



DIALOGUES FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE AFRO-DIASPORA: TRANSNATIONAL REFLECTIONS¹

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Abstract: This article reflects on the theoretical and practical contributions of the *Movimento Negro Educador* from the perspective of the African diaspora. Through dialogue, Afro-Colombian researcher Anny Ocoró Loango and Afro-Brazilian researcher Natalino Silva discuss the possibilities, potentialities, and outlooks of incorporating this concept into political, sociocultural, and academic approaches, among others, in transnational Black-African contexts. In this way, the researchers recognize that the theoretical-practical elaboration of the “*Movimento Negro Educador*,” as proposed by professor and researcher Nilma Lino Gomes, makes significant contributions to their research, as well as to their sociopolitical actions.

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Keywords: *Movimento Negro Educador*; South-South Internationalization; Afro-diaspora; Education.

DÍALOGOS DESDE A AFRODIÁSPORA: REFLEXÕES TRANSNACIONAIS

Resumo: As contribuições teóricas e práticas do Movimento Negro Educador desde a Afrodiáspora são refletidas neste artigo. Através da relação dialógica, a pesquisadora afro-colombiana Anny Ocoró Loango e o pesquisador afro-brasileiro Natalino Silva discorrem sobre possibilidades, potencialidades e perspectivas da incorporação desse conceito em abordagens de caráter político, sociocultural e acadêmico etc., em contextos transnacionais negro-africanos. Deste modo, a pesquisadora e o pesquisador reconhecem que a elaboração teórico-prática “Movimento Negro Educador”, conforme proposta pela professora e pesquisadora Nilma Lino Gomes, traz significativas contribuições em suas pesquisas realizadas, bem como em suas atuações sociopolíticas.

Palavras-Chave: Movimento Negro Educador; Internacionalização Sul-Sul; Afrodiáspora; Educação.

DÍALOGOS DESDE LA DIÁSPORA AFRICANA: REFLEXIONES TRANSNACIONALES

Resumen: Las contribuciones teóricas y prácticas del Movimiento Negro Educador desde la diáspora africana se reflejan en este artículo. A través de una relación dialógica, la investigadora afrocolombiana Anny Ocoró Loango y el investigador afrobrasileño Natalino Silva discuten las posibilidades, potencialidades y perspectivas de la incorporación de este concepto en enfoques de carácter político, sociocultural y académico, entre otros, en contextos transnacionales negros africanos. De este modo, los investigadores reconocen que la elaboración teórico-práctica del “*Movimento Negro Educador*”, tal y como lo propone la profesora e investigadora Nilma Lino Gomes, aporta contribuciones significativas a sus investigaciones, así como a sus acciones sociopolíticas.

Palabras-clave: Movimiento Negro Educador; Internacionalización Sur-Sur; Diáspora Africana; Educación.

DIALOGUES DEPUIS LA DIASPORA AFRICAINE: RÉFLEXIONS TRANSNATIONALES

Résumé: Les contributions théoriques et pratiques du Mouvement Noir Éducateur depuis l'afro-diaspora sont reflétées dans cet article. À travers un



dialogue, la chercheuse afro-colombienne Anny Ocoró Loango et le chercheur afro-brésilien Natalino Silva discutent des possibilités, des potentialités et des perspectives d'intégration de ce concept dans des approches politiques, socioculturelles, académiques, etc., dans des contextes transnationaux africains noirs. Ainsi, les chercheurs reconnaissent que l'élaboration théorique et pratique du "*Movimento Negro Educador*", telle que proposée par la professeure et chercheuse Nilma Lino Gomes, apporte des contributions significatives à leurs recherches, ainsi qu'à leurs actions sociopolitiques.

Mots-clés: *Movimento Negro Educador*; Internationalisation Sud-Sud; Diaspora Africaine; Éducation.

INTRODUCTION

This article discusses the theoretical and practical contributions of the *Movimento Negro Educador*⁴ from the perspective of the Afro-diaspora. Through dialogue, Afro-Colombian researcher Anny Ocoró Loango and Afro-Brazilian researcher Natalino Silva discuss the possibilities, potentialities, and outlooks that incorporating this concept into political, sociocultural, and academic approaches opens up, among others. The dialogues established here recognize the relevance of the socio-political, cultural, and academic impact of the Black movement and the Afro-Colombian movement in the struggle against racism and socio-racial inequalities. The five constitutive dimensions of the *Movimento Negro Educador*, as developed by Nilma Gomes, namely: regarding *identity*; *politics*; *aesthetics-corporeality*; *intersectionality*; and *sense of outrage*, are therefore embodied in different Afro-diasporic realities.

