that in order for socio-political transformation to occur and for re-articulations of citizenship, development and democracy to become stronger, the self has to be grounded in a space of holistic well-being focused on that transformation. Thus neither the artistic, activist, nor political work takes precedence over each other, as represented in figure 5.2. Rather all three combine to produce not just public spaces, but various spaces within the self for sustainable regeneration, transformation and democratic disciplining, affecting the overall conception of the citizen and civic action in relation to social justice work.

Figure 5.2: Interrelationship Between Activism, Artistic Expression, and Political Action Towards Socio-Political Transformation



I would even go on to conclude that this holistic approach to managing activist, artistic, and political work was a way to confront, overcome, and navigate through the entrenched divisions that exists between art and activism and the ‘professional’ terrain of politics. While completing this case study I realized how thanks to a very Westercentric perspectives of what democracy and academia ‘should’ be about, activism and artistry are conceptualized as ‘irrational’ and therefore delinked from ‘professional’ practices. Within the context of this case study, activism, art, and politics were linked for personal and then more broadly, socio-political transformation, indicating the correlation between the need to ‘re-value’ activism and art as forms of both informal and formal political expressions and the overall re-articulation of citizenship, development and democracy.

Finally, the diverse impact which LUNDU’s *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign had on the creation of spaces, public informal (protests, street demonstrations, etc.), formal (academic/ professional conferences) and political (congressional presentations, constitutional reform, etc.), and for the re-articulation of citizenship, development and democracy, was extensively analyzed and discussed. What resulted as central learning from the overall campaign process was that the merging of ‘Afro-Peruvian identity’ work with the conceptualization of technical tools and political proposals--an Afro-Peruvian aesthetic of praxis--is what was and is needed for Peru’s democratic transformation. Notwithstanding, this case study also suggests that there are explicit patterns of ‘broken’ citizen action that need to be radically altered in Peru if political transformation is to be achieved in a sustainable fashion. Perhaps, where other social movements have began with cohesive agenda planning, in Peru it may be that a broader social justice and anti-discrimination movement has become more defined through a campaign. In that sense, future developments of a possible social movement may derive from a proliferation of

similar critical campaigns and alliance-building to support leading organization and leaders. LUNDU recognizes it failed at building significant cohesion amongst Afro-Peruvian organizations. Nonetheless recognizes that in sticking with its agenda of highly public anti-racist work and fight against racist media, it challenged embedded sexism and racism, and demonstrated political conviction.

Hindrances/ Advances to 'Afro-descendant' Movement Cohesion and Solidarity Building

When researching Afro-Peruvians international researchers such as Lewis (2012) have employed social movement theory. Also, when writing about activism, most scholars refer to it in reference to social movements (Walia, 2012). In Peru, the term 'movimiento'¹³² was utilized by Afro-Peruvian activists in the 1970s and 1980s in reference to the work they were doing and the overall Afro-Peruvian 'movement' unity they were trying to achieve. But since then, the term has not been frequently employed by Afro-Peruvians, unless being discussed as something that Afro-Peruvian organizations are separately striving for, but are not achieving because of inability to overcome this very precise 'separate' working divide. Thus I tried to approach Afro-Peruvian initiatives from the ontological and epistemic strands that Afro-Peruvians themselves are engaging, versus that of social movement theory. As an 'outsider' I see and understand various Afro-Peruvian organizations working against oppression in its entirety and multiple manifestations, striving for an end to racism and seeking to promote a sustainable and social justice approach to development. However, I understand that there are conflicting forms of addressing issues and carrying out activist work which may be grounded in patriarchal sexism. The *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* case study reveals that LUNDU grasps the value of local and

¹³² Movement.

international voices uniting, especially those from civil society. Chartock (2011)¹³³ states that in the case of Ecuador and Peru, the strength of social movements is responsible for policy implementation and participatory political shifts in relation to sustainable ethno-development policies. Strong social movement presence in Ecuador meant that when administrations lagged in funding, policy, and agency creation, the movement has the “mobilizational power to nudge the government into action” (p. 301). Drawing from the work of various social movement scholars, Chartock cites various components of social movement strength which help to bring about policy implementation: “disrupting politics-as-usual when perceived as necessary”¹³⁴, “a degree of institutionalization”¹³⁵, “longevity and endurance”¹³⁶, “movement numbers and movement unity matter for mobilizational capacity as well as for how the social movement’s challengers and audience perceive them”¹³⁷, and “the degree to which the social movement has affiliated organizations at national, regional, and local levels (or “geographic scope”)¹³⁸. After completing the case study I feel that LUNDU is aware of the importance of strong social movement components, attempting to foster several of them through the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign and their ensuing projects. This said, admittedly LUNDU recognizes the need for ‘work’ to be done on the overall aspect of ‘numbers’ and ‘unity’.

Further re-thinking hindrances to Afro-Peruvian movement unity, I am troubled that although gender, age, and race were addressed within this case study, class was only mentioned in passing. Class deserves much more of a structured analytical approach in relation to its impact

¹³³ She highlights a lack of national-level social movement organization in Peru in relation to Indigenous Peruvians; Afro-Peruvians did not marginally factor into her consideration of a civil society presence, not to mention a social movement presence in Peru.

¹³⁴ Chartock cites Piven & Cloward, 1979; Tarrow, 1994; Tilly, 1999; Andrews, 2001; Giugni et al, 1999; Giugni, 2004.

¹³⁵ Chartock cites Tilly, 1999; Andrews, 2001; Giugni et al, 1999; Giugni, 2004.

¹³⁶ Chartock cites Yashar, 2005, p. 22.

¹³⁷ Tilly, 1993.

¹³⁸ Yashar, 2005, p. 22.

on Afro-descendant relations, especially those of activists. Very little scholarship exists by or on Afro-Peruvian activists' personal experiences with class and working across class differences. Lewis' (2012) study notes that non-university educated Afro-Peruvian youth trying to get involved with more 'activist' oriented work, expressed feeling it far too challenging to feel comfortable with university educated activists. Golash-Boza (2010) discusses how moving to urban centers, historical family wealth, and the acquisition of higher education facilitates a process of 'cultural whitening', acquisition of privilege and simultaneous class climbing. Overall I feel strongly that research is needed on how Afro-descendants with upwardly mobile social status conceive Afro-Peruvian activism and their own role in state discourses; how "allegiances to institutions or powerful factions within those locations often constrain and inhibit independent thought" and also, how class and activism are constituted and understood across the 'rural/urban' divide (hooks, 1995, p. 239). Special attention should be paid to perspectives on development and democracy of Afro-Peruvians from polarized social sectors. The latter is critical for a more nuanced and intersectional understanding of how class impacts/ hinders an Afro-Peruvian movement.

Rhizomatic Networks: Inclusion? Self-Representation? Appropriation? Co-optation?

This case study was shaped around the goal of analyzing the impact of *Apúntate Contra el Racismo*, as public activist pedagogy, on conceptions of citizenship, development, and democracy in Peru. As such I was aware of the problematics of engaging 'development', of not completely stepping aside from the 'modernist' framework. Yet, I was attempting to find political hope and a radical participatory possibility in modernism as something uniquely engaged in Latin America (Escobar, 1992a & 1995). I think that the campaign ultimately established a transformational socio-political relevant approach. Of course its accomplishments

are not without ongoing struggles around limiting ‘in/ exclusion’ (Walsh, 2012), appropriation, nor co-optation. However, this case study ultimately reveals that impact is not just about the direct reproduction/ rearticulation of discourses, but also about the nuanced learnings, shifts, gains, and rhizomatic networks of people once impossible, becoming possible as a result of the latter. Walsh (2012) poses some questions in relation to Afro-Latino movements that are key for addressing the impact of the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign, especially when maintaining a critical focus of development: “Can the structural problems of inequality and exclusion that African descendants have historically faced be adequately addressed or solved by a new state model or project, and/ or by a new politics of visibility, citizenship, and inclusion?”, “What happens when inclusion leaves the problem of power unmentioned and unaddressed, when it becomes functional and representative rather than transformative in nature?”, “What are the interests and complicities involved in today’s multilateral and international cooperation for African descendants in Latin America?” (p. 25) and, “To what extent do new politics and practices rearticulate the apparatus of the state along a universalism and a national project still mestizo-normed, but now represented through a pluricultural and racially conscious rhetoric?” (p. 32). I proceed to discuss the aforementioned in relation to the case study’s arising questions and resulting areas for future critical study.

Walsh (2012) stresses that international norms and development funding have in many ways contributed to the “effective exclusion of the rural as “other”” and the privileging of the “urbanized agenda of racism, antidiscrimination, affirmative action, and inclusion into the realm of the national enabling and authorizing “urban organizations, institutions and leaders... to speak for all Afro-descendants” (p. 23), a thought also echoed in Thomas’ (2011) comprehensive mapping of Afro-Peruvian organizations. Although LUNDU did take the campaign outside of

Lima to the rest of Peru's provinces, collecting signatures and testimonies from people living in more 'rural' areas, it was ultimately based in Lima. However, LUNDU's previous experiences developing a resource centre and educational workshops in rural provinces and what Carrillo disclosed, indicated that the decision to centre the campaign in Lima was a political one not meant to entrench the urban-rural divide, but rather to effectively place Afro-Peruvian initiatives front and centre of state and development institutional headquarters to such a magnified degree that the state could no longer keep marginalizing nor invisibilizing Afro-Peruvians. Carrillo reiterated throughout our many exchanges, as did other Afro-Peruvian leaders, that Lima is the 'political centre' and as such is the place where issues of racism and marginalization are heightened and development strategies for how to address poverty and marginalization across the country are established. However, it was recognized that specific questions and initiatives, such as engaging Afro-Peruvians and state representatives around questions of higher education inclusion need to be outlined and researched in direct collaboration with rural communities to ascertain the relevance of the instrumentalization of higher education and their specific experiences of inaccessibility and marginalization.

In relation to 'development funding' Carrillo rehighlighted that it was not until right before the 2011 International Year of Afro-descendants, that international organizations shifted their funding focus from one on the 'seemingly destitute rural portfolio' which facilitated salvationist engagement and avoided political complicitness, to a focus on more 'urban centred and political' projects. This shift aligned with "a new organizing and positioning of the state around the "liberal" principles of equality, citizenship, and rights for all; the political ideals of liberty, autonomy, and sovereignty; and the principles, ideals, and strategies of inclusion and social cohesion" in an almost desperate pursuit for the image of a stronger state (Walsh, 2012, p.

24). Carrillo stated she had done her research into the campaign funders, AJWS¹³⁹, Urgent Action Fund¹⁴⁰, and IWHC¹⁴¹, as best she could. I only recently realized what a struggle it was for me to ‘question’ into the funding decisions and selections made by LUNDU, because of my increasing feelings of solidarity with LUNDU’s work. Carrillo and I discussed the complexities and complicities of ‘development’ related funding. She acknowledged that LUNDU had to become much more critical of funders’ positioning in relation to how they engage their own countries’ marginalized and minoritized groups and the specific funders.

Walsh (2012) highlights that international development organizations tend to premise their funding support around a “social cohesion” approach in an attempt “to confront internal fragmentation, minimize conflicts and the disparities of difference, and re-establish a common

¹³⁹ AJWS¹³⁹ was established in Boston on May 1, 1985 when Larry Phillips and Larry Simon, together with a group of rabbis, Jewish communal leaders, activists, businesspeople, scholars and others came together to create the first American Jewish organization dedicated to alleviating poverty, hunger and disease among people across the globe. Its target areas are Asia, the Americas, and Africa. Its project and grant focus include: supporting grassroots groups to carry out their own projects (especially those that face political/ social dissent), education development, healthcare, sustainable agriculture, and women’s rights. Although AJWS attempts to fund projects such as a civil society initiative in opposition of the Ugandan anti-homosexuality bill and counter movements to genetically engineered food staples, it still employs a generally salvationist and paternalistic approach to working with other countries, employing terms such as ‘underdeveloped’ and developing world. It is also important to note that although AJWS considers marginalized communities as powerful agents of change when mobilized from within, it has since 2012 faced some controversy for its yearly trip to Israel that has tended to avoid or limit the time which staff members and participants spend in Palestine. However its corresponding websites do state that AJWS is striving to support the diverse and politicized views of its Jewish youth who champion critical social justice and are increasingly voicing dissident views to the policies and perspectives of the Israeli state. The previous organization description (the analysis is mine) was retrieved on February 22nd, 2014, from the AJWS website; <http://ajws.org/>; Information regarding the Avodah-AJWS trip was retrieved on February 2, 2014, from the Avodah website; <http://forward.com/articles/151839/avodah-shifts-focus-of-israel-trip/>

¹⁴⁰ Urgent Action Fund has historically tended to focus on women’s human rights, although it is expanding beyond its ‘womens’ focus. It is governed by a large board of directors and advisors, which currently includes a diverse ethno-racial participation. Although based in the states, it appears to be much more critically grounded in counter hegemonic perspectives, avoiding use of the terms ‘developing¹⁴⁰’ and ‘underdeveloped’, and focusing on building advocacy and alliances with activists around the world, and rapid-fire funding approval. Their funding seems to support highly politicized projects both at home and abroad that counter oppressive immigration laws (especially in the US post 911), anti-homosexuality violence, Indigenous land abuses by private and state companies, etc. The previous organization description was retrieved on February 22, 2014, from the Urgent Action Fund website; <http://urgentactionfund.org/>

¹⁴¹ The IWHC focuses on the sexual, reproductive and health rights of women and works to grant and mentor over eighty organizations in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East whilst also playing an active role at the UN and in Washington to effect government commitments to sexual health and reproductive rights. However, it proved challenging to find information on its governance structure and advisory team. The previous organization description was retrieved on February 22, 2014, from the IWHC website; <http://iwhc.org/>

sentiment of individual belonging necessary for integration, inclusion, and equality” (p. 25). Thus according to Walsh, this social cohesion approach, when espoused by the state can lead to the changing state showing “itself through modern and stylized Black bodies and faces, whose voices, when heard, appear to most often whisper in tune with the regime” (p. 29). However, I think that this can be a point of analysis and precaution for most grassroots efforts that although suggesting anti-oppressive initiatives grounded in experiential paradigms are often still working within Western teleological frameworks and seeking state engagement. Yet, this should not take away from the initiatives’ transformative potential. As LUNDU and the *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign revealed, when grounded in critical memory, a consciousness of negritud and historical struggle, an awareness of hegemonic power relations and a determination to counter re-colonizing powers, it is possible to impact re-articulations and re-conceptualizations of citizenship and henceforth the non-rhetorical right to voice and inclusion. Aligned with Mouffe’s theorization of a radical democracy and Escobar’s ‘alternative’ views to development, hybridity, agonism, activism, and political as well as public sphere engagement, we are able to see LUNDU’s work as an attempt to contribute to a new vocabulary which facilitates the possibility of a ‘radical democratic’ hegemony (Mouffe, as cited in Worsham & Olson, 1999). This case study illustrates the pivotal relevance of Mouffe’s and Escobar’s scholarship together, for understanding a “non-rationalistic conception of politics” (Mouffe, as cited in as cited in Worsham & Olson, 1999, p. 168) and not only attempting to move beyond teleological notions of politics and development, but acknowledging the possibility of the “reappropriation of some of modernity’s principles, such as social change, the commitment to justice, and the emancipation from poverty and oppression” (Escobar, 1992c, p. 68) through a melange of strategic tools and methods.

This case study reveals how *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* extends beyond Mouffe's vague conceptualization of citizenship as "a principle of action" (as cited in Worsham & Olson, 1999, p. 176) and Escobar's (1992c) suggestion of civil society actors in Latin America coming through hybrid processes of interaction and learning to "assert themselves in the language of power" (p. 83). LUNDU posed a public counter to the status quo of white-mestizo/ criollo hegemonic dominance in Peru. Mouffe theorizes the principal of democratic action as the struggle among adversaries for a "transformation in the relations of power" to establish a different hegemony all together, which I interpret as a counter-hegemony (as cited in Worsham & Olson, 1999, p. 164). Thus as such a process of ongoing struggle, understanding of new political "vocabularies" (p. 178) and conflictual consensus are critical when concluding an analysis of LUNDU's campaign and socio-political impact. Through the campaign, LUNDU's leaders and the campaign staff in a way also took on the role of "intellectuals" (Mouffe, as cited in Worsham & Olson, p. 178) publicly enacting and teaching critical thinking about "what kind of institutions and what kind of practices could be the ones in which new forms of citizenship could exist" (p. 179). Despite their differences in theoretical 'locality', Mouffe theorizing from a Eurocentric framework and Escobar theorizing from a Latin American counter Euro/ethnocentric framework, both conclude that ultimately citizenship, political democratic action and the struggle for social justice are all discursive. When aiming for a counter-neocolonial transformation of society, there will never be total consensus, but when working for social justice as a 'societas'¹⁴², citizens become linked in different struggles, yet struggles that oppose the current neoliberal hegemony with a common understanding that there will always be different

¹⁴² In this case study I employ the term as theorized by Mouffe (as cited in Worsham and Olson, 1999), "societas names a bond that links citizens ("friends" and "adversaries") together but that leaves room for dissensus. It is a bond created by common values (for example, liberty and equality), although the definition or interpretation of those values is always in contestation" (p. 165).

forms of hegemonic struggles over meaning making especially in relation to what constitutes the ‘common good’ (Mouffe, as cited in Worsham & Olson, 1999, p. 191). Although there can never be complete inclusion precisely because of the discursive nature of socio-political action, “We can at the same time recognize that there will always be some forms of exclusion, but nevertheless fight in order to make those forms of exclusion as minimal as possible” (Mouffe, as cited in Worsham & Olson, p. 186), and “pay closer attention to routes to or strategies for ensuring nonelite access to policymaking and implementation” (Alvarez & Escobar & Alvarez, 1992, p. 329), which is ultimately what this case study reveals LUNDU’s campaign accomplished.

Although I agree with Mouffe’s declaration that “There is always a terrain for intervention” (Mouffe, as cited in Worsham & Olson, 1999, p. 186), her analysis lacks explicit acknowledgement of colonial cyclical chains of oppression and thus the inevitability that some groups are more marginalized than others and will have to fight harder. There is a lack of Eurocentric reflexivity in her theoretical engagement that can undermine the initiatives of marginalized groups such as LUNDU. In a way, Walsh (2012) is right to indicate that Afro-Latino movements have had a tendency to replicate what is “mestizo-normed” through “pluricultural and racially conscious” representations (p. 29). But, I feel this case study reveals the intricate, and often nuanced pedagogical and political gains and shifts that can be missed when analyzing the work of grassroots groups from rigid modern/ postmodern teleologies. Walsh (2012) describes in the Afro-Ecuadorean case, the ability of the state to appropriate the Afro presence and movement as “illustrative of the Citizens’ Revolution’s pillars of inclusion, equality, citizenship, and human rights (p. 29)”, whereas Greene (2012) argues that this is not the case with Peru, where the government is so superficially multicultural that it exists in fear of

institutionally recognizing through normative inclusion of any level, the relevance of Afro-Peruvians to development. I would argue that this *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign case study highlights how LUNDU forced Afro-Peruvian ‘visibility’ by the state. I would also argue that *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* garnered such a high level of visibility with directly ‘democratic tools and strategies (previously unseen in Peru and conviction to alter dominant discourses, that the states began to take careful notes early on. LUNDU’s campaigning made Blackness visible, challenged the ‘codes’ of neocolonialism, thus also the conscious and ‘dysconscious forms of racism’ (King, 1991) and oppressive hegemonic control. The campaign resulted in greater state inclusion for Afro-descendants, but this ‘inclusion’ does translate in some areas to direct agenda and strategy appropriation, which is highly revealing of who is actually providing the exemplary lessons of ‘true’ democratic actions citizenship in Peru.

I believe the most important question now is, what will LUNDU and the state do with the knowledge accumulated through the campaign? Experiential, activist and political knowledge was transferred through relational encounters during the campaign most of which had rhizomatic effects. Greene (2012) states that prior to this, there have only been three self-identified Afro-Peruvian members of congress since Maria Elena Moyano, which include Martha Moyano Delgado, Jose Luis Risco, and Cecilia Tait, none of whom promoted Afro-Peruvian issues (p. 162). According to Greene (2012), Afro-Peruvians in congress posed little threat or interest to the state, thus could not even be considered as being co-opted. Greene (2012) cites Martha Moyano Delgado who entered congress in the late 1990s, without an Afro-Peruvian agenda, nor self-identification as an Afro-Peruvian and only after Toledo’s ‘multicultural’ strategy, began to self-identify and bank off this ‘multiculturalism’ and the basic inclusion of Afro-Peruvians within the state’s new visioning, which was work of activist organizations such as CEDET and

LUNDU (p. 164). Yet, since *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* was launched, there has been an increase in formal state hirings of self-identifying Afro-Peruvians, such as Rocio Muñoz, former LUNDU Executive Director and campaign team member, into ministry positions and more publicized inclusion of Afro-Peruvian NGOs in anti-discriminatory project planning. After a first analysis this indicates a slow rhizomatic increase in Afro-Peruvian self-representation within ‘formal’ political settings. Yet, after a second analysis, one can state that without the proper acknowledgement of knowledge sources and work accomplished by non-state actors, there is a sharp appropriative slant on behalf of the state and co-optated status on behalf of former civil society actors such as Rocio Muñoz.

Highly illustrative of LUNDU’s impact on the state’s more direct inclusion of Afro-Peruvians is INDEPA’s (a body of the Ministry of Culture) former inactivity in relation to Afro-Peruvian initiatives, and the Ministry of Culture’s current hyper-visibility in relation to Afro-Peruvian leadership in relation to discrimination and racism. It is interesting as well that sudden drastic inclusion of Afro-Peruvian anti-discriminatory initiatives are still being treated as a ‘cultural’ state ministry area, versus as necessarily relevant within MIDIS, whose task as the Ministry of *Development and Social Inclusion* is supposedly to establish normative frameworks which address the needs of Peru’s diverse peoples to ‘develop’, learn and live, in the best conditions possible, with equal access to resources, and with their rights to their lands and cultures protected- however, this is not the case. The questions which now arise are: Can former civil society actors now working for the state still engage in activism or are they always co-opted? Can greater self-representation lead to socio-political (public, institutional, and normative) transformation inclusive of Afro-Peruvian and other marginalized groups development agendas? It seems to me that the state’s inclusion of non-state actors has been

strategic, consisting mostly of individuals it considers a lower risk threat to the status quo. The *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* campaign led to a sanction against Frecuencia Latina, a media mogul representative of mestizo elite power. According to Mouffe's and Escobar's interpretations of 'radical' and 'participatory' democratic transformations, the state would now have to support more counter-hegemonic civil society initiatives such as the latter. Also, in other words, the 'synergy between civil society, political parties and democratic institutions' (Mouffe, as cited in Carpentier & Cammaerts, 2006) now needs to become much stronger. And the state needs to grasp at a deeper level the difference coming into the role of a facilitator and defender of democratic adversarial discussion, and appropriation of citizen initiatives. LUNDU has exemplified truly democratic citizen action, monitoring the state's provision or lack thereof, of services and protection of rights. However, the state still has to report more transparently on its interaction with civil society groups, its support for projects initiated by civil society groups, and the resources/ strategies it has drawn from grassroots sectors crediting due groups. Perhaps, this is why LUNDU is now taking the time to critically consider which ministries, state representatives and media industry professionals it will proceed to develop working relationships with. Discussions with Carrillo, Castro and other Afro-Peruvian leaders, reveal an importance for Afro-Peruvians to enter discussions of direct participation in the political or demand specific ministry roles or positions for themselves. However, because most are weary of Peru's democracy as never being a system whose institutions can include their needs and perspectives, without appropriating them or co-opting their work, the precise route to party participation remains unclear.

Walsh (2012) writes that in Ecuador, President Correa, plays off "Afro-descendants as model minorities compared with the thorn-in-his-side that is the indigenous movement" (p. 30).

This case study revealed the importance of building alliances and developing solidarity networks with other groups in Peru, including those that are non-Afro, who are working against racism in Peru, but it especially highlighted the need for analysis on Afro-Peruvian-Indigenous relations. Throughout the trajectory of *Apúntate Contra el Racismo*, LUNDU's relations with Indigenous groups such as CHIRAPAQ grew stronger emphasizing the need for continuous dedication to developing Afro-Indigenous relations. Taking a slight detour from the literature search within the scope of this case study, I ran some additional searches on Afro-Indigenous relations/ alliances/ civil society collaborative efforts/ general studies in Peru. Overall, results for Indigenous studies in relation to Peruvian education and development were narrow and fairly limited to bilingual intercultural initiatives and agricultural technologies. To no surprise scholarship on Afro-Peruvian-Indigenous relations was lacking. Since completing this case study, I am motivated to further delve into what 'decolonizing' social justice work looks like and how allyship unfolds in Peru. Several new questions pervade my thoughts. How do Afro-descendants and Indigenous peoples in Peru understand 'decolonizing'? How do Afro and Indigenous groups understand each others' civil society efforts? What does it mean to claim Indigenous or Afro-Peruvian ancestry within this context? Can the concept of 'decolonizing' be employed in contexts such as Peru when not referring to the repatriation of lands to Indigenous peoples? How has miscegenation and the history of colonialism in Peru created contemporary "complex colonial encounters" (Bunjun, 2011, p. 298)? How is entitlement accumulated and circulated amongst marginalized groups working towards social justice? How do Indigenous peoples view Afro-Peruvian claims and development re-articulations? In a country such as Peru, where Quechua speaking Andean groups are being denied 'Indigenous' status to support their claims for free and informed prior consultation in relation to mining exploration because of arguments that they are not 'pure'

Indigenous peoples, and where Afro-Peruvians have been denied rights to land as in contexts such as Colombia, it is vital to build understanding of how groups can assist each other in the fight against neo-colonialism. Bunjun (2011) highlights:

Within social justice movements, we speak of building solidarity and alliance with Indigenous peoples. What does that look like and which Indigenous Peoples are we talking about? Is this solidarity passive and cowardly or active and courageous? It is critical to recognize the diversity of Indigenous Peoples movements from those that engage in social change by working with the colonial State and those that refuse to work with the colonial State. (p. 297)

Unfortunately, I was not able to sort through Bunjun's considerations within my study, but firmly believe researchers should address these considerations despite the conceptual, methodological, and logistical challenges involved.

It would be especially informative and beneficial to overall social justice initiatives in Peru, to conduct a study into the links between Amazonian and Afro-Peruvian agendas and the diverse and shared perspectives on organizational and state leadership shared by and within these two marginalized groups. Andreotti, Ahenakew, and Cooper (2011) state that "agendas are also generally enacted in contexts of scarcity that encourage competition for legitimacy and resources (through a quest for purity and authenticity) instead of solidarity. In promoting these agendas, the "strategic" dimension of essentialism is often forgotten" (p. 48). Greene (2007) states:

As the leader of one Afro NGO in Lima put it, "So, if it had been a percentage-based election we would have come in second place. . . . Everyone sees us as an Andean country where there are no Afros and therefore the Afros must have come in through the window because, from the very first moment, it was always the Commission for Andean and Amazonian issues." But this remark also implicitly alludes to the fact that indigeneity is itself non-uniform in Peru. Notice the critical awareness of Peru as an "Andean country" ("un país andino"). (pp. 453-454)

Thus as Afro-Peruvians and Amazonians, have been working for the past two decades to receive official recognition for their struggles, they have also been constructed by race and cultural scholars (although probably unintentionally in most cases) as Andean opponents thus fictionalizing Afro/ Amazonian/ Andean divides. These divides become weapons for those wishing to halt larger cohesive social justice action. As Andreotti et al. (2011) highlight, these types of inter/intra ethnic struggles tend to

reproduce the very cycle of oppression of colonialism the agendas themselves aim to displace, by creating a form of activism that constructs internal dissent as a pathology, projected back onto members of the community who dissent. This form of activism tends to breed insecurity, anger, mistrust, self-righteousness, siege-consciousness and parochialism, which in turn leads to more trauma and its effects--- more internalized oppression and more ethno-stress. (p. 48)

Thus, studies such as these could help counter state attempts at entrenching and consolidating hierarchical ethnic and racial divisions amongst Indigenous (Andean) peoples, Amazonian peoples, and Afro-Peruvians. As this case study illustrates, actual consensus within and amongst groups struggling for social justice, will always be a struggle. There will always be levels of ‘agonism’ involved. But as Mouffe emphasizes throughout her work, what becomes crucial is use of consensus as a working goal towards the establishment of ‘we’ chains of equivalence that push for a transformation of power circuits. This is particularly important to prevent neoliberal development and state planning rhetoric which calls for “channels of plural voice” and “diversity” as replacements for “participation quotas and consensus building” (Cotlear, 2006) and thus protects the state from needing to be accountable to the myriad of voices, perspectives, initiatives, and needs actually being proposed and demanded.

LUNDU, Higher Education, and Civil Society

Reflecting on how the campaign revealed aspects of how to forge transformative spaces and relations for ‘we’ chains of equivalence, I redraw attention to Carrillo’s illustration of the need for greater inclusion of civil society initiatives and critical curricula grounded in Afro-Peruvian and Indigenous perspectives within higher education. Ichilov, Bar-tal, and Mazawi (1989) affirm that democracy is a learned behaviour (p. 153). Hence, what is the most fertile ground for the learning of critical pedagogies such as the activist pedagogy illustrated by *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* that foster democratic action? According to LUNDU, the terrain for democratic learning consists of public spaces and institutions, especially higher education institutions. Yet there are many higher education institutional shifts still missing for universities

to fulfill such a pivotal socio-political role. Drawing back to Wilhelm Von Humboldt's (Hohendahl, 2011) early nineteenth century idea of the purpose of the university, we see that institutions of higher learning were envisioned by some theoreticians as sites for individual and communal self-development. As the German University of Berlin was founded, Humboldt's theory of 'Bildung' developed to describe the structure and purpose of the university. The university was meant to foster all encompassing learning and holistic self-development. In the mid to late nineteenth century, theologian John Henry Newman proceeded from the concept of 'Bildung' to theorize the university as a place to develop critical reflective skills and a strong sense of agency (Hohendahl, 2011). The role of higher education, instructed Newman, was to foster self-education and civic consciousness for overall self-empowerment through acquisition of not just hard skills but also the insight, reasoning, and understanding of various world views behind knowledge systems. It was therefore important to Newman (1976) that higher education remain separate from the state or at the very least autonomous in its academic functions. Both Humboldt and Newman emphasized notions of higher education that resisted processes of mass industrialization and technocratic development engulfing the societies they inhabited at the time.

Political and academic writer Mazrui (2003) lectured in relation to the condition and interrelationship of higher education and development in Africa that a university's development and that of a nation are intricately and dependent on each other as higher education is the wheel that produces the nations' capital, citizens, and knowledge. This is congruent with Trilokekar's (2009) articulation of higher education as the soft power of nation states. Universities set the tone for the typology of citizens a nation wishes to foster. Mazrui (2003) insists that society, state, and higher education institutions must align development goals with state needs whilst universities maintain institutional independence in order to achieve sustainable development. The task is for

higher education sites to remain attune to internal societal needs and national cultural plurality despite mounting international influences and economic pressures from Western markets. Most universities were established in non-Western regions as “uncompromisingly foreign” (Mazrui, 2003, p. 142) bodies of colonial rule with few concessions to local and historical contexts, thus in contemporary societies they remain often alienating sites for marginalized youth.

Freire developed a pedagogy for the transformative potential of universities. In a dialogue at the National University of Mexico between several political and education theorists on the topic of higher education Freire (in Escobar & Guevara-Niebla, 1994) discussed at length how to utilize higher education to make the revolution (p. 49). He next raised the question of how to direct one’s work toward non-reproduction of the dominating ideology within an institution that has been created for its reproduction (p. 52). Much as Carrillo hopes Afro-Peruvians will do, rather than resigning from the university, Freire (1994) instructs educators and activists to “occupy the spaces and fill them up” through “ideological materialing of the institutional space” (p. 53). He proceeded to underscore the critical value of “knowing” the institutional space: who to count on, who we cannot count on, where our enemies within the institution are, who are those waiting for us revolutionaries to make mistakes and most importantly knowing exactly who we can count on to join forces in the struggle for social change (p. 53). Freire summarized:

Is it possible that we, in a political perspective of transformation, will be able to use to our advantage the university space created by society? That would be the question, because we are only asking, Is it possible that university education could propose a new form of education? I think not, because this would be equivalent to asking the dominating class if it is planning a type of education that would rebel against its domination. Naturally, it would have to say no, because up to now there has never been a dominating class in history that committed suicide, and there is no reason to expect that this should occur in Latin America. It seems to me that the question of interest to us is, Will we, or will we not have the possibility of taking full advantage of the spaces— we as doctors, biologists, chemists, physicists, political scientists, psychologists, etc.? I think that we should hold private congresses, without microphones, without interviews, without the press or anything like that; congresses for ourselves alone, in order to discuss what we can do, and I think that we can do many things. Because if it were not possible to do something, I should ask how it is that the university, as bad as it is and as a reproducer of the dominant ideology, has allowed us to escape such as we are. Perhaps we are geniuses, the chosen of God; no, of course

not! We had an experience outside of the university, a social practice that reeducated us. (p. 58-59).

Thus we come to grasp the centre of Freire's argument. Higher education institutions are not in themselves going to be the "vanguards" of any revolution or major societal transformation.

Rather, through a call to focus on epistemology and subjectivities by the struggles of grassroots groups, there lies the possibility for institutional spaces to become centres for revisioning.

Universities, as spaces of focus, reproduction, and knowledge creation have a specific role in training specialized human talent such as the formation of people with the capacity to influence local, national, and global politics and policymaking (Sierra & Fallon, 2013)¹⁴³. Yet, not unsurprisingly, interaction or 'engagement' of universities with civil society has received limited research focus in Peru, more broadly in Latin America, and even in so-called 'leading development countries' such as Canada and the United States. Appadurai (2006) argues that in today's increasingly market driven globalized economy, institutions are contributing to the further marginalization of peoples, by marginalizing access to research itself. Thus the right to research becomes increasingly important as intrinsic to the ability to gain essential knowledge critical for the claim and exercise of democratic citizenship, and also to force us to take distance from the normal, professionalized view of research, to benefit from research as a discursive, improvable capacity (Appadurai, 2006). The results of negating the right to research and research on institutional-civil society engagement, has been the proliferation of the power of the dominant hegemonic group and the non-performativity of social justice discourses such as anti-racism, diversity, equity, sustainability, etc., as was discussed in Chapter 4 (Ahmed, 2006). Sierra and

¹⁴³ In their article Sierra and Fallon (2013) describe a project which they have been leading since 2012 which focuses on building a partnership between the University of British Columbia, the University of Antioquia, the University of Aalborg, ethno-territorial organizations from northern Colombia and local, national and international NGOs and institutions towards the design and implementation of a pedagogical research project. The goal is to deepen through participatory practices and co-knowledge construction, within a transdisciplinary framework, the capacity of Indigenous, Afro-descendants, and *Campesino* communities in Colombia to actualize and support sustainable development policies and practices from an endogenous perspective.

Fallon (2013) highlight, it is vital now more than ever for research and participatory action projects to be carried out from de-colonial paradigmatic perspectives which will mean promoting and carrying out work in partnership with academic and non-academic collectives, representatives from formal educational institutions and representatives from communities and community organizations or other civil society social actors which carry out extensive teaching and learning often, as was demonstrated with this case study, without being recognized with certifications as ‘educators’. In that sense, academic and non-academic groups need to come together to define and set the policies for how sustainability and social justice will be engaged within higher education. Through this case study it is evident that LUNDU is poised for this endeavour.

Concluding Thoughts

With this *Apúntate Contra el Racismo* case study I set out to answer the following the questions:

- 1.) How did LUNDU leaders come to view themselves as activists and construct their activism in relation to discourses of education, development and participatory politics within the context of Peruvian society?
- 2.) How did LUNDU leaders come to view and construct an ‘activist pedagogy’ and how does it play out in relation to the campaign?
- 3.) How did LUNDU leverage political power through the campaign in order to attain greater public visibility, participatory politics and civic engagement towards socio-political transformation?

By addressing this set of three questions I contextually illustrated an in-depth picture of Afro-Peruvian anti-racism activism, as a case in point of an activist public pedagogy. The main

conclusion from this study aligns with radical participatory re-articulations of democracy as dynamics playing out in diverse spaces of civic action and social justice initiatives. Moreover the study underlines the immense energy and dedication that goes into working along political lines for the re-writing of dominant citizenship, development and democracy discourses. As I further my own community activist work, I continue to grasp the multiple ways of doing activism and of inhabiting the spirit of transformative possibilities. Amongst Afro-descendants in Peru and diaspora peoples, social justice oriented development work is not entirely unanimous in its methods. However, this case study establishes that despite overall social movement struggles amongst Afro-Peruvian organizations, LUNDU was able to map out an entirely democratic route of publicly and politically challenging dominant discourses and social injustices.

A recent conversation with Carrillo revealed the renewed danger which she and LUNDU staff are facing since the sanction imposed by the state against Frecuencia Latina. As a result, LUNDU's new campaign efforts continue, but Carrillo and her staff have to once again increase security measures. Unable to spend extensive periods of time in Lima due to threats to personal safety, Carrillo is developing a new area of LUNDU's work- analyzing how Afro-descendants are portrayed internationally by the media, with a special focus on Latin American Afro-descendants. Through this discussion with Carrillo I further realized the importance of my role and position in Vancouver as a researcher. Thus I will also vigilantly attempt to keep on researching and collaborating with LUNDU on how racism plays out amongst Latinas/os and within mainstream media.

This case study also kept me questioning how Canada's foreign trade related development goals and initiatives impact social justice initiatives in countries, such as Peru. How social justice initiatives are inhibited and conveniently assisted abroad, requires us to rethink

how the provision of development funds, research attention, and media portrayal can all be implicit in cultural, political, and economic agendas that further marginalize endogenous perspectives.

Finally, I continue to be inspired by LUNDU's work and Carrillo's leadership, but also more broadly by the unique initiatives of all Afro-Peruvian organizations and Afro-descendant Peruvian diapora. Despite the geographic distance between Vancouver and Lima, Peru, I am striving to keep in frequent touch with LUNDU and Carrillo, to offer logistical and translation support for their new campaign. My personal goal has become about utilizing my critical learnings to develop my identity as a hybrid Latina-Canadian of mixed Peruvian-Chilean and Afro descent to deepen cultural and political understandings amongst Latin American diaspora, specifically the Chilean and Peruvian communities in Vancouver. I seek to break our implicitness as immigrants and children of immigrants in cycles of injustices back home and in Canada as we continue to carry out our work on Indigenous lands. As Rojas (2011) shares, we are united across time and space and can therefore contribute to critical change irrespective of our location, but what becomes pivotal is our understanding of our communities back home, our places of belonging. How we are able to utilize this knowledge to counter forms of neo-colonization will ultimately, although with much work and pain, serve to tear down the borders and hyphens imposed on us.

I conclude this case study with a few final words from Carrillo. I asked her what insight she would share with an Afro-descendant young woman the same age as she was when she founded LUNDU wanting to launch her own critical campaign or project. She responded:

... toda campaña y toda propuesta tiene que tener siempre una dimensión que se base mucho en sus sentimientos, en sus expectativas, en su vida personal, en aquello que le haya interpelado, que la haya emocionado muy internamente muy en su foro interno, y por lo cual ella crea y este convencida de que tiene que ver un cambio. ... Y en el caso del tema racial, obviamente que por un lado se tiene que apelar a otra persona Afro que se sume y también ese sentimiento utilizarlo

hacia un decisor político o hacia alguien racista también sobre el cual se quiere esforzar un cambio. ... es importante tener una accesoria de otra gente que no esté por tu rubro que no haya pasado por tu experiencia para que te pueda dar la tecnicidad que necesitas, el estilo, la estética que necesitas, pero siempre que tú puedas estar muy segura de lo que quieras proponer de lo que quieras comunicar. ... [conoce] tu historia, tu familia, el origen de tu apellido, de dónde vienes, que paso con los Africanos, etc. ... siempre hay el riesgo de que tu caigas en los prejuicios exóticos que la otra gente, tus otros asesores te van a querer hacer caer, porque ellos no tienen tu experiencia. Entonces si estás segura, si has estudiado, si has leído, siempre vas a tener una herramienta con la cual vas a poder argumentar y el producto de tu campana va ser un producto coherente. Eso le diría!

[... every campaign, every proposal has to always have a dimensión that is based on our emotions, on our expectations, on our personal lives, on everything that which has questioned you, that has touched you deeply, very deep inside your core, and for which she thinks and is convinced there needs to be change. ... And in relation to race, on one side you need to connect with another Afro person to have them join your struggle and also use this drive for political change or towards someone who is racist, to enact any change. It is important to have advice from others who may not share your perspective nor experience so that they can offer technical feedback you may need, the style or esthetic you may need, but always be sure of what you want to propose of what you want to communicate. ... learn your history, your family, the origin of your last name, where you came from, what happened to Africans, etc. ... there is always the risk that you with fall prey to the exotic prejudices of others, even those advising you may want you to fall, because they don't have your experience. So if you're sure, if you have studied, if you've read, you will always have a tool with which you can argue and the product of your campaign will be coherent. That's what I would say!]

If we take her words literally, we grasp that we alone live our experiences, know our pain and can learn from it. Thus if we seek to learn and take action from our heart, from the experiences of marginalization, to build solidarity with others and counter oppression, we may suffer misrepresentation or further violence. We may enact violence ourselves at certain points. But if we continue to be dedicated to learning and developing the skills with which to analyze and confront even ourselves, to be open to critique without losing ourselves in it, it is possible to reclaim our visions. What better place to start learning and challenging dominant discourses than with such activist pedagogy as that established by LUNDU's *Apúntate Contra el Racismo*?

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APPENDIX A: CHRONOLOGY OF CAMPAIGN ACTION

Date	➤ Phase/ Action
August 6 th , 2009	➤ Blog launch of the campaign
August 11 th , 2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Blog publication of the first people to sign up against racism. ➤ The campaign leaders are publicly identified as: Monica Carrillo Zegarra (Executive director of LUNDU), Rocio Munoz Flores (Director of LUNDU), Roberto Arguedas (Director of Artistic Direction), Oswaldo Bilbao Lobaton (Executive Director of CEDET) and Luis Rocca Torres
August 14 th , 2009	➤ First mass public action to collect signature for the fight against racism; the event was held at the Ovalo de Miraflores in Parque Kennedy at noon.
August 18 th , 2009	➤ Newspaper, La Republica publishes an article in support of the campaign
August 21 st , 2009	➤ Newspaper, El Comercio, also signs up against racism
August 27 th , 2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Second mass public action to collect signatures in the centre of Lima; 300 signatures collected. ➤ Campaign leaders and LUNDU volunteers lined along crosswalks with posters stating, “Racism kills/ it’s a form of violence”.
August 28 th -31 st , 2009	➤ Collaboration with CEDET. CEDET members Lilia Mayorga and Susana Matute presented two workshops on the topic of development and human rights in Chiclayo and visited the Afro-Peruvian museum en Yapatera, Piura, during which they invited participants to join the campaign and sign up against racism.
September 11 th , 2009	➤ El Comercio’s student representatives visit the LUNDU office to share their youth perspective on racism and offer their support to the campaign.
September 23 rd , 2009	➤ LUNDU’s first poster contest: called out to elementary and high schools in El Carmen, Chincha to encourage their students to create posters on the topic of racial discrimination and submit them.
November 13 th , 2009	➤ First International Meeting of African Diaspora Studies in Lima Peru at the Hotel Jose Antonio in the Centre of Lima; the goals were 1.) The promotion of African diaspora studies in Peruvian higher education 2.) Formulating recommendations to the state for the elimination of racism 3.) Developing strategies towards a better understanding of the health, education, employment and human rights condition of Afro-Peruvians.
December 12 th , 2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Closing of the first year of the campaign at Parque La Muralla in the centre of Lima. ➤ Event held in the centre of Lima in participation with artists, dancers, musicians, teachers, and sports figures. ➤ Shared with the public that 3000 signatures have been collected officially this far in the <i>Apúntate Contra el Racismo</i> notebook. ➤ Large wooden panels were made available for the public to sign their names on and write their anti-racist perspectives in a ‘mural-community project’ type fashion.
December 14 th , 2009	➤ LUNDU proposes due punishment and possible incarceration for racists.
March 20 th , 2010	➤ LUNDU announces their stance against the racist TV character, <i>El Negro Mama</i> , from <i>El Especial del Humor</i> , to the Peruvian public.

April 8 th , 2010	➤ The TV character, <i>El Negro Mama</i> , is suspended from <i>El Especial del Humor</i> .
May 2 nd , 2010	➤ LUNDU 's action receives the attention of the BBC who publishes on the threats suffered by LUNDU leaders for the anti-racist campaign and action against "El Negro Mama".
May 3 rd , 2010	➤ LUNDU compiles a report along with a myriad of national civil society and international organizations, against racism in the Peruvian media.
May 26 th , 2010	➤ <i>El Negro Mama</i> , was brought back to <i>El Especial del Humor</i> . ➤ LUNDU published a blog entry highlighting the lack of commitment to the anti-racist cause by the network, Frecuencia Latina.
June 7 th , 2010	➤ LUNDU and non-profit society groups Makungu para el Desarrollo, CEDET, and Todas las Sangres publish a nine point declaration against racism in Peru on behalf of Afro-Peruvians.
June 17 th , 2010	➤ As a part of the campaign, LUNDU hosts an 'urban intervention' with the support of CEDET and Makungu para el Desarrollo in the centre of Lima to gain the public's perspectives on the questions 1.) What does humor and comedy without discrimination look like? 2.) What kind of television programming do Peruvian's want? 3.)
August 26 th , 2010	➤ LUNDU hosts Apúntate al Dialogo Contra el Racismo: Racismo, Sexismo, y Medios de Comunicacion" featuring speakers Martin Meier (El Comercio), Miriam Larco (CONCORTV), Usula Marquez (ANDA), Silvia Quinteros (Ministerio de la Mujer), Gaby Cervasco (Flora Tristan), and Monica Carrillo (LUNDU Executive President).
October 12 th , 2010	➤ LUNDU introduces the campaign into congress and achieves the agreement of La Comisión de Pueblos Andinos, Amazónicos y Afroperuanos, Ambiente y Ecología to sign up against racism and support the rest of the campaigns actions. ➤ The commission also agreed to assist in the creation of an anti-racism forum and support the passing of a law that would enforce punishment for racist actions.
December 14 th , 2009	➤ LUNDU sharpens and publicly declares its staunch stance against racist media (especially racist television programming) and its mission to amend the penal code to protect people against racist slander and punish the latter with jail time.
March 25 th , 2010	➤ LUNDU makes its public pronouncement against the <i>El Negro Mama</i> character for its oppressive representations of Afro-Peruvians and racially discriminatory dialogue.
October 12th, 2010	➤ LUNDU presents the campaign to the Comisión de Pueblos Andinos, Amazónicos y Afroperuanos, Ambiente y Ecología del Congreso de la Republica ➤ The commission agrees to sign its support for the campaign.
April 19 th , 2011	➤ LUNDU launches essay competition, "Concurso de Ensayos por el Año Internacional de los Afrodescendientes".
July 17 th , 2011	➤ LUNDU accomplishes that Article N.130 of the Penal Code be amended to include punishment for racist actions.
July 20 th , 2011	➤ LUNDU in collaboration with ANDA organizes roundtable discussion, "El Papel de la Comunicación Masiva en la Lucha Por La Inclusion Social y Racial".
September 12-16 th , 2011	➤ LUNDU sets up an <i>Apúntate Contra el Racismo</i> information booth on the Pontificia Universidad Católica (PUCP) campus gardens as a part of their VII Encuentro de Derechos Humanos.

December 12th,
2011

- ANDAR, CONAR, and LUNDU sign an accord of Inter-institutional cooperation to promote a culture of respect, inclusion and diversity in the Peruvian media.