



THREE PERSPECTIVES ON THE *MOVIMENTO NEGRO EDUCADOR*: DISCOURSES, PRACTICES AND KNOWLEDGES IN CIRCULATION IN LATIN AMERICA¹

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Abstract: The interview presents three perspectives on the pedagogical and investigative possibilities generated by the debate on the *Movimento Negro Educador*. It is part of the project "*Movimento Negro Educador: Discourses, Practices, and Knowledges in Circulation in Latin America*" whose overall objective is to expand the debates brought about by Nilma Lino Gomes's innovative perspective on the Black movement as an educational movement. The participants begin with guiding questions related to their fields of research and their work as educators of teachers and other professionals in the fields of pedagogy, tourism, and social sciences. During the discussions, converging perspectives emerge on two of the branches of the debate on the *Movimento Negro Educador*: its heuristic and its formative potential. The participants reveal the background to their research, highlighting the possibilities engendered by the interpretative framework present in Nilma Lino Gomes's work and indicating the broad scope of the discussions for the training of new professionals and researchers.

Keywords: *Movimento Negro Educador*; Interethnic Relations; Social Inequalities; Education.

TRÊS VISÕES SOBRE O MOVIMENTO NEGRO EDUCADOR: DISCURSOS, PRÁTICAS E SABERES EM CIRCULAÇÃO NA AMÉRICA LATINA

Resumo: A entrevista apresenta três visões sobre as possibilidades pedagógicas e investigativas trazidas pelo debate sobre o Movimento Negro Educador. Ela faz parte do projeto: "*Movimento Negro Educador: Discursos, Práticas e Saberes em Circulação na América Latina*", que tem por objetivo geral: ampliar os debates sublinhados pela perspectiva inovadora de Nilma Lino Gomes sobre o movimento negro como um movimento educador. Os entrevistados partem de questões orientadoras, relacionadas aos seus campos de pesquisa e às suas atuações como formadores de professores e de profissionais dos campos da pedagogia, turismo e ciências sociais. No decorrer da entrevista, revelam-se perspectivas convergentes sobre duas das ramificações das discussões sobre o movimento negro educador: seu potencial heurístico e formativo. Os entrevistados abrem os bastidores das suas pesquisas, salientando as possibilidades trazidas pelas chaves interpretativas presentes na obra de Nilma Lino Gomes e indicam a amplitude das discussões para a formação de novos profissionais e pesquisadores.

Palavras-Chave: Movimento Negro Educador; Relações Interétnicas; Desigualdades Sociais; Educação.



TRES VISIONES SOBRE EL MOVIMIENTO NEGRO EDUCADOR: DISCURSOS, PRÁCTICAS Y SABIDURÍAS EN CIRCULACIÓN EN AMÉRICA LATINA

Resumen: La entrevista presenta tres visiones sobre las posibilidades pedagógicas y de investigación que plantea el debate sobre el Movimiento Negro Educador. Forma parte del proyecto: «Movimiento Negro Educador: Discursos, Prácticas y Conocimientos en Circulación en América Latina», cuyo objetivo general es ampliar los debates subrayados por la perspectiva innovadora de Nilma Lino Gomes sobre el movimiento negro como movimiento educador. Los entrevistados parten de cuestiones orientativas, relacionadas con sus campos de investigación y sus actuaciones como formadores de profesores y profesionales de los campos de la pedagogía, el turismo y las ciencias sociales. A lo largo de la entrevista, se revelan perspectivas convergentes sobre dos de los aspectos de los debates sobre el movimiento negro educador: su potencial heurístico y formativo. Los entrevistados desvelan los entresijos de sus investigaciones, destacando las posibilidades que ofrecen las claves interpretativas presentes en la obra de Nilma Lino Gomes e indicando la amplitud de los debates para la formación de nuevos profesionales e investigadores.

Palabras-clave: Movimiento Negro Educador; Relaciones Interétnicas; Desigualdades Sociales; Educación.

TROIS VISIONS DU MOUVEMENT NOIR ÉDUCATEUR: DISCOURS, PRATIQUES ET SAVOIRS EN CIRCULATION EN AMÉRIQUE LATINE

Résumé: L'entretien présente trois visions sur les possibilités pédagogiques et d'investigation apportées par le débat sur le Mouvement Noir Éducateur (Movimento Negro Educador)⁵. Il fait partie du projet «Mouvement Noir Éducateur: discours, pratiques et savoirs en circulation en Amérique Latine», dont l'objectif général est d'élargir les débats suscités par la perspective novatrice de Nilma Lino Gomes sur le mouvement noir en tant que mouvement éducateur. Les personnes interviewées partent de questions directrices,

⁵ *Movimento Negro Educador*: selon l'éducatrice et chercheuse Nilma Lino Gomes, cette expression du portugais brésilien (traduite ici par « *Mouvement Noir Éducateur* ») se réfère à « toutes les formes d'organisation politique, éducative, culturelle et artistique construites par des activistes noirs au Brésil, particulièrement à partir du XXe siècle, dont l'objectif explicite est la lutte contre le racisme. Ce concept souligne la nature transformatrice de ce mouvement social ainsi que son potentiel éducatif et rééducatif dans la société brésilienne » (GOMES, entretien, 27 novembre 2025).



relatives à leurs domaines de recherche et à leurs rôles en tant que formateurs d'enseignants et de professionnels dans les domaines de la pédagogie, du tourisme et des sciences sociales. Tout au long des débats, des perspectives convergentes se révèlent sur deux des ramifications des discussions concernant le mouvement noir éducateur: son potentiel heuristique et formatif. Les interviewés ouvrent les coulisses de leurs recherches, soulignant les possibilités offertes par les clés interprétatives présentes dans l'œuvre de Nilma Lino Gomes et indiquent l'ampleur des discussions pour la formation de nouveaux professionnels et chercheurs.

