



Political History, Black Movement and Black Feminism: "#Marielle Semente" ("#Marielle Seed"), black women in politics

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ABSTRACT

Based on the theoretical contribution of the New Political History, envisioning the epistemologies of the South, that is, the political and social struggles of groups and/or social movements, such as the Black Movement and Black Feminism in Brazil, this paper aims to give visibility to black women in Brazilian politics through the life trajectory and legacy of Marielle Franco, analyzing the seeds that blossomed in the 2020 Municipal Elections. According to the Atlas of Violence (2019), organized by the Institute for Applied Economic Research (IPEA) and the Brazilian Public Security Forum (FBSP), in the global context, Brazil is one of the four countries that concentrate 80 % of the murders of activists of Human rights. Considering the murder of councilwoman Marielle Franco and the driver Anderson Pedro Gomes, on March 14, 2018, structural and everyday racism, patriarchy, male chauvinism, among other practices of oppression of modernity/coloniality in contemporary times and the results of the 2020 Municipal Elections, in this text the objects of analysis are: the Marielle Franco Agenda (2020) of the Marielle Franco Institute, and the results of the Municipal Elections (2020), giving visibility to black people, specifically black women, as in Curitiba, capital of Paraná, southern Brazil.

Keywords: Political History, Black Movement, Black Feminism, Black Women, Marielle Franco.

Resumo: Com base no aporte teórico da Nova História Política, vislumbrando as

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epistemologias do Sul, ou seja, as lutas políticas e sociais de grupos e/ou movimentos sociais, como o Movimento Negro e o Feminismo Negro no Brasil, neste paper objetiva-se dar visibilidade às mulheres negras na política brasileira, por meio da trajetória de vida e legado de Marielle Franco, analisando as sementes que floresceram nas Eleições municipais 2020. Segundo o Atlas da Violência (2019), organizado pelo Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada (IPEA) e o Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública (FBSP), no contexto mundial, o Brasil é um dos quatro países que concentram 80% dos assassinatos de ativistas de Direitos Humanos. Considerando o assassinato da vereadora Marielle Franco e do motorista Anderson Pedro Gomes, em 14 de março de 2018, o racismo estrutural e cotidiano, o patriarcado, o machismo, entre outras práticas de opressão da modernidade/colonialidade na contemporaneidade e os resultados das Eleições Municipais 2020, neste texto se tem como objetos de análise: a Agenda Marielle Franco (2020) do Instituto Marielle Franco; e os resultados das Eleições Municipais (2020), dando visibilidade ao povo negro, especificamente às mulheres negras, como em Curitiba, capital do Paraná, sul do Brasil.

Palavras-chave: História Política, Movimento Negro, Feminismo Negro, Mulheres Negras, Marielle Franco.

Resumen: Basado en el aporte teórico de la Nueva Historia Política, vislumbrando las epistemologías del Sur, es decir, las luchas políticas y sociales de grupos y / o movimientos sociales, como el Movimiento Negro y el Feminismo Negro en Brasil, este artículo tiene como objetivo contribuir con la visibilidad de las mujeres negras en la política brasileña, a través de la trayectoria vital y el legado de Marielle Franco, analizando las semillas que florecieron en las elecciones municipales de 2020. Según el Atlas de la Violencia (2019), organizado por el Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas Aplicadas (IPEA) y el Foro Brasileño de Seguridad Pública (FBSP), en el contexto mundial, Brasil es uno de los cuatro países que concentran el 80% de los asesinatos de activistas de derechos humanos. Considerando el asesinato de la concejala Marielle Franco y el conductor Anderson Pedro Gomes, el 14 de marzo de 2018, el racismo estructural y cotidiano, el patriarcado, el machismo, entre otras prácticas de opresión de la modernidad / colonialidad en la época contemporánea y los resultados de las Elecciones Municipales 2020, en este texto tenemos como objetos de análisis: la Agenda Marielle Franco (2020) del Instituto Marielle Franco; y los resultados de las Elecciones Municipales (2020), dando visibilidad a los negros, específicamente a las mujeres negras, como en Curitiba, capital de Paraná, sur de Brasil.

Palabras-clave: Historia política, Movimiento negro, Feminismo negro, Mujeres negras, Marielle Franco.

Introduction

[...] Brazil, my dear black
Let me tell you
The story that history does not tell
The reverse of the same place

It is in the struggle that we meet

Brazil, my dear
Mangueira has arrived
With verses that the book erased
Since 1500 there has been more invasion than discovery
There is red again blood trampled
Behind the framed hero [...]
Brazil, it is time
To listen to Marias, Mahins, Marielles, Malês

História para ninar gente grande (Bedtime story for grown-ups) (2019)
Estação Primeira de Mangueira (Samba School)

The History of Brazil can be taught and learned in different social spaces, through formal education, in schools and Higher Education Institutions, such as universities, and also in everyday life and in informal education spaces, as in social movements, in contemporary urban quilombos of the cities, that is, in the black organizations or collectives of the slums, in the yards of Afro-Brazilian religion or in the courts of the Samba Schools of Rio and their carnival parades.

At the 2019 carnival of Rio, the Samba School Estação Primeira de Mangueira presented the plot and samba-plot “História para ninar gente grande”. The plot was coordinated by the carnival artist Leandro Vieira, and the samba-plot was composed by Deivid Domênico, Tomaz Miranda, Mama, Márcio Bola, Ronie Oliveira and Danilo Firmino, with Marquinho Art'Samba as interpreter.

Leandro Vieira in the explanatory notes on the plot stated that Mangueira presented another possible view of the History of Brazil, deconstructing the heroic narrative and elitist versions. Therefore, it was asserted that "taking into account only a few more than 500 years, the traditional narrative chose its heroes, selected the brave deeds, erected monuments, baptized streets and avenues, and thus, [...] indigenous, blacks, mulattos and the poor ones did not become statues" (LIESA, Mangueira, 2019, p. 39).