Tackling epistemic racism, whether in universities or public schools, goes in that direction. The *epistemic turn* originating in our *América Ladina*⁵ has been

⁴ According to Nilma Lino Gomes, the term "*Movimento Negro Educador*" refers to all forms of political, educational, cultural, and artistic organization developed 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).

⁵ Translator's Note. Coined by Brazilian intellectual Lélia González, *América Ladina* is a play on the expression *América Latina* (Latin America) to explicitly address the Latin American continent's African heritage (*América*), and the ingenuity, or cunning (*ladino*), of its subaltern



underway for a long time. Thus, both researchers consider that the achievements of policies of reparation and affirmative action that were put in place intensify and deepen this *epistemic turn*. A step which has brought about the establishment of new and diverse subjects. The reflections generated along these encounters point out that the meanings of notions such as rights, democracy, and social justice have been radically altered in our countries through the sociopolitical actions of the *Movimento Negro Educador*.

This is perhaps one of the main reasons why anti-racist action has been so harshly attacked by conservative and far-right parties, by religious fundamentalists, and by racialized police and state violence. These attacks are evident both in the Colombian and the Brazilian social contexts. For the two researchers, our current material, symbolic, and subjective conditions require that a variety, or a multitude, of languages be mobilized. After all, in social contexts marked by *global raciality processes*, it will be necessary to mobilize *sociopolitical and aesthetic multiliteracies of an anti-racist sense of outrage*.

INTERVIEW

Conducting the interview, Glenda Cristina Valim de Melo (GCV⁶): We are here for another conversation in the context of the internationalization of the project *"Movimento Negro Educador – discursos, práticas e saberes em circulação na América Latina"* (*"Movimento Negro Educador: Discourses, practices and knowledges in circulation in Latin America"*), made possible by a grant from Brazil's National Council for Scientific and Technical Development (CNPq). I would like to welcome Professor Anny Ocoró Loango and Professor

populations, who shrewdly managed to adapt to colonial dictates while retaining their original cultural heritage.

⁶ The interview was conducted by Professor Glenda Cristina Valim de Melo, professor on the Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Programme in Applied Linguistics at UFRJ and the project coordinator.



Natalino Silva, who will be taking part in this conversation. I would ask you, first, to introduce yourselves. Anny, shall we start with you?

ANNY OCORÓ LOANGO (AOL): Sure. Certainly. Well, I'll proceed in Spanish. My name is Anny Ocoró Loango. I'm Colombian, but I live in Argentina. I am a professor at the National University of Tres de Febrero and at FLACSO (Latin American and Caribbean Faculty of Social Sciences), in Argentina. I am also a researcher at CONICET (the National Scientific and Technical Research Council). I research racial issues, gender issues, and race in the field of education, primarily. So, it is a pleasure to be here with you all, and also to meet Professor Natalino Silva. Thank you for the opportunity.

GCVM: Professor Natalino Silva, welcome.

NATALINO NEVES DA SILVA (NNS): It is a great pleasure to be here on this occasion, having a conversation with friends such as Glenda and Anny. To tell you a little about myself, I am from Belo Horizonte, in the state of Minas Gerais. I am currently a tenured professor with the School of Education at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, (UFMG), Department of School Administration. All of my academic training (bachelor's degree, master's, and doctorate) was also obtained from this university. As coordinator of the Afro-diaspora and Education Study and Research Group (GepeAfro), registered with CNPq, I have dedicated myself to thinking about the Afro-diaspora in relation to education. It is a great pleasure to have the chance to have this conversation about a topic that has proven to be so important to us.

GCVM: I would like to begin by posing the following question: How do you associate the *Movimento Negro Educador*, as described by Professor Nilma Lino Gomes, with your field of research? Natalino, would you like to start?