Mots-clés: Mouvement Noir Éducateur; Relations Interethniques; Inégalités Sociales; Éducation.

INTRODUCTION

The present article explores the perspectives of three researchers in the fields of social sciences, education and tourism on the possibilities and challenges – whether in the analytical or the formative field – generated by the discussions set forth by Nilma Lino Gomes in her book on the *Movimento Negro Educador*⁶ (2017). This encounter is an initiative taking place within the scope of the project “*Movimento Negro Educador: Discourses, Practices, and Knowledges in Circulation in Latin America*,” now connected to the discussions generated by the National Institutes of Science and Technology (INCT) Program – “Transformative Education: Anti-racism, Intersectionality, and Social Justice in Latin America”, coordinated by Nilma Lino Gomes.

The researchers report on their training and research trajectories, highlighting the multiple facets of racism still present in Brazilian society and indicating possible paths forward – those already traveled and those yet to be

⁶ *Movimento Negro Educador*: According to educator and researcher Nilma Lino Gomes, this expression in Brazilian Portuguese refers to “all forms of political, educational, cultural, and artistic organization built by black activists in Brazil, particularly since the 20th century, with the explicit goal of fighting racism. This concept highlights the transformative nature of this social movement as well as its educational and re-educational potential in Brazilian society” (GOMES, interview, November 27, 2025).



traveled — toward the construction of new mindsets focused on advancing anti-racism. This is a nuanced intellectual project, which will require enduring objective and subjective construction in the context of a society as notoriously permeated by social inequalities as Brazilian society.

Institutions of society, such as schools and universities, play a central role in this process. Objectively, they need to be called into question, put into perspective, and undergo a complete transformation in order to progressively incorporate all the existing social groups that make up the diversity of Brazilian culture. To do so, they will need to tackle an entrenched symbolic realm that has contributed to naturalize socially constructed hierarchies, distancing people from more pluralistic theories and forms of academic reflection and thought.

The anti-racist struggle, in the authors' view, is forever a work in progress, as it also suffers changes across time. Inequalities take on new forms, take on new meanings, and are the object of disputes that are sometimes cut across by discourses that downplay and/or deny their existence. In this sense, language, as a central element of culture, poses a constant challenge for researchers and educators. Disputes in this field have proven to be the cornerstone of the process of shaping new mentalities. Hence, the subjective—or intersubjective—nature of the confrontations needed in order to establish anti-racism as a life-affirming rationale that is crucial for the development of new thought processes within institutions.



INTERVIEW

RODRIGO ROSISTOLATO (RR): This is an activity taking place within the overarching “*Movimento Negro Educador* Project: Discourses, Practices, and Knowledges in Circulation in Latin America.” It was made possible by a grant by the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq). The present interview was conducted with three researchers who share a background in anthropology and a dedication to the anthropological debate on education, tourism, and violence, as well as experience in the training of educators and other professionals in their respective fields. The interview begins with each participant introducing themselves, followed by responses to the following guiding question: *What relationship do you establish between the Movimento Negro Educador, in the perspective set forth by Nilma Lino Gomes, and your field of research?* After that, participants answer other questions, each one heading to a specific section.

MARIA AMÁLIA SILVA ALVES DE OLIVEIRA (MASAO): My name is Maria Amália Silva Alves de Oliveira. I am a professor at Rio de Janeiro State Federal University (UNIRIO), where I am a faculty member of the Department of Environmental Sciences, which is part of the Institute of Biological Sciences (IBIO). I am involved in two post-graduate programs: the Post-Graduate Program in Ecotourism and Conservation and the Post-Graduate Program in Social Memory.

My initial undergraduate training was in tourism, the field in which I obtained my first degree. Subsequently, I graduated in social sciences and obtained an MA and a PhD in anthropology. I have devoted myself to research, establishing connections between the themes of memory, heritage, and tourism, fields in which I have been carrying out my research. We hope this activity will prove interesting for everyone.



RR: I would like to begin by introducing myself: my name is Rodrigo Rosistolato, I am an anthropologist by training and I have built my entire academic career in the field of anthropology. I have a bachelor's degree in social sciences, an MA in sociology, with an emphasis on anthropology, and a PhD in social sciences. I am currently a professor at the School of Education at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, where I am a faculty member of the Department of Fundamentals of Education and part of the team of the university's Post-Graduate Program in Education. My work has always focused on anthropology with topics linked to educational issues, which is why I chose to become a faculty member of the School of Education.

JONAS HENRIQUE DE OLIVEIRA (JHO): My name is Jonas Henrique de Oliveira. I have a bachelor's degree in social sciences, an MA in sociology with an emphasis on anthropology, and a PhD in social sciences. I am currently a professor at the State University of Piauí, where I teach in the social sciences undergraduate program, mainly subjects related to anthropology.