In that carnival, Verde Rosa (“nickname” of Mangueira) questioned the traditional narrative and the official history of Brazil through the black popular culture with samba, singing, dancing and carnival art, giving visibility to the multiple social groups as indigenous, black, poor and peripheral, and women, especially black women in different historical contexts, such as Esperança Garcia, Luiza Mahin, Maria Felipa, Leci Brandão and Marielle

Franco, in the Sambódromo da Marquês de Sapucaí. On the Passarela do Samba, Mangueira with its community and other samba lovers exalted black personalities, questioning the public about other black stories and biographies, that is, presenting other possibilities to revisit, teach and learn the History of Brazil.³

These social groups have historically been made invisible in the narrative of Traditional Historiography anchored in the Western and Eurocentric paradigm, that is, in “coloniality and modernity” (QUIJANO, 2010, p. 85).

Based on Traditional Historiography, the narrative of History had focused on the “great men” who made up public life and the political sphere. These “great men” were usually white and come from the Brazilian elite. From this it appears the importance of emphasizing that in Brazil since the 19th century, mainly after Independence in 1822, as History was being constituted as a discipline in the scope of traditional Political History, emphasis was given to the narrative of the history of the “great men” to the detriment of anonymous social groups, such as indigenous people, black people, women, poor populations, children, among others. Thus, the official history of the Brazilian nation had been built based on the biography and praise of the actions of “great men” (BRUNELO, PRIORI, 2018; PAIXÃO, PRIORI, 2016; FONSECA, 2011; RÉMOND, 2003).

For Jacques Julliard (1976), “Political History is psychological and ignores conditioning; it is elitist, perhaps biographical, and ignores global society and the masses that compose it” (JULLIARD, 1976, p. 180). Julliard also states that traditional Political History is narrative and ignores the analysis of facts, being a factual History, privileging the “great men” and making the masses invisible (JULLIARD, 1976).

Throughout the 20th century, as historical studies had developed with the *Annales* in France, in 1929, Traditional Historiography had begun to be strongly questioned. The French historians made possible other looks at History through new approaches and objects, and a multiplicity of sources, records of human actions. This had repercussions on the production of historical knowledge, opening the way for a New Political History, since

³ In 2019, Estação Primeira de Mangueira was consecrated in Sapucaí with the plot and samba-plot “História pra ninar gente grande” (2019), being the champion of the Special Group of the carnival of Rio de Janeiro (LIESA, Colocações - Carnaval, 2019). From the perspective of Cultural Studies, the study of black popular culture in the context of the Atlantic diaspora and the analysis of cultural pedagogies in samba-plots and representations in carnival art of the History of Africa and Afro-Brazilian culture, and the History of the black people in Brazil, make it possible to rethink the teaching of History, question the Western and Eurocentric paradigm, decolonizing the school curriculum (SILVA, 2019; HALL, 2013).

politics is not restricted to the sphere of the State and the actions of “great men”. Politics is in different spheres of social life, in human relations, political parties, social movements, among other spaces (PAIXÃO, PRIORI, 2016; RÉMOND, 2003; GOHN, 1994; JULLIARD, 1976).

Therefore, based on the theoretical contribution of the New Political History, envisioning the epistemologies of the South, its political and social struggles of oppressed groups and/or social movements, such as the Black Movement and Black Feminism in Brazil, this paper aims to give visibility to black women in Brazilian politics through the life trajectory and legacy of Marielle Franco, analyzing the Marielle Franco Agenda (2020) and the seeds that blossomed in the 2020 Municipal Elections.

The epistemologies of the South constitute a theoretical, methodological and pedagogical universe that questions Western and Eurocentric thinking, valuing the political and social struggles of oppressed groups and/or social movements that fight against multiple forms of oppression, such as colonialism, racism, patriarchy, capitalism, Islamophobia, homophobia, domestic violence, among other forms of oppression. The epistemologies of the South value knowledge or knowledge from oppressed groups and/or social movements (SANTOS, 2019; SANTOS, MENESES, 2010).

The epistemologies of the South are opposed to the epistemologies of the North. The epistemologies of the North “conceive the Eurocentric epistemological North as the only source of valid knowledge” (SANTOS, 2019, p. 25), constituting Modern Science and at the same time favoring the “epistemicide” (SANTOS, 2019, p. 27), the disregard of other knowledge or knowledge from oppressed groups and/or social movements (SANTOS, 2019). This constitutes the “coloniality of power” (QUIJANO, 2010, p. 84), the coloniality of knowledge (SANTOS, 2019; SANTOS, MENESES, 2010; QUIJANO, 2010).

In this way, this text aims to revisit the History of Brazil, giving visibility to the black people and black women based on the theoretical contribution of the New Political History, the epistemologies of the South, the teaching of History from the perspective of anti-racist Education, as Laws No. 10,639/2003 and No. 11,645/2008, which have established the obligation to study African, Afro-Brazilian and indigenous History and culture in Brazilian public educational institutions, amending the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (LDBEN), Law No. 9,394/1996.

In addition to this affirmative educational legislation that has given visibility to

History, cultural practices, knowledge or knowledge of black and indigenous people, social groups that have historically been made invisible due to coloniality and modernity of power and knowledge, in short, epistemicide, different facts have instigated us to write this paper, such as: the political and social struggles of the Black Movement and Black Feminism in Brazil throughout the 20th and 21st centuries; the existence of structural and everyday racism, patriarchy, male chauvinism, among other practices of oppression in contemporary Brazilian society; the finding that Brazil is one of the four countries that concentrate 80 % of the murders of activists of human rights in the world order (IPEA, FBSP, Atlas da Violência, 2019), having as one of the examples the murder of councilwoman Marielle Franco (elected by the PSOL political party in 2016) and the driver Anderson Pedro Gomes, on March 14, 2018; and in addition, the work of the Marielle Franco Institute, the results of the 2020 Municipal Elections and the hate speech on social networks, targeting black women who have entered institutional politics.

