



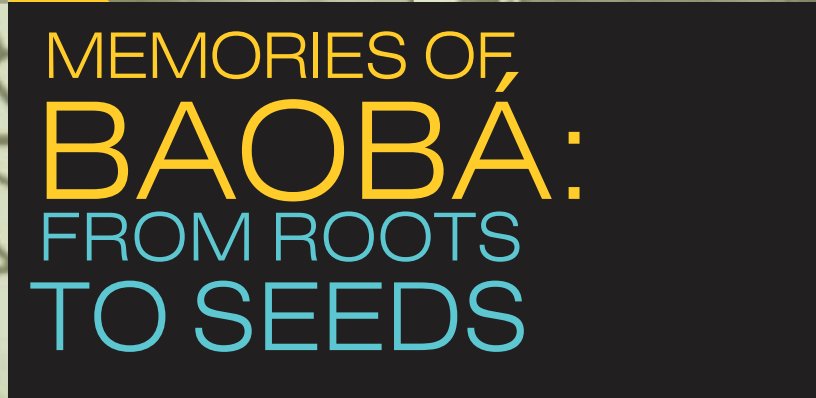
MEMORIES OF BAOBA: FROM ROOTS TO SEEDS

Edited by
Amilcar Araujo Pereira
Julio Cesar Correia de Oliveira
Thayara Cristine Silva de Lima





Cristina Lopes
Luiza Bairros
Andrés Thompson
Tarry Cristina Santos Pereira
Sueli Carneiro
Silvio Humberto
Rosana Fernandes
Antônio Nascimento
Rui Mesquita
Ana Toni
Elias Sampaio
Socorro Guterres
Maria Nazaré
Roseni Sena
Luiz Alberto
Selma Moreira
Helio Santos
Joe Stewart



Copyright© 2015, Amilcar Araujo Pereira, Julio Cesar Correia de Oliveira e Thayara Cristine Silva de Lima

Catalogin-in-Publication Data

M533

Memories of Babobá: from roots to seeds/ edited by Amilcar Araujo Pereira, Julio Cesar Correia de Oliveira e Thayara Cristine Silva de Lima; translated by Janny Llanos. - Rio de Janeiro: Kitabu Editora, 2015. 144 p. : il.; 21 cm.

Original title: Memórias do baobá.

Includes bibliography and index
ISBN 978-85-67445-04-5

1. Racial Equity 2. Race Relations. 3. Black social movement. I Pereira, Amilcar Araújo. II Oliveira, Júlio Cesar Correia. III Lima, Thayara Cristiane Silva de Lima. IV Llanos, Janny.

CDD: 305.8

Editorial Board, Kitabu Press

Amarino Queiroz | UFRN
Amaury Garcia Rodriguez | COLMEX
Amilcar Araujo Pereira | UFRJ
Ana Lúcia Silva e Souza | UFBA
Conceição Evaristo | Escritora
Diana Araujo Pereira | UNILA
Edson Cardoso | Jornalista
Luiz Silva (Cutí) | Escritor
Marcio André dos Santos Oliveira | UNILAB
Mônica Lima | UFRJ
Ricardo Silva Ramos de Souza (Riso)

General Coordinator of
the Research Project
Amilcar Araujo Pereira

Editorial Coordination
Kitabu Press

Translation into English
Janny Llanos

Proof Readings
Amilcar Araujo Pereira

Cover
Maria Júlia Ferreira

Graphic Project
Maria Júlia Ferreira

Publishing Company
Fernanda Felisberto
Heloísa Marcondes

Photos of the interviews
Yana Vieira and
João Raphael Ramos dos Santos

Photos from personal archive
Rui Mesquita, Joe Stewart, Ana Toni
and Andrés Thompson



Baobá

Governance Structure

General Assembly:

Aparecida Sueli Carneiro
Elizabeth Lima da Silva
Lindivaldo Oliveira Leite Júnior
Luiz Alberto de Oliveira Gonçalves
Maria do Socorro Guterres
Martha Rosa Figueira Queiroz
Rebeca de Oliveira Duarte
Ronaldo Laurentino de Sales Junior
Sílvio Humberto dos Passos Cunha
Trícia Viviane Lima Calmon

Advisory Board:

Aparecida Sueli Carneiro
Elizabeth Lima da Silva
Luiz Alberto de Oliveira Gonçalves
Amália Eugénia Fischer
Ana Amélia Campos Toni
Denise Kazue Hirao
Hélio de Souza Santos (President)
Joelzito Almeida de Araújo
Maurício Fernando Pestana

Audit Committee:

Mario Nelson da Costa Carvalho
Rebeca de Oliveira Duarte
Ronaldo Laurentino de Sales Junior

Executive Director:

Selma Moreira

Program Manager:

Cristina Lopes

MEMORIES OF, BAOBÁ: FROM ROOTS TO SEEDS

Editors:

Amílcar Araújo Pereira
Julio Cesar Correia de Oliveira
Thayara Cristine Silva de Lima



Baobá
FUND FOR RACIAL EQUITY

With support from:



**W.K.
KELLOGG
FOUNDATION**

A Partner With Communities Where Children Come First.®



Contents	
Preface	5
Introduction	7
Timeline	14
Interviewees	17
Chapter 1 Connections - Roots of Baobá	23
The Racial Question	34
Connections with the Black Movement	53
Chapter 2 Constructions - From a mechanism to Baobá	63
Projects	109
Chapter 3 Assessments and Expectations	
Philanthropy and the racial question in Brazil	120
Seeds of Baobá	131

Preface

The Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity is a singular initiative in Brazil. The Kellogg Foundation, a private and philanthropic institution, funded Baobá with the intention of creating a “mechanism” to promote racial equity in Brazil, an intriguing and challenging task in itself as it involved a diverse group of social actors in the constitution of a committee to build and implement this action.

Édouard Glissant, a Martiniquan writer, taught us that bodies and memories were the only “goods” available to the “naked migrants” who were forcibly brought to the Americas as enslaved men and women. To think of the place of memory as semantic and epistemological fields in the Brazilian case is to consider the importance of Afro-Brazilian religious houses, black cultural clubs, and the diverse groups of the organized black social movement. Through on-going efforts, the men and women of these organizations are committed to diverse aspects of the anti-racist struggle with the aim of recovering and giving voice to the history of the black population, a narrative that has been erased or omitted from the “official” history of Brazil.

They have also overseen the effort to ensure the preservation of these voices in print, thereby creating another mechanism for preserving the history of Black Brazilians. So it was in a opportune moment, during the International Decade for People of African Descent (2015-2024), that the Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity built a successful partnership with researchers Amílcar Araujo Pereira, Julio Cesar Correia de Oliveira and Thayara Cristine Silva de Lima. These scholars interviewed a diverse group of black activists in Brazil, the founding members of this fund, as well as consultants from the Kellogg Foundation. The result of this effort is the book before you: *Memories of Baobá: From Roots to Seeds*.

The polyphony of voices which constitute the corpus of this book have in common the commitment to make public the debate about racism in Brazil and in the diaspora and to continue the quest for racial equity. Men and women from different regions and generations reconstructed through their testimonies the mosaic that was the creation of Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity, all intersected by memories of their own institutions, of affirmative policies, and of the contemporary situation of black people in Brazil.

Kitabu Press and its team feel absolutely honored by the invitation to participate in this endeavor, contributing to the material preservation of this initiative. Long live the Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity.

Fernanda Felisberto

Kitabu Editora

INTRODUCTION

BAOBÁ
a tree symbolic of the
sustainability of racial equity.
Cultivate and spread this idea...
(Magno Cruz)

The phrase above was written in an electronic message sent in December of 2009 by Magno Cruz¹ to the rest of the members of the programming committee, which financed by the Kellogg Foundation, was tasked with elaborating a “mechanism” to work towards the promotion of racial equity in Brazil. This mechanism, which would later gain the name suggested by Magno, was to be the legacy the North American Kellogg Foundation would present to Brazilian society after its exit from Brazil, an exit that was spurred on by the economic crisis facing the world -- especially the United States -- beginning in 2008. At the time, this “mechanism” was still unnamed and its structure was yet to be developed. There was indeed a big debate taking place within the programming committee regarding the development and construction of what would later be Baobá -- Fund for Racial Equity. There are some noteworthy aspects of this story, and it is precisely the composition of the programming committee responsible for the creation of Baobá: various leaders of the black movement in Brazil, such as Luiza Bairos, Sueli Carneiro, Elias Sampaio and the above-mentioned Magno Cruz among others, in dialogue with consultants and members of the Kellogg Foundation.

For the first time in our country a private philanthropic foundation opted for investing a great deal of resources towards the creation of a “mechanism” designed for the promotion of racial equity, something which could offer sustainability to a historical struggle in Brazilian society. If we think solely in terms of the organization of black people against discrimination and the struggle for equality, we can trace this back -- as Sueli Carneiro has done in the interviews for this book -- to the black brotherhoods who gathered their earnings to purchase the manumission of enslaved blacks in various regions of the country, as well as other forms of organization such as

¹Magno Cruz (1951-2010), one of the great references of black leadership in the Brazilian Northeast, was born in São Luis do Maranhão. He was an engineer, having obtained his degree from the State University of Maranhão in 1976, and was employed by the Water and Sewage Company of Maranhão (Caema) starting in 1980. He was president of the Black Cultural Center of Maranhão (CCN) for two consecutive terms from 1984 to 1988 and was also chairman of the Board of the Maranhão Society for Human rights and director of training for the Union of Maranhão Developers, affiliated with the Central Workers Union (CUT). See ALBERTI, Verena & PEREIRA, Amílcar A. (eds) *Histories of the black movement in Brazil: testimonies for CPDOC*. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas/CPDOC -FGV, 2007. no Brasil: depoimentos ao CPDOC. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas/CPDOC-FGV, 2007.

the quilombos (maroon communities) during colonial times. Wherever slavery existed in this country there were struggles for freedom and equality, and these came in multiple forms (Reis and Gomes, 1996). Moving ahead to the post-abolition moment, we find a variety of diverse political organizations such as the Frente Negra Brasileira (Brazilian Black Front) or FNB, created in São Paulo in 1931, later transformed into a political party in 1936,² and present in various other Brazilian states where it gathered tens of thousands of members and eventually served as an inspiration for the civil rights movement in the United States as well as a number of other countries in the 1930s (Pereira, 2013). In the contemporary period, another historically relevant moment in the struggle against racism in Brazil was the creation of the Movimento Negro Unificado (Unified Black Movement) or MNU. The MNU was spurred into existence by a public act declared on July 7, 1978 on the steps of the Teatro Municipal de São Paulo (Municipal Theatre of São Paulo) as a form of protest against the death of a black worker in a police station in São Paulo as well as against the expulsion of four young black athletes from a club in the city. This public declaration, which had such national and international reverberation and was supported by black leaders spanning all of Brazil, was not only a form of protest in itself, but had as its objective the creation of an umbrella organization that could unite all of the struggles against racism in the entirety of Brazil. Up to that point the struggle against racism in Brazil had been carried out by a myriad of black organizations spread throughout the various states of Brazil and created most specifically after 1974 during the middle of the political opening of the military dictatorship, in power since 1964. Although the MNU failed to unify the then existing organizations in the struggle against racism, it is still in existence today and has offices in several states. Its formation seems to have been responsible for spreading the notion of a "black movement" as a generic term for several organizations and other forms of acts of protest built by blacks from that moment on.

There are many other examples like those cited above which demonstrate that the struggle against racism in Brazil -- and in more recent decades, for racial equity -- has a basis in history and has been carried out by black movements in different ways spanning a long stretch of time. It is no coincidence, therefore, that imbued with the desire to contribute to the reduction of racial inequality in Brazil, Andrés Thompson, then director of the

²FNB was the second black political party created in the Americas with the first being the Partido Independiente de Color created in Cuba in 1909. The FNB was closed in 1937 along with all other political organizations, after the Estado Novo coup led by Getulio Vargas installed a dictatorship in Brazil by the year 1945. Only in 1966, 30 years after the FNB was created, was the Black Panther Party in the United States created.

Program for Latin America and the Caribbean of the Kellogg Foundation, along with consultants and with the support of members of the Board of Directors of the Kellogg Foundation, decided to invite leaders of the black movement who had the experience and accumulated knowledge on the role of racism in Brazilian society, to take a leading role in the formulation of the "mechanism" which would promote racial equity in Brazil. But why "equity"? Widely used in the area of law, in the last decades the idea of equity within the context of the struggle for social justice has been much debated among educators and social activists from various countries. The debate stems from the idea that "equity" presupposes an unequal treatment of individuals in unequal situations, thus making the construction of equality a possibility in society. Equal treatment by itself in the context of a historically unequal society tends to simply breed or reproduce further existing inequalities.

The idea of equity has also been widely used in debates about affirmative action for blacks in contemporary Brazil. Once again, it was the black movement who served as the protagonist and main social actor responsible for the inclusion of affirmative action as part of the discussion agenda for Brazilian society since the mid-1990s. Through such initiatives as the "Marcha Zumbi dos Palmares 300 anos, contra o Racismo, pela Cidadania e pela Vida" (Zumbi of Palmares March 300 Years, Against Racism, for Citizenship and Life), held in 1995 in Brasilia by an estimated 30,000 black militants, as well as the subsequent creation the same year, of the Grupo de Trabalho Interministerial para a Valorização da População Negra (Inter-Ministerial Working Group for the Promotion of the Black Population) or GTI, under the auspices of the Federal Government, and with the leadership of Helio Santos, one of the interviewees for this book, the black movement forced the issue of racial equity to the forefront. Another important milestone was the participation of the black movement, especially by Brazilian black women, in preparing Brazil and its official delegation to participate in the Third World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Intolerance conducted by the United Nations in Durban, South Africa in 2001. It was during this conference that black leaders publicly advocated for the inclusion of a system of racial quotas for blacks entering the university as part of the official document presented by Brazil in Durban, and thus the first act of affirmative action for blacks was taken within the federal government. (Alberti & Pereira, 2006). The discussion of racial matters at the national level gained momentum starting in 2003 with the establishment of the Secretaria de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial da Presidência da República (the Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equity of the President's Office) or SEPPIR, created in an unprecedented manner with Cabinet status; and with the presidential approval of Law No. 10,639, which amended two articles

of the Law of Guidelines and Foundations of National Education (LDB) of 20 December 1996, and mandated that the History of Afro-Brazilians and Afro-Brazilian culture be taught in schools.

Even with all of the discussions about the role of racism in Brazilian society and all of the progress made in recent years -- from the historical struggle of the black social movement for racial equity, the ongoing debates about affirmative action and some of the concrete steps that are being produced in our society -- racism continues to be an important structural element of inequality in Brazil.³ Our country still has the unfortunate distinction of being one of the most unequal societies in the world. An understanding of this fact, and a belief that there exists a need to strengthen the struggle for racial equity if this reality is to be transformed, are what made these different social actors come together around the creation of what would become the Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity. These were people with distinct backgrounds who acted in various capacities within a variety of institutions but who converged and joined efforts to "cultivate and spread this idea", beginning with the drafting process and the eventual creation of a new organization whose purpose is to serve the cause of promoting racial equity in Brazil. The research project that made the writing of this book possible was initiated in an effort to reconstruct the memory of the process by which Baobá was created based on the testimonies of those people who led or participated in a relevant manner towards the constitution of the first fund dedicated exclusively towards financing projects and organizations working for the promotion of racial equity in Brazil.

The book in the reader's possession is a sort of written documentary produced through editing and organizing themes culled from excerpts of oral history interviews with 18 of the main characters who came together and led the process of constructing Baobá. The interviews took an average of 1 hour and 20 minutes and totalled nearly 24 hours of recording, all of which were conducted between July 29 and August 21, 2015 in the cities of Belo Horizonte, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Salvador and São Luis do Maranhão. Interviews with Joe Stewart, Andrés Thompson and Rui Mesquita were recorded over the Internet using a video chat program as these three respondents were living outside of Brazil at the time of the interviews. All interviews began with questions about each subject's life history so that we may know some aspects of their past and thus better understand how or through what paths, each of them came to participate in the process of constituting Baobá. After gathering this foundational information, the subsequent questions pertain to the specific participation of each of the

³Ver, entre outros, PAIXÃO e CARVANO, 2008; HENRIQUES, 2001; HASENBALG, 1979.

respondents in the formation of Baobá. The excerpts which compose the narrative presented here generally address the specific perceptions about the development process of Baobá, as well as issues related to questions of subjectivity and identity as presented by the interviewees, both in their earlier life histories and as it relates to the process of developing the Baobá Fund.

As a methodology, oral history helps us understand experiences and histories that go beyond what is available in written documents; it allows us to understand questions related to subjectivity which may be present in the historical discourse(s) touched upon in the interviews. As evidenced by Verena Alberti, its "great wealth [oral history] is that it serves as fertile soil for the study of subjectivity and representations of the past, which taken as objective data, are capable of influencing (and thus to act upon) reality and our understanding of the past." (Alberti, 2004, p.194) In this manner, the processes and necessary connections narrated by the actors involved, together with their particular trajectories and the reflections they make on the process, have enabled us to build a richer memory with viewpoints which can coincide or not and thus allow for the possibility of better understanding the events which led to the eventual formation of the Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity.

From this collectively built memory (which certainly contains gaps, silences and absences -- as with any scientific work based on memories) organized in the form of a book, we present the reader with a plurality of views and perspectives which help us better understand this history which begins well before the points of convergence resulting in the construction of the "mechanism" to promote racial equality in Brazil. It also allows us to move forward and project future possibilities in the search for a more democratic and less unequal society, especially with regard to the question race in our country, Brazil.

Multiple topics were discussed in the interviews, however during the process of selecting the passages which were to make up the book, three broad themes emerged and thus we have divided the book into three chapters based on the following themes: Connections, Constructions and, finally, Assessment and Expectations. Many compromises and connections were necessary to make Baobá a reality; from the earlier connections previous to this process, and related to the experiences and the very consciousness of race by some of the social actors represented here; to the connections made within the Kellogg Foundation which made the idea a viable project; to the alliances made with the black movement in Brazil and other civil society organizations; and lastly, to the individual experiences of our interviewees who mobilized their efforts, and in turn, brought forward concerns which were necessary contributions toward the process of the formation of Baobá. Many of these different

connections appear in the first chapter of the book. The second chapter, *Constructions*, is a detailed retelling, based on the narratives of those who were on the front line of this process, of the debates and the process of structuring the mechanism tasked with the promotion of racial equity, which would later be named Baobá. This chapter also contains the strategies used to enable the construction of Baobá; the "ambience" built around the idea of creating this fund, and finally ends with the presentation of the first projected plans which are being implemented in 2015. Finally, the third chapter presents the reflections of some interviewees regarding the issue of philanthropy in Brazil, the challenges Baobá faces today -- and that it is projected to face in the future -- and it especially brings together some assessments and expectations of those who continue to focus on the "tree symbolic of the sustainability of the cause of racial equity."

First, we would like to acknowledge our interviewees without whom writing this book would not have been possible; thank you for welcoming us and sharing your experiences and knowledge, and for doing so with good will and kindness. Cristina Lopes and Selma Moreira made the realization of this project possible and ensured, along with the support of Rui Mesquita Cordeiro, funding from the Kellogg Foundation. For this we are extremely grateful. Maria Julia Ferreira and Fernanda Felisberto masterfully took the task of beautifully shaping and publishing the book by Kitabu Publisher. We thank you as well. We also thank the Kellogg Foundation, represented here by Emma Brecheisen and Donna Bradshaw, for its support. And last but not least, we thank Janny Llanos for the translation into English.

We hope that by making the memory organized and presented here more well known -- a memory which reflects a historic social struggle -- this book may also be a contribution to the struggle for racial equity in Brazil.

The editors, November 2015

Bibliographic References

ALBERTI, Verena. Ouvir contar: textos em História Oral. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2004-a.

ALBERTI, Verena; PEREIRA, Amilcar Araujo (Orgs.). Histórias do movimento negro no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas; CPDOC/FGV, 2007.

ALBERTI, Verena; PEREIRA, Amilcar Araujo. "A defesa das cotas como estratégia política do movimento negro contemporâneo." Estudos Históricos. v.37, 2006.

HASENBALG, Carlos. Discriminação e desigualdades raciais no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 1979.

HENRIQUES, Ricardo. Desigualdade racial no Brasil: evolução das condições de vida na década de 90. Texto para discussão nº 807. Rio de Janeiro: Ipea, 2001.

PAIXÃO, Marcelo; CARVANO, Luiz M. (Orgs.). Relatório anual das desigualdades raciais no Brasil; 2007-2008. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond Universitária, 2008.

PEREIRA, Amilcar Araujo. "O mundo negro": relações raciais e a constituição do movimento negro contemporâneo no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas; FAPERJ, 2013.

PEREIRA, Amilcar A.; MONTEIRO, Ana Maria (Orgs.). Ensino de História e Culturas Afro-Brasileiras e Indígenas. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas, 2012.

POLLAK, Michael. "Memória e Identidade Social". Estudos Históricos, Rio de Janeiro, vol. 5, n. 10, 1992, p. 200-212.

POLLAK, Michael. "Memória, esquecimento, silêncio." Estudos Históricos, Rio de Janeiro, vol. 2, n. 3, 1989, p. 3-15.

REIS, João; GOMES, Flávio. Liberdade por um fio: histórias dos quilombos no Brasil. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996.

TIMELINE

Some of the important landmarks in the struggle for racial equity in Brazil

1888

1888 - Abolition of slavery in Brazil.

End of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century

Creation of black social organizations and newspapers called "black press" in various parts of the country.

1931

Founding of the Brazilian Black Front (FNB), the largest political organization of the Brazilian black social movement in the twentieth century.

1936

Founding, in Recife by Solano Trindade, of the Pernambucan Black Front and Afro -Brazilian Cultural Center, intended to expose black intellectuals and artists.

1944

Creation of the Experimental Black Theatre (TEN) by Abdias Nascimento and other black militants.

1951

The Afonso Arinos Law, which included acts based on or resulting from race or color prejudice, among its misdemeanors.

1974 - onwards

With the political opening, and even during the then-current civil-military dictatorship, there was the formation of various organizations of the contemporary black movement in Brazil.

1978

Founding of the Unified Black Movement (MNU).

1983

Formation of the Council of Participation and Development of the Black Community of the State of São Paulo, during the government of Franco Montoro (1983-1987), first agency linked to the black movement created within the public authorities.

1988

Promulgation of the Constitution, called a "Citizen Constitution", which included the criminalization of racism and other demands made by the Brazilian black social movement.

1995

Realization of Zumbi of Palmares 300 Years March against Racism, for Citizenship and Life.;

Creation of the Interministerial Working Group for the Promotion of the Black Population (GTI) under the federal government.

2001

Realization, by the United Nations (UN), of the Third World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held in Durban, South Africa.

2003

Presidential approval of Law N° 10,639, which amended two articles of the Law of Guidelines and Foundations of National Education (LDB) of December 20, 1996, mandating that the history and culture of Afro-Brazilians be taught in schools nationwide.

2003

Creation of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equity of the President's Office (SEPPIR) with the status of cabinet.

2006

Encounter held between the Kellogg Foundation and representatives of the black movement in Bahia; Visit from the Council of Directors (Board) of the Kellogg Foundation to the Steve Biko Institute in Salvador, Bahia.

2007

Public announcement by the Kellogg Foundation in the United States, pledging to become "an effective anti-racist organization that promotes racial equity."

2008

Beginning of the relationship between the Kellogg Foundation and leaders of the black movement for the creation of a "mechanism" for racial equity in Brazil.

2009

Creation of the Forum for Supporters of Racial Equity in Brazil (FAER).

2009

Organizations of the black movement in the Brazilian Northeast are mapped by CEAFFRO- UFBA.

2010

Course on Leadership Training (KWETO), held by the Steve Biko Cultural Institute.

2011

Baobá Fund for Racial Equity is launched.

2012

Completion of the First Training for Institutional Strengthening (CESE, Steve Biko Institute and Institute Ethnic Media).

2012

Unanimous decision by the Supreme Court for the constitutionality of affirmative action in Brazilian universities; Presidential approval to Law No. 12,711 / 2012 guarantees that 50% of admittances in public universities be reserved for students from fully public high school, with expected quotas for blacks and native Brazilians (indigenous) which take into account the minimum percentages corresponding to the sum of pretos (blacks), pardos ("mulattos") and indígenas (indigenous) in each Brazilian state, according to the latest census of the Brazilian Geography and Statistics Institute (IBGE).

2014

Launch of the first call of projects by Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity to finance projects by black organizations with the support of the Kellogg Foundation and the Ford Foundation

2014

Launch of the Management School for Fairness - Black Youth, an initiative of Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity, Instituto Unibanco and the Federal University of São Carlos (UFSCar).

INTERVIEWEES



Ana Toni has a degree in Social Sciences and Economics from Swansea University, in the United Kingdom, and a Master's Degree in World Political Economy from the London School of Economics. She was Executive Director of ActionAid (from 1998 to 2002) where she participated in bringing the organization to Brazil. She served as director of the Ford Foundation in Brazil (from 2003 to 2011) and is currently the executive director of the Climate and Society Institute. She is a founding partner of GIP-Public Interest Management and chairman of Greenpeace International Council, as well as being a part of the Board of Baobá -Fund for Racial Equity.

Andrés Thompson was born in the city of Rosario in Argentina where he studied psychology at the National University of Rosario. In 1977, at the age of 21, he was forcibly exiled due to the political persecution he experienced during the military dictatorship in Argentina at the time. As a political activist, after spending some time in Brazil in forced exile, Andrés sought political refuge in Holland where he completed a Master in Development Studies from the Social Studies Institute of Erasmus in the University of Rotterdam. After the end of the dictatorship, Andrés returned to Argentina and worked as a researcher focusing on civil society and non-governmental organizations. He also taught at the National University of Buenos Aires in the History Department. Between 1994 and 2010 he worked as director of the Latin American and Caribbean Program for the Kellogg Foundation.



Antônio Nascimento has both a Bachelor's and Master's in Business Administration from the School of Administration at the Federal University of Bahia. Since 2002 he has worked as the associate advisor for the company PARTICIPAR- Development and Assessment Projects Ltd., where he develops consultancies for many organizations within Brazil as well as abroad. He currently leads projects for the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation in Africa (in Guinea Bissau) and for the business sector (Queiroz Galvão, Petrobras S.A. and Braskem S.A.) on environmental licensing and social corporate responsibility. He was also advisor to the Kellogg Foundation from 2002 to 2010.

Cristina Lopes has a degree in Social Sciences from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), with a specialty in the History of Africa and Black people in Brazil from Cândido Mendes University. While working on her degree she worked as a volunteer and intern at the Brazilian Institute of Social and Economic Analyses (IBASE) and studied for two years at Dillard University in New Orleans, USA. Upon her return to the US she also returned to IBASE as a researcher where she worked on community development, the promotion of the citizenry and held a series of discussions that led to the primer/booklet *Racial Quotas: Why Yes?* Since 2011 she has been the Program Manager at Baobá - Fund for racial equity.



Elias Sampaio is an economist and graduated from the Catholic University of Salvador. He has a Master's in Economics and a PhD in Public Administration, both from the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA). With a focus on institutional racism, he is a civil servant and acts as an economist in the Ministry of Planning since 1995. Between 2011 and 2014 he was State Secretary of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality (SEPROMI) of the State of Bahia. He was an early participant in the discussions which took place in Salvador on the creation of what would become Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity, and was a member of the first Program Committee of the organization until 2011.

Helio Santos graduated in Accounting and Business Administration from the Municipal School of Economics (FAMCE) of Belo Horizonte (MG) and has a Master in Finance and a PhD in Business Administration from the University of Sao Paulo. He is a founder and first president of the Council of Participation and Development of the Black Community of the State of São Paulo, the first government agency created to specifically address racial matters during the government of Franco Montoro (1983-1987). In 1986 he was the only black member of the Interim Commission for Constitutional Studies -- known as "Afonso Arinos Commission" and named after its founder and president -- set up under the Ministry of Justice in order to develop a project to subsidize the work of the future parliamentarians in the drafting of the Constitution of 1988. In 1995 he was the leader of the Interministerial Working Group for the Promotion of the Black Population (GTI), which added the issue of affirmative action to the public agenda of the Federal Government. He was a university professor for 40 years until his retirement and currently serves as visiting professor of the Master's in Education at Bahia State University (UNEB), as well as serving as chairman of the Board of Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity.





Joseph (Joe) M. Stewart grew up in Maringouin, a small town in the state of Louisiana. He attended Southern University and A&M College in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, a historical black university, during the Civil Rights era, and received a bachelor's degree in Foods and Nutrition. He was director of food services for Washington D.C. public schools and state director of child nutrition programs for the District of Columbia. In 1980, he began his career for Kellogg Company as director of child nutrition programs in the U.S. Food Products Division. He was promoted to director of corporate communications in public affairs in 1981, and in 1985 was named vice president of corporate affairs. He was later promoted to Sr. Vice President-Corporate Affairs and Chief Ethics Officer. He retired from Kellogg Company in 2000 and co-founder, with his son, Stewart Industries LLC., an automotive sub-assembly Company. In 2001, he became a trustee for the W.K. Kellogg Foundation and served as chair of the board between 2007 and 2009.

Luiz Alberto de Oliveira Gonçalves is a sociologist and graduated with a Master's in Education from the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) and a PhD in Sociology from the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences in France. He was a member of the scientific committee of the European Observatory of School Violence - Bordeaux, France (2001 - 2003), was a visiting professor at the University Agostinho Neto (2008) in Angola, and coordinator of the Interinstitutional Master and Doctoral Program of the International Covenant between the Federal University of Minas Gerais and the University Eleven of November in Angola. He is an associate professor at the School of Education at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) and Chairman of the Scientific Committee of the Centre for African Studies at the same university. He is also a member of the Board of Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity.