RR: Regarding the first question, how do you connect the *Movimento Negro Educador*, from the perspective presented by Nilma Lino Gomes, to your own field of research?

MASAO: I am currently engaged in researching three subject areas: tourism, memory, and heritage. More recently, I have also begun to devote myself to engaging in socio-environmental debates, mostly as a result of my involvement with environmental issues.

When taking stock of the *movimento negro educador* in the fields of study mentioned above, I like to emphasize the importance of traditional communities in this debate. However, I will focus here on the transformations I have observed over more than two decades of experience teaching undergraduate courses in tourism and also post-graduate programs. In particular, within the Post-Graduate Program in Social Memory and the



Post-Graduate Program in Ecotourism, the increase in the number of black students enrolled has driven the incorporation of research topics that directly address the concepts and reflections developed by Professor Nilma Lino Gomes.

In her book *O Movimento Negro Educador* (2017), more precisely in the chapter “Tensão dialética e crise do pilar regulação-emancipação sociorracial no campo das relações raciais e educação” (“Dialectical tension and the crisis of the regulation-emancipation socio-racial pillar in the fields of race relations and education”), Nilma provides three episodes or milestones as examples: the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888, the issue of black esthetics, and issues regarding affirmative action policies. It is precisely in the context of affirmative action policies that I usually establish a relationship between the *movimento negro educador* and my field of research. When observing my post-graduate students, not only from the programs mentioned previously, I can clearly see the extent to which affirmative action has encouraged reflection on the concept introduced by Professor Nilma Lino Gomes.

For instance, current research work in the field of tourism has been produced, for the most part, by students who have gained access to university, or managed to complete their course, thanks to affirmative action policies. In the aforementioned chapter, the professor highlights how the Dean’s Offices for student affairs have had to implement specific policies to ensure that these students saw their courses through to the end, and as they progress to post-graduate courses, they are producing knowledge that, until then, was not fully understood.

As an example, we could refer to the instances when these students incorporate their own lived experiences into their academic work. Many of them work or have worked in the tourism industry, holding positions such as hotel receptionist. By bringing these experiences to the table, they enable



critical analysis of the place black bodies occupied in a space historically shaped by the whitening doctrine, since tourism activities have long been restricted to a certain white audience. In this sense, by bringing such reflections to the table, a very particular kind of knowledge is produced.

Another example, still in the context of the research work produced by students, concerns the way in which certain tourist destinations have been reappraised by these students. In the case of Rio de Janeiro, the classic example that comes to mind is the experience of visiting the *Cais do Valongo*⁷, where black tourists will often feel a special identification with the space. In addition, we can think of initiatives that gave rise to other developments, such as the creation of platforms aimed at giving support to black tourists who wish to report episodes of racism they have experienced, or other discomforts during their trips.

In this sense, the knowledge produced by black students tackling issues such as these, shows that the concept addressed by Professor Gomes is in fact acknowledging the reassessment of values set in motion by the admission of these young students to college.

RR: The question is thought-provoking: what connection can I establish between the *movimento negro educador*, as described by Nilma Lino Gomes, to my field of research?

According to Nilma Lino Gomes, the central characteristic of the *movimento negro educador* is to educate and re-educate society as a whole, the State, and individual citizens. In this sense, we can observe a direct connection being established with educational research and with the debate on education

⁷ Translator's Note. The *Cais do Valongo* (Valongo Wharf) is an area in downtown Rio de Janeiro with a profound connection to the Atlantic trade of enslaved Africans. Originally a wharf, the *Cais do Valongo* was one of the largest entry points of enslaved Africans in the Americas. It is estimated that one million Africans arrived there between the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century alone, to be enslaved in different areas of the colonial territory.



itself, whether in the context of schooling, i.e., education understood here as the final outcome of schooling, or from a broader perspective, akin to the concept of socialization.

I would like to call attention to a few points in my speech regarding the relationship between the *movimento negro educador* and my own research. I am a white man who has been researching educational issues since 2001, when I began my master's degree. Although my degree was in sociology with a focus on anthropology, my research topics have always been connected to educational research. Therefore, I now see myself much more as a researcher in the broader field of education, with an anthropological and sociological approach.

Throughout all these years, and even before starting college, I was in touch with various strands of the Black movement, especially those connected with activism to make education more accessible in Rio de Janeiro, in the Baixada Fluminense⁸ region, and in my hometown of Petrópolis, in the mountain region of Rio de Janeiro state. At the time, the Black movement, in its various strands, took up the fight for the right of black and poor students, which also included poor white students, to gain access to higher education. At that time, higher education was significantly more elitist than it is today, although this characteristic still persists.

There were a number of initiatives, within the various strands comprising the Black movement, aimed at promoting access to education for poor black youth, including poor white or non-black youth, in order to help these students compete for admission into mainly public higher education, but also into private higher education, with some institutions offering scholarships to

⁸ TN. The Baixada Fluminense is a region in the greater Rio de Janeiro metropolitan area. It is largely a conurbation of municipalities where around four million people live, making it the second largest region of the state in terms of population.



these young people, specifically PUC-Rio, where this movement began and from where it later expanded to other universities.

To a certain extent, these struggles, which came to fruition in some strands of the Black movement, particularly the PVNC (Preparatory Entrance Exam Training for Black and Disadvantaged Students, in the acronym in Portuguese) and later Educafro (Education and Citizenship for Afro-descendants and Disadvantaged Students), among other initiatives, brought together people who firmly believed in education and its potential to mobilize society and promote citizenship.