At first, a brief digression will be made to the reality of black people in Brazil after the abolition of slavery in 1888, explaining the organization of black women and how they have sought to guide their daily struggles, by dialoguing with the Black Movement and the Feminist Movement. Second, a brief biography of Marielle Franco and the analysis of the Marielle Franco Agenda (2020) of the Marielle Franco Institute and the results of the Municipal Elections (2020) will be presented, highlighting in the south of Brazil the election of Carol Dartora (PT political party), the first black councilwoman of Curitiba - PR.

Black People in Post-Abolition Brazil: From the Black Movement to Black Feminism

Could it be...
That freedom has already dawned
Or if it was all illusion
Could it be...
That the golden law so dreamed of
So long signed
It was not the end of slavery
Today within reality
Where is freedom
Where is it that no one has seen
Boy
Do not forget that the black man has also built
The riches of our Brazil

Ask the Creator
Who painted this watercolor
Free from the lash of the slave quarters
Trapped in the misery of the slum [...]

Cem anos de liberdade, realidade ou ilusão (One hundred years of
freedom, reality or illusion) (1988)
Estação Primeira de Mangueira (Samba School)

In 1988, on the centenary of the abolition of enslavement of African men and women and their descendants in Brazil, the Samba School Estação Primeira de Mangueira of Rio de Janeiro presented the plot and samba-plot “Cem anos de liberdade, realidade ou ilusão” on Passarela do Samba. The plot was coordinated by the carnival artist Júlio Matos and the samba-plot was composed by Hélio Turco, Jurandir and Alvinho (ACADEMIA DO SAMBA, 1988; LIESA, Colocações - Carnaval, 1988).

This samba-plot⁴ immortalized in the voice of the interpreter Jamelão, griot from Verde Rosa, questioned whether the signing of the Golden Law, on May 13, 1888, really represented the end of slavery for black people in Brazil, and more, it was also denounced the social exclusion and poverty to which black men, women and children have been relegated. That is why in some verses of the samba it was sung: "Ask the Creator/ Who painted this watercolor/ Free from the lash of the slave quarters / Trapped in the misery of the slum [...]". Thus, through samba, singing, dancing and carnival art, the black and samba people challenged the public of Sapucaí, and consequently, Brazilian society about the social and racial inequalities that still exist in Brazil one hundred years after abolition.

In our country, the misery of the black people has historical roots, a legacy of colonialism and the absence of effective public policies by the Brazilian State to promote the inclusion of black men and women in society since the 19th century.

At the end of the 19th century and in the first decades of the 20th century, racial theories from Europe and/or the United States had dominated the thinking of the Brazilian elite. At that time, the project of modernity of the country was associated with the whitening of the Brazilian people, as indigenous people and black people were conceived

⁴ In 1988, Verde e Rosa with the plot and samba-plot: "Cem anos de liberdade, realidade ou ilusão" won second place in the carnival competition. The champion of the Special Group of the carnival of Rio de Janeiro was the Samba School Unidos de Vila Isabel with the plot and samba-plot “Quizomba, a festa da raça” (LIESA, Colocações - Carnaval, 1988).

as “degenerative races”.

Therefore, in the context after abolition, the Brazilian State was not concerned with having effective public policies for the inclusion of black people in society, intensifying the policy of encouraging immigration here in order to promote the replacement of slave labor by free labor and to encourage miscegenation with Europeans, aiming to whiten the Brazilian people. The ideal of whitening was linked to the idea and desire that indigenous people and black people would disappear, making room for the emergence of an eminently white population. Among the intellectuals of this scientific racism such as Oliveira Viana, Sílvio Romero, João Batista Lacerda, among others, there was a consensus about the whitening of the Brazilian people, but estimates varied. Some intellectuals argued that in one and/or three centuries the whitening of our people would occur with the disappearance of indigenous people and black people. João Batista Lacerda even stated that this whitening would be a process that would extend until 2012, the 21st century (NASCIMENTO, 2017; MUNANGA, 1999; SKIDMORE, 1976).

In Brazil, in the post-abolition context, the project of modernity associated with the whitening of the people excluded the possibilities of effective public policies of the State to combat racism and promote the inclusion of black people and indigenous people to the society.

That is why, for practically 133 years, the Black Movement has denounced structural racism, social, racial and gender inequalities, and the poverty of the majority of black people. Black activists have fought the myth of racial democracy in our society, because ethnic-racial relations are not harmonious, being permeated by a masked or camouflaged racism. Faced with this reality, a brief digression to the History of black people and black women in our country in the post-abolition context of slavery.

Black people conquered freedom with abolition, but had to fight for citizenship, denouncing structural racism and the myth of racial democracy. Thus, the Black Movement has emerged in its multiple faces: the Black Press, since the end of the 19th century; the Brazilian Black Front (FNB), in 1931 in São Paulo; the Black Experimental Theater (TEN), in 1944 in Rio de Janeiro; the Unified Movement against Racial Discrimination, in 1978 in São Paulo, later renamed the Unified Black Movement (MNU); in the 1980s, the Collectives of Black Women, Black Feminism, among other black organizations (ALMEIDA, 2019; GOMES, 2017; ZUBARAN, 2017; CARNEIRO, 2011; GONÇALVES, SILVA, 2007).

Since the first decades of the 20th century, black people have consisted of a mass of poor and illiterate people. A great part of black men, black women and black children did not have access to schools, being relegated to poverty, misery.

Throughout the 20th century, black men and black women were not easily inserted into the process of modernization of the country due to racism and the preference for immigrant labor in the world of work. Thus, black men and black women remained performing domestic activities, being poorly paid and/or in exchange for a place to sleep and food. Many black men became unemployed, while several black women continued to work as domestic servants, milk nannies, nannies, washerwomen, among other manual labor (MUNANGA, GOMES, 2016; PAIXÃO, GOMES, 2012; GONÇALVES, SILVA, 2007; MUNANGA, 1999).