Luiza Bairos has a degree in Business Administration from the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, a Master's in Social Sciences from the Federal University of Bahia and is a doctoral candidate in sociology at Michigan State University, USA. Luiza was a militant member of the Unified Black Movement (MNU) since 1979, where she was national coordinator from 1991 to 1993. Between 2001 to 2003, she participated in coordinating interagency actions and projects as part of the preparation and monitoring process for the Third World Conference Against Racism held in 2001 in Durban, South Africa; and between 2005 and 2006 she was coordinator of the Programa de Combate ao Racismo Institucional (Program to Combat Institutional Racism) or PCRI -- both under the auspices of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). She was State Secretary of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Equality (SEPROMI) of the State of Bahia (2008-2010), and during the first government of President Dilma Rousseff (2011-2014), served as Minister of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equity of the President's Office (SEPPIR). Luiza Bairos has been present from the beginning of the discussions that resulted in the formation of Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity and participated in the Programming Committee until 2010.



Maria do Socorro Guterres, was born in São Luis do Maranhão and graduated with a degree in Education from the Federal University of Maranhão. She began her work at CCN (Black Cultural Center of Maranhão) in 1989 where she developed the educational project in Quilombo communities and also fulfilled the role of Pedagogical Coordinator of Educational Projects. Socorro has also worked as a social entrepreneur of ASHOKA NGO as a consultant to the Ministry of Education and as a project manager of the Brazil Quilombola program of SEPIR. In 2011 she was the first chairman of the board of Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity.



Maria Nazaré Mota de Lima graduated with a degree in Vernacular Languages, has a Master of Education and a Doctorate in Literature and Linguistics from the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA). Since 1995 she has worked as coordinator of Education for CEAFO - Education for Gender and Racial Equality and currently works as an associate professor at the State University of Bahia and as a research associate at the State University of Campinas.

Rosana Fernandes was born in Salvador, has a history degree from the Catholic University of Salvador and began her political career in the early 1980s participating in popular movements such as the Benevolent Association 8 of September. She joined the still nascent Workers' Party as a party leader at the regional level. Currently she serves as project advisor and training for CESE - Ecumenical Service Coordination in Salvador, Bahia.





Roseni Sena has a degree in Nursing and a Master's in Epidemiology from the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), as well as a PhD in Nursing from the University of São Paulo. She is professor emerita at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, and at the time of the interview was also serving as director of the School of Public Health of Minas Gerais. She was a consultant for the Kellogg Foundation between 1988 and 2010 and participated in projects such as the Program for Change in the Training of Health Professionals (UNE Program) and the group of consultants who assisted the programming committee in the construction of Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity.

Rui Mesquita Cordeiro holds a degree in Business Administration from the University of Pernambuco (UPE), as well as a Master's in Development Studies with a concentration in Alternative Development Policy from the Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague, Netherlands. Since 2007 he has been working for the Kellogg Foundation, where he is currently Regional Director for Latin America and the Caribbean.



Selma Moreira holds an Executive MBA in Management and Social Entrepreneurship from the Faculty of Administration and Business (FIA), a specialization in Strategic Management in Organizational Communication and Public Relations from the University of São Paulo (USP) and a degree in Administration from the Technological Institute Foundation of Osasco (FITO). She served as Manager of Social Responsibility for Walmart, was Sustainability Manager for the AlphaVille Foundation, Project Manager of the Technology Incubator of Popular Cooperatives at the Getulio Vargas Foundation (ITCP-FGV) and is currently Executive Director of Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity.



Sílvia Humberto graduated with an Economics degree from the Catholic University of Salvador, has a Master in Economics from the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) and a PhD in Economics from the State University of Campinas (Unicamp). He is a professor at the State University of Feira de Santana (UEFS) since 1993 and was one of the founders of the Steve Biko Cultural Institute in 1992. Elected in 2012, he is currently serving his first term as a councilor in the City Council of the city of Salvador, capital of the state of Bahia, under the Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB). Sílvia Humberto has participated since the beginning of the discussions on the creation of Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity.

Sueli Carneiro, graduated with a degree in Philosophy from the University of São Paulo (USP), has a doctorate in the Philosophy of Education from the same university and has served as Councilor and Secretary General of the State Council on the State of Women in São Paulo. She was the Black Women's Program Coordinator at the National Council on Women's Rights, an agency of the Ministry of Justice. Along with other black women, she founded the Geledés Black Women's Institute in 1988, becoming one of the leaders of this institution. She currently holds the position of executive coordinator and coordinator of Human Rights at Geledés as well editor of the Geledés Portal. In addition to being a member of the first board of the Brazil Fund for Human Rights, she also participated in its constitution and foundation process and has contributed, since the start of discussions, on the creation of the Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity.



Tarry Cristina Santos Pereira is an educator and educational coordinator of the City of Salvador as well as educational director of the Steve Biko Cultural Institute. She was Educational Director of the Leadership Development Program for Racial and Gender Equality of the Northeast funded by the Kellogg Foundation in partnership with the Steve Biko Cultural Institute.



C H A P T E R 1

CONNECTIONS

ROOTS OF BAOBÁ



CONNECTIONS ROOTS OF BAOBÁ Joe Stewart

I became an officer of Kellogg Company in 1981. I went there in nutrition marketing and I was asked by the CEO, because he was aware of the experience I had in Washington D.C., if I would become a part of their public affairs group. And I did, I went there reporting to the vice president and four years later I became vice-president. Even before I became vice president, I was assigned responsibility for the Sullivan principles.⁴ They were developed by Reverend Leon Sullivan to help corporations like Kellogg Company take a stand against apartheid in South Africa. My job was to manage our activities and behaviors in South Africa as they related to our social responsibility and how we treated our employees. What I'm saying to you is managing the struggle against apartheid in South Africa became a big thing for me. After going through that struggle, I came back and I got involved with a group of 15 who created the National Resource Center for the Healing of Racism in 1999.

We created the center because of our experience with Nathan Rutstein, who wrote the books *Unraveling the Fear*, and *Healing Racism in America: A Prescription for the Disease*. Nathan's books led me and others in Calhoun County (Michigan) to develop the National Resource Center for the Healing of Racism. In creating The NRCHR we wanted to create an organization that could serve as a resource for all other organizations that were engaged in the struggle against racism and for racial equity. The NRCHR was intended to be a funding source, but we ended up being more of a resource than a funder. We depended more on funding from other sources to do the work and to create a new dynamic across the United States around healing racism.⁵ It was based on the belief that racism is a disease, something that people are born into. In Brazil for instance, racism has been a part of the culture since the early slave trade in the ports of Brazil. Racism grew out of a culture of slavery.

That is the same situation in the United States. My belief here is that we can throw bricks, and we can break

⁴Developed by Reverend Leon Sullivan, a Black American pastor who was part of the Board of Directors of General Motors, the "Sullivan principles", introduced in 1977 with an addendum in 1984, consisted of seven requirements that would be demanded at any company in South Africa as a condition for doing business in that country. In general, the principles demanded equal treatment of employees both inside and outside of the workplace, regardless of their race. These principles were directly in conflict with the official policies of racial segregation and unequal rights then existing in South Africa under the apartheid regime. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sullivan_principles, access on 23 September, 2015.

⁵The National Resource Center for the Healing of Racism received funding from the Kellogg Foundation over several years after its creation.

windows to protest racism, but we will not change or eliminate racism in the human family until we get people, all people, to accept the truth that racism does exist and that racism has a very detrimental impact on the lives of other human beings. We need to heal in our hearts first before we lecture people, because there's such deep denial about the existence of racism. There's a deep denial in the United States and it may be even deeper in Brazil.

It's hard, because we've all got to accept the great pain that racism brings to the human experience and most people don't want to confront that pain. Yet if we are to eliminate racism, we need healing that begins in the heart. We need to come out of our denial, accept the reality of racist behavior and admit the disadvantages that racism imposes on members of our human family.

Instead, we have segmented ourselves by something as silly as skin pigmentation. We use these pigment identities to create and institutionalize advantage and disadvantage in the human family. That's why we established the National Resource Center: We wanted to help people stop internalizing racism and to treat others the way that we all should be treated; In other words, that all human beings be seen as having the same human gifts that is given to us by our one Creator. That was our concept and our goal.

We founded the NRCHR in the late 1990's but I didn't become a director of the Kellogg Foundation until 2002. The struggle to eliminate racism had been a part of my life since college; it's how I see myself and the responsibility I have for the dignity of all people in the human family. At the Kellogg Foundation, I recall one of my first statements when I joined the board. I said that if we could take all the Kellogg Foundation's money, all of Rockefeller, all of Ford's money and all available funds from the top 10 U.S. foundations, our potential impact on the next generation would be greatly diminished if we fail to eliminate the racial barriers that are diminishing the potential of our children.

I said, until we change racism, we will not get a maximum return on the grant dollars we are investing.

When I made that statement, the Kellogg Foundation had already begun to realize that it had a responsibility to promote racial equity. While my pronouncement didn't exactly break new ground, still none of the major foundations were openly and exactly calling for racial healing and challenging systemic and institutionalized racism. Then in 2007, the Kellogg Foundation publicly announced that are an anti-racist organization.⁶ This was just before I was named board chair in 2008. We'd come to grips with the fact that many of the programs and activities we were funding couldn't get the desired and intended impact because these efforts were running up against this ugly

⁶According to the document on Racial Equity, available on the website of the Kellogg Foundation, in 2007 its Board of Directors announced that the Kellogg Foundation would be "an effective anti-racist organization that promotes racial equality." See <http://www.wkkf.org/resource-directory/resource/legacy-essays/racial-equity>, accessed on September 15, 2015..

thing called racism. We needed to face up to this reality and make very specific investments that would help heal racism and help pursue racial equity.

This evolution led the Kellogg Foundation to become deeply involved in and committed to racial equity work. Several members of our board went to Washington D.C. and into the halls of Congress and declared that the Kellogg Foundation was making a U.S. \$ 75 million commitment to our racial equity initiative “America Healing-Racial Equity”.⁷ This initiative would seek to create racial healing in America. We would especially support community and nonprofit organizations that were already engaged in some form of racial healing activities.

At the same time, we were making decisions about our future strategy in Brazil, all of Latin America and Southern Africa. This was in 2008; the stock market dropped and our assets fell by 25%. The Foundation had been making grants in Brazil since the early 1940s. We began with health and education and then progressed to supporting youth serving programs. Our limited funds were very dispersed over this large geographic area. We were funding projects in southern Brazil, eastern Brazil and western Brazil – but we concluded that we were too scattered to make a major and sustaining difference for the longer term.

Another factor was our belief that all people have the inherent capacity to bring about change in their own lives, their communities and their institutions. Because of this philosophy and core value, we asked the question ; “How might the Foundation help the people of Brazil heal from racism and create more racial equity?” Our answer manifested itself in the concept of the Baobá Fund. We knew the Kellogg Foundation wanted to leave a legacy in Brazil that would help the people in Brazil help themselves for many generations into Brazil's future.

⁷ On 11 May 2010 the Kellogg Foundation announced that it would devote \$ 75 million over the next five years towards efforts aimed at combating racism in the United States. This effort was called Project Healing America. See <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=126738729> , accessed on September 15, 2015 .



CONNECTIONS ROOTS OF BAOBÁ Elias Sampaio

I was working in Recife as an economist at the SUDENE from 1995 until 1999.⁸ I did not cut-off my relationships here in Bahia, but I went there without having completed my master's thesis. I began a master's degree here at UFBA in 1992 and Humberto Silvio was my colleague. He was leaving the Faculty of Economics and I was entering to do the master's degree. We met there and had a very good group. In fact I believe it was the biggest number of blacks in the Faculty of Economics at the time; besides the both of us we had some colleagues who still today, develop interesting work in academia and the public sector. From that group, the one most organically connected to the black movement was Silvio. The others were, I would say, militants, but not organically connected to the movement, including in my case. I have never been linked to any entity of the black movement. Nowadays I am formally connected as I am an Advisor for Olodum. I have a very informal connection with almost all organizations of the black movement. I find this very interesting and think it is good because the black movement also has its factions.

When I got back to Salvador in 1999 we actually came together to address many things, i.e. we were looking to handle some of the economic issues and issues related to public policy and we started trying to build some bridges. The first major link I should mention was meeting and conversing with Luiza Bairros. I already knew Silvio from before, but now I got to know this whole scene and was seeing everyone together at that time. This connection we made with regard to Baobá starting in 2006 would not have been possible had it not been for all of the connections made starting in 1999. I remember the first time I saw Luiza, it was at the Steve Biko Institute.⁹ We went to speak to her; she was a professor at the Catholic University and I was a doctoral student at UFBA, and that's when we became connected. I cannot even tell you more about the rest, as so much has happened since and so much work has been done.

⁸The SUDENE was established by Law 3,692 of 15 December 1959 with the purpose of promoting and coordinating development in the Northeast. See: <https://cpdoc.fgv.br/producao/dossies/JK/artigos/Economia/Sudene>, accessed on September 13, 2015

⁹The Steve Biko Cultural Institute, named after the great South African Bantu leader Stephen Biko --principal founder of the Black Consciousness Movement -- was founded in Salvador, Bahia, on 31 July 1992 at the initiative of teachers and black students who in a pioneering way created the first pre-university course geared for black people in Brazil. See <http://www.stevebiko.org.br/#!sobre-nos/csgz>, accessed on 17 September 2015.

The Steve Biko ended up being a place where...

I would not say the Biko so much as Silvio Humberto. Because we had mutual friends we had that closeness. Luiza and I have built a lot together. It was a political connection that we had here, of which I am no longer a part of; it was Luiza, Congressman Luiz Alberto,¹⁰ and other people who they were more closely connected to. Then in my other activities I met a couple - who were also close to Silvio - Victoria and Paul Healey.¹¹ She is a Black woman from Bahia and he is an Englishman who worked for the Department for International Development of England (DFID)¹²; this was in 1999. We started asking ourselves questions such as: "How can Brazil be a country so rich and such ... ?" And then, what happens with Brazil in late 1999 to early 2000? Brazil becomes a world player. Now there comes the Plan Real (Real Plan) and for the first time in a long time Brazil begins to have a macroeconomic, and especially, monetary stability. Fernando Henrique Cardoso, known worldwide as an intellectual, is the face of dependency theory, and the Brazilian economy begins operating from a more mature perspective. Therefore, Brazil becomes a world player. When Brazil becomes a world player international organizations begin to ask themselves, "What are we doing giving Brazil money? Brazil is a country that is among the 10 or 12 largest economies in the world and I'm there doing what?!" So DFID says, "No, we'll have to leave Brazil. We do not need to be there giving money to Brazil." And this is what also happens with the Kellogg Foundation and other bodies later. Then Paul put his hands on his head and said, "But how can it be?! Brazil is and yet it isn't...I mean..." There's a line from FHC I like to use because I think it's an apt one: "Brazil is not a poor country, Brazil is an extremely unequal country." When you look at things from the perspective of race you see that Brazil is not only inequitable, it is also an extremely poor country, that is when you consider the racial issues.

So, that was the tone of the debate. I like to base myself on a public policy concept I like that goes: "Public policy is not a

¹⁰Luiz Alberto was born in Maragogipe and moved to Salvador as a teenager. Starting in the 1970s, he became involved in neighborhood associations, popular movements and trade unions. In 1980 he participated in the foundation of CUT (Central Workers Union) and the PT (Workers' Party). In 1998 he became the first black Congressman, elected by Bahia. View: <http://www.deputadoluizalberto.com.br/institucional/perfil>, accessed on 12 September 2015.

¹¹Paul Healey is head of the professional group for social development of the DFID, UK. He has led the UK's collaboration with the World Bank and worked in several countries, such as Sudan, Somalia and Brazil. See <https://dfid.blog.gov.uk/author/paulhealey/> accessed on September 17, 2015.

¹²DFID stands for Department for International Development, a UK body that works on issues of development and extreme poverty in countries around the world. Its main areas of focus are: health, education, natural disasters, government and multi-sector, and in Brazil, focus the eradication of poverty and sustainable development. See: <http://www.mds.gov.br/segurancaalimentar/11%20Indranil%20Chakrabarti%20Ministerio%20do%20Reino%20Unido%20para%20o%20Desenvolvimento%20Internacional%20DFID.pdf>, accessed on 13 September 2015.

decision. It is decision plus public power.” Because if you make a decision but do not act, that's not policy. If you consider decision and action together, then all of the steps taken thus far in that area were very fragile from the point of view of what we needed to do to reverse inequality. We would need to do something more concrete. Until Durban¹³ came along, this is what we were discussing there; Durban was a major milestone in terms of these discussions. And what was the discussion? Well, that there were no affirmative action public policies in Brazil.

So we engaged in a lot of debate. One of these was a two-day discussion at the Leadership Training Center (CTL) in Itapuã. It was a simple issue but a very rich one, with over a thousand participants, people of the historical movement and younger people more or less my age. Many of these people who are now out there working with SEPPIR, or SEPPROMI here in Bahia, from Palmares, with all of these policy discussion bodies, they were all present. In this debate the focus was to understand how, from the political point of view and as a public policy, Brazil had yet to have any affirmative action policies. After this huge meeting in CTL things were starting to look up as we felt we had arrived at some good findings: “Wow, we found what our problem is. Now, how do we solve this problem? We have to design a program in Brazil to combat institutional racism.” Because that was the focus. The concept of “institutional racism” was much discussed in this large gathering.

This entire debate we had was extremely important -- the one we had from 1999-2001 -- for the creation of SEPPIR in 2003. And not only the creation but also to have content for the discussion and implementation, so much so that the institutional racism program was developed for SEPPIR as well. Today, if you take -- and this is my opinion, there may be divergent opinions on this -- everything that is discussed today by policy institutions promoting racial equality stems from this important debate we had and the findings made there. First because we did nothing more than just encapsulate, to give a format, using the language of public policy to everything that was already in formation by the black movement all along. Even with the players in the background such as Helio Santos, Sueli Carneiro, Amauri Pereira, and all of the rest of the people there who had already been talking about many of these things. Imagine being in a room full of numbers -- statistical data on racial inequalities -- and people start to assemble these numbers out using the logic of public policy. As far as public policy there were already initiatives such as Lei Caó, the creation of

¹³ In 2001 the city of Durban, in South Africa, hosted the III World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, organized by the UN between August 31 and September 8. In the Declaration and Programme Action, which the Brazilian government signed, the representatives of 170 countries gathered in Durban agreed, among other things, the need for the creation of affirmative action policies for blacks and other minorities as a strategy for combatting racism. See ALBERTI, Verena & PEREIRA, Amílcar (eds.). *Stories of the black movement in Brazil: the testimony CPDOC*. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas/CPDOC-FGV, 2007.

Palmares, and afterwards, the creation of SEPPIR; but this particular way in which it began to be incorporated in public policy had never happened before.

In 2006 governor Jacques Wagner won the election, Congressman Luiz Alberto became Secretary of State for SEPROMI, and I started to manage the Data Processing Company of the State of Bahia (PRODEB) in the first two years of government. So in the interim, with a thousand and one things going on, I was approached by Antônio Nascimento -- a friend and coincidentally also connected to Silvio and the staff at Biko -- to tell me that almost the same thing that was happening with the DFID before, was now going to happen with Kellogg Foundation. He said: "What will we do now? If the Kellogg Foundation leaves Brazil, how do we continue our work?" In my estimation Antônio was instrumental in this process. Because here in Bahia one can find people who will discuss racial issues at every turn or who say they can do this or that, but Antônio had the brilliant idea to ask for help, to say: "I don't want just anyone. I want people who are on the cutting edge of this discussion." So, he sent me an email asking for help, and that's when I said: "Ok, let's have a discussion such and such..." And that is when in that initial stage we met with Luiza Bairros, Congressman Luiz Alberto...¹⁴

And that is how the group that made up the programming committee came together. This programming committee -- even though I was still in PRODEB -- turned into the group that started to think up and develop what is now named Baobá. There were many differences, many discussions, heated debates, many issues that we did not necessarily agree on, but it was all very interesting. More than interesting, it was all very enriching.

¹⁴According to the document with said event record, organized by Antônio Nascimento and held in Salvador in November 2006, the invited speakers were Elias Sampaio, Luiza Bairros, Alberto Pitta, Tricia Calmon, and as special guests: Valter Cruz and Congressman Luiz Alberto.

CONNECTIONS ROOTS OF BAOBÁ Luiza Bairros



In the early 2000s, there was greater involvement on the part of international agencies organizations in the debate on race. I think it was becoming increasingly clear that, even with all the efforts that had been made in Brazil to cooperate with non-governmental organizations with projects related to many other issues, there was a huge deficit in the realm of racial matters. There just wasn't a very strong track record of financing the activities of black organizations. NGOs as a phenomenon still had very little presence in the black areas of Brazil. Yet, although this was the case, or maybe even because of it, they were organizations with limited access to international resources. I believe that because of the Kellogg Foundation's presence in Bahia it has been easier for the moves we have made in this state, in relation to racial matters, to be noted. And this is even though it is not customary for organizations of the black movement in Bahia to be constituted as NGOs. Anyway, I think it made it easier for the Kellogg Foundation to encounter a sector of society that was not looked upon by international donors on an equal basis with others. One could say without fear of contradiction, that at that time these agencies were not doing anything in Brazil, since they were unable to pay attention to the existence of a majority share of the population that could not insert itself with any advantages in the political process, or have social and economic clout. In addition, the situation of the early 2000s, given the momentum that the discussion process for the Third World Conference Against Racism gave the racial debate in Brazil, made it possible to approach the representatives of the Kellogg Foundation in Latin America with this theme.



CONNECTIONS ROOTS OF BAOBÁ Sueli Carneiro

In the mid-2000s there was a certain consensus within the international community that Brazil had sufficient funds to finance its own civil society. The creation of the fund is therefore also in some way a response to this challenge of capturing internal moneys towards the sustainability of the organizations.¹⁵ And I think Baobá came to answer this call. There was the consensus at the time, but I do not think that there was a total exit of international cooperation; some organizations left and others arrived and some who left eventually returned. So I think there was some exaggeration of the idea that “cooperation was abandoning Brazil,” and that at the same time, until 2008, before the economic crisis, Brazil was also becoming very attractive internationally. Brazil was very attractive and I think some organizations regretted leaving and others, who were not here, began to enter. Then too there was also this movement that began to relativize this consensus that was out there at the time, where many organizations who have always been strategic, such as the Ford Foundation, remained. So there was a lot more at work with regard to this matter than what we were thinking in 2004 and 2005. But it really did have an impact and it was important in defining this new strategy for obtaining funds.

CONNECTIONS ROOTS OF BAOBÁ Ana Toni



In 2003 I became director of the Ford Foundation. I was invited to apply to the Ford Foundation; I had experience at ActionAid in bringing the racial perspective to their work on poverty. And that was really great timing because for the Ford Foundation the question of race was a key issue at that time -- and in Brazil overall-- but it was a huge concern there due to its North American origin. I had the opportunity to learn a lot about the topic and even

¹⁵The Brazil Human Rights Fund, for which Sueli Carneiro is the adviser, was created in 2006 just before the start of discussions for the creation of what would later be the Baobá - Fund for Racial Equality.

better I was able to finance the efforts made in this area. The theme of race relations runs across all areas within the Ford Foundation in Brazil; no matter what sort of profile a person had, they had to have that outlook, and that was really great. Within ActionAid I did not have the opportunity to work with the black movement although I knew some individuals; ActionAid Foundation was small. When I joined the Ford Foundation I had the chance to partner up with CEERT,¹⁶ with Geledés¹⁷ and with the universities. I could think structurally about a subject and help create the Baobá Fund... We followed the discussion in Parliament closely, and all of it was the debate on affirmative action. When I was at Ford we could really support the issue of affirmative action, the discussion with universities, with academics on equity, so this was one of the things I loved about being at the Ford Foundation. This is the area I learned most about at Ford. It was at this time that I got involved in the formation of the Baobá. We, at the Ford Foundation, had been working on the issue of race relations for 30 years. And it's funny, because despite knowing the subject as an institution and having a lot of preparation [Ford Foundation], the Kellogg Foundation comes to the Northeast of Brazil to work on other issues, -- as you may have heard -- such as issues around the youth, and proposes the creation of a fund for race relations. It's funny because, institutionally speaking, they were not the ones that had been developing this subject of race -- which would be much in line with the Ford Foundation's history -- and yet it was they, another institution, one that worked with youth, who came up with this idea. It was great because there was something kind of natural in joining forces and working together, brainstorming together. And I found it wonderful for Kellogg to have pulled it off and taken it all the way to the end. They were leaving Brazil and wanted to leave behind an important legacy and I think they left the best legacy they could have left for Brazil: an institution like Baobá, which is innovative, is necessary and will handle the structural challenges of racial inequity. I really take my hat off to this idea they had and I feel privileged to be able to have participated in this project from the very beginning.

¹⁶Created in 1990, the CEERT (Center for Studies of Labor Relations and Inequalities) is a non-governmental organization that produces knowledge, and develops and implements projects aimed at promoting race and gender equality. View: <http://www.ceert.org.br/institucional/>, accessed on 11 September 2015.

¹⁷Geledés - Black Women's Institute is a civil society organization established in April 1988 that develops projects -- on its own or in partnership with other organizations -- to fight for the citizenship rights of black populations; it also monitors and runs an internet portal which plays the public debates occurring on racial relations in the country and the world. View: <http://www.geledes.org.br/geledes-o-que-fazemos/#gs.4f5e3ec134464c83a5bddf8b5c9de4aa>, accessed on 11 September 2015.

THE RACIAL QUESTION



THE RACIAL QUESTION

Andres Thompson

To be honest I would say that I was aware of the issues around race in Brazil, but within the Foundation, it was a sort of secondary topic at that time. The Foundation had a team in São Paulo, a regional team, that was entirely made up of white paulistas; in other words, there was practically zero diversity within that Foundation's team, only the "office boy" was black. Whenever any issue arose having to deal with the racial question, someone would say: "we are not going to go there", "that is a very complex topic", or "we don't have those issues here"; it was all of that racial democracy discourse.

When I started working at the Foundation the focus of the program was squarely on the universities, particularly the University of São Paulo; it was the biggest financial beneficiary of the Foundation, specifically in the area of health. The question of race was non-existent within the Foundation's programming, their conception was that the racial issue was not a relevant one within Brazil. When I started to work and travel more within the Northeast of Brazil, visiting projects and the like, it quickly became evident how the question of race played out in Brazil. We had a variety of important investments in Maranhão and Bahia and so, even if we did not want to work with issues of race, the issue was encountered everywhere. In the team of consultants I hired to accompany me in that project, we wanted to choose one person in Bahia to help us, and that is when we hired Antônio Nascimento. Antônio already had a track record and was associated with the Steve Biko Institute, in Salvador, and I thought bringing him on could contribute towards helping us better understand as well as develop some sort of response to address the issue of racial inequality. As expected, Antônio was a great contribution to our team because he was able to see things through a different lens and he educated the team at Kellogg that was working here in Latin America and the Northeast of Brazil specifically. He always brought the issue of race to the table. Even though the programming on local development and youth did not explicitly contain any facet addressing race as an issue, I figured that Antônio could at least help us to begin a conversation about it with the team, which was completely composed of white people. Antônio was the only black person there at that time. And he did not have it easy bringing this racial issue to our work in northeastern Brazil, there was a lot of effort, but he worked hard to make the happen. And this was due to the very typical reaction: "Antônio. This is not a problem here", "the youth we see in periferia [the outskirts of the city] are white and black too", "everybody is the same, do not make race the issue ..."; he was always advocating for us to look more closely at the role of race.

We decided to organize a meeting in Salvador--it was Antônio who organized it.¹⁸ We called on a group of leaders of the black movement to talk about racism in Brazil, along with the team at Kellogg. The idea was that we would also gain some education on the matter. We did not explicitly talk about it this way, but the idea was also to begin to work on the issue of race more openly. Silvio Humberto, Luiza Bairros, Elias Sampaio -- all those who later formed the early part of the Baobá Council -- were invited. It was a very informal thing, they brought information about race in Brazil, information on affirmative action policies; it was an informational meeting.



THE RACIAL QUESTION

Antônio Nascimento

At what point did you begin to consider the issue of race as an important issue in your life?

I started to realize the importance of racial matters when I began my work with the Steve Biko Institute around 2001 or 2002. It was there that race presented itself as a fundamental factor in understanding the way things are. I knew I came from a poor family -- I knew about injustice -- but I had never made the association between the state of my life and the fact that I was a black person; I simply assigned it to poverty. The root of all of that -- debates around racial consciousness and all that it entailed -- only began to surface for me through informal conversations with Silvio Humberto and Lázaro.¹⁹ We started to debate issues that were relevant to our work and which we would encounter: the inclusion of the youth in higher education, black youth, black women -- all of my understanding about these matters began there. Fueled by all of these topics that I was encountering, I took on the role of a dissenter and questioned the path the Foundation was taking with regard to the program.

¹⁸That meeting was held in November 2006 in Salvador, Bahia.

¹⁹Lázaro Raimundo dos Passos Cunha holds a degree in Mechanical Engineering from the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) and a Master of Education, Philosophy and History of Science (UFBA-Institute of Physics / UEFS). He is Director of Special Projects and Communications of the Steve Biko Cultural Institute, and a coordinator of the OGUNTEC program, which was a reference for the winning article of the National Young Scientist Award in 2008 (graduate category). View: <http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacv.do?id=K4233976D6>, accessed on 19 September 2015.