In line with Nilma Lino Gomes, it is possible to state that these movements established a dialogue directly with all the emancipatory knowledge she aggregated in the encompassing category of the *movimento negro educador*. The author highlights different categories of knowledge: political, identity, aesthetic-corporeal, intersectional, and the knowledge associated with a sense of outrage.

As an offshoot of the broader Black movement focused on making education accessible, these initiatives drew on all of this knowledge, interspersed with educational activities, engaging with all of the discussions that had already taken place in the field of accessible, community-based education. In the classrooms of these movements, there were pedagogical activities that combined preparatory material, with training that was educational in a broader sense, akin to the concept of socialization.

I wrote a few articles (ROSISTOLATO et al, 2011; ROSISTOLATO et al, 2013) about this proposition, discussing, in particular, subjects such as Culture and Citizenship, a characteristic subject of the PVNC (Preparatory Entrance Exam Training for Black and Disadvantaged Students) which, in Petrópolis, specifically, was renamed Science, Culture, and Citizenship. I wrote articles discussing the dynamics of this subject and demonstrating that in all of the



political spaces of the Preparatory Entrance Exam Training for Black and Disadvantaged Students, there was an active pursuit, in collaboration with the students, of emancipatory knowledge. Today, when you look at my articles vis-à-vis Nilma Lino Gomes's work, we can see that there, in the community-based preparatory entrance exam courses, there was the construction of knowledge borne out of all strands she mentions: political, identity, aesthetic-corporeal, intersectional, and a sense of outrage.

The quest for emancipatory knowledge was present in the initiative and had a lot to do with Nilma's proposals for the *movimento negro educador*. For example, one of the practices of the lecturers in the Science, Culture, and Citizenship course was precisely to highlight and bring up for discussion aesthetic-corporeal issues. This activity was also related to the whole debate on the marginalized treatment of blacks with regard to black beauty, something that is less palpable today, but was much more striking at the time, in the media in general, including the arts, such as cinema, the theater, and soap operas.

I am a researcher who works in the field of microsociology, so I will give a micro example, but one I believe is significant for the discussion we are having. Once, one of the lecturers in this course formulated a question and, pointing to a student, said, "You, beautiful black girl, please answer the question." The student froze. He repeated the question. "Could you please answer the question?" They started a conversation and, from then on, she was able to answer the question that was being asked. Later, this student, who was my friend, told me: "Rodrigo, I just completely froze there." When I asked her why, she explained: "You know what? I froze because I had never heard those two words together: black and beautiful. When the researcher called me black and beautiful and asked me to answer, it took me a while to process the combination of those two words, simply because that had never happened to me before, at any time in my life." This is a micro example of the tensioning



produced in the context of this Science, Culture, and Citizenship course, a tensioning brought about from different pedagogical standpoints.

Later on in his talk, the lecturer explained the reason for having associated the two words: he already expected that this combination would cause a strangeness in the audience, as this had already happened in a number of previous PVNC gatherings. The situation sparked off a debate, and the student affected by the incident was incredibly motivated to think about what had just happened and, especially, began to wonder why she had never thought of herself in those terms.

In addition, within the movement itself, there were discussions on the self-image of black youths and episodes of racism they experienced. Within the scope of the college entrance exam preparatory course, young men and women began to realize that they had been the victims of racism on several fronts: in family contexts, institutional contexts, school, bearing in mind that up until then racist episodes were socially construed as something other than racism, often as jokes, perceived as harmless 'banter'.

In PVNC classrooms, these practices were resignified and students began to realize just how often they had been the object of racism, in different contexts – institutional racism, or racism across everyday interactions – without having realized it until then.

Furthermore, there was the construction of aesthetic appreciation and validation of black identity in a city like Petrópolis, which, although it had the largest black population of the mountain region of Rio de Janeiro state at the time, lacked any comprehensive debate about blackness. There was already somewhat of a discussion taking place within the Black movement, in connection with the ecclesial base communities⁹, but it was something that

⁹ TN – Ecclesial Base Communities (CEBs) are Catholic grassroots church communities whose creation, consolidation and development happened after the celebration of the Second Vatican Council.



gained an impulse in the public arena. What the PVNC does is bring this dialogue in a more focused way to the field of education. There was also tremendous resistance in Petrópolis to the presence of the PVNC.

JHO: I would argue that issues surrounding the Black movement have been a concern of mine since my youth. As a young black man living in Petrópolis, I was the target of different forms of racism. It is impossible to live in a society or city predominantly colonized by Germans without the issue of race being constantly present. During my youth, I faced various forms of discrimination and struggled to understand, somehow, my place in the world.

I enrolled in the social sciences course at UFRJ and began to try to understand Brazilian society and the classic concepts of the social sciences. As time went by, I began to focus on trying to understand Brazilian youth, under the supervision of a professor who, at the time, was studying young people and with whom I researched a project in the communities of Pavão-Pavãozinho, in Cantagalo, in the city of Rio de Janeiro. In this context, I came across a pilot project called GPAE (Special Areas Policing Group, in the acronym in Portuguese), where racial issues featured prominently. First of all, because of the location where this project was being carried out, but also because of the relationship between the police and young people of the community. The initiative was aimed at putting an end to all those pointless deaths in the region. Around that time, I became very engaged in trying to understand racism in Brazil, as there was already a large body of work focused on analyzing racial issues, racism in Brazilian society, and the challenges black men and women have to face in our country.