In view of this reality, the Black Movement has begun to claim public policies of the Brazilian State to combat racism, social and racial inequalities. Representatives of the Black Movement also have claimed the valorization of African History in schools, the history of black people in Brazil, by being interested in decolonizing the school curriculum (GOMES, 2019; GONÇALVES, SILVA, 2007).

Thus, the Black Movement has called for the fight against racism, social and racial inequalities, denouncing the myth of racial democracy and demanding the democratization of access to school, work and the professionalization of black people.

Throughout the 20th century, especially from the 1980s onwards, black women have expanded the discussion within the Black Movement and the Feminist Movement, dialoguing about the triple discrimination that affects their lives due to gender, race and class, that is, because they are women, black and poor. Poor white women are discriminated against, but they still have an “advantage” on account of their “good appearance” (GONZALEZ, 1981 *apud* UCPA, 2018, p. 106), since the standard of aesthetics is based on whiteness, that is, on white aesthetic values, leaving black women at a disadvantage in the world of work and in formal marriages (GONZALEZ, 1980 *apud* UCPA, 2018).⁵

Thus, within the scope of the Black Movement and the Feminist Movement, black women have opened paths for intersectional dialogue about multiple forms of oppression,

⁵ The selected texts of historian and philosopher Lélia Gonzalez, interpreter of Brazil, for the writing of this paper also make up the publication *Por um feminismo afro-latino-americano* organized by Flávia Rios and Márcia Lima (2020).

such as racism and sexism, in the context of contemporary patriarchal, racist and capitalist society. Black intellectuals such as Lélia Gonzalez, Beatriz Nascimento, Sueli Carneiro, Djamila Ribeiro, among others, have denounced and still denounce the multiple practices of oppression that affect black women.⁶ Lélia Gonzalez, one of the interpreters of Brazil, when analyzing the reality of Latin American women, specifically of African-American and Amerindian women, stated that:

It is important to insist that in the context of the deep racial inequalities existing on the continent, sexual inequality is inserted in a very well articulated way. This is a double discrimination against African-American and Amerindian women. The double character of their biological - or racial and sexual - condition makes them the most oppressed and exploited women in a region dependent on a patriarchal-racist capitalism. Precisely because this system transforms differences into inequalities, the discrimination they suffer takes on a triple character given their class position; Amerindians and African-Americans are, mostly, part of the immense Afro-Latin-American proletariat (GONZALEZ, 1988 *apud* UCPA, 2018, p. 314).

Therefore, in Brazil, given the character of this triple practice of discrimination (gender, race and class), black women have sought and still seek to organize themselves collectively, acting in different spaces, in popular movements, in the Black Movement and the Feminist Movement and political party, finally, in institutional politics⁷, with the purpose of transforming their reality and their people reality.

In the 1980s, times of political opening in Brazil, Black Feminism has flourished even more due to the activism of black women, several facts marked that period, here are some of them, such as:

- In 1982, Benedita da Silva, a black woman from a slum, has begun her public career

⁶ In the United States, black intellectuals such as Angela Davis (2016), Patricia Hill Collins (2019), Bell Hooks (2019), among others, have also dedicated themselves to analyzing the reality experienced by black people, mainly black women in the diaspora, establishing the intersectional dialogue between gender, race and class, looking at different contexts, such as: the times of enslavement of black people in the south of the USA, the struggles of the Feminist Movement and Black Feminism, the struggles for the conquest of civil rights for the black population to contemporaneity.

⁷ In the history of Brazil, after several decades of struggles, women won the right to vote and to participate in institutional political life only in 1932. Widows and single women who had their own income could vote. Married women with their own income derived from their professional activity could also vote, but they had to have the authorization of their husbands. Only in 1946, the right to vote was extended to all women. In contemporary Brazil, according to electoral legislation, political parties are required to have a quota of 30 % of candidacies from women in order to participate in elections (TSE, 2020; TAIT, 2020; MARQUES, 2019). In view of this, the right of women to participate in public life and institutional politics is not yet one hundred years old in our country, they are progressively having conquests, but this universe is still made up mostly of men. Women are gaining space in society, but they need to continue the struggle against patriarchy, male chauvinism, misogyny, domestic violence, feminicide, hate speech, among other forms of oppression.

in the context of institutional politics when she was elected councilwoman in Rio de Janeiro after militancy in the Slum Association.

- In June 1983, the creation of Nzinga - Black Women's Collective, at the headquarters of the Morro dos Cabritos Association.

- In July 1983, the 1st Meeting of Women from Slums and Peripheries organized by Benedita da Silva.

- Still in 1983, Jurema Batista, founder and president of the Association of Residents of Morro do Andaraí, represented black Brazilian women as a delegate at the II Feminist Meeting of Latin America and the Caribbean held in Lima. This was innovative because according to Lélia Gonzalez (1985) "for the first time in the history of black Brazilian feminism, a woman from the slum represented abroad a specific organization of black women" (GONZALEZ, 1985 *apud* UCPA, 2018, p. 279).

- In 1988, the founding of GELEDÉS - Black Women's Institute created by Sueli Carneiro (CARNEIRO, 2018; GONZALEZ, 1985 *apud* UCPA, 2018; MUNANGA, GOMES, 2016).

According to Sueli Carneiro (2018) "for us, black women, the combination of racial, sex and class discrimination implies a triple militancy, since no effective solution to the problems that afflict us can come from the alienation of any of these three factors" (CARNEIRO, 2018, p. 57).