NNS: Sure, I can start. The contributions that our cherished professor Nilma Lino Gomes has made to the development of this notion of the *movimento negro educador* are intrinsically linked to and contribute with my research, especially considering the five dimensions she highlights, namely:



regarding *identity; politics; aesthetics-corporeality; intersectionality*; and sense of *outrage*. So, to conceive of an anti-racist perspective in Latin America, in my view, means, among other things, thinking about how this political subject, the Black movement, is able to educate and re-educate itself, the State, and society. I am currently developing an umbrella research project entitled: "Education in Afro-diasporic contexts: challenges, possibilities, experiences," in association with the Post-Graduate Programs in Education (Academic and Professional) which I participate in. Within these programs, I conduct a series of studies that establish a direct dialogue with Nilma's concept. I was very happy to have the chance to have this conversation with Anny. I also had the satisfaction of having my doctoral student Denise Cruz participate in the internationalization project. She is currently conducting a study of Afro-diasporic orientation concerning Brazil and Colombia, with regard to the practices of teachers focused on promoting anti-racist education in the field of natural sciences. The research conducted, therefore, connects and at the same time highlights singularities and similarities with regard to eradicating societal racism that kills. It is a racism that kills. So, I think it resonates with the concept and contributions that Nilma has reflected on regarding the *movimento negro educador*.

GCVM: Anny, would you like to comment?

AOL: Yeah, yeah. I thought Professor Natalino Silva's explanation was excellent. It seems that these parameters are central and relate to the work that is being done. I think Professor Nilma Lino Gomes also incorporates an intersectional perspective, which is what I have been working on. And I think she makes a central contribution to thinking about the *movimento negro educador*, as well as to my own research, because she sees how these powers and relationships are shaping social relations. I also want to highlight something. We often hear about the contributions that the feminist movement has made to the field of political struggles in general, but very little had so far been said



about the fact that the Black movements generate knowledge, generate an understanding. And I think that is an essential contribution. The text by Nilma (2025) helped me a lot in the scope of my research to think not only about large-scale Black movements, such as the one in Brazil, but also about movements such as those we find in Argentina, which are smaller in scale. That is, 0.67% of the population. But in the narratives, for example, of women I spoke with and interviewed, this idea of how black consciousness is formed within these movements, in a country with racial discrimination and where the racial debate is quite scarce, even though race remains a central issue, as it cuts across the lives of Argentine men and women. So, I think that the spaces this Black movement has carved out help us build this consciousness, to adopt this critical Latin American perspective. So, Nilma's reasoning has been very useful to me, to help put it in perspective. To think about this movement outside of Brazil, to think about it and to value the Black movement as a space for identity building, as a space for mobilization, for self-awareness. So it establishes connections, a lot of connections, with what I do. And it is also associated with this idea of knowledge; she particularly stresses that. She connects knowledge and the sense of outrage as a binomial that we consider fundamental in the collective experience I am a part of, within the Association of Afro-Latin American Researchers (AINALC). In this context, the production of knowledge is deeply rooted in struggle, and the sense of outrage operates as a principle that informs political action and epistemological stance. Black scientific associations are part of this movement that combines knowledge with an anti-racist commitment. Because we do not come from a top-down academia. This black academia comes from the bottom up and strives for places that are historically known to be part of white privilege, a privilege enjoyed by the few. So, in that sense, it helps me to think about academia and helps me to think about these subtle movements, to think about intersectionality and emancipatory perspectives. I think Nilma's is a central contribution to that.



GCVM: I think what the two of you are saying is very important because it leads us to consider this *movimento negro educador*, which has been spreading throughout Latin America for a long time, producing knowledge and an understanding and also challenging academia and universities. I think that's important. And it brings to the debate another way of producing knowledge and learning. And thinking about this production of knowledge and learning, I have another question. How does this movement connect with the research you do? Anny, shall we start with you?

AOL: I think there is still more to say related to the previous question. Of how it connects to the research work I do. And that's why I mentioned the fact that it helps me think about the racial issue. It seems to me that there are other elements present here that I address in different seminars, one of which is called: "Confronting Epistemic Racism". It seems that when Professor Gomes brings up this issue of how knowledge is produced, something the Black movement does well, it also helps to confront this epistemic racism, right? And then it ties in with a topic that I discuss. Because it just positions subjects who have been dehumanized, made to feel inferior, as active subjects in the production of knowledge and in the work of political struggles. I think it also helps us to put in perspective our own battles, right? What we do, what we intervene in. And in my research, I believe that it is of utmost importance that the person defending this thesis, the person defending this argument, is a black woman. A black woman coming out of this movement, which is another area I am involved in and which has to do with black women in the scientific realm. And I stress, epistemic racism is a form of domination that I question extensively, with my students and colleagues, that should be confronted, and countered. One way to fight it is by incorporating these black voices, of black intellectuals and scholars. In this sense, it is very important to have the work of a black woman who has reflected on the Brazilian and Latin American scenarios, as Professor Nilma Lino Gomes has done.



GCVN: Natalino.