The social practices of the *movimento negro educador*, in the perspective put forward by Professor Gomes's discussions, help us to understand a little of the Black movement's strong condemnation of the racist



practices of the police, or of society at large, and, in general, help us to better understand this bond between inequality and racism.

Nilma states quite emphatically that the influence of the *movimento negro educador* is oriented toward telling the story of enslaved people in Brazil through different paradigms. In this sense, according to the professor, a society that cannot fully understand its history is doomed to remain unemancipated.

For me, the debates involving the *movimento negro educador* are paramount. All along my personal development, both as a researcher and as an educator, these debates have helped me to better understand the situations that black people experience in Brazil. I managed to bring up this topic for discussion at the State University of Piauí, particularly within a discipline entitled Black and Indigenous Culture. In this course, I try to demonstrate to students how in Brazil we are customarily told this rigmarole that racism is less pernicious in the country. Nevertheless, I try to point out, based on data and supported by the discussions carried out in class, that this is a fallacious notion. Professor Nilma Lino Gomes also addresses this issue very effectively in her considerations.

Overall, I believe that through education and research, we can truly prepare our students for emancipation, striving for a more just and egalitarian society, especially for young black people, who find it very hard to understand Brazilian social reality especially due to the persistence of the myth of '*racial democracy*' in Brazil. Broadly speaking, we tend to see ourselves as Brazilians, often failing to pay attention to these constitutive differences that ultimately make us who we are.

Thus, the *movimento negro educador*, as well as the field of anthropology itself, which seeks to understand the different cultures and social groups, helped me to understand this context and analyze how the police function within it, operating through a dynamics of permanence and change.



Therefore, it is not realistic to think of the police as an institution that is not impacting these practices: perhaps many of them are changing precisely as a result of the different pressures that police officers suffer. So, in general, some practices remain, while other practices change.

Perhaps I want to believe that the discussions promoted by the *movimento negro educador* and the quest for a more equal society will also reverberate, somehow, in police practices. Of course, we still have a long way to go, but I am optimistic about it. I believe that, at least in this field of research in which I work, when reflecting on violence, police practices, and the relationship between the police and broader society, it is essential to take into account the discussions proposed by the *movimento negro educador* and by Nilma. These discussions clarify the issues related to this topic, allowing us to achieve a deeper understanding of Brazilian society.

RR: How is the *Movimento Negro Educador*, as described by Professor Nilma Lino Gomes, associated with each one's current research?

MASAO: I believe that, in order to answer this question, it would be helpful to revisit a point I made earlier. I highlighted the repercussions of affirmative action in the field of tourism, especially considering the massive number of black students being admitted into this course, referencing specifically affirmative action policies in state-funded universities.

Black people often showed an interest in the course; however, as mentioned earlier, they faced significant limitations and difficulties. One pretty obvious example has to do with the constraints imposed by the labor market, notably the expectations related to specific aesthetic-corporeal standards, as pointed out by Rodrigo. Thus, when these students make their entry into state-funded universities, a profound transformation takes place, as highlighted previously. It is at this point that the *movimento negro educador* intersects with my specific strand of research, above all by promoting a substantial revision of



our basic understanding of tourism. One of the main connections between the debate proposed by the *movimento negro educador* and tourism lies in the latter's ability to amplify the visibility of historically marginalized issues.

I have always taken an interest in understanding the motivations that lead people to seek out certain tourist destinations. In addition to these motivations, I also strive to understand how the social groups in tourist destinations are affected by this activity, since changes in tourism trends can promote significant transformations. There is a saying, mentioned by Rodrigo at a lecture at UNIRIO, which states that tourism transforms ordinary spaces into extraordinary ones.

My current strand of research is oriented toward traditional communities, a line of research which ties in with environmental issues, since many of these traditional populations live in conservation units and otherwise protected areas, and in this sense, for these reasons, such territories exert a pull attracting visitors. Thus, tourism brings together both the territory in terms of nature and the culture of these groups.

My research has always been directed toward the city and the state of Rio de Janeiro, focusing on its many nature conservation units. Although I am currently dedicating myself primarily to Pedra Branca State Park, my research trajectory has also led me to focus on other conservation units and areas of environmental protection.

In the case of Rio de Janeiro, the two most predominant traditional population groups in the state are the *Quilombolas*¹⁰ and artisanal fishing communities. I have focused my efforts particularly on the *Quilombola*

¹⁰ TN. The *quilombos* are self-organized communities of formerly enslaved people and (still today) descendants of escaped enslaved Africans in the Americas (the *quilombolas*). Having fled the plantations, the *quilombolas* established hidden settlements in remote areas where they formed an alternative society, preserving their cultural traits and fighting for freedom, rebelling against slavery and colonialism.



communities, particularly those that have already obtained, or are in the process of obtaining, recognition from the Palmares Foundation.

So, my current research involves looking at these groups that are being affected and asking: how is this being carried out? How are they being 'impacted'? In this sense, an example I can give to illustrate this debate is that, when observing these communities and populations, one notices the existence of several public policies focused on tourism, such as Afrotourism. However, when we take a closer look at these communities, other relevant aspects can be identified, such as their own specific demands.