In contemporary Brazil, despite the militancy of representatives of the Black Movement and Black Feminism, the gradual insertion into institutional politics of some black men and some black women, for example: Benedita da Silva (PT political party), Leci Brandão (PCdoB political party), Marielle Franco (PSOL political party), among others, racism, stereotypes and practices of oppression and discrimination still prevail in society.

Black women are still associated with images of domestic servants, the "black mother" (GONZALEZ, 1981, p. 39), the one who takes care of the children of white people, and/or the mulatto "export product" (GONZALEZ, 1981, p. 45). In the social imaginary, stereotypes still prevail that the black woman is "more erotic or more sexually ardent than the others, beliefs related to the characteristics of her physique, which is often exuberant" (NASCIMENTO, 1990, p. 356 *apud* UCPA, 2018), occurring thus the objectification of black bodies. "The black woman is still the hottie of the samba or the maid, and the black man, the trickster or thief" (RIBEIRO, 2018, p. 49).

These gender and race stereotypes associated with black women persist in

contemporary society, reverberating in social and love relationships, and also in the world of work. In the world of work, in private institutions there are salary differences due to gender and race discrimination, establishing better pay for first - white men, second - white women, third - black men, and at the base of this pyramid of inequalities, black women. Black women are poorly paid and many alone support their offspring, the family (NASCIMENTO, 1990 *apud* UCPA, 2018; NASCIMENTO, 1976 *apud* UCPA, 2018).

Due to structural and everyday racism, the stereotypes that associate black people with "disorder" and social transgression, such as drug trafficking, many black bodies are the target of racial and police violence by the security agents of the Brazilian State due to the "necropolitics, politics of death" (MBEMBE, 2018, p. 71), leading to genocide and/or mass incarceration of black men and women in our country. This racial and police violence that causes black bodies to fall has been denounced by the black social movement, mainly by Black Lives Matter (SILVA, PRIORI, 2020; RIBEIRO, 2019; MBEMBE, 2018).

Thus, after 133 years of abolition, black people and black women are still on the move, denouncing structural and everyday racism, social, racial and gender inequalities, the myth of racial democracy, racial and police violence, genocide and mass incarceration of black people in our country.

Black activists base their claims in various spaces of Brazilian society: in popular organizations; in the street protests that took place in public spaces such as the Zumbi do Quilombo de Palmares March in 1995 and the March of Black Women in 2015, both in Brasília, DF; in the journeys of street protests of the Black Lives Matter social movement, which took place in different cities in Brazil, especially after the murder of George Floyd in the USA, in May 2020, during the COVID-19 pandemic; and in the institutional political sphere, proposing candidates in municipal, state and/or federal elections.

In Brazil, black men, women, black women and young black men, in their sexual diversity, have been submitting candidacies in municipal, state and/or federal elections in order to insert themselves in spaces of power, decision and establishment of public policies with the purpose of transforming the social reality of the Brazilian people, poor and black, women, black women, poor and black children and youth. The 2020 Municipal Elections were an example of this, generating hope.

Black Women in Politics: "#Marielle Seed", from the Marielle Franco Agenda to the

Results of the Municipal Elections in 2020

No, we refuse to believe
That a body falls empty
And melt into space
Like dust or smoke
Entering the nothing of nothingness
Turning itself into nothing
So in the solitude of this ancient deculturate and melancholy
Remembrancer of all those who have passed away from us,
is in the space of our pain
that we draw
your light-woman - Marielle Franco

And the points of your star
They will grace the days
That still awaits us
And they will cross with the points
of the points of other stars,
inhabitants that guide us,
illuminating us and strengthening us
in the constellation of our longing

Nadificando (Turning into Nothing) (2018)
Poem dedicated to Marielle Franco by Conceição Evaristo

In contemporary Republic Brazil, after the end of the Military Dictatorship (1964-1985), our country went through a process of redemocratization and there was the resurgence of social movements. Activists, intellectuals, politicians, teachers and professors, among others committed to democratic ideals and citizenship, have welcomed the approval of the 1988 Constitution, also known as the “Citizen Constitution”. We live in times of democracy, but the news published in the media about the murders of public people who work in the sphere of institutional politics, such as that of councilwoman Marielle Franco (PSOL political party) and the driver Anderson Pedro Gomes, on March 14, 2018, show that we still need to advance towards effective respect for Human Rights in our country, in the 21st century.

The verses of the poem “Nadificando” by Conceição Evaristo (2018) remind us of the “liv-writings”⁸ of indignation at the murder of Marielle Franco and the “constellation of

⁸ Conceição Evaristo is one of the icons of Afro-Brazilian literature, she coined the term “liv-writing”, uniting writing and living, recording the experiences lived by black people, especially black women. Evaristo in his black poetics records the “lived real” (EVARISTO, 2016, p. 8) in the stories and poems written, so fiction and experience are articulated in the “liv-writings” of this black woman (EVARISTO, 2017; EVARISTO, 2016).

longing” of this black woman who dared to fight and make politics in favor of the Brazilian people in its diversity, giving visibility to the poor, residents of the slums and the periphery, to the black people, black women, the LGBTQIA+ group, presenting her bills at the City Council in the city of Rio de Janeiro - RJ.

The murder of Marielle Franco leads us to the realization of the need to expand the public debate in Brazil about multiple practices of violence and oppression in contemporary times, such as structural racism, inequalities and everyday life, patriarchy, male chauvinism, among others of coloniality and modernity. Thus, it is understood the relevance of knowing the history, that is, the biography of this black woman, who brutally had her life cut off.

Marielle Franco (1979 - 2018) **Councilwoman Marielle**



Source: Photograph from the family archive of Anielle Franco, sister of Marielle Franco and director of the Marielle Franco Institute created in 2019. FRANCO, Anielle. Marielle Franco. In: CASTRO, Amanda Motta. **Memória do curso: Pensadoras negras brasileiras.** São Leopoldo, RS: Escola As Pensadoras, 2020. p. 187.