I presented two projects on behalf of The Steve Biko Cultural Institute to Andrés Thompson: the project POMPA and OGUNTEC.²⁰ On one of his trips to Brazil I was able to bring him to Bahia and he had a conversation with the folks from Steve Biko Institute and decided to lend his support. He had the ability to partake of things outside and beyond those programmed for the Kellogg Foundation; these were known as thematic projects. But I wanted the issue of racial matters to be more than just a thematic project, I wanted it to be a major program at the Foundation. Programs received between one to two million dollars every two years while thematic projects received 200 thousand dollars per year. And so, all I wanted was for this to be a program in and of itself and not just a thematic one. The program drew so much attention that in September of 2006 the Board of the Kellogg Foundation decided to visit Brazil. The presidency of the Board was represented by an advisory committee but Joe Stewart was already a part of it and he was the only black person within the Board.

They decided to make a presentation to the Board of all of the projects funded by the Kellogg Foundation. The consulting team presented the Board all of the programs in effect, but I was able to get them to actually visit a thematic project, here at the Steve Biko Cultural Center in Bahia. The Board came away absolutely delighted and charmed, especially with the way the young people expressed themselves. The folks from the Board returned to the United States feeling a bit unsettled. They noticed things which we had grown accustomed to and had somewhat grown blind to. They were staying in one of the best hotels in this city and in the other cities they were visiting, and they only saw black people in positions of servitude; they were cleaning the floor or serving breakfast but were never in interesting or prestigious positions like the ones within the Foundation's structure; yet whites were represented in every other space. They were left trying to understand how it was possible that in a nation in which the majority of the population is black, black people were invisibilized. They were visiting from a nation in which black people made up 12 to 14% of the population but blacks were visible. Here, they were incapable of seeing black people; they could have turned on the TV at night and still not seen black people anywhere.

²⁰ *The POMPA project (Project Open Minds and Doors) aims to develop leadership skills in young black men in college in order to insert them into careers within the public sector, as well as government and nonprofit sector careers; the idea being to incorporate the demands of racial and gender equity within the professional lives of these young people, either through the proposal of public policies in government agencies or the execution of social projects within NGOs. The OGUNTEC program already consists of a set of actions aimed at the promotion of Science and Technology with its target audience being students of African descent students from public schools, thus providing them with opportunities, such as a science education to enable them to better interact with scientific and technological advances. See <http://www.stevebiko.org.br/#:!projetos/c21kz>, accessed on 20 September 2015.*



THE RACIAL QUESTION

Sílvio Humberto

António Nascimento is a partner. In addition to the relationship we have as almost like brothers, we also have this partnership as people who were affected by Biko. There is like this "Biko effect." Some are working there directly at the Steve Biko Cultural Institute and there are those who are close to it -- even if they have a different vision; because if we had all the same view in this confrontation with racism then we would be elsewhere. Racism has this ability; because it has been transformed into a sort of myth by the ideology of racial democracy, it sometimes takes a while to recognize, you can even sense it and yet you still think the only solution is through the individual. When you think the solution is through the individual then all you will seek to do is to create a professional path for yourself. But things are not mutually exclusive, but we need to understand, and through these conversations Luiza Bairos, with Sueli Carneiro, with Helio Santos, the assertion that there is no solution to the problem of racism that comes from the individual is increasingly reinforced. Our way out has to be collective. And at Biko we always did this, we always thought collectively. And this is what has guaranteed this 23 year journey. The walk is cemented on the idea of making and acting as a collective, that makes a difference. And also on generosity: sometimes you are more advanced than the person next to you, in terms of consciousness, and it allows you to wait on the other person to convince them. António arrived and was infected by the "Biko effect" and he is a partner who took this understanding about race to the places he sought to work in, especially in the area of social responsibility; it is an understanding that allows you to find the gaps in these sorts of organizations. This was the role he played too; so he was responsible for our first approach to the Kellogg Foundation.

This approach is what won his affection, Biko won him politically because he saw what we were doing and the people who were there. It was a strategy for doing the black movement, a way of making the black movement which was not that of other organizations: each person had a clear and specific role, and an education and their way of thinking, and then from there to strategic action. The Institute is nurtured by this and this is how our relationship with António came about; it was something that started to mature in such a way as to create an environment of possibility which eventually began to materialize into things. However, at first it wasn't about making things happen, things came about as a result of the links and relationships that we have established. The extent to which Biko contributed towards widening his black consciousness, by doing that one cannot ask for more... When it comes to organizations that deal with the confrontation with racism, when one adopts a political

consciousness, then that is it; in everything that you do from that point on -- one cannot even read anything -- without bringing that perspective to the reading, even if there are individual differences on the matter. You may be a former leftist militant, but you cannot be ex-black. "I was a black person," that just isn't going to work. There just isn't "I am a former black", "I am ex-woman". After you gain gender awareness or black consciousness, the fact is that no one is the same after that.

Antônio was the bridge. Having someone like Andrés Thompson be a part of the Kellogg Foundation -- a person with an open mind, someone with a worldly view and a defender of the struggle for social rights, who works for the reducing social inequalities -- this led to a meeting of the minds. Kellogg learned with Steve Biko and Steve Biko learned with Kellogg. Antônio knew how to manage this relationship very well; he created processes so as to ensure there would not be any estrangement. It was this process, a process of courting and convincing, that brought the Kellogg Foundation onboard; it did not fall from the sky. Kellogg deciding to leave Brazil and leaving behind the proposed endowment in the form of the Baobá Fund, that did not fall from the sky. And I can say, without making a mistake, that Steve Biko played a fundamental role in this.

THE RACIAL QUESTION

Joe Stewart



I will tell you something now, that for me, this became personal. When the Kellogg Foundation's board visited Brazil in 2006, part of the trip's purpose was to decide what our legacy there should be. Again, that ended up being our support for Baobá.

Yet what paved the way for me was an earlier board trip to Brazil, where one of the projects I visited was the Steve Biko Institute. You've got to understand what that meant to me. With Kellogg Company, I had spent 12 years or so in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. I had many connections in South Africa on the ground related to our business. I knew of the Steve Biko and some of the players there. We were involved in all of that. When I visited the Steve Biko Institute in Salvador [Brazil] I was so deeply touched. I could see the nation's future in the young people the Institute served. Before we left, I told a Foundation officer: "that I want to make a US\$ 10,000 grant to the Institute". That was through a Foundation trustee mini-grant, which trustees are permitted to make. I wanted to help the Institute's Silvio Humberto continue that work, and I have admired that guy from a distance

ever since and still believe in the Steve Biko Institute.

On that visit to the Steve Biko Institute, the staff took us around to see Salvador. You've got to appreciate what that meant to me, as a black American who didn't know a lot about Brazilian history. I had been to Recife, I had been to São Paulo, but never to Salvador.²¹ When I got there, they told me it was more than 80 percent black – about all I could see were black people. From the standpoint of my African heritage, this was very moving. It made it even more important that I personally influence the Foundation's decision to make racial equity a priority for our program legacy in Brazil. That's a little background on how I got to feel so closely about Brazil, and I will never forget.

Before coming to Brazil in 2006, had you heard or had you read something about race relations in Brazil?

Not read or heard, but I did have a personal experience with it. In 2002, I attended a Salzburg Seminar in Austria with a group that included three Brazilians. The seminar's theme was inclusivity and we broke out into small groups. We had discussions between Israelis and Palestinians and a whole bunch of other issues to sort through. We had people from Macedonia, Iran, United States, Brazil and Nigeria. If you are not familiar with Salzburg, it's a big melting pot for ideas and relationships.

In my session, we were listening to a woman named Lynn Huntley.²² She had research and written extensively about the true story of racism in Brazil. You won't believe this, but for several years I have had Lynn's book on the back of my seat. For some reason I have left it there for years. Several times I have wondered; "Why do you leave this book there?"

²¹The Steve Biko Institute, located on Rua do Paço # 4, is close to Pelourinho, the most visited tourist area in the city of Salvador.

²²Lynn Huntley (1946-2015), was a sociologist and was the first African American female editor of the *Columbia Law Review*; she graduated cum laude from Columbia Law School with her J.D. degree in 1970. After working for 13 years at the Ford Foundation as Program Officer, and Deputy and Director of the Rights and Social Justice Program, she joined the Southern Education Foundation in Atlanta, Georgia, to direct the Comparative Human Relations Initiative; a study of race, poverty and inequality in Brazil, South Africa, and the United States. Huntley became the president of the Southern Education Foundation in 2002, the South's only African American lead and directed public charity, which focused on improving education for low income students, from preschool through higher education. Huntley co-edited with Charles V. Hamilton and others *Beyond Racism: Embracing an Interdependent Future* in 2000, and *Beyond Racism: Race and Equality in Brazil, South Africa and the United States* in 2001. See <http://www.thehistorymakers.com/biography/lynn-jones-huntley-41>, accessed in September 15, 2015.

²³Adriana Marques is a professor at the Federal Institute of São Paulo (IFSP) and a doctoral student at the University of Brasília. She holds a master's degree in civil engineering from the State University of Campinas (2003), has experience in environmental, urban and regional planning, with an emphasis on environment and sustainable development, and participated in projects in Japan, Mexico, England and Italy. See Lattes Platform, <http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacv.do?id=K4133111EI>, accessed on 15 September 2015.

At this conference, Adriana Marques,²³ a young Brazilian woman, was in my session, along with two male Brazilians. As we talked, these guys kept saying what a great place Brazil is and how it has no race problem. They were saying that all people are seen as equal, which is basically what a lot of Brazilians believe. Their descriptions were in total denial of any race problem.

Later, as we were leaving this session, Adriana came up me, probably because I was a black American. Tears were running from her eyes and she said: "This is not true; what you just heard is not true Somebody has got to help us. Can you help us?"

When someone with that kind of passion pleads to you, if you have any substance, any sense of humanity, any belief in the human family, then you'll feel compelled to do something. And I've never forgotten Adriana. Much of what I tried to do for Brazil on behalf of the Kellogg Foundation was in response to that cry from her. Between her and the Steve Biko Institute, that is my motivation behind Baobá. I couldn't do much about the issue as an individual, but what the Foundation could do was "help people help themselves."



When the Kellogg Foundation's Board came here, I remember one of the directors made a donation to the Steve Biko, Joe Stewart. Since we had nothing to hide, we presented what was fact, what we were. We did not change our line, there was nothing like "do this, do that"; instead we stated "we'll carry out a project of this nature" and they trusted in us. I remember we had a meeting in our room there in Biko's headquarters. We made a presentation on what we did at Biko and it was a very relaxed affair as there was a lot of honesty to be exchanged. We were honest, in the sense of being true to Biko's statements, "Our social projects are political statements in support of our community." This is what we did, it was not partisan politics, but a politics of political education, of training leaders. "He joined his hunger with the desire to eat," so we joined what we were doing with what they had in mind. It was a very relaxed conversation that we had with them. There's the idea of the Board, and it connotes something far away and estranged, and that is one thing, but one people meet ... that facilitated everything. So much so that we still maintain a relationship with Joe Stewart, although we may not speak often, but we still have a relationship. It was because of that conversation which was nurtured by people meeting face

to face: Antônio, Andrés, and the others directors there at the time, and then the relationship continued to be nurtured by those who remained with Kellogg and came to support the Baobá.



THE RACIAL QUESTION

Antônio Nascimento

In November of 2006 something really fantastic happened and that was the origin of Baobá. I organized a meeting in Salvador between some of the principal leaders within the black movement and the Kellogg Foundation. I invited Luiza Bairros, Elias Sampaio, Alberto Pitta,²⁴ Trícia Calmon,²⁵ -- who is today an associate at Baobá -- and representative Luiz Alberto, who at the time was a congressman linked to the black movement.

I brought all of them to have a discussion with the advisory committee from the Kellogg Foundation regarding the theme of development -- this was the theme that the Foundation was working on. This visit took place about a month after the Board visited Steve Biko. Everything was already scheduled, but there was something that created a "bind" between both events. There are some symbolic things out there that are really interesting. Ten days after Joe Stewart's visit to Steve Biko, I received a phone call from Andrés and he says: "Antônio, Joe did not want to talk about this while he was there because he did not want people to think he was just promoting himself; but every advisor of the Foundation's Board has some money which they can use to support whatever project they like, and he would like to use his fund to support one of the projects at Steve Biko so that the young people can visit the United States and study English." They all visited Brazil -- all of them -- and none took the initiative that Joe took when he saw the projects at Steve Biko. He was very moved at the time.

That meeting in Salvador was a watershed moment. First, I organized the group, we had discussions, then we went to the event and Luiza Barros was amazing -- Luiza, the one who was secretary -- and Elias Sampaio was fantastic, the entire team was. When the Foundation came to Brazil in 2009 they announced they were closing

²⁴Alberto Pitta is an artist, designer and art educator, and founder of the African Parade. View: <http://www.cortejoafro.com.br/alberto-pitta/>, accessed on 19 September 2015.

²⁵Trícia Viviane Lima Calmon holds a degree in Social Sciences from the Federal University of Bahia, works as a professor of Sociology and consults for the FUNDEP, besides being part of the Council for Baobá - Fund for racial equity. View: <http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacv.do?id=K4238570H5>, accessed on 19 September 2015.

their Brazil programs. The program was meant to be for 10 years and in 2009 they announced that they would be retiring the Brazil program. They had already closed their project in Africa, and they had left the Andean region and the south of Mexico without leaving any lasting imprint or legacy there -- they simply left. What we could call a legacy would be some projects that were considerably funded, but they did just leave. And that is when, along with Andrés, we got the idea to say: "Why doesn't the Foundation leave a legacy a Brazil? Why don't we make that legacy, specifically, support towards addressing issues of race in Brazil?" And I said: "Andrés, it is the only idea that the Foundation's Board will accept as a lasting legacy because they saw it in the programming." Andrés approved the idea, and went to the US to try to sell the Board on the idea of a mechanism to address racial equity with a donation of US\$25 million from the Foundation, with the condition that we were to match it -- which was their counteroffer -- and US\$10 million for the program to be able to get the other US\$25 million. That was approved.



THE RACIAL QUESTION

Luiza Bairros

We've heard tellings of a particular moment that was crucial in the sense of raising the awareness of the consultants, and subsequently the Kellogg Board itself. The first event would have occurred in November 2006 and thereafter. Your participation in this particular case, as a speaker, as a panel member, would have been critical. How did you feel about this relationship with Kellogg, subsequent to these events you participated in as a speaker?

I do not want to appear ungrateful or rude or anything here, but this work, which could basically be considered almost convincing, is not a fun job. You do it because you know it is an opportunity that one cannot miss, because you have to make a greater number of people understand the complexities of Brazilian society and that these complexities are founded on a historical denial of our presence and our role as Black people in society. This is not a fun job to do... it's as if it were up to you to make the other person understand the reality of a situation, the situation that you're talking about. I do not believe that I or anyone else played the key role because the entire process of "convincing" - I can't really think of a word that could sound less unpleasant - totally depends on your

interlocutor. If there is any doubt or question in your interlocutor, if there is the tiniest of openings, then you can penetrate with your argument, otherwise you won't get it. So much so that with all of the consultants from Kellogg here in Brazil with whom we were talking and discussing with, in most cases, I do not have any information that they in any way incorporated any of the data and information gained during this process into their work, whether within Kellogg or outside of it. We would have been completely victorious if we had succeeded in producing that result, but you have in certain sectors of Brazilian society an epistemological impossibility, so to speak, which one simply cannot overcome. So the results of our participation are debatable. Admittedly we managed to get the Board of Kellogg to understand what we were saying, but this is understandable because the Board lives in the USA, the Foundation's headquarters are in Michigan, a place that still has an active Ku Klux Klan.²⁶ These are people who are open to understanding how racism operates in certain societies, but this is not entirely the case with other Brazilian partners the Kellogg Foundation had and who could have joined their voices to ours and added their experience to say: "this is a valid argument, let's go forward." But they did not. We have to be careful with these things because there are no heroes or heroines in this process, what you have are more or less intense exchanges, the results of which are dependent on political disposition, the ideological disposition of the interlocutors, on their ability to understand, how Agostinho Neto²⁷ would say, the justice of the cause.

²⁶The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) was established in the state of Tennessee in 1865, after the Civil War and the abolition of slavery in the United States in order to prevent, through the use of violence, the social integration of black people, whether recently freed or not. Currently, the name KKK is given to several racist organizations in the United States who support white supremacy and Protestantism at the expense of other races and religions. View: https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ku_Klux_Klan, accessed on 24 September 2015.

²⁷António Agostinho Neto (1922-1979), poet, revolutionary leader and Angolan doctor, graduated from the University of Coimbra. He was president and the most important greater leader of the Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in the fight against Portuguese colonialism in Africa. In 1975 he became the first president of a newly independent Angola, until his death in 1979. See <http://www.agostinhoneto.org>, accessed on 24 September 2015.



THE RACIAL QUESTION

Andrés Thompson

There was a change in the Foundation's leadership in the mid 2000s. The new CEO of the Kellogg Foundation was once again a white man. Historically, the Foundation is male and white, but it had already begun to change through its diversity policy: there were more women, more Latinos, more black people. I think the pressure by black employees within the Foundation was important at that time for the following transformation to happen: "enough talk about diversity and let's talk about racism, because that is what it's about." There was an internal process in the Foundation, in which Latin America was not involved, where the new president was more sensitive to the racial question. The director had the intention to leave his mark on the Foundation. When the foundation declared itself an anti-racist organization and put the race issue as a priority in their schedule from then on, it was led by him and followed by the Council.²⁸

Then there was a convergence of initiatives. You were meeting these people to discuss race in Brazil, calling on Antônio Nascimento to be a part of the team, at the same time that there was this convergence with the changes within the Kellogg?

Our actions in Brazil were quite measured and timid at that time. We were making some moves, but we were not speaking to those outside the team about our desire to bring the issue of race to the table. It coincided with that and coincided with the first trip by the Foundation's Board. They travel every year, they take a trip together to visit one of the regions where they are funding a project. The Board decided to make 2006 the year of traveling through the northeast of Brazil. I was responsible for organizing this visit. We had a 10-day schedule visiting the projects: Maranhão, Recife, Ceará and we closed with the Board's visit to Salvador. That was strategically thought out, after they travel and visit, they would spend two days in Salvador. We put the issue of race on the

²⁸ As seen in Joe Stewart excerpt from the interview, in 2007 the Board of Directors of the Kellogg Foundation has pledged to be "effectively an anti-racist organization that promotes racial equity." See <http://www.wkkf.org/resource-directory/resource/legacy-essays/racial-equity>, accessed on 15 September 2015.

agenda for the visit to Salvador. They arrived in Salvador and their eyes were opened to the issue of race in Brazil. From the first conversation, before arriving in Salvador, Joe Stewart, and particularly the black members of the board, began to say: "How is it that we do not have the subject of race in Brazil on our schedule when the majority of the population is black? This is something we did not even know." We visited several places; we visited Pangea in Salvador.²⁹ But the last visit was to the Steve Biko Institute to meet the youth education project for the entrance exam.

The Foundation's Board arrived and was very excited to see all of these young people who for the first time in their family's history were studying in order to enter the university. They had a very open conversation with all these young people and were very touched. At one point some members, particularly Joe Stewart, publicly thanked Antônio for bringing the racial issue to the Foundation's visit and decided to make a personal donation to the Institute; not a grant from the Foundation. He said: "I want to donate \$ 10,000 to support this project." This was a bit of a shock to everyone there. The conversation got around and the result of all this was that we started to work within the local development framework and the youth by funding some black organizations. At that moment we started, as Foundation, to show some outward signs that this was a new area of importance so that we could have a greater dialogue with black institutions, particularly young people.

²⁹ *Pangea, Social and Environmental Studies Center, is an OSCIP - Civil Society Organization for the Public Interest, a state and municipal public utility which develops cultural, social, economic and environmental projects. See <http://www.pangea.org.br/>, accessed on 15 September 2015.*



THE RACIAL QUESTION

Tarry Cristina Santos Pereira

All of the meetings we had with Kellogg had their relaxed and easy moments as we attempted to ensure what we wanted, which was to bring this discussion of race to the table, because there was no place for this sort of discussion within Kellogg. When Kellogg funded the program OGUNTEC³⁰ we started giving them feedback on our work on race and gender and there were several: in 2006, and after that in 2008. To speak of racism in their conception was different than their idea about racism in Brazil, which was based on the myth of racial democracy; they came from the US and had another mentality. They were thinking that here in Brazil we lived in a bed of roses, that we lived well, "blacks and whites are treated very well," "in Carnival everyone is united"... Imagine, then, the Kellogg Board sitting there listening to another telling of it which was Brazilian racism. Besides learning about Brazilian racism, they were here to learn about the organizations they were funding. It was interesting that they were funding institutions such as the Biko, who had it as a priority to include black male and female students at the university, but actually the entirety of our struggle was to combat racism. They had to see if it was even in their interest to fund such an institution.



THE RACIAL QUESTION

Rui Mesquita Cordeiro

The Kellogg Foundation had a motion for years on our deliberative council, of which Joe Stewart was a part, and during his time there they approved this motion to make Kellogg an anti-racist organization. So all that the Foundation does has an antiracist aspect. The Foundation's mission today, for example, is a mission of supporting children in vulnerable situations, their families and their surroundings, to give them a boost in life. And the

³⁰OGUNTEC is a program consisting of a set of projects aimed at the promotion of Science and Technology. It was developed by the Steve Biko Cultural Institute and its target audience are black students from the public schools. View: <http://www.stevebiko.org.br/#!projetos/c21kz>, accessed on 2 October 2015.

definition of vulnerability we work with includes the problems of racism; in other words, racism being one of the main vulnerabilities found by children in the world, which creates a continuum from childhood to adulthood found in such things as a lack of opportunities, lack of personal growth, lack of justice and access to education, property, rights, health, politics... Then Kellogg addresses the problems based on that definition of vulnerability and deals with the theme based on the logic of the importance of childhood, so starting from childhood; from there it an intergenerational perspective that goes from the family to the community to the environment.

The first chance after the motion was passed was when there was a presidential succession in the Foundation and the Foundation's board hired the first black woman to be president of the Kellogg Foundation, La June Montgomery Tabron³¹-- who by the way is the current president. The Board has been changing the face of the Foundation since the 1960s, 70s. The first change was the Board itself; today the Board of the Kellogg Foundation is probably the most diverse board, in racial terms, in the United States, certainly among the main foundations of the country. Only one-third of the Board is white and two-thirds are black, Latino and Asian. And this trend was already in place but it had yet to reach the presidency. And now, it has been a year and a half, and it has been a historic act for the Foundation; we have the first woman and also first black president of the Kellogg Foundation. This has been a revolution in itself. It's a great thing to witness not only in terms of witnessing what is happening internally, but also to see what happens when La June visits any of the communities the Foundation supports. It changes the dynamics, it is a radically different dynamic, both from the point of view of how they say in the United States "walk the talk", i.e. "acting on what you preach," not only in terms of racism but also in terms of sexism and combating patriarchy. We work a lot at the community level and the level of machismo in these communities tends to be high in general and when a black woman arrives as the president of the Foundation it changes the dynamics; you do not even have to talk, just the recognizing who she is completely and automatically changes the dynamics. It is amazing to be a witness to it.

³¹La June Montgomery Tabron, born in Detroit, Michigan, has a degree in Administration from the University of Michigan and a master's from the Kellogg Graduate School of Management at Northwestern University in Chicago. Contracted by the Kellogg Foundation in 1987, she has held a variety of posts within the institution. In October 2013 Tabron was named president and CEO of the Kellogg Foundation, becoming the first woman and the first black person to chair the Kellogg Foundation. View: <http://www.thehistorymakers.com/biography/la-june-montgomery-tabron>, accessed on 5 October 2015.



THE RACIAL QUESTION

Roseni Sena

From demographic, epidemiological studies and sociological data we know that the situation in the northeast of Brazil differs greatly from that of other regions. It is even different within the north because the north in general has lower population density, has more space, has the issue of the forest -- which is a very important issue -- there is the issue with indigenous communities which is also very important. But the issue of poverty in the Northeast is a situation of grave inequality. Then in 2005 Kellogg established the anti-poverty program in the northeast of Brazil with a support group of consultants, professionals with a lot of experience in the social areas, in economics, sociology, anthropology and this program operated in than 5 states with different projects. One of the evaluations we made is that poverty in the Northeast has color, and color is not invisible. It is absolutely visible: people are poor and black. During this project the Board of the Kellogg Foundation, the chief council members, came to pay the program a visit and they really saw that the issue of combating racism was fundamental and a priority.

Immediately following this visit the Board conducted a thorough reflection and assessed that there was no point in doing various projects and that they needed to develop an initiative to combat racism. From this assessment the Kellogg Foundation began making a very broad consultation with the black movement in Brazil, with leaders of the movement, project coordinators, with various representative organizations of the movement in different states and which had different focus areas; as well as with teachers and researchers, with academics and intellectuals. So that consultation included groups of people such as the Steve Biko Cultural Institute, for example, which was a project supported at the time by Kellogg. It also included CEAfro, Geledés, as well as people who were from academia, teachers with different areas of knowledge who were linked to the black movement such as Helio Santos, who is now the president of the Baobá. Kellogg came to consult with all of these people to see how they could support an initiative to combat racism. This was a politically defining moment for the Kellogg Foundation, it was not a technicality or administrative move. All of the initiatives taken on by the Kellogg Foundation have always been much discussed and thought out, and I think this was a very important situation, which was the initiative to bring to the formulation stage of a projects, these leaders of the black movement. Kellogg really wanted to act more forcefully on the issue of combating racism; it had this as a priority and this priority was defined through its support in Brazil. They did not know how to proceed really, and that's what's actually really important, because the "how" was built and conceived alongside the black movement.

It is with this group, with what we might call the intensive and thorough consultation with the leadership of the black movement, that the Kellogg Foundations formed what would become Baobá. It was a very important strategy. I think hardly any other organization in the world of philanthropy, an organization who offers financial support, has made such an intense and truly representative move. It's not just the name that changed, it was a change in its practice, and this change in the Foundation's practice was essential because they did not make a program for the black movement, they called on the movement to ask: "How can we do this? What is racism in Brazil like and about?" And the people who answered were scholars and day-to-day activists. There were many meetings, many seminars, many discussions. What is racism and how it can be tackled? And we knew it was not advertising, it was not just about good intentions; the first thing was to give a voice to black people, to give them the possibility to really study, so that there may be social, cultural, and economic mobility in their community. And for that we needed intensive support. That was the big change.

THE RACIAL QUESTION

Andrés Thompson



The Kellogg Foundation always came away with some basic ideas from the areas where they wanted to intervene. Then they would leave for the field where they would build on these ideas with potential partners and grantees of the Foundation. We applied some of this methodology with this development, except that for me this was an entirely new field, not for Antônio. I studied a lot at that time, I remember I took everything he had ... the 20 most important books on race in Brazil and devoured them; I went to Rio de Janeiro to speak to Abdias Nascimento,³²

³² Abdias do Nascimento (1914-2011) fundou o Teatro Experimental do Negro em 1944. Participou também como organizador do primeiro Congresso do Negro Brasileiro, em 1950. Em 1968 exilou-se nos Estados Unidos em decorrência do endurecimento do governo militar, no poder desde abril de 1964, e foi professor em diversas universidades norte-americanas. Participou da fundação do Movimento Negro Unificado, em 1978, e criou, em 1981, o Instituto de Pesquisas e Estudos Afro-Brasileiros na Pontifícia Universidade Católica (PUC) de São Paulo. No exílio, tornou-se amigo de Leonel Brizola, com quem fundou o Partido Democrático Trabalhista (PDT) em maio de 1980. Fundou a Secretaria do Movimento Negro do PDT e foi deputado federal pelo Rio de Janeiro entre 1983 e 1986 e senador pelo mesmo estado de 1991 a 1992 e de 1997 a 1999. Durante o segundo governo de Leonel Brizola no estado do Rio de Janeiro (1991-1995), ocupou a Secretaria Extraordinária para Defesa e Promoção das Populações Afro-Brasileiras (Sedepron), posteriormente denominada Seafro, e, durante o governo de Anthony Garotinho (1999-2003), foi secretário de Direitos Humanos e da Cidadania do Rio de Janeiro. Ver: <http://www.abdias.com.br/>, acesso em 15 de setembro de 2015.

I had talks with Sueli Carneiro to brainstorm on how this could be built. I had everything against me with this work: I am from Argentina, white, my surname is Thompson, I am a gringo, have blue eyes, and I am working for an American institution. I had nothing in my favor to come and speak about racism in Brazil, but I had to try this. I had already decided personally and politically to do this and went ahead with it. First it was very difficult to gain legitimacy for the idea, and I think the key element was the role of Antônio for this. Antônio helped to invite the first members of the committee of what would become Baobá, he was an internal leadership. I delegated many of my responsibilities to Antônio at that time, especially as it was related to the movement.

We started building this idea along with that core of black leaders and made a formal request to the Foundation. We started with an internal process in the Foundation so that the Board could approve the decision to invest \$50 million to start, and leave behind a legacy in Brazil that was to be in the field of race. At that time we did not even speak in terms of a fund, we spoke about a "mechanism," but we did not know if this would be in the form of a fund, or if it was to be a university, a research center... We talked of a mechanism to deal with and address the issue racism in Brazil. With this major investment from the Foundation, this mechanism should be focused on strengthening the black movement in Brazil. It had to be a structure built by Brazilians and not pre-made by the Foundation. We had this idea in the background, but it was not explicitly spoken, this matter. It was a very complicated process, because we were talking about a lot of money, but they finally accepted. We went there and took a group: Elias Sampaio and Luiza Bairros. It was then that the Foundation would either approve or reject the decision. It was Luiza who spoke with the Kellogg Board; she was not the minister of SEPPIR³³ yet but she spoke like a minister, the entire Board of the Foundation was hushed in the room. When she finished her speech they all rose to their feet and clapped for her. I thought, "Well, we did it. Let's go back and we will continue the work." That was the process by which we came to this idea of building a fund.

³³SEPPIR is the Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality, which has ministerial status in Brazil.