Here at the Post-Graduate Program in Ecotourism and Conservation we received a request from the N'Golo Federation – Federation of *Quilombolas* of Minas Gerais – inviting us to collaborate in organizing tourist activities in their territory. Once again, Nilma's reflections guided us on this process, because as we worked to incorporate this debate in partnership with the Federation, from the outset we considered that our proposal should not be limited to a strictly economic perspective on tourism.

In this process, we realized the potential that this activity has to shed light and give visibility to important issues: so, when exploring that territory, visitors should be invited to attend a general explanation, an educational and pedagogical talk focused on anti-racism.

RR: I am currently researching educational trajectories with a focus on the debate about the production of inequalities in school contexts, especially with children who are labeled and stigmatized. In the field of education, regardless of which indicator we look at, black populations have been consistently at a disadvantage compared to the white population. There are higher dropout rates, higher failing rates, lower learning rates in school subjects, lower attendance rates, and lower participation rates in the ENEM (the National High School Exam in Brazil). Thus, when we look at educational processes in a



comparative perspective between whites and non-whites, we can more clearly recognize the extent of racial inequalities in Brazil, especially considering the availability of data produced by educational systems as a whole: federal, state and municipal.

Thus, despite initiatives by the *movimento negro educador* on various fronts to tackle racial inequalities in educational processes, these indicators remain significant. All of these issues are directly linked to racism in Brazil and how it intersects with class, gender, and sexuality: black boys, for example, are predominant among those students who receive a failing grade at the end of each school year.

In light of that, being a boy and being black tremendously increases one's chances of failing school, sometimes successively. These failures are an important indicator of inequality because they cut across issues of race, education, class, and sometimes gender and sexuality as well. So, considering these imbricated elements, this perspective opens up a vast field of research.

There is still much to be researched concerning racial inequalities in Brazil. Regarding my projects, specifically, the main forms of labeling and stigmatizing that I have encountered directly affect black children, often also driven by religious discrimination against Afro-Brazilian religions, generally more associated with black populations. Combined, these factors give rise to different forms of inequality.

Research in the field of education presents us with an interesting aspect, as research is built on a combination and continuous feedback between theoretical investigation and praxis. In this sense, the articulation with different categories of the *movimento negro educador* proves particularly fruitful. Schools, as one of the institutional foundations of the Republic, were originally conceived to operate on the basis of egalitarianism. It must be an institution designed to serve all children.



Educational research points to the inherent challenges in this expectation, and the *movimento negro educador*, in addition to comprising all the intellectuals who conduct such research, contributes directly to addressing the inequalities identified by scientific research in the field of education. So, the main connection I see occurs precisely at this interface between academic research, teaching practices, and the devising of ways to confront racism, which, unfortunately, is still particularly prevalent in all our institutions. Schools, as institutions, are not safeguarded from all of these processes involving various forms of racism in Brazilian society. These are some links I can establish between my current strand of research and the *movimento negro educador*.

JHO: I believe my current line of research is still tied to what I mentioned earlier, because I am still interested in and mostly continue to research police practices. I would say that the *movimento negro educador* connects both to my research and to my work as an educator. Especially considering that I supervise some projects at the State University of Piauí, markedly those that seek to address the issue of the involvement of youths and adolescents in drug trafficking; structural racism in schools; and research on the workings of the prison system, both men's and women's prisons, in the city where I live.

Thus, throughout my practice as an educator, and through the discipline I mentioned earlier (Black and Indigenous Culture), we study and discuss how our society, in many ways, is still structured around a series of racist premises. That way, students engage with the discussions brought by the Black movement, especially those raised by the *movimento negro educador*, and this broadens their perceptions of the field of research they choose to work with in the future.



I would like to briefly mention the work of a former student whose work I was supervising, which I believe illustrates this discussion we are having. This is a student who comes from a very disadvantaged economic background. She was admitted to the social sciences program in 2017 and decided to study black influencers in Brazil. She wanted to understand the extent to which racism made it more difficult for black people to become influencers and what kind of content they were able to produce: what kind of content they were putting out there and what audience they were targeting with their work, for example. This research was very interesting because, in general, the student was able to make insights about a universe that, until then, was largely unknown to me: the universe of this very new line of work. This former student of mine brought up Cathy O'Donnell's discussion and sought to relate it to algorithms. Somehow, algorithms tend to display much more content generated by white influencers than content by black influencers. This causes the number of page views to vary depending on skin color. In this sense, this student's trajectory is interesting because of the discussion of racism in Brazil, but also because she decided to take an unusual course of action by applying to become a military police officer.

Professor Nilma Lino Gomes states that the Black movement is comprised of anonymous black voices and black bodies that act and have acted looking to overcome racism and affirm the identity, the value of the work, and actions of a great segment of the population. Thus, I believe that enrolling in the undergraduate course in social sciences at the State University of Piauí broadened the field of possibilities for this former student of mine, whose work I was supervising at the time, something that, in my view, is the result of the different struggles waged by the Black movement in Brazil.

This former student began unveiling those topics that held special interest to her in terms of possible object of research, while, at the same time,



making her entrance into a milieu that is unusual for young black people: the police force. She currently works as a military police officer and, this way, is able to impact countless dimensions of people's lives considering the perspectives explored by the *movimento negro educador*.