NNS: It is incredible and really important what Anny is drawing attention to, and what we have noticed in our work supervising master's, doctoral, and undergraduate research, as well as in our own research. Over the past forty years, we have witnessed what could be referred to as (socio-politically) engaged knowledge. This production of knowledge that is not detached from political action, from identity construction, from an intersectional dimension, from an aesthetic-corporeal perspective. This is knowledge that Nilma will call attention to in the scope of the *movimento negro educador*. She also highlights this sense of outrage. And so, since you invite us to reflect on this, I wanted to bring up this aspect of the sense of outrage. I do believe that Nilma was inspired by Freire's notion of the outrage of the oppressed. I believe we are undergoing another epistemic turn in the production of knowledge. No longer just in denouncing, but also as protagonists in epistemic elaboration. So, the way I see it, Glenda, it connects with my process of knowledge production in the sense of a break with paradigmatic notions. In other words, we are no longer, as we were twenty-five years ago, when I began my career as a researcher. At that time, we had to constantly resort to European references to avow that our research was valid. Hence, "*our steps come from afar*." So, the *movimento negro educador* has been establishing links with several other representatives of the African diaspora, which have allowed us today to support our research with epistemic references that enable us to say, "This is also scientific." And this is also in the fray of what is involved in knowledge production. So I think it is connected in this sense to this knowledge born out of outrage, which not only denounces, but also shows that we are able to generate knowledge and know-how. So I think this establishes this different type of university that we are talking about. We are no longer reflecting on a paradigm from forty years ago. We are already reflecting on struggles that, as Anny pointed out, emerge from the grassroots and rise up, right? And this leads to tensions and conflicts with



hegemonic, established knowledge. So I think it is all connected in this sense. At the same time, it shows that we have been introducing a new understanding and new knowledges. Our internationalization project: “*Movimento Negro Educador*: Discourses, practices, and knowledge in circulation in Latin America”, which is linked to the CNPq Sandwich Doctorate Program Abroad - SWE (Call for applications MCTI/CNPq No. 14/2023) financially supported by the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq), confirms its relevance, in this sense. At the same time, it connects young black researchers, Afro-diasporic, Afro-Colombian, Afro-Argentine, and from all other places where it is possible to produce knowledge, as Sheila Walker (2019) put it, *from within*. I believe that's it, somewhat.

AOL: Glenda, I'd like to make a comment, if I may.

GCVM: Certainly. Go ahead.

AOL: What Natalino has just said made me realize something, when he was talking about aesthetic-corporeal knowledge. And I remembered I have a student who is writing his doctoral thesis on the knowledge that teachers produce about racial issues, you see. And he told me about the time he came across different days of school celebrations that present a folkloric view of the Black, Indigenous or Afro-Colombian populations. And at a certain point, Nilma's text made more sense to him, precisely because of this idea of aesthetic-corporeal knowledge, so that he could let go a little, or abandon a little the idea that they were just folkloristic, because he had commented, rather disparagingly: “They bring them, and they dance, and that's it.” Or perhaps, “they just bring this issue of Afro aesthetics.” And then I remember that I assigned Nilma's text, and helped students to see it from another perspective, the one I was hearing you mention here. To see it in a different light, and this contribution seemed central to me because it is not just a stereotypical aesthetic—in fact, these types of practices do exist—but one cannot subsume everything, the whole analysis, to this type of interpretation. And I think that Nilma's text, or



rather, this approach to knowledge, made it possible to look at it from a different standpoint. To think that this aesthetic-corporeal dimension is one of the few spaces where these Afrocentric aesthetics circulate, right? And this is an important contribution to these kids' process of identity building, so that these black bodies are also able to circulate and challenge the dominant notion concerning black people, as the hegemonic narrative has always treated them, as inferior, ugly, negative. So I think that helped him a great deal to think about it. I reiterate, these ideas are helping us to encourage our students to reflect, as Professor Natalino Silva has also said, incorporating a different epistemology that values those forms of knowledge that, as we say, are denied.

GCVM: Yes. So, thinking about what you are saying, thinking a little beyond academia, how does this *movimento negro educador* relate to these contemporary contexts? If we think about the media, for example, the Brazilian media, Anny, we see today that this movement has educated the media. We see this, for example, in Brazilian soap operas with black protagonists who also defend and position themselves very differently from what we would see in the past, I guess. How do you see this movement then, in other contemporary practices?