So according to what you are telling, it seems that in many respects the role of the black movement and the ideas produced by the black movement, -- whether with the training of young people in the Steve Biko Institute, with the Kellogg Council's visit to Bahia, or whether with Luiza Bairros' and Elias Sampaio's role in the US and their conversations with the Board -- the actual construction of the possibility of the Baobá fund came largely due to the action of these people from the black movement. Is that right?

That's right. We have always been very clear on that, it was not going to be me that was going to convince the Foundation to make this investment. There had to be strong Brazilian pressure, and this type of pressure could only come from those who had a prominent position in the black movement, those who could expand on the political aspects of race in Brazil, who fought for it and could explain it. They met this criteria and believed in it as well.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE BLACK MOVEMENT

CONNECTIONS WITH THE BLACK MOVEMENT Andrés Thompson



After its visit to Brazil the Foundation decided it was going to close its program in Latin America. Brazil is a country with many resources and it did not make any sense for the Foundation to finance projects in the northeast when it had people like Odebrecht and Camargo Corrêa with such great wealth in Brazil. They said: "Why don't they finance it? Why do people who come from so far away have to finance these projects?" So along with the retirement of several employees, they decided to begin a gradual withdrawal from Latin America. I was the only one left and I was tasked with beginning the process of closing still active and financed projects. At that time it was a huge disappointment, we left the visit feeling such great enthusiasm about the possibilities that were on the horizon, and then soon after they said, "close it all!" And they told me, "you can stay until 2010."

So I started talking about the idea of leaving behind some sort of legacy in Brazil. I said, "you have already decided and the decision is the Council's; I will not argue with the decision and I have no power to change these decisions. . But now that you're going to get out, then get out in a responsible way and leave Brazil a legacy " They asked me, "and what would that be? " We then began to develop the idea of creating a fund. We had already funded ELAS Fund for Women in Brazil,³⁴ which is in Rio, and we had supported and financed the Brazil Human Rights Fund.³⁵ These were big donations and I was responsible for them. We started thinking, "Why don't we create a fund with this sort of profile, but is a fund to combat racism?" I spoke about this with some people in the Council -- those who had shown the greatest sensitivity in their visit to Brazil and who had shown the most willingness to do something related to race. I had these informal conversations with members of the Council and they guided me as to how to make the proposal. That's when we started working with Antônio again and we began to think, "what would this idea look like?" We decided on the principle that it should be

³⁴The ELAS, established in 2000, is a Brazilian social investment fund dedicated exclusively to the promotion of the role of girls and young women. See <http://www.fundosocialelas.org/institucional.asp>, accessed on 15 September 2015.

³⁵The Brazil Human Rights Fund began its operations in 2006 as a non-profit Brazilian civil rights foundation that aims to contribute to the promotion of human rights in Brazil. See <http://www.fundodireitoshumanos.org.br/v2/pt/page/view/quem-somos>, accessed on 15 September 2015.

developed in conjunction with leaders of the Brazilian black movement, that it should not be created by the foundation but should be led by the black movement, that it should be decided by the black movement.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE BLACK MOVEMENT Antônio Nascimento



In 2008 there was a process of identifying and convening the people who could make up the mechanism, a sort of programming committee. Our proposed methodological approach entailed constructing a committee and the realization of a field study to understand how the black movement and issues of race operated. The study was conducted by CEAfro. Based on those results the programming committee would develop an institutional political project that would lead to that locus of action with regard to the area of race. We thought up a legal foundation format with an eye to the resources given by Kellogg. So there would be a group whose purpose was to think in terms of actions -- which was the programming committee -- and a group of financiers who would apply the money. During the time when we were in the process of instituting this mechanism was when, in 2010, Andrés left the Foundation and I left as well.

How did you approach the black movement to be a part of the committee and to be a part of these discussions? Were you the one who brought in the black movement? How did that happen?

I was the “irresponsible” for that. The people from the black movement who were identified and chosen for that discussion came out of conversations had between, Andrés, Rui, Keu, Carolina, Tricia, Roseni and me; we were the working group for the Kellogg Foundation at the time. The folks were all chosen, then that same group had the autonomy to widen itself. The arrival of Luiz Alberto, the arrival of Rebeca³⁶ from Pernambuco, were not on

³⁶Rebeca Oliveira Duarte holds a degree in Law and a Master's in Political Science from the Federal University of Pernambuco, with a specialty in Human Rights from the Federal University of Paraíba. She is a PhD candidate in Cognitive Psychology from the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco and is Assistant Professor in the Department of Education (DED) at the Federal Rural University of Pernambuco. View: <http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacv.do?id=K4713839A6>, accessed on 19 September 2015.

our behalf -- they were on the behalf of Luiza Bairros, of Elias Sampaio and Sueli Carneiro.

What were the discussions like to arrive at those names?

During the meeting in 2006, folks were so charmed with Luiza, they were thrilled with her. Due to her track record, Sueli was also presented as a strong candidate and there was a consensus that she should be invited to participate. Elias was the president over at PRODREB, which was a public company here in Bahia, then he went over to SEPROMI; and Luiza was the secretary at SEPROMI.



My relationship to Kellogg was gradual, like every relationship between representatives of a social movement and an institution. So this happened through multiple meetings, debates, discussions, getting to know each other little by little. Kellogg wanted to establish this discussion from within and it was necessary to do that first through its Brazilian consultants who were very respected people in their respective areas, but who, with the exception of Antônio Nascimento here in Bahia, were all white from the South of Brazil and who had no concern for race. The role of the people from the black movement invited by the Kellogg Foundation for the meeting with the consultants at that time were to present on the following: "Most of the Brazilian population lives like this or like that... and certain conditions under which people live are the direct result of the fact that in Brazil there is racism and racism causes not only symbolic effects, but material and tangible effects in people's lives. This has to be understood because if you cannot include half of the population in this development then you're not developing anything." That time was for this, to present to the council what would be a reading of Brazilian society by the black movement. Whatever is said this was not a partial reading, it was a reading based on a designated path with an end-game in sight and, I believe, with the ability to address what we call the "tougher areas" of inequality in Brazil.



CONNECTIONS WITH THE BLACK MOVEMENT

Luiz Alberto de Oliveira Gonçalves

I had no contact whatsoever with the Kellogg Foundation. The people who contacted me to be a part of Baobá were the activists whom I knew for a long time. Among them was Luiza Bairos, Sueli Carneiro and some others. I was nominated by this group of activists whom I had known for years. For example, I knew Luisa from the MNU.³⁷ There was also this other thing and that was that before Baobá. I had went through the Ford Foundation³⁸ scholarship program. At the time, Nigel Brooke,³⁹ who was the representative of the Ford Foundation in Brazil, called me and Marco Aurelio Rocha to design a proposal for scholarships for international postgraduate studies for black students. So we developed that project. For that, the Ford Foundation allowed me to go talk to the black activists. So it was through this project that I reconnected with these people. I went to Maranhão, Bahia, and I went south to talk about how this project was going to happen because at that time it was the first project that the Ford Foundation wanted to do and the idea was that we think up affirmative action programs for black post-graduate students.

When you ask me how I arrived at the Kellogg Foundation, there are all of these stories from before. It was through these militants whom I had approached earlier when I had to develop this project for the Ford Foundation. I did not participate from the start with the mobilization for the Baobá. By the time I entered the process, the folks from Kellogg and the militants who were already there, such as Sueli Carneiro, had already spoken to the activists, especially those in the northeast of Brazil. This was an extremely important step forward, which was paying attention to the Northeast once again.

³⁷The Unified Black Movement (MNU) was created in São Paulo in 1978 as an organization that aimed to unify organizations and actions in the fight against racism in Brazil. Although it has been instrumental in the creation of what we know today as the "contemporary black movement," even during the period of the civil-military dictatorship (1964-1985), the MNU never reached the goal of unifying the organizations of the Brazilian black movement, becoming one among many other organizations of this social movement. See PEREIRA, Amílcar A. "The black world": race relations and the establishment of the contemporary black movement in Brazil. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas/FAPERJ, 2013.

³⁸The Ford Foundation was founded in Detroit in the US in 1936 and has operated in Brazil since 1962, with the main focus of action being to strengthen democratic values, international cooperation and the eradication of poverty and injustice. View: <http://www.fordfoundation.org/regions/brazil/history/pt-br> accessed on 21 September 2015.

³⁹Nigel Brooke graduated in Experimental Psychology from the University of Reading in the UK, is a PhD in Development Studies from the Institute of Development Studies, and was a consultant and then representative of the Ford Foundation in Brazil between 1994 and 2003. He is currently a visiting professor at the Faculty of Education of UFMG. See <http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacvdo?id=K4787297P2>, accessed on 22 September 2015.

And when is it exactly that you are invited to join the initiative for the Baobá?

I do not really remember. I was part of the programming committee. We had to make the proposal for the Baobá Fund. They wanted us to build the Baobá, to tell them the scope of it, its dimensions, what directions it would take, where it would be set up and who would participate in it. We were going to take care of the whole panorama of this new organization.

Kellogg took on this summary of racial issues, in the sense of strengthening this sector in Brazil. This was also the reason why I agreed to go. When they informed me, I had some time and spent a couple of days in Bahia, where the meeting was held. And there were all of the Kellogg representatives and all the militants I knew, Sueli, all of these people were there, and they were talking to me about what they wanted. Then I understood that this was the first time that we were doing something like this, as far as blacks in Brazil are concerned. So I believed in this and I said, "Let's go to the end with this endeavor."



CONNECTIONS WITH
THE BLACK MOVEMENT
Maria do Socorro Guterres

We thought, "Ok, so we will receive support from an international organization, but to what extent will we have autonomy? What is our level of autonomy? So that we can set expectations based on our reality, on the reality of the organizations." So there were all of these doubts, which were not fears, but doubts which gradually were remedied to the extent that the Kellogg Foundation allowed us the willingness to in fact define: what was the organization's purpose? What was its focus? Who was the audience? And a relationship of trust was being established. It was normal that we had doubts. But as we were continued to meet with Kellogg and were making agreements and having these conversations, the level of trust continued to increase. This also happened with the black organizations. I remember that here in São Luís, when we had the first meeting, I did not have the opportunity to participate, but for the second meeting I was present. And it was always the exact same question,

the same sorts of doubts: "How will this work? ", "How will an organization we do not know yet, that we don't know anything about, support us and how does this work?" The same issues regarding the level of autonomy, the trust that we had yet to build. So in the beginning it was like this: many doubts and even a fragile sense of trust. This dissolves over time and there was the issue of the presence of several members who served as references of the black social movement, who were a part of the Baobá, who were part of this make-up and were important references such as Luiza Bairros, Sueli Carneiro... The presence of these people from the beginning gave the black organizations greater confidence about the seriousness of this new organization, the Baobá.

I remember that when I entered the Baobá, the first meeting I went to I already knew Sueli Carneiro and I knew Luiza Bairros from the women's movement, from meetings, but I was not so close to them. And when I came and met with them and the other people I said, "Wow! I'm here with these women?!" When I got involved with the black movement they were the people whom I mirrored myself after, they were the women who helped me in my development as a black woman too. It was not just for me that they were significant. To have these people in the composition of Baobá -- as well as Magno Cruz, of course, who is our main role model in Maranhão -- but they were also national references. So it was not just for me, it was also for these several other black organizations. This was very important for gaining credibility, for building trust and so that we could say: "Yes we can do this; it is possible to build this because there are serious and important people who are with us in building this." This was very significant.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE BLACK MOVEMENT Sueli Carneiro



I believe in the political subject who leads the struggle. So Baobá is born as an institution to strengthen the role of the black movement, because it was the political subject that brought it forward. Quotas, for example, did not fall on our heads by the will of Fernando Henrique Cardoso or Lula. The quota policy is the product of our

political action, of our activism; of 30, 40, 50 years of struggle by the black movement. Of course, the first thing that is done is to remove the political subject, to obscure the existence of this political subject, to discredit the political subject. Because the "Princess Elizabeth syndrome" always shows up, it will never end in Brazil, "she was the one who redeemed us, that freed us, because we were incompetent when it came to that..." So with the quotas, it was either Fernando Henrique, when it suited him, or it was Lula's doing, but the political subject that was fighting the fight, who made these policies viable...

Like with the 10,639/03,⁴⁰ which is an initiative that should be praised, a great symbolic gesture undertaken by President Lula and a gesture for which we must be grateful, because it is a major gesture, but it was the product of black people's struggle, a product of appreciating Afro-Brazilian culture all the way since the Brazilian Black Front,⁴¹ from the beginning of the early twentieth century. In fact, what Lula does is legitimate a struggle that goes that far. This is a backdrop for how I think about how I see the Baobá because I welcomed it with such enthusiasm, the idea of a fund for the promotion of racial equality aimed at protecting the heroic activism of this country and which does not receive any recognition not even from blacks themselves, who are the beneficiaries of this struggle.

What gave me the conviction to participate in this initiative was the people who were there before me, people like Luiza Bairos, Lurdinha Siqueira, who are historical militants and in whom I have the greatest respect. And a calling by these people, who were certainly sharing in the responsibility for this invitation, it's like an order, is it not? So that made all the difference for me and gave me the absolute peace of mind to participate in this project, in this impeller committee.

⁴⁰ A Lei nº 10.639, que tornou obrigatório o ensino de História e Cultura Africana e Afro-Brasileiras nas escolas de todo o país, foi a segunda lei sancionada pelo então recém-empossado presidente Lula, ainda em 9 de janeiro de 2003. Ver: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/2003/L10.639.htm, acesso em 23 de setembro de 2015.

⁴¹ A Frente Negra Brasileira (FNB) foi fundada em 16 de setembro de 1931, em São Paulo, e foi uma das maiores organizações negras do século XX. Vinha na esteira de diversas entidades negras que se formaram no início do século passado. Presente em vários estados brasileiros, autodenominada "órgão político e social da raça", a FNB reunia milhares de militantes, estabelecia escolas em suas sedes, tinha seu próprio jornal, *A voz da raça*, criado em 1933, e chegou inclusive a tornar-se partido político em 1936, tendo sido fechada em 1937 após o golpe de estado liderado por Getúlio Vargas, que estabeleceu a ditadura do Estado Novo e fechou todas as organizações políticas existentes no país. Em função dos êxitos alcançados naquele período, a FNB chegou a tornar-se referência de organização na luta contra o racismo em vários países, inclusive nos EUA, antes mesmo do deslanchar das lutas dos negros por direitos civis naquele país. Ver PEREIRA, Amílcar A. "O mundo negro": relações raciais e a constituição do movimento negro no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas/FAPERJ, 2013.



CONNECTIONS WITH THE BLACK MOVEMENT Sílvia Humberto

You need to read this situation and not think that the myth of racial democracy has been settled, as if it were like in Gabriela: "I was born this way, I grew up this way and I will die like this..." And remember she will not die like this. As we advance, these things are reconfigured. Before, white people, for the most part, did not need to defend their whiteness, they did not need to come out of the closet so to speak. Today they are coming out and when they do there are some who have extremely conservative, racist views. You have the racists and those who are prejudiced. As far as the prejudiced ones, ones you might actually have a chance to change their mind, and you should even find allies among them, because this idea of racial democracy leads to a distorted perspective, and you can get these types on your side to the extent that they begin to understand this place within a process of struggle -- which is to have a conscience of ethnic-racial belonging. This advances the struggle forward, it helps to convince people. This is not the case with the racist; the racist by definition must think of himself as superior, he abides by the myth of superiority. And even more so, the racist doesn't even think he's dealing with a person in front of him. Since the first thing that the racist does is deny one's humanity, then how can one even deal with a person who is denying your humanity? From there one needs to understand institutional racism and what strategies to use, because today we are dealing with racism, an old form a new one. The old form is the type that still seeks the physical elimination of black youth, to physically eliminate the black population has always been a part of this process. To physically eliminate, to make disappear, it is part of a strategy which then uses immigration to bring immigrants who will whiten our society.⁴² When the material conditions and resources are not available then it also kills you, it is a living death. We need to do the reading to allow us to understand what we are experiencing today, in addition to understanding the conservative wave. But also a conservative wave that comes after affirmative action and the arrival of Lula as president, yet still with problems. But this is a problem that

⁴²Nearly four million European immigrants were brought to Brazil at the beginning of the Republic between 1891 and 1930, with about half with the passages subsidized by successive Brazilian governments, as part of an immigration policy which was very marked by the influence of racial theories and which sought the "whitening" of the population. These were repeatedly discussed at that time in the country in both government and academic spaces. See PEREIRA, Amílcar A. "The negro world": race relations and the constitution of the black movement in Brazil. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas / FAPERJ, 2013.

precedes this new level that the movement is raging. The Zumbi March 300 Years,⁴³ the creation of the GTI⁴⁴ with Helio Santos and others, President Fernando Henrique publicly acknowledging that Brazil was a racist country - but there is a difference between recognizing and acting - the creation of SEPPIR, creating spaces for racial equality ... At the same time that we we have these spaces of racial equality, we are also experiencing the depletion of these models of spaces of racial equality, without them having necessarily fulfilled their mission. It is that they had a problem from their inception. If one were to analyze the construction of these spaces of racial equality. they have problems with their budget, their personnel -- this is a feature that is common with these spaces of racial equality. And this is something that we need to be very careful with because we are dealing with the new and the old. Before, the black movement was allowed to be involved in the cultural realm -- think about 1988 marking the creation of the Palmares Cultural Foundation.⁴⁵ After the cultural realm you have the land question with the quilombos (maroons communities), then education with affirmative action and the debate around resources. If we think about the pillars that hold power in our country, the black movement is contesting the power agenda. The conservative reaction is also because we are contesting this. When you argue about education you are arguing about the future of the generations.

⁴³The first Zumbi March Against Racism, for Citizenship and Life was held on 20 November 1995. About 30,000 people gathered in Brasilia to denounce the lack of public policies for the black population. The act marked the 300th anniversary of Zumbi's death, the main leader of Palmares, a free territory which brought together thousands of black people and became a symbol of resistance against the slave regime and later, for black consciousness in the country. See <http://memoria.etc.com.br/agenciabrasil/noticia/2005-11-13/primeira-marcha-zumbi-ha-10-anos-reuniu-30-mil-pessoas>, access on 30 September 2015.

⁴⁴The Interministerial Working Group for the Promotion of the Black Population (GTI) was created as a result of political pressure exerted by the movement after the March Zumbi of Palmares against Racism, for Citizenship and Life in 1995, which opened a space for the expanded participation of civil society in the development of policies for the recognition of the historical and cultural contributions made by black people to the country. It was also one of the first governmental institutions to discuss possibilities of affirmative action policies for blacks in Brazil. See: <http://www.ipea.gov.br/participacao/conselhos/conselho-nacional-de-combate-a-discriminacao-lgbt/136-conselho-nacional-de-promocao-da-igualdade-racial/272-conselho-nacional-de-promocao-da-igualdade-racial>, access on 30 September 2015.

⁴⁵The Palmares Cultural Foundation, which operates under the Ministry of Culture, was established in 1988 to promote and preserve Afro-Brazilian culture and art. View: http://www.palmares.gov.br/?page_id=95, accessed on 1 October 2015.

C H A P T E R 2

CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Rui Mesquita Cordeiro

It all started when the Kellogg Foundation was revisiting its strategy for Latin America and the Caribbean and redefining their priorities, what to do and what not to do. I arrived at the Foundation in February 2007. But months earlier, in October 2006, I think there was a visit by the Board of the Kellogg Foundation to Brazil. The entire board, including Joe Stewart, visited Brazil during this period and visited three states: Maranhão, Pernambuco and Bahia, visiting various projects supported by the Kellogg Foundation in the northeast of Brazil. This generated within the board, not just a confirmation that there was something going on with regard to economic inclusion on the one hand at the time, as on the other, the perception of extreme inequality radically affecting the black population in the region. Several conversations were generated between the directors of the Foundation visiting the Northeast and with various groups of people to which they had access, from community leaders to the local political and business community. They had been nurturing an idea within the Foundation board, between early 2007 and early 2008, which was the year that the Foundation changed its programming strategy, to put more weight on certain things. And in Brazil the board approved what we wanted to do: "An experiment in Brazil, to try to support a group of local leaders in Brazil to be identified to lead a process of creating a mechanism for sustainability and support of racial equality and social inclusion in the country. Preferably with the idea of financial compensation." With the caveat that this group of leaders could lead the country in the process of fundraising for the creation of some sort of mechanism. The Foundation was not prescriptive and say that had to be a fund to finance projects, nothing like that; it could have even been a museum, it could have been anything depending on what the group leaders defined. So for every real that the organization obtained as a donation then the Kellogg Foundation would match it with one or two reais, depending on the structure; so if it were for an endowment, the Foundation would give two other reais, not one. It would be the first type of institution that would be 100% dedicated to racial equity with the financial sustainability and a long-term political vision to make a difference, to change the reality of Brazilian development, now pegged to the field of social justice and racial justice. So that was the first motion, the first process for the Foundation's board, and it started with a visit to Brazil in October 2006 and went on to the

approval of the project that became the Baobá. This adoption took place at the Foundation's council chamber in Michigan, on August 2008. I was part of that meeting, not just me, other colleagues too: Andrés Thompson and several others as well. We prepared all the documentation that the board discussed, we fulfilled all of the recommendations that the board discussed, considered and approved and that they made from that point to the Foundation team for Brazil and for Latin America at the time, and we started taking concrete steps as a Foundation to follow through on internal approval we had by the board.



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Sérgio Humberto

The strategic figure, Andrés Thompson, who was fully convinced, sought to convince Kellogg from within. This is not an easy task, with the American perspective. One ends up thinking that when it comes to racism, you look to the US. Then when you arrive somewhere else and do not see the same reality you begin to feel there is no racism, that the problem is of another order. To the extent that others, that the Board, begins to have these interactions, along with other participants involved, important figures of the black movement, Sueli Carneiro, Luiza Bairros and a number of others who were participating in this programming committee to materialize in Baobá. This was important also because there was something on a national scale being developed, something that would seek to solve a serious problem and that is financing or financial support. When you go look at what is donated specifically for the cause, which were racial issues, it is practically nothing. How can you donate to something that you think is not a problem? The fact that we got it after that lengthy period, and here I am speaking of the black movement as a whole, to give visibility to the racial issue ... And what is innovative about Baobá is that it explicitly states that the fund is for that, to combat the statistics, and against the common logic used to reduce social inequalities in Brazil. One could even marginally and laterally recognize that there is a racial problem. The design of the fund comes from the influence of this programming committee -- Elias Sampaio, a whole bunch of

people who were there, Luiz Alberto from Minas Gerais, important key figures, academics, people with experience in the black movement -- that that which would later be the Baobá Fund was outlined and carved out. These people, all of them, even those who later left, those who stayed, I would say that they managed to cement it in such a way that people left, but the process still took place. Then you might ask, "did things come out the way people imagined they would?" Whether it did or it did not, it is a reality today, so much so that that you are here. You will only tell the story of something that existed and exists, and that needs to move forward.



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Joe Stewart

I was thinking when we were talking about the decision of the board, do you think it was kind of easy to convince the rest of the board to adopt this possibility in Brazil, of creating this fund, the Baobá organization? How did you see, inside the board, the discussions on the possibility of funding an organization to fund the struggle against racism in Brazil? How was it?

Well, let me answer this way: it was a unanimous decision. For that I compliment every board member that participated. Each and everyone of them deserves credit for that decision. But I'm also a realist. All of us can talk about racism - but then there is the reality of facing it. Everybody voted yes, but partly because it looked like a train steaming down the track and most people have the good sense to not stand in front of a train!

There were individuals then and probably still are whose personal beliefs and cultural experiences were not 100% with this decision. Yet there was so much goodness in each person's hearts that they would not allow themselves stand against this good intent. Therefore, they all voted their support, and I've never heard one Trustee speak negatively about our commitment. I did hear questions, but those questions were expected. Questions, concerns and differences are important parts part of a strong democratic process and it should always expect it. Frankly, facing the opposition sometimes adds richness to any process. It makes everyone dig deep and work harder to convince those who are on the fence.

So, how did you see the discussions? Because there is another point, it was not only funding the struggle against racism... it was the black movement in Brazil that was receiving this big amount of money to struggle against racism. How do you think the board saw that it was the black movement the protagonist, the main role in this process receiving the funding?

Even for me, the idea wasn't to fund the black movement. That was never the goal. We wanted to fund a movement that would change hearts and help people let go of their denial. This wasn't a black movement to struggle against a white movement or white entrenchment. It was an investment in the people of Brazil and the goodness of those people to realize that real racial equity is important. The programs we funded were not supporting militancy. We were funding progress in race relations and racial healing.

Baobá is not about creating a win - lose situation. Baobá is a win-win situation. In the minds of those who created it, Baobá must never be solely about the black movement in Brazil. However, neither should the black movement be eliminated. It is critical to keeping a positive momentum for change. Scientists talk about pressure and counterpressure and that concept applies here as well. You can't cause nor expect a social movement to go in a positive direction, unless you apply some degree of pressure. Denial can be so deep that it most often takes pressure to cause others to internalize the good you are talking about. People say "I don't know what you are complaining about, I don't see it... What you are talking about, man?"

The reaction could be very veiled, but it could also be as obvious as when Adriana was crying while the other guys were thinking they come from the best place on earth. It's a matter of perspective. This maybe the best place on earth for me, but what about all these people over here? What is life like for them? When you begin to ask those questions, you can begin to make a movement. That is what Baobá is about: a racial equity movement, an anti-racist movement for all Brazilians. It isn't to create another group that will have the same kind of authority that some have now. It's more about creating common respect and understanding for all Brazilians.

So you couldn't give this task to an organization that denied the existence of racism...

That's exactly right. We're not going to give funds to a group that would fight against racial healing and racial equity. To some, this may look like a black movement, but the intent is not black. The intent is Brazilian. The intent is to help Brazil grow out of this mindset that; "We are a beautiful non-racial society." Brazil and Brazilians are indeed beautiful – but it is far from “non-racial”. When we look around we can readily see people living in conditions that haven't changed much since slavery. Maybe I'm being a little too harsh, but we need to make a true and honest point about racial differences in Brazil and how opportunities for progress are still segmented by pigmentation. It's incredibly sad.



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Sueli Carneiro

The deployment phase, the creation and formatting of Baobá, was preceded by an investment by the Kellogg staff in previous funds so that they may reinforce and also serve as aids in the process of strengthening and supporting black organizations. So for a few years before the foundation of Baobá, before Baobá's institutionalization, a number of organizations - funds and civil society organizations - were supported so that they may adopt a racial perspective in their programs, so that they may support black organizations. So, in this ambience then, there were other earlier funds: the CESE,⁴⁶ which I think is a fund that has been in Brazil for three decades now, the Elas Fund⁴⁷ and the Brazil Human Rights Fund. The Brazil Human Rights Fund was given support so that it may provide support for a number of projects which defend some dimension of the racial question. The Elas Fund was to do the same thing with the black women's organizations. Black media, the Geledés portal, and the Ethnic Media⁴⁸ were also supported so that they may be strengthened in order to provide their contribution to the process from the point of view of the media.

This was an idea that was initially conceived by the staff of Kellogg. Kellogg's personal representative, Andrés Thompson, played a key role in this process in terms of his the actual political weight; he had a lot of interaction with both scenarios: both in dialogue with organizations in the corporate world, as with other foundations and also with the social movement. In other words, Andrés' presence was key. All this political

⁴⁶Established in 1973, CESE (Ecumenical Service Coordination) has worked for the promotion, defense and guarantee of rights in Brazil for over 40 years. Created by Christian Churches, its mission is to strengthen civil society organizations, especially the most popular ones, engaged in struggles for political, economic and social transformations that lead to structures where democracy prevails with justice. View: <http://www.cese.org.br/quem-ea-cese/historico/>, accessed on 29 September 2015.

⁴⁷The Elas Fund, created in 2000, is the only Brazilian social investment fund dedicated exclusively to the promotion of the role of girls and young women. View: <http://www.fundosocialelas.org/institucional.asp>, accessed on 29 September 2015.

⁴⁸The Ethnic Media Institute is a civil society organization that carries out projects to ensure the human right of communication and the use of technological tools for socially excluded groups, especially the Afro-Brazilian community. See <http://midiaetnica.ning.com/>, accessed on 29 September 2015

capital, so to speak, that the Kellogg Foundation had here was, in some way, instrumentalized and made available to create the ambience and the political support needed to give weight to the Baobá proposal. So Baobá already emerges with many partners. When it emerges, it emerges as part of this broader ambience, and already in partnership with different actors in society.

There was a whole lot of care taken in the preparation of the emergence of Baobá, of this new actor. There was an entire dialogue, even to make clear to the militants that it was a new organization that was here to serve as a support to the movement and not to replace it. And also that if it was forced to be a political actor, it would be in cases in which the movement was not able to operate - or did not have the force or condition to operate. It is an innovative move to designate it as not a movement organization, an activist organization, but an organization whose fundamental mission is to capture and donate, to capture and donate to organizations engaged in combating racism, discrimination and the promotion of racial equality. So was the work that was done for two years.

CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Rui Mesquita Cordeiro



The first meeting we had was in November 2008. It was held in Recife where basically what we did was to invite and meet several other foundations and donors, partners, peers from the Kellogg Foundation to discuss the approval we had received from the council and discuss this new strategy for Brazil which was that in the next maximum period of five years would lead to the creation of this mechanism for racial equity. If memory serves me right there were nearly 20 foundations -- other funding foundations both Brazilian and foreign -- present at that meeting in November 2008 in Recife. It was a very interesting discussion because it involved the Kellogg Foundation with this new stance, this new project, and there was the Ford Foundation, which was also a historical partner in the field of struggle for racial equality in the country. Outside of these organizations few others did anything and when they did something it was

not necessarily with many resources; for example, Oxfam⁴⁹ was trying to do something but the topic they wanted to work on was not appreciated by the international Oxfam network, which was within the inter-European context where the issue of racism is not very much on the agenda. The Brazil Human Rights Fund has a stream of support for racial issues but the volume of financial resources for it was still small. The Elas Fund who at the time was the Angela Borba Fund in Rio de Janeiro, also always had a racial equity aspect which was conceptually very strong, but the resources to make it happen were always difficult to come by. There was the UN Women,⁵⁰ who participated and were also developing some funding policies at the time on the issue of black and indigenous women in Brazil, also dealt a lot with this issue and many others. There was the Instituto C&A,⁵¹ the Avina Foundation,⁵² the CESE of Salvador, Save the Children,⁵³ there were many people, the vast majority of which had no lines of action for racial equality, but heeded the call. At the end of the meeting everyone wondered "when shall we meet again to continue discussing the issue of racism and the financing of Brazilian civil society?" The Ford Foundation took the lead to arrange for a second meeting, which took place in early 2009, I think in February, in Rio de Janeiro. Out of this something that unintentional was created, but it was very nice, called ESAF which is the Forum of Supporters on Racial Equity in Brazil. There were about nine or ten meetings of this group over the three or four years of its existence before the creation of Baobá. When Baobá was created it changed the dynamics, because the fund came into existence, but the ESAF was

⁴⁹ *Oxfam International is a confederation of 13 organizations and over 3000 partners which operates in more than 100 countries to find solutions to the problem of poverty and injustice through campaigns, development programs and emergency actions.* <https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oxfam>, accessed on 30 September 2015.

⁵⁰ *In July 2010 the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) created UN Women, the UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women.* View: <http://www.onumulheres.org.br/onu-mulheres/sobre-a-onu-mulheres/>, accessed on 2 October 2015.

⁵¹ *The C & A Institute is a nonprofit public interest organization whose purpose is to promote and enhance children's and adolescents' education process in Brazil.* View: <http://www.institutocea.org.br/quem-somos/principios.aspx>, accessed on 3 October 2015.

⁵² *The AVINA Foundation seeks to impact sustainable development in Latin America, creating favorable conditions so that various actors can contribute to the common good.* View: <http://www.avina.net/por/sobre-avina/que-hacemos/#1>, accessed on 3 October 2015.

⁵³ *Save the Children, established in 1919, is a non-governmental organization for the defense of children's rights throughout the world, devoting itself both to providing humanitarian emergency aid and long-term development through child sponsorship.* See https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Save_the_Children, accessed on 3 October 2015.

greatly important as part of the backdrop of the very discussions of the Baobá Fund. So this was the first part of the process that happened, which was started in November 2008. The second, which was parallel to it and had several interlaced dialogues the entire time, was in April 2009 with the creation of something we called in the Kellogg Foundation the "programming committee" of leaders and historical experts on race in Brazil. That's when we invited Sueli Carneiro, Luiza Bairros, Lourdinha Siqueira, Elias Sampaio, from Salvador, and we also invited Marcelo Paixão⁵⁴ of Rio de Janeiro; it was a group of five or six people or so that later expanded to nine or ten people, which we called the "programming committee" at the time. We met with Abdias Nascimento also at his home in Rio de Janeiro with Elisa.⁵⁵ Obviously Abdias was unable to attend these meetings because he was already old and no longer had all the mobility, but he was also consulted during this period, we went to him.

Another group of five or six, known as the programming committee, began meeting often and we presented this group with not only the historic deliberations made by Kellogg and the provocations made to the other foundations on the subject of racial equity, the financing and development in the country; we also posed them with a question, that was the most vital one we made to this group of leaders to respond: "Are Brazilian black leaders prepared, within this historical context of April 2009, to lead a process leading to the creation of a mechanism that will give us, at the very least, a bit more sustainability to the cause of racial equality and social inclusion in Brazil? Yes or no? If so, how?" We had a big meeting in April 2009, there were a couple of days of meetings. And this group of leaders asked us for the resources to be able to answer this question properly: resources to be able to travel to Brazil, especially the Northeast of Brazil; resources for mapping the state of the art of black organizations in the

⁵⁴Marcelo Paixão holds a PhD in Sociology from the IUPERJ. He graduated with a degree in Economics from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, where he created and coordinated the Laboratory for the Analysis of Economic, Historical, Social and Statistics of Race Relations (LAESER) and where he worked as a teacher for 18 years. He currently acts as a professor of the Department of African and African Diaspora Studies at the University of Texas at Austin, USA.

⁵⁵Elisa Larkin Nascimento, widow of Abdias Nascimento, was born in the United States and completed her degree in social sciences at the State University of New York (USA) and received her Bachelor of Arts, Summa Cum Laude in 1976. She completed her master's degree in social sciences (1978), as well as the Juris Doctor, Cum Laude (master's degree in law with honors, 1981) at the University of New York. She completed her doctorate in School Psychology and Human Development at the University of São Paulo in 2000. She currently runs the Institute for Research and Afro-Brazilian Studies (IPEAFRO). View: <http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacv.do?id=K4767360A1>, accessed 4 October 2015.

Brazilian Northeast; and resources to recommend some strategic actions that the Foundation could finance, specific strategic projects that could create and nurture an environment favorable to creating such a mechanism, which none of us really knew much about and what it would be at the time. And that is what led to the year and a half process which ran from April 2009 to September 2010, which was the lifetime of this programming committee that traveled to Brazil, especially the Northeast. They went to the nine northeastern states, for example. They hired a consulting firm with CEAFFRO, which is part of the Center for Afro Eastern Studies at UFBA, a historic research organization of the Brazilian academy, linked to the black movement and whose staff also traveled the entire Northeast to discover the state of the art of black organizations: who they are, where they are, how many there are, how they are funded, how is their budget managed, what is their agenda, what is their perceived impact, what's is their plan for sustainability - if it has any plans, etc. This generated a report that can be found online today if you enter the words "mapping of black organizations of the Northeast Brazil" CEAFFRO-UFBA, on Google; this report is available.

CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Andrés Thompson



First we invited a core group of leaders: Luiz Alberto from Minas, Elias Sampaio, Sueli Carneiro, Luiza Bairros, Lourdinha from Maranhão,⁵⁶ who then left and proposed another person from Maranhão, then that person passed away which is Magno Cruz. We called this core group and said: "You are the leaders! We'll set the institutional constraints that Kellogg has to do one thing or another, but going forward the construction is yours, until you get to the 'mechanism'".

We started to have a series of meetings to think through what this "mechanism" would be. One of the early decisions was: "It isn't just up to us five people to decide that. Let's open this up to the movement." So how do we do that? Well, the initial focus was the Northeast. So we decided to map out what the black movement in the Brazilian Northeast was doing. We decided to do a mapping of the organizations to get an idea of the needs, what kind of works was being carried out ... so we partnered up with the Federal University of Bahia, with the center for the study of movements focusing on the issue of race in Bahia, CEAfro, to do the mapping. It was not just mapping in the sense of research, but it involved large meetings to explain to the organizations the idea that was behind the mapping, the development of this mechanism, the funding of organizations, Kellogg's role ... I even attended several of these mapping meetings. It is with the results of the mapping exercise that we made the final decision that the "mechanism" should be a financing fund for black organizations. From the mapping there emerged something that was already known, but now we had a firm foundation for and that was the lack of funding there existed for these organizations. In the mapping it showed that there wasn't financing for the foundations, for the institutes on Brazilian racial issues -- this issue did not emerge as funded by any of the major

⁵⁶ Maria de Lourdes Siqueira, Lourdinha, has a degree in Education from the Federal University of Maranhão (1964), with a specialty in Latin American Communities from the United Nations and Regional Education Center (1967); a master's degree in Social Sciences from the Catholic University of São Paulo (1986) and a PhD in Social Anthropology and Ethnology from the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (1992). She is currently a staff member of the Federal University of Bahia and Councillor of the Council for the Promotion of Equality of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equity. See <http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacv.do?id=K4787526T0>, accessed on 15 September 2015.

organizations, only by a few international ones such as the Ford Foundation, among others. That's when we decided: "Well, let's take this route as this is an important space for our foundation to fill with support from the Kellogg Foundation." This all came from that decision to carry out the mapping and from the analysis of the mapping exercise. Then came all of the institutional legal issues: whether we choose to invest in an organization that already existed, if we should create a new organization, if the Foundation donated the funds or if it was going to be 1 for 1, where we should invest these resources, how to invest, etc.



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Luiza Bairros

The discussions in the Programming Committee were difficult, but I believe they were also very encouraging, because in fact what was being proposed to us was completely unexpected. I use the word unexpected on purpose, because at the same time say it was not a unique proposal. In the late 1990's we had already begun of process of discussion with some sectors of the black movement -- also involving the IBASE,⁵⁷ which was a very strong NGO in Brazil -- about how we could build an initiative that would strengthen the actions of the black movement or the actions aimed at the black population, from a perspective somewhat different from what the black movement had been doing at the time. At that time we had some meetings so as to somewhat define what kind of organization this might be. And not being an organization: how could you initiate an action focused on combating racism and promoting equality - the term did not exist at the time, but the idea was that - from a large NGO like IBASE. There was already this nascent concern: What other steps do we need to take to contribute in the

⁵⁷The Brazilian Institute of Social and Economic Analyses (IBASE) is an non-profit organization of active citizenship. It has been in operation since 1981 and was founded, after political amnesty, by Hebert de Souza, Betinho and fellow exiles, Carlos Afonso and Marcos Arruda. View: <http://ibase.br/pt/sobre-o-ibase/>, accessed on 24 September 2015.

qualification of the fight against racism? What steps could we take while thinking about the possibility of using resources other than those which have always been available to the black movement and that, ultimately, was out of our pocket? During all these years, ultimately almost everything we did was based on contributions from activists. With that kind of financial support you end up having a limit to the performance. We thought, "what other resources can we gain access to in order to produce other actions?" When Kellogg came up with this proposal, people like me -- like Sueli Carneiro, who had already participated in the previous discussion -- thought of this positively. It would be worth investing on a proposal to establish an endowment so that from it we could generate new resources to support the organizations of the black movement. One thing which was evident from the beginning was that the Baobá Fund would not be an organization of the black movement in the manner that we knew, but that it would act in the spaces where the black movement could not reach with its own resources and its own legs. What we called "mechanism" would operate as a supporting element to leverage the fight, but not to replace any existing organization. On top of that it was meant so that things were discussed. Even for the very Kellogg Foundation in Brazil this was a new discussion. We invested a great deal of time discussing what the mechanism would be and what concerns we should have. What we felt very strongly about was, first, there was a need to define a performance space to the extent that, for international agencies, Brazil already constituted a middle-income country and therefore did not need the influx of resources, as had happened in previous periods. In the process of discussions we decided that the operations of this mechanism would be limited to the Northeast, considering that obviously the conditions in the Northeast were worse compared to the rest of the country, not only from the point of view of the material conditions of the black movement organizations, but in a more general manner; it is a region where people, black people, went through much more evident difficulties. Another aspect was the need to know the black movement of the region at that time. What were these organizations? Where were they? How will these organizations react to the idea? For this, a schedule of visits to all the northeastern states was set up. I think we visited all of them, and we presented local black organizations what was proposed and what it meant. A third aspect concerned the legal form of the "mechanism." Would it be an association? A foundation? What are the legal, administrative and political implications of choosing either legal form. This was all a matter of great and extensive discussions. Much of the concern was about being able to mount something that was sufficiently strong and sufficiently transparent from the start, so that when the mechanism is born it does not cause any kind of strangeness or discomfort in any sector of the black movement, but that it could, from its inception, be understood as an instrument to create better conditions to fight for each and all of us.

Other discussions kept arising. When we talk about getting to know the black movement in the Northeast, there were already some partners working with us, such as the CESE, or the Steve Biko Institute here in Bahia. CEAfro⁵⁸ also contributed to this effort greatly as they sought the information that gave us a picture of the black movement in the Northeast.

CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Maria de Nazaré Mota de Lima



The CEAfro has a history of performance in the education of ethnic-racial relations for already 20 years; it was founded in 1995. So to trigger this process that resulted in the founding of Baobá, the Kellogg Foundation sought an organization, an institution, that had a good level of integration in the Northeast, who knew the organizations of the black movement and that could teach us how this world of black movement organizations in the northeast of Brazil work because they wanted to leave behind a more consistent thing after their departure from Brazil. And then they come to us. It was, shall we say, an indication that our work was known in most capitals and outside the Northeast. But we had the credibility to reach out to the organizations of the black movement and gather information about them.

So we were commissioned with this task of a survey, within a limited time, to provide information for what they were calling a "mechanism" at that time. They would create a mechanism, - it did not have a name yet but today it is Baobá - a mechanism for the sustainability of black organizations in the Northeast. We always went to the meetings of the Programming Committee that took place here in Salvador. Our mapping work entailed visiting all Northeastern capitals, to reach organizations of the black movement and gather information about them at

⁵⁸CEAFRO is the education program for racial and gender equality of the CEAO, the Center for Afro-Oriental Studies, an Extension Unit of the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), and which has been in development since 1995. See: <http://www.ceafro.ufba.br/web/index.php/apresentacao>, accessed on 23 September 2015.

three levels: at the level of government (the nuclei, departments for the promotion of racial equality that were installed in some of these capitals); in universities, especially with the NEABs (Centers for Afro-Brazilian Studies) that worked in all Northeastern universities; and finally, in the social movement, which is this great melting pot, including religious organizations, cultural organizations, more strictly political one, youth entrepreneurship, professionalism, all aspects of the black social movement, so to speak.

CEAFRO chose me to coordinate this project. We set up a team of researchers linked to our organization. They were all teachers of subjects related to ethnic-racial issues. I went to all the capitals and followed all researchers. It was always two researchers and me, or one researcher and me. I was involved in all of it. It was a decision made in conversation with the Kellogg consultants and the Programming Committee, understanding that it would be good if I was there. Because a researcher may go to Ceará, but will not go to Pernambuco, so it was good to have a person who was going to go everywhere. So, as coordinator, I was in all of the capitals. I saw up close, closely followed, and participated in the whole process of mapping the field. In six months we finished mapping. Nine capitals, including Salvador.

What is the result of the mapping from your perspective? What did you find?

Generally speaking, we found a number of organizations, many types of organizations that we had no idea existed. The black movement was born out of a political vocation and we observed that there remains this inclination but that it is, in my view, weakened. The black movement diversified over the years, it rebuilt itself on other grounds, not necessarily those that were conceived in the 1970s, the reorganization we had in the 1970s. So today we have, for example, a lot of participation by mães de santo in the fight against the genocide of black youth, which is also a very poignant reality, an old and current reality. So the mães de santo had very interesting things to say about how the casas de santo negotiated these relationships with the neighborhood black youth

⁵⁹ According to the document entitled "Mapping black political movements in the Northeast of Brazil: Analytical Report", provided by CEAFFRO, the team responsible for the aforementioned mapping was made by the researchers Antônio Cosme Lima da Silva, Artemis Odila Candé Monteiro, Claudia Alexandra dos Santos, João Teixeira dos Santos, Luiz Chateaubriand and Paulo Rogério Nunes, coordinated by Maria Nazareth Mota de Lima. Also, according to the document on p. 6, "the mapping has identified 191 organizations active in defending the rights of black people in the nine states of the region, using a methodology that included qualitative and quantitative approaches. The following collection instruments were utilized with representatives of the surveyed organizations and leaders, invited by a local organizer: questionnaire with closed and open questions, interviews, focus group meetings and conversation circles. The information obtained was processed and analyzed according to segment - public sector and civil society."

where they operate, the conversations they have the police, how they incorporate education and cultural matters, beyond the obligations and religious rituals that they assume. Another thing we noticed was the total lack of resources these organizations operate under, how the work is carried out by the willingness of militants, through volunteerism, who share in that perspective, unlike other organizations and NGOs in Brazil. Within black movement organizations you pretty much do not have any steady pay or a formal contract, like in NGOs. There is little of this, very little money to develop the activities.

During our meetings for the mapping, it looked like this: full rooms. There were meeting in terraces, or in the university, in auditoriums full of people of all kinds. The issue of homoaffection was also very present: lesbian black women who wanted to talk, wanted to be recorded as such, men also, gays in the black movement looking to make the connection and complaining also about how the sexuality question is poorly handled and addressed by the black movement, as well as other issues pertaining to this specific issue which I called "homoaffective" but which can go by a lot of names. So this issue really caught our attention. The issue of race is no longer "the race question," it is ethnic-racial-sexual-cultural-religious, it has a mouthful of dashes. So this means that there are other struggles added on which are which are being discussed in the country and specifically in the Northeast at that time.

Another thing I noticed: a lot of grievances by the youth. Young people in general were resentful about wanting to participate but faced a lot of difficulty and felt a little jettisoned as they felt the more established leaders in the black movement did not really open up the path to allow them to participate. There were some entries in this regard, that they wanted to participate but did not know how, did not feel prepared, and were seeking training. The mapping project started the process of setting up a training course for black leadership. The Steve Biko Cultural Institute took over with Silvio Humberto in charge. So this was also a result of the mapping project, the training of black leaders in the Northeast.



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Luiza Bairros

Through the research CEAfro conducted with the organizations it became very evident that there was a real need for the black militancy to train more in some subjects, to feel more comfortable in a leadership position. I was necessary to put some thought into it, what would a political formation process for the black movement leaders in Brazil, and more specifically in the case of the Brazilian Northeast, be like? This question of a political education is something that has always been pursued by the black movement. I remember that in the 1990s in the MNU we had discussions about this. They were discussions that we had more or less intuitively, within the organization itself. But today, with the growth of the black movement, which has been spreading to so many groups with different trajectories and with different scope of work, this has become a key issue. What do we mean by political formation? What is necessary for the leadership to know in order to address the new configurations of racism in Brazil, which are not the ones of the late 1990s and early 2000s? The configuration of racism has changed a lot and you have to, or at least would have to -- because of this change -- generate a process of political organization that could be anything except the same one that we had in the 1980s and 1990. In fact, the only model people have in the recent history of this country is that model, it's just that it no longer serves the new situations.

All of this emerged in our discussions, as did the issue of development come out very vividly as well. How does one re-qualify the inclusion of race in the broader political debate? What is the [next] step to be taken, as an organized political sector? What is the relation between the insertion of black women and men in Brazilian society and the country's development? To what extent are these issues - development and overcoming racism - directly linked? This is what will allow us to re-qualify the debate. It is not just - and I say just, not in order to decrease its meaning, that is already too much - a question of identity in the anthropological sense: "we are all black people and we have to organize ourselves in terms of certain interests." But we, as the majority of the

population, have to remain connected to national issues. Ultimately, within the programming committee we took up several discussions I was familiar with from before in the Unified Black Movement. These issues came back with another name. What way back we called "political project of black people in Brazil" came back under a different guise, linking the racial question and development, the inclusion of black people and the country's development. These are permanent issues in our political organization. For example, I was fortunate enough to be in SEPPIR during the time I was there because we took up this theme as part of the Third National Conference on Promoting Racial Equality. I approached this theme from where I was at that time. It was not only me there but several other important people who worked on the staff within the government, we took up the issue of development. This is not something new, because it persists over time for us in the black movement, it simply take on a new look, a new face, with greater possibilities for deeper analysis at different times in the development of our struggle.



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Sílvia Humberto

There is a very interesting thing in Kellogg-- and I like that approach -- which is to ask questions. How do we come up with a program that takes into account the issue of gender and racial inequality, and which strengthens black organizations? That's where the KWETU program comes in. The KWETU project, when you evaluate it, is a project that brought together the expertise of social technology developed by Steve Biko over the years and the social technology developed by the Kellogg Foundation. We join these technologies and came up with this program called KWETU, which is me, us and ours. There is a conceptual part and there's another part that involves the subject and has to do with the way Kellogg operates its leadership training technologies. The conceptual piece is about race and racism,

⁶⁰The Kwetu program consists in the improvement of skills and competencies in human relations of Northeast leaders. Based on race and gender discussions and in order to strengthen them to work with organizations, forums, and networks of the black social movement, women and civil society. View: <http://www.stevebiko.org.br/#!projetos/c21kz>, accessed on 1 October 2015

their correlations, how it was confronted, and it contains an instrumental part, which Kellogg has in its methodology: knowing how to be and knowing how to do. We united all of this and built a technology that is the result of this interaction of the methodologies of each organization, it is the result of the maturation of that relationship.

CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Tarry Cristina Santos Pereira



I already knew about the Kellogg Foundation, knew what their job was, but discussions about race were not a priority for Kellogg. Kellogg went on to discuss race through Antônio Nascimento, through Andrés Thompson, when they began to become acquainted with the officers at Biko. It is Biko that caused the Kellogg Foundation to have a more guided discussion about the category of "race." The contact between Kellogg and the Steve Biko Cultural Institute was very important. This comes flowing into great project that the Kellogg causes. With Kellogg already having made the decision to leave Brazil and leave some legacy behind, in 2010 Biko called on the directors of the foundation and asked, "how we can we think of a bigger project that will reflect more on the categories of gender and race?" In 2010 we started this new discussion with Kellogg and it was then that the Steve Biko Institute had the idea for a program for training black organization leaders of the Northeastern states and we named this program KWETU, which in Swahili means "our house, this place, our space." It is good to emphasize this, the importance that Biko held for the directors of the Kellogg Foundation in guiding the discussions on the issue of race. We cannot deny that Antônio was very important and Andrés too, as he was instrumental in setting the framework and in bringing Kellogg to rethink its role not only in Brazil, but where it can use its funds, in other parts of the world with regard to this discussion.

The program, which we called KWETU, worked with militants from all 9 states in the northeast to understand the new configuration we were experiencing at the time: Statutes of racial equality, affirmative action policies ... we discussed how we could consolidate a collective struggle here in the northeast of Brazil. For us as at Biko it was

very important to ensure the formation of the leaders of the black movement in the Northeast. We now see the result. Many people are in strategic places, not only in the Northeast, but outside of it as well, implementing the fight.

The program was a year and a half long. We started in March 2012 and ended in December 2013. There were 15 days of training here in Salvador and we also had trainings in other states during those two years. This was so that we could get to know the other states and know how the black movement is positioned in certain states here in Northeast Brazil. The target audience was militant and non-militant within the movements, as long as they were people who were engaged in this fight. At the beginning there were 30 participants and we ended up with 21. We had some moments that were essential in KWETU, which were the subregionals. They took place in a state where that group of states had to organize a group that could reach, not only the 30 participants, but that could access other organizations and other movement activists at the time. For example, Paraíba, Piauí ...

There were classes. The training classes were 15 days long and there was a great training curriculum that we called the training track. We had some modules that we called "organizing for transformation," "history of black resistance," "me, us and ours." The latter module was where course participants had to talk from the perspective of who they were and then have a dialogue with one another in pursuit of a collective struggle, the "we". It was an essential module so that today we have this network, a network we activate with any of these course participants who have gone through KWETU, they are there. We formed a network of solidarity and through the very Kellogg, we have the KFLA⁶¹ network, which is a network where they come can get in contact. They are alumni of the Kellogg programs. It is a network of fellows, a worldwide, international network, that Kellogg has of beneficiaries.

It should be emphasized that in this KWETU program we partnered up with the CESE and the Ethnic Media Institute. Each one of the institutions was left with a particular module within our program. The Ethnic Media Institute got the part of communication which is the expertise of the institute. All course participants went through a process of how to understand communication and foster mobilization through communication. For us it was very important to have this partnership with the Ethnic Media Institute. The CESE contributed much on

⁶¹ Kellogg Fellows Leadership Alliance (KFLA) creates opportunities for 1,600 Kellogg Fellows from around the world to leave a significant legacy as a result of participating in leadership development programs through the Kellogg Foundation. see: <http://www.kfla.org/en/about>, accessed on 30 September 2015.

institutional development and strengthening of black organizations, it was something that we perceived as a certain fragility within organizations in the Northeast. Kellogg helped the three organizations -- the Ethnic Media, the Steve Biko Cultural Institute and the CESE -- which until then did not have a dialogue of collective construction work, which is not to say we had no dialogue. It taught us the opportunities to collectively construct something from organizations with different expertise. Through the KWETU program we experienced this and saw it clearly. Regardless of Kellogg's financing CESE for a particular job, or the Ethnic Media for another and Biko for another, we were attentive to uniting and intertwining what was of interest to each one, which was a different formation of the black leaders who came here. We did not want training for training's sake without it being thought of as more comprehensive of the struggle guided by racial issues; we wanted to also empower them precisely in institutional development: how to seek resources, how to be self-sustaining. And it was CESE who did this part of the training. The Ethnic Media Institute was very good on the matter, which we even had concerns on the subject of "organizing to transform," of how this leadership, this new guise of leadership could be achieved in the time that we are experiencing now, giving you an interview, being filmed, having to talk fast.



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Rosana Fernandes

My incorporation was actually official when, other than those background discussions, when CESE had the support to do a project. We also went to visit all the states of the Northeast. We were Biko, CESE, Ethnic Media and CEAFFRO, in addition to the consultants and representatives of the Kellogg Foundation. Before we discussed what the "mechanism" would be, the "ambience" ... these were very vague terms. What would the mechanism be? I asked for there to at least be something in writing because I actually had difficulty explaining it to the CESE here. But we went through that period of "ambience," of the formation of the mechanism, and then the CESE introduced a bill, which was also incited by Kellogg, from which we could support black organizations in the

Northeast of Brazil, a project that would be for the institutional strengthening of these organizations. During this period CEAFFRO did the mapping and one of the questions that was posed was the fragility of black organizations. Then the CESE presented this institutional strengthening project to Kellogg worth US \$500,000. I knew that there was support from the Kellogg Foundation for the Steve Biko Cultural Institute, and that it was for the leadership training program, and that there we also support for the Ethnic Media Institute. They negotiated with each organization individually. But given that these are the three organizations here in Bahia, Salvador, I was not comfortable with doing a project that did not have links with other partners, with other colleagues. Then I presented a proposal for us to do this in a coordinated way. We took on this challenge. We sat there to discuss how we could work together. I had studied each project a little and then we began to build a unified notice, which had the three opportunities for northeastern organizations to submit proposals. Biko was left with the formation of the leaders. We had a lot of discussion here because they wanted to work with people and I felt it was better to work with organizations because then you can hold people accountable and get more of a commitment from a participant. We reached a compromise: the selected organization would choose the leader to attend the course. The Ethnic Media personnel had some resources, but they were smaller than the CESE and Biko. There was a lot of discussing -- me, Lázaro and Tarry from Biko, the staff of Ethnic Media -- but we arrived at a unified notice and launched it to the entire Northeast. The CESE has several registered organizations, so we sent them the notice; we sent it out in all directions in order to make this selection. We selected the projects. Then, how do we carry out this training? So we agreed that we would optimize our resources. First on the political side, every project that was supported by the CESE should appoint at least one person to be part of the leadership training with Biko. And in the activities we started to do this: the Biko staff did the training on certain days, then the CESE came and did a three-day training, then the Ethnic Media came in. It was a very cool experience, dealing with each other respectfully and seeking to build something together. So we rented the same space. There was a group who was there ten days, but were part of the work with the three organizations. We ran this project and beyond Baobá Fund, the execution of this project was a very important contribution that Kellogg left here. And it's not because I was in the coordination team; the project enabled various organizations that were facing difficulties or others that were emerging -- such as Odara - Black Women's Institute,⁶² which is

here in Bahia -- to, for example, make a connection between these women and the organizations participating in the training by CESE for the establishment of a network of black women in the Northeast. So I think it's an important balance.

It was a valuable process. After gathering these leaders, these organizations, I could confirm some things I thought and others that I did not. The process of visiting, which they called a "feedback session," was important to us. Our idea was to work with these organizations to also know how we could help. With this project we tried to adopt that outlook. We could only choose one or two organizations from each state and could make those selected organizations execute projects that had this outlook and could replicate this in, say, a larger way for each state. Afterward, Baobá was founded; the organization is formalized with the commitment that we could continue contributing to this fund.

CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Sueli Carneiro



So, from its inception, the focus of Baobá was primarily the nine states of the Northeast. And in accordance with this premise, which was always in place, the impeller committee visited the nine Northeastern states consulting with the militancy, as well as hiring the mapping project. The mapping of the nine Northeastern states and the black organizations active there was conducted. We also went to meet the organizations in all nine states face-to-face. Those of us in the impeller committee split up among the nine states of the Northeast, dialogued with the militancy and presented the proposal. So when the results of the mapping project were released it reinforced our view of what the necessary priorities would be for the organizations and, even before getting the support through the notices -- the formal, institutional support, before we started properly supporting the organizations

⁶²Odara, Black Women's Institute, is a black feminist organization that aims to overcome, on a personal and collective level, discrimination and prejudice and seek alternatives that provide the socio-political and economic inclusion of black women and their families in society. View: <http://institutoodara.org.br/> access 5 October 2015.

-- the CESE conducted workshops, for example, to address one of the priorities which is one of the challenges that organizations seem to always have, which is consolidating its institutionalization process, and training for the management .



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Roseni Sena

To support the programming committee, a group of consultants was put together, of which I was part. And the support of these consultants was a specific project by Kellogg. When the idea of the fund was solidified, Kellogg made an advance payment of \$5 million, which came to FUNDEP; after they studied various possibilities for where to keep this resource, they decided on FUNDEP. By then it had nothing to do with the supporter group, it was a resource to be managed by the movement, with a relationship between Kellogg, the movement and FUNDEP,⁶³ and had a specific committee for the management of this resource, made up of people in the movement, Kellogg and FUNDEP. I was the resources manager of FUNDEP for the group of consultants operating until the creation of Baobá. I organized the resources for the committee meetings, of the specific groups for studies concerning the creation of the Baobá, particularly concerning legal aspects and communication aspects of the initiative.