The fact that students such as these now have the chance of working with a professor who is mobilized by racial issues, who tries to understand the reality of Brazilian society, and who tries to understand or unravel the issue of structural racism also plays a part in these students being able to contribute with new perspectives on Brazilian society and on race relations in Brazil. On the whole, this is the result of the *movimento negro educador* and of my work as a researcher and professor in the field of education.

RR: How does the *Movimento Negro Educador* connect with contemporary contexts?

RR: I will talk specifically about my area of expertise, which is education. The contribution of the *movimento negro educador* is consolidated at all stages of formal education. I would like to defend this point of view, arguing that from preschool to university and postgraduate studies, the *movimento negro educador* has much to offer to the debate on education and to pedagogical action. These struggles bring with them specific characteristics. So, when we consider the anti-racist struggle in the context of early childhood education, we identify a certain outline of this struggle. Similarly, when we consider the anti-racist struggle oriented by the *movimento negro educador* in postgraduate school, what we identify is a different outline of this struggle, as well as different investigative strategies for each of these contexts.

I would like to stress some points that in my opinion merit a discussion in the framework of the movement, and that will impact all stages of formal education as I mentioned previously. First of all, equal treatment must be guaranteed to all students in preschool, in early childhood education, in



elementary school, high school, undergraduate and postgraduate school. All research carried out focused on any stage of the schooling process, such as the ones mentioned, shows that there is no equitable treatment of black and white students in the context of formal education. Thus, these are challenges that arise from the perspective of raising awareness, tracing forms of racism, exploring pedagogical possibilities for confronting racism, training teachers for anti-racist educational practices, and, more directly related to my current research, combating processes of labeling and stigmatizing that are structured by racism. In addition, there is the political struggle to continue to apply affirmative action policies (the so-called 'quotas') in undergraduate and graduate programs.

Education is a very important field as it is a formative field, where we come across people of all ages at various stages of their educational trajectory. The straightforward debate promoted by the *movimento negro educador*, encouraging and inducing new policies aimed at an anti-racist education, holds an important place in this regard and, consequently, across all contemporary contexts.

JHO: In answer to your question, I would say that, as an educator, I am a firm believer in education. So, in my opinion, the movement has and will continue to transform students' worldview, making them more critical and fostering their understanding of race relations in Brazil, broadening their outlook on the world and opening up a range of possibilities.

As I mentioned earlier, the discipline I teach incorporates the contributions of sociology and anthropology to promote an understanding of Brazilian society. I am constantly instigating students in order to encourage them to gain awareness and understand how many of their practices, or so-called 'jokes,' are in fact racist, even if they are at times disguised as banter



and, on the surface, don't seem particularly offensive. This usually comes as something of a shock to them.

What I have noticed over the years teaching this subject is that students often arrive in college without a deeper understanding of racial issues in Brazil. I am certain that many of these issues are in fact addressed in high school, as I have also had experience in my hometown teaching many high school teachers, and these issues would always come up. Nevertheless, I see that students often start college without a deeper understanding of the intricacies of racism. Therefore, as I see it, universities, in general, have an obligation to raise awareness and address these issues. This is certainly a topic that has become more present and has promoted a deeper understanding in Brazil, as a result of these discussions that the *movimento negro educador* has been engaged in for many years.

On the whole, I believe we must instigate students, but it is never as simple as that. Which reminds me of a supervision I was doing of a student from the Education Department. She set out to study some children's books that were used as classroom material by teachers in elementary school, more specifically the works of Monteiro Lobato. This research proved to be particularly relevant, as it sparked a discussion about how Monteiro Lobato's¹¹ work contains some very offensive elements of racial discrimination. I was really surprised to find out that this type of reading material is, still today, being used in early childhood education in Brazil. This is an author who, for example, wrote the *Sítio do Picapau Amarelo* series of books, where the character of *Tia Nastácia* is always treated with extreme prejudice, to say the least.

¹¹ TN. Monteiro Lobato was a very influential writer in Brazilian society in the first half of the 20th century, famous for his children's book series set in the fictional *Sítio do Picapau Amarelo* (Yellow Woodpecker Farm). Lobato's literature has since then been reappraised for its racist content, as is the case of his treatment of one of the characters on the farm, *Tia Nastácia* (Auntie Nastácia), the family's black servant and cook, who was often ridiculed and made fun of.



So, I guess you could say that it is naïve to think that we have prevailed over certain situations. There is still a lot to be done in Brazil in order to fully achieve this process of emancipation and overcome the existing inequality. I believe that, perhaps, the main factor here involves education. We need to work on all three fronts: early childhood education, advanced, and higher education. It is only through our actions in the field of education that we will truly achieve a fairer society.

MASAO: Both Rodrigo and Jonas have referenced education. Rodrigo, due to his insertion in the field of education, and Jonas not necessarily because he is involved in terms of the targeted research.

In a way, I agree with both of you, but I'd like to go back to the issue of tourism. Throughout our conversation I tried to call attention to something I have struggled for in my research work: showing that tourism plays a role of granting visibility, since when we are acting as tourists, we are exposed to a lot of information about the destination, the local culture, and the local populations. Thus, it has this ability to grant visibility to certain voices. But beyond that, it also brings something that is quite relevant vis-à-vis the *movimento negro educador* when it takes the form of educational tourism. So, despite what my colleagues have argued in terms of formal education, I am perhaps leaning towards non-formal education.