AOL: I think that in relation to contemporary issues, if you take, for example, the rise of the far right, and all this hate speech, and the Black movement is there challenging that, isn't it? I mean, it's criticizing it, it's shedding light on it. I think it's important because in some places it's becoming normalized. I think about it based on my experience in Argentina, where this kind of discourse – well, you have experienced this with Bolsonaro – circulates effortlessly in society. And the fact is that at some point we just accept as a given fact that this is the way things are today, even if we look at the entire agenda of the far right today, which criticizes or calls all these struggles 'wokeism.' So, we see that the Black movement is taking action, confronting the ideologies of these more conservative sectors and these forms of hate speech



that threaten not only the achievements of the Black movement, but as we see here, are a clear threat to society, to its integration, to a more egalitarian society. So I think there is a more contemporary repercussion of this movement. And we also saw this, in your [Brazilian] case, with the issue of affirmative action. I saw how the movement was still there, resisting, even when the debate took place. I don't mean to meddle into Brazilian issues, so excuse me, but I just wanted to comment on this point in order to value this contribution to the contemporary debate regarding, for example, affirmative action. And I also think about school issues, this movement has really thought about it – if you look at Argentina, or Colombia – it has helped to think about the issue of Black history in school contexts. Or the case of the issue, for example, of higher education curricula. There are affirmative actions because there is a Black movement in action in that contemporary context. So I think there are many spaces where it currently has played a role. That's what I wanted to add.

NNS: I agree, Anny. And at this contemporary juncture we're in, especially in the context of historic reparation policies, such as affirmative action, it is coming on strong in different dimensions, from basic education to higher education and post-graduate studies. This is true not only in Latin America but also in other parts of the world. Thinking from an Afro-diasporic perspective, I believe that what still drives, or rather, what throws light on this contemporary *movimento negro educador* is this dimension of standing up to racist oppression. Racist oppression in its many different forms and iterations in different social contexts. I am reminded of our cherished Petronilha⁷, who will always point out that what is really at stake is ultimately a vision for the country. Nilma also reiterates this in her work. It is a vision for humanity. At some point in history, enslaved Africans and indigenous peoples were not considered to be human. And when you also have a national state that does not take into

⁷ cf. SILVA, Petronilha Beatriz Gonçalves and; BARBOSA, Lucia Maria de Assunção (Orgs.). *O pensamento negro em educação no Brasil: expressões do movimento negro*. São Carlos: EdUFSCar, 1997



account the citizenship rights of these people, then our contemporary situation is updated. Considering Latin America, or *América Ladina*, as Lélia Gonzalez (2022) put it, we can then understand the many political and partisan coups we are subjected to, which you also mentioned. We currently live in the context of a fragile democracy. So, the constitution of true citizenship, of a proposal to build an anti-racist society that is truly outraged at these oppressions, is one of the contemporary issues that the *movimento negro educador* poses itself. So, again, in Freirean terms, it is not enough to denounce, but we must also announce! So, when we look, for example, at the Brazilian partisan-political scenario and see that today we have a Ministry of Racial Equality and a Ministry of Indigenous Peoples, it signals to society that this context of resistance is ongoing. Also, within the school environment, even today, some students will have a memory, or an image, of an American Black movement comprised of figures such as Malcolm X, the Black Panthers, Martin Luther King Jr., etc. And yet, when we talk about the *movimento negro educador* and the experience of Brazilian Black activism, figures such as Abdias, Lélia, Beatriz, Azoilda, Luiza Bairros, and so many others, are completely unknown. So this memory, or telling this story in order to construct other visions of Black resistance, has yet to be done. Even after all the contemporary struggles to value the knowledge produced by this Black movement throughout Latin America. This challenges us to think not only about the strategies employed in these disputes, when we are in these scenarios, but, at the same time, not to lose sight of the broader historical perspective. This historical perspective that tells us that the battle is not yet won. We still have a long way to go. I think the *movimento negro educador* educates us in the sense that it shows us that there is much to be done in relation to shaping a vision for the country that, in this sense, does not condone racism or any other form of discrimination or intolerance based on race, social class, gender, etc.



GCVM: I think you raise some very important points. If we look at the contemporary context in the Americas, we can see how much the Trump administration, for example, has attacked racial causes, establishing a certain vision for the country. So I think there is no denying how much this *movimento negro educador*, in contemporary times, teaches us to stand up against the supremacist agenda, these supremacist issues that attack us directly. I would like you both to talk a little bit about that, too. How do you see this issue?