The programming committee meetings were more or less once a month. They always took place in Bahia, because we decided that this was a major axis of the black movement. First because of the presence of the black movement and also because there were people there who participated in the committee. And sometimes the programming committee would decide to make enlarged meetings and invite more people from the movement which also took place in Salvador, to discuss the issues of doubts associated with the establishment of an

⁶³Created in 1975, FUNDEP is an institution that manages project resources at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) and other public and private institutions. See <http://www.fundep.ufmg.br/pagina/69/fundep---o-que-e.aspx>, accessed on 21 September 2015..

institution linked to the movement. This was all very unheard of. I cannot give you an exact number, but there were many extended meetings, more than ten. And programming committee meetings were taking place once a month for three years. These were very important meetings, usually two or three days per meeting.

The committee discussed, among other things, why Kellogg was deciding to support the black movement now; why did they decide to take an anti-racist initiative -- a white organization, American, and elite. So that's a very important discussion, and was not outside of the agenda, questioning both within the group as well questioning even the employees of the Kellogg Foundation. Now, within the committee this discussion was very frequent and very conceptualized, it was not a banal discussion, but a very conceptual one.

Another very important point of discussion, beyond the question of intentionality, was how an American organization would fund this fight against racism in Brazil, how it would do this from the perspective of the movement: How would the movement organize an institution? As an association? A foundation? How would this look? This discussion made part of multiple agendas and there were disagreements. Who is involved? What is the meaning of the presence of these people in the black movement in this place? What are the implications for within the movement and outside of the movement? So this was a very important discussion at all times. And there were major differences, not personal, but conceptual differences. The black movement also has many differences in their formulation, differences that sometimes influence the consequences of how the movement presents itself in society.

When Baobá is constituted in 2011, we got out of the picture, and that is when the institution was formed. Baobá became an organization run by the very black movement, without any outside participation, except for financing by Kellogg. But funding was then made directly to the Baobá. The institution no longer had my participation as a manager at FUNDEP because I made the programming committee meetings happen. Until Baobá was constituted, all of the management, meetings, travel, lodging, it was me who managed the budget. This aspect was very important for the constitution of Baobá.

CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Antônio Nascimento



So, this amazing movement was not really on their cue, so to speak, it was not something they were prioritizing at the time; decisions were made along the way, as the process proceeded, and contributions and ideas were continually being debated in the process. In this sense it was a bit non-directed in that it was missing someone with a dictatorial sort of management style to say “let's do this thing this way.” There were exhaustive meetings that seemed interminable, and they were handled very carefully, because the process was exhaustively debated, and every single point was discussed -- like all social movements. This is not particular of the black movement, it is the environmentalists and all movements. Wherever there is diversity and plurality you are bound to have divergence. It is difficult to say this but the blessed democracy within these organizations can oftentimes be counterproductive because eventually you need someone to just get a clear view of what is needed. Everyone has the same idea but it is impossible to concretize the idea because first someone needs to win the debate over all of the other points of view.

CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Rui Mesquita Cordeiro



At the end of this entire process, the programming committee presented a report of its recommendations. They delivered these to Kellogg which responded to the original question: whether the black movement --Brazilian black leaders -- would be prepared at this time to lead the process for the creation of a new institution which would be a support mechanism for racial equality and social inclusion in the country. The answer was basically that they were not 100% prepared; they said: "We are around 70% or 75% prepared, we lack a lot of things for us to be able to accomplish this but we feel that we can face this challenge and would like to go ahead with it.

We recommend that it be a fund, a fund called Baobá," which was the name given in honor of Magno Cruz, who was a member of the programming committee, leader of the Black Culture Center of São Luís de Maranhão, and who passed away in July or August 2010 - this was in September 2010, a few months later. An unexpected and tragic death was a huge loss for this process. But before he died, as the artist that he was, he composed a song and a poem that spoke of the Baobá. It spoke of the analogy between an endowment for an organization that would fund black organizations; that was big, strong and tough like the Baobá tree; something that lasts millennia like the Baobá tree; a kind of new organization that could occupy spaces beyond what all organizations of the black movement have held so far, that could take a step further, circulate in areas and in fields that today's black movement organizations have yet to arrive; that it could be robust, visible, and strong like the Baobá tree. There is no one who does not notice a Baobá. And in honor of Magno Cruz the recommendation was that it be a fund called Baobá, with its headquarters in Recife. There was a consensus at the time that Recife could be a very interesting symbol. The dispute was always between Salvador and Recife, and it was decided that it be in Recife for several reasons, but the one that most caught my attention at the time was the symbolism of *The Masters and the Slaves* by Gilberto Freyre, a Pernambucan, who "creates" the myth of Brazilian racial democracy.⁶⁵ Having this organization based there as a counterpoint to this historic fact could be an interesting challenge. This was one of the arguments in the document presented for why they chose Recife at the time.

⁶⁵ *The classic book The Masters and the Slaves, published by Gilberto Freyre in 1933, has become one of the most well-known Brazilian books in the world in the twentieth century, and is mentioned by many as a major incentive for strengthening the now called "myth of racial democracy" due to the celebration of Brazilian miscegenation present in the book. There are many criticisms of this "celebration of miscegenation" and of Gilberto Freyre's work itself made by many Brazilian intellectuals and foreigners. To learn more about this debate in Brazil, see the first chapter of the book: PEREIRA, Amílcar A. "The negro world": race relations and the constitution of the black movement in Brazil. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas / FAPERJ, 2013.*



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Elias Sampaio

This name, Baobá is super young. We never got around to giving it a name, we just called it the "mechanism." I used to joke around a lot, because there came a time when we talked so much about the mechanism, without naming it, that it sounded like a horror movie: "The mechanism" [scary voice], and I joked around a lot with this story. When we spoke about mechanisms we even thought about creating a foundation here to mirror Kellogg. Then we gave up on this idea because we thought it would be very complicated to have it in Brazil.

CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Roseni Sena



Magno Cruz, an emblematic figure of the black movement, linked to culture, a poet, an artist, a writer... all of the skills that a human being has to have, he had them. A human being with great sensitivity. He was part of the committee. So the name, it was he who once said. "Folks, if anything happens, it will be called Baobá." And it was, but the name is not the most important. I made a reference to him because I remember him a lot. I have a very pleasant memory of the entire experience we had with him and I get emotional when I think about Magno Cruz. But the movement continued, even with his loss; it was very tough for the committee and for the movement.



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Joe Stewart

The Baobá Fund is a major commitment. It started with a challenge grant of US\$ 25 million. We said, "The Foundation will provide a 25 million challenge, but the people of Brazil will need to create an \$50 million endowment so that Brazilians can continue this work. We didn't realize at the time that major philanthropic donations were uncommon in Brazil. We had challenged the Baobá Fund to do something that was not, so to speak, a part of a Brazilian culture. This created a dilemma. We had to back up and reposition this strategy, because we would not back off from our commitment.

CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Elias Sampaio



Today I do not know if there is still a matching donation of 1 real to \$1, or \$1 to \$1. But I went to the US to argue that this not be in place, but that there be an unrequited contribution instead. Despite me being against it. Because I think there's a debate we need to have in Brazil --despite all of the advances in the field of promoting racial equality -- about the social currency that this question has to build. And that is something Americans do not really understand: how is it that we are the majority of a population and cannot turn this into real positions of power and not even in the economy? They do not understand, this is just something they cannot comprehend. I personally think that the response "It is the result of racism" is not enough. It is a necessary condition but not a sufficient condition to explain the situation we live in today. So that is why at the time I used to say: "I think that we need the match." It was said and done: we debated this and I had the biggest "idiot face," I made my point and defended my stance to no avail. The Board of the Kellogg Foundation said: "No. I think it is good for it to stay this way." Afterward I found it interesting because in their minds there is no way, there is no such explanation. Racism is real, it exists, it is a necessary condition, but it is not all-encompassing.

Do you think the match could contribute to a process of awareness, a process through which this "social capital" could be built?

I do not know if an awareness process, because I think there is a process of awareness that is greater than we think. The problem is: how do I transform the problem of consciousness into concrete elements for a transformation? That does not work. The race question in Brazil is at a much deeper level of complexity than people realize. I am not trying to be superficial in that sense, now we have elements that we have to bring to a debate like this one. How am I going to say to the average American, which is guided by the Protestant ethic, regardless of his color, that I cannot get one dollar from a black person to make policies for blacks in Brazil, even when I have a dollar from them to match it? I cannot explain it. It's no use. Because they also have their racism and they know it. The average American is capitalist and Protestant, that's the average American, be it black, white, yellow, pumpkin color, of any ethnicity. How am I going to say to him, "Look, you Americans are giving me a dollar, but I cannot raise a dollar." Then I tell this person that 51% of the population is black. He will say: "These people are crazy, there is something there that is not making sense." That's why I was in favor of matching the funds, but this was decided as a group, and I was standing up for what the group decided to do.

CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Luiza Bairros



This issue of matching funds took a long time to debate in the Committee. In retrospect, I always think, "Oh, how we evolved, how cool," but there was a stone in our way, the 1 to 1 match. But we couldn't say, "because of this issue then we do not want the funding." It was a total of \$25 million. You would not say, "I do not want those \$25 million to come into or remain in Brazil!" You would find a way to create the means to produce conditions for it to happen! And indeed, that's what we did, although we knew that this requirement was extremely difficult to comply with. First, there just wasn't, and one can say there still isn't, a philanthropic tradition as it exists in the USA.

And what little there is, is never directed to promote racial equality. These sectors have resources to support social, political actions; they do not even see us as valid political actors. That's the truth. At the same time, with Kellogg's proposal we would have to -- with the mechanism already in place -- to develop specific work to create Brazilian within philanthropy the idea that blacks have a struggle to be undertaken and which deserves support. We would have to be constituted as a sector that competes - and that is the word, there is no other - these philanthropic resources, the same as others that are completely legitimated in that role. After the establishment of the fund, the result has been -- and I'm still don't have a perfect sense of what the conclusion was -- but I know that over time all of the efforts made and the discussions, led the Kellogg Foundation to bend the rules of the donation. Now, I also understand those rules as necessary for Kellogg, as they were the ones providing the funding. It was necessary, as a pioneering initiative, for there to be certain guarantees. Obviously, as time passed and the relationship was closer, Kellogg now has a greater understanding of the Brazilian racial situation and the fact that we were also in a fight to legitimize ourselves as recipients of philanthropic resources in Brazil.

CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Rui Mesquita Cordeiro



Over time, an educational process took place and the issue of matching donations was eased. First it was a one to one match, then it switched to two to one; and then it became a donation of a million dollars without any match needed, and this has evolved, over time it expanded, and it was eased from that learning process. But always, with every relaxation, there was a direct involvement of the Board of the Kellogg Foundation, because this had become one of the special projects for the Council. The Baobá Fund in Brazil is one of the Board's "big bet" projects, as they say --- one of the big bet-- for the Foundation nowadays. And all of this is due to the fact that this council created the first black presidency of the Foundation -- and female too -- that is, there is a series of institutional contexts within the Foundation in which the Baobá Fund is inserted.

The deadline for the fundraising and creation of Baobá was five years, between August 2008 and December 2013. So when we were not done, right before that period, obviously the Board approved the extension to 2016. We are

close, i.e. there is still a year and a half before the end of this term. But discussions about Baobá within the headquarters of the Kellogg Foundation are still lively, and there is still a lot of interest. So it will depend on the leadership of the Baobá Fund itself to continue to discuss this after 2017 what will happen; Kellogg's interest will not be extinguished, this is fact. Now, how things will proceed after 2017 is still an open question, that will depend on more talks and more negotiations. But interest will continue. This is indisputable; 2030 will mark the Foundation's 100th anniversary and one of the things they are hoping to celebrate and showcase is the Baobá Fund and other legacy projects in other countries which may be similar or different to this project but which are linked to the question of new possibilities for the future of vulnerable children and which contain an anti-racist vision.



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Roseni Sena

For the first time the Kellogg Foundation determined that it would create a fund to invest in the combat against racism in Brazil. And Kellogg has designated \$25 million for the creation of this fund, but they had one condition: they would only hand over the funds when the movement could capture national resource, so it was one to one. For every real that was captured in Brazil, along with other sources of support, financing, philanthropic institutions and government sources, Kellogg would donate a dollar. That was an important point, because it changed the strategy used by the Foundation to support and finance, but at the same time, it placed a very stressful requirement on the movement. That is, if the movement could not, up to that point, raise funds for their projects, their struggle, then how could they continue from there? That was a point of much tension. And in my view, the movement, this executive group, often argued with Kellogg: "Why don't you, and never did, make this demand of other projects and other programs? But now, with the black movement, you require this? "

I think this was a complicated issue, I always thought it was quite a controversial debate. Because the truth is that Kellogg funded the UNI program with universities in Latin America, which for example, was a massive program that in total must have reached over \$50 million. The match was just the work of the professors, the student involvement, engagement with health services and communities. They never said, "you will get ten and for every ten you have to get." The first time they used this strategy was with this initiative to combat racism in Brazil.

Given your experience, why do you think Kellogg did it this way?

I think it was because for the first time Kellogg was working with a movement. Before, it worked with organizations; highly structured organizations, universities, an organization such as Steve Biko, which is a very structured organization, CEAfro, or Geledés, which have heads who are accountable and have structured operations. I always wanted to understand what made them go in that direction. Now, when they went to work with a movement it was not an institution but a set of fronts and many organizations that were active in different fields of society. The institution came later, with the proposal of Baobá. So I think there was an issue: how to support a movement? How to finance a movement with so much diversity? How does it function to work with a movement with so many differences, because the movement is not homogeneous. Those of us how are acquainted with the black movement know that, like any social movement, it has internal differences. How do you put this all together in a proposal that seeks to foster the growth make the movement take on a leading role? I keep thinking that this must be the reason, there cannot be another. It was not about not being confident in the movement, but about the lack of a known mechanism to accomplish this task until, the formation of Baobá.



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Andrés Thompson

How did you see the debates and discussions during the period 2008-2010 in which it is established what later will be Baobá?

They were some interesting things. On the one hand I think we had huge success in convincing that core of people, the leaders of the black movement, to sit at the table and, even with all the suspicion and mistrust about the intentions of the Foundation, to commit themselves to lead this process. This was a great victory, to be able to sit at the table with these people. Another thing is that they were all such a high-profile people in their careers; it was not easy to deal with all of the egos, in the nicest sense, but they were very big egos, everyone had an opinion, and a strong one, and these opinions were not always in accordance. If in political terms this core group was very strong this was also the reason for things to move at a much slower pace than we anticipated because

there were many discussions. One of the major discussions was the question of matching donations for instance. At first there were discussions with the Foundation and this was not an issue, but then at the end they said: "Yes, we will donate \$25 million, but we want a Brazilian return of 1 to 1." So we all said: "Wow, now what?".

Matching donations did not exist with the funds for women and human rights?

No, there was no matching, but those were smaller donations. They were donations of \$300 thousand, \$400 thousand for another type; this was an investment in an equity fund. This was money that was not to be touched, it would generate interest and income for investment; that was the idea, and it would allow it to operate for the lifetime of the fund. It would not work for them to distribute and spend it; the idea was for it to remain as a patrimony, it was important to attract other donations. When the Foundation states: "OK, we'll invest as long as you are also able to also capture local resources." This discussion was fantastic, because after all, when I came up with this information they wanted to kill me: "We were hoping they were going to donate \$25 million, but we are the ones who have to invest \$25 million." That changed the game. I explained all this, that strategically we could not accept this proposal and say: "We do not want the \$25 million with this condition" Or say "ok" and see how we manage to get \$25 million. The answer was: "It is unfair on the part of the foundation to require this precisely from the poorest segment of the Brazilian population, who are black, when they have never demanded this of anyone," which was in reference to the one to one matching donation. It was a very difficult discussion that led to lots of internal fights in the Foundation.

Resulting in a meeting of the movement, which opened a very interesting way, I was asked to speak at the end of the meeting on the question of the role of the foundation. I said that consideration of the condition and when I spoke of it came the catcalls: "how? That's dirty! We are poor, we do not have resources and are asking for \$ 25 million? This is impossible!" I said, "Well, those are the rules of the game, you cannot do anything to change that." A guy, a militant who had been at one of the meetings for one of the organizations that had been mapped, was in the back and he raised his hand and said: "This is not complicated. We are half of the population, black people, we number 100 million. Let's say of these 100 million there are easily 50 or 60 million adults who, yes, drink beer, yes. If we drink a beer per year then we already have more than 25 million dollars. With at least one beer per a year then we can contribute to this fund, and we have the money. It's just a matter of mobilizing, but we can get it, we have the money. How could we not have it?"

I do not remember who that person was, he is anonymous to me; it's a shame to not have that recorded. I left that meeting, and I remember that Antônio was not there and I called him and said: "Antônio, let's develop the 'beer strategy'!" He said: "What is it?" "A guy said that it is possible provided there is a political mobilization around that. It is not to get two or three rich financiers. I find it much more legitimate and more entrancing to create a social mobilization for black people themselves to finance this endeavor." Then I got my team together and said: "We'll be the first to develop the beer strategy." I proposed for the team to begin, as people, not as consultants or employees, to make the first investment for the fund. We made this decision to make a personal investment, then each one of us would donate what we could monthly. At that time in 2010, we made an investment of R\$10,000 to serve as a symbol to both the black leaders, as well as to the Foundation, of the team's commitment. After I left this remained on the agenda as an important strategy for Baobá to match the Foundation's donation. I think then, for various reasons, it did not work and I do not actually know why...

CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Rui Mesquita Cordeiro



There were other recommendations by the programming committee, which went beyond the Baobá Fund, but that were for the Kellogg Foundation, during the process of building an ambience for this organization which was yet to exist. These were that the Kellogg Foundation support some of the most important things that emerged from the mapping done by CEAfro, the set of trips and conversations they had in the Northeast. The first thing would be a visibility and communication strategy; this was one of the key areas they recommended for this new organization to focus on to help make visible the topic of racial justice in the country, to get it out of the ghetto, out of historical invisibility. So there was a recommendation that the Kellogg finance communication and visibility projects, parallel to a process that would begin with the creation of this new institution, so that when it was created, there were partners funded by the Foundation that could help this new organization with this area. The second important area highlighted by the report was the area of the institutional development of black

organizations, how to strengthen these organizations, how to help them to have financial sustainability plans and policy in place, how to help them improve their fundraising efforts, etc. The third area was what they called strategic themes: every so often strategic issues could be chosen. One of the topics they discussed at that time was the subject of black youth. It was one of the issues they cited as an example but not the only one. The theme of black women was another; the quilombo was another topic and so on. From among these themes they suggested supporting what they called a budget to fund black organizations working on precisely these areas with a budget for small projects. From all of these recommendations, in September 2010, a new era began. The programming committee was dissolved a new group was created which was a "booster group" formed in part by members of the programming committee, but with an invitation to several other people and whose goal was to create the Baobá Fund; the goal was to create the statute -- get an accountant, a lawyer, to help us create the statute, create the CNPJ and all of that bureaucratic process, in short: the mission, vision of the institution, the first strategic plan, decide who will be a part of the first board, who will be the first president, who will be the first executive director, who will hire these people... The first project was to raise funds, which Kellogg had committed to funding, in other words all parts of that phase that began in September 2010 and went to the end of 2011 when there was the public release of the Baobá Fund. Baobá made three public launch events, one in Rio de Janeiro, one in Recife and one in Brasília. So this period was a year and a half of red tape, the whole bureaucratic process of establishing the fund. And during this time Kellogg funded The Ethnic Media Institute of Salvador to run a communication project at the regional level in the Northeast as a pilot program for the ambience of the Baobá Fund, which has resulted in the strengthening and expansion of the Correio Nagô, coming out of Bahia to the entire northeast. We also finance the Steve Biko Institute to create a leadership program, KWETO for the Northeast of Brazil, which was a very important leadership training program. We also fund the CESE of Salvador, the Coordinating Body of the Ecumenical Service, which is a Bahian organization that had a history of supporting the institutional development of civil society in the Northeast and in Brazil as a whole, and they received a fund of half-million dollars at the time to be able to support black organizations in the Northeast in their institutional development, and which with this program it has today generated a book about the peculiarities and differences between institutional development of civil society in general and black civil society, the black movement and black organizations, which is also very interesting, a very important legacy. Simultaneously we have also come to

support the Elas Fund in Rio de Janeiro to create and strengthen their edicts of support for black women; we also support the Brazil Human Rights Fund in São Paulo to also strengthen their edicts in support of racial equality; we also fund ANDI⁶⁶ in Brasília, the National Rights Agency for Children, which carried out an entire mapping project about the issue of the behavior of the media and the press in general in Brazil with respect to racial issue and children and black youth, which was also a very important legacy in visibility and communication field. All of this made part of the pot that was cooking The Baobá Fund. Parallel to the work that all these organizations were doing, the impeller group was hiring lawyers, accountants, creating the first advisory board, hiring the first CEO, defining who would hold the presidencies of the Baobá Fund. There was a predilection in September 2010 for Luiza Bairros to be the President of the Fund, the first president of the Fund. But when we arrived two months after November 2010 President Dilma, who had already been elected, invited Luiza Bairros to be the minister of SEPPIR, and so we lost her as president of the Fund at that time. But it was a very noble cause. Luiza went to Brasilia and disconnected from the Baobá Fund, obviously to avoid any conflict of interest. The presidency of the Fund was filled by an interim person until the arrival of Helio Santos, who is president until today. Helio is there now and I think he is doing a brilliant job as well, I am very happy with the work he is doing. From 2012 onwards, the fund was established, it went to the street and began working in Brazilian society and faced the mega expectation, which unfortunately was created, that everyone thought because there is now a fund that our problems were now resolved, and it is not so. Baobá had to position itself strategically in front of the black movement also because it has no ability to fund everything from everyone. So this is the consolidation phase, also an interesting one, but it's all part of the schedule from the standpoint of Kellogg.

⁶⁶The National Agency for Children's Rights (ANDI) was formally established in 1993 but has been acting voluntarily since 1990. It is a non-profit, non-partisan civil society organization that articulates innovative actions in media for development. View: <http://www.andi.org.br/sobre-a-andi>, accessed 4 October 2015.



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Cristina Lopes

When Baobá was created, the Kellogg Foundation presented us with a challenge, a generous challenge: for every real we were able to raise for the endowment, they would contribute yet another real, to a limit of US \$25 million. That was the original proposal. The idea was to constitute a trust fund with specific rules for use: the resources of the fund cannot be used until it reaches \$10 million, or until five years have passed. In fact, there are a number of rules for this fund to be used.

The first strategy we tried for raising funds was with director Joel Zito Araújo who is a member of the Baobá Board. He was launching his film, *Raça*. The idea was to publicize the donation he would make to the Baobá Fund after collecting the profits from ticket sales at the box office, as an act of philanthropy, thus stimulating the culture of giving. There was the launch of Baobá, including actually a showing of *Raça*,⁶⁷ but we realized that this initiative alone would not be enough. We tried a few other types of fundraising techniques, but precisely because there is no culture of giving for social justice causes in Brazil it is difficult for us to work without a specific funding plan, which is what we have built today.

From conversations with the Kellogg Foundation itself, they eased their investment in the endowment. From then on, every real we would capture for the project, they would donate one more real for the endowment. And for every real we could get directly for the endowment, they donate two more real for the Fund. In December 2014, we had raised approximately \$1.4 million, and this money, for the most part, comes from fundraising for projects. It's quite difficult. We are part of the Network of Independent Funds for Social Justice,⁶⁸ which is a network that brings together ten funds that finance projects, each with its own characteristics. The Brazil Human Rights Fund finances projects for Human Rights, the Elas Fund, projects focused on gender issues, finally, each with its own theme. The Network works to promote philanthropy for social justice in Brazil. However, I understand that a new

⁶⁷The film *Raça* - a film about equality by Joel Zito Araújo and Megan Mylan, captures the story of three black people fighting for equality in a country that prides itself on being an example of racial democracy. The film received funding from the Kellogg Foundation and other institutions, and has a partnership with Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity. View: <http://www.racafilme.com/sobre-o-filme.html>, accessed on 10 October 2015.

approach is needed, a new way to approach companies and individuals so that we can raise funds. The race issue is in itself a difficult issue to raise funds for, especially in a country that largely still insists it does not have a race problem, that there is no racial discrimination or will sometimes even say: "I'm not part of the problem, I do not discriminate, so I do not have to donate." I think there are a lot of delicate which we have to deal with as a Fund in order to arrive at an efficient way to communicate and raise these funds. There is something we want to reap, which is social justice, which is in itself difficult to raise funds for, but it's not impossible. We recently completed the fundraising plan and now we will begin to invest in some strategies for this purpose.

CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Sílvio Humberto



The fact that we have a fund and there is such difficulty in raising funds, reflects the racial and social context in which we live, of the need to confront; I see the fund as contributing to the reduction of racial inequalities, tackling racism through the organizations that work to reduce racial inequalities.

We have to make demands of the State, because with money you can also make demands of the State. With resources, with the possibility that other organizations will come to understand the importance of this, with Kellogg getting involved, this attracts other organizations. At this point the endowment is strategic and cannot lose sight of what it was established for, which is facing racism through this militant contribution, not to become a fund managed by experts in the field of managing funds. That would be its death. The story of how we arrived

⁶⁸ *The Network of Independent Funds for Social Justice was established in 2012. It is an informal organization that today brings together ten funds: Baobá --Fund for racial equity, Brazil Foundation, PositHIVo Fund, Instituto Rio, Brazil Human Rights Fund, ICom (Community Institute Florianópolis), CESE, Baixada Institute, and Elas Fund, and Socio-Environmental CASA Fund. Network members, individually and collectively, represent and introduce a new type of philanthropy in Brazil: a philanthropy for social justice and the community. View: <http://www.rededefundos.org.br/>, accessed on 10 October 2015.*

at this endowment, the proposal for the fund, is a political construction.

The problem is not even having the name of a fund, the problem is what you will be supporting from there, what will you do to keep this wheel spinning. The problem is not having the profit, the problem is what the destination will be. What are you giving sustainability to? It is important to always look at the mission to see if all of what you are doing is in line with the mission and the history of the construction of the mission. Because even the mission was the fruit of a process of development. And many can benefit from the shadow that this leafy tree, the Baobá, has generated or will generate even more...



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Sueli Carneiro

I think, for example, that fundraising and donating are essential. This is the function of a fund. And I think it is fundamental for the fund not to be confused with the organizations. The fund cannot be a competitor of the organizations of the black movement, the fund has to be a supporter. This is a matter of principle and for me it is essential. It has to identify the movement's needs, has to be a sensitive listener, but the fundamental sense -- even if it has within it many diverse activists, historical militants and everything else -- the fundamental challenge for it is to build an endowment of US \$25 million. This is the fundamental mission to be performed, and to transfer all of its resources to strategies that will advance the racial question in Brazil, and that may emerge from civil society. Of course, when you have an instrument like this, many other possibilities present themselves. This is the function of the movement, because I am a person who believes in civil society, I believe that democracy is built with a strong civil society. And in order for there to be a strong civil society you need to have organizations, civil society institutions, that are strong. And so we can be effective actors, effective political subjects on the racial question, we need to invest in the construction of political subjects, large institutions: strong institutions, competent, which remain up to date, with vitality and the capacity to influence society. And a fund has to invest

in this, I think this is the critical issue. Of course, other visions may arise. It is always asked if the Fund should be a political actor or not. And I always say that it should be, solely in dimensions in which the movement is not able to operate, to act, to be of influence. For example, perhaps the movement is not able to undertake a strategic partnership around a project that involves government, society, multilateral agencies, something that involves some kind of complexity for which there is no political actor capable of handling it. So I think perhaps then Baobá can present itself, and preferably with the consent of the movement, as representatives in disputes for which the movement has no "bullet in the chamber" so to speak. I think that in this case it would be fitting for it to operate as a political actor, be a mediator, for example, in a dialogue between the Brazilian Congress and the Black Caucus⁶⁹ of the American blacks, for example. Do we have a political representative today, one that can enter into dialogue on behalf of our organization? Well, if we don't, then I think Baobá can be that bridge between the Black Caucus and the National Congress, and build an agenda in consultation with the black movement, and public policy agenda that can handle these instances, for example, between the United States and Brazil. I think this could be possibility, for example, if Baobá achieves the credibility and competence it has been challenged to achieve, from the point of view of raising funds, from the point of view of management, from the point of view of their presence in Brazilian society. We have been challenged to fulfill these roles, and if we rise to the challenge, I think it can be a political actor who can operate in many capacities.

CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Cristina Lopes



Baobá is an organization that emerges so as to support other organizations engaged in the anti-racist struggle, but especially the organizations of the black movement. Baobá is not an organization like the organizations working directly in the field of anti-racist struggle, but it is an organization that can gain access into spaces where civil society organizations cannot. For example, with government agencies, with corporations, where we

⁶⁹Created in 1971, the Congressional Black Caucus is an organization that brings together blacks elected as Representatives (equivalent to federal representatives in Brazil) who are members of the US Congress. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congressional_Black_Caucus, accessed on 29 September 2015.

realize that there does not exist an established dialogue. I see that this as the space Baobá can occupy. It is very important to state that Baobá does not compete with the civil society, I think that is fundamental. Baobá is there simply to support, to build bridges, to be able to raise capital and be accountable to the funder, which sometimes, civil society organizations cannot be. The current situation of the organizations, especially those who have always had less access to resources -- including black organizations -- contains a weakness: the difficulty in having an administrative body who can work well, that is robust, that can take account of, for example, a very large amount of resources. I think Baobá has that role to play as well.