Marielle Franco was born on July 27, 1979, lived in the Maré slum in the North Zone of Rio de Janeiro, while growing up, she participated in the activities of her family and her community. She was “a black woman from a slum, a defender of Human Rights and LGBT, Marielle was a daughter, mother, sister, wife, friend and councilwoman dedicated to

She was honored by councilwoman Marielle Franco, in August 2017, when the “Eu Mulher Negra Resisto” (“I Black Woman Resist”) took place, when the City Council of RJ was blackened. On that occasion, Marielle Franco presented the medal of honor to Conceição Evaristo and held a debate with other black women, dialoguing with Flávia Oliveira, Mãe Menininha de Oxum, Patrícia Oliveira and Ruth de Souza (FRANCO, 2020).

building a fair world for all people. Today, she is an inspiration for this generation and the future ones" (INSTITUTO MARIELLE FRANCO, 2020, p. 4).

She took a pre-university course at Maré, joined the Social Sciences course at Pontifícia Universidade Católica (PUC - Rio) and took a master's degree in Public Administration, defending the dissertation: *UPP - A redução da favela em três letras: uma análise da política de segurança pública do estado do Rio de Janeiro (UPP - The Reduction of the Slum in Three Letters: An Analysis of the Public Security Policy of the State of Rio de Janeiro)* (2014) by the Universidade Federal Fluminense – UFF, later published in book format by the publisher n-1 edições in 2018 (FRANCO, 2020; LOPES, 2019).

Marielle Franco was involved in politics in her family, everyday life, social movements, and professional life. She engaged in the struggle to defend Human Rights, met Marcelo Freixo (PSOL political party), and from 2006, for ten years was an advisor to this parliamentarian. She was a member of the Commission for the Defense of Human Rights and Citizenship of the Assembly and provided support to the families of homicide victims and police officers affected in the clashes (FRANCO, 2020; LOPES, 2019).

The life trajectory of Marielle Franco was marked by political and social struggles in family, everyday life, social and professional movements, which led her to popularity and institutional politics, driving her to participate in the 2016 Municipal Elections through the candidacy as councilwoman for the Socialism and Freedom Political Party (PSOL).

Marielle Franco was the fifth councilwoman most voted in the city of Rio de Janeiro, had more than 46,000 votes, being elected by the coalition "Change is possible" made up of PSOL and PCB political parties. At the Rio de Janeiro City Council, she presented bills, the main ones are as follows: "If it is legal, it has to be real", first bill to enforce Legal Abortion in Rio de Janeiro, Feb. 2017; bill "Owl Space", Mar. 2017, with the aim of creating a safe night space where mothers, fathers and/or guardians could leave their children while they went to study and/or work; bill "Birth Houses in Rio de Janeiro", Jun. 2017, spaces prepared for normal births with comprehensive care for pregnant women with several specialists from prenatal care; bill "#AssédioNãoÉPassageiro" ("#HarassmentIsNotTransient"), Sept. 2017, with the purpose of carrying out educational campaigns on harassment and sexual violence against women with disclosure of the telephone numbers of bodies responsible for serving them, continued training of servers and the establishment of fines for bus companies that fail to comply with the determinations; bill "Parliamentary Front of the

Solidarity Economy ”, Aug 2017. In addition, Marielle Franco served as president of the Committee of Women in the City Council; organized the 1st Right to The Slum Meeting at the Maré Museum, the "Right to The Slum Cultural Meeting - Maré", debating, holding workshops and formulating public policies with residents of the slums in the city of Rio de Janeiro, and several other popular actions (FRANCO, 2020; LOPES. 2019).

The bills of Marielle Franco demonstrate that she had a concern for the people, seeking to dialogue with people from slums and the periphery about public policies, making a shared policy with the residents of the city of Rio de Janeiro, that is, a mandate with politics aimed at the collectivity.

The murder of Marielle Franco, on March 14, 2018, did not represent the end, mobilizing street protests and vigils with black and multicolored people, women and black women, who cried and cry out for justice in Brazil, in a peculiar historical context, post-coup and impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff (PT political party).

The family of Marielle Franco continues to fight for justice and with the activities of the Marielle Franco Institute with the aim of sowing and multiplying the legacy of this black woman in a democratic way, for example, with the *Marielle Franco Agenda* (2020), thinking about the 2020 Municipal Elections in these times of democracy, contradictions and denialism.

We live in times of democracy, but also of authoritarian political practices. In the context of the global and national health crisis, resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic, in Brazil, social, racial and gender inequalities were wide open in full government of the President of the Republic Jair Messias Bolsonaro. In the Bolsonaro government, there is the devaluation of Education and Science, the denials about the lethality of COVID-19 (the "little flu")⁹ and the existence of racism in our country. In addition, a portion of civil society has held demonstrations demanding the closing of the National Congress (CN) and the Federal Supreme Court (STF), and the return of the Military Dictatorship, that is, military intervention with Bolsonaro.

It is in this historical context that we envision the analysis of the *Marielle Franco Agenda* (2020) organized by the Marielle Franco Institute and presented to the candidates for the 2020 Municipal Elections, a proposal for a political project to think about the public

⁹ In Brazil, in February 2021, it appears that COVID-19 has already claimed more than 250,000 lives, as reported in the media.

policies for cities, and consequently their people.

This agenda is “[a] set of commitments to anti-racist, feminist and popular practices and agendas based on the legacy of Marielle for the 2020 Municipal Elections” (INSTITUTO MARIELLE FRANCO, 2020, p. 1). The Marielle Franco Institute presented a working platform to think about the cities of Brazil, privileging the (re)construction of these, the slums and the periphery, in line with the ideals of justice, inclusion, sustainability and respect for diversity (INSTITUTO MARIELLE FRANCO, 2020). Therefore, in the presentation of this political agenda it was stated that:

[...] We want to guarantee the right to quality and universal public health, a free and emancipatory education, to walk through the countryside, cities and peripheries with safety and dignity, we want to guarantee the right to a healthy and adequate diet, water and sanitation for all, decent and fair work and income.