NNS: I think it is an urgent and pressing issue. And it resonates with what Anny also brought up in her considerations. Other researchers also argue that racism is not a departure from the norm, *it is the norm*. So, when we set out from an understanding that the modern nation state was built on a foundation of colonialism and that it feeds on racism, then you see it is the norm. How are we supposed to question a substantial segment of the population for whom this perverse normality that kills is still not considered strange? And it kills on different levels, not just physically, but also symbolically, materially, and subjectively. So there you have it! It's an uphill battle we're facing. That is why I say that the Trump administration and far-right governments that have been emerging, not only in the US context but in different parts of the world, are only replicating a pattern of normality. In the classroom, I always remind students that South America was built through violence. We like to talk about love, but we forget that our countries were born out of violence. Whether it be Native American peoples or the Black population. And if, structurally, it is violence that defines us, how are we to have a conversation about this normality? Mbembe (2018) talks about the necropolitical state. So, we have to question these necropolitics that determines which bodies can be eliminated and which cannot. For those who think it is alright for society to see some people, or some bodies, as expendable, while others are not, this is an issue that the Black movement is showing us and educating us on, isn't it? And also providing us with elements of the different knowledges that it will call attention to, as Nilma



points out. A framework not only from a political-analytical standpoint, but also from an epistemic perspective, so that we can confront these issues. And keeping in mind what Father Júlio Lancelotti⁸ will say: “we are not in the battle, oftentimes, to win, because we are fighting on the side of the oppressed.” We are in this resistance movement; in a way, in a dialogue with Fanon (2008), with the need to perhaps project another world from scratch, one that is more suitable for us.

AOL: I would add, considering this far right which adopts this discourse, I used to think, when we look back at the context of the 1970's, with the multiculturalist theories which were in fashion, and in that context there was a move towards diversity, a celebration of diversity, which is also the product of struggles which have been taking place since the sixties, the seventies, since the civil rights movement, the Vietnam war, the environmentalist movements. And that's when these debates would come up, legitimizing diversity and the discourse of racial equality. And in Latin America, this led to many constitutional recognition policies of the 1990s. And if you look at our current context, an agenda is being set in motion that is very contrary to all of this, and very white supremacist. And this, naturally, can be seen in Trump's policies and obviously, here in Argentina, in Milei's government, which is a carbon copy of Trump's. Of this white supremacist policy, of this whiteness, that is also the byproduct of an alleged moral supremacy. So I think what is happening is very striking because we no longer have a context that legitimizes these struggles. On the contrary, Milei wants to do away with them, to completely eliminate them, he wants to strip them away under the argument that they want to generate... I hear Milei saying... that they [these populations] want the State to invest resources on behalf of their differences. It is a very aggressive form of white supremacist

⁸ Father Júlio Lancelotti is a Brazilian Catholic educator and priest at São Miguel Arcanjo Church in Mooca, São Paulo. He became known for his tireless work with homeless and vulnerable people, with the *Pastoral do Povo da Rua* (*Pastoral of the People of the Streets*).



neoliberal capitalism that's ready to strike. It attacks what we fight for and what has been achieved through great struggle. So they dismiss it as 'woke' culture, as gender ideology, right? So there is a whole process of demonizing these agendas, demonizing... They would like to kick us off the battlefield, in other words, by discrediting us.

This is where we come across sinister characters such as Agustín Laje⁹, who claims that racism doesn't even exist. That we are peddling this made-up notion. Or that the 'made-up notion' of gender asymmetries, such as Glenda and Natalino were mentioning, with surprising naturalness, is an attempt to instill this discourse in society. That's why I say that what is happening is really alarming. They want to establish an anti-rights narrative that is ultimately a reproduction of fascism and white supremacy on a global scale. Which is really perverse, because what interests them is the reproduction of digital, financial, and neoliberal capitalism. So, it's really very worrying. That's what it is.

GCVM: Sure. We experienced that here in Brazil with Bolsonaro. But perhaps, as we were in the middle of the pandemic, we didn't experience some things with the same intensity. But this discourse, that no enslavement process took place, that there is no racism in Brazil, what we saw circulating, right, Natalino? Very widespread. And we see it circulating today. And what you said about this 'woke' movement is precisely that, they make fun of our struggles. They put us in a place... Oh, go ahead, Anny.