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Luiz Alberto de Oliveira Gonçalves

Our idea was that it should be a fund that empowers black organizations in Brazil. That was our main objective. Baobá was not a foundation tasked to do but to empower black organizations. It was not to be another kind of NGO that receives money. No, that money was to be used to build the sustainability of black organizations in Brazil. Our idea was that every time that black organizations need reinforcements, Baobá would be a mainstay as we would have the resources and access in certain situations, and could, in a sense, "be chancellors" for black organizations. That was the discussion: Why are did we enter into the Northeast? Because there was a large number of black organizations that had no protection. We understood how we were going to start to work on this structure? All Board members agreed with this. We needed to deconstruct the idea of a foundation that was being set up to dole out money. Why was this part of the logic we wanted to break with at that time? We said, 'look, we want you to be here so we that we can provide sustainability for these projects you are doing, but without the logic of a handout where folks just go and take R\$ 5,000, or 10,000. That is not our job. Our task is to be a black foundation that serves as a reference point in Brazil and where we work together so that black

organizations can also become independent. We can do something with Baobá as a sort of chancellor." This was a very big problem because all of the expectations when we arrived were: "Well, here comes a Ford Foundation for us." That was not the objective ... it was hard to break this idea.

Besides the financial support what other support would there be? Would be a technical, political support?

Technical and political. As Baobá becomes stronger it can start to occupy certain places that black organizations cannot, but we can help the organizations. The logic we used was to be in places where black people haven't been able to gain access to, and we could bring these groups there to engage in political debates with other institutions. When the time comes to discuss public policies in Brazil, and all of these things are in place, the goal is that we could be there and have the backing to be able to bring these black organizations into the debate.

CONSTRUCTIONS
FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ
Cristina Lopes



Baobá was legally constituted in 2011, between February and March. And then there was the staff training. The first years in Baobá were devoted to consolidating the institution, both inside and out, because it was an institution that was just starting and had the tasks of, choosing a brand, establishing a visual identity, thinking through even the most minute of administrative procedures to get the work done. I believe it took some time until the organization consolidated its administrative processes, its management, but ultimately it could not function without these. These early years were taken up by brand consolidation and institutional visibility. We had an option, from the then initial management, to invest heavily in the visibility of the institution in an attempt to make Baobá a little more known, so that they could at least get to the places and so that people could have an image, "Oh, Baobá? I've heard of it...". Because it really is a very big job, to establish a new fund, a new organization in the country.

Because Baobá's board is constituted by people who are well recognized in the anti-racist struggle, it allows us to have legitimacy both in the field with the organizations, as well as with financiers, especially those who follow the struggle for racial equality in Brazil. Approaching an institution and saying that we have Helio Santos and Sueli Carneiro in our deliberative council, it shows that we are a serious institution, because such people would not be associated with a fragile organization.



CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Maria do Socorro Guterres

When I left in 2011, the truth is that Baobá had already been officially and legally founded. In fact, I was the first president, but only for a short time, I think it was officially one year. I don't know the exact period, but I think I was chairman for one year. From there I had to resign as I was going to take over SEPPIR and, officially, it was not possible to reconcile the two positions. When I left was when a more effective process of seeking and achieving financial support for Baobá was started. I left at almost the beginning of this more effective structuring. We were still in the development phase and in discussion with headquarters. We were in dialogue in Recife about the possibility of going to a house which I think belonged to the Ford Foundation.

What was your role as President during this short period that you were head of the Baobá Council?

Well, we had regular meetings. I had a system of meetings, at least once or twice every two months. I convened the meetings -- I was responsible for coordinating these meetings and signing documents -- all of these types of things. I signed the legal documents together with the person who was responsible administratively, as well for Baobá, and oversaw the entire process of coordination and discussion at the meetings that were held in the Council. That was basically it.

CONSTRUCTIONS

FROM A MECHANISM TO BAOBÁ

Helio Santos



The Kellogg Foundation hired me in October 2009 so that I could go to Recife and give a series of lectures on the importance of racial equality in Brazil. The Kellogg Foundation was on its way out of Brazil, so I went and did that job. I stayed there three days debating, demonstrating the importance for Brazilian development. Incidentally -- as a parenthesis -- it had been a long time that I did not argue or denounce the struggle against racism in general. It had been a long time that I talk about development, since the debate of racial democracy has already been won, right? This theme has been overcome. There is none, it never even existed and therefore today we discuss development. And that's what I did there in Recife. In Recife I showed how racial equality was important for the development of Brazil. How is it that Brazil can establish itself as a truly developed country? And it was a paid job. And then, shortly thereafter, I was happy to know that there was an impeller group developing the construction of an initiative, which was the Baobá Fund. Two, three years later that I was invited. Baobá was already in operation, I did not participate in the development of Baobá. It had already been launched. I was invited later, some vacancies arose, for example, Luiza Barrios had left for the Ministry of SEPPIR, Elias Sampaio had left to be Secretary of Racial Equality here in the state of Bahia and Silvio Humberto had left to be candidate for councilor and today he is councilor Silvio Humberto. Then there were a few vacancies and I took one of these jobs, but at the same time I found myself as president of the Board and today I see it as an important challenge.

Do you attribute the invitation to you to join the Board to the experience in 2009?

I think the first thing is my commitment to the race issue. So I guess that counts, since it is a condition that seems sine qua non to be involved with Baobá. But as far as the position of Council Presidency, it was probably important that I had the training I had, my perspective on management, since Baobá represents such a challenge. In Baobá, we have until the end of next year, 2016, to build our endowment. So this decision by the

Kellogg Foundation to release US \$25 million, for which we have to raise the same in real or in dollars, we have to raise funds to be able to build this endowment. Today for every real we raise we receive two from the Kellogg Foundation. For every real that we raise for programs and projects, the Kellogg Foundation gives us a real. So since I'll be here, as the Board President until February 2017, my mission is to consolidate this endowment.

PROJECTS

PROJECTS

Selma Moreira



The first announcement by Baobá was critical because we went through our first project management cycle. These projects will be how we showcase ourselves. We will be in partnerships that will demonstrate the result of investment in the community. We need to square away what the essence of the racial theme is and appeal to our financiers, learn to connect the logic of the market with the logic of social justice. And this may be one of the great changes that we are going through. We need a more seductive form of communication. This is essential in order to develop relationships.

In the first call for projects, which was conducted in partnership with the Kellogg Foundation and the Ford Foundation, we had 194 projects registered apply, of which 22 were selected and will be operating throughout the year 2015, with an investment of R\$50,000 for each project. We are going through a learning cycle with the partnerships we've made with established organizations that already have experience and have already reached a certain level of maturity as well as with community-based organizations.

The second announcement we made was unique to high school education, focusing on school management and black youth. The notice was the result of a partnership with Instituto Unibanco and was released in August last year. There were 124 projects registered, between schools and civil society organizations. Of these, ten projects were selected, with an investment of up to R\$30,000 each. This project is an innovative strategy because the partnership with Instituto Unibanco and the Federal University of São Carlos (UFSCar) plans to address the issue of education in high school, working directly in school management, focused on the retention of black youth in school, and thinking about processes that can make this group of young people feel like they belong in that space and can help them remain there.

We want to evaluate the results of this project at the end of the cycle in order to understand the ways in which we use the best practices to encourage the implementation of similar initiatives.



PROJECTS

Cristina Lopes

With the call for the first projects launched in 2014 and the projects which began to be developed this year, we now have a kind of portfolio of projects we support, the type of work we do. This makes it more tangible to the donor himself, for the investor to understand our work. The projects we participate in as a fund, we realize that it is difficult for people to understand what the work of a Fund is; they say: "What exactly do you do?" And then we try to explain it in a very simple way: we raise funds and invest responsibly, and financially monitor the projects. We monitor the development of activities, check if they are being carried out in accordance with project objectives, and that the expected results are happening. If not we seek to understand why and, with the organization, seek a solution. In addition, we also monitor the financial part, requiring receipts and notes, all with fiscal validity, so that we can have the maximum possible transparency in accountability. These are also values of Baobá: transparency, ethics and responsible management.

We have held two calls up to now. The first supported by the Kellogg Foundation and the Ford Foundation and the second, supported by Instituto Unibanco, in partnership with the Federal University of São Carlos - UFSCar.

The first call is geared to support small projects developed by 22 organizations throughout Brazil. Initially we were to finance 12 projects with support from the Kellogg Foundation. During the preparation of the public notice process, we thought: "We will try to increase this number. It is our first call, we want to do something with more impact." We presented our proposal to the Ford Foundation, with the support of the Kellogg Foundation in place, which I believe facilitated obtaining the resources because it showed that another major donor already believed not only in the proposal, but in Baobá. At that time, the Ford Foundation, generously, also joined in the announcement of the funding and we went on to finance 22 projects instead of 12. In that first call we supported projects on education, health, food security, traditional communities, guarantee of rights, culture... It is an extensive range of topics of which the common thread is the promotion of racial equality. We understand that since racism is structural, there are many different ways of working to promote equity.

This announcement has the characteristic of financing very different organizations, distinct from each other with

regard to their institutional development. Some organizations are receiving their first donations, while others already have solidified operations in the field, such as Criola,⁷⁰ for example, which has more than 20 years of existence. This demands of us some flexibility with regard to monitoring because I will need to pay much more attention to the administrative part of a young organization, which has less experience in rendering accounts than that of a more experienced institution. So this will force us to think about, for example, whether the report templates and other working instruments in place are the best suited for the job. I think we are going through the consolidation of the programming part of the fund, which the administrative side has managed to complete first. And it's a very rich process. It is very labor intensive, but it is very rich, because it forces us to rethink our practices all of the time, so that we become better and better at what we do.

The second call was conducted in partnership with Instituto Unibanco⁷¹ and the Federal University of São Carlos. The funding partner is Instituto Unibanco, and the Federal University of São Carlos is responsible for the programming part. In this call we are working with the financial monitoring of schools and organizations developing projects. It is a project geared to school management, with the goal of improving the outcomes of black youth in schools. The announcement is called "School Management and black youth" and the goal is that the schools' proposed projects and/or organizations in partnership with these schools, involve school management, promote equity and, in some way, impact the improvement of some indicator, whether it is the reduction of truancy, yield the improvement of black youth served by that school, etc.

We still have four projects, two with the Coca-Cola Brazil Institute⁷² and two with the Coca-Cola company in Brazil. The two with the Coca-Cola Institute are to finance two organizations who will work with the communication

⁷⁰*Criola is a civil society organization founded in 1992, led by black women engaged in the defense and promotion of black women rights in an integrated and transversal perspective. View: http://criola.org.br/?page_id=257, accessed on 9 October 2015.*

⁷¹*Instituto Unibanco was created in 1982 to promote the private social investment of Unibanco, which in 2008 created Itaú-Unibanco. In 2002, the Institute redirected its actions and worked primarily with education. From 2007, with the creation of the Future Youth Project, the institution focused on work improving public high schools, which it considered a strategic phase for the formation of youth and development. View: <http://www.portalinstitutounibanco.org.br/>, accessed on 9 October 2015.*

⁷²*The Coca-Cola Brazil Institute develops technology for social programs that generate empowerment through income generation and enhancement of self-esteem. View: <http://www.institutococacola.org.br/>, accessed on 9 October 2015.*

aspect of a Coca-Cola Institute project itself, the "Collective."⁷³ Then there's the organizations The Ethnic Media Institute in Salvador (BA) and the Voice of the Community⁷⁴ of Rio de Janeiro. The Ethnic Media Institute is also funded by Baobá's call. The difference is that in Baobá's notice the choice was made among the nearly 200 proposals participating in the selection process. But the Coca-Cola Institute and Coca-Cola, presented to the Baobá Fund projects pre-selected by them. In this case, our job is to monitor the financial aspect; Coca-Cola supports the Feira Preta Institute,⁷⁵ which is responsible for producing the Black Fair - an event for black men and women entrepreneurs that takes place every December in São Paulo. The second project with Coca-Cola is to be released with the Baobá Fund in 2015 and will support initiatives that expose others to black identities and cultures.

⁷³The Coca-Cola Brazil Institute develops technology for social programs that generate empowerment through income generation and enhancement of self-esteem. View: <http://www.institutococacola.org.br/>, accessed on 9 October 2015.

⁷⁴The Community Voice newspaper was founded by Rene Silva, a young man who decided to share the news taking place in the complex area of the German slums in Rio de Janeiro, where he lived. After the occupation of the Complexo do Alemão by the military in 2010, the newspaper gained great notoriety as it provided alternative news coverage to the traditional media. View: <http://www.vozdascomunidades.com.br/>, accessed on 9 October 2015.

⁷⁵The Feira Preta Institute is a social non-profit organization engaged in the promotion and socio-cultural development of the black community and Afro-Brazilian entrepreneurship nationwide. View: <http://www.10000mulheres.com.br/empreendedoras/Adriana-Barbosa>, accessed on 9 October 2015.

PROJECTS Helio Santos



Several opportunities are opening up! One of the biggest ones is connected to Valongo Circuit, in Rio de Janeiro.⁷⁶ I am mystical -- it's good that I confess this here -- so I do not believe in coincidence. Synchronicity has marked my life so much that I can just say it just like that, easily, with no fear of being wrong. Then this opportunity, the Valongo Circuit, comes to the Baobá Fund... We competed in a complicated contest -- sophisticated -- a call with important requirements, such as quality control, for example. We will run a cultural center, a building that was built in the nineteenth century by Emperor Dom Pedro II.⁷⁷ This building is renovated, it is new, ready for activities that are not strictly cultural. The idea is to build, here at the Centro Cultural Jose Bonifácio, a center of excellence to work on the ethnic-racial issue.

When I learned of Valongo I fell in love and remarked to an American teacher I envisioned the Valongo for the diaspora, for the 200-odd million blacks living outside Africa, I saw the region of Valongo as Muslims see mecca. And shortly after, comes this announcement and the Baobá Fund wins it and there it is it is expected that the Cultural Center be inaugurated in November 2015. I think this place will be an important showcase for various things. For a long time I believed it was Bahia, Bahia is important for the social-racial question. But from the historical and political perspective, from an emblematic point of view, Valongo is perhaps the most relevant things we have today.

⁷⁶ According to the Africanist Alberto da Costa e Silva, it is believed that half of all enslaved Africans who came to the Americas came in through Brazil and Rio de Janeiro had always been the point of arrival of slaves from the beginning of the Atlantic slave trade. But it was at the end the seventeenth century that Rio became the largest landing pier of people enslaved in Brazil, America and the world. Since 2011, through remodeling work and excavations in the port area by the prefecture of the city of Rio de Janeiro, there were found several traces of that past. Thanks to pressure from the black social movement the Historical Circuit of African Heritage in Rio de Janeiro was instituted. See <http://nacoesunidas.org/cais-do-valongo-ponto-de-partida-para-o-circuito-da-heranca-africana-no-rio/>, access on 15 September 2015.

⁷⁷ Inaugurated on March 14, 1877, the Cultural Center Jose Bonifacio was the first public school in Latin America. Built by order of D. Pedro II for the education of the poor community of the Port Region, it was part of the group of "schools of the emperor." Disabled in 1977, it then housed the Popular Municipal Library of Gamboa. The palace of Pedro Ernesto Street 80 in Gamboa, is a reference center of afro-Brazilian culture. See <http://www.portomaravilha.com.br/circuito/>, accessed on 15 September 2015.

It is the largest port of entry of enslaved people in the history of planet Earth.

Of planet Earth. So the interesting thing about this observation, talking to the black social movement in Rio de Janeiro, is that I saw that this understanding was shared by all. This idea has won the approval of all, that is what is fundamental. The activists of the black movement in Rio de Janeiro have the highest obligation. But we have to open Valongo for the planet. We must have the greatness of mind to understand that this is an area that is global. A place of memory ...

Memory. And the interest on behalf of, for example, American scholars is specially large. We have to open up the space so that Bolivians, Ecuadorians, Venezuelans, Cubans, Americans, all of the Caribbean, can be there with us, thinking about the diaspora. I had contact, for example, with people in the area of economics, area of management; and the most prepared, capable people I know are in the black social movement, in the intellectual sense, the most intellectual sense. So this is definitely not a shortage in the black social movement. How do we bring these people with such different areas of specialty and build a center of excellence, not for blacks, but for Brazil? For Brazil. I think that that space in Rio de Janeiro... we have to have that greatness. I've shared that vision with the Baobá Board and some people were frightened, in a positive sense. But that's my perspective. Why? Because this umbrella of racial equity allows me to. The construction of racial equity can go on to donate funds to institutions that develop projects of excellence but it cannot be restricted to just this. And if Baobá is a fund for racial equity, we have the liberty to more and this requires partnerships and it also requires it to be open to talent, which is exactly what there is no shortage of among black and non-black activists. Also because I always worked from the idea that the racial question in Brazil is not a black problem, it is a societal problem.

Among the requirements of the call is that whoever runs the Centro Cultural Jose Bonifácio has to take care of the Valongo Circuit. We have to have ideas, proposals to manage this circuit. I mean, this burden for me is a big bonus, because in fact it is a great privilege to be open, especially with the black movement in Rio de Janeiro where, in my estimation, there are ample opportunities with such well-equipped men and women. We have the conditions there to do an international job, to really open it up and I am already thinking of a cultural center where there's dance, music, theater, where there can be movies, where there is the production of knowledge. The idea is to think anew.

We'll have to have a Board of Trustees, where the Baobá Council will be present with others; we will have several

directors, we will hire marketing people to certain areas. But the idea in the first months, at least the first six months, is that I will work as coordinator, or as a facilitator of the events, because the management of the Cultural Center Jose Bonifácio is a complex management. Because while we have various activities that are more popular such as dance, music, movies, or theater, we have to raise funds; we must also develop an important course -- this is an area in which I will also be able to help out. But the idea is to build a center, too, where one might think about the racial question from the contemporary point of view. There is an activist who will be involved in this endeavor; he is known and recognized, and it is Edson Cardoso.⁷⁸ Edson Cardoso works a lot with the topic of black people in contemporary times, that is: what is the state of black people today? What are the appropriate policies for Brazil so that we may go further?

The idea is that Jose Bonifácio can become a center of excellence. We cannot designate ourselves a center of excellence, we have to gain this designation, but this is the mission of the Cultural Center Jose Bonifácio.

⁷⁸Edson Cardoso was born in Salvador on October 10, 1949. In 1980, already living in Brasília, he retook the entrance exam to the University of Brasília, where he completed a degree in letters and got a Master's degree in communication. He was a private school professor of literature between 1981 and 1995 and was a militant of the Unified Black Movement (MNU) in Brasília. In 1984 he founded the Party Committee of Negro Workers in the federal capital. He was chief of staff for assemblyman Florestan Fernandes (PT-SP) from 1992 to 1995 and was responsible for the creation, in 1997, of the advisory for race relations of the Chamber of Deputies, when Deputy Paulo Paim (PT-RS) was elected third House desk secretary, a position he held between 1997 and 1999. He was also chief of staff of assemblyman Ben-Hur Ferreira (PT-MS, 1999-2000 and 2002-2003) and advisor of race relations in the Senate when then Senator Paulo Paim was first vice president of the House between 2003 and 2005. He is editorial coordinator of *Írohin* newspaper, which he founded in 1995. See ALBERTI, Verena & PEREIRA, Amílcar A. (eds) *Histories of the black movement in Brazil: the testimony CPDOC*. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas / CPDOC-FGV, 2007.

PROJECTS

Ana Toni



We feel very accomplished because Baobá is gaining strength, partnering up with many other lenders and it is working. We've already made the first call for small projects; it was something that we as councillors, spoke about: "Baobá was born for this, to extend resources. We have to put out the first call to fund projects as soon as possible!" We were already operating for two years and had not yet put any calls out.

The City of Rio de Janeiro put out a public call to choose who would be the new managers of the Centro Cultural Jose Bonifácio,⁷⁹ and then Baobá submitted a proposal and won. Baobá will now manage the Cultural Center and with it will come new resources, because the resources for the management of Jose Bonifácio are public. And what's cool about that? There are a thousand nice things about it; first it is the fact that Baobá will have a public "face," it is a big project, "stout"; it comes with many resources so that we can already gain access to the funds from Kellogg too. I'm always thinking about the Kellogg resources. Secondly, it is a right time. The Cultural Center Jose Bonifácio is in the middle of the city, in the port area where people never used to come to, but now there is the Porto Maravilha here in Rio de Janeiro. So now the port is very popular and will be even more popular now with the Olympics; plus the Cultural Center Jose Bonifácio is at the end of the VLT line [light rail]. So, in terms of being accessible to the population, it is the best time to have won this position. And there will be movies, theater, there will be political discussions, works of arts, teacher training courses... We want to develop a training course for Afro-Brazilian filmmakers. It is turning into a public place of course, but being managed by our own black movement. It is the first time that this is happening, so that's why we are very proud.

⁷⁹The Jose Bonifácio Cultural Center is a cultural center located in the port area of the city of Rio de Janeiro which incorporates the Historical Tour Circuit as well as the Archaeological Celebration of African Heritage, along with places of historical memory such as the Valongo's Wharf and the Pedra do Sal. View : <http://portomaravilha.com.br>, accessed on 12 September 2015.

PROJECTS

Sueli Carneiro



I think the first call in some way, was well received. I think that this diminished our cautiousness: "Is this really going to happen?" I think Baobá came out very strong in that sense; the announcement included a proposal for a respectable amount of resources to contribute to organizations, higher than that of other funds. The first call offered a donation superior to that of the early years of the Brazil Human Rights Fund, it outperformed the Elas Fund, so it demonstrated a very strong political will to match the expectations of the organizations, and I hope that we have the capacity and are competent enough to maintain these levels. There are many challenges, but I think at this point is all very young, very too many things...

PROJECTS

Luiz Alberto de Oliveira Gonçalves



Today the Fund is becoming institutionalized. Baobá has gained a lot in this process of institutionalization. We have already worked on things that were important in the statute; we have already begun to do projects, such as what is happening in Rio de Janeiro.⁸⁰ All of the projects that our executive director is doing are already demonstrating the importance of placing Baobá close to all of the agencies, who need to understand that Baobá exists and that it has a function. This is our first role, so that we can look at the black organizations and say, "We can work on empowering you." But in order to do this we have to institutionalize.

⁸⁰A reference to the public call from which the Baobá won the administration of the Cultural Center Jose Bonifácio in the city of Rio de Janeiro. See excerpts from the interview Helio Santos.

Empower Baobá, to then empower...

Exactly. Because Baobá has a Board's president, but who makes things happen is not him, it is the executive director. From my understanding, there is now an executive director who is doing this work masterfully. I keep up with everything that is happening even if sometimes I do not go to meetings, I am up to date with everything. That's another thing she does: we are always kept informed. For example, everything she does, from her early plans of what she will do in the United States, she puts it in a report for us. First she delineates what her plans are and when she returns, she let's us know what happened, what was discussed. Today counselors are clear on what's going on and we are witnessing the institutionalization of Baobá.

C H A P T E R 3
ASSESSMENTS
AND EXPECTATIONS
PHILANTHROPY AND
THE RACIAL QUESTION IN BRAZIL



ASSESSMENTS
AND EXPECTATIONS
PHILANTHROPY AND
THE RACIAL QUESTION IN BRAZIL

Joe Stewart

I see two major challenges and several small ones that are better addressed by Brazilians who are closer to the situation. The first big challenge is for Brazil to recognize that it has a racial problem. Racism is robbing Brazil of its full economic and social potential. It has institutional structures and cultural norms that don't allow people to fully contribute to society. That is challenge number one.

Challenge number two is: if Brazil is to continue a successful racial equity movement there is A much greater need for philanthropic support and engagement in social change. The people -- especially Brazil's wealthy -- need to realize that if they love Brazil as I know they do, then they need to reform attitudes and structures that have upheld and supported a lack of equity in the past. Brazil's future must become an environment where all people, all Brazilians flourish.

When we talk about philanthropy, we usually think of money. But philanthropy can also be about using leadership and influence to engage others who may not feel powerful enough to talk about racial healing and racial progress. The influence of philanthropy can change social mindsets and perspectives as well as fund programs.

ASSESSMENTS
AND EXPECTATIONS
PHILANTHROPY AND
THE RACIAL QUESTION IN BRAZIL

Helio Santos



Baobá's mission is an important one and it is a challenge because we have to raise funds when we know that in Brazil there isn't a culture of donation of resources for social causes, much less for a cause such as the issue of race, for which there is generally no understanding, despite the fact that there has been a lot of change in this regard. Still, our challenge is great, but it's a good challenge. Of all the challenges I have delineated here, in my career this is

the greatest because we are changing culture. We want to build a socio-racial bank and we want to, in the future, develop a culture of giving among blacks. We want to truly develop a social bank so that 10, 15 years from now - we are producing historical material here - it can fulfill this mission. But Baobá will have a consolidated role in the medium-term. Today we are building the foundation.



ASSESSMENTS
AND EXPECTATIONS
PHILANTHROPY AND
THE RACIAL QUESTION IN BRAZIL

Ana Toni

I think that international cooperation in relation to the black movement and issues around race, especially US cooperation, has always been supportive and very sensitive to the issue, because it relates to the very conflicts within the United States. Interestingly, if you look at the Brazilian black movement, the South African and the American, there is a very interesting difference and I think that it has influenced philanthropy. The black movement in the United States involves not only blacks but the movement for "civil liberty"; the black movement in South Africa, when they had all of the boycotts against apartheid⁸¹ -- which involved many Europeans, but also the Americans -- also involved whites, the few whites who lived there. In the Brazilian case the black movement is a movement of blacks by blacks. So I think this has led to an awareness and sensitivity on the part of American philanthropy that has become involved, white or black, who was involved in the civil rights movement in the United States and was sensitive to the racial question; or as far as European philanthropy, specifically English, which was very involved in the fight against apartheid in South Africa. Not only English, but also others who

⁸¹ The term *apartheid* ("separation" in Afrikaans) refers to a racial politics imposed in South Africa in 1948 that lasted until 1992. Under this regime, the white minority -- the only ones entitled to vote -- held all political and economic power in the country, while the vast black majority remained in obligation of strictly abiding to the separatist legislation that hindered them. View: <http://www.brasilecola.com/geografia/apartheid.htm>, accessed on 11 September 2015.

understood this and who also managed to raise awareness in this case. So I think there has been a lot of support from international philanthropists for the black movement in Brazil. What there was not was support inside Brazil, and there continues to be little support within Brazil. In this case, because the majority of the black movement, and most blacks in Brazil, come from the lower socioeconomic classes, the network of actors we can mobilize resources from is very limited. And it is not a movement where everyone participates, white and black. There was a division here, as if there were not a lot of white Brazilians who could help. And I think up to today, there aren't; it is a more isolated movement and is not recognized by other social movements or the elite. The whole of Brazil will be better if the black movement is able to achieve what it seeks, not only blacks. But the perception in Brazil is still that it is a movement that will benefit one group of people and that it is not good for Brazil, it is not a national thing; it is as if it were separate from the rest of Brazil. And I think Brazilian philanthropy treats us this way. So I think that philanthropy follows this thinking on the part of society a bit, and we're still in this moment; that is, ignorant of the racial aspect of other social problems.

And today I am director of a foundation that funds projects in the area of climate change. How do I bridge the climate change issue with race relations? Who in the black movement could I bring in to discuss a topic like this? It's like the black movement, the people who philanthropy funds, could only talk about identity politics or the black movement, and could not talk about the economy, like Marcelo Paixão, or transportation or climate change. There are still too few people in the black movement who have postgraduate degrees, or with degrees and engage in these other topics. And philanthropy did not help to encourage these people to be a part of such other debates; so it only invites blacks to talk about affirmative action, or identity. But not to talk about transportation, or to talk about climate change, as though blacks are only useful when talking about this topic. And if we cannot bring the movement -- support and assist the black movement -- to be a part of, other issues, through its own merits, it will remain an isolated movement interested solely in its own theme, which are logically very important, but it will not make the necessary revolution Brazil needs in order to receive the movement in all its dimensions, as it is a movement that has all of the dimensions. Racial Inequality pertains to all subjects.



ASSESSMENTS AND EXPECTATIONS

PHILANTHROPY AND
THE RACIAL QUESTION IN BRAZIL

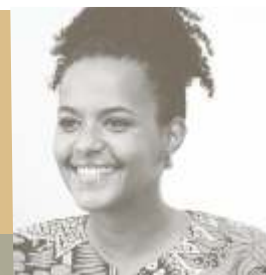
Selma Moreira

Brazilian society still has a n underdeveloped culture of philanthropy and giving when compared to the American model of giving and philanthropy. It's not that Brazilians do not donate, they donate yes, but in most cases this decision is not made strategically. They donate in the street, they donate to religious communities... and in other situations where their heart is touched or where the donation process is facilitated by an institution! In addition, Brazilians contribute, but often do not have the opportunity to evaluate the outcome of the contribution that was made. So our perspective is to seek ways to solve the fragility of funding and investment in the strengthening of organizations which promote racial equity. How do we strategically increase the culture of giving here in Brazil? Donating to a cause is a bit unusual because the donor has to trust in the institution, the managers, the governance bodies and also has to empathize with the cause. When we talk about empathy it becomes more complex because we are talking about a country in which many people still believe in the myth of "racial democracy." So they ask themselves: "Why is there a Fund for Racial Equity in a country that has no racism?" Or "Huh? But you are starting this discussion now? You're causing the situation... Aren't you practicing racism when you start to discuss this matter?" So to begin a discussion of the need for investment in the issue of racial equality with those who make the decision, those who sign the checks in Brazil, we must first demonstrate that our society still has behaviors related to discriminatory practices, due to our process of social formation, which was based on slave training practices. We must emphasize that there is a context that produces racist positions and generates so much inequality. In order to develop this conversation in a friendly manner is a major challenge. Every conversation we have, at least the ones I have had so far, in the position of Executive Director of Baobá, it is almost always necessary to contextualize the issue of inequality that we are talking about in Brazil: that poverty has color and that we're talking about, mostly, the black population. We live in a country that suffers from different social issues and that our struggle is not restricted to an income problem. Being able to start a dialogue, building and strengthening a connection of empathy with our interlocutor, is the first challenge. We must respect our

interlocutor, but it is essential to establish a relationship of trust and an educational process, to show that person that there is plenty to do and that the person, in a position as a decision-maker, occupying a seat of power, has much to contribute, and should contribute. We have to think about the social responsibility of each private organization. If we know that inequality has a color, let's reach the investment target for the development of a more just and equitable society. And that's why Baobá exists, to be a promoter of racial equality in Brazil, as the issue of racism is so strong, is so inherent in Brazilians, in their attitude, in their behavior, in their decision making, that it was necessary for the black movement and the Kellogg Foundation, to come up with and create an institution that looks squarely at the issue of racial equity. Our goal is to invest in order to strengthen organizations that are on the cutting edge, developing grassroots action to promote racial equality. We are trying to find a way to, in fact, touch people's hearts and that this movement be reflected in a change in action for investments geared to social justice work to promote a more equitable and just society. We want the Brazilian population, and decision makers here and abroad, to commit to our cause, to engage with and contribute to Baobá; we want them to see Baobá as one way to contribute to the reduction of all of these problems we've been experiencing on a daily basis. We have a \$25 million challenge proposed by the Kellogg Foundation in order to forge our endowment that will feature a resource management policy where a certain percentage will be allocated for investments in the cause through programs, through civil society organizations who are working daily to combat racial inequalities. In summary this is the purpose of Baobá: to promote human rights through actions aimed at promoting racial equity in Brazil.