We are rescuing proposals from a collective way of doing politics and we want to guarantee through these proposals the commitment of those who are disputing institutional politics this year and will be able in the next cycle to help promote and consolidate the right to a life for all.

[...] This is a political agenda for all candidacies from all municipalities in Brazil. We will accept applications and pledge of candidacies from cisgender women and men, trans, black, white, yellow, indigenous, LGBTQIA+, quilombolas, riverine people, people with disabilities, and all candidacies that wish to commit to the political work of Marielle Franco: anti-racist, intersectional, feminist, peripheral, slum dweller, popular and plural (INSTITUTO MARIELLE FRANCO, 2020, p. 5 - 6).

In 2020, in the year of the Municipal Elections, the Marielle Franco Institute through the *Marielle Franco Agenda (2020)* proposed a collective political project for society, a way of doing politics in the institutional sphere, inviting everyone and all to make this commitment.

Thus, the Marielle Franco Institute was preparing the political field to plant the seeds and continue the way of doing politics of Marielle Franco and the black women who came before her with plans to multiply her legacy.

The Marielle Franco Agenda is part of the Anti-Racist Platform in 2020 Elections - PANE, has forty-eight pages, is presented and divided into two major thematic axes: "Practices for Candidates and Future Elected" and "Priority Public Policies of Marielle Franco" (MARIELLE FRANCO INSTITUTE, 2020).

Regarding the thematic axis "Practices for Candidates and Future Elected" (INSTITUTO MARIELLE FRANCO, 2020, p. 7), seven principles were presented that sought to guide the practices in institutional policy, such as:

1. "Diversify talents and colors, not bureaucratize", integrating social movements and activists into campaigns and mandates.

2. "Expand alliances, not isolate", by carrying out intersectoral work, articulating alliances with other public bodies, such as the Office of Public Defender and the Public Ministry, and the third sector, that is, with social organizations committed to guaranteeing access to rights for the population.

3. "Rescue memory, not erase", preserve ancestry, constituting a differential in the political practices of black and indigenous women, because "Our steps come from far away" (EVARISTO, 2017, p. 112).

4. "Collectivize objectives, not appropriate", guidelines for the politics of the common good, and not for private or individual interests.

5. "Care for the collective, not abandon it".

6. "Open doors and windows, do not lock in a castle", through the construction of mechanisms of participation, transparency of the mandate and the political structure.

7. "Pull those who want to come, do not let go", encourage and open paths for those who want to participate in institutional politics, for example, holding meetings with black women, among other social groups (MARIELLE FRANCO INSTITUTE, 2020, p. 7 - 23).

In Marielle Franco Agenda (2020), as political practices and principles were presented, the actions of Marielle Franco as councilwoman in the City Council of Rio de Janeiro were also highlighted. A political and pedagogical agenda, as it showed possibilities of practices for the exercise of institutional policy to candidates in the 2020 Elections.

As for the thematic axis "Priority Public Policies of Marielle Franco" (INSTITUTO MARIELLE FRANCO, 2020, p. 24), this was organized with a view to public policies, comprising the improvement of the quality of life of multiple social groups: women, blacks, black youth, children, slum dwellers, peripherals, the LGBTQIA+ population, rural workers, people with disabilities, indigenous people, quilombolas, etc. (INSTITUTO MARIELLE FRANCO, 2020, p. 7 - 23).

Thus, the importance of a political agenda committed to these social groups and in the fight against all forms of oppression was reaffirmed, establishing the intersectional dialogue, outlining guidelines for public policies contemplating: "Gender and Sexuality"; "Right to the Slum and the Periphery"; "Racial Justice and Public Safety"; "Public Health"; "Public Education"; "Economic Justice"; "Culture, Leisure and Sport" (INSTITUTO MARIELLE

FRANCO, 2020, p. 24 - 48). Here, some guidelines for the (re)construction of public policies in municipalities will be highlighted, such as:

- "Gender and Sexuality": Monitoring the functioning and democratization of access to the legal abortion service ensured for women with cases provided for by law, for example, rape; defense of the rights of children; build and strengthen public policies of mandatory use of the social name for transsexual and transvestite people in public service establishments; projects to ensure the expansion of employability for LGBTQIA+ people.

- "Right to the Slum and the Periphery": Right to the city through the construction and maintenance of a participatory master plan in the city with participatory budget; elaboration of projects for the participation of black, slum and peripheral youth in institutional decision-making spaces; guarantee access to health and Education for traditional and rural populations, and indigenous people; policy for the environmental protection of fauna, flora and traditional populations and indigenous people.

- "Racial Justice and Public Security": Creation of a Municipal Fund for Economic, Psychological and Social Reparation of Family Members to assist families who have lost people due to racial and police violence by State security agents, leading to the genocide of black, poor and peripheral people; creation of spaces of memory and resistance of victims of State violence; combat religious racism and create policies to protect the people of yards and practitioners of African-based religions.

- "Public Health": Defense of the public budget for health; monitoring and inspection of health units and municipal hospitals to identify possible irregularities; selective collection for neighborhoods; inspect water supply agencies; develop medication disposal programs for the population; construction or improvement of a municipal plan for preventing and fighting floods, as well as reducing risks for vulnerable populations.

- "Public Education": Formulation of the Municipal Education Plan in a participatory manner; build spaces for adolescents in compliance with socio-educational measures in order to guarantee access to Education; monitor and campaign for compliance with Law No. 10,639/2003, teaching of African History and Afro-Brazilian culture; develop projects for teachers to have hour-activity with reservation of 1/3 of the working time.

- "Economic Justice": Creation of a policy to promote Solidarity Economy, encouraging the participation of black women, slum and peripheral populations.