AOL: No, I just mean to say that here in Argentina it is actually being translated into policy. Yes, the closure, for example, of INADI, the National Institute Against Discrimination. What society closes a National Institute Against Discrimination in such a racist and discriminatory country? So, this agenda, the cancellation of all gender programs, well, Trump himself did that too, with gender programs. This far right is very aggressive, tremendously

⁹ Agustín Laje is a far-right intellectual and one of President Javier Milei's intellectual mentors. He is currently the executive director of Fundación Faro, a right-wing institution in Argentina.



aggressive. So we must prepare, because this is becoming global. This agenda is becoming global. We saw recently, for example, I don't know if you saw the news that, in England, the Supreme Court declared that trans people are not women. So, I mean, this discourse is becoming enacted into law. This is dangerous. It is finding its way into institutions. It is becoming institutionalized. And in societies, I think it is also very volatile because these sectors have always been here, right? Restrained, sometimes temporarily contained, because... I mean, there were other agendas out on the streets too, but today they are disconnected.

GCV: And for us to proceed here and continue talking about this *movimento negro educador* as a form of resistance or of re-existence, also as Analu (2011) will say, what languages does this movement use, or could use, to communicate with society? And then I'm going to think a little more about what we're discussing, including to question and challenge what we're talking about here. Natalino, would you like to go first?

NNS: Sure, I can go first. I think that your last query is, in fact, the million-dollar question. Because what Anny has just said in her reflection is that, increasingly, in the global context, we face imminent risks with regard to financial capitalism, which is causing the increasing precarity of life. Some sociologists talk about our current 'gig_economy'. So, if at a certain moment in history, recalling Marx and Engels (2021), what unified the notion of the proletariat as *political subject* was the struggle against class division, roughly speaking, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, it was up to the historical subject, the proletariat, to carry out a historical materialist transformation and change production in capitalist social environments with a view to achieving a more egalitarian social way of life, i.e. communism. Nowadays, these aspects are getting more and more entrenched, and are wide open and in full dispute. And that speaks directly to the different or multiple languages that must be mobilized. Today we speak of multiliteracies. So I think we could talk about



multiliteracies that are *sociopolitical, aesthetic, and of anti-racist outrage*. It is helpful to think about the diversity of languages and ideas because, in contemporary times, it is not a matter of mobilizing just one form of language. For example, this context of precarious work, the so-called 'gig economy', directly affects people who, even as part of the precariat, often think of themselves as *entrepreneurs*. So, despite the increasingly harsh and precarious living conditions, it becomes difficult to break with this logic of '*prosperity and entrepreneurship of oneself*'. We must have *language repertoires* at hand in order to engage in dialogue with sympathizers of this logic that presently organizes our neoliberal social life. This reminds me of Muniz Sodré (2006), a great Brazilian intellectual, who also engages with this perspective of the *movimento negro educador* on the need to consider the *sensible experience*. In this regard, it is important to remember the place accorded to reason; in other words, for a long time, it was *reason* that defined the canon of epistemic scientific knowledge. Perhaps, largely influenced by Descartes's concept of *Cogito, ergo sum*. However, we are inhabited not only by reason, but also by *emotion*. We can see that the *language of sensible experience* also mobilizes bodies and minds. In line with Brazilian researcher Amaury Mendes (2018), when he says that the Black movement, over the last forty years, has managed to produce a *Black consciousness culture* in Latin America. And if this culture manages to make itself present today, as Glenda pointed out, even in soap opera content, we must return to Stuart Hall (2003) when he asks: what kind of multiculturalism circulates in this society? Is it *mainstream* multiculturalism? Is it multiculturalism that does not bring with it the radical proposition of the *movimento negro educador* regarding the knowledges of the outraged? So these language repertoires, perhaps, are increasingly drawing our attention to the fact that languages are varied. And at the same time, that we must take action on many fronts. I remember an interview in which the intellectual Hélio Santos said that, from the perspective of the *movimento negro educador*, we would have to



strengthen our reflections and our contemporary political activism. For instance, a few years ago there was no talk of algorithmic racism. Today, we need to develop a language to understand how this type of racism operates. A while ago, there wasn't talk concerning the financialization of the economy, of platform capitalism, or the 'gig economy', and their impact on the life of people doing precarious work. So, I think that forms of oppression are still present, but under new guises. With new historical challenges that are becoming increasingly complex. When we see that black students are entering universities through affirmative action policies, the Trump administration immediately retreats to a discourse of meritocracy. But whose merit? So this is also a culture of resentment. And as these dimensions become intertwined, they bring us new layers of challenges in developing a language, or multiple languages, and socio-political actions suited to confronting racism. I believe that's it.

GCVN: Anny?