ASSESSMENTS
AND EXPECTATIONS
PHILANTHROPY AND
THE RACIAL QUESTION IN BRAZIL

Cristina Lopes



I believe that the biggest challenge we have today is being able to communicate with those who is not sensitive to the topic, communicating that the racial issue is an issue that affects everyone. We continue to have barriers to fundraising, to receive other types of support from civil society, in general. While there are black children dying from "stray bullet" and no one is sensitive to it, while young black men are being murdered with homicide rates as if they were in the "guerrillas," and yet people are not concerned about it, we will live in a completely unfair society, absolutely unequal and breeding prejudice and violence. I think this is the most general context. Institutionally, the challenges are within our field: to gain more allies, new partners. And I am here speaking from fundraising to people seeing Baobá as an organization that performs essential work in our society.

ASSESSMENTS
AND EXPECTATIONS
PHILANTHROPY AND
THE RACIAL QUESTION IN BRAZIL

Maria do Socorro Guterres



In my assessment, although it is still a way's away from what I see and I can gather from some of these organizations, I'm sure Baobá contributed and has contributed to the strengthening of these black organizations. It has contributed to concrete actions to change many people's lives who are a part of these organizations. I attended a workshop in a three-day seminar for young Quilombolas, which was promoted by the Maranhão Black Culture Center (CCN)⁸² and the Cedenpa in Pará,⁸³ a project with young people of that

⁸²The Black Cultural Center of Maranhão was founded in São Luís in 1979 to act in the fight against racism, quickly becoming one of the major black organizations in northeastern Brazil. View: <http://ccnmaranhao.blogspot.com.br/2009/09/historico-ccn-ma.html>, accessed on 23 September 2015.

⁸³The Black Studies and Advocacy Center in Pará, Cedenpa, is a non-profit organization without political-party ties, founded on August 10, 1980, standing out as one of the major black organizations in the northern region of the country. View: <http://www.cedenpa.org.br/Quem-somos>, accessed on 23 September 2015.

region, with the support of the CESE which had received support from Baobá and support from the Kellogg Foundation. I went because of SEPPIR⁸⁴ to make a speech to young people about affirmative action and the policy for quilombolas. And what I witnessed as far as the level of activity by young people, the discussion among young people about the reality of their communities, the role they play as young leaders in their communities, was extremely significant. And this is the result of an effective job, effective action that has been developed by Baobá and I believe - I'm talking about this experience because it is closer to me - more than elsewhere in Brazil, especially in the Northeast, which is the major focus, than on the same line and the same perspective that has happened, especially with the youth, with women; these actions have contributed to a change in their life, changing the mind of these people. This is an effective contribution that Baobá has made since its inception. When it is legally constituted, it is already part of that organizational strengthening process, of management, and then it can act more effectively, through the support it has given - financially - to these organizations.

The black movement, the various organizations of the black movement here in the Northeast, we were, I would not say aimlessly, it was not without perspective, but there was an absence of any reference that would enable us to, let's say, revive us for this discussion, to devise new strategies. And Baobá came with the possibility of a resuscitation of the movement, to think about other possibilities for the struggle, other strategies. We even discussed: "Hey we're kind of tired of doing the same things. What can we do differently and how can we make this different?" The support that was given and that is still being given to organizations, gave us this new life, because there were also other ideas that were brought and which were being worked up by these people who were important references for us.

⁸⁴ SEPPIR (Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equity of the President's Office) was established on March 21, 2003 and grew out of the recognition of the historical struggles of the Brazilian black movement. The date is symbolic because around the world the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination is celebrated; established by the United Nations (UN), in memory of the Sharpeville Massacre, when dozens of people protesting peacefully in that city were murdered coldly by the police of the apartheid regime, then in power in South Africa View: <http://www.portaldaigualdade.gov.br/sobre-a-seppir/o-ministerio>, accessed on 23 September 2015.

ASSESSMENTS
AND EXPECTATIONS
PHILANTHROPY AND
THE RACIAL QUESTION IN BRAZIL
Luiza Bairros



From what I know, my assessment is positive. But there are still many challenges to be faced by the Baobá Fund, many ideas raised during the discussion process that have not been put into practice. One is extremely important and concerns the participation of black people in the electoral process in Brazil. We had a great concern in this regard, of what do we do to produce certain data that can contribute to changing the quality of political information of the black population in the electoral process. We know that elections in Brazil, in many cases, depend on the black vote and it is not revealed in the dissemination of research, although we know that the data exist. We could already have at this point a small set of historical data that can allow us a further analysis of what our role is in the electoral process. Such initiatives are part of Baobá, in its role as bolster for the political activity of the various sectors of the black community. This is something we would have to take up in the near term at Baobá. There was also another important research done, although it is of different nature, in partnership with the Institute of Popular Data. I think that if Baobá were to now approach the issue of black participation in the elections we could make a significant contribution because that is undoubtedly one of the major bottlenecks in the anti-racist struggle in Brazil today: institutional political representation. At this juncture, I think it would be extremely useful if we would that we could move in this direction of thinking about political representation.

⁸⁵ The research referred to, entitled "The recent achievements of black people," according to the disclosure document provided at the launch of Baobá in October 2011, was intended to "investigate, describe and analyze the profile of the black population in Brazil, in order to offer demographic, socio-economic, attitudinal and behavioral inputs on this population." The Popular Data Institute is an institution that works conducting research and studies using different methodologies and with different goals. View: <http://www.datapopular.com.br/a-empresa/>, accessed on 23 September 2015.



ASSESSMENTS AND EXPECTATIONS

PHILANTHROPY AND
THE RACIAL QUESTION IN BRAZIL

Roseni Sena

I think the difficulties arise from the nature of a proposal such as this, of a social movement that is organized or that is connected to an organization -- it is not a direct link -- but as an organization that is formatted for the empowerment of this movement ... I think that the difficulties stem from the design. Not from its structure; the structure it has is what was possible. It was much discussed, there were many experts in the legal field who were consulted, many people were able to opine. But what I think is that the difficulties are themselves an innovation. Baobá is an innovation, it is a novelty. It is a very sophisticated novelty from the point of view of making the movement think up and develop the structure, and then building the structure based on the principles and practices of the movement itself. And additionally, related to such a dispersed and varied movement, because the black movement, fortunately, is an extensive movement with a lot of capillarity; it is present in many places, it is present in many forms. So I think the difficulty is inherently part of the innovation itself.

ASSESSMENTS AND EXPECTATIONS

PHILANTHROPY AND
THE RACIAL QUESTION IN BRAZIL

Ana Toni



I think it falls to one thing here in Brazil, and this is not exclusive of the black movement: civil society organizations often do not look to the area of governance. I think that what saved Baobá was having strong governance. Today we can say with all humility: "Things are going well for Baobá." I do not mean that we have no problems. It has problems, but it is a solid organization, it has solid management, it has a vision, it is managing projects today, it has higher public presence and visibility, so I think we're growing. I think one of the problems in the beginning, and I was not there at the time, was that we were very ambitious, we acted too quickly before putting our affairs in order. We were already saying "let's make it and do it!" But you have to put the house in order before. The house is now more than in order and so the projects are coming.



ASSESSMENTS AND EXPECTATIONS

PHILANTHROPY AND
THE RACIAL QUESTION IN BRAZIL

Cristina Lopes

In five years I would love to see Baobá with its endowment constituted; if not with the \$50 million, then at least with the fundraising process operating in a more fluid way, having recognition in the field - both among organizations looking for resources as well as donor organizations - as a serious institution, rock solid, that is very good at its job. Maybe five years is too little time, but I hope Baobá becomes a reference when it comes to equity, as a fund that collects and donates funds in an ethical, transparent and accountable manner.

SEEDS OF BAOBÁ

SEEDS OF BAOBÁ

Helio Santos



Baobá is an institution for the future, it is a social bank, except it is a bank aimed at funding initiatives that work for racial equity. The word, the expression "racial equity" allows us the liberty to do many things. On the one hand the mission of the Baobá Fund is to fund organizations that develop projects, so to speak, geared towards racial equity, this is our mission. But it not our vision. Our vision is precisely to have a country with the highest social and racial balance. Hence our commitment is to an effective democratization in Brazil; this is Baobá's vision and, therefore, we cannot just be a social bank. We will not be a political party, but we have to think about the media, we have to think about generating policies, assisting in the management of major policy, we have to think and build knowledge in order to think up new public policies. We think policies in affirmative action in education are important, but affirmative action today should be discussed from a geographical point of view since all the censuses carried out by the IBGE reveal the state of people in the various communities. It is possible to draw a map of Brazil, and say: "Look, there almost everyone is of African descent. And here, there are practically no people of African descent." We can, from the spatial point of view in the medium term, think of public policy in this way. In other words, we have to innovate, we need to produce knowledge, we have to have centers of excellence, we must act where the black movement cannot afford to be. One could say: "Fine, but there is the Ministry, we have SEPPIR...." Yes, but SEPPIR is an agency that has its limits, as it is something that is part of the state apparatus. We are not. Baobá can reach elsewhere. So in the long run, I see Baobá as an important instrument. That is our vision, defined in our strategic plan: Baobá is committed to the consolidation of democracy in Brazil. And here, as we know that poverty has color, we also know that the issue of full citizenship involves the racial question. Consequently, racial equity is about black people, it includes all of Brazil.

The first challenge is linked to time. So we have December 31, 2016. We have until then to secure the \$25 million from the Kellogg Foundation. Now my perspective may not be that of all of the people who thought up Baobá; I think Baobá needs to think about the media. We do not live in a country, we live in a continent. We have over five thousand six hundred cities. We can summarize ourselves as being a social bank that collects resources, and

which through public announcements transfers these funds to civil society organizations for them to develop their projects. This is important, it is crucial! But it is also important to develop, to make the black social movement update itself. We have the challenge, not only to donate funds, but also to make the black entities move forward because everything that has been won so far is a result of the struggle of the black social movement.

Now, how do we strengthen this social movement? We have the Internet today, a technology that makes it all easy. But I am thinking about all of the media. I think one day we should have radio Baobá, a national radio. Yes, radio! We could also have a paid TV channel also, which produces content, and seeks to not only entertain. I think Baobá is an important seed: this brings the figure of the tree to mind. I think the name Baobá Fund is a very happy name because it is a long-lived thing, it's something from which one can harvest fruits and not just in the short term. But in the short term we already have a mission: December 31, 2016. We have until then to ensure this funding of the Kellogg Foundation.



SEEDS OF BAOBÁ

Rosana Fernades

I see this as one of the results of the Baobá construction process, further into the CESE: at the end of this process, the organization now has a program that is called "CESE for Racial Equity," which I also coordinate. Internally, the space that the process brought on was to broaden the CESE in this debate, this discussion about race. So we monitored this process. Before there were people who said they were black but who, in short, there were no interventions geared with the question of race in mind. For example, with regard to communication, the journalist who was hired is black. The organization that provided services for an activity we did were a black

organization. You understand what I mean? So on a day-to-day basis we are already seeing a change. For example, we had a meeting of the CESE and all of the churches that were present from the Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian, bishops and all, in short we had the meeting and took them to [the quilombo] Rio dos Macacos to have this meeting...⁸⁶ and they all heard testimonials. Understand? These are actions we do within the CESE. So not only do we bring them to the CESE, but the CESE is also going there. This has an impact on the base of the churches, including in the direction of the churches.

SEEDS OF BAOBÁ

Selma Moreira



The Kellogg Foundation is very interested in understanding and contributing so that Baobá can have an impact on the Brazilian scene. There are great expectations related to the short and medium term results, to move towards a performance to increase international relations, perhaps in the "South-South" axis. What other countries in Southern axis also experience the problems that Brazil has and how can we encourage synergy and strengthen these transnational relations? There are various countries addressing the same problem. So how can we work together to promote a connection that can add to our efforts and develop stronger proposals, which can really add up government, civil society, business and other countries?

⁸⁶ Located on land of the municipalities of Simões Filho and Salvador, in Bahia, after decades of black resistance and at least five years of legal disputes Rio dos Macacos quilombo and published in the Official Gazette of the Union, the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (Incra), the identification and Delimitation Technical Report (RTID), on August 25, 2014 there was the regularization and titling of community lands. See <http://www.ebc.com.br/cidadania/2014/08/incra-delimita-area-quilombola-rio-dos-macacos-alvo-de-disputa-com-marinha>, Accessed on 9 October 2015.



SEEDS OF BAOBÁ

Rui Mesquita

How important is Baobá in relation to Brazilian society in the contemporary period?

It is essential, in my view, but it is not restricted to Brazil. My role today in Kellogg is in Latin America and the Caribbean. I am speaking to you now from Mexico City and I travel a lot, I go to many places, and I'll give you an example of how this fund can be important even outside Brazil. Within the work that the Kellogg Foundation does in Haiti, in 2012 there was a meeting of a group of interested Haitian people to move forward with the Haitian historical process, at a time when we see a very large foreign invasion, many foreigners in Haiti with diverse interests and dictating the direction of the country. Then there was the meeting where a group of Haitian leaders wanted to think about the creation of a Haitian financier with Haitian leaders, based in Port au Prince, to be a local motor, with local decision-making power, with resources, with an endowment, by electing some strategic theme that they can work with. And they came to the Kellogg Foundation asking: "we know that you are doing something like that in Brazil, as an experiment." And they asked us for help: "Can we have a conversation with people who are organizing the Baobá Fund?" We took a member of the Baobá council all the way to Port au Prince: Luis Alberto who is a professor at UFMG, speaks fluent French, and studied in Paris. We took him to Haiti and it was a meeting of two or three days with this group explaining to them the entire process of Baobá up to that point, at that period of 2011, 2012 in which the creation of the Baobá Fund was still very recent. The result of that was that in 2015 in Haiti the decision has already been made to create something called a programming committee, not coincidentally, to create an education fund for Haiti, whose executive project is practically ready. At this time Kellogg is funding the ambience to make it possible for this fund to exist, just like we did in Brazil years ago. And that fund is going to be established, by their schedule, in 2016, and is inspired by dialogues and processes of the Baobá Fund in Brazil. Brazil's black movement is not even aware or knows any of this information yet. So I think the impact that the fund already has, for me is already incredible, even though it is a spontaneous impact not necessarily planned by the Fund itself, but it is happening. I think it is important to document this, to understand it, and it just brings me great hope: imagine when the fund starts to generate the impacts it has planned for itself? And Kellogg's relationship with Baobá from here to the future, will be focused

less on the Endowment and more on the impacts in Brazilian society and beyond Brazilian society as well. Because Baobá remains the first and only fund for racial equity in all of the continent in Latin America and the Caribbean and this in itself should generate some sense of responsibility. What does that mean, to be the first? What can we do and how far can we go? So that's what Kellogg is looking to focus on, in the belief in that impact and on already realizing the spontaneous impact it has had in this time.

SEEDS OF BAOBÁ

Ana Toni



Any foundation created and whose sole purpose is to work on the issue of racial equity, already has an impact itself. This shows a maturing of the black movement itself. The black movement was able to put this together to make it work, it can attract resources. So I think that alone does a lot and contributes a lot towards this agenda to demonstrate the relevancy of the issue of race relations to all other issues involving Brazilian society.

Each of the projects in partnership with Baobá have an institutional effect, such as the Instituto Unibanco. The theme of education is dealt with by all Brazilian private institutes: Bradesco, Itaú, Natura, any of these. Education is an issue that 99% of Brazilian foundations fund. How many of them have any project whose focus is specifically race relations? The Baobá Fund doing such a project along with Instituto Unibanco shows an aspect of the educational theme which is at its core and which no one else has picked up on. When Unibanco Institute says, "we will finance this", who could Instituto Unibanco have funded if not the Baobá Fund for its small projects? There are millions of black movement organizations, but none of them specializes in promoting resources, finding projects, which is the niche the Baobá Fund fills. When creating this route of, "here's an organization that is good, solid, which has the contacts," you begin to create the conditions for other foundations to be able to channel resources for the racial theme. The Baobá Fund has an impact because it is creating for the Ford Foundation, for Instituto Unibanco, and now for Kellogg and others -- it is becoming a financing source for the black movement that did not exist before. Before one had to convince one by one and now you do not need to because we have this channel and it is a solid channel.



SEEDS OF BAOBÁ

Sílvia Humberto

About Brazil, we have to say that our country is not poor from the point of view of material things. Material poverty is not characteristic of our country, in our country we are not lacking things. Our problem is a thing, which is not a small thing, called inequality. There are very few people who have lots and lots of people who have nothing, very little. We had the luxury of living with 40 million people living below the poverty line. This is a problem that was deepening and as you we begin to state that poverty has color, age and gender, but especially color, it creates an ambience, rather than an environment, favorable to the creation of the fund. There has been so much work people have done internally and that the situation was facilitating, that it allows these fundamentals, this sedimentation allows for the creation of Baobá. It even has to do with the name; the Baobá has a deep root and it is made to last; it is a centuries-old plant, which goes on, people pass away and the tree is there, full of life. It has this characteristic resistance, that is a Baobá.

SEEDS OF BAOBÁ

Elias Sampaio



The construction of the Baobá was not something 100% pleasant, on the contrary... The result was great and all, but there were moments of tension, differences of opinion. So much so that Lurdinha left very quickly. We had the misfortune of losing Magno and there were certain times when that "connection" just wasn't doing it for us. When certain decisions were started to be taken, that's when the conflicts arose. Which is also not such a big deal, this is common when you do certain things.

I think it was a very positive, good thing; it was built with all the problems and with the solutions where these things tend to happen. Now, I think the way it is going, it might be necessary to have another dynamic to confront things

that are happening at this juncture. But not without any major problems, I think that's natural.

Putting the \$25 million over there, but what would be \$25 million dollars be like on this side? We are now talking about \$50 million. If you consider today's rate we are talking about almost R\$200 million. There is no affirmative action in Brazil, none of these agencies that I'm talking about has this sort of budget and this possibility, that potential budget. So how is it that this is not something that is being talked about by all black people, by all activists?



SEEDS OF BAOBÁ

Maria do Socorro Guterres

I think that racism still prevents us from effectively getting support for this great project that is Baobá. It is a project! And it's a project that effectively changes people's lives, but not only changes the social, the economic, it also changes people's thoughts. So it's a project, dare I say, it is a political project for a worldview perspective. Which can represent for many people... can also threaten some interests, as we still live in the country of submission with a culture of oppression. One nice thing is that we had already thought back in the beginning to establish a process of support for the creation of the organizations: the institutional strengthening of organizations, from the question of drawing up a project, designing it, recording it, and this whole process of how it manages resources, all that. I think that when it comes to this difficulty that many organizations face, Baobá can significantly contribute .



SEEDS OF BAOBÁ

Ana Toni

I super admire and am honored to be part of Baobá, because I think the proposal is to bring the issue of race relations, not to isolate it, on the contrary, to bring it to the big national issues that the black movement is already discussing, but does not have the voice they should have in the discussion forums. And I think Baobá has the proposal to occupy this space and is in a position to do that.

I know that the area of management is not very "glamorous", but it is kind of fundamental. And it's not to depoliticize, instead, so you can politicize even more you cannot compromise yourself in the financial and administrative parts. My wish is that Baobá gets stronger institutionally in its management, that it can engage in big political debates and be heard and that it can work with political issues which are even "hairier", because then you are protected, because if you do not have this protection, then it is really hard.

SEEDS OF BAOBÁ

Sueli Carneiro



The fundraising possibilities eased quite a bit, which is encouraging because we still have this horizon to look to, this challenge, which is the horizon of US \$25 million, the legacy left by the Kellogg Foundation for this initiative but which exists only based on our funding capacity. So this is a challenge that is there, and this can be an all day headache, particularly for Selma and for all of the Deliberative Council.

We are always struggling under inhospitable conditions, absolutely. And even the possibility, for example, of creating better conditions for current activism than the conditions for activism that my generation had is priceless. Being able to make this idea a viable one, to be able to take part in the feasibility of an idea like this, or even if it's just the challenge of developing this proposal, it is priceless. To be able to say to people that somewhere there will be support, that they will be supported, that there will be reception for this struggle. Clearly we also have other historical partners in this fight; other foundations, other funds, but to be able to create our own alternative, that is, the possibility that Baobá is making for us to create our own alternative to build for our own sustainability, it is a privilege to participate in this challenge. What's more, being part of this dialogue with other activists, militants, that is, in building with other companions in this historical struggle and also in dialogue with the militancy that is there, the youth. So Baobá is a heuristic time, if you will, especially for my generation because it is putting into practice ideas that we only dreamed, but did not think would take place or see happen. So this idea, over time, -- with the possibility that we're having here to give concrete returns to the militancy, and with the increased presence, visibility and credibility of Baobá in Brazilian society -- I think it's the closest we have been able to come to reliving in contemporary times the strategy of solidarity that we saw during the process of the emancipation of blacks from slavery. I am thinking of when black people organized to buy manumissions creating pioneer funds which, incidentally, is where the idea of Savings Banks originate. I think this strategy that we built in the abolitionist process which had to do with establishing funds for our own emancipation, I think Baobá can convince people to recreate that special moment in our struggle and convince the black community in Brazil to be part of this effort of economic support for the fight against racism and the promotion of equity in Brazil.



SEEDS OF BAOBÁ

Silvio Humberto

I would like to give Baobá something that served our Institute, the Steve Biko Institute, because I consider myself also part of Baobá. You know that teaching of sankofa, of the bird with its head turned backwards? I think of this symbolism, now that you brought up the symbolism of the Baobá tree; this tree is about resistance and has everything to do with Africa. When you think of the Baobá tree: Africa. I would like to add the symbolism of the sankofa: that you can always turn back. I am also remembering of another symbol that is in relation to power and that is of the hand with an egg; power is like this: if you tighten your hand it will burst, but if your hand is too soft, then the egg will fall out of your hand. So the idea is to maintain balance, and being in this place with the possibility of funding these actions on behalf of the organizations fighting against racism, the black and indigenous organizations, enforcing this mission of racial and gender equity -- because these come together. I would say that as a strategy it is important that we do not lose our connection to this history. When in doubt, look back, look at the fundamentals, the teachings, because it is all of our history. Even before Baobá there is a history that belongs to all of us.

What must always be primary is the collective, because if we lose sight of the collective we will be overcome by the day-to-day tasks which have the ability end with any dream. I do not deny that the day-to-day, the pragmatism of the day-to-day, but without a dream then there is no reason for getting up and making things happen. Pragmatism has its place, but we must always dream.

SEEDS OF BAOBÁ

Luiz Alberto de Oliveira Gonçalves



This is something we have lost, the very process of building Baobá during this entire period. It is good to know that you are doing this memory project. When Baobá was ready, the members of the Board, we were meeting just to make decisions. We needed to record this process, because through the material we are recording we can see what has changed, how the relationships are. While I was a member of the programming committee we used to meet twice a month. We were debating and I knew all that was happening, but after becoming part of the Board there is some distance created from the process. Things are changing. Today the Baobá Fund is able, in some sense, to mirror more clearly what are the needs of black organizations and tries to put them on our rotation for discussion. This is important, because this has been the case in certain places. Helio Santos, for instance, even if he did not achieve much, but he has managed to be in contact with all of the forums so that racial aspects were always being considered. This is one of the functions of Baobá. He would go and put these issues on the table. It is Baobá that is doing this, it is not a public entity. One could say: "but SEPPIR has to do this," but it belongs to the State. Baobá has to occupy this other space that is not the State.



SEEDS OF BAOBÁ

Andrés Thompson

I finished my work as a director of the Kellogg Foundation in Latin America in August, 2010, and debated whether or not I would keep working as a consultant. So, we finally decided that I would not be a consultant and would be completely out of this process. After this I didn't know anything else about Baobá. I only asked about

Baobá twice, through Athayde,⁸⁷ who was the first executive director of Baobá , because I saw Baobá's website and I had two things to say, the first was: "they should tell Baobá's history, there is nothing on their website." Because not only the Baobá Fund per se, but its whole formation process, is so rich that it deserves being told in many ways: for the black movement, for the Kellogg Foundation, as a philanthropic innovation... there are many perspectives. But the process was something completely innovative, different, very high risk, and there is nothing about that on Baobá's website. The second thing was: "How can you not account for the investment we made? Until now the only investment you have is the R\$10,000 that we invested as part of the "beer strategy", which was symbolic, but was the starting point, the first resource Baobá received beside the Kellogg Foundation's, and I believe you should acknowledge that on the website too." The point is that neither one thing nor the other appears on Baobá's website yet, neither the history of its formation nor the acknowledgment on the first donation they received. It does appear that Ford and Kellogg Foundations are sponsors, but it doesn't appear the investment of the individuals who believed in that idea and invested small resources, actually not so small, much more than a beer.

The process was within what was possible to do. It seemed impossible at first, because when we started to develop the idea, we thought it would be something crazy: "it is insane that the Foundation adopt this idea of investing. But let's try." And then it was a political risk inviting those people, to put the cards on the table, and prompt the leaders on the process and then telling them and: "now it is on you." It was another enormous risk, it could maybe not work, mostly because there was all this mood circulating. The political construction is very difficult, the black movement has built thousands of institutions in Brazil, but there is much internal conflict, many disputes within the leadership... It is not easy to build something like that, especially when there is the intervention of a foreign organization in the process, and with no track record in the racial field. To say that it was successful would be premature, we should wait 20 years and see from now on if Baobá's action are going to contribute to end racial inequalities in Brazil, or at least to strengthen the organizations which are working in this area. We cannot know yet, but I think that the institutional building was successful. With all the difficulties, we got to this moment and have a fund built for the struggle against racism in Brazil. Now we have to wait and see

⁸⁷ Athayde Motta, PhD in Anthropology by the University of Texas, in Austin, he was the first executive director of Baobá Fund. See: <https://br.linkedin.com/in/athaydemotta/pt>, acesso em 15 de setembro de 2015.

how and what this fund is going to do, its legitimacy, its capacity for getting more resources, of surviving without the Kellogg Foundation. I hope it will be so successful that it will no longer need Kellogg in some years. Kellogg was important initially, but I hope that the institution Baobá will be nurtured in Brazilian civil society and the Brazilian black movement.

I'm very glad to have left the Foundation while personally also leaving behind this legacy which cost me so much physical effort; I got sick a thousand times, I broke myself. I feel proud of everything, a personal satisfaction to have had the possibility of having lunch and debating this idea with Abdias Nascimento, for instance. I will keep this in my drawer as one of the finer moments in life. Many things happened and they were very touching on a personal level, both good and bad things, fights, small betrayals. But on the whole I think it was, in my history at the Foundation, what I feel most proud of, to have imagined and been able to play it out.



SEEDS OF BAOBÁ

Joe Stewart

When you think of Baobá, you see that it's not just a concept for Brazil, because racism is a global problem. The success of Baobá can have a global impact. How beautiful would it be if something we created in order to leave a legacy in Brazil by the Kellogg Foundation would give Brazilians a chance to help themselves and others nations out of this human dilemma called racism! Racism is a highly negative and debilitating force. It's a destructive force that marginalizes and destroys the most valuable resource in any society; it destroys human potential the greatest and most important natural resources possessed by any nation.

My hope is that Baobá becomes an example for the entire world, Baobá places before us the reality that there is but one human family and we are all part of that one family. We must stop playing these very silly pigmentation games! If Baobá can help the human family internalize that real human potential is given to all equally by our creator- It has never been –and will never be- based on skin pigmentation , then I can go to my grave with a smile on my face.



Amilcar Araujo Pereira Ph.D. in History, is Associate Professor of History Education at the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ - Federal University of Rio de Janeiro), and is author of the book 'The Negro World': Race Relations and the Constitution of the Black Movement in Brazil ('O mundo negro': relações raciais e a constituição do movimento negro no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas; FAPERJ, 2013).



Julio Cesar Correia de Oliveira has a degree in Social Sciences from the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro.



Thayara Cristine Silva de Lima is an undergrad History student at the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro.



MEMORIES OF, BAOBÁ. FROM ROOTS TO SEEDS

«The polyphony of voices which constitute the corpus of this book have in common the commitment to make public the debate about racism in Brazil and in the diaspora and to continue the quest for racial equity. Men and women from different regions and generations reconstructed through their testimonies the mosaic that was the creation of Baobá - Fund for Racial Equity, all intersected by memories of their own institutions, of affirmative policies, and of the contemporary situation of black people in Brazil.»

Fernanda Felisberto