"Culture, Leisure and Sport": Combat the ideological, racist and violent persecution

of Funk, Hip Hop and Rap, the arrest of DJs and the massacres at dances, in the slums and peripheries (INSTITUTO MARIELLE FRANCO, 2020).

These public policies highlighted in this text and others listed in the Marielle Franco Agenda (2020) are innovative and envision decent access to cities for the Brazilian people in their diversity, especially for the poor, slum dwellers, peripherals, blacks, black women, black youth, children, LGBTQIA+ population, traditional populations, indigenous people, among others in vulnerability.

This agenda can be inferred from multiple perspectives, conceiving it as: a historical document to think about the political work of Marielle Franco and other black women who preceded her; an anti-racist, democratic political and pedagogical project based on the diversity of the Brazilian people for candidates in municipal elections, which can be used and improved in other spheres of institutional policy, such as the state and federal; and also a manifesto for the (re)construction of a democratic, anti-racist, anticlassist society, promoting intersectional dialogue of gender, race, class and sexual diversity.

According to the Marielle Franco Institute, the *Marielle Franco Agenda* (2020) has been and is defended by more than three thousand people. Considering the different regions of Brazil, after the 2020 Municipal Elections, eighty-one candidates committed to this agenda were elected. In southern Brazil, in the capital of the state of Paraná, Carol Dartora (PT political party), the first black councilwoman, stands out (INSTITUTO MARIELLE FRANCO, 2020).

Carol Dartora (PT Political Party)

A black woman, historian and teacher, with family experience in the Black Movement in southern Brazil, in Curitiba, capital of the state of Paraná.

In the 2020 Municipal Elections, she was elected councilwoman, being the first black woman. In this election, two black men were elected: Renato Freitas (PT political party), graduated in Law, and Herivelto Oliveira (Cidadania political



Source: Photography: Carol Dartora. Available on the website:<

party), journalist. This fact was a milestone in the History of the capital of the state of Paraná, being publicized in the media (CALDAS, 2020; RPC Curitiba, 2020).

<https://www.unibrasil.com.br/academia-unibrasil-e-curso-de-pedagogia-recebem-carol-dartora/> Accessed on: Feb. 10, 2020

Curitiba was founded in 1693, in the 17th century, due to European colonization, where indigenous and African were enslaved. A city over 300 years old. In the times of European colonization, the current state of Paraná was built by indigenous people and Africans with other immigrant people, and migrants from various regions of Brazil. In the times of colonization, the black people worked in the exploration of alluvial gold in the Bay of Paranaguá and in the first plateau, in the farms of Campos Gerais, in the exploration of yerba mate and in other activities in the urban space of the cities that were constituted. In the 19th century, blacks from the Province of Paraná were sent to fight in the Paraguayan War (1864-1870) with the promise of conquering freedom (WEIGERT, 2016; PRIORI *et al.*, 2012; IANNI, 1988).

Looking at the History of Paraná, it appears that the black people have been in southern Brazil for more than 300 years, but it was only in the 21st century, in the 2020 Municipal Elections, that three black councilors were elected, among them the first black councilwoman, Carol Dartora (PT political party), a fact that had repercussions in the media and society. Blacks who will act in the coming years in institutional politics.

In the 2020 Municipal Elections, according to the Federal Supreme Court (STF), there was an increase in the number of candidacies of blacks, women and LGBTQIA+ population, for example, trans women. Some people and organizations, such as the Marielle Franco Institute, welcomed the election results, but there were also hate speeches by extremists and promises of murders of black and trans women on social media, and consequently the concern for the safety of these people who have entered the universe of institutional politics. Have already received death threats: Ana Lúcia Martins (PT political party), first black councilwoman in Joinville - SC; Carol Dartora (PT political party), from Curitiba-PR¹⁰; the trans councilwomen Duda Salabert (PDT political party), from Belo

¹⁰ Recently, in January 2021, the death threats made to the young black councilman Renato Freitas (PT political party), from Curitiba-PR, became public. Hate speech, racism and/or racial slurs have not ceased, as extremism has increased in Brazil (REDAÇÃO PARANÁ, 2021).

Horizonte - MG, and Benny Briolly (PSOL political party), from Niterói - RJ, among others (RUPP, 2021; FRANCO, 2020).

In contemporary times, activists, groups or social movements understand the relevance of participation in institutional politics, such as blacks, women, black women, trans, among others, aiming at the formulation or (re)construction of public policies for the good of the collective, the Brazilian people in their diversity, in the anti-racist perspective.

Final Considerations

In this text, based on the theoretical contribution of the New Political History, the epistemologies of the South and the anti-racist Education, we have discussed the History of black people and black women in the post-abolition context, the contemporary Brazil, the structural racism, the social, racial and gender inequalities, considering sexual diversity.

The life trajectory of Marielle Franco, the organization of the Marielle Franco Institute (2019), the Marielle Franco Agenda (2020) and the results of the Municipal Elections (2020) allowed us to revisit the Political History of Brazil and the History of Paraná.

The reading of Marielle Franco Agenda (2020) sent us the political “liv-writings” of Marielle Franco throughout her life trajectory, that is, the experiences, the political and social struggles, and the bills of this black woman as councilwoman in the City Council of Rio de Janeiro in favor of a democratic, anti-racist and anticlassist society with the purpose of promoting social justice.

The (re)construction of a Brazil for everyone and all is a long way, we just need to look at the struggles waged by the Black Movement, the Feminist Movement, the movement for Human Rights, among other oppressed groups and social movements, in different historical contexts, because "our steps come from far away" (EVARISTO, 2017, p. 112).

In the face of hate speech, we need to continue with political and social struggles in favor of the defense of Human Rights, democracy in diversity, Human Rights Education and anti-racist Education. Finally, we launch the seeds, water them with love and respect so that they bloom. Therefore, “#Marielle semente” (“#Marielle seed”).

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