AOL: Oh, what Professor Natalino Silva has just said is excellent. I don't have much to add. I think that all these languages he was talking about, we would also have the challenge of seeing them, envisioning them in a historical perspective as well. I think, for example, of the languages used within the same *comunidades cimarronas*, the *quilombolas*¹⁰, historically established. Even the Black movements in the Caribbean, which used a lot of poetry and literature to build a community, the Haitian revolution itself, the role of voodoo in the organization. So we have the challenge of being able to think along these lines that Nilma proposes. Based on this knowledge of identity, or knowledge born out of outrage, to think about them from a historical perspective. How these enslaved people were building on this knowledge. What knowledge of outrage did they produce? What knowledge of identity? What intersectional knowledge?

¹⁰ TN. *Comunidades cimarronas* and *quilombos* are two examples of self-organized communities of formerly enslaved people and (still today) descendants of escaped enslaved Africans in the Americas. Having fled the plantations, they 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.



I think that is the great challenge to think from the perspective of Professor Gomes's thesis, from this approach, and to enrich it to account for all this knowledge that draws on memory. Rather from this perspective. I just wanted to add this, which came to me from what Natalino was saying.

GCVM: Well, I would like to thank you for this exchange, for this conversation, and also hand the floor over to you, for your final words. And just add that I'm sure we'll meet again soon.

AOL: Well then, on that note, thank you very much again for the invitation. It seems to me that the project you've put together is very empowering. And as I was saying, we are left with the challenge of having to think about it in historical terms, right? Use these tools, right? Because I think what we have here is, let's say, a conceptual tool for reading the past, for reading the present, and for thinking about the future. And I say this because I don't believe in a future without this sense of outrage, for example. Because being outraged gives us the possibility of astonishment, and it also gives us the possibility of taking action, of reacting. So that seems crucial to me. Nor do I believe in a future without identity, which is another one of the parameters. So in that sense, I really value the contribution that the project has been making. I would also like to thank Professor Natalino Silva for giving us a chance to listen to him and for the things I thought about while listening to him. I thank him for that as well. And the same goes for you Glenda, for providing this space for synergies to happen and for the questions that led us to articulate such reflections. Thank you very much.

NNS: In fact, I am also grateful to you both for the honor and the chance to be part of this project. To connect with so many people I admire and who inspire me. Glenda, Anny, Nilma, and so many others who are part of this project and make it happen. And knowing that, if within a certain Cartesian, Western logic, a perspective may emerge in which we are not connected, in the Afro-diasporic and the indigenous peoples' worldview, everything is connected,



the human and the non-human. And it is this perspective that I rely on. Knowing that the struggle will go on. And that the Black movement can be increasingly educational. To be able to educate ourselves and re-educate ourselves, to transform ourselves. To be transformative in the lives of so many people. Towards the construction of a better world. A world where the color of one's skin and, consequently, all other forms of discrimination and socio-racial inequalities, no longer need to be addressed. That is what I wish for my son. That is what I wish for each one of us. Axé.

CONCLUSION

The reflections raised in this article through the dialogical relationship established between the researchers from the perspective of the Afro-diaspora reveal that the *Movimento Negro Educador* is an important collective political entity in Latin America. Its sociopolitical actions are capable of educating and re-educating society, itself, and other collective action initiatives. Therefore, one of the lessons learned is that, despite all the historical achievements, there is still much to be done in relation to the construction of a societal project that does not condone racism and/or any form of discrimination based on class, gender, sexual orientation, religion, age, etc.

As a form of resistance, or *re-existence* (Souza, 2011), the *Movimento Negro Educador* has increasingly mobilized more segments of society in its struggle for *multiliteracies that are socio-political, aesthetic, and of anti-racist outrage*. In this regard, a few years ago, algorithmic racism was not present as a social issue. The movement's mastery of digital language therefore means, among other things, it has strategies for confronting this type of racism.

Thus, the researchers acknowledge that the theoretical-practical elaboration of the "*Movimento Negro Educador*," as proposed by professor and



researcher Nilma Lino Gomes, makes significant contributions to their research, as well as to their sociopolitical actions.

Certain that the struggle to guarantee and secure social and human rights will continue, Anny Ocoró Loango and Natalino Silva hope that the Black movement and the Afro-Colombian movement will increasingly prove to be educational. In order to educate us and re-educate the movements themselves, transforming themselves in the process. Our scholars hope that they will be a force for change in the lives of a growing number of people and institutions, in the effort to build better worlds.

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