Tourism is able to shed light on certain counter-hegemonic narratives and discourses. This is how I see the possibility of thinking about these contemporary contexts in alliance with an anti-racist struggle. Precisely because, when we go on certain holidays, where the tour guide organizing the activity is often a local resident, a member of the traditional communities I have been studying, it is precisely this person who will recount the local memories. This is who will be there telling us their version, recounting their story.



The same thing goes for the *favelas* (slum areas) of Rio de Janeiro, when local residents do not take on the role of protagonists in showing tourists around. Excluded from this process, residents are marginalized, not only due to the fact that they are a part of this territory, but also, mostly, because they're black. When residents themselves take on the role of telling their story, showing us their reality, imparting knowledge about the culture and the territory of the *favelas*, tourism takes on an educational character, as it contributes to increase their visibility and recognition.

To conclude my presentation, I would like to highlight a relevant contemporary aspect in the field of tourism policy: Afro-tourism. As a public policy, Afro-tourism has been considered a strategic investment, as it presupposes a leading role for black people in organizing tourism activities, managing processes, and actively redeeming the value of territories marked by sensitive memories, such as the Valongo Wharf in Rio de Janeiro. This policy has already been implemented and is recognized not only by the Brazilian Ministry of Tourism but also by the Brazilian Tourism Board (EMBRATUR), which identifies it as the main guiding principle for tourism initiatives at this time.

This is how I approach this entire framework brought by Nilma Lino Gomes, in the context of a reflection on what she called the *movimento negro educador* and its impacts on our contemporary society.

RR: What languages does this *movimento negro educador* use or could use to address society?

RR: I am an anthropologist by training and I think of language as one of the main cultural artifacts. In this sense, language can be thought of as a process of communication in its most diverse forms: oral, written, digital, interactive, corporeal, among many others. The universe of symbols and meaning making is full of possibilities, and the *movimento negro educador* uses all of them in a myriad ways and configurations. It is important to draw



attention to this. Nilma Lino Gomes makes this very clear in her book and in subsequent articles: there are countless configurations present in the languages that traverse the debates and political confrontations within the *movimento negro educador*.

This way, in the context of a pedagogy strictly speaking, the *movimento negro educador* has participated in the symbolic struggles involved in defining and redefining a series of educational-curricular processes, with a view to broadening our understanding of the school environment – the understanding of teachers, students, families, management – with regard to racism in its many forms.

Consequently, there have been many advances made, such as the curricular redesign, changes made to all sorts of educational material, anti-racist pedagogy, to name but a few, that have been gaining momentum. The challenge is clearly set for all of those who are part of this community, for those who wish to establish a rapport and contribute to the *movimento negro educador* in all its strands.

JHO: Regarding the question you asked, about what language this movement uses or could use to address society, I was thinking that this movement has already managed to open up this whole debate with society. Because, to some extent, many of the issues we are grappling with today in Brazil are directly related to all the work that was put into this issue previously, over decades. However, I believe that perhaps nowadays. It would be important to expand this conversation, over the Internet, especially trying to reach younger people.

Sometimes I come across college students who are not really aware of the whole history and legacy of the Black movement. That's one of the reasons why I believe it is important to reach out, and in fact, the Internet is a means of communication that students access very often.



On the other hand, I believe it's imperative to reinforce and broaden the discussion with the university community itself, which still harbors a certain conservatism, although it is currently more open than in the past to these issues, particularly within the humanities. We must amplify this debate, which should be ongoing.

In general, the way I see it, strengthening the debate on the Internet and expanding this discussion in universities are perhaps two areas that still need working on, especially if we are to achieve more diversity and plurality between black people and white people in this country.

MASAO: We are among fellow anthropologists, so naturally I agree with what Rodrigo said about language. I also agree with what he said concerning which languages are employed or could be employed by this movement to address society.

I also agree with Jonas when he raises the issue of the Internet. In fact, this is one of the most accessible paths at this moment, as Brazilian culture has organized itself to a large extent through the Internet.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The article revealed the heuristic and formative potential of the debates brought on by Nilma Lino Gomes in her work on the *movimento negro educador* (2017). The perspectives presented point to convergences between the three areas of knowledge – social sciences, education and tourism – highlighting the possibilities and the challenges to the analytical and formative fields brought about by this debate. There is a permanent dynamic between mapping ethnic-racial inequalities and addressing them. As Gomes (2017) reveals, racism has multiple facets, as well as the ability to metamorphose, which



causes it to take on new shades every day. Addressing it, therefore, requires constant vigilance and the development of pedagogical strategies.

The formative institutions, such as schools and colleges, have a central role to play in combating racism, as do organized social movements, collective action initiatives and the public arena in general. Brazilian society apparently demands a change of mentality, related to values of coexistence between people and the progressive construction of a new rationale of critical thinking and permanently confronting racism in its most insidious forms. Educational processes—both those relating to formal education and more broadly in terms of our sociality—play a central role in raising awareness for the construction of new ways of looking at and being in the world.

There is no way, however, to imagine that institutions today are ready to work on building this new mindset. On the contrary, they are an integral part of this debate we are having. As many have pointed out, there have been significant changes made, especially at university level, but these always prove to be unfinished processes, thanks in part to the plasticity of racism and all other forms of discrimination. The work is ongoing, including in discussions with younger generations of black men and women who reach university as the end result of a series of struggles that preceded them, and who are also able to contribute to building an ever more anti-racist future.